1994 Serbia-Bosnia Joint Crisis Committee Background Guide
Hello Delegates!

My name is Jasmine Garani and I will be your chair for the JCC NATO Crisis Committee at the first ever high school Model United Nations hosted at Stony Brook University (StonyMUNC I). We are very excited to be hosting this conference, and hope that you are equally excited about participating.

I am from Sharon, Massachusetts, a suburb outside of Boston. I am currently a junior studying Physics and Astronomy. Outside of class I do astronomy research, and outside of academics I like to spend my time practicing karate. I have been involved in Model UN since I was a freshman in high school, and I hope to be able to give you the same wonderful experience I had when I attended conferences.

As the NATO-Bosnian committee in the joint crisis of the Serbian-Bosnian Genocide, we will be dealing with some very important issues of human rights and military power. Use this background guide as a starting point for your research, and be sure to research your specific country’s or person’s position on the topic at hand. It is always a good idea to bring notes with you as electronics will not be allowed during the committee sessions. It is not required that you submit a position paper, but if you would like to I would be happy to read it. Even if you do not submit one, I would suggest writing some sort of outline that resembles a position paper so that you are well versed on the topic and your country’s or person’s position.

If you have any questions or concerned about the conference or our committee, feel free to email me at jasmine.garani@stonybook.edu. I am looking forward to have a wonderful conference and I can’t wait to meet all of you in March!

Best,

Jasmine Garani

Chair NATO-Bosnian Cabinet
Greetings, Delegates!

Welcome to the 1994 Bosnian Peace Talks. I am your co-chair, Gibryon Bhojraj. I graduated from Stony Brook University in 2015 with degrees in Biology and Political Science and a minor in Bioengineering. I’m currently attending Queens College, where I’m taking Computer Science courses and will by applying to graduate school for CS next year.

I’ve been in the Model UN circuit since 2008, performing in every role possible. I’ve been a delegate, chair, and crisis staffer in both General Assemblies and Crisis committees, ran the StuyMUNC 2011 conference, and founded the Stony Brook Model UN team. In addition to Model UN, I participated in APDA debate, student government, and various other clubs and organizations.

The breakup of Yugoslavia and subsequent political and military crises constituted a large part of the international community’s legacy for the 1980s and 90s. This committee is engineered to explore diplomatic options for the many high-level players involved in both sides of the crises. While accusations of genocide and war crimes escape from the warzone, both sides have to deal with a multitude of pressures coming from without and within to bring an end to the war. With a globalized stage of people watching the great powers of the West trying to handle a humanitarian crisis on their doorstep, is there a possibility for a peaceful resolution to the Baltic crisis?

My hope is that you approach this committee with all the seriousness that befits the hundred-thousand lives lost and the millions displaced in the Yugoslav conflicts, and that you understand the geopolitical restraints that force the diplomatic approach to be the necessary one. Too often, we see historical conflicts as far removed from us, and my personal goal to discourage you from such thought. I leave you with a powerful quote about the origins of the conflict, and expect this committee to give us insight on how to avoid it in the future:

“I realize that what happened in Bosnia could happen anywhere in the world, particularly in places that are diverse and have a history of conflict. It only takes bad leadership for a country to go up in flames, for people of different ethnicity, color, or religion to kill each other as if they had nothing in common whatsoever. Having a democratic constitution, laws that secure human rights, police that maintain order, a judicial system, and freedom of speech don’t ultimately guarantee long lasting peace. If greedy or bloodthirsty leaders come to power, it can all go down. It happened to us. It can happen to you.”

Savo Heleta, Not My Turn to Die: Memoirs of a Broken Childhood in Bosnia

I look forward to meeting you at the conference.

All the best,

Gibryon Bhojraj

Co-Chair NATO-Bosnian Cabinet
Dear Delegate,

Thanks for attending StonyMUNC I! The 1990s were plagued with calamity after calamity with the Gulf Wars, the collapse of the Soviet Union and last but not least, the breakdown of Yugoslavia and the resulting genocides. As the Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks were embroiled in their own strife, the world watched on, terrified by the sheer violence between former neighbors, brothers in multiethnic households. In the span of the two days, you, the delegates, will attempt to unite the fragmented communities of the Serbs despite all of the separatism, genocides, and pesky new borders, or at least that’s what you should be doing.

I’m Angela Zheng, your chair for the Serbia Committee of the Serbia-Bosnia Joint Crisis. I’m a freshman with sophomore standing at Stony Brook University and my major is Multidisciplinary Studies, with my concentrations forming International Relations. As a child, I was fortunate enough to study abroad in China for a decade and which fostered my interest for global affairs. I have been involved in MUN for the last 6 years, mainly as a delegate and this is my first time formally chairing. I am also involved in Archery, Martial Arts, China Blue Radio, and Hall Council.

I’m Ibrahim Khan, your co-chair for this committee and I’m also a freshman at Stony Brook University and my major is Computer Science. I have been doing MUN since my freshman year of high school. I was the Secretary General of my high school club for two years and I really appreciated the experience.

We trust that over these two days, you will nurture a newly found appreciation for the power of diplomacy, negotiations, and creativity. Have fun, but do remember that these were real issues occurring just over 20 years ago. Their implications are relevant for modern international applications. Please feel free to email us at ruiqi.zheng@stonybrook.edu if you have any questions about the conference or the committee. We are looking forward to meeting you all at the conference.

Sincerely,

Angela Zheng and Ibrahim Khan
ruiqi.zheng@stonybrook.edu
The geographical location of former Yugoslavia is largely defined by the presence of the Dinaric Alps which span from Italy through all the Yugoslav states into Kosovo. Serbia borders Romania and Bulgaria to the east, with natural borders in the form of the Southern Carpathian mountains and the Balkan Mountains respectively. Northern Croatia and the Vojvodina autonomous province in Serbia are the only landscapes that have relatively low elevation in a basin type landscape compared to the mountainous geography of the surrounding states. Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia all have access to the Adriatic Sea, though Slovenia only has access to one port at the Port of Koper.

The Dinaric Alps were used as a site of guerilla warfare by the Yugoslav Partisans against the Axis powers in one of the most successful European resistance movements in WWII. Numerous rivers exist around the mountains including the Drina and the Sava, however, navigation proves to be difficult and military deployment inefficient through most of these rivers.

Basic Historical Background

The Balkans are situated in a location ripe for cultural interactions. With Roman Catholicism from the West, Eastern Orthodox from the Byzantine Empire and Islam brought by the Ottoman empire to the south, the ethnic diversity and the resulting tension could not be understated. Initially there was an East vs West divide in the branches of Christianity which was only complicated by the landing of the Islamic Ottomans in the area known today as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After centuries of turmoil, the Southern Slavic peoples who inhabited the region and shared similar linguistic backgrounds emerged into the following identities. To the north, there were the Slovenes and the Croats, the Roman Catholics. To the east, there were Orthodox Christian Serbs, who made up over 45% of the population of the region. In the center, there were the Muslim Bosniaks, with other minorities such as the Orthodox Montenegrins and Macedonians as well as non-Slavic peoples such as the Hungarians.
and the Albanians also present within the region. Although the map demonstrates majorities, large populations of minorities are mixed into many regions, resulting in a lot of overlapping “territories”. After the end of the first World War, the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire caused a frenzy of country formation, with a hope that the shared cultural background of the Southern Slavs being a basis of unity after centuries of foreign meddling. Since Serbia already had a functioning monarchy centered at Belgrade, the Slovenes and Croats were folded into the state, forming the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, or the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Yugo for South, meaning the Kingdom of Southern Slavs).

Yet tensions still remained, from the very beginning as separatism and ethnic conflicts plagued the new kingdom. By WWII, the kingdom was already on the verge of collapse after a brief dictatorship by the former Serbian king Alexander Karađorđević and his subsequent assassination. During the war itself, Hitler sent the Luftwaffe to air bomb Belgrade on April 6th, 1941, taking over Yugoslavia in eleven days. The installation of the puppet Nazi government in modern day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ustaše, was supported by many Croatian nationalists who utilized the opportunity to eliminate Serbs using concentration camps for perceived grievances under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Two Serbian resistances sprung up, on the monarchist Četniks who wished to re-establish the Serbian dominated monarchy, and the Partisans that desired the formation of a new Communist Yugoslavia through the cooperation of all ethnicities. After a three way war with brutal massacres carried out by all three sides, the Partisans emerged victorious under the command of charismatic leader, Josip “Tito” Broz.

Tito lead Yugoslavia into an era with six semi-autonomous republics in a non-aligned “third way”, separate from both East and West. The six republics were respectively, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Within Serbia, two autonomous provinces were formed for the Albanians and the Hungarians, namely Kosovo and Vojvodina respectively. Though Yugoslavia was communist, Tito elected to break from the Soviet Union and maintain neutrality during the Cold War with communication and aid from both sides to prevent the other from gaining an advantage on Yugoslav soil. Yet, though Tito made a strong emphasis against the nationalism of republics, the underlying tensions were still unresolved.
After Tito’s death in 1980, the union of Yugoslavia fell apart. **Kosovo** had held a special place in the hearts of the Serbs who regarded the location as their **sacred homeland** with enormous historical and religious significance before being displaced by the Ottoman invaders in the 14th century. By 1980 Kosovo was consisted of a 90% population of Albanians, the Muslim descendants of the Ottoman remnants, an extremely sore wound for the remaining Serbs. Noting the conflicts at the site, Serbian nationalist politician Slobodan Milošević saw a chance to seize control on behalf of Serbia. At the 600th anniversary of the Serbian loss of Kosovo in 1989, Milosevic descended by helicopter into Kosovo to evoke an ancient prophecy of a winged savior, the unitor of Serbs, and gave a rousing inflammatory speech at Gazimestan, upsetting the fragile balance of the Yugoslav federation. After the subsequent annexation of Kosovo, the unease of the other Republics towards Serbia’s nationalistic rhetoric grew.

The first two Republics to secede from Yugoslavia was the **Republic of Slovenia** and the **Republic of Croatia**, which both acted on June 25th of 1991. Slovenia was the most ethnically homogenous and West-leaning region of the six, and held free elections in 1990. Belgrade responded by sending the Yugoslav People’s Army in coalition with Italy and Austria into Slovenia to reclaim the territory, only conceding Slovenia its freedom after 10 days of fighting and hundreds of deaths. Much of the recruits of the Yugoslav People’s Army consisted of people from across the republics so many of the soldiers defected for their homes over the course of the conflicts.

On the other hand, the Croatian Conflict was much bloodier. In April of 1990, nationalistic Croat **Franjo Tuđman** of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won the elections and reinstalled Ustaše paraphernalia in the red and white checkered flag and currency, removing all mentions of Serbs receiving equal rights from the Croatian constitution, and equipping police officers with uniforms remarkably similar to that of the Ustaše. Seeing the reminder of the ethnic cleansing of their grandparents by the Nazi Ustaše and sensing an imminent return of ethnic cleansing, the 600,000 Serbs in Croatia began rising up and asked for assistance from Serbia.

Tense negotiations between the groups took place in the Serb-dominated cities such as Knin. A so called “**tree trunk revolution**” began with Serbs sabotaging important Croatian tourist roads with logs and other obstacles. The UN imposed weapons embargo that banned weapons sales to any of the Yugoslav states, disproportionately affecting the non-Serb states, which did not already own a military stockpile. Even so, Croatia began procuring its own illegal armaments through Hungary. By Jun 1991, when Croatia declared independence, Croatia was split into two segments with the Croatian Serbs immediately declaring independence from Croatia as the Republic of Serbian Krajina. By this point,
the Yugoslav People’s Army was mostly Serbian, and it wiped out large portions of the impromptu Croat forces with its superior experience and arsenal, taking \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the lands of Croatia as indicated with the red portions of the map to the left. The Serbs began an ethnic cleansing campaign in an effort to remove all Croat peoples from Krajina before a tense ceasefire was achieved early 1992.

**1992 Bosnian Secession**

Throughout the Slovenian Secession and the Croatian Conflict, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina had remained strangely silent. As the most ethnically diverse region of Yugoslavia, the peace of the region was headed for failure in light of the events of 1991. The Bosnian parliament was a tri-ethnic body, representing the Bosniak Muslims, and the smaller groups, the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs, each with cultural ties to the bordering Croatia and Serbia, respectively. The body had been recently formed in the first free democratic elections held in Bosnia in 1990, leading to three nationalist parties making up the governing body in Sarajevo. The party leaders were:

- **Alija Izetbegović** for the Party of Democratic Action (SDA)
- **Radovan Karadžić** for the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS)
- **Stjepan Ključić** for the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ)

And the government makeup was similarly split:

- **Alija Izetbegović** (SDA) as Chairman of the Presidency
- **Momčilo Krajišnik** (SDS) as Speaker of the Parliament
- **Jure Pelivan** (HDZ) as Chairman of the Council of Ministers

On October 15th, 1991, the Bosnian parliament based in Sarajevo proposed the topic of secession from the Yugoslav states, following the actions by Croatia and Slovenia. The ethnically Serbian members of the parliament attempted to place parliamentary blockades on the topic of secession, but when the rest of the body entertained the debate and eventually called for a referendum, the Serbian minority boycotted the vote. The referendum was ultimately accepted by the remaining members of the Sarajevo government and held at the end of February 1992 with approximately 99.7% approval and 63.4% turnout.

In November of 1991, as the Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats wished for the creation of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, free from the grasp of the Serbs, the former Serbian SDS members of the parliament organized the Assembly of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which held their own referendum in Serb-majority districts. Radovan Karadžić and the SDS had, throughout 1991, been organizing within the Bosnian Serb community with the intention of creating pseudo-autonomous regions within the country, with the intent of remaining part of the greater Serbian-controlled Yugoslavia in the event of Bosnian independence. The Serb People’s Assembly was established in
Banja Luka, one of the aforementioned regions, as a base of Bosnian-Serb power. This referendum was held on November 1991 in these Serb-heavy areas, with 98% of the voters expressing their wish to remain a part of the Yugoslav state, implying secession from any independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. After Bosnia-Herzegovina held a referendum to establish independence from the remnants of Yugoslavia, ignoring the boycott of protesting Bosnian Serbs who were deprived of their power to veto, the SDS moved forwards with plans to implement an independent Bosnian-Serbian state. In March of 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina voted on their referendum and declared their independence. When the European Economic Community gave recognition to the independent Bosnian state in April, the Serbian regions declared themselves independent, creating the Republic of Srpska, which was unrecognized by the greater international community but retaining the military support of Serbia. In April of 1992, Serbia started to ethnically cleanse Bosnian territory by trying to remove all the Bosniak Muslims. Through the spring and summer, the Serbs inside of Bosnia gained nearly 70% of the territory of the country, cleansing large portions of non-Serbs through the way.

**Serbian Nationalism**

The origins of Serb nationalism date from the 19th century and had far reaching effects from being the spark to World War I to having a massive effect on the Yugoslav Wars. One important piece of Serbian nationalism came from the memories of the Battle of Kosovo. The battle that took place in 1389 resulted in the Serbians being ejected from their ancestral home of Kosovo. Many Serbs still felt the pain of this loss in the 1900s. The aftermath of the invasion of the Ottomans was many Serbians being located in areas where Muslims also lived. The Eastern Orthodoxy of the Serbs kept their ethnic identity alive. This was also in concert with Serbs being encouraged to move along today’s Croatian-Bosnian border by the Habsburgs. The Habsburgs meant those Serbs to be a “human shield” from the scourge of the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. This helped to create the overlap of ethnicities in all of these nations. Then in 1878, the independent state of Serbia was formed, causing the Serbs under the Habsburgs yearning for a united nation. This led to the Bosnian Serb Gavrilo Princip shooting Archduke Franz Ferdinand and starting World War I.

**Croat-Bosniak War**

While hostilities from Serbia saw drastic losses to both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, conflict between the two festered and eventually broke to open hostilities by 1993. Despite both Croats and Bosniaks fighting, often simultaneously, against the Serbian-controlled Yugoslav People’s Army and the Army of Republika Srpska, their shaky military alliance broke down with several noteworthy factors identifiable.

Firstly, the Croat president Franjo Tuđman and Serbian president Slobodan Milošević met in private on March 1991 to allegedly discuss partitioning Bosnia along
ethnic lines and dividing it between Croatia and Serbia. While both presidents denied the allegations, they were widely publicized as the "Karađorđevo agreement".

While the Bosnian-Serbs created the Republic Srpska in Bosnia and Croatian-Serbs created the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Croatia, the Bosnian-Croats decided to take a similar route and created the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. The Croatian Defence Council had been funded by Croatia as a means of combating aggression from Serbian-controlled provinces in Bosnia and Croatia. Despite their declaration of their own para-state, the Croats of Herzeg-Bosnia initially fought in alliance with the Bosniaks against the two Serbian armies. Eventually, however, disputes between the two culminated into full-fledged fighting between the two sides. The fighting between these two lasted for about a year and a half, and all the while, hostilities between them and the Serbs continued.

Another difficulty between Bosniak and Croat relations was the Graz agreement, which was a negotiation of peace between the Bosnian Serb group, headed by Radovan Karadžić, and the Bosnian Croat group, headed by Mate Boban. There was no member of the Bosniak community invited, and both sides publicly agreed to divide Bosnia between Republika Srpska and Herzeg-Bosnia. The Croatian president Franjo Tuđman, the same man who allegedly made the similar Karađorđevo agreement, presented the Graz agreement to the USA and EEC. Fortunately for the Bosniaks, the Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs eventually left the negotiations without signing the agreement, and hostilities continued between the two.

Eventually, under pressure from the international community to end their conflict before focusing on the greater Yugoslav/Serbian conflict, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzeg-Bosnia came together in Washington and Vienna to sign the Washington Agreement, which was a formal ceasefire, reorganization and reintegration of the Bosnian and Bosnian-Croat held regions into a federation of 10 autonomous cantons instead of a republic. The plan was signed by Bosnian PM Haris Silajdžić, the Croatian Foreign Minister, Mate Granić, and the President of Herzeg-Bosnia, Krešimir Zubak.

Foreign Intervention

United Nations Resolutions

The United Nations Security Council adopted dozens of resolutions during the span of the Yugoslav crises, some of which spawned important policy and military operations that shaped the geopolitical structure of the conflict. Of the many resolutions that were adopted and reaffirmed, the following stand out with unique importance:

1 All resolutions passed either unanimously or with abstentions from China or non-Permanent members with reservations on the use of force.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resolution #</th>
<th>Adoption Date</th>
<th>Effect</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>713</td>
<td>25 Sept. 1991</td>
<td>Established an arms embargo on Yugoslavia, and all former constituent nations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>816</td>
<td>31 Mar. 1993</td>
<td>No-fly zone over Bosnia, enforced by NATO in Operation Deny Flight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>836</td>
<td>4 Jun. 1993</td>
<td>Allowed the UN Protection Force to use force to protect designated safe areas in Bosnia.</td>
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**NATO**

NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was signed on April 4, 1949 by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Germany, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the UK and the U.S. This organization was created to deter Soviet expansion and to forbid the revival of the nationalist militarism in Europe through a strong North American presence on the continent while encouraging the political unity of Europe. The role of NATO in the Bosnian crisis was as a de facto military arm of the United Nations. The organization acted in the capacity requested by the UN Security Council for aid from member nations in enforcing UN policies, such as the embargo, the no-fly zone, and the naval blockade. The operations undertaken by the Western allies became the first military operations in NATO’s history, starting with the aerial engagement near the de facto capital of the Bosnian-Serb republic Srpska, Banja Luka.

**Russian Federation**

Despite being traditionally allied with Serbia and a unified Yugoslavia, Russia has been willing to work with the international community and the United Nations
towards peaceful resolutions to the violence in the region. Russia voted in favor of all the U.N. Resolutions listed below, even in the establishment of a no-fly zone that eventually led to NATO bombing against Serbian targets.

Russia’s cooperation with the West was not particularly uncharacteristic—eventually, due to the bad press coming out of the war zone, the West might have gone around the UN and directly intervened in the situation, and it was in Russia’s best interest to mitigate that risk as much as possible. Their top priority was to retain some semblance of the iron curtain that represented the extent of historically Russian influence and protect themselves from Western encroachment.

To accomplish this, President Yeltsin braved popular opinion back in Russia to allow the international community their peacekeepers and embargos. Although they made these compromises, there were others that they weren’t willing to make— the arms embargo on Yugoslavia and the seceding states greatly benefited the Serbians, who had control of the former union’s army’s resources, remained in effect with Russian support, despite how asymmetric the two sides of the conflict were.

Going forward, Russia’s interest is ultimately to prevent Western encroachment, and seeing a peaceful resolution to the conflict is the best way to remove any justification for the West to get involved in the affairs of the Baltic states.

**People’s Republic of China**

Unlike Russia, which is motivated by a desire to control the West’s proximity to their affairs, the People’s Republic of China is motivated by a desire to limit a precedent of interventionism. The PRC empathizes with the Yugoslavian desire to unite their former republic— they face similar threats of separation from provinces like Tibet or, most similarly, the Muslim-heavy region of Xinjiang. The implementation of a no-fly zone mediated by Western powers who are clearly biased towards the separatists worries Beijing greatly; if one of their provinces were to similarly attempt secession, they would not want any foreign intervention at all. While not directly involved in the conflict, China, like Russia, is believed to be a safe haven for Serbian cash, and China maintains an embassy in Belgrade.

**United State Involvement**

Until 1992, the U.S. was uninvolved in Yugoslavia. The Bush Administration considered the situation in Yugoslavia to be a primarily European Issue. Bill Clinton brought this issue to the U.S. during the 1992 presidential campaign when he advocated for a ‘lift and strike’ policy, which would lift the arms embargo that disadvantaged the Bosniaks and Croats. After Clinton was elected, his administration
started to work with the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright to get the UN more involved in the conflict. In January of 1993, the UN and the EU decided on the Vance-Owen Peace Plan (VOPP) for Bosnia. The goal of this plan was to implement a ceasefire, demilitarization of some parts of Croatia, the allow of the return of refugees, and create favourable conditions for negotiations to politically end the crisis. A month after this agreement, the U.S. started night airdrops to deliver food to the Bosniaks.

**Current Situation (Feb/Mar 1994)**

*Above image: Territorial control in 1994.*
Markale Massacre
On February 5th, 1994 the city of Sarajevo suffered it's single deadliest attack of the entire siege when a Serbian mortar shell hit a crowded market place killing 68 people and wounding a further 144. The very next day UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali formally requested NATO to confirm that future requests for air strikes would be carried out immediately adding to NATO's involvement in the conflict.

Zagreb Ceasefire
On February 23rd the Commander of HVO (the croatian defence council), Ante Roso along with the command of the Bosnian Army, general Rasim Delic officially signed a ceasefire in Zagreb which effectively brought about an end to the Croato-Bosnian war.

Banja Luka Incident
At 6am on February 28th, 1994, acting in the capacity laid out by UNSC Resolution 816 in the enforcement of a no-fly zone over Bosnia, the 565th Fighter Squadron of NATO engaged six fighter planes flying near Banja Luka. In accordance with NATO and UN rules of engagement, the pilots issued two warnings to the Bosnian-Serb fighters to comply with the no-fly zone or be shot down. The warnings were ignored and the NATO pilots pursued and downed four of the six Bosnian-Serb planes. Two managed to fly low enough in the mountainous regions to avoid radar and managed to land in Serbian-held Krajina in Croatia.

The Current Situation
The date is March 1st 1994, Croatia and the Bosniaks are meeting in two weeks to sign a peace agreement officially ending the conflict between the two in both Washington and Vienna. Now with the help of NATO and UNPROFOR the Croatian and Bosnian governments must work to either establish peace with or defeat the Serbian backed coalition consisting of the Republika Srpska, Republic of Serbian Krajina and other small separatist movements. There are still deep divisions between the two warring cabinets, only a month after the Markale massacre in Sarajevo anti Serbian sentiments are at an all time high within Bosnia. NATO has now been given permission to carry out limited airstrikes and air defense raids against Serbian backed coalition military installments at the request of the UN to help protect UNPROFOR forces which were increasingly at risk of being attacked. Rumors of ethnic cleansing operations perpetrated by the Serbians and its allies have also been swirling, causing increased pressure from the international community on NATO to further intervene and help bring an end to the conflict. Many questions still remain, will NATO further their involvement and risk the credibility of their neutrality? Will both sides continue massacres of civilians drawing the ire of the
UN? And will Croatia and Bosnia continue working together or revert back to war? These many unanswered questions are now left up to the judgement and actions of the two committees.

**Major Players—Serbian Cabinet (Serbia, Montenegro, Srpska, Krajina, Russia)**

**Slobodan Milošević - President of Serbia**  
Leader of the Socialist Party of Serbia. Orchestrated political coups in the autonomist regions of Serbia and Montenegro in an attempt to take voting control of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, leading to the secession of Slovenia and Croatia.

**Mirko Marjanović - Prime Minister of Serbia**  
Marjanović was appointed to PM after Milošević dissolved the previous cabinet, officially due to economic problems. He was criticized for being a rubber-stamp puppet for Milošević’s agenda. In his past work in the manufacturing and metallurgical sector, he worked with his company’s Russian division and make partners with Viktor Chernomyrdin, among others.

**Jovica Stanišić - Minister of Interior and Head of State Security for Serbia**  
Controlling the special operations forces and secret police, Stanišić was responsible for suppressing internal threats and, more realistically, enforcing and raiding Bosnian and Croatian areas in support of Serbian separatists. While later convicted of war crimes, Stanišić claimed that he sought to moderate Milošević and even cooperated with the CIA².

**Milo Đukanović - Prime Minister of Montenegro**  
Appointed and then elected as Prime Minister, Đukanović was supported by Milošević. In 1991, his cabinet was involved in fighting Croatia, specifically in the Siege of Dubrovnik. Regarded as hawkish, but historically changed his support of a unified Yugoslavia and supported an independent Montenegro after retirement from office.

**Momir Bulatović - President of Montenegro**

Campaigned alongside Milosevic and supported intervention to protect Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. Supported a unified Yugoslavia and annexation of Serbian-majority territories from Croatia and Bosnia.

Viktor Chernomyrdin - Prime Minister of Russia
Originally the first Chairman of Gazprom, the Russian state-sponsored gas giant, Chernomyrdin was appointed as PM by President Boris Yeltsin in 1992. Russia is in a difficult position where Yeltsin faces internal pressure to aid their Serbian allies, but seeks to end the war and prevent increased Western and Islamic influence in the region. Supporting the arms embargo does aid Serbia, but concessions were made for the no-fly zone. Chernomydin carries Yeltsin’s burden to press Serbia for a peaceful solution that prevents Western involvement, without tactics that would lead to military intervention or blatantly benefit the Bosniaks.3

Milan Martić - President of Serbian Krajina
Organized the Millicija Krajina militia a.k.a “Martić’s Police”. Held several leadership positions in autonomous Krajina, including Defense and Internal Affairs. Was supported by Milošević and the Serbian socialist party.

Radovan Karadžić - President of Republika Srpska
Originally a practicing psychiatrist, Karadžić co-founded the Serb Democratic Party and represented the party in the Bosnian government until the referendum protests. He was integral in the establishment of Srpska and in his role of presidency, took control of the Srpska army.

Momčilo Krajišnik - Speaker of the People’s Assembly of Republika Srpska
A Bosnian-Serb politician who was involved in the Bosnian government before the war, Krajišnik was nicknamed “Mr. No” for his stubborn stance during any negotiations, focused on maximizing Srpska’s territorial gains in any agreement.

Fikret Abdić - President of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia
A Bosniak agricultural businessman, owning one of the largest businesses in Yugoslavia, Abdić was popularly supported on the local level and opposed the Sarajevo government at the start of the war. When the independence movement started, Abdić organized a separation of his and surrounding villages into an

autonomous province. He was aligned with the Republika Srpska and had a prior peace deal with the Croats. He was later convicted of war crimes against Bosniak loyalists.

Zoran Lilić - President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Despite being the president of the greater state of Yugoslavia, Lilić later testified that organizations like the Supreme Defence Council, which has complete control of the military and that he was a member of, existed to rubber-stamp decisions made by Milošević. His testimony claims he warned Milošević about the morality of his wartime actions.

Jiang Zemin - President of the People’s Republic of China
Rising to power after turbulent periods of change sweep China, Zemin’s foreign policy was described as passive and non-confrontational. With the memory of Tiananmen Square not far forgotten, Zemin balances preventing an international precedence of intervention into a country’s internal affairs, and maintaining a peaceful stance with the West.

Major Players—
Bosnian Cabinet (Bosnia, Croatia, NATO)
Alija Izetbegović - President of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Oversaw the referendum that led to the secession of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Yugoslavia. Believes that Bosnia can be both independent and inclusive of Bosniak, Serb, and Croat ethnic groups.

Haris Silajdžić - Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Formerly serving as the foreign minister of the new republic, Silajdžić’s priority in the peace summits was to first and foremost end the genocide. His secondary concerns were reuniting the country, including those in Republika Srpska.

Muhamed “Mo” Sacirbey - Ambassador to the United Nations for Bosnia and Herzegovina
Instrumental in helping the newly independent Bosnia gain UN membership and EEC recognition, he was also described as a master manipulator of Western media to demand intervention. He also collected evidence for the ICJ's genocide case against Serbia.

Irfan Ljubijankić - Foreign Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Gifted as both an ENT surgeon and classical composer, Ljubijankić was elected leader of the PDA in 1990, but left politics for a year to work as a medical doctor as the war started. He eventually returned in 1993 as a foreign minister and travelled to represent Bosnia and gain international support.

Franjo Tuđman - President of Croatia
Overseeing the independence of Croatia, Tuđman was the first president of the independent state. He faced much international criticism for supporting Bosnian-Croats and fueling the Croat-Bosniak conflict. While he initially supported the Bosnian independence, the Croat-Bosniak conflict convinced many internationally that Tuđman wanted to partition Bosnia. He eventually signed the Washington Agreement and plans to open an embassy in Sarajevo, but the distrust between the two have not abated.

Nikica Valentić - Prime Minister of Croatia
Appointed by Tuđman, Valentić is known for his associations with Croatia's oil company INA and for intentional devaluation of the dinar to provide economic stability during the war.

Mate Granić - Foreign Minister of Croatia
A close friend of president Tuđman, Granić played an important role in negotiating for the end of the Croat-Bosnian conflict and the Washington agreement. His goals were to justify Croatian policies towards Bosnia and Krajina, and lifting the UN arms embargo and avoiding potential sanctions.

Krešimir Zubak - (Transitional) President of Herzeg-Bosnia
Zubak was a Bosnian-Croat leader and member of the Croatia Defense Council. He took control after Mate Boban retired from the presidency and negotiated and signed the Washington Agreement, dissolving Herzeg-Bosnia.

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Boutros Boutros-Ghali - Secretary-General of the United Nations
Originally an Egyptian Foreign Affairs minister, Boutros-Ghali oversaw and was later associated with troubling problems over Rwanda and Somalia alongside the Yugoslav crisis. He was responsible for revitalizing the Department of Peacekeeping Operations. He was very reluctant to approve NATO bombing in Bosnia.

Bill Clinton - President of the United States of America
Getting briefed heavily by the CIA on the situation in Bosnia, Clinton spent much of his presidency dealing with the Balkans. While he supported NATO intervention and lifting the arms embargo, he blocked Republican attempts to do so unilaterally because their European allies opposed it.

Jacques Chirac - President of France
Chirac publicly called for tougher Western action on the situation in the Balkans. France contributed a significant portion of the peacekeeping and NATO forces sent into the area. Because of this, Chirac’s predecessor Mitterrand was opposed to NATO bombing of Serbia, and demanded that French troops only be used to protect aid transportation⁵, fearing French soldiers being attacked by Serbs.

John Major - Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
As with France, Britain’s response to the Baltic crisis was a tug-of-war between intention and danger to British soldiers. A metered pledge from Major to provide aid by land while the US pledged airdrops in 1993 was eventually vehemently criticized by Margaret Thatcher, who demanded her successor support aggressive air strikes against Serbia and condemned his refusal to lift the arms embargo⁶.

Helmut Kohl - Chancellor of Germany
The Nazi-Croatian connection still fresh in the minds of Serbia and the West set Germany in a difficult position in the Balkan conflict. In 1994, German courts allowed Germany to partake in NATO military operations, though the German parliament initially ruled out military intervention in Yugoslavia⁷. Kohl was advised by his foreign minister to recognize Croatia and Slovenia, and faced some criticism for responsibility in the ensuing civil war. Kohl is criticized as following public opinion, rather than leading it, but is tasked with balancing Germany's historical burden.

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with increased calls from Western allies to play a role on the global stage. He has also supported lifting the arms embargo.\(^8\)
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