grave is our farthest and most persisting faith. We are still swearing solemnly to bones and graves because we are still not having steadiest pillars, better remedies, nor more powerful convictions."[70] The logic of such events—which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter—helped to set the stage for the carnage that was to eventually follow in Croatia and especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Only one-fifth of Yugoslavia's thriving prewar Jewish community survived the war. Of the 12,495 Jews residing there in 1946, 7,578 emigrated to Israel between 1948 and 1952.[71] According to Jewish sources, 1,292 survived the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1,871 were there in 1948, 1,285 in 1958, and 1,292 in 1965. Their suffering during the war helped reduce the difference between Sephardim and Ashkenazi within the Jewish community. Although formally organized as the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, it never regained the vitality and influence it enjoyed before the war. However, it is difficult to estimate the correct number of Bosnian Jews after the war because official censuses and data provided by the Jewish community differ considerably. Many Jews moved to other parts of Yugoslavia or declared themselves as members of other national groups. So, officially there were only 310 in 1953, 381 in 1961, 708 in 1971, and 343 in 1981. According to data from the Jewish community, about 1,100 Jews lived in Sarajevo in 1984 and 1,200 in 1992.[72] In Sarajevo alone there were 1,413 Jews in 1946 and 1,304 in 1964—all served by a single rabbi.

THE MUSLIM RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

The Muslim religious community fared little better under Socialist rule than its Orthodox and Catholic counterparts. Muslim schools were mostly closed, religious orders were banned, and *vakuf* property was nationalized. Islamic courts, religious education in public schools, tax collection, and cultural-religious organizations and associations were abolished. The religious press was shut down, and orthodox Muslim women were forbidden to wear the veil. Islam was forced to retreat to the private sphere. Among the associations that were banned was the Young Muslims. Although it at first "succeeded in re-establishing around the same three founding groups a network," it was soon severely attacked and practically disappeared.[73] Many of its members and leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Some were condemned to death. The persecution of this stu-

dent body, which openly opposed the regime's moves against Muslim religious organizations, took place from March, 1946, to August, 1949. One of its members, Alija Izetbegović, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in 1946. Three year later, a number of defendants received much harsher sentences, and four of them—Hasan Biber, Nusref Fazlibegović, Halid Katjaz, and Omer Stupac—were executed.

In 1947, the Socialist regime formalized its relations with the Islamic Religious Community *(Islamska zajednica vjernika* [IZV]). Irwin describes it as a passive and patriotic organization, loyal to the regime, and with a politically correct leadership. This enabled it to freely manage its property according to Islamic law. The IZV's 1947 constitution defined its highest body as the "Vakuf Sabor of the Muslim Religious Community in SFRJ" and was chaired by the *reis-ul-ulema.* It included the *sabors* of four administrative provinces in Yugoslavia with headquarters in Sarajevo (for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia), Skopje, Priština, and Titograd. In 1957, Hadži Sujleman efendi Kemura, known for his loyalty to the state, became the new *reis-ul-ulema.* The IZV was again reorganized by the constitutions of 1957 and 1959, which allowed it to control its own spiritual and secular matters and broadened access to religious education and religious material.[74] It adopted yet another constitution in 1969 and changed its name to simply the Islamic Community (*Islamska zajednica* [IZ]).

There was a high level of trust between the Communist authorities and the Muslim community. This was confirmed by the *reis-ul-ulema,* who stated that the Muslims recognized both secular authority and "Socialist science." The Socialist regime lauded Kemura for preventing "reactionaries" from infiltrating the Islamic Community's leadership. The Muslim religious press in Yugoslavia was not as critical of the authorities as were the Orthodox and Catholic newspapers, and Muslim religious leaders did not figure as prominently in public life as their Orthodox and Catholic counterparts.[75] This benevolent attitude toward Islam later changed considerably. The rise of Muslim national self-awareness contributed to a religious revival as well. The result was that religious institutions became the legitimate representatives of their national identity.

There is scant and inaccurate data on the number of mosques and Muslim religious institutions in Socialist Yugoslavia. In 1945, there were some 1,022 mosques and *mesdžids.* Some 900 mosques were built in the country after the Second World War, bringing the total to 1,985 in the 1970s. Of those, 1,092 were in Sarajevo's province (plus 592 *mesdžids),* 445 were in Priština's, 372 were in Skopje's, and 76 were in Titograd's province. According to some estimates, there were 2,000 to 3,000

mosques in Yugoslavia in the 1980s, most of which were in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Muslim religious publications, periodicals, and schools were also widespread (three regional *madrasahs).* Although the "Faculty of Islamic Theology" was established in Sarajevo in 1977, many Yugoslav Muslim students were educated in Islamic countries, including Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Sudan.[76]

The Yugoslav Islamic community nurtured strong ties with the Islamic world, from Indonesia and Pakistan to Algeria and Morocco. It sent its delegates to the World Islamic Conference, the Soviet Congress of Muslims, Muslim youth congresses, and Islamic scientific seminars. The community also received financial assistance from wealthy Islamic countries and other countries that supported the development of Islam, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Libya, Iraq, and Sudan. In 1977, the *reis-ul-ulema,* Hadži Naim efendi Hadžiabdić, declared that the material position of the Muslim community and clergy "had never been better."[77]

As was the case with Yugoslavia's other religious communities, the Muslim religious community was subjected to internal conflict. A new order of dervishes, which had an especially large following in Kosovo, appeared in Yugoslavia in 1974. The IZV banned the order, which was led by Sheikh Jemali Hadži-Šehu, forcing it to register as an independent organization.[78] On the other hand, the beginning of construction in 1981 on the Zagreb mosque also stirred considerable commotion. Although it suffered several setbacks, including a fire in 1984 and a lot of red tape, the mosque opened in 1987. Muslim authorities also publicly supported the Albanian Muslims in their conflict with Serbian authorities in Kosovo.

THE MUSLIMS AS A NATION

Pointing at the interdependence of Islam and Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks), sociologist Ibrahim Bakić notes, "Islam was needed by Bosniaks to come into being and to constitute themselves, while Bosniaks secured Islam its subsistence."[79] The secularization of Bosnia's Muslims began under the Austro-Hungarians and continued through both prewar and postwar Yugoslavia. The confusion and differences of opinion regarding the Muslims' identity as a nation and religious community also was evident in the first three postwar population censuses. At first, Yugoslav Communists were convinced that Muslims would opt for either Serb or Croat national identity since only five constitutive nations were recognized.

The table 8-2 shows the results (in absolute figures) for all six censuses conducted in Socialist Yugoslavia. The ensuing paragraphs present the

TABLE 8-2 ***Population of Bosnia-Herzegovina by national identities, 1948–91***

Census	*Muslims*	*Serbs*	*Croats*	*Yugoslavs*	*Total in B-H*
1948	788,403[a]	1,136,116	614,142	0	2,563,764
1953	0	1,264,372	654,229	891,800[b]	2,847,459
1961	842,248[c]	1,406,057	711,665	275,883	3,277,948
1971	1,482,430[d]	1,393,148	772,491	43,796	3,746,111
1981	1,629,924[e]	1,320,644	758,136	326,280	4,102,783
1991	1,905,829[e]	1,369,258	755,895	239,834	4,364,574

[a] Muslims, undetermined.
[b] Yugoslavs, undetermined.
[c] Muslims in ethnic sense.
[d] Muslims in sense of nationality.
[e] Muslims.

TABLE 8-3 ***Self-identification of Bosnian Muslims, 1948***

Muslim Serbs	71,125
Muslim Croats	24,914
Muslims, Undetermined	788,403
Total Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina	890,094

chronology of events and the changing status and statistics of Bosnia's Muslim Slavs.[80]

The Muslims, who represented about 34.5 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina's total population, had three options in the first census of 1948: they could identify themselves as Serbs, Croats, or "nationally undeclared" Muslims. Banac notes that "this was the time of Serb predominance in Bosnia-Herzegovina" and most of the high-level Bosnian Muslim leaders—including Avdo Humo, Hajro Kapetanović, Šefket Maglajlić, and Hakija Pozderac—identified themselves as Serbs, although others, including Džemal Bijedić, Osman Karabegović, and Pašaga Mandžić, identified themselves as Yugoslavs.[81]

Unlike their counterparts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Muslim Slavs in other republics identified themselves with the predominate nation. Another process must be mentioned at this point: the migration of Yugoslavia's Muslim population—Slavic Muslims, Turks, and Albanians—into Turkey during the first two decades after the war.[82]

By the 1953 census, the category "nationally undeclared Muslim" had

been replaced by "nationally undeclared Yugoslav." An estimated 918,500 ethnic Muslims were in Yugoslavia and 891,800 in Bosnia-Herzegovina (32.2 percent of the Bosnian population). By the third census in 1961, there were about 1,118,000 Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina (34.1 percent), including those in the new "ethnic Muslim" category (842,248) and the majority of those in the "nationally undeclared Yugoslav" category.[83]

The first postwar politician to emphasize the urgency of recognizing Muslim Slavs as a sixth Yugoslav constitutive nation was Hussein Husaga Čisić, a liberal parliamentarian from Mostar. However, the proposals he made in 1945 and in January, 1946, were largely ignored, partly because of his ambiguous wartime role.[84] The Serb Communists in particular tried to have Bosnia-Herzegovina annexed to Serbia immediately after the war, but were unsuccessful. Although the question was discussed, no final conclusion was reached. Rodoljub Čolaković, a leading Bosnian Serb Communist, told Parliament in 1946 that Bosnia-Herzegovina's Muslims are a "separate—but, for the most part, still nationally undeclared—Slavic ethnic group" and are "equal to Serbs and Croats." In 1953, Moša Pijade declared that the Muslim category "indicates a distinct affiliation to the Muslim faith and is not related to the issue of nationality." He added that Muslims could define themselves as Serbs, Croats, or "nationally undeclared" Yugoslavs. This, he hoped, would "bring an end to the non-scientific and unenlightened habit of confusing religious and national identities."[85]

It was not until later that the League of Communists began nurturing the development of the distinct Muslim national consciousness that was emerging in response to the national and territorial appetites of the neighboring republics. The ruling party's position at the time was that the Muslims "consider themselves as a distinct ethnic and historical group, and even more so as a religious group." By the mid-1960s, however, there was talk about the three "constitutive nations" of Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims—although the latter had not yet been fully recognized as being constitutive. The Socialist authorities wanted to establish a Muslim national identity that would include Islam merely as part of a wider cultural and political doctrine.[86] They wanted to distinguish between Muslim national identity and religious affiliation, which, they claimed, were related only through cultural tradition, distinct lifestyle, and custom.

Islam did, indeed, represent only one of the many facets of Bosnian Muslim national identity, together with cultural characteristics, traditions, festivities, and personal names. They were more exposed to West-

ern influence than were their eastern counterparts. Individual "secularized" laic elements of Muslim culture and religion, such as names, expressions, apparel, customs, and epic traditions, were highlighted. The inappropriate use of the word *Muslim* as a designation for the nation upset many secularized or atheist Bosnian Muslims.

Two Bosnian Muslim politicians in particular gave vocal support to the cause of establishing a distinct Muslim national identity. Atif Purivatra, president of the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Committee for Interethnic Relations, stated that religion was only the first step to Muslim national identity, as was the case with the Serbs and the Croats. Similarly, Avdo Sućeska saw Islam as only the foundation on which socialism enabled the development of national awareness. The campaign for the "capital M," that is, for a Muslim national (rather than religious) identity, inevitably drew the participation of members of the Muslim intelligentsia, such as Prof. Muhamed Filipović. Džemal Bijedić, a confidant of President Tito, played a crucial role in the affirmation of Muslims as a Yugoslav constitutive nation "more than any other single Communist leader of Muslim origin."[87]

The recognition of Muslim national identity is also linked to the dismissal of Aleksander Ranković and the politics he promoted (and to a certain degree symbolized). Ranković's downfall at the Brioni plenary meeting in July, 1966, heralded a turning point in the Yugoslav political scene: it curbed Serb centralism and pressure for assimilation and boosted the autonomist aspirations of Macedonians (the creation of the Macedonian Orthodox Church in July, 1967), Muslims (now recognized as a nation), and Croats (the liberal *maspok* movement of the early 1970s). The plenary meeting resulted in a new, reformist political orientation for the country. It was, however, short-lived: the withdrawal of so-called Liberals within the Communist leadership in Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, and Macedonia had already occurred in the early 1970s. "Leka"—Ranković's partisan pseudonym—was a popular figure, especially in Serbia. His funeral in 1983 was a unique national manifestation attended by over a hundred thousand mourners.[88]

Following its eighteenth and twentieth sessions—held in February and May, 1968—respectively, the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina's (LCBiH) Central Committee passed a resolution entitled the "Ideological-Political Tasks of the Communists in the Further Realization of the Equal Rights of Nations and Nationalities and the Development of Inter-Republican Cooperation," which formally recognized Muslims Slavs as Yugoslavia's sixth constitutive nation, and no longer merely an "ethnic group." A similar resolution was passed at the LCBiH's

Fifth Congress in early January, 1969. "Yugoslavism" had finally been jettisoned as a solution to the issue of nationality. Despite a disproportionately high representation of Serbs in the LCBiH, the Central Committee took a unilateral step that required the amendment of the federal constitution by formally recognizing Muslims as a nation—and they did it without discussing the matter outside of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Shortly thereafter, the Yugoslav leadership also publicly supported a distinct national identity for Muslims and their equal status with other nations. Commenting on the recognition of the "Muslim nation," Todo Kurtović, a senior Bosnian official and president of the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time, said that the "objective conditions for its recognition and affirmation have been created." Kurtović dismissed any eventual response by Bosnia's neighbors, saying, "it is important what a nation is, and not what others think it is."[89] It is significant to note that the League of Communists in Serbia and Croatia did not fully accept the notion of a Muslim national identity until the early 1970s. Mika Tripalo addressed the issue at the tenth session of Croatia's League of Communists in January, 1970, and Serb Marko Nikezić did the same in Sarajevo in December of that year. Muslim nationhood was opposed by nationalist Serb Communists and conservatives, such as authors Dobrica Ćosić and Josip Potkozorac, but the prevailing political mood of the time was a liberal one and was unburdened with myths of a greater Serbia.[90]

We must also consider the fact that the new situation seemed acceptable to Serbia and Croatia because it neither favored nor discriminated against the Serbs or the Croats. Irwin surmises that this option was most strongly supported by Edvard Kardelj because it corresponded to his notions of decentralized federalism. In his view, Bosnia-Herzegovina was intended to become "an outpost of political and national stability" in the heart of the federation.[91] The new national self-confidence of the Muslims was illustrated in the subsequent population censuses of 1971 and 1981, as shown in tables 8-4 and 8-5.

The number of "ethnic Yugoslavs" increased to 43,796 by 1971 and 326,280 by 1981 (7.9 percent of the Bosnian population). By the next census, however, their number had again decreased to 5.5 percent (239,834). The "Yugoslav" category in Bosnia-Herzegovina was particularly strong because of the increasing number of ethnically mixed marriages, especially in urban areas, where 20–30 percent of marriages were mixed: 28 percent in Mostar, 22 percent in Sarajevo, and 19 percent in Zenica. The Bosnian average was 16 percent.[92]

The last population census (table 8-6) before the outbreak of hostili-

TABLE 8-4 ***Bosnia-Herzegovina population census, 1971***

Muslims	39.6%
Serbs	37.2%
Croats	20.6%

TABLE 8-5 ***Bosnia-Herzegovina population census, 1981***

Muslims	39.5%
Serbs	32%
Croats	18.4%

TABLE 8-6 ***Bosnia-Herzegovina population census, 1991***

Muslims	43.5%
Serbs	31.2%
Croats	17.4%

ties shows a continuation of the trend from previous censuses: decreasing Serb and Croat figures and increasing Muslim figures.

The second-largest serried group of Muslims—numbering about 240,000—lives in neighboring Sandžak Province in Serbia proper.

The national and cultural (as opposed to religious) facets of Muslims as a nation were emphasized by senior Yugoslav Communists, including Bosnian Muslims, who were characterized by their strong pro-Yugoslav inclination and the fact that they did not merely represent their own Muslim interests but always those of the republic as a whole. The process of secularizing Muslims' national identity was accompanied by a coincidental and opposite process: the ascent of Islamic self-confidence and the announcement of the explicit significance of the religious nature of the Muslim nation. Although the laic category of Muslims was favored, Islamic leaders in the 1970s revealed the strong internal bond that existed between their religion and nationality. In an article in the Muslim religious publication *Glasnik,* Imam Hadži Hussein Djozo declared that Islam was the foundation of the Muslim nation. This Islamic revival emerged from Muslims' traditional religiosity and the recognition of a national identity that was considerably marked by their religion.[93]

Until the 1970s, the Socialist regime was much more lenient with secular and religious Muslim nationalism than with other forms of religious

nationalism in Yugoslavia. Part of the reason for this lay in Yugoslavia's foreign policy and its role in the Nonaligned Nations Movement, which included many Islamic states. It drew on its loyal domestic Muslim community in matters of state as well. For example, leaders of friendly Muslim countries such as Nasser and Sukarno were introduced to the *reis-ul-ulema* and taken on trips to places where minarets and Islamic architecture in general indelibly infused the landscape with Muslim culture when they made state visits to Yugoslavia.

The worldwide revival of religious consciousness as experienced by Muslim associations in the 1970s helped to spread political Islam. There were attempts to confine secularization with Qu'ranic and Islamic principles (also in response to what was viewed as an excessively pro-Western inclination by some governments), and reorganize society and the state according to Islamic principles. The perils of—as Communist authorities and press called it—"Muslim nationalism and pan-Islamism" were pointed out in a pan-Yugoslav antinationalist campaign in the early 1970s. Two senior Muslim politicians and prewar Communists, Avdo Humo and Osman Karabegović, both members of the Bosnian political leadership during the Second World War, were dismissed in 1972 for alleged "exclusivism" and "nationalism." The *ulema,* the learned clergy of Islam, were permitted to run cultural institutions for ethnic Muslims only and not for Muslims in a religious sense. Moreover, the religious publication *Preporod (Revival,* established in 1970) was accused of exploiting religious sentiments. Nevertheless, public appearances by Islamic leaders were increasing, and the authorities accused them of trying to transform Islam into a political ideology. Bosnian Muslim politicians like Hamdija Pozderac and Fuad Muhić are quoted as saying that religious integrism was weakening Muslims' national identity and emancipation.[94]

The new situation in the country (weakening of internal integration, Tito's death, unrest in Kosovo, and the economic crisis) and outside its borders (the rise of pan-Islamic fundamentalism, the Iranian revolution in 1979) prompted the regime to take tougher measures against Islamic "nationalists and fundamentalists." *Preporod*'s editorial board was accused of "pan-Islamism" and its members were partly replaced in 1979. Also accused of trying to transform the Muslim identity from a national attribute to a purely religious one were the imams of Belgrade and Bugojno, Hilmo Niemarlja and Hussein Djozo, respectively (the latter was also accused of threatening "brotherhood and unity"). The new editorial board and the reorganized IZ were more inclined toward the authorities.

An important player in these events was the LCBiH because its leaders had a reputation for being "rigidly conservative" while performing in unity whenever dealing with the federal authorities. Not until the late 1960s and early 1970s did the Muslims begin to exert greater influence in the organization.[95] Branko Mikulić, a member of the Presidium of the LCY, launched a scathing attack on "clero-fascists of all creeds" within a year of Tito's death. Also targeted were Muslims calling for a "jihad," "Khomeini fundamentalism," and a "pan-Islamic conspiracy."

Serb nationalist circles were wary of the autonomous policies of Bosnia's leaders, especially during the Mikulić era. They accused them of undermining the historical links between Bosnia and Serbia. They were also displeased with the 1974 constitution, which rendered Yugoslavia a de facto confederate state, claiming that it victimized the Serb nation. In the summer of 1984, Vojislav Šešelj, a Bosnian Serb and assistant professor at the University of Sarajevo, was tried for an article he submitted to the Komunist that was never published in which he criticized Kardelj's national theories and policies. He wrote of a greater Serbia that, in addition to Serbia proper, included Vojvodina, Kosovo, and parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that the Muslims were simply Serbs or Croats, and that the Montenegrins were Serbs.[96] Šešelj was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment but was released after serving two.

In August, 1983, a group of thirteen people, including two imams (four of them former Young Muslims), were charged with "hostile and counter-revolutionary acts derived from Muslim nationalism."[97] Eleven were sentenced to prison. The leading defendant, lawyer Alija Izetbegović, subsequently faced charges for writing the text of a short treatise entitled the Islamic Declaration in 1970, that is, during a period of greater tolerance toward Islam. The Islamic Declaration was published for the first time in 1990, immediately before the democratic elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Other defendants included Hasan Čengić, who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment (later commuted to six and one-half years).

In the Islamic Declaration, Izetbegović touches on several abstract but highly suggestible matters that were unsettling to the Socialist authorities and laic readers, and were seen as being potential weapons in the hands of Islamic extremists and integrationists. For example, the treatise begins with two maxims: "Our objective is the Islamization of Muslims" and "Our motto is to have faith and fight."[98] He stresses the need for a peaceful introduction of Muslim authority and social order, which would

not only conform to but also be infused with Islamic religious and moral principles. According to Izetbegović, the new authority and social order would unite religion and science, morality and politics, ideals and interests, and so forth. He supported the idea of creating a united Islamic community ranging from Morocco to Indonesia, from sub-Saharan Africa to Central Asia. The Islamic Declaration rejected nationalism, communism, and the modernist secularization of Muslim societies.

Izetbegović made no direct reference to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, nor did he advocate violence, hatred, or ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, as the prosecution contended. He did, however, emphasize the incompatibility of Islam with non-Islamic political systems: "There can be no peace or harmony between the "Muslim religion" and non-Muslim social and political institutions." The following statement was also particularly disturbing to the authorities: "Islamic resurrection cannot begin without an Islamic revolution, and cannot continue and come to fruition without political revolution." All this should be accomplished by a young generation of Muslims "with labour, fight and sacrifices."[99] Indicted for attempting to create an Islamic republic in Yugoslavia, Izetbegović was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment.

The trial was clearly a political process: the indictment included several suspected senior exponents of pan-Islamism (supposedly under the patronage of a candidate for the federal presidency, Hamdija Pozderac) and went some way in "placating the Serb lobby within the republic and outside it."[100] It came as no surprise, then, that Pozderac himself ostracized the defendants, whom he accused of pan-Islamism, as did Fuad Muhić, who stated that their objective was "Khomeini-style socialism."[101] Muhić considered Muslim nationalism to be the most dangerous form of nationalism. Dušan Dragosavac, a dogmatic and centralist Serb politician from Croatia and LCY leader, also ostracized the defendants. A similar political trial took place in the summer of 1987 when three Muslims were charged with "pan-Islamism, undermining the Yugoslav political system," and attempting to "create an ethnically clean Islamic republic of Bosnia Herzegovina, Islamizing the Muslims."[102]

A process of national and political homogenization that seized "local" religious and ecclesiastic communities as well began to emerge in individual Yugoslav republics in the late 1980s. Unlike in other republics, where the gap between the interests of the Socialist authorities and the principal church was gradually closing, the Muslim religious community did not have a constructive relationship with Bosnia's political leaders. I believe there are three reasons for this: Bosnia's religious and national heterogeneity, the "orthodoxy" and pro-Yugoslav orientation of

the ruling party's leadership, and Muslims' pro-Yugoslav orientation. One of the last public opinion surveys before the war showed that Bosnian Muslim affinity for the collective Yugoslav state was greater (88 percent) than the affinity of the republic's Serbs and Croats (85 and 63 percent, respectively).[103]

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY BEFORE THE WAR

A poll conducted in 1988 by the Institute for the Study of National Relations involving 3,120 respondents from thirty-seven municipalities in Bosnia-Herzegovina showed some interesting results. Ibrahim Bakić, who compiled the data and presented it six years later, notes that the tendency to liken religious and national issues had always been present in the past, albeit in varying degrees. The basic supposition of the study was that religion is and remains an important factor in identifying national dissimilarities. The events of the next few years made it clear that religion had regained its political role and, moreover, that it was becoming belligerent. I have summed up only those aspects of this comprehensive study that have a bearing on the topic of this book. An indicative piece of information is the relationship between nationality and religiosity in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Other sources also confirm that religious observance of all Yugoslav nations was very low in 1990. The figures from one other survey show that 34 percent of Serbs, 37 percent of Muslims (34 percent of the youth) and 53 percent of Croats claimed to be religious.[104]

It seems that religion was least important to the Serbs, although Orthodoxy was historically one of the most important factors in their national development. The same can be said for Muslims. On the other hand, religion was taken most seriously by the Croats, whose tradition, disappointment in the regime, and belief that they were being nationally threatened might have driven them to embrace religion and the Roman Catholic Church as a national institution. One of the questions touched on the relationship between nationality and religion.

The data indicate quite a large overlap between religion and nationality for the three largest nationalities, least of all for the Serbs. The exact opposite is true for the "political nationality" of the Yugoslavs. Furthermore, a majority of the respondents considered neither nationality nor religion as important for friendships (from the highest share 83.51 percent for the Yugoslavs and lowest 56.64 percent for the Muslims). The figures were much lower when asked whether nationality and religion

TABLE 8-7 ***Relationship between nationality and religiosity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1988***
Question: Are you religious?

Nationality	*Yes*
Croats	55.78%
Muslims	37.32%
Serbs	18.60%
Yugoslavs	2.28%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 72.

TABLE 8-8 ***Relationship between nationality and prayer in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1988***
Question: Where, if at all, do you pray: at home or in church/mosque?

		Croats	*Muslims*	*Serbs*	*Yugoslavs*
Regularly	Home	21.11%	10.63%	4.73%	1.30%
	Church	21.93%	11.97%	14.09%	12.46%
Occasionally	Home	30.24%	27.41%	12.85%	2.28%
	Church	10.98%	16.71%	17.51%	23.61%
Rarely	Home	14.55%	12.05%	15.83%	4.56%
	Church	20.54%	20.02%	18.24%	14.10%
Never	Home	28.53%	42.95%	61.05%	88.27%
	Church	46.56%	51.30%	50.16%	49.84%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 73.

TABLE 8-9 ***Religious self-identification by nationality in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1988***
Question: What is your religion?

	Croats	*Muslims*	*Serbs*	*Yugoslavs*
Orthodox	0.58%	0.09%	76.62%	9.43%
Muslim	0.43%	82.28%	1.67%	10.77%
Roman Catholic	88.87%	0.63%	0.42%	5.72%
None	10.12%	17.00%	25.29%	74.04%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 53, 74.

were important when selecting a spouse: it is not important for 66.9 percent of Yugoslavs, 43.22 percent of Serbs, 32.01 percent of Croats, and 25.91 percent of Muslims.[105]

The next few questions of the study are particularly important to the topic of this book.

TABLE 8-10 ***Influence of religion on the development of a nation***
Question: What has been the influence of religion on the evolution and development of the nation?

	Very Positive and Mainly Positive
Croats	32.07%
Serbs	25.56%
Muslims	24.91%
Yugoslavs	18.55%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 104.

TABLE 8-11 ***Religion and nationalism***
Question: Is religion the essence of a nation or national sentiments?

	Yes, Primacy of the religion for the nation	*No difference between religious and national affiliation*
Croats	17.55%	22.11%
Serbs	12.64%	15.62%
Muslims	12.14%	17.05%
Yugoslavs	7.49%	12.7%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 105.

TABLE 8-12 ***Religion as a surrogate for national affiliation***
Question: Is religious affiliation also a designation for national affiliation?

	Always and Mostly
Serbs	60.22%
Croats	57.63%
Muslims	56.96%
Yugoslavs	42.34%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 107.

The next question deals with the relationship between nationality and the traditional identification of nationality and religion.

TABLE 8-13 ***Attitudes toward the relationship between religious and national identity***
Question: Does being a Serb mean being Orthodox, a Croat mean being Catholic, and a Muslim mean being Muslim?

	Basically the Same
Muslims	54.11%
Serbs	50.98%
Croats	49.36%
Yugoslavs	37.73%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 112.

Similar results for the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims and the relatively low result for Yugoslavs reflect the totally different historical backgrounds of their development: whereas religion and descent are the basic elements of identification for Serbs, Croats, and Muslims, the political dimension is far more important to the Yugoslavs.

TABLE 8-14 ***Opinions on religious communities as representatives of the nation***
Question: Do religious communities appear to be representatives of their nations?

	Yes and In Most Cases
Yugoslavs	66.67%
Serbs	66.18%
Croats	63.83%
Muslims	59.91%

Source: Ibrahim Bakić, *Nacija i religija* (Sarajevo: Bosna Public, 1994), 113.

The answers to this question indicate that the least religious respondents, the Yugoslavs, realized the importance of religious communities in representing the interests of nationalities. On the other hand, Muslims, whose religious community had weak links with the republican leadership, were least inclined to think so.

Bakić's study offered a number of meaningful conclusions. Firstly, researchers identified a correlation between one's national affiliation and the relationship between nationality and religion: "the stronger the national affiliation, more frequent and intensive the likening between nationality and religion and vice versa." Secondly, "believers felt a stronger sense of national affiliation": they "more readily identified nationality with religion, in global sense and in some individual aspects of national and religious life." Thirdly, Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina displayed a greater sense of religious-national affiliation ("communication and correspondence") than Serbs and Yugoslavs, which corresponds to "a lower level of religious self-identification" among the latter. Fourthly, "the emphasis on the relationship between nationality and religion was greater in day-to-day life than in the public or social sphere" (although even there it is neither omitted nor forgotten). And finally, "the communication and correspondence of national and religious self-identification is more intensive in personal than in public life."[106]

Below are the results of a 1989 study, conducted one year after the first study, for the youth in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

TABLE 8-15 ***Religious identification of youth in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1989***

	Muslims	*Croats*	*Serbs*	*Yugoslavs*
Religious	34%	53%	21%	12%
Nonreligious	56%	38%	68%	79%

Source: Lenard J. Cohen, "Bosnia's Tribal Gods: The Role of Religion in Nationalistic Politics," in *Religion and the War in Bosnia,* ed. Paul Mojzes (Atlanta: American Academy of Religions; Scholars Press, 1998), errata.

The percentage of religious Serb youth in Bosnia-Herzegovina (21 percent) was lower than for Serb youth from Serbia proper (26 percent), Croatia (26 percent), Vojvodina (29 percent) and Kosovo (43 percent). The study showed that church attendance by young people in Bosnia-Herzegovina was: 65 percent for Croats, 39 percent for Muslims, 30 percent for Serbs and 26 percent for Yugoslavs.[107] This is a relatively low level of religiosity for a generation that was, within a few years, to participate in what many religious militants and also nonreligious observers described as a "religious war."