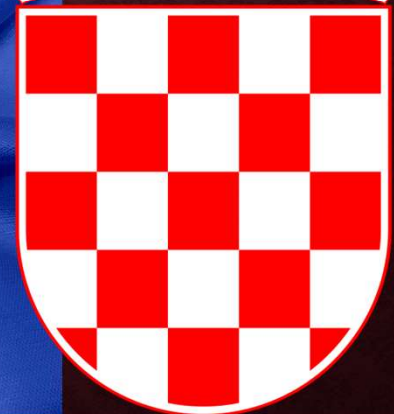




THE YUGOSLAV WARS

A Case Study in Conflict

By. Matthew Larson



KEY TERMS

- **Balkans**
 - The geographic area of SE Europe
- **Yugoslavia**
 - A federal republic made up of 6 nations: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia
- **Genocide**
 - The systematic killing of individuals
- **Slobadan Milošević**
 - Leader of Serbia and de facto leader of Yugoslavia



- Ethnically diverse
- History of incursion by outside
- Yugoslavia created from parts
 - Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and
 - Renamed Yugoslavia in 1929
- Invaded by Nazis during WWII
 - Croatian Ustaše aligned with
- Resistance movements
 - Most successful led by Josip



BACKGROUND

- Elections held Nov. 11th, 1945
 - Communist party wins all 345 seats
- Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia formed Jan. 1st, 1946
 - Constitution modeled after the USSR
- Tito-Stalin Split (1948)
 - Non-aligned movement
- Nationalism suppressed under Tito
- Tito dies
 - May 4th, 1980

THE 1980S

- Death of Tito led to absence of strong, central power
 - Harder to keep ethnically diverse nation unified
- Slovenes, Croats, Kosovars desired more autonomy within federation
 - Serbs wanted stronger federal authority
- Nationalism was on the rise in all republics
- Virtually no federal leadership by the 1990s



THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

- Presidency consisted of representatives of 6 republics, 2 autonomous regions



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- Representatives divided along nationalist lines
- Nothing can get done
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 - Replaces reps of Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro with loyalists



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- Milošević can gridlock everything
 - Exerts Serbian supremacy



14TH LEAGUE

- Met in Belgrade, Serbia
 - January 1990
- Slovene's, Serbs at odds over future of Yugoslavia.
- Serbia insisted on “One person, One vote”
 - Would ensure Serbian power since Serbs were largest ethnic group
- Slovenes (with Croat support) wanted more power by republic
 - This was rejected
- Croatia, Slovenia left in protest



WAR IN SLOVENIA

- Slovenia declared independence
 - June 25th, 1991
- Yugoslav army moves towards Slovene-Italian boarder
- Slovenes prepare to defend nation
- Neither side wanted to be the 1st to shoot
 - Didn't want to be seen as starting a war
- Slovenes gained quick control of borders
 - Ensured Yugoslavia would have to fire first

WAR IN SLOVENIA

- Brioni Agreement
 - Croatia and Slovenia agreed to postpone independence for three months
 - Ensure a settlement could be agreed upon
- Ended fighting in Slovenia
 - Milošević largely not concerned due to few Serbs living there



TENSIONS IN CROATIA

- Franjo Tuđman elected president in 1990
 - Had goal of establishing independent Croatia
 - Brought back traditional Croatian flag
- Large Serb minority in Croatia
- Serb politicians organized independence referendum
 - August 1990
- Fighting started before Croatian independence



LOG REVOLUTION

- Blockade of Dalmatia from rest of Croatia
 - Mostly done from nearby trees
- Two-fold goal
 - Hurt referendum turnout
 - Disrupt tourism in Dalmatia
- Minor fighting before full scale war in 1991
- Declared independence from Croatia after Tuđman's constitution ratified

INDEPENDENCE IN CROATIA

- Independence Referendum
 - May 19th, 1991
 - Serbs boycott vote
 - Heavily one-sided (94% in favor)
- Declared independence
 - June 25th, 1991
 - Delayed three months

INDEPENDENCE IN CROATIA

- JNA (Yugoslav Army) disarms Slovene, Croat units before independence
 - 70% of officers were Serbian, Montenegrin
- Sided against Croatian independence
- Republic of Serbian Krajina
 - Serbian majority areas of Croatia
 - Formed independent state on December 19th, 1991



INDEPENDENCE IN CROATIA

- UN issues arms embargo on Yugoslavia
 - Done to prevent escalation of violence
- Croatian-Serbs not impacted
 - Supplied by JNA
- JNA troops moved to fight

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- Located in Eastern Croatia
- Ethnically divided town
 - 47% Croat
 - 33% Serb
- Serbs erect roadblocks in countryside
 - April, 1991
- Borovo Selo
 - Sectarian attacks by both sides
 - Tensions increase

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- Croats harass Serbs in Vukovar
- Police take over radio station
 - Serbian workers replaced with Croats
- Roadblocks in countryside
 - Stopped Serb villagers from transporting goods
- Independence Referendum worsened tensions
 - Sporadic shootings, bombings

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- Serbs began to disappear
 - Estimated 30-86
- Many flee homes
- Homes burned
 - Done by Serbs, Croats

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- Ethnic lines blurry
 - *Starosedioci* "old settlers"
 - Serbian
 - Had been there for generations
 - Few tensions
 - *Došljaci* "newcomers"
 - *Serbian*
 - *Relocated after WWII*
 - *Fiercely nationalistic*

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- July 1991
 - Vukovar surrounded by Serbian forces
 - Not totally defined by ethnicity
 - Croatian forces had Serbs with them
- Battle in two phases
- Serbian forces bombard city (Aug. 23rd)
 - Naval forces on the Danube
 - Air attacks, tanks
- High civilian casualties

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- Sept. 14th
 - Croatia attacks JNA barracks
 - Captured arms
- Sept. 19th
 - JNA forces leave Belgrade
 - City surrounded by Sept. 30th
- Croatians mine roads
 - Stop tanks from entering
- Vukovar shelled
 - 12,000 a day
- Citizens forced to hunker down

BATTLE OF VUKOVAR

- JNA struggled with morale
 - Many fled to avoid service
- Bombing continued
 - Citizens hiding in shelters
- Hospital overwhelmed with injured
 - Hit by shells
- Air drop of essential supplies



OVČARA MASSACRE

- [Vukovar massacre - Wikipedia](#)



SIEGE OF DUBROVNIK

- October 1st, 1991 – May 31st, 1992
- UNESCO World Heritage Site



SIEGE OF DUBROVNIK

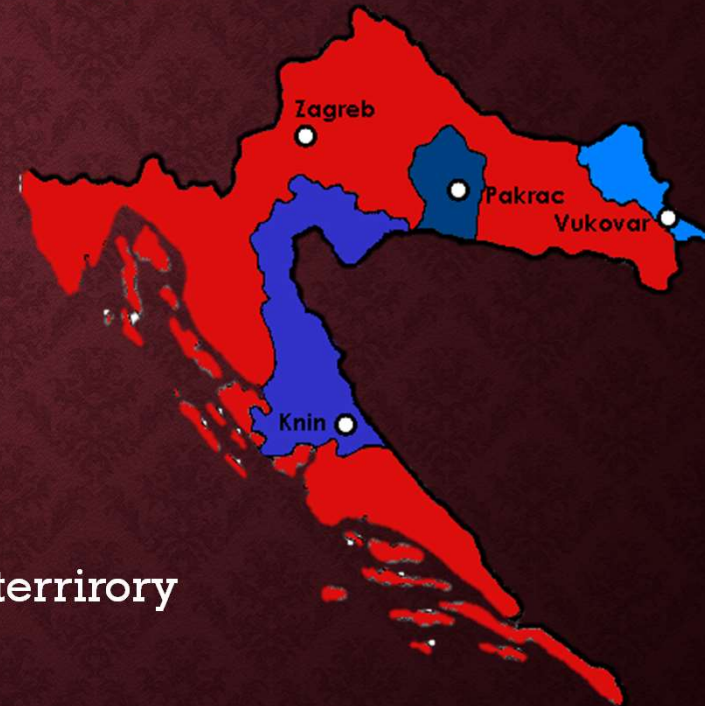
- Virtually no defensive position in Dubrovnik
 - 480 troops
 - 50 had training
- JNA attack
- City lacking essential supplies
 - Relied on outside support
- Croatian counter offensive





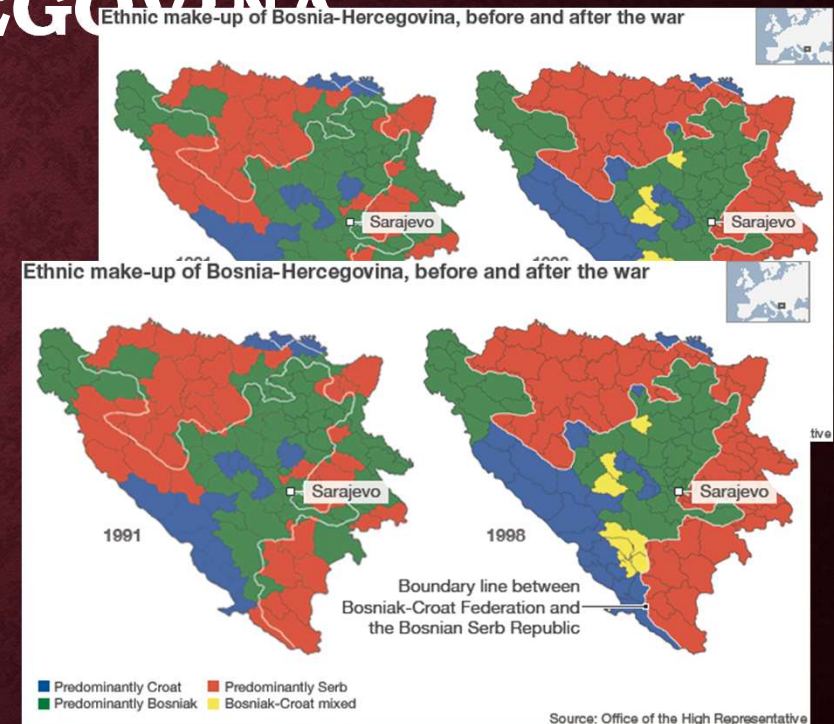
WAR IN CROATIA

- January 1992
- Vance Plan ended major military operations
 - Area for Serbian rebels
 - UN Peace keeping zones
- Sporadic attacks
- Croatian forces take back most of their traditional territory
 - Many Serbian families fled Croatia



BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Most diverse of Yugoslav Republics
- Similar tensions to Croatia
- Independence referendum
 - Feb. 29th – March 1st, 1992
- Many Serbs boycotted vote
 - Intimidation campaign to reduce turnout
 - Led to 99.7% supported independence
- Declared independence March 3rd, 1992
 - International recognition, April 6th, 1992

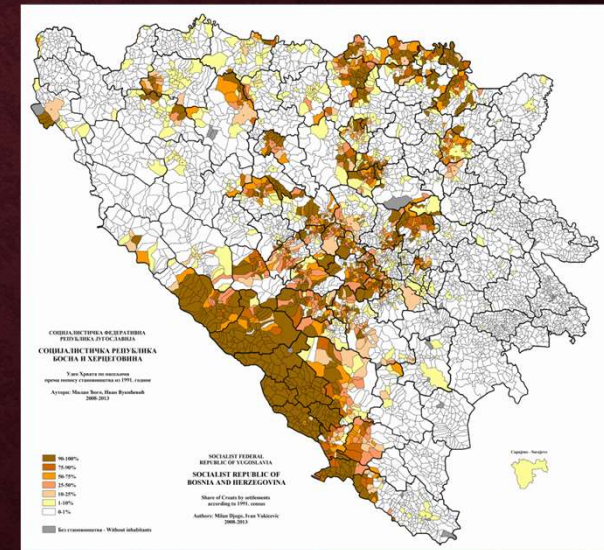


BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Serbs opposed to independence
 - Formed Republika Srpska (RS)
- JNA soldiers simply changed insignias
 - Yugoslavia to RS
 - Known as Army of Republika Srpska (VRS)
- VRS used JNA arms
 - Kept fighting

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia
- Desired to partition Bosnia
 - Only small portion left to Bosniaks
 - Islamic ethnic group



SIEGE OF SARAJEVO

- April 2nd, 1992 – Feb.29th 1996
 - Longest continuous siege in modern history
- Started as response to independence referendum
- 13,000 VRS soldiers blockade city
 - No food, medicine
 - Utilities shut off
- Bosnian forces poorly equipped

SIEGE OF SARAJEVO

- August 30th, 1992
 - Artillery lands at market
 - 15 killed, 100 wounded
- Sarajevo tunnel
 - Completed in mid 1993
 - Credited with saving city
 - used to bring arms to city
 - Avoid embargo
 - Got people out

SIEGE OF SARAJEVO

- September 1993
 - Estimated that all buildings had some damage
- Markale Marketplace Massacre
 - Feb. 5th, 1994
 - 68 killed, 200 wounded
 - Largest single loss of life in entire conflict
 - Led to NATO intervention

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- UN requests NATO carry out airstrikes
 - Feb 6th, 1994
 - Response to market massacre
- NATO gives ultimatum
 - Remove weapons from hills or face air strikes
- 1995
 - Serbs seize weapons from UN guarded location
 - Begin to shell targets
- UN requests NATO bombing in retaliation

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- NATO attacks Serb arms depot
 - May 25th, 26th 1995
- Serbs capture UN soldiers
 - Used them as human shields
 - Forced NATO to stop bombing campaigns

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- May 27th 1995
- Serbian soldiers pose as French Troops
 - Used French weapons, vehicles
 - Stolen from UN peacekeepers
- Take strategic bridge without conflict
 - Kept 2 soldiers as “shields”
- French respond
 - Clash
 - 2 French killed
- Serbs maintain control of half bridge

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- 2nd Markale Massacre
 - Aug. 28th, 1995
 - 37 killed, 90 wounded
- International community firmly against Serbs
- Sept. 1st 1995
 - UN NATO demand weapons removed from hills of Sarajevo by Sept. 4th
- Airstrikes on Serbian positions
 - Sept. 5th
- Weapons removed by Sept. 20th

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Ceasefire reached
 - October 1995
- Dayton Agreements
 - December 14th
 - Agreed to split nation into two
- Serb forces leave city
 - Feb. 29th, 1996
 - 70,000 Serbs leave to Republika Srpska
- 2,474 killed in entire Siege of Sarajevo



A chronology of key events up to 1989

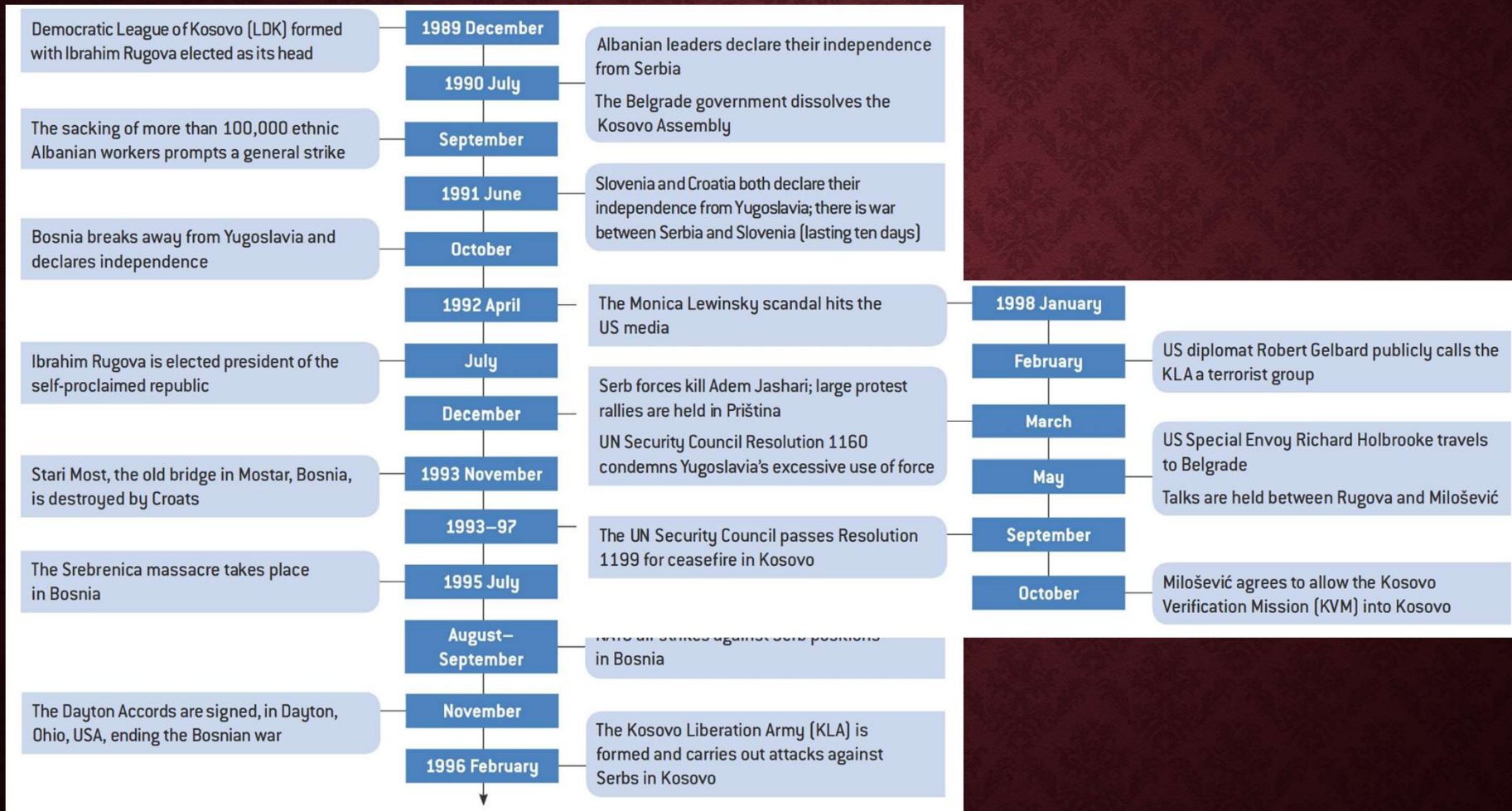
Kosovo at this time lies at the heart of the Serbian Empire, under the Nemanjić Dynasty. The period saw the building of many Serbian Orthodox churches and monasteries	12th century	The battle of Kosovo marks the beginning of 500 years of Turkish Ottoman rule. Over the ensuing decades, many Christian Serbs leave the region. Over the centuries, the religious and ethnic balance tips in favour of Muslims and Albanians
An Austrian invasion is repelled	28 June 1389	
	1689–90	
	1912–13	The Balkan Wars: Serbia regains control of Kosovo from the Turks. This is recognized by the 1913 Treaty of London
Kosovo becomes part of the Kingdom of Serbia	1918	
	1941	During the Second World War much of Kosovo becomes part of an Italian-controlled Greater Albania
Kosovo is absorbed into the Yugoslav Federation	1946	
	1960s	Belgrade shows increasing tolerance for Kosovar autonomy
The Yugoslav Constitution recognizes the autonomous status of Kosovo, giving the province de facto self-government	1974	
	1980	The death of Tito
Troops suppress separatist rioting in the province	1981	In a key moment, future president of Yugoslavia Slobodan Milošević speaks in Kosovo to Serbs, protesting against alleged harassment by the majority Albanian community
	1987	
Yugoslav President Milošević strips rights of autonomy laid down in the 1974 constitution	1989	
	28 June 1989	Milošević makes a speech at Gazimestan on the battlefield of Kosovo

Ethnic Majorities 1991



GAZIMESTAN SPEECH

- Speech by Milošević
 - June 28th, 1989
 - Inflamed Serbian nationalism
- 600th anniversary of Battle of Kosovo
 - Serbian Christians defeated by larger Ottoman army
 - Major point of cultural pride for Serbia
- June 28th in Serbian culture
 - War on Ottoman Empire Declared
 - Alliance with Austria-Hungary
 - Assassination of Archduke



KOSOVO

- Albanians unhappy with Yugoslavia
 - Loss of autonomy in 1989
 - Replacement of representative
- “If others can do this so can we”
- Albanian delegates outside Kosovar Assembly (July 1990)
 - Kosovo is "an equal and independent entity within the framework of the Yugoslav federation"
 - Serbia disbands assembly in response
 - Crackdown on use of Albanian language
- Delegates met to form secret constitution (Sept. 1990)
 - Desire for independence, not status quo

KOSOVO

- Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK)
 - Political organization in Kosovo
- Ibrahim Rugova
 - Founder/leader of LDK
 - Elected president in 1992
- Believed independence could happen without violence
 - Resisted calls to open conflict against Serbia during Bosnian war
 - Resulted in Kosovo being ignored at Dayton
 - "We would have no chance of successfully resisting ... We believe it is better to do nothing and stay alive than to be massacred"

KOSOVO

- Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)
 - Frustration from lack of international recognition
 - Believed pacificism had not, and would not work
- Kosovo threatened by situation in Bosnia
 - Serbian nationalism was unchecked
- KLA launched attacks on Serbs
 - Wanted for force international community to pay attention

KOSOVO

- 1997 collapse of Albania
 - Arms ended up with KLA
- Milošević considered KLA a terrorist organization
 - West uncomfortable with KLA's tactics
- Violence was method to gain attention of the west
 - Orthodox churches burnt
 - Citizens flee

KOSOVO

- Resolution 1199
 - Established international peacekeepers in Kosovo
- Violence continued

RAČAK MASSACRE

- Račak
 - Village in central Kosovo
 - KLA highly active in Račak
- January 8th, 1999
 - KLA ambush of Serbian Police
 - 3 killed
- January 8th, 1999
 - KLA ambush on Serbian Police
 - One killed
- Račak was staging area for both attacks

RAČAK MASSACRE

- Morning of Jan. 15th, 1999
 - Serbs and KLA exchange fire
- Reports by observers of civilians being killed
- Serbian forces refused to allow EU monitors in
 - Finally gained access on Jan. 16th
- 40 bodies found
 - 5 already buried by family members
- 12-year-old boy, 3 women
 - Some victims decapitated

RAČAK MASSACRE

- Serbian forces claim all killed were KLA
 - All killed were in civilian clothing
- January 18th, 1999
 - Serbian police take bodies to morgue under gunfire
- Autopsies
 - “The bodies were not massacred”
 - Claimed the mutilation happened after death
- Finnish doctor disagreed
 - They were innocent
- Turning point of conflict

RAMBOUILLET PEACE TALKS

- US sees instability as a threat
- Relevance of NATO in post Cold War era
- Western leaders demand Kosovo, Serbia discuss issues
- February 1998
 - Leaders of Kosovo, Serbia meet to discuss peace
 - Representatives from USA, France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Russia present
- Protesters outside voice support for KLA, independence
 - Not something even being discussed

RAMBOUILLET PEACE TALKS

- Serbian Representative was Milan Milutinović
 - Hardliner
 - Unified in position
- Kosovar Representatives
 - Hashim Thaci
 - Leader of KLA
 - Declared a terrorist by USA year prior
 - Ibrahim Rugova
 - President of Kosovo
- Unity would be hard to reach

RAMBOUILLET PEACE TALKS

- Critics saw this as Western opportunity to get involved in Serbia
 - “No real chance of talks succeeding”
- Both sides hesitant to accept settlement
- Serbs
 - Issue is domestic
- Kosovars
 - No guarantee of independence referendum
 - Required to disarm KLA before proceeding
- Kosovo, US, UK sign document
 - Serbia, Russia refused

- International monitors removed from Kosovo
 - March 20th , 1999
 - Preparation for action
- US Rep. visits Belgrade
 - "If I leave here without an agreement today, bombing will start almost immediately ... and it will be swift, severe and sustained." ~ Richard Holbrooke

OPERATION ALLIED FORCES

- March 24th 1999
 - Start of NATO action against Serbia
- NATO needed to show relevance
 - “No Action, Talk Only” criticism
- Goals
 - Immediate end of violence, repression by Milošević
 - Withdrawal of all military, police and paramilitary forces from Kosovo
 - UN peacekeeping presence in Kosovo
 - Unconditional and safe return of all refugees
 - Establishment of a political framework agreement for Kosovo

OPERATION ALLIED FORCES

- Yugoslav military installations hit
- NATO targeted dual-use locations
 - Bridges
 - Power stations
 - Communication facilities
 - Avala TV Tower
- Violation of international law and Geneva conventions
 - NATO argued attacks were justified
 - Could be used by Yugoslav military

OPERATION ALLIED FORCES

- Grdelica train bombing
 - April 12th
 - NATO hits passenger train
 - 20-60 killed
- Bombing of Ethnic Albanians
 - April 14th
 - Used as human shields
 - Yugoslav forces claimed “targeting of civilians”

OPERATION ALLIED FORCES

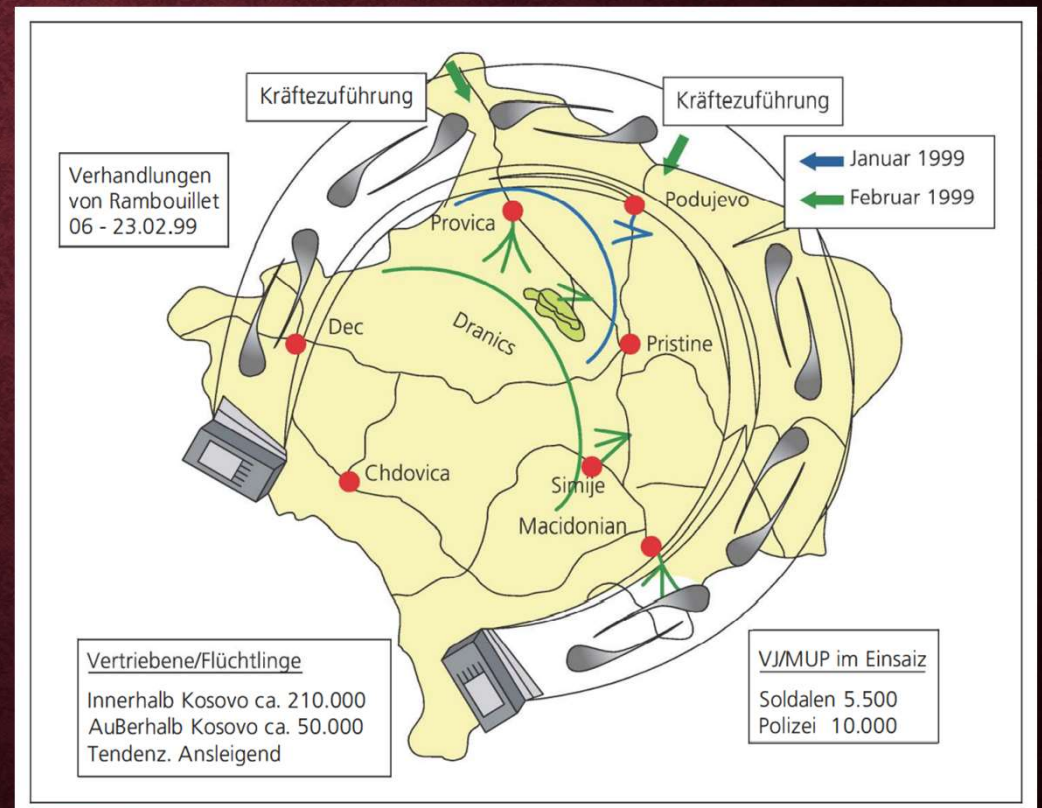
- Radio Television Serbia
 - April 23rd
 - 16 killed
 - Amnesty International called this a war crime
- Chinese Embassy Bombing
 - May 7th
 - NATO claims accident

OPERATION HORSESHOE (*POTKOVA*)

- Serbia denied plans of ethnic cleansing
 - Done to protect ethnic Albanians from bombings
- Amnesty International
 - Clear that this was ethnic cleansing
 - Clear evidence of war crimes

OPERATION HORSESHOE (*POTKOVA*)

- Serbian plan for ethnic cleansing in Kosovo
- Phase 1
 - Defeat the KLA
- Phase 2
 - Cleanse Kosovo of ethnic Albanians



END OF MILOŠEVIĆ

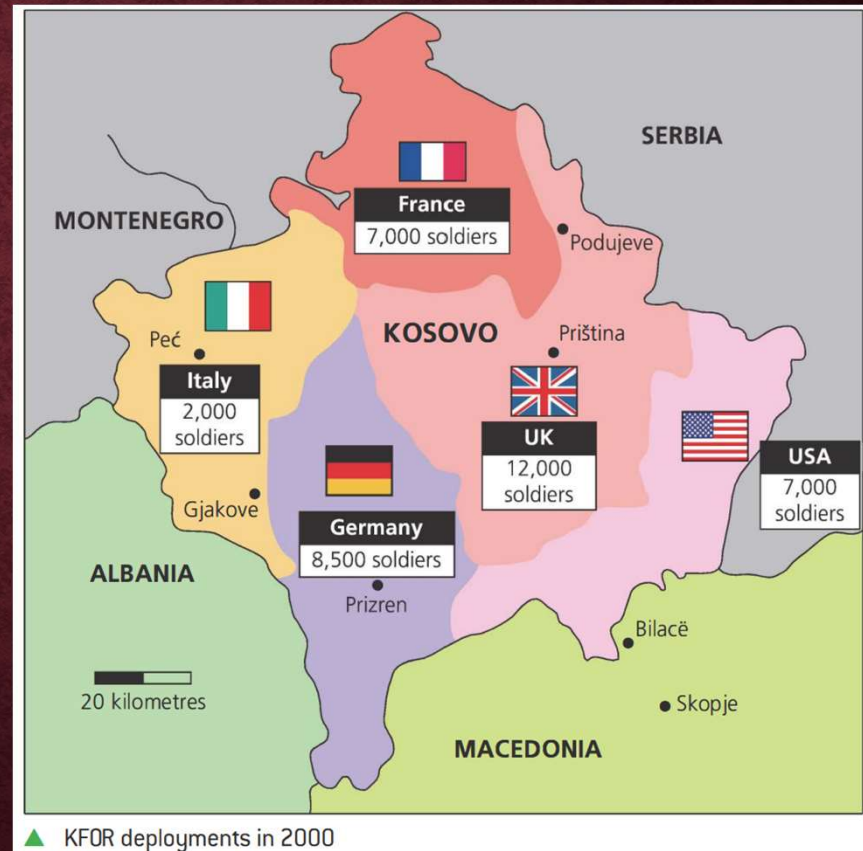
- NATO kept option of ground troops on the table
- Russia help UN veto power
 - Kept UN troops from intervening
- Russia supported 10 point ceasefire
 - Economy was weak
 - Needed help from the West
- Resolution 1244 (June 10th, 1999)
 - Formal end to Kosovo War

UN RESOLUTION 1244

- Immediate, verifiable end of violence
- Withdrawal of military, police and paramilitary forces
- Establishment of an interim administration for Kosovo
- Safe and free return of all refugees, and unimpeded access to Kosovo by humanitarian aid organizations
- Political process towards the establishment of self-government for Kosovo
- Demilitarization of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)
- Economic development of the crisis region.

END OF MILOŠEVIĆ

- Milošević in politically dire situation
 - 4th lost war since coming to power
 - Claimed victory
 - Political move only
- Establishment of Kosovo Force (KFOR)
 - Ran by UN
 - Goal of establishing stable Kosovo



END OF MILOŠEVIĆ

- Resigns presidency
 - October 5th, 2000
- Arrested April 1st, 2001
 - Precluded by 36 hour standoff
- US pressures Yugoslavia to extradite Milošević or lose access to IMF
- June 28th
 - Helicopter lift to US base
 - Flown to ICTY in The Hague

CHARGES AGAINST MILOŠEVIĆ

- Genocide
- Complicity in genocide
- Deportation
- Murder
- Persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds
- Inhumane acts/forcible transfer
- Extermination; imprisonment
- Torture
- Willful killing
- Unlawful confinement
- Willfully causing great suffering
- Unlawful deportation or transfer
- Extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly
- Cruel treatment
- Plunder of public or private property
- Attacks on civilians; destruction or willful damage done to Historic monuments and institutions dedicated to education or religion
- Unlawful attacks on civilian objects

- Milošević dies in prison
 - 2006
- Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
 - Changes name in 2003
- Serbia and Montenegro
 - Montenegro declares independence in 2006
- Kosovo declares independence
 - 2008
 - Not accepted in Serbia today