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BALKANLARDA
İSLÂM
MİADI DOLMAYAN UMUT

İSLAM IN THE BALKANS
UNEXPIRED HOPE

GÖNÜL FETHİNDEN ZİHNİYET TEMSİLİNE
FROM THE CONQUEST OF HEARTS TO THE
REPRESENTATION OF MENTALITY

EDİTÖR
MUHAMMET SAVAŞ KAFKASYALI

 TİKA

ANKARA - BELGRADE - BUCHAREST - BUDAPEST - CHISINAU - KIEV
PODGORICA - SARAJEVO - SKOPJE - TIRANA - ZAGREB



İnceleme Araştırma Dizisi

Yayın No:19

BALKANLARDA İSLAM
MİADİ DOLMAYAN UMUT

Cilt 3: Gönül Fethinden Zihniyet Temsiline

From the Conquest of Hearts to the Representation of Mentality

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Balkanlarda İslam: Gönül Fethinden Zihniyet Temsiline - *From the Conquest of Hearts to the Representation of Mentality* / **Editör:** Dr. Muhammet Savaş Kafkasyalı
Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı 2016 5.c.
(2902 s.) ; 16*24 cm T.C. Başbakanlık Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı
inceleme-araştırma-dizisi; yayın no:19

İçindekiler:

- c.1:** Muğlaklıktan Berraklığa / *From Ambiguity to Clarity*
c.2: Türkistan'dan Balkanlara / *From Turkestan to the Balkans*
c.3: Gönül Fethinden Zihniyet Temsiline / *From the Conquest of Hearts to the Representation of Mentality*
c.4: Vakti Azizden Vakti Zelalet / *From Times of Glory to Times of Humility*
c.5: Köprüler Yıkan Zihniyetin Yıkılışı / *Demolishing Mentality Which Demolishes Bridges*
ISBN: 978-605-9642-11-8 - Takım
ISBN: 978-605-9642-14-9 - Cilt-3
Kafkasyalı, Muhammet Savaş

Redaksiyon

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Baskı Tarihi: 2016

Baskı Yeri: Ankara

Baskı ve Cilt: Eflal Matbaacılık

Sertifika No: 13987

© Tika Yayınları

GMK Bulvarı No:140 / Anadolu Meydanı

PK: 06570 Çankaya/ANKARA

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The Autonomy of Sandzak: Historical and Political Context

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Summary

Sandžak is a historical region in the southwestern part of the Republic of Serbia, and the northern part of the Montenegro. This historical region during its long existence, developed into separate geopolitical, cultural, historical, ethnic - confessional and administrative- territorial entity, with administrative and cultural center in Novi Pazar.

For the better understanding the many contemporary events, it is necessary to return to a deep and distant past of Sandžak. Bosniaks are among South Slavic peoples, although it is based on latest research incorrect. How many are in fact, present and influence of indigenous indigenous population, which lived in this region before the arrival of the Slavs, and continued to live, and that their existence affects the distant demographic trends, it is, in research ethnogenesis, to other people and in Bosnian Muslims, and most often neglected.

Regardless of the time, and no matter who ruled when Sandzak Bosniaks -Muslims always have a solution to their national, religious and other rights, as well as the security of their physical survival, sought and found that to be together with people from home which are contrary to his will to break away.

Even today, in the times of this writing, political discussions on the future status of Sandzak, the autonomy flow. Some are still of the view that Sandzak should be autonomy, as Ugljanin, others say that Sandzak, in that sense, has no chance (Ljajic Rasim), while the third paragraph (Zukorlic) that Sandzak should be a modern, European, cross-border region. However, there is almost no one who on this issue no opinion. And the most important is that the final decision, citizens of Sandzak, a multiethnic region whose destiny that connects rather than separates people.

Sancak'ın Özerkliği: Tarihi ve Siyasi Bağlam

Özet

Sandzak Sırbistan Cumhuriyeti'nin güneybatısında ve Karadağ'ın kuzey kısmında yerleşik tarihi bir bölgedir. Uzun varlığı sırasında bu bölge idari ve kültürel merkezi Novi Pazar olan ayrı jeopolitik, kültürel, tarihi, etnik-mezhep ve idari-bölgesel varlık olarak gelişme göstermiştir.

Günümüzdeki olayların daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için Sandzak'ın derin ve uzak geçmişine dönmek gerekmektedir. Her ne kadar son araştırmalar yanlış temele dayandırıldıysa da Boşnaklar güney slav halklarından birisidir. Hâlihazırda mevcut sayıları ve bölgede Slavlar gelmeden önceki yerli nüfusun etkileri, bölgede yaşamaya devam edenlerin sayıları ve eski demografik trendleri ne kadar etkiledikleri diğer halkları ve Bosnalı Müslümanları etnik köken ile ilgili araştırmalarda çoğu zaman göz ardı edilmektedir.

Zamana ve hangi iktidarın hüküm sürdüğüne bakılmaksızın Sandzak-Boşnaklı Müslümanlar milli, dini ve diğer hakları ile bir-

likte fiziksel sağ kalımın güvenliği açısından çareyi her zaman kendi soydaşlarından ayrılmamakta bulmuşlar.

Hatta günümüzde bu yazının yazıldığı günlerde Sandzak'ın gelecekteki statüsü hakkında siyasi tartışmalar sürdürülmektedir. Ugljanin gibi düşünenlere göre Sandzak özerk bir bölge olmalı, diğerleri ise Sandzak açısından böyle bir şansın mümkün olmadığını söylüyorlar (Ljajic Rasim) ve üçüncü bir grup (Zukorlic) Sandzak'ın çağdaş Avrupalı sınır ötesi bölge olmalıdır. Ancak bu konuda hiçbir fikri olmayan kimse hemen hemen hiç yoktur. En önemlisi de nihai kararın Sandzak'ın insanları ayıran bir bölgeden ziyade insanları birbirlerine bağlayan çok etnikli bölgenin olmasıdır.

Introduction

Sandžak is a historical region in the southwestern part of the Republic of Serbia, and the northern part of the Montenegro. This historical region during its long existence, developed into separate geopolitical, cultural, historical, ethnic -confessional and administrative-territorial entity, with administrative and cultural center in Novi Pazar. Sanjak covers an area of 8,687 square kilometers and has its historical and international conventions borders verified, confirmed the decisions of the Berlin Congress in 1878 and Constantinople convention in 1879.

Cultural and historical integrity of Sandzak, always filled the symbiosis of Islamic and Orthodox religious tradition. Territorial framework Sanjak mostly consisted of: Pljevlja, Bijelo Polje, Berane, Priboj, Prijepolje, Nova Varos, Sjenica, Novi Pazar, Tutin and Mitrovica, and occasionally Rožaje, Plav, Gusinje, Kolasin, Visegrad, Rudo and Cajnice. So, in the Sandzak, territorial terms, included the territory that today are a part of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Metohija. With the exception of Mitrovica, which by all characteristics a part of Kosovo, all other mentioned regions says, are integral parts of Bosnian territory, and its natural position and characteristics belonged to him from the beginning.

Social situation in Sandzak, before the arrival of the Ottomans

For the better understanding the many contemporary events, it is necessary to return to a deep and distant past of Sandžak. Bosniaks are among South Slavic peoples, although it is based on latest research incorrect. How many are in fact, present and influence of indigenous indigenous population, which lived in this region before the arrival of the Slavs, and continued to live, and that their existence affects the distant demographic trends, it is, in research ethnogenesis, to other people and in Bosnian Muslims, and most often neglected.

The elements of material culture, the people who lived in these parts in the pre-Slav period, determined on the basis of archaeological research, confirm that the Illyrians in this region predominantly attended approximately 4,000 years ago.¹

In the area of today's Sandzak and Montenegro, it is known 6 tribal communities: Autorijata, Ardiaei, Pirusta, Labeat and Docleata, and regions Pester,

1 *Drago and Milutin Garašanin Montenegro in prehistoric times, the history of Montenegro*, Titograd, 1967, 80-86, 97-98. Fanula Papazoglou, "Central -Balkan tribes in Roman times", *ANU BiH, Works*, Vol. 30, Center for Balkan tests, vol. And, Sarajevo, 1969, 8, 83; 87-90. Dragoslav Srećević, ancient culture in Serbia and ancient heritage, history of the Serbian people, the first book, Belgrade, 1981, 17-18.

Dardanians.² Since the last decades of the XII century to the end of the thirteenth century, this area was a central part of the medieval Serbian state, whose rulers from the Nemanja dynasty had their capitols in Ras, rainy, Jelec, Dugopolju (Duga Poljana). All of the mentioned capitols period are located in the immediate vicinity of Novi Pazar. King Milutin, who took the throne at Deževska Parliament in 1282, meeting the wishes of strong Serbian dukes, transferred the capital from this region in the Peacocks in Pristina and then in Skopje, which is given for territorial expansion of the Serbian state to the south, that is at the expense of the territory that had previously been under Byzantine rule. In this way, by this time, the territory of future Sanjak becomes a peripheral part of the then powerful Serbian kingdom, which is to be governed by local dukes. Since 1373, within the Bosnian state was the whole Upper Drina with Piva, Tara, middle and lower Polimlje (Prijepeje, Priboj, Pljevlja, Foca, Gorazde, Visegrad, Onogošt (today Niksic) and Bileca. So, from this year, a significant portion future Sanjak already was part of the Bosnian state. Already in 1377, again on the territory of Sandzak in Miloševo monastery near Prijepolje, Tvrtko was crowned king”Serbians, Bosnia, Seaboard and Western Sides,”and the rest of Altomanović region belonged to duke Lazarus.³

Sandzak -the zone of interest of the Ottoman Empire

Only seven years after they were defeated in Kosovo, Serbian, and other armies, which were with them were in alliance, local Ottoman authorities established a certain form of agreement and mutual correspondence with the Republic of Dubrovnik, the area to be later formed as Sandzak of Novi Pazar. Reply Dubrovnik authorities judge in Gluhović (place on the road between Novi Pazar and Tutin) in March 1396, to a letter previously sent a qadi (not recorded when it was sent),⁴ the only sure historical foundation of their stay in this mining town and areas that are bordered with him, and among historians that the year 1396 is taken as the beginning of the Ottoman conquest in the regions of Raska and medium Polimlja or latest period from when this area really and conquered.⁵

In the spring of 1454, Sultan Mehmet II, called Fatih -the Conqueror, after the previous year (1453) won Constantinople, sent a written message to George Brankovic the following content:

“The country which you rule is not yours, nor is yours Serbian patrimony, but vassals son of Stephen; therefore belongs to me. Immediately came out of it

2 DM Garašanin, *Montenegro at the dawn of recorded history, history of Montenegro*, I, 100-104; Also, *Archaeology region of Novi Pazar, Novi Pazar and the environment*, Proceedings, Belgrade, 1969, 8, 83; 87-90.

3 www.islamskazajednica.org/historijasandzaka,

4 Dr. Ejub Mušović, Gluhovica, nd, 68.

5 Ljuba Stojanovic,, *old Serbian Documents, vol. And the second part*, Belgrade 1934, number 798.

and I'll give you part of the earth your father, Vuk and city Sofia. If not, I come against you."⁶

Already in May 1455, completed the list of villages and farms throughout the area, which will be known as Krajište Isa Ishaković, in which will be composed and Novi Pazar area. The whole Novi Pazar region is then divided into four administrative districts of Turkey, called vilajets including: wilaya Zvečan, wilaya Jeleč, wilaya Ras and wilaya Arbour. Krajisnik Isa Bey Ishakovic, a Bosniak who was born in Herzegovina, which will be at the forefront of Skopje and the Bosnian frontier of the 1,439th to 1,463th year and the second Bosnian sandžakbeg period (1464-1469) decided that the central part of Novi Pazar fields, at the mouth of Jošanice in Raska, raised a new city. His decision was probably affected by mild natural characteristics of the area, as well as strategic reasons, because it is a city designed as a base for future Ottoman conquests to the north and west. After the large Turkish invasions and the fall of Bosnia, the city will lose that role, becoming primarily a significant trade and communications center in the central Balkans. In the Bosnian Sanjak of Novi Pazar has a special status. Elements and particularities found in the Kanun-US Bosnian Sanjak, and Vilayet from 1516, where in addition to other stated: "Novi Pazar with his income ihtisab and Izhar⁷ became the crown domain (has) His Majesty the all-powerful Emperor (...), and its Sharia taxes (...) The impounded for the imperial coffers (...) only some of Novi Pazar, in order to fulfill the imperial penalties (umpteen) sitting one face of the sandžakbeg and let it in accordance with the qadi implements the necessary penalties. And let them prevent you from Islamic countries and take the unbelievers exported good horse, weapons, and war and combat weapons."⁸

Position Plenipotentiary sandžakbeg, later Bosnian vali, lays in the fact that he had special powers. They have resulted from geopolitical position and the strategic importance of Novi Pazar, from his position as a transport center through which performed a significant turnover, which was located a number of Dubrovnik colony, and Novi Pazar are already been developed into an important economic center. He has ever since the third decade of the 16th century was the largest city of the Bosnian Sanjak, then still others behind Sarajevo.⁹ As for the part of the territory of future Sanjak of Novi Pazar, which was part of Herzegovi-

6 Dragica Premović, Aleksić, *a few medieval charters and letters written in Sjenica*, Duga Poljana, Gluhović, Targovishte and Novi Pazar, Novi Pazar proceedings, 6, 171.

7 The word "Ihtisab" means the agency that controls and supervises the work of craftsmen, tradesmen, guilds, especially the business market, something similar market inspection, and the word "Izhar" means a service that calls coming to court and certain individuals. These are described in the "Kanuni and kanunames" for Bosnia, Herzegovina, Zvornik, Klis, Montenegro and Skadar Sanjak, Sarajevo, 1957, 28.

8 Kanun-name, nd, 29.

9 Adem Handžić, "The urban population in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the sixteenth century", *Annexes to oriental philology*, No.28 / 29, p. 252; DR Bogumil Hrabak, "Trade and transport links Novi Pazar", *Novi Pazar collection* (1461-1521), p. 13.

na Sandzak, he belonged kadiluk Drina. The headquarters of the Kaza was Foca, which was also the seat of Herzegovinian sandžakbeks of 1470. Among nahijas that were part of the Kaza was Kukanj which included an earlier parish interior. This nahiya later divided into two parts: Kukanj and Pljevlja with the said place as its head office. Pljevlja in the Middle Ages was called Breznica. Present name was first mentioned in 1430. Then the Turks conquered it in 1465 and called Taslidža (Stone spa). In kadiluk Drina they belonged Miloševo nahija, which appears under this name in 1469, with a regional center in Prijepolje, and Poblajte nahija later Poblacé. Priboj is in Bosnian Sanjak separate nahija Visegrad Kaza.¹⁰

In 1865 a regulation on the organization of wilaya, which on 24 June 1867 partially amended, which among other things provided to Taslidža (Pljevlja), Prijepolje, Priboj and Kolasin out from the Herzegovina and become a part of Sanjak of Novi Pazar.¹¹

Berlin Congress - the Separation of Sandzak from Bosnia

The decisions of the Berlin Congress, Serbia, Montenegro and Romania obtained its independence. Bosnia and Herzegovina falls within the zone of interests of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and Sandzak gets separated from Bosnia, gains autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. Bulgaria had to accept provisions in favor of the Turks, Greeks and Romanians who live in its territory, and Serbia and Montenegro as a condition for granting the inherent obligation to protect the religious rights of minorities.¹² Even before gaining their independence, these countries were particularly interested in Sandzak to win over this territory directly linked. Serbs have written a Sandzak for the Ottoman state appendix, for Serbia navel.¹³ Representatives of Serbia and Montenegro signed in June 1876 in Venice a secret agreement and military convention. Under this contract, "both high arranging conclude the alliance which has the overall objective of the liberation of Christians and nearer and immediate goal of liberation of the Serbian people in European Turkey".¹⁴ Sandzak is pushing a section into spheres of interest of

10 Tomo Popovic, "when the headquarters of the Herzegovina sandžak was moved from Foca to Pljevlja", *Attachments*, Olympic Sarajevo, X -XI, 270th.

11 Dr Mohammed Hadžijahić, "e is the Bosnian relations with Montenegro in the eighteenth century", *historical records*, Titograd, 3/1980, 96th.

12 Dimitrijevic V. Paunovic, M., *Human Rights*, Belgrade, 1997, str. 399.

13 Jelinić, Dj., Sanjak, Belgrade 1910.1. Beginning in 1827 called "Old Serbia" Serbs mark the territory of Kosovo, Sandzak, southern and northern Morava Povadarja. The term "South Serbia" was introduced after 1912, when the composition of Serbia entered Macedonia, Kosovo, Metohija and part of Sandzak. The term "North Serbia" imply the prewar territory of Serbia; resistance. D. Petrovic, Sandzak (the) region of Raska, "Has" no. 70, Novi Pazar 17 February in 1999.

14 Bandžović, S., "wars and demographic, de – osmanization of the Balkans (1912th to 1941st)" *Attachments*, 32, Sarajevo, 2003, p. 179-229.

the two countries.¹⁵ The Austrians, however, considered a Sandzak to Bosnia," the same as owning the Bosphorus to the Black Sea".¹⁶

Stretching from the Bosnian border to Kosovo and separating Serbia from Montenegro, Sandzak after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has become a typical transit area of the Austro-Hungarian breakthrough to Thessaloniki. Sandzak of Novi Pazar is interesting and in the analysis of political ideas of the respective time. The Danube Monarchy in 1878 met occupied three places - the garrison. In 1897 planned the annexation of the entire Sandzak in terms of the further decomposition of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, while in 1908 had definitely retire before the increased force of the Balkan peoples. While not strengthened, Italy insisted on the principle of the status quo in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, but already in 1891, at the beginning of its imperialist era, sought compensation for a possible expansion of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Peninsula, while the status quo was still defensive formula against abstraction strong imperialists.¹⁷

The Role of Pljevlja Mufti Mehmed ef. Šemsikadića in the Fight for the Rights of Muslim Sandzak Bosniaks and Bosnia

Muslim population in Sandzak was, indeed, conscious of the fact that Serbia and Montenegro is extremely interested in the territory of the Sanjak of Novi Pazar as a potential area of their physical contact. The decision of the Congress of Berlin to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina and annexed Austria-Hungary, and the Sandzak is separated from the mother country, met with strong reaction and resentment, and even rebellion. One of the main actors of this rebellion, and at the same time one of the greatest fighters for the rights of the Bosniak-Mus-

15 Jovanovic, S., *Create Montenegrin state and development of Montenegrin ethnicity*, Cetinje, 1948, 314-316. Serbian General Petar Bojovic 1907. Book *Vaspitavanje* soldier writes: "There are a lot of our brothers Serbs Mohammedan (Turkish) religion. They are, as well as those of the Catholic faith, were forced to accept the Mohammedan faith. But there are real Serbs and Serbian language mostly right. These our brothers, the Mohammedan religion is the most in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Serbia and Macedonia. They are poor, even though by their ignorance, called Turks, were not Turks but the real Serbs, whose ancestors Turks forced to accept the Mohammedan faith. They are now themselves uvidavati beginning that the Serbs, and they begin to recognize and call the Serbs Mohammedan religion, as recognized that the Serbs and those of the Catholic faith, calling the Serbs Catholics. This is why we should always keep in mind that smart Serbian saying: "My brother is a lovable, that faith was." God forgives them, because they force Natura borrowed faith, that they will leave and receive their ancestral Orthodox faith and glory, when, God willing, liberate us unite with the great and powerful Serbian state, such as It was under the Emperor Dusan the Great"-by: T. Gavric-D. Simovic, Duke Petar Bojovic, Belgrade 1,990.40 to 41.

16 K. Iović, *Austro-Hungarian occupation of Sanjak of Novi Pazar in 1879*, Yearbook of the Historical Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whatever. IX, Sarajevo 1958, 111 concerning the origin, limits and physiognomy Sandzak more see: H. Sabanovic, Bosnian Sanjak, Sarajevo 1982, 232-234; A. Aličić, Interior Bosnian Zelaya from 1789 to 1878, Sarajevo 1983, 61, 84, the 122nd.

17 http://www.dijaspora.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=921:refleksije-berlinskog-kongresa-na-stanje-u-novopazarskom-sandaku&catid=22:historija&Itemid=42

lim Sandzak and Bosnia, was Pljevlja Mufti Mehmed ef. Šemsikadić, popularly known as Mufti Šemsikadić.

From the Berlin Congress, Mehmed Šemsikadić become politically active, and the connection to the leading people in Sarajevo who were preparing for armed resistance against the Austrians. At the same time working to create antiokupacionog resistance in Kosovo to attract to its ranks and the Albanian volunteers. With the fall of Sarajevo on 19 August 1878, Mehmed Šemsikadić retreats in Sandzak to avoid encirclement. There continues its activities against the Austrians. Under pressure, at the invitation of Sultan Abdul-Hamid II, he moved to Turkey where he was proclaimed a special Musafir.¹⁸ With Mufti Šemsikadićem were Serbs. Their Bajrak wore the youth, which is said to have been the most valuable. Among them are mentioned: Joksić, Danisajevići, Ćirkovići, Radovići, Ćor Gavro. All the Mufti remained until the end of the fight.¹⁹ Mufti Šemsikadić not rest even after arriving in Istanbul. Marched in connection with any illegal organizations and committees, with Vaso Pelagic, with the duke Mico Ljubibratić, with Slavic organizations, with all of which demonstrated a willingness to fight, without the burden of religious, ethnic and ideological, insisting only on the struggle for liberation. Russian MP from Istanbul, reported to his government in early 1880: "For its part the Muslims of Bosnia water here constant agitation against Austria. Lately, through the famous mufti of Taslidža submitted another appeal to the Sultan that bears 15,000 signatures in which they listed the suffering of Muslims under Austro-Hungarian rule."²⁰

Recognizing that Sultan Hamid"hands tied", and that its independence is limited, without the consent of the great powers cannot do anything, Mufti decides to help immediately requested from the Russian Tsar Nicholas. In this regard, the Russian mission in Istanbul wrote: "To my great surprise Mufti of Tasslidže sought ways to get in touch with the Russian imperial mission, under the justification that Muslims, like the Christians of Bosnia await deliverance only from Russia."²¹

The Balkan Wars and Occupation of Sandzak

1912, The Serbian and Montenegrin army occupied and divided Sandzak. Montenegro declared war on Turkey on 8 October 1912. Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria have done 17 and 18 October of the same year. In highlighting the war effort, King Nikola primarily emphasized"the liberation of the Zetas and the country Dynasty"and"Revenge of Kosovo", as well as historical and traditional motives,

18 www.geocities.com/famous_bosniaks/najistaknutiji_bosnjaci.html

19 Vladislav Skarić, Dr. Mustafa Memic, *Bosniak Muslims of Sandzak and Montenegro*, pp. 203.

20 Milorad Ekmečić, *uprising in Herzegovina*, 1882, nd, 11.

21 National Archives Cetinje, MUD, a telegram from 07.08.1882., Cit. by Hamdije Kapidžića, Herzegovinian uprising in 1882, nd.183.

disregarding the demographic and ethnographic approach, and democratic freedoms, and also the real situation in the territories is planned to take. In the region of Pljevlja to Djakovica, where he operated under the command of the Eastern Army, Janko Vukotic, there was a total of 240 000 inhabitants. Of these only 60,000 or one in four, was a Serbian and Montenegrin nationality.²² Entering the Montenegrin army in the western part of Sandzak was accompanied by numerous crimes and abuses that have been perpetrated against the civilian Muslim and Albanian population of the first crossing over the Tara, to Mojstir, Blue, Gusinje and Djakovica.²³ In one report, the commander of the brigade of Kolasin, addressed to King Nikola November 1912, such a relationship is expressed in the understanding that, as pointed out, "is rooted opinion that the Serb Turk could not sinned," no matter what he does.²⁴ In part thereof that have taken Serbian units, there were similar problems in the area of Sandzak who won the Montenegrin units.

Continue the Fight for the Autonomy of Sandzak Bosniaks of Sandzak, in the Light of the Sjenica Declaration

Regardless of the time, and no matter who ruled when Sandzak Bosniaks -Muslims always have a solution to their national, religious and other rights, as well as the security of their physical survival, sought and found that to be together with people from home which are contrary to his will to break away.²⁵ When they were given the opportunity to make their mood, when it comes to their status, express, they did at the Conference which was held in Sjenica, between 8 and 25 August 1917. The conference was dedicated to the status of Sandzak and its nation-building arrangement. It was attended by representatives of 10, and 12 counties and cities.²⁶ The conference lasted for two days. On it adopted Resolution which Sandzak, to one that became part of Montenegro, and one part of Serbia, annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, "as history and language belongs to the same, not Montenegro", and in extreme cases, if it would not be followed, then required

22 Branko Babic, *Montenegro's policy in the newly liberated areas in 1912-1914*, Titograd, 1984, 23; Bib. Historically Institute of SRM, Titiograd, 1984, 23.

23 Dr. Mustafa Memic, *Bosniak Muslims of Sandzak and Montenegro*, MNVS, Sarajevo, 1996, str. 235.

24 National Archives Cetinje, the royal commission for the investigation of the Montenegrin government abuses (the "Commission"), appeal champions Kaljić, 8.VI 1913 Drpljani 13.VII 1913, and Annual Report of the Regional Administration Bijelo Polje no. 2999 and 3189, the military command of Bijelo Polje, no. 11.188, 21 July 1913 /; Dr Zarko Scepanovic, Central Polimlje and Potarje, ND, 246th.

25 Memic, M.: *Bosniaks -Muslim Sandzak and Montenegro*, Sarajevo, 1996, p. 246

26 Stanic, D.: *The unfinished process as a historical document about the plans of the former Austria in terms of Sandzak*, 'Justice', Belgrade, 1940, Pljevlja, Mehmed -Pasha Bajrović, in his capacity as mayor and three delegates, Bijelo Polje, Hilmi Bey KAJABEGOVIĆ, chief of the city; Berane, Duljko Rahmusović, chief of the city; Rozaje, Sulejman ef. Catovic, mudarris; Lozna, Ahmet Šahman, doctor; Novi Pazar, Riza -beg Muratbegovic mayor; Arbour, chief Rushdie. Spahic, mayor; Prijepolje, Murat -beg Hašimbegović, mayor and chief Husni. Jusufbegović; Priboj, Hasanagić (name not mentioned), mayor; Nova Varos, Sulejman ef. Seceragic mayor. There is evidence that the conference in Sjenica attended by representatives of the Lower Kolasin and Tutin.

autonomy for Sandzak. Konstantirano that it was the universal desire of all present at the conference. It is evident from the minutes of the Board of the town of Pljevlja of 25 August 1917, at which the Pasha Bajrović filed a return report from the Conference in Sjenica, informing them that the unanimous decision was taken to ask the Austrian authorities ‘to Sandzak went with Bosnia because the history and language belongs to the same non-Montenegro, and in the worst case if it would not followed, then was asked for the autonomy of Sandzak.’²⁷ After the creation of the first Yugoslavia, namely the Kingdom of Serbs in 1918, the regime this conference declared “Austrophile” and its participants, accused of high treason.²⁸

Sandzak between the two world wars

Unlike those in Bosnia, Sandzak Bosniaks greeted the end of World War politically marginalized. Thanks to Serbian propaganda manipulation of the first elections for the Constituent Assembly on 28 September 1920 for radicals voted most Sandzak Bosniaks, while the Democratic Party defined the majority of Serbs. Radicals are tricked influential Bosniak, promising them a fee for a country that has been hijacked so. Agrarian reform. This was the main reason for the mass order against Bosniaks this party.²⁹ Seeing the need to address the political organization, Sandzak Bosniaks together with Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia established the first Muslim-Albanian political parties, which operated in Sandzak, Kosovo and Macedonia. Its task was to fight for Bosnian and Albanian interests.³⁰

Sandzak in WW II

Shortly after the attacks of the German Air Force in Belgrade, at the meeting of the foreign ministers of Germany and Italy on 21 April 1941 in Vienna, it was decided to dismember the former Yugoslavia. Demarcation line created a “German” and “Italian” area. The territory of Montenegro and most of Sandzak came within the Italian zones of interest which, south of Sarajevo, according Ustiprača and Priboj and south of Novi Pazar, the Eagles čuke and Shar mountains, descended on Kučevo, Ohrid and Prespa lake.³¹ Italian occupation authorities did not hide that he wants to form a so-called “Independent Montenegro”, under the protection of the Italian occupiers in the composition of the Italian crown.³² Fearing not to repeat the atrocities of earlier times, from the ranks of

27 Sandzak Gazette. 26, of 20.11.1996., P.9.

28 Same.

29 Crnovršanin, H., Sadikovic, N.: Sandzak country enslaved GRAFOMARK, ZAGREB, second edition, 2001, p. 287th.

30 Same.

31 Same.

32 Dr Novica Rakočević, *Bijelo Polje*, nd, 349, 350.

Bosniak -Muslims have begun to appear a certain group who were trying to isolate from Sandzak, the design of the Italian occupation of the federal units, realizing that their very survival and their national interests to connect with his nut. First, this commitment is reflected in a dispatch dated 30 April 1941 signed by 12 Bosniaks from Sandzak, adding that "irresponsible elements, who in 20 years threatened the survival and the right to bare life of Muslims in Sandzak, ready for an awesome and immediate attack against the Muslim population, and that they would be prevented from vanishing consequences that are harmful (and) by the general interests of the Croatian state, confidently expecting the fastest and best solution opravdamog our requirements." In conclusion, it requires "the Sandzak as a natural and historic part of Bosnia and Herzegovina join the Independent State of Croatia."³³

Six days later -on May 6, 38 representatives of the Muslims of Sandzak sent a letter to Deputy Prime Minister NDH Kulenovic and it also expressed a desire to "protect the interests of the religious feelings of Muslims in order to Sandzak bowed their homeland Bosnia and Herzegovina."³⁴ During the Second World War Sandzak Bosniaks were not unique to the situation that has brought the storm of war. Some were identified Home Guard concern for their suffering and terrified people, while others actively involved in the partisan movement, we will see in it a chance to solve the long term problem of its identity and living space. First they gathered around the Muslim militia, while others are active participants komununističkog (partisan) movement. In the Montenegrin historiography and journalism, especially in some parts of monographs, as well as in some reports by the daily press, the Muslim militia was trying to equalize the Ustasha and treated as part of Ballistas. Such treatment does not have a historical stronghold, nor based on historical sources. The occupier is this army tolerated because it did not attack, and in their villages guarded by the law and order. Giving them the qualification of "Muslim army", the ABD leadership antifascist movement in Sandzak treated them defense organizations that were defending their villages and did not allow them to enter, primarily, the Chetniks, and did not agree either with the partisan, although according to an and others relate differently -with the Chetniks konrotirali, and were always ready to fight with them, and with the partisans had agreed and, identified the ability to deter them from falling into their villages.³⁵

The reports of the District Committee of the CPY for Sandzak stands out: "In the district of Bijelo Polje has certain territories controlled exclusively the "Muslim military units where they do not allow access to any Chetnik, and would not let even the partisans"³⁶

33 Mirko Ćuković, Sandzak, nd, 54.

34 Same.

35 Dr Mustafa Memić, *Bosniak Muslims of Sandzak and Montenegro*, nd, 313.

36 Report Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Sandzak -CC CPY, May 15, 1942, App. 17th, nd, Nadezda Jovanovic, Triso, str. 131.

“Muslim leaders from Komarana at various times, have written our staffs to have no hostile intent toward the partisans, and to give anger until one takes their man will not let the Chetnik foot exceeded on their territory.”³⁷ Political commissar of the General Staff of the national liberation detachments of Sandzak Voja Lekovic, a report on the political situation in the area of Sjenica, writes: “Muslims from Sjenica, they said we have nothing against which we will partisans enter the booths, but we are not in the fight against the Germans to help and would be against the Chetniks fought together with us”³⁸

Relations with Muslims Sjenica, later deteriorated because the managers of some partisan units that were located in Nova Varos, under the direction of Milovan Djilas, Delegate of the Supreme Headquarters, and Petar Stambolic, delegates of the General Headquarters for Serbia, carried out a surprise attack on the trellis contrary agreement from Sjenica Muslims and contrary to the order of the Supreme commander and experienced their heavy defeat.³⁹

Establishment ZAVNO Sandzak⁴⁰

On the wings of awareness of the particularities of the Sandzak region, and places that this area has to respect all of the people who live according to their living space, in Pljevlja, on 20 November 1943, in the presence of 252 delegates, was held the meeting of the National Anti-Fascist Council, on which is knowledgeable ZAVNO Sandzak,”as the highest authority of the province people’s government”.⁴¹ The immediate initiative to convene the Assembly and the formation of a ZAVNOS came from the Supreme Commander of NOV ‘s Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, sent a delegate of the Supreme Headquarters of Ivan Milutinovic, who was then with trees shock II Corps. At the instruction of the Supreme Commander said:

“I think that would be required to you as soon as possible, access in Montenegro, Boka, Sandzak and Metohija preparing Conference Antifascist Council of National Liberation of these areas and if possible...”⁴² They have no historical basis for the attempts by some historians that this instruction interpreted in a way that, allegedly, originally planned one -a joint council for all these areas and the province in a letter to Josip Broz.⁴³

37 same., Report of KP in the Communist Party of Montenegro, Annex no. 14, und, Nadezda Jovanovic, 126: report Mila Peruničić County Museum of Pljevlja, a showpiece.

38 Archive historical institute CG, V / I-9 (41), Report Politkoma Gl. Staff NOC for Sandzak Voja Lekovic.

39 Ist. inst. CG, IV 1a -8(41): Vrh. stab 28.12.1941.god.)

40 National Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Sandžak.

41 *Chronology free. struggle of the people of Yugoslavia 1941-1945*, Belgrade, 1964, 599, the date of 20 November 1943.

42 Dr. Zoran Lakic, ZAVNOS, “Civil and Liberation War in Bosnia (1942-1943)”, Scientific meeting in Sarajevo on 22 and 23 November 1973, Belgrade, 1974, 678.

43 Same.

It very clearly from the grounds shall Initiative Committee for convening the Assembly ZAVNOS, who led the University of Belgrade professor and deputy Sreten Vukosavljević and Prijepolje Mufti and judges of the Supreme Court in Skopje šeriatskog Murat ef. Šećeragić whose proclamation, among other states; -that the position of the people of Sandzak in the former Yugoslavia and its historical past as a whole were very difficult; -That Sandžak during 1941 and 1942 made a significant contribution to the development of the National Liberation War; -That is an awareness and desire of the people of Sandzak concerning the organization and constitution of a ZAVNOS finds understanding and approval of the Presidency of AVNOJ and the Supreme Headquarters and PMUs and; -That "the historic decision to create the highest political representative of the people of Sandzak -represents the highest recognition that our region could get."⁴⁴ The formation of the National Anti-Fascist Council of Sandzak was preceded by several events, among which are of particular importance were: -the formation of III Sandzak Proletarian Brigade on 5 June 1943 to Sčepan Polje;⁴⁵ before that leadership Sandžak opted to their partisan units not included in the Serbian and Montenegrin Brigade, but that they are specially formed Sandzak Brigade, which has submitted a proposal to the Supreme Commander of the Partisans and he agreed with that;⁴⁶ During September and October 1941, the socio-political organizations in Sandzak organization ceased to operate within the respective organizations of the former province of Montenegro and the Bay, and in October the same year was formed the General Staff of national liberation squad that formation was directly linked to the Supreme Staff Partisans, which expressed the interest and need of Sandzak that operates autonomously and thus develops.⁴⁷

These ideas are expressed in some activities of students from Sandzak before World War II who studied at Belgrade University, of which the most important were: -refusal of Sandzak students to join the local heritage association of students from Montenegro and Serbia, and their determination to form especially the

44 Archives of Serbia, the Fund ZAVNOS, No.6 (43) Resolution on the establishment ZAVNOS, Sandzak.

45 Chronology, nd, 129, etc. Nadezda Jovanović, Tršo, nd, 78; Danilo Jauković, Sandzak in the national liberation war, the tenth part III; 9.

46 One of the last document on which there is a signature of Vladimir Knezević and Rifat Burdžović's the letter, which they have a few days before the death headed member of the Supreme Committee and the organizing secretary of the Central Communist Party, Aleksandar Ranković, 23 September 1942. The letter's author Rifat Burdžović and what is his opinion and opinion leaders Brigade, of the intention of the Supreme Headquarters of NEW to form a Montenegrin and Serbian division. The letter was first published in the newspaper "Politika" of May 1, 1972, and the author of this publication is Bogdan Gledović, but it is almost unknown to the general public. The letter was signed by the commanders of the Third Proletarian (Sandzak) Brigade, Vladimir Knezević Volodya, deputy political commissar of the brigade, Rifat Burdžović Tršo and members of the brigade staff, Mile Peruničić and Velimir Jaksic. In the letter states: "On the military side of us is all one whether we belong to Serbian or Montenegrin division. However, we think that this is to some extent a political issue of Sandzak. Political, because it needs to assess whether the Sandzak more oriented toward Serbia and to Montenegro. We seem to have Sandzak leaning on Serbia than in Montenegro, and if this connection was permanent, and therefore the political character, it seems to us that it would be natural that Sandzak Brigade entered the composition of the Serbian".

47 Same.

Association of Students of Sandzak, which is called "Goldsmith" in maintaining the association and after the police authorities banned his legal action.⁴⁸ Students from Sandzak addressed the April -May 1939, the peoples of Sandzak in his address mentioned in particular and Muslims in it, considering them as separate entities in Sandzak, which is contested for more of 27 years. They are at the same time, in this way, reaffirmed the Sandzak as a special socio-political community.⁴⁹ Speech Rifat Burdžovića during Marxist meetings in Belgrade, which raised the issue of the national personality of Muslims⁵⁰ there is also a contribution to the reaffirmation of Bosnian Muslim national identity and autonomy of Sandzak; One of the elements of affirmation Sandzak autonomy derives from *orgaziniziranja* 15 -daily, entitled "The voice of Sandzak", which was published after being banned.⁵¹

Resolution on the establishment of a ZAVNOS

The commitment of the Initiative Committee for convening the Meeting at which the ZAVNOS formed, in which the desire of the Sandzak will take equal place among other regions of our homeland,"Therefore, you must observe the historical continuity. It is prizilazilo the program orientation of the national liberation movement to solve the national question in Yugoslavia and the "firm determination to never again no nation and no province and region in the motherland can not be the subject of oppression and exploitation, to never regain hegemony and oppression that is reigned in the former Yugoslavia."⁵² At the assembly ZAVNOS did not participate delegates from Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin district, nor in the area carried out the election procedure for Delage, although the area of the three districts inhabited by 54 % of all Muslims of Sandzak.⁵³

Therefore, in these districts there were no councilors or members of the Executive Board. Inadequate and inequitable representation of Bosniak -Muslims in ZAVNOS and all its elected bodies was still aggravated by the fact that even in districts where elections were delegates from the Bosniak -Muslims they were not adequately represented by its population in those districts. Comparative analysis shows that the Bosniak-Muslim ethnic structure each delegate elected to 3,815 inhabitants, while the Serbo-Montenegrin national structures by one the delegates elected at 1,587 inhabitants (26,705 inhabitants on the 7 elected councilors were Muslims and the 41,275 inhabitants of the Serbian and Mon-

48 Muhammad Abdagic, *Cultural and political activities of students*, nd, 73.

49 Nadežda Jovanovic, Trso, nd, 28).

50 Same.

51 Muhamed Abdagic, nd.).

52 Archives of the Republic of Serbia, the Fund ZAVNOS, No.3 / 43, 6/43., Archives of the labor movement Yugoslavia, Montenegro, II, b, 142 (43).

53 Gaston Gravije, Sandžak, nd.

tenegrin nationality elected 26 councilors).⁵⁴ This lack, at first, did not seem to reflect the quality and fairness of the decisions taken, because the Assembly and its bodies conducted platform national liberation struggle and the essential rights of Muslims were not put in jeopardy. This situation lasted until the last session ZAVNOS of 29 March 1945 when the decision was taken to dissolution, which was contrary to the interests and wishes of the people in the Sandzak region as a whole, particularly the wishes and interests of the Bosniak Muslims.

Preparation of Liquidation Sandzak Autonomy

For some specific activities of the Montenegrin leadership, and delegates of the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisans, who was in charge of coordinating all activities related to the constitution ZAVNOS and especially concerning the participation of its delegation at the Second Session of AVNOJ, it can be concluded that from the very the beginning there was a tendency to prevent action ZAVNOS and its organs. It was first expressed in the fact that it prevented the elected delegation ZAVNOS attends the Second Session of AVNOJ. The explanation that she did not get into the egg because of the alleged "bad weather" and "length of time" can not be acceptable, because it is only one day earlier -on 19 November 1943 from Pljevlja for Egg, under the direction of delegates of the Supreme Headquarters of the Partisans Ivana Milutinovic and accompanied by a special unit of the shock of the Second Corps, passed the Montenegrin delegation.⁵⁵ In January 1944, the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of Montenegro and the Bay launched an official initiative to join the organization the Communist Party of Sandzak organized by the Communist Party of Montenegro and Boka.⁵⁶ Connecting the Communist Party of Sandzak Montenegro and Boka would be beginning of the end of autonomous activities of all other organizations because the Communist Party at that time had a leading role. At the same time he proposed "the creation of a joint executive board of the Anti-Fascist Council for Montenegro and Sandzak", which would mean the abolition of the independence and autonomy of Sandzak. This is expressed in the proclamation ZAVNO Montenegro and the Bay of 3 January 1944. The application for merger of Sandzak Montenegro in a federal unit explained by the fact that the decisions of the Second Session of AVNOJ Sandzak issue is not clearly regulated⁵⁷, and this ambiguity is certainly resulted from prevention ZAVNOS delegation to attend the Second Session of AVNOJ. These attitudes Montenegrin leaderships

54 ZAVNOS GiB, collection of documents, Titograd, 1963, p. 42nd.

55 Lakic Z.: ZAVNOS, CIVIL and NOB in BiH, Indicated scientific conference in Sarajevo in November 1973, nd, p. 678.

56 Archives of the Historical Institute of the Federal Republic of Montenegro Titograd, and 27-7 (44), the Communist Party condemns the attitude of comrades in Montenegro on merger Sandzak Montenegro; B. Petrovic, Place of Sandzak in the light of decisions II CIVIL to build Yugoslavia on the federative principle, Historical records, Titograd, 1071, 3-4, 134.

57 ZAVNOS Montenegro and Boka, collection of documents, nd. while 37, 134.

surprised antifascist leadership in Sandzak and Executive Board ZAVNOS and they expressed their dissatisfaction with such attempts, pointing out that they are intended to prejudge the status of Sandzak, to express displeasure with the Serbs,” while the Muslims moved in fear.”⁵⁸

Sandzak is Part, the Same as Vojvodina

With this initiative disagreed no central leadership of the Communist Party of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in Montenegro and Boka in writing stated: “We are surprised that they are comrades in Montenegro allow such a serious error in such a sensitive thing and declared the annexation of Sandzak Montenegro. The decisions of AVNOJ on the merger no letters. We not only cannot agree with that, but also condemn such a reckless step. AVNOJ and the National Committee are not made today demarcation, because it is not the time. CIVIL brought a principled decision. As for Sandzak it will have the kind of position to declare what its freely elected representatives. In this respect, the same applies for Sandzak what Tito wrote of Vojvodina in the first issue of New Yugoslavia.”⁵⁹

However, towards the end of the war, and when approached finally defining the organizational structure of the future federation, about the status of Sandzak there were interests of Serbia and Montenegro, which are each in turn sought to join Sandzak itself. In this regard, was held in Belgrade closed meeting, which has not been determined who was to attend to him, but says that after returning Blaz Jovanovic with an important meeting in Belgrade, according to the statement Jovanovic, decided”to accept the Sandzak border in 1913, Kosmet has remained as a whole.”⁶⁰

The Sandzak Issue More Important than the Breakthrough of Srem Front

Although it is often”overlooked”, the decision to abolish the autonomy of Sandzak adopted in Belgrade on 24 February 1945, a month before going to Novi Pazar that decision, at the last session ZAVNOS’s,”be accepted”. His view of the decision of the Presidency of AVNOJ to abolish the autonomy of Sandzak, in the Politika, February 1992, is Ranko Djukic, who describing the session points out that the initiative to abolish the autonomy of Sandzak. Reasons for Decision were the following:

⁵⁸ Same.

⁵⁹ “Archives of the Historical Institute of the Federal Republic of Montenegro”, 27-7 (44), p. 328.

⁶⁰ Lakic Z.: Kosovo and Metohija in the conception of the Yugoslav federalism during the Liberation Movement, with special reference to the Bujan conference, historical records 3-4 / 1989, 102.

- The Sandzak no national basis to obtain such status;
- To keep insisting and maintaining an autonomous Sandzak allegedly meant now 'unnecessary and irrational crushing the Serbian and Montenegrin entities and Yugoslavia in general;
- That after the splitting of Sandzak Muslims, apparently would not be at risk nationally, because it is stated that 'they (would) be able to enjoy the same rights in Montenegro and Serbia', thus leaving the rights acquired in the national liberation struggle."⁶¹ By returning to the borders of 1913, sanctioned the principle that through conquest and occupation carried out the division of the territory inhabited by more people and ignored national and other interests of one of the three nations in these territories for centuries lives. Subjective commitment that supposedly has the status of Sandzak, and that would mean allegedly "unnecessary and irrational crushing the Serbian and Montenegrin entities', the objective is reduced to non-recognition of Muslims as a people and the acceptance of the principle that proclaimed the 'Načartanijima' Garasanin mid 19.vijek, according to which all Serbs should live in one state, no matter what time will be disenfranchised members of other peoples living in these territories. Neglected are pointing Svetozar Markovic from 150 years ago that the Serbs could not solve their national question by ignoring the rights of others. Accepted the principle to prevent "crushing the Serbian and Montenegrin entities", and Muslims were allowed to defer both of us and to assimilate them, not taking into account whether and how they accept such unequal treatment and that the solution to Serbian national issues in Sandzak cannot be solved without simultaneous solution of the national question and Muslims.

The decision to dissolve the National Anti-Fascist Council adopted at the meeting held in Novi Pazar on 29 March 1945.⁶² The mood of the Serbs and the Muslims of Sandzak, in connection with such a decision, expressed in demonstrative disagreement two representatives ZAVNOS CDs: President ZAVNOS a Sreten Vukosavljevic refused to sign a decision on the dissolution of the highest authorities of the national liberation government Sandzak, as did Muhammad Hadžismajlović, delegate ZAVNOS 's the Second Session of AVNOJ, the only one of the Bosniak -Muslim.

The justification for this decision, other than national or nationalist, there was no, because Sandzak at the time was still what it was before that, remained behind Serbia both economically and politically and culturally, and in every re-

61 Petranović, B., *The position of Sandzak*, nd. 573rd.

62 Failure to sign the decision by the President ZAVNOS a Vukosavljevic about its dissolution has not officially commented, but it is evident from the minutes of the Assembly ZAVNOS dated 29 March 1945, and from the absence of his signature in the decision to dissolve, and his position was the subject of comment among the participants Assembly and outside it.

spect.⁶³ However, although it has no justification, the reasons for the change of attitude of the Sandzak could be those, who in his unpublished manuscripts, called Sandzak, said the famous Bosniak-Muslim intellectual, Mohammed Abdagić,⁶⁴ which says: “The overall conflicts at the top, which places were very harsh, around republican borders, most conflicts were about Vojvodina, Kosovo and Sandzak. It is obvious that Serbia is thus made concessions, which had expected her to admit the limits of the Kingdom of Serbia, due to the decision of the Macedonian national issue lost Macedonia, but as expect compensation received Vojvodina, for which, under paragraph KP at the beginning of the war, was provided federal status, as well as all parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina).”⁶⁵

A Referendum on the Autonomy of Sandzak 1991

After this decision was followed by a real pogrom of Sandzak Bosniaks. Over 2,000 people, mostly intellectuals, traders, artisans, muslims shot on Hadžet (settlement in Novi Pazar). The consequences of this genocide were a disaster. I was supposed to be born a new generation that will have the strength to re-affirm the idea of autonomy. The silence was eerie debt. It lasted 46 years.

Disintegration of Yugoslavia caused and accompanied by war and the creation of new sovereign states in the same area in 1991, created a new political relationship in which the survival of the Bosniak-Muslim nation is at stake. Although Muslims were a constitutional nation and the third largest in the former Yugoslavia, has been divided into several newly established countries in the same area, Sandzak Bosniaks overnight become” minorities. 25.-26 -27 X 1991, a referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak over 98% came out to vote for.

Based on the results of the referendum, citing the inalienable right to self-determination, following a policy of peace, tolerance and cooperation with other nations in order to preserve national identity and the protection of individual and collective rights of the Muslim people of Sandzak, the Assembly MNVS at its meeting 11.01.1992.g. approved the establishment of a special status for Sandžak as an optimal solution for the Muslim people who autohton in this area.⁶⁶

In deciding on the special status of Sandzak, the Assembly MNVS had in mind: the importance of that in a fair and peaceful manner resolve the status of the Muslim people of Sandzak; to contribute to the establishment of lasting peace and security in this part of Europe; to make an effective contribution to the

63 A. Vrcić, “Sandzak as literary inspiration and driving force of Muhammad Abdagić, Conference” Sandzak yesterday, today and tomorrow”, 21 -23 November 2003, Proceedings, ISBN 86-84389-03-4.

64 A. Kadribegović, Book mature prose Muhammad Abdagić, Sarajevo, in 1975.

65 M. Abdagić, Sandzak, unpublished manuscript.

66 Sandžak, br.23/1993., str.34

general democratization in the rest of Yugoslavia, which is one of the conditions for international recognition of the FRY and the lifting of sanctions, which would Sandzak became an important factor of peace and stability in this region.⁶⁷

Sustained and MNVS resolution on the future of the Muslim people in Sandzak, where, among other things, states: "Sandzak Muslims are part of Bosnia-hercegovačkiih Muslims. Muslims are indigenous people in Sandzak, which is the decision of the Berlin Congress of 1878 and politically and territorially separated from Bosnia and Herzegovina as a country of origin. the dissolution of Yugoslavia in which Muslims were držatvoran people, although the third number again we remain a nation without a national state.

For the foregoing reasons, the company said in a resolution, and in order to safeguard national sovereignty and integrity of the Muslim people in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the final document of the CSCE, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe, the Declaration on the Right to Development (UN resolution no. 41/127 of 04.11.1968).

And on the basis of a referendum from 25 to 27 October 1991 in which the people of Sandzak secret ballot voted for full political and territorial autonomy of Sandzak Muslims see their future in a complete political and territorial autonomy of Sandzak in which the peoples who live there without outside interference, freely determine their political status, economic, commercial, social and cultural development. Sandzak will be demilitarized territory without an army, military hardware and military exercises. For all these reasons, we demand an immediate and permanent demilitarization of Sandzak. Sandzak will have a multi-party Assembly and the Government. The views represented by the representatives of Serbia, Montenegro and remains so. Yugoslavia for us are not binding, and also do not recognize solutions introduced by force, or the force as a means of achieving political goals. The Memorandum is based on this and seeks autonomy for Sandzak within the existing borders, but requires that the contents of autonomy that would guarantee permanent protection of human and national rights of the Muslim-Bosniak population in Sandzak. The idea of a special status although it did not occur only in relation to Sandzak. It appeared, in general, within the framework of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. When it became obvious that the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina result of one militant Serbian national program, which not only drew to kill other people and winning others' territory, but at the same time is totally unfit to solve the problem of human rights in Serbia and Montenegro. The Memorandum does not seek international legal personality for Sandzak, but requested the right to such an entity, such an utonomija may conclude agreements with other countries and other relevant au-

67 MNVS, 06.06.1993.g., Novi Pazar, Sandžak, br.23/1993., str. 34.

tonomies in other countries, just those contracts related to these competencies. So, cultural, economic, national and other. The memorandum assumes that these human rights and freedoms recognized in international relations, not only in this document, which was prepared within the framework of the Hague Conference, later in Geneva, but also a number of other international legal documents, a special European conference on the protection of minority rights, therefore memorandum relies on what the international community has recognized and required to be applied to this situation Bosniak-Muslim people in Sandzak. However, despite all the efforts of the authorities of Serbia and Montenegro in 1992 adopted the so-called. Žabljački Constitution, and Bosniaks abolish one of the rights that are narod.MNVS about it then had a clear position: "On 27.04.1992. godine Serbia and Montenegro have adopted the so-called. Žabljački Constitution which 'expresses the will of the Serbian and Montenegrin people to succeed continuity of the former Yugoslavia', but from the new Constitution without the consent expelled the Muslim people, who up to that point been a constitutional and constitutive nation. This is the Muslim people of Sandzak -Serbia and Montenegro deprived statehood and the right to self-determination. In response, 28.04.1992.g. day was held at the Assembly MNVS which expressed disagreement with the new Constitution and the decision was made that the Muslim-bođnjački nation does not recognize such a state, the same as ignoring its existence. The Muslims of Sandzak, Serbia and Montenegro do not recognize the newly created Yugoslavia, considering the way it is constituted where Muslims were not consulted as the people of the new Yugoslavia, new Yugoslavia does not recognize the Muslims as a nation in the new Yugoslavia."⁶⁸ At the same General Meeting decided that the Bosniak-Muslim people of Sandzak their status resolved in the framework of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia"⁶⁹

19 July 1999 BNVS adopt the Memorandum of autonomy of Sandzak and Special Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which among other things states that the aim is to ensure the realization of the Sandzak region and the protection of human rights and freedoms to the highest standards, as well as collective rights of Bosniaks, Montenegrins, Serbs and other constituent peoples in the FRY, as well as members of other ethnic communities.

Within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereinafter FRY), according to a memorandum establishes the autonomy of Sandzak (hereinafter referred to as Sandzak). The authorities in Sandzak is implemented in accordance with the Constitution of the FRY and the Constitution of Sandzak. The autonomy of Sandzak is achieved through legislative, executive and judicial branches of Sandzak and the municipalities within it. Bosniaks, Montenegrins and Serbs, as constituent peoples shall enjoy the collective national rights in accordance with the Constitution of the FRY and the Constitution of Sandzak.

68 SANDŽAK, Independent Review of politics and culture, no. 3, May 1992, p. 14th.

69 SANDŽAK, Independent Review of politics and culture, no. 3, May 1992, p. 14th.

On the same day it adopted the Declaration on the Right of Bosniaks on political and ethnic equality, which inter alia provides for: the Bosniaks European people, indigenous to the region of Sandzak and other parts of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with all the characteristics that make them special national entity. The adoption of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 27.04.1992. The Bosniaks were stripped of previously acquired right nation-building and constitutive nation and therefore denied the opportunity of achieving political and national rights they have as a nation. Bosnian people see a future Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a democratic country, set on modern civilization achievements and experiences of developed countries, federalized community with a bicameral parliament (Council of Peoples and Citizens), in which the Sandzak, according to the will of the citizens expressed in the referendum held from 25 to 27. October 1991, was set as a modern political territorial unit with a high degree of autonomy, that is, self-government. Sandzak Bosniaks outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should enjoy the rights and freedoms to the highest standards of human rights and freedoms.⁷⁰ Esad Dzudzevic, in his capacity as Chairman of the Executive Board BNVS 's, participating in the International Meeting: the position of national minorities in Serbia, organized by the SASA, 25.11.2005.godine, among other things says: I Belgrade and Podgorica must together with the relevant and legitimate representatives of Bosniak find compromise on the return of some kind of self-government of Sandzak in both its part, the Serbian and Montenegrin, so as to avoid further radicalization of political and cultural elites among Bosniaks, which is inevitable if the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities continue to behave arrogantly and ignoranski according to these requirements.⁷¹ Representatives of other political parties in Sandzak, non-governmental organizations and cultural associations⁷², adopted on 3 December 2003, the Declaration on the position of Bosniaks in Serbia and Montenegro, as well as the declaration on behalf of the Bosniak population census in Montenegro, which also says that Bosniak Sandzak, Serbia and Montenegro are unique ethnogenetically, cultural and civilizational Corps together with Bošnjacija the area of ex-Yugoslavia and in that sense we expect that the upcoming census in Montenegro overcome divisions among Bosniaks the name and authority of Montenegro to create all the necessary conditions. It also urged Serbia and Montenegro to resolve the status of the new constitution of the Bosniak community and the status of Sandzak as a region and the multinational and multicultural community of Bosniaks, Serbs, Montenegrins and members of other nationalities, with Novi Pazar as political, cultural and commercial center.⁷³

70 NIN, N.N. br. 2537, avgust 12. 1999. Godine.

71 <http://bnv.org.rs/preporucujemo.php?lang=ba&profil=2>

72 Political parties (SDP, FSO, Bosniak Democratic alternative, the Liberal Bosniak organization Sandzak Bosniak-Muslim organizations, associations and non-governmental organizations (Sandzak Intellectual Circle, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Association 'Damad', Association of Economists of Sandzak Helsinki Committee Human Rights in Sandzak, 'the Union of Entrepreneurs of Sandzak, MHD"Merhamet", Centre for multiethnic dialogue, 'Behar', Center for the Study of Cultural Heritage Muslim Bosniaks in Montenegro).

73 Voice of Islam, Year VII, No. 83, October 2003, p. 19.

The Place and Importance of the Islamic Community in the Fight for the Autonomy of Sandzak

Faced with the double threat: to be accused of interfering in things” that are outside of religious communities”⁷⁴, and irresponsible individuals let water irresponsible policy; or to follow the principle that the policy is too important to be left only to politicians, the Islamic community chooses the latter, to the extent that it relates to the preservation of the vital interests of the Bosniak people and the particularities of the Sandzak region, while prohibiting its officials to actively participate in the daily-political activities and to allow the mosques and other religious buildings used for political purposes.⁷⁵

The moment when the Islamic community “intervened” in the political reality is each when bringing new Constitution of Serbia. Faced with changing attitudes Ugljanin, in which were discussed under the auspices of the Mufti of Sandzak, at the headquarters of the Meshihat of e-Sandzak, 16.10.2006.godine, with the presence of almost all political parties, except one, Ugljanin, working in the area of Sandzak, adopted a declaration condemning the ignorance of the rights of Bosniaks in the new Constitution. The Declaration, inter alia stated: “It is unacceptable that in Article 1 of the new constitution defines Serbia as a state of the Serbian people and all citizens who live in it. It is unacceptable that the Constitution did not respect the principles and standards of European regionalism. It is unacceptable that the Constitution, defining the State symbols and the national anthem, did not acknowledge the fact that Serbia is a multiethnic and multicultural state. We demand of the Parliament, the President and the Government of Serbia to start as soon as practicable dialogue on resolving the status of Bosniaks in Serbia and the status of the Sandzak region.”⁷⁶

Although the Declaration could significantly affect the adoption of the Constitution, which was passed -that is passed, however, the meaning and the importance of its making is very important: “The Constitution, it happened, and what it is that’s wrong we are told. The Declaration represents continuity the existence of the Bosniak identity, and tomorrow will be a connection for generations to come and that will be able to do more. it clearly states with which we do not agree. The point is lost only when a warehouse. We did not do. I ‘m not I will refer to a referendum. We all know, and above them, and them down. the most important thing that the Sandzak man preserve their consciousness.”-said the Mufti of Sandzak, Muamer Zukorlic, the bar, called”Sandzak Diaspora, Diaspora -held 2.11.2006.godine Sandzak, in Novi Pazar, under the auspices of the Organization of Sandzak Diaspora.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/...vera_politika/2085019.html

⁷⁵ Decision Meshihat of e -Sandzak: 41/00 of 01.09.2000, 10/02, 15. 01. 2002, 116/04 of 11.08.2004.

⁷⁶ Archive e -Meshihat of Sandzak, and the media.

⁷⁷ Voice of Islam, no. 120, November 2006, p .6.

Better acquainted with the situation of what will dječavati and around the Islamic community, agree on the assessment that the position of the Islamic community about the Constitution and the Declaration mentioned "a drop in the overflowing cup" and a pretext for aggression against this institution, which will be followed by a little more than a year later.

The report of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia in 2007, in the part referring to the Sandzak is: Behavior of the state in this case may be linked to the problem of the constitution of the Bosniak community in Serbia. The political elite in Sandžak is extremely divided and plagued by internal conflicts, and Islamic community in Sandzak, led by Effendi Zukorlic, the only institution that gathers all Bosniaks in Sandzak. Political capital Zukorlić is incomparably greater than the political capital of the most important political figure in Sandzak, Rasim Ljajic and Sulejman Ugljanin, and the collapse of its reputation of the best way to further weaken the already weak capacity of the constitution of the Bosniak identity in Serbia. Politically divided, and now organizationally divided in religious terms, the Bosniak minority has even less chance of adequately articulating their demands for the constitution of their own identity and its integration into the Serbian society, but also for decentralization, reform, European integration, dealing with the past and resolute cooperation with Hague tribunal. The Serbian government has repeatedly violated its own authority and directly intervening in "solving" internal problems of the Islamic community. Politicization of religious structures and constant violation of the only (religious) authority minority Bosniak community in Serbia, the countries that persistently undermines the basic principles of a democratic and sekuplarnog system, and basic freedoms and rights of its citizens. His actions the state has led to the question of how religious, ethnic and collective rights of the Bosniak community in Serbia."⁷⁸ Although this agreement will be disclosed at a later 2010, 2006, as stated by Vice President of the Bosniak Party, Hazbija Kalac DPS Milo Djukanovic, in an agreement signed before the referendum with BS, agreed that Sandzak be cross-border region."And that's was a key reason the guarantee Bosniaks in Sandzak that is a sovereign Montenegro is possible, and at the same time preserve Sandzak. Without Sandzak Bosniaks would never support a sovereign Montenegro, and without that it would no longer be what it is."⁷⁹ In the agreement signed 23.03.2006.godine Section 4, which refers to Sandzak is: Application of the European Charter of Local Self-Government in the part of the highest standards as a condition for balanced economic development of Montenegro. In tomkontekstu Sandzak is seen as a multi-ethnic, multi-confessional region, with a transparent border, which would be a bridge connecting, not the wall of separation of Serbia and Montenegro.⁸⁰ 2009. The Serbian government adopted

78 <http://www.helsinki.org.yu/serbian/doc/izvestaj2007.pdf>

79 <http://bosnjaci.net/prilog.php?pid=38928>

80 <http://www.bosnjackastranka.org/novosti/Saopstenja/227-sandzak-iskljucivoprekogranicnaregija-.html>

a Decree on statistical regions at which the Sandzak splits and became part of the two regions. Although they had signed the controversial Regulation Ugljanin and Ljajic later have opposed the same time justifying himself to not look at the document before placing initials. The Islamic Community in connection with the new situation starts another initiative:

At the meeting held organizations and institutions, and representatives of the state authorities, was held in Novi Pazar 04.07.2009., adopted a Declaration which is due to the fact that the shortcomings of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia contribute to the disrespect for human and minority rights, from the authorities require starting the procedure to amend the Constitution in accordance with the Declaration of Bosniak political parties in October 2006. He also asked that the declaration be in accordance with the principles and standards of European regionalism in the process of decentralization and regionalization of Serbia, in the future constitutional and legislative solutions respecting the characteristics of Sandzak region, what understands its integrity with Novi Pazar.⁸¹ A few days after this meeting, BNVS, which in 2007 mandate, bringing their declaration in which among other things underlines that Sandzak Bosniaks part of the Bosnian national community, with Bosnia and Herzegovina as mother country, and their national identity and originality in the Republic of Serbia is undisputed and indisputable, and that the state of Serbia and its organizations and institutions in the past few years invested significant efforts to enhance and improve the status and rights of Sandzak Bosniaks in Serbia.⁸²

Once made, the election for the Bosniak National Council, in June 2010, won convincingly list Bosniak Cultural Community, led by Chief Mufti PRs is in Serbia, Muamer ef. Zukorlic, and attempts of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights to challenge the implementation of the electoral will of Bosniaks, faced with the fact that it also wishes to apply when it comes to religious rights of Muslims, on the session of the Bosniak National Council, in which participated representatives of organizations, institutions and institutions that gather Bosniaks, organized by the newly formed Bosnian National Council, in Novi Pazar, on 14.07.2010, adopted the Declaration as a platform for discussions with the authorities in Belgrade and the way of solving the issues of Sandzak and Bosniaks who live in this region.

The declaration, among other things, provides for:

Bosniaks are constituent people in Serbia. In order to support resolving the status of Sandzak region, through a process of decentralization of Serbia, the Parliament form a committee for the reconstruction of the National Council of Sandzak. Parliament congratulates the constitution of the Bosniak National

81 http://www.mesihat.org/index.php?option=com_ezine&task=read&page=2&category=12&article=2613

82 <http://bnv.org.rs/vijesti.php?lang=ba&opsirnije=219/> DECLARATION ON THE POSITION Sandzak Bosniaks in Serbia 27.06. 2009 in Novi Pazar

Council, giving him full support in the way of preserving the national identity of Bosniaks.⁸³

Conclusion

Even today, in the times of this writing, political discussions on the future status of Sandzak, the autonomy flow. Some are still of the view that Sandzak should be autonomy, as Ugljanin, others say that Sandzak, in that sense, has no chance (Ljajic Rasim), while the third paragraph (Zukorlic) that Sandzak should be a modern, European, cross-border region. However, there is almost no one who on this issue no opinion. And the most important is that the final decision, citizens of Sandzak, a multiethnic region whose destiny that connects rather than separates people.

83 http://www.mesihat.org/index.php?option=com_ezine&task=read&page=2&category=12&article=4169

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