



# The Dayton Accords

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## Introduction

The Dayton Accords (1995), also known as the General Framework Agreement for Peace, made an end to an international armed conflict that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, the Bosnian war. The accords restored peace by dividing Bosnia into two autonomous entities: a Bosnian Serb republic and a loosely united Muslim-Croatian federation. The accords thank their name to the negotiations held at the Wright Patterson Air Force Base outside of Dayton, Ohio. Warren Christopher, Secretary of State, and Richard Holbrooke, who served as the principal American peace negotiator, guided the process. Of course, the Dayton Accords are significant to European history and have many underlying layers, but how did they come to be?

## History of Slavic States

Slavs are Indo-European ethnic groups that speak European languages. They are indigenous to North and Central Asia, as well as Central, Eastern, Southeast and Northeast Europe. The majority of Slavs speak Indo-European Slavic. Approximately 50% of the land in Europe is occupied by Slavic nations. The Slavs are divided into three groups: West Slavs, which include Poles, Slovaks and Czechs; the East Slavs, which include Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians; the South Slavs, which include Serbs, Bosniaks, Slovenes, Serbs, and Macedonians. There are also the modern Slavs, which are different in practically every manner, especially in terms of their genetic makeup and interpersonal relationships. Slavs make up more than 360 million people globally.

There are different theories as to how statehood among the ancient Slavs emerged in these territories. The Norman or Varangian idea is currently the most popular explanation for how the earliest Slavic countries came into existence. It first appeared in Germany in the late 18th century. Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694-1738) and Gerhard Friedrich Miller (1705-1783) were two German scientists who served as the organisation's founders and intellectual forerunners.



Fig 1: Slavic States and distribution<sup>1</sup>

They believe the foundations of the history of the Slavic states are Nordic or Varangian. The “Tale of Bygone Years”, the earliest work by the monk Nestor, was carefully analysed by erudite persons who came to this conclusion; the ancient Slavic tribes (Krivichi, Slovene, and Chud) contacted the princes of Varangian in their countries, according to a mention from the year 862. Several Slavic tribes allegedly opted to combine under the leadership of the Normans, who were at the time thought to be the most experienced and successful in Europe, after becoming weary of never-ending internal struggle and hostile incursions from the outside.

The military background of a state's leadership used to be given more weight than economic experience when a state was being formed. Nobody questioned the strength or knowledge of the northern barbarians. They essentially raided every populated area of Europe with their military formations. According to the Norman version, the ancient Slavs chose to welcome Varangian princes

<sup>1</sup> ---. “Slavic Languages: Distribution in Europe,” Encyclopædia Britannica, 16 Mar. 2021, [www.britannica.com/topic/Slavic-languages#/media/1/548460/2098](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Slavic-languages#/media/1/548460/2098).

to the realm due to their military victories.

The Norman commanders often had a division between the civilian clan and the military patrimonial order, also referred to as the "kirkh". In other words, it is likely that the Varangian princes arrived in the Slavic countries not just with combat bands but also with complete families. The early Slavic nations were established once the Varangian princes accepted the tribes' proposal.

Roman troops waged a number of military actions against the Slavs and other peoples between 531 and 534 AD. The Slavs invaded the area around the Hebrus River and the Thracian coast around the 550s, demolishing many fortified communities, and, according to Roman accounts, enslaving women and children and slaughtering adult males. They also reportedly killed several fortified settlements. Thessalonica was rescued from tragedy by the advent of a Roman army led by Germanus, although they were unable to achieve their intended aim. Later, during the early 580s, the Slavs and Avars united to conquer Greece, Thrace, and Thessaly.

The Avars signed a treaty with the Romans in which they agreed to protect the Roman frontiers in exchange for an annual payment of 100,000 gold solidi. The Slavs, on the other hand, chose not to participate in the agreement. In 585 AD, they marched against Constantinople but were repelled by the Roman defence. The first permanent Slavic towns were eventually founded in Greece as the Slavs persisted in invading neighbouring communities.

Rome launched an offensive against the Slavs at the beginning of the sixth century, but it proved unsuccessful. Once more combining their forces, the Slavs and Avars besieged Constantinople in the year 626 with the assistance of the Bulgars. The barbarian alliance came close to achieving its objective, but the Romans were able to withstand the assault. The Avar-Slav alliance ended after this incident. Greece was under Slavic rule until the Byzantines ultimately drove them out in the ninth century. The Slavs were well-established at that point in the Balkans and other parts of central and eastern Europe.

## **The Bosnian War**

The swift economic collapse of Yugoslavia in the 1980s resulted in considerable popular discontent with the political system. Politics in Yugoslavia became unstable as a result of this mindset and politicians' use of nationalist sentiment. By 1989, there were independent political parties. Elections with several parties were conducted in Slovenia and Croatia at the start of 1990. New parties that represented the three national communities won seats in Bosnia and Herzegovina's elections in December, roughly in proportion to the size of their respective populations. There was the formation of a three-way coalition administration, with the Bosnian politician Alija Izetbegovic serving as joint

president. Cooperation with the Radovan Karadi-led Serb Democratic Party, however, became more and more challenging due to rising tensions both inside and outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Numerous "Serb Autonomous Regions" with sizable Serb populations in Bosnia and Herzegovina were proclaimed in 1991. There is evidence that the Yugoslav People's Army was utilized to transport weapons to the Bosnian Serbs in secret from Belgrade (Serbia). In October, the Serb Democratic Party expelled its representatives from the Bosnian assembly and established a "Serb National Assembly" in Banja Luka. The Serb Democratic Party started boycotting the Bosnian presidency sessions in August. By that time, Croatia was engaged in a full-scale war, and Yugoslavia was in the process of disintegrating. The situation for Bosnia and Herzegovina grew quite precarious. Franjo Tudjman, the president of Croatia, and Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Serbia, had spoken about the possibility of dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina earlier during the previous year. Two Croat "communities," which resembled the "Serb Autonomous Regions" in certain ways, were established in northern and southwestern Bosnia Herzegovina through November 1991.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was given the opportunity to submit an application for recognition when the European Community (EC; subsequently replaced by the European Union) recognized Croatia and Slovenia's independence in December. A vote on independence was held between February 29 and March 1, 1992, although Karadi's party interfered with voting in the majority of Serb-populated districts, resulting in practically no Bosnian Serbs casting a ballot. A little more than two-thirds of the electorate did participate in voting, and virtually all of them chose to become independent, which President Izetbegovic formally announced on March 3, 1992.

The three major ethnic parties denied various versions of the EC negotiators' ideas to advocate a new split of Bosnia and Herzegovina into ethnic "cantons" in February and March 1992. The aerial bombardment of Sarajevo by Bosnian Serb troops of the Yugoslav military began shortly after the United States and the European Commission (EC) declared Bosnia and Herzegovina's independence on April 7. Bosnian Serb paramilitary groups immediately started shooting in Sarajevo following this. A mix of paramilitary groups and Yugoslav army troops assaulted many towns in eastern Bosnia Herzegovina with sizable Bosniak populations during the month of April, including Zvornik, Foa, and Visegrad. The majority of the local Bosniak populace was driven out of these districts, becoming the nation's first casualties of what has been referred to as ethnic cleansing. Croats were both victims and perpetrators, while Bosniaks were the main victims and Serbs were the main offenders. Within six weeks, the Yugoslav military, paramilitary units, and local Bosnian Serb troops launched a concerted operation that successfully seized control of nearly two-thirds of Bosnia. General Ratko Mladi, a

Bosnian Serb, was given command of the army forces and weapons systems in Bosnia Herzegovina in May.

Beginning in the summertime of 1992, the military environment remained mostly unchanged. For the remainder of that year, a hurriedly constructed Bosnian government army as well as some better-prepared Bosnian Croat troops maintained the front lines, while their influence eventually waned in several areas of eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina. The arms trafficking embargo and the fighting with Croat troops in 1993–1994 both contributed to the military weakness of the Bosnian government. However, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks decided to create a unified federation later in 1994. Although the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) forces helped in the distribution of humanitarian assistance, the UN declined to participate in the Bosnian War. Later, the group expanded the scope of its responsibilities to include guarding several UN-designated "safe areas." When Bosnian Serb forces massacred upwards of 7,000 Bosniak males in July 1995, the UN did little to defend the safe region of Srebrenica.

Numerous peace initiatives throughout the war were unsuccessful, partly because Bosnian Serbs—who by 1994 held roughly 70% of the region—refused to give any territory. Four Bosnian Serb warplanes that were flying outside of the region's UN-imposed no-fly zone were shot down by NATO jets in February 1994, marking the alliance's first-ever use of force. Later that year, NATO carried out sporadic and ineffectual airstrikes targeting Bosnian Serb sites at the request of the UN. NATO launched additional targeted airstrikes in the latter part of 1995 in response to the Srebrenica tragedy as well as another Bosnian Serb assault on a market in Sarajevo. This effort, along with a significant territorial assault by Bosniaks and Croats, convinced Bosnian Serb troops to consent to U.S.-sponsored peace negotiations in Dayton in November. The Bosnian Serbs were represented by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The following Dayton Accords proposed one federal system of government; Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a Croat-Bosnian federation making up 51% of the territory and a Serb republic making up the remaining 49%. A 60,000-member multinational force was sent in to carry out the deal, which was officially signed in December 1995 in Paris.

## The Dayton Accords

The Dayton Accords are a peace agreement that ended the Bosnian War. With the multiple territorial disputes and political instability, the Dayton Accords divided the territory between the Serbs and Bosnians. The Bosniak-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic remained as separate states in one nation (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and Sarajevo remained the capital city. The Dayton Accords are also known as the General Framework Agreement for Peace. The negotiations upon the conflict took place in Dayton, Ohio, hence the name 'Dayton Accords' in August of 1995. The

agreements were formally signed on the 14th of December in Paris of the same year. They were signed by Slobodan Milošević (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), Alija Izetbegović (the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina), Franjo Tuđman (Croatia), Bill Clinton (United States), Jaques Chirac (France), John Major (United Kingdom), Helmut Kohl (Germany), Viktor Chernomyrdin (Russia), and Felipe González (EU). The parties to the treaty were the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republic of Croatia.

### **Promoting peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

The larger region of Bosnia occupies the northern and central parts of the country, and Herzegovina occupies the south and southwest. The Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic), which is located in the north and east, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is located in the west and centre, are the two autonomous political entities created by the internationally mediated Dayton Accords of 1995, respectively, and do not correspond with these historical regions.

Although they are one nation in Nongovernmental Organisations (IGOs), they both are judicially autonomous and separate from one another. This dynamic was established by the Dayton Accords-prior to which there was fighting and conflict due to ethnic and religious disagreements between the Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Serbs, and Croats.

### **Endorsing regional balance in former Yugoslavia**

Yugoslavia was made up of six modern countries, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, and Slovenia, all of which are now independent and sovereign states. Since the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the aforementioned states have been less developed than some of the countries in Western Europe, with political instability being prevalent, lower employment rates, and a higher population living under the poverty line. In Bosnia & Herzegovina, the Dayton Accords called for a military retraction and for the disbandment of armed non-state parties (such as rebel groups and militias). They implemented strict rules regarding arms and the trade of such. Furthermore, they restricted military activities in certain geographically bound areas and mandated the implementation of trust-building (confidence-building) measures- “The Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, D.C., outlined four main types of confidence-building measures: communication, constraint, transparency, and verification”<sup>2</sup>. These measures were stressed especially in pertinence to military activities, deployment, and exercises.

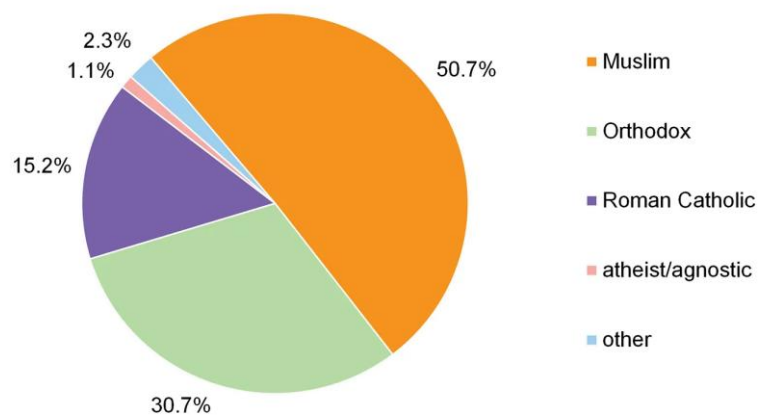
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<sup>2</sup> Harman, Sophie. “Confidence-Building Measure | International Relations.” Encyclopedia Britannica, 17 May 2016, [www.britannica.com/topic/confidence-building-measure](http://www.britannica.com/topic/confidence-building-measure).

## Agreeing upon political and religious divisions of Bosnia and Herzegovina

By signing both the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska into one nation, reducing military activity, and disbanding militias, most of the political divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina became more social constructs. The accords, however, allowed the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska to act as two separate entities under one governmental system. Both countries are recognised as their own, however, in global politics and economics, they are recognised as one unified country (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina is Sarajevo, which, by geographical terms, is in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the political, economic, and cultural capital of the country. The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is locally regarded as more affluent and developed in comparison to the Republika Srpska.

**Bosnia and Herzegovina religious affiliation (2013)**



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*Fig 2: Religious composition in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>3</sup>*

Most political divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina pertain to and have religious connections (Muslim majority and Catholic minority), occasionally leading to unrest. The origins of this are traced to the Bosnian war and the Serbian massacre of 1995, where ethnic cleansing (genocide) took place against Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) men and boys. Around 8,000 Bosniaks are estimated to have been murdered on the streets, in fields, and in concentration camps. Alongside such, an estimated 25,000-30,000 Bosniaks and Croats are said to have been murdered, raped, tortured, captured, and/or displaced during the first 7 months of 1995. This has been recognised as an act of genocide.

<sup>3</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica. "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Religious Affiliation," Encyclopædia Britannica, [www.britannica.com/place/Bosnia-and-Herzegovina/People#/media/1/700826/209759](http://www.britannica.com/place/Bosnia-and-Herzegovina/People#/media/1/700826/209759).



## Agreeing upon Bosnia and Herzegovina's structure of government

Bosnia and Herzegovina was created as a state made up of two highly autonomous entities, the Republika Srpska (Bosnian Serb Republic) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The latter is a decentralised Croat-Bosnian federation. Each entity has a separate president and legislature. A directly elected tripartite presidency, consisting of one Bosniak, one Serb, and one Croat member, is one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's key institutions. This presidency alternates every eight months. The presidency, as the head of state, appoints a multiethnic Council of Ministers. The head of state is the chairman of the council, who is chosen by the president and ratified by the national House of Representatives. The legislature has two chambers. The 42-member lower chamber (House of Representatives), where 28 seats are set aside for the Federation and 14 for the Republika Srpska, is made up of members who are chosen directly. The entity legislatures select the members of the upper house (the House of Peoples), which consists of five representatives from each ethnic group.

## Addressing the inter-entity boundary line

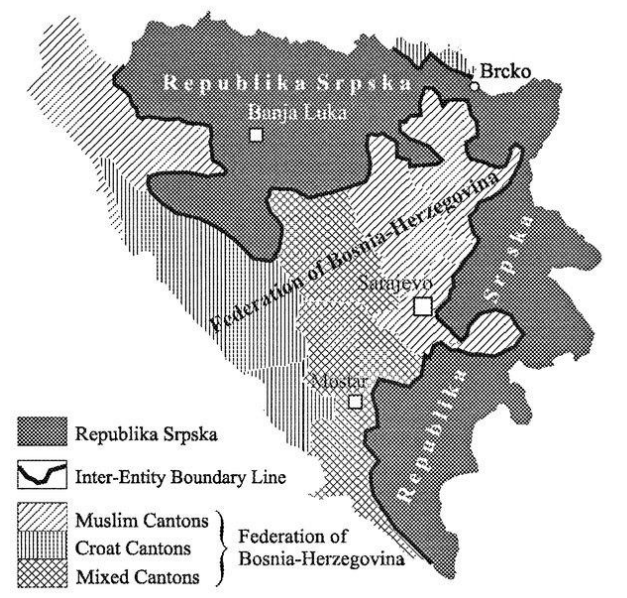


Fig 3: Bosnia and Herzegovina's inter-entity boundary line<sup>4</sup>

As seen above, the Dayton Accords established an inter-entity boundary line in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where, following the war, there was a territorial dispute between the different communities and ethnicities in (modern-day) Bosnia and Herzegovina. This boundary line marks the split between the Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs in the territory and legislative/governmental matters. 51% would be Bosnian and 49% would be under Serb control. Consequentially, the capital city,

<sup>4</sup> Republika Srpska and its Boundaries in Bosnian Serb Geographical Narratives in the Post-Dayton Period - Scientific Figure on ResearchGate. [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Post-Dayton-BosniaHerzegovina\\_fig5\\_248990868](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Post-Dayton-BosniaHerzegovina_fig5_248990868)

Sarajevo, is in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (although it is on the border between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, almost being a divided capital) along with Mostar (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina), and Banja Luka (Republika Srpska). The placement of Sarajevo continues to historically be of conflict- politically and territorially.

## General Timeline

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>
1991	Dissolution of the USSR
Early 1992	Slovenia, Croatia, (North) Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro leave Yugoslavia
Late 1992	Bosnia and Herzegovina leaves Yugoslavia
1992-1994	Croat-Bosniak War
1992	Bosnian War begins
1995	Serbian Massacre
1995	Croat and Bosniak forces conjoin to fight the Serbs
1995	Bosnian War receives global attention (especially in Inter-Governmental Organisations)
August 1995	Dayton Accords negotiated upon

## Signatories to the Treaty

### Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Slobodan Milošević

YUGOSLAVIA 1995: having already lost Slovenia, Croatia, (North) Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro, Yugoslavia was losing power. Playing into this, In 1995, the Yugoslav government's reorganisation and economic penalties put an end to support for Serb uprisings in Bosnia and Croatia. Furthermore, the only remaining modern-day states which comprised Yugoslavia in 1995 were Serbia and Montenegro. The Serbs and Serbian government and parliamentary figures were deemed highly responsible for the events surrounding the Bosnian war and the Serbian Genocide. During the Bosnian war, it was the Serbian side of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina who were seen as the main perpetrators of the conflict and extermination, as they were seeking independence from Bosnia. Their goal was for the Republika Srpska to become part of 'Greater Serbia', an envisionment of Serbian Separatists in Bosnia, and leave the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as its own state in all political matters. This would leave 'Greater Serbia' and a strong, dominant, and majority in the Balkan Peninsula. However, much of Western Europe had placed Economic sanctions against Serbia, and the economy was struggling to keep its citizens fed, healthy, and educated as tax rates were low along with international support.

Much of the taxes were being spent on supporting the military, meaning that a lot of the Serbian and Serb population was living in poverty and government neglect. This means that Greater Serbia's rise and development would have been slowed without economic support from the West.

REPRESENTATIVE: Slobodan Milošević was a Serbian politician who is said to have encouraged anti-Bosniak activities and played an important role during the Bosnian war as well as in the Serbian genocide. He was the president of Serbia within Yugoslavia from 1989-, and provided military and monetary support and funds to Serb separatists in Bosnia. He also readied the Serbian army in the event that they would get involved in the conflict. They were not strong enough to hold off the joint Bosnian and Croat armies and were thus kept within their borders. Milošević, a nationalist, was forced to retreat and subdue his armies and kept most of his activities under wraps. He was then asked to attend the negotiations of the Dayton Accords, where he negotiated representing Yugoslavia, and fighting for Serbia and the Republika Srpska.

Objectives:

- Keep Serbian power and representation in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Either separate the Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina or have an independent government and legislation
- Ensure Serb territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- Have the capital city in Serb territory
- Keep more communist and/or socialist government in power
- Keep the public from discovering his involvement in the Serbian Massacre and perpetration in the Bosnian War



**Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Alija Izetbegović**

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 1995: war-torn, Bosnia and Herzegovina was clearly split into the Bosniaks and Croats, and the Bosnian Serbs. The Serbs wanted independence from Bosnia whereas the Croats were happy to remain inhabitants of Bosnia. Following the Serbian Genocide, Bosnia called for help from the U.N., which also formally recognised the genocide. Bosnia and Herzegovina was very close to partitioning into the federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska due to the Serbian extremists and separatists. However, with help from the Croats, Bosnia and Herzegovina's militaries managed to keep the Republika Srpska and Serbia separate and prevented them from conjoining into a single military. In 1994, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks signed and agreed to conjoin to make one federation and military power in an effort to

be stronger as an individual unit.

REPRESENTATIVE: Alija Izetbegović was a Bosnian politician and activist. Arrested multiple times for his activism surrounding Bosniak freedom from oppression. He fought extensively for human and religious rights in Bosnia and spent over 8 years in prison for it. Elected as the leader of the Bosniak *Party of Democratic Action* with a highly Islamic character in 1990, Izetbegović was seen as a patriot. Western Human Rights Movements such as Amnesty International criticised the court sentences regarding his arrest and imprisonment, and called it 'communist propaganda'. As the Bosnian President, Izetbegović attended and took part in the negotiations resulting in the Dayton Accords in Ohio.



OBJECTIVES:

- Obtain at least 75% of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina as Bosnian
  - Keep the capital city Bosnian
  - Attempt to keep Bosnia and Herzegovina from partitioning
  - Maintain a liberal and democratic government
- 
- Ensure the safety of Bosniaks and Croats
  - Establish peace in terms of social and political dynamics
  - Continue working with the Croats and Croatians

### Croatia: Franjo Tuđman

CROATIA 1995: with many Croats (Croatians living in Bosnia and Herzegovina) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia played an important role in the Bosnian war. Because of the diversity and diaspora across Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croats were both perpetrators and victims in the Bosnian War. Between 1992 and 1994, Bosniaks and Croats were oppositions, in what is known as the 'war within a war' as this Croat-Bosniak war was part of the greater Bosnian War. Although they originally were allies in the war against the Serbs, they became violent with one another, and eventually, the tensions escalated into a full war. After early 1994, a truce was established as the two parties formed the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and continued to fight the Serbs as a conjoined entity. Croatia supported the Croats in their military operations throughout their fight against and with the Bosniaks.

REPRESENTATIVE: Franjo Tuđman was a Croatian politician and veteran. He had fought in WWII as a pro-partitioning Croatian and believed strongly in a separate and independent Croatia (from

Yugoslavia). He had led Croatia through its independence war as Serb populations in Croatia were revolting and protesting the secession from Yugoslavia. Having also led Croats through wars with and alongside Bosniaks, Tuđman was in favour of keeping Bosnia and Herzegovina as an ally. He thereby visited Sarajevo to open the Croatian embassy in Bosnia.



#### OBJECTIVES:

- Keep Bosnia and Herzegovina an ally
- Ensure the safety and protection of Croats
- Keep Croatia and Croats independent from Serb forces trying to occupy Croatia and Croats as Yugoslavic
- Maintain peace between Croats and Croatia, and Bosniaks

## Witnesses to the Treaty

### United States: Bill Clinton

UNITED STATES 1995: Flourishing economically, the US is seen as a land of opportunities. As one of the world's most affluent countries with a thriving economy, model democracy, and dominant media, they were perhaps the most powerful nation-state in global politics in the 90s. They have strong economic ties with much of the West, especially the Grand Alliance (US, UK, USSR), and a lot of smaller countries (like the ones in the Balkans) are very much dependent on US imports to sustain their own economies and populations. The US had recognised Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent nation, separate from Yugoslavia, which opposed the views and likes of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Bill Clinton had ultimately agreed to sponsor the negotiations of the Dayton Agreements.



REPRESENTATIVE: Bill Clinton was an American politician with the Democratic party in 1995. With the aim to end the ethnic conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, he agreed to sponsor the negotiations between Croatia, Yugoslavia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina after much uproar in the United Nations and in the Balkans. The global reactions to the conflict and the acknowledgement of the genocide is ultimately what pushed not only Clinton, but other states and non-state parties to attempt to alleviate the tensions and conflict in the region.

### France: Jacques Chirac (president of France)

FRANCE 1995: A radical Islamist bombing in Paris shocked France and spawned a new wave of terrorists. The path also led to poor housing developments in France, drawing attention to them across the country. In late 1995, a number of nationwide strikes—mostly in the public sector—were planned. Despite the fact that the strikes crippled the nation's transportation system and other institutions, they were widely supported by the public.

REPRESENTATIVE: Jacques Chirac is a French politician who was also elected president after his third run in 1995. His first order of business as newly elected president was; in order for France to be eligible to use the euro, which replaced the franc as the country's only currency in 2002, Chirac attempted to slash expenditure as president in order to lower the government's budget deficits. In late 1995, a sizable general strike was sparked by



his proposed spending cuts, which would include freezing the pay of state employees and cutting back on various social assistance programs. Nevertheless, Chirac persisted in implementing austerity measures even though by the start of 1997, unemployment had reached historic highs. Chirac called for legislative elections in May 1997 to get support for his platform, but voters overwhelmingly supported the left. Chirac was also a witness to the Dayton Accords, which were signed in Paris in 1995.

### United Kingdom: John Major

UNITED KINGDOM 1995: Since the conservatives took office for the first time 16 years ago, the industrial sector has posted its largest increase in employment. Barings Bank, a UK investment bank, shuts down as a result of losses suffered by stockbroker Nick Leeson. Leeson's speculative losses on the Stock Exchange of Tokyo are \$1.4 billion. For the first time since the IRA and loyalist ceasefire went into effect last year, the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh go to Northern Ireland. Headteacher Philip Lawrence is stabbed in front of St. George's Catholic School in London, England, while he rushed to aid a student who was being assaulted by a group outside of the school gates. Lawrence later died in the hospital from his wounds. The conservative administration loses the local council elections in May. The UK also suffers from an epidemic of BSE. Although he did not step down as prime minister, John

Major resigned as the head of the conservative party. John Major, however, prevailed in the July leadership contest for the conservative party. Also in July, there are reports that unemployment is once again on the rise. Despite the fact that the administration disputes it, this suggests a new recession.

REPRESENTATIVE: Major, who was the child of a former vaudeville manager and circus performer, dropped out of school at 16 in order to support his family. After some time working as a bank accountant, he attempted to enter politics and ran twice in vain for Parliament in 1974. His subsequent climb through the ranks of the Conservative Party was swift, in part due to the interested patronage of key party officials from Margaret Thatcher as prime minister on down. He won a seat in the House of Commons with the Conservative Party in 1979. In 1986, he was appointed a junior minister. In 1987, he was named chief secretary to the Treasury. In July 1989, Thatcher selected him for the crucial position of foreign secretary in the cabinet. Major had only been in this position for three months



when he was named chancellor of the Exchequer as a result of another cabinet move. When Thatcher abruptly declared her decision to quit in November 1990, he was in a good position to run for the Conservative Party leadership (and the position of prime minister). Major prevailed in a three-way race for the party leadership with Thatcher's unofficial backing, and on November 28, 1990, he took office as British prime minister. Major mostly agreed with Thatcher's conservative viewpoints,

but as prime minister, he demonstrated a more practical and consensus-focused style. The Conservatives won the first national elections following his ascent in April 1992, solidifying his position as leader.

### Germany: Helmut Kohl

GERMANY 1995: A controversy known as the "Plutonium Affair" broke out in Germany in April 1995. It was brought about by the Federal Intelligence Service's (BND) illicit transportation of more than 360 kilos of plutonium on a Lufthansa flight from Moscow to Munich in 1994, shortly before the elections

for the Bavarian Landtag.

REPRESENTATIVE: German politician Helmut Kohl presided over Western Germany between 1982 and 1990 and reunited Germany between 1990 and 1998. He oversaw East Germany's reunification with West Germany in 1990, making him the country's first united chancellor since 1945. Early on, his political interest became apparent; in 1947, he started working in the local Christian Democratic Union (CDU) youth organisation. Kohl graduated from the University of Heidelberg with a degree in political science (1958). He was chosen to serve in the Rhineland-Palatinate state assembly in 1959 and was appointed prime minister of the state in 1969. He quickly earned a reputation as a good administrator. In 1969, he also rose to the position of national deputy chairman of the CDU, and in 1973, he was chosen to lead the party. In order to fund unification, Kohl's administration was forced to agree to tax hikes and budget reductions. This was made necessary by the fact that absorbing the stagnant eastern German economy showed to be more expensive and challenging than anticipated. The legislative elections on October 16, 1994, which decreased Kohl's parliamentary majority to 10 seats, were a reflection of voter unhappiness over these hard realities, which was exacerbated by resentment over a major recession in 1992–1993. In the legislative elections conducted on September 27, 1998, the SPD, led by Gerhard Schröder, defeated the CDU-CSU due to Germany's persistently high unemployment rate and voter fatigue with President Kohl after 16 years in government. In a controversy involving the collecting of illicit campaign contributions in 1999, Kohl was engaged. He resigned from his party positions in January 2000 and was accused of major financial mismanagement. In February 2001, a significant fine was imposed on him.



### **Russia: Viktor Chernomyrdin**

RUSSIA 1995: Black smoke billowed into the sky from oil tankers set fire by a morning artillery barrage as Russian tanks and infantry combat vehicles rushed into the streets of Grozny on New Year's Eve 1994 with an attack anticipated to put an end to the self-declared Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. Chechen rebels engaged Russian forces in combat in 1995 over nearby towns before engaging in armed struggle in the highlands. Chechen rebel recruitment increased as a result of Russian forces' mass executions, rapes, and torture, and Chechens increasingly used hostage-taking as well as terrorists in neighbouring countries to put pressure on Russia. Also, somewhere at the border between Chechnya and Ingushetia, in the village of Samashki, the Samashki Massacre took place on April 7-8, 1995. A Russian cleaning effort resulted in the deaths of several people. Widespread media coverage



of the occurrence both in and outside of Russia.

REPRESENTATIVE: From 1992 to 1998, Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin, a former Soviet industrial executive, led Russia as prime minister. In the reformist administration of Yegor T. Gaidar, the acting prime minister of Russia, Chernomyrdin was appointed vice prime minister as well as minister of energy and fuel in June 1992. On December 14, Russian President Boris Yeltsin replaced the liberal Gaidar with Chernomyrdin after the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia declined to ratify him as prime minister. Chernomyrdin was more likeable to Congress since he had experience as a Soviet administrator, and Congress approved his nomination. Chernomyrdin attempted to execute Yeltsin's economic ideas by choosing a medium ground between those who supported ongoing



support for ineffective Soviet-era state firms and those who supported privatisation and other free-market reforms. While Anatoly Chubais and other reformers in the Cabinet handled the privatisation of the manufacturing and commercial segments of the economy, he worked to repair ties with the contentious Congress and control inflation. Yeltsin kept Chernomyrdin as prime minister after he was re-elected as president in 1996.

**EU: Felipe González**

EU 1995: Austria, Finland, and Sweden joined the European Union as part of its 1995 expansion (EU). On January 1st of that year, the EU's fourth expansion went into force. These states were all former EFTA participants and have historically shown less enthusiasm for EU membership than other European nations. Norway initially bargained to integrate alongside the other three, but after the treaty was signed, the Norwegian electorate rejected membership in a nationwide referendum. Switzerland submitted a membership application on May 26, 1992, but withdrew it following a no vote in a referendum on December 6, 1992. The Schengen Agreement went into effect in 7 nations in the second half of 1995: Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain. From that point on, there would be no passport checks at the borders for travellers between these

nations.

REPRESENTATIVE: One of the most important political personalities in Spain's history throughout the latter part of the 20th century is Felipe González Márquez. He was a key player in the democratic transition process and served as Spain's third president from the restoration in the late 1970s. He also holds the record for the longest tenure as president, holding the office for thirteen and a half years throughout the course of four parliaments. While he was in office from 1982 to 1996, Spain had a modernization process and was fully assimilated into the European Union. The previous president remains to be engaged in a number of regions of both Europe and Latin America despite his current political retirement.

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