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1. Introduction

This thesis grew out of my interest in the history of Bosnia and Hercegovina (BiH) and the people of that country. BiH is a mosaic of different religions and cultures, Jewish communities, Czech, Ukrainian, Polish and Italian minority communities as well as Roma minorities living along side the dominant south-Slavic population who are divided by religion. One part of these south-Slavic people are adherents of the Sunni Islamic faith, while the two other south-Slavic dominant people are Christians, one part of the Christians are adherents of the Catholic Church and the other part of the Christians are adherents of the Serb-Orthodox Church. All these people live together on 51 129 square kilometres of land. During the course of history BiH have been under domination of foreign powers, the Ottoman Empire ruled BiH from 1463 to 1878 when the Austro-Hungarian Empire marched in and ruled BiH from 1878 to 1918. From 1918 to 1941 BiH was a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, during the Second World War BiH was incorporated in to the Independent State of Croatia (NDH). In 1945 BiH was a republic in the Socialist Yugoslavia and in 1992 on 3 March BiH declared itself independent. This was followed by an internal strife between the south-Slavic people in BiH Serb-Orthodox population against the Muslims and Catholics, and in Hercegovina Muslims and Catholics fought fierce battles against each other in Mostar. In 1995 the internal strife stopped after the peace agreements between the battling parties in Dayton, USA.

During the internal strife during 1992 to 1995, historic events and religion was used as propaganda tools to legitimate the strife and killing. For 47 years people of BiH enjoyed tranquillity under socialist/communist dictatorship until 1992. During the internal strife all three sides used derogatory names to refer to each other the Orthodox and Muslims referred to the Catholics as Ustaše, Catholics and Muslims referred to Orthodox as Četnici while Catholics and Orthodox referred to Muslims as *Balije*. In this work I will in a broader chronological order go through the history of BiH and the Muslims population during 67 years from 1878-1945. In this thesis I will challenge the general understanding of the role of Muslims in politics through the 1878-1945 period in history.

1.1 Short background

During the last half of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire lost supreme control of the Balkan territories shortly after the Russo-Turkish war (1876-1877). The Ottoman Empire signed

the San Stefano treaty on 3 March 1878. The San Stefano treaty was an advantage for Russia to push their sphere of influence in to the Balkans and to gain access to the Mediterranean Sea through Montenegro. The treaty in short terms contained an agreement in which Bulgaria was to become an autonomous province under the formal suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan, but *de facto* under Russian protection. The whole of Macedonia and south-eastern Serbia should be attached to the autonomous province of Bulgaria and Russian troops would remain in the region to ensure that the project was carried out.¹ In the treaty the independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania should be recognised. As for BiH according to the San Stefano treaty it should be a separate province within the Ottoman Empire with internal autonomy the details of which remained unspecified.²

On 13 June 1878 at the Congress of Berlin the San Stefano treaty was ratified and the fate of BiH was decided by the European powers participating at the Congress of Berlin. During the A-H occupation and finally annexation of BiH a great deal of changes took place which affected all people in BiH. During the A-H era the Croats and Serbs tried to nationalise the Muslims of BiH mainly by intellectual polemics. On 28 June 1914 a Serb from BiH Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of A-H and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo. This assassination led to the First World War. After the First World War BiH entered a new era. BiH was incorporated in a newly created Balkan state the, kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the name was changed 1929 to kingdom of Yugoslavia when royal dictatorship was enforced. The most prominent Muslim party was formed in 1919 and participated in the “democratic” process in the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. On 6 April 1941 Germany invaded the kingdom of Yugoslavia.³ BiH was incorporated in the fascist Independent State of Croatia. The war that followed in BiH was mainly based on ethnical hatred. The partisans emerged as the winning side in this war and some of the most important battles took place in BiH were the Germans, Italians and their auxiliary forces tried to crush the partisans.

¹ Imamović 2006:183.

² Imamović 2006:183.

³ I have inserted quotation marks between the word democratic because there was no real democratic process during the reign of King Alexander I Karađorđević.

1.2 The aims of this thesis

The subject of this thesis stretches through 67 years (1878-1945) of BiH history. It is impossible to cover every detail of the events that occurred during these 67 years in this thesis. I have decided to examine events in a broader chronological order. There is an assumption among laymen that the Muslims in BiH assumed a neutral stance isolated from the polemics between the Serbs and Croats that finally escalated in genocide in the Second World War that affected all three sides and the Jewish and Roma minorities.⁴ The assumption stated above about the neutral stance among the Muslims in BiH is far from a reality. The *modi operandi* the Muslims of BiH applied during the 67 years this thesis will deal with may have been something different than the general understanding. In this thesis I will give a picture of how the Muslims in BiH acted during the Croat and Serb intellectual purge to nationalise the Muslims of BiH. I will also give an account of the views the intellectual and religious segment of Croats and Serbs had on the Muslims of BiH.

A very important component among the Muslims of BiH was Islam. During the Ottoman rule in BiH the Sultan was the Caliph and the leader of all Muslims in BiH, but the Istanbul *mufti*, as *Shaikh ul Islam* conducted all religious business.⁵ It was the *Shaikh ul Islam* in Istanbul who appointed religious officials in BiH and the BiH *mufti*. As we will see during the A-H rule the Muslims of BiH cut their ties with Istanbul and created their own religious hierarchy. I will also describe the struggle against the A-H rule concerning the *vakuf* institutions.⁶ I will also discuss the struggle to preserve the Islamic institutions and the hierarchy in the institutions throughout the interwar period and during the NDH era.

In the text of this thesis it will be clear who co-operated with whom amongst the Muslims of BiH and the animosity among some of them. The political parties that were active during the A-H period and the interwar period will also be examined in this thesis. I will portray how the political parties evolved and some of the men behind these parties. Finally, I will examine the Muslims during the Second World War, which objectives the different Muslim factions had and how the

⁴ During the Second World War the Ustaša regime organised large-scale extermination campaign against the Jews, Roma, Serbs and ideological enemies of the Ustaša regime in the extermination camp Jasenovac and sub-camps attached to Jasenovac.

⁵ I will use the Bosnian spelling when I use Islamic terminology in this work.

⁶ *Vakuf* is an inalienable religious endowment in Islamic countries.

Ustaša regime, Četnik movement, partisans, Italians and the German viewed the Muslims and the stance they took towards the Muslims.

1.3 Previous studies on the subjects

A great deal of academic study has been published concerning the three periods this study is going to deal with. However the publications in the English language are scarce and the main publications on these subjects are published in the Serbo-Croatian language. Émigré scholars of either Croatian nationality or Serb nationality living in the U.S. or visiting academics in American University's from Croatia or Serbia have written books that are available in the English language dealing with the subjects of this work. Ivo Banac and Jozo Tomasevich are examples of two émigré scholars of Croatian origin. Ivo Banac is currently professor of history at Yale University and the late Jozo Tomasevich was trained as an economist and worked at Stanford University. The late Vladimir Dedijer a Serb by origin was not an émigré scholar but visited USA frequently as an academic. Vladimir Dedijer has written a great deal about the atrocities committed during the Second World War by the Ustaša regime and Četnik units.

After the civil war in the former Yugoslavia (1991-1995) some of the works that can be found on the topics concerning the history of BiH and former Yugoslavia in general are coloured with nationalism. Although the nationalism-biased views in some works, they can contain valuable and accurate information.⁷ American scholar Robert Donia is one of the few Anglo-Americans who are specialised in the modern history of BiH.⁸ His most notable publication is *Islam under the Double Eagle: the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina, 1878-1914* (1981) dealing with the A-H rule in BiH. There are some other Anglo-American scholars who have contributed in the field of the history of BiH, John V.A. Fine, professor on the early and late medieval Balkans, Francine Friedman professor in the field of political science and the late professor of history Peter F. Sugar.

Historians and academics in different fields like law, sociology and political science in BiH have contributed with valuable works that provides information; I am going to give some examples of

⁷ There are a too many national-biased works to be mentioned here, but one example is Mustafa Imamović's work *Historija Bošnjaka* 1997. In this work Mustafa Imamović argues that the Muslims of BiH are the purest Slavic people by blood on the Balkan Peninsula.

⁸ I define the modern history of BiH from the start of A-H occupation in 1878 to the present. During the A-H era the industrialisation took off in BiH on a small scale and the administration changed from the Ottoman to the A-H administration.

academics that have contributed with valuable works. Although Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (JMO) who was the leading Muslim political party during the first half of the nineteenth century in BiH and Yugoslavia there is only one fundamental in-depth work about JMO.⁹ The work is a Ph.D. dissertation from 1972 by the late Atif Purivatra; the second edition was published 1977 bearing the same title as the Ph.D. dissertation: *Jugoslovenska Muslimanska Organizacija U Političkom Životu Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* 1977. According to Purivatra the larger part of information about the JMO can be found in documents scattered among private collectors, family members of former JMO members, newspapers printed during the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and JMO: s party organs *Pravda*, *Glasnik JMO* and *Novi Glasnik JMO*.¹⁰ The historian Enver Redžić has written a great deal about BiH in the Second World War, only one book has been translated to English. The work translated to English is *Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Second World War* (2005). There have been some critical voices against Redžić and his works dealing with BiH during the Second World War and the interwar period.¹¹

I have acquired some information through e-mail with academic scholars. Some of these individuals have also helped me and pointed out to me which books that contain valuable information. I will mention briefly two of the people I have been in touch with. Zlatko Hasanbegović he is a Ph.D. candidate, his area of competence is the Muslims of BiH from 1878-1945. George Lepre is a military historian from USA and has written the book *Himmler's Bosnian Division: The Waffen-SS Handschar Division 1943-1945* (1997) dealing with the Muslim SS-Division during the Second World War.

⁹ Atif Purivatra's work deals with JMO from 1919 up to 1929. Ph.D. candidate Zlatko Hasanbegović at the Institute of Social Science Ivo Pilar in Zagreb is working on a dissertation dealing with the JMO from 1929 up to 1941. Zlatko Hasanbegović explained to me in an e-mail correspondence that his work is a follow up on Purivatra's work that will complete a closure on the history of JMO. Our e-mail correspondence took place during 2007 and I have the correspondence saved and can provide them on request.

¹⁰ Purivatra 1977:8.

¹¹ In my e-mail correspondences with Zlatko Hasanbegović he stated that Redžić in his opinion is a communist stooge and has worked in the interests of the former Yugoslav communist party and moulded the history in the Yugoslav communist party's interests. In my e-mail correspondences with the military historian George Lepre he stated that although Redžić's past as a partisan and communist he has contributed with valuable documents about the Bosnian SS-Handschar Division. He also stated that there is no reason to dismiss Redžić altogether just on the basis of his past as a partisan and communist. Our e-mail correspondence took place during 2006 and 2007 and I have the correspondence saved and can provide them on request.

1.4 Never forget the past

The Swedish historian Sanimir Resic writes the following words: “In the Balkan history, myths and legends are a very important tool in the hands of rulers. History is used to legitimate territorial claims and nationalistic politics.”¹² Though Resic do not mention religion it is as important as history in the Balkans and especially in BiH. The Balkans myths and legends are interwoven in to real historic events, these myths and legends interwoven in the historical events become as real as the historical events to the Slavic laymen in the Balkans. History among the Slavic people in the Balkans is ethnocentric; neighbouring people’s history is not important and usually neglected. The myths and legends mixed with historic events are past down mainly oral, from one generation to another. During the Ottoman period the three larger Slavic people of BiH set them self apart by religion, Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox. Thus Catholics became synonymous with Croat and Orthodox became synonymous with Serb. The Muslims of BiH have viewed them selves as Bosnians, descended from the Slavic people living in BiH. The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi who travelled trough BiH, Serbia and Croatia mentions the word *Bošnjak-milleti* when he travelled through the Serbian town of Rudnik, that means Bosnian Muslims thus *Bošnjak* means Bosnian.¹³ Meanwhile the Ottomans called all people no matter their confession or ethnicity from BiH *Bošnjak-taifesi*.

Among the Serbs there is one historic event that overshadows all other historic events. This historic event that is so special to the Serbian people is the battle at Field of the Blackbirds (*Kosovo Polje*) this battle took place on 15 June 1389 according to the Julian calendar and is celebrated on Vidovdan (St. Vitus’ Day) 28 June according to the Gregorian calendar which is used by the Serb-Orthodox Church.¹⁴ During the Ottoman advances in the Balkans the Serbian prince Lazar Hrebeljanović and his allies Bosnian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Romanian and Czechs soldiers fought this battle against the Ottomans.¹⁵ Both sides suffered heavy casualties and neither side won and the Ottoman advance was halted for a short time. Lazar Hrebeljanović was taken prisoner and executed by the Ottomans. The Ottoman Sultan Murad I

¹² Resic 2006:15.

¹³ Čelebi 1997:379.

¹⁴ Vidovdan (St. Vitus’ Day) is a significant among the Serbs; on 28 June 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand of A-H was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip a Bosnian Serb. On 28 June 1921 King Alexander I proclaimed a new constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

¹⁵ Gerolymatos 2002:23. Even some detachments of Croatian troops precipitated in the battle at Kosovo Polje.

was killed by a Serbian knight by the name of Miloš Obilić during the battle. Lazar Hrebeljanović has been exalted to a tsar and a martyr.¹⁶ The Ottomans and the Ottoman religion i.e. Islam would be seen as the eternal foe of the Serbian people. The Serbian people have the view that at the battle of *Kosovo Polje* the Serbian people defended Europe and Christianity from the Ottoman onslaught.

The horrible event of (1941-1945) were the Ustaša regime tried to exterminate the Serbian minority living in Croatia and BiH is a significant historical event for the Serbian minority in Croatia, they have looked at Serbia as the motherland and defender of their rights. The Serbs have looked up on the Muslims of BiH as Serbs but as traitors who converted to Islam, which reminded them of the Ottomans. The solution according to the Serb nationalists was that the Muslims of BiH returned to the religion of their forefathers i.e. Serbian-orthodox Christianity, or moved to Asia i.e. Ottoman Empire.

Among the Croatians there are two historic events that are important to them. Firstly there is the Bleiburg massacre that occurred in May 1945. This historic event was brought forth in the late 1980's during the nationalistic awakening after the communist era. During the breakdown of the NDH thousands of civilians, homeguard and Ustaša soldiers was fleeing the partisan troops that were advancing towards Zagreb. In the town of Bleiburg in Austria close to the border of Slovenia the partisans conducted a massacre on civilians, homeguard soldiers and Ustaša members. Approximately 50.000 people were killed in this massacre by the partisans. Croatian nationalists view this massacre as the work of "Serb-communists".¹⁷

The second subject deals with Croatian territorial claims on BiH, this subject is rather complex, but in short terms according to Croatian nationalists BiH is the ancient homeland of Croatian people. According to the Croatian nationalists the BiH royal house of Kotromanić was Catholics and thus Croats. The Bosnian Church was a Bogomil Church that was an offshoot of the Catholic Church who wanted to hold the liturgy in Slavic language rather than Latin language. These bogomils converted *en masse* to Islam during the Ottoman occupation of BiH; thus the Muslims in BiH are ethnically Croats of the Islamic faith.¹⁸

¹⁶ Resic 2006:44. Lazar Hrebeljanović was canonised as a saint in the Serb-Orthodox Church in the 1390s.

¹⁷ Resic 2006:16.

¹⁸ See Fine, John V. A. *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation: A Study of the Bosnian Church and Its Place in state and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*. 2007 on the complexity of the Bosnian Church. For the Croatian nationalistic territorial claim on BiH there are two lectures from 1927 by the Croatian politician and lawyer Ivo Pilar presented to the sociological society in Zagreb that sheds some light on the arguments for the claim on BiH.

The historic events that are important to the Muslims of BiH are the massacres of Muslims during the Second World War approximately 75.000 died which is 8.1 percent of their total population.¹⁹ Četnik units committed the larger part of the killing and atrocities during the Second World War. Shortly after the First World War the Serbian population under the protection of Serbian police and army went on a rampage and smashed shops belonging to Muslims, assaulted Muslim population, robbed houses belonging to Muslims and killed Muslims, how many exactly is hard to estimate. The Muslims started to stress their nationality when JMO was formed. The 5 November 1919 the party organ *Hrvat* (The Croat) of Croatian Union (HZ) a Croat autonomism party published an article by JMO member Sakib Korkut. In this article Korkut wrote about the Muslims that they were pure descendants of Bosnian “Patarins” and King Tvrtko, in his opinion the purest part of Croat and Serb people. Unlike the Serbs like Pribićević, who was a refugee from the mountains of Black Wallachia, their blood was, in Korkuts words, pure Slavic.²⁰

The first lecture was given on 10 February 1927 with the title: ‘Bogomilstvo kao religiozni problem’. The second lecture was given on 10 March 1927 with the title: ‘Bogomilstvo kao socijalni i politički problem’. The author of this thesis has both lectures in printed version and can provide them on request. Ivo Pilar was born in Zagreb, he studied law in Vienna and Paris, he moved to BiH in 1905 and opened his law practice in Tuzla. Ivo Pilar became active in politics and was a stern critic of the Catholic Church in BiH; he concluded that there were difference in interests of the Catholics in BiH and the Catholic Church’s interests.

¹⁹ Malcolm 2002:192.

²⁰ Banac 1984:372. Banac cites page 4 of *Hrvat*. The title of the article is “Stanovište bosanskih muslimana.” The members and clergy of the Bosnian Church were called Patarins in documents found in Dubrovnik. King Tvrtko I Kotromanić was the ruler of BiH from 1353 to 1391. Svetozar Pribićević was a politician and Serb from Croatia; he was an outspoken proponent of unitaristic Yugoslavia. He later became a bitter opponent and critic of the dictatorship of King Alexander I Karađorđević. Svetozar Pribićević died in exile 1936 in Prague.

2 Theoretical framework and method

In this chapter I will present the method and theoretical framework I will use in this thesis. In the case of Bosnian Muslims the political awakening during the A-H rule do not resemble the typical Eastern European nationalist revival. The political movements was not preceded by social changes like rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and a rise of large scale literacy that have been presented as a contributing cause to rise of political nationalism.²¹ In the beginning of the A-H occupation the Muslims in BiH lacked an ideological platform and coherent policies. But most of all there was no political personality and leader they could gather around. This would change when the JMO was formed the most known and prominent leader would emerge during the interwar period and this person was Mehmed Spaho. The Muslims from all walks of life gathered shortly after the First World War and the JMO was formed, but this gathering of Muslims was not planned in detail to form a solely Muslim party. We will examine later in the thesis why the Muslims of BiH gathered to form a political Muslim party.

I will use the qualitative research as a method in this thesis. Qualitative research can be used as in this case to study the life of persons, factions and organisations and how these factions and organisations operate. By using the qualitative research as method it is useful when studying persons, but we can not penetrate the minds of the persons we are studying since in this case some of the persons never left any written documents, this can lead to subjectivity.²²

2.1 Social networks and social brokers

The main method to examine the BiH Muslims during the 67 years this thesis deals with is in the light of social networks. To do so I have applied the anthropologist Jeremy Boissevain's work: *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions* (1974). According to Boissevain, social relations in which every individual is embedded may be viewed as a network.²³ Boissevain explains that each person or individual can be viewed as a star from which lines radiate to points, some of which are connected to each other.²⁴ The central person who are connected to these so-called points i.e. persons can be classed as a first order of primary network zone. But the persons in the first order network zone have contact with persons whom they can put the central person in contact with whom he does not know. This means that the central person

²¹ Donia 1981:xii.

²² Donia 1981:181f.

²³ Boissevain 1974:24.

²⁴ Boissevain 1974:24.

have access to a second order of network zone. The persons in the second order of the network zone can put the central person in contact with persons whom he does not know. And the network zone can expand so that the central person has access to a third order of network zone. The central person can expand his network zone to the fourth and fifth network zone. Boissevain suggests that the network can be seen as a communication channel where news flows between the persons in the network as well as the first order, second order and so on.²⁵ But the amount and volume of information that flows between the persons depends on the links between the individuals in this chain of networks.

Kinship, occupation, power, education, geographical and social mobility is important for social networks. If we first examine the occupation it is very clear that a teacher and a small farmer have very different social network as Boissevain claims. A small farmers network is usually other small farmers with whom he exchanges tools and labour, agricultural experts from the department of Agriculture or the extension service, the commercial contacts he must maintain with persons from whom he buys seeds or live stock and those to whom he sells his products.²⁶ The teacher on the other hand has a network that consists of pupils/students and their parents, fellow teachers, supervisory and administrative personnel of the department or the educational system in which he works.²⁷ I suggest that the teacher also have influence on his network of pupils/students in shaping their mindset and mode of thought. Power can be based on many factors; wealth and occupation can be two of the factors. These people with power tend to have a larger first order of network zone. The powerful persons have high social visibility and are included in the networks of less powerful than the other way around. Kinship is important network, moral, norms and values are important in these kinds of networks. I argue that in kinship network religion is also important depending on religion, in this case Islam we are going to see further below that networking took place during for example Islamic holidays.

A social broker is a person who places people in touch with each other directly or indirectly.²⁸ But a broker do not place people in touch with each other for free, the broker expects a favour directly, indirectly or in the future. A broker must have a highly functional social

²⁵ Boissevain 1974:25.

²⁶ Boissevain 1974:84.

²⁷ Boissevain 1974:84.

²⁸ Boissevain 1974:148.

network to make people come in touch with each other. A social broker can also help people gain recourse through his channels in his network.²⁹

I will provide a simplified version how a social broker may operate, a person lets call him or her person A. Person A is a speech writer and needs a parking lot for his or her car in downtown of city Z near his or her working place, but person A have been informed that he or she must wait on a long list to obtain a parking lot in the particular area. Person A knows person B who knows person C who is head of the parking administration in city Z. Person B may be in debt to person A because person A have helped person B to write a draft for a speech person B held on a political meeting. Person B contacts person C who is in debt to person B because person B have helped person C to reach his or her post as head of the parking administration with his or her political influence or by his or her network in the City Council of city Z. Person B explains to person C his or her problem and in matter of one-week person A receives permit to use the parking lot in downtown of city Z near his or her working place.

It may also work in another order if we examine the simplified problem above it may work in this order explained next. Person A knows that person B can help her or him. Person A contact person B who contacts person C who provides the parking lot to person A. Person A is in debt to person B who person B may cash in with a favour in the future. Person B may get contacted by person C who needs help with a draft for a speech at the parking administration he or she should deliver and person B knows person A who is a speech writer. Person B contacts person A and cashes in the debt. Person B may also cash in the debt for him self. This simplified example should be seen as a simplified example. A social broker's interest is to have many clients in his network that is in debt to him or her in this way he or she can cash in the debt for his or her personal use.

²⁹ Boissevain 1974:147.

3 The Balkan question

In 1876 Serbia declared war on the Ottoman Empire. Soon the Russian Empire was drawn in to the war. The Russo-Turkish war (1876-1877) was a major setback for the Ottoman Empire. The main target for the Russian army was to conquer the town of Plevna (present-day Pleven in Bulgaria). 1877 on 10 December the Ottomans surrendered after six months siege of Plevna. The Russian army was as exhausted as their counterpart the Ottoman army. After the fall of Plevna the Serbian army advanced and conquered seven towns and increased Serbian territory.³⁰ After the truce of Edirne the Russians pushed the Ottomans to peace talks to protect their interests in the Balkans. Thus on 3 March 1878 the San Stefano treaty was signed. The terms of San Stefano treaty was as follows, Bulgaria was to become an autonomous principality under the formal suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan, but *de facto* under Russian protection.³¹ The whole of Macedonia was to be attached to Bulgaria and south-eastern Serbia (Pirot and Vranje) which Serbian army conquered after the fall of Plevna. As mentioned above BiH was to be a separate province within the Ottoman Empire with internal autonomy the details of which remained unspecified.³² Montenegro, Serbia and Romania were to be independent states. Great Britain on the other hand looked up on this treaty as a threat too its interests; this treaty would bring Russia closer to Istanbul and the straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles thereby a threat to Great Britain's interests in the Near and Middle East. A-H Empire also looked up on the treaty as a threat to their empire. If BiH were to be internal autonomy within the Ottoman Empire it would be an opening door for Serbia to advance and occupy BiH and create a South Slave state that could be a threat to A-H land possessions like Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, which bordered with BiH. Alarmed by the scenario Great Britain and A-H backed by Germany called for new negotiations, exhausted by the Russo-Turkish war Russia was inclined to convene in Berlin that was to take place in June 1878. Prior to the planned meeting in Berlin there was secret negotiations, the Anglo-Austrian agreement was made when, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli promised A-H that Great Britain would support A-H on any proposition with respect to BiH which A-H should make at the congress in Berlin.³³ But A-H would have to give Great Britain assurance to back Great Britain against Russia, particularly in her design for the formation of a Greater Bulgaria and her claims in

³⁰ Imamović 2005:182. The seven towns the Serbian army conquered were Palanka, Pirot, Niš, Vranje, Toplica, Kosanica and Jablanica.

³¹ Imamović 2006:183.

³² Imamović 2006:183.

³³ Dedijer 1966:55.

Asia. Great Britain moved to negotiations with the Ottoman Empire to give up BiH, Great Britain was also able to obtain Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire, Great Britain agreed to pay tribute of £ 98 000 per year to use the island, strengthening Great Britain's strategic positions in the Near East.³⁴ In the negotiations between Russia and A-H, Russia agreed that the Ottoman Empire would give up BiH to A-H but opposed that A-H would expand their territory in to Macedonia and Albania.

On 13 June 1878 the great European powers meet in Berlin.³⁵ The BiH question appeared on the agenda on 28 June, the first speaker on this matter was the A-H foreign minister Gyula Andrassy. Andrassy stressed that the Ottoman Empire had not been able to solve the agrarian problem in BiH, the Muslims owned all the land while the majority population the Christians were tenant farmers and labourers, he also indirectly stressed that A-H would not tolerate the unification of the South Slave states.³⁶ Great Britain and Germany backed Andrassy, the Ottoman delegates protested that A-H would occupy BiH but under the pressure from Germany and England there was agreement reached that the sovereign rights of the Sultan would not suffer any diminution as a result of the A-H occupation of BiH.³⁷ When the congress closed on the 13 July and the Berlin treaty was signed Andrassy sent a telegram to the A-H emperor Franz Josef, in the telegram Andrassy was concerned with the difficult question whatever the BiH should be included in Austria or Hungary. In the telegram Andrassy follows up with the aims for the future of BiH he states: "(...) Austria would attain her aims, the annexation would come about naturally in course of time, and could be proclaimed by the inhabitants."³⁸ The preparations for the occupation of BiH was planned before the treaty of Berlin was signed, on June 8 a special credit of 60 millions gulden received a parliamentary approval for the occupation and the next day the emperor Franz Josef gave the order for partial mobilisation.³⁹ On July 29 the first A-H troops

³⁴ Dedijer 1966:55.

³⁵ The European powers that participated in Berlin were England, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, A-H, Ottoman Empire, and delegates from Greece, Serbia, Romania and Montenegro. Plans to occupy BiH and annex it was already discussed 1869 by Gyula Andrassy and Benjamin von Kállay who was consul general at Belgrade. At this meeting both Andrassy and Kállay reached the conclusion that they did not wish to add more Slavs to the population of A-H especially in region, which bordered on the lands of the Hungarian Crown. See Sugar 1963:20.

³⁶ Dedijer 1966:58.

³⁷ Dedijer 1966:62.

³⁸ Dedijer 1966:62. Dedijer cites HHSTA (Haus-Hof-Staatsarchiv, Vienna), PA III, *Berliner Kongress*, 115.

³⁹ Bencze 2005:60.

crossed the border of BiH. When the A-H forces crossed the border there were 1 160 000 inhabitants in BiH 45 0000 were Muslims, 50 0000 Greek Orthodox and 21 0000 Catholics.⁴⁰

3.1 Uprising against the occupation

The Muslims in BiH knew that the Ottoman era in BiH approached to its end. Late in May 1878 lower and middle-class Muslims in Sarajevo started to agitate for an armed resistance to an A-H take-over. A petition was drawn up and circulated in Sarajevo requesting that all Christian officials in Sarajevo should be dismissed from local Ottoman administration, that *sharia* law should become the exclusive law of the land and that all groups in BiH should unite to repel any foreign invasion.⁴¹ The wealthy Muslim landowners found out of this petition and rushed to demand negotiations with the lower and middle-class leaders to modify the requests in the petition. Among the wealthy landowners there was members of the provincial Council and Sarajevo city Council, they feared that the demands and radical actions from the lower and middle-class would threaten their positions and power in society. The landlords succeeded to modify some of the requests in the petition, but more important was the agreement to form an assembly who was to meet in early June. On 10 June 1878 the assembly met and took the name of Peoples Assembly (*Narodni odbor*). The Peoples Assembly soon also included all larger ethnic groups in Sarajevo, Ottoman authorities in Sarajevo did not object to the formation of the Peoples Assembly counting on that the wealthy landlords would stifle the revoluntary impulses of the lower and the middle-class. The landlords dominated the Peoples Assembly and they ignored calls for organised military resistance to foreign invasion.⁴²

On 3 July information arrived in Sarajevo that BiH had been awarded to A-H. On 4 July two Imams, Hadji Jamaković and Hadji Loja mobilised the Sarajevo lower and middle-class, all shops in the city were closed and the crowd assembled in Gazi Husrev-beg mosque in downtown Sarajevo. After Morning Prayer Imam Loja delivered a speech to the assembled crowd, he accused the leaders in Istanbul of having given up BiH to A-H. Loja called for an uprising against the Ottoman authorities in BiH and that the people should defend their country.⁴³ Frightened by the angry mob the most prominent and wealthy landlords in the Peoples Assembly withdrew

⁴⁰ Bencze 2005:77.

⁴¹ Donia 1981:42.

⁴² Donia 1981:42.

⁴³ Bencze 2005:83.

from the assembly. The crowd marched to the government house in Sarajevo; stirred up by Loja the crowd demanded the resignation of the Ottoman army commander in BiH Veli Pasha. Veli Pasha resigned to keep the crowd quiet. Ismet Uznić replaced Veli Pasha temporarily. Loja and Jamaković forced the governor Mashar Pasha to recall the Peoples Assembly. The new Peoples Assembly consisted of 50 members, 30 were Muslims, 15 Orthodox, 3 Jewish and 2 Catholics. Loja and Jamaković also joined the Peoples Assembly; this body would be the directing organisation of the Sarajevo movement.⁴⁴ On July 12 the Ottoman Hafiz Pasha arrived in Sarajevo to replace Ismet Uznić as the army commander of BiH he was followed by the *mufti* Mehmed Nureddin Semšikadić, the crowd in Sarajevo greeted Semšikadić with rejoicing.⁴⁵ The Peoples Assembly held a joint session the following day where Semšikadić made a speech where he said if the foreign army i.e. A-H occupied BiH the Muslims would be forced to leave their homes. He also stated that Albania, Serbia and Montenegro would rush to aid BiH in the armed resistance. Semšikadić urged *jihad* against A-H in which all, no matter of social or economic status must participate, he also proposed that anyone opposed to the resistance should be banished and their house should be set on fire.⁴⁶ The assembly decided to go along with Semšikadić proposals.

On 26 July an A-H messenger arrived in Sarajevo; he delivered the message that was very short. The message stated that A-H troops would start to advance into BiH and they wanted to ensure tranquillity and order. They also wanted to reduce the misery and violence among the Christian peasants. The traditions would be respected by the A-H and the Ottoman laws would be in effect until new ones were set up by A-H, this message was distributed in Sarajevo among the people. Next day, enraged by the message, thousands of men some of them armed gathered around the Gazi Husrev-beg mosque. Mashar Pasha and Hafiz Pasha immediately sent troops to secure the police station, government palace, telegraph and the A-H consulate.

Loja and Jamaković led the crowd that had gathered around Gazi Husrev-beg mosque to the government palace, Hafiz Pasha tried to calm down the crowd, but it was pointless. The enraged crowd headed for the door of the palace; the soldiers posted outside the government palace fired

⁴⁴ Bencze 2005:84.

⁴⁵ Bencze 2005:84. Mehmed Nureddin Semšikadić is also known by his nickname the dragon from Sandžak, (Zmaj od Sandžaka), he was the *mufti* of the municipality Pljevlja located in Sandžak, northern Montenegro. Sandžak is the name of an area highly populated by Bosniaks, 6 municipalities are located in Serbia and 6 are located in Montenegro. Semšikadić was the resistance commander during the A-H invasion in eastern BiH; he also mobilised Albanian volunteers and Bosniaks from Sandžak who fought against A-H army in BiH.

⁴⁶ Bencze 2005:84.

warning shoots but this did not scare the crowd. In the turmoil outside the government palace the soldier fired in the crowd and the crowd fired back. In the afternoon BiH soldiers stationed in Sarajevo joined the uprising and were followed by the Ottoman soldiers stationed in Sarajevo. Mashar Pasha and Hafiz Pasha surrendered to the uprising crowd and soldiers. The crowd approved an organisation of the uprising and formation of territorial leaders of a government. Hafiz Pasha who was prisoner was released and made as a head of government because the territorial leaders who was positive to the uprising wanted to keep the legal continuity and maintenance of nominal relations with Istanbul.⁴⁷ Jamaković and Ismail-beg Tašlidža became the commanders of the BiH armed forces, Loja and the rich Sarajevo merchant Petro Petrović who was Orthodox formed alliance among a smaller part of Orthodox population that Petrović managed to gather against the A-H. The Orthodox who joined this alliance was mainly city dwellers and Orthodox peasants living nearby the Sarajevo area.

The news about the uprising and formation of temporary government in Sarajevo reached the city of Mostar in Hercegovina. There were some voices raised to organise a local government and military to resist the A-H. The Ottoman garrison commander in Mostar, Ali Pasha, had orders from Istanbul to maintain order in the city and to hand over the city to A-H troops smoothly. On August 2 the crowd, mainly poor refugee Muslims from Nikšić (Montenegro) who suffered hard due to the heavy Ottoman taxation started an uprising led by Hamfić-aga and Ali Haljevac.⁴⁸ The crowd marched to the government palace; in the Mostar garrison there were 6 battalions, a battalion made up of Bosniaks joined the uprising and was joined by another two battalions. The battalions and the crowd attacked the government palace, in the fighting the *mufti* of Mostar was killed by the crowd as well as one official and the governor of Hercegovina; Ali Pasha was able to escape and headed towards the A-H troops to save himself. The Catholic and Orthodox population of Mostar joined the uprising after the government palace was stormed. The populace plundered the ammunition stores and took weapons and occupied public buildings. As in the case of Sarajevo the crowd approved the formation of local leaders and formed a local military force. Alijaga Hamzić was chosen as military leader and commanded 4500 soldiers, Ali Haljevac as governor of civil matters. The uprising in Mostar came too late; the formation of local leadership and the military force was hasty and badly organised. On 5 August the A-H troops marched in

⁴⁷ Bencze 2005:86.

⁴⁸ Bencze 2005:86.

Mostar; there was no resistance at all. The main task for the A-H troops was to defeat insurgency groups in Hercegovina and outside the Mostar area.

When the A-H troops crossed the river Sava in north Bosnia on 29 July telegraph messages from the city of Bosanska Gradiška and Bosanski Brod started to arrive in Sarajevo. The BiH forces approximately numbered 55 000 Muslims and 6000 Orthodox, these men made up the regular troops while several thousands volunteers from Albania and Sandžak made up the irregular units and there was also unknown number of guerrilla units.⁴⁹ The A-H army used 250 000 soldiers for the occupation of BiH.⁵⁰ The A-H troops marched in to Sarajevo on 19 August, but the last major resistance in BiH was crushed on 20 October. The casualties on the A-H side were 945 dead soldiers and officers, 3980 wounded and 272 missing in action.⁵¹ There is no numbers on the casualties on the BiH troops, 600 prisoners of war among the BiH troops was sent to Olomuc prison camp approximately 279 km from Prague, the prisoners were released at the end of 1879.⁵²

3.2 Austro-Hungarian era and the changes in Bosnia-Hercegovina

The first thing that A-H Empire installed in BiH was court-martial law. This was already installed in the city of Doboj on 4 August 1878 by the order of the A-H General Josip Filipović. The A-H authorities would reward the wealthy landowners in Sarajevo and their supporters who withdrew from the uprising and participation in it. The first thing A-H General Filipović did was to order a creation a Peoples Council; this Council was created on 20 August. In this Council there were 18 members appointed by the A-H government, there were 5 Muslims, 6 Orthodox, 4 Jews and 3 Catholics. The A-H government could dismiss the appointed members of the Peoples Council and prosecute them if they did not fulfil their obligations.⁵³ The members of the Council were not paid for their function because the membership in the Council was to be regarded as an honorary office. The main task of the Council was to provide the support for the A-H army. The A-H army seized 10 mosques and 200 homes only in Sarajevo for military use. The Council was to announce the new laws as they were made up for BiH, care for feeding and quartering the A-H

⁴⁹ Bencze 2005:101.

⁵⁰ Resic 2006:145.

⁵¹ Imamović 1997:352.

⁵² Imamović 1997:352.

⁵³ Donia 1981:44. The prosecution would be conducted by the Ottoman laws or the A-H military laws because there were no civil laws in BiH directly after the occupation, new set of civil laws were to be created for BiH because the ethno religious complexity in the BiH.

troops, tend for horses, corporate in collection of taxes, insure public order and security of persons and property, manage public services such as sanitation, water, public health, fire and schools.⁵⁴

The first problem the A-H Empire had to deal with was whether to assign BiH to Austria or Hungary, making BiH a Crown land solved this problem. Making BiH a Crown land meant that neither Austria nor Hungary ruled BiH, instead they ruled it together.⁵⁵ A joint commission was set up under the common Ministry of Finance, in theory the military governor was the highest authority in BiH and responsible directly to the Crown, but it was the Ministry of Finance who made all the policies. Benjamin von Kállay replaced the military governor in 1882 when he was appointed as the Imperial minister of finance and administration of BiH. Kállay held this post for 21 years and was succeeded by István von Burián. During the A-H rule significant changes occurred in BiH. BiH consisted of 7 *sandžaks* (provinces) these were Sarajevo, Travnik, Banja Luka, Mostar, Tuzla, Bihać and Yeni Pazar.⁵⁶ The A-H kept the Ottoman *sandžaks* as they were the only things the A-H officials did was rename it from *sandžaks* to the German word *Kreise*.⁵⁷ Although the Ottoman civil laws were kept in the beginning of the occupation these civil laws were phased out slowly and replaced by civil laws created by A-H officials. The A-H Supreme Court started operating on 7 July 1879 in Sarajevo along side the Supreme Court in Sarajevo there were county courts operating of which there were 48.⁵⁸ The customs borders between A-H and BiH was abolished while customs borders were set up on the border of Serbia, Montenegro and Ottoman Empire.⁵⁹ On 1 March 1880 A-H prohibited circulations of Ottoman copper coins and paper money, but permitted the circulation of Ottoman gold and silver coins. During the Ottoman period the roads in BiH were built mainly for military purpose and were often in bad shape.⁶⁰ The A-H Empire invested a huge amount of money to build a well-organised infrastructure in BiH. In 1907 there was approximately 1000 kilometres of main roads and the same of local roads together with 121 bridges.⁶¹ These roads were used extensively by the A-H

⁵⁴ Donia 1981:44.

⁵⁵ Malcolm 2002:137.

⁵⁶ Imamović 2006:201. Yeni Pazar is the same as Sandžak. See explanation in note 36 about Sandžak. This province was not included in the A-H Empire but the A-H Empire was allowed to keep one garrison in the city of Novi Pazar that was the largest city in the province Sandžak.

⁵⁷ Pinson 1996:119.

⁵⁸ Imamović 2006:201.

⁵⁹ Imamović 2006:209. Sandžak was a part of the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁰ Bencze 2005:71.

⁶¹ Malcolm 2002:141.

troops. Companies and firms transporting raw material and processed materials also used the roads. The roads made it possible for the of A-H officials to reach remote places in BiH to execute their duties. The mobile ability of rural people also improved and made it possible for them to visit the urban centres more frequently.

The railroads was introduced in BiH by the A-H Empire, the first railroad track was built by A-H soldiers 1878-1879 from Bosanski Brod to Zenica this track was 190 kilometres long and was used mainly by the A-H military.⁶² Three years later the Bosanski Brod–Zenica railroad track was extended to Sarajevo, at the end of 1907 there was 111 kilometres of railway in BiH. During the A-H occupation heavy industries were built in BiH the main concentration was the mining industries. All mines in BiH was the monopoly of the A-H government except one small coal mine near the city of Mostar which was leased in 1888 to the company Wenzel and Eduard Beran.⁶³ Mining of salt was important enterprise in BiH for the A-H Empire and the main city for mining salt was the city of Tuzla. The main mining sites in BiH were Zenica, Banja Luka, Prijedor, Tuzla, Kreka, Ugljevik, Vareš and Kakanj. In addition to the mines the A-H established ironworks plants at Vareš and Zenica. During the A-H period 4 chemical plants was established in BiH and all of them was owned by private businessmen these chemical plants were large, with modern equipment. The first chemical plant was established near the small town of Lukavac 1894 producing ammonia.⁶⁴ In 1895 a soda producing plant was established near Lukavac. At the town of Teslić a chemical plant was set up in 1897, they manufactured wood alcohol, methanol, acetate of lime, turpentine, charcoal, tar oil and acetone. In 1899 there were 300 employees at the Teslić plant and rose up to 3500 in 1915.⁶⁵ There is very little information about the electrochemical plant Bosniche Elektrizitäts A.G. in Jajce; it is known that Bosniche Elektrizitäts A.G. was using the waterfall in Jajce to run the plant.

Wood was the main material in BiH, of the 19 768 square miles of the territory of BiH 9 864 square miles was covered with forest. In the early stage of A-H domination in BiH wood was manly used to infrastructure constructions, later the wood became an export material.⁶⁶ Businessmen from A-H Empire and Germany established factories in BiH that was producing

⁶² Sugar 1963:44.

⁶³ Sugar 1963:102.

⁶⁴ Sugar 1963:113.

⁶⁵ Sugar 1963:119.

⁶⁶ Sugar 1963:129-133. In 1898, 739 240 kilograms of wood was exported the quantity rose to 5 359 898 kilograms by 1911. The forestry occupied approximately 20 000 workers in BiH during the A-H domination.

products using wood as raw material such as matches; at Zenica a large paper mill was established. Textile industries and tannery industries were also established early during the A-H occupation of BiH.

During the Ottoman domination of BiH before the A-H occupation 120 officials governed BiH, when A-H occupied BiH the era of bureaucracy began. In 1881 there were 600 officials in BiH, 1897 there was 7379 officials and by 1908 there were 9533 officials in BiH.⁶⁷ A printer from Vojvodina set up the first printing shop in Sarajevo in 1866; the shop mainly printed schoolbooks and material for the government.⁶⁸ With the A-H occupation and influx of officials the printing press became an essential tool for the bureaucracy. Wealthy persons could also import the printing press for business or personal usage. In BiH 90 percent of the population was illiterate, as late as 1910 one tenth of school-age children had the good fortune to attend school.⁶⁹ Thought the illiteracy was high in BiH some persons were granted scholarship by the A-H Empire to study in Germany and Austria. New ideas were brought back to BiH on politics, economy, poetry and philosophy when the persons who studied in Germany and Austria returned back to BiH. Some of the persons who studied abroad and would become notable in the political and cultural life in BiH were Osman Nuri Hadžić, Ivo Andrić, Safvet-beg Bašagić, Husejn Đogo Dubravić, Osman Đikić and Mehmed Spaho. During the A-H rule buildings in BiH towns altered the oriental physiognomy. The architecture on the public buildings was built in the so-called Moorish style.⁷⁰ Some of the public buildings that were built during the A-H domination in BiH still can be viewed in Sarajevo. These buildings are the National library that was the town hall during the A-H domination, the National Museum of BiH, the first university building today faculty of law and the offices of the central railway administration today the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁷¹

3.3 Islamic institutions in Bosnia-Hercegovina during the Austro-Hungarian rule

As mentioned above the A-H Empire declared that the Ottoman laws should be followed until the new A-H laws created for BiH was to be presented. During the Ottoman rule in BiH there were two systems of law operating beside each other and the judges (*kadis*) administrated both systems

⁶⁷ Sugar 1963:29.

⁶⁸ Pinson 1996:90.

⁶⁹ Dedijer 1974:454.

⁷⁰ Lovrenović 2001:153.

⁷¹ Lovrenović 2001:154f.

of law. Firstly there was the sharia; the Muslim Canon law based on the Koran and the *hadith*.⁷² The second law was *Örf*, the secular law that was a mixture of *fermanlar*, which were the orders of the sultan that automatically became laws. *Kānunlar* the traditional practices of the Sultan and their courts and local laws and practices which the conquering Sultan confirmed in their first *fermanlar* after occupying a new province.⁷³ Each *kānun* was valid only for the lifetime of the issuing Sultan and only in the province for which it had been issued. Each Sultan could on his accession reaffirm the *kānunlar* of his predecessors; each province acquired a collection of these laws called *kānunnameler*. During the A-H domination of BiH some of the *kānunlar* was never changed and was part of the A-H legislation in BiH. The A-H officials allowed the sharia courts to function in BiH these courts was allowed to deal with family and inheritance laws for the Muslim population, the supreme court in Sarajevo had its associated court of appeal, the supreme sharia court (*Scheriatsobergericht*).⁷⁴

The Ottoman Sultan in Istanbul was the spiritual leader of all Muslims in BiH, but the Istanbul *mufti*, as *Shaikh ul Islam* conducted all religious businesses. It was the *Shaikh ul Islam* in Istanbul who appointed religious officials in BiH and the BiH *mufti*. According to A-H–Ottoman agreement the Muslims in BiH were allowed to display the green flag with the yellow crescent and star that was the Ottoman religious flag and according to Sunni tradition to mention the name of the Sultan in the sermons. The A-H officials and the people close to the A-H Emperor had an agenda to separate the ties that the Muslims of BiH had with Istanbul and the first step was to cut the ties with Istanbul by creating a independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH. The A-H General Josip Filipović told his political advisor the Franciscan friar Grga Martić to propose the idea to influential elite Muslims in Sarajevo and to persuade them to go along with the agenda to create independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH. Friar Martić contacted the wealthy landowner Fazil Pasha Šerifović whom thought that the proposal was good.⁷⁵ Imam Zuhdi Bakarović wrote down a declaration that Martić dictated this declaration should be addressed to the A-H Emperor Franz Josef through the newspaper. Two Orthodox teachers in Sarajevo Filip Špadijer and Petar Crnčević who found out of this plan were highly critical and protested. Martić solved the problem with the two critical teachers, he gave orders to the military to expel the teachers from BiH and

⁷² *Hadith* is traditions relating to the words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad.

⁷³ Sugar 1963:7.

⁷⁴ Imamović 2006:201.

⁷⁵ Kapidžić 1958:76.

on 4 November 1878 the declaration was handed over to General Filipović. 58 prominent Muslims from Sarajevo signed the declaration. On 17 November the letter appeared in the newspaper *Bosansko-hercegovačke narodne novine* where the 58 prominent Muslims expressed their wish to cut the ties with Istanbul and *Shaikh ul Islam*. They also expressed their wish that the Muslims of BiH could serve in the A-H regular army. The declaration also appeared in the newspaper *Zastava* on 29 November 1878, but the name of the 58 prominent Muslims did not appear in *Bosansko-hercegovačke narodne* and *Zastava*.⁷⁶

The Sarajevo chronicler Muhamed Enveri Kadić investigated who these 58 prominent Muslims were; he found out whom 50 of them were. They were not involved in the uprising during the A-H occupation. The social component of the signatories is interesting. Kadić found out that 22 were wealthy landowners, 15 were religious functionaries, 13 were merchants and all of the identified signatories were from Sarajevo.⁷⁷ Three of the signatories are interesting characters, Mustaj-beg Fadilpašić was the mayor of Sarajevo and the wealthiest landowner in the Sarajevo area, during the Ottoman domination of BiH Fadilpašić's father was the Pasha of Sarajevo and was very important social broker in Sarajevo. Mehmed-beg Kapetanović originated from Hercegovina, but resided in Sarajevo, and he was moving in the circle of Fadilpašić. The third was Mustafa Hilmi Omerović. He was the *mufti* of Sarajevo and influential among the Muslim scholars in Sarajevo. The Muslims in BiH who had some important issues that they wanted to address to the A-H authorities had to go through Fadilpašić and Kapetanović who had close contact with the A-H authorities in Sarajevo. The issue around independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH was not easy to solve, and was an important question for four years to come. Andrassy was concerned that the issue about an independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH would create a schism among the Muslims in BiH. Andrassy stressed that A-H would take a neutral stance concerning the issue of an independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH and whatever the Muslims decided the A-H Empire would support the Muslims. But the reality was that the A-H Empire supported Fadilpašić, Omerović and Kapetanović fraction while Fadilpašić, Omerović and Kapetanović gathered support from the lower and middle-class Muslims and in some cases voiced their dissatisfaction. The Fadilpašić and Kapetanović fraction also worked with the A-H to maintain their position as the leading Muslims in the Sarajevo society.

⁷⁶ Kapidžić 1958:76.

⁷⁷ Kapidžić 1958:77. According to Kadić some of the alleged signatories on the declaration never signed their names on the declaration and they did not know that their names were on the declaration.

On 18 June 1880 the Ottoman Sultan appointed the martial judge Ahmed Şukri as *mufti* of BiH, but the A-H opposed this decision and argued that the Sultan and *Shaikh ul Islam* could only appoint a BiH *mufti* from the local population of BiH.⁷⁸ In 1880 Omerović issued a *fatwa* setting out from the sharia point of view the legal validity of the 1881 A-H defence law which allowed the A-H authorities to recruit the local Muslim population to the A-H army. The law imposed by the A-H that all males in BiH were liable for conscription in the A-H army and the *fatwa* by Omerović sparked a revolt at the end of 1882. By mid-January 1883 the A-H engaged in armed confrontation against the rebellion.⁷⁹ The rebellion was poorly organised and was easy for the A-H army to put down, by July the revolt was crushed. Before the revolt the first wave of Muslim émigrés left BiH to the Ottoman Empire because of the *fatwa* issued by Omerović. Approximately 8000 Muslims departed between 1881-1882.⁸⁰ After a great deal of diplomacy between Vienna and Istanbul regarding the appointment of religious officials among the Muslims in BiH the *Shaikh ul Islam* in Istanbul appointed Mustafa Hilmi Omerović as the *mufti* of BiH on 22 March 1882. This appointment of Omerović meant that Omerović had the power to appoint Imams at will in BiH and he was also the head of the sharia court. On 17 October 1882 the A-H Emperor signed a decree appointing Omerović as the *Reis-ul-ulema*, “Head of the Islamic Scholars”, and four members of the *ulema-medžlis* these four members were all judges from the sharia court (*kadis*).⁸¹ These four judges were Hasan Pozderac, Mehmed Nezir Škaljić, Nuri Hafizović and Husein Ibrahimović. Omerović was the first *Reis-ul-ulema* in BiH and was on the post until his demise in 1893. The new *Reis-ul-ulema* Muhamed Teufik Azabagić was appointed on 20 November 1893.

⁷⁸ Imamović 2006:220.

⁷⁹ Malcolm 2002:138. The rebels contained approximately 3000 insurgents 1000 Orthodox peasants was led by Pero Tunguz, 1000 Muslim peasants was led by the wealthy landowner Omer Šaćić and the rest 1000 insurgents were mixed Orthodox and Muslim units. The Orthodox peasants claimed that they were people of the book (*Ahl al-Kitab*) and free non-Muslim subjects living in a Muslim country (*Ahl al-Dhimma*). They also stated that they were subordinate to the Sultan in Istanbul and by the sharia law they did not have to serve in the A-H army. The Muslims claimed that they were subordinate to the Sultan in Istanbul and that they did not have to serve in an infidel army, and were furious about the *fatwa* that was issued by *mufti* Mustafa Hilmi Omerović in 1880.

⁸⁰ Pinson 1996:94. During the A-H domination over BiH three large waves of émigrés left BiH and moved to the Ottoman Empire the first wave were 1881-1882, the second wave were between 1900-1901 during political upheavals some 13 000 Muslims departed to the Ottoman Empire. The third wave were in 1908 when A-H annexed BiH some 28 000 Muslims departed for the Ottoman Empire.

⁸¹ Imamović 1997:366. *Ulema-medžlis* means the Council of the Learned Islamic Scholars, these four members nominated the candidates for the post of *Reis-ul-ulema* who acted as the head of the *ulema-medžlis* and appointed *muftis* in each of the 6 province of BiH except Yeni Pazar. He was also the spiritual leader of all Muslims from BiH whether they resided in BiH or outside BiH. The A-H Emperor appointed the *ulema-medžlis* and the *Reis-ul-ulema*, according to this system the A-H Emperor could *de facto* appoint *Reis-ul-ulema* who co-operated with the A-H authorities and was positive to the A-H rule in BiH.

The *vakuf* institutions are peculiar to Islam; *vakuf* is a piece of property that is donated by a Muslim with the stipulation that the yield is used for permitted good purposes.⁸² The *vakufs* were to uphold mosques, religious schools, (*medresa* or *mekteb*), Sufi brotherhood buildings (*tekke*) bridges, inns, hospitals and soup kitchens for the poor people; the *vakuf* institutions were also to pay salaries to the imams. The *vakufs* institutions were exempt from taxes. Anybody could start a *vakuf* and appoint *mutevelli*, “administrator”, of the *vakuf*. Landlords often created a *vakuf* of their entire estate and appointed themselves as administrators of the *vakuf* and named their offspring (usually the eldest son) as the inheritor of the post as administrator. This way the *vakufs* became hereditary, no taxes were paid and the Sultan could not take away the property belonging to the *vakuf* if the landlord fell in disfavour in the Sultan’s eyes. At the end of Ottoman era in BiH there were no control of the *vakufs* from the Ottoman side, and one-third of the usable land in 1878 were *vakufs*. When A-H occupied BiH the first thing that the A-H officials did was to collect and re-promulgated the Ottoman laws that regulated the *vakufs*. The A-H officials required proper accounting and list of property that the *vakuf* possessed.

In 1883 the A-H created the *Vakuf* Commission in Sarajevo and appointed senior elite Muslims to the posts in the *Vakuf* Commission. Fadilpašić was appointed as the president of this Commission and Kapetanović was appointed as one of the member of the *Vakuf* Commission. The main task of this Commission was to place local family administrated *vakufs* under central control and to draw up a budget and to plan a founding policy of mosques and schools for proper BiH.⁸³ Because of the centralisation of the *Vakuf* Commission in Sarajevo the elite Muslims in other parts of BiH were jealous and felt left out of the loop of the decision making concerning the *vakuf* policies. In 1894 the A-H authorities decided to appoint one member from each province of BiH to the *Vakuf* Commission but this action by the A-H authorities did not halted the disappointment feelings among the wealthy landlords.

The question regarding the full autonomy and self-administration of the *vakuf-mearif* policies was triggered in 1885 when the *Vakuf* Commission handed over the Muslim burial grounds Šehitluci and Čekrekčinica in Sarajevo to the Provincial Government to be turned into public parks.⁸⁴ In response to this decision Muslim population in BiH protested. In 1896 a petition was

⁸² Donia 1981:22.

⁸³ Malcolm 2002:147.

⁸⁴ Imamović 2006:225. *Mearif* literally means “knowledge”. *Mearif* are the religious schools like *medresa* and *mekteb*.

submitted to the A-H Emperor where the Muslims called for self-administration regarding the *vakuf* policies. The debate went on regarding the *vakuf* policies when in 1899 the Mostar *mufti* Ali Fehmi Džabić emerged as the leading voice in BiH that called for self-administration and total autonomy of the *vakuf-mearif* policies.⁸⁵ In October 1899 a committee of Muslims in Mostar sent a petition to Kállay and the Emperor Franz Joseph with an outlining of autonomous statute for the *vakuf-mearif* endowments in Hercegovina. In the petition there were negative words about the government appointed *ulema-medžlis* and the *Vakuf* Commission and the poor religious upbringing of the Muslims. In the petition there were also demands of a formation of a board with wide powers to check all textbooks to ensure that nothing contrary to Islamic precepts contained in the textbooks. The Hercegovina Muslims called for a formation of autonomous Islamic institutions with wider powers without the interference of the provincial government in BiH. In December 1899 the petition was rejected. The Committee in Mostar was notified on 2 February 1900 that their petition was rejected but that the A-H Emperor would protect Muslim religious institutions and interests as in the past.

In April 1900 the provincial government dismissed *mufti* Džabić, closed down the *Kiraethana* “reading room” in Mostar, the secretary of the committee in the *kiraethana* Šerif Arnautović was dismissed from his post in the municipal service.⁸⁶ The effects of the action of the provincial government led to a discontent that spread around in BiH among the Muslims. The provincial government tried to collect declarations and signatures from elite Muslims against Džabić but the response was very poor.⁸⁷ The discontent steadily spread to around in BiH and committees of *vakuf-mearif* movements were formed. In the spring of 1900 Džabić and a delegation headed for Budapest to muster the Hungarian opposition in the common A-H parliament to bring down Kállay from his post as administrator in BiH.⁸⁸ The A-H authorities realised that the question

⁸⁵ Simultaneously while *mufti* Džabić demanded autonomy and self-administration of the *vakuf-mearif* policies the Catholic Church in Hercegovina was waging an aggressive propaganda to baptise the Muslims. The culmination of the aggressive proselytism was the abduction by nuns of a young Muslim girl by the name of Fata Omanović in the Mostar area. Džabić and Muslims in Hercegovina demanded the A-H authorities to take action and return the girl to her parents. For a comprehensive outlining regarding the conversion to Catholicism of mainly Muslim girls during the A-H domination see Donia 1981:55-67.

⁸⁶ Imamović 2006:227. *Kiraethana* were common in BiH during the A-H rule. It functioned as a meeting place for wealthy landlords, religious officials, merchants, intellectuals and opposition as well as place for expressing loyalty to the A-H rule. Muslims who came to the *kiraethana* discussed politics; those who could read the newspapers informed the illiterate about the latest news in the Empire and BiH, lectures was also arranged in the *kiraethana*. A great deal of networking took place in the *kiraethana*.

⁸⁷ Imamović 2006:227.

⁸⁸ Džabić received support from the wealthy hotel owner Gligorije Jeftanović who was from Sarajevo. Jeftanović informed the Czech publicist and journalist Josef Holecek to help Džabić and the delegation to promote their cause

concerning the *vakuf-mearif* policies could not be ignored, Kállay invited Džabić to discussions in early February 1901. In the talks Kállay and Džabić reached an agreement on some points but Džabić composition of the *ulema-medžlis*, installation of *Reis-ul-ulema* and the level of state subsidies.⁸⁹ In January 1902 Džabić and a delegation from Mostar travelled to Istanbul to seek advice from the supreme Islamic forum and concerning issues for religious and *vakuf-mearif* autonomy. On March 4 1902 the provincial government in Sarajevo announced that Džabić had left BiH without the A-H authorisation and stated that if he returned he would face imprisonment and harsh punishment. At the same time as the provincial government gave the police orders to be harsher, this was also followed up by a wave of Muslim emigration to the Ottoman Empire.

After Džabić was banned to return to BiH the *vakuf-mearif* autonomy movement quietened down for a while because there was no clear leader raising the issue about the *vakuf-mearif* autonomy. In 1903 István von Burián succeeded Kállay after his demise as administrator of BiH. Burián started of in 1904 to fill the vacancies in the *ulema-medžlis* and appointed new members in the provincial *Vakuf* Commission. In 1905 the *Vakuf* Commission issued a decision whereby 5 percent surtax on indirect taxation would be charged to provide for the maintenance of Islamic schools.⁹⁰ The response from that there would be no money forthcoming without *vakuf-mearif* autonomy. The Džabić followers who were still in BiH and some wealthy landowners became active and called for a final solution for the *vakuf-mearif* issues. The Džabić followers and landowners were Šerif Arnautović, Mahmud-beg Džinić, Šemsi-beg Zaimović, and Derviš-beg Miralem. In the spring of 1906 Džabić signed a document where he stated that the group mentioned above could head the movement for *vakuf-mearif* autonomy by proxy. In May 1906 the members of the provincial *Vakuf* Commission expressed support for the *vakuf-mearif* autonomy movement.⁹¹ Burián decided to talk to the for *vakuf-mearif* movement and stated that the *vakuf-mearif* issue could be resolved once the Muslims agreed among themselves concerning the demands and who would represent them. Late in 1906 landowners and respected Muslim from all over BiH gathered at a meeting in Slavonski Brod, at this meeting the first Muslim political party was formed. The name that was adopted for the party was Muslim National

in the A-H press and to help them get in touch with the opposition in the common A-H parliament. Jeftanović thought that the cause Džabić headed also could be beneficial to the Orthodox population in BiH since the Orthodox population in BiH was campaigning for ecclesiastical and educational autonomy in BiH.

⁸⁹ Imamović 2006:228.

⁹⁰ Imamović 2006:229.

⁹¹ Imamović 2006:229.

Organisation (MNO) an Executive Committee was elected with eighteen members, Ali-beg Firdus a landowner from Livno was elected to the chair of the committee.⁹² The program that was adopted focused mainly on two issues, these issues were the agrarian issues and religious issues spearheading the *vakuf-mearif* issue. In the beginning of 1907 elections were held in BiH, more than 130 000 adult Muslims took part in the voting.⁹³ Where ever there were Muslim inhabitants *millet* committees of the MNO were elected.⁹⁴ The first party assembly was held in Budapest 1907 with over hundred delegates and it was decided that the eighteen members Executive Committee should represent the Muslims of BiH in all matters. The issue of *vakuf-mearif* autonomy was solved after the annexation of BiH that occurred 1908. On 1 May 1909 the Muslims of BiH received the full autonomy of *vakuf-mearif* policies and religious affairs.

3.4 The Travnik faction

As the elite Muslims in Sarajevo gained the dominant roll in BiH because they were favoured by the A-H authorities and co-operated closely with the authorities the jealousy against the elite Muslims in Sarajevo grew in other less favourable cities. The city of Travnik was one of these cities where the jealousy was high. Wealthy landlords started to organise themselves against the elite Sarajevo Muslims that acted as a monopolistic network and the A-H authorities. Travnik became important city in BiH after Prinz Eugene von Savoy set Sarajevo on fire in 1699. Travnik became the capital of BiH in 1699 and seat of the viziers of BiH. In 1850 the viziers moved back to Sarajevo and Travnik began an era of decline. In the Travnik region a small number of landlords resided, 10 percent of all landlords in BiH resided in the Travnik region while 30 percent of the landlords in BiH resided in the Sarajevo area. Although the landlords who resided in the Sarajevo area outnumbered the Travnik landlords the landlords in Travnik had a highly functional social network. Blood, marriage and patronage connected the landlords in Travnik with Muslims in many areas of BiH and even Istanbul.⁹⁵

The Travnik landlords were highly critical of the A-H new law management and property law. But the Travnik landlords were also critical of any changes that A-H introduced; several

⁹² Imamović 2006:230.

⁹³ Imamović 2006:230.

⁹⁴ *Millet* was used during the Ottoman period to refer to confessional community such as Christians, Armenians and Jews, during the A-H domination of BiH the *millet* system was used by the Muslims to mark their status as Muslims set apart from the Orthodox, Jews and Catholics in BiH.

⁹⁵ Donia 1981:68.

petitions were presented to the A-H authorities in the early 1890. But these petitions started to arrive to A-H officials after the landlords of Travnik were persuaded by their relatives in Istanbul to do so. In the areas where the landlords had strong social network their cause gained support, but in some areas they had no support at all.⁹⁶ The landlords in Travnik with their followers had no interest in religious and cultural matters as so far if it did not gained them in anyway. The foremost interests of the landlords were to keep the privileges to collect dues from the peasants and to manage the land tilled by their peasants.⁹⁷ One of the leading landlords from the Travnik area was Muharem-beg Teskeredžić who was the mayor of Travnik and social broker in the region. The Travnik landlords had strong support from the émigré Muslims in Istanbul. The landlord Fehim Djumišić who was from Banja Luka escaped to Istanbul after the A-H occupied BiH in 1878, but he still received money from his estates that his *subaša* collected among the peasants.⁹⁸ Fehim Djumišić was very active against the A-H occupation of BiH and he managed to consolidate other émigré landlords from BiH in Istanbul. Djumišić found support from the Čengić brothers Osman-beg and Hajdar-beg who were very wealthy landowners. Djumišić had close contacts with Teskeredžić because they were related by marriage.

The émigrés also had the opportunity to meet relatives from BiH in Istanbul since the landlords enrolled their sons in prominent schools in Istanbul and accompanied their sons to enrol them they got the opportunity to meet their émigré relatives. The émigrés had close contacts with the Sultan to inform him about the situation in BiH.⁹⁹ The émigrés informed the Sultan that the A-H Empire oppressed the Muslims in BiH and that mosques had been demolished to make place for Jesuit schools. They also informed the Sultan that the Muslims were not allowed to freely practice their Islamic duties and that Muslims also were not allowed to travel freely to from BiH the Ottoman Empire. A petition was written with all this accusations and sent to the A-H authorities in BiH, since not much of the accusations were true the A-H could do nothing about the petition. Hajdar-beg Čengić informed his *subaša* Ibrahim Mujezinović who was the member of the City Council in the town of Prnjavor to contact the landlord Bećir-beg Kapetanović and to discuss a possible collateral protest action in BiH. Ibrahim-beg Kulenović took part in a meeting

⁹⁶ Some of the areas where the Travnik faction gained support is among the landlords of the Bugojno area in BiH and around the city of Donji Vakuf.

⁹⁷ Donia 1981:70.

⁹⁸ *Subaša* were employed by the landlords to collect taxes from the peasants and to perform important jobs while the landlord was away, he also delivered important messages to other landlords on the behalf of he's employer, see Šabanović 1996:658f.

⁹⁹ Donia 1981:73.

organised in Istanbul at Fehim Djumišić residence were protests against the A-H Empire were discussed and how they should be conducted.¹⁰⁰ At the meeting Lufti-beg Eminović an army officer in the Ottoman army was also present at this meeting that took place in 1895. Kulenović and Eminović were information channels transmitting messages to the Travnik landlords about the decisions made in Istanbul and helped the Travnik landlords to make up plans how to conduct protest actions against the A-H authorities and their policies in BiH.

Since the Travnik landlords were widely dispersed in small towns and rural estates they saw one another only infrequently to discuss their plans.¹⁰¹ The landlords meet at one another homes, which made it hard for the A-H authorities to monitor the landlords and to find out about their plans. The personal network of the Travnik landlords was especially active during the three holidays in the Islamic Calendar this three holidays when the landlords met were *Kurban-Bajram*, *Ramazanski-Bajram* and *Ramazan*.¹⁰² On 28 March 1895 during the start of *Ramazanski-Bajram* the first drive of the recruiting effort started headed by Muharem-beg Teskeredžić he successfully recruited his relatives Hamid-beg Hasanpašić, Šerif-beg Hafizadiž and Mustaja-beg Ibrahimpašić while these three helped Teskeredžić search for other supporters to protest the A-H authorities. Derviš-beg Miralem visited Travnik during *Ramazanski-Bajram* and were told by Taskeredžić to spread the word of the activism in Travnik and to look for potential landlords in his hometown of Donji Vakuf west of Travnik. Ali-beg Sulejmanpašić were told to spread the word in his hometown Bugojno.

On 30 March 1895 twelve prominent landlords in Bugojno meet to discuss the message brought back from Travnik by Sulejmanpašić. The landlords in Bugojno decided to set up a meeting with Muslim representatives from other districts in BiH to conferee on details of a petition to the A-H Emperor.¹⁰³ When the A-H authorities found out of this planed meeting Sulejmanpašić was called to the District Officer in Bugojno and was told that such large activities must be reported at least eight days ahead, present agenda and that they must seek written

¹⁰⁰ Donia 1981:76. Donia states that his informer did not know the last name of Ibrahim who participated at the meeting in Istanbul but Donia thinks it is Ibrahim-beg Kulenović who spent several months in both Banja Luka and Travnik and visited Istanbul frequently and had contact with landlords in Travnik.

¹⁰¹ Donia 1981:76.

¹⁰² Donia 1981:76. *Kurban-Bajram* is the same as *Eid al-Adha* and is a festive commemoration of Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son Ishmael for Allah during this festive occasion Muslims visits relatives. *Ramazanski-Bajram* is the same as *Eid al-Fitr* and marks the end of *Ramadan* and is a festive occasion when Muslims visit one another with presents, food sweets etc. *Ramazan* is the same as Ramadan and is one moth long fasting period when Muslims are obliged to fast from sun-up to sun-down.

¹⁰³ Donia 1981:77.

approval from A-H district authorities. Sulejmanpašić left but returned to the District Officer same day with two other landlords and they informed the District Officer that they had planned to hold the meeting on 21 April 1895 and their agenda was to discuss agrarian matters and *vakuf* matters.¹⁰⁴ But two days after the landlords in Bugojno were informed that the A-H authorities refused to approve the meeting in April and started to look for potential landlords that they could form as a pro-government faction to counter the opposition.

The *mufti* of Travnik Muhamed Hazim Korkut headed the pro-government faction that was formed in Travnik. Hazim Korkut recruited many mayors from small towns in the Travnik area and Ali-beg Firdus mayor from Livno were the Travnik faction failed to gain any support. The A-H authorities were pleased with their creation of loyalist faction and believed that the dissident faction would fade away.¹⁰⁵ But Teskeredžić and his followers planned to counter the loyalist faction and seek support in other parts of BiH outside the Travnik area. Emissaries and *subaša*'s were dispatched and a new recruitment drive started in May and June. On 17 May 1895 Teskeredžić held a meeting at his country home with the key Travnik dissidents and two landlords from other towns the first was Šemsi-beg Zaimović from Brčko and Smail-beg Skopljaković who also was mayor of the city of Zvornik.¹⁰⁶ Zaimović was visiting his sister in Travnik and Skopljaković was visiting his relatives in his birthplace in Bugojno. Teskeredžić wanted his two guests to sign a petition that the Travnik faction had prepared to send it with a delegation to Vienna. Zaimović signed after Teskeredžić persuaded him but Skopljaković refused to sign and passed information to the A-H authorities about Teskeredžić petition regarding complainants around agrarian issues and *vakuf* issues. Teskeredžić asked Zaimović to spread the word about the petition in Brčko and to persuade landlords in the district to sign. When Zaimović returned to Brčko a meeting was planned toward the end of May all prominent landlords from Brčko and nearby towns gathered to discuss the petition. At this meeting Ahmet-beg Gradašćević from the town Gradačac was present, he was the most prominent of the landlords at the meeting and his word governed the actions of the other landlords.¹⁰⁷ Gradašćević called the demands in the petition unreasonable and that the proposed action would be detrimental to the cause of the BiH Muslims.

¹⁰⁴ Donia 1981:78.

¹⁰⁵ Donia 1981:80.

¹⁰⁶ Donia 1981:81.

¹⁰⁷ Donia 1981:82.

Following the lead of Gradašćević non-of the landlords from Brčko signed the petition. The emissaries and *subaša*'s from Travnik tried to make their fellow landlords in Banja Luka, Livno, Duvno, Mostar and Bihać to sign but with no success. Although Teskeredžić and the Miralem families were closely related to the Mostar families Kapetanović and Bašagić by marriage. They failed to get the petition signed by other prominent Mostar Muslims because the Džabić faction who consisted of a great deal of Imams and interested manly Islamic issues rather than the landlord's agrarian issues persuaded other landlords in the Mostar area to not sign some of the landlords in Mostar did not trust Travnik people.¹⁰⁸ Another blow hit the Travnik dissidents on 21 June 1895 when Taskeredžić was fired from his post as mayor in Travnik by Kállay.

The Travnik landlords gathered as all prominent landlords at the spa in the small town Kiseljak between Travnik and Sarajevo during the summer. In Kiseljak the Travnik faction gained support from the prominent Sarajevo landlord Mahmud-beg Fadilpašić who was brother in law with Travnik dissident Šerif-beg Hafizadić. At Kiseljak the Travnik faction were able to get 86 landlords and wealthy merchants to sign the petition the signatories were from Sarajevo, Donji Vakuf, Bugojno, Travnik and Bijeljina and all were relatives or in some way connected to one another.¹⁰⁹ The petition contained four points firstly it dealt with agrarian problems secondly the *vakuf* issues were complaint was made over to much bureaucracy, thirdly complaint was made over incompetent low-level functionaries who should see to that the peasants paid their dues to the landlords and last there was complaint that the government assumed property rights over woods and forests that were private property.

On 1 October 1895 a delegation with eight Travnik landlords two Sarajevo landlords and one from Bijeljina travelled to Vienna to hand over the petition to the A-H Emperor. The A-H authorities in BiH informed the police in Vienna to monitor the landlords very closely. The landlords were in Vienna for a month before they received audience by the Emperor. After all formalities were done at the Imperial Palace Teskeredžić stepped up to the Emperor and summarised the petition while a translator went trough and translated for the Emperor, after Teskeredžić was done he handed over the petition to the Emperor. But what followed surprised some of the Travnik Muslims the Sarajevo Muslims and the Bijeljina Muslim present; Teskeredžić proceeded to deliver a second and a third petition to the Emperor.¹¹⁰ The second

¹⁰⁸ Donia 1981:83.

¹⁰⁹ Donia 1981:85.

¹¹⁰ Donia 1981:87.

petition was signed by six landlords from Travnik who objected being interned to their hometowns preventing them to travel to Vienna and the denial of Osman-beg Bušatlija to travel from Bugojno to Livno on personal business. The third petition was written by Bećir-beg Sulejmanpašić who was present at the Imperial Palace, it was written on behalf of his wife it stated that the Provincial Government had illegally taken over her property rights to certain mountain lands. After the Emperor had received the documents the delegation departed.¹¹¹ The Sarajevo Muslims were upset over the two additional petitions by their relatives that dealt with local and personal matters, for several years Sarajevo Muslims refused to sign any petitions that was driven from the Travnik area. Two months after the petition was presented to the Emperor the Travnik dissidents received answer that all three petitions had been rejected. Teskeredžić started directly to organise a drive to draft another petition to present it to the Ottoman Sultan.

On 15 February 1896 *Ramazan* started and on 24 February the dissidents from Travnik, Bugojno and Donji Vakuf met in the house of Teskeredžić, the dissidents hoped that the Ottoman Empire would intervene in BiH affairs with the new petition the dissidents prepared. Ali-beg Sulejmanpašić dispatched his *subaša* to Konjic and Prozor to inform the landlords about the new petition and to gather signatures. But the new drive failed to collect the desired amount of signatures and some younger dissidents of the Travnik faction like Omer-beg Sulejmanpašić opposed the petition idea altogether, Šerif-beg Hafizadić started to disagree with Teskeredžić and was got some favours granted to him from the A-H authorities to which made the two dissidents distance themselves one from another.¹¹² The death to the Travnik petition drive occurred when Teskeredžić emigrated with his immediate family to the Ottoman Empire in April 1896. Just before Teskeredžić emigrated to the Ottoman Empire the Muslims of Travnik wanted to open a *Kiraethana* but was denied by the A-H Regional Supervisor in Travnik Rukavina. But Rukavina insisted that an inter-ethnic club should be founded were Muslims and others like Catholics and Orthodox could socialise with A-H bureaucrats.¹¹³ This inter-ethnic club proved to be successful, in January 1896 Rukavina reported that many prominent Muslims visits the newly founded club and even some dissidents visited the club and shared companion of the A-H government officials in the club.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Donia 1981:87.

¹¹² Donia 1981:88.

¹¹³ Donia 1981:89.

¹¹⁴ Donia 1981:89.

3.4.1 The Mostar faction

Mufti Džabić was the most influential and respected Muslim in Mostar. The city of Mostar was an important Commerce City and contained some of the wealthiest families in BiH.¹¹⁵ The land-owning class in Mostar was not large compared to merchants and business families. Džabić was a land-owning Muslim but he gained his respect among the Muslims in Mostar basically because his intellectual skills and knowledge of Islamic issues.¹¹⁶ Džabić became important social broker among the Imams in Mostar and Hercegovina area. Džabić was like all Muslims that had some kind of power or influence dependent of the A-H authorities, Džabić was working with both the Muslims who were positive to the A-H rule and the opposition who mainly came from the ranks of the landlords in the Mostar area.

Under Džabić's control the Mostar Muslims organised themselves into a monopolistic personal network and two petitions were brought into the light to be handed over to the A-H authorities, one petition was drawn up in 1888 and the second in 1890. Kállay visited Mostar in October 1888 to hold an open house for complaints from the local populace of Mostar.¹¹⁷ Džabić's followers responded quickly and offered Kállay a petition with 76 signatures where Džabić's signature was the first on the list. In the petition that was presented to Kállay the Džabić follower's grievance were centred on three areas, which were the A-H administrative practices, property law and cultural policies. The main complaints were the administrative abuse, the petitioners charged that the judge in the Provincial Court Johann Hordynski showed contempt for the Muslims and frequently ruled against them. The petitioners complained that the prolonged court proceedings were expensive and time consuming for the Muslim landowners. The petitioners claimed that the lawyers were getting rich while the landowners went into heavy debt.¹¹⁸ The petition also contained complaining that the landlords could not compel collection of peasant dues nor expel unproductive peasants from their plots of land.

There were also complaints of the A-H laws that forbade the cattle of grazing on communal lands. The petitioners also asked that the surplus of *vakuf* funds should be spent on Muslim cultural purposes rather than given to the taxation authorities. This petition was an attack on the

¹¹⁵ Donia 1981:91.

¹¹⁶ Donia 1981:99.

¹¹⁷ Donia 1981:100.

¹¹⁸ Donia 1981:101.

central *Vakuf* Commission in Sarajevo. The petitioners also asked that one Imam from Hercegovina should be sent to the A-H army to serve Muslim recruits beside the one Imam already appointed from Bosnia. *Vakuf* funds were stressed once again in the petition and that the funds should be used intelligently for maintenance of the neglected Islamic religious buildings. In 1890 the same petition was submitted to the A-H authorities but there were no mention of Johann Hordynski supposedly he was not around. The petition brought forth no changes but the A-H authority eyes were on Džabić and his personal network.

In the beginning of 1896 Džabić's position as the main political figure in the Mostar area was threatened by a new rival that entered the political scene. This man was Mujaga Komadina; he was a wealthy Mostar Muslim involved in numerous commercial and construction enterprises.¹¹⁹ Komadina changed the Mostar monopolistic consensus into bipolar factionalism; Komadina wanted to stimulate economic vitality and cultural revival in Mostar and was critical of Džabić and his follower's passive and conservative attitude. Komadina's progressive by the A-H authorities, Komadina was able with the help from the A-H authorities to organise a *Kiraethana* to promote his views and to advocate the need for a Muslim revival.¹²⁰

The A-H authorities supported Komadina because of the pressure of the Orthodox family Šantić in Mostar who gained enormous wealth in grain speculations and acquired control of the salt trade from an A-H firm. The economic expansion from the Šantić family breathes life into the Serbian Orthodox Church Commune who was driving for an Orthodox cultural autonomy and figured that the *Kiraethana* could be a counter weight to the Orthodox activism. The A-H authorities wanted the *Kiraethana* to be self-help agency for the Muslims in Mostar. The *Kiraethana* that was started up with help from the A-H authorities and by his side Komadina had help from his close friend Ahmet Karabeg. The *Kiraethana* treasury was to be available for charitable purposes like scholarships for Muslim students, loans to craftsmen and merchants who wanted to expand their business.

The *Kiraethana* functioned also as Komadina's personal network. On 25 January 1898 Komadina called Muslims from Mostar to attend the *Kiraethana* to elect officers, the *mufti* sent his cousin and agent Ahmed Džabić from a door-to-door mission in Mostar to urge his followers to stay away, but approximately 100 Muslims turned up to the *Kiraethana* to attend the

¹¹⁹ Donia 1981:102.

¹²⁰ Donia 1981:103.

session.¹²¹ Komadina was elected as president and members Executive Committee was elected these members were Ahmet Karabeg, Osman Efica, Šerif Arnautović and Mehmed Spahić.¹²² Spahić's Serbophile tendencies emerged again when he joined the *Kiraethana*, Spahić proposed at the first Executive Committee meeting to invite Orthodox activists to the *Kiraethana* his proposal was voted down. He later tried to become a Secretary of the *Kiraethana* which also failed, Spahić resigned from the Executive Committee and invited others to join him, three members of the society resigned this were Osman Efica, Ali Dadić and Ibrahim Kajtaž. All four remained members until a meeting held on 5 March 1898 when Efica and Spahić led a group of followers in a demonstrative walk out from the hall. The defections from the *Kiraethana* were a success for Džabić's faction and weakened the *Kiraethana*. The rivalry for supporters between Komadina and Džabić swayed Komadina from a progressive stance to invoke Islamic orthodoxy to win over supporters from the Džabić camp to his own camp. The sway was already evident on 5 March 1898 when Spahić and Efica walked out; at the meeting the Executive Committee decided that the official language of the society should be Turkish. The Executive Committee requested from the A-H authorities to observe the anniversary of the Ottoman Sultan's accession to the throne, but this was rejected from the A-H authorities.¹²³

The Provincial Government in Sarajevo sent Mehmed Hulusi who was a member of the *Vakuf* Commission to mediate between the two quarrelling factions Hulusi arrived in Mostar in May, and met Komadina and Džabić to settle their dispute. At the same time Hulusi took advantage of his visit in Mostar to dismiss an errant subordinate in *vakuf* policies namely Hasan Nametak who was a member of the Džabić faction, this inflamed the Džabić factions hostility to the A-H authorities.

A few weeks after Hulusi left Mostar a second emissary was dispatched from Sarajevo to mediate between Komadina and Džabić, the mediator was *mufti* Ahmet Dizdar member of the *ulema-medžlis*. Dizdar was drawn in to the quarrelling and sided with his old friend Džabić who

¹²¹ Donia 1981:105.

¹²² Mehmed Spahić was an in-law of *mufti* Džabić; he had been confined to a small village for his pro-Serbian activities and as a political dissident in 1890. After his release he returned to Mostar and hoped to become a member of the City Council in the elections of 1897, he failed to win enough votes and the A-H authorities refused to name him to appoint a seat, fearing a revival of his opposition activities. Spahić was unique because he was the first Muslim in BiH who used the press to voice his disappointment, he wrote anti-A-H articles that appeared outside BiH in the summer of 1897.

¹²³ Donia 1981:108.

he knew very well from the time when he was living in Mostar.¹²⁴ Dizdar only meet with Džabić and ignored to meet Komadina, Dizdar reported to the A-H official Baron Klimburg that the government should dissolve the *Kiraethana* and then the members of the *Kiraethana* could join Džabić's faction but this was rejected from Klimburg and the Regional Supervisor Vojvodić. Vojvodić started to look for Muslims that could act as a moderating force in the *Kiraethana* and hoped that they would attract Džabić supporters to the *Kiraethana*. Vojvodić approached the Mostar *kadi* Abdulah Ridjanović but Ridjanović declined to take such an initiative. Vojvodić found out that there was a small group of young Muslims in the *Kiraethana* who was disappointed with the older members in the Executive Committee who they regarded as passive and they also disappointed with the young landlord Šerif Arnautović's influence over the older members.¹²⁵

At a general meeting held in the *Kiraethana* in January 1899 the young Muslims who was disappointed arrived with the leader of the faction Mehmed Djikić, the A-H District Officer Baron Brodnik was observing the meeting. After the Secretary Šerif Arnautović went through the formalities the meeting became heated. Djikić rose and asked why the members of the Executive Committee did not extend New Year's greetings to the A-H authorities as the *Reis-ul-ulema* in Sarajevo regularly did. Komadina replied to Djikić that New Year was a miniature Christmas and to honour such Christian holiday was a corruption of the Islamic faith, Komadina stated that a congratulatory visit would violate his conscience as a Muslim no matter of what the *Reis-ul-ulema* in Sarajevo did.¹²⁶ The *Kiraethana* hall broke out with a prolonged applause and repeated shouts: "Long live Komadina," Komadina supporters proposed that Djikić should be expelled from the *Kiraethana*. Ahmet Karabeg prompted by Brodnik intervened and defended Djikić and explained that he had right to raise the issue. Ahmet-beg Defterdarović from the Djikić faction rose and asked why the *Kiraethana* used Turkish in its public notices, especially since most of the members could not read or understand Turkish. Komadina managed to postpone the discussion of the issue while the members reacted in a hostile manner to the inquiry. The *Kiraethana* members elected the members of the Executive Committee for another year, but before the election Ahmet-beg Defterdarović attacked Šerif Arnautović verbally and demanded that Brodnik should nullify Arnautović's election since he had an indictment pending against him for insulting the pro-

¹²⁴ Donia 1981:109.

¹²⁵ Donia 1981:111.

¹²⁶ Donia 1981:111.

government *kadi* Abdulah Ridjanović. Brodnik could find no legal ground to do so since Arnautović was not convicted, Defterdarović turned to the members of the *Kiraethana* and demanded that the members should expel Arnautović by a majority vote for his insult to a Muslim religious official.¹²⁷ The members started to shout and verbally attack Defterdarović and threatened to walk out if Arnautović were excluded, the members voted unanimously to retain Arnautović. Even Defterdarović voted against his own motion. Arnautović rose and stated that in the future anyone who spoke against the Islamic faith and the Ottoman Empire should be expelled from the *Kiraethana*. The rest of the meeting went on in a calmer manner were the member's spoke about the possibilities to build a new hall for the society. The Djikić faction became the so-called loyalist faction who supported the A-H authorities while the Komadina faction grew closer to the Džabić faction. Djikić and Defterdarović and the small group of Djikić followers remained in the *Kiraethana* but the majority of the members in the *Kiraethana* shunned them because they believed that the Djikić faction had sold out the faith.¹²⁸

In May 1899 an event occurred that brought the Komadina faction and Džabić faction together, this was the abduction and conversion of the Muslim girl Fata Omanović. Džabić was the first who protested and demanded from the A-H authorities that Fata should be brought back to her father and that the people who were responsible for the abduction should be punished and that the A-H authorities should take measures against Jesuit proselytism. In October 1899 the Komadina faction and Džabić faction presented a petition consisting of 114 articles dealing mainly with autonomy for *vakuf-mearif* issues. In December 1899 the petition was rejected. But the *mufti* and Komadina were still meeting in the *Kiraethana* were they discussed new approaches to oppose the A-H authorities. But in April 1900 the provincial government clamped down on the opposition and closed down the *Kiraethana* that they saw as an opposition nest.

3.5 The attempt to nationalise Muslims and politics

To suppress Croat and Serb nationalism in BiH which Kállay thought was a threat to A-H Empire he fostered the idea of a separate Bosnian nationhood (*bošnjaštvo*).¹²⁹ Kállay tried to prevent all

¹²⁷ Donia 1981:112.

¹²⁸ Donia 1981:113.

¹²⁹ Banac 1984:360. Before Kállay became the administrator of BiH he was consul general at Belgrade and expert on Slavic questions. He spoke Serbian fluently. He had written a book on the history of the Serbs where he mentioned that the Muslims in BiH were ethnical Serbs. This statement in his book became so embarrassing for Kállay that he banned his own book in BiH. See Resic 2006:157.

forms of Croat and Serb nationalism unlike his predecessor Burián. During Burián's time as administrator in BiH ethnical based banks appeared, the first ethnical based bank that opened in BiH was a Serbian bank in Mostar, the first Muslim bank opened 1907 in Brčko, one year later the Muslim central bank opened in Sarajevo.¹³⁰ When Kállay tried to promote the idea of Bosnian nationhood the response was poor and only caught on among some Muslims. Kállay supported a former Ottoman district administrator of several districts in Hercegovina, namely Mehmed-beg Kapetanović of Ljubški; he was the founder of the periodical *Bošnjak* and promoted the idea of Bosnian nationhood.¹³¹ In 1891 the poet Safvet-beg Bašagić who also was caught on Kállay's idea of Bosnian nationhood wrote in the *Bošnjak* following: "From Trebinje (the southernmost town in BiH) to the gates of Brod (the northernmost town in BiH) there were never any Serbs or Croats."¹³² Three years later Bašagić was active in Starčević's party in Zagreb and declared himself a Croat.¹³³ The Catholics and Orthodox population in BiH had different ways to nationalise the Muslims. Since the A-H occupation of BiH the Jesuits arrived in BiH together with the Catholic Church and marginalised the Franciscans who during the Ottoman domination in BiH were the only Catholic clergy who were allowed by the Ottomans to attend the Catholic population in BiH. The Muslims inclined to the liberal Franciscans and their followers who were some of the Catholic intelligentsia in BiH and Croatia some of them were also adherents of Starčević rather than the proselytising Jesuits and Catholic Church in BiH.

Some of adherents of Starčević who praised the intellectual and university educated Muslims in BiH in literature were Josip Eugen Tomić, Milan Ogrizović and Eugen Kumičić.¹³⁴ A great deal of articles praising the Muslims was also published in the Franciscans journal *Osvit*, "Daybreak." Tomić's novel *The Dragon of Bosnia (Zmaj od Bosne)* that was published 1879 was glorification of the wealthy landowner Husejn-beg Gradaščević who waged a rebellion against the Ottoman Empire for BiH autonomy in 1831-1832. In the novel Gradaščević is in love with Marija Vidas a Catholic girl. A number of Catholics wrote under Muslim identities, Ogrizović and Frane Binički wrote under the half Muslim pseudonym Omer and Ivo, Krsto Pavletić wrote

¹³⁰ Sugar 1963:242f.

¹³¹ Banac 1984:361.

¹³² Banac 1984:362.

¹³³ Banac 1984:362. Ante Starčević was a Croatian national ideologist and founder of Croatian Party of Rights. Starčević saw the A-H Empire as a barbaric oppressor while he showed sympathies for the Ottoman Empire and Islam. Starčević contributed to the changing views on Islam among the Croatian intelligentsia. Starčević claimed that the purest Croatian spirit was in the Ottoman Empire specifically in BiH and stated that the purest segment of the Croatian people lived in BiH these people were the Muslims of BiH. See Redžić 2005:63ff.

¹³⁴ Banac 1984:364.

under the pseudonym Osman-beg Štafić, Josip Šebečić wrote under the pseudonym Jusuf, Ferdo Vrbanić used the pseudonym Ferid Maglajlić.¹³⁵ The editors of *Osvit*, Ivan Milićević and Osman Nuri Hadžić, wrote under the joint pseudonym Osman-Aziz. This approach by the Catholics proved to be successful, the first generation of university educated Muslims and intellectuals considered themselves to be Croats of the Islamic faith.¹³⁶ Some Muslims were writing articles published by *Osvit*, one of these Muslims was Safvet-beg Bašagić, some of the contributions in *Osvit* by Muslims were only dealing with Islamic issues, and how to integrate Islam into the Croatian culture.

The Orthodox intellectuals in BiH and in Serbia had a different view on the Muslims of BiH. The harsh words in poetry and writings by the Orthodox intelligentsia were obstacle to nationalisation the Muslims to the Orthodox cause. Nikola Šumonja an Orthodox in Sarajevo who was an editor of an Orthodox journal criticised his fellow Orthodox authors and Serbian authors of their spiteful rage against the bloodthirsty and beastly Turks and suggested that the Orthodox should approach the Muslims like the Catholics.¹³⁷ Very few Muslims expressed themselves as ethnical Serbs; the intellectual who did so was Osman Đikić, Avdo Karabegović Hasanbegov and his cousin Avdo Karabegović.¹³⁸ The intellectuals who professed themselves as ethnical Croats outnumbered the fraction of intellectuals who professed themselves as Serbs.

In 1900 the Muslim journal, *Behar*, “*Blossom*,” appeared, Edhem Mulabdić, Safvet-beg Bašagić and Osman Nuri Hadžić started the journal while the wealthy merchant Ademaga Mešić from the town Tešanj financed the journal.¹³⁹ The journal dealt with literature, history and Islamic issues. Among the contributors who wrote articles for the journal were Mehmed Spaho and Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević who was appointed to the post as *Reis-ul-ulema* in 1913. In 1903 the journal, *Gajret*, “*Endeavour*,” was started by Edhem Mulabdić and Safvet-beg Bašagić and financed by Ademaga Mešić. *Endeavour* started of as an association that granted scholarships to Muslim students. Osman Đikić was active in Endeavour and helped Avdo Karabegović Hasanbegov and his cousin Avdo Karabegović to get in to the association they were also active in writing articles for the journal.

¹³⁵ Banac 1984:364f.

¹³⁶ Banac 1984:365.

¹³⁷ Banac 1984:362.

¹³⁸ Banac 1984:363.

¹³⁹ Imamović 1997:413. Ademaga Mešić financed five journals and owned a publishing house and a printing shop, he also started a Muslim bank that lent money to Muslim farmers and craftsmen.

The first political party started by Catholics in BiH was the Croatian National Union (HNZ) it was formed in 1906 in Dolac, a village near the city of Travnik.¹⁴⁰ Six members were chosen to an Executive Committee and Nikola Mandić was elected to the chair of the committee, one of the members of the Executive Committee was Ivo Pilar. There was only one Muslim in the higher echelons of the HNZ. The Muslim in HNZ was Hamid Šahinović-Ekrem, he was chosen as a member in to the Executive Committee in 1908 when HNZ reformed the structure of the party.¹⁴¹ The HNZ realised that they had to co-operate with the Muslims. As mentioned above the first Muslim party was MNO that was formed in Slavonski Brod in 1906 essentially the program of the MNO was weak and addressed foremost the agrarian issue and issue of *vakuf-mearif* autonomy. In 1908 on 24-26 August the Muslim Progressive Party (MNS) was formed in the town of Tešanj.¹⁴² Ademaga Mešić was elected as the chairman of the party and his friend Zija-beg Đongalić was elected as a secretary of the party. The MNS political program was almost identical to the MNO but its members took a pro-Croatian stance in national issues; Ademaga Mešić was interested in educating the Muslim populace.¹⁴³ Ademaga Mešić started to co-operate with HNZ but told Nikola Mandić that HNZ had to respect the cultural and religious needs the Muslims of BiH had for the co-operation to be fruitful.¹⁴⁴ Just before the parliament elections in BiH a group of pro-Serb activists left MNO and formed Muslim Democracy (MD) headed by Osman Đikić and Smail-aga Ćemalović. The main reason why MD was formed was that Đikić claimed that MNO ignored the social and cultural problems of the Muslim population and the Muslim peasantry as a whole. In the elections that took place between 18 to 28 May 1910, the Serbian National Organisation won all 31 Orthodox seats, the MNO won all 24 Muslim seats, and HNZ won twelve seats out of sixteen Catholic seats four seats were taken by the Croatian Catholic Association.¹⁴⁵ The last time parliament session took place on 29 June 1914 the day after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo.

¹⁴⁰ Đaković 1985:229.

¹⁴¹ Đaković 1985:332.

¹⁴² Imamović 2006:233.

¹⁴³ Ademaga Mešić and party member Esad Kulović were critical of the badly educated Islamic clergy who according to them was dumbing down the Muslim population in BiH and demanded reforms in the Islamic institutions. Ademaga Mešić, Esad Kulović, Safvet-beg Bašagić and Edhem Mulabdić considered that it was important to combat the intellectual *jahiliyyah* "ignorance" among the Muslims. See Imamović 1997:410-413.

¹⁴⁴ In 1910 the MNS changed the name of the party to Muslim Independent Party (MSS) and revised the political program and renounced the Croatian national idea, the MSS tried to merge with MNO but without any success.

¹⁴⁵ Imamović 2006:249.

4 Assassination in Sarajevo and the First World War

On 28 July 1914 the A-H Archduke Franz Ferdinand visited Sarajevo with his wife Sophie. The same day eight members of the revolutionary movement Young Bosnia (*Mlada Bosna*) prepared to assassinate Franz Ferdinand.¹⁴⁶ The original plan was to assassinate the A-H General Oskar Potiorek who was the governor of BiH; the assassination was to be conducted by Muhamed Mehmedbašić by a dagger that should be prepared by poison.¹⁴⁷ Danilo Ilić visited Mehmedbašić and informed him that the assassination attempt on Potiorek should be postponed since information had reached that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand should visit Sarajevo. The Black Hand (*Crna Ruka*) officially known by the name Unification or Death (*Ujedinjenje Ili Smrt*) a secret society in Serbia with the intention to unify all land where Orthodox population lived like BiH and Croatia provided the weapons that the assassins used.¹⁴⁸ On 28 June 1914 the Archduke Franz Ferdinand visited Sarajevo with his wife Sophie. At 9.25 A.M. a special train was heading for Sarajevo with the Archduke and his wife.

At 10.10 A.M. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand was heading toward the town hall with his cortège on Apple Quay Street when suddenly a hand grenade was flying through the air towards the car that the Archduke was riding.¹⁴⁹ The hand grenade missed the car that the Archduke was riding and hit one of the cars in the cortège and wounded two officers. When the Archduke reached the town hall he wanted to visit the wounded officers when he was assured that no attempts to assassinate him would happen again and that the assassin was caught. The Imperial party left the town hall quarter to eleven and was riding in high speed on the Apple Quay Street, the first car in the cortège went on with the original program and headed for the museum that the Archduke was supposed to visit. The first car turned and the third car that the Archduke was in also turned the Archduke told his driver to stop and wondered what was going on. The car stopped on the corner of Apple Quay Street and Franz Josef Street when a man stepped out of the

¹⁴⁶ The nine members of Young Bosnia were Muhamed Mehmedbašić, Cvjetko Popović, Trifun Grabež, Nedeljko Čabrinović, Vaso Čubrilović, Miško Jovanović, Veljko Čubrilović, Gavrilo Princip and Danilo Ilić. All of the involved were Orthodox except Muhamed Mehmedbašić who was a Muslim. An interesting note is that the recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1961 Ivo Andrić was a member in the organisation Young Bosnia.

¹⁴⁷ Dedijer 1966:282f.

¹⁴⁸ Although the Black Hand provided the weapons to the assassins there is no solid evidence that Colonel Dragutin Dimitrijević known by his nickname Apis masterminded the assassination on the Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The Black Hand knew that the members of Young Bosnia was planning to assassinate the Archduke as did the president of the Serbian National Assembly Nikola Pašić, who through the Serbian ambassador in Vienna tried to warn the Archduke of the plot against his life. The warning to the Archduke was also to be brought forward by border guards who were members of the Black Hand. See Resic 2006:177.

¹⁴⁹ Dedijer 1966:12.

crowd with a revolver and fired the revolver. The car with the Archduke and his wife backed down the Apple Quay and headed for the Governors residence in Sarajevo, at approximately 11.30 A.M. the Archduke and his wife died.¹⁵⁰

The man that fired the revolver and killed the Archduke and his wife was Gavrilo Princip an Orthodox from the village of Obljaj in western BiH. Seven of the eight conspirators in the assassination of the Archduke were caught. Muhamed Mehmedbašić was the only of the conspirators that managed to escape to Serbia.¹⁵¹ Gavrilo Princip was sentenced to 20 years in prison and died in 1918 of tuberculosis; Nedeljko Čabrinović was sentenced to 15 years in prison he died of tuberculosis in 1916, Vaso Čubrilović was released from prison in 1918 with Cvjetko Popović. Trifun Grabež died of tuberculosis in 1918; Danilo Ilić was executed with Veljko Čubrilović and Miško Jovanović in 1915.

The assassination of the Archduke shocked Europe; on 23 July 1914 the A- Empire sent an ultimatum to the Serbian government, in this ultimatum A-H demanded that A-H officials and military should march in to Serbia and administer justice.¹⁵² Serbia could not accept this ultimatum. Meantime in Europe the mobilisation started, A-H Empire looked for support from Germany, when Germany declared that they supported the A-H Empire, the A-H Empire declared war on Serbia on 28 July 1914. In Belgrade the government and the Serbian King counted on support from the Russian Empire.¹⁵³ The Belgrade government and the King were right that the Russian Empire would support Serbia. Russian Empire started to mobilise the troops on the German border; Germany looked up on this as a provocation and demanded from Russia to stop the mobilisation when Russia did not respond Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August.¹⁵⁴ Russia counted on the French support but the Germans were faster than the French and declared

¹⁵⁰ Dedijer 1966:16.

¹⁵¹ Muhamed Mehmedbašić volunteered into the Serbian royal army after the World War I started. On December 15, 1916 Dragutin Dimitrijević, Rade Malobabić and Muhamed Mehmedbašić were arrested in Thessaloniki, more arrests followed of Dimitrijević associates and members of the Black Hand, the member of Young Bosnia Mustafa Golubić was also arrested. Dimitrijević was accused to plot against the king Alexander I Karađorđević and Nikola Pašić he was also accused of plans to assassinate the king and Pašić. On 5 June 1917 Apis and eight other of his associates were sentenced to death. Muhamed Mehmedbašić was sentenced to 15 years penal servitude. He was pardoned in 1919 and returned to Sarajevo, he was killed by Ustaša in 1943. After World War I Mustafa Golubić studied in Switzerland where he got involved with Communism, he went to the Soviet Union where he enrolled in the NKVD (forerunner to the KGB) he graduated as a Major General in the NKVD and received Soviet citizenship. He was sent to Belgrade in April 1941 to organise the Communists to resist the Germans, he was caught by the Gestapo and executed, in 1946 he's remains was brought to Moscow where he was buried. See Dedijer 1966:396-399.

¹⁵² Resic 2006:177.

¹⁵³ Resic 2006:178.

¹⁵⁴ Resic 2006:178.

war on France on 3 August. The Germans hoped that Great Britain should stay out of the conflict but Great Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August. The A-H Empire launched attack on Serbia but in three large waves Serbia was able to push back the first attack from the A-H Empire.¹⁵⁵ A-H conciliated their troops and attacked again the Bulgarian army also attacked Serbia in October 1915; the Serbian army was forced to start retreating. The Serbian army retreated in December 1915 through Kosovo and Albania down to the Adriatic coast to Corfu. During this retreat one-half of the 300 000 soldiers died.¹⁵⁶ One-fifth of a population of five million Serbs died during the war.¹⁵⁷ The Serbian army and exile-government headed by Nikola Pašić and the Crown Prince Alexander as the supreme commander of the Serbian army regrouped and were supplied at the Island of Corfu. In 1916 the Serbian army of 115 000 men were sent to Greece and the Thessaloniki front under French command.¹⁵⁸ In 1918 the Allied powers Serbia, France, Great Britain, Greece and Italy launched a massive attack and overran the Bulgarian, A-H and German troops. In 1918 the A-H Empire was slowly falling apart due to the heavy strain on the economy and the different people in the Empire like the Czech for example wanted to self-government. On 31 October Hungary terminated its union with Austria and the Empire was officially dissolved. On 29 October 1918 the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was proclaimed and on 1 December 1918 the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS) was proclaimed.

4.1 The Yugoslav committee and the first Yugoslavia

During the First World War a Committee was formed by the name of Yugoslav Committee. This Committee was formed in Italy by émigrés from Croatia, the main members of this Committee was Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić these Committee would play a key role in the creation of a south Slave state on the Balkan Peninsula. The Yugoslav Committee was supported in small numbers by some intellectuals and a small portion of middle-class Croatian and Slovenes as well as some Serbs. In December 1914 the Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Pašić obtained parliamentary approval of a statement that declared war aim of Serbia was the liberation and unification of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.¹⁵⁹ On August 23 1915 Pašić sent instructions to Serbian diplomats in allied capitals how to defend the war aim which was the unification of the

¹⁵⁵ Resic 2006:178.

¹⁵⁶ Lampe 2000:104.

¹⁵⁷ Resic 2006:178.

¹⁵⁸ Lampe 2000:104.

¹⁵⁹ Dragnich 1983:5.

Serbo-Croatian-Slovene people. Pašić's problem arrived in late 1915 when the German and A-H army marched in to Serbia and the Serbian politicians with the Serbian army retreated to Corfu. The issue of the unification of the Serbo-Croatian-Slovene people would be ignored if the Yugoslav Committee did not brought up the issue and supported Pašić on the unification of the Serbo-Croatian-Slovene people. Frano Supilo a member of the Yugoslav Committee found out during his visit in Serbia's war capital Niš in early 1915 from Aleksandar Belić's book *Srbija i južoslovensko pitanje*, (*Serbia and the South Slave Question*), that Serbs and Croats were simply the same people with two names, so that any sort of autonomy that divided them would go against the national consciousness.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore Supilo were not able to figure out from Pašić what kind of terms Croats could expect if they were to unite with Serbia. After his visit in Niš Supilo travelled to Russia to get assurance from Russia about the self-rule of Croatia in a future South Slave state. But Supilo received bad news from the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Sazonov, he informed Supilo that the Allies were to promise Italy Dalmatia in return of her declaration of war against A-H and Germany.¹⁶¹ Supilo informed Pašić and Trumbić of this, Pašić and Trumbić work to stop the Allies to sign a treaty with Italy with the promise of Dalmatia if Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies the treaty was signed on April 26 1915.¹⁶²

On 30 April 1915 Trumbić assembled the Slovenes and Croats from the Yugoslav Committee in Paris and brought out the Committee in the open. The Committee decided that their headquarter should be located in London and Trumbić was elected as president for the Committee. The main focus for Trumbić and the Croats in the Committee was the situation of Dalmatia. As the war dragged on Supilo changed his views on the South Slave state; he started to endorse a compromise suggestion put forward by Member of Parliament in Great Britain Sir Edward Grey. Grey suggested that BiH, Southern Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia should be allowed to choose their future by a referendum after the war. Pašić interpreted Supilo's change of mind that he was preparing the grounds for an independent Croatia at the same time the members of the Yugoslav Committee objected that Supilo had made the compromise without consulting them. Supilo stated that Serbia had to accomplish reforms in the political, constitutional and cultural sphere that would prevent what he called the Serb-Orthodox exclusives that could

¹⁶⁰ Stokes 1980:55. The Yugoslav Committee that consisted manly of Croats from Dalmatia and Slovenia had vision of a united South Slav state with equal status for Croats, Serbs and Slovenes and self-rule.

¹⁶¹ Stokes 1980:55.

¹⁶² Stokes 1980:55.

destroy a Yugoslav unity.¹⁶³ But Supilo distanced the Slovenian members of the Committee because he considered that Zagreb was the centre of Croatian-Slovenian activity that offended the Slovenian members of the Committee. Pašić at the same time gave an interview to the Russian press that he was ready to recognise Italy's interests in the Adriatic which outraged Supilo and made him believe that the Serbs could not be trusted to protect Croatian and Slovenian interests.¹⁶⁴ Supilo tried to persuade the members of the Committee to break with Serbia but the Committee turned the deaf ear because they viewed Serbia as a vital partner in the goal to reach the goal of a South Slave state. The members prohibited any member from making any personal contacts and statements without approval from Trumbić. Supilo resigned from the Committee in June of 1916.

On 27 July 1917 Pašić and Trumbić signed the Corfu declaration. This declaration called for a creation of a democratic, constitutional Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under the Karađorđević dynasty in which the cultural and religious rights of all the three peoples would be preserved.¹⁶⁵ After the war a constitutional assembly would determine the internal organisation of the state. But Pašić had to give up its flag and other national symbols.¹⁶⁶ Pašić was really eager to show the declaration to the Allies, which was a blow to A-H on one hand and similarly to Italy. To A-H it meant a reduction of the territory like Croatia, Slavonia, Slovenia, Dalmatia and BiH. To Italy this meant that Serbia and the Yugoslav Committee had aspiration on Dalmatia, and the Yugoslav Committee had an office and a lobby group in USA that could influence the American politicians on the Dalmatian question. After the war ended Italian troops started to march towards the Slovenian town Ljubljana and planed to march towards the city of Karlovac in Croatia, but no military confrontation occurred.¹⁶⁷ But Italy supported Montenegrin guerrilla groups who supported King Nikola who was in exile in France. The support also went out to Macedonian guerrilla groups and Albanian groups who created social unrest in the emerging south Slave state. Although Italy emerged at the wining side in the war their aspiration to fully control the Adriatic coast was shattered at the Treaty of Versailles. President of the USA Woodrow Wilson supported the creation of a Yugoslav state and favoured the Yugoslav Committee and Serbian claims to the

¹⁶³ Stokes 1980:57.

¹⁶⁴ Stokes 1980:58.

¹⁶⁵ Stokes 1980:58.

¹⁶⁶ Dragnich 1983:8.

¹⁶⁷ Vucinich 1980:183.

Adriatic coast. The main of the Adriatic coast were given to the newly formed Yugoslav State, Italy received the city of Zadar on the Adriatic coast and some of the Dalmatian islands.

4.2 The formation of Yugoslavian Muslim Organisation

When the Serbian troops marched in BiH the Orthodox population started to attack Muslim peasants, Muslim landowners and Catholic peasants. In the Posavina area mobs of Orthodox peasants attacked Muslim landlords and peasants physically, they burned down their hunting lodges, granaries and haystacks and robbed their houses, the areas that was most affected was Derventa, Bijeljina and Rogatica. In early 1919 the president of the Peoples Council of BiH in SHS Anastasije Šola sent a telegram to the Minister of Internal affairs in SHS, Svetozar Pribičević. Šola states in the telegram that the situation in Derventa, Bijeljina and Rogatica are so serious that martial laws must be introduced in these areas or total anarchy will prevail.¹⁶⁸ In BiH the social democratic journal *Glas Slobode*, “*Voice of Freedom*,” stated that the violent action of the Orthodox population in BiH against the Muslims was a revenge on the violent acts committed against them in 1914.¹⁶⁹ The journal calls for peace and states that the people in BiH should restrain themselves using violence based on religious and nationalistic differences. The journal *Vrijeme*, “*Times*,” printed by the Muslim Organisation in Sarajevo was reporting all attacks and violence against the Muslims in BiH that they could confirm in a section in the journal that was under the headline Face to Face. The journal *Jednakost*, “*Unity*,” printed by a pro-Serb faction of Muslims also known as the democrats reported attacks and violence on the Muslims by Orthodox peasants.¹⁷⁰ During the violence in BiH, the members behind the journals *Times* and *Unity* started to look support for their political views among the Muslims in BiH. The journals that were printed were sent through a network of friends and relatives around in BiH to gain support for their cause. In the journals the political views of the members were outlined, the journals informed the Muslims how to organise themselves and the journal *Times* pointed out that they did not have anything in common with the journal *Unity*.¹⁷¹ Edhem Mulabdić who was a member of the Muslim Organisation worked out the political program that the journal *Times* voiced. The

¹⁶⁸ Purivatra 1977:33f.

¹⁶⁹ Purivatra 1977:34.

¹⁷⁰ Purivatra 1977:36. The democrats turned to the Field Marshal Stepa Stepanović the highest military commander in BiH and demanded that the Muslims in BiH should receive protection from the Serbian military units stationed in BiH and that all private property belonging to Muslims should be protected.

¹⁷¹ Purivatra 1977:49.

members of the journal *Unity* formed a political party in December 1918 under the name Yugoslav Muslim Democracy, (JMD). In December 1918 *mufti* Ibrahim Maglajlić formed the Tuzla Action Assembly this Assembly organised a meeting on 4 January 1919 in Tuzla. Delegates from seven municipalities travelled to Tuzla to attend the meeting.¹⁷² At the meeting the delegates agreed to begin to organise Muslims politically in the villages and rural areas, all attacks on Muslims should be gathered, out of these information's gathered a memorandum would be sent to the highest authorities in Belgrade. At the meeting Ibrahim Maglajlić was chosen as the president of the Assembly. An appeal was sent to Muslims in BiH to start to organise themselves so that a Muslim political party could be formed. All over BiH Muslims had started to organise themselves to protect each other from attacks from Orthodox peasants. But this appeal triggered the Muslims to organise politically. In Bosanska Krupa an organisation with political views was formed on 23 December 1918, and in Bosanski Novi a similar organisation was formed in December of 1918.¹⁷³ On 12 January 1919 an organisation in Banja Luka by the name of Muslim Unity was formed. The Muslims of Banja Luka entrusted the publicist of Islamic literature Sulejman al-Syrru Abdagić to gather Muslim organisations formed in northern and north-western BiH and persuade them to join Muslim Unity. He should inform these organisations about the Tuzla Action Assembly and Muslim Organisation in Sarajevo and the importance of the formation of a political Muslim organisation that represented all Muslims no matter of social-class.¹⁷⁴ In January organisations all over BiH started to form.

On 10 February 1919 at a meeting in Sarajevo, Muslim organisations from 40 out of 54 municipalities in BiH were present. The delegates at the meeting stressed that it was important that all Muslim political parties should be united; a step to talk to JMD was reached with the slogan that Muslims only could protect their interests united. Thought the discussions with the JMD the two parties could not reach any agreement due to differences about the rule of the newly created SHS.¹⁷⁵ On the 15 February 1919 the day before Pribičević were to arrive in Sarajevo with the Slovene Albert Kramer and the Croat Edo Lukinić to meet the JMD and the Muslim

¹⁷² Purivatra 1977:51. The delegates came from the municipalities of Brčko, Bijeljina, Gračanica, Kladanj, Maglaj, Vlasenica and Zvornik.

¹⁷³ Purivatra 1977:52.

¹⁷⁴ Purivatra 1977:53.

¹⁷⁵ Purivatra 1977:55. The delegates from the Muslim organisations who met the delegates from JMD tried to reach a compromise, the delegates from the Muslim organisation agreed on the unity of the SHS with constitutional monarchy under the rule of the Karađorđević dynasty with centralist government but with a great deal of autonomy in the municipalities, counties and regions of BiH but the JMD delegates insisted on total centralism. The JMD furthermore announced that they would join up with the party that Pribičević were planning to start up.

Organisation to talk about a formation of a new political party a delegation was formed by the Muslim Organisation to meet Pribićević. When Pribićević arrived in Sarajevo two delegates, Halid Hrasnica and Hamdija Karamehmedović from Muslim Organisation met Pribićević and explained to Pribićević that the Muslim Organisation would not participate or join Pribićević and his party. Hrasnica and Karamehmedović explained to Pribićević that the Muslim Organisation did not see any signs from Pribićević side that he would voice the needs of the Muslims and that he did nothing to deal with the problems in eastern and north-eastern BiH. Furthermore Hrasnica and Karamehmedović explained to Pribićević that the delegates present in Sarajevo from all parts of BiH were planning to start a party that was to voice and look after the needs of the Muslims in BiH. When informed on the situation Pribićević lashed out and called the stance from Muslim Organisation anti-governmental and that the members in Muslim Organisation were proponents of separatism.¹⁷⁶ On the 16 February 1919 the delegates from the 40 municipalities held a congress in Sarajevo, at this congress it was decided that the newly formed party should take the name Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (JMO), hastily written key issues were approved.¹⁷⁷ At the same congress the delegates voted for a Central Party Committee consisting of 32 members.¹⁷⁸ The *mufti* Ibrahim Maglajlić was elected as the president of the JMO, Halid Hrasnica and Hamdija Karamehmedović were elected as vice-presidents of JMO. Hamdija Džinić and Muhamed Ibrahimpašić were also elected into the Central Party Committee.¹⁷⁹ The social composition of the Central Party Committee were as follows, 7 landlords, 5 mayors, 3 professors, 3 clerks, 2 *muftis*, 2 medical doctors, 2 judges, 1 lawyer, 1 journalist, 1 wholesale dealer, 1 teacher, 1 merchant, 1 municipality representative and 1 author.¹⁸⁰ Worth noting that Halid Hrasnica's brother Mahmud Hrasnica was elected into the Central Party Committee as well as Hamdija Džinić's relative Ali-Kjamil Džinić.

¹⁷⁶ Purivatra 1977:56.

¹⁷⁷ Purivatra 1977:57. The key issues that was approved only consisted of two points that was written down the first point voiced total religious autonomy for the Muslims in BiH, the second point voiced compensation from the state for damaged property that belonged to Muslims in BiH. According to Purivatra there were one more point that was not written down this point stressed that Muslims from other parts of SHS could join the JMO, like Kosovo, Sandžak and Macedonia.

¹⁷⁸ Only 31 members actually were present in the central party committee, 1 seat was vacant.

¹⁷⁹ Purivatra 1977:57. In 1911 the *mufti* Ibrahim Maglajlić, Hamdija Karamehmedović, Muhamed Ibrahimpašić and Hamdija Džinić were members in United Muslim Organisation that was a minor party active during the A-H rule.

¹⁸⁰ Purivatra 1977:57.

4.2.1 Yugoslav Muslim Organisation

A more precise set of key issues was set up by the central party committee on the 26 April 1919 and consisted of 7 points.¹⁸¹ With the formation of JMO, Muslims in BiH started to hold meetings in cities where party bodies of JMO existed. In early 1920 in eastern BiH in the city of Foča JMO were to hold a party meeting at this event 40 orthodox city dwellers from Foča backed by 15 soldiers from the Serbian army were present outside the building where the event should be held. The present soldiers and orthodox city dwellers were shouting derogatory racial and religious slurs and shouted at the assembled JMO members to move back home where they came from namely Asia Minor.¹⁸² On 28 November 1920 the first elections in SHS were to be held, seven months before the elections were to be held the NRS and DS in BiH and in Serbia pushed a massive propaganda campaign to discredit JMO. The NRS party organ, DS organ and regular newspapers in Serbia discredit the JMO. The propaganda stated that JMO was founded on a religious basis and that the leading members of JMO were anti-governmental and made it difficult to consolidate the new state; beside the propaganda DS also supported new political groups among the Muslims.¹⁸³ In March 1920 the Muslim Farmers Party (MTS) were created under the leadership of Šefkija Gluhić and Šukrija Kurtović, the MTS was supported and acted as a Muslim satellite party of DS. The MTS stated in their journal *Glas Težaka*, “Farmers Voice,” that Muslim farmers should be on equal foot with the Orthodox and Catholic farmers and have the same rights, when it came to land that was taken from the landlords the compensation should be progressive over a long time.¹⁸⁴ In the elections of 1920 MTS only managed to get 1122 votes and was disbanded shortly after the elections. At the same time as MTS was formed Independent Muslim List (MNL) appeared on the political scene, the party was headed by Šerif Arnautović who was a member of Executive Committee *Kiraethana* in Mostar during the A-H rule. The

¹⁸¹ Purivatra 1977:59. The first point stressed that the state had to be responsible of the personal security of the Muslims, point two stressed that lost property and destroyed property of the Muslims should be compensated by the state, point three stressed that before the agrarian question was to be solved that the landlords should be compensated and that the state should leave enough land for the landlords who wished to engage in farming, point four stressed that land should be evenly distributed among the Muslim population and that taxes from land-owning peasants should be abolished, point five stressed that during voting for representatives in the SHS voting should be proportional, point six stressed the total religious autonomy that the Muslims in BiH would enjoy should be extended throughout SHS where Muslims lived like Macedonia, Kosovo and Sandžak, institutions like *sharia* courts should be set up and that the Muslims should have the opportunity to have close contacts with the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* in Istanbul, point seven stressed that JMO should be allowed to operate in Macedonia, Kosovo and Sandžak.

¹⁸² Purivatra 1977:72.

¹⁸³ Purivatra 1977:75.

¹⁸⁴ Purivatra 1977:75.

MNL were a satellite party of NRS and voiced their political views in their journal *Domovina*, “*Motherland*,” the political views of MNL did not differ from NRS, in the elections of 1920 MNL managed to get 449 votes and in 1922 the MNL was disbanded.¹⁸⁵ Other minor Muslim parties also tried to run in the elections but their results were totally insignificant, all Muslim parties that were alternative Muslim parties to JMO only managed to get 1877 votes together.¹⁸⁶ The JMO made a big success in the elections the JMO got 110 895 votes, but if we look at the district of Banja Luka the Muslim population consisted of 17,08 percent and managed to get 18,73 percent of all ballots.¹⁸⁷ It is interesting that JMO got 24 mandates which is 38 percent of all mandates in BiH when they should only get 31,07 percent of the mandates if we only count all Muslim votes Purivatra states that the big success of JMO is due to votes that came from almost all Muslims and some non Muslim votes must be taken in to account.¹⁸⁸ If we look at the mandates in BiH we see that Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ) got 4 mandates, Democrat Party (DS) 2 mandates, United Farmers (ST) 12 mandates, Peoples Radical Party (NRS) 11 mandates, Croatian Farmers Party (HTS) 7 mandates and Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) 3 mandates.¹⁸⁹ The success of JMO astonished the political establishment in Zagreb and Belgrade, the organs of political parties and newspapers wrote extensively about the success of JMO. The journal *Balkan* of far rightwing proponents of Greater Serbia argues that the behaviour of the Orthodox population in BiH against the Muslims with looting and violent action had led to the unity of Muslims to protect themselves and if the Muslims acted any differently than to unite they would not be normal. Stojan Protić writes in NRS journal *Samouprava*, “*Self-governing*,” that the Muslims in BiH got more mandates than expected and that they achieved this by unity, good organisation and diligence. The democratic liberal journal *Jugoslavenski list*, “*Yugoslavian Paper*,” states that due to the unfair treatment of the Muslims the Muslims came to the ballot boxes as one man to vote for their representatives so that they could departure for Belgrade and change the unfair policies Muslims endures.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Purivatra 1977:76. Šerif Arnautović was head of the *Vakuf* Commission to 1921 when he resigned. In 1930 King Alexander I Karađorđević named Šerif Arnautović as the head of the *Vakuf* Commission and he held the post until his death in 1935.

¹⁸⁶ Purivatra 1977:78.

¹⁸⁷ Banac 1984:370.

¹⁸⁸ Purivatra 1977:78.

¹⁸⁹ Purivatra 1977:78.

¹⁹⁰ Purivatra 1977:79, n58.

The leading profile that emerged from the ranks of JMO that left for Belgrade was Mehmed Spaho. When Mehmed Spaho entered the political life in the parliament he had knowledge of politics from his time when he was member of the MNO during the A-H era in BiH. Mehmed Spaho was educated in Vienna and received a doctorate in law during his student years in Vienna he had the opportunity to observe the political life in the A-H Empire. Mehmed Spaho was appointed as minister of industry and commerce, Hamdija Karamehmedović was appointed as minister of health. The success of JMO also paved the way for four Muslims from JMO to take seats in the Council of BiH. Ibrahim Deftardarević was appointed to handle the internal security of BiH, Ismet Gavran-Kapetanović responsibility in BiH was commerce, Abduselam Hrasnica handled the social issues in BiH, and Muhamed Kulenović was responsible for agriculture. On 6 and 7 October 1921 JMO held a congress in Sarajevo the delegates attending voted for a Central Party Committee, 32 members were elected. *Mufti* Ibrahim Maglajlić was elected as president and Mehmed Spaho was elected as vice-president, in the Central Party Committee we find members like Mujaga Komadina who was president in the Mostar *Kiraethana* we also find Muharem Komadina a close relative to Mujaga Komadina in the Central Party Committee, Muhamed Sulejmanpašić from the wealthy Bugojno family Sulejmanpašić active in the Travnik faction we also find Fahro Teskeredžić from Travnik close relative to the leader of the Travnik faction Muharem-beg Teskeredžić and Mehmed Spaho's brother Fehim Spaho.¹⁹¹

The cohesion of the members in JMO would prove to be fragile. In late 1921 and early 1922 two factions arose inside the JMO they were known as the left wing faction and right wing faction.¹⁹² The left wing faction led by Mehmed Spaho decided to move their political stance and join the opposition block while the right wing faction wanted to stay in the ruling coalition formed by NRS and DS. The left wing faction considered that the NRS and DS by their politics had destroyed the administration and currency; furthermore the left wing considered that NRS and DS had created a hostile environment in Croatia and made no progress to solve the agrarian question.¹⁹³ Mehmed Spaho mobilised his supporters in the left wing faction and a campaign started to muster support among the different JMO sections in BiH. The right wing faction was not active in campaigning, but rather relied on personal networks they had in different JMO

¹⁹¹ Purivatra 1977:371, n28.

¹⁹² See Appendix III. The label left wing and right wing in the case of the JMO should not be viewed in the western European sense of politics.

¹⁹³ Purivatra 1977:116.

sections. Salih Baljić from the left wing faction and Hamdija Karamehmedović from the right wing faction had supporters and great deal of influences in the JMO sections in the cities of Mostar, Čapljina and Konjic. The members in the cities mentioned took a neutral stance and were trying to calm down the factions. The goal set up by the Mostar, Čapljina and Konjic JMO sections were to get the factions to co-operate rather than quarrelling. The news about the quarrelling in the ranks of JMO was welcomed by NRS; the NRS acted swiftly and supported the right wing faction morally and with money for propaganda. When the news about the NRS support for the right wing faction reached the left wing faction the left wing faction accused the right wing faction to be advocates for NRS and Greater Serbia. In a article written by Sakib Korkut from the right wing faction that was printed on April 14, 1922, by the *Yugoslavian Paper* he writes that the accusations from Spaho's followers are ridicules, he claims that among them i.e. right wing faction there are only one that professes himself as Serb, the others professes themselves as Croats.¹⁹⁴

On 16 April 1922 JMO held a congress in Sarajevo, 114 delegates were present at this congress while none from the right wing faction boycotted the congress. During the congress the delegates voted on a resolution if the JMO should join Stjepan Radić and HSS in the opposition block or stay in the ruling coalition formed by NRS and DS. Out of 114 delegates 94 voted, 91 members voted in favour to join the opposition block, 3 voted against, 2 members did not vote, 18 were absent from the voting but 3 of the absent members informed that they were in favour to join the opposition block, among these 3 were Džafer-beg Kulenović. When the news of the results reached the right wing faction they left the JMO and started immediately to organise a new political party.¹⁹⁵ On 22 April 1922 the right wing faction consolidated the supporters of the right wing faction and held a congress. The supporters decided that the newly formed party should take the name Yugoslav Muslim Peoples Party (JMNO), the *mufti* Ibrahim Maglajlić was elected as president of the party while Osman Vilović was elected as vice-president.¹⁹⁶ Sakib Korkut started the journal of JMNO; *Iršad*, “*Signpost*,” the first number of the organ was printed on 21 June 1922.

Thought the support JMNO received from NRS the JMNO realised that building up a network of JMNO sections was a hard task and led to one failure after another, the hardest task

¹⁹⁴ Purivatra 1977:117.

¹⁹⁵ Purivatra 1977:120.

¹⁹⁶ Purivatra 1977:120.

was to rally support from Muslims in BiH. This would prove in the on 18 March 1923. Out of 488 498 persons that had the right to vote 379 837 persons voted in BiH.¹⁹⁷ JMO got 112 228 votes and secured 18 mandates while NRS in BiH got 88 144 votes securing 13 mandates, JMNO managed to get 10 266 votes but no mandates.¹⁹⁸ JMNO tried to stay on the political scene but without support from NRS and overrun by JMO in the election JMNO descent started, Purivatra states that JMNO ceased to exist 26 November 1924 when last number of the journal *Iršad* was printed.¹⁹⁹ The leading figures from JMNO returned to their occupations they had prior to the politics, Ibrahim Maglajlić returned to his post as *mufti* in Tuzla, Sakib Korkut returned to his post as *mufti* in Travnik and Hamdija Karamehmedović returned to his post as medical doctor in Sarajevo.²⁰⁰

On 25 and 26 January 1923 JMO a congress in Sarajevo were Mehmed Spaho was elected as president. If we look at the delegates attending the congress we still find Mujaga Komadina and Fahro Teskeredžić we also find the landowner Nurija Pozderac from Cazin in north-western BiH after the Axis invasion in 1941 he joined the partisans and was considered together with Avdo Humo to be leading Muslims in the partisan movement.²⁰¹ The JMO congress on 10 and 11 December 1924 was held in Sarajevo and we find that the respected Kapetanović family from northern BiH is appearing among the delegate's. Representatives from the city of Derventa we find two Kapetanović one Kapetanović from Prijedor and one Kapetanović representing Prnjavor and Bosanski Kobaš all related to each other.²⁰²

4.3 Yugoslavia during the 1920's and the Serb views on Muslims of Bosnia

On June 28, 1921 the Serbian King Alexander I Karađorđević proclaimed the constitution known as the Vidovdan constitution (Saint Vitus Day constitution). The voting for the final draft of the constitution that took place on June 28, 1921, 258 deputies voted, and 223 voted for the constitution 35 against and 111 abstained. The votes distributed in favour for the constitution were as follows, 184 Serbs, 18 Muslims, 11 Slovenes and 10 Croats. The constitution needed 210

¹⁹⁷ Purivatra 1977:139.

¹⁹⁸ Purivatra 1977:139.

¹⁹⁹ Purivatra 1977:126.

²⁰⁰ Purivatra 1977:126. Ibrahim Maglajlić was *Reisu-ul-ulema* from 1930 to 1936. Hamdija Karamehmedović returned to politics in 1932 during the royal dictatorship appointed by the king to participate in the puppet government led by Milan Srškić and Nikola Uzunović, he left the political scene in 1934.

²⁰¹ Purivatra 1977:371f, n29.

²⁰² Purivatra 1977:372ff, n30.

votes to be passed thanks to the votes of the JMO the constitution could be passed.²⁰³ Pašić were able to strike a deal with JMO to vote for the constitution by promising Mehmed Spaho that BiH would keep its historical boundaries that was established by the A-H Empire.²⁰⁴ The constitution meant that Yugoslavia was divided in 35 districts, the King appointed the Prime Minister laws could only be passed after the King approved them, parliamentary deputies needed to be at least 30 years of age, military officers and soldiers on active duty had no right to vote, state suppliers and state contractors could not be members of the parliament neither could civil servants be members of the parliament except ministers and university professors, an act into the constitution was introduced that banned the communist party after terrorist acts.²⁰⁵ After the Vidovdan constitution was passed it soon became clear to the non-Serbian population that the Serbian and Orthodox population was favoured on several levels. The state administration in Belgrade and other parts of Yugoslavia was filled with Serbs and people of the Orthodox faith, the Catholic Church were announced as enemy of the state while the Serbian Orthodox Church were announced as cornerstone of the state.²⁰⁶

Nationalistic Serbian author's priests and poets started to publish works hostile to the Muslim population of BiH. The Orthodox priest Milan Karanović used physical anthropology to prove that the Muslims in north-western BiH were not Slavs but Asians. In his field work in the town of Bužim he observed Muslims after the prayer in the mosque was finished when the male population gathered to talk he writes the following: "I observed them when they came out of the mosque. They all had Mongol features, big cheekbones, dark faces and slanted eyes. (...) thin beard and big horse like teeth's".²⁰⁷ Works like Karanović's moulded the thinking process of the Orthodox population that the Muslims of BiH were not Slavs but Asians from Anatolia. The Orthodox mayor of the town Bratunac in north-eastern BiH was quoted in the *New York Times* on 22 April, 1993 as saying the following: "We've always been here and the Muslims have only

²⁰³ Dragnich 1983:24. Džafer-beg Kulenović from the JMO voted against the constitution, the 35 votes against the constitution came from the Social Democrats, Official Agrarians, Republicans, Trumbić and dissidents from Narodna Radikalna Stranka (People's Radical Party, NRS). 161 deputies boycotted the procedures among them Hrvatska Republikanska Seljačka Stranka (Croatian Republican Peasant Party, HRSS) lead by Stjepan Radić.

²⁰⁴ Pašić even promised Spaho that the Muslims of BiH would keep the *sharia* courts and *vakuf-mearif* policies that were set up during the A-H rule.

²⁰⁵ Resic 2006:199 & Dragnich 1983:25.

²⁰⁶ Resic 2006:199.

²⁰⁷ Hadžijahić 1990:12. (My translation), Hadžijahić cites Karanović, Milan, *Pounje u Bosanskoj Krajini*, Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija 1925, p.331f.

been here since the fifteenth century”.²⁰⁸ But these views from Karanović were gentle if we examine the views of the Orthodox writer Čedomil Mitrinović from BiH he was also a close friend of the Serbian geographer and president of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences Jovan Cvijić. In his work *Naši muslimani: Studija za orientaciju pitanja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, 1926 Mitrinović writes the following words about the Muslims of BiH:

Their character is marked by inertia, every kind of indolence, mendacity and braggadocio, fatalism, (belief in) *kismet*, ungovernable fancy, and especially sensuality, (which when connected) with claims of biology that homosexuals are weaker than heterosexuals and often without any will for life, (leads to) the incontestable explanation of homosexuality among our Muslims.²⁰⁹

Mitrinović writes further that their worst characteristics were rejection of honest work and that they were parasitical, prone to business failures, and found the highest ideals in the cult of *rahatlik*, “pleasure.” A necessary aspect of their rehabilitation was “social de-Islamisation”.²¹⁰ Mitrinović explains how this “social de-Islamisation” should be carried out; he suggests that the most effective but perhaps not the most politic way to accomplish that was by intermarriage with Serbs. Should this process of nationalisation fail Mitrinović write the following words: “(...) there remains only one solution; short, clear, and inexorable. The singer of folk songs has foretold it and sung about it; he sings about it even today. We shall not repeat it here, because we all know it”.²¹¹ The solution Mitrinović writes about is genocide.

Although the JMO was the leading party that Muslims voted for in BiH the Četnik clubs started to appear in early in 1923 in BiH. The members in the Četnik clubs in BiH came from all walks of life; even Muslims joined up in the Četnik clubs.²¹² In 1925 The youth club of the NRS, Srpska Nacionalna Omladina (SRNAO) actively worked hard in BiH with the forming the

²⁰⁸ Mottahedeh 1996:vii.

²⁰⁹ Banac 1984:372. Banac cites Mitrinović, Čedomil, *Naši muslimani: Studija za orientaciju pitanja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Beograd: Biblioteke Društvo 1926, p.138.

²¹⁰ Banac 1984:372. Banac cites Mitrinović, Čedomil, *Naši muslimani: Studija za orientaciju pitanja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Beograd: Biblioteke Društvo 1926, p.168.

²¹¹ Banac 1984:372. Banac cites Mitrinović, Čedomil, *Naši muslimani: Studija za orientaciju pitanja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Beograd: Biblioteke Društvo 1926, p.172.

²¹² See Šehić 1971:73f. In the executive branch of the Četnik club Udruženja Četnika in BiH there was six Muslims, as follows: 1 Muslim in Mostar, 2 in Derventa, 2 in Bosanski Brod, 4 in Rogatica-Žepa and 1 in Bosanski Novi. In the late 1930's there was 36 Muslim members in the Četnik club Udruženja četnika in BiH.

Muslim Četnik youth club Osman Đikić, the first club Osman Đikić was formed in Kozara followed up by clubs in Sarajevo, Travnik, Visoko and Zenica.²¹³ The youth club Osman Đikić was involved in violent confrontation with JMO and organisations closely associated with JMO. In the town of Kladanj in 1925 Šefko Čamdžić and members of the youth club Osman Đikić under the influence of alcohol tore apart JMO news bulletins and insulted the citizens of Kladanj. In the city of Banja Luka in 1925 Adem Afgan led members of the youth club Osman Đikić to the premises of the Muslim organisation Fadilet and vandalised the premises.²¹⁴ Though some Muslims joined Četnik clubs there was no real success of recruiting Muslims in to the Četnik clubs. The president of SRNAO, Krsta Marić expresses his views in the Serb radical paper *Novi Život*, “*New Life*,” in 1923 about the lack of nationalism among the Muslims in following words:

Muhammad’s faith is a state-building faith but it is anti-nationalistic. Islam swallows people like an owl swallows small birds. Islam is stronger than a sense of nationhood. Those who follow Muhammad’s faith are foremost Muslims and after that they profess nationhood like Turk, Arab, Serb or Croat. In the twentieth century this is strange and comical, but this is the reality. The faith based feelings among the Muslims are stronger than the nationalistic because Islam is anti-nationalistic. Those who understand this will not be surprised why the Bosnian Muslims only speak Serbian, they have Serbian physiognomy, but they do not profess themselves as Serbs but rather as Muslims. They will not profess themselves as Serbs but as friends of the Serbs. Historically the Bosnian, Hercegovian, Montenegrin and Raškan Muslims are Serbs.²¹⁵

Although King Alexander I Karađorđević on 6 January, 1929 imposed dictatorship in Yugoslavia and banned all political parties the Četnik clubs were not banned, and in their own words they prospered.²¹⁶ After the assassination of King Alexander I Karađorđević in France, Četnik clubs could merge with political parties and work actively in these political parties after the regime

²¹³ Šehić 1971:64f.

²¹⁴ Šehić 1971:65, n27.

²¹⁵ Purivatra 1977:386, n28. (My translation). Purivatra cites Marić, Krsta’s writings from *Novi Život* XIII, 1923. Raška mentioned in the quote are the southern part of Raška also known as Sandžak.

²¹⁶ Šehić 1971:122f.

scanned the clubs and their members and found out that no anti-governmental ideology were to be found in the clubs or among their members. Thought the Četnik clubs were nationalistic and hailed everything Serbian there were difference when it came to the question of a South Slav State and unity of Slav people in this state. Some of the Četnik members advocated a Greater Yugoslavia, in this greater Yugoslavia Bulgaria should be incorporated. While the Četnik club Ilija Trifunović was of the opinion that Bulgaria should be incorporated in Yugoslavia some parts of Italy, Hungary and Greece as well as Istanbul should be incorporated in the greater Yugoslavia.²¹⁷

Kosta Pećanac a important figure in the Četnik organisation expressed his views in article 1924 titled “Zašto sam Jugosloven” in this article Pećanac is highly critical of a Greater Serbia, he writes that it takes only three days to ride through the territory of Greater Serbia with a lazy horse, he was also critical of the name SHS because it did not gave the impression of unity, he advocated that the name of the new south Slav State should be Yugoslavia and nothing else.²¹⁸ But all Četnik clubs had the same view on whom should run the south Slav State; the Serbs should be the masters of the south Slav State.²¹⁹

The Četnik clubs were also supported financially by the state to actively work against the communist organisations and political organisations on the far-left side of the political spectrum.²²⁰ But the Četnik clubs were not only bitter opponents to the communist party and political organisations on the far-left side, they also expressed anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant views, according to the Četnik clubs the Jews and all immigrants should be expelled from Yugoslavia because they secretly operated against the vital interests of the government, boycotts were organised by the Četnik clubs against Jewish stores and stores belonging to immigrants.²²¹ According to the Četnik clubs the Muslims in BiH were Serbs of the Islamic faith, but in a sense they looked up on the Muslims with suspicion and there were also views that they were not Slavic people but rather Asians.

²¹⁷ Šehić 1971:110.

²¹⁸ Šehić 1971:107. During the Second World War Kosta Pećanac was the leader of Četnik units, and co-operated with the Germans during the war. He was a bitter enemy of Dragoljub Mihailović and his Ravna Gora movement. Pećanac was killed in 1944 by Četnik units from the Ravna Gora movement.

²¹⁹ Šehić 1971:109.

²²⁰ On the Četnik activity against the communists see Šehić 1971:130-163.

²²¹ Šehić 1971:124f. According to the Četnik clubs immigrants were minorities living inside Yugoslavia like Hungarians, Germans, Albanians and Italians.

4.4 The Royal Dictatorship and Yugoslavia during the 1930's

On the morning of 20 June 1928 the parliament had opening session and the first speaker was the Montenegrin Serb the NRS deputy Puniša Račić.²²² But before the parliament session opened Ivo Pernar from the HSS started to hurl insults at the NRS deputies while they started to hurl insults back at Pernar.²²³ The presiding officer tried to restore order, warning both sides but with no success. NRS deputy Toma Popović told his colleagues that he had come to the parliament to carry out his duties and not to view a circus. Pernar interrupted Popović with abusive remarks. Popović told Pernar if Stjepan Radić who discarded the Croatian people continued with his insults his head would fall. But the insults carried on in the parliament and total disorder prevailed, the session in the parliament was recessed temporarily. When the meeting was resumed Puniša Račić was given the floor but Pernar and some deputies from HSS interrupted him. Pernar carried on taunting NRS deputies and Račić. Račić asked the presiding officer to punish Pernar, but he did not get a satisfactory response from the chair. Račić pulled out a revolver. He started to shoot and killed Pernar then he turned his revolver at Pribičević just as Račić shot the HSS deputy Đuro Basariček jumped to the podium and received the bullet that was meant for Pribičević, Račić continued to shoot and hit Stjepan Radić in the hand and abdomen, Pavle Radić ran to his uncle Stjepan when Račić also shot him.²²⁴ Pernar, Basariček and Pavle Radić died while Stjepan Radić was taken to the hospital to be treated; when king Alexander I Karađorđević received the news about the tragic events in the parliament he hurried to the hospital to visit Stjepan Radić. After the treatment in Belgrade Radić returned to Zagreb and died on August 8, 1928, Račić turned himself in he was tried and convicted and received punishment of 20 years of imprisonment. After the Second World War he was executed by the partisans.²²⁵ After the tragic events on 20 June 1928 the king heard rumours that as soon as Radić returned to Zagreb that he would proclaim a Croatian republic and that Slovenia would follow Croatia. The king called together the party leaders Ljubomir Davidović from Democratic Party (DS) Mehmed

²²² Biondich 2000:239.

²²³ Dragnich 1983:51. The insults from Ivo Pernar at the NRS deputies were a response to Puniša Račić proposal on June 19, 1929 that the leader of HSS Stjepan Radić should be examined by doctors to determine if he was normal because his behaviour led to suspicion that he was not. Stjepan Radić leader of HSS and Svetozar Pribičević member of the Democratic Party (DS), who formed the opposition coalition with JMO and Slovenian Peoples Party (SLS) where the most outspoken critics of NRS in the parliament, harsh words from Radić irritated the deputies of NRS. An example of Radić's rhetoric is on March 12, 1928 when he told the Minister of Social Policy Čedo Radović while he was explaining his ministry's effort to help the poorer regions of the country that he was a cry-baby with a pumpkin instead of a head and that he was ignorant and that he was a thief in a ministerial chair.

²²⁴ Dragnich 1983:51.

²²⁵ Dragnich 1983:51f.

Spaho from JMO and Anton Korošec from the Slovenian Peoples Party (SLS) to get a clear picture of the situation. The party leaders told the king that the chances were at least fifty-fifty that this could happen. The king called on Pribičević and told him to inform Radić that he could return to Zagreb but first he would have to announce that he supported the integrity of the state. If he refused the king told Pribičević that Radić and he could do what they thought was the best for the Croats.²²⁶ Pribičević told the king that his proposal of a separation of Croatia and Serbia was unconstitutional. But this plan by the king about a separation did never go further, instead the problem concerning the political life continued. The opposition coalition moved their headquarters from Belgrade to Zagreb and announced that they would not participate in the parliament. Their condition to return to the parliament was dissolution of that body and a revision of the constitution. Through negotiations with the opposition coalition the king was able to get Anton Korošec as Prime Minister on 27 July 1928 and a four party coalition to rule. But with the death of Radić in August political turmoil and dissatisfaction prevailed in Croatia, Anton Korošec wanted a special law to be passed to deal with the situation in Croatia, but members of the DS could not accept this, and this led to the downfall of the four party coalition and Anton Korošec informed the king on 2 January 1929 of his resignation.²²⁷

The king met Radić's successor Vladko Maček and Pribičević to talks of a formation of a new cabinet, but this failed because Maček and Pribičević wanted revision in the constitution, and Maček followed up with far more changes such as re-establishing the old historical regions with their own parliament with full legislative and executive powers.²²⁸ King Alexander I Karađorđević consulted the constitutional expert Slobodan Jovanović on the situation and on 6 January 1929 King Alexander I Karađorđević announced that after his consultation with representatives of all political parties he had concluded that there was no parliamentary solution that would guarantee the preservation of a full state and national unity.²²⁹ Alexander I Karađorđević announced that he was assuming personal rule, and the era of royal dictatorship

²²⁶ King Alexander I Karađorđević told Pribičević that the Serbian people could not remain with the Croats any longer. He said that he did not want to have any war with the Croats and that it was better that they separated peacefully as Sweden and Norway did in 1905 and that he had approval from the cabinet. If Radić approved his proposal that he could proclaim the secession. The king explained that he would remove the military from Croatia and only leave troops at the Italian border until the Croats organised their own defence and after that the military would be removed from the border of Italy.

²²⁷ Dragnich 1983:55.

²²⁸ Dragnich 1983:55. The old historical region's Maček was talking about was BiH, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Vojvodina, Montenegro and Macedonia.

²²⁹ Dragnich 1983:56.

began that would last for five years. Alexander I Karađorđević followed up by dismantling the 35 districts that made up Yugoslavia and introduced 9 districts (banovina's) that made up Yugoslavia.²³⁰ Political parties were banned and censorship in the press was introduced. In Alexander's quest to centralise all institutions the *Reis-ul-ulema* institution was moved from Sarajevo to Belgrade in 1930 the *Reis-ul-ulema* at the time Ibrahim Maglajlić became the head of all Muslims in Yugoslavia and the Bajrakli mosque in Belgrade became the seat of *Reis-ul-ulema*.²³¹

At the end of 1929 the Great Depression descended on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as a predominantly agrarian society it hit the economy hard, on top of the Great Depression Yugoslavia had huge war debts to pay to France, Great Britain and USA.²³² Before the Great Depression descended on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia corruption was widespread from the highest officials to the bottom of the ladder of chiefs and clerks in the state administration.²³³ The outcome of the Great Depression struck hardest at the peasants, the peasants debts increased up to 7 billion Dinars, private persons and private banks constituted 80 percent of the creditors. The state formed the Privileged Agrarian Bank, which extended cheap agricultural credit for farmers not on the basis of mortgages on their holdings but in the form of personal credits.²³⁴ But this practice was abandoned and the banks reverted to mortgages that favoured the rich peasant's, simultaneously the government raised the taxes in the villages, in 1932 peasants were paying approximately 4 billion Dinars in taxes. Prices of agricultural products were still showing a downward trend, aggravating indebtedness and impoverishment. The health situation among the populace in Yugoslavia was one of the worst in Europe this was connected with lack of education and lack of medical aid.²³⁵ The greatest menace to health in Yugoslavia was pulmonary tuberculosis.²³⁶ The data from 1937 shows that death rate from pulmonary tuberculosis when related to 10 000 people amounted to 19.9 persons in Yugoslavia followed by Romania with 17.8

²³⁰ Resic 2006:201. The 9 banovina's that was established were Primorska banovina with Split as the seat of the banovina, Zetska banovina with Cetinje as seat, Dravska banovina with Ljubljana as seat, Dunavska banovina with Novi Sad as seat, Moravska banovina with Niš as seat, Vardarska banovina with Skopje as seat, Savska banovina with Zagreb as seat, Vrbska banovina with Banja Luka as seat and Drinska banovina with Sarajevo as seat. Belgrade did not belong to any of the 9 banovina's. See map II.

²³¹ Gaši 2001:93.

²³² Dedijer 1974:516ff. Next to Greece, Yugoslavia was the most highly indebted country in Europe during the interwar period.

²³³ Dedijer 1974:520.

²³⁴ Dedijer 1974:525f.

²³⁵ Tomasevich 1955:585.

²³⁶ Tomasevich 1955:586.

and Hungary with 15.2 making death by pulmonary tuberculosis highest in Europe.²³⁷ Next to pulmonary tuberculosis, malaria was the disease that was most widespread in 1938; approximately 5 percent of the population of Yugoslavia was infected.²³⁸ The third disease that was common during the interwar period was endemic syphilis, two varieties of syphilis dominated in Yugoslavia, one variety could be found in some areas in north-eastern Serbia and the second variety could be found in some areas in BiH. Russian soldiers introduced the variety in Serbia in the 1870's and Ottoman soldiers around 1780 introduced the Asian variety in BiH.²³⁹ The Asian variety of syphilis in BiH was rather benign, in 1939 about 100 000 people were infected by the Asian variety of syphilis in BiH. The most affected of the Asian variety of syphilis were the Muslim population followed by the Catholics and the Orthodox population. The spreading of syphilis were not connected to sexual contact, but living together, by the usage of same eating and drinking utilities by all members of the family.²⁴⁰

On 9 October 1934 King Alexander I Karađorđević arrived in France on a state visit. In Marseilles the French Foreign Minister of the Third French Republic Jean Louis Barthou met Alexander I Karađorđević. The main reason Alexander I Karađorđević travelled to France was to talk about the rising power of Germany and Hitler, and the Little Entente.²⁴¹ In Marseilles Velichko Dimitrov Kerin more known under his pseudonym Vlado Chernozemski was waiting for Alexander I Karađorđević to arrive. Kerin was born in Bulgaria; he joined the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (IMRO) in 1922.²⁴² The IMRO started to co-operate with the Ustaša members; the Ustaša members and IMRO had executed minor terrorist attacks in Croatia and Macedonia against Serb interests. But the both organisations realised that they had an opportunity to execute a spectacular act in Marseilles. While the king Alexander I Karađorđević was riding in a car in downtown Marseilles with Jean Louis Barthou, Kerin stepped out of the cheering crowd and ran up to the car and fired his revolver, king Alexander I Karađorđević died, in the confusing moment an French police officer fired his revolver at Kerin but missed and

²³⁷ Tomasevich 1955:587.

²³⁸ Tomasevich 1955:589. In 1937 the population of Yugoslavia was 15 280 000.

²³⁹ Tomasevich 1955:589.

²⁴⁰ Tomasevich 1955:590.

²⁴¹ The Little Entente was an alliance of three countries namely Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania created in 1920 to prevent A-H restoration. French politicians supported the Little Entente and considered the alliance as a power in Europe that countered Germany on the European scene. The Little Entente started to break apart in 1936 and was disbanded in 1938.

²⁴² The main goal of the IMRO was to create an independent Macedonia. The IMRO was founded 1893 in Thessaloniki by Bulgarian revolutionaries from Macedonia.

killed Jean Louis Barthou. A mounted French police officer pulled out his sabre and wounded Kerin with a swing of his sabre; Kerin died shortly afterwards of the wound he received.

After the assassination of Alexander I Karađorđević, the new king Petar II Karađorđević son of Alexander I Karađorđević succeeded his father, but because he was only nine years old Prince Pavle Karađorđević first cousin of Alexander assumed guardianship over Petar II Karađorđević and to rule the kingdom of Yugoslavia. Prince Pavle was educated at Oxford and was an opponent to the hard-line centralists that Alexander I Karađorđević had put in various leading positions in the state during his rule.²⁴³ Pavle loosened up the strict rules set up by Alexander I Karađorđević and allowed parliamentary elections to be held in 1935, the elections were filled with unrest and violence, Vladko Maček who led the HSS formed an opposition with minor parties across Yugoslavia and received 40 percent of the votes but only received 67 seats in the parliament.²⁴⁴ Milan Stojadinović became Prime Minister but Maček boycotted the parliament and created parliament in Zagreb Pavle called for negotiations with Maček.

The negotiations between Pavle and Maček did not lead to any improvements; Pavle tried to cut the tensions and formed a new government with Stojadinović as Prime Minister but included Mehmed Spaho from JMO and the Slovene Anton Korošec in the government. But Milan Stojadinović started to cause problems when he openly showed his admiration for Hitler. In February 1939 Pavle dismissed Stojadinović from the post as Prime Minister since it came out in the open that Stojadinović had negotiated with the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Galeazzo Ciano about the future of Albania and the possibility divide Albania between Yugoslavia and Italy.²⁴⁵ Pavle appointed former minister of health Dragiša Cetković as Prime Minister and ordered Cetković to find a solution to the Croatian problem. Cetković contacted Maček to discuss the future of Croatia.

4.5 The Cvetković-Maček agreement and Axis pact

Before Cetković started negotiations with Maček about the future of Croatia, Cetković had good relations with Mehmed Spaho. Cetković was informed by Maček that Mehmed Spaho should be isolated from the discussions because the future of Croatia also concerned BiH which Cetković

²⁴³ Resic 2006:204.

²⁴⁴ Resic 2006:204.

²⁴⁵ Resic 2006:205.

agreed.²⁴⁶ This agreement between Cetković and Maček to isolate Spaho from the discussions altered Spaho's relations to Cetković, but the discussions between Cetković and Maček could continue rather smoothly because Mehmed Spaho died in early June 1939 in Belgrade.²⁴⁷ JMO delegates were called in hasty due to Spaho's death and Džafer-beg Kulenović was elected as president of JMO much thanks to Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović's lobbying. Džafer-beg Kulenović started immediately after his election to criticise Cetković and Maček. But Cetković and Maček turned their deaf ear to Kulenović. On 20 August 1939 Cetković and Maček reached an agreement on the future territory of Croatia.²⁴⁸ Due to the discussion between Maček and Cetković Croatia was given the status of a separate banovina that encompassed approximately 30 percent of the territory of Yugoslavia, Dalmatia was added to banovina of Croatia, Dubrovnik also was added, two parts of Srem were the city of Vukovar was included.²⁴⁹ The big controversy was BiH in the agreement 13 districts was attached to the banovina of Croatia while 38 districts was attached to Serbia, the division of BiH discounted the Muslims altogether.²⁵⁰ If a district consisted of 34 percent Catholics and 33 percent Orthodox the district went to Croatia the 33 percent of Muslims made no difference at all. Larger areas surrounding the cities of Derventa, Travnik, Fojnica, Gradačac and Brčko was attached to the banovina of Croatia.²⁵¹ During the discussions between Cetković and Maček, Kulenović was arguing that a Bosnian banovina should be created but as seen above Maček and Cetković turned their deaf ear to Kulenović and isolated him from the discussions.

On 1 September 1939 the Second World War started and the agreement on the future territory of Croatia was postponed. As the war dragged on the Italian forces in North Africa were suffering from heavy casualties; this led Hitler to send Africa Corps under the leadership of field marshal Erwin Rommel in February 1941 to assist the Italian troops. Hitler needed Yugoslavia as a transit land to send supplies to the Africa Corps and started to pressure Pavle to join the Axis powers, Bulgaria had already joined the Axis powers and in early March 1941 approximately 350 000 soldiers arrived in Bulgaria. This move by the Germans put Pavle in a difficult situation that he

²⁴⁶ Boban 1965:258.

²⁴⁷ Boban 1965:259. Mehmed Spaho's sudden death in the beginning phase of the Cetković and Maček discussions has raised conspiracy theories among Muslim laymen in BiH. The most common theory is that Spaho was poisoned by the secret police so that he would cause no trouble during the Cetković and Maček discussions.

²⁴⁸ Lampe 2000:195.

²⁴⁹ Lampe 2000:195.

²⁵⁰ Banac 1984:376.

²⁵¹ Boban 1965:408.

travelled together with Kulenović, Maček and Cetković to Vienna, on 25 March 1941 the pact was signed, this pact was storm of protests in Belgrade. When Cetković, Maček, Kulenović and Pavle returned to Belgrade on 27 March, the General Dušan Simović with several higher ranking officers staged a the *coup d'etat* Kulenović, Maček, Cetković and Pavle were removed from power and a pro-British government was formed under the leadership of Dušan Simović. This led Hitler to order his Generals to postpone the attack on Soviet and to plan a swift attack on Yugoslavia. General Dušan Simović and the pro-British government with the young king Petar Karađorđević fled the country on 14 April to Greece, from Greece they left for Cairo and then London were the Yugoslav government was formed.

5 The Second World War

Enraged by the *coup d'état* Hitler decided to punish Yugoslavia. On April 6 1941 Hitler gave orders to start the invasion of Yugoslavia. Germany with her allies Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy and Romania simultaneously attacked Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav army poorly equipped with material from World War I and badly motivated capitulated on 17 April 1941. In Serbia a puppet regime was set up by the Germans the pro-German General Milan Nedić was the leader of this puppet government. In Croatia the Ustaša party with the leader of the Ustaša party Ante Pavelić formed a puppet government that relied on German backing. Larger part of Slovenia was incorporated to Germany, while Italy occupied Dalmatia, Montenegro and a small part of Slovenia. A German zone and an Italian zone were established through the NDH.²⁵² As soon as the Ustaša party came to power race laws were issued concerning the Jewish population and the Roma population as well as the Orthodox population in NDH. Marriages between Jews and persons of so called Aryan background were prohibited; Jews and Roma were not racially Aryan by the definitions set up by the Ustaša party.²⁵³ The Ustaša party forbade Jews to move outside the city or village where they lived; the Jews were forced to wear the yellow Star of David with the words Židov or Jude.²⁵⁴ All property of Jews were confiscated, Jews were rounded up on a smaller scale and shipped by rail to hastily built concentration camps in Bosanski Petrovac and Kruščica near Travnik. Where there were Jewish communities in BiH the synagogues were destroyed.

The Ustaša's banned the Cyrillic alphabet in the public and the private spheres this regulation was meant to deprive the Orthodox population of their national alphabet. Jews and Orthodox population was fired from all public institutions. The Orthodox population in NDH were given two choices either they could emigrate to Serbia or convert to the Catholic faith or Islamic faith, refusal to do either was a certain death in the concentration camps. The Jews were also given the opportunity to convert to the Catholic or Islamic faith and they were promised to be left alone and they could regain some of the rights that were exclusive for the so-called Aryan race.²⁵⁵

²⁵² See map III.

²⁵³ Redžić 2005:71.

²⁵⁴ Redžić 2005:72.

²⁵⁵ Redžić 2005:74f.

5.1 The Independent State of Croatia and the Muslims

On 31 March 1941 the Ustaša envoy to Germany Branko Benzon submitted a memorandum to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs Joachim von Ribbentrop on the behalf of the Ustaša leader Ante Pavelić and Pavelić's close friend Mile Budak. In this memorandum the Ustaša leaders asked Hitler to help the Croatian people to establish an independent Croatian State that would encompass the old Croatian regions among the old regions was also BiH.²⁵⁶ On 10 April 1941 Slavko Kvaternik proclaimed on behalf of Pavelić who was in Italy the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), the elected party leader of HSS Vladko Maček was removed from the power but was given the offer to head the government until Pavelić arrived, but he refused. On 20 April Pavelić and the émigré Ustaša's arrived in Zagreb to take control of the power. On 10 April when Kvaternik proclaimed the NDH, the Action Committee of Croatian Nationalists was founded in Sarajevo this group was made up of Hakija Hadžić, Atif Hadžikadić, Filip Premužić, Josip Zubić and the Catholic priest Božidar Bralo.²⁵⁷

On 22 April 1941 when the German troops arrived in Sarajevo the Action Committee of Croatian Nationalists formed a delegation headed by Hakija Hadžić, this delegation travelled on 22 April to Zagreb to meet Pavelić. Up on arrival in Zagreb Hadžić and the priest Bralo met with Pavelić and praised him and the creation of NDH. Pavelić promoted Hadžić to be his special envoy in BiH which was a part of NDH. Hadžić was also Ustaša commissioner for the Tuzla area, Alija Šuljak a Muslim from Zvornik and former leader of the HSS Muslim branch in Zvornik was promoted to be the Ustaša commissioner for eastern BiH.²⁵⁸ Pavelić promoted the 80-year-old Ademaga Mešić to the post of *doglavnik*; the *doglavnik* title that Mešić received was an honorary title.²⁵⁹ The official NDH propaganda was that the Muslims of BiH were the Croatian flowers and that the Muslims of BiH composed the purest segment of the Croatian nation.²⁶⁰ Pavelić who had confidence in his friend Vjekoslav Vrančić sent him to BiH to participate in important military and political meetings and to keep Pavelić informed; Vrančić was also given the responsibility to deal with press regarding the Muslims of BiH. The directive

²⁵⁶ Redžić 2005:68.

²⁵⁷ Redžić 1987:11. Hakija Hadžić was a Croatophil; he studied in Vienna and Jena after his studies he worked as a teacher in BiH up to 1927. He started to engage himself in politics after 1927 and was the founder of the Muslim branch of the HSS. He served as NDH ambassador in Hungary from 1944 to May 1945, after the war he escaped to Syria where he died in 1953.

²⁵⁸ Redžić 2005:70.

²⁵⁹ The title of *doglavnik* meant that Mešić was second to Pavelić in the Ustaša hierarchy and only had to answer to Pavelić who was *poglavnik*, but in reality Mešić had no power at all.

²⁶⁰ Redžić 2005:70, 78.

that was sent was by Vrančić to the press was that the press should not characterise the Muslims as a nation, either as Bosnians or Muslims, they should be characterised as Croats of the Islamic faith.²⁶¹

Pavelić had already Hadžić, Šuljak and Mešić on his side. He turned his interest to lure over the leading members of the JMO to his side. Pavelić knew that the leader of the JMO at that time Džafer-beg Kulenović regarded himself as Croat by ethnicity but Pavelić could not really trust Džafer-beg because of his involvement in the Yugoslavian government. Pavelić appointed the Džafer-beg's brother Osman Kulenović a lawyer from Bihać as Deputy Prime Minister of NDH in the end of April.²⁶² Osman Kulenović spent his time as a Deputy Prime Minister in the NDH travelling in BiH to rally support for the NDH among Muslims. Džafer-beg Kulenović as a party leader of the JMO held a meeting in the city of Doboj with a small number of JMO members, the discussions held was about which stance the JMO should take regarding to the new political situation with the creation of the NDH. According to the JMO member Hifzija Gavran-Kapetanović, Džafer-beg Kulenović was persuaded to join the NDH regime by Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović because Hadžihasanović believed that Džafer-beg Kulenović would condemn the atrocities committed by the Ustaša regime against the Jews and Serbs.²⁶³ Džafer-beg Kulenović contacted Pavelić and met with him. After several meetings and discussions between Kulenović and Pavelić, Pavelić appointed Džafer-beg Kulenović to Deputy Prime Minister in November 1941.

As soon as Kulenović took office as Deputy Prime Minister two factions of Muslims emerged in the NDH regime on one side Hadžić and Šuljak who could not tolerate Kulenović because of his involvement in the Belgrade government on the other side Kulenović. To strength his own position in the NDH regime Kulenović started to recruit comrades and close friends from the ranks of the JMO into the NDH regime to support him. The split among the Muslims in the NDH government favoured Pavelić. Pavelić had created an illusion that the Muslims of BiH were active in the NDH government but because of the internal strife among the Muslims the Muslims

²⁶¹ Redžić 2005:167.

²⁶² Redžić 2005:166. Osman Kulenović was adherent follower of Josip Frank's ideology. Josip Frank was a Jewish lawyer born in Osijek, he joined Croatian Party of Rights founded by Starčević in Zagreb, Frank emerged as a leader of a new party, Pure Party of Rights in 1895 after disagreement in the Croatian Party of Rights. Ante Pavelić and some of the Ustaša followers were followers of Josip Frank before the creation of the Ustaša party in 1929, they were known as Frankovci. Franks ideology was based on Starčević's ideology but the Frankovci were aggressive and used violence against their political opponents. For information on Josip Frank, see Biondich 2000:18f.

²⁶³ Redžić 2005:167.

in the NDH government were a toothless tiger. As Deputy Prime Minister Kulenović committed his time to the internal strife's and to strengthen his position he also functioned as a complaint department in the NDH regime and received complaints from religious, state and political officials.

As mentioned above Kulenović brought in his comrades and close friends from the ranks of JMO into the NDH regime, besides Kulenović friends in the NDH regime there were some Muslim ministers on important minister posts. Some of the ministers in the NDH regime that was Muslims were Hilmija Beslagić, Minister of Transportation and Public Works from 1 July 1941 to 11 October 1943, Mehmed Alajbegović was Minister of Supply for War-Ravaged Areas from 11 October 1943 to 5 May 1944, he took office as Minister of Foreign Affairs 5 May 1944 to May 1945, when Mehmed Alajbegović took office as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Meho Mehičić took office as Minister of Supply for War-Ravaged Areas on 5 May 1944 and held the post to May in 1945.²⁶⁴ Other Muslim in the NDH regime were Asim Ugljen who was president of the high court of NDH from 1944 to 1945, Mesud Kulenović represented the Muslim branch of HSS from the city of Ključ in the NDH parliament. There were 11 JMO members that were brought into the NDH parliament by Džafer-beg Kulenović.²⁶⁵

Although there were Muslims in the NDH regime the support for the NDH regime were low among the Muslims in BiH, especially in the eastern and north-eastern BiH were the NDH regime left the Muslims to their own fate and Četnik atrocities. The Muslims were forced into the NDH homeguard units, but they showed real low moral on the frontlines against the partisans, and surrendered to the partisan units as soon as the opportunity emerged.²⁶⁶ The partisans usually set the homeguard units that surrendered free, to return to their villages. Desertions from the homeguard were frequent, on some occasion's whole units with officers and commanders of the units deserted.²⁶⁷ The only Muslims that fought fanatical for the NDH regime was the Ustašaka Vojnica units which was the active military units of the Ustaša party and the Black Legion (*Crna Legija*) units which were the elite units in Ustašaka Vojnica. As the German luck on the eastern

²⁶⁴ Filandra 1998:159, n4.

²⁶⁵ The JMO members brought into the NDH parliament by Kulenović were Hifzija Gavran-Kapetanović from Sarajevo, Ismet-beg Bektašević, Ferid-beg Cerić from Dvor, Bećir Đongalić from Tešanj, Ismet-beg Gavran-Kapetanović brother to Hifzija Gavran-Kapetanović from Sarajevo, Nahid Kurbegović from Gradačac, Muhamed Omerčić from Tuzla, Hamdija Šahinpašić from Rogatica, Nazir Spahić from Zenica, Mujaga Tafro from Foča, Ibrahim Krupić from Žepče and Fetah Krupić from Krupa. See Filandra 1998:159f, n4.

²⁶⁶ Redžić 2005:170.

²⁶⁷ Desertions were also common among the homeguard units from Croatia that was sent to BiH.

front against the Soviet Union turned with the Soviet victory at Stalingrad the front in BiH turned out chaotic for the NDH regime, the partisan units gained the upper hand in different sections in BiH.

A document dated the 5 January 1943 written by Ademaga Mešić gives us information about the fighting between the partisans and the NDH homeguard. Mešić writes that the partisans launched a massive attack on the city of Teslić 20.30 P.M. on 1 January 1943. The first homeguard unit guarding the way into Teslić surrendered directly without any resistance. At 21.30 P.M. the partisans seized all homeguard howitzers and cannons, around 23.30 P.M. the partisans advanced into the city of Teslić while the homeguard units retreated. Mešić states that homeguard soldiers threw away their rifles and ran. Mešić writes that in the assault on Teslić there were approximately 1 200 up to 1 500 partisans, one out of five partisans were young women and that the partisan soldiers were young, from 17 years old up to 25 years old. Mešić writes that the partisans captured all heavy equipment like cannons, howitzers and machineguns. Furthermore the partisans captured over 600 projectiles for the howitzers, two train wagons with ammunition and over 1 500 rifles, and fifteen train wagons of military food was also captured by the partisans. Mešić writes that the partisans were disciplined, they distributed the food to the population in Teslić and paid the factory workers, the partisans did not harass or kill the population of Teslić. Mešić writes that the partisans should not have conquered the city of Teslić because there were 1 7000 homeguards and 800 police officers ready to defend the city. At the end Mešić writes that the partisan's intelligence was outstanding and that the partisans were well informed about NDH military capacity, while the NDH intelligence agents lied and passed wrong information he stated that the NDH intelligence was non existent.²⁶⁸ Meanwhile the Ustašaka Vojnica units and Black Legion units did not behave exemplary. In a document written on 26 January 1943 by the partisan staff of the first proletarian brigade stated that Ustašaka Vojnica units and Black Legion units with Ukrainian Legion crossed the river Sava from Croatia into BiH. The villagers supplied the information to the partisans that the Ustašaka Vojnica, Black Legion and the Ukrainian Legion torched and pillaged all villages while they marched to the town of Derventa to reinforce the homeguard units in Derventa.²⁶⁹ The Ustašaka Vojnica and Black Legion commanded by Jure Francetić committed atrocities upon the Muslim civilians,

²⁶⁸ ZNOR IV, vol 9, 1954:387-390.

²⁶⁹ ZNOR IV, vol 9, 1954:309f. The Ukrainian Legion mentioned in the document were Cherkess Cossacks captured on the eastern front and formed into anti-partisan units by the Germans to fight the partisans in BiH.

Catholic civilians as well as the Orthodox civilians. In a document written by a German officer to a German general he describes what happened in the town of Bosanska Dubica on 20 September 1944. He states that Ustaška Vojnica from the concentration camp Jasenovac arrived in Bosanska Dubica; they gathered 17 Muslim and Catholic civilians and hang them in front of the mosque in the city. He continues to inform the general that the people are afraid and siding with the partisans because of the Ustaša atrocities and he named five prominent Muslims from the town of Bosanski Novi that joined the partisans.²⁷⁰

5.2 The Islamic Community and Institutions in the Independent State of Croatia

In 1912 there was approximately 1000 Muslims living in Zagreb. At that time there was no mosque or Imam serving the needs of the Muslims living in Zagreb. In 1916 the first Imam was appointed to the A-H military garrison in Zagreb for the Muslims serving in the A-H army, the same Imam also performed formal duties among the Muslims living in Zagreb. In 1917 Ismet Muftić from the city of Žepče in central BiH was appointed as the first *mufti* of Zagreb, he would serve as *mufti* until 1945. The Muslims in Zagreb had no mosque to perform their religious duties, but with the creation of the NDH Pavelić decided that the Muslim community in Zagreb should have a mosque in the capital. Pavelić decided that the Ivan Meštrović pavilion in central Zagreb should be turned into a mosque. Hilmija Beslagić, who was the Minister of Transportation and Public Works, were given the task to be in charge of the project. The mosque was completed in 1944, but was closed down in 1947; the three minarets that were surrounding the mosque were demolished in 1948.²⁷¹

Although the Ustaša propaganda praised and portrayed the Muslims as the Croatian flowers the reality was that there were tension between the *ilmija* and the Ustaša regime.²⁷² On the 14 August 1941 the *ilmija* through their association El-Hidaja issued a resolution condemning Ustaša atrocities and genocide against the Serbs and Jews.²⁷³ Over one hundred respected Muslims in BiH, among them intellectuals, businessmen and religious officials signed this resolution. The historian Redžić states: “Some observers have suggested that Hadžihasanović was the initiator of this resolution”.²⁷⁴ In the second half of 1941 and early 1942 similar resolutions was passed

²⁷⁰ Dedijer & Milietić 1990:521ff.

²⁷¹ http://www.islamska-zajednica.hr/povijest/povijest_2.php (Web page of the Islamic Community of Croatia).

²⁷² The *ilmija* during the Second World War was the Muslim clergy in BiH.

²⁷³ Imamović 2005:340, Redžić 2005:169. El-Hidaja means: guide to the true path.

²⁷⁴ Redžić 2005:169.

throughout BiH. The *ilmija* also distanced itself from the Muslim clergy who supported the Ustaša policies; one of the most notable supporters of the Ustaša policies among the clergy was Akif Handžić also known as the “Ustaša *mufti*”. Handžić was also a Colonel in the NDH: s homeguard army and was successful in rallying *tabor imams* for support of the Ustaša policies.²⁷⁵ In early 1942 the election for the *Reis-ul-ulema* in BiH was supposed to be held. The Muslims in the NDH regime Asim Ugljen, Salih Kulović and Munir Šahinović were persuaded by Slavko Kvaternik that the best way to get rid of the *mufti* Fehim Spaho, who did not support the NDH regime, was to nominate the Zagreb *mufti* Ismet Muftić as a candidate for the post as *Reis-ul-ulema*. Ademaga Mešić found out about this matter and contacted Pavelić, he warned Pavelić that meddling of politics in the Islamic community could trigger an outrage in the Islamic community; Mešić told Pavelić that the nomination of candidates for the post of *Reis-ul-ulema* should be left to the *ulema-medžlis*.²⁷⁶ Fehim Spaho died before the elections of *Reis-ul-ulema* was to be held, prominent Muslims from the Islamic community and *ulema-medžlis* met to discuss what measures should be taken, the decisions that was put forward was that a new *Reis-ul-ulema* should be elected after the war. The *ulema-medžlis* elected Salih Bašić as *naibu reis* (deputy *Reis-ul-ulema*). During Fehim Spaho’s time as *Reis-ul-ulema* he complained to the NDH authorities that Jews that converted to the Islamic faith were treated unequal to the Jews that converted to Catholicism. The *Reis-ul-ulema* complained that Jews who converted to Islam in the town of Zavidovići were accused of being communists and sent to the concentration camp Gospić while Jews who converted to Catholicism moved freely around in the town.²⁷⁷ In a document dated 22 January 1942 from Mostar concerning the same issue as stated above concerning the Jews. The document stated that the Ustaša authorities were taking measures to punish the Jews harshly if they did not wear the Star of David and changed their surname no matter if they converted to Islam or Catholicism. The document also stated that the Islamic religious authorities in Mostar have passed wrong information to the *Reis-ul-ulema* that Jews that have converted to Islam were punished but the Jews converted to the Catholic faith were not punished. All Jews were punished but it seemed like more Jews converted to the Islamic faith were punished because there were much more Jews that converted to the Islamic faith in Mostar. The document states that certain

²⁷⁵ Imamović 2005:340. *Tabor imams* were Muslim military chaplains in the NDH homeguard.

²⁷⁶ Redžić 2005:86.

²⁷⁷ Redžić 2005:78.

woman from Mostar, Jelisaveta Singer was punished to pay a fine of 1000 Croatian Kuna because she converted to the Catholic faith.²⁷⁸

The Muslims feared that after the Ustaša authorities settled the score with the Orthodox the Muslims in BiH were next. They had reason to fear the hardcore Ustaša party members, one of the hardcore Ustaša's was the Catholic priest Božidar Bralo. At a meeting in Zenica, March 1942 he stated the following: "With a rifle and knife we are eradicating the Serbs biological; with our intelligent politics we have imposed the Serbs are eradicating the Muslims. The rest of the Muslims we will eradicate ourselves".²⁷⁹ Bralo's statement were concerning the situation in north-eastern Bosnia where Četnik units committed massacres on the civilian Muslims. The NDH homeguard were not present in north-eastern Bosnia and left the field open to the Četnik units to commit massacres on civilian Muslims. At the same time Ustaša's were committing massacres on civilian Orthodox population, the Četnik considered the Muslims to be supporters of the Ustaša authorities. And what Bralo were stating was that the Muslims who escaped Četnik massacres would be massacred by Ustaša's.

5.3 The 13th Waffen Gebirgs Division der SS Handschar

On 6 December 1942 Himmler presented a lecture to Hitler where he proposed the idea of the creation of a Bosnian SS division.²⁸⁰ Himmler suggested to Hitler that the SS division Prinz Eugen that was stationed in Croatia could take care of the recruitment of the Bosnian division. Hitler liked the idea but wanted to wait and evaluate an ongoing Axis offensive in the region. An SS representative travelled to Zagreb early in January to discuss the plan with Hitler's envoy in Croatia, Siegfried Kasche. On 13 February 1943 Hitler ordered the formation of a Bosnian division. The German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop ordered Kasche to speak to Pavelić on the matter and said that it was important and in the interest of the NDH that a German-led division should be formed. Pavelić approved the formation of the division. Himmler contacted the commander of the Prinz Eugen SS division, Obergruppenführer Arthur Phleps, and ordered him to prepare the formation of the division. Himmler informed Phleps that the division was to consist of Bosnians of the Islamic faith and that those who volunteered would enjoy all the old rights the Muslims had in the A-H army.²⁸¹ Phleps travelled on 18 February to Zagreb to meet

²⁷⁸ Dedijer & Milietić 1990:490.

²⁷⁹ Filandra 1998:159. (My translation).

²⁸⁰ Lepre 1997:19.

²⁸¹ Lepre 1997:20.

the Croatian foreign minister Mladen Lorković. Though Pavelić had approved the German desire to form a Bosnian division Phleps ran into problems concerning the details of the formation of the division. Lorković told Phleps that the Croatian government welcomed the idea to form a division but that the Croatian government desired to recruit the manpower and opposed Himmler's wishes that the division should consist of Muslims. Lorković requested from Phleps that Croatian uniforms and ranks should be used. He also requested that the language of command in the division was to be Croatian, and that the formation was to take place in Croatia. That the recruiting of the division was to be carried out by the Croatian government and not the SS and that the division was to be named SS Ustaša Division. And finally that the regiments in the division were to receive regional names such as "Bosna," "Krajina," and "Una."²⁸² Lorković assured Phleps that 6000 Ustaša volunteers could be supplied to the division immediately.

Phleps reported the Croatian suggestions to Himmler that dismissed nearly all of the Croatian requests; Himmler suspected that Lorković was trying to add a Croatian character to the division rather than a Muslim. Himmler welcomed the 6000 Ustaša volunteers to the division but concluded that these volunteers would be inducted to separate police battalions. Himmler was interested in Hadžiefendić's Muslim Legion that operated in the Tuzla region and north-eastern BiH.²⁸³ He wanted the Hadžiefendić's Muslim Legion to make up the core of the Bosnian SS division because they already had experience and had engaged in battles against the partisans. Phleps turned to Pavelić to continue the negotiations but Pavelić reiterated Lorković's words. Himmler replaced Phleps with an SS delegation led by Rudolf Dengel that would lead the negotiations concerning the Bosnian division. The SS delegation started the negotiations with Vjekoslav Vrančić about the division. The delegation and Vrančić reached an agreement on the Bosnian division. The agreement was that the division would consist of Muslims and Catholics from BiH, the Hadžiefendić's Muslim Legion would stand at the division's disposal concerning personal. The NDH regime would provide Croatian and *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans who in this case lived in Croatia) bilingual officers and non-commissioned officers. The Croatian government would carry out the recruiting with co-operation with Waffen-SS but the recruiting would be under German control. Pay and benefits would be allotted by Waffen-SS in accordance

²⁸² Lepre 1997:22.

²⁸³ Muhamed Hadžiefendić was a merchant from Tuzla the Muslim Legion numbered somewhere about 5000–6000 men most of the men were deserters from the NDH homeguard and from men who refused to serve in the NDH homeguard. See Redžić 2005:173.

with German customs. The uniforms would be field grey with field grey fez with German national rank and insignia. The Croatian national shield would be worn on the right upper arm, and collar patch without the SS insignia. The Croatian language would be used for training, but the language of command would be German.²⁸⁴

On 3 March 1943 recruiting campaign started in which Alija Šuljak, the multi-lingual SS officer Karl von Krempler and a delegation went on an eight day recruiting tour through eleven BiH districts. The propaganda used during the public meetings with the local population to muster volunteers for the division was to the glorious BiH regiments that served in that A-H army during the World War I and that participated in their heroic campaigns. But the response to the recruiting campaign was low; Gottlob Berger in the SS Main Office in Berlin came up with the idea to use the Jerusalem *mufti* Haj Amin al-Husseini who lived in exile in Berlin as a propaganda recruiter. The *mufti* al-Husseini arrived in Sarajevo on 30 March 1943, the *mufti* was greeted in Sarajevo by religious dignitaries and the members from former JMO members and other respected Muslims, Islamic leaders and religious dignitaries travelled as far as from Albania to speak with the *mufti*.²⁸⁵ The *mufti's* visit in BiH lasted to the 14 April, while his visit in BiH he gave interviews and held speeches, the Franciscan journal *Osvit* published an interview where the *mufti* referred to the BiH Muslims as the cream of Islam.²⁸⁶ The *mufti* stated that the entire Muslim world must participate in the struggle against the British dungeon people and Bolshevik Russia because communism is incompatible with Islam.²⁸⁷ Although the *mufti's* propaganda visit to BiH, only 8000 men volunteered to the division on the 14 April. The manpower that volunteered for the divisions were deserted homeguard soldiers both Catholic and Muslims, poor farmers, refugees from eastern and north-eastern BiH and ordinary city dwellers. A great deal of volunteers were turned down because they suffered from tuberculosis. Himmler received messages that the Muslims were not volunteering for the division *en masse*; furious by the messages he received Himmler travelled to Zagreb. He arrived on 5 May 1943 in Zagreb. Himmler stated that men of all faiths would be accepted in the division, but with the stipulation that the rate of Catholics to Muslims was not to exceed 1:10.²⁸⁸ The recruiting continued to fill the division but it did not run smoothly. At Travnik Germans disrupted prayer service in a local

²⁸⁴ Lepre 1997:24.

²⁸⁵ Lepre 1997:33.

²⁸⁶ Lepre 1997:33.

²⁸⁷ Lepre 1997:33.

²⁸⁸ Lepre 1997:35.

mosque and took away the young males that had volunteered for the division and young males that they deemed fit for military service.²⁸⁹ The division was sent by rail to Le Puy in France for training, the first volunteers arrived on 10 July 1943 and one week later the last volunteers arrived. On 17 July 1943 the first edition of the division's newspaper *Handžar* appeared.²⁹⁰ By the end of July the division only consisted of 15 000 men and the Germans had to fill the ranks, Germans pressured Lorković to release Muslims from the homeguard to fill the ranks in the division and a recruiting campaign started in Sandžak and Kosovo. The division reached the desired number of approximately 20 000 men. But the division also had a high rate of desertion.²⁹¹ The commander of the division became the Prussian veteran from the First World War Gruppenführer Karl-Gustav Sauberzweig.

The division relocated their training camp to the small town of Villefranche de Rouergue in southern France. Early in the morning on 17 September 1943 a mutiny started in the garrison where the division was located, the ring leaders of the mutiny were Ferid Džanić, Božo Jelenek, Nikola Vukelić and Luftija Dizdarević. Džanić and Jelenek were communists while Vukelić was tired of the Germans, which he stated in letters he sent home. Little is known of Dizdarević. The ringleaders had gathered support from disappointed volunteers; they arrested the leading German officers and executed five. As soon as the mutiny became known the Germans sent in massive reinforcements and in a short fierce battle the mutiny was crushed, Dizdarević and Džanić died in the battle, Vukelić was captured and executed with 14 other mutineers, Jelenek were able to escape.²⁹² 825 mutineers were sent to Berlin and given the choice to volunteer for labour service or to be jailed, 536 men volunteered and were handed over to Organisation Todt while 265 men who refused were sent to the Neuengamme concentration camp.²⁹³

At the same time in BiH the partisans spread the rumour that the Bosnian division was to be sent to the eastern front. To counter the rumour the German bureau of psychological warfare printed and distributed a leaflet among the Muslims, the following quote below is an excerpt from the leaflet:

²⁸⁹ Lepre 1997:37.

²⁹⁰ Lepre 1997:47. *Handžar* is the Bosnian word for the scimitar; Obergruppenführer Gottlob Berger probably coined the name of the newspaper and the division.

²⁹¹ Lepre 1997:60. During the training in France, 4 Germans from the Reich deserted, 17 *Volksdeutsche*, 13 Muslims and 121 Catholics.

²⁹² Jelenek joined the French resistance in November 1943. In late 1944 he returned to Croatia and joined the partisans later. He served in the Yugoslav Army to 1952 and he died in 1987. See Lepre 1997:93, n22.

²⁹³ Lepre 1997:107. Organisation Todt was civil and military engineering units, known for the building of the Atlantic wall on the French coast as a defence line due to anticipated allied invasion from Great Britain.

Muslim Brothers and Muslim Sisters

The Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina have bravely been engaged in the fighting against bloodthirsty infidel Partisans and Četniks. Thousands of our best sons of our Muslim brothers have hurried of to the volunteer SS division, to defend their honour, faith and home! As soon as they are trained how to use arms and how to fight the SS division will come to avenge their fathers, brothers, parents and friends and they will crush the Partisan and Četnik snakehead! Our enemies are afraid of our holy vengeance and are lying that the SS division is going to be sent to the eastern front! NO! Dražas and Titos bloodthirsty followers are delusional! The SS division is coming to Bosnia and Hercegovina and they will cleanse your land from bloodthirsty traitors and they will avenge thousands of innocent Muslims that Tito and Draža have killed by proxy for London and Moscow across our country!

Death to the Četniks and Partisans!

Long live the Muslim SS division.²⁹⁴

We can see that the message in this leaflet is a moral boosting propaganda that urges the Muslims to hold on and fight against the Četnik units and partisans. On 15 February 1944 the division left for BiH. Six days later they arrived in Croatia and were posted alongside the river Sava. The division's tasks were to engage in battle with Partisan and Četnik units in north-eastern BiH and secure the area. As long as the war dragged on the Muslim volunteers of the division lost their moral, as the division fought fierce battles against the partisans while the Četnik units slaughtered Muslim civilians. In retaliation the Muslim members of the division attacked Orthodox villages and slaughtered Orthodox civilians.²⁹⁵ The desertion rate in the division was high, most of the deserted volunteers joined the partisans or the militia unit the Green Cadres commanded by Nešad Topčić.

²⁹⁴ Propaganda leaflet titled 'Braćo Muslimani!'. (My translation). The author of this thesis has a photocopy of the leaflet and can provide it on request.

²⁹⁵ Resic 2006:222. See also Dedijer & Milietić 1990:459-474.

5.3.1 The Imams in the Handschar Division

While the SS and the NDH government recruited volunteers for the division the *ulema* in Sarajevo recruited the Imams for the division.²⁹⁶ Several of the Imams were educated in Cairo and Alexandria and had served in the ex-Yugoslavian royal army. The oldest and most experienced Imam, who also were Imam in the ex-Yugoslavian royal army were, chosen to serve as the senior division Imam, this man was Abdulah Muhasilović. Imam Džemal Ibrahimović who served in the division explained in an interview how the actual recruiting was conducted:

We were invited to meet with the officials of the *ulema-medžlis* in Sarajevo. Pandža explained the circumstances to us: The situation was difficult for the Muslims in eastern Bosnia because of the (Četniks). More and more refugees were arriving in Sarajevo. I had in fact seen them myself at the refugee camp in Alipašić Most. This was the moment that we could stand up and help these people. We believed that we had to defend ourselves. From Sarajevo, we were taken to Zagreb by truck to Savska Cesta 77, where we were inducted, uniformed, etc. From there we were brought to Berlin-Babelsberg for the “Imam Training Course,” which consisted primarily of lectures and classes on the use of small arms.²⁹⁷

Obergruppenführer Gottlob Berger organised the Imam training course in a large villa; the course lasted three weeks. During the course the Imams were lectured on the Waffen-SS its organisation and ranks, the history of nationalism, German language instructions were also part of the course with excursions in Berlin. The Germans thought that the course was successful and promised to establish a permanent Imam institute for the training of Muslim Imams.²⁹⁸ The *mufti* al-Husseini told the Germans that the Imams should be thought that National Socialism would serve as a German national ideology while Islam would serve as the Arab national ideology, both would

²⁹⁶ Lepre 1997:71.

²⁹⁷ Lepre 1997:71. The interview was conducted by telephone with Džemal Ibrahimović by George Lepre on 26 February and 1 March 1996. Pandža in the quote is Muhamed Pandža who was the member of the *ulema-medžlis*.

²⁹⁸ Lepre 1997:72.

battle their common foe which was Judaism, Anglo-Americans, Communism, Freemasonry and the Vatican.²⁹⁹ Both the Germans and the *mufti* reasoned that the Muslims of BiH racially belonged to the Germanic world, but spiritually they belonged to the Arab world.³⁰⁰ The *mufti* delivered a speech to the Imams in Babelsberg where he explained why Muslims in BiH should support the Germans. The *mufti* explained that the Germans battled world Jewry which was Islam's principal enemy, he also stated that the Germans battled the British and her allies who had persecuted millions of Muslims, as well as Bolshevism which subjugated forty million Muslims and threatened the Islamic faith in other lands.³⁰¹ Each Imam were assigned to a battalion with exception of the all-German battalions, each Imam were accountable to the division Imam Abdulah Muhasilović and to the divisions political officer.³⁰²

The Imams had five main duties that they performed in the battalions they were assigned to. The first duty was spiritual care in which, the Imam organised the *Jumu'a* prayer and lead the five daily prayers.³⁰³ The Imam should also work with the unit commanders and inform them on particular religious celebrations and advice them in all religious matters. The second duty was the burials; the men who died in action were buried in uniform, only the shoes were removed. The men who died of wounds were washed by the Imam and all necessary duties for the burial were performed by the Imam. The Imams also visited hospitals and the wounded men to provide spiritual care. The third duty was education, the Imam were obliged to deliver a lecture once a week to the men. The topics were selected by the political officer and the divisions Imam Abdulah Muhasilović among the topics were "Why the Muslims are Serving in Waffen-SS," and "Titos Bandits, the Scourge of Bosnia."

The Imams that knew German should also lecture the Germans in the division about Bosnian practises and customs. Once every month the Imams would report to the division Imam and the political officer of the progress of their duties, the Imams should also assist in the preparation of the division's newspaper *Handžar*. The fourth duty was welfare of the troops and their families, the Imam were to spend as much time as possible with the troops both on and off duty. They should look after the men and their family's well being. They should also look after of the soldier's mental and physical well fare. The Imams also informed the local population in the

²⁹⁹ Lepre 1997:72.

³⁰⁰ Lepre 1997:72.

³⁰¹ Lepre 1997:75.

³⁰² Lepre 1997:75

³⁰³ *Jumu'a* prayer is the Friday prayer when all male Muslims are recommended to pray together.

mosques about the division and its aims; they arranged quartering for the division with the mayors in different towns in BiH. The Imams also settled quarrels between the civilians and the troops, the Imams interrogated Muslim civilians and enemy deserters. The fifth duty was to serve as a personal example, the commander of the division Sauberzweig demanded that the Imams were among the troops during the battles. They were expected to command a platoon or squadron in critical situations.³⁰⁴

The diet of the troops were an important issue, the Muslims were feed exactly as the Germans except for the pork and alcohol, one German butcher of the division explained in a letter following: “The Muslims only received beef and mutton from us. German salami (*Dauerwurst*) was also prepared. We Germans naturally ate pork. As far as I know there were never any difficulties with the rations. (Imam Muhamed Mujakić) was always on hand to ensure that everything was in order.”³⁰⁵

5.3.2 The militias in BiH during the World War II and Muhamed Pandža

During the Second World War three main militias formed in BiH and one of these militias was formed in the region of Cazinska Krajina which is located in north-western BiH. Huska Miljković emerged in Cazinska Krajina in late 1942 as a commander of the Muslim army. Huska was a deserter from the Partisans, who were very active in the Cazinska Krajina; the men that were attracted to Huska were conscripts and deserters from the NDH homeguard. In a relatively short time 3000 Muslims joined Huska.³⁰⁶ Huska and his eight battalion strong army controlled the Cazinska Krajina and the influences of the NDH regime were negligible. Huska knew that although his army were disciplined and well armed his army was no match for the German army and he also had to consider the strong units of partisans in the Kordun area.³⁰⁷ Huska engaged in negotiations with both the partisans in the Kordun area and with the Germans. Because of his political chess playing the partisans accused him of being a traitor because he negotiated with the Germans and the Germans pressured by the NDH regime accused him also of being a traitor.

Huskas propaganda to address his troops and to lure new men into his army was the simple motto “For Islam.”³⁰⁸ Huska received support from the local Imams in the Cazinska Krajina and

³⁰⁴ For the duties of the Imams, see Lepre 1997:76f.

³⁰⁵ Lepre 1997:79. Letter from Heinz Lehmann to George Lepre dated 1 November 1992.

³⁰⁶ Redžić 2005:184.

³⁰⁷ Redžić 1987:132. The Kordun region is a part of central Croatia and is a border region to north-western BiH.

³⁰⁸ Redžić 1987:132.

from respected Muslims. Huska prevented his troops from burning and pillaging Orthodox villages in the area and killing Orthodox civilians. Huska received information to keep him updated about the German military actions in BiH and the partisan military actions in the Kordun area and BiH.³⁰⁹ Huska realised that the Partisans gained the upper hand over the NDH homeguard that performed poorly on all fronts in BiH and many deserted from the NDH homeguard.

The Germans fought against the partisans and the Četnik units; the allied pushed back the Italians and German troops in North Africa and in late September 1943 Benito Mussolini was replaced by the Marshal of Italy Pietro Badoglio. Pietro Badoglio signed an armistice with the Allies on 3 September 1943 and on 8 September the same year the Italian troops in BiH surrendered. The NDH regime tried to sway Huska to stand on their side in 1944.³¹⁰ But Huska realised that the NDH accelerated towards its demise and started to negotiate with the 8 Krajinna regiment that was under the 4 Croatian partisan Corps.³¹¹ Huska demanded that he would continue to command his troops and he wanted to be given the rank of Colonel. The partisans agreed on collaboration with Huska. Huska's army was organised by partisan structure, shortly after Huska started the collaboration with the Partisans he was assassinated by NDH agents. Some of Huska's troops deserted while the main core of the troops was divided into two brigades under the command of the 4 Croatian Partisan Corps.³¹² The assassination of Huska also speeded up the Muslims of the Cazinska Krajina region to join the partisans.³¹³

In the eastern part of BiH two militias emerged, the Hadžiefendić's Muslim Legion, the commander of this unit was Muhamed Hadžiefendić he was a merchant from Tuzla. He had military experience from the A-H army where he served during the First World War. He had also studied in the military academy in Belgrade and graduated in 1938 as a Reserve-Major in the Yugoslav royal army. In late April 1942 the NDH military and political centres in BiH received information from the Tuzla police that a legion of volunteers had been formed by the Reserve-Major Muhamed Hadžiefendić and that the volunteers numbered between 5000 to 6000 men. The NDH regime ordered the legion to be disbanded and to enrol the men in the NDH home guard

³⁰⁹ Redžić 1987:145.

³¹⁰ Redžić 2005:106.

³¹¹ Redžić 1987:145.

³¹² Redžić 1987:161.

³¹³ Redžić 1987:162.

units.³¹⁴ However the men that made up the Hadžiefendić Legion were all deserters from the NDH homeguard units. The Hadžiefendić Legion were formed as a militia to protect Muslim villages against Četnik units who operated relatively freely because the NDH homeguard had no interest in protecting the Muslim villages and left the Muslims to their own fate. Three main factions were operating in the eastern and north-eastern BiH, the NDH homeguard, Četnik units and Partisans. All these three factions treated the Hadžiefendić Legion in their own way. The Četnik units considered the Hadžiefendić Legion as a part of the NDH homeguard and viewed them as enemy forces, the Partisans tried to recruit the members of the legion into their own ranks while the NDH homeguard units supplied them with weapons and ammunition and viewed the legion as a passing occurrence and expected the members to return to the homeguard units they deserted from.³¹⁵ As mentioned above Himmler wanted men from the Hadžiefendić Legion to make up the core of the SS division but as the news reached the members of the legion that Hadžiefendić considered to divert his legion to the SS desertion from the legion started to occur. The members that deserted the legion joined the Partisans because they witnessed that the Partisans protected the Muslim civilians and that the NDH propaganda that accused the partisans of slaughtering Muslims *en masse* was not a reality. The fourth and fifth battalions of the legion were diverted to the SS. Hadžiefendić travelled to Zagreb due to his bad health and stayed in the hospital the whole summer of 1943. He returned to Tuzla in early September, on 2 October 1943 the Partisans conquered the city of Tuzla and Hadžiefendić was executed as a traitor. Almost the whole legion joined the partisans as well as the commander of the NDH homeguard in Tuzla and former JMO member Colonel Sulejman Filipović and the HSS party in Tuzla.³¹⁶ The remnant of the legion that refused to join the Partisans consolidated in the woods and formed the militia Bosnian Mountaineers.

On 23 April 1944 the SS-Handschar division launched operation *Maibaum* to destroy the 3 Partisan Corps in north-eastern BiH. During this operation NDH officials started to complain of the behaviour of the 27 regiment of the SS division because they behaved like the NDH regime did not exist and that it had no influence in the area.³¹⁷ The NDH officials suspected that Nešad Topčić and his Green Cadres militia that operated in the north-eastern BiH influenced the 27

³¹⁴ Redžić 2005:91.

³¹⁵ Redžić 2005:91.

³¹⁶ Redžić 2005:223. The conquering of Tuzla was important for the partisans. The city had a strategic significance in the north-eastern BiH and was an industrial city with salt mines.

³¹⁷ Redžić 1987:183f.

regiment. Nešad Topčić was a former homeguard soldier, Serbophobe and anti-Communist who had close ties with the autonomy faction. Nešad Topčić formed the Green Cadres from the former Hadžiefendić Legion the Bosnian Mountaineers and Muslims volunteers from Sandžak and Kosovo. The Green Cadres were successful in protecting Muslim villages from Četnik attacks. The commander of the Handschar division, Sauberzweig tried to sway the Green Cadres to fight with the Germans against the Partisans, but the answer Sauberzweig received from Topčić staff were that the Četniks were a greater threat to the Muslims than the Partisans.³¹⁸ In June 1944 Topčić travelled to Berlin to meet with Gottlob Berger at Himmler's staff where he discussed the Green Cadres and the battle against the Partisans.³¹⁹ Topčić returned to BiH to meet the Imam Mehmed Handžić a member of the autonomy faction to discuss how to use the Green Cadres to strengthening the autonomy faction positions in BiH. But when the German war machine broke down and the Germans were retreating, Topčić joined the Germans; he was killed in a partisan ambush. The remnants of the Green Cadres and 13 SS division joined the Partisans *en masse*.

Muhamed Pandža was a member of the *ulema-medžlis* and supported the autonomy faction. When Germans decided to create a Waffen-SS division made up by BiH Muslim, Pandža was involved in propagation to the Muslim to volunteer, because he thought that the Germans with this decision supported the autonomy movement and that eventually BiH would be incorporated under direct protectorate of Germany. Pandža reckoned that the SS division would be the best protection for Muslim civilians in eastern BiH, where the Četnik units committed massacres.³²⁰ Muhamed Pandža left Sarajevo in late October 1943 and “took to the woods” to organise the Muslim Liberation Movement.³²¹ Pandža travelled in eastern BiH and talked in mosques. He accused the NDH regime for being responsible for the death of 150 000 Muslims and the suffering of 250 000 Muslims.³²² Pandža tried to link the militias in eastern BiH to form the Muslim Liberation Movement, but Pandža acted late, after the Partisans conquered the city of Tuzla on 2 October 1943 Muslims swarmed to join the Partisans. The Partisans captured Pandža while he was travelling through a Partisan controlled area. Pandža was brought to the staff of the third Corps of the Partisan army; Pandža started to negotiate directly with the Commanding

³¹⁸ Lepre 1997:200.

³¹⁹ Redžić 1987:185.

³²⁰ Dedijer & Milićević 1990:633-694. Page 633-694 contains a list of slaughtered Muslims in the municipality of Foča by Četnik units from 1941-1945. See also Dizdarević & Sobolevski 1999:137.

³²¹ Redžić 2005:184.

³²² Redžić 2005:184.

officers of the third Corps.³²³ Pandža suggested that the Muslims and the Partisans should cooperate to bring down the NDH regime in BiH. The commander of the third Corps sent a message to the Commanding staff of the Partisan forces for instructions what to do with Pandža. But before the third Corps received reply from the Commanding staff the Germans launched operation *Kugelblitz* and were able to capture Pandža who was turned over to the NDH authorities, the NDH authorities imprisoned Pandža for anti-governmental activities.

5.4 The autonomy movement

The autonomy movement emerged in Sarajevo and in Mostar, but the Sarajevo faction was the larger and more active it was led by Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović who was highly respected among the Muslims from all social classes. In the early phase of the NDH regime Hadžihasanović had persuaded Džafer-beg Kulenović to join the NDH regime, because he believed that Kulenović would have some influences on Pavelić and promote the autonomy idea of BiH. But Hadžihasanović made a mistake. According to an interrogation document from 1947 of the State Security Administration (*Uprava Državne Bezbednosti*) held with Mehmed Alajbegović, Minister of Supply for War-Ravaged Areas from 11 Oct 1943 to 5 May 1944, and Minister of Foreign Affairs 5 May 1944 to May 1945 in the NDH regime, explains how Kulenović stated that he only represented himself in the NDH.³²⁴ Alajbegović explains how Kulenović did not care about the Ustaša atrocities in BiH and how he lashed out verbally at Mustafa Softić the mayor of Sarajevo and brother in law to Hadžihasanović when Mustafa Softić tried to convince Kulenović to work for the autonomy movement in the NDH regime as Hadžihasanović had advised him to do. In another State Security Administration document from 1947 of an interrogation with Hifzija Gavran-Kapetanović, Gavran-Kapetanović explains how Hadžihasanović condemned the Ustaša atrocities against Jews and Orthodox population of BiH and his contempt for the NDH regime.³²⁵

On the 14 August 1941 the *ilmija* through their association El-Hidaja issued a resolution condemning Ustaša atrocities and genocide against the Serbs and Jews, as stated above it was probably Hadžihasanović who was the initiator of this resolution. Hadžihasanović formed a Committee in late April 1941, this Committee consisted of following members, Hadžihasanović,

³²³ Redžić 2005:224.

³²⁴ Dedijer & Miličić 1990: 605. The document is not dated but the interrogation with Mehmed Alajbegović must have been conducted before June 7, 1947 because Mehmed Alajbegović was executed on June 7, 1947.

³²⁵ Dedijer & Miličić 1990:624.

Asim Šermet, Husein Kadić the Orthodox members were Milan Jojkić, Dušan Jeftanović, Vojo Besarović and the priest Milan Božić the Catholic members were Luka Čabrajić and Vjekoslav Jelović.³²⁶ They sent a memorandum to the German occupation forces demanding autonomy for BiH, but received no reply. The same delegation went to Hakija Hadžić, Pavelić's envoy in BiH and demanded autonomy for BiH all members of the delegation were arrested, the Orthodox members of the delegation were executed while Hadžihasanović and the Catholics were warned by Hadžić to stop with ant-governmental activities and released. But Hadžihasanović had no plan to stop his activities. Hadžihasanović tried to establish contact with Germans in Sarajevo, he started to address the issue among Muslims in Sarajevo that BiH should be given autonomy and become a German protectorate.³²⁷ Hadžihasanović praised the cultural German people and their military power; Muhamed Pandža the member of the *ulema-medžlis* joined in the choir of the autonomy movement to praise the Germans. The news about the autonomy group reached the German consulate in Sarajevo, the German consul in Sarajevo Gördes and the military attaché Rudolf Treu established contact with Hadžihasanović. After the contact was established between the Germans and the autonomy movement Hadžihasanović formed the Muslim Committee of People's Salvation.³²⁸ The members of this Committee were Hadžihasanović, Mustafa Softić and Suljaga Salihagić an engineer from Banja Luka.³²⁹ The Germans and the Committee formed by Hadžihasanović met several times in a coffee house in Sarajevo where they discussed the possibility of giving BiH autonomy and making the province a German protectorate. A memorandum was written, dated the 1 November 1942, this memorandum was written to be sent to Hitler but it was never sent.

The memorandum was probably co-authored by Gördes and Treu.³³⁰ The memorandum begins with an explanation that the Muslims of BiH are not ethnical Slavs, but the ancestors of Ostrogoths and thus Aryans, the memorandum goes on and accuses Pavelić for the deaths of thousands of Muslims in BiH. The text returns to race issues were the BiH Muslims are compared to the Croats and Serbs by skin colour, hair colour, character and behaviour.³³¹ In the memorandum there are eight points clarifying the Muslim Committee of People's Salvation's

³²⁶ Filandra 1998:173 & Redžić 2005:168.

³²⁷ Redžić 1987:22.

³²⁸ Redžić 2005:175.

³²⁹ Redžić 2005:178.

³³⁰ Redžić 1987:71.

³³¹ Redžić 1987:74.

wishes for BiH. The first point states that the only army in BiH should be Hadžiefendić Legion and it should be named the Bosnian Guard. The second point states that all volunteer soldiers from BiH that are serving on the eastern front should be sent back to BiH and diverted into the Hadžiefendić Legion. The third point states that the Hadžiefendić Legion should be under direct German army command; the Germans would supply the legion with arms and train the legion. The fourth point states that BiH would supply Germany with mineral and wood and all natural resources that Germany needs. The fifth point states that the Ustašaka Vojnica and Ustaša party should stop all activity in BiH and be drawn back from the territory of BiH. The sixth point states that the political and administrative name to the German protectorate should be *Župa Bosna*, the seat of the administrator of BiH should be in Sarajevo and only Hitler should name the administrator of BiH. The seventh point states that the Germans should help to start the Nazi party in BiH. The last point states that Italy should administrate four districts in Hercegovina and the protectorate of *Župa Bosna* should be allowed to use the port of Ploče on the Adriatic Sea.³³² The memorandum clarifies the autonomy movement's wishes. Hadžihasanović died in early 1943 in Sarajevo, Muhamed Pandža and the Imam Mehmed Handžić continued his work as the voice of autonomy movement, but they did not have the social network that Hadžihasanović had and his political skills.

The Mostar faction for autonomy the Action Committee was rather small and was led by the *mufti* of Mostar Omer Džabić the other active members in the Action Committee were Hadži Ahmed Karabeg and Imam Ibrahim Fejić.³³³ On 15 October 1942 the Action Committee travelled to Rome to meet the Jerusalem *mufti* al-Husseini and Benito Mussolini to discuss the status of Hercegovina. Pavelić received information about the Action Committees departure to Rome and that General Ugo Santovito commander of the sixth Italian army Corps persuaded the Action Committee to travel to Rome.³³⁴ The Action Committee travelled in a military train accompanied by high Italian military officers and without papers the destination was Dubrovnik and from there the party travelled by boat to Italy. Pavelić was enraged because he thought the Italians wanted to discuss the possibility of creating an Italian protectorate in Hercegovina, which would diminish the NDH regime authority in Hercegovina. Pavelić's relations with Italy was from the start of the creation of NDH bad because Italy annexed Dalmatia and the support provided to the Četnik

³³² Redžić 1987:74f.

³³³ Redžić 2005:175. Ibrahim Fejić became *Reisu-ul-ulema* in 1947, see Gaši 2001:95.

³³⁴ Redžić 2005:176.

units in Hercegovina and Croatia. Pavelić's was kept on a short leash by the Germans and were forced to keep a straight face. But the visit by the Action Committee in Rome did not result in any significant agreement except that Mussolini promised that the Italian army would protect the Muslims in Hercegovina against the Četniks and Ustaša forces.³³⁵

5.5 Muslim-Četnik co-operation

A small number of Muslims from BiH joined or were sympathizers of the Četnik movement. Some of the Muslims that joined, or were sympathizers of the Četnik movement, can be classed as Serbophiles; most notable of these Serbophiles were Fehim Musakadić, Mustafa Mulalić, Ismet Popovac and the Mostar judge Mustafa Pašić. Fehim Musakadić also known, as Musa was a former officer in the Serbian royal army and a decorated veteran of World War I, before Fehim Musakadić joined the Četnik forces he was police-chief of Sarajevo.³³⁶ Ismet Popovac from Nevesinje was a medical doctor and former Mayor of Konjic and was rather active trying to form Muslim Četnik units. Popovac was keeping contact through letters with Dragoljub "Draža" Mihailović who seemed very positive of the proposal Popovac put forward to form Muslim Četnik units.³³⁷

Mustafa Mulalić born in Livno was a politician during 1931 to 1935, shortly after his political career he started working for the periodical the *Sokolski glasnik*, "Falcon Voice," and was active as a leader in the Muslim Centre in Belgrade. During the occupation of Belgrade by the German forces Mulalić was able to get in contact with officers loyal to Mihailović and left Belgrade to join Mihailović at Ravna Gora while he left the leadership of the Muslim Centre in Belgrade to Abdulah Kemura. At Mihailović's headquarter Mulalić was the chief editor of the Četnik journal *Ravnogorski Misao*, "Thoughts from Ravna Gora," and *Istok*, "East," as well writing propaganda texts for the Četnik radio broadcastings appealing to Muslims to join the Četniks to fight the communists. Mulalić was without a doubt a Serbophile but the decision to join Mihailović at

³³⁵ Redžić 1987:66.

³³⁶ Malcolm 2002:188.

³³⁷ Dragoljub Mihailović also known as Draža and Čiča. When Yugoslavia was invaded in 1941 Mihailović was Colonel at the second army staff in BiH he was serving near the town of Doboj. Mihailović and a group of officers and soldiers retreated to Serbia and established headquarter at Ravna Gora a highland in Serbia. For the history of the formation of the Četnik movement during the World War II, see Tomasevich 1975:115-126.

Ravna Gora was decided in Belgrade at a joint Muslim meeting; at the meeting it was decided that Mulalić as a Muslim should join Mihailović at Ravna Gora.³³⁸

One of the participators at this meeting was Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović; in late 1941 Avdo Humo a Muslim and a member of the Communist Party Regional Committee for BiH met Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović where he explained the partisan's views on the Muslims. Humo stated that while the Četnik forces were attacking Muslim peasants the Ustaša government was not interested in protecting them, while the partisans sheltered them.³³⁹ Humo tried to persuade Hadžihasanović to join the partisans. But Hadžihasanović had a different opinion on the matter and replied to Humo: "I advised Mulalić in Belgrade to join Draža's staff in order to dull the Četnik blade in their relation towards the Muslims."³⁴⁰ During this meeting Hadžihasanović also stated that the Germans and Italians would not let the partisans win. Neither would the Allies let the partisans form a Communist state in the Balkans; he said that the Četniks could cripple the Muslims but that they will never be able to destroy the Muslims.³⁴¹

The first serious attempt by Muslims to form collaboration with Četniks was initiated by Ismet Popovac in mid 1942. Ismet Popovac met with the Italian General Alesandro Luzan and some higher ranking Četniks officers, at this meeting all sides agreed that the main enemy was not the NDH and the Ustaša regime but the communists and partisans.³⁴² The main bulk of the Muslims who responded to Popovac's propaganda to form Četnik units came from the cities of Mostar, Stolac, Nevesinje, Trebinje, Čapljina and Konjic. In Trebinje Ibrahim Zupčević was persuaded by Alesandro Luzan to form Četnik units. On 31 December 1942 at a meeting in the town of Kalinovik led by Popovac and Pašić, the participants pledged alliance to King Petar II Karađorđević and General Mihailović. At this meeting a resolution was accepted that the Muslims are an integral part of Serbdom and that the MNVO was a part of the Četnik movement led by General Draža Mihailović, Minister of the Army, Navy and Air Forces.³⁴³ The Četnik units that was organised by Popovac were small and had a poor ability to fight. Ammunitions,

³³⁸ Filandra 1998:191, n62.

³³⁹ Redžić 2005:208.

³⁴⁰ Redžić 2005:209.

³⁴¹ Redžić 2005:209.

³⁴² Redžić 1987:60f.

³⁴³ Redžić 2005:144.

arms and food were provided by the Italians to the units. Muslims made up eight percent of the Četnik units, that is somewhere slightly over 4000 men.³⁴⁴

On 20 January 1943 the Axis forces, Germany and Italy, started operation *Weiss* to destroy the partisan army. This operation was carried out in three stages and lasted to the 17 March 1943. Četnik units were summoned up by the Italians to engage in the operation. The partisans managed to beat the Četnik units, who failed to prevent the partisans to break through into the interiors of eastern Hercegovina. The whole operation was a failure for the Četnik units and marked a downfall for the Četnik forces from this point on. The reason for the Četnik failure was bad planning, low moral and poor leadership.³⁴⁵ The Četniks did not anticipate the partisan strength and fighting moral. On 15 May 1943 the Axis launched operation *Schwartz* to destroy the partisans in south-eastern BiH; the Četniks were not involved in this battle because of heavy losses during operation *Weiss*. The partisans managed to cross the Sutjeska River and regroup in eastern BiH. Between 28 October and 1 December 1943 the Tehran Conference took place where Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt meet. At this conference the Allies decided to withdraw support to Mihailović, and support the partisans because Mihailović rather fought the partisans than the Axis forces. The Četniks found themselves in a dead-end situation and intensified their terror acts against the Muslims in eastern BiH.³⁴⁶ As the end of the war the Četniks in BiH found themselves in a desperate situation, the partisans were advancing on all fronts and town after town fell in their hands. The Partisans had killed Ismet Popovac in early 1943.³⁴⁷ In January 1945 Mihailović named Muhamed Preljubović as the commander of the Muslim Četnik units, and issued an order to gather the remaining Muslim Četnik units and to form a Muslim Četnik Corps.³⁴⁸ This event never took place because there were no Muslim Četnik units to be gathered because all units had already joined the partisans.

³⁴⁴ Malcolm 2002:188.

³⁴⁵ Tomasevich 1975:248.

³⁴⁶ Redžić 2005:149.

³⁴⁷ Malcolm 2002:188.

³⁴⁸ Redžić 1987:210.

6 Analysis

6.1 Analysis of Bosnia and Hercegovina from 1878 to 1914

The Ottoman decline and Russian military advances against the Ottoman Empire brought forth the creation of new Slavic states on the Balkan Peninsula. The Russian advances threatened the interests of Great Britain in the Near and Middle East, the A-H Empire saw the new Slavic state Serbia as a threat. On 13 June 1878 the European powers at the time Italy, A-H Empire, Ottoman Empire, Great Britain, Germany, France and Russia met in Berlin to discuss the situation, A-H Empire had aspiration on BiH to prevent expansion of Serbia. After a month on the 13 July 1878 the fate of BiH was sealed. On July 29 A-H advanced into BiH and met resistance from hastily organised Muslim forces. Just before A-H crossed the Sava River into BiH, in Sarajevo the lower and middle-class Muslims were

The wealthy Sarajevo landlords who did not resist the A-H occupation of BiH were the winners. The Sarajevo landlords with their monopolistic network had access to important A-H officials and access to the power that was seated in Sarajevo. The three main figures among the influential Sarajevo Muslims were Mustaj-beg Fadilpašić, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović and the *mufti* Mustafa Hilmi Omerović. We can see that the move to create an independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH was an idea by A-H General Josip Filipović pushed by his political advisor the Franciscan friar Grga Martić. Martić proposed the idea to the wealthy landowner Fazil Pasha Šerifović who went along with the idea a declaration was written down by Imam Zuhdi Bakarović while Martić dictated the declaration. 58 prominent Muslims from Sarajevo signed this declaration concerning an independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH among the signatories we find Mustaj-beg Fadilpašić, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović and the *mufti* Mustafa Hilmi Omerović. To please the A-H authorities Omerović issued a *fatwa* 1880 the legal validity of the 1881 A-H defence law which allowed the A-H authorities to recruit the local Muslim population to the A-H army, this sparked a revolt but was crushed rather fast by A-H army. This *fatwa* led to that 8000 Muslims departed between 1881-1882 to the Ottoman Empire. On 17 October 1882 the A-H Emperor signed a decree appointing Omerović as the *Reisu-ul-ulema*. As we can see the Sarajevo elite Muslims more or less gave helped the A-H authorities to create an independent Islamic hierarchy in BiH.

The movement for autonomy and self-administration of the *vakuf-mearif* policies was triggered in 1885 and led by the Mostar *mufti* Ali Fehmi Džabić. This was also protests against the centralised *Vakuf* Commission in Sarajevo. The *Vakuf* Commission handed over the Muslim burial grounds Šehitluci and Čekrekčinica in Sarajevo to the Provincial Government to be turned into public parks, which triggered Džabić to act. After Džabić was stuck in Istanbul Mahmud-beg Džinić, Derviš-beg Miralem, Šemsi-beg Zaimović and Šerif Arnautović carried on the struggle for the autonomy and self-administration of the *vakuf-mearif* policies. Out of the struggle for the autonomy and self-administration of the *vakuf-mearif* policies the first Muslim party was formed in late 1906 by the name of Muslim National Organisation. After the annexation in 1908 the discussion continued and on 1 May 1909 the Muslims of BiH received the full autonomy of *vakuf-mearif* policies and religious affairs.

As we have seen both the Travnik and Mostar faction were not interested in a specific political ideology in the early phase of their formation. If we examine the Travnik faction we can clearly see that this faction was based on kinship made up wealthy landlords scattered around Travnik area. The Travnik faction was interested to advance their interests but to do this they were forced to form alliances with landlords outside Travnik. These alliances were mainly linked through kinship with a highly effective social network stretching as far as in the circles of BiH landlord émigrés in Istanbul that had contact with the Sultan. Travnik landlords were critical of all laws that were introduced by the A-H authorities to keep a *status quo ante bellum* they used the most effective weapon they had at hand which was petitions that were handed over to the A-H authorities. These petitions that were presented in early 1890 to the A-H authorities would not have appeared if the pressures were put on the Travnik landlords from their relatives in Istanbul. The Istanbul émigrés had interests in BiH as an external group since they owned estates in BiH and received money from these estates from taxes that were collected among the peasants by the *subaša*. Unlike the Mostar faction and Sarajevo landlords the Travnik faction did not have to balance between the A-H authorities and listen to demands from the Muslim peasantry and middle-class to promote their interests.

One problem that the Travnik landlords had that they met infrequently, as we have seen the personal network of the Travnik landlords were active during three holidays in the Islamic calendar *Kurban-Bajram*, *Ramazanski-Bajram* and *Ramazan* when they visited relatives. During these holidays the recruitment was carried out. But the great problem for the Travnik faction as I

see it is that the social network was geographically dispersed and which limited highly organised resistance to the A-H authorities. As we can see the recruitment in Livno failed as well as in Zvornik, Banja Luka, Duvno, Bihać, Brčko and Mostar. Though a small faction was recruited in Brčko but a small faction were created in Brčko led by Šemsi-beg Zaimović supporting the Travnik faction, a minor faction was also created in Bijeljina led by Zia-beg Alipašić. Though that the leader of the Travnik faction Muharem-beg Teskeredžić and the leader of the Donji Vakuf faction that supported Travnik landlords Derviš-beg Miralem were related to the Mostar families Bašagić and Kapetanović by marriage they failed to gain support among the Mostar landlords to sign petitions. Mostar where the *mufti* Džabić was based was interested in Islamic issues and not agrarian issues. Imams from the Džabić faction persuaded landlords in the Mostar area to not sign any petitions. The Bugojno faction and Donji Vakuf faction were the only hardcore supporters of the Travnik factions because they had the same interests as the Travnik faction namely the agrarian question. Another problem the Travnik faction had to deal with was the A-H loyalist faction created by Benjamin von Kállay and A-H Regional Supervisor Rukavina in the midst of Travnik led by the *mufti* of Travnik Muhamed Hazim Korkut who managed to recruit mayors from small towns around the Travnik area.

The Travnik faction turned to the Sarajevo landlord Mahmud-beg Fadilpašić and his network during the summer in a spa in the small town of Kiseljak. The approach was made by the Travnik dissident Šerif-beg Hafizadić who was brother in law with Fadilpašić. The networking in Kiseljak was successful the Travnik faction were able to recruit 86 landlords and wealthy merchants to sign a petition with mainly agrarian issues and complaints A-H low-level functionaries and property rights. At the end of 1895 eight members of Travnik faction with two Sarajevo supporters and one Bijeljina supporter travelled to Vienna to present the petition to the A-H Emperor here the split occurred between the Sarajevo Muslims and Travnik faction when Teskeredžić delivered two more petitions, when only one petition were to be presented. The two additional petitions dealt with local and personal matters. In 1896 Teskeredžić tried to drive another petition but a split occurred in the Travnik faction, Omer-beg Sulejmanpašić and Šerif-beg Hafizadić distanced from Teskeredžić. In April 1896 Teskeredžić emigrated to the Ottoman Empire and the Travnik faction fell apart.

The Mostar faction first raised with the Mostar *mufti* Džabić and the crowd around him who was mainly Imams, at the beginning the Mostar faction monopolistic personal network with

Džabić as the leader. The first petition from the Mostar faction occurred in 1888 and the second in 1890 but in a sense the both petitions voiced the same problems namely A-H administrative practices, property law and cultural policies. In 1896 Mujaga Komadina entered the political scene in Mostar and countered Džabić's position and his monopolistic network. Komadina was critical of Džabić and his network and voiced his dissatisfaction with Džabić's passive and conservative attitude. Komadina gained support by the A-H authorities to open up a *Kiraethana* where he would promote the need for a Muslim revival, but also counter the Orthodox family Šantić in Mostar and the Serbian Orthodox Church Commune who was driving for an Orthodox cultural autonomy. But instead of the promotion of Muslim revival the *Kiraethana* became a base where Islamic orthodoxy was voiced. This was a stance that was forced up on Komadina in the quest to gain supporters. As I reckon Džabić and his supporters pulled Komadina on their court to play the Islamic orthodoxy game where Džabić had the upper hand as a *mufti*. The Provincial Government in Sarajevo noticed the quarrelling between Komadina and Džabić, the Provincial Government in Sarajevo dispatched Mehmed Hulusi who a member of the *Vakuf* Commission in Sarajevo to mediate between the two factions, nothing came out of Hulusi's mediation, Hulusi inflamed the Džabić factions hostility to the A-H authorities when Hulusi dismissed an errant subordinate in *vakuf* policies, Hasan Nametak. The Provincial Government in Sarajevo dispatched *mufti* Ahmet Dizdar member of the *ulema-medžlis* from Sarajevo to mediate, but Dizdar only met with Džabić since these two were old friends. Dizdar informed A-H official Baron Klimburg that the best thing to do was to close down the *Kiraethana* and that the members could join Džabić's faction. But Klimburg rejected this proposal. In January 1899 we can observe how the Islamic orthodoxy was voiced in the *Kiraethana* and how the A-H backed members from the *Kiraethana* Mehmed Djikić and Ahmet-beg Defterdarović ignited the Islamic orthodoxy to be voiced. Djikić asked why the members of the Executive Committee did not extend New Year's greetings to the A-H authorities. Komadina answered that New Year was a miniature Christmas and to honour such Christian holiday was a corruption of the Islamic faith and that congratulatory visit would violate his conscience as a Muslim.

Over time Komadina's faction grew close to Džabić's faction. In May 1899 Komadina's faction merged with Džabić's faction due to the abduction and conversion of the Muslim girl Fata Omanović. And in October 1899 the two factions presented a petition consisting of 114 articles dealing mainly with autonomy for *vakuf-mearif* issues. But this petition was rejected and in April

1900 the Provincial Government closed the *Kiraethana*. However the A-H authorities could not stop Džabić campaigning for autonomy of *vakuf-mearif* institutions. In the spring of 1900 Džabić travelled to Budapest to muster the Hungarian opposition in the common A-H parliament to bring down Kállay from his post administrator in BiH, which led to that Kállay started to discuss with Džabić concerning the autonomy of *vakuf-mearif* institutions in February 1901. But Džabić departure to Istanbul in January 1902 was a welcomed mistake to the A-H authorities, to get rid of Džabić who they concerned as a problem the Provincial Government in Sarajevo announced on March 4, 1902 that Džabić had left BiH without the authorisation and they threatened Džabić with punishment and imprisonment.

When we look into the factions in Mostar we can see that Komadina and Džabić brought out the Muslims of Mostar to participate in political factional life from 1896 until 1900. The Muslims who participated in political activities learned how to organise and acquired skills in political life; the Muslims experienced pluralistic thoughts in political life when they observed what was going on in the *Kiraethana*.

Kállays quest to suppress Serb and Croat nationalism in BiH he tried to introduce a separate Bosnian nationhood the so called *bošnjaštvo* which but as seen above this proved to be fruitless enterprise since the idea only some Muslims were attracted to Kállays idea. Since the Orthodox and Catholics were minorities in BiH by themselves they needed the Muslims on their side to be majority. A quest to nationalise the Muslims was started early in BiH; we can see that intellectual adherents of Starčević among the Catholics closely tied to the Franciscans in BiH were successful. A number of poems and novels appeared praising the Muslims the Catholic adherents of Starčević wrote under Muslim pseudonyms. It is important to note that Muslims who professed themselves as Croats or Serbs were urbanised intellectuals able to read, the greater mass of Muslims were the illiterate peasantry who lived in rural areas and they were not exposed to the intellectual purge to nationalise the Muslims.

In 1900 the Muslim journal *Blossom* appeared and three years later the journal *Endeavour* appeared both journals were dealing with Islamic issues. I stress that this was the first attempt of Muslim revival among the intellectual Muslims. As mentioned above the greater mass of Muslims were the illiterate peasantry and the Islamic issues that they experienced were in the local mosque rather than through any Muslim journals that they could not read and less understand the intellectual output of Islamic issues that appeared in these journals. What is very

clear is that overwhelming majority of Muslims engaged in politics and who formed factions or political parties such as MNO were exclusively wealthy merchants, landlords and religious officials, they stressed that they voiced the needs of the Muslims. This might be true in some sense but they also advanced their personal interests.

6.2 Analysis of Bosnia and Hercegovina from 1918 to 1941

The creation of the kingdom of SHS was a hasty project although the planning during the First World War, by the Yugoslav Committee and Pašić the SHS was built on a shaky ground. The Yugoslav Committee with the two major figures Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić both from Croatia, Frano Supilo changed his views on a united South Slave state. Supilo viewed Pašić's political stance as a drive to create a Greater Serbia out of the united South Slave state. Supilo tried to convince Trumbić and the members from the Committee to break with Serbia and Pašić but with no success. Supilo resigned from the Committee in June 1916. On 27 July 1917 Pašić and Trumbić signed the Corfu declaration which outlined the South Slave state.

To the Muslim population in BiH the creation of SHS was followed up by attacks on Muslim and in some cases on Catholic population by Orthodox peasantry. The *mufti* Ibrahim Maglajlić from Tuzla formed the Tuzla Action Assembly that can be seen as the early phase of JMO and what was stressed was organisation and unity among the Muslims to protect themselves. Here we can see that the majority of the Muslims put their divisions aside to unite and to protect themselves. Different Muslim organisations with diverse names started to pop up around BiH, but all these organisations had the same goal in mind which was to organise themselves to protect their interests as Muslims. On the 16 February 1919 in Sarajevo, Muslim organisations from 40 out of 54 municipalities held a congress. These Muslim organisations merged into what became JMO. Here we can see cohesion among the Muslims no matter of social class. Though members in JMO professed themselves as Serbs or Croats they were foremost Muslims and did not let their nationalistic belonging split them. As we can see in the elections that were held in 1920 JMO, prevailed as the largest party from BiH, this astonished the political establishment in both Zagreb and Belgrade that the cohesion and the unity among the Muslims were so strong. Though the strength of JMO a split in the party occurred in late 1921 two factions emerged in the JMO the left wing faction and rightwing faction. The leader of the

left wing faction Mehmed Spaho emerged as the new leader of JMO, while the right wing faction created a new party the JMNO.

In the elections on 18 March 1923 JMO would prove again to be the party that Muslims no matter of social class supported and emerged again as the largest party from BiH. But in 1929 due to the royal dictatorship political activity of the JMO stopped. But after the assassination of Alexander I Karađorđević in France in 1934, political life was in some sense changed and Prince Pavle loosened the bans enforced by Alexander I Karađorđević. All the former political parties as well as JMO were weak but participated in the political life.

While the German Nazi shadow started to spread over Europe and unrest spread in Croatia negotiations between Cetković and Maček started to solve the Croatian problem which would affected BiH if the plans were realised, for BiH it meant that the country were to be divided between Croatia and Serbia. The Muslim population was ignored in these discussions. During the Cetković and Maček discussions Mehmed Spaho died and Džafer-beg Kulenović was elected as president of JMO with to Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović's lobbying in the JMO ranks. But before the plans were realised to divide BiH Prince Pavle together with Kulenović, Maček and Cetković travelled to Vienna due to German pressure and signed a pact to enter the Axis forces on 25 March 1941. But on 27 March 1941 officers in Serbia staged a *coup d'état* and installed a pro-British government, on 6 April 1941 Germany invaded the kingdom of Yugoslavia.

6.3 Analysis of Bosnia and Hercegovina from 1941 to 1945

When BiH was incorporated to the NDH in 1941 a reign of terror descended over the Orthodox, Jewish and Roma population as well as political parties oriented to the left scale of the political spectrum like the communists and social democrats. In the quest to homogenise the Nazi backed NDH; the leading figures in the Ustaša party established concentration camps, death camps and transit camps in BiH and Croatia to eradicate the all the so called enemies of the NDH. Ironically the leading Ustaša members manly came from the ranks of Frankovci whose leader were a Jewish lawyer. The Ustaša members also called themselves followers of Ante Starčević but in contrast to Starčević who looked up on the Germanic people as barbaric and oppressors the Ustaša members depended on German support to uphold NDH and looked up on them as liberators of Serbian oppression. The Ustaša members adopted some of Starčević and his early follower's views and used them in the propaganda. The propaganda was that the Muslim population in the NDH was

the Croatian “flowers” and the “purest” segment of the Croatian nation. The Muslims in NDH should to be addressed as Croatians of the Islamic faith not as Bosniaks, the name Bosnia and Hercegovina were only to be used in historical context. Without no doubt most of the Muslims and Croatians saw the creation of the NDH as liberation from Serbian domination.

But the short-lived happiness of the creation of NDH changed to dissatisfaction in Croatia proper as well as in BiH. Croatian homeguards drafted from Croatia did not understand why they had to be sent to BiH to die in a meaningless war; this resulted in a high rate of desertion. The same situation evolved among the Muslims drafted in to the homeguard units. As the war dragged on the Muslim civilians predominantly in eastern and north-eastern BiH felt that the Ustaša’s instead of protecting them left them at the mercy of the Četnik knife. To get the Muslim population to accept the NDH rule Pavelić nominated Muslims to minister posts in the NDH government. But as seen above the Muslims that precipitated in the NDH rule had no actual power Ademaga Mešić was 80 years old when the Ustaša came to power although his honorary title as *doglavnik* in the NDH state he had no actual power. Two factions of Muslims precipitated in the NDH rule on one side Hadžić and Šuljak on the other Džafer-beg Kulenović. Hadžić and Šuljak ganged up on Kulenović because of his involvement in the Belgrade regime during the interwar period, to counter Hadžić and Šuljak, Kulenović used his personal network in the ranks of the JMO and filled the NDH government with allies supporting him.³⁴⁹ This internal strife between the two Muslim factions quarrelling gave Pavelić advantage; while the two factions were quarrelling Pavelić could use Vjekoslav Vrančić to deal with important issues in BiH. I believe that Pavelić knew that Hadžić and Šuljak did not like Kulenović and expected Hadžić and Šuljak to gang up on Kulenović. Pavelić used the classical strategy of divide and rule. While the two Muslim factions were quarrelling in the NDH regime the Muslim population in BiH felt that the Muslims in the NDH regime were distancing themselves from the reality that was going on in BiH. This led that the Muslim population started to distance themselves from the elite Muslim click in the NDH regime. As we have seen above in the testimony that Mehmed Alajbegović gave to the State Security Administration, Kulenović did not care about the atrocities in BiH from the side of Ustaša and stated that he only represented himself in the NDH regime.

³⁴⁹ See Appendix IV.

The first armed resistance in BiH against the Ustaša rule came from the Orthodox peasantry shortly followed by the communists, though the small number of communists they successfully recruited the Orthodox peasantry in their ranks and formed Partisans units.

From the side of the Muslim in BiH Uzeir-aga Hadžihasanović an influential JMO member thought that he is not noticed during the interwar period took an anti-Ustaša stance and openly argued that BiH should be given autonomy. Early during the NDH rule Hadžihasanović formed a Committee with Orthodox and Catholic autonomy supporters for BiH. The first thing they did was to send a memorandum to the German occupation forces demanding autonomy for BiH, but they did not receive any reply. The Committee visited Hakija Hadžić and demanded autonomy, but this move proved to be fruitless since Hadžić ordered the arrest of the Committee, the Orthodox members of the Committee was executed while the Catholic members and two Muslims with Hadžihasanović were told to stop their anti-governmental activities and released. Through his network among the *ulema* like Fehim Spaho, Muhamed Pandža and Mehmed Handžić he initiated a resolution condemning Ustaša atrocities against the Jews, Serbs and Roma population in BiH. Hadžihasanović had close contacts with Mustafa Mulalić and he convinced Mulalić to join the Četnik movement. Interesting, concerning, Hadžihasanović is his conversation with Avdo Humo in 1941 a Muslim and a member of the Communist Party Regional Committee for BiH, I suspect that the man who initiated this meeting was Nurija Pozderac a former JMO member and I suggest that Pozderac and Hadžihasanović knew each other from the JMO. Hadžihasanović turned to the Germans as a last option. But out of this it only came a sketched memorandum that was never sent to Hitler.

Hadžihasanović died in 1943 and I consider Muhamed Pandža as the successor of Hadžihasanović, but unlike Hadžihasanović, Pandža did not have the network and political skills that Hadžihasanović possessed. However, Pandža had some kind of political program but no armed forces behind him. If we look at Huska Miljković who had a strong militia but no actual political program. During the Second World War the Muslims were divided into five factions which made it impossible for them to reach any platform to unite. If we consider the Muslims in the Četnik faction I would classify them into two factions lead by Fehim Musakadić and Mustafa Mulalić who were Serbophiles and in some way believed that the best solution were to take a stance with the Četnik's. While Ismet Popovac as I see it he was not a Serbophile like Fehim Musakadić and Mustafa Mulalić but was interested to protect Muslims civilians in an area were

the Četnik forces were predominantly strong and operated rather freely under Italian protection. By allying himself with the Četnik forces he could prevent attacks from Četnik forces on Muslim villages.

The creation of the SS Handschar division by the Germans ran into problems directly. The Croatian Ustaša's feared that creation of a solely Muslim division would cause problems in their plans to homogenise NDH and feared that creation of a solely Muslim division would encourage the autonomy movement. But through negotiations the Germans reached compromise with Ustaša of the formation of the division, to recruit Muslims into the division the Germans used the Jerusalem *mufti* Haj Amin al-Husseini who was living in Berlin as a propaganda recruiter, the visit of the *mufti* did give some results but not the results that the Germans hoped to achieve. The *mufti*'s visit to BiH was rejoiced by the *ulema*, religious scholars as far as from Albania travelled to Sarajevo to meet the *mufti*. The Handschar was filled with Croatian and so called *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans who in this case lived in Croatia) and German Waffen-SS soldiers to meet the required number of 21 000 soldiers. According to Resic the German officers in the Handschar division used derogatory and abusive words that made the Muslims and some of the Croatian soldiers to start a mutiny.³⁵⁰ But in the well researched book *Himmler's Bosnian Division: The Waffen-SS Handschar Division 1943-1945* (1997) by George Lepage, the mutiny was started by Ferid Džanić and Božo Jelenek who were communists. They got support from disappointed volunteers but the mutiny would never have occurred if not Ferid Džanić and Božo Jelenek planning together with Nikola Vukelić and Luftija Dizdarević. If we look closely only 840 soldiers out of 21 000 took part in the mutiny. The division proved to be rather poor in anti-partisan activities in BiH with low moral and large rate of desertion from the division.

³⁵⁰ Resic 2006:222.

7 Final comments and thoughts on further research

As explained in this work, the research done about the period 1878-1945 this work deals with and the Muslims are after 1995 often coloured by nationalism be it from the Croatian, Serb or Muslim side. Prior to 1980 the published works dealing with the period in this work are in general from former Yugoslavia and are written using historical materialism in mind. Modern academic works in the English language after 1995 dealing with the above mentioned period are often focused on Croatia or Serbia, BiH and the Muslims are mentioned briefly.

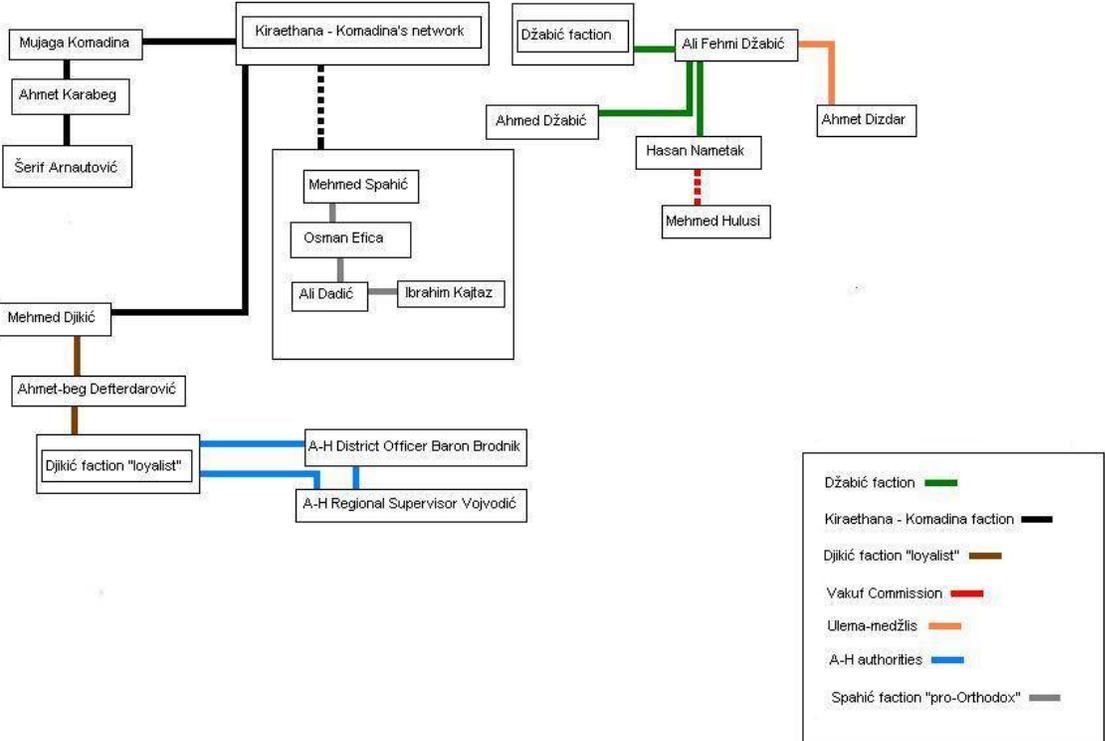
Donia explores BiH during the A-H period but he has focused only on Travnik, Mostar and Sarajevo factions, other larger cities like Banja Luka and Bihać and the Muslim activities are ignored altogether, and nothing is mentioned about activities in other parts of BiH which I find strange. One aspect of research that would be interesting would be north-western BiH were Muslims were in majority and how they acted political if they used the same methods as the Muslims in Mostar and Travnik to promote their interests.

The political activities of the JMO and how Islam was used in the political rhetoric by JMO are briefly mentioned in Purivatras work and needs more attention and how Islam was used to mobilise the Muslims. Although JMO were the main political Muslim party during the SHS all minor Muslim parties have been ignored and no research have been carried out on what kind of political program did they voice, and how was Islam used in their political rhetoric? One aspect that also needs to be researched is the stance of the Muslims on the creation of SHS.

The Second World War in BiH is a period when we find Muslims in all camps of the fighting parties. No one has in greater deal researched Muslims in the Četnik movement though there are an amount of documents to be researched. One of the leading Muslims in the Četnik movement Mustafa Mulalić wrote after the war his memoirs *Hronika Drugog Svjetskog Rata: Iz Aspekta Mojih Doživljaja i Rasuđivanja* this is hand-written and have never been published and can be found in the Gazi Husrev-beg mosque library in Sarajevo. To my knowledge no academic scholars have used it. Another aspect of the Second World War that would need research is the *ulema* in the autonomy movement and how they used Islam in the rhetoric to recruit soldiers into the SS-division and their stance towards the German occupiers.

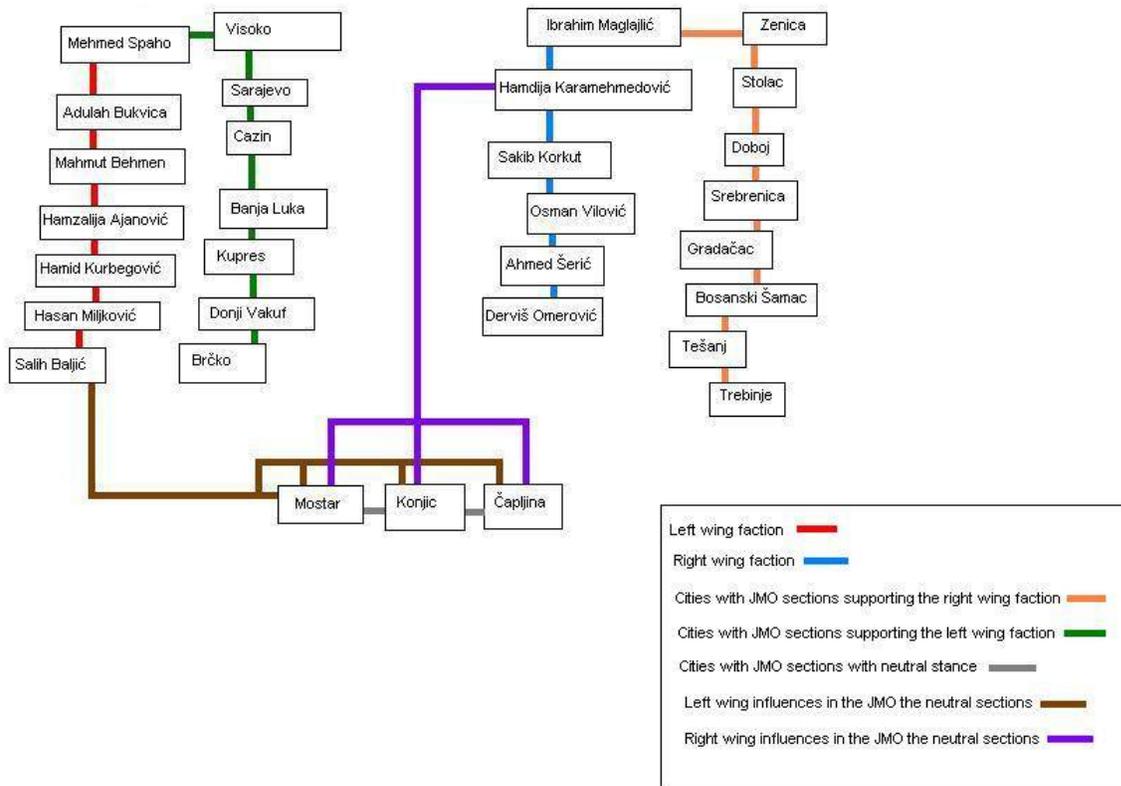
8 Appendix I

Mostar factions prior to May 1899:



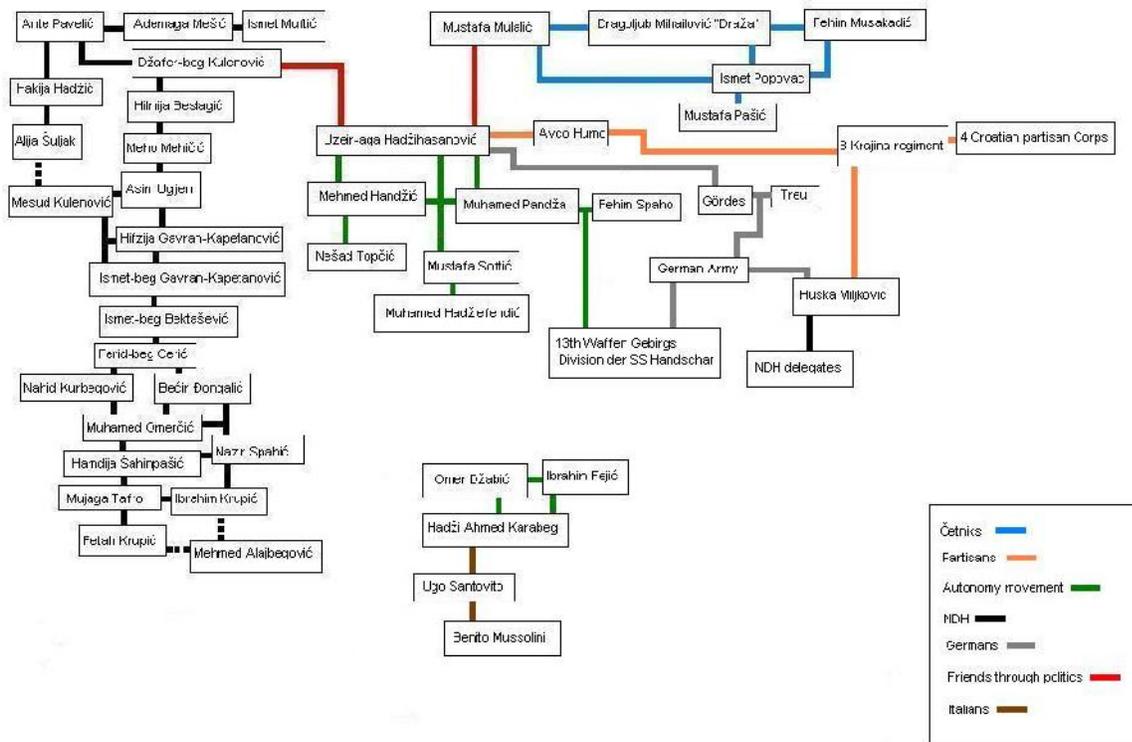
8.2 Appendix III

Yugoslav Muslim Organisation prior to the break on 16 April 1922:



8.3 Appendix IV

Networks during the Second World War:



8.4 Appendix V

Map I. Bosnia and Hercegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule 1878-1918:



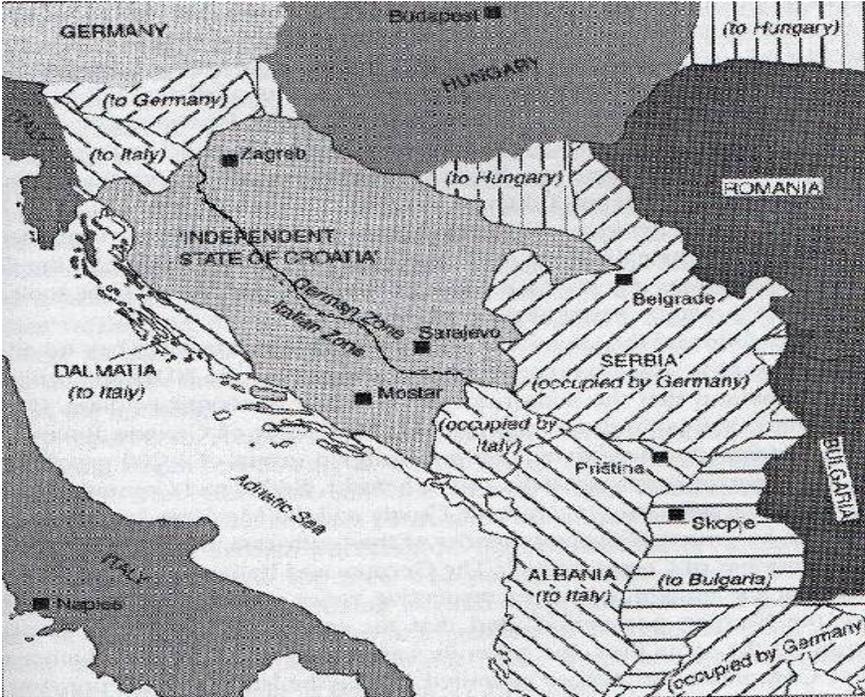
8.5 Appendix VI

Map II. Yugoslavia after the 6 January 1929:



8.6 Appendix VII

Map III. Bosnia and Hercegovina during the NDH rule 1941-1945:



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E-mail from George Lepre, Received Monday, 14 August 2006, 23:34.

9.5 Illustrations and maps

Illustrations in Appendix I, Appendix II, Appendix III and Appendix IV made by Meho Grbić.

Appendix V, Map I, From University of Trieste, Internet page:

<http://www.univ.trieste.it/~storia/corsi/Dogo/carte/1878---Bosnia.jpg>

Appendix VI, Map II, Dragnich, Alex N. 1983. *The First Yugoslavia: Search for a Viable Political System*. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford.

Appendix VII, Map III, Redžić, Enver. 2005. *Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Second World War*. Frank Cass, London.