



Dear Delegates,

I welcome you to UTMUN 2012. This historical committee provides an excellent opportunity to investigate the original peace agreement and consider significant aspects that were excluded in your perspective. This is a chance to investigate an array of information to include new but significant suggestions to ensure (further) peace, to benefit thousands of innocent people. This learning opportunity is a fantastic way to practice taking an objective stance on a very serious issue in an effort to end bloodshed and ensure political stability. Serious considerations are required as innocent lives, displaced persons, injured civilians, and the international actors are all participants in this conflict.

In February, we will all gather to consider the important decisions that will help to resolve one of the most horrific conflicts in Europe since World War II. Time is of the essence in resolving this conflict; yet, we must prudently consider all of the facts to ensure long-term stability as well as a short-term solution. It is of the outmost importance for you all to gather the necessary research required and ensure that you are all ready to help ensure peace and stability is introduced to this region once and for all. Your knowledge of this situation is crucial to facilitate solid resolutions. The civilians in Bosnia await your assistance!

My name is Baljinder Atwal and I am in my final year completing a specialisation in Political Science and a major in Women and Gender Studies from the University of Toronto at Mississauga. This is my first year with Model UN and I am just as excited as you all are!

Sincerely,
Baljinder Atwal

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The United Nations and Richard Holbrooke:

The United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945 and has nearly two hundred member countries. The key role of the UN is to sustain international peace and security, create peaceful relations among countries, to ensure social progress, solid living standards and improve human rights. The five main issues pertaining to the UN include: Development, Human Rights, Peace and Security, Humanitarian Affairs, and International Law. Richard Holbrooke was an ambassador to the United Nations. He was close with Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He is known for his involvement in stopping the “ethnic cleansing” that occurred when (the former) Yugoslavia was separating and breaking down. Holbrooke’s negotiating process was deemed successful as the peace negotiations were resolved.

Early History: Political Instability in Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia:

Yugoslavia:

One of the major peninsulas is the Balkan peninsula, this region comprised of Romania, Bulgaria, European Turkey, Albania and Yugoslavia. However, Yugoslavia broke apart, specifically it Balkanized as it broke apart into other Balkan states such as Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, among others. It is noted that the term Balkanize refers to a region that breaks apart into smaller and likely hostile states.

Bosnia:

In 1453, Bosnia-Herzegovina was ruled by the Turks. Bosnia was invaded in 1463 by the Ottoman Empire. Historically, Bosnian’s were persecuted by the Catholic and Orthodox Church. As a result, many Bosnians converted to Islam. Hence, the dominant ruling communities were Muslim; they would mistreat the Christian communities. In 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, Austria-Hungary took over administrative control in Bosnia. In 1908 Bosnia-Herzegovina was annexed by Austria. This decreased trust between European powers before World War I. Austria’s administrative control in Bosnia led to many the placement of Catholic officials. The Orthodox Serbs in Bosnia were (generally) living in lower standings of living, so they started looking towards Serbia. In 1914, in Sarajevo, Archduke Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated. He was the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. This assassination sparked the episodes which led to the First World War. After this war, Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (also known as Yugoslavia after 1929). Then, Germany invaded Yugoslavia in 1941 and the country was partitioned and was under control by the newly created Croatian state. It was after World War II that that Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of the Marshal Tito’s (communist) Yugoslavia. In 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence and it was here that the conflicts between this state and the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians began.



Croatia:

In 1901 Hungarian rule claimed Croatia, until 1918, when it became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In 1929, this region was renamed Yugoslavia. Germany invaded Yugoslavia in 1941 and this region broke apart. Croatia allied with Germany and re-joined the reconstituted Yugoslavia under Marshal Tito. In 1991, the Croats voted to leave Yugoslavia.

Serbia:

In 1389, Serbia was under Turkish rule. In 1815, Russia helped Serbia gain some independence. 1882, Serbia proclaimed formal independence. Serbia tried to expand its territory. Austria was against this and so it annexed Bosnia in 1908 and pushed Serbia back during the Balkan war of 1912. Between 1914 and 1918, Austria and Serbia were at war. Allies created Yugoslavia with Serbia in it. Then in the early 1990s, Serbian nationalist politicians were significant in the breakup of Yugoslavia, allowing the state of Serbia to re-emerge.

Regime Changes: During War and Post War:**Yugoslavia regime: changes and effects socially and politically:**

During the Second World War, Nazi Germany invaded Yugoslavia. As a result, Yugoslavia was partitioned; however, an opposition movement led by Josip Tito emerged. Upon Germany's downfall Tito united Yugoslavia. Specifically, Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina were united. With a mantra of ``Brotherhood and Unity`` he was successful in bringing all six states together as part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. In fact, the ethnic Albanians were Muslims, the Croats were Catholics and the Serbs were Orthodox Christians, and there was a history of hatred among these groups though they were united under Yugoslavia. However, soon, each of the republics began to proclaim (individual) sentiments of nationalism. As nationalism intensified, Tito passed away in 1980. Yugoslavia began to breakdown; it experienced an increase in economic and political turmoil. The union between the states was severely threatened when Slobodan Milosevic, a former Communist and Serbian leader, provoked attitudes of dissatisfaction (through nationalist and religious disagreement) between Serbians in Croatia and in Bosnia versus Croats, the Albanians and the Bosniaks. It is noted that Serbian Orthodox Christians were the minority in the independent province of Kosovo and proclaimed they were not treated equally by the Albanian Muslim majority. Nonetheless, a few years later, in 1991, Slovenia, Macedonia and Croatia affirmed their independence.

Serbian Regime: changes and effects socially and politically:

President Slobodan Milosevic, an authoritarian, came to power in 1987 and imposed a police state in Kosovo and the ethnic-Albanian majority (in Kosovo) in 1989. He was keen on



expanding the territory of Serbia. Indeed, the Serbian army used the Yugoslav army to overpower Croatia into submission in 1991. Also, the Bosnian-Serbs wanted to become part of the dominant Serbian state in the Balkans. However, The European Community and the United States affirmed Bosnia's independence in 1992. Soon, with its strong military capability over-powered Bosnia, Milosevic commenced on initiating a dreadful conflict in Europe since the Second World War. Specifically, the Yugoslav army, which was dominated by Serbs and backed by Milosevic, supported the Bosnian Serb forces. Accordingly, an offensive was initiated as Bosnia's capital, Sarajevo was attacked. Zvornik, Foca, and Visegrad were highly populated by Bosniaks. The Serbs initiated an ethnic cleansing by forcing the Bosniak citizens from the area and through the use of murder, rape, torture, and forcibly displacing them; the Bosniaks were expelled.

Croatia Regime: changes and effects socially and politically:

During the Second World War, Croatia was a pro-Nazi state led by a fascist Ustasha Party leader, Ante Pavelic. In 1991, a new Croatian government emerged which was led by Franjo Tudjman. He was keen on reviving fascism. For example, he hailed previous fascist leaders, used the old Ustasha flag, and implemented laws to discriminate against Orthodox Serbs. Soon, within the same year, Slovenia and Croatia claimed their independence from Yugoslavia. In consequence, the Yugoslavian army led by Milosevic invaded Slovenia but withdrew within ten days; there were very little to zero Serbs in Slovenia. Rather, he focused his military efforts towards Croatia which was a Catholic dominated country with 12 percent of Orthodox Serbs living in it. Milosevic invaded Croatia in 1991 claiming he was protecting the Serbian minority. In consequence, they destroyed the city of Vukovar, and executed hundreds of Croatian men.

Bosnia regime: changes and effects socially and politically

Bosnia-Herzegovina emerged after the republics in Yugoslavia broke apart. Muslims were the largest single population during the early 1970s; though many Serbs and Croats relocated within the next twenty years. This multicultural country did have conflict between the three dominant ethnic groups; this includes the Serbs (31 percent), Croats (17 percent) and the Muslims (44 percent) (as according to a 1991 census). 1990 elections led to a coalition government representing the three ethnic groups in proportion to their populations and was led by Alija Izetbegovic whom was a Bosniak. Hostilities began to emerge within and outside of Bosnia. Bosnian Serb Radovan Karadzic led the Serbian Democratic Party; they revoked their union with the government and The Serbian National Assembly emerged. In 1992, on March 3rd, Bosnia's independence was declared by President Izetbegovic. In the final months of 1992, nearly 75 percent of Bosnia was controlled by Bosnian Serb forces. The Bosnian government was no longer able to defend the country. Majority of the Bosniak population remained but many



of the Bosnian Croats left. Attempts at peace making failed as the Serbs refused to hand over territory. It was the Serbians that attacked the Muslims, resulting in genocide. The Bosnian state was especially defenseless and the government wanted to stay out of the increasing conflict. But in 1992, Milosevic launched the genocidal and gendercidal ethnic cleansing of Bosnia. This invasion was particularly severe in Sarajevo.

Background Factors that led to Yugoslavia and Bosnia Conflict:

Yugoslavia:

In 1992, the European Community and the United States recognized Bosnia as an independent country. Milosevic (from the Yugoslavian regime) reacted to Bosnia's independence with hostility, particularly within Sarajevo. So, he was responsible for most of the mass killings and other atrocities. It is noted that Karadzic also inflicted violence to the Serbian Bosnians as well. As such, Bosnia was the site of civil war between the years of 1992 to 1995. At least (approximately) 100,000 people were killed, half of which were civilians. In addition, millions were displaced. Serbian forces, but to a lesser extent Croats and Muslims, focused on killing mostly men that were "battle age" men. This meant that 18 to 55 year old men were either killed or detained when captured. Targeted Bosnian victims suffered through a "modus operandi" which was implemented through five different phases which are as follows: 1. Concentration: here the target individuals are fired at and randomly killed. Intimidation tactics through the use of weapons such as firearms were used to lure the target population out of their homes into the streets; 2. Decapitation: political leaders that could potentially replace the target are killed, this includes lawyers, judges, public officials, writers and professors; 3. Separation: women, children, and old men are divided into separate groups away from men of "fighting age"; 4. Evacuation: women, children, and old men are taken to the border and must enter a new country; 5. Liquidation: "fighting age" men were killed and their bodies are disposed of. "Fighting age" men were not the only targets as there was also a systematic campaign to humiliate and bring psychological terror to Bosnian Muslim women, as 20,000 to 50,000 of these women were raped by Bosnian Serb soldiers. Sarajevo was where many civilians were randomly killed by Serbian snipers, nearly 3,500 children were killed. Mass shootings and concentration camps were also imposed.

By the summer of 1995, three towns in eastern Bosnia--Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde--remained under control of the Bosnian government. The U.N. had declared these enclaves "safe havens" in 1993, to be disarmed and protected by international peacekeeping forces. And tens of thousands of desperate Muslims were seeking protection in this area. Yet, on July 11, Bosnian Serb forces advanced on Srebrenica, overwhelming a multitude of Dutch peacekeeping forces located there. Serbian forces subsequently separated the Bosniak civilians at Srebrenica, putting the women and girls on buses and sending them to Bosnian-held territory. Some of the women were raped or



sexually assaulted, while the men and boys who remained behind were killed immediately or moved to mass killing sites. Estimates of Bosniaks killed by Serb forces at Srebrenica range from around 7,000 to more than 8,000.

Hence, this murderous rampage was indeed labelled as ``ethnic cleansing`` by the international media. Initially the U.N. imposed economic sanctions on Serbia and U.N. troops were sent to Bosnia to help dispossessed Muslims through providing food and medical aid. However, it is important to note that the troops were not allowed to stop the Serbians through military interference. They had to remain neutral. Also, Serbia's economy was hurt by U.N. trade sanctions. It was in July of 1995 when Bosnian Serbs threw a bomb into a Sarajevo market, the international community responded with force. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) led by the U.S., joined the Croatian and the Bosnian forces in August 30th of 1995 and recognized that solid military intervention was required. This union was followed by nearly three weeks of bombing combating Bosnian Serbs. Basically, NATO demanded the Serbs withdraw from Sarajevo. Milosevic finally agreed to negotiate in October of 1995.

Richard Holbrooke and the Framework Peace Agreement:

The warfare between the Serbs, Croats and the Bosnian Muslim population involved the slaughter of thousands, systematic rape and concentration camps. In 1995, Holbrooke aggressively led to negotiation to peace. He was backed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) through air assaults and economic sanctions. The successful negotiation was based on an array of agreements based on key principles and ceasefire. Hence, Holbrooke was a key figure in the Dayton Accords and helping to end one of the worst conflicts in Europe since World War II. It took approximately three months for Holbrooke to end the conflict and get the key parties to sign the Dayton Accords. The basic objective for Holbrooke was (clearly) to stop the violent war in Bosnia. The type of approach executed by Holbrooke is regarded as deal-oriented as he focused on the key issues at stake. Holbrooke's role and objective were aligned as he was an advocate with political power since he was backed by the United States and NATO. As a result, he had the ability to punish (through bombing states) or reward (promising aid to) states. It is noted that Holbrooke implemented several weeks of NATO bombings on key Serbian targets. Nonetheless, Holbrooke held various summits where he sought an array of principles to which the different parties would agree upon. The first summit was regarded as rather tense as officials were hostile. Still, Holbrooke managed to create a list of basic principles that recognized Bosnia's existing borders, with two entities within Bosnia where each entity had the right to create ties with neighbouring countries. Nearly a month later, the second summit was held and another list of principles emerged; this list outlined the structures of government such as a parliament, presidency, a constitutional court and a pledge to elections. Holbrooke introduced



the softer issues first and then the more hard issues later. This was done to ensure that there was a progression of peace. Ultimately, after the summits, when the leaders arrived in Dayton, the U.S. State Department provided them a very detailed Framework Peace Agreement including issues regarding the military, elections, the constitution, human rights, and an international police task force. The goal was to include as many key issues as possible that could be negotiated. Holbrooke's strategy for sustaining the momentum was done through imposing deadlines, backed by threats to bomb if the leaders did not agree. On October 4, 1995, Holbrooke met with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and encouraged him to halt the Muslim military offensive. This ceasefire was essential to the negotiations at Dayton.

Background and General Framework of the Agreement:

The United States led the peace talks in Dayton, Ohio in November of 1995 and in attendance were, Tudjman Izetbegovic and Milosevic. The result was a Croat-Bosniak federation and a Serb republic. The International Criminal Tribunal (ICTY) was created for the Former Yugoslavia at The Hague, Netherlands by the U.N. Security Council (UNSC) in May of 1993. This tribunal charged Karadzic and his top general, a Bosnian Serb military commander (General Ratko Mladic) for crimes against humanity. More than 160 people were charged with related crimes. Moreover, the massacre at Srebrenica was called genocide. Though the court did declare that Serbia could have prevented the genocide, it is not guilty of the genocide itself. Milosevic was charged for the genocide crimes he committed in Kosovo. Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) agreed that they would accept and respect one another's sovereignty; they agreed to fully recognize each other and that any disputes in the future would be resolved through a peaceful method. Each country agreed to respect and obey the commitments made in the several annexes, respect human rights, the rights of refugees and displaced persons. As well, each party had to agree to comply with the UNSC if they wanted to prosecute war crimes or other violations of international humanitarian law.

Precise Outline of the Dayton Peace Accord:

Annex 1-A: Military Aspects: The October 5, 1995 ceasefire must continue. Foreign combating forces will withdraw within one month behind a zone of separation of nearly 4 km within the agreed time frame. There are special requirements for Sarajevo and Gorazde. Confidence measures insist that the parties agree to withdraw heavy weapons and forces to station areas within a certain timeframe and demobilize forces. Bosnia and Herzegovina can have a multinational military implementation force (IFOR) which will be under the command of NATO, with given authority from the UN. The IFOR can monitor and ensure compliance on military aspects and carrying out related tasks. IFOR can use force if necessary. IFOR has control over airspace, and freedom of movement. There is a Joint Military Commission that is established. It is monitored by the IFOR commander. Indicted persons cannot participate.



Persons with knowledge of mines, military personnel, weaponry must tell the Joint Military Commission within a certain time frame. All combatants and civilians must be released or transferred without delay according to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Annex 1-B: Regional Stabilization: Within one week representatives of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia, and the Bosnian Serb Republic must begin deliberating under Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) measures within 45 days. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia, and the Bosnian Serb Republic, as well as Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia agree not to import arms for three months. And 180 must pass until heavy weapons, ammunition, mines and helicopters can be imported or there is an arms control agreement that is put into place. All of these five countries must begin deliberating within one month and agree on holdings of tanks, artillery, armored combat vehicles, combat aircraft, and attack helicopters. If the parties fail to meet these agreements within 180 days, the OSCE will organize and conduct deliberations to establish a regional balance.

Annex 2: Inter-Entity Boundary: There is a boundary line between the Federation of Bosnia and the Bosnian Serb Republic. Sarajevo will be reunified and open to every person in the country. Gorazde will remain accessible. The status of Brcko will be determined by arbitration within one year.

Annex 3: Elections: There will be free and fair, supervised elections, conducted within six to nine months for the presidency and house of Representatives. Refugees and displaced persons have a right to vote. Freedom of expression and the press must be protected. The OSCE must supervise these elections. Citizens over 18 can vote.

Annex 4: Constitution: Bosnia and Herzegovina will be known as "Bosnia and Herzegovina" and this will be signed off in Paris. The Federation of Bosnia and the Bosnian Serb Republic will continue to be a sovereign state. The constitution requires that human rights are protected, and that persons, goods, capital and services can move freely. There will be a president for the central government, a two chamber legislature and a constitutional court. Elections will be held for the presidency and one of the legislative chambers. A central bank and monetary system will exist. There will be law enforcement, and foreign policy, as well as air traffic control for which the central government is responsible. Any person under indictment, or serving a sentence imposed by the international tribunal or fails to appear before the tribunal can be a candidate for or hold public office.



Annex 5: Arbitration: The Federation of Bosnia and the Bosnian Serb Republic agree to partake in a settlement to resolve any disagreements between them.

Annex 6: Human Rights: Human rights are recognized, and there are fundamental freedoms for every individual in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A Commission on Human Rights must have a human rights ombudsman and a court. The Ombudsman can investigate human rights violations, and bring forth findings. This court can hear and decide on human rights claims. The parties agree that the UN human rights agencies, the OSCE and the international tribunal have full access to observe the human rights situation.

Annex 7: Refugees and Displaced Persons: Refugees and displaced persons can return home safely and reclaim lost property or obtain just compensation. A Commission for Displaced Persons and Refugees will deliberate on compensation and obtaining lost property. All individuals can move throughout the country freely without discrimination. The Parties must help the ICRC when locating missing persons.

Annex 8: Commission to Preserve National Monuments: A Commission to Preserve National Monuments is created. This commission must manage and respond to petitions regarding national monuments that are significant for a group of people with a common cultural, historic, religious, or ethnic heritage. If a property is established as a national monument, appropriate legal action must be taken to protect and ensure that it is not damaged.

Annex 9: Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations: Both Bosnian and Herzegovina Transportation Corporation is created to operate transportation facilities, such as roads and ports. As well, a Commission on Public Corporations is created to run other public corporations such as postal service facilities.

Annex 10: Civilian Implementation: During a peace settlement, such as humanitarian aid, economic reconstruction, protection of human rights, and the holding of free elections, a high delegate must be elected with UNSC resolutions. The high delegate will manage the Joint Civilian Commission and they must not have any authority over the IFOR.

Annex 11: International Police Task Force: The UN International Police Task Force (IPTF) carries out various tasks such as monitoring, inspecting, training and informing local law enforcement workers and facilities. IPTF is headed by an UNSC appointed commissioner. IPTF must inform the Human Rights Commission or the International Tribunal of any human rights violations.



Questions:

Knowing that Bosnia was left with a huge unemployment rate, and ruined social system, should the UN sustain long term commitment to the economic reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina? In other words, in this particular case, should the UN have incorporated increased responsibility to rebuild the social welfare in Bosnia?

NATO's bombing of Serbs was successful in providing Holbrooke a military advantage and thus a political advantage; yet, as bombings continued, as did fear of hurting more civilians, so Holbrooke had to decrease the time limit during the discussions. How does this lead to disadvantages for all parties involved?

During times of severe bloodshed, should UN ambassadors such as Holbrooke choose a deadline for negotiation to save lives over long term, solid, peace agreements and obligations? Which choice is more credible?

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