

Historical Construction and Development of Bosniak Nation

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Abstract: *Every nation and national identity is a product of long historical process because nation is constructed and develops historically. Especially, conflicts with other ethnic - religious groups, nations and central government make great contribution to construction and development of nation. Therefore, as other nations, Bosniak nation historically has been constructed and developed during centuries. Major historical events and steps which shaped and affected historical construction and development of Bosniak nation are as following: (1) Islamization process in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Ottoman rule since second half of 15th century; (2) the Bosniak rebellions led by Bosniak landowners and kapetans (the commanders of fortresses) against the Ottoman central government in 19th century; (3) armed resistance of Bosniak people against the Habsburg occupation, political opposition of Bosniak clerics and landowners against the Habsburg rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918, and foundation of the Muslim National Organization in 1906; (4) Political opposition of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization founded in 1919 against Serbian and Croatian nationalism which oppressed Bosniaks within the First Yugoslavia; (5) clashes between Bosniaks and the Chetniks and between Bosniaks and the Ustasha during the Second World War; (6) official recognition of Bosniak nation by the socialist regime as one of the six constituent nations of the Second Yugoslavia; (7) significant progress in economic, social, political and cultural status of Bosniak people in the Second Yugoslavia; (8) foundation of the Party of Democratic Action and the Muslim Bosniak Organization after collapse of the socialist regime; (9) the Bosniak armed resistance against Serbian and Croatian militarist-nationalism during the Bosnian War from April 1992 to December 1995; (10) foundation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which Bosniak politicians undertake influential political roles after the Bosnian War; (11) newspapers and periodicals published by Bosniak intellectuals, political parties and cultural associations in the periods of the Habsburg rule, the First Yugoslavia, the Second Yugoslavia and after collapse of the Second Yugoslavia. So, this article, in order to explain historical construction and development of Bosniak nation, focuses on these historical events and steps occurred within six historical periods of Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1463 and 1878, the Habsburg rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1918, the period of the First Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941, the period of the Second World War, the period of the Second Yugoslavia until 1990, and disintegration process of the Second Yugoslavia in the 1990s.*

Keywords: *Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniaks, Bosniak Nation, Bosnian Muslims*

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Introduction

Every nation and national identity is a product of long historical process because nation is constructed and develops historically. Especially, conflicts with other ethnic - religious groups, nations and central government make great contribution to construction and development of nation. Therefore, as other nations, Bosniak nation has not emerged suddenly but constructed and developed as a result of some historical events. That is to say, there are some important historical events and steps which have shaped Bosniak identity and affected national development of Bosniaks in the historical path of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These major historical events and steps involved Bosniaks' relations and conflicts with the Ottoman central government, the Habsburg government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. For this reason, in order to explain historical construction and development of Bosniak nation, this study focuses on these relations and conflicts within six historical periods of Bosnia and Herzegovina: (1) the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1878 from 1463, (2) the Habsburg rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1918, (3) the period of the First Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941, (4) the period of the Second World War, (5) the period of the Second Yugoslavia between 1945 and 1990, (6) disintegration process of the Second Yugoslavia.

Bosniaks under the Ottoman Rule

The Ottoman Empire occupied Bosnia in 1463 and Herzegovina in 1483. When the Ottoman forces occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina there were three major communities: Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats and Bogomils. Serbs and Croats came from beyond the Carpathians (in the southern part of what are now Poland and the Ukraine) and entered the Balkans in great numbers bringing their families and possessions in 6th century. Serbs became Orthodox Christians as a result of the Byzantine influence and Croats became Catholic Christians under the Roman influence.¹ Bogomils were members of Bogomilism which was a heretic sect of Christianity occurred in Bulgarian lands in 11th century and prevailed over Bosnia and Herzegovina during 12th century. This heretic sect rejected authority of both Catholic and Orthodox churches. Also, they were against private property in land and nature because according to Bogomilism, nature have been created and provided to human by Bog (God). Furthermore, the Bogomil faith rejected religious rituals of Orthodox and Catholic churches and claimed that "love of god" is enough provision for to be "good Christian". Because of these heretic ideas and believes, Bogomils were suppressed by Orthodox and Catholic churches and feudal lords.²

One of the most important policies and historical results of the Ottoman rule in in the Balkans was Islamization. Islam was brought by the Ottoman Empire into the Balkan countries. Islamization was not realized suddenly but in the long run. This process is still very debatable issue in the literature. Some historians, such as Nikolai Todorov, claim that Islamization was fulfilled by force. According to this assumption, the Ottoman Empire converted the Balkan people by force in order to reinforce its presence and rule in the Balkan lands. On the other hand, some historians, such as Halil İnalcık, claims that this process was fulfilled by voluntarily. According to this claim, people in Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted Islam in order to enjoy some economic and political privileges. However, there are those who assert that Islamization process in the Balkans involved both voluntary and forcible methods. For example, Peter Sugar, one of the most important experts in Balkan history, maintains that the devşirme system should be considered forcible conversion of Christian Balkan peoples to Islam; however, other conversions must be described as voluntary conversions that created some important economic and political privileges and profits for persons who accepted Islam. That is to say, some of the Balkan communities accepted Islam in order to enjoy some privileges under the Ottoman rule.³

So, under the Ottoman rule, some Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats and Bogomils accepted forcibly or voluntarily Islam. These Bosnian Slavic Muslim people were referred as Boşnak (Bosniak) by the Ottoman rule. However, Serbs and Croats referred to Bosnian Slavic Muslims as Turci (Turks)

or Muslimani (Muslims) but not as Bosnjaci (Bosniaks). On the other hand, Bosnian Slavic Muslims identified themselves as Muslimani (Muslims), Osmanlija (Ottoman), Turci (Turks) and İslamski millet (Islamic nation) but not Bosnjaci (Bosniaks). The Bosnian Muslims, who are ethnically Slav just like Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats and speak the same language with Serbs and Croats, have differentiated themselves from Serbs and Croats with their Islamic (Muslim) identity.

There had been close military and political cooperation between Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) and the Ottoman central government by 19th century.⁴ The Ottoman rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina provided Bosniaks many economic, political, social and military privileges. So, Muslim Bosniaks had better economic, political, social status and superiority over the non-Muslim neighbors, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croatians, thanks to the Ottoman rule. Bosniaks ruled the Bosnian cities, towns and villages in the name of the Ottoman Sultans. In cities and towns, trade and craftsmanship were under control of guilds that were led and governed by Bosniak gentry. Also, rural area of Bosnia and Herzegovina was controlled and governed by Bosniak timarli sipahis. In short, Bosniaks enjoyed important privileges thanks to the Ottoman sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In return, Bosniaks served the Ottoman Empire. They fought against the Habsburg (Austria-Hungary) Empire, Russia, Venetian and the Persian Empire in the name of the Ottoman Sultans during centuries. For example, in the Ottoman-Russian War in 1711, about 1.553 Bosniak soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina took place within the Ottoman army against the Russia.⁵ Also, Bosniaks served as officials in the Ottoman State. For example, 21 Bosniaks served as Sadrazam (Grand Vizier) between 1544 and 1612.⁶ Therefore, Bosniaks were important loyal agents of the Ottoman rule in not only Bosnia and Herzegovina but also in other parts of the Ottoman Empire.

Timar system, classical Ottoman system in land, began to degenerate in late 16th century and çiftlik (farm) system has emerged since beginning of 17th century in the Balkan lands. As a result of farm system, in 18th century, strong Bosniak landowners (begs) occurred and restricted the Ottoman authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They converted former fiefs into their private estates (agalik) and increased their economic, political and social power at the expense of the Ottoman authority.⁷ Also military, political and economic power and privileges of Bosniak kapetans, the commanders of fortresses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have increased since beginning of 17th century.⁸

Sultan Mahmud II launched reforms which reinforced central government's authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina and decreased power and privileges of Bosniak landowners and kapetans. Thus, Bosniak kapetans, landowners, clerics and town-people gathered in an assembly in Travnik on 29 March 1831. At the end of the assembly, the Bosniaks declared their demands from the Ottoman Sultan: Preservation of the old system existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina before the reforms, protection of Bosnian territory against the Serbian demands, granting autonomy for Bosnia and Herzegovina, appointment of the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina among the Bosniak landowners or kapetans. Also the Travnik Assembly agreed to raise a rebellion if Mahmud II did not accept these demands. When Sultan Mahmud II rejected these demands, Bosniak landowners and kapetans rioted against the Ottoman central government under leadership of Kapetan Hüseyin (Husein Gradašević). This rebellion was also supported by poor Bosniak, Serb and Croat peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Bosniak army under command of Kapetan Hüseyin, so-called "Zmaj od Bosne (Bosnian Dragon)", defeated the Ottoman forces under command of the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşit Paşa in the Province of Kosovo. After negotiations between the two sides, Bosniak army stopped its advance towards Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire. The negotiations gave time to Grand Vizier to strengthen his forces and pacify some Bosniak landowners and kapetans by promising them some privileges. Finally, the Bosniak rebellion of 1831-1832 was put down bloodily by the Ottoman forces in June 1832 after several fierce armed conflicts.⁹ This rebellion was followed by other Bosniak rebellions in 1836, 1839-1840, 1849-51 and 1868-1869. However, all of them were quelled by the Ottoman forces.¹⁰ Naturally, close alliance and cooperation between Bosniaks and the Ottoman central government broke down because of the Bosniak rebellions and fierce clashes between the Bosniak and the Ottoman forces in 19th century.

In 1875, Catholic Croat, Orthodox Serb and Muslim Bosniak peasants rebelled because of grievous taxes imposed by the Ottoman central government. Serb peasant rebellion turned into armed nationalist rebellion for independence against the Ottoman Empire. The Serb rebels in Bosnia and

Herzegovina were supported greatly by Serbia and Montenegro. A similar armed rebellion broke out in Bulgaria for independence in May 1876. In the meantime, the Serbian and Montenegrin autonomous government declared war on the Ottoman State. Serbian, Montenegrin and Bulgarian rebellions were supported by the Pan-Slavic policy of the Russian Empire. The Ottoman army defeated them completely and put down rebellions in both Bosnia and Bulgaria. Of course, the defeat of Slavic Orthodox nations was not acceptable for Russia and its Pan-Slavic policy. Finally, Russia declared war on the Ottomans on 2 April 1877. After the defeat of the Ottoman army, San Stefano Treaty was signed between the two empires. The treaty produced a radical change in power balance in Europe in favor of Russia and Orthodox Slav nations in the Balkans. For this reason, other great powers called for revision of San Stefano Treaty, and so, the Berlin Congress was convened on 13 June - 13 July 1878. At the end of the congress, the Berlin Treaty was signed among the Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Article 25 of the treaty gave the Habsburg (Austria-Hungary) Empire the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also, according to this article, legal Ottoman sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina continued until 7 October 1908 when the Habsburg Empire annexed this province. The Ottoman central government accepted the annexation; and so, legal Ottoman sovereignty in Bosnia and Herzegovina expired.¹¹ That is to say, a new period began for Muslim Bosniaks under the Catholic Habsburg rule in the last quarter of 19th century when the Habsburg army occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosniaks under the Habsburg Rule

After the Berlin Congress, the Habsburg Empire started occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 29 July 1878 by sending four divisions composed of 72,000 troops. Although the Ottoman Empire did not resist against the occupation, Bosniaks, especially poor people of the Bosnian towns and villages, resisted against the Habsburg forces. In order to quell the Bosniak armed resistance, the Habsburg forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina reached to 268,000 troops. Even though Sarajevo was taken by the Habsburg army on 19 August, the Bosniak armed force consisting of about 90,000-93,000 fighters led by Hacı Salih Efendi fought against the Habsburg army until October 20. However, after fierce armed conflicts and house-to-house fighting, the Bosniak armed resistance against the occupation was defeated by the Habsburg army. The Habsburg army's losses were about 6,000 officers and soldiers; but unfortunately the Bosniak losses aren't known because they were not recorded by the Habsburg army and government.¹²

After defeat, Bosniaks began to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina for other regions which were still under rule of the Ottoman Empire. Approximately 300,000 Bosniaks migrated from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Ottoman territories, especially to Istanbul and Anatolia, in the period of 1878-1910.¹³ Although some of them returned, percentage of Bosniak population in Bosnia and Herzegovina declined continuously during the Habsburg rule from 38.73% in 1879 to 32.25% in 1910, while percentage of Catholic Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina increased from 18.08% to 22,87% in the same period. Percentage of Orthodox Serb population stood almost same between 1879 (42.88%) and 1910 (%43.49). Also percentage of Bosniaks in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, declined from 72.23% in 1851 to 60.09% in 1885 and 35.57% in 1910, while percentages of Catholic Croats soared to %12.66 in 1885 and 34.51% in 1910 from only 1.14% in 1851.¹⁴

Joint rebellion of Bosnian Serbs and Bosniaks occurred in Herzegovina in 1882. The strict regulations of the military recruitment law of November 1881, which would draft young Bosnians into the Habsburg army and provided no exception for the families who were dependent on their sons for their agricultural activities, was the main reason for this revolt. Both Orthodox Serbs and Muslim Bosniak rejected to serve in a Catholic army. Especially Bosnian Serbs didn't want to be used by the Catholic Habsburg Empire in eventual war against Serbia that was considered homeland by the Bosnian Serbs. On the other hand, Bosniaks regarded this law as a violation of still legal Ottoman sovereignty which continued until the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Habsburg Empire

in 1908.¹⁵ Also, pan-Islamic efforts of Muslim clerics and Serbian nationalism's efforts for creating "Greater Serbia" played an important role in the joint rebellion of 1882.

This rebellion was put down by the Habsburg military but also forced the Habsburg government to change its political course in Bosnia and Herzegovina because the rebellion showed that conciliatory approach was more pragmatic than forced approach for governing Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus after defeat of the joint Bosniak and Serb rebellion, Benjamin Kallay was appointed as Joint Minister of Finance in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 4 June 1882. He aimed to industrialize and modernize Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also, he tried to create a "Bosnian nation" based on "Bosnian identity" because he believed that if Bosnian identity and nation is created and Bosnia and Herzegovina is industrialized and modernized, the Habsburg rule can become more strong and influential in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, modernization and industrialization process in Bosnia and Herzegovina began with appointment of Kallay. Paper, timberland, salt, coal, soap, match, soda, ammonia and iron industries developed and a refinery of petroleum was established in Jajce thanks to Kallay's economic policies and investments. Furthermore, during the Habsburg rule, construction of train rail was fostered, agricultural production significantly increased as a result of modern agricultural methods, modern public administration and post service was established and new schools were opened.¹⁶

However, under the Habsburg rule, economic, political and military power of Bosniaks declined. That is to say, Bosniaks lost their privileges that had been enjoyed under the Ottoman rule during centuries. In 1908, there were only 825 Bosniak officials in the Bosnian bureaucracy. Number of Bosniak officials reached 1,644 in 1914 because of rising interest among Bosniaks in this field of activity and their increasing participation in the modernization process. However, most of jobs in bureaucracy that were carried out by Bosniaks were those which did not require qualification. Hence, Bosniak officials could not play important roles in Bosnian politics.

The Habsburg government organized secular educational system and opened inter-confessional secular schools; however, these efforts did not bring about a radical change in educational level of the Bosnian population. According to official statistics, 87.84% of the Bosnian population was still illiterate in 1910, 11.95% (177,168) could both read and write, 0.21% (3,082) could only read. Illiteracy among Bosniaks was the highest with 94.65% in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mostar and Sarajevo were leading cities in rate of literate. The number of Bosniaks who could read and write was highest in Mostar (10.36%). This fact explains why Bosniak opposition movement against the Habsburg rule began in Mostar.

During the Ottoman period there were only four printing offices in Bosnia and Herzegovina, located in Sarajevo, Mostar and Gorajde. The number of printing office increased continuously after appointment of Kallay in 1882 and reached 25 in 1909. In 1878, there were only four periodicals in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Number of periodicals reached 19 in 1905. Apart from one German periodical, all of them were published in Serbo-Croat language. Seven of them were political and others were cultural periodicals. Increase in number of periodicals especially after 1906 played very important role in development of political and cultural life. Emergence of Serbian and Bosniak opposition and political organizations contributed greatly foundation of new printing offices and publication of periodicals, and in return, these developments in intellectual life facilitated activities of both Serbian and Bosniak opposition against the Habsburg rule.

In this period, capitalism began to flourish as a result of expansion of trade and Kallay's industrialization policies. Under this condition, Serbian and Croatian capitalist classes developed, while a Bosniak capitalist class did not. The first big Bosniak entrepreneur was Kucukalic who a merchant from Brcko and played an important role in establishment of the first bank in Brcko. But he had no important impact on development of Bosniak opposition, while Serbian entrepreneurs such as Jeftanovic and Vojislav Sola played determinant role in formation of Serbian opposition.¹⁷ On the other hand, Bosniak intellectual elite were isolated from Bosniak people and some of them under influence of Zagreb and Belgrade accepted Croatian or Serbian national identity.¹⁸ Also, some Bosniak intellectuals were loyal to the Habsburg government owing to the fact that the government offered them scholarship and employed them in the Bosnian bureaucracy. Therefore, there was no a strong

Bosniak bourgeoisie, intellectual elite or bureaucrats to stimulate, organize and lead Bosniak nationalism and national movement. Consequently, the Bosniak national movement was led by Bosniak ulema (clerics) and begs (landowners).

The first Muslim organizational movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina was created by Bosniak clerics in Mostar. They feared from conversion of Bosniaks into Catholic Christianity under the Catholic Habsburg rule. Therefore, conflict between Bosniak clerics and the Catholic rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged especially in the 1890s. Four important meetings were organized by Bosniak clerics in Kiseljak, Budapest, Mostar and Sarajevo between 1899 and 1900. The Habsburg government in Bosnia and Herzegovina showed its political flexibility by negotiating with Bosniak clerics in 1901, 1907 and 1908. Finally, as a result of these negotiations, the Habsburg rule recognized religious and cultural autonomy for Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) in 1909. So, the movement for religious and cultural autonomy ceased in 1909 and Bosniak clerics turned into a loyal element of the Habsburg government in Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁹ After rapprochement between the Habsburg rule and Bosniak clerics, leadership of the Bosniak opposition and national movement passed Bosniak landowners from Bosniak clerics.

Bosniak landowners' political, economic and social power has decreased, while power of Serbian and Croatian landowners has increased because of the Habsburg rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1878. Although Bosniak landowners constituted the majority of landowners in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the increasing number of non-Muslim (Orthodox Serb or Catholic Croat) landowners with kmets (tenants) reached 8.85% in 1910. This development posed a threat to economic, political and social status of Bosniak landowners. Furthermore, agricultural laws in 1905 and 1906 strengthened the rights of kmets at the expense of Bosniak landowners. The government took some measures in order to strength the rights of kmets. According to agricultural law of 1905, the government gave credits to the kmets who want to buy some parts of farms they cultivated. In addition to this, according to new agricultural system introduced by agricultural law of 1906, the government gave up supporting the landowners and from now on the state would no longer play the role of arbiter between the landowners and the kmets. Under the new system, there was not any connection between the zehent (annual dues paid to the state) and the dues paid to the landowners by the peasants. The landowners had to determine the dues with the kmets on the threshold. So, these agricultural laws increased tension between the landowners and the kmets.

Both the new agricultural laws and rising of non-Muslim (Serb and Croat) landowners were regarded by Bosniak landowners as a threat to their economic, political and social power. This threat forced Bosniak landowners to establish Muslimanska Narodna Organizacija (Muslim National Organization - MNO) under leadership of Ali Firdus, a Bosniak landowner, in 1906. Although the MNO was founded in order to protect economic interests of Bosniak landowners, it was supported also by Bosniak peasantry and clergy. The MNO was not only the first party of Bosniaks but also of Bosnian politics. In other words, it represented the beginning of party-politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The MNO won 24 seats in the parliamentary elections of 1910. Another Bosniak party, Muslimanska Samostlana Stranka (Independent Muslim Party), failed to win a seat. Both the participation of Bosniak masses in the 1910 elections and the support of Bosniaks to the MNO indicated development of political and national consciousness among Bosniak people. Therefore, foundation of the MNO was a very important step for political and national development of Bosniaks.²⁰

Other actors that contributed construction and development of Bosniak identity and nation during the Habsburg rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina were newspapers and journals such as Bosnjak (Bosniak), Gajret (Perseverance), Biser (Pearl) and Behar (Bloom). The Bosnjak is the first Bosniak newspaper printed in Latin alphabet. Mehmed Beg Kapetanovic Ljubusak (1839-1902), the most prominent figure among Bosniak landowners, started to publish it in 1891. Unlike Gajret, Biser and Behar published by conservative Bosniak clerics who were in favor of the concept of Muslimanstvo (Muslim identity), Mehmed Beg and his newspaper (Bosnjak) supported the concept of Bosnjastvo (Bosniak identity), secularity and openness toward European culture, and attacked conservative attitudes of Bosniak clergy. Beside this difference, all of them made important publications about Bosniak history, culture, identity and Islam, and protected and strengthened Bosniak national identity

and culture against Serbian and Croatian nationalism which have tried to Serbianize or Croatianize Bosniaks since the second half of 19th century.²¹ Mehmed Beg Kapetanovic, in order to discard these attempts of both Serbian and Croatian nationalists, wrote in the *Bosnjak* that

*Whereas the Croats argue that the Orthodox are our greatest enemies and that Serbdom is the same as Orthodoxy, the Serbs wear themselves out calling our attention to some bogus history, by which they have Serbianized the whole world. We shall never deny that we belong to the South Slav family; but we shall remain Bosnians, like our forefathers, and nothing else.*²²

Bosniaks in the First Yugoslavia

As a consequence of collapse of the Habsburg Empire at the end of the First World War, the First Yugoslavia was founded by consensus and cooperation among Serb, Croat, Slovenian and Montenegrin political elite under name of “the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia” on 1 December 1918. In 1929, name of the state was changed as “the Kingdom of Yugoslavia” under dictatorship of Serb King Alexander. So, Bosnia and Herzegovina which had been ruled by the Habsburg Empire between 1878 and 1918 became a part of the First Yugoslavia after demise of the Habsburg Empire.

Bosniaks were the fourth largest nation in the First Yugoslavia with 6% of total population.²³ However, they were not effective in government and state apparatus. For example, only 1.2% of officials were Bosniak in the First Yugoslavia. In other words, only 30 of 2,492 officials were Bosniaks. New kingdom officially rejected Bosniak identity and nation. National rights of Bosniaks were restricted and they became target of Serbian and Croatian militarist-nationalist attacks. For example, about 2.000 Bosniaks were killed by Serbian and Croatian nationalist-militarist groups between 1918 and 1920.²⁴

Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was nearly two million in 1910. Share of Bosniak population declined from 32.25% in 1910 to 30% in 1920 because of forced emigration. Between 1910 and 1935, approximately 100,000 Bosniaks left their homeland as a result of oppressive policies of the Habsburg rule and the Yugoslav Kingdom, the Balkan Wars between 1912 and 1913, and the First World War. Most of them migrated to Turkey. Also, economic power and condition of Bosniaks declined sharply in the First Yugoslavia owing to some economic policies and reforms implemented by the Kingdom governments which was dominated mainly by nationalist Serb politicians. For example, the land reforms in 1919 nationalized about eight million acre land of Bosniak landowners. This confiscation made nearly 10% of Bosniaks unemployed.²⁵

Bosniak landowners established Jugoslovenska Muslimanske Organizacija (Yugoslav Muslim Organization - YMO) in 1919 under leadership of Mehmet Spaho who was the biggest Bosniak landowner in the First Yugoslavia. Although the YMO was established by the landowners, it also attracted Bosniak peasants, craftsmen, traders, intellectuals and clerics. The YMO did not use the concept of *Bosnjastvo* (Bosniak identity) but used and based on the concept of *Yugosloventstvo* (Yugoslav identity) due to fact that Serbian and Croatian nationalist policies did not accept Bosniak identity and permit use of the concept of *Bosnjastvo*. Serbian nationalism defined Bosniaks as Serbs who had been converted to Islam by the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Croatian nationalism described Bosniaks as Croats who had been converted to Islam by the Ottoman Empire. Both Serbian and Croat nationalism tried to assimilate Bosniak identity/culture and convert them to Serbian Orthodox or Catholic Croat identity/culture during this period.²⁶

The YMO was founded by Bosniak landowners in order to protect economic and political interest of Bosniak landowners. However, role and influence of Bosniak intellectuals and traders has increased within the party since its foundation. This development unavoidably changed goal of the party. The party struggled for protection of Bosniak identity and culture rather than for economic and

political interests of Bosniak landowners as a result of increasing influence and role of Bosniak intellectuals and traders in the party. Therefore the YMO, which had been founded as Bosniak landowners' party, was transformed into a Bosniak mass party containing peasants, craftsmen, traders, clerics and intellectuals in the 1920s. This party played very vital role in protection and development of Bosniak national identity until 1941 when it was banned by the Independent State of Croatia.

On the other hand, Bosniaks also founded some influential political, religious and civil organizations in the period of the First Yugoslavia. One of the most important Bosniak organizations was El Hidaye which was founded by Muslim clerics in order to protect and improve Islamic identity and consciousness among Bosniak people. Especially, it struggled against Serb Orthodox Church and Croat Catholic Church in order to prevent conversion of Bosnian Muslims to Christianity. Also, El Hidaye founded Mladi Muslimani (Young Muslims) as its agent among Bosniak youth. In addition to these, Trezvenost (Alertness), Merhamet (Compassion), İhvan (Brotherhood), Gyergyelez (a Bosniak football club) were other Bosniak organizations operated during the period of the First Yugoslavia. All of them played important role in protection of Bosniak identity and culture within the First Yugoslavia that was dominated greatly by Serbian nationalist kings, politicians and bureaucrats.²⁷

Bosniaks in the Second World War

German, Italian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Albanian armies attacked Yugoslavia on 6 April 1941. The Yugoslav government, Serb King Peter and his staff left Yugoslavia for England and Yugoslavia was occupied only within two weeks. Germany established Nezavisne Drzave Hrvatske (Independent State of Croatia - ISC) and appointed Ante Pavelic who was leader of the Ustasha, Croatian fascist party, president of the ISC on 10 April. The whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by German army and given to the ISC. That is to say, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bosniaks were under rule of the ISC and the Ustasha that were commanded by Germany during the Second World War.²⁸

Pavelic's ultimate aim was to create "Great Croatia", and for this purpose, the Ustasha government of the ISC tried to clear Croatian lands and Bosnia and Herzegovina from "non-Croat people". Therefore, the Ustasha under support of Germany started ethnic cleansing against Jewish, Gypsies, Serbs and Bosniaks. 12,000 Jewish in Bosnia and Herzegovina was killed by the Ustasha soldiers during the wartime. More than 600 Bosniaks in Bileca and about 500 Bosniaks in Visegrad were killed in July and August 1941. Bosniak people were not only massacred by the Ustasha, but also by Serbian fascist Chetniks under command of Draza Mihailovic who aimed to found "Great Serbia". Like the Ustasha, also the Chetniks implemented ethnic cleansing policy against Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For example, only in Foca-Cajnice, at least 2,000 Bosniaks in August 1942 and more than 9,000 in February 1943 were massacred by the Chetniks.²⁹ During the war, according to Nijaz Durakovic, about 103.000 Bosniak died due to the Chetnik, the Ustasha and the German attacks.³⁰

Bosniaks did not have a common coherent attitude, policy, strategy or response against these destructive events and assaults during the Second World War. There were some Bosniaks who collaborated with the ISC governed by the Ustasha and with fascist Chetniks although both the Ustasha and the Chetniks implemented ethnic cleansing against Bosniak people. For example, Narodna Uzdanica, a Bosniak cultural club led by Fehim Spaho, collaborated with ISC and the Ustasha. It is more important that Cafer Kulenovic, leader of the YMO, was assigned as Deputy President of the ISC. Gajret (Perseverance), a Bosniak cultural association, collaborated with the Chetniks, and about eight percent (4.000) of the Chetnik army under command of Mihailovic were Bosniaks.

Also some Bosniaks collaborated with German army that occupied Yugoslavia. Germany formed a battalion involving about 21,000 Bosniak soldiers in April 1943. This battalion was named "Hançer" (Dagger) and commanded by Himmler who was a German SS officer. Bosniaks collaborated with Germany and took place in the Hançer in order to protect themselves against the Ustasha and Chetnik assaults. But also, the German promise about foundation of a "Bosnian Muslim State" played

an important role in the Bosniak collaboration with Germany. However, the Hançer did not protect Bosniaks against the Ustasha and the Chetniks who threatened the Bosniak presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina but served the German army. For this reason, at the end of 1943, a lot of Bosniak warriors began to escape from the Hançer and joined the Partisans led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) under command of Jozip Broz Tito. For example, Hafiz Panca, a Bosniak soldier who realized that Bosniaks were used in the interest of Germany, escaped from the Hançer and formed his military force involving Bosniaks peasants. Soon thereafter, Panca and his peasant-fighters joined the Partisan army and fought against Germany, the Chetniks and the Ustasha. In 1944, the number of Bosniak soldiers who escaped from the Hançer for joining the Partisans significantly increased. Finally, the Hançer was disbanded by Germany in the late 1944.

Also, poor Bosniak peasants who were target of the Chetnik and the Ustasha attacks and exploited by Bosniak landowners supported the Partisans and the CPY. The first Bosniak Partisan battalion was formed in August 1941. The 8th Partisan Brigade formed in December was composed of Bosniak peasant-fighters under command of Osman Karabegovic. Finally, after long fierce fighting, Sarajevo was liberated by the Partisans on 6 April 1945 and the CPY had taken control over Bosnia and Herzegovina by the end of April. During the war, more than 600,000 Serbs, approximately 200,000 Croats and about 150,000-200,000 (16.4% of total Bosniak population) Bosniaks died. In addition to this casualty, about 20,000-30,000 Bosniaks left Bosnia and Herzegovina because of the war and brutal assaults of the Ustasha and the Chetniks. Most of them migrated to Turkey.³¹

Bosniaks in the Second Yugoslavia

After victory of the Partizan army, on 29 November 1945, the Second Yugoslavia was founded as “Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia” by the CPY under leadership of Croat Tito, Slovenian Edvard Kardelj, Serbian Aleksander Rankovic and Montenegrin Milovan Djilas. Official name of the state was converted to “the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia” (SFRY) by the last constitution of Yugoslavia in 1974. The Second Yugoslavia consisted of six federate republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina) and two autonomous provinces within Serbia (Kosovo, Vojvodina).

Bosniaks have been the third largest nation in the Second Yugoslavia since its foundation. According to census in 1991, which was the last census conducted before the disintegration started with independence declarations of Croatia and Slovenia on 25 June 1991, Bosniaks were the largest nation in Bosnia and Herzegovina with 43.7%.³² Economic, social and cultural conditions of Bosniaks progressed during the socialist regime between 1945 and 1990. Percentage of illiterate among Bosniaks declined and also Bosniak people’s economic condition and standard of living increased sharply in this period.³³

Socialist regime in the Second Yugoslavia regarded Bosnia and Herzegovina as “miniature of Yugoslavia” and Bosniaks as barrier against Serbian and Croatian nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosniaks enjoyed protection of the socialist regime and significant economic, social, cultural development between 1945 and 1990. Especially, defeat of the fascist Serb Chetniks and Croat Ustasha at the end of the Second World War, oppression of Serbian Orthodox and Croatian Catholic churches and clerics after the war, purge of Aleksander Rankovic, Serbian nationalist leader, in 1966 and purges of Serbian and Croatian nationalists from the CPY and state apparatus in 1972 created very proper political and intellectual condition and opportunity for protection and development of Bosniak national identity and culture in the Second Yugoslavia.

It is more important that, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted in 1963 and the Communist Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1968 recognized officially Bosniaks as a “Muslim nation” of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also, the 1963 Constitution of the SFRY recognized “Muslim nation” (Bosniaks) as one of the six “constituent nations” of the SFRY.³⁴ In spite of official recognition of “Muslim nation” (Bosniaks), Serbian and Croatian nationalists continued to reject presence of Bosniak identity and nation. Nationalist Serbs continued to describe Bosniaks as

“Islamized Serbs”, and on the other hand, nationalist Croats described them as “Islamized Croats”. So, both Serbian and Croat nationalists did not accept Bosniak identity and nation. These Serbian and Croatian nationalist claims improved especially after collapse of the socialist regime.

Question of “Who is Bosniak” has been politically related to question of “Whose Bosnia and Herzegovina”, and for this reason, debates on “Bosniak identity and nation” has been very important since the second half of 19th century. If the claim of Serbian nationalism is accepted, Serbs become absolute majority and Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to Serbs; however, if the claim of Croat nationalism is accepted, Croats are an absolute majority and Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to Croats. However, if Bosniaks are not “Islamized Serbs” or “Islamized Croats”, that is to say, if Bosniaks are a different nation from Serbs and Croats, Bosniaks are majority in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the country belongs to them.³⁵

Thus, since the second half of 19th century, Serbian and Croat nationalists persistently have claimed that Bosniaks are “Islamized Serbs” or “Islamized Croat”. However, socialist regime in the Second Yugoslavia rejected definitely these Serb and Croat nationalist claims about Bosniak identity and recognized Muslim (Bosniak) nation. Hence, official recognition of Bosniak nation in the Second Yugoslavia protected Bosniak nation and identity against Serbian and Croatian nationalism and this protection supported greatly national development of Bosniaks.

The socialist regime, which recognized Bosniak nation and weakened Serbian and Croatian nationalism and Orthodox and Catholic churches in Yugoslavia, also oppressed fundamentalist Bosniak organizations, clerics and intellectuals. For example, in 1948, the socialist regime closed up and banned fundamentalist Bosniak organizations such as El Hidaye, İhvan, Merhamet and arrested their leaders who had aimed to found an “Islamic Bosniak State” in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for this purpose collaborated with Germany.³⁶ Therefore, the socialist Yugoslav regime did not only protect Bosniak identity and culture against Serbian and Croat nationalism but also protected it against fundamentalist Bosniak organizations, clerics and intellectuals. In this sense, secularization process of Bosniak identity and culture was greatly facilitated and encouraged by the socialist regime.

In this period, another advantage for Bosniak national development was increasing discussions, studies and works about Bosniak identity, culture and history. For example, Muhammad Filipovic, Avdo Homo and Avdo Suceška wrote about Bosniak identity, culture and history. They claimed that there is Bosniak identity and nation which is different from both Serb and Croat identities and nations. There were also some Bosniak intellectuals, such as Esad Cimić, who asserted that Bosniaks are “Islamized Bosnian Slavs”. For this reason, Cimić described and named Bosnian Muslims as “Musliman Bosanci (Muslim Bosnians)” or “Musliman Jugoslaveni (Muslim Yugoslavs)”, but not as “Bosnjaci (Bosniaks)”. Also, intellectual discussions about “Bosnjastvo (Bosniak identity)” and “Muslimanstvo (Muslim identity)” rose in the Second Yugoslavia. Some Bosniak intellectuals emphasized on the concept of “Bosnjastvo” and some of them emphasized on the concept of “Muslimanstvo”. For example, Enver Redžić focused on “Bosnjastvo” and preferred the name of “Bosnjak (Bosniak)”, while Kasim Suljević emphasized on “Muslimanstvo” and preferred to use name of “Musliman (Muslim)”.³⁷ No doubt that all these intellectual discussions and studies in the Second Yugoslavia played great constructive role in development of Bosniak national identity.

Disintegration of the Second Yugoslavia, the Bosnian War and Bosniaks

Disintegration process of the Second Yugoslavia and so-called the Yugoslav wars began on 25 June 1991 when the Slovenian and Croatian parliaments declared independence from the SFRY. The Slovene and Croat declarations of independence were followed wars firstly between Slovenia and the Yugoslav People’s Army (YPA) and then between Croatia and the YPA which was dominated by Serb generals and commanded by the Serb government in Belgrade.

In the eve of the disintegration, election was organized in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 18 November and 2 December 1990. Stranka Demokratska Akcija (Party of Democratic Action - PDA), Srpska Demokratska Stranka (Serbian Democratic Party - SDP) and Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica

(Croatian Democratic Union - CDU) won respectively 86, 72 and 44 seats in the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another 38 seats were shared among other small parties.³⁸ After the elections, the PDA that was Bosniak nationalist-conservative party led by Alia Izetbegovic, the SDP and the CDU dominated the Bosnian Parliament and formed three-party coalition government which was the last government of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Bosnian Parliament voted for independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina on 15 October 1991. The SDP which was Serbian nationalist party led by Radovan Karadzic protested this voting and established the National Parliament of Bosnian Serbs (NPBS) on 24 October. Referendum for independence was organized between 29 February and 1 March 1992. The referendum was protested by Bosnian Serb voters and the SDP. 99.4% of voters voted for independence. As a response to this result, the NPBS in Banja Luka proclaimed "Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic)" and soon thereafter the Parliament of Republika Srpska proclaimed unification of Republika Srpska and Serbia on 27 March 1992. Consequently, war in Bosnia and Herzegovina erupted among Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats which were led by the PDA, the SDP and the CDU respectively. During the war (April 1992 - December 1995), the SDP was supported by Serbian government under leadership of Milosevic and the CDU, which was led by Stjepan Kljuic between 1990 and 1992 and then by Mate Boban between 1992 and 1994, was backed by Croatian government under leadership of Franjo Tudjman.³⁹

A strong nationalist-militarist alliance was formed between Milosevic, President of Serbia, and Karadzic in order to create "Greater Serbia" involving Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia and the Srpska Krajina located within Croatia. On the other hand, Boban, leader of the CDU in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Tudjman, President of Croatia, aimed to create "Greater Croatia" involving Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tudjman and Boban met with the Milosevic and Karadzic in February and May 1992. In the meetings they agreed to separate Bosnia and Herzegovina into three parts as 60% for Serbia, 30% for Croatia and 10% for Bosniaks. Also before these meetings, in April 1991, Milosevic and Tudjman had agreed to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina between Serbia and Croatia.⁴⁰ After this secret diplomacy between Serbian and Croatian governments, Boban's CDU proclaimed foundation of "Croat Republic of Herzegovina-Bosnia" in July 1992.

Of course, Bosniaks and the PDA under leadership of Izetbegovic opposed both Croat Republic of Herzegovina-Bosnia and Republika Srpska. The Bosniak side's ultimate purposes were to protect territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, existence of Bosniak nation and to found an independent Bosnian Republic.⁴¹ Izetbegovic described the "Bosniak way" as following:

We are not on the road to a national state. Our only way out is toward a free civic union. This is the future. Some people may want that [to make Bosnia a Muslim state] but this is not a realistic wish. Even though the Muslims are the most numerous nation in the republic, there are not enough of them [to justify such a political aspiration].⁴²

During the war, Bosniaks were mainly led by the PDA. Also, there was another Bosniak party: Muslimanska Bosnjačka Organizacija (Muslim Bosniak Organization - MBO). The MBO led by Muhammed Filipovic, professor in Department of Philosophy in Sarajevo University, did not only criticize the SDP and the CDU but also criticized antidemocratic characteristic and policies of the PDA under command of Izetbegovic. Filipovic and his party emphasized importance of civil society and democratization of political life in preventing civil war among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, and in construction of peace and democratic regime in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴³

One of the most important differences and dispute between the PDA and the MBO was about definition of Bosniak identity. The PDA emphasized the concept of "Muslimanstvo (Muslim identity)", while the MBO, which was more secular and liberal than the SDA, emphasized the concept of "Bosnjastvo (Bosniak identity)". In these discussions, the concept of "Bosnjastvo" was more accepted than the concept of "Muslimanstvo" among Bosniak intellectuals and public opinion. In this

debate, the most important step was “People’s Assembly of Bosniaks” which gathered in Sarajevo in October 1993. 349 Bosniak politicians, clerics, academicians and intellectuals discussed the Bosnian War, Bosniak identity and future of Bosnia and Herzegovina in this assembly. In the declaration issued at the end of the assembly, the concept of “Bosnjastvo” was accepted and emphasized. In other words, “Bosnjastvo” prevailed over “Muslimanstvo” in the Bosniak Assembly.⁴⁴

Except this difference, there were many important similarities between the two Bosniak parties. For example, in 1993, both the PDA and the MBO did not accept the Vance-Owen and the Owen-Stoltenberg peace plans which recommended division of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of ethnicity among Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats.⁴⁵ They were definitely against any division plans devised and recommended by the Western states and organizations because they regarded any division of Bosnia and Herzegovina as destruction of Bosniak identity and nation. That is to say, according to them, territorial unity and political independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina are two vital prerequisites for protection and development of Bosniak nation. For this reason, the PDA and the MBO struggled together against both Croatian and Serbian extreme nationalism which aimed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, and against the Western peace plans that recommended division of the country.

During the Bosnian War, Bosniaks founded some effective associations such as Preporod (Renaissance) and Merhamet (Compassion) that had been abolished by the socialist regime. Also new newspapers and periodicals such as *Muslimanski Glas* (Muslim Voice), *Bosanski Pogledi* (Bosnian View) and *Preporod* began to be published. *Muslimanski Glas* and *Bosanski Pogledi* have been political publications of respectively the PDA and the MBO. These newly founded Bosniak associations and newspapers became an intellectual arena for discussions about Bosniak identity, culture, history and Islam. The concepts of “Bosnjastvo” and “Muslimanstvo” became main issues of these debates.⁴⁶

Overrunning of safe areas, that had been declared by the UN, of Srebrenica and Zepa by Serb forces in July 1995 paved the way for NATO to take a central role in managing the crisis and began to plan for more widespread airstrikes on the Serb targets. In late August of 1995, after Serb forces’ mortar attack on Sarajevo, NATO led by the USA initiated, as its first military action since its founding, a three-week campaign of airstrikes against the Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The airstrikes resulted in the Bosnian Serb Army agreeing to cease-fire and eventually led to “the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, so-called “the Dayton Agreement”, signed among Izetbegovic, Tudjman and Milosevic on 14 December 1995.

Intervention of the Western states under leadership of the USA and the Dayton Agreement reconstructed Bosnia and Herzegovina as a very complex federation on political sphere and weak periphery capitalist country on economic sphere. New Bosnia and Herzegovina after bloody disintegration of the Second Yugoslavia and destruction of the socialist regime is composed of two entities according to the Dayton Agreement: “Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina” and “Republika Srpska (Serbian Republic)”. Each entity has its own legislative, executive and judiciary powers and constitution that must be compatible with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Dayton Agreement. Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina includes ten cantons of which five are Bosniak canton, three are Croat canton and two are ethnically heterogeneous canton. Each canton has its own constitution, assembly, government and judiciary. Also, there is “Brcko District”, located in northeast of the country, which is a self-governing administrative unit under the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina and formally held in condominium between the two entities. However in real politics Brcko remains currently under international supervision.

The Dayton Agreement have reconfirmed on paper the existence of a common “Bosnian State” with a weak central government and unity of the country but so far the Western powers and organizations have been enabled to implement it and still the two states (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Republika Srpska) or even the three mini states (Croat cantons, Bosniak cantons and Republika Srpska) coexist. Since 1996, many international organizations such as NATO, the IMF, the World Bank, the OSCE, the UN, the EU, the Office of High Representative, the UNDP, the Delegation of the European Commission have settled and operated in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order

to implement the Dayton Agreement, monitor implementation of the agreement and reconstruct the country as a whole.⁴⁷

The first general election for the House of Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Dayton Agreement was held in September 1996 under sponsorship and monitor of the Western states and international organization. The SDP, the CDU and the PDA won 36 of total 42 seats. The SDP and the CDU came in second and third after the PDA with 45.2%, 21.4% and 19% of the seats.⁴⁸ Nationalist leaders of Bosniak, Serb and Croat communities, respectively Izetbegovic, Momcilo Krajisnik and Kresimir Zubak, were elected for the three-member Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is to say, Bosniak, Serb and Croat ethnic-nationalist parties, respectively the PDA, the SDP and the CDU continued to be dominant parties in the Bosnian politics after the war.

The Bosnian War was a great destruction for Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to Vlademir Zerjavic, the distinguished Zagreb demographer, 215,000 persons died in the war between 1992 and 1995 and that among the dead were about 160,000 Bosniaks, 30,000 Croats and 25,000 Serbs.⁴⁹ In addition to these casualties, unfortunately more than 20,000 Bosniak women and children were raped systemically by extreme nationalist-militarist Serb and Croat fighters during the war.⁵⁰ About 1,300,000 - 2,000,000 Bosnian people, most of them were Bosniaks, migrated to neighboring countries, the Western European countries, Turkey, the USA and Canada during the war.⁵¹ Moreover, economic life was paralyzed by the brutal war. 471,000 houses were destroyed and number of unemployed people increased to 700,000. Economic cost and damage of the Bosnian War is estimated nearly as 80 billion dollars.⁵²

It should be emphasized that both Serbian and Croatian nationalist-militarist forces carried out ethnic cleansing against Bosniaks during the war as a brutal method for creation of "Greater Serbia" and "Greater Croatia". They also assaulted cultural and intellectual works such as libraries, museums, archives, mosques and churches (Catholic or Orthodox) in order to destroy everything that might be an obstacle to foundation of "Greater Serbia" and "Greater Croatia."⁵³ However also, according to Tarik Haveric who was leader of the Bosniak Liberal Party in the wartime, some Bosniak military forces implemented ethnic cleansing especially in the centre Bosnia against Serbs and Croats.⁵⁴ For this reason, the war resulted in not only deaths and economic destruction, but also destruction of civilian and social values and degeneration of intellectual and spiritual life. As a consequence, the war generated and increased hatreds among Serb, Croat and Bosniak nations, weakened permanent and sincere bonds among people and caused destruction of the "Yugoslav identity" and the "Bratstvo i Jedinstvo (Brotherhood and Unity)". In the fall of 1994, a Bosniak from Sarajevo explained his dramatic identical transformation from the "Yugoslav" to the "Muslim (Bosniak)" owing to the war:

First, I was a Yugoslav. Then, I was a Bosnian. Now I'm becoming a Muslim. It's not my choice. I don't even believe in God. But after two hundred thousand dead, what do you want me to do? Everybody has to have a country to which he can belong.⁵⁵

Conclusion

Islamization process started in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Ottoman occupation. So, under the Ottoman rule, some of Bosnian Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats and Bogomils accepted forcibly or voluntarily Islam. These Bosnian Slavic Muslim people were referred as "Bošnjak" (Bosniak) by the Ottoman rule. Until 19th century, there had been close political and military cooperation between Bosniaks and the Ottoman central government. However, this cooperation terminated and the Bosniak rebellions started at the beginning of 19th century.

The Bosniak rebellions against the Ottoman central government in 19th century were very important for emergence and development of Bosniak national identity because until this rebellions Bosnian Muslims had identified themselves as "Muslimani (Muslims)", "Osmanlija (Ottoman)", "Turci (Turks)" and "İslamski millet (Islamic nation)". The rebellions disturbed relations between

Bosnian Muslims and the Ottoman central government; and therefore, destroyed the Ottoman-Turkish identity/conscious and fed Bosniak identity/conscious (Bosnjastvo). Bosnian Muslims, especially after the 1831 rebellion led by Kapetan Hüseyin, began to identify themselves as “Bosnjaci (Bosniaks)” against the Ottoman central government and the Ottoman-Turkish identity. That is to say, Bosnian Muslims, who used terms of “Muslimani (Muslims)” in order to differentiate themselves from Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats, began to define and call themselves as “Bosnjaci (Bosniaks)” in order to differentiate themselves not only from Serbs and Croats but also from the Ottoman-Turkish identity after the 1831 rebellion. For this reason, I maintain that a Bosniak nation has emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the second quarter of 19th century as a result of the Bosniak rebellions led by mainly Bosniak landowners and kapetans against the Ottoman central government.

Bosniak uprisings in 1878 and joint uprising of Bosniaks and Serbs in 1882, opposition of Muslim clerics against the Catholic Habsburg rule, oppositions of Bosniak landowners against non-Muslim (Serb and Croat) landowners and opposition of the MNO against the Habsburg government in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878 to 1918 played very important role in development of Bosniak identity and nation. Furthermore, the concept of “Bosnian nation” which was created and supported by Benjamin Kallay protected Bosniak identity against Serbian and Croatian nationalists because Kallay’s “Bosnian nation” policy restricted Serbian and Croatian nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Economic, social and political status and power of Bosniaks decreased significantly in the First Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941 because of oppressive policies of the government over Bosniaks. Thus, the YMO and other Bosniak organizations were created as a response to the oppressive. These responses to the oppression played an important role in national and identical development of Bosniaks. However, Bosniaks did not pursue a common coherent policy during the Second World War. Some Bosniaks collaborated with the Chetniks, the Ustasha and the German army that occupied Yugoslavia in April 1941. Unlike Serbian and Croatian nationalism, the CPY recognized Bosniaks as different nation from Serbs and Croats. Furthermore, the communist Partisans led by the CPY fought against the Chetniks, the Ustasha and the German army who assaulted Bosniak people during the Second World War. This attitude of the CPY and the Partisans attracted Bosniaks, and therefore; many Bosniak fighters joined the Partisan army and the CPY during the war. In this sense, communist ideology outspread among especially poor Bosniak peasants. Also, anti-Serbian and anti-Croat sentiment increased among Bosniaks because of ethnic cleansing implemented by the Serb Chetniks and the Croat Ustasha against Bosniak nation.

The Chetniks and the Ustasha were defeated and destroyed by the Partisan army at the end of the war. Also, Serbian and Croatian nationalism and churches were oppressed by the socialist regime in the Second Yugoslavia founded after the Second World War. Bosniaks were recognized officially by the socialist regime as one of the six constituent nations of the Second Yugoslavia. Furthermore, economic, social and intellectual condition and status of Bosniak people improved significantly during the socialist regime. Finally, the Yugoslav socialist regime provided many opportunities for Bosniak intellectuals to study and discuss Bosniak identity, culture and history; and in the mean time, oppressed fundamentalist Bosniak organizations and intellectuals. All of them, firstly, protected Bosniak identity and nation against Serbian and Croatian aggressive nationalism and nationalist churches, and secondly, facilitated secular development of Bosniak nation.

Bosniaks entered the post-socialist era within a very destructive war. The Bosnian War between April 1992 and December 1995 damaged greatly Bosniak people and the country as a whole. The war was also played a constructive role in national development of Bosniaks because resistance of Bosniaks against Serbian and Croatian militarist-nationalism strengthened Bosniak people’s national identity and consciousness. Furthermore, this war and great Bosniak resistance made Bosniak identity and nation more clear and concrete in the eyes of Serbs, Croats and international community. During the war, Bosniaks were led mainly by the PDA, and also the MBO played influential role in the Bosniak politics and national movement. Both the PDA and the MBO have affected deeply development of Bosniak identity and nation since 1990. Also, newspapers and periodicals published by Bosniak intellectuals, cultural associations and political parties had an important impact on Bosniak identity and nation because they operated as an intellectual and public arena for studies and debates

about Bosniak identity, culture and history. Finally, foundation of new Bosnia and Herzegovina composed of two entities after the war influenced development of Bosniak nation positively because Bosniak politicians have undertaken effective political roles, posts, missions and power within government and other state apparatus since 1996. For example, Alia Izetbegovic, who had been chairman of the PDA and the Bosnian government during the war, was elected the first Bosniak President of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war.

In conclusion; Bosniak nation, as other nations, historically has been constructed and developed during centuries. Major historical events and steps which shaped and affected construction and development of Bosniak nation are as follows: (1) Islamization process in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Ottoman rule since second half of 15th century; (2) the Bosniak rebellions led by Bosniak landowners and kapetans, the commanders of fortresses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, against the Ottoman central government in 19th century; (3) armed resistance of Bosniak people against the Habsburg occupation, political opposition of Bosniak clerics and landowners against the Habsburg rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1918, and foundation of the MNO in 1906; (4) political opposition of the YMO founded in 1919 against Serbian and Croatian nationalism which oppressed Bosniaks within the First Yugoslavia; (5) ethnic cleansing implemented by the Serb Chetniks and the Croat Ustasha against Bosniaks, and therefore, fierce clashes between Bosniaks and the Chetniks and between Bosniaks and the Ustasha during the Second World War; (6) official recognition of Bosniak nation by the socialist regime as one of the six constituent nations of the Second Yugoslavia; (7) significant progress in economic, social, political and cultural status and condition of Bosniak people in the Second Yugoslavia; (8) foundation of the PDA and the MBO after collapse of the socialist regime; (9) the Bosniak armed resistance against Serbian and Croatian militarist-nationalism during the Bosnian War from April 1992 to December 1995; (10) foundation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which Bosniak politicians undertake influential political roles, posts, missions and power after the Bosnian War; (11) newspapers and periodicals published by Bosniak intellectuals, political parties and cultural associations in the periods of the Habsburg rule, the First Yugoslavia, the Second Yugoslavia and after collapse of the Second Yugoslavia. All of these historical events and factors constructed and developed contemporary Bosniak nation.

NOTES

¹ Phyllis Auty, *Yugoslavia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965), 12-15 ; John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 14-18.

² See Nijaz Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1993), 15-25 ; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 27-30 ; Nikolai Todorov, *A Short History of Bulgaria* (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1977), 20-23.

³ See Todorov, *A Short History of Bulgaria*, 39-43 ; Halil İnalçık, "The Meaning of Legacy: The Ottoman Case", in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 24 ; Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354-1804* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 50-52.

⁴ See Aydın Babuna, "Nationalism and Bosnians Muslims", *East European Quarterly* 33 (1999): 198-200.

⁵ Branislav Djudjev, Bogo Grafenauer and Jorjo Tadic, *Historija Jugoslavije* (Zagreb: Školska Knjiga, 1959), 1321.

⁶ *Bosna-Sancak Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği Bülteni* 1 (1996): 15.

⁷ L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), 236 ; Georges Castellan, *Balkanların Tarihi*, trans. Ayşegül Yaraman Başbuğ (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1995), 214-219 ; Gilles Veinstein, "Balkan Eyaletleri (1606-1774)", in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Tarihi, I: Osmanlı Devletinin doğuşundan XVIII. Yüzyılın sonuna*, ed. Robert Mantran, trans. Server Tanilli (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1995), 393-398.

⁸ Aydın Babuna, *Geçmişten Günümüze Boşnaklar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000), 18-19 ; Barbara Jelavich, *Balkan Tarihi: 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllar*, trans. İhsan Durdu et al. (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2006), 98 ; *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 6 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1992), 300-301.

⁹ See for the Bosniak rebellion and movement of 1831-1832 Ahmed S. Alicic, *Pokret za Autonomiju Bosne od 1831 do 1832* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1996).

- ¹⁰ See Tanıl Bora, *Bosna-Hersek: Yeni Dünya Düzeni'nin Av Sahası* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1994), 24-28 ; Malcolm, *Bosna*, 119-130.
- ¹¹ *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, Vol I (Zagreb: Jugoslavenski Leksikografski Zavod, 1955), 114-115 ; Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana*, 59-64.
- ¹² Toktamış Ateş, *Siyasal Tarih* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1997), 398-399 ; Fikret Karcic, *The Bosniaks and the Challenges of Modernity: Late Ottoman and Habsburg Times* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1999), 79.
- ¹³ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 29.
- ¹⁴ Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana*, 63-64, 86.
- ¹⁵ Karcic, *The Bosniaks*, 84, 119.
- ¹⁶ See Michael Palairat, *Balkan Ekonomileri, 1800-1914*, trans. Ayşe Edirne (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2000), 248-271.
- ¹⁷ Babuna, "Nationalism and Bosnian Muslims", 204-207.
- ¹⁸ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 29.
- ¹⁹ Babuna, "Nationalism and Bosnian Muslims", 208.-209.
- ²⁰ Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana*, 71-73 ; Babuna, "Nationalism and Bosnian Muslims", 211-213.
- ²¹ See Karcic, *The Bosniaks*, 140-154.
- ²² Malcolm, *Bosnia*, 148.
- ²³ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 38.
- ²⁴ Aydın Babuna, "Değişen Boşnak Kimliği Üzerine", *Toplum ve Ekonomi* 9 (1996): 72.
- ²⁵ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 37-38.
- ²⁶ See Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana*, 108-113 ; Babuna, "Değişen Boşnak Kimliği Üzerine", 72-74.
- ²⁷ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 37-38.
- ²⁸ See Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana*, 125-134.
- ²⁹ Malcolm, *Bosna*, 188.
- ³⁰ Durakovic, *Prokletstvo Muslimana*, 144.
- ³¹ See Malcolm, *Bosna*, 174-191 ; Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 39-45.
- ³² Catherine Samary, *Bosna'da Etnik Savaş*, trans. Bülent Tanatar (İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 1995), 178.
- ³³ See Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 45-47, 49, 50 ; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 332.
- ³⁴ Wolfgang Höpken, "Yugoslavia's Communists and the Bosnian Muslims", in *Muslim Communities Reemerge: Historical Perspectives on Nationality, Politics and Opposition in the Former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union*, ed. Edward Allworth (London: Duke University Press, 1994), 231-238 ; Paula Franklin Lytle, "Religion and Politics in Eastern Europe", in *Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture and Society since 1939*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 315.
- ³⁵ See Dennison Rusinow, "The Ottoman Legacy in Yugoslavia's Disintegration and Civil War", in *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 92 ; Lenard J. Cohen, "Whose Bosnia? The Politics of National Building", *Current History* 617 (1998): 103-112.
- ³⁶ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 47.
- ³⁷ Babuna, "Değişen Boşnak Kimliği Üzerine", 76-77.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.
- ³⁹ Bora, *Bosna-Hersek*, 82-84, 87.
- ⁴⁰ Tanıl Bora, *Yugoslavya: Milliyetçiliğin Provakasyonu* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1995), 215.
- ⁴¹ Aliya İzzetbegovic, *Bosna Mucizesi*, trans. Fatmanur Altun and Rıfat Ahmedoğlu (İstanbul: Yöneliş, 2003), 42, 143, 188.
- ⁴² Sabrina P. Ramet, *Thinking about Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 15.
- ⁴³ See Muhammed Filipoviç, "Bosna-Hersek'te Barışı Korumanın Koşulları", in *Bosna'da Etnik Savaş*, Catherine Samary, trans. Bülent Tanatar (İstanbul: Yazın Yayıncılık, 1995), 185-189.
- ⁴⁴ Babuna, "Değişen Boşnak Kimliği Üzerine", 80-81.
- ⁴⁵ See for these peace plans devised by Cyrus Vance - Lord David Owen and Lord David Owen - Thornvard Stoltenberg: Kasim I. Begic, *Bosna I Hercegovina Od Vanceove Misije Do Daytonskog Sporazum*, (1991-1996) (Sarajevo: Bosanska Knjiga, 1997), 109-118, 157-163 ; Dzemal Najetovic, *Britanska Politika u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (1992-1995) (Sarajevo: DES, 2008), 107-112, 124-129.
- ⁴⁶ Babuna, "Değişen Boşnak Kimliği Üzerine", 79.
- ⁴⁷ See for the Dayton Agreement and political-administrative structure of contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina: Begic, *Bosna I Hercegovina*, 287-306 ; <http://www.ohr.int/>

⁴⁸ Attila Agh, *Emerging Democracies in East Central Europe and the Balkans* (Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1998), 217-218.

⁴⁹ Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the War of Kosovo* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1999), 239.

⁵⁰ Durakovic, *Prokletsvo Muslimana*, 232.

⁵¹ Belkıs Kümbetoğlu, “Göçmen Sığınmacı Gruplardan Bir Kesit: Bulgaristan Göçmenleri ve Bosnalı Sığınmacılar”, in *Yeni Balkanlar, Eski Sorunlar*, ed. Kemali Saybaşı and Gencer Özcan (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 1997), 243-244.

⁵² See Osman Karatay, *Ba'de Harabi'l Bosna* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997), 75-97, 211, 212.

⁵³ See Smail Cekic, *The Aggression against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Sarajevo: KULT/B, 2005) ; Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 159-175 ; Durakovic, *Prokletsvo Muslimana*, 216-231.

⁵⁴ Samary, *Bosna'da Etnik Savaş*, 99.

⁵⁵ David Rieff, *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the Failure of the West* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 12.