

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

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*Transnational Networks and Bosnian Muslim Identity in Tito's Yugoslavia*

May 7, 2014 – August 31, 1014  
Belgrade, Serbia; Tuzla and Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

**Research Abstract:** The research I conducted during my American Councils Title VIII program is a component part of my larger dissertation project, which examines the emergence of an officially recognized secular Bosnian Muslim nation in Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1971. In the 1950s and '60s in particular, Bosnian Muslim politicians worked with intellectuals to formulate an argument for distinct, secular Muslim nationhood and ethnicity based on historical, cultural, and political factors, resulting in the constitutional addition of Muslims as one of the nations of Yugoslavia in 1968 in Bosnia, and in 1971 federally. While this project largely focuses on the domestic perspectives and roles of intellectuals, the state, and the public in negotiating the definition and future of the Muslim nation in Yugoslavia, it also places the subject of Bosnian Muslim nationhood within a broader international framework. To do this, it first looks at how the presence of Muslims in Yugoslavia shaped the country's international politics, and considers the role that individual Muslims themselves (whether as members of the larger Muslim religious community, diplomats, students, or workers) played in shaping Yugoslavia's foreign policy. Second, it explores the impacts of Yugoslavia's involvement in the Non-Alignment Movement and the transnational connections of Bosnian Muslim communities, both religious and secular, on domestic notions of Muslim identity. By exploring these dynamics, this project thus demonstrates the reciprocal ways in which international relations affected, and were affected by Yugoslavia's Muslim communities, while also pointing to the broader impacts of foreign policy and transnational networks on local identities.

**Research Goals:** In preparation for my summer 2014 American Councils research trip, I planned to explore three specific areas of Yugoslav international relations: first, the impacts of Yugoslavia's international position in shaping its domestic policies towards Muslims; second, the role of the Islamic Community (the official Islamic religious establishment) in fostering international relations with Muslim countries; and third, the experiences of individual Bosnian

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

Muslim workers, students, and experts who traveled abroad, and the ways that their experiences may have shaped their identity as Muslims back home.

My interest in these lines of inquiry was a result of earlier research that had suggested the importance of international relations to the process of official recognition. While in order to address the complex ethnic composition of the country, the Yugoslav government recognized five official “nations” after World War II (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, and Macedonians), Muslims were not initially among them, demonstrated the state’s conceptualization of Muslims as a confessional community, rather than an ethnic or national group. According to Noel Malcolm and Francine Friedman, the reconsideration of Muslim nationhood in the 1960s was in part a product of Yugoslavia's need for international political allies (Malcolm, 1996; Friedman, 1996) After the Soviet Yugoslav Dispute of 1948, Yugoslavia was politically and economically isolated, and through the 1950s, began to reach out to new allies in South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Because many of these countries had large Muslim populations, these historians suggest that efforts to acknowledge and elevate Muslims in Yugoslavia were really an effort to foster closer bonds with Muslim countries. Malcolm suggests that Muslims were specifically appointed to serve as diplomats to Muslim countries. (Malcolm, 1996)

One of my research goals then was to see if the Yugoslav government had in fact developed any formal or informal internal policy to elevate Muslims in order to foster relations with Muslim countries. While Malcolm and Friedman tended to characterize (although briefly) this idea as an active and mindful policy of the Yugoslav government in order to win over potential new allies, it also seemed possible to me that the connection could be more reactive—that possibly negative pressures on or criticism against Yugoslavia may also have caused state leaders to reassess their position towards the community.

Many works on the affirmation of a secular Muslim nation in Yugoslavia have limited discussions on the Islamic Community—either their participation or marginalization in the process of official recognition. For that reason, I was also curious to know if the Islamic Community had any discernable role both at home in the affirmation of the Muslim nation, or in international relations. As Zachary Irwin has noted, the Islamic Community (the Islamic religious establishment in Yugoslavia) worked closely with the government, not only in managing the *hajj*, but also both sending and receiving Muslim representatives in Bosnia and abroad. (Irwin, 1985) It seemed that if the Islamic Community was used as a symbol or touch point for international partners in connecting to the Muslim population in Yugoslavia, there

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

might be interesting ramifications for the way the state approached the community, or how exactly the community was employed in Yugoslav foreign policy.

And finally, even if the Muslim population as a whole and religious organizations were effective tools of government foreign policy in Yugoslavia, I was curious to know about the role of individuals. I wanted to know more about how the transnational activities of Muslims themselves may have served diplomatic purposes outside of official state channels. Increasingly during the 1960s and '70s, Bosnian Muslim workers traveled as specialists to assist in development projects, and numerous student delegations visited the Middle East. Did these individuals and their contact with other peoples constitute acts of "micro-diplomacy," forging bonds and senses of allegiance between countries? And how did contact with Muslim communities abroad shape their self-definition at home? For elites, politicians, and diplomats, I wondered whether these connections had any bearing on political and intellectual arguments for the Muslim nation altogether.

**Research Activities:** Based on experience from earlier research trips and the availability of materials I had identified before leaving the US, I divided my four-month research schedule for the summer into three parts: from May 7- July 18, 2014 I conducted research in Belgrade, Serbia; from July 19-August 8, 2014 in Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina; and from August 12-29, 2014 I worked in Sarajevo. In each location, I conducted my research at one or more of the local historical archives to collect materials relevant to various aspects of my research.

During my stay in Belgrade, Serbia (May 7- July 18, 2014) I conducted research primarily at the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Diplomatski arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova*, DA), but also at the Archive of Yugoslavia (*Arhiv jugoslavije*, AJ). The Diplomatic Archive is located in the Foreign Ministry, and it contains records related to foreign affairs of the former Yugoslavia. The archive contains a variety of materials, including diplomatic correspondence, plans for visits to Yugoslavia and other countries, interviews with foreigners living in Yugoslavia and with Yugoslavs living abroad, also reports on crucial international events (wars, disputes, conferences, etc.), and also a wealth of material on cultural, economic, and industrial cooperation between states. The documents housed there are typically related to the actual activities of foreign countries and diplomats, rather than strategic planning and internal policy decision-making.

The organization of the archive (Year>Country>Subject) required searching through a significant amount of material for relevant documents. Information on Islamic conferences for example could be housed in the "international" fund, in the host country fund, or simply in the Yugoslav fund if someone from Yugoslavia attended, or even just reported on the meeting. It

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

was also not uncommon for materials on the same event (such as a diplomatic visit from Yugoslavia to a particular country) to be divided between multiple funds. In addition, my research spanned several decades, and so I soon found it most effective to work chronologically, focusing on dates/locations I knew may be significant based on prior research, and then on Yugoslav materials, checking them against other funds when those documents suggested it may prove fruitful.

My research for the early 1950s mostly focused on the international activities of the Islamic Community (*Islamska verska komisija*, or IVZ, the official Islamic religious establishment in Yugoslavia.), their relations and visits with Muslim countries, and also how Yugoslavia initiated formal diplomatic contact with Muslim countries.

With respect to the Islamic Community, I was first able to establish a general outline of their international activities for the 1950s and 1960s. During that time, representatives of the Islamic Community became increasingly active in international relations, including entertaining foreign state delegates from Muslim countries, entertaining foreign religious delegations, but also traveling abroad itself, either for the *hajj* or religious visits. In addition to increased contact and travel, the Islamic Community was also reporting on their own activities and international events in domestic Islamic journals and periodicals.

Among the materials on the activities of the Islamic Community, most were written by government officials, and some were submitted by members of the Islamic Community itself. The Islamic Community was heavily monitored, and so materials I collected on these visits often described them in great detail—including plans and preparatory materials, schedules, meeting summaries, and analysis of the trips to show what these visits were like (both to Yugoslavia and to other countries) and how they served the Yugoslav government’s diplomacy interests. In addition to internal analytical reports, and updates sent by Islamic Community members, documentation relation to the religious conditions of Yugoslavia’s Muslims also included news clippings from local papers. Another significant area of documentation on religion especially in the 1950s in the Diplomatic Archive was on various international Islamic conferences. The archives contained numerous reports summarizing the conferences and their conclusions, which often generated responsive activities back in Yugoslavia, including information gathering, new propaganda programs, or other follow up activities.

At the Diplomatic Archives, I also did research on diplomatic visits to Muslim countries. While by-in-large these were often relatively focused on economics, industry, and Non-Alignment policy, delegates were often taken to places of Islamic significance in Yugoslavia.

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM**  
**FINAL REPORT**

Sometimes this was on request—though the Yugoslav government increasingly treated such sights as places of cultural significance, and readily arranged such visits.

Finally, at the Diplomatic Archive, I also attempted to find information about individuals who traveled abroad in an effort to see if non-religious Muslims also had any particularly definable role in Yugoslavia’s diplomacy program. This component of the research was perhaps the most difficult, since the archives did not regularly contain systematic records relating to specialists or students who traveled abroad or who came to Yugoslavia. Only periodic searches for Yugoslav doctors or technical and industrial specialists were included in the records, and incidental special cases of student visas, stipends, or conflicts. Nevertheless, some of these records did prove relevant to my research, and I was also able to meet with several individuals who had traveled abroad during the socialist period as nurses, technicians, and mechanical specialists. While their stories were individual cases, my conversations with them did give me insight into the significance of such travels in their lives.

While my research at the Diplomatic Archive was among the most productive in terms of shedding light on the actual activities and travels of diplomats, religious organizations, and isolated individuals, materials relating to foreign policy stored at the Archive of Yugoslavia also helped me to flesh out some of these ideas from a high-level, official policy perspective. The Archive of Yugoslavia contains a wealth of materials from the interwar, and socialist eras, including records from many of the most important and central government departments.

While there, I reviewed documents on foreign policy, which discussed Yugoslavia’s position on affairs in the Middle East and other Non-Aligned regions, and about Josip Broz Tito’s diplomatic meetings in Yugoslavia and abroad, and his visits to Middle-Eastern and North African countries in 1960. Most of the time, the documentation, discussions, and speeches included in the files of these visits centered on questions of industry and development, but occasionally other topics would come up in conversation too. In the early 1950s during a meeting with Turkish representatives, Tito briefly discussed banning the veil and the “modernization” of Yugoslavia’s Muslims. Meeting transcripts were often edited several times, and this conversation, like others, was documented in rather brief terms, but it does reinforce the idea that during the 1950s, policies towards the Muslim population in Yugoslavia were an important topic of international interest. It also suggests that the government was responsive in its portrayal of the population and its policies towards them.

The next phase of my research trip took place from July 19-August 8, 2014 in Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina. There, I visited the Archive of the Tuzla Canton (*Arhiv Tuzlanskog Kantona*, or ATK), which is a more local archive than those in Belgrade or Sarajevo.

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

Accordingly, my work there focused primarily on very specific local understandings of identity and belonging, and records from the diverse towns of the region demonstrated that the concept of Muslim distinctness from Serbs or Croats was operational in the region well before the debates about the existence of a Muslim nation that took place in the late 1960s and 1970s. I reviewed official registration and election records, both of clearly indicated understandings of the Muslim community as distinct from Serbs and Croats, and in fact characterize claims to the contrary as an act of inter-ethnic hostility.

In addition, I also reviewed reports from the 1950s that discussed responses to the banning of the veil, summarized inter-communal relations between Serbs, Croats and Muslims in local villages, explored the existence of ethno-religious nationalisms in the region, and also investigated the religious activities of party members. The materials I reviewed at ATK suggest discomfort with the relationship between religion and nationality for all three Serbs, Croats, and Muslims, and reports from the 1950s and '60s on the subjects of religious extremism and clero-nationalism speak to the belief that religious institutions could be harbingers of extremism.

During the third and final period of my research (from August 12-29, 2014) I worked in Sarajevo. Given the brevity of my time in Sarajevo, I visited the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine*, ABiH), and the Bosniak Institute (*Bošnjački institut*, BI). At the Archives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I reviewed earlier documents from the Commission for Religious Affairs (*Komisija za verska pitanja*, KZVP), especially documents requesting information on Muslims in 1950 and 1951 (around the 1949 and 1951 World Muslim Conferences in Karachi, Pakistan). I also reviewed materials from the Party and Central Committee relating to the 1953 and 1961 censuses.

At the Bosniak Institute, I read and copied several articles from the 1970s journal *Preporod*, which was written by members of the Islamic Community and addressed both secular and religious Muslim issues. The journal includes both articles about domestic issues (especially the 1971 census) but also puts significant emphasis on international relations related to Muslims throughout Yugoslavia and in other countries. Efforts to distribute the journal to Yugoslav diaspora, and its periodic articles on Muslim communities throughout Europe especially speak to broader senses of transnational Muslim communities that intersect both religion and ethnicity.

**Important Research Findings and Conclusions:** Although I am still reviewing and analyzing the materials I collected during the summer, my research has already offered a number of important preliminary findings. First and foremost, it has showed that Bosnian Muslims did indeed play an important role in both official and unofficial channels of Yugoslav foreign policy. Although there was likely no formal policy for the specific use of Bosnian Muslims in the

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

Yugoslav foreign relations program, my research shows that policies towards Muslims in Yugoslavia were frequently a talking point of ambassadorial meetings. In the early 1950s, Tito promoted the country's anti-veiling laws and the "secular" nature of Yugoslav Muslims to visiting Turkish delegates, and in 1972, Bosnian republic officials, summarizing their visit with an Iraqi delegation made note of their discussions about the addition of "Muslims" in the national sense to the 1971 census. Although these efforts were not always productive (later Iraqi delegations found the concept of a Muslim nation "confusing") they do indicate active efforts to employ the population as a relational point with potential Muslim allies.

However, while some historians have suggested that the domestic elevation of the status of Muslims within Yugoslavia was a byproduct of the country's attempts to court the international Muslim community, the reality seems to have been rather more complex. What was most surprising about the role of Bosnian Muslims in international relations during my research was actually the importance of the Islamic Religious Community in helping to build Yugoslavia's relationships with many Muslim countries after the Soviet Yugoslav Dispute in 1948. Through the late 1940s, the state demonstrated concern, and even suspicion against religious institutions, not only Muslims but also especially Catholics and their relationship to the Vatican. During this period the government closed many mosques and madrasas, and banned the veil in 1950.

Folders at the Diplomatic Archive on religion show that as a result Yugoslavia had come under serious international criticism for policies that were viewed as repressive and anti-religious. In 1951, and 1952, the World Muslim Conference in Karachi, Pakistan issued a concluding resolution condemning the treatment of Muslims in Yugoslavia. The Karachi statement generated a great deal of concern in Yugoslavia, and spurred an active campaign to dispel such perceptions. The Commission for Religious Affairs even contacted officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina requesting information on the numbers and quality of life of Bosnian Muslims in the republic, in order to find statistical evidence of their improved treatment under socialism compared to the prewar era, and the Islamic Community was called on to refute the accusations.

In future years, the Islamic Community, though heavily monitored and often pressured, would be increasingly incorporated into the government's foreign relation's program. In addition to taking foreign delegates to visit places of Muslim cultural and religious significance in Yugoslavia and to meet with officials of the Islamic Community, records from the archives show that those involved in foreign policy believed that religious officials could be a key to fostering early relationships with Muslim countries. As a result, the state often facilitated and monitored

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM**  
**FINAL REPORT**

visits not only between delegates and religious community members, but also purely religious visits, both to Yugoslavia and abroad. This was the case especially as, into the late 1950s and '60s, decolonization in North Africa saw the emergence of a number of states that Yugoslav officials hoped establish positive relations with. Having already traveled regularly through the Middle East, by the late 1950's the Reis-ul-ulema (the head of the Islamic Community) was also making prominent visits to Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, and held meetings with delegates from Algeria and others.

The materials I collected on these visits often described them in great detail (plans, people, schedules, meeting summaries, and analysis of the trips) to show what these visits were like (both to Yugoslavia and to other countries) and how they served the Yugoslav government's diplomacy interests. Although, as with Bosnian Muslims in general, I found no official government policy regarding the employment of the Islamic Community in foreign relations by way of government policies, the interest in these visits and commentary on them certainly suggested that officials felt they were both important and useful in facilitating their international goals. At the same time, however, while the Islamic Community was helpful in fostering good relations with some countries, and was acknowledged as such regularly by state officials in reports and internal correspondence, they were always very heavily monitored, and the government also approached their travels (on *hajj* and to places like Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan) with a measure of concern, particularly about a rise in pan-Islamic activities.

These early findings suggest a new perspective on the nature of the relationship between the state government in Yugoslavia and its religious communities, as well as a new depth to the Islamic Community's international networks and role in international relations. They also suggest that occasionally changes in the state's policies towards Muslims (both secular and religious) may not have always been proactive, but also sometimes in response to international pressures as well. Analysis on a country by country basis showed that the relationship between Yugoslavia and other countries was often very different from case to case, and often evolved over time: although often mixed, they did tend more to the secular with Turkey and Iraq, while religious elements were employed more readily with Morocco and Saudi Arabia. Numerous reports also suggest that in part these relationships were developed in response to the interest of the international community in Yugoslavia's Muslim population.

With respect to the role of individuals, information on the travels of Bosnian Muslims (both religious and secular) was particularly hard to find in the form of a firm policy, or in a quantitative sense. However, I did find that most people who traveled abroad for work to Western Europe did so as individual endeavors, whereas those who traveled to the Middle East

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

or Africa did so with a firm, or as a part of a government program. Most often these were projects for medical or technical assistance, or for industrial development projects. This suggests at least that those sent to travel abroad were often selected for their technical expertise, rather than necessarily their ethnic characteristics, but also that official channels did play a role in connecting people in these areas, whether through formal diplomatic channels, aid and technical assistance networks for workers, or a religious networks for those on *hajj* or traveling to study.

My personal discussions with people who did travel abroad for medical and mechanical work as a part of these larger programs has suggested to me the importance of these travels, their experiences, and their personal encounters abroad in forming connections and friendly (or unfriendly) bonds between countries. One woman I met in Belgrade had traveled to Libya as a nurse several times, and a man I met in Tuzla was an engineer in Iraq in the 1970s. On the basis of early analysis, it seems that these experiences did give people in Yugoslavia both a sense of these countries and a feeling of global connectivity, while at the same time a sense of distinction and uniqueness within broader transnational networks. From case to case, the impacts of these activities were multi-faceted and multidirectional, but always meaningful to those who experienced them.

The role of Bosnian Muslims in Yugoslavia's international relations policy was undeniable and significant. Yet these process operated both through formal and informal networks, through secular and religious undercurrents, and en mass and in the form of "micro-diplomacy." Transnational networks and experiences had important impacts not just on the international position of Yugoslavia, but on self-perceptions and understandings of Bosnian Muslims at home. With respect to my dissertational work on the changing relationship between Bosnian Muslims and the Yugoslav government, the very diversity of their role in international relations, and the complexity of their transnational networks speaks to the complexity of these processes at home. More broadly, this research speaks to the importance of religious institutions, even under socialist systems, and the potential of individuals to act as agents of foreign diplomacy. These observations have crucial salience not only for the domestic policies of the period studied, but also important implications today.

**Policy Implications and Recommendations:** In post-Dayton Bosnia, the processes of secularization, ethnicization, and politicization of identity addressed in my work on the 1950s and '60s have had an enduring impact, which today sees its political structure sharply, and institutionally divided along ethnic lines. This condition has created political gridlock that has left the government unable to address various issues affecting the country. Despite recent talks regarding restructuring the Dayton accords and European Union accession, the tendency to

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM**  
**FINAL REPORT**

default to ethnicity has proven durable, and remains a stumbling block for stability and change. Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs, the still dominant ethnic groups in the country, each vie for political voice by means of nationally aligned political parties, which not only prevents political and economic progress, but also blocks access to the political system for minority groups in Bosnia, including Jews and Roma. As a result, among the most important issues facing Bosnia today is the question of governmental reform.

Political gridlock is especially blamed for the state of the economy in Bosnia, where 2013 suggest the number of unemployed to be 45%. This condition has especially affected youth, who often feel dependent on their families and forced to put their lives on hold, and often forced to look for work abroad. In February, weeks of public protests in Tuzla, Sarajevo, and elsewhere around the country, attended by all ages, attested the urgency in breaking ethnic politics and reforming the government so that it can fulfill its basic obligations and address such issues. But the last 20 years, and failure to reform Dayton, and the unresponsiveness of the state in addressing the public's political and economic concerns have caused many people to feel not only mounting frustration, but also disaffection and marginalization, both from their own government, but also the international community as well.

While aid in the immediate postwar period allowed the country to rapidly rebuild, today economic influences from the European Union in general as well as the Middle East, and the use of those funds for what some feel are "non-essential" projects have left some Bosnian to feel a lack of agency in their own development, and that their country has become a battleground of broader global influences. Globally, Bosnia is still known for the ethnic violence of the secession, poverty, and corruption. And although the country is working hard to change these perceptions, it was evident in my conversations with a number of individuals that in the post 9/11 environment, many now also fear a broadsided portrayal of the country as vulnerable to Islamic radicalism, a harbinger for extremist sects, and a springboard for terrorists into Europe. In conversation, several individuals I met with expressed their concern that the European Union and America, conflating Islam with terrorism, will begin to view Bosnia's Muslim population in its entirety as an undifferentiated enemy. Islamic practices and beliefs in Bosnia and Herzegovina are diverse and complex, and Bosniaks are proud of their unique historical and cultural heritage, yet these fears have made many reluctant to openly discuss their ethnic or religious identity without qualification, and/or pressured them to cast it in new terms. Individuals often make a strong point of distancing themselves from extremism, sometimes even pointing out other Muslims that appeared more conservative in order to distinguish "real" Bosniaks from, betraying new suspicions, social fractures, and fear that their own activities or beliefs could be misconstrued or misused,

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM**  
**FINAL REPORT**

These feelings of marginalization and generalization, the perception of Bosnia as a “troubled” and dangerous zone are particularly painful given that one element of nostalgia for the past in the region often centers on the idea that Yugoslavia was considered internationally significant, a leader among the Non-Aligned world, and a crucial aid to the development of newly decolonized countries. The people I met during my research loved to discuss how Yugoslav passports were once coveted, and their own opportunities to travel and work both in Europe and around the world. Individuals who were able to spend time abroad, for work or study, were proud of their life experiences, remember them fondly, and often still hold warm feelings and a vested interest in the places they visited.

During my research, the importance of “micro diplomacy” and individuals in international relations, as well as modes of diplomacy that exist outside of official diplomatic state structures was very evident. Today, promoting positive interactions among workers, students, and specialists through collaborative international projects, conferences, and programs can help to give agency and a larger sense of community and purpose to many people (not only Bosnian Muslims) who may feel atomized, marginalized, and/or disenfranchised. In particular, projects that have lasting and sustained impact on the economy especially could help to foster a sense of personal, national agency. While official government channels of diplomacy and economic cooperation were crucial to the Non-Alignment Movement and Yugoslavia’s international relations, socialist leaders also promoted the idea that public and individual transnational networks were crucial to Yugoslavia in maintaining durable, concrete bonds with other Non-Aligned nations. Today, the promotion of similar networks via non-partisan charity organizations, and economic and education programs can potentially offer a counterbalance to some of the problems that policy makers continue to tackle today.

**Co-Curricular Activity:** During my research in Tuzla in early August, I was introduced to several members of the Democratic Front (*Demokratska fronta*) party. A new political party, the “DF” is currently attempting to establish a foothold in Tuzla, with the aim of then gaining seats in the central government in the future. Regardless of my personal views of their party platform, their talking points and areas of focus are common among contemporary political parties in Bosnia, and speak to popular issues of concern throughout the country today. The party promotes itself as multiethnic, an answer to the ethnicized political system in Bosnia that many feel has caused gridlock and serious problems in the country over the course of the last 20 years. Their platform is reform oriented, and focused on improving the economy. While the views of members of the party do vary greatly, the leadership I met take a strong stance against Islamic extremism, which they feel is spreading in Bosnia, particularly in rural areas and places of

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM**  
**FINAL REPORT**

economic depression. The Bosnian Muslims within the party (and other Bosnian Muslims I met in Tuzla) define themselves strongly against these currents.

The Democratic Front's party leadership in particular is made up of a number of individuals who worked with the American government as contractors in Iraq during and after the 1992-1995 Bosnian war, many of whom hope to see the country join NATO, in part to avoid war and a potential split between the Federation and Republika Srpska in the future. Their commentary on various issues in contemporary politics was useful in that it gave me a clearer view of what many Bosnians themselves feel their country's present issues are, the complexity of those issues and how some political factions believe they can be addressed, and the purviews of the Bosnian Muslims within the party on Islam, extremism, and the place of Bosnian Muslims within the international religious Muslim community today.

While in Sarajevo, I also met with Sevan Pearson, a graduate student from the Collegium Carolinum Munich, Germany and U de Lausanne, Switzerland, who is working on a project on nationalities policy in the former Yugoslavia. I first met Sevan at the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) World Conference in New York this last year (2013), and was able to catch up with him again in Sarajevo in late June. We were able to discuss relevant materials for our respective research, and offer advice and feedback on each other's projects. Since our meeting I have been in touch with Sevan to share and discuss various materials we have uncovered during our research, and to discuss potentially participating in a colleague's proposed panel at the Association of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEES) next year (2015).

**Plans for Future Research Agenda/ Presentations and Publications:** Because the research I have conducted this summer focusing on international relations constitutes a discrete segment of my larger dissertation project, I feel it will be a good candidate to turn into an article, and am currently working to complete a draft for submission to conferences and journals in the spring.

For conference presentations, The Ohio State University Center for Slavic and Eastern European Studies holds the annual Midwest Slavic Conference, which always offers a great opportunity to present my work to other graduate students and receive valuable feedback. Scheduling permitting, I have discussed with my advisor the potential to present a preliminary version at the Ohio State University's Russian Eastern European, and Eurasian Seminar next spring, and am also considering submission for presentation to the Association for the Study of Nationalities World Convention. I was able to present at the 2014 conference in April of this year, and found the feedback I received very valuable, and the presentations of others inspiring. In addition, while in Sarajevo, I discussed with several other graduate students who work on

**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

similar topics the possibility of organizing a panel together for a future Association of Slavic, Eastern European, and Eurasian Studies Convention.

By way of publications, this spring I am also hoping to be able to submit a revised conference presentation from an earlier chapter of my dissertation for publication to the Journal of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, as well as seeking journal publication for my chapter and draft article on international relations. More generally, I am working towards finishing my dissertation in the Spring 2016 semester. After completing my PhD, I plan to revise the dissertation and pursue publication of the finished manuscript.

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**2013 -2014 TITLE VIII RESEARCH SCHOLAR PROGRAM  
FINAL REPORT**

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Archive of Yugoslavia (*Arhiv jugoslavije*, AJ)

Bosniak Institute (*Bošnjački institut*, BI)

Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Diplomatski arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova*, DA)