

## **The Great Serbia Project and the Subsequent Ethnic Cleansing and Gendercide in Yugoslavia: A Driving Force for NATO Humanitarian Intervention**

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**Abstract:** The international community under international law formulates some norms and principles under which all members of the community should be governed and from which each and every member should behave and act accordingly. Some state actors aberrate those norms and principles, which some times attracts sanctions from the international society forum. The paper is a descriptive approach to analyzing the salient features of Yugoslavian crisis, ethnic cleansing and the different features of the two popular leaders (Tito and Milosevic) on how they tried to change the course of leadership in the political atmosphere of former Yugoslavia. The paper discovers that, apart from the natural existence of ethnic cleavages in Yugoslavia, Milosevic had exacerbated ethnic tension which engendered gendercide and the collapse of former Yugoslavia. The paper concludes that, humanitarian intervention made by NATO was a proper solution to the Bosnian war which deposed Milosevic and paved a room for the independence of all the federating units. The paper recommends strongly, the adoption of international law and UN resolution prior to intervention in any local or international conflicts, among other things.

**Keywords:** greater-serbia; ethnic-cleansing; gendercide; humanitarian-intervention; Yugoslavia; NATO.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Yugoslavia as a symbol of ethnic cleavages, religious differentiation and territorial divisibility, has suffered a crises among those greatly recorded by history. On the other side, the United States is either adopting interventionist or isolationist policy in the period of conflicts, depending on the interest of the United States. As a result of conflict arising from ethno-religious tension, Yugoslavia broke apart through what is popularly known as the break of Yugoslavia. Some of these territories of Yugoslavia declared independence, which resulted in a violent crisis; some of these territories got independence peacefully. It was due to the severity of such conflict, according to Sean [1] that Yugoslavia finally broke into (a) Slovenia (b) Croatia (c) Bosnia (d) Montenegro (e) Serbia, and (f) Macedonia.

### **MATERIAL AND METHOD**

The methodology used in this research is the secondary methodological instrument, and the materials are library materials as well as unpublished manuscripts. The methodology is also supported by the scientific backing of neoliberal institutionalism, which according to Robert [2], the fundamental statements of Neoliberalism are as follows: international society is in the state of anarchy, yet not in the state of chaos, and with certain institutional forms and codes of conduct; nation-state is selfish, rational and gain-seeking actor;

its aim is absolute gain; interest conflicts exist among nation-states, but they will pursue cooperation for their interest; reciprocal cooperation is the result of games among nation-states; to realize the aim of absolute gains, nation-states should pursue effective regimes for collective gains, and to set up international regimes become an effective means of international cooperation. The cooperation here emerged in assisting the people of Bosnia under internal domination and gendercide. NATO intervened to consolidate the neoliberal tenets of collective gains under an international regime.

### **Yugoslavia under Tito**

Yugoslavia under the leadership of Tito was a state under federal system of governance. There were many attempts to reform Yugoslavia, but such reforms were not feasible. With the coming of Tito under the political umbrella, he tried to mobilize for reforms, that would see Yugoslavia stand firm and strong economically and politically. But such reforms as embarked by Tito were not fruitful enough to have provided solutions to key federal issues. It is in line with this that Beth [3] argues on the nature of Yugoslavia under Tito:

*Yugoslavia was characterized by constant reforms which failed to resolve key national problems. Moreover, the federal system, due to increasing national tensions, and the Communist Party's wish to support "national*

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*self determination" began to loosen its control. This resulted Kosovo being turned into an autonomous region of Serbia, legislated by the 1974 constitution. This constitution broke down powers between the capital and the autonomous regions in Vojvodina (an area of Yugoslavia with a large number of ethnic minorities) and Kosovo (with a large ethnic-Albanian population). This not only exacerbated Serbian fears of a "weak Serbia, for a strong Yugoslavia" but also hit at the heart of Serbian national sentiment. A majority of Serbs see Kosovo as the "cradle of the nation", and would not accept the possibility of losing it to the majority Albanian population.*

Due to the nature and character of the Yugoslavian federal system, it was seen as loosened or even, a de facto federal system. But struggle for survival by the different federating units also posed a great difficulty for the survival of the system. This was engendered by the unequal distribution of natural endowment, as some regions or territories were far more developed than others. The most developed among the regions were Slovenia and Croatia. Beth [3] has explained this trend when he argues inter alia:

*The most developed republics were continually frustrated by their inability to further lift their standard of living as they had to subsidize the development of the poor republics in what they described as an "economic black hole". It highlighted the vast differences in the quality of life in the different republics. Tito's death created further problems; in an effort to ensure his legacy, Tito's 1974 constitution established a system of year-long presidencies, on a rotation basis out of the eight leaders of the republics. Such short terms were highly ineffective. Essentially it left a power vacuum which was left open for most of the 1980s.*

With the subsequent demise of Josip Broz Tito on 4 May 1980, many felt that the great icon for the unification of Yugoslavia regions has gone. Ethnic rivalry had consolidated its ground in Yugoslavia, each and every ethnic group in the federating units was trying to be relevant and or become significant especially in the leadership of Yugoslavia. But the contribution of Tito was unforgettable. It was six years after the death of Tito that an academy of science and arts in Serbia created yet another conflicting gap among the ethnic nationalities of Yugoslavia. How did the academy do that? The academy was said to have drafted what was called SANU memorandum in protest against the weakening of the Serbian central government. But

Douglas [4] has clearly pointed out the Yugoslavian problem in the post Tito era when he observes:

*The problems in the Serbian autonomous province of SAP Kosovo between ethnic Serbs and Albanians grew exponentially. This, coupled with economic problems in Kosovo and Serbia as a whole, led to even greater Serbian resentment of the 1974 Constitution. In the 1980s, Kosovo Albanians started to demand that their autonomous province be granted the status of a constituent republic, starting with the 1981 protests in Kosovo. Amid rising tensions, the Serbian general view was that Kosovo as a constituent republic (as opposed to being part of Serbia) would be devastating to the cultural and historic links with Kosovar Serbs and Kosovo in general, especially if they were to choose to secede. In the 1980s, this led to the repression of the Albanian majority in Serbia's southern province.*

#### **Yugoslavia under Milosevic**

Yugoslavia came to be under Slobodan Milosevic who was born in 1941 on the outskirts of Belgrade. He had a communist oriented mother and his father, an orthodox priest who taught language and religion. It was recorded that both of his parents committed suicide and died in Yugoslavia. But Milosevic was a Serbian president who also believed in the Serbian superiority. In other words, he was a Serbian chauvinist. He has been carrying out campaign against the Albanians for him to get more support from this Serbian folk. In 1986, Milosevic became the chairman of the league of communist Serbia under the communist party called the league of communist of Yugoslavia. This position has made him to be the most political powerful and influential man of Serbia[5].

It was in a 1988 rally in Belgrade that Milosevic clearly showed his support for his people and against the other nationalities of Yugoslavia. Part of what was recorded in his speech at the rally, he made the following assertions:

*At home and abroad, Serbia's enemies are massing against us...we say to them we are not afraid. We will not flinch from battle. We Serbs will serve in the interest of Serbia whether we do it in compliance with the constitution or not, whether we do it in compliance with the law or not, whether we do it in compliance of the party statutes or not.*

In Croatia after the elections, the Croatian Democratic Union won, but the Croatian Serbs were reportedly protesting against the election results and

were even organizing a strong violence against the government and people of Croatia. After all the campaigns in which Milosevic amplified for the superiority of the Serbs, he was elected president of Serbia in 1989. Apart from Serbia, the entire republics of Yugoslavia held multiparty parliamentary elections in 1990; Slovenia declared independence and successfully continue to defend its territorial integrity against the Yugoslav federal army in 1991. In the argument of Keyley and Reymond [5], Croatia also declared independence in 1991, and war broke out between Croatia and Serbia in the same year.

With the independence of the above republics, the other republics were not left behind; Macedonia also declared independence in 1991. Bosnia- Herzegovina declared independence in 1992, which subsequently attracted civil war among Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The gesture made by Serbia and Montenegro, was to form a new, smaller Yugoslav federation[5].

One notable factor in the political spectrum of Yugoslavia which consolidates its federal structure and made it different was the existence of the two autonomous regions of Kosovan and Vojvodinan. These two regions came under the hue and mania of Milosevic in 1989, when he abolished the two provinces [6].

#### **Launching Of a Greater Serbia**

In the view and thought of Milosevic, his own people (the Serbs) have been dispersed and divided especially by the 1974 constitution. The great Serbia project was seen as an attempt by Milosevic to create a mono-ethnic state of Serbia at the expense of all other ethnic groups of the region, which was not achieved until the break-up of Yugoslavia and the annexation of at least a third of Croatia and two thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina - with the ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs from those territories. The above, have been some of the factors that led to the war and the eventual break-up of Yugoslavia.

#### **A Chronology of Major Events in the History of Yugoslavia (1990)**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
22 January	Slovenian, Croatian and Macedonian delegates leave the last Congress of the Communist League of Yugoslavia. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is dissolved.
25 January	More Albanian protests against emergency rule occur in Kosovo. A crowd of 40,000 people is dispersed with water cannons and tear gas.
26 January	The Yugoslav Defense Minister demands an increase in military personnel stationed in Slovenia. The JNA creates a military plan of action for territories with ethnically mixed populations (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia).
4 March	A protest of 50,000 Serbs from Croatia and Serbia takes place on Petrova Gora "against Franjo Tuđman and the Ustaše", demanding the "territorial integrity of Yugoslavia".
17 March	Duško Čubrilović, of Serbian nationality, tries to kill Franjo Tuđman at an election meeting in Benkovac.
23 March	The Slovenian Democratic Opposition issues a proposal for an alternative Slovenian Constitution. The proposal, authored by Peter Jambrek, France Bučar and Tine Hribar, clearly envisions an independent democratic state.
26 March	Serbian leadership meets to consider the situation in Yugoslavia and agrees that war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina is unavoidable.
30 March	Meeting of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia without members from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia.
May	The Croatian government began to "fire Serbs from jobs in the Croatian police, state bureaucracy, and state-owned companies". In addition, "Serbs were alarmed by the reintroduction of historic Croatian symbols and insignia that had also been used by the Ustaše". Consequently, Tuđman tended to rule in an authoritarian way and "refused to condemn the former Ustaše state and its crimes". As a result many Serbs in Croatia became convinced that the HDZ sought to restore the Ustaše regime.
17 May	The JNA begins to disarm territorial defense of Slovenia and Croatia, but Slovenian
28 June	Slobodan Milošević tells the Yugoslav president of the Presidency Borisav Jović that he thinks that: "the breakup of Croatia needs to be done in such a way that the Association of the municipalities of Northern Dalmatia and Lika stay on our side of the border".
29 June	In Croatia, the term "Socialist" is dropped from the republic's official name and a temporary new

	flag and coat of arms are adopted.
2 July	The Parliament of Kosovo declares Kosovo republic with rights and powers identical to other 6 republics. In response the declaration, the Parliament of Serbia abolishes the Parliament of Kosovo.
20 July	The Parliament of Serbia changes its election laws to allow first multiparty elections.
25 July	The Parliament of Croatia votes for a series of constitutional changes. References to communism are removed from government institutions and symbols, and the country's official name becomes the Republic of Croatia. Vladimir Šeks speaks about the confederation on 30 June.
25 July	The Serb Democratic Party of Croatia creates the Serb National Council and proclaims the Declaration of Autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia. Decision is also made to conduct a referendum on the autonomy of the Serbs in Croatia on August 19, 1990.
31 July	At the first meeting of the Serbian National Council in Croatia a decision is made that a referendum is needed on Serbian autonomy in Croatia. After receiving this news the Croatian government bans such a referendum. Milan Babić is elected president of the council.
30 August	Croatian constitutional court abolishes (de jure) the "Association of municipalities from northern Dalmatia and Lika", declaring it unconstitutional.
9 September	The Serb Democratic Party demands protection of the Yugoslav Presidency.
12 September	Serbian radio in Knin asks citizens to stop returning arms to the government of Croatia.
13 September	Massacre in Polat (village in Kosovo) committed by Serbian forces.
18 September	Failed "coup" among Bosniaks Party of Democratic Action.
26 September	Serbs from Pakrac, Petrinja and Sisak (in Croatia) begin to block road traffic.
28 September	The Constitution of Serbia is revised: the autonomy of Vojvodina and Kosovo is revoked but their members in the Presidency of Yugoslavia retain their positions. The word "Socialist" is removed from the Republic of Serbia.
30 September	Serbian National Council in Croatia that Serbian people votes on referendum (which has been declared illegal by Croatia) for Serbian autonomy inside Croatia which is inside Yugoslavia.
2 October	Croatian Serbs declare their autonomy on vaguely worded referendum on Serbian autonomy conducted throughout Yugoslavia. Croatia's government has repeatedly said that the Serbs' referendum is illegal.
3 October	Croatia and Slovenia make an offer to the Yugoslav Presidency for the creation of a Yugoslav confederation.
16 October	In a Yugoslav Presidency meeting Croatia and Slovenia again demand the creation of a Yugoslav confederation. Representatives from all other republics vote against the proposition.
26 October	Slobodan Milošević asks for military actions only against Croatia and "only" in territory where there are Serbs.
18 November	First multiparty election in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Party of Democratic Action (SDA) (party of Bosnian Muslims) receives 86 seats (35%), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) 72 (29%), and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) 44 (18%). In the Bosnia and Herzegovina Presidency the SDA receives 3 seats and the SDP 2.
3 December	Strongly divided between priests who support or oppose Slobodan Milošević, the Serbian Orthodox Church chooses Pavle from Kosovo as its new leading bishop.
7 December	The Yugoslav minister of defense Veljko Kadijević, speaking on Belgrade television, attacks the current Croatian leadership for recreating fascism and for genocide against Serbs.
9 December	Slobodan Milošević of the Socialist Party of Serbia wins the first Serbian multiparty election for president with 65.35% of the vote.

**Source:** Flores Juberías, Carlos (November 2005). "Some legal (and political) considerations about the legal framework for referendum in Montenegro, in the light of European experiences and standards". *Legal Aspects for Referendum in Montenegro in the Context of International Law and Practice*. Foundation Open Society Institute, Representative Office Montenegro. p. 74.

## A Chronology of Major Events in the History of Yugoslavia (1991)

Date	Event
22 February	"Armed Serbs in Pakrac took control of the police station and disarmed 16 Croatian policemen".
26 February	The Serbian national council of Baranja, Western Sylvania and Slavonia votes that if Croatia leaves Yugoslavia then the territory under council control will separate from Croatia.
28 February	The Serbian national council of SAO Krajina votes that Krajina will stay in Yugoslavia and expresses the wish for a peaceful separation of Croatia and SAO Krajina.
1 March	Pakrac clash - Pakrac police station was regained by the Croatian police because of a counterattack. The first shots of the Yugoslav wars were fired in Pakrac on this day.
3 March	Pakrac clash - The Yugoslav army is deployed to stop fighting between Serbian villagers (who have seized control of a police station in Pakrac) and a Croatian police unit which has restored control of the police station and town. Although no one is killed during the fighting this event marks the beginning of the Croatian War of Independence.
9 March	Beginning of large student demonstrations in Belgrade. The Presidency authorizes the JNA to protect important buildings but on this pretext the JNA also attacks demonstrators.
15 March	Speaking on Serbian State Television, Slobodan Milošević declares: "Yugoslavia does not exist any more".
17 March	After the Serbian resolution is defeated in a Yugoslav Presidency vote, Slobodan Milošević orders the mobilization of Serbian special forces and declares "Serbia will not recognize any decisions by the Presidency of Yugoslavia".
20 March	200 Serbian writers, film makers and actors sign a petition against Slobodan Milošević because he has "opted for a policy of war".
1 April	Croatian police forces retake the Plitvice lakes, and 15 minutes of gunfire ensue.
12 May	Serbs from Croatian territory under the control of Serbs vote on a referendum for union with Serbia.
16 May	Acting against the Yugoslav constitution, Serbian representative Borisav Jović demands a vote to prevent Stjepan Mesić from becoming the president of the Yugoslav presidency. Because of 3 Serbian votes and 1 of Montenegro Mesić does not become president.
19 May	Referendum held for independence in Croatia. With 86% of all Croatian voters turning out, 94.17% vote in favor of independence.
25 June	Croatia makes a constitutional decision about independence.
25 June	Slovenia declares independence.
27 June	Start of Ten-Day War in Slovenia, which lasts until 6 July 1991.
30 June	At the demand of western officials Serbia stops its block on Stjepan Mesić's election as the Yugoslav president of Presidency.
7 July	The Brioni Agreement ceases hostilities in Slovenia. Slovenia and Croatia agree to freeze their independence for a three-month period. The Yugoslav People's Army agrees to withdraw from Slovenia.
28 July	Concert Yutel for peace held in Sarajevo
31 July	Milan Babić, president of insurgent Serbs in Krajina, rejects peace proposal by the ministers of the European Community.
21–22 August	The Government of Macedonia executes a secret plan for confiscation of all federal documents about Yugoslav Army recruits on Macedonian territory.
25 August	Beginning of the Siege of Vukovar.
27 August	The European Economic Community sets up the Badinter Commission to consider and hand down legal opinions on fifteen questions concerning the conflict in Yugoslavia.
8 September	Macedonia votes for independence. The turnout of the voters was 75%, and 95% of them voted for independence. Today this day is celebrated as independence day.

15 September	Supreme Command Headquarters of the Yugoslav armed forces calls for partial mobilization, in violation of the Yugoslav constitution.
September	Houses belonging to Croats were torched in Hrvatska Dubica and the neighbouring village of Cerovljani, and widespread looting was committed by the TO, the Milicija Krajine, the JNA as well as by local Serbs. Local Croats were detained and subjected to mistreatment and were also used as live shields by the Serb forces. Serbs moved into the houses which the fleeing Croats had left.
19 September	Serbian RAM Plan for war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is discovered and discussed in the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Yugoslav prime minister Ante Marković confirms that Slobodan Milošević has ordered the Yugoslav army to give weapons to the territorial defense of Bosanska Krajina, which is under the control of Radovan Karadžić.
30 September	Referendum held for independence in Kosovo. A majority is in favor of independence. Serbia does not accept it.
7 October	Banski dvori are attacked by rockets of the Yugoslav People's Army.
7 October	The Croatian Parliament declares independence from Yugoslavia.
8 October	Croatia declares independence from Yugoslavia.
13 October	Radovan Karadžić tells Momčilo Mandić: "In just a couple of days, Sarajevo will be gone and there will be five hundred thousand dead, in one month Muslims will be annihilated in Bosnia and Herzegovina."
15 October	Radovan Karadžić tells Miodrag Davidović and Luka Karadžić: "In the first place no one of their leadership (Bosniaks) would stay alive, in three, four hours they'd all be killed. They wouldn't have a chance to survive at all".
16, 18 October	Alleged Croat individuals killed 24 Serb residents of Gospić. The incident became known as the "Gospić massacre".
20 October	40 local civilians, almost exclusively Croat, were killed.
21 October	Serbian paramilitary forces in Croatia commit the Baćin massacre.
26 October	Last Yugoslav Army troops leave Slovenia, departing from the port of Koper.
31 October	The "Convoy of Peace", carrying delegates including Yugoslavian President Stipe Mesić and Croatian Premier Franjo Gregurić, arrives in Dubrovnik amid a siege of the city by the Yugoslav People's Army.
10 November	Bosnian Serbs vote on a referendum to stay in the common state with Serbia.
18–21 November	Vukovar massacre at Ovčara.
2 December	President of Macedonia sends an official letter to the presidents of the foreign governments asking for recognition of the independence of Macedonia. Immediately after that Greece starts military provocations on the Macedonian-Greece border.
9 December	The Badinter Commission publishes its first opinion, deciding that the SFRY "is in the process of dissolution."
11 December	Ukraine recognizes Croatia.
12–13 December	Serbian paramilitary forces in Croatia commit Voćin massacre.
17 December	Yugoslav prime minister Ante Marković resigns, refusing to accept a federal budget in which the Yugoslav army will receive 86% of all funds.
19 December	Iceland recognizes Croatia; Germany announces that it will recognize Croatia on January 15, 1992, with or without the rest of the European Community.
23 December	Germany becomes the first major power to recognize Croatia and Slovenia as independent states.
23 December	The Croatian government launches a transitional currency under the name Croatian dinar.
24 December	The Yugoslav central bank launches a new Yugoslav dinar.

Source: Snežana Trifunovska, *Yugoslavia through documents: from its creation to its dissolution*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994.

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## The Bosnian Civil War

The regional and ethnic structure of Yugoslavia is one that can not be described in a simple description due to the complex nature of the republics. The ethno-religious intolerance is the type that predicts war arising from the drastic ethnic tension enveloped in the states. It all started in June, 1991 when the Slovene and the Croatian parliaments declared independence from Yugoslavia, where Belgrade responded by deploying troops into the breakaway republics. The national or unity army of Yugoslavia was forced to retreat by the Slovenes. The army seized land along the Sava River with the assistance of paramilitary forces deployed from Serbs.

The crisis spilled to Bosnia-Herzegovina the following year having the large number of Serbs and Croat minorities living among the Muslim population. This was a mere violent collusion. Declaration of independence continued among these rival groups, at some points, security from European community was solicited. It was in this journey that Bosnia's Serbs formed their state called Serb republic of Bosnia, where its own paramilitary carried out a policy of ethnic cleansing in which murder, torture, rape and all sorts of vices committed against non Serbs. By 1993 two-thirds of Bosnia was under Serb control and many non Serbs had been driven out of their homes and properties left behind [5].

With the civil war in Bosnia, Kosovo was enflamed the Albanians in Kosovo were attacked by a group of Serb police officers in Glogovac, which led to the response of the Kosovo liberation army. After two years of these upheavals Albanian guerillas launched their attack on ethnic Serbs which also instigated a violent reprisal attacks. During the summer of 1995, the Bosnian Serbs seized a Muslim town of Srebrenica, which was initially declared a safe area by the united nation's Security Council [5].

In July 1995, according to Alvarez [7], Srebrenica fell to the combined forces of the Republika Srpska and numerous paramilitary formations which included hundreds of Greek and Russian volunteers in what was codenamed Operation Krivaja '95. The subsequent massacre of the town's male population led to the deaths of more than 8,000 Bosniak men and boys, and is considered the largest act of mass murder in Europe since the end of World War II.

## Gendercide

The practice of murder or killing of people of a particular race is always described by scholars as genocide. After the Bosnian civil war, the concept of gendercide became popular with the practice carried out

by Serbs in Bosnia during the conflict. During the Bosnian war, the methods used by the Serbs in annihilating the Albanians or the Muslims were dynamic. Danner [8] has summarized the Serbs' modus operandi as follows:

1. **Concentration.** Surround the area to be cleansed and after warning the resident Serbs - often they are urged to leave or are at least told to mark their houses with white flags -- intimidate the target population with artillery fire and arbitrary executions and then bring them out into the streets.
2. **Decapitation.** Execute political leaders and those capable of taking their places: lawyers, judges, public officials, writers, professors.
3. **Separation.** Divide women, children, and old men from men of "fighting age" -- sixteen years to sixty years old.
4. **Evacuation.** Transport women, children, and old men to the border, expelling them into a neighboring territory or country.
5. **Liquidation.** Execute "fighting age" men, dispose of bodies.

Under the strategy of gendercide especially as practiced in Bosnia, a mass area of people used to be put under siege, surrounded by artillery, troops of Serbs gave announcement to their fellow Serbs to mark white paint in their houses or even quit the area, all able men from the age of 18-50 were executed. After the killing, their women will then get in for the identification of the bodies of their husbands and children. Danner [8] has fully described how such inhuman act was carried out and the process discovered even though many of such acts in Bosnia were left unrecorded:

*During the late spring and early summer of 1992, some three thousand Muslims ... were herded by Serb troops into an abandoned warehouse, tortured, and put to death. A U.S. intelligence satellite orbiting over the former Yugoslavia photographed part of the slaughter. "They have photos of trucks going into Brcko with bodies standing upright, and pictures of trucks coming out of Brcko carrying bodies lying horizontally, stacked like cordwood," an investigator working outside the U.S. government who has seen the photographs told us. ... The photographs remain unpublished to this day*

The Bosnian civil war has cost a lot in terms of the number of death, casualties, refugees and psychological trauma. Between June 1991 and December 1994, according to Sabrina Ramet, between 200,000 and 400,000 people had died as a result of the

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war between Serbs and non-Serbs, and at least 2.7 million people had been reduced to refugees. Estimated 20,000-50,000 Bosnian Muslim women had been raped by Bosnian Serb soldiers in a systematic campaign of humiliation and psychological terror." But to this must be added the further slaughter during the "endgame" of the war in mid-1995, including the gendercidal massacre at Srebrenica and the Croat invasion of the Serb-held Krajina region later in the summer [9].

#### **NATO HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION**

The terror and horror of the Bosnian conflict what one that the world leaders could not fold their arms and continue to see innocent people, men, women and children die. Though there is restrictions on states to interfere in the affairs of sovereign entities, but the Bosnian war was seen as humanitarian catastrophe, and the world had act in order to salvage the targeted victims of such horror attacks. The European Union had condemned such attacks and the world in general about the killing of innocent Albanians. The intervention of NATO began on March 24 1995 at about 8: pm local time. The primary objective of the air strikes was to stop the use of terror against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, deter the perpetual ethnic cleansing campaign, and reduce Serbia's capacity to wage war in the future [5] (p-202:230).

The Serbian military capability was not comparable with the strength of NATO, thus, Serbians could not defend the NATO attacks with their obsolete SA-3 and SA-6 systems, and the limited number of soviet surface-to-air missiles. This was made difficult for the Serbs in one transpired to be operation allied force which connotes a raining of unavoidable explosives on the federal republic of Yugoslavia, where NATO's supreme allied commander in Europe, US General Wesley Clark, promised to disrupt, degrade, and ultimately destroy the Serbian military [5] (p-202:230). This sound like a theory, but to detach from literary simile, the theory behind the operation was called "parallel warfare", meaning, using air power to attack enemy's command and control systems.

Despite the campaign and effort made by NATO, more than 800,000 Albanians were not prevented from being evicted from Kosovo. After the end of the seventy-eight day's war, it was calculated that NATO aircraft had flown more than 37000 stories against Yugoslavia without suffering any damage. The United States was estimated to have flown 60 percent of the total and did about 90% of the electronic warfare mission and over 95% of the cruise missiles that were fired. The weapons used in this war were upgraded compared with the ones used in the Persian Gulf War in 1991 [5] (p-202:230).

#### **CONCLUSION**

It was discerning that the Bosnian war was a humanitarian catastrophe which affected almost all parts of the federating units. The perpetual ethnic cleansing and massive evacuation engendered by Milosevic was only stoppable by such an action as carried out by NATO under its humanitarian intervention, in order to put a stop to the killings of Muslim Albanians by the ethnic Serbs, it was indeed a great humanitarian intervention, without which, more human casualties would have been recorded.

#### **RECOMMENDATION**

For legalistic and justifiable intervention by any international military organizations into any form of humanitarian crisis, the following factors need to be considered for a successful intervention:

- (i) International law has to be respected and implemented. This is against the US intervention in Iraq, which was not fruitful foe the US itself, the people of Iraq, and those who also assisted the United States in the intervention.
- (ii) The United Nations organization needs to give the approval for any interventionist process. This, however, will justify the legitimacy of such intervention.
- (iii) In any critical situation, the intervening troops should not be biased; the rules of engagement should be truly and strictly followed. This is against the indiscriminate killing of Selika rebels by the central African troops in the period of inter-religious crisis in the CAR.
- (iv) Intervention should be carried out to restore order and bring back the political, economic and social life of the people into normalcy.
- (v) Post interventional issues should also be monitored, as NATO intervention in Libya has lead to the death of Gaddafi, but has not restored order fully in the state of Libya.

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