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Bosnia: Ethno-Religious Nationalisms in Conflict

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Abstract

This case study examines the ethnoreligious hostilities that plunged Bosnia and Herzegovina into a civil war (1992-1995) between Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs, and Muslim Bosniaks after the breakup of the former communist Yugoslavia. Five questions frame the study's coverage of the Bosnian War and the role of religion within it: What are the historical origins of ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia? How are religion, ethnicity, and political differences intertwined in the region? How important were international religious and political forces? What role did socioeconomic factors play? How did religion intersect with these other factors in driving outcomes? The case study includes a core text, a timeline of key events, a guide to relevant government agencies and religious and nongovernmental organizations, and a list of further readings.

About this Case Study

This case study was crafted under the editorial direction of Eric Patterson, visiting assistant professor in the Department of Government and associate director of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University.

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Introduction

Religious differences were a key element of the Balkan wars of the early 1990s. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, described as a "victory of God" by Pope John Paul II, long-suppressed religious and ethnic cleavages proved combustible. Yugoslavia, for centuries a patchwork of rival ethnic and cultural groups, began to fall apart in the 1980s as these groups pushed for autonomy and the power and legitimacy of the multinational communist state declined. Nationalist claims along ethno-religious lines filled a power vacuum in Bosnia and Herzegovina: most prominent were Catholic Croats, Orthodox Serbs, and Muslim Bosniaks. In short, the transition to the post-communist era was a revolution. While escaping communism, Bosnia was unable to escape civil war. This case study focuses primarily on the conflict in and around Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter Bosnia) in order to understand the religious factors involved in the larger conflict. Despite the centuries long co-mingling of ethnic groups in the Balkans, political leaders successfully mobilized them in a deadly struggle for power, resources, and survival. Following nearly four years of fighting, atrocities, and war crimes, a US-led intervention resulted in the Dayton Peace Accords, creating a multi-ethnic government. The American-led international mediation was crucial to ending the conflict. Bosnia demonstrates that ethnoreligious identities can, outlasting ideological indoctrination (e.g. communism), be reinterpreted and popularized to mobilize entire populaces to war.

The Balkans Bosnia Sarajevo Cemetery overlooking city houses

Historical Background

Religion has been an important factor in modern day Yugoslavia since at least the ninth century, when St. Cyril and St. Methodius converted the Serbs to what was to become Orthodox Christianity. Later, missionaries loyal to Rome converted the Croats to Catholicism. When the Ottomans conquered much of the Balkans after defeating Serb forces at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, Islam established a strong political and religious influence throughout the region. That battle has tremendous symbolic importance to many Serbs, some of whom claim that Muslims "have the blood of the martyrs of Kosovo on their hands." The Muslim influx into the region blurred cultural identities, resulting in the emergence of a group that identifies "Muslim" as its primary cultural marker (often noted as Albanian Muslim in the literature, but representing various ethnic groups). Because the Balkans are of strategic importance in accessing the Mediterranean, as a route between Europe and the Near East, and a historical flashpoint between the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the Christian Austro-Hungarian (Hapsburg) Empire, the peninsula was fought over for centuries while living under both the cross and the crescent.

Following the World War One, the various peoples of the Western Balkans were united under the Kingdom of the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes, officially renamed Yugoslavia in 1929. This first Yugoslav state was invaded and dismembered by Nazi Germany during the World War Two. German occupation had a devastating impact on the country, costing over a million lives and unleashing waves of intercommunal savagery. It dramatically exacerbated interethnic grievances, with some nationalities, particularly the Croats, becoming largely identified with the Nazis, while others emerged primarily as victims. Josip Broz Tito, a Yugoslav communist and ethnic Croatian, eventually mounted a successful resistance against German occupation. Following the war, he established a new, federal, and socialist Yugoslavia, which he headed until his death in 1980. His charisma and strict management suppressed and temporarily ameliorated ethnic differences and grievances. However, some argue that the 1990s were really the resolution of the "unfinished business" of World War Two.

By the late 1980s, the Yugoslav economy was in shambles and communism in Eastern Europe was unraveling. Although Tito had instituted programs to develop a national identity, only a small minority of the population ever reported their primary identity as Yugoslav. For instance, a 1988 survey indicated that less than six percent of the populace self-identified first as a Yugoslav.

Beginning in the 1980s, Yugoslavia's constituent republics began to assert increasing autonomy, culminating in explicit secessionist drives in 1991. The first was Slovenia, an ethnically homogenous society. Shortly thereafter, Croatia and Bosnia followed suit. In contrast to Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia had more heterogeneous populations with strong ethnic Serbian minorities. Following a regional revolt, Croatia declared independence, became embroiled in a war with the Yugoslav People's Army, and expelled large parts of its Serb population. The former Yugoslavia, dominated by Serbia, renamed itself the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Slobodan Milošević. President Milošević declared his devotion to a Greater Serbia that would protect and even reunite the Serb populations clustered within the borders of his neighbors, most notably Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. Following a brief conflict, Serbia and Croatia settled into a protracted cold war that was not settled until after Dayton. A multi-sided war in neighboring Bosnia continued until 1995. During that time, numerous UN and EU peace initiatives failed to stabilize the region, and war crimes took place in many places in Bosnia, including Brcko, the Lasva Valley, and Srebrenica. Finally, following a forceful multinational intervention led by the United States in 1995, the Dayton Peace Accords were signed and the region embarked upon an uncertain road to reconstruction. The peace has held, although ethnic tensions continue and a resumption of war is not an impossibility. Today, more than a decade later, Bosnia's ethnoreligious communities exist in a tense state of peace, largely separated from one another.

Domestic Factors

Were the wars in Bosnia religious in nature? While the three groups involved in them are generally categorized into three religious groups (Orthodox Christian Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Bosnian Muslims) it would be wrong to classify this as a purely religious conflict. Indeed, religious groups had coexisted and intermarried for centuries, but a cohesive shared identity did not develop. Rather than fighting about religion, nationalists used ethnoreligious identity as a rallying mechanism to unify their populations. Historical myths and cultural symbols associated with religion contributed greatly in unifying each faction, and religious shrines or cultural objects became important symbolic rallying points. For example, the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar, which joined Muslim and Catholic portions of the city, was an important symbolic blow against unity in addition to a tactical military strike. Clerics were occasionally targeted for assassination because of their symbolic importance, not because they played any direct roles in leading the conflict. The legacy of different myths of suffering was undoubtedly used to lead these people toward war.

It is particularly challenging to understand the ethnoreligious diversity of the region. The main nationalities of the former Yugoslavia were Serbs (predominantly Orthodox Christians), Croats (predominantly Catholic), Slovenians (predominantly Catholic), Macedonians (predominantly Orthodox), Montenegrins (predominantly Orthodox), and Bosnian and Herzegovinians (mixed Muslims/Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats). National minorities include Albanians (predominantly Muslim, now in control of Kosovo), then smaller populations of Hungarians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Italians, and Turks. Bosniaks, usually people of distant Serb or Croat ancestry who did not reconvert to Christianity when the Ottoman Turks were driven out of the area, generally did not identify as Serb or Croat. So, to resolve the dilemma, Tito labeled them with a designation of their own ethnic nationality, Muslim. Thus, this group is a unique phenomenon in Islam, being both Muslim by religion and nationality (though many of these Muslims were highly secularized). Subsequently, especially as a result of the wars of the 1990s, this ethnic group opted to use the name Bosniak—sometimes to the chagrin of Serb and Croat Bosnians who also occasionally use that term for themselves. The situation is further confused because the ethnic label Albanian is often given to Kosovo's Muslim population, but not Bosnia's, regardless of whether or not it is of Albanian ancestry.

A 1988 survey of national groups asked Yugoslavs whether they consider themselves to be religious. At the time, Croats responded in the affirmative 56 percent of the time compared to 37 percent for Bosniaks and 19 percent for Serbs. While Serbian nationalists, including religious leaders, used religious imagery and claims in the 1990s to justify their violence, only a fifth of the Serb population claimed to be religious.

Conversely, when religious groups were asked which nationality they identify with, 77 percent of Orthodox Christians identified as Serbs, 82 percent of Muslims as Albanians, and 89 percent of Catholics as Croats. When asked to identify the "other" as having a synonymous religious and national identity, 54 percent of Muslims, 51 percent of Serbs, and 50 percent of Croats agreed that it means the same thing to be Serb and Orthodox, Croat and Catholic, and Albanian and Muslim.[1] Lastly, when asked if these religious markers accurately represented their nationalities, 66 percent of Serbs, 64 percent of Croats, and 60 percent of Muslims agreed. This suggests two things. First, there were clear majorities who self-identified their religion and nationality as intertwined. Second, however, there were sizable minorities who decoupled religion and ethnicity and may have been able to pursue peaceful coexistence under the right conditions.

International Factors

A wide array of international Christian and Muslim religious actors influenced the conflict in Bosnia. Eastern Orthodox Churches played a large role in fostering the zealous nationalism that led to the war in the Balkans by expressing their sympathy toward coreligionists. For example, the Greek Orthodox Church granted legitimacy to Athens' support for the Orthodox Serb regimes in Belgrade and Pale and provided cover for war crimes committed by Serbs in Bosnia and Kosovo. One such example from the Bosnian War was the invitation of Radovan Karadzic—indicted for war crimes by the International Criminal Court as the leader of the massacre in Srebrenica in 1995 and finally detained in July 2008—to Athens in the summer of 1993 to honor him and bestow on him the Order of Saint Denys of Xante, one of their highest honors.

The Catholic Church played a role as well. Most importantly, the Vatican quickly gave diplomatic recognition to Slovenia and Croatia upon their assertion of independence (shortly after Germany and long before the United States did so). Over time, the Vatican's role was mixed. Pope John Paul II issued repeated pleas for peace in Bosnia, including a dramatic visit in 1994 during which he called for "unity on the mountain of faith on which is planted the cross," but exerted little direct control over local Croat clerics or the Croat militias that committed war crimes throughout the conflict. Local Franciscan clerics, targeted for assassination by Muslim forces and pressured to become more militant by Croat militias, were more heavily influenced by local needs than pressure from the Vatican or from the American Catholic bishops.

International Muslim actors were involved in the Bosnia conflict for good and for ill. Throughout the conflict, reports circulated that foreign Muslim fighters, mostly veterans of the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan, were arriving in Bosnia to aid their fellow Muslims in the fight against Serbs and Croats. These foreign fighters came to meet what one Bosnian Muslim leader called the "moral obligation of a Muslim to help his brothers." Many reported tension between the religious fundamentalism of these new arrivals and the relative lack of religious observance among the Bosniak forces. Bosnia granted citizenship to nearly 1,500 foreign Muslim fighters after the war as a reward for their assistance. Bosnian General Rasim Delic was convicted of war crimes in September 2008 by the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal for atrocities committed while leading such foreign fighters.

Non-Orthodox Christian denominations also impacted the course of the conflict. Western Christians have been sharply criticized by some for their disengagement from the Bosnian war. One of the chief critics of the Christian response was Reverend Adrian Hastings, a Catholic theologian from the University of Leeds. He has pointed out the hypocrisy of a European religious community that decries and memorializes the Holocaust, yet closed its eyes to the tragedy unfolding in Bosnia. The World Council of Churches sent a team in the winter of 1992 to investigate abuses against women and other innocent groups, producing a report titled "Rape of the Women in War" that chronicled abuses of women on all sides of the war. During the conflict, many religious groups expressed a willingness to help in some way but found it extremely difficult due to conditions on the ground. In the aftermath of the war, numerous religiously-inspired relief organizations have worked in the region, including Islamic Relief, United Methodist Committee for Relief (UMCOR), Catholic Social Services, Caritas (the Orthodox relief agency), and Benevoilencia (Jewish).

Religion and Socioeconomic Factors

A variety of domestic factors contributed to the war in Bosnia, including demographic patterns and trends in economic development. The former Yugoslavia was dominated by three ethnoreligious groups: Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Muslim Bosniaks. Out of a total Yugoslav population of 22 million, Orthodox Serbs comprised 40 percent, Croats were 20 percent of the population, and Muslims made up 9 percent of the population. Over the two decades leading to 1991, there was a slight demographic shift in which Muslim numbers increased slightly while Serb numbers declined.

However, at the time of the break-up of Yugoslavia, the population situation in successor states was much different than the national picture. For example, Croatia retained a large Serb minority (about 20 percent) and Bosnia-Herzegovina was very diverse (Muslims 45 percent, Serbs 33 percent, Croats 18 percent, others 4 percent). This ethnic heterogeneity, exacerbated by religious and political claims by parties on both sides, deepened and broadened the conflict. Today's Bosnia has a growing Muslim population (about half the population), whereas its Croat population has declined to 14 percent.

The 1991 census records indicate that ethnic relations were deteriorating during the lead-up to war, due in part to economic pressure. This especially affected Bosnia, which was among the poorest of the Yugoslav republics. For example, in 1989 the Bosnian GDP was almost half that of Croatia and one-third that of Slovenia. The competition for resources within Bosnia polarized Serbs and Muslims. This competition was heightened between 1971 and 1991 as Bosnia's Serbian population was steadily decreasing while the Muslim population was steadily rising.

The economic decline following Tito's death and the end of the Cold War a decade later contributed to the rise of nationalist politics. Scandals, corruption, and nepotism discredited the economic policies and elites of the Communist Party. Fearing the results of a national election, Communist elites—most notably Milosevic—adopted nationalist agendas to secure their power. Economic disparities continued to polarize Yugoslavia. Old accusations and stereotypes of laziness (targeting Muslims) and greed (targeting Serbs) were rampant. Consequently, each group blamed its rivals for domestic problems and used nationalism as a rallying point to lay claim to any available resources. While the economic crisis was one of the important factors in the collapse of Yugoslavia, so was the unresolved problem of competing nationalisms, which took on religious overtones and rhetoric. Seeing that communist appeals no longer resonated with the people, political elites used ethnonationalist and religious rhetoric to unify their community and debase their rivals in order to maintain power. The economic crises therefore heightened the tensions between religious communities.

In conclusion, it has been nearly two decades since Yugoslavia began to implode. At the time, few could have imagined that ethnic and religious rivalries—long obscured by Tito's Yugoslav nationalism—could reassume such powerful and destructive roles. Despite international intervention in 1995, a new round of ethnic cleansing occurred in 1999 in Kosovo, triggering a second Western-led intervention. Today, the region retains a fragile peace, with increasingly firm institutions in Serbia and Croatia but the government of Bosnia continuing to struggle despite massive international assistance. Religious leaders and religious sites remain key centers for community mobilization along ethnic lines and the wider region—including Albania and Macedonia—also remain tense and fragile. Only time will tell if persisting animosities can be overcome and an enduring peace can take root.

Key Events

An ethnic Croatian man prays outside his burning apartment on the last day of the siege in Sarajevo in 1996

1389 Battle of Kosovo

The Battle of Kosovo was fought between Serbian forces under the command of Prince Lazar and Ottomans under the command of Sultan Murad I. The battle, a victory for the Ottomans, became a crucial piece of Serbian nationalism. This helps explain why Serbs reacted so strongly when Kosovo claimed its independence in the late twentieth century and seceded in 2008. The struggle of Lazar's forces has become synonymous with Serb nationalism and with the struggle of Serb Orthodox Christians against Muslim forces.

1992 Brcko Massacre

During the Serb offensive in 1992, the Brcko massacre foreshadowed the catastrophe that would occur three years later in Srebrenica. The town of Brcko was a strategic point along the Drina River adjacent to the Posavina corridor, and as such, a central conflict point for all three factions. During the transition from spring to summer in 1992, approximately 3,000 Muslims were herded by the Serbs to an abandoned warehouse, where they were tortured and killed. Little is known about this massacre, although US satellite photos captured images of the mass graves being formed.

1992-1993 Lasva Valley Ethnic Cleansing

The Lasva Valley ethnic cleansing is the general term used to describe the series of war crimes committed by the Croatian community against Muslims in the Lasva Valley of Bosnia between May 1992 and January 1993. Throughout this campaign, particularly in Vitez, Busovaca, and Kiseljak, the region's Muslim civilian population was subjected to mass murder, rape, camp imprisonment, and the destruction of local cultural sites and private property. Many Muslims fled to communities where there was a strong Muslim majority to avoid persecution. This campaign also included the first systematic destruction of mosques, Muslim-owned property, and civilian murder. All told, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the Court of Bosnia-Herzegovina accused 18 people of war crimes; nine were convicted and sentenced to a cumulative total of 113 years in prison.

1992-1993 Destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar

While there were many structures of cultural and historical significance lost during the war, the loss of the Mostar

Bridge (also referred to as the Old Bridge) reflects the tragedy of the war in a unique way. Built by the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, the bridge was initially a sign of the Muslim sultanate's power and ingenuity. When the war began, the bridge sat in the city of Mostar, the largest city in Herzegovina, separating the predominantly Muslim and Croat quarters of the city. First damaged in 1992 after Yugoslav army shelling, it was brought down by a Croatian army tank assault on November 9, 1993. This bridge had symbolized Mostar's multicultural heritage and its destruction was perceived as symbolic of the deadly conflict. The bridge was rebuilt in 2004, but the city remains divided.

1995 Srebrenica Massacre

In the UN-established Srebrenica safe zone, Serb forces killed thousands of Muslim men en masse following back-and-forth fighting in the region where Bosniak forces had raided, burned, and killed Serbian villagers. Women and children gathered at the UN base and men of military age fled to the surrounding hillsides. UN troops allowed Serb forces access to the camp, where on July 11 about 1,700 men—mostly elderly and infirm—were separated from the women and children. The women were bused away and nearly all of the men were slain. Those fleeing to the hills fared no better. Trapped in the hills under Serb bombardment, sleepless and thirsty, men succumbed to hallucinations, paranoia, and despair. Many committed suicide. Thousands finally surrendered to Serb troops who lured them with the sight of captured UN vehicles. Those captured were executed and buried in mass graves. Approximately 7,000 people were either dead or missing after this massacre. The UN has denied responsibility for the massacre as it asserts immunity from any claim to responsibility for the action or inaction of its peacekeepers. In 2011, a Dutch appeals court found the Netherlands responsible for the deaths of three Muslim men at Srebrenica—the first court victory by families of victims to assign guilt to UN forces for not protecting the victims.

1995 Dayton Peace Accords

The process concluding in the Dayton Peace Agreement began on November 1, 1995 at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. Facilitated by the United States, the agreement was forged by the American Richard Holbrooke, Serbia's Slobodan Milošević, Croatia's Franjo Tudjman, and the Bosnian president and foreign minister, Alija Izetbegovic and Muhamed Sacirbey. In addition to stopping the war, a power-sharing agreement was reached among the main factions in Bosnia, which rotates control of the presidency (under the trusteeship of a governor representing the international community who has the power to remove from office those politicians who overstep their boundaries). This agreement has been met with relative success and stability, although it should be noted that prominent politicians and leaders who do not represent one of these three groups are currently barred from assuming the presidency under the current structure of the Constitution. The Dayton Peace Agreement recognizes the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, consisting of Bosniaks and Croats as well as the Serb-dominated entity called the Republika Srpska, and there is a continuing debate over whether to replace the Dayton Agreement with a new constitution giving more authority to the central government, which is greatly opposed by the Republika Srpska.

Mass grave outside Srebrenica

Religious and Nongovernmental Organizations

Conference of European Churches: Balkans Program
http://ceceurope.org/
The Conference of European Churches (CEC) is an ecumenical organization of Orthodox, Protestant, Anglican, and Catholic churches in Europe. The mission of the conference is to both foster a sense of Christian unity and witness to the people of Europe, and to promote peace, justice, and reconciliation. They organized a series of peace initiatives during the wars between the religious leaders of the Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Muslim communities both inside of the former Yugoslavia and abroad. In 1998, the conference convened a meeting of Muslim and Christian religious leaders from the Balkans in Bosnia to release a declaration appealing for the protection of all forms of worship for minorities in the region. The conference considered this meeting a monumental event because, unlike previous interfaith meetings that consisted strictly of the leaders of various religious groups, this meeting was a grassroots affair, bringing in journalists, teachers, social workers, lawyers, and other community actors.

Lutheran World Federation: Balkans Program
http://lutheranworld.org
The Lutheran World Federation (LWF), established in 1947, is an international religious union of Protestant Christian churches founded in the Lutheran tradition. As of 2008, the LWF was in 78 nations, represented by 140 member churches and 68.6 million Christians. The LWF has an extensive outreach mission including its departments of World Service, Mission and Development, and Theology and Studies. Its General Secretariat also oversees activities involving international affairs, human rights, and ecumenical relations. The LWF entered the Balkans during the Bosnian War and began a food and hygiene kit distribution effort. When stability returned to the region, LWF began house and infrastructure reconstruction, as well as vocational training and economic stimulus projects.

Pax Christi Bosnia Program
http://paxchristi.net/
A German affiliate of Pax Christi International opened two peace and reconciliation programs in Bosnia in the towns of Banja Luka and Zenica. Pax Christi did not enter these regions until 1997, but since then it has been working to rebuild these communities after the war forced many people to flee, and operating programs working toward reconciliation between Catholics and Muslims in these communities.

World Evangelical Alliance Bosnia Program
http://worldea.org/
The European Evangelical Alliance, Albanian Evangelical Alliance, the Protestant Evangelical Alliance (Bosnia), Protestant Evangelical Alliance in Croatia, and the Evangelical Alliance Serbia & Montenegro organized the First Balkan Evangelical Conference in 1996 to address the needs of Congregationalists in their war-torn countries. They released a joint declaration with a plan to restore hope and love, and renew the Evangelical Church in the Balkans. The declaration referenced restoring peace, but the primary goal of these programs is proselytizing rather than peacebuilding.

United States Institute of Peace
http://usip.org
The United States Institute of Peace (USIP), a nongovernmental organization with a mandate and funding from the US Congress for scholarly and proactive work toward peace, organized several efforts at reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia. These included a conference in Budapest in 1995 for religious leaders and journalists from Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia, and Macedonia. USIP authors have produced various publications on the Balkan wars that are available on the organization's website.

Government Agencies

Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina
http://ccbh.ba/eng/
The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the highest judicial authority in Bosnia and its main duty is to be the definitive interpreter and guardian of the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Dayton Accords). It also maintains exclusive jurisdiction over disputes that arise between entities and institutions outlined under the constitution. The constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina addresses religion in two fundamental ways. Article II, Section 3, grants freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. Later, in the preamble to Article V, the constitution states that the presidency is to be comprised of three members, one representing each the Bosniak, Croat, and Serb ethnic group. This decision was reached as a way to prevent the reigniting of ethnic tensions, but it also limits those who have access to this office to members of these three groups exclusively, eliminating the possibility for ethnic or religious minorities, like Jews, from attaining the presidency.

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
http://icty.org/
The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) is the UN legal body designed to investigate and prosecute war crimes that took place throughout the Balkans, including in the Bosnia War. It was established in 1993 and has worked to document many of the highest profile crimes of the war, including the Srebrenica massacre and the use of rape by Bosnian Serbs as a weapon in their war effort. ICTY is prosecuting a range of individuals accused of war crimes, including Radovan Karadzic, who is accused of orchestrating the Serb genocide campaign against Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

Lukomir, Bosnia

Further Readings

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Discussion Questions

1. What are the historical origins of ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia?

2. How are religion, ethnicity, and political differences intertwined in the region?

3. How important are international religious and political forces?

4. What role did socioeconomic factors play?

5. How did religion intersect with these other factors in driving outcomes?

[1]It should be noted that by the late 1990s, the term "Bosniak" came to mean Muslims within the newly constituted Bosnia-Herzegovina, to be distinguished from non-Muslim (e.g. Serb, Christian) Bosnian citizens.