



STUDY GUIDE
HISTORICAL SECURITY COUNCIL



SITUATION IN KOSOVO 1998
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LETTER FROM THE CHAIRS

Dear Delegates,

It is our greatest honor to welcome you to ZaMUN's 2023 Historical Security Council. As your chairpersons, we can promise that we will make every effort to keep the debates on the highest possible level and provide you with a genuinely unforgettable experience.

Drafting this document, we wish to bring you closer to the discussed matter. Therefore, we highly recommend perusing those contents carefully. However, the study guide should not remain your only source of knowledge. We strongly encourage you to expand your research as it will help you represent your country.

Since this is a historical topic, the freeze date will be set to **February 28th 1998**. A freeze date is a set time frame acting as a platform to build later actions. Some of the events you are now aware of did not happen. At least not yet. Your task will be to study the historical background of the topic and present us with a document containing the then-situation of your respected country, a brief summarization of the clashes of the Yugoslav army and ethnic Albanians in the region of Kosovo and your country's involvement in the dispute, no longer than one page. Please submit this document to the committee page on <https://mymun.com/conferences/zamun-2023/apply/committee>. In case of problems, please send it to kisel.michal@gmail.com

Last but not least, we ask you to follow our social media, where we will inform you about the deadlines and organization. We are looking forward to seeing you in February!

Sincerely,

Mišo & Mišo



INTRODUCTION OF THE TOPIC

Kosovo and the territory of Yugoslavia has always had a history of turbulent ethnic disputes ranging back to the 14th century when Turkish Ottomans defeated the Serbian Christians turning into a Kosovo region largely dominated by Albanian and Muslim population and culture for over 500 years. In 1912 Serbia regained control over Kosovo turning it into one of its provinces.

As the Milosevic's nationalist ideology surged in Yugoslavia in the 1980s so did the tension between the member republics. Milošević's anti-bureaucratic revolution granted Serbia colossal power and influence within Yugoslavia. With the Serbian nationalism on the rise, hate, fear and violence spread over all of Yugoslavia.

Kosovo, being a Serbian province largely populated by ethnic Albanians, was in a complicated position. Serbia stripped Kosovo of autonomy and dissolved its government. Shortly after large-scale protests ensued. Within almost a decade the tensions rose exponentially and led to the eruption of an armed conflict. The ethnically violent nature of this struggle was a strong factor leading to the ethnic cleansing of the Kosovar Albanian population.

In the meantime, the UN tried to resolve this issue peacefully and yet failed. NATO decided to take matters into its own hands and gave Serbia an ultimatum which was ignored and laughed at by many. In the March of 1999 NATO launched air strikes against Serbia lasting 78 days until Milošević gave in and withdrew the Serbian army from Kosovo.

This meant peace and the end of the Kosovo war, but the ethnic tension remained. In short, the story of Kosovo, just like all conflicts in the Balkans, is ridden with nationalism, corruption and irreparable damages done to the populations of the respective countries.



WHY THE WARS IN YUGOSLAVIA HAPPENED

We will try to illustrate this part as briefly as possible, though it will still be quite long. We will have to omit all the tiny details such as the existence of all the short-lived separatist republics, decision making in Dayton air base, ICTY rulings and the controversies around it. However to truly understand the conflicts, and the Balkans for that matter, we will still have to slightly dig into parts of all these things mentioned above. Please take it with a grain of salt, we will have to oversimplify a lot of facts.

The Balkans have always been the powder keg of Europe. Religions, empires, languages and cultures have clashed there long before the 1990's. All of these factors came with expansions of the Byzantine empire, Ottoman empire and Hungary to name a few. By looking at the religious map of the Balkans we can approximately see the extents of said empires - Orthodox Christianity in Serbia and Bulgaria, Catholicism in Slovenia and Croatia, Islam in Bosnia, Kosovo and Albania and cherry on top, Macedonia and Montenegro being a mix of all 3 main religions of the region. Similarly with languages, for example Albanians were a preferred group in the Ottoman period, thus they were granted more rights than Serbs. This is why they could settle all around the Skadar lake, Kosovo and northern Macedonia.

With the arrival of Hungarian tribes to central Europe, Slavic tribes were split into northern and southern Slavs. After the creation of the kingdom of Hungary and expansion further south to the regions of Banat, Baranja and the Adriatic coast many of the southern Slavs came to be under St. Stephen's crown. But the threats didn't only come from the north. To the south a newly formed empire with imperial ambitions stretching from the strait of Hormuz to modern day Algiers wanted to gain foothold in the Balkans. In 1389, Prince Lazar Hrebljanović led a Christian army to stop Islamic expansion to the Balkans against the Ottoman army led by Murad I. The armies met at the Kosovo Field (*Kosovo Polje*). The seat of the Serbian orthodox church had been until then located in Kosovo as well as many important monasteries (*Gračanica and Dečani*). This battle ended in a loss for the Christians and Lazar was killed in the battle. The fight came to be the most significant state-crafting event for the Serbian nation even until this day.

The struggle of the nations living in the region would often end up in revolts against their imperial overlords, most notably perhaps in Serbia during the 1800's Serbian Uprisings led by 'Karađorđe'. Later during the prequel to WWI – the Balkan wars the Balkan League was able to push the Ottoman Empire from vast areas of the region, including Kosovo, then dubbed as 'Old Serbia' and reincorporate it into Serbia.



During this period, Austria – Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and it was in Sarajevo where the Archduke was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip – a young Serbian nationalist. After this assassination, WWI erupted. Of course, it was not just because of this act, but it acted as a spark in a hay stack soaked with gasoline.

After WWI the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created, though at the peace conference, Croats and Slovenes argued that Serbs were just ‘mutts of Hungarians and Ottomans speaking a Slavic language’ and that they were ‘incomparable with Slovenes and Croats who had their cultures based on Italian and Austrian ones’. We can see here already that pan-Slavic ideology never really worked, not even in the ‘good old days’, because even when it came to defeating a common enemy, Croats and Serbs, who essentially speak the same language and have very similar cultures, hated each other.

During WWII when the Kingdom was partitioned, Croatian fascists called the Ustaše killed approximately 500 000 Serbs with additional tens of thousands of Roma and Bosniak people. This is not to say that the Serbs or Bosniaks did not commit atrocities. They did, namely Chetniks and Yugoslav partisans, but they were incomparable with the Ustaše. Some sources even cite German SS officers being disgusted from the brutality of the Jasenovac concentration camp often called to ‘Auschwitz of the south’.

After WWII, socialist Yugoslavia led by marshal Josip Broz ‘Tito’ was created. Tito believed that if all nations put aside their differences a true Yugoslav nationality could be forged. He tried to heal the divide among the Yugoslav people.

For over 40 years of his presidency, he kept all nationalist ideas in check and pursued a so-called ‘brotherhood and unity’ policy. During his presidency, he was quite successful at repressing nationalists. It was only after his death when things started to go south.

After Tito’s death, his body was transported in a train all around Yugoslavia for people to pay tribute. Frankly, the political system of Yugoslavia was not prepared for Tito’s death, so they had to come up with who should become president. The biggest problem, however, came with the voting power of autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina which were de jure part of Serbian YFR. In late 1980’s, a new politician rose to power – Slobodan Milošević. In 1987, he advocated for Serb-dominated centralism in Yugoslavia. In 1989 he was elected as the president of Serbia and heavily suppressed protests in Kosovo, arrested political leaders and exacerbated the police crackdown on ethnic Albanians. He also stripped Vojvodina and Kosovo of their voting rights.

In 1991 the Yugoslav wars of independence kicked off



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- March 1991 Croatia starts fighting for independence (lasts until 1995), heavy fighting mainly in Serb – majority areas around the Danube region of Croatia, Vukovar and Knin. During this war, an exodus of almost all Serbian population took place with code name ‘operation storm’ (operacija oluja) making Croatia almost ethnically homogenous.
 - 25th of June 1991 Slovenia declared independence and a 10 day war against the Yugoslav army started 2 days afterwards
 - 25th of September Macedonia declares independence, but nobody really cared enough
 - 29th of February 1992 referendum for independence in Bosnia, Bosniaks and Croats vote in favor, Serbs boycott the vote
 - 1st of March 1992 first bullets of the messiest and most brutal war of this saga were shot – the war in Bosnia had begun. This war is characterized by rape – concentration camps, shelling of schools and hospitals, siege of Sarajevo, the Srebrenica massacre, long lasting violence and emotional scars, nobody who had seen the fighting will ever recover from

By 1996, all constituent countries of Yugoslavia, with the exception of Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo, had gained independence. Little did they know another brutal conflict was coming their way...



UNDERSTANDING THE CLASHES IN KOSOVO

First of all we need to clarify perhaps the most basic fact of all - Kosovo was the poorest part of Yugoslavia with bad infrastructure and little work opportunities. As was mentioned in previous parts, Slobodan Milošević stripped Kosovo of their autonomy back in 1989 and suppressed the protests against this act. Many protests took place on both sides even prior to this change with the Serbs claiming the Albanians have way too many rights and that they abuse Serbian women on a daily basis. The Albanians on the other side claimed Serbs oppressed them, the police acted against them deliberately and that they did not even want to be part of a country that is hostile towards them. The leader of Kosovar Albanians – Azem Vllasi was part of the central committee of Yugoslavia and part of the communist party of Yugoslavia. In 1988 he was imprisoned because he refused to accept the amendments that reduced Kosovar autonomy. He was perhaps the loudest voice in Yugoslav politics against stripping Kosovo of its autonomy. Basically ever since then, clashes between Kosovar Albanians and the Yugoslav police became quite regular.

‘As Yugoslavia began to disintegrate, the Kosovo Albanians’ demands evolved from defending autonomy (as they had been in the 1988-1989 period) to demanding independence (July 1990). In September 1991, the Kosovo Assembly issued a Declaration of Independence, promptly endorsed by a self-organized referendum.’ – *Global Nonviolent Action Database*

The referendum took place in 1991 (September 26-30) but this, of course, was not accepted because the Provincial Assembly had been dissolved and was thus deemed illegal. The Assembly acted nonetheless and declared the Republic of Kosova (yes Kosova, that’s not a typo) a sovereign state.

In the wake of the wars of independence in Yugoslavia, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)- “Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (UÇK)” was created. At first it was more of a political movement for Kosovar independence. The Kosovars saw an opportunity to break away from the federation, just like Slovenia and Croatia had done. They were not associated with ideologies such as right/left-wing extremism, but rather focused on nationalism and the creation of a greater Albania comprising of modern-day Albania, Kosovo, northern parts of Macedonia and Greece and southern Montenegro. It was only after the Albanian civil war in 1997 when they started smuggling arms from raided arms-depots into Kosovo through forests using donkeys and horses. The Yugoslav police had a very hard time detecting these animals and this is one of the main reasons why such a relatively small number of smugglers were caught. Once the Kosovars got



hold of grenades, machine guns etc. they started firing them in Pristina, Kosovska Mitrovica and other parts of Kosovo to scare the Serbian population. They deliberately clashed with the Serbian police just to emancipate local Kosovars to take up armed resistance. By the start of the war in 1998, they had recruited thousands of fighters into their ranks. These new fighters were the ones to engage with the Serbian police and it was because of this ongoing violence the situation worsened day by day.

From this point onwards the conflict has only exacerbated to the point NATO had to intervene. The reasons for intervention were various, but the main ones were to prevent the conflict from spilling over into neighboring countries, to stop the violence before it became the next Bosnia and the fact that Milošević, and Serbs for that matter, were committing another genocide within 5 years. Even though the NATO campaign was successful and made the Yugoslav army retreat, the damage had been done. The war left a legacy full of burned Albanian villages with nobody left in them, Hundreds of thousands of displaced people from both sides but also an odd 'Yellow House' in the vicinity of the Albania-Kosovo border. We are not going to cover the details, but it is because of this exact house and the atrocities which happened there that the stereotype of Albanians being organ stealers exists. We leave a link at the very end for more info on this matter for those interested but beware it is not PG13 at all.

However, could things have been different? Could Serbia have given away a much smaller portion of Kosovo away in return for peace, no international discreditation and a chance at living a prosperous life without the war ever happening?



TIMELINE

- 1389 – battle at Kosovo Field (Kosovo Polje), Serbs lost against the Ottomans
- 1912 – the Balkan League recovers Kosovo from the Ottomans in the first Balkan Wars
- 1974 - After increasing tolerance for the idea of Kosovar autonomy during the 1960s, Yugoslavia recognizes the autonomous status of Kosovo, giving the province a self-government
- 1981- Kosovar Albanians protest, demanding Kosovo becomes a constituent republic withing Yugoslavia rather than an autonomous province of Serbia. These are suppressed by a large-scale police intervention resulting in numerous casualties, ultimately followed by political repression and rising tensions
- 1989 March-September - Slobodan Milošević initiates stripping Kosovo of autonomy and imposes a state of emergency in Kosovo due to a high quantity of protests
- 1991 – civil war in Yugoslavia erupts
- Independence of Slovenia – 10 day war
 - Independence of Croatia – war until 1995
 - Operations Bljesak & Oluja – May 1995 (flash and storm) – expelling of around 200 000 Serbs from Croatia
 - Independence of Macedonia – no war followed
 - Independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina – was the most brutal war in Europe since WWII until the war in Ukraine started, lasted until 1995
- 1993 - creation of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)- “Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (UÇK)”
- 1995 December - Dayton accords are signed – federalization of Bosnia & Herzegovina, resulted in the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and subsequently in Yugoslavia as well
- 1997 - The looting of military hardware in Albania after The Albanian Civil War (16 January – 11 August 1997) causes a spill of weaponry into Kosovo resulting in the improvement of the KLA arsenal
- 1998 28th of February - Small skirmishes between the KLA and Serbian police finally result in a larger conflict – THIS IS OUR FREEZE DATE!



1998-1999 - During this period, a great deal of massacres and ethnic cleansing take place, mostly being perpetrated by the Serbian police and the Yugoslav army. It was later revealed that this was done under direct orders from high-ranking officers and Milošević himself. The Bulgarian military intelligence even found materials supporting that the operation to be carried out was named operation horseshoe and its goal was to ethnically cleanse Kosovo from Albanians

1999 March - After failed peace talks NATO launches airstrikes against Yugoslavia targeting military infrastructure

1999 June - President Milošević agrees to the withdrawal of military forces from Kosovo after 78 days of NATO bombing

1999 June – KFOR enters Kosovo under UNSC mandate, resolution 1244

1999 – 2001 – Preševo valley insurgency, Serbia vs KLA

2001 – battle of Tetovo, Macedonia vs Macedonian branch of KLA

2006 January – plane crash in Hejce, Hungary, 42 soldiers from Slovakia died, many of whom had served in KFOR and were returning home. Only 1 soldier, Martin Farkaš, survived

2008 February – Kosovo formally declares independence

2022 December – Kosovo applies for EU membership



POINTS TO CONSIDER

Was there any diplomatic solution of the tensions WITHOUT using military force?

Were the reasons of Yugoslavia to intervene justifiable?

Was NATO doing the right thing by intervening?

Was Milošević's sentence fair?

Does Kosovo have an actual chance of integrating itself into the UN and other international organizations?

Does recognizing Kosovo create a precedence for other separatist movements in the region? For example Republika Srpska, Herzegovina, Vojvodina etc.

Would Albanian imperialism somehow alter the power balance of the Balkans?



PROVISIONAL AGENDA OF THE 3867th MEETING OF THE UNSC

To be held at UN Headquarters New York, 28th of February 1998, at 1 p.m. (bear in mind this will be only the first committee session. You will receive the provisional agendas of the later sessions during the conference)

1. Distribution of policies to the representatives
2. Adoption of the agenda
3. Briefing on the clashes of Kosovar paramilitary groups and the Yugoslav police force
 - a. General report on the proceedings of the skirmish
 - b. Report on the human rights violation allegations
4. Debate about the briefing / debates between delegates



SPECIAL PROCEDURE

Bearing in mind that the Security Council is the United Nations' most powerful body, possessing the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, taking the lead when determining the existence of a threat to peace or any acts of aggression. It can also take measures, including the use of force, to preserve or restore international peace. In conclusion, under Article 25 of the Charter, all UN members agree to accept and execute the decisions of the Security Council while other organs of the UN can only make recommendations to the Member States, the Council alone has the power to make a decision which of the Member States are obligated to implement. The Council also recommends to the General Assembly (GA) the admission of new members to the United Nations and has the right to elect the judges of the International Court of Justice, together with the GA. It is composed of 15 members in total, 5 permanent (in 1998 - the United Kingdom, France, the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, and the United States of America), and 10 non-permanent which are elected in two-year terms. The P5 (the five permanent members) group has a "veto power", which consists of being able to completely disregard a UNSC (or in this case UNHSC) Resolution. However, this being a Historical Committee, a few things will be different.

First of all, you are not required to present us with a Policy Statement. Your task will be to study the historical background of the topic and present us with a document containing the then-situation of your respected country, a brief summarization of the tensions between Kosovar Albanians and Serb-dominated remnants of Yugoslavia & your country's involvement in the dispute, no longer than one page. You will be briefed on your policy once you arrive at the first session of the committee. Secondly, you should bear in mind that since this is a Historical Committee, some of the events you are now aware of did not happen. At least not yet. Therefore it would be unwise to refer oneself to modern sources of information or data that were not available at that time, since you probably would not like to come off as a mad Nostradamus. Next, at the beginning of every session, or when necessary, you shall be briefed on the most recent developments from the battlefield to keep you updated throughout the entire Committee. You will all be briefed simultaneously and at the end, we will allow for a short Q&A session to explain any uncertainties. Please note that every committee session will be held at a different time frame as the situation in Kosovo will progress. You will have to rely on the policy statements provided to you in secrecy by your



respective governments, on your knowledge of your topic and also a bit of fantasy, though not too much - we don't want this to result in a nuclear war.

Last but not least, the Historical Security Council shall adhere to the general Rules of Procedure, however, a few motions and rules shall be added, given the special conditions of the committee.

Motions:

Motion for a Selective Negotiation

- Delegates may move for a Selective Members Caucus if they wish to enter a closed debate with a small number of delegates behind closed doors in order to discuss matters directly with only the involved members. A Chair must always be present at the debate acting as a direct mediator. Only a member of the P5 countries may raise such a motion, and they are obliged to include specific delegates and the time duration of the debate. This motion requires the consent of the delegates directly selected for the motion. This motion may not be applied for substantive matters such as creating the draft resolution or suggesting amendments. The rest of the committee shall continue with the debate. No substantive voting may proceed while this motion is in effect. The outcome of the negotiations shall be presented for the committee upon returning to the committee session while the floor is open. (This motion is very similar to the P5 caucus in the regular UNSC, the change being that this is not only between P5 members but also between at least one P5 and at least two non-P5 members)
- Motion to conduct UN investigation Delegates may raise a motion for a UN investigation in such cases when, following a briefing, some new events that have been obscured need further investigation to be clarified. This motion does not require any voting procedure and will be passed under the discretion of the Presidency. Upon passing this motion, a report will be submitted to the Security Council, containing the outcomes of the investigation.

Points:

- Point of Policy Consultation Any Delegate may raise a point of Policy consultation, if they are unsure of how they should act in accordance with their country's policy. If any such misunderstanding shall arise, the delegate



should raise this point and they will be consulted by one of the Chairs, who will proceed to secretly explain their policy and their course of action.

Treaties:

Bilateral or Multilateral treaties will be the most important documents of the Historical Security Council, seeing as the only way to ensure peace and stability of Central Europe will be security guarantees and other treaties. Suggested by their name, the Bilateral and Multilateral treaties are deals struck between 2 or more countries, be it a Peace Treaty, an international Business Treaty etc. Unlike Resolutions, the Treaties are not voted upon and will only be presented in front of the committee.

- Introducing a Treaty

Once the Delegates have come to an agreement, one of them may raise a Motion to introduce a Treaty. This motion will automatically pass and the contents of the Treaty shall be presented in front of the rest of the Committee. A Treaty will only become effective, once it has been introduced to the rest of the Committee.

- Format of a Treaty

All Treaties shall adhere to the same format. Any Treaty in order to become effective requires names of the countries who enter into the agreement, the type of Treaty it is (Peace Treaty, Commerce Treaty...), articles containing the measures taken by the parties involved, time and date and place of signing, signatures of all

parties involved. Every Treaty consists of chapters and articles, specifying the measures all the parties involved must adhere to. They shall be numbered by roman numerals and written in bold. The document containing the Treaty shall be aligned to the middle. The signatures, at the bottom of the document beginning (L.S) followed by the name of the represented country, shall be aligned to the left. The following is a link to an example of how a Treaty should look like:

<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1cVbkF8ZjvXi8lAjjR-WdjjV6URqu6Tus/edit?usp=sharing&oid=109093416847724793313&rtpof=true&sd=true>

General Recommendations:

We would highly recommend each Delegate to establish their affiliation early in the committee and not to disclose their exact policy to other delegates. It is also advisable to make your research as extensive as you possibly can, since the informed ones will be the dominators of this committee and do not stray from your policy. And last but not least, we highly recommend you engage in bilateral and multilateral treaties seeing as these will be pivotal in the final resolution of this committee.



Addressing the Committee:

Declaring war will not be in order unless ordered to by the Delegate's own government. The Delegates shall be notified of any such orders by their Chairs. No acts or expressions of hate, racism or misogyny shall be tolerated in the Committee. Despite the gravity of and the emotional pressure caused by the situation, we are asking the Delegates to treat their colleagues with respect and dignity. Each Delegate should entertain the fact that they have tens of thousands of lives on their shoulders and it's their moral responsibility to save as many of those as possible, whether from war itself, or the things that may come in the event of losing.

- *Credit goes to one of the greatest minds, Tomáš Kučera, the PGA and the organizer of ZaMUN2022*



SOURCES

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EhcT925oKDs&ab_channel=Online - this one is really worth checking out

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bVUg-VoPAeA&ab_channel=Necromantia%27sBattleBeats – this one is about Yugoslavia with the focus on Bosnia and Croatia. It is from the same series as the one above and the first 30 minutes are the same, but afterwards they tell a different story. This goes to show that Kosovo was really the start and end of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav wars of independence. Worth watching if you want to gain perspective or if you are a history geek & like to binge watch informative stuff

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yYJDPrvwyB8&ab_channel=JakeMapping – timelapse of the war map

<https://www.britannica.com/place/Kosovo> - about Kosovo itself

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Kosovo-conflict> - on the war in general

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_War - on the war in general

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Kosovo_War - timeline of the war

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kosovo_Liberation_Army - on the KLA

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Insurgency_in_Kosovo_\(1995%E2%80%931998\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Insurgency_in_Kosovo_(1995%E2%80%931998))

<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/campaigns/kosovo98/timeline.shtml> - war crimes chronology

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/from-the-archive-blog/2019/mar/20/how-milosevic-stripped-kosovos-autonomy-archive-1989> - political history of Kosovo

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_protests_in_Kosovo - 80's protests in Kosovo

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-bureaucratic_revolution - Yugoslavia's antibureaucratic revolution

<https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/kosovo-albanians-resist-serbian-rule-1990-1998> - 'how did it come to this point?'

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18331273> - history of Kosovo

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nUzdXoRH2H8> – yellow house

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YkUvOjnwE-Q> – yellow house #2