



**BOĞAZIÇIMUN 2026**

**Truth and Reconciliation  
Commission (TRC)  
STUDY GUIDE**

**Agenda Item:** Open Agenda

**Under Secretaries-General:** Selin Ayaz, Emir  
Elhatip

**Academic Assistant:** Saba Darabi



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## Letter from the Secretary-General

Meritorious Participants,

I am Duru Yavuz, a senior Political Science and Sociology student at Boğaziçi University. As the Secretary-General, I would like to welcome you all to the 8th official session of BoğaziçiMUN, BoğaziçiMUN'26.

Our academic and organizational teams have been working endlessly to ensure the best BoğaziçiMUN experience for our participants. I would like to begin by thanking our Deputy Secretaries-General, Ömer Alp Şiringöz and İpek Şen for their efforts, support and friendship. And the biggest of thank you's goes to our Director-General and Club co-Coordinator Kaan Berker and our Deputy Director-General Ekin Asyalı, this conference would not be what it is without their ambition and hard work. I would also like to thank our Club co-Coordinator İrem Ayber for all her help in both academic and organizational capacities.

BoğaziçiMUN has always been a ground where we aim to achieve academic and organizational excellence, but it has also been a place where old friends get to gather and work towards a common goal, even if it is in the middle of a snowstorm. In our experience as a club and as a conference, we have broken and reshaped barriers, we have learned what it means to be in a close-knit team, we have looked to the past and embraced our legacy, and we have looked to the future to envision an improved BoğaziçiMUN.

Throughout the years, we have gained new experience, knowledge, and strength; and found a sense of community in our members and participants. In each BoğaziçiMUN; we have seen you, our participants, learn and grow with us; expanding your knowledge of international relations, world politics, and history. It was this growth and the chance to witness your dedication and curiosity that have inspired us to continue improving BoğaziçiMUN every single year. And because we get to see your enthusiasm, because we get to engage our participants' minds with the pressing issues of our time, our efforts are made worthwhile. This year, we have prepared for you a wide range of unique committees and agenda items, all thanks to our wonderful Under Secretaries-General who have worked closely with our academic team to bring fresh perspectives and discussions to the conference.



## BOĞAZIÇİMUN 2026

After months of preparation on top of our years of foundational experience, BoğaziçiMUN is finally ready to open its doors to you and ‘Bridge the Gap’ once again this February. At the intersection of diplomacy, international relations and creative decision-making, BoğaziçiMUN stands as a chance to take matters into your own hands. Let us embark on this mission together and broaden our horizons as well as our community. It is my utmost honor to welcome you all to BoğaziçiMUN 2026, I hope to meet you soon.

Kind regards,

Duru Yavuz

Secretary-General of Boğaziçi MUN 2026



# BOĞAZIÇİMUN 2026

## Letter from the Under Secretaries-General

Distinguished delegates,

It is a great pleasure for us to welcome you to this edition of BoğaziçiMUN! We are Selin Ayaz and Emir Elhatip, students of Political Science and International Relations with Sociology DM and Electronic Engineering, respectively. As your Under Secretaries-General, we decided to go with a topic that highlights how fanaticism and far-rightism can result in unfathomable catastrophes for humankind. With both being ever-so-slightly present in our country, we believe that we should remember and pay respect to those who have lost their lives by learning from the past.

In the Truth and Reconciliation Council, you are set to discuss the aftermath of the Yugoslavian War, where you'll play the roles of various citizens of mixed ethnic backgrounds. You will need to navigate the complex yet fragile waters of an international disaster diplomatically, where you want to prioritize reconciliation and reparations above all else.

We hope that this agenda sheds some light on a troublesome chapter of human history, allows you to infer how conflict shapes the world around us, and demonstrates how there is always light at the end of every period if human rights and diplomacy are the key values to be upheld.

We also would like to thank our amazing Academic Assistant Saba Darabi for her enthusiasm and great work, as well as our distinguished Secretary-General Duru Yavuz and Director-General Kaan Berker for their efforts. Without further ado, it is a great honor for us to participate in this edition of BoğaziçiMUN, and we are ecstatic to spend these 4 days with you.

**Selin Ayaz & Emir Elhatip**

**Under-Secretaries-General of the Truth and Reconciliation Council**



## I. Introduction to the Committee: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Yugoslavia

A Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is a temporary, official, authorized, non-judicial and typically non-punitive investigative body that is created in the aftermath of mass violence or authoritarian rule, to establish authoritative and grounded public record and archive-like record of serious human rights abuses. Its main aim is to shed light on what went down. Besides from collecting records, it recognizes victims by hearing testimonies, and recommends reforms and reparations to prevent recurrence. It's not a court, and unlike a criminal court setting (whose core task is assigning guilt individually and punishing accordingly) what TRCs do is to primarily address structures, patterns, and sociopolitical/economic conditions that enable violence. It may cooperate with prosecuting bodies through referrals and evidence preservation. Its central "product" is public truth: a credible record of patterns of abuse, who was harmed, how violence became possible, and what reforms are needed so it does not recur.

### 1. Theoretical Background

#### A. Transitional Justice

TRCs are situated within the broader field of transitional justice. transitional justice refers to the set of practices, discourses, and institutions used for pursuing justice, peace-making, conflict-resolution, truth-making, reconciliation, and social transformation that are employed in the context of drastic political/regime change. Institutions ranging from legal and quasi-legal ones including but not limited to truth commissions, memory and archival institutions, as well as criminal trials/prosecutions (both domestic and international) can be considered a part of efforts in transitional justice.



Transitional justice is said to promote social healing and reconciliation. The main intention is to reveal the truth about past crimes so that victims and survivors can begin to heal from the trauma, obtain closure, and then work toward reconciliation. With this logic it should also lead to peace by promoting justice for victims. Finding out the



truth, identifying the perpetrators, and punishing them or forcing them to publicly admit their crimes might help achieve justice as it ends impunity. Developing an objective account of the past also helps develop a commonly shared history, which foregrounds reconciliation. In addition to this, creating trustworthy archives of human rights violations also allows a society to learn from its past and prevent a recurrence of such violence in the future, which should be a central aim. Focusing on justice also helps consolidate the rule of law, the foundation of democracy. Conflicts can be settled through political deliberation instead of violence. Finally, punishing perpetrators is a sign that society will no longer tolerate such kinds of behavior. This acts as deterrence for potential human rights abusers from acting with impunity in the future.

Transitional justice as a conceptualization has four main pillars: *Truth* (fact-finding + public acknowledgment), *Justice* (criminal accountability + rule of law), *Reparations* (material and symbolic repair for victims), *Guarantees of non-repetition* (institutional reform, vetting, education, memorialization). A TRC sits primarily in *truth* and *repair*, but it can strengthen justice by *referring cases*, protecting evidence, and recommending reforms.

### **B. Recognition and Dignity**

Many TJ approaches emphasize justice as recognition, which describes the process of recognizing the agency and lived experience of the “victim” besides treating the victims only in terms of their victimhood. This approach essentially highlights the acknowledgment of what happened to these people were wrong. This is different from mere compensation. TRCs institutionalize this recognition through public hearings, official findings, memorialization, victim registries, and recommendations that embed victim’s experiences into public history and policy. The institutionalization takes place with official apologies, victim registries, memorial days, inclusive history education, renaming sites, museums, archives, and public testimony.

### **C. Reconciliation**

Reconciliation in this context is best understood as rebuilding the minimum conditions for shared political and social life. This means reducing denial and stigma, strengthening accountability norms, and reforming institutions so groups can coexist without fear. Most truth commissions explicitly link their final recommendations to preventing recurrence and enabling longer-term reconciliation as a result of this understanding. The political conditions



for reconciliation to exist include victims being recognized as rights-bearing citizens, the state admitting wrongdoing (or at least acknowledges harm), institutions restructured to prevent recurrence, and public discourse shifts from denial to accountability.

A key point to take into account here is reconciliation requires accountability to actually work and operate. Otherwise, it can become forced forgetting. Also reconciliation without recognition may essentially become victim silencing.

### D. The Politics of Truth

The term "politics of truth" refers to the reality that in post-conflict societies, "truth" is never merely a neutral discovery of facts but rather it's a struggle over epistemic authority, outlining who gets to determine what constitutes reliable historical knowledge, which harms are identified, which actors are held accountable, and which narrative becomes widely accepted. This is significant for TJ because of narrative warfare: denial, minimization, justificatory myths, and selective remembrance. This usually precedes and follows acts of violence and shields institutions and leaders from responsibility. The act of "officially" recounting the past inherently redistributes moral standing and political legitimacy across groups but a TRC enters this contentious territory by attempting to turn dispersed testimonies and evidence into an authoritative public record.

For this reason, power always shapes the pursuit of truth through different channels. For instance, security institutions may withhold archives; nationalist parties may frame findings in a bad light; victims' groups may develop mistrust to the commission if they suspect



narratives of fake equivalency (such as claims like "all sides suffered the same") which also dilutes responsibility; states and successor elites may cooperate with a TRC only if the process does not threaten core interests. In this understanding even methodological decisions

become political, such as whether the commission concentrates on specific instances or systemic trends, whether it identifies offenders or just institutions, whose areas and eras it covers, and whether it views sexual assault or relocation as central or peripheral. In reality,



commissions have to continuously balance the need for inclusion (hearing a variety of perspectives) with analytical clarity (seeing trends and accountability) without turning into propaganda, and as one can see there are a lot of different interest that need be balanced.

Since the truth is contested, establishing reliable procedures that are resistant to political attack is more important for legitimacy than claiming complete neutrality. Transparent requirements for verification, witness protection, independence from party funding and appointment, and a public explanation of the results reached are all included in these procedures. The objective is to create a public baseline that makes denial more difficult, acknowledges victims as authoritative moral persons, and connects acknowledgment to reforms and reparations rather than creating a single emotionally shared memory. In other words, the politics of truth is about whether communicating the truth becomes a weapon for rebuilding democracy or a battlefield where wartime myths and old hierarchies are replicated under the pretext of "reconciliation."

### **E. Gendered Harm**

Rather than being "gender-neutral" consequences of conflict, gendered harm refers to violence, loss, and long-term disadvantage that are generated and shaped through gender norms and gender power relations. Through sexual and gender-based violence (rape, sexual torture, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy, trafficking), as well as the social connotations associated with sexuality, "honor," and family roles that influence who is targeted, how survivors are treated, and what can be safely disclosed, conflict weaponizes gender. This is captured in terms of transitional justice. Widowing and single-headed households, the difficulties of looking for missing family members, gendered displacement and obstacles to return, and economic harms like property dispossession or discriminatory inheritance and compensation regimes are examples of structural repercussions that continue long after formal violence has ended. Gendered damages are generally underreported and under-archived unless institutions are built to allow testimony because shame and fear of retaliation frequently attach explicitly to sexual violence (and, in other ways, to male survivors).

In this case, Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are important because they are in a unique position to record patterns of gendered violence and the conditions that facilitate it, such as military and detention systems, propaganda, coercive masculinities, and local hierarchies, without depending exclusively on courtroom standards that emphasize personal



guilt. Gendered harm is viewed as essential to "truth quality" in a gender-sensitive TRC, which employs trauma-informed statement-taking, offers closed or anonymized hearings, offers psychosocial support and witness protection, and breaks down data to demonstrate how harms varied by location, gender, age, and ethnicity. Importantly, it also connects truth to repair by advocating for reparations and reforms that address both short-term needs (health care, counseling, education support, livelihood assistance) and long-term assurances of non-repetition (property and inheritance rights, anti-discrimination measures, security-sector reform, and education/memorialization policies).

In reality, commissions have implemented focused strategies to address gender prejudice in the pursuit of truth. After realizing that early public testimony formats frequently disguised gendered damages and reduced women to "secondary victims," the South Africa TRC organized special hearings centered on women's experiences. In order to document not only sexual abuse but also the wider gendered environment of legal, economic, and social ills, Sierra Leone's TRC generated specific findings on women and girls. These examples highlight a fundamental finding of feminist transitional justice scholarship: if a TRC is to produce credible truth, meaningful recognition, and long-lasting non-repetition, gender is an analytical lens that must shape mandates, methods, findings, and implementation rather than a "topic area" to be placed in a separate chapter.

### **F. Restorative Justice vs Retributive Justice**

The design and defense of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are directly impacted by two distinct logics of justice: retributive and restorative. Retributive justice is a court-centered understanding which emphasizes the use of formal procedures and evidentiary requirements to establish individual legal guilt and impose punishment. Its power lies in its affirmation of the rule of law, and its message that some acts (such as systematic rape, ethnic cleansing, torture, forced disappearances etc.) are illegal and politically unacceptable. However, in certain post-conflict settings, trials can also be slow, selective, and contested; they might only reach a small percentage of offenders, end up in the middle of national backlash, or even leave victims feeling that their demands are still unfulfilled even after there are convictions.

To heal the harm that has been done and restore dignity, restorative justice, on the other hand, places a strong emphasis on victim engagement, narrative truth-telling, and social reintegration. It's more individual-focused. It's quite appealing in transitional justice because



courts find it difficult to deal with the everyday social devastation created by conflict, the long-term impacts of displacement and shame, and the need for public acknowledgement that survivors were abused. However, if "reconciliation" is seen as a moral need rather than a voluntary outcome, perpetrators may use apologies as a way to avoid accountability, victims may feel under pressure to forgive, and the process may veer toward a politics of closure that substitutes symbolic gestures for real healing.

Usually, TRCs are justified as an addition to retributive justice rather than its replacement. Even though courts pursue individualized accountability when possible, TRCs are still able to establish patterns of violence, institutional culpability, and the societal conditions that permitted atrocities (producing an authoritative public record and advocating reparations and reforms) because they are non-judicial. Indeed, this is one of the central aims of TRCs. Therefore, the most reputable transitional justice settlements view trials and truth-telling as mutually reinforcing rather than separate things: TRCs expand recognition, explain how violence became possible, and develop the policy agenda (reparations, vetting, education, security-sector reform) that elevates "non-repetition" above a catchphrase, while prosecutions deter and uphold legal norms.

## **2. The Structure of the Commission**

### **A. Mandate**

The mandate outlines the TRC's legal authority, its geographical and temporal reach, and the kinds of harm it looks into. While staying non-judicial, a Yugoslavia TRC mandate usually incorporates victim acknowledgment, institutional change, and truth-seeking. Mandate's main components will be set out by the commissioners in the first sessions.

Core mandate components:

- Create a reliable public record of grave transgressions (murders, forced relocation, incarceration/camps, torture, enforced disappearances, damage of property and cultural assets, and sexual and gender-based abuse)
- Examine trends and structures rather than single instances (such as chains of command, connections between militias and states, hate media and propaganda, discriminatory governance, and the ways in which institutions facilitated violence)
- Take statements, have public and private hearings, collect evidence, establish a safe archive



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- Provide conclusions (what transpired, where, who, and how) and suggestions regarding issues like reparations and rehabilitation, memorialization and education, institutional reform (security, judiciary, media), and guarantees of non-repetition
- Refer credible case files to prosecutorial authorities when legally appropriate, without becoming a parallel court.

### **B. Composition**

Instead of being a tiny panel of technocrats, the commission is purposefully intended to be a large, socially representative body. Thus; Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian, and Montenegrin ethnicities are included in the commission as they are the principal successor-community groups. There are going to be 36 Commissioners in total, each with their own background story and potential issues that they want to push forward.

The commission is made up of activists, civilians, fighters, bureaucrats. They vary in their position within the hierarchies of wartime. They are from rural and urban backgrounds, have their very own tangled histories. This is particularly crucial in the composition to prevent TRC failures and the appearance of "victors' justice" or being over/underrepresentative, as was the reduction of communities into a single function as offenders/victims. This allows for individual experiences to be heard and recognized.

There's also occupational and experiential diversity. Working-class, rural, state, civil society, and military backgrounds are represented among the 36 commissioners, which may influence how commissioners prioritize injuries and create remedies; it is not ornamental. There are people who play roles in local economies and create livelihoods as well as being knowledge producers, alongside military officials and people with state-level-official backgrounds.

### **C. Procedures and operating principles**

The Commission's "credibility architecture" consists of its working principles and procedures, which establish whether the TRC delivers reliable truth instead of political theater and whether participation is safe enough for victims to speak without fear of reprisal or retraumatization. In a post-Yugoslav environment where victimization and blame narratives are fiercely contested, the Commission's legitimacy is more dependent on open



procedures and independence protections that can withstand criticism than it is on moral language. This entails a protected budget, set terms for commissioners, explicit conflict-of-interest guidelines (particularly for those with wartime security links), and written guidelines outlining the procedures for gathering, verifying, and interpreting testimony.

However, a rigorous do-no-harm concept must be the foundation of the TRC process. Testimony is an experience with trauma, not just "information extraction." Trauma-informed interviewing procedures, informed consent and withdrawal rights, and several avenues for involvement, including closed sessions and anonymous submissions for high-risk witnesses and survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, as well as public hearings for recognition should be deemed required for commissioners. Some sort of Victim Support and Witness Protection framework (which includes psychosocial support prior to, during, and following testimony, risk assessments, confidentiality safeguards, and cautious media regulations that avoid sensationalism) should be viewed as a fundamental operating principle rather than a side product. The goal is to enable truth-telling without subjecting survivors to social shame or turning them into tools for a public narrative.

Lastly, the Commission needs to integrate basic fairness, evidential integrity, and inclusion. Truth is not captured by metropolitan elites because inclusivity necessitates bilingual access, disability access, diaspora channels, and field-based outreach outside of capitals. For findings to withstand examination and possibly support subsequent prosecutions, evidentiary integrity necessitates chain-of-custody regulations, safe data storage, and unambiguous corroboration criteria. In addition to a commitment to disaggregated data (gender, age, ethnicity, and location) so the final record reflects patterns rather than stereotypes, fairness entails carefully regulated practices regarding naming individuals in reports (thresholds of corroboration, "right of reply," and protections against defamatory misuse). To put it briefly, operating principles serve as a link between ethical goals and pragmatic governance, giving the Commission credibility with the public, participant safety, and usefulness for institutional transformation and restitution.

#### **D. Relationship to courts**

While courts decide individual criminal responsibility under due process, the TRC is a non-judicial body that creates an authoritative public record and policy recommendations. In terms of transitional justice, a TRC can identify injuries that never make it to court and explain the larger architecture of violence (patterns, chains of command, institutional failures,



propaganda, prejudice), while trials convey a hard norm, certain acts are crimes and punishable. A credible TRC can expand the societal meaning of accountability by connecting the truth to restitution and reforms that courts are unable to provide, but it does not "replace" prosecutions. The aim is to prevent misleading trade-offs.

Operationally, in order to prevent truth-seeking from undermining prosecutions, this relationship needs well-defined legal boundaries and coordinating mechanisms. The TRC can create a referral process that sends well-documented information to capable prosecution authorities rather than rendering verdicts or declaring guilt. This of course calls for procedures which safeguard sensitive testimony, especially from survivors of sexual assault or witnesses who are in danger, as well as regulations for evidence integrity (chain-of-custody, secure storage, uniform recordkeeping). A non-interference rule guarantees that the TRC doesn't schedule high-profile hearings or publish sensitive information in ways that contaminate juries, intimidate witnesses, or jeopardize ongoing cases, while a memorandum of understanding with domestic prosecutors can specify what can be shared, when, and how.

Lastly, the commission has to handle the moral and political conundrums that occur when offenders wish to take part. Permitting testimonies from offenders can reveal more about covert crimes and command systems, but it also runs the risk of providing a pathway to public propaganda or impunity. Permitting such testimony under strictly regulated conditions: no general amnesties for serious crimes, stringent protections against intimidation, and careful separation between "truth contribution" and legal outcomes. Keeping victims' rights and safety as the top priority is important to set up a tenable model. The TRC-courts connection should be publicly portrayed as a division of labor: courts punish, the TRC explains and fixes, and both are important for non-repetition in a postwar setting where denial and nationalist narratives are still prevalent.

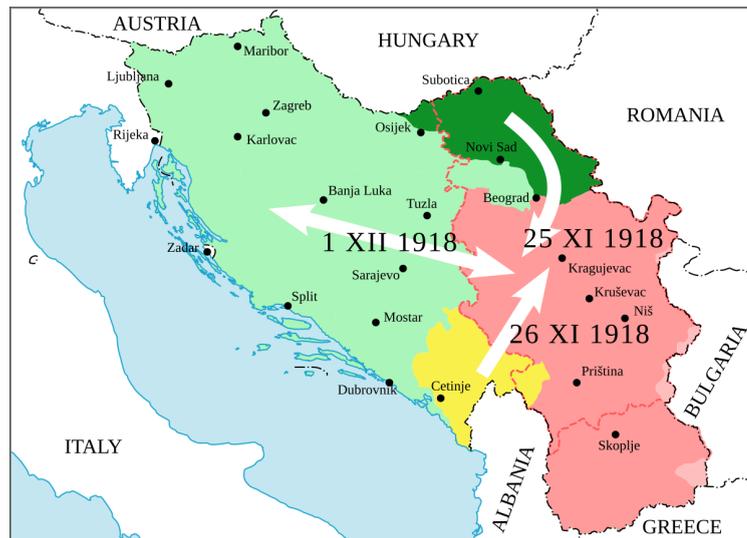
## **II. Historical Background: Origins of the Conflict**

The matters examined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Yugoslavia did not arise without notice in the 1990s after its breakdown; they were entrenched in enduring political, ethnic, and constitutional conflicts originating from the very formation of the Yugoslav state.

After World War I, in 1918, Yugoslavia was formed as a multi-ethnic country with South Slavic peoples: *Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosniaks, Montenegrins, and Macedonians*, as well as large minority groups like *Albanians*. Some of the religious traditions that these groups were often linked to included Serbian Orthodoxy, Catholicism, and Islam.

*Merger dates of entities that were joined forces to form Yugoslavia:*

- *Banat, Bačka and Baranja*
- *Kingdom of Montenegro*
- *State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs*
- *Kingdom of Serbia*



A visible internal conflict began to rise among the Yugoslav peoples throughout the 20th

century. This conflict was certainly affected by the religious divisions within the society but was primarily sparked by tensions over the Vidovdan Constitution which established a highly centralized system favoring Serbian political dominance which became a central source of injustice within the region. Following the 1928 assassination of Croatian politician Stjepan Radić, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS), these tensions deepened: this was an event widely understood as visibly showing the collapse of constitutional compromise and the marginalization of non-Serb people's political participation aspirations.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia eventually fell under the pressures of World War II, until 1941. In March of that year, Regent Prince Paul, the executive at the time, signed the Tripartite Pact with Nazi Germany and its allies to preserve Yugoslavia's territorial integrity, and, as he put it, to avoid war. This decision, however, triggered fierce opposition among pro-Western Serbian nationalist officers especially within the Royal Yugoslav Air Force, who viewed the pact as a betrayal of Serbia's World War I legacy and its historical alignment with Britain.

On 27 March 1941, these officers carried out a coup d'état that removed Prince Paul and installed the minor King Peter II which symbolically meant rejecting Axis alignment. Adolf



Hitler then responded by issuing Directive No. 25, ordering the invasion of Yugoslavia, also known as the April War, which began on 6 April 1941. The Yugoslav state collapsed within weeks, giving way to occupation, fragmentation, and mass violence. These developments left enduring legacies of trauma, contested memory, and competing claims of victimhood impacting the Yugoslav peoples that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission later sought to confront.



Following World War II, Yugoslavia was re-established in 1945 as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The new state was organized as a socialist federation consisting of six republics: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia; two autonomous provinces within Serbia were also apparent: Kosovo and Vojvodina. Though this structure suggested that political power was shared between the federal center and the republics, in practice decision-making authority remained concentrated

within the centralized hierarchy of the Communist Party. Republican governments and institutions existed and operated on a daily basis, but their role was largely to implement policies formulated at the party level rather than to independently determine political direction. This made federalism a tool for administrative coordination rather than genuine political self-rule.

This post-war leadership promoted the ideology of “Brotherhood and Unity” as a way to prevent renewed inter-ethnic violence following the mass atrocities of World War II. Instead of encouraging the public to talk about the crimes committed by various groups including ethnic cleansing and retaliatory violence, the state actively *discouraged* such open discussions of the past. While this policy succeeded in limiting overt nationalist mobilization, it also prevented accountability and left competing stories of victimhood unresolved, to be reactivated in later decades.



Tito's death in 1980 marked a critical turning point in the new, socialist Yugoslavia. His personal authority had served as a stabilizing force within a system increasingly dependent on informal power and political compromise. In his absence, governance was transferred to a rotating collective presidency representing the republics and provinces. This arrangement proved ill-suited to managing deepening political disagreements, particularly as Yugoslavia entered a period of economic crisis characterized by high inflation, rising unemployment, and mounting foreign debt throughout the 1980s.

It is worth mentioning the important role the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution played in shaping the federation during this period: it importantly expanded the constitutional autonomy of the republics and granted Kosovo and Vojvodina in Serbia extensive self-governing powers, including their own representation in federal decision-making bodies. At the time, this arrangement was intended to stabilize the federation by balancing republican interests and preventing domination by any single group. In practice, though, it made federal governance increasingly complex. Authority was dispersed across multiple levels, and federal institutions found it difficult to act decisively, especially when disputes arose between republics.

As the years passed, interpretations of the constitution diverged sharply consequentially. Republics such as Slovenia and Croatia tended to view decentralization as a necessary safeguard against renewed central control and as a guarantee of political equality within the federation. By contrast, many political actors in Serbia came to see the same constitutional framework as fragmenting the state and disadvantaged Serbian interests, particularly given the extensive autonomy enjoyed by Kosovo and Vojvodina.

During the late 1980s, economic decline and growing institutional paralysis created conditions that allowed these disagreements to intensify. As inflation rose, unemployment increased, and living standards became increasingly difficult, federal institutions proved that they were simply unable to respond effectively. In this environment, political elites began to rely more heavily on ethnically framed historical narratives to mobilize the public. Memories of World War II violence, which had long been suppressed under the doctrine of "Brotherhood and Unity," were selectively reintroduced into the society, often through state-controlled or newly liberalized media.

It was within this context that Slobodan Milošević (in picture) emerged as a dominant political figure in Serbia. Beginning in 1987, he became President of the Federal Republic of



Yugoslavia by appealing to Serbian nationalist sentiments, especially regarding the status of Kosovo. Through a series of political interventions collectively referred to as the “anti-bureaucratic revolution,” Milošević reduced the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina and strengthened Serbia’s influence within federal institutions. While these actions were presented domestically as efforts to “restore balance and state authority”, they were widely interpreted by other republics as attempts at recentralization and hegemonic control.

According to a 1994 report by the United Nations, Serbian political and military objectives during this period included efforts to create a so-called “Greater Serbia” through territorial claims in parts of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. As Yugoslavia began to disintegrate in the early 1990s, these political disputes escalated into a series of armed conflicts collectively known as the Yugoslav Wars.

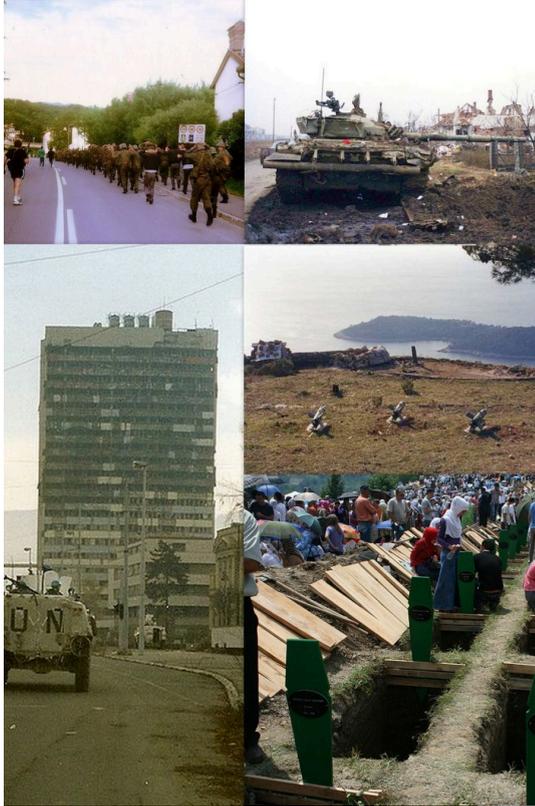
The wars, which took place primarily in Croatia (1991-1995), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), and Kosovo (1998-1999), were characterized by widespread violations of international humanitarian law. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb forces carried out systematic campaigns of ethnic cleansing, particularly in areas such as Prijedor, where non-Serb populations were forcibly expelled and detained in camps including Omarska, Keraterm, and Trnopolje, where detainees were subjected to torture, starvation, sexual violence, and extrajudicial killings. The siege of Sarajevo (1992-1996), conducted primarily by Bosnian Serb forces, involved sustained shelling and sniper attacks against civilian populations and became the longest siege of a capital city in modern European history.

In response to the crimes, the United Nations established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in The Hague to prosecute individuals responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. The tribunal focused on individual criminal



responsibility rather than collective guilt and charged political and military leaders from multiple sides of the conflict.

The most severe crime committed during the wars occurred in July 1995 in Srebrenica, a United Nations-declared “safe area,” where Bosnian Serb forces under the command of General Ratko Mladić executed more than 8,000 Bosniak men and boys. This event was



legally recognized as genocide by both the ICTY and the International Court of Justice (ICJ). It was the first event in Europe since World War II to be formally classified as genocide.

Other mass atrocities occurred across the region. In Croatia, the 1991 Vukovar massacre involved the execution of approximately 260 Croatian civilians and prisoners of war by Yugoslav People’s Army units and Serbian paramilitary forces following the fall of the city. In Bosnia, the Ahmići massacre of 1993 saw Bosniak civilians killed by Croat forces of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), while the destruction of cultural and religious heritage, including mosques, churches, and the Old Bridge of Mostar, formed

part of broader campaigns of persecution. During and after Croatia’s Operation Storm in 1995, large numbers of Serbian civilians were forcibly displaced, with killings of civilians who remained.

Across all conflicts, systematic wartime sexual violence was employed as a tool of terror, intimidation, and forced displacement. Rape, sexual enslavement, and forced pregnancy were documented on a large scale, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, leading the ICTY to establish important legal precedents recognizing sexual violence as a crime against humanity.

In Kosovo, the conflict of 1998-1999 was marked by mass killings, village burnings, and the forced displacement of Kosovo Albanian civilians by Yugoslav and Serbian security forces, including the Yugoslav Army and Serbian police units. Incidents such as the Račak massacre contributed to international condemnation and ultimately to NATO intervention that carried



out an aerial bombing campaign. The air strikes lasted from 24 March 1999 to 10 June 1999. The bombings continued until an agreement was reached that led to the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Kosovo, and the establishment of a UN peacekeeping mission in the region named the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo.

It is important to note that NATO launched this campaign *without* the UN's approval, stating that it was *inter alia* or humanitarian intervention. The UN Charter prohibits the use of force except in the case of a decision by the Security Council. The NATO bombing killed about 1,000 members of the Yugoslav security forces in addition to between 489 and 528 civilians. It destroyed and damaged bridges, industrial plants, hospitals, schools, cultural monuments, and private businesses, as well as barracks and military installations. In total, between 9 and 11 tonnes of depleted uranium was dropped across all of Yugoslavia. In the days after the Yugoslav army withdrew, over 164,000 Serbs and 24,000 Roma left Kosovo. Many of the remaining non-Albanian civilians (as well as Albanians perceived as collaborators) were victims of abuse which included beatings, abductions, and murders. After Kosovo and other Yugoslav Wars, Serbia became home to the highest number of refugees and internally displaced persons (including Kosovo Serbs) in Europe.

Estimates of the human cost of the Yugoslav Wars vary with sources. According to the International Center for Transitional Justice, approximately 140,000 people were killed, while the Humanitarian Law Center estimates at least 130,000 casualties. Over the course of the decade-long conflicts, millions were displaced, creating major refugee flows and prolonged humanitarian crises across the region.

By the end of the 1980s and into the early 1990s, Yugoslavia faced a profound crisis of legitimacy. Federal mechanisms designed to manage conflict and enforce compromise had eroded, trust among republican leaderships had collapsed, and no agreed legal or political framework existed for constitutional reform. As republican governments increasingly pursued independent political trajectories, the federal state ceased to function as an effective mediator. In this institutional vacuum, political disputes escalated into armed conflict, ultimately leading to the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a mechanism in an effort to confront the legacy of violence, responsibility, and unresolved historical grievances.



## III. Proceedings of the Commission

1. **Opening statements:** Each commissioner will deliver an opening statement about their stances on the issue, their issues of prioritization and a general overview about what they hope to achieve in the commission.
2. **Design phase:** In this multi-tiered phase, the commissioners will design the mandate, how investigations will be approached, how hearings and findings will be planned

### **Mandate-setting phase:**

- Decide temporal and geographic scope: which years will you cover; which successor states and diaspora will be involved?
- Define violations and harms the TRC will prioritize and define the concepts in detail: killings, disappearances, camps, torture, displacement, property destruction, cultural heritage, and sexual & gender-based violence.
- Define TRC's powers: access to archives, subpoena-like authority (if any), ability to compel testimony, witness protection capacity, and referral mechanisms.
- Decide whether the TRC can name individuals, name institutions only, or name with strict thresholds.

### **Investigation planning phase:**

- Build a statement-taking strategy: how will you take statements logistically (will you have field offices and mobile teams, if so how are you going to fund such strategies?), how will you deal with multilingual intake, how will you set up diaspora channels to ensure inclusivity, will you allow digital submission and if so how will you ensure its security?
- Set evidence and corroboration standards: how many independent sources is the necessary threshold for confirming a pattern; how will you treat rumors, media, NGO data and reports, forensic evidence; how will you treat chain-of-custody rules for documents and recordings?
- Put forward a thematic mapping approach: camps, sieges, missing persons, displacement corridors, paramilitary networks, propaganda systems.
- Design special protocols for high-risk testimony cases: minors, SGBV survivors, threatened witnesses, and those still living next to perpetrators.



## Hearings design:

- Decide hearing types and the specific criteria for it: such as victim hearings, thematic hearings, institutional hearings, closed hearings. Alongside, define if they are going to be public/semi-public/closed.
- Establish witness support as non-negotiable, including (but not limited to) psychosocial services, legal advice, post-testimony follow-up, and anti-retaliation monitoring.
- Set media policy: what can be broadcast, anonymization rules, and sanctions for doxxing/sensationalism.
- Define how the commission will handle perpetrator or “responsible actor” testimony.

## Findings design:

- Decide the structure of the final report. Define the chronology and set out thematic chapters. Establish the pattern findings, include laying out what happened, where, and through which mechanisms). Provide institutional analysis as to how the specific perpetrations became possible. Analyse victim impacts, including social/economic/gendered harm). Set out responsibility framework (institutional and, if allowed, individual).

**3. Testimonials:** This is the commission’s formal record-building sessions. Victims, witnesses, and in some cases responsible actors provide accounts that are documented, corroborated, and ethically safeguarded. They can occur through public hearings for recognition, closed sessions for protection or written/digital submissions, in guidelines that you will set forward. The important key to underline here is that testimony is treated as evidence *and* as a dignity-restoring act, with trauma-informed support and confidentiality rules.

**4. Dialogue:** Refers to structured debates after the testimonial process. The Commission will analyze and debate on the testimonials.

**5. Resolution:** These are the commission’s negotiated set of final outputs. A consolidated report and a package of implementable recommendations (reparations, institutional reform, memorialization, and non-repetition guarantees), with timelines, responsible bodies, and monitoring mechanisms can be included here.



## IV. Character Guide

### Emir Hadžić (Factory Worker, 1962)

Emir grew up in Srebrenica, working long shifts in the factory to support his family. His life was modest but stable until the war shattered everything. He lost two brothers in the massacres, their bodies never properly buried. He himself survived displacement, carrying the unbearable weight of grief and survivor's guilt. He witnessed civilians rounded up, families torn apart, and the silence of the international community. His arc is one of endurance, a man who once lived quietly now forced to carry the memory of tragedy. He became a reluctant witness, someone who never sought politics but was thrust into history. He saw how ordinary workers became victims, not combatants. He realized that silence could bury memory, and memory must be spoken aloud.

At the TRC, Emir seeks acknowledgment of civilian victims, especially those silenced in mass graves. He wants the truth of their suffering recognized, not erased by political narratives. His demand is not revenge but dignity — the identification of mass graves and the naming of those lost. He believes reconciliation begins with truth, not denial. Emir's journey reflects the transformation from a silent worker to a voice for remembrance. He insists that ordinary people, not just leaders, must be remembered in history. His arc shows how grief can become testimony, and testimony can become a demand for justice. He wants future generations to know that civilians bore the heaviest burden. He believes reconciliation must honor the dead and protect the living. Emir's story is about turning pain into advocacy, ensuring that silence never buries memory again.

- **Main Objectives:** Acknowledgment of civilian victims, identification of mass graves, dignity for the dead.
- **Close Associates:** Esada Mujić (shared grief as a “mother of the missing”), Almira Kovačević (trauma recognition).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Serbian paramilitary affiliates (e.g., Nenad Janković) who deny or minimize civilian massacres.



### **Nermina Softić (University Student, 1975)**

Nermina was a bright student in Tuzla, full of ambition and dreams of academic success. She believed education was her path to independence and contribution to society. The war shattered those dreams, forcing her into refugee camps where survival replaced study. Her books were replaced by ration lines, and her lectures by the sound of shelling. Her sister disappeared amid rumors of detention and sexual violence, leaving Nermina haunted by unanswered questions. She carried the pain of interrupted youth, knowing her generation's future was stolen. She witnessed classmates scattered across borders, some never returning. Her arc is one of interrupted promise, a student silenced by war but determined to reclaim her voice. She became a refugee advocate, speaking for those whose education was cut short. She realized that reconciliation must restore futures, not just heal wounds.

At the TRC, Nermina calls for reparative education programs and recognition of stolen futures. She believes reconciliation must include rebuilding opportunities for youth who lost their chance to learn. Her demand is not only personal but generational, insisting that education is a form of justice. She wants scholarships, programs, and acknowledgment that war robbed her peers of possibility. Her arc is about turning loss into advocacy, ensuring that the next generation is not defined by war. She insists that reconciliation must restore futures, not just heal wounds. She believes education can bridge divides and rebuild trust. Her story is about resilience, refusing to let war define her identity. She wants textbooks to tell the truth, not propaganda. Nermina's arc reflects the transformation from silenced student to advocate for education as justice.

- **Main Objectives:** Reparative education programs, recognition of stolen futures, truthful textbooks.
- **Close Associates:** Zorana Ilić (Serbian teacher advocating for educational reform), Elena Dimitrova (Macedonian NGO volunteer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Gorana Stanković (Serbian shop owner who benefited from war economy, resistant to reparations).

### **Esada Mujić (Farmer, 1958)**

Esada grew up in a rural village, tending her land and raising her family. Her life was simple but dignified, rooted in agriculture and community. The war destroyed her livelihood: her fields were burned, her property seized, and her neighbors scattered. She became one of the



“mothers of the missing,” searching endlessly for her loved ones. She carried the burden of survival while grief consumed her. She witnessed villages emptied, homes destroyed, and the land itself turned into a battlefield. Her arc is rooted in resilience, as she transformed grief into advocacy. She became a voice for rural survivors, demanding justice for those who lost everything. She embodied the strength of women who refused to be silenced. She realized that reconciliation must include material justice, not just symbolic gestures.

At the TRC, Esada demands the right of return and land restitution, along with survivor pensions. She insists that reconciliation must include material justice, not just symbolic gestures. Her demand is practical: land, livelihood, and dignity restored. She believes survivors must be supported, not abandoned. Her arc is about turning farming into testimony, showing that survival depended on land and community. She wants recognition that rural voices matter in reconciliation. She insists that justice must reach villages, not just cities. Her story is about resilience, refusing to let destruction define her. She wants her children to inherit dignity, not displacement. Esada’s arc reflects the transformation from farmer to activist, fighting to reclaim home and hope.

- **Main Objectives:** Right of return, land restitution, survivor pensions.
- **Close Associates:** Emir Hadžić (shared grief and displacement), Adem Rizvić (village guard protecting civilians).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Croatian reconstruction officials (e.g., Ivanka Kralj) who prioritize infrastructure over land restitution.

### **Almira Kovačević (Former Student, 1978)**

Almira was a teenager when the war engulfed her enclave. She dreamed of school, friends, and a normal adolescence. Instead, she survived displacement and sexual violence, carrying scars that shaped her adulthood. Her arc is one of trauma and survival, as she struggled to rebuild her life. She witnessed the destruction of innocence, the silencing of women, and the denial of their suffering. She carried pain that society often ignored, treating her trauma as invisible. She became a reluctant advocate, speaking for those silenced by shame. She realized that testimony was the only way to break silence. She insisted that trauma must be recognized as part of history. She became a voice for survivors, demanding dignity and acknowledgment.



At the TRC, Almira demands recognition of psychological trauma as war damage. She wants survivors of sexual violence acknowledged, not erased. Her demand is about dignity, not pity. She believes reconciliation must include mental health support. Her arc is about transforming victimhood into advocacy. She insists that trauma is part of history, not a private burden. She wants testimony to break silence, ensuring survivors are heard. Her story is about resilience, refusing to let shame define her. She believes reconciliation must heal minds as well as lands. Almira's arc reflects the transformation from silenced teenager to advocate for recognition of trauma. She insists that reconciliation must honor survivors, not hide them.

- **Main Objectives:** Recognition of psychological trauma, survivor dignity, mental health support.
- **Close Associates:** Slobodanka Marković (Serbian social worker advocating for women and children), Elira Gashi (Albanian human rights activist).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military figures (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer) who resist framing trauma as war damage.

### **Hasan Delić (Defense Volunteer, 1965)**

Hasan was a local man who never imagined himself as a soldier. When his community was attacked, he joined the territorial defense unit out of necessity, not ambition. He fought only in defensive combat, protecting civilians from aggression. He witnessed atrocities committed against his neighbors, but he refused to participate in offensive operations. His arc is one of reluctant soldiering, a man who never sought war but was forced to defend his home. He carried the burden of knowing that violence was unavoidable, yet he tried to maintain moral clarity. He saw friends die in defense, and he saw civilians saved because of their resistance. He realized that history often paints all fighters with the same brush, erasing distinctions. He became determined to preserve the truth of defense versus aggression. He wants his service remembered as protection, not crime.

At the TRC, Hasan demands a distinction between defense and war crimes. He believes reconciliation must recognize that not all combatants were aggressors. His demand is about honor, ensuring that those who defended civilians are not vilified. He insists that moral lines matter, even in war. His arc is about reclaiming dignity for defenders. He wants testimony to show that defense was a duty, not a crime. He believes reconciliation must be nuanced, not simplistic. His story is about turning reluctant soldiering into advocacy. He insists that



reconciliation must honor those who protected, not erase them. Hasan's arc reflects the transformation from reluctant fighter to advocate for moral clarity.

- **Main Objectives:** Recognition of defensive combat as distinct from war crimes.
- **Close Associates:** Adem Rizvić (village guard), Ismet Beširović (logistics officer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Serbian paramilitary affiliates (e.g., Nenad Janković) who blur lines between defense and aggression.

### **Ismet Beširović (Logistics Officer, 1960)**

Ismet coordinated supplies during the war, ensuring food and medicine reached those under siege. He was not a frontline fighter but played a crucial role in survival. His arc is one of quiet service, often overlooked in narratives that focus on combat. He witnessed suffering but contributed through organization and resilience. He saw how logistics determined survival, how supplies meant life or death. He realized that history often ignores non-combat roles. He became determined to preserve the truth of logistical support. He carried the burden of knowing that his work sustained communities. He saw how civilians depended on supply chains. He became an advocate for recognition of non-combat contributions.

At the TRC, Ismet calls for historical accuracy without simplification. He wants recognition of non-combat roles that sustain communities. His demand is about truth, ensuring that history reflects the full spectrum of wartime experiences. He insists that logistics mattered as much as combat. His arc is about turning quiet service into testimony. He believes reconciliation must honor all contributions, not just soldiers. His story is about resilience, ensuring that support roles are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must be comprehensive, not narrow. He wants archives to reflect logistics as survival. Ismet's arc reflects the transformation from logistics officer to advocate for historical accuracy.

- **Main Objectives:** Recognition of non-combat logistical roles, historical accuracy.
- **Close Associates:** Hasan Delić (defense volunteer), Josip Horvat (Croatian logistics worker).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Simplistic nationalist figures who erase nuance (e.g., Nemanja Jovanović, Serbian reserve officer).

### **Adem Rizvić (Village Guard, 1955)**



Adem was a village guard, defending civilians from attacks. His arc is one of local heroism, protecting neighbors with limited resources. He witnessed violence but stood firm in safeguarding his community. He saw families saved because of his vigilance. He realized that ordinary people could resist aggression. He carried the burden of knowing that defense was dangerous but necessary. He became determined to preserve the truth of civilian protection. He saw how history often ignores local defenders. He became an advocate for recognition of community guardians. He insisted that reconciliation must honor ordinary protectors.

At the TRC, Adem seeks recognition of civilian protection efforts. He wants the memory of local defenders preserved. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that ordinary people are remembered. He believes reconciliation must honor community guardians. His arc is about turning local defense into testimony. He insists that reconciliation must be inclusive, not elitist. His story is about resilience, ensuring that villages are remembered. He wants archives to reflect community defense. He insists that reconciliation must honor ordinary courage. Adem's arc reflects the transformation from village guard to advocate for recognition.

- **Main Objectives:** Recognition of civilian protection efforts.
- **Close Associates:** Hasan Delić (defense volunteer), Esada Mujić (farmer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military elites who dismiss local defense (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer).

### **Zijada Omeragić (Medical Orderly, 1969)**

Zijada worked as a medical assistant during the war, treating the wounded under siege. She witnessed unimaginable suffering, often without proper supplies. Her arc is one of humanitarian courage, risking her life to save others. She saw civilians and soldiers alike brought to her care. She realized that medical neutrality was vital. She carried the burden of knowing that healing was political. She became determined to preserve the truth of medical service. She saw how medical workers were often silenced. She became an advocate for recognition of humanitarian witnesses. She insisted that reconciliation must honor medical neutrality.

At the TRC, Zijada demands protection of medical neutrality and humanitarian memory. She wants medical witnesses safeguarded. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that caregivers are remembered. She believes reconciliation must honor humanitarian courage. Her arc is about turning caregiving into testimony. She insists that reconciliation must be humane, not



just political. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that medical workers are remembered. She wants archives to reflect medical service. She insists that reconciliation must honor healing. Zijada's arc reflects the transformation from medical orderly to advocate for humanitarian truth.

- **Main Objectives:** Protection of medical neutrality, safeguarding humanitarian witnesses.
- **Close Associates:** Slobodanka Marković (Serbian social worker), Elena Dimitrova (Macedonian NGO volunteer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Commanders who violated medical neutrality (e.g., Radovan Nikolić, Serbian border soldier who witnessed crimes).

### **Marina Petrović (Activist, 1904)**

Marina was born in the early 20th century and grew up in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars. As a toddler she lost her family, carrying that trauma into adulthood. She became a professor emeritus, dedicating her life to education and activism. During the Yugoslav wars, she helped women and children who fell victim to displacement, detention, and sexual violence. She witnessed propaganda spread through society, manipulating communities into hatred. She saw neighbors turn against each other, guided by false narratives. Her arc is one of resilience, a woman who lived through multiple wars and refused to be silent. She became a moral voice, reminding others of the dangers of manipulation. She carried the burden of history, knowing that cycles of violence repeat when truth is ignored. She became determined to break those cycles.

At the TRC, Marina demands acknowledgment of propaganda and societal manipulation. She believes reconciliation must include multinational dialogue. Her demand is about truth, ensuring that manipulation is exposed. She insists that reconciliation must be built on honesty. Her arc is about turning personal tragedy into advocacy. She wants future generations to learn from her experience. She believes reconciliation must unite communities, not divide them. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that history does not repeat. She insists that reconciliation must honor victims of propaganda. Marina's arc reflects the transformation from survivor to activist, demanding multinational reconciliation.

- **Main Objectives:** Acknowledgment of propaganda, multinational reconciliation.



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- **Close Associates:** Nermina Softić (Bosnian student seeking truthful education), Bojana Zupan (Slovenian journalist).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Nationalist figures who deny propaganda's role (e.g., Gorana Stanković, Serbian shop owner).

### **Zorana Ilić (Teacher, 1959)**

Zorana was an educator and intellectual, committed to teaching truth. During the war, she remained publicly silent, fearing repercussions. She witnessed propaganda infiltrate classrooms, distorting history. She saw students confused, taught lies instead of facts. Her arc is one of quiet resistance, a teacher who refused to spread falsehoods. She carried the burden of silence, knowing her students deserved better. She became determined to reform education after the war. She realized that reconciliation must begin in classrooms. She became an advocate for truthful textbooks. She insisted that education must be honest.

At the TRC, Zorana demands educational reform and truthful textbooks. She believes reconciliation must include honest teaching. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that students learn the truth. She insists that reconciliation must begin with education. Her arc is about turning silence into advocacy. She wants classrooms to be places of truth, not propaganda. She believes reconciliation must rebuild trust through education. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that students inherit honesty. She insists that reconciliation must honor intellectual integrity. Zorana's arc reflects the transformation from silent teacher to advocate for educational reform.

- **Main Objectives:** Educational reform, truthful textbooks.
- **Close Associates:** Nermina Softić (Bosnian student), Matej Koren (Slovenian civil servant focused on prevention).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military elites who resist educational reform (e.g., Nemanja Jovanović, Serbian reserve officer).

### **Gorana Stanković (Shop Owner, 1966)**

Gorana was a small business owner who indirectly benefited from the war economy. She saw her shop thrive while others suffered. She witnessed profiteering, corruption, and exploitation. Her arc is one of complicity, a civilian who gained while others lost. She carried the burden of knowing her success was built on suffering. She became determined to confront



economic accountability. She realized that reconciliation must include truth about profiteering. She became an advocate for economic justice. She insisted that reconciliation must expose profiteers. She wanted honesty about the war economy.

At the TRC, Gorana demands economic accountability through truth. She believes reconciliation must include acknowledgment of profiteering. Her demand is about honesty, ensuring that economic manipulation is exposed. She insists that reconciliation must be comprehensive. Her arc is about turning complicity into advocacy. She wants future generations to learn about the war economy. She believes reconciliation must rebuild trust through honesty. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that profiteering is not ignored. She insists that reconciliation must honor victims of economic exploitation. Gorana's arc reflects the transformation from shop owner to advocate for economic accountability.

- **Main Objectives:** Economic accountability, exposure of profiteering.
- **Close Associates:** Ivanka Kralj (Croatian engineer advocating reconstruction), Ante Marić (Croatian fisherman displaced economically).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors demanding reparations (e.g., Nermina Softić, Bosnian student).

### **Dragan Vuković (Conscription Soldier, 1968)**

Dragan was a working-class man conscripted into the army. He performed guard duties, not frontline combat. He witnessed atrocities but did not participate. His arc is one of reluctant service, a soldier forced into war. He carried the burden of knowing he was part of a system. He became determined to distinguish individual responsibility from collective guilt. He realized that reconciliation must be nuanced. He became an advocate for personal accountability. He insisted that reconciliation must not vilify all soldiers. He wanted truth about conscription.

At the TRC, Dragan demands individual responsibility over collective guilt. He believes reconciliation must distinguish roles. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that conscripts are not vilified. He insists that reconciliation must be nuanced. His arc is about turning reluctant service into advocacy. He wants testimony to show that guard duties were not crimes. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that conscripts are remembered fairly. He insists that reconciliation must honor nuance.



Dragan's arc reflects the transformation from conscript to advocate for individual responsibility.

- **Main Objectives:** Individual responsibility, distinction from collective guilt.
- **Close Associates:** Gent Berisha (Albanian port worker, neutral logistics), Ismet Beširović (Bosnian logistics officer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors demanding collective accountability (e.g., Esada Mujić, Bosnian farmer).

### **Nemanja Jovanović (Reserve Officer, 1957)**

Nemanja was an administrative military officer, managing logistics and paperwork. He witnessed atrocities through documents, not battlefields. His arc is one of bureaucratic complicity, a man who sustained war through administration. He carried the burden of knowing paperwork enabled violence. He became determined to expose chain-of-command transparency. He realized that reconciliation must include bureaucracy. He became an advocate for administrative accountability. He insisted that reconciliation must expose paperwork. He wanted truth about military administration.

At the TRC, Nemanja demands chain-of-command transparency. He believes reconciliation must expose bureaucracy. His demand is about honesty, ensuring that administration is not ignored. He insists that reconciliation must be comprehensive. His arc is about turning paperwork into testimony. He wants archives to reflect administration. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that bureaucracy is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor transparency. Nemanja's arc reflects the transformation from officer to advocate for chain-of-command truth.

- **Main Objectives:** Chain-of-command transparency.
- **Close Associates:** Tomaž Vidmar (Slovenian historian), Josip Horvat (Croatian logistics worker).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors who distrust bureaucracy (e.g., Almira Kovačević, Bosnian trauma survivor).

### **Nenad Janković (Paramilitary Affiliate, 1970)**



Nenad was part of peripheral militant networks. He was indirectly involved in violence. His arc is one of complicity, a man who joined paramilitaries. He carried the burden of knowing his role was indirect. He became determined to seek conditional amnesty. He realized that testimony could be his redemption. He became an advocate for truth in exchange for forgiveness. He insisted that reconciliation must include conditional amnesty. He wanted safety to testify.

At the TRC, Nenad demands conditional amnesty in exchange for testimony. He believes reconciliation must include forgiveness. His demand is about honesty, ensuring that testimony is valued. He insists that reconciliation must be pragmatic. His arc is about turning complicity into testimony. He wants archives to reflect paramilitary networks. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that testimony is heard. He insists that reconciliation must honor forgiveness. Nenad's arc reflects the transformation from affiliate to advocate for conditional amnesty.

- **Main Objectives:** Conditional amnesty, testimony protection.
- **Close Associates:** Radovan Nikolić (border soldier witness), Marina Petrović (activist seeking truth).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Emir Hadžić (Bosnian factory worker demanding accountability for massacres).

### **Radovan Nikolić (Border Unit Soldier, 1964)**

Radovan served in a border security unit during the war, tasked with monitoring crossings and patrols. He was not a frontline fighter but found himself stationed in areas where atrocities occurred. He witnessed crimes committed against civilians near his post, unable to intervene without risking his own life. His arc is one of reluctant witness, a soldier who saw horrors but had little power to stop them. He carried the burden of knowing testimony was dangerous, as speaking out could make him a target. He realized that silence perpetuated injustice, but truth could cost him everything. He became determined to seek protection so he could testify. He saw how witnesses were silenced or intimidated, leaving crimes unspoken. He became an advocate for witness safety, insisting that reconciliation must protect those who tell the truth. He wanted his testimony to matter without endangering his life.

At the TRC, Radovan demands witness protection and safety to testify. He believes reconciliation must include safeguards for those who saw crimes. His demand is about



dignity, ensuring that witnesses are not punished for honesty. He insists that reconciliation must honor courage, not silence. His arc is about turning reluctant witness into advocate. He wants archives to reflect testimony from soldiers who saw crimes. He believes reconciliation must honor truth even when it is dangerous. His story is about resilience, ensuring that witnesses are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect those who speak. Radovan's arc reflects the transformation from border soldier to advocate for witness protection.

- **Main Objectives:** Witness protection, safety to testify.
- **Close Associates:** Nenad Janković (paramilitary affiliate seeking amnesty), Zijada Omeragić (Bosnian medical orderly who also witnessed crimes).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Commanders who fear exposure (e.g., Nemanja Jovanović, Serbian reserve officer).

### **Slobodanka Marković (Social Worker, 1963)**

Slobodanka worked in refugee registration and welfare offices during the war. She processed countless displaced families, witnessing women coerced into “marriages” for papers and children born of rape mislabeled or undocumented. Her arc is one of humanitarian witness, a social worker who saw exploitation firsthand. She carried the burden of knowing bureaucracy often hid suffering. She realized that reconciliation must include collective responsibility for women and children. She became determined to speak for those silenced by paperwork. She saw how institutions failed to protect the vulnerable. She became an advocate for systemic accountability. She insisted that reconciliation must honor women and children. She wanted the truth about exploitation to be exposed.

At the TRC, Slobodanka demands collective responsibility towards protection of women and children. She believes reconciliation must include systemic reform. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that vulnerable groups are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor humanitarian truth. Her arc is about turning social work into testimony. She wants archives to reflect exploitation. She believes reconciliation must honor truth. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that women and children are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect the vulnerable. Slobodanka's arc reflects the transformation from social worker to advocate for collective responsibility.

- **Main Objectives:** Protection of women and children, systemic accountability.



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- **Close Associates:** Almira Kovačević (Bosnian survivor of sexual violence), Elena Dimitrova (Macedonian NGO volunteer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Bureaucrats who deny exploitation (e.g., Nemanja Jovanović, Serbian reserve officer).

### **Ivanka Kralj (Civil Engineer, 1961)**

Ivanka was a technical professional who worked on infrastructure projects before the war. When conflict broke out, she found herself repairing bridges, roads, and utilities damaged by shelling. She witnessed how destruction crippled communities, leaving civilians without water, electricity, or safe passage. Her arc is one of resilience, a civil engineer who turned technical skills into survival tools. She carried the burden of knowing reconstruction was political, often delayed by disputes. She realized that reconciliation must include regional cooperation. She became determined to rebuild not just structures but trust. She saw how infrastructure could unite communities if shared. She became an advocate for reconstruction as reconciliation. She insisted that rebuilding was more than concrete — it was healing.

At the TRC, Ivanka demands regional reconstruction cooperation. She believes reconciliation must include rebuilding together. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that infrastructure serves all. She insists that reconciliation must honor technical truth. Her arc is about turning engineering into testimony. She wants archives to reflect reconstruction. She believes reconciliation must honor cooperation. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that rebuilding is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must unite communities. Ivanka's arc reflects the transformation from engineer to advocate for reconstruction.

- **Main Objectives:** Regional reconstruction cooperation.
- **Close Associates:** Gorana Stanković (Serbian shop owner advocating economic accountability), Ante Marić (Croatian fisherman displaced economically).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors demanding land restitution over infrastructure (e.g., Esada Mujić, Bosnian farmer).

### **Ante Marić (Fisherman, 1956)**

Ante was a coastal fisherman whose livelihood depended on the sea. The war displaced him, cutting him off from his work. He witnessed coastal communities destroyed, boats burned, and trade disrupted. His arc is one of loss, a fisherman robbed of livelihood. He carried the



burden of economic displacement. He realized that reconciliation must include economic stability. He became determined to rebuild coastal livelihoods. He saw how economic suffering fueled resentment. He became an advocate for economic reconciliation. He insisted that reconciliation must honor working-class voices. He wanted truth about displacement exposed.

At the TRC, Ante demands economic reconciliation and stability. He believes reconciliation must include rebuilding livelihoods. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that workers are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor economic truth. His arc is about turning fishing into testimony. He wants archives to reflect displacement. He believes reconciliation must honor stability. His story is about resilience, ensuring that livelihoods are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect workers. Ante's arc reflects the transformation from fisherman to advocate for economic reconciliation.

- **Main Objectives:** Economic reconciliation, stability for displaced workers.
- **Close Associates:** Ivanka Kralj (civil engineer), Gorana Stanković (Serbian shop owner).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military elites who prioritize combat narratives over economic suffering (e.g., Hasan Delić, Bosnian defense volunteer).

### **Tomislav Barišić (Volunteer Soldier, 1967)**

Tomislav was a local defense volunteer who joined to protect his community. He fought on the frontlines, witnessing violence firsthand. His arc is one of reluctant combat, a man who defended but carried trauma. He saw friends die, civilians suffer, and communities destroyed. He carried the burden of knowing defense was necessary but costly. He realized that reconciliation must include mutual recognition of suffering. He became determined to honor both sides. He saw how narratives divided communities. He became an advocate for shared memory. He insisted that reconciliation must honor all victims. He wanted the truth about suffering exposed.

At the TRC, Tomislav demands mutual recognition of suffering. He believes reconciliation must include shared memory. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that all victims are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor mutual truth. His arc is about turning combat into testimony. He wants archives to reflect shared suffering. He believes reconciliation must honor empathy. His story is about resilience, ensuring that suffering is



remembered. He insists that reconciliation must unite communities. Tomislav's arc reflects the transformation from soldier to advocate for mutual recognition.

- **Main Objectives:** Mutual recognition of suffering.
- **Close Associates:** Hasan Delić (Bosnian defense volunteer), Adem Rizvić (Bosnian village guard).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Paramilitary affiliates seeking amnesty without accountability (e.g., Nenad Janković, Serbian paramilitary).

### **Josip Horvat (Logistics Worker, 1962)**

Josip worked in supply chains before the war, coordinating transport of goods across regions. When conflict erupted, he was pulled into military logistics, ensuring supplies reached units and civilians. He was not a frontline fighter, but his work sustained survival. He witnessed shortages, corruption, and the manipulation of supply routes. His arc is one of quiet endurance, a man who kept systems running amid chaos. He carried the burden of knowing logistics could be used for both survival and exploitation. He realized that reconciliation must include demilitarization of historical memory. He became determined to show that logistics was not inherently military. He saw how history often erased support roles. He became an advocate for recognition of non-combat contributions.

At the TRC, Josip demands demilitarization of historical memory. He believes reconciliation must distinguish logistics from combat. His demand is about truth, ensuring that support workers are remembered fairly. He insists that reconciliation must honor nuance. His arc is about turning logistics into testimony. He wants archives to reflect supply chains. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that logistics are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor support roles. Josip's arc reflects the transformation from logistics worker to advocate for demilitarized memory.

- **Main Objectives:** Demilitarization of historical memory, recognition of non-combat logistics.
- **Close Associates:** Ismet Beširović (Bosnian logistics officer), Nemanja Jovanović (Serbian reserve officer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors who distrust logistics as complicit (e.g., Esada Mujić, Bosnian farmer).



### **Stjepan Radić (Officer, 1958)**

Stjepan pursued a military career before the war, rising to officer rank. He commanded units during the conflict, witnessing both discipline and chaos. His arc is one of authority, a man who bore responsibility for lives. He carried the burden of knowing command decisions shaped survival. He realized that reconciliation must include legal clarity and historical precision. He became determined to preserve the truth about command roles. He saw how history often vilified officers without nuance. He became an advocate for legal precision. He insisted that reconciliation must honor truth. He wanted archives to reflect command responsibility.

At the TRC, Stjepan demands legal clarity and historical precision. He believes reconciliation must distinguish command from crime. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that officers are remembered fairly. He insists that reconciliation must honor nuance. His arc is about turning command into testimony. He wants archives to reflect responsibility. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that officers are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor precision. Stjepan's arc reflects the transformation from officer to advocate for legal clarity.

- **Main Objectives:** Legal clarity, historical precision.
- **Close Associates:** Nemanja Jovanović (Serbian reserve officer), Tomaž Vidmar (Slovenian historian).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors demanding accountability without nuance (e.g., Almira Kovačević, Bosnian trauma survivor).

### **Daria Novak (Intelligence Assistant, 1969)**

Daria worked in intelligence administration, handling information during the war. She witnessed secrets, classified reports, and manipulation of data. Her arc is one of bureaucratic witnesses, a woman who saw the truth hidden. She carried the burden of knowing information was weaponized. She realized that reconciliation must include declassification. She became determined to expose truth without vengeance. She saw how secrecy perpetuated mistrust. She became an advocate for transparency. She insisted that reconciliation must honor honesty. She wanted archives to reflect intelligence.



At the TRC, Daria demands declassification without vengeance. She believes reconciliation must include transparency. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that information is exposed. She insists that reconciliation must honor truth. Her arc is about turning intelligence into testimony. She wants archives to reflect secrecy. She believes reconciliation must honor honesty. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that information is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor transparency. Daria's arc reflects the transformation from assistant to advocate for declassification.

- **Main Objectives:** Declassification of intelligence, transparency without vengeance.
- **Close Associates:** Nemanja Jovanović (Serbian reserve officer), Marina Petrović (Serbian activist).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Nationalists who fear exposure (e.g., Nenad Janković, Serbian paramilitary affiliate).

### **Marko Pavlović (Young Recruit, 1974)**

Marko was a recent graduate when he was conscripted into short compulsory service. He was young, inexperienced, and unprepared for war. He witnessed violence but had little power. His arc is one of reluctant youth, a recruit forced into conflict. He carried the burden of trauma, knowing his service was brief but scarring. He realized that reconciliation must include veteran mental health. He became determined to advocate for recognition of trauma. He saw how young recruits were forgotten. He became an advocate for mental health. He insisted that reconciliation must honor youth. He wanted archives to reflect trauma.

At the TRC, Marko demands veteran mental health recognition. He believes reconciliation must include psychological support. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that recruits are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor trauma. His arc is about turning youth into testimony. He wants archives to reflect mental health. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that recruits are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor support. Marko's arc reflects the transformation from recruit to advocate for mental health.

- **Main Objectives:** Veteran mental health recognition.
- **Close Associates:** Almira Kovačević (Bosnian trauma survivor), Elira Gashi (Albanian human rights activist).



- **Most Likely Enemies:** Commanders who dismiss trauma (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer).

### **Matej Koren (Civil Servant, 1960)**

Matej worked in state administration during Slovenia's early independence period. He was responsible for bureaucratic tasks that suddenly became critical as the state separated from Yugoslavia. He witnessed instability at borders, confusion in institutions, and the fragility of new governance. His arc is one of cautious responsibility, a civil servant thrust into history. He carried the burden of knowing that institutional strength could prevent conflict. He realized that reconciliation must include lessons for prevention. He became determined to ensure that future institutions are resilient. He saw how weak systems allowed violence to spread. He became an advocate for institutional reform. He insisted that reconciliation must honor prevention.

At the TRC, Matej demands institutional lessons for conflict prevention. He believes reconciliation must include systemic reform. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that institutions are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor prevention. His arc is about turning bureaucracy into testimony. He wants archives to reflect institutional fragility. He believes reconciliation must honor resilience. His story is about responsibility, ensuring that institutions are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect governance. Matej's arc reflects the transformation from civil servant to advocate for prevention.

- **Main Objectives:** Institutional lessons for conflict prevention.
- **Close Associates:** Zorana Ilić (Serbian teacher advocating reform), Tomaž Vidmar (Slovenian historian).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Paramilitary affiliates who thrived on weak institutions (e.g., Nenad Janković, Serbian paramilitary).

### **Bojana Zupan (Journalist, 1964)**

Bojana was a media professional who covered the regional conflict. She witnessed propaganda, misinformation, and manipulation in the press. Her arc is one of courage, a journalist who sought truth amid danger. She carried the burden of knowing that the media shaped war. She realized that reconciliation must include media accountability. She became determined to expose unethical journalism. She saw how lies fueled hatred. She became an



advocate for media ethics. She insisted that reconciliation must honor truth. She wanted archives to reflect journalism.

At the TRC, Bojana demands media accountability and ethics. She believes reconciliation must include honest reporting. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that the media's role is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor truth. Her arc is about turning journalism into testimony. She wants archives to reflect propaganda. She believes reconciliation must honor honesty. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that the media is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect truth. Bojana's arc reflects the transformation from journalist to advocate for accountability.

- **Main Objectives:** Media accountability, ethical journalism.
- **Close Associates:** Marina Petrović (Serbian activist against propaganda), Elena Dimitrova (Macedonian NGO volunteer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Gorana Stanković (Serbian shop owner who benefited from propaganda-driven economy).

### **Andreja Potočnik (Diplomat Aide, 1967)**

Andreja worked in foreign affairs as an assistant during negotiations. She witnessed tense dialogues, fragile agreements, and the difficulty of diplomacy. Her arc is one of observation, a diplomat aide who saw reconciliation attempted. She carried the burden of knowing dialogue was fragile. She realized that reconciliation must include structured regional dialogue. She became determined to preserve lessons from negotiations. She saw how diplomacy could prevent violence. She became an advocate for dialogue. She insisted that reconciliation must honor negotiation. She wanted archives to reflect diplomacy.

At the TRC, Andreja demands structured regional dialogue. She believes reconciliation must include diplomacy. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that dialogue is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor negotiation. Her arc is about turning diplomacy into testimony. She wants archives to reflect agreements. She believes reconciliation must honor dialogue. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that negotiations are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect diplomacy. Andreja's arc reflects the transformation from aide to advocate for dialogue.

- **Main Objectives:** Structured regional dialogue.



## BOĞAZIÇIMUN 2026

- **Close Associates:** Aleksandar Trajkovski (Macedonian election observer), Marina Petrović (Serbian activist).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military elites who dismiss diplomacy (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer).

### **Tomaž Vidmar (Academic, 1955)**

Tomaž was a historian and researcher who documented the conflict aftermath. He witnessed destruction, displacement, and propaganda. His arc is one of scholarship, a man who turned history into testimony. He carried the burden of knowing archives were fragile. He realized that reconciliation must include verified truth. He became determined to preserve history. He saw how lies distorted memory. He became an advocate for archival accuracy. He insisted that reconciliation must honor truth. He wanted archives to reflect reality.

At the TRC, Tomaž demands verified and archived truth. He believes reconciliation must include scholarship. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that history is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor accuracy. His arc is about turning research into testimony. He wants archives to reflect the truth. He believes reconciliation must honor honesty. His story is about resilience, ensuring that history is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect archives. Tomaž's arc reflects the transformation from historian to advocate for archival truth.

- **Main Objectives:** Verified and archived truth.
- **Close Associates:** Nemanja Jovanović (Serbian reserve officer), Daria Novak (Croatian intelligence assistant).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Propagandists who distort history (e.g., Gorana Stanković, Serbian shop owner).

### **Aleksandar Trajkovski (Election Observer, 1968)**

Aleksandar worked as an election observer during the fragile years of Yugoslavia's collapse. He witnessed instability in polling stations, intimidation of voters, and the manipulation of democratic processes. His arc is one of vigilance, a man who believed in democracy but saw it undermined. He carried the burden of knowing that elections could have prevented violence if they had been fair. He realized that reconciliation must include early-warning systems for conflict. He became determined to ensure that democratic processes are safeguarded. He saw



how instability fueled mistrust and division. He became an advocate for monitoring and transparency. He insisted that reconciliation must honor democracy. He wanted archives to reflect electoral instability.

At the TRC, Aleksandar demands early-warning systems for conflict. He believes reconciliation must include democratic safeguards. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that elections are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor prevention. His arc is about turning observation into testimony. He wants archives to reflect instability. He believes reconciliation must honor vigilance. His story is about resilience, ensuring that democracy is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect elections. Aleksandar's arc reflects the transformation from observer to advocate for prevention.

- **Main Objectives:** Early-warning systems for conflict, democratic safeguards.
- **Close Associates:** Andreja Potočnik (Slovenian diplomat aide), Marina Petrović (Serbian activist).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Paramilitary affiliates who thrived on instability (e.g., Nenad Janković, Serbian paramilitary).

### **Goran Petrovski (Transport Worker, 1963)**

Goran worked in logistics and transport, ensuring civilian supply routes remained open. He witnessed how roads became lifelines for food, medicine, and refugees. His arc is one of resilience, a transport worker who kept corridors open. He carried the burden of knowing that supply routes were constantly threatened. He realized that reconciliation must include civilian corridor protections. He became determined to safeguard humanitarian transport. He saw how blockades starved communities. He became an advocate for safe passage. He insisted that reconciliation must honor civilian corridors. He wanted archives to reflect transport struggles.

At the TRC, Goran demands civilian corridor protections. He believes reconciliation must include safe passage. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that transport is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor humanitarian truth. His arc is about turning logistics into testimony. He wants archives to reflect corridors. He believes reconciliation must honor safety. His story is about resilience, ensuring that transport is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect civilians. Goran's arc reflects the transformation from worker to advocate for corridor protections.



## BOĞAZIÇIMUN 2026

- **Main Objectives:** Civilian corridor protections.
- **Close Associates:** Josip Horvat (Croatian logistics worker), Ismet Beširović (Bosnian logistics officer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military elites who used blockades as weapons (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer).

### **Elena Dimitrova (NGO Volunteer, 1972)**

Elena worked in civil society, volunteering with NGOs during the war. She witnessed humanitarian assistance, refugee camps, and minority struggles. Her arc is one of compassion, a volunteer who turned empathy into action. She carried the burden of knowing aid was never enough. She realized that reconciliation must include minority rights safeguards. She became determined to protect vulnerable groups. She saw how minorities were targeted. She became an advocate for civil rights. She insisted that reconciliation must honor minorities. She wanted archives to reflect humanitarian work.

At the TRC, Elena demands minority rights safeguards. She believes reconciliation must include civil society. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that minorities are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor rights. Her arc is about turning volunteering into testimony. She wants archives to reflect humanitarian assistance. She believes reconciliation must honor compassion. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that minorities are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect civil society. Elena's arc reflects the transformation from volunteer to advocate for minority rights.

- **Main Objectives:** Minority rights safeguards.
- **Close Associates:** Slobodanka Marković (Serbian social worker), Almira Kovačević (Bosnian trauma survivor).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Bureaucrats who ignored minority suffering (e.g., Nemanja Jovanović, Serbian reserve officer).

### **Arta Krasniqi (Teacher, 1966)**

Arta was an ethnic Albanian educator who believed deeply in the power of teaching to build bridges. Before the war, she taught children from diverse backgrounds, hoping to foster understanding. When conflict erupted, her community was displaced, and she saw classrooms emptied and futures stolen. Her arc is one of resilience, a teacher who carried chalk and



books into refugee camps. She witnessed how ethnic divisions destroyed trust, and how children suffered most. She carried the burden of knowing education could have prevented hatred. She realized that reconciliation must include consistent justice standards across ethnic lines. She became determined to ensure that justice was not selective. She saw how bias undermined reconciliation. She became an advocate for fairness. She insisted that reconciliation must honor equality.

At the TRC, Arta demands consistent justice standards. She believes reconciliation must apply equally to all ethnic groups. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that Albanians are remembered fairly. She insists that reconciliation must honor equality. Her arc is about turning teaching into testimony. She wants archives to reflect displacement. She believes reconciliation must honor fairness. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that education is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect justice. Arta's arc reflects the transformation from teacher to advocate for consistent justice.

- **Main Objectives:** Consistent justice standards across ethnic groups.
- **Close Associates:** Zorana Ilić (Serbian teacher), Nermina Softić (Bosnian student).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Nationalists who resist equal justice (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer).

### **Luan Berisha (University Student, 1977)**

Luan was a young academic whose studies were interrupted by war. He dreamed of contributing to scholarship but found himself displaced. His arc is one of interrupted promise, a student silenced by conflict. He witnessed ethnic divisions tear apart classrooms. He carried the burden of knowing education was stolen. He realized that reconciliation must include interethnic education initiatives. He became determined to rebuild classrooms across divides. He saw how ignorance fueled hatred. He became an advocate for interethnic learning. He insisted that reconciliation must honor education. He wanted archives to reflect stolen futures.

At the TRC, Luan demands interethnic education initiatives. He believes reconciliation must rebuild classrooms. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that youth are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor learning. His arc is about turning interrupted studies into testimony. He wants archives to reflect education. He believes reconciliation must honor truth. His story is about resilience, ensuring that youth are remembered. He insists that



reconciliation must protect classrooms. Luan's arc reflects the transformation from student to advocate for interethnic education.

- **Main Objectives:** Interethnic education initiatives.
- **Close Associates:** Nermina Softić (Bosnian student), Arta Krasniqi (Albanian teacher).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Gorana Stanković (Serbian shop owner who benefited from war economy).

### **Elira Gashi (Human Rights Activist, 1970)**

Elira was a civil rights organizer who documented abuses during the war. She witnessed displacement, violence, and denial of rights. Her arc is one of courage, an activist who turned documentation into advocacy. She carried the burden of knowing survivors were silenced. She realized that reconciliation must be survivor-centered. She became determined to ensure that victims' voices shaped justice. She saw how institutions ignored testimony. She became an advocate for survivor-centered reconciliation. She insisted that reconciliation must honor victims. She wanted archives to reflect abuses.

At the TRC, Elira demands survivor-centered reconciliation. She believes reconciliation must prioritize victims. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that survivors are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor testimony. Her arc is about turning activism into testimony. She wants archives to reflect abuses. She believes reconciliation must honor victims. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that survivors are remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect testimony. Elira's arc reflects the transformation from activist to advocate for survivor-centered reconciliation.

- **Main Objectives:** Survivor-centered reconciliation.
- **Close Associates:** Almira Kovačević (Bosnian trauma survivor), Slobodanka Marković (Serbian social worker).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Military elites who deny abuses (e.g., Stjepan Radić, Croatian officer).



### **Gent Berisha (Port Worker, 1962)**

Gent was a maritime laborer who worked in ports, loading and unloading ships. During the war, he maintained neutral logistical involvement, ensuring supplies moved without bias. His arc is one of neutrality, a worker who refused to take sides. He witnessed how ports became lifelines for civilians. He carried the burden of knowing neutrality was fragile. He realized that reconciliation must include recognition of non-belligerence. He became determined to preserve the truth about neutrality. He saw how workers were often ignored. He became an advocate for recognition of non-combat roles. He insisted that reconciliation must honor neutrality. He wanted archives to reflect port work.

At the TRC, Gent demands recognition of non-belligerence. He believes reconciliation must include neutral workers. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that neutrality is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must honor truth. His arc is about turning port work into testimony. He wants archives to reflect neutrality. He believes reconciliation must honor honesty. His story is about resilience, ensuring that neutrality is remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect workers. Gent's arc reflects the transformation from port worker to advocate for recognition of non-belligerence.

- **Main Objectives:** Recognition of non-belligerence.
- **Close Associates:** Dragan Vuković (Serbian conscript soldier), Ismet Beširović (Bosnian logistics officer).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Paramilitary affiliates who reject neutrality (e.g., Nenad Janković, Serbian paramilitary).

### **Branko Vujović (Reservist, 1965)**

Branko was a reservist called up during the war, serving limited mobilization duties. He was not a career soldier, but like many men of his generation, he was pulled into the conflict by obligation. His arc is one of reluctant service, a man who fulfilled duty but questioned its purpose. He witnessed the strain of mobilization, the fear of being sent to the front, and the confusion of orders that often lacked clarity. He carried the burden of knowing his role was minor but still part of a larger system. He realized that reconciliation must include individualized responsibility, not blanket guilt. He became determined to show that reservists were not aggressors by default. He saw how collective blame erased nuance. He became an advocate for personal accountability. He insisted that reconciliation must honor truth.



At the TRC, Branko demands individualized responsibility. He believes reconciliation must distinguish between levels of involvement. His demand is about dignity, ensuring that reservists are remembered fairly. He insists that reconciliation must honor nuance. His arc is about turning reluctant service into testimony. He wants archives to reflect limited mobilization. He believes reconciliation must honor honesty. His story is about resilience, ensuring that reservists are remembered. He insists that reconciliation must protect fairness. Branko's arc reflects the transformation from reluctant reservist to advocate for individualized responsibility.

- **Main Objectives:** Individualized responsibility, distinction between minor and major involvement.
- **Close Associates:** Dragan Vuković (Serbian conscript soldier), Gent Berisha (Albanian port worker).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors demanding collective accountability (e.g., Emir Hadžić, Bosnian factory worker).

### **Momira Radulović (Administrative Clerk, 1959)**

Momira worked in public administration during the war, processing paperwork and observing institutional alignment. She witnessed how bureaucracy supported conflict, often silently. Her arc is one of reluctant complicity, a clerk who saw institutions bend to war. She carried the burden of knowing paperwork enabled violence. She realized that reconciliation must include truth without historical erasure. She became determined to preserve nuance in institutional memory. She saw how archives could be manipulated. She became an advocate for balanced truth. She insisted that reconciliation must honor honesty. She wanted archives to reflect bureaucracy.

At the TRC, Momira demands truth without historical erasure. She believes reconciliation must include institutional accountability. Her demand is about dignity, ensuring that administration is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must honor nuance. Her arc is about turning clerical work into testimony. She wants archives to reflect institutions. She believes reconciliation must honor honesty. Her story is about resilience, ensuring that administration is remembered. She insists that reconciliation must protect truth. Momira's arc reflects the transformation from clerk to advocate for balanced truth.

- **Main Objectives:** Truth without historical erasure, institutional accountability.



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- **Close Associates:** Nemanja Jovanović (Serbian reserve officer), Daria Novak (Croatian intelligence assistant).
- **Most Likely Enemies:** Survivors who distrust institutions (e.g., Almira Kovačević, Bosnian trauma survivor).

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