Forum: Imaginary Security Council

Issue: The Yugoslav conflict

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INTRODUCTION1

Yugoslavia is a former federal country situated in the west-central part of the Balkan Peninsula. It consisted of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Slovenia and Kosovo, which today are all, with the exception of Kosovo, recognized as independent states. It was primarily founded in 1918 as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes after the defeat of Austria-Hungary and the end of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans. The kingdom lasted until the Second World War,

when it was invaded by the Germans. At the outbreak of the war with the Nazis in 1941, Yugoslavia was still a poor and predominantly rural state, with more than three-fourths of economically active people engaged in agriculture. Birth rate was among the highest in Europe, while illiteracy rate exceeded 60% in most rural areas. A few weeks later, the Royal Yugoslav Army collapsed and



Yugoslavia capitulated. Soon after, the kingdom was subsequently divided amongst Germany, Hungary, Italy and Bulgaria, and fascist leaders took control of the Yugoslav territories. The German rule lasted for three years. During 1944-1945, communist-led partisans, guided by Marshal Josip Broz (Tito), helped liberate the country from the national-socialists. As a result, a socialist Yugoslavia, also known as the second Yugoslavia, was formed in 1946. In that way, the kingdom was replaced by a federation of six nominally equal republics (Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and North Macedonia). In contrast to its federal form, the union-state was at first highly centralized politically and economically, as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia firmly held power, while the country's constitution resembled the one of the

¹ Image source: "ONCE UPON A TIME IN YUGOSLAVIA." *ONCE UPON A TIME IN YUGOSLAVIA*, <u>igoyugo.tumblr.com/tagged/photography</u>.

Soviet Union. However, after the death of Tito in 1980, which many saw as Yugoslavia's main unifying force, nationalist sentiments began to grow in the country producing a fertile breeding ground for tensions between ethnic and religious groups. As a result, nationalist leaders came to power, and the socialist republics of Yugoslavia started turning against each-other. The aftermath of these rising tensions was the declaration of independence of Slovenia and Croatia on 25 June 1991. In the years to come, a brutal war between the member states of Yugoslavia began, which caused a humanitarian, political and economic crisis in the Balkans for over a decade. The tremendous impact of the Yugoslav conflict still becomes evident when taking a look on the geopolitical relations between the aforementioned countries today. It is clear, that the UN Security Council could and should have taken better measures so as to prevent the migration waves, the ethnic cleansing and the catastrophic social impact of the Yugoslav wars (1991-2001). Thus, in this Imaginary Security Council you are asked to do the undone, to change the facts and provide a better groundwork for peaceful negotiations among the western Balkan countries, and thus ensure the economic and political stability in the region.

DEFINITION OF KEY-TERMS²

Partisans

Armed groups formed to fight clandestinely against an occupying force, in particular those that operated in German-occupied Yugoslavia, Italy and parts of Eastern Europe during the Second World War.³

Communism

Communism is a social, economic and political system that promotes equality by eliminating social classes. In a communist society, the working class owns everything, and everyone works toward the same communal goal: the establishment of an egalitarian society. There are no wealthy or poor people —all are equal and the community distributes what it produces according to people's needs. Nothing is obtained by working more than what is required.4

Socialism

² Image source: "Balkans." Wikipedia, Wikimedia Foundation, 12 Aug. 2019,

en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkans

3 "Partisans - Oxford Reference, 16 June 2017,

www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100308582

Dagger, Richard, and Terence Ball. "Communism." Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 11 Jan. 2019, www.britannica.com/topic/communism

Like communism, socialism's main focus is on equality. But workers earn wages they can spend as they choose, while the government, not citizens, owns and operates the means of production. Workers receive what they need to produce and survive, but there's no incentive to achieve more.⁵

Balkans

Also known as Balkan Peninsula, is an area in Eastern Europe, which lies south of the Danube and Sara Rivers and is bordered by the Adriatic and Ionian Seas on the West, the Aegean and Black Seas on the East, and the Mediterranean Sea on the South. ⁶

Nationalism

Is a political ideology based on the <u>premise</u> that the individuals' loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpass other personal or group interests.⁷



Ethnic cleansing

The mass expulsion or killing of an ethnic or religious group's members by those of another.⁸

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Tito's Yugoslavia9

⁵ Dagger, Richard, and Terence Ball. "Socialism." Encyclopædia Britannica, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 6 Mar. 2019, www.britannica.com/topic/socialism.

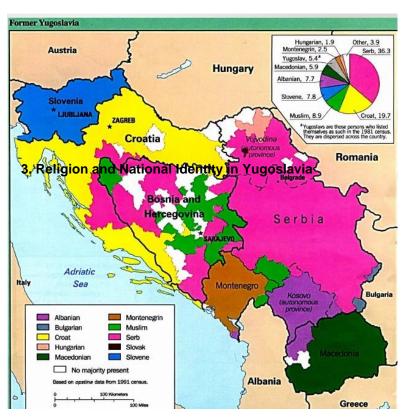
⁶ "Balkans." Oxford Reference, 16 June 2017, www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095443658.

⁷ "Nationalism - Oxford Reference." Nationalism - Oxford Reference, 16 June 2017, www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100224276.

⁸ "Ethnic Cleansing - Oxford Reference." Ethnic Cleansing - Oxford Reference, 16 June 2017, www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095759499.

⁹ Picture source: https://www.demographic-research.org/volumes/vol22/35/22-35.pdf

In order to comprehend better the Yugoslav conflict, we need to analyze the formation of the socialist Yugoslavia. During the Second World War, the situation in the region was chaotic, characterized by interethnic bloodletting, acts of fighting and wars within wars. The tensions were mostly caused between nationalists and socialists. The forces of Marshal Tito, however, quickly gained recognition by the Allies and hence power. Besides, the ideal of socialism, promising brotherhood and unity, rapidly lured more people into supporting Tito. After the partisans cleared out all Axis forces and liberated



the region, Tito aimed at reestablishing the invaded kingdom of Yugoslavia, only this time under socialist rule. Thus, a revolution in the social, political and legal field was carried out in Yugoslavia. The cultural divides, however, did not suddenly disappear, as the peoples of Yugoslavia did not feel united, due to the federation's historically antagonistic national differences. Thus, Tito's new Yugoslavia was forged by force of arms. In the first years of his rule, Tito sometimes resorted to ruthless strongarm tactics forcibly to persuade his subjects. To set an intimidating example, many

soldiers, who had fought against the partisans, were executed. In that way, although each republic managed its own affairs, they were always under the watchful eye of Tito, who had said that the borders between the republics should be "like white lines in a marble column." Nationalism was strongly discouraged, and the Marshal's tight and often oppressive control kept the federation together. In fact, Tito's plan undoubtedly worked. For more than 30 years (1950-1980), Yugoslavia changed beyond recognition. It developed its own brand of socialism, and a society far more open than that of its communist neighbors. Thus, Yugoslavia was like a paradise on earth for many communists around the world due to the relatively high standard of living and the fact that, unlike other communist countries, its citizens were free to travel to the West, either to work or for their holidays. For instance, a Yugoslav citizen did not even have to issue a visa in order to travel to the US. In addition, because of the country's often oppressive policy against nationalists, it seemed that the federation had accomplished to tackle the bitter national questions of the past. Unfortunately, this was rather an illusion.

How the conflict severely damaged the Yugoslav economy¹⁰

Given that our Imaginary Security Council will have been convened before the declaration of independence of several Yugoslav federal states, such as Croatia, it is important to understand to what extent a war could negatively influence the economies of the Western Balkans. To be exact, Yugoslavia's political crisis could be quickly followed by a financial one, with two of the country's major sources of foreign exchange, i.e., tourism and funds sent home by workers living abroad, drying up rapidly. Seeing that the Yugoslav economy was built on the shaky foundations of massive Western loans, the country was dangerously dependent on such income. In that sense, it is crucial to restore peace with some sort of arrangement as soon as possible, because a longer-term loss of confidence by tourists and workers abroad could lead to a serious drop in the country's debt rating. Moreover, many economists at the time noted that the

country's finances will be seriously disrupted if Slovenia and Croatia break away from the federation or set out an independent economic agenda. Those two republics are the two most developed regions in Yugoslavia, as they also happen to have the most attractive tourist sites. Apart from that. Croatia possesses most of Yugoslavia's Adriatic coast, which produces the

	1952.	1965.	1974.	1980.	1989.	1997.¹	1997.²
Slovenia	100	100	100	100	100	100	10078
Croatia	66.7	65.8	62.5	64.1	64.1	48.0	6464
শূণ্টাই ই Domestic Produc	t †9e r	capita	a 58º al	I ⁵ Yûg	o Slá v	24.3	6006
republics (in USD according Serbia (minor)	ng to	the ex 52.2	chan 48.0	ge ra	te) 52.0	18.9	5243
Serbia (including Vojvodina and Kosovo)	51.5	50.0	45.0	45.5	46.0	17.1	4632
Montenegro	48.5	41.3	34.0	39.9	36.9	16.1	3716
Bosnia i Herzegovina	52.6	39.1	33.0	33.3	34.3	10.2	3461
Macedonia	39.2	36.4	34.0	33.8	33.3	20.3	3359
Kosovo	25.7	19.6	16.0	14.1	12.6	5.1	1272

country's main income from tourism. Having mentioned all the above, it is clear that the dependent Yugoslav economy could quickly fall apart in case of a violent and rapid escalation of the ongoing tensions between the socialist republics of Yugoslavia.

How the conflict started¹¹

When Tito died in 1980, the federal republics of Yugoslavia gained more autonomy under a rotating presidency. This, however, turned out to be the main reason for the

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ethnic_map_of_Kosovo,_municipalities_(1991).png

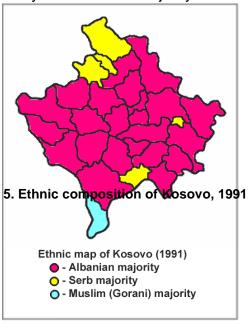
¹⁰ Picture source: "UN data | Record View | Per Capita GDP at Current Prices - US Dollars." *United Nations*, United Nations,

 $[\]label{lem:condition} $$ data.un.org/Data.aspx?q=gdp%2Bper%2Bcapita%2Byugoslavia&d=SNAAMA&f=grID%3A101%3BcurrID%3AUSD%3BpcFlag%3A1%3BcrID%3A890.$

¹¹ Picture source:

unraveling of the union. The breakup of the federation did not happen in one night, it began in the late 1980s, with tensions between the Serb minority and the Albanian majority rising in the autonomous province of Kosovo. At this point, it is important to mention that Kosovo was considered as the cradle of Serbian civilization by the Serbs. In the medieval era, it was their homeland, in which many historic monasteries and sites are located. The historic importance of Kosovo for the Serbian people came in contrast with the fact that by the 1980s, 9 out of every 10 Kosovars were Albanian, and the few Serbs still living in the region felt oppressed and abused by the Albanian majority. For

the Serbian nationalistic government ruling at the time, this was a sign that the Serbs of Yugoslavia were actually victimized by their neighboring countries. Thus, the Serbian politician Slobodan Milosevic thought that the conflict could be used to Serbia's advantage and publicly expressed his strong dissatisfaction with the situation in Kosovo, and in the end achieved to upset the delicate balance that Tito had so carefully sought, while setting the stage for his own rise to the Serbian presidency. As a result, the provincial government in Kosovo began to discriminate against the Serbian population, which then resulted in ethnic cleansing. By the late 1980s, Milosevic had gained full control over Serbia, which gave him the power to revoke Kosovo's autonomy in 1989. This act



brought Kosovo under Belgrade's direct control, which intensified the tensions in the province, as ethnic Albanians felt more threatened than ever. However, Milosevic did not stop there; in 1990, he went on with passing a legislation, which permitted the firing of ethnic Albanian state employees, causing tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo to lose their jobs. The aftermath of Milosevic's actions was the rising concerns of other federated republics, such as Croatia and Slovenia, who had always been sceptic with regard to a strictly united Yugoslavia. As the said republics felt severely threatened by the recent political events that projected Serbia's monopoly of power in the federation, they both decided to secede.

The beginning of the end: what happened until 31.03.1991 12

In the spring of 1990, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was the first country within the socialist federation to hold free elections, which turned out to be decisive for the future of Yugoslavia. The majority of voters expressed their dissatisfaction with communism and wanted to become independent. This mainly lied in the fact that Slovenia was the

¹² Image source: "Remembering 'Bloody Easter' of 1991, Croatia." *Croatia, the War, and the Future*, 1 Apr. 2012, inavukic.com/2012/04/01/remembering-bloody-easter-of-1991-croatia/.

most Western-oriented republic of Yugoslavia, which itself was prosperous and geographically isolated. In that sense, the idea of seceding was indicative of the Western influence in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

At the same time, a retired general's nationalistic right-wing party, the Croatian Democratic Union, won Croatia's first free elections in April 1990, sharing the same

ideals for independence, like the Slovenian reformers, the aforementioned party wanted more autonomy from Yugoslavia. With that in mind, the leader of this party, named Franjo Tuđman, reintroduced symbols used by Ustaše, a nationalist organization, which in 1941 was appointed to rule the so-called Independent State of Croatia, a puppet state of the Nazis, and generally took action against the Serbs living in Croatia. Soon after, the first conflicts broke out in the Serb-dominated Croatian city of Knin, as the Serb policemen refused to wear a new uniform that was strikingly similar to Nazi-era Ustaše garb, which was decreed by Tuđman for all policemen in Croatia. As a result, Serbian citizens of Knin began the so-called "tree trunk revolution" by blocking Croatian tourist roads to the Adriatic coast. In the meantime, the



Croatian government illegally purchased weapons from Hungary and hence started building its own army. Thus, on 31 March 1991, which coincided with the orthodox Easter, Croatian policemen and Serb irregulars from Knin fired the first shots at Plitvice Lake National Park. These fierce clashes became known as the "Bloody Easter".

What happened after 31.03.1991 — The Yugoslav Wars

Although our Imaginary Security Council will meet soon after the violent events at the Plitvice Lake, it is vital for every member of the council to also be aware of the happenings that followed the aforementioned incident in order to come up with resolutions that will efficiently tackle the Yugoslav issue, by hypothetically making sure that such events are not going to happen in the first place.

A few months after the "Bloody Easter", in June 1991, Croatia declared its independence together with Slovenia. The Serb residents of Croatia, who were estimated to be more than half a million, immediately responded by declaring their own independence from the Croats and proclaimed the so-called Republic of Serbian Krajina. The Yugoslav People's Army, dominated by the Serbs, stepped in to put down the Croatian rebellion and keep the nation together. The Croatian army was quickly defeated and the Serbs gained control over the parts of inland Croatia where the majority of population was Serbian, namely the region of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina". At the same time, the Slovenes declared their independence as well. The Yugoslav People's Army was mobilized in order to take control of Slovenia's borders.

Although the Yugoslav People's Army outnumbered the Slovenian armed forces, the Slovenian militia managed to defeat their enemy and Belgrade relented after ten days of fighting. This is why it became known as the "Ten-Day War". Unfortunately, things did not go so well during the Croatian Independence War. Although by early 1992, both Croatia and the Republic of Serbian Krajina had established their borders, and a tense ceasefire was holding in the region, in 1995, when Croatia achieved to obtain a well-equipped army, the Croats retook the Serb-occupied territory. During this period, the Croatian army committed serious war crimes against the Serbs, such as ethnic cleansing, tortures and dynamiting their homes. But it is undoubtable that war crimes were perpetrated by **both** sides. In that way, Croatia had pushed the Yugoslav People's Army back to where its borders exist today and the so-called Erdut Agreement established peace between the two nations. Despite the aforementioned agreement, most of the 600.000 Serbs, who lived in Croatia, were either forced into Serbia or killed.

And what about Bosnia-Herzegovina?

As far as the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is concerned, as soon as its pursuit of independence began, the Serbian minority of the state felt victimized, as they preferred to remain a part of an increasingly dominant ethnic group in a big country, such as Yugoslavia, rather than to become a simple minority in a small state in case of Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence. Thus, the Serbian population created their own "state", the Republic of the Serb People of Bosnia-Herzegovina, whose president was backed by the Yugoslav People's Army. As tensions rose, a referendum on Bosnian independence was held in the spring of 1992. As the Serbian people of Bosnia suspected that an overwhelming majority would vote for the Bosnian independence, they quickly made a move to legitimize their territorial claims and began a policy of ethnic cleansing against the residing people in Bosnia, primarily the Muslim majority. However, as the Croatian minority in Bosnia did not feel united with the Bosnian majority due to their cultural and historical divides, they turned against both the Yugoslav People's Army and the Bosnian army. Thus, a bloody war raged for years among the three parties: the Serbs, the Croats, and, squeezed between them, the internationally recognized Bosnian government. After four years of constant fighting, NATO proceeded with bombing Bosnian-Serb positions in order to "force them to the negotiating table". In that way, the Dayton Peace Accords were brokered, ending the war. According to the agreement, Bosnia was divided into three parts, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnians and Croats), the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska, and the mixed-ethnicity Brčko District. Although this helped ending the conflict, it also created four redundant governments that would bring political instability to the war-torn region.

MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED

Apart from the aforementioned socialist republics, whose role in the Yugoslav wars was thoroughly analyzed above, there have been other countries and organizations that directly or indirectly took action concerning the conflict.

The United Nations Protection Force

The efforts of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to establish peace in the Balkan region were mostly characterized as ineffective, as it exercised a very limited authority to solely provide humanitarian aid. Its charge allowed it only to feed civilians caught in the crossfire, an absurd notion as such in places, like Sarajevo, where civilians were forced to live like soldiers. Later on, the UN tried to designate "safe areas" where civilians were protected. However, since the UNPROFOR troops were not allowed to use force, even in the case of self-defense, they became helpless witnesses to atrocities.

NATO

As already mentioned, NATO firstly intervened in the conflict in 1995 through a series of large scale air operations and the deployment of a large number of troops to fight against the Bosnian-Serbs. Although it is said that the main aim of NATO's intervention was to establish long-term peace and ends the Bosnian war, NATO also followed a policy of self-serving interest by weakening Serbian forces. The organization's offensive contributed to ending the conflict as described above. Nevertheless, NATO once again attacked Serbia in 1999 during the Kosovo war.

European Union

After holding a reluctant stance over the first years of the 1990s, the leading European powers, especially Britain, France and Germany, started taking some initiative to get the feuding ethnic factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina to work out a peaceful political solution. The plans of the Europeans, however, got spurned by US officials. When their effort faltered, the European leaders looked to Washington to take the lead in addressing the issue in Bosnia.

United States of America

Although the US at first tried to hold a neutral stance on the conflict, their national interests soon drew them to intervene. As they declined the EU's peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, they wanted to show that the Europeans were incapable of handling security challenges without robust American leadership. The Clinton administration not only took the policy lead, but also soon dominated the process. Washington insisted

that Bosnia should remain intact focusing on suppressing the Croatian and Serbian secessionist campaigns. Washington also prodded its allies to adopt stricter measures against the Serbs, and that led eventually to the first use of military force in NATO's history with the launching of air strikes against Bosnian Serb forces.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

DATE	DESCRIPTION OF EVENT		
1980	Marshall Tito dies.		
1987	Slobodan Milosevic rises to power.		
1989	Elimination of Kosovo's autonomy.		
July 1990	Milosevic dissolves Kosovo Assembly.		
September 1990	Milosevic orders the firing of ethnic Albanian state employees.		
June 1991	Slovenia and Croatia declare their independence.		
March 1991 - November 1995	Croatian War of Independence.		
June 1991 – July 1991	Ten-Day War.		

March 1992 - December 1995	Bosnian War of Independence.
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RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

UN Security Council resolution 724

The resolution was adopted on 15 December 1991, through which the council requested all member states to report on the measures they have taken to implement a general and complete embargo on all weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia and also decided to establish a committee of the Security Council to examine the measures member states have taken, including violations of the embargo and ways to strengthen it, requesting all member states to cooperate with the committee. This resolution also urged the Secretary General to pursue humanitarian efforts in the region.

UN Security Council resolution 913

The resolution was adopted on 22 April 1994, while the council expressed its concerns about the conflict around the city of Goražde in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the general impact of the war on the region. The resolution mainly condemned the Bosnian Serb Army for its attacks on the civilian population and the violations of international humanitarian law. Furthermore, the council demanded a ceasefire in Bosnia, most of all in the UN safe areas.

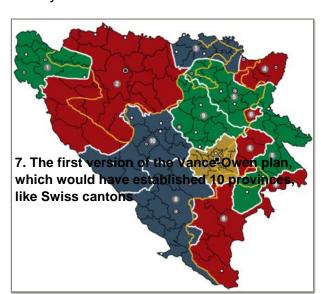
PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE¹³

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¹³ Image source: "Peace Plans Proposed before and during the Bosnian War." *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation, 22 May 2019, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace plans proposed before and during the Bosnian War.

Throughout the war, there have been several attempts to resolve the conflict by the international community. Starting with the Carrington-Cutileiro plan, the international community tried to prevent Bosnia and Herzegovina from sliding into war. This plan resulted from the European Community Peace Conference, which was held in February 1992, and proposed ethnic power-sharing on every administrative level in Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian districts. Although in March 1992 all three sides signed the agreement, the Bosnian president withdrew his signature ten days after he had signed. And the reason for this was his meeting with the US ambassador of Yugoslavia a few days later. Although the meeting was held secretly and it is not known what was said

between the two officials, one could assume that the American ambassador urged the Bosnian president to withdraw from the agreement. In that way, the president of Bosnia declared his opposition to any division of Bosnia. Thus, the plan shattered. A few months later, in January 1993, European officials came up with the Vance-Owen Peace Plan, which also received the backing of the UN. The plan proposed the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina in ten semi-autonomous regions; however, one of the two entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the so-called Republika Srpska, did not agree and thus



the plan was declared dead. Additionally, one last significant attempt was made via the Owen-Stoltenberg plan, which proposed the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three ethnic states, in which Bosnian Serbs would be given 52 percent of the region; Bosnians would receive 30 percent, while Bosnian Croats would get 18 percent. The Bosnian side rejected the plan. Although searching through the Internet you may find several other peace plans concerning the Croatian and Bosnian war of independence, all of them got turned down at some point during negotiations and thus did not contribute to solving the conflict.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

As our Imaginary Security Council will meet soon after the incident of the 31st of March 1991, you are requested to take the events that followed into consideration, without however taking them for granted or directly referring to them in your draft resolutions.

Thus, always keep in mind that you find yourselves in the year 1991. At this point, it is also important to mention that this part of the study guide is not for you to learn by heart or to copy it to your resolutions; this should rather give you the guidance for further research.

In order to find possible solutions for the conflict, it is vital for you to understand what could have been prevented during the Yugoslav wars. It would be perhaps impossible for the international community to completely eliminate violence in the region, but, with a better coordination, they could have significantly reduced the atrocities during the wars. The big powers' main mistake lied in the fact that they were constantly sending mixed signals to the federal states of Yugoslavia. For instance, when US Secretary of State James Baker visited Belgrade in June 1991, he clearly stated that the US had "got no dog in this fight", thus giving a green light to Serbian nationalists to use violence against Slovenia and Croatia in order to prevent them from seceding from the federation. A few months later, however, the US decided to get involved in the conflict and turned against the Serbs. This made it very hard to set some "ground-rules" in order to prevent warcrimes and human-rights violations. This could have been the case, if the UN had eventually stepped in earlier by sending peace-keeping forces to the regions, before a rapid escalation of the existing tensions would take place. Moreover, it is also important to mention that throughout the long-lasting conflict, the so-called Schiller Institute had been constantly proposing the implementation, no later than at the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of a comprehensive "Marshall Plan" for the entire war-torn region. Had the United States adopted and promoted such a program instead of following their own national interests, the former Yugoslav states would have made a huge step towards political stabilization, economic development and peaceful political changes. In addition, when writing your resolutions you should also take the financial state of Yugoslavia into consideration, meaning that the conflict was not only a political and humanitarian crisis but also an economic one. In that sense, a strong economy always helps countries overcome political conflicts.

To conclude, the solutions you will be proposing on your drafted resolutions should mainly focus on boosting the economy of the aforementioned states, the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces in the region, a better consideration of peace-plans and, most of all, a more effective coordination and cooperation of the international community, whereby states should focus on their national interests in the broader sense of the word.

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