484 Slavic Review

Islam in Bosnien-Herzegowina und die Netzwerke der Jungmuslime (1918–1983). By Armina Omerika. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014. xiv, 362 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. €68.00, hard bound.

The short format of a book review does not allow one to elaborate on all the merits of this book. Armina Omerika of Goethe University in Frankfurt makes three major contributions: tracing relations between the Islamic Community and the Yugoslav state, which has been missing in all previous works on church and state; discerning the history of Islamic thought in Yugoslavia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; and assessing the role of Islam in the formation of the Bosnian Muslim/Bosniak nation. She achieves this by focusing on the Young Muslims, a remarkable and controversial religious/political movement, which became known to wider public only when its most famous member, Alija Izetbegović, was jailed in 1983, accused of promoting Islamic fundamentalism, and more notably in 1991, when he became Bosnia's first and most embattled (literally) president.

In addition to published sources, court recordings, archives of the Islamic community and many secular and Islamic periodicals, in this ground-breaking work Omerika surveyed a number of private archives of Young Muslims and interviewed eight of those still alive. From a wealth of evidence she pieces together a history often in contrast to established wisdom and the nationalist narrative, unearthing new materials and shedding light on other, barely-known ones. Unlike Christian revivalists, the Young Muslims were descendants of old urban, sometimes even aristocratic families, that were upset with what they experienced as a threat to and a corruption of Islamic values in Bosnia during the Austro-Hungarian occupation from 1878 and the Yugoslav state from 1918. Many strove to bring about an Islamic and moral renaissance. As Omerika shows, in this endeavor the likes of Oswald Spengler influenced the Young Muslims more than Islamic theologians. While the initiators of the movement were secular students, the Islamic establishment, like its Christian counterparts, from the very beginning wanted to use their energy for its own aims of not just revitalizing the faith but also strengthening community structures and functions. This would change in the post-World War II period when the Communist repression forced them to look for allies among traditional village folk and imams, and when they gradually shifted from revivalists to anti-Communists and somewhat unusual protonationalists. The Tito-Stalin split awoke false hopes among the Young Muslims and radicalized some to propagate regime change. Eventually, the whole movement paid a high price (four executed and over 700 members and affiliates imprisoned for years) for attempting to undermine the regime under siege. Re-emerging in the 1960s, the Young Muslims' opposition to a subservient Islamic community, which nevertheless managed to undertake important centralization mostly thanks to the role awarded to it by the Communist Party, opened new avenues for their religious and political activism. In what turned out to be their peak days in the 1960s and 1970s, earlier Salafist influences from the World War II era were revived with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood through students coming to politically non-aligned Yugoslavia. Yet the Young Muslims were tried once again, most notably for the so-called *Islamic Declaration*, attributed to Izetbegović. This treatise on the relationship between Islam, and politics celebrated pan-Islamism, but did not even mention Bosnia let alone furnish a blueprint for an Islamic Bosnian state for which he was sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Until the end of their activism, the Young Muslims' version of Islam remained transnational and ahistorical whereas the Bosnian Muslim communists and a few diaspora groups actually created the nation in the classical sense. As Omerika demonstrates, several discourses would eventually merge or overlap. By the late 1980s Izetbegović and his Young Muslim associates were free again and their networks became key resources

Book Reviews 485

for both the official ranks of the Islamic community and the newly founded Party of Democratic Action, which together with its Serbian and Croatian nationalist counterparts won the first multiparty elections in Bosnia.

What happened after is much better known but still heavily disputed and Omerika's book furnishes serious evidence based on an analysis of the historical background that cannot be overlooked any longer. What's missing in this rich book, and should be a task for future researchers and scholars, is to explore and compare the Young Muslims with other political and religious movements of their immediate and less immediate Catholic and Orthodox Christian neighbors in the same period, such as the Croatian Catholic Movement, the Orlovi, Bogomoljci, and Zbor, and to extrapolate and better understand the political and/or religious nature of their motivations, activities and beliefs. While Omerika is native of Herzegovina, her fine book is yet another example of how German-language scholarship is at the forefront of Balkan studies in recent years.

BOJAN ALEKSOV University College London

Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War: Veterans and the Limits of State-Building, 1903–1945. By John Paul Newman. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015. x, 287 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$99.99, hard bound.

John Paul Newman opens his study of the role of war veterans in the making and breaking of the first Yugoslavia with an anecdote from Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*. West's guide "Constantine" (the Serbian Jewish poet Stanislav Vinaver) describes an episode from the war where soldiers from the Serbian army and Croatian troops from the Austro-Hungarian army are fighting over the same hill. Despite being engaged in a fearsome battle, Vinaver stresses their common South Slav brotherhood: "In the morning they all lay dead," he remembers wistfully, "and they were all our brothers." Notwithstanding West's tendency to "ventriloquize" characters to verbalize arguments she wanted to make, Newman argues that Vinaver's account possesses a "historical resonance," highlighting how contested memories of the war served to undermine the viability of a common South Slav state (2–3).

Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War is, the author writes, a "study in the social and cultural consequences of conflict" in Yugoslavia, a state "formed in the aftermath of a protracted period of conflict during which many of its subjects had been mobilized in opposition to each other." Through the story of veteran associations and individuals it aims to chart "the downfall of liberal state institutions and their subsequent replacement by an authoritarian regime at the end of the 1920s." More broadly, it uses Yugoslavia as a means of understanding why liberal institutions collapsed in postwar Europe. As well as charting the troubled integration of veterans into civilian life, the book considers the "remobilization" of war veterans in radical-right organizations from the late 1930s onwards. By analyzing "the continuities and discontinuities between the violence of 1914–1918 and that of 1941–1945 in the Balkans," the book is intended as "an intervention into the ongoing debate about the relationship between the quality and kind of violence seen during the First World War with that seen during the Second World War" (2–4).

One of the major strengths of Newman's well-researched study is the impressive range of subjects related to veterans and the legacy of war in the new Yugoslavia it covers. These range from the activism of war veterans on the national and international level to the role of war commemorations and veteran associations in the cam-