

CACMUN2010

Historical Security Council

Chair:

Valentina Gutiérrez (Colegio Anglo Colombiano)

Gimnasio Moderno

### **Topic 1: The Yom Kippur War (1973)**

The Yom Kippur war is the most recent “complete war” in the Middle East. It was a war in which all of the Arab nations joined together, with the common aim of eliminating Israel. It is called the Yom Kippur war because it began on the Day of Atonement, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar. This war is also known as the October War. The leader of Israel at the time was Golda Meir, and the Egyptian leader was Anwar Sadat. In this war Israel was in a terrible position, if it lost then that would mean that the state would cease to exist, if they were victorious then they could live another day, it was literally “Death of Glory”.

#### **Historical Causes:**

The Yom Kippur War is just one War in the huge Arab-Israeli conflict that has been going on since 1948 when the state of Israel was created. It is important to understand Arab History in general before being specific about the Yom Kippur War. One of the main causes of the Yom Kippur War was the conflict in Palestine, so in this first part of the guide you will not only read about Arab History in general but you will see some very relevant parts that are vital in understanding the question of Palestine, which is key to understand the reasons of the Yom Kippur War.

#### **1917-1947:**

After World War One ended, the Ottoman Empire had collapsed. This left many territories without proper direction. The League of Nations placed these Arab territories in British administration, as stated in the Mandate System.

The Mandates became independent, except for Palestine. The British government had written the Balfour Declaration, which intended to create a sovereign Jewish state in the Arab territory of Palestine. This was done because in the past years there had been an increasing amount of pro-Jewish support in Europe, the rise of the Zionist Movement. Palestinians didn't like this, but they decided to allow a considerate amount of Jews into their territory, were they lived in separate parts and coexisted peacefully.

Between 1922 and 1947, many Jews immigrated to Israel, most from Eastern Europe, running from the Nazi persecution. The Jews then started to take

advantage of the Palestinians, and become more closed and violent all the time. In 1937 Palestinians were demanding independence, and this cries for help turned into a rebellion with the use of violence from both parties involved. After World War One, Britain realized the terrible mistake it had done, however it was impossible to find a solution that would fit both parties if they were both being so violent. In 1947, Great Britain reported the problem to the United Nations were it expected to get help.

#### 1947 and 1948

The United Nations quickly realized that none of the states could be eliminated, so it decided to do a Partition Plan that gave territory to each of the groups, taking into account the population size. Only 5% of the population at the time was Jewish, so the Palestinians were given more territory. However the Israelis believed that the entire land should be theirs, and so they invaded 77% of the territory awarded to the Palestinians. A large part of Jerusalem (which was Palestinian) was taken by Israel. More than half of the Palestinian

Population emigrated to other parts of the world (the largest Palestinian colony in the world is in Chile)

#### 1952-1953

The Egyptian Revolution took place. This revolution, apart from gaining Egypt independence from King Farouk I, showed the Arab world they could fight those who were oppressing them. This also made sure that the Egyptian government was in alliance with the Palestinian people. Gamal Abdel Nasser became the Egyptian President, and he had a very straightforward idea called Nasserism<sup>2</sup>, which was well liked.

#### 1956

The Suez Crisis began on July 26 1956, when after the withdrawal of a proposal from the United States to Egypt in building the Aswan High Dam, President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal<sup>3</sup>. Since this canal was of vital importance to most of the world, Britain and France started planning an invasion to take over it. However, they were not the only ones, since the Zionist State of Israel was planning the same thing, and actually invaded on October 5. The Egyptians and Zionists were in a bloody combat, and the French and the British claimed they wanted to go in just to separate them, instead what they did was take control of the entire canal. On October 26 the United States urged Israel to stop military intervention, and on October 27 they evacuated all American Citizens in Israel and in Egypt. Large Scaled military action began on October 29.

The attacks only worsened when the Soviet Union threatened Britain, France and Israel with use of military force to restore peace in the Middle East. The reaction of these was even more violent. A cease-fire was agreed to on November 6. It was in this crisis that the peace-keeping forces were invented by the Canadian Delegation in the Security Council. The first peace-keeping forces were sent to Egypt and they were from Colombia and Denmark.

This crisis made it evident that Israel wasn't ready to blend in with the Arab world, and made its bordering countries resent it.

#### 1964

On the second of June 1964, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was created. The Arab League met in 1964 in Cairo to create a political body to represent the Palestinians. The PLO's first leader was Ahmed Shukairy, an Egyptian. The most notorious leader of this organization was Yasser Arafat, whose death in 2004 caused a lot of commotion.

#### 1967

In the Six Day War of 1967 Israel captured the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, up to the Suez Canal, which became the cease-fire line and about half of the Syrian Golan Heights. In 1968 Israel built a line of fortifications in both the Sinai and the Golan Heights. In 1971 Israel spent around \$500,000,000 on a chain of fortifications called the Bar Lev Line, covering all the positions on the Suez Canal.

After the Six Day War the Khartoum Declaration was signed by all the Arab states, it stated three basic "no's" that all Arab states should accept: no peace, no recognition and no negotiation with Israel" so although Egypt and Syria wanted to gain back the territories lost in 1967, they could not negotiate with Israel.

The Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser died in 1970 and was succeeded by Anwar Sadat who wanted to regain the Sinai Peninsula. Sadat decided to try and negotiate with Israel, and suggested that Israel should follow the UN Security Council Resolution 242, and after doing so Egypt would be willing to accept the State of Israel, however Israel decided they did not want to withdraw to the Pre-Six day War borders.

The Syrian Leader, Hafiz Al-Assad did not believe in negotiation and he believed the re-take of the Golan Heights would be a completely military operation. After the defeat in 1967 Syria undertook a vast military build-up with the purpose of making it one of the dominant military powers in the Arab world. Assad believed that with Egyptian support the new army had a big chance of defeating the Israelis,

and securing the Syrian role in the region. Assad believed that once the Golan Heights were taken by force, negotiations could begin with Israel giving up the West Bank and Gaza.

At the same time Egypt had been having a rough financial period, which made the people feel helpless. Sadat wanted to distract the people so he believed that going to war, and winning it would bring the hopes up and re-start the economy, because the reforms Sadat had proposed were not accepted by the majority of the population. Also a large part of the young population launched protests encouraging the war to re-take the Sinai.

The other Arab states were not as enthusiastic about going into a new war. King Hussein, the leader of Jordan feared that MORE territory would be taken away (like during the Six-Day War in which Jordan's population was halved). Also Hussein still believed the West Bank was part of Jordan, not Palestine, so his relations with Syria were strained because in 1970 a civil war broke out between the PLO and the Jordanian government and Syria intervened in favor of the PLO.

Iraq was also a very influential state, and it also had failing relations with Syria, and because of this the Iraqi government refused to join the initial offensive. Lebanon was a state bordering Israel, however it was not expected to join the war because it had a very small army and very little political stability. A few months before the war, Sadat started to gain support for the war. The countries that supported him were mostly members of the Arab League, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity. Also Great Britain and France decided to favor the Arab nations instead of Israel in the United Nations Security Council.

#### The Six Day War:

The Six Day War marked the beginning of Israeli occupation in the Middle East. In this war three Arab countries (Egypt, Jordan and Syria) made an alliance against Israel. These countries wanted to eliminate this state because it had too much western influence and it was destroying the Palestinians.

The first offensive was done by Egypt, when it blocked Israel's southern port, crippling its economy badly. They also set troops in the Sinai peninsula, which bordered with Israel. Israel reacted and crushed the Egyptian air force and sent infantry to the Gaza strip and the Sinai Peninsula, invading both territories. Due to fake information given to Jordan, which stated that Egypt had succeeded in the offensive, Jordan attacked from the West Bank and Jerusalem. Israel fought for

three days and was successful in invading the territories. Syria assaulted with its air force from the Golan Heights, but after only five days Israel won these territories.

The Arabs had to give up after Israel evidently won the war, this made Israel believe that the Arabs were ready to accept its existence and negotiate, however the Khartoum Declaration<sup>3</sup> made it clear this wasn't going to happen.

This war showed the world how much the Arab world detested Israel, but it also showed how powerful Israel was, the great amount of Western supporters it had, and their military technological advances.

Sadat was determined to go to war with Israel, and in 1972 he stated that he was prepared to "sacrifice a million Egyptian soldiers" for the cause. In 1972 Egypt began to build up its army with jet fighters, anti-aircraft missiles, tanks and anti-tank weapons and missiles. Additionally, with Soviet support they practiced new military tactics. The Generals that had lost the Six-Day War were now replaced by new ones. After the War of Attrition the USSR was forced to supply Egypt with more technology and materials, in fear of them turning towards the Americans, thus giving the Americans control of the region, and Moscow could not afford that.

After the 1967 defeat the Egyptian views conflicted with those of the Soviets. The Soviets wanted to avoid another Arab war at any cost because they wanted to avoid more confrontations with the United States of America. The situation became clear when all of the Super Powers met in Oslo and decided to maintain the current status-quo, which benefited Israel. The Egyptian leaders couldn't agree to this, and because the Egyptian preparations for crossing the canal were being leaked by an unknown source, 20,000 Soviet military advisors were expelled from Egypt, and became more friendly with the Americans. The Syrians however decided to maintain their good relations with the Soviet Union and continued to use Soviet support.

The Soviets didn't believe that the war would be won by Sadat, they believed that crossing the Suez Canal would mean tremendous losses for the Egyptians. The Soviet leader met with Richard Nixon, the American President, in 1973 and warned him that if he failed to convince Israel from pulling back to the 1967 borders, then the USSR would not be able to contain the dangerous military tensions in the area.

The planning began in 1971, with absolute secrecy, the officials were only told weeks prior to the attack, and the soldiers only hours before them. In 1972, in a meeting with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, Sadat declared that he was willing to go into war, even without the Soviet support. During 1973 Egypt

continued with hostilities, by threatening war through interviews and conducting large exercises with the only purpose of alerting the Israeli Defense Forces.

### Lead up to the Surprise Attack

The Israeli Directorate of Military Intelligence's Research Department was responsible for creating an estimate of success, which were based on many assumptions. They believed that Syria would not go to war with Israel unless Egypt did so too, they were right about that. An Egyptian informant told the IDF that Egypt planned on regaining all of the Sinai Peninsula, but they would not attack without appropriate machines to counter-attack the Israeli air force and Scud missiles. In August the Scud missiles arrived from Bulgaria, and it would take four months to train the Egyptian army with them, so the IDF determined that war was not going to be immediate. These two assumptions modified many Israeli plans and made them worry less about the threats given by the Egyptians.

The Egyptians were unhappy with this leak of information, but after the removal of the Soviet observers Israel and the USA believed that the strength of the Egyptian army was reduced severely. The Egyptians continued a false stream of information saying that there was lack of competent personnel to manage the most advanced equipment and lack of spare parts. Also the Egyptians did fake mobilizations to the Israeli frontier in May and August, the mobilization of the troops for the fake alarms had cost the IDF \$10,000,000.

The week before Yom Kippur the Egyptian Army had several training exercises going on close to the Suez Canal, where the IDF could see them. The Israeli intelligence did see the large movement of troops however dismissed them as training exercises. The movement of Syrian troops was not logical but it didn't alarm them because King Hussein, who had alerted the Israelis of the war plans, had told them that Syria wouldn't attack without Egyptian support, and the Egyptians wouldn't attack until they had the proper equipment to do so. On late September, two reserves were called by the Egyptian Army to participate in these exercises. On October 4th the Egyptian Army announced the return of 20,000 men, with the purpose of making Israel believe war wasn't close.

The Arabs chose Yom Kippur day for the surprise attack because it is the only day in which the entire country becomes completely still. It is the holiest day for the Jews, and they abstain from using fire, electricity, engines and communications. Many soldiers are allowed to leave the military facilities to go home for the holiday. The war also coincided with the Muslim month of Ramadan, which meant many

Muslim (Arab) soldiers were also feasting and doing the pilgrimage towards the Mecca.

The session will begin on October 5, 1973.

On the west bank of the Suez Canal there are:

- 5 Egyptian divisions- 100,000 soldiers, 1,350 tanks, 2,000 artillery pieces and heavy mortars.
- Israeli side: 450 men, 44 artillery pieces and 290 tanks in all of the Sinai.

On the Golan Heights there are:

- Arabs: 5 Arab divisions, making for two lines, behind the canal. 8 tanks for every Israeli tank.
- Israel: 1 defense line. 1 tank for every 8 Arab tanks.

The Arabs had more artillery and infantry than the Israelis.

#### Important Links:

Brief summary about the Yom Kippur War:

[http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/yom\\_kippur\\_war\\_of\\_1973.htm](http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/yom_kippur_war_of_1973.htm)

Information about Golda Meir, the Israeli Leader:

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/biography/meir.html>

Information about Anwar Sadat, the Egyptian Leader:

<http://www.ibiblio.org/sullivan/bios/Sadat-bio.html>

Information about Nasserism, to understand the ideology of the Arabs:

<http://www.mideastweb.org/Middle-East-Encyclopedia/nasserism.htm>

Chronology of the Yom Kippur War

<http://www.jewishaz.com/jewishnews/980925/yom-sb.html>

Time Line of the Six Day War

<http://www.sixdaywar.co.uk/timeline.htm>

Resolution 344 from 1973 from the Security Council

<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NRO/288/71/IMG/NRO28871.pdf?OpenElement>

#### Bibliography

RABINOVICH, Abraham. The Six Day War

## Topic 2

### Topic 2- Bosnia and Herzegovina 1991

Bosnia and Herzegovina is located between historical Croatia-Slavonia to the north, Dalmatia to the South and Serbia and Montenegro to the Southeast. In Ancient times this area was occupied by Thracians, Illyrians, Celts, the area used to belong to the Greeks, however in 168BC the area was taken over by the Romans. The gaining of this territory wasn't easy, and it took the Romans 150 years to control the entire zone, which was called the Dalmatia Province. This was because the important cities, the reason why they had decided to conquer in the first place where the mining cities in the interior, and to get to them they had to build roads from the coastal cities towards them. Also they were hard to conquer because the natives where Illyrian, and they didn't want to Romanize. After some time many Illyrians became pro-Roman, and these became the leaders, allowing the Romans to take over. The Roman Empire was divided into western and eastern halves in 395AD, and in this division Bosnia was left as the frontier of the Western half.



Since the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD Slavic tribes had been settling into the Balkan area, moving from their original land in the Carpathian Mountains. These settlers were later joined by Croatian and Serbian tribes who came with the purpose of fighting against the Avars, in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. The land of Bosnia and Herzegovina became the meeting point of Croats and Serbs. While the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbians created states, the area of Bosnia

became a battle ground between them and the Byzantine Empire. There was a large division when in the 9<sup>th</sup> century the Croats, which were influenced by the Romans became catholic and the Serbs, which where under the influence of the Byzantine Empire became Eastern Orthodox, however the entire area was completely Christianized.

The Bosnian area was basically under Croatian domain, but at times it was conquered by the Bulgarians, Serbs or Byzantines. In 1136AD Hungary took over the Bosnian territories and other Dalmatian cities, Bosnia was ruled by the Croats under the joint Hungarian-Croatian sovereignty, the leaders where called Bans. When the Hungarian army was defeated in 1167, Bosnia went under Byzantine rule, however Hungary regained control in 1185.

Bosnia had many autonomous regions such as Podrina, Central Bosnia, Lower Bosnia and Hum (actual Herzegovina), these where made mostly by geography itself which made the access to some of them quite difficult. Every one of these regions had its own hereditary nobility and customs, they where also divided into Zupas, or districts. The Bosnians at this time possessed their own lands and they where not dependant of a feudal relationship with the nobility, like in several other places of Europe. Bosnia was technically under Catholic jurisdiction, given to the Archbishop of Dubrovnik, who would delegate a Bishop of Bosnia, chosen usually from Bosnian Priests. These Bosnians used Slavic liturgy and a modified Cyrillic alphabet called "Bosanica" and they didn't know or learn Latin. The region of Hum was full of Serbs which were Orthodox and catholic (mostly in the coastal areas) and they where ruled by the Serbian Dynasty until 1326.

The Catholic Church was not really liked by the Bosnians. It was isolated from the coastal areas, in which the Latin hierarchy and the Hungarians didn't like the Slavic liturgies and practices. Also the people living in the coastal areas resented the Church's ignorance about the language and customs of humble people, this combined with poor communications generated accusations of the people towards the Bosnian Church, and Ban Kulin, its protector. In 1203 the Church Council met at Bolino Polje to reinforce its loyalty towards the pope. However the Hungarians continued to report to the pope with claims that the church was being unorthodox, and because of the constant complaints in 1220's there was a visit from the Papal legates. In 1225 the Pope was encouraging the Hungarians to do a crusade against the Bosnian heretics. In 1233 the Bishop was replaced by German Dominican. Although Ban Ninoslav made sure that there was no more unorthodoxy in the church's practices, the Hungarians undertook a crusade from 1235 to 1241, they were supported by the Dominicans, who had already begun to build a cathedral in Vrhbosna (currently Sarajevo) in 1238. In this crusade the Hungarians took over most of Bosnia but where forced to retreat in 1241 because the Tartars where attacking Hungary. This allowed the Bosnians to regain their independence in 1248. This crusade made the people in Bosnia feel certain animosity towards the Hungarians, and because of this during the Turkish invasions the Bosnians showed little resistance.

Around 1288 Stjepan Kotroman became the Ban of the Northern Bosnia area, and the Subic family of Croatia was controlling the area of Western Bosnia. There was a large

power struggle and the Subic Family won in 105, making Paul I Subic the Ban of all Bosnia. However the family's power began to decline and in 1318 Kotroman's son took over Central Bosnia, and with the aid of the Hungarians he went on a battle with the Subic's, he thus gained control of Bosnia in 1326, however he lost it to the Serbs in 1350.

Kotroman's son, Kotromanic was converted into Catholicism and together with the church he opened silver and other mines which were administered by the people of Dubrovnik. This made several Bosnian nobles become rich. Craftsmen developed towns, which attracted foreign colonies, which mixed with the natives, rising Bosnia's cultural level.

There was constant changing in the ownership of the territories between Kotromanic's heirs and the Hungarians, the Serbs and the Turks. In 1443 Bosnia was taken over by a surprise attack made by the Turks. Herzegovina was gradually occupied by the Turks, and by 1482 both regions were under the control of the Ottoman Empire, until 1878 when it was taken over by Austria.

#### Under Ottoman Rule:

When the Turks took over, there was a mass conversion of Bosnian Christians to Islam. This was not very difficult because the Bosnians had been mistreated in several times by the Christian and Orthodox churches. When they did this they gained the trust of the Ottomans, becoming trusted soldiers and administrators.

Bosnia and Herzegovina was ruled by a Pasha, who was appointed by the Sultan. The Pasha was assisted by a Chancellor, a Supreme Justice and a Treasurer. Justice was made by a Khadi who was a prosecutor and a Judge. He used the Koran for legal guidance. This was seen as unfair to the Catholic Croats and the Orthodox Serbs living in Bosnia at the time. The Jews were represented by the Chief Rabbi in Constantinople and the Orthodox were represented by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, the Catholics had no representation, so they were particularly vulnerable to arbitrary persecutions. However people in these communities were able to survive. During the Ottoman rule those who adhered to Islam were the upper class, the Catholic peasants were basically the servants of Muslim landlords. A large amount of Bosnians fled the Turkish take over and went to reside in coastal areas occupied by the Venetians, and fought against the Turks. Others migrated toward Slavonia and Croatia where they became soldiers. In the Bosnian side boys were turned against their will into Muslim soldiers and the girls were sent to harems, while at the same time the taxing became more and more oppressive.

#### Austro-Hungarian Rule

As we have appreciated above, the Croats and Serbs have always fought for the control of Bosnia. The Croats who had included Bosnia in their medieval kingdom lost it when the Serbs were joined by the Hungarians in their royal union, the Hungarians helped the Serbs expand with the economic aid of the Byzantine Empire. Apart from this they also received Hungarian support when they were attacking what in their mind was "Hungarian"

territory. This prevented Bosnia from becoming a separate and completely independent nation. When the Austrian occupation began, things changed because the Austrians supported the Bosnian identity and individuality who had a large interest in countering the national unification ambitions of Serbs and Croats.

At this time, after all the invasions the population of Bosnia was divided into three major religious/ethnic groups, which were:

- Croatian Catholics
- Serbian Orthodox
- Bosnian Muslims

The large majority of the population was Croatian Catholic, however in Eastern Herzegovina and along the Drina River frontier with Serbia there was a large and concentrated population of Serbian Orthodox. The Serbs who had been mostly peasants and badly educated, became an important factor towards the end of the Ottoman Empire. This created a new Serbian middle class, which was mostly dedicated to commerce. Many Serbs had become servants to the Muslims.

The Croats were also peasants and also became serfs to the Muslims Landlords. There was not a large Croatian middle class at the beginning of the Austrian period, and the Catholic clergy generally acted on its behalf.

The Muslim group was subdivided into three social statuses: the elites, the peasants and the urban lower classes. Most Muslims were peasants who had a standard of living not much better than the one of the Christian Croat serf-peasant. The merchants, craftsmen and the artisans lived mostly in towns. Together these two groups made up for the most part of the Muslim population. The members of the Muslim elite were mostly religious functionaries, landowners and commercial entrepreneurs, all of which received certain preference under Islamic Law. After the 1878 Austrian occupation allowed the elite to keep their privileged positions. They also allowed the Muslims to continue their communication with their leader in the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish currency to work in Bosnia and promised to respect the traditions of the Bosnian Muslims. The Austrians wanted to retain the existing elites and cultural individuality while gradually inflicting its influence upon Bosnia, much like the way the British managed their colonies.

The territory was divided into six main administrative regions: Sarajevo, Travnik, Bihać, Donja Tuzla, Banja Luka and Mostar (Herzegovina). Each one of them had one leader called a regional supervisor. People were encouraged to participate in cultural and religious activities, however participation in politics was not allowed. The Austrians believed in the equality between Christians and Muslims, and prohibited anything that could encourage more separation of these two religions, for example they prohibited national names (such as Serb and Croat) for the names of public institutions. This terminated part of the Muslim elite, and several posts were taken by the Austrian bureaucracy. Although the Muslim landowners lost several privileges they still remained with the right to have a serfdom. This disappointed many peasants who had been expecting

emancipation. The peasants revolted and this made the Austrians decide to introduce cash payments of one tenth of the harvest due to the state, and the obligatory payment of one third of the harvest to the landlord. In 1884 all those who couldn't prove they had gotten their lands from, lost them. This obviously created dissatisfaction among the Muslims. In 1891 the Austrians decided to abolish the death penalty all the Muslims that converted to another religion were given, the Austrians passed an statute that stated the right to freedom of religion.

The Austrians main objective was to develop a society that was concentrated on cultural and economic development without national and political assertiveness, this meant, for example that they didn't want the creation of an individual Muslim state. Also they didn't want them to feel identified with the other cultures in the South Slavic area. This was not realistic because the Serbs, Croats and Muslims felt very identified by these areas and had strong political and cultural bonds with them. They all wanted different things: the Serbs hoped for Serbia's success so their nation could be unified, the Croats hoped the Croatian-Hungarian tensions would cease so that they too could become unified, the Muslim community wanted a Bosnia that lived under the Ottoman Empire's sovereignty. These three groups formed different political parties, to make their opinions heard and they all participated in the parliament.

In 1910 the Bosnian population was made up in the following way: Serbian Orthodox 43%; Croat Catholics 23%; Muslims 32%.

After the Serbian victories and Ottoman defeats in the Balkan Wars, the Serbs became more confident and the Croats more willing to cooperate with them, with great enthusiasm created by the idea of "Yugoslavism". A parliament with the majority of Serbs and Croats could have made the liberation of the peasants possible in 1913, but the Austrians didn't allow it. The assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and World War 1 made the issue debatable once the parliament meetings were adjourned. The assassination was supposedly done by members of the group "Young Bosnians" which was a student association supported in an unofficial way by Serbia. Austria sent Serbia a ruthless ultimatum and Serbia met all the points that didn't violate its sovereignty, but Austria immediately declared war and attacked Serbia. The Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered an Austrian regime of terror and indiscriminate executions. Serbian leaders were put through trials, court proceedings and unknown concentration camps were many died of epidemics and starvation.

#### The First Yugoslavia:

During World War 1 the Bosnians fought in Austrian units, mostly in Italy. On 1918 the Declaration of Union was signed, creating the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes this meant that a provisional government was set up, these representatives were from Serbia and the Bosnian National Council, other groups were to be added later. A provisional assembly was also set up with representatives from the Serbian Parliament, the National

Council and other assemblies such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Vojvodina. In November 1920 a Constituent Assembly was set up. The Bosnian Serbs supported the Serbian Agrarian Party, the Muslims supported two main parties: the National Muslim Organization (with Bosnian origins) and the Dzemijet Party (from Kosovo and Macedonia), the Croats joined Croatian parties.

There was a central government in Belgrade. But after 10 years of complicated parliamentary history, King Alexander dissolved the parliaments and establishing a Royal dictatorship in 1929. He organized the country into a "Yugoslavia" made up of nine regions, Bosnia and Herzegovina was split among four new units (Vrbaska, Drinska, Primorska and Zetska). This finally freed the Serb and Croat peasants from their serfdom to Muslim landlords. There was an agrarian reform that distributed land to these peasants.

Under the leadership of Milan Stojadinovic Yugoslavia became closer to Italy and Germany. The Croats wanted independence, but the rest of Yugoslavia wasn't willing to give it. The region of Banovina became an autonomous Croatian region, and it was given its own parliament. The Croats saw this as an improvement, a step closer to the independent Croatia which would include what had been Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbs however wanted to create a Serbian unit of Yugoslavia and saw this as a threat. Very little before the Second World War there were violent confrontations between the pro-independence Croats and the centralist Serbs, the Muslims and Bosnians were caught in the middle.

### World War 2

Yugoslavia was attacked by Germany, Italy, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria in April 1941, they then proceeded to divide the country amongst them. A Croatian terrorist organization collaborated and it was allowed its own Independent State of Croatia in April 10 1941, which was made of the old Croatia and the territories that had been Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a total population of 6.3 million. Once this was established, the terrorist group began a cleansing which resulted in mass deportations and genocidal massacres, which were later condemned by the Nurnberg Court.

The Serbian population joined the Partisan resistance, called the Cetnik led by Josip Broz-Tito, the head of the Yugoslav Communist Party. This was greatly attacked by the Germans, and Bosnia and Herzegovina suffered terrible losses. The Muslim population was caught in between the Serbian Cetnik and the Croatian Ustase (the name of the terrorist pro-independence group). The Ustase regime considered them of Croatian origin and they were expected to cooperate, the Cetniks viewed them as the hated Turks who had oppressed them and the terrorist helpers, because of this the Cetniks began a Muslim cleansing, mostly in Eastern Bosnia.

The Cetniks and Partisans wanted a revolutionary power grab, however what they proposed was a federate Yugoslavia made of individual republics for each ethnic group: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins. To avoid problems in the

Serbian-Croatian borders Bosnia and Herzegovina was set up as a buffer zone. It would also provide cultural autonomy to the Muslim populations. The Allies and Soviets supported them, so they triumphed. They created the Socialist Yugoslavia as a Federative Peoples Republic, Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of the constituent republics.

When the Soviet armies entered Yugoslavia through Romania and Bulgaria, led by Marshal Tito, all those that opposed to the Partisans, including the Cetnik Units and the Serb Home Guards, the Croatian Ustasa were forced to retreat. Because of this a violent civil war erupted which put Croats against Serbs, Communists against Nationalists. This wasted countless lives and used up energy and property. At the end the Communists won and they inserted a Dictatorship that committed several human rights violations at an extremely large scale. Thousands of their former enemies (Croats, Serbs) were returned from Austria by the British and they were tortured and executed by the Partisans.

#### Communist Yugoslavia:

The second Yugoslavia was formed as a Federative Peoples Republic of five nationalities-Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Macedonians and Montenegrins, and Bosnia and Herzegovina as a buffer area with its mix of Serbs, Muslims and Croats. The problem of the excess of Hungarians and Albanians in Serbia was solved by creating the autonomous regions of Vojvodonia (Hungarian minority) and Kosovo (Muslim Albanian majority), this was in order to encourage their political and cultural development.

The Serbs were not happy because they had lost the area of Macedonia, which they considered Southern Serbia, they had also lost the opportunity of annexing Montenegro into Serbia and the control of the Albanian Muslims and Hungarians and the Bosnian areas where the majority of the population was Serbian. The Croats gained back from Hungary the Medjumurje and the cities of Rijeka and Zadar, some Dalmatian Islands and the Istrian Peninsula from Italy, they lost the Srem area to Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Croats had to handle a resentful Serbian minority that was making their way up in administrative and security positions, gaining importance. The Slovenes won back the Prekmurje and the Slovenian territories taken by Italy after World War 1. Italy still controlled the "Venetian Slovenia". The Gorizia and the city of Trieste, which later became the UN protectorate "Free Territory of Trieste" which was later split up between Italy and Yugoslavia in 1954.

This new Marxist Yugoslavia had the purpose of diminishing the national rivalries in order to accommodate to the new socialist order. Since they didn't believe in Capitalism, Nationalism was supposed to disappear. They believed in unity and brotherhood, and because of this any nationalistic concerns were banned by the centralized regime of the "League of Yugoslav Communists".

Shortly after the war there was a coalition government, but in the elections of November 1945, the noncommunists were boycotted and 90% of the votes were given to the Communist Peoples Front. On November 29 a Constituent Assembly changed the Monarchy to a Federative Republic. In January 1946 a new constitution was adopted,

which was based in the 1936 Soviet constitution. Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform Group in 1948. After this Yugoslavia had to develop a “road map to Socialism”. This map developed quickly in response to the Soviet accusations, Yugoslavia had to balance itself between the NATO alliance and the Soviet bloc. The Communist dictatorship of Tito had taken over after World War 2, and he pushed for the nationalization of the economy, forced industrialization and supported collective agriculture.

The collectivization began in 1949 using welfare money and lower taxes were used as incentives, as well as a large amount of pressure from the government. Collectivization was abandoned in 1958 because it had very low productivity and it was unable to support the effort of industrialization.

The Yugoslav trade mark by the 1950's was self-management of enterprises that worked with the aid of workers councils and local decision making. A high consumption rate encouraged large amounts of importations which were financed by foreign loans, and a lack of exports. The industries were inefficient and not very productive but they were kept alive by public subsidies, cheap credits and artificial protective measures, this led to a crisis in 1961.

This proved that there were large parts of the system to be reformed, and so they were. In 1965 “market socialism” was introduced. It eradicated most price controls, cut down the imports by half and withdrew export subsidies. The necessary amounts of money were left with the earning enterprise and the rest of the money was sent to the national Bank where it was used by the state in community projects or on other less developed enterprises. The Workers Councils got more autonomy for making decisions in what their earnings were going to be invested. This was not effective because unemployment grew rapidly, but the “Political Factories” still remained subsidized. The government allowed the workers to emigrate to Western Germany where they were needed for the growing economy. Foreign investment became really important and it grew in 49%. The role of Trade Unions was to pass information from the government to the workers, distribution of benefits such as education and training of workers, monitoring of legislation and protection of this self-management system. Strikes were not publicly acknowledged and often suppressed. After 1958 strikes were seen as indications of problems that needed to be solved, however Unions were supposed to convince workers to go back to work and not trigger their inconformity.

After been taken out of the Cominform in 1948, Yugoslavia began to develop a foreign policy independent from the USSR. In 1949 Yugoslavia stopped supporting the Greek Communists in their civil war against the Greek Royalist Monarchy. In October 1949 Yugoslavia was one of the non-permanent members in the UN Security Council and publicly condemned the constant aggressions from North Korea to South Korea. Tito had a strong ideal of developing a movement of non-aligned developing countries in collaboration with India, Egypt and many others. In 1961 in a summit in Belgrade Tito was recognized as the leader of this movement. This position made Tito get economic and political support of the Western powers while maintaining peace with the Soviet Bloc. Tito

consented to the Soviet invasion of Hungary(1956), condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia(1968). Just before his death on May 4 1980 Tito also condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. During the 1970's and 1980's Yugoslavia had good relations with its bordering states, by solving pending disputes, developing cooperative projects and increasing trade.

Devastated by the war, occupation, resistance and civil wars the communist government had to build a Socialist economy while rebuilding a country. Bosnia and Herzegovina,. As a part of Yugoslavia was strongly impacted by the internal and external problems. The vast majority of the problems the population had were the same, unresolved ones of the Royal Yugoslavia. The communists failed to end nationalism, and this affected Bosnia and Herzegovina deeply because their territory was claimed by the Serbians and the Croats, and the Muslims divided between both parts. After living like this for centuries it was impossible to create clear boundaries to separate these three ethnic groups without creating a lot of conflict. In Bosnia and Herzegovina there was an increasing amount of intermarriage between Croats and Serbs, which lead to the creation of a new ethnic group, which was introduced into the 1961 census as "Yugoslav". In the census of 1981 1.2 million people were Yugoslavs (5.4% of the population), two million were Muslims. In the 1991 census the population was distributed in the following way: Muslims (43.7%), Serbs (31.4%), Croats (17.3%) and Yugoslavs (6%), the total population of Yugoslavia was 4,364,000.

Basically:

Bosnia existed as an independent country since 1150, its leader was called a "Ban" and it lasted for more than 300 years, until the occupation of the Ottoman Turks in 1463 in Bosnia and 1482 for Herzegovina. Bosnia and Herzegovina was dominated by the Ottoman empire for 415 years, until 19878. It was governed by Austria-Hungary for forty years until 1918. Bosnia stopped being an independent country for 27 years, during the First Royal Yugoslavia (1918 to 1945) and then became a separate unit for 47 years, as art of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, until 1992. Although they had 800 years of common history the Serbs, Croats and Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina never felt like one nation. Bosnia was at first settled by Croats who were Catholic, and after that by Orthodox Serbs that had been escaping from the Turks. Living under the Ottoman Empire large numbers of Bosnians converted into Islam. Although they all had a common language, their religious and cultural differences kept them apart.

There was a resurgence of Nationalism that increased the confrontations between Croatians and Serbs, which usually made the Bosnian government choose a side, the confrontations were usually between "liberal" and "conservative" groups. The government of Bosnia and Herzegovina usually supported the liberal groups in topics concerning the civil and political rights of the people. Economically, as a developing area they tended to support the conservative Serbs in order to maintain the development funds that also helped Montenegro, Macedonia and Serbia (in the area of Kosovo). The government wanted to avoid a war between Serbs and Croats, because it would most likely end in the partition of the territories between these nations.

The liberal group was made in Slovenia and Croatia, and it grew stronger by subsidizing the less developed areas of the country and increased their resentment against the build up of the Yugoslav army. The other factor that helped them was that the Republics inside Yugoslavia enjoyed a lot of political and economic freedom after the 1974 Constitution. They changed Tito's motto of "unity and brotherhood" into "freedom and democracy" and they were willing to do anything, even fight for the complete independence of the Republics in Yugoslavia in order to follow it. The debate about the reforms in the 1960's became more aggressive and was demanding more about the economic system and also about the decision making process at the republic and federal levels. Also in 1967 the Declaration in Zagreb encouraged the separation because it declared a Croatian literary tradition separate from the Serbian, and this made the "Serbo-Croatian" language a lot less important. Also those coming from Kosovo, Albania and Montenegro began to think that their national rights were superior to those of Yugoslav nationals.

In December 1964 the eight Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in this conference it was recognized by the leaders of the Republics that there was a lot of ethnic prejudice and antagonism between the groups living in the Socialist Yugoslavia. The republics, which were supported by individual nations became the upholders of a Federalism that wanted the decentralization of authority from the republic level. Economic reforms were also very important in this meeting. They decided that local economies should be developed with the purpose of creating a profit. The liberal bloc, which was made up of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Vojvodina, succeeded over the Conservative bloc and in 1965 the reforms had central investment planning and political factories.

In 1967-68 there were several national amendments made. This amendments limited the federal power, giving more autonomy to the republics and provinces, the liberals saw the Federal Government as a place to solve inter-republican disputes. In Croatia there was a union of liberals and nationalists, this wasn't well seen by Serbia, where the nationalism grew stronger, but towards creating a centralist-conservative alliance. Each of the blocs began a sort of battle for rising the nationalism. The Slovenes encouraged the devolution of power in the economic decisions, and this helped in the federalization of the League of Communists on Yugoslavia, this ended up making the republics semi-sovereign. In 1970 the Croatian proposed the Veto Power for all republics, and this was passed, this meant that all decisions made had to be voted by unanimity.

In 1986 amendments for the constitution began to be made, they were submitted in 1987 and they created a lot of commotion, especially in Slovenia. Opposition was very strong with one amendment which proposed the creation of a unified legal system and control of transportation and communication. The amendment also wanted to centralize the economy and granting more control to Serbia over its autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. There was also a proposal to recentralize the League of Communists but it was rejected by the nationalist groups. There was also the proposal to do a confederate structure that respected the self-determination of sovereign states and a multi-party democratic system that could have certain resemblance with a "Yugoslav" state.

As Serbia assumed the control of areas like Kosovo, Vojvodina and Montenegro the Serbian relationships with Slovenia dropped down to a crisis point. The leaders of both nations refused to meet and the Serbs did a boycott on Slovenian products, stopped using Slovenian banks and ended any type of economic relations with Slovenia. The Slovenes felt very threatened by the Serbs because of the unethical ways in which the Albanians and the people in Kosovo were treated, they worried that these type of violent method would be used against them. Because of this in September 1989 amendments to the Slovenian constitution were made. These amendments included the right to secession, and to allow Slovenian legislature over military aspects and control of the deployment of armed forces in Slovenia.

There was a last attempt made to save Yugoslavia. In January 1990 there was a Congress of the League of Communist Yugoslavia held. In this congress they treated matters like free multiparty elections and freedom of speech. The Slovenian representatives tried to increase the variety of topics discussed, but its suggestions where ignored and it left the congress on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, leaving also the Yugoslav League.

The Slovenian Communist Party was renamed Party for Democratic Renewal. By early 1990 about nineteen parties were formed in Slovenia. On April 10 1990 free elections were held in Slovenia. A union of six new democratic parties called Demos con 55% of the votes, 17% to the Party for Democratic Renewal (former communists), 5% to the Socialist Party, 15% to the Liberal Democratic Party (successor of the Slovenia Youth Organization). The Demos held free elections for the Slovenian Government. Milan Kucan who was the former head of the League of communists was elected president with 54% of the votes.

This changes in Slovenia had a very large impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina. When the federal principle was proclaimed on 29 November 1943, Bosnia and Herzegovina was included as one of the constituents of the post-World War II Yugoslavia. 30.9% of the population was muslim, 45% was Serbs and 24% Croats, although they made up a large part of the population, Muslims weren't considered a "nation" because Serbs said that Musilims were Islamized Serbs and Croats said that they were descendants of the Croatian Bosnian Church that had converted into Islam.

The Muslim identity grew stronger and the Muslims started to demand Muslim institutions like the Serbian and Croatian ones. Muslims also considered themselves the only "true" Bosnians and referred to Bosnia as a Muslim Republic. There were several Muslim activist groups that were sentenced to jail because they had planned on actually creating a Muslim Republic, these groups were sentenced to long terms in jail but were released in 1988. A notorious member of this groups was called Alija Izetbegovic.

The Muslim political representation balanced the power between the Serbs and Croats. Bosnia and Herzegovina was getting ready to hold its first multiparty elections on November 30 1990. By July 1990 a Bosnia and Herzegovina part of the Croatia-based Serbian Democratic had gained strength and popularity among the 18 Bosnian communes

with Serbian majority which close to the Croatian border area. Although the three parties (Serbian Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic Action (Muslim) and the Croatian Democratic Union) had different points of view they all had two basic common aims: they wanted the continuation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and they wanted to end with the Communist rule.

On August 1 1990 Bosnia and Herzegovina declared itself a sovereign and democratic state. The Communist Party became part of the Party of Democratic Change, while the Yugoslav Prime Minister created the Alliance of Reform Forces to promote his economic reforms.

The results in the election were: 87 seats in the parliament were given to the Muslim Party, 71 to the Serbian party, 44 to the Croatian Democratic Union, 18 to the former communists and 13 to the Alliance of Reform Forces. The three ethnic parties formed a coalition government and the President was a member of the Muslim Party, Alija Izetbegovic.

Useful links Bosnia and Herzegovina

BBC, Country time-lines, Bosnia and Herzegovina timeline, London 2009, available online at: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country\\_profiles/1066981.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1066981.stm)

Encyclopedia Britannica, Ethnic composition of Yugoslavia, 1990, available online at: <http://www.srpska-mreza.com/MAPS/Ethnic-groups/map-Britannica-1990.jpg>

Encyclopedia Britannica, Balkans ethnic distribution in 1990, available online at: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic-art/50325/712/Ethnic-distribution-in-the-Balkans-1990>

Spartacus Educational, Bosnia and Herzegovina brief history, available online at: <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/FWWbosnia.htm>

Bibliography:

BBC, Country time-lines, Bosnia and Herzegovina timeline, London 2009, available online at: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country\\_profiles/1066981.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1066981.stm)

MARZOWER, Mark: The Balkans, a short history. A modern library chronicles book. Random House, New York, 2002

GLENNY, Misha: The Balkans, Penguin Group, 2001