

Council: Historical Security Council

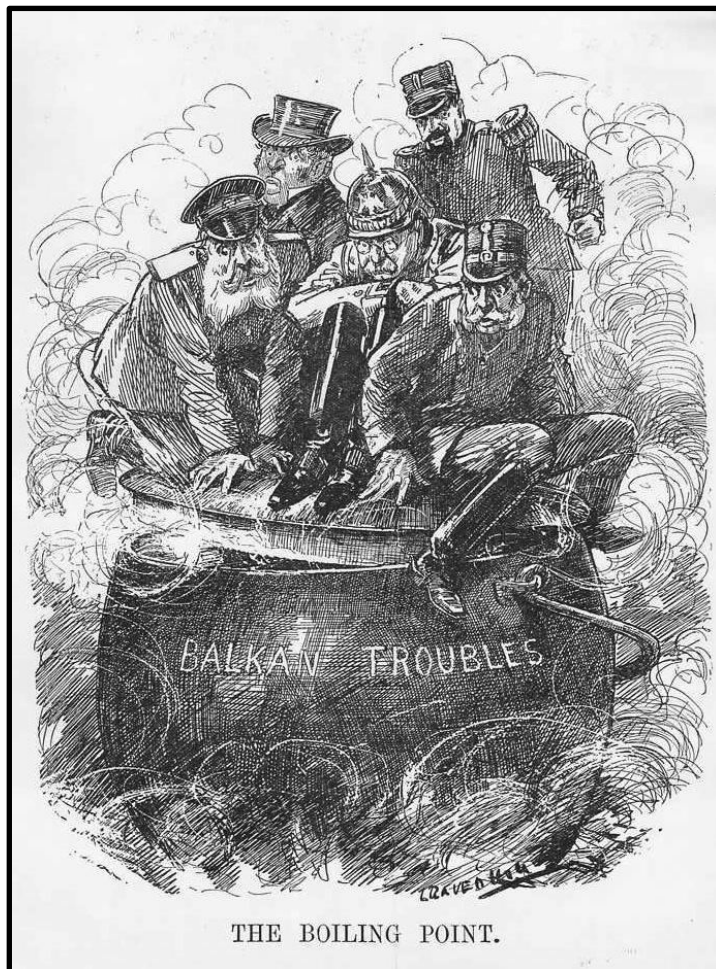
Issue: 1991, Slovenian and Croatian independence igniting the Balkan War

Student Officer: Georgia Vassiou

Position:

“None of our republics would be anything if we weren't all together; but we have to create our own history - history of United Yugoslavia, also in the future.”

“I am the leader of one country which has two alphabets, three languages, four religions, five nationalities, six republics, surrounded by seven neighbours, a country in which live eight ethnic minorities.” - Joseph Broz Tito



Raven-Hill, Lauren. *Punch*, 2 October 1912

Germany, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Britain attempting to keep the lid on the simmering cauldron of imperialist and nationalist tensions in the Balkans to prevent a general European war. They were successful in 1912 and 1913 but did not succeed in 1914¹.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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This Study guide have been written with the contribution of:

- Sarah Torres and Chris Varghese from the Alamo Model United Nations
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- The Louvain MUN Association
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Important note from the chairs' team

In order for the chairs to fully understand the dynamics of the committee, discovering any misunderstanding prior to the debate and for the better preparation of the delegates you are asked to proceed as indicated below; 1) Conduct your chairs via email and informing them about your mun experience so that they can know what exactly to expect of you.

2) Prepare and send your chairs by 11:59 of the 6th of November one position papers for each of the topics you are going to discuss during the conference. You can contact the expert chair of each topic for further information concerning your country's policy if needed, and for general guidance when it comes to your position papers (word limit structure etc). You are going to receive general comments during the lobbying for your position papers as well as personal feedback and grades for your papers. The points you will receive will add up to your general score which is one of the factors that determine the

¹ <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/balkan-troubles-cartoon>, access 14/07/2019

best delegate award. If you for any reason fail to send your papers before the final deadline you will not be eligible for any award.

Find your expert chairs for this topic at: felixdejraymond@gmail.com and vasioungeorgia@gmail.com .

ABBREVIATIONS

CSCE - Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

EC - European Community

ICFY - International Conference on Former Yugoslavia

JNA - Yugoslav People's Army

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

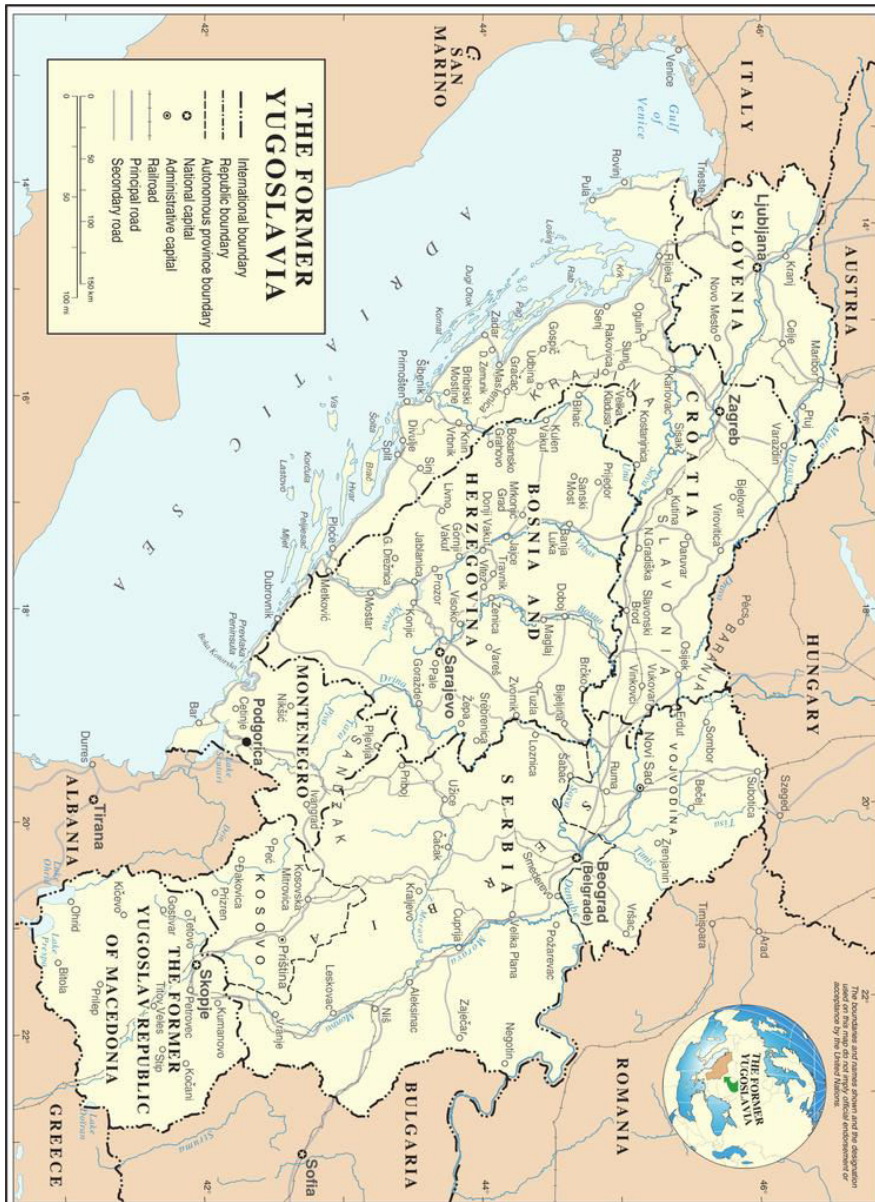
UN - United nations

UNSC - United Nations Security Council

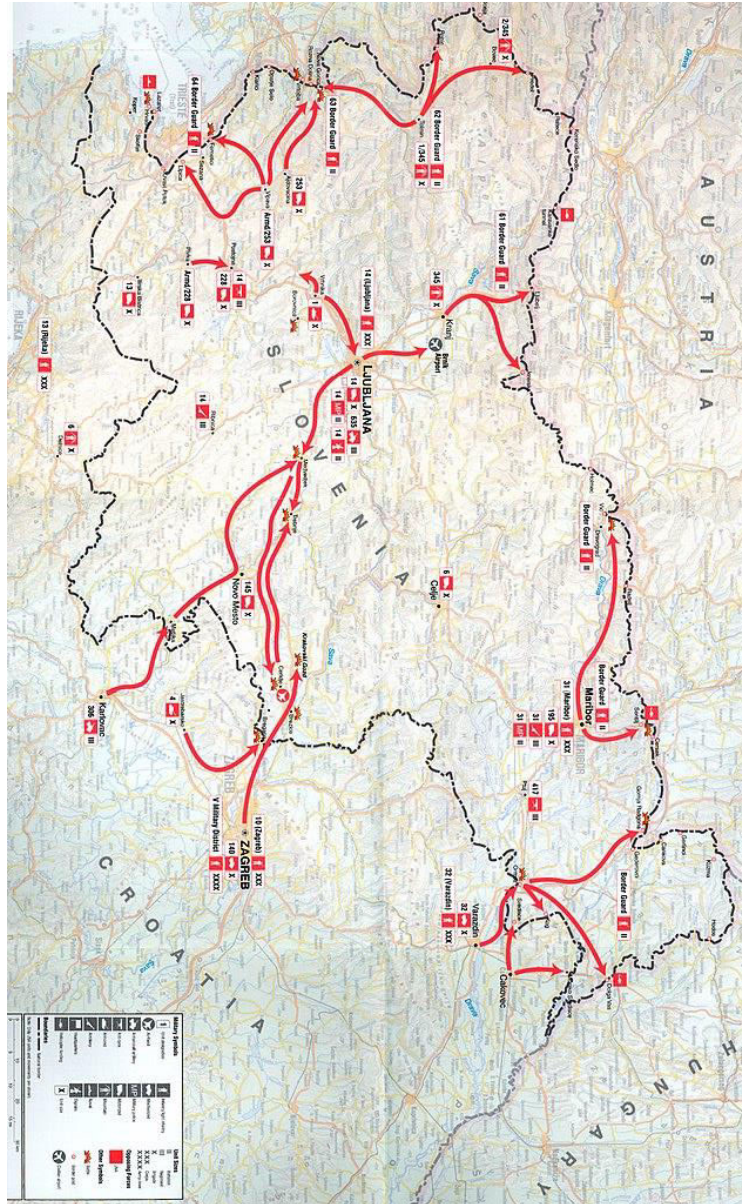
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees

WEU - West European Union

MAPS







PARTICIPATING IN A HISTORICAL UN SECURITY COUNCIL

A remark should be made here regarding the historical context and the challenge, delegates will face regarding the period of time and political environment in which they are set in and thus meaning they have to understand which are the limits of their interaction and knowledge about the Balkans crisis.

Regarding the Topic A, (...)

regarding the Topic B, the Committee Session is happening the 26 December 1991 which means that the Slovenian and Croatian Independence has been concretized and that the Security Council has

already expressed a range of views regarding the Balkans Crisis and has already voted different resolutions. Your mission as a State Delegate and diplomat will be to arrive at the conference with the knowledge of those resolutions and further with the knowledge of what have been achieved so far within the realization of those resolutions.

While the Debate of the Slovenian and Croatian will already be on the table for debate, Delegates should not forget what are the issues at stakes regarding the humanitarian regional situation and how the UN peacekeeping operation can help them progress against the security odds. As it will be presented in the following content, the case of Securitization of minorities groups and advocacy for their civil rights and political representation in the regional framework of the ex Federal People State of Yugoslavia will represent a key discussion and challenge for delegates.

The risk that the UN Secretary General perceive is the one of a political Instrumentalization of the political and humanitarian issues at stake in the Balkans Crisis. Delegates are strongly advised to address the issues as diplomats, going further than the simple defence of national interests. It is important to understand that a whole region is being take hostage within a extremely violent political turmoil and there's a high risk of deepening destabilization. Such risk has to been avoided while a Political peace process has to be rightly set to avoid a rise of military violence and a implosion of territorial borders between Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. Furthermore, while the Bosnian Territory has also to be included in the peace talks and the framework of the UN peacekeeping operation set on the basis of Resolution.

INTRODUCTION

On 25 June 1991, the Slovenian and Croatian parliament unilaterally declared independence, which led the Yugoslav people's Army (JNA) to move towards borders and exit ports. A Serbian minority in Croatia declared its own independence and its will to be part of Serbia. The outcome has been the initiation of extreme violence between armed militias.

The 27 June 1991, a war broke out between Slovenia and Serbia. The conflict lasted ten days and witnessed a clash between the Slovenian army and Serbian armed militias. The war ended on July 7 with the Brionni Agreements signed by Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia. Disgracefully, the Ten Days War between Slovenia and Croatia marked the beginning of what can be called the Balkans Crisis.

According to Rosalyn Higgins, the conflict has rose up by the diverging political ambitions expressed by the three parties. Slovenia and Croatia had sought a confederation of independent states, but Serbia proposed instead a new federation with greater central controls than before. Matters has been greatly exacerbated by the different pace of democratization in the various component republics of Yugoslavia; and by the irresponsible whipping up of hostile sentiment against the opposing republics, and against local, national and religious minorities having links with those other republics (Rosalyn Higgins, pp.468).

While a political solution and dispute settlement has been attempted over the last months, the Balkans crisis has already resulted in numerous civilian casualties, horrors crimes, and potentially war crimes, in former Yugoslavia.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Quadripartite / Four Power Agreement on Berlin (1971)

The Berlin Wall existed until November 9, 1989, when the leader of the East German Communist Party announced that citizens of the German Democratic Republic could freely cross the border. The Four Powers Agreement, also known as the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, was signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France. However, this agreement did not require formal ratification since it was not an official treaty. It is a very important document due to the fact that it re-established travel and communications between East and West Berlin, as well as eased the tensions between the Western and Soviet blocs. It is written in the English, French and Russian languages. Finally, this agreement along with a few others were part of a breakthrough series of international agreements which were believed to be formalizing the Cold War's division of Europe, as well as to be signalling the end of the Cold War.

UN Peacekeeping operations (UNPKO)

UN Peacekeeping missions are deployed on the basis of mandates from the United Nations Security Council. Their task differ from situation to situation, depending on the nature of the conflict and the specific challenges it presents². Peacekeeping missions, although not explicitly provided for in the Charter, is perceived as one of the main tools used by the United Nations

Deployment and reimbursement of UNPKO

² United Nations Peacekeeping, Mandates and the legal basis for Peacekeeping, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mandates-and-legal-basis-peacekeeping>, access 07/07/2019

UN peacekeeping missions involve major logistical operations to ensure troops and police units arrive in peace operations with their own equipment, ready to operate in challenging conditions

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICPR)

This document constitutes an international human rights treaty that was adopted by the United Nations in 1966. The treaty was created in order for governments to protect and respect the civil and political rights of individuals. Among other significant issues it covered, was the right to self-determination, upon which Slovenia and Croatia would later base their secession from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In fact, this right is mentioned in Article 1 of the Covenant and goes as follows: Article 1 “All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia) was an important member of the nonaligned movement, and was mainly neutral over long periods during the east-west conflict (The Cold-War period). Due to the conflict between Yugoslav charismatic leader Tito and Soviet Leader Joseph Stalin for ideological reasons, despite the State’s socialist founding, and ruling by the communist party, Yugoslavia was not a Soviet Satellite state through it had an economic model that was significantly more market oriented and differed from the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations³.

Originally, for centuries, the South Slav lands were under the control of two contending empires, the Ottomans and the Hapsburgs. The Turkish empire controlled Bosnia and Serbia while Croatia and Slovenia became part of the Hapsburgs. Yugoslavia—the land of South (i.e. Yugo) Slavs—was created at the end of World War I when Croat, Slovenian, and Bosnian territories that had been part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire united with the Serbian Kingdom and was comprised of six autonomous socialist republics, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro, as well as two autonomous regions within Serbia, Kosovo and the Vojvodina. The Republics had a significant autonomy on concerns such as the domestic and the economic policy. However, the Yugoslav State was dominated by the Serbs, and a major source of tension was the Croatian wish for greater decentralization and thus independence (Higgins, pp.1; Durovic)⁴. This progressively led to a considerable economic disparity between the Republics and constant tensions, since the richer,

³ (Perović, J. (2007). The Tito-Stalin split: a reassessment in light of new evidence. *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 9(2), 32-63)

⁴ www.worldstatesmen.org/Yugoslavia-Constitution1974.pdf

northern republics had a disproportionate contribution to the federal budget, while the poorer southern republics, especially Serbia, felt left behind. These developments lead to a rise in nationalism, first within Serbia and later in the other Republics.

In 1941, Yugoslavia was invaded by German Nazi forces, and a conflict ensued between the oppressive Nazi-supported Croat State and resistance movements, such as the Chetnik guerilla movement consisting of Serbian freedom fighters, and the Communist Partisan movement, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. After World War II, Tito's Communist Party attempted to unify the Six Republics - Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to balance the competing claims of the different ethnic groups. The Yugoslav Republics were divided roughly along ethnic lines, though there were notable minorities in most of Republics, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that has regions of Muslim, Croatian and Serbian majority⁵. While a degree of harmony and group interaction was partially achieved under Tito's governance, underlying antagonism and tensions remained, especially for potential leaders who wished to exploit nationalist sensitivities.

The newly established Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Yugoslavia) became an important member of the nonaligned movement, and was mainly neutral over long periods during the east-west conflict (The Cold-War period). Due to the conflict between Yugoslav charismatic leader Tito and Soviet Leader Joseph Stalin for ideological reasons, despite the State's socialist founding, and ruling by the communist party, Yugoslavia was not a Soviet Satellite state through it had an economic model that was significantly more market oriented and differed from the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations⁶. When Tito died in 1980, Three fundamental problems were identified:

1. Divergent ethnic interests remained
2. The Economy was inefficient
3. The country's Institutional structure didn't have the capacities and resources to retain yugoslav unity

Original Economic and social disparities were exacerbated during the endemic economic stagnation and political crisis of the 1980s, which resulted in high unemployment, especially among the youth. Furthermore, its middle ground during the cold war allowed Yugoslavia to get a financial support from both sides. However, the imminent end of the Cold War made the provision of

⁵ (Szayne, T. S. (2000). Identifying potential ethnic conflict: application of a process model (No. RAND/MR-1188-A). RAND CORP SANTA MONICA CA)

⁶ (Perović, J. (2007). The Tito-Stalin split: a reassessment in light of new evidence. Journal of Cold War Studies, 9(2), 32-63)

financial aid to Yugoslavia reduced overtime by its two main investors : the United States of America and the Soviet Union⁷.

A key political development was the appointment of Slobodan Milosevic, a Serbian politician who became the communist party chief and after, President of Serbia in 1989. It is currently argued that Milosevic may have stimulated and exploited Serbian nationalism to gain political and military support within the Yugoslav Republics. Serbia's growing power within the central government in Belgrade and its repressive policy against Albanian protesters has caused a strengthening of nationalist movements in the other Republics especially Croatia and Slovenia. The fall of the Soviet Union, and the instauration of Multi-party elections brough Nationalists parties in most Republics.

The Key dispute at the political level is on one hand Slovenia and Croatia, which wanted more independence and, on the other, Serbia, which has shown its intention to unite the Serbian population. It is essential here to know that 25% of Serbians lives in other republics than Serbia. Croatia especially, has a population of 600 000 Serbs, and Tudjman policies against them has only added to the Croatian Serbs Fears.

Violence in the 90s

Slobodan Milosevic assumed the Presidency of Serbia on May 8th, 1989, addressing 2,000,000 Serbs in Gazimestan a month after the celebration of 600 years since the battle of Kosovo, the defining battle giving way to Ottoman Dominance. In this speech he alluded to possibilities of war in Yugoslavia and stressed the multi-ethnic nature of the Federation. Since this speech, possibilities have given way to potential realities. In this last section we will identify key events in each Republic, leading up to this fateful meeting on the 21st of September 1991.

Croatia War of Independence

The Croatian War of Independence started in late March 1991, with a serious conflict escalation into armed incidents in majority-Serb populated areas. It was reported that Serbs attacked the Croatian police units in Pakrac. A policeman named Josip Jovic has reported as the first police officer killed by Serb forces during the Plitvice Lakes Incident in late March 1991⁸.

⁷ <https://doc-research.org/2018/03/rise-fall-market-socialism-yugoslavia/>

⁸ Sudetic, Chuck. "Deadly Clash in a Yugoslav Republic", 1 April 1991, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/04/01/world/deadly-clash-in-a-yugoslav-republic.html?ref=croatia>, access 07/07/2019

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED

The United States of America

Yugoslavia's volatile political situation endangered the special relationship that the United States had with the country since World War II. One of America's best geo-strategic accomplishments during the height of the Cold War with the Soviet Union resulted when Yugoslavia pulled out of the Soviet communist sphere.

The United States invested billions in assisting Yugoslavia to develop its own institutions separate from the Soviet dominated Eastern European structure. While the US goal of turning Yugoslavia into a western model of democracy did not materialize, Yugoslavia under Josip Broz "Tito" did successfully exit the Soviet dominated Warsaw Pact community. Yugoslavia thus pricked the Soviet's psyche.

Many diplomats, including some from United States, served in Belgrade during the decades of the 1950s-1980s. Through their work, they became supporters of the US policy of keeping Yugoslavia united. When I reported for duty as the US Ambassador to the Holy See in 1989, the administration instructed me to promote the US policy of helping the Yugoslav leadership to maintain the unity and independence of this multi-nation state.

From 1989-1991, the pro unified Yugoslav position of the Department of State establishment factored into the calculations that caused the United States to hesitate in facilitating the collapse of Yugoslavia and to recognize Croatia and neighboring Slovenia. In those early days of the Croatian state, its leaders easily recognized a pro-Serbian bias on the part of some US diplomats.

When the Holy See and the European Community (now known as the European Union), led by Germany and Austria, recognized Croatia's independence in January 1992, I urged the US government to do the same within a few days. But it did not occur until April 1992.

<https://www.nytimes.com/1992/04/08/world/us-recognizes-3-yugoslav-republics-as-independent.html>)

The Russian Federation

As the Soviet Union began amassing troops on the Hungarian Border, it was looking like Yugoslavia would be going the way that the Hungarian Revolution or Prague Spring went in 1956 and 1968, where Soviet forces invaded to ensure pro-USSR governance. However, in 1951 Tito began accepting arms and aid from the United States whilst refusing to join NATO. (9 Avalon Project - Military Assistance Agreement Between the United States and Yugoslavia, November 14, 1951. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/yugo001.asp. Accessed 22 Feb. 2019.) As the Korean War

raged, the USSR became increasingly worried about the potential for conflict, avoiding Yugoslavia as much as possible. After Stalin died on the 5th of March 1953, Nikita Khrushchev, new Soviet Premier of the USSR, thawed relations, although Yugoslavia would be marked as neither East nor West from this point on. Tito went on to refuse entrance into the Warsaw pact and stay remarkably out of the Cold War, although attempts at stirring communist uprisings in Albania and Greece were prevalent. (Bass, Robert, and Elizabeth Marbury. *The Soviet-Yugoslav Controversy, 1948-58*. Prospect books, 1959, p51-55)

After Stalin's death, relations underwent normalisation heralded by the signing of the Belgrade declaration in June 1955, which expressly rescinded Stalin's policies towards Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the SFRY never joined the USSR-led political and military block of socialist countries and remained one of the leading members of the Non-Aligned Movement, a grouping of countries that sought to be neutral in the Cold War. Economic and cultural ties between the USSR and SFRY developed successfully until the late 1980s.

The French Republic

France had suspended all 'supplementary' aid to East European countries until they made further steps towards democracy; Yugoslavia was included in this category. The Yugoslavs hoped that France, and the other countries of the EEC, would be able to offer "more concrete support" and reinforce exchanges and investments in Yugoslavia. However, France's support had clear and well-defined limits. Rocard offered France's backing in Yugoslavia's negotiations with the IMF and declared that France was prepared to "intensify not only exchanges but also cooperation." (5 "YUGOSLAVIE: La visite officielle du premier ministre français M. Rocard promet un accroissement de l'aide française", *Le Monde* (8 December 1989).) However, this would not come at the expense of France's developmental aid to the 'South', particularly as Yugoslavia required "intelligent cooperation" rather than subsidies. François Mitterrand seemed amply aware of the impending crisis in Yugoslavia and hoped that, by tying it into a multilateral framework and creating a pan-European institution, he could dissipate the threat of resurgent nationalism. As Frédéric Bozo notes, France faced a conundrum: how could European construction be opened to the East without diluting the process? (Bozo, "The Failure of a Grand Design", 398) A two-tier system that would allow a period of transition towards greater integration was Mitterrand's vision. Evidently, the proliferation of smaller states would prohibit this evolution and, would in fact, reinforce Mitterrand's analysis that Europe was in fact heading back to 1919. Although Mitterrand's Confederation proposal ultimately failed in the face of resistance from East European countries who pursued an alternative 'third way', it was present in French foreign policy planning for Eastern Europe until summer 1991. France was

concerned about the implications of the latest developments in Yugoslavia, both economically and politically, but it continued to offer practical support. During an inter-ministerial meeting on 26 January 1990, the French Finance Minister revealed that he intended to approach the Yugoslav authorities for negotiations in light of Yugoslavia's latest political and economic developments. France also envisaged offering financial support to Yugoslavia. The USSR owed Yugoslavia some \$2 billion, which the French proposed to loan to Yugoslavia so that they could import goods from the USSR and could therefore recuperate a part of the \$2 billion. (COMPTE-RENDU de la réunion interministérielle tenue le vendredi 26 Janvier 1990 à 15 h 00 sous le présidence de M. ADAM, Chargé de mission au cabinet du Premier ministre, date unknown, AN, AG/5(4)/CD/422)

The Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

UK Prime Minister Baroness Margaret Thatcher was one of the most keen promoters of the Croatian autonomy during the Croatian War of Independence in the 1990s. In a meeting for HRT in 1991 she stated:

"At first people had been given to understand, wrongly, that it was just a question, serious as though that is, of civil war between two different groups. They needed to be informed that it was between Communist Serbia which has taken control both of the army and of the country, and Democratic Croatia and Slovenia, both of whom had exercised their right to become. I then duly explain that Croatia and Slovenia have no army. They have only got the weapons they can capture and the weapons they can get hold of, and they are entitled to a right of self-defence against those who have attacked them. I said early to people over whom I would have hoped to have had some influence that I thought, as the hostilities got worse and worse and more and more Croats were being killed and massacred, that it would have been right to recognise Croatia and Slovenia as independent. Then we should have been in a position legally to supply them with arms with which to defend themselves and they would have been in a very much better position, and what is more, Serbia would have known the position the world was taking. Unfortunately that has not happened. But there are many, many friends of Croatia now the situation is more fully realised. (...) I must make it quite clear, in my view, the West should be on the side of liberty and democracy and justice. And the more we can get home to people the true situation, and this is happening in the heart of Europe, and that the cries of the Croatian people are not being heard, the more we can awaken them to the true position. (...) I shall continue myself to put Croatian case and to put it as forcibly as I can."

Baroness Thatcher criticized John Major because of his appeasement to Slobodan Milošević, and the EU because it didn't immediately recognize that Serbia led aggression against Croatia.

The People's Republic of China

The PRC bolstered the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the Kosovo War and restricted the NATO airstrikes against targets in Serbia and Montenegro. The PRC accepted that Milošević was acting to avoid the secession of Kosovo by Albanian separatists from the FRY, and in this manner upheld his activities as safeguarding the FRY's regional integrity. The PRC contradicted NATO intercession in Kosovo on the premise that it set a perilous point of reference that PRC authorities accepted could later on beset the PRC, should uprisings happen in Tibet or Xinjiang and afterward result in bombings. PRC resistance to the NATO activities heightened after the bombing of the PR Chinese embassy in Belgrade during the war.

The Federal Republic of Germany

European Community

Slovenia

Slovenia has always been the least federalised Socialist Republic, with strong deference of their own autonomy. On the 17th of September 1989 they removed the "Socialist" aspect of their Republic, amending their constitution with a strong possibility to secede. After banning protests from Serbs and Montenegrins, Serbia blockaded Slovenia as tensions rose. In the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in January 1990, Slovenia (along with Croatia and Macedonia) refused to attend, leading the Minister of Defence to advocate for increased troops in Slovenia and the breakup of the League.

When the Yugoslav People's Army (known as J.N.A., with the Yugoslav Initials) attempted to disarm Slovenian and Croat Defense in May, Slovenia refused to give up its weapons. Following this, a December 1990's Referendum on independence received a 95% Majority, with over 1.2 million voting in favour. On the 15th of March 1991, Slobodan Milosevic declared on TV that Yugoslavia no longer exists and refused to accept the Presidency of Yugoslavia's Authority. On the 25th of June, Slovenia declared its independence, one day earlier than expected, triggering the 10-day war on the 27th of June. A guerrilla campaign against Serb troops was utilised but owing to the shortness conflict, casualties were not high. The Brioni agreement resolved the conflict, pulling the YPA out of Slovenia towards Croatia. This act helped to bring the European communities into the region and marks the most recent event in the conflict with Slovenia.

Croatia

Croatia and Serbia were the main sources of ethnic tensions throughout the history of Yugoslavia. In late 1989, Serbia cut off electrical power to Croatia. This was a precursor to drawing up plans for invasion in early 1990. In March 1990, it was decided that conflict was inevitable in Croatia and

Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Croatia being partially demilitarized by the Yugoslav People's Army. After free elections in May, with Democrats winning, Croatia followed Slovenia on the 29th of June, dropping the "Socialist" title from their name and pushing constitutional reform in the following month. They were also calling on Yugoslavia to become a Confederation. In August 1990, Serbs in Croatia began blockading roads in Dalmatia with logs, the so-called Log Revolution. This spurred frequent police clashes in the region, and a Serbian referendum calls upon Serb autonomy in Croatian regions, overturned quickly by the Supreme Court of Croatia. In October of the same year, Milosevic called for military action in Serb territory in Croatia, with the aim of seizing the self-declared autonomous areas. In response, the new Croatian parliament removed the mention of Serbs in the definition of the state. A defence council was formed in January 1991 and fighting begins in March. In May, a referendum declared independence for Croatia with a solid 94% majority. However, in the Brioni agreement they decided to wait with declaring independence to allow YPA troops to vacate Slovenia. YPA troops at this point controlled about a third of Croatia, with a conflict at Vukovar still raging as we begin this conference.

Bosnia Herzegovina

As one of the regions more inclined to break away, like Croatia and Slovenia, but with a higher concentration of Serbs and less forces of their own, Bosnia and Herzegovina is similarly undergoing violence, only with the potential for massive escalation. By March 1990, war was considered inevitable for Bosnia and Herzegovina. After changing the name of the state in its constitution to the home of Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs, political tension was rife. Whilst an attempted coup by the Bosniak Party of Democratic Action failed, the parliament voted to remain in Yugoslavia in September 1990. This was followed by the creation of a Serbian National Council in Banja Luka, creating a political organisation of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. November, the first of their kind, led to a deadlock in Parliament, with Bosniak party gaining 35%, Serbian 29% and Croat 18% with remaining minor parties.⁵¹ With Yugoslav focus being on Croatia and Slovenia, military conflict has not yet started on Bosnian and Herzegovinian soil. However, on the 19th of September, plans were discovered for a Serbian attack, with arming of potential Serbs in the area.

Kosovo

Kosovo, one of the Autonomous Republics of Serbia, was another source of ethnic tensions through its Albanian minority, who often went on strike in the mines potted throughout the region. In February 1989, Albanian protests triggered a state of emergency. In the following month, Kosovo and Vojvodina had their autonomy abolished, although retaining their seats on the Presidency of Yugoslavia. Serb protests over Slovenian and Croatian constitutional changes mixed with Albanian

protests in favour of minority rights, autonomy and the emergency situation. This continued into 1990 with a General strike in January. On the 2nd of July, the Parliament of Kosovo declared that it has equal standing with the other 6 republics. In response, Serbia abolished the parliament, later completely abolishing their autonomy under constitutional changes in September.

Vojvodina

Other than having its autonomy removed, Vojvodina has survived initial violence. Demonstrations have taken place in 1989 against Slovenian constitutional changes. During the Serb declaration of an Autonomous region in Croatia, the Autonomous Oblast of Krajina, Vojvodina helped to control the territory, taking over oil fields. They also voted alongside Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro to initiate violence against Croatia and Slovenia.

Macedonia

Macedonia joined Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Croatia in abstaining from meeting with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1990. They also voted in early 1991 against demands of using force against Croatia and Slovenia. On the 8th of September, earlier this month, they held a successful referendum in favour of independence and on this day, the 25th of September 1991, they have declared independence.

Montenegro

Being another Serb-majority state, Montenegro largely followed the path of Serbia. However, along with Kosovo, Macedonia also suffered badly in the late '80s financial crash, declaring bankruptcy in 1987. This triggered mass class uprisings from workers and students, but unlike in Slovenia or Croatia, led to less hostile actions following it. Furthermore, with a Serbian supported leader and victory for the communist party in 1990, violence does not follow in the region.

Serbia

As the main force pushing for violence in Croatia and Slovenia, Serbia is in a controversial position. From initial economic blockade of Slovenia in November 1989, Milosevic also cut off electrical power to Croatia. They were the main forces behind the YPA, and as of June 1990, created new brigades in Zagreb, Knin, Banja Lika and Herzegovina. Milosevic notes that Croatia needs to be broken up to incorporate Dalmatia and Lika on Serbian territory; they supported Serbian autonomy in Croatia, pushing for Krajina to hold a referendum in July 1990 and pushing the Log Revolution in Croatia. On the 26th, to fund all these, a 1.8-billion-dollar loan was taken from the Yugoslav Central Bank, used by Serbian forces. On the

17th of March 1991, Milosevic starts to mobilize forces in Serbia, declaring they no longer recognize the Presidency of Yugoslavia. In contravention to the Yugoslav constitution, the headquarters of the YPA calls for partial mobilisation.

The Yugoslav National Army (JNA)

JNA was mainly inspired and cultivated in the Yugoslav Partisan units of World War II. As part of the anti-fascist People's Liberation War of Yugoslavia, the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (NOVJ), a predecessor of the JNA, was formed in the town of Rudo in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 22 December 1941. After the Yugoslav Partisans liberated the country from the Axis Powers, that date was officially celebrated as the "Day of the Army" in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFR Yugoslavia). The JNA later took part in many liberating missions during the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS⁹¹⁰

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 1900 | Croatia is part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy |
| 1914 | Croatia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy when the First World War started. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy was an enemy of the Allies. Disgracefully, thousands of Croatians working and living at that time in the British Commonwealth were interned in concentration camps throughout the duration of the War, as Croatians possessed Austro-Hungarian citizenship. |
| 1915 | The government of the Kingdom of Serbia claimed that it wanted the formation of a South Slavic State |
| 1917 | With the Declaration of Corfu, the new state would be constitutional, democratic, and there will be a parliamentary monarchy under the rule of the Serbian dynasty Karadjordjevic. |
| 1918 | Croatia joins the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Alexander, the Serbian regent and heir to the throne, proclaims the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Croatian parliament don't confirm the Unification. Thus, a betrayal of Croatian National interests enable the establishment of a more centralistic and greater Serbian system in Croatia. |
| 1929 | The Kingdom of Alexander becomes The Kingdom of Yugoslavia through violence and authoritarianism. |
| 25 March 1941 | World War I starts : Prince Paul signed the Tripartite pact, pledging support to the Axis Powers (Rome-Berlin-Tokyo) |
| 6 April 1941 | Nazi Germany invades the Kingdom of Yugoslavia through "Operation 25" with the Axis Powers. Belgrade is attacked by air by the Luftwaffe (German Air Force) |

⁹ Vukic, Ina. "Timeline: Croatia - A chronology of Key events", Yugoslavia, <https://inavukic.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/timeline-croatia-1900-2011.pdf>, access 09/09/2019

¹⁰ Economides, Spyros. "Appendix - Former Yugoslavia - Chronology", September 2009, London School of Economics, pp. 65-107, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491221.005>, in; Berdal, Mats. Economides, Spyros. "United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004", September 2009, 303 Pages, Cambridge University Press, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511491221>, access 09/07/2019

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| 10 April 1941 | A "Greater Croatia" is formed, comprising most of Bosnia and Western Serbia. A fascist government is installed Ante Pavelic. The Independent State of Croatia is proclaimed under Ante Pavelic, support by Nazi Germany but also under the Fascist Italian government. ¹¹ |
| 13 May 1941 | Croatia signed a treaty establishing its borders with Germany |
| 19 May 1941 | Croatia cede land, including most of Dalmatia to Italy by signing the Treaty of Rapallo. |
| 7 June 1941 | Croatia's borders with Serbia were established. |
| 4 July 1941 | A call by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to resist the Ustase government mark the birth of the Yugoslav Partisans. |
| August 1941 | Glina Massacre : The Ustase killed several hundred Serb civilians in a church in Glina |
| 27 October 1941 | Croatia's border with Montenegro is established |
| 5 October 1942 | Operation Alfa : Italian and Chetnik forces attack the Partisan held town of Prozor |
| 10 October 1942 | Operation Alfa : The battle ends in a Partisan Defeat |
| 26 November 1942 | The Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) is established as the political organization of the Yugoslav Partisans |
| 1943 | |
| 8 September 1943 | World War II starts : An armistice between Italy and Allied armed forces was published, voiding Croatia's territorial concessions of 1941 and the Treaty of Rapallo (1920) |

¹¹ Both Croatian and Serbian extreme nationalists movements are armed and supported by the occupying forces within the borders of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Western Allied forces support the Opposition Movement of Chetnik until 1943. After 1943, Western Allies will turn their support to the Communist Partisans.

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| 9 May 1944 | The Federal State of Croatia was established at the third session of the ZAVNOH ¹² |
| 16 June 1944 | Tito and Subasic signed the Treaty of Vis, which provided for a coalition of royalists and Communists in the government of the future Yugoslavia |
| 8 May 1945 | World War II ends with Western Allied forces victory and German Instrument of Surrender, but fighting continues; Croatian armed forces (surrendering to the Allied Forces) and civilians, who did not want to live under the communist regime, go on an exodus of tens of thousands citizens, seeking refuge in the West. |
| 13 May 1945 | The British 5th Corp, who controlled Austria, refuse to accept the surrender of the disarmed Croatian Forces, neither the Croatian civilian refugees in Southern Austria, turning them back to the Yugoslav Partisans. |
| 11 November 1945 | The Communist Party won a majority of votes to the Constituent Assembly of Yugoslavia |
| 29 November 1945 | <i>The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was declared.</i> |
| 31 January 1946 | The 1946 Yugoslav Constitution comes into force |
| 10 February 1947 | The Paris Peace Treaties were signed, solidifying Yugoslavia's borders with Italy and establishing the Free Territory of Trieste, half of which was to be under Yugoslavian military occupation |
| May 1948 | <i>Tito - Stalin Split</i> : Croatian Communist Party Member Andrija Hebrang is arrested ¹³ after showing support to the Soviet Union with the dispute with Yugoslavia |
| 28 June 1948 | Tito - Stalin Split : Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform |
| Period : 1946 - 1962 | The Communist Party under the anti-fascist banner gains power |

¹² ZAVNOH stands in Croatian for the State Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia. It was the highest governing organ of the anti-fascist National Liberation Movement in Croatia during World War II

¹³ Andrija Hebrang was a Croatian and Yugoslav Communist politician (1899-1949). He was suspected of being Stalin's prime candidate for replacing Tito. He was therefore blacklisted from the Yugoslav Communist Party. His dismissal came within the context of Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) by Stalin in 1948.

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| | within the the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia. A majority of Key positions in politics, economics and Military affairs are being held by Serbian Nationalists. |
| 1961 - 1962 | The Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia open its State borders; Emigration is now possible. Over the ensuing years, hundreds of thousands of Croats migrate either for family reasons, economic or political reasons. |
| 23 November 1971 | Croatian Spring : A student Protest began in Zagreb. A Mass movement in Croatia is calling for more rights for Croatia within Yugoslavia. Demands includes : (1) greater civil rights for Croatian citizens, the right to take pride in Croatia’s History, the abolishment of Serbo-Croatian language and the right to speak / write either in Croatian or in the Serbian Language., due to representation on all major posts in Yugoslavia, proportional to the population within the Federation ¹⁴ . |
| 4 May 1980 | Josip Broz Tito died. He was succeeded as President of the presidency of Yugoslavia by the Macedonian Lazar Kolisevski. |
| 1980 - 1989 | The Presidency of Yugoslavia is installed. The Position of the President of the Presidency is rotational: every year, a president from one of the six states is installed ¹⁵ . |
| 23 January 1990 | A Communist Party Congress ended the Party’s legal monopoly in Croatia |
| April - May 1990 | First Free elections in Croatia after more than 50 years of Communist Monopoly. The Communist Party lose to the conservative nationalist HDZ ¹⁶ lead by Franjo Tudjman who scored 84,5% on final votes. Tudjman is in line for President of the Republic of Croatia. |

¹⁴ REMARK: By 1969, Serbs held 73.6% of Key positions in the Yugoslav administration although their due representation was to be 39.6%. Croats held 8.6% although their due representation was to be 22%. Regarding the officers of the Yugoslav People’s Army structure (JNA), There was 62,5% of Serbs and 10.4% of Croats. This overwhelming inequity suffered distrust due to nationalistic leanings.

¹⁵ In order after Lazar Kolisevski : (1980) Cvijetin ; (1980) ; (1981) ; (1982) ; (1983) ; (1984) ; (1985) ; (1986) ; (1987) ; (1988) ; (1989) Janez Drnovsek

¹⁶ HDZ stands in Croat for the Croatian Democratic Community which was a conservative political party and the main centre right political party in Croatia

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| 30 May 1990 | The Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) quit the Croatian Parliament |
| 25 July 1990 | By a General Assembly, the SDS declare the establishment of the Serbian Autonomous Oblast of Kninska Krajina ¹⁷ |
| 17 August 1990 | Log Revolution ¹⁸ : Secessionist Serbs barricaded roads connecting Kninska Krajina to the the rest of Croatia. |
| October 1990 | Kninska Krajina is superseded by the larger Serbian Autonomous Oblast of Krajina |
| 22 December 1990 | The Constitution of Croatia is ratified. Franjo Tudjman becomes President of Croatia. |
| 23 December 1990 | <i>Slovenian Independence Referendum</i> : 88,5% of the electorate vote for the independent and sovereign Republic of Slovenia. |
| 2 March 1991 | <i>The Pakrac Clash</i> happens : the Croatian police arrest 180 Serbs rebels who tries to occupy the town of Pakrac. |
| 31 March 1991 | <i>Plitvice Lakes Incident</i> ¹⁹ : the Croatian police entered the Plitvice Lakes NATional Park to expel the secessionist forces of Krajina. Two combattants are killed. |
| 1 April 1991 | <i>Plitvice Lakes Incident</i> : The Yugoslavian army intervened to end the crisis. |
| 2 May 1991 | <i>The Croatian Parliament voted to hold a referendum on Independence from Yugoslavia.</i> |
| 15 May 1991 | Serbia block the accession of Croatian Stjepan Mesic to the Yugoslavian Presidency. |
| 19 May 1991 | <i>Croatian Independence Referendum</i> : The Croatian Independence from Yugoslavia is approved by referendum with 93% support. |
| 25 June 1991 | The Croatian Parliament and Slovenian government both declare independence from Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, Serbs Secessionists |

¹⁷ SAO Krajina is a self proclaimed Serbian autonomous regions (Oblast) within the State of Croatia

¹⁸ The Log Revolution was an insurrection which started on 17 August 1990, in areas of the future Republic of Croatia which were significantly populated by ethnic Serbs.

¹⁹ The Plitvice Lakes incident was an armed clash at the beginning of the Croatian War of Independence; It was fought between the Croatian police and armed forces of the croatian Serb established SAO Krajina. The fight was followed by the recapturing of the area by Croatian police. The clash resulted in one killed on each side and contributed to the worsening ethnic tensions

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| | declare the Serbian Autonomous Oblast of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Sylvania. |
| 26 June 1991 | |
| 3 July 1991 | Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Committee of Senior officials meets for the first time in emergency session in Prague; they back the EC mission and agree to send a CSCE "good offices" mission to assist peace dialogue |
| 5 July 1991 | European Community arms embargo and freeze on aid imposed on Yugoslavia; fighting on the Croatian-Serbian border ensues |
| 6 August 1991 | EC foreign ministers meet at The Hague, agreeing to extend European observer mission and to consider unblocking loans to republics which accept mediation |
| 5 September 1991 | Yugoslav army forces now control one-third of Croatia; first of 200 ceasefire monitors arrive in Zagreb |
| 12 September 1991 | Second session of The Hague Peace Conference chaired by Lord Carrington, issues declaration establishing that internal borders cannot be changed by force; that rights of minorities must be guaranteed and that differences not resolvable through negotiation will be submitted to arbitration commission |
| 25 September 1991 | Resolution 713 calls for complete arms embargo on Yugoslavia, for immediate end to hostilities and for UN Secretary-General to assist with mediation |
| 15 October 1991 | Parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina declares sovereignty |
| 17 November 1991 | Vukovar reported to have fallen to Yugoslav army forces after 86-day siege |
| 23 November 1991 | First UN-negotiated ceasefire takes effect |
| 27 November 1991 | Resolution 721 authorises peacekeeping forces provided 23 November ceasefire agreement holds |
| 28 November 1991 | Ceasefire appears successful as Yugoslav army troops begin withdrawal from Zagreb |

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| 15 November 1991 | Resolution 724 agrees to send small team of monitors to prepare for deployment of peacekeeping troops |
| 23 December 1991 | Germany recognises independence of Croatia and Slovenia |
| 24 December 1991 | Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia request EC recognition |

UN INVOLVEMENT: RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences (SANU) Memorandum (1986)

The SANU Memorandum was a draft document written by a 16-member committee of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts from 1985 to 1986. Its main subject was the decentralisation of powers in the republics of Yugoslavia. It also claimed that Serbia's development was suppressed over favouritism to other states of the federation (). The SANU Memorandum is considered as a significant contributor to the Yugoslav wars. It is divided into two parts: one regarding the "Crisis in the Yugoslav Economy and Society", which focuses on the economic and political fragmentation of Yugoslavia, the other regarding the "Status of Serbia and the Serb Nation", which focuses on what the authors saw as Serbia's inferior status in Yugoslavia (). However, the memorandum was officially denounced in 1986 by the government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the government of the Socialist Republic of Serbia for expressing nationalism ().

Brioni Agreement (1991)

Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence on June 25th, 1991, and the Yugoslav People's Army Y.P.A. (known as J.N.A) units began to deploy from its bases. On June 27th, armed conflict broke out, as the YPA and the Territorial Defense Force of Slovenia began fighting over control of Slovenia's borders, in what is known as the Ten-Day War. The European Community did not recognise the independence of the two states and things got even worse. However, when hostilities at a large scale began to take place, it was evident that action needed to be taken. Therefore, an agreement was prepared at the European Council in The Hague on 5 July 1991, which consisted of a Joint Declaration, two annexes detailing the creation of an environment suitable for further political negotiations and guidelines for an observer mission to Yugoslavia. The agreement, known as the Brioni Declaration or the Brioni Agreement, required the Y.P.A. to return to their bases, and declared that Slovene officials were to control Slovenia's borders alone. Moreover, it was suggested that both Slovenia and Croatia had to suspend all activities concerning their declarations of independence for

three months. Last but not least, the agreement called for a ceasefire and a commitment to begin political negotiations on Yugoslavia's future.

Resolution 713 - 25 September 1991

The United Nations became actively involved in the situation of Yugoslavia on 25 September 1991 when the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 713²⁰. This resolution marks the start of the UN's involvement in the conflict. After receiving representations from a number of Member States and commending effort from the European Community, expressing deep concern at the fighting in that country and calling on all States to implement immediately a "general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia"

the UN security Council decided to impose an arms embargo on the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In this resolution, the UNSC express full support of the arrangements and measures undertaken by the European Community and the OSCE to consolidate an end to hostilities in Yugoslavia.

On 8 October 1991, then Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar appointed Mr. Cyrus Vance, former United States Secretary of State, as his Personal Envoy for Yugoslavia. Thereafter, the Secretary-General and his Personal Envoy maintained constant contact with all the parties to the conflict, with the Presidency of the European Community, with the Chairman of the CSCE-participating States, with Lord Carrington, then Chairman of the European Community's Conference on Yugoslavia, and with other interested parties in their efforts to find a solution to the crisis. It soon became clear that the most valuable contribution the United Nations could make at that stage was a peace-keeping operation to create the necessary conditions for the pursuit of political negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

As part of the collective effort to stop the fighting and to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy undertook several missions to Yugoslavia and discussed with all parties concerned, among other things, the feasibility of deploying a United Nations peace-keeping operation. On 23 November 1991, the Personal Envoy convened in Geneva a meeting which was attended by the Presidents of Serbia and of Croatia and the Secretary of State for National Defence of Yugoslavia, as well as Lord Carrington. During the meeting, the Yugoslav parties reached agreement on an immediate ceasefire and on a number of other issues. Each of the Yugoslav parties expressed the wish to see the speedy establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation.

²⁰ United Nations, "Resolution 713", UN Security Report, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/596/49/IMG/NR059649.pdf?OpenElement>, access 06/07/2019

However, while progress was made on the other issues, the cease-fire broke down almost immediately.

Resolution 721 - 27 November 1991

The UN Security Council adopted unanimously Resolution 721 on 27 November 1991, reaffirming Resolution 713 (1991) on the situation in the SFR Yugoslavia, approving the efforts of the Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar, endorsing the statement made by the Personal Envoy to the parties while promoting the recommendation for peacekeeping forces provided by the 23 November Ceasefire agreement where it was said to the UN operations could not be envisaged without full compliance by all parties with the Geneva agreement. During subsequent weeks of intensive negotiations with the parties concerned, the implementation of the Geneva agreement was pursued and the general principles were defined for a United Nations peace-keeping operation.

Resolution 724 - 15 December 1991

On 15 December, the Security Council, by its resolution 724 (1991), approved the Secretary-General's report which contained a plan for a possible peace-keeping operation. A small group of military officers, civilian police and United Nations Secretariat staff travelled to Yugoslavia to prepare for the implementation of this plan (United Nations). Furthermore, under the legal basis of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Council requested all Member States to report on the measures they have taken to implement the embargo on all weapons and military equipments to Yugoslavia, furthermore establishing a committee under its auspice to consider matters relating to the arms embargo on the country. This committee has been given the mandate to examine the measures Member States have taken, including violations of the embargo and ways to strengthen it.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPT TO SOLVE THE ISSUE

The following text provide insights about how the negotiations failed in the past peace attempts provided by the European Community. It should help delegates to understand the position of conflicting parties and thus provide them an analytical framework to better discussed conditions for a pacific settlement.

The early political and diplomatic reactions to the disintegration of Yugoslavia have been predominantly negative. Contrary to these reactions and after more careful consideration, the Yugoslav and Soviet events should be regarded as processes of self-determination and nation building or, rather, rehabilitation and/or formation of nation-states in Europe. Furthermore, Yugoslav crisis should be considered as an appropriate term, since the breakdown of Yugoslavia is

not a momentary, »one piece« event, but a long lasting and diffuse process consisting of several connected, yet distinct conflicts implying different approaches and solutions (Rupel, Dimitrij). Most solutions have involved physical separation and division of assets. Moreover, the management of individual conflicts have implied diverse approaches and outcomes, diverse actors and diverse numbers of actors (Rupel, Dimitrij).

A weak reaction from the International Community

With the signing of a Cooperation Agreement with the EEC in 1980, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia first expressed the desire to remain intact. The EC feared that disputes over borders would constitute a dangerous precedent in Central and Eastern Europe and indeed decided not to recognise the independence of Slovenia and Croatia (Pierre Gerbet, pp.2).

When fights started in June 1991, the EC had to deal with the matter, since the UN deemed the Yugoslav crisis a domestic affair, while the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), in which the USSR was supporting Serbia, paralysed by the unanimity rule, had simply empowered the European Community to intervene (Pierre Gerbet, pp.3).

The Brioni concept (Summer 1991)

The Brioni Agreement involved – essentially – four players: the EU, Slovenia, Serbia and the Yugoslav Federation. Its original intention was to delay, possibly restore the situation before the Slovenian declaration of independence, but eventually led to cease-fire and peaceful life of the northernmost Yugoslav republic (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.). During the conference, Slovenia advocated two sets of modern values: the principle of self-determination and the idea of liberal democracy implying respect for human rights, open society, market economy, multiparty system etc. Serbia's position was not so far from the position of Slovenia, since it proclaimed financial efficiency and rational economic principles (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.). While Serbia advocated for Yugoslav unity, its cohesion was compromised by Serbian sponsorship and predominantly Serbian Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) actions on the grounds of conflict. Slovenia decided to join the European side or rather, the European Community (EC/EU) embraced the Slovenian position (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.). After the Brioni meeting, Serbia more or less abandoned identification with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the rhetoric of Yugoslav unity. The Brioni meeting temporarily satisfied both sides and, above all, calmed the waters.

On 29 July 1991, after attempting to secure a ceasefire and the suspension of declarations of independence, the Twelve members of the EC declared the inviolability of the Federation's internal frontiers, a declaration that was rejected by Slobodan Milošević and the Croatian Serbs, who refused to be involved in an independent Croatia (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.).

The Hague Peace Conference (Autumn 1991)

When fighting intensified in Croatia, where Serbs were carrying out fierce bomb attacks on Vukovar. The EC organised a peace conference in The Hague which began on 7 September 1991 with the intention to manage or force an end to the fighting or to agree on a political solution. The Hague (Carrington Peace Conference) concept (of the autumn 1991) concerned eight players: the EU, the Federation and six Yugoslav republics. It has failed in its intention to reform the Federation, but rather demonstrated irreconcilable differences between the republics (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.).

In September, in an attempt to halt the fighting, the Netherlands Presidency of the European Community, supported by France and Germany, proposed sending a Western European Union (WEU) intervention force to the region, but the United Kingdom, backed by Denmark and Portugal, was opposed to any commitment of troops. The EEC Member States, unable to reach agreement on sending a European intervention force, called on the UN Security Council to intervene in November 1991 (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.). Furthermore, France called for a United Nations Emergency Force to be dispatched, but the Security Council did no more than impose an embargo on the supply of arms to Yugoslavia.

The unilateral EU concept (connected with the Maastricht meeting of December 1991)

The unilateral EU Concept emerged due to two important developments: the "deepening" of the EU and the expected breakdown of the Soviet Union (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.). On 16 December 1991, the EC decided to recognise every Republic that wanted to be recognised as such, on condition that it respected human rights, minority rights and the right to arbitration. Adopting the German and French position, it recognized independence of Slovenia and Croatia, further establishing the Badinter arbitration commission and approved the idea of the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Rupel, Dimitrij, pp.). In the coming months, the conference's Arbitration Commission will decide if the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia satisfy the requisite conditions.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The Balkan crisis represents within the United Nations a microcosm of all the issues that this body faces today. Regarding the current conflict in Croatia, in line with a potential humanitarian disaster within former Yugoslavia, the Security Council is faced with the sensitive challenge of setting and sending a Peacekeeping Operation to help the UNHRC and ICCR to advance further in conflict zones in order to help the displaced refugees and the minorities under threat.

Different questions may arise confronting the possibility to set and send a Peacekeeping Operation: (1) what do you do about peacekeeping; (2) when and if to turn to enforcement; (3) where decisions should be taken; (4) how human rights abuses should be dealt with; (4) and who will pay ? () These interrogations can effectively be applied to the general matters arisen from the Resolutions 713, 721, and 724.

Possible Solutions can be :

- Assessing the situation of the current conflict in Croatia regarding the identification of possible threats to International peace and security
- Assessing the monitoring and reports of the Sanction committee mandated for Former Yugoslavia
- Expressing key observations, recommendations and/or condemnations towards the current conflict
- Assessing the humanitarian situation in Former Yugoslavia and make recommendations towards the UNHRC
- Discussing and determine the conditions for the setting of Peace talks and a possible Cease fire agreement
- Discussing and assessing the possible setting of a United Peacekeeping Operations
 - What should be the mandate of this Operation ?
 - What should be the duration of the Mandate ?
 - What should be the strategic vision of the Peacekeeping Operation ?
 - Who should pay ? Who should contribute in terms of Human resources and Military logistics ?

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