

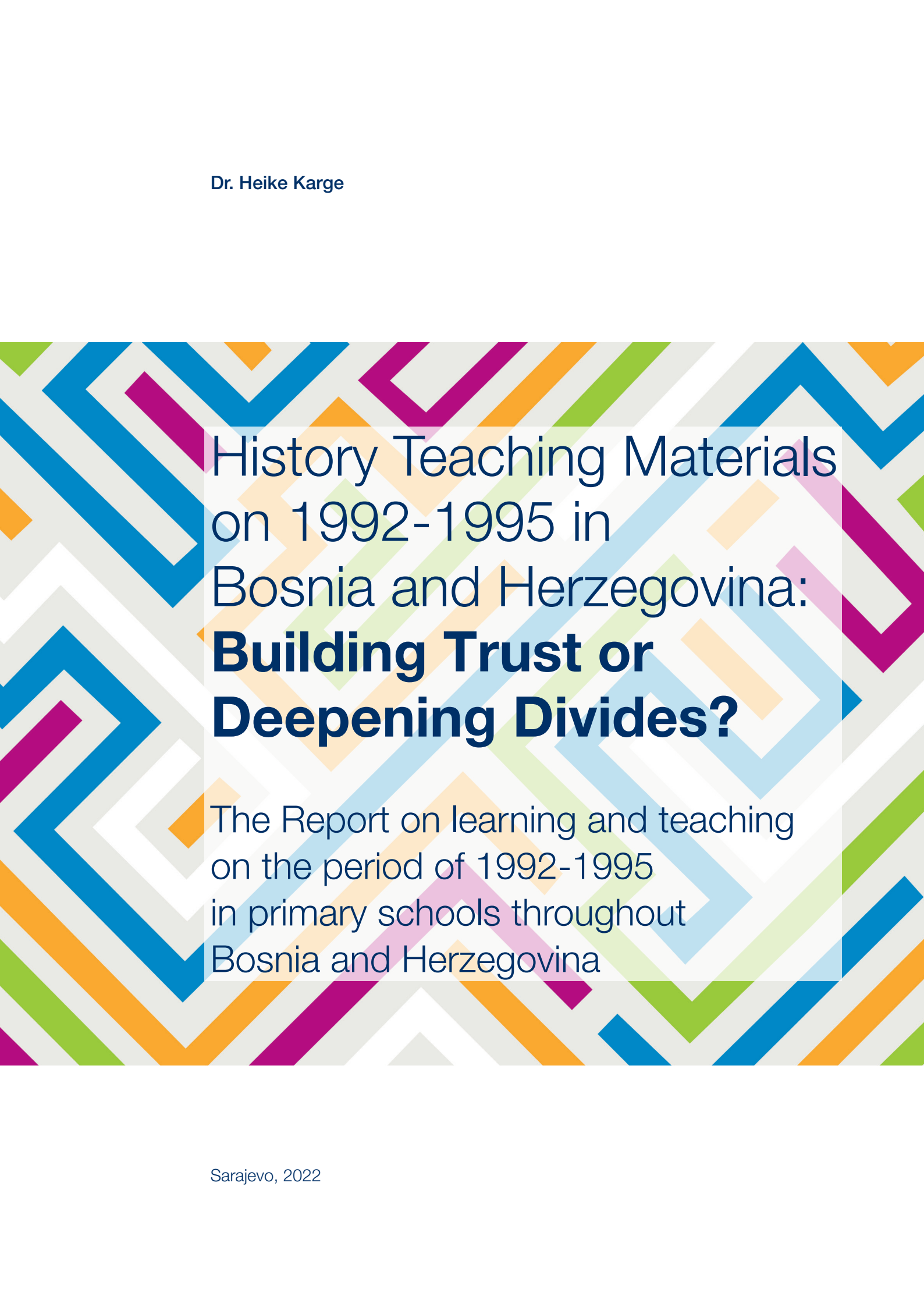
History Teaching Materials on 1992-1995 in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Building Trust or Deepening Divides?

Dr. Heike Karge

**The Report
on learning and teaching
on the period of 1992-1995
in primary schools throughout
Bosnia and Herzegovina**



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

History as a school subject helps students “to critically understand the present, by teaching that any feature of the past must be interpreted in its historical context and by raising awareness that historical interpretation is a matter of debate”.¹ Moreover, the subject of history in the 21st century should aim to develop not only historical knowledge, but also *critical* historical knowledge, in order to promote understanding of complex political, social, cultural, and economic systems. Implementing these goals in schools will enable students to become active citizens in a democratic culture.²

Although debates on history and history teaching take place in many countries, in post-conflict societies the teaching of history in school faces particular challenges because “history is so closely tied to the emotions associated with national identity and collective belonging”.³ The subject of history in these societies should therefore also aim to contribute to mutual understanding and social healing, focusing on “balancing the cognitive, the emotive and the ethical dimensions in history teaching and learning”.⁴ With this in mind, educational authorities, textbook authors, and teachers need to ensure that historical empathy should not lead to identification or sympathy with a position, but should support understanding. Some limitations to the impact of teaching history in school must be acknowledged as students hold political beliefs and commitments from their communities which may be difficult to see beyond and which they are unwilling to abandon. Students seek greater contemporary relevance for history than what they encounter in a classroom.⁵

More than ten years ago, the publication *20th Century History in the Textbooks of Bosnia and Herzegovina: An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school* (Karge (2008)) analysed the history textbooks approved for the 2007/08 school year across BiH to learn about their representation of 20th century history. The study focused on the 1990s, as the most controversial period in the post-conflict society of BiH and the wider region.⁶ Most of the textbooks analysed at that time either did not cover the war in BiH at all or covered it in a very minimalistic way. Following the recent introduction of content on the 1992-1995 period in BiH into textbooks and teaching materials, further analysis was conducted, the results of which are brought together in this report: ***History Teaching Materials on 1992-1995 in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Building Trust or Deepening Divides?*** (hereafter “Report”). The purpose of this report is two-fold: to present the results of the analysis on the representation of this sensitive period in teaching materials and the subject of history textbooks currently in use and to suggest ways to teach history that would promote mutual understanding, reconciliation, and sustainable peace in BiH.

A comparison of the findings presented in *Karge (2008)* with the findings presented in this report shows that almost all the analysed textbooks and teaching materials used in BiH today meet at least some of the requirements set forth in the *Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Guidelines (2006))*; however, none meet the standard of “contributing to mutual understanding and reconciliation”.⁷

¹ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ McCully, A. (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7:2, p. 1-15, p. 4.

⁴ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 9.

⁵ Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. (2010). “You Can Form Your Own Point of View”: Internally Persuasive Discourse in Northern Ireland Students’ Encounters With History. *Teachers College Record*, 112:1, 142-181.

⁶ Karge, H. (2008). *20th Century History in the Textbooks of Bosnia and Herzegovina: An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school*. Sarajevo: OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

⁷ *Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (2006), para. 2.2



KEY FINDINGS

THERE IS A NEED FOR A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE APPROACH TO TEACHING THE SUBJECT OF HISTORY IN BIH, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO THE PERIOD 1992-1995, I.E., AWAY FROM THE CURRENTLY DOMINANT NARRATIVE OF MONUMENTAL HISTORY⁸ TO THE NARRATIVE OF CRITICAL HISTORY.

- The analysed textbooks and teaching materials are ethnocentric and develop three mutually exclusive narratives.
- The analysed textbooks and teaching materials dealing with the 1992-1995 period in BiH contribute to the politicization and instrumentalization of the past rather than to mutual understanding and reconciliation.
- All recount the conflict-ridden 1990s almost exclusively as the years of one's 'own' victimhood, promote empathy only toward one's 'own' people, and portray the 'other' side almost exclusively as perpetrators.
- The implementation of multiperspectivity and related learning outcomes is not a predominant approach in any of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials.
- Where present, multiperspectivity and critical thinking are not designed to challenge the actions of members of one's 'own' people.

⁸ See more on monumental history on p. 41f.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1: Develop flexible curricula

The principles of the Council of Europe require flexible curricula. New, flexible history subject curricula in BiH should eliminate the current overload of content in the curricula and instead focus on achieving student learning outcomes specific to history. Achieving these learning outcomes would equip young people with a foundation of knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to engage in democratic discourse beyond the confines of the history classroom and school.

Recommendation 2: Acknowledge multiple identities and shared experiences and foster historical empathy toward the 'other'

Recommendation 2.1:

Focus on positive stories from the 'other side'

Recommendation 2.2:

Portray also the 'other side' as victims of the war

Recommendation 2.3:

Understand why and how the group narratives are formed

Fulfilling these recommendations can lead to changing mutual perceptions, increasing positive emotions and decreasing negative emotions toward the 'other', and ultimately recognising and comprehending a history lesson that would contribute to mutual understanding and reconciliation.

Recommendation 3: Acknowledge multiple identities and deal with crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people against members of other peoples

The crimes committed by members of one's 'own' community are a highly sensitive topic. Narrating this sensitive topic requires examining a range of perspectives in order to break through the current monoperspectival view in textbooks and classroom materials and to develop a critical and reflective perspective on the history of all communities, including one's 'own' community.

Recommendation 4: Acknowledge competing narratives

Develop in students the competence to critically examine conflicting narratives and recognize their political instrumentalization in the past and present in order to learn how (hi)stories are constructed and to recognize that these constructs can also exist to serve political purposes in the present.







Recommendation 5: Strengthen teachers' competencies

The subject of history teachers should be trained specifically to teach the history of the 1990s, as it is one of the most controversial and sensitive periods in BiH today, with training focusing on both cognitive and emotional aspects of teaching and learning sensitive history.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

APOSO	Agency for Pre-primary, Primary, and Secondary Education
ARBiH	Army of Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina [Armija Republike Bosne i Hercegovine]
BD BiH	Brčko District of Bosnia and Hercegovina
BPC	Bosnian Podrinje Canton - Goražde
CBC	Central Bosnia Canton
CCC	Common Core Curriculum
CCC SLOs	Common Core Curriculum based on Student Learning Outcomes
CCC SLOs History	Common Core Curriculum for the Subject of History based on Student Learning Outcomes
CS	Canton Sarajevo
C10	Canton 10
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
HNC	Herzegovina-Neretva Canton
HV	Croatian Army [Hrvatska vojska]
HVO	Croatian Defence Council [Hrvatsko vijeće obrane]
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
J(N)A	Yugoslav (People's) Army [Jugoslovenska (Narodna) Armija]
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDH	Independent State of Croatia [Nezavisna Država Hrvatska]
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPP (bs)	Curriculum in Bosnian language
NPP (hr)	Curriculum in Croatian language
NPP (sr)	Curriculum in Serbian language
PC	Posavina Canton
(R) BiH	(Republic of) Bosnia and Herzegovina [(Republika) Bosna i Hercegovina]
RS	Republika Srpska
SFRJ(Y)	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija, SFRJ]
SRJ(Y)	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [Savezna Republika Jugoslavija, SRJ]
TC	Tuzla Canton
USC	Una-Sana Canton
VRS	Army of Republika Srpska [Vojska Republike Srpske]
WHC	West Herzegovina Canton
ZDC	Zenica-Doboj Canton

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INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY



More than ten years ago, the analysis *Karge (2008)* discussed how the history of the 20th century was presented in the subject of history textbooks approved for the school year 2007/08 throughout BiH.⁹ Most of the textbooks analysed at that time either did not cover the 1992-1995 period in BiH at all or covered it in a very minimalistic way. After the recent introduction of content about this period into the subject of history textbooks and teaching materials, a new analysis was conducted to determine whether this new content was written in accordance with the *Guidelines (2006)* and the *CCC SLOs History (2015)*¹⁰.

The analysis includes official documents and materials used in BiH for teaching and learning about the period 1992-1995, i.e., curricula, textbooks and additional teaching materials.¹¹ The analysed documents were selected based on the following criteria:

- a) The subject of history curricula for the 9th grade of primary school, covering the period 1992-1999¹²;
- b) The subject of history textbooks approved for use in the 9th grade of primary school in BiH¹³, with emphasis on those chapters that cover the period 1992-1995, including direct and indirect references from that period to World War Two (WWII); and
- c) Additional teaching material¹⁴ used for the subject of history in the 9th grade of primary school for teaching and learning about the period of 1992-1995.

The selected documents and materials are grouped according to the language of instruction. This is dictated by the relevant curricula (see Table 3), i.e., there is the subject of history teaching in Bosnian, in Croatian and in Serbian languages.

The content was compared with relevant paragraphs of the *Guidelines (2016)* (see Table 1), especially with regard to sensitive/controversial topics, multiperspectivity and the use of sources, critical thinking, language that does not induce hatred, and building mutual understanding and reconciliation. In addition, the selected content was reviewed in terms of four relevant learning outcomes – one from each of the four learning areas defined in the *CCC SLOs History (2015)* (see Table 2).

The analysis focused on the content related to the last decade of the 20th century in the region, i.e., the armed conflicts on the territory of the former SFRY in the period 1991-1999 – primarily the war in BiH, but also the war in Croatia and Kosovo¹⁵ - as this period remains one of the most controversial periods in BiH and in the region.

This report consists of two parts, namely the analysis and the conclusions with recommendations. The first part provides insight into the complementarity of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials with the curricula, the *Guidelines (2006)*, and the *CCC SLOs History (2015)*. The second part contains the main findings and recommendations for teaching the subject of history that would promote mutual understanding, reconciliation and sustainable peace in BiH.

⁹ Karge, H. (2008). *20th Century History in the Textbooks of Bosnia and Herzegovina: An analysis of books used for the final grades of primary school*. Sarajevo: OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹⁰ Agency for Pre-Primary, Primary, and Secondary Education (2015). *Common Core Curriculum for the Subject of History based on Student Learning Outcomes*. <https://aposo.gov.ba/bs/publikacije/zajednicka-jezgra-npp/drustveno-humanisticko-podrucje/povijest/>

¹¹ The translation of the quotes of all the documents in this report was done by the author of the analysis, Heike Karge. All quotes under „Original Quotes“ at the end of the document are given in their original form, without any changes or edits.

¹² The subject of history curricula for the 9th grade of primary school in the cantons BPC, CBC (bs), and HNC (bs) were not the subject of the analysis, since they have not been changed recently in view of the analysed trend of inclusion of the period 1992-95.

¹³ Out of four textbooks approved for the subject of history teaching in Croatian language, two are included into this analysis while the other two *Miloš (no year)* and *Matković (no year)* were not, because they have been covered by the *Karge (2008)* analysis and there were no recent changes in the curriculum regarding 1992-1995/99 period.

¹⁴ Additional teaching material (except *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*) was developed in some administrative units to address the 1992-1995/99 period because the approved textbooks did not include sufficient text about this period.

¹⁵ All references to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this report should be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244.



Table 1: Overview of the points of departure from the Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2006)

DOCUMENT	TOPIC	PARAGRAPH	NOTE
Guidelines for Writing and Evaluation of History Textbooks for Primary and Secondary Schools in BiH	Overall	4.16. "The Ministers of Education acknowledge the necessity for teaching of historical processes concluding with the end of the twentieth century, as to teach these processes in accordance with these Guidelines." (p. 5)	
	Sensitive Issues/Controversial Themes	2.7. "Sensitive issues/controversial themes should be stated in the textbooks, in order to be opened up for discussion. To declare that there are various interpretations of the same historical events, with obligatory listing of different historical sources." (p. 2)	
	Multiperspectivity and Use of Sources	2.3. "When writing textbooks, authors should apply the principle of multi-perspectivity, in order to enable the pupils to learn tolerance. The principle of multi-perspectivity should be present in all aspects of the textbooks: in the texts, illustrations, and sources. A multi-perspective approach may be represented in the textbooks by the fact that other views of a particular fact or event are presented." (p. 2)	This paragraph closely corresponds with the following: 4.9. "Incorporate multi-perspectivity and show historical processes from the Modern Era, having as many historical sources of different origin, as possible." (p. 5)
	Critical Thinking	2.6. "Questions and tasks for the students should be formulated in a way that will encourage critical and open thinking, as well as the ability to analyse historical processes. The authors should ensure that the text of the textbook encourages the development of the pupils' critical thinking, by presenting historical content from different perspectives." (p. 2)	This paragraph closely corresponds with the following: 4.10. "In the seventh and eighth grades, the author of the textbook should be using assignments and exercises of critical thinking, using illustrations suitable to the age of the pupil." (p. 5)
	Language that does not induce hatred	2.10. "In general, the language used in the textbooks should be free of expressions and definitions, which induce hatred and create an image of enemies, especially when speaking about neighbouring countries." (p. 3)	
	Building mutual understanding and reconciliation	2.2. "Textbooks should be scientifically based, objective, and aimed at building mutual understanding, reconciliation and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina." (p. 2)	



Table 2: Overview of the points of departure from the Common Core Curriculum for the Subject of History based on Student Learning Outcomes (2015)

DOCUMENT	LEARNING AREA	LEARNING OUTCOME	NOTE
Common Core Curriculum for the Subject of History based on Student Learning Outcomes	Learning area 1: Historical sources and interpretation of history	3. "Interprets the past on the basis of didactically shaped sources and comprehends what can influence the writing of history; discovers different historical standpoints (points of view) on certain historical events and determines the context of the origin of those views (critical thinking)." (p. 7)	This learning outcome is discussed in this report under 2.2.2. and 2.2.3., because it closely relates to the <i>Guidelines (2006)</i> paragraphs on Multiperspectivity (2.3. and 4.9.) and Critical Thinking (2.6. and 4.10.).
	Learning area 2: Historical knowledge and understanding: Historical time and chronology	3. "Comprehends how perspectives change in relation to time and space." (p. 10)	This learning outcome is discussed under 2.2.2. because it closely relates to the <i>Guidelines (2006)</i> paragraphs on Multiperspectivity (2.3. and 4.9.).
	Learning area 3: Historical knowledge and understanding: Continuity and change	1. "Elaborates on how the main events are connected to each other in time, reconstructs, tracks and interprets certain aspects (social, economic, cultural, religious, political, and everyday life) of society in different contexts in historical time and in different historical periods." (p. 14)	This learning outcome is discussed under 2.2.1., because it closely relates to the <i>Guidelines (2006)</i> paragraph on Sensitive Issues (2.7.).
	Learning area 4: Historical knowledge and understanding: Causal relations	3. "Comprehends the complexity of historical causes and effects, as well as limitations in determining a cause and an effect." (p. 17)	This learning outcome is discussed under 2.2.3., because it closely relates to the <i>Guidelines (2006)</i> paragraphs on Critical Thinking (2.6. and 4.10.).

Table 3: Overview of the analysed documents per language of teaching

	The Subject of History Curriculum	Textbooks	Other teaching material
Curricula in Bosnian language	<i>History - Revised Curriculum for the 9th Grade of Primary School, Una-Sana Canton, 2018 (Curriculum 9 (USC, 2018))</i>	Šabotić, I. and Čehajić, M. (2012). <i>History 9. Textbook for the 9th Grade of the Nine-year Primary School.</i> Tuzla: NAM. (ISBN 978-9958-18049-1)	Šabotić, I. and Čehajić, M. (2012). <i>Methodical Guide for Teachers of the Subject of History for the 9th Grade of Primary School (Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012))</i>
	<i>Curriculum for the Subject of History for the 9th Grade of Primary School, Tuzla Canton, 2018 (Curriculum 9 (TC, 2018))</i>	(<i>History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)</i>)	<i>Teaching Material for the Study of the Siege of Sarajevo and the Crime of Genocide Committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Period 1992-1995 in Primary and Secondary Schools in Canton Sarajevo¹⁶, Canton Sarajevo, 2018</i>
	<i>Framework Curriculum for the Subject of History for the 9th Grade of Primary School, Zenica-Doboj Canton, 2018 (Curriculum 9 (ZDC, 2018))</i>		<i>(Teaching Material (CS, 2018))</i>
	<i>Curriculum for the Subject of History for Primary Schools, Canton Sarajevo, 2018 (Curriculum (CS, 2018))</i>		
Curriculum in Croatian Language¹⁷	<i>Curriculum in Croatian Language for Nine-Year Primary Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina – History, 9th Grade was not the subject of this analysis, since it has not been changed recently in view of the analysed trend of inclusion of the period 1992-1995.</i>	Bekavac, S., Jareb, M. and Rozić, M. (2018). <i>History 9. Textbook for the 9th Grade of the Nine-year Primary School.</i> Mostar: Naklada Alfa. (ISBN 978-9926-40901-2) (<i>History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)</i>)	None
		Erdelja, K., Stojaković, I., Madžar, I. and Lovrinović, N. (no year). <i>History 9. Textbook of History for the 9th Grade of the Nine-year Primary School.</i> Mostar: Školska naklada/ Školska knjiga Zagreb. (ISBN 978-953-0-13414-0) (<i>History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)</i>)	
Curriculum in Serbian Language	<i>Curriculum for the Subject History Teaching for the 9th Grade of Primary School (Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018))</i>	Vasić, D. (2018). <i>History for the 9th Grade of Primary School.</i> East New Sarajevo: JP Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva. (ISBN 978-99955-1-376-4) (<i>History 9 (Vasić, 2018)</i>)	<i>Teaching Material that Follows Supplements to the Curricula for the 9th Grade of Primary School, Republika Srpska, 2018 (Teaching Material (RS, 2018))</i>

¹⁶ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)* consists of three parts: the part A) "Teaching Units for Students" (pages 4-45); the part B) "Methodical Guide for Teachers" (pages 46-84); and the part C) "Additional Teaching Material for Teachers" (pages 85-223).

¹⁷ There are four textbooks in the Croatian language for the subject of history; however, textbooks *Miloš (no year)* and *Matković (no year)* are not included into the analysis, because there were no recent changes in these curricula in regard to the period 1922-1995/1999.



**ANALYSIS OF
THE CONTENT ON
THE PERIOD OF
1992-1995 IN HISTORY
TEACHING IN BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA**



1. The period 1992-1995 in the subject of history curricula

In general, the analysis focuses on the presentation of the years 1992-1995 in the textbooks and teaching materials for the history subject. At the beginning, however, the curricula must also be taken into account - not in too much detail, but in regard to correspondence of the curricula with the relevant passages in the textbooks and teaching materials. It is apparent that the requirements and specifications of the curricula have not been implemented accordingly in the textbooks and teaching materials.

Overall, the relevant passages in the analysed curricula meet the requirements of the *Guidelines (2006)*. They encourage the development of critical thinking, the use of multiperspective sources and argumentation, and differentiation between facts and interpretations. However, as will be shown in later chapters¹⁸, these standards set by the curricula are either not implemented at all (e.g., in the subject of history teaching in the Serbian language) or only selectively (e.g., the subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language) in the analysed textbooks and teaching materials.

Curricula of the subject of history in the Bosnian language

Curriculum 9 (CS, 2018) is exemplary in meeting the requirements of the *CCC SLOs History (2015)*.¹⁹ It is unbiased in its formulation of the general aims of the subject of history teaching as well as the learning outcomes that relate to the period 1992-1995 in BiH.²⁰ However, *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)* does not follow this approach. Therefore, it must be concluded that the curriculum and the subsequently developed teaching materials in this canton do not align. For example:

- ❑ The 1992-1995 period: While in the curriculum the learning outcome “assesses victims, refugees, and material damage in the 1992-1995 war” does not include an ethnic component, the teaching material adds the ethnic component when referring to this outcome by assessing only Bosniak victims and refugees.
- ❑ General aims of history teaching: The preface to the curriculum states: “Through learning about their own community and other cultures and societies, students develop an understanding of the forces and processes that form personal and collective identity, without which there is no existence.”²¹ While the curriculum does not specify what collective identity is to be developed, the teaching material transforms “collective identity” into the collective identity of Bosniaks. Further, while the curriculum does not include the development of empathy as a learning outcome, the teaching material does - but exclusively towards one’s ‘own’ people.

¹⁸ All conclusions drawn in this first section regarding the textbooks and teaching materials are explained in detail and supported with citations in the main part of the analysis (see chapter 2).

¹⁹ Aims and tasks of the history teaching: Through learning history, students build understanding, competences, and skills based on the following concepts that are interrelated: time and space; causes and effects (“By demonstrating cause and effect relationships, the student develops critical thinking”); sources for researching the past (“The concept of sources for researching the past provides the foundation for developing critical and creative thinking in students”); continuity and change; interpretation and perspective (“The concept of interpretations and perspectives should help the student to interpret the past based on historical sources but to present the own knowledge through valid interpretation, because in this way the student explains past events, processes, and changes. The student understands that the representations of the past are not only facts but also depend on the way of interpretation”). *Curriculum 9 (CS, 2018)*, p. 5.

²⁰ There are only two learning outcomes related to this period: “Understands the causes of the dissolution of the SFRY and the creation of an independent state. Assesses casualties, refugees and material damage in the 1992-1995 war.” *Curriculum 9 (CS, 2018)*, p. 24.

²¹ *Curriculum 9 (CS, 2018)*, p. 4. This sentence is also found in *Curriculum 9 (USC, 2018)*, p. 4.

In the other analysed curricula for teaching history in the Bosnian language, the textbook *History 9* (Šabotić et al., 2012) is used. As has just been concluded for history teaching in Bosnian in the CS, the curricula and the history textbook used in the TC, USC, and ZDC also do not align.

Curriculum 9 (TC, 2018) contains several teaching units within the topic “BiH from 1992 to the End of the 20th Century”, among other: “Dissolution of SFRY”, “War crimes in R BiH 1992-1995, suffering of civilians and children”, and “Important persons and dates in the struggle for a sovereign and independent BiH”.²² One of the defined learning outcomes is: “Knows about war crimes in RBiH”.²³

Curriculum 9 (USC, 2018) includes specific learning outcomes related to the 1990s in BiH, such as: “List the causes and consequences of the aggression in BiH. Assess victims, refugees and material damage in the war 1992-1995. Name the most important personalities of cultural, sports, religious, and political life”.²⁴

Curriculum 9 (ZDC, 2018) formally meets the requirements of CCC SLOs *History (2015)*²⁵, but it is ethnically biased. For example, within the specific learning outcomes related to the 1990s in BiH, only the places commonly perceived as Bosniak are mentioned - this applies to both the places where everyday life during the war is described and the places of war crimes.²⁶

The content of textbook *History 9* (Šabotić et al., 2012) used to implement these curricula makes it more than likely that teachers only talk about war crimes against Bosniaks, the suffering of Bosniak civilians and children, Bosniak refugees, and important Bosniak people in their classrooms. Thus, although none of the above curricula specify *who* suffered and *who* committed war crimes and against *whom* (with the exception of the teaching units on Srebrenica), the textbook goes further here and transforms the formally ethnically neutral topics of the curricula into a Manichaean narrative of Bosniak victims and Serb perpetrators.

²² *Curriculum 9 (TC, 2018)*, p. 5.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Curriculum (USC, 2018)*, p. 15.

²⁵ *Curriculum 9 (ZDC, 2018)*, p. 2 and 8: Under “Indicators of learning outcomes”, listed are, among others: “Analyses causes that lead to the writing of history and evaluate why individual events from the past were not written about in an entirely objective or neutral way”; “Explains how and why people’s memories about the past can differ”; “Analyses certain historical events from the time they occurred, rather than from today’s perspective”; “Discusses about homeland and its past” (p. 8). Under “Suggestions for methodological work” listed is, among others: “Analysis of historical sources using the concept of multiperspectivity” (p. 8). In addition, the curriculum suggests: “For those teaching units that are poorly or not at all elaborated in textbooks, the teacher shall invest more effort [...] in order to encourage students to acquire knowledge on their own by collecting and analysing historical sources [...]”. In this way, students should develop concrete skills of a historian, distinguishing between facts and assumptions, data and their interpretation [...]” (p. 2).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7: Among the specific learning outcomes related to the 1990s in BiH, the following places are listed as examples of everyday life in war: Sarajevo, Žepa, Srebrenica, and Bihać, and the following ones as places of crimes: Markale, Kapija, Zenica and “other”.

Curriculum of the subject of history in the Croatian language

The curriculum used for the subject of history teaching in the Croatian language does not deal with the 1992-1995 period in BiH and thus the complementarity of curricula and textbooks could not be analysed.

Curriculum of the subject of history in the Serbian language

The development of critical thinking involves learning to distinguish between facts and interpretation, between cause and effect. Accordingly, *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, meeting the requirements of the *CCC SLOs History (2015)*, prescribes that: "It is important to foster the development of critical thinking in students by distinguishing facts from assumptions and stereotypes, data from their interpretation, important from unimportant, real from claimed".²⁷ However, the analysis found that facts and interpretations are not separated in textbooks and teaching materials. For example, the specific learning outcome of the teaching topic "Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Area of the Former Yugoslavia at the End of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century", as defined in *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, includes the following: "identify causes and consequences of the civil war in BiH".²⁸ This causal relationship is massively misrepresented in *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* through the construction of distorted historical narratives.

One of the general learning outcomes in the *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)* is: "developing the ability to view historical events, phenomena, processes, and ideas from multiple perspectives." It further explains: "Especially when dealing with controversial events and phenomena, it is necessary to apply the principle of multiperspectivity, i.e., to look at them from the point of view of all participants".²⁹ The analysis revealed that not only do both the textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)* and *Teaching Material (RS, 2019)* fail to implement a multiperspective approach in dealing with controversial issues (e.g., the period 1992-1995), but their presentation is also fundamentally biased.


Furthermore, *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* contradicts most of the selected relevant learning outcomes in *CCC SLOs History (2015)* and relevant paragraphs of *Guidelines (2006)*, as well as a number of general learning outcomes and recommendations³⁰ identified in *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, such as:

²⁷ *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, p. 13.

²⁸ Further specific learning outcomes of the teaching topic "Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the area of the former Yugoslavia at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century" are: "The student will be able to: explain the causes of the disintegration of Yugoslavia; state the basic facts about the fall of Yugoslavia; [...] outline the most important stages in the development of Serbia and Montenegro at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century; name the most important personalities in political, cultural, religious, and sports life; [...] identify the most important stages in the development of Republika Srpska and of Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina; analyse the number and position of Serbs outside Serbia and Srpska; compare similarities and differences between everyday life at the beginning of the 21st century and that in the era of socialism.", *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, p. 13.

²⁹ "Didactical Guidelines and Recommendations", *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, p. 13.

³⁰ *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, p. 8-9: Listed are the following 14 general learning outcomes: "1) Acquire a basic knowledge of important historical events, phenomena, processes, ideas, beliefs, and personalities from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 21st century; 2) Develop an understanding of historical time and space; 3) Develop the ability to use historical literature, historical maps, illustrations, charts and tables, encyclopaedic data, and materials from the Internet; 4) Mastering the terminology of the social sciences and humanities; 5) Develop the ability to collect, use and critique historical sources; 6) Promote and consolidate national identity and patriotism; 7) Promote respect for the diversity of cultures, religions, and communities; 8) Training students to work independently, work in pairs and in teams; 9) Consolidating interest in the past and preserving cultural heritage; 10) Developing the ability of oral, written, and illustrative expression of historical content; 11) Developing critical thinking; 12) Developing the ability to view historical events, phenomena, processes, and ideas from multiple perspectives; 13) Developing awareness of the mutual condition of local, national, regional and general history; 14) Training students to link materials from various teaching subjects".

- 
- ❑ General learning outcome 7: “promoting respect for diversity of cultures, religions and communities”. This learning outcome cannot be achieved as long as the teaching material contains expressions and definitions that exhibit some characteristics of a language which induce hatred, for example, against Albanians.³¹
 - ❑ General learning outcome 11: “developing critical thinking”. Although explicitly listed in the curriculum, this learning outcome is not implemented.

The exception is found in a passage in the textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)* that aims to teach students to “be critical of how others see us”.³² However, phrased in this way, critical thinking is not trained here in order to question one’s own position, but to consolidate it.

³¹ For more on this, see 2.2.4.

³² *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 181. The learning outcomes of the teaching topic “Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Area of the Former Yugoslavia at the End of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century” specify in this respect: “The student is able to critically evaluate [...] perceptions about Serbs in the foreign public”, *Curriculum 9 (RS, 2018)*, p. 13. For more on this, see 2.2.3.

2. The period 1992-1995 in textbooks and teaching materials

The selected textbooks and teaching material (see Table 3) were reviewed to identify and analyse the content over the period 1992-1995 in BiH in comparison to the relevant paragraphs of the *Guidelines (2006)* (see Table 1), especially those related to sensitive issues, multiperspectivity, critical thinking, language that does not induce hatred, and building mutual understanding and reconciliation.

2.1. Summary of findings

Guidelines (2006) call for the implementation in BiH of the Council of Europe standards³³ in history textbook writing. As formulated in *Karge (2008)*, these standards include a quantitative balance of text and instructive material, the use of a variety of methodological tools aimed at developing critical thinking, and the development of multiperspective and comparative approaches to the presentation and discussion of historical events.³⁴

Almost all of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials follow at least some of the above requirements (except *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* which follows none), such as:

- all strive for a balance of text and didactic material;
- all use language that is free of expressions and definitions which induce hatred;
- some³⁵ apply methodological tools aimed at developing critical thinking;
- some³⁶ develop multiperspective approaches, at least in part.

Although the older generation of textbooks did not cover the war in BiH in detail, they brought bias and ethnocentric perspectives that dominated even the few sentences mentioning the topic.³⁷ Bias and ethnocentric perspectives persist in the new generation of the subject of history textbooks and teaching material that now deal extensively with the 1992-1995 period. It can be concluded that narratives and interpretations that dominate public commemoration in BiH have entered today's textbooks and teaching materials in full force.³⁸ These textbooks and materials are thus not “an alternative source of historical understanding – alternative, that is, to the presumably partisan

³³ As to these Council of Europe standards, see for example: Stradling, R. (2001). *Teaching 20th-Century European History*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

³⁴ *Karge (2008)*, p. 9.

³⁵ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*; *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*; *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*; and *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*.

³⁶ Textbooks and teaching materials for the history teaching in Bosnian language.

³⁷ See *Karge (2008)*.

³⁸ Mihajlović Trbovc, whose analysis of textbooks in BiH ends with the year 2013 (including the textbooks *History 9 (Erdelja et al., 2010)*; *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*; and *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2010)*) concludes: “[...] though the text-book reform softened the style of expression, it did not change the pattern of historical narrative represented.” (Mihajlović Trbovc, J. (2014). *Public Narratives of the Past in the Framework of Transitional Justice Processes: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina*. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Ljubljana]. http://dk.fdv.uni-lj.si/doktorska_dela/pdfs/dr_mihajlovic-trbovc-jovana.pdf, p. 111.)

and sectarian histories [students] encounter outside school”³⁹. Instead, they form a powerful tool reaffirming such narratives of partisan and sectarian histories.

This overall assessment does not imply that there are no differences in quality between the analysed textbooks and materials. As summarized above, only *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* has very low standards and does not meet the requirements of the *Guidelines (2006)* at all, while the other materials differ in many aspects. The textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)* comes very close to the standards of the *Guidelines (2006)* as it provides balanced presentations, but it lacks multiperspective approaches in the chapter dealing with the 1990s in BiH. The new *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)* is exemplary in introducing tools for critical thinking and multiperspectivity but is ethnically biased.

The following section lists the three main problems that lead to the conclusion that none of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials meet the standard of contributing to mutual understanding and reconciliation.

2.1.1. Ethnic-centred and mutually exclusive narratives persist

In general, the analysed the subject of history textbooks and teaching materials are ethnocentric.⁴⁰ They all tell the story of mainly one - namely their ‘own’ - people. Given the political and administrative framework in the country, education is under the direct responsibility of the cantons in the entity FBiH, the entity RS, and the BD BiH⁴¹ – these administrative and political bodies maintain ethnic segregation in education.

In itself, teaching history with an ethnic perspective is not the greatest obstacle to mutual understanding and reconciliation. However, in BiH, with its violent recent past, the ethnic perspective is instrumentalized to create clearly delineated, separate, and mutually exclusive narratives about the past. The textbooks and teaching materials develop what scholar Carretero has called in other regional contexts “monological and essentialist view[s] of past events.”⁴² The narratives are monological and essentialist in the sense that they all follow a basic schema in which “we” - one’s ‘own’ ethnic group, have been and continue to be morally right throughout history and which sharply demarcates “us” from “them” - the ‘other’ ethnic group(s). In order to proceed with the management of this monological ethnic narrative in a post-war country, a moral component is additionally imposed on the narration of this very recent past. Although some textbooks and teaching materials - especially the new material for teaching History in Bosnian - have begun to develop multiperspectival tools, at no point in these materials are they used to break the main ethnic narrative.

³⁹ Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. W. (2005). History, identity, and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: an empirical study of secondary students’ ideas and perspectives. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 37:1, p. 85-116, p. 87.

⁴⁰ Obviously, there is not much progress in textbooks and teaching material in this regard. The scholar Mihajlović Trbovc concludes with regard to the textbooks and teaching material used in BiH until 2013: “In the narrative of the teaching materials, national identity corresponds to ethnic identity. Historical interpretations in the textbooks are deeply ethnified and function as ethnic markers.” (Mihajlović Trbovc (2014), p. 299).

⁴¹ In line with the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH and the BiH Constitution, BiH’s education system is highly fragmented, with 13 ministries dealing with education issues at the state, entity and cantonal levels as well as a department in the BD BiH. There is no state-level ministry for education; instead, the BiH Ministry of Civil Affairs has a rather weak co-ordinating function related to education. At the FBiH level, a ministry exists, but with the sole role of co-ordinating the cantons and has no executive or oversight powers. As such, the real power in education governance lies with the cantons in FBiH, RS and BD BiH.

⁴² Carretero, M. (2017). The Teaching of Recent and Violent Conflicts as Challenges for History Education. In: Psaltis, C., Carretero, M. & Čehajić-Clancy, S. (Eds.), *History Education and Conflict Transformation*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 341-377, p. 368.

Textbooks and teaching materials in BiH reject complexities and shades of collective identities and build monolithic identities around two paradigms. This contrasts with what scholars working on Northern Ireland have called “reflective engagement with the concept of identity as a complex and nuanced issue.”⁴³

As outlined above, the first paradigm is ethnicity and the second, closely related to the first, is collective victimhood. Reinforcing one’s ethnic identity as a victim identity is the outcome of all analysed textbooks and teaching materials.⁴⁴ Images of one’s ‘own’ collective victimhood stand in stark contrast to the image of the ‘other’ as an ethnic collective of people who became perpetrators during the war. The scholars Čehajić-Clancy and Bilewicz conclude with regard to the situation in BiH and the construction of collective images of ethnic ingroups (“we”) and outgroups (“them”):

“Thus, these conflict narratives do not only stress homogeneity of beliefs or behaviours, but most importantly convey message about the outgroup’s shared lack of morality. Not acknowledging variability in moral behaviour of outgroup members may lead to justification of atrocities and human rights violations committed against this outgroup and, as a result, may become a major obstacle on the road to intergroup reconciliation.”⁴⁵

As the analysis shows, the justification and relativization of crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people during the war period in BiH and the region has become part of the narratives developed in textbooks and teaching materials in use in BiH.⁴⁶ This is an alarming finding. As long as the subject of history teaching and learning in BiH does not begin to change these stereotypical, monolithic and mutually exclusive historical representations of “us” and “them”, there is no chance that it will contribute to mutual understanding and reconciliation in the country.

2.1.2. Multiperspectivity and critical thinking do not relate to one’s ‘own’ people

The ways in which multiperspective approaches and tools for critical thinking are used in the textbooks and teaching materials are closely related to the problem of how ethnic identities are constructed and represented in them. As discussed above, some textbooks and teaching materials include certain tools to move closer to a multiperspective approach or to stimulate critical thinking. One of these tools is the inclusion of diverse sources, such as in the textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)* (the creation of distorted images of the Serb people through Hollywood film productions) or in the *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)* (the use and misuse of media during the war using the example of two different interpretations of the Markale massacre).⁴⁷ However, the inclusion of diverse historical sources at this point serves to solidify established antagonistic positions of “us” and “them”, in this case the Serb people and the international community.

⁴³ McCully, A. & Reilly, J. (2017). History Teaching to Promote Positive Community Relations in Northern Ireland: Tensions Between Pedagogy, Social Psychological Theory and Professional Practice in Two Recent Projects. In: Psaltis, C., Carretero, M. & Čehajić-Clancy, S. (Eds.), *History Education and Conflict Transformation*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 301-320, p. 313.

⁴⁴ The only exception in this respect is the textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*. In fact, in its treatment of war crimes in Croatia, the textbook breaks this paradigm when it reflects briefly, but in a relatively balanced way, on crimes against Serbs. In the chapter on the war in BiH, however, this perspective (crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people against others) is missing.

⁴⁵ Čehajić-Clancy, S. & Bilewicz, M. (2017). Fostering reconciliation through historical moral exemplars in a post-conflict society. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 23:3, p. 288-296, p. 290.

⁴⁶ Again, with the exception of the textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*.

⁴⁷ For more on these examples see 2.2.2. and 2.2.3.

In 2018, the Council of Europe published the principles and guidelines of quality history teaching, which clearly state that “The study of history [...] fosters the ability to interrogate differing, even conflicting narratives [...]”⁴⁸ As the analysis shows, the inclusion of *diverse* sources does not necessarily lead to fostering the ability to interrogate differing and *conflicting* narratives. Instead, the inclusion of diverse – but not conflicting - sources in textbooks and teaching materials in BiH has led to the promotion of stereotypes.

These textbooks and teaching materials lack another fundamental aspect for the development of critical thinking, which concerns the analytical examination of crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people. This desideratum is one of the most important aspects preventing reconciliation. In 2014, a United Nations Security Council briefing noted that both reconciliation and social healing in post-conflict societies require “an honest examination by each community of its own role in the conflict.”⁴⁹ Honestly addressing this role requires an entirely new approaches to teaching the subject of history in BiH, as it means addressing what has not been addressed before - the unpleasant accounts of crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people against members of other peoples.⁵⁰

2.1.3. Empathy is solely learned towards one’s ‘own’ people

Research has established that “History teaching [...] in a divided environment creates special challenges, especially because history is so closely tied to the emotions associated with national identity and collective belonging.”⁵¹ Dealing with the recent past in BiH is a major challenge because the situation is still highly contested and marked by strong emotions, such as personal trauma and anger. Emotions entered the textbooks and teaching materials in BiH, but they did so very selectively. The selectivity is visible in how and in relation to whom the positive, empathic emotions are evoked in the textbooks and teaching materials, namely, only in relation to one’s ‘own’ people and not in relation to the formerly opposing people’s side. Thus, all textbooks and teaching materials reinforce strong emotional bonds only towards one’s ‘own’ people, which, as scholarly research suggests, “may hinder critical thinking processes, particularly when encountering sensitive historical material.”⁵²

Learning to develop empathy is an essential aspect of historical learning. However, the concept of historical empathy should not be used “to provoke emotional responses in students”.⁵³ The Council of Europe highlights, “[h]istorical empathy [...] [r]elates to connecting with and understanding the likely motivation and causal factors for historical events and people’s actions. To do this, students need to engage with historical material and acquire a level of knowledge of the time. Historical empathy

⁴⁸ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 5.

⁴⁹ United Nations Security Council. (29 January 2014). *Speakers Stress Crucial Need to Rebuild Post-Conflict Trust as Security Council Discusses Lessons of War, Quest for Permanent Peace*. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2014/sc11266.doc.htm>

⁵⁰ The same finding is noted by scholar Forić-Plasto, who states: “What characterises the analysed contents is the selective presentation of facts, emphasizing victimhood of one’s own people and minimising or ignoring completely victims of other peoples, avoiding mentioning culpability of individuals from one’s own people and similar.” See: Forić-Plasto, M. (2019). Podijeljena prošlost za podijeljenu budućnost!? Rat 1992-1995. u aktuelnim bosanskohercegovačkim udžbenicima historija.. In: *Journal of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, (History, History of Art, Archaeology) / Radovi (Historija, Historija Umjetnosti, Arheologija)*, p. 231-257, p. 251.

⁵¹ McCully, A. (2012). History teaching, conflict and the legacy of the past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7:2, p. 1-15, p. 4.

⁵² McCully, A. & Reilly, J. (2017). History Teaching to Promote Positive Community Relations in Northern Ireland: Tensions Between Pedagogy, Social Psychological Theory and Professional Practice in Two Recent Projects. In: Psaltis, C., Carretero, M. & Čehajić-Clancy, S. (Eds.), *History Education and Conflict Transformation*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 306.

⁵³ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 24.

does not lead to identifying or sympathising with a position but supports understanding”.⁵⁴ So far, however, textbooks and teaching materials in BiH are quite extensively used to incite emotional reactions.⁵⁵

Identification and sympathizing with the ‘own’ position is the approach of the textbooks and teaching materials currently used in BiH. This approach fundamentally contradicts the above-mentioned Council of Europe’s principles and guidelines for quality history education in the 21st century.

For these reasons, none of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials meet the standard set forth in the *Guidelines (2006)* of contributing to mutual understanding and reconciliation.

2.2. Analysis

2.2.1. Sensitive issues / controversial themes

“Sensitive issues/controversial themes should be stated in the textbooks, in order to be opened up for discussion. To declare that there are various interpretations of the same historical events, with obligatory listing of different historical sources”. (2.7.)

Guidelines (2006)

All of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials recount the conflict-ridden years of the 1990s as years of the ‘own’ victimhood and portray the ‘other’ side as a perpetrator.

The 1992-1995 war in BiH is a highly sensitive and controversial topic in the country, with different interpretations structured mainly along ethnocentric perspectives. Additionally, the 1991-1995 war in Croatia is also a highly sensitive issue in the collective memory of Croats and Serbs, while the war in Kosovo and the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999 are highly sensitive issues for the collective memory of Serbs.

Therefore, the following discussion includes examples of the representation of these three conflicts found in the analysed textbooks and teaching materials. With the goal of examining the most sensitive and controversial issues, the analysis focused on the following three themes:

- one-sided perspective on crimes,
- Srebrenica, and
- references between the 1990s and WWII.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24. This guideline relates to the Principle 8: Balancing the cognitive, the emotive and the ethical dimensions in history teaching and learning, p. 9.

⁵⁵ See the examples here in the Report on p. 19f, 45 (from textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*); on p. 18f, 44 (from *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*); on p. 25f, 50 (from *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*); on p. 21f, 36f (from textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*); on p. 29, 37-40 (from *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*).

2.2.1.1. The one-sided perspective on crimes

One of the most sensitive topics in the recent history of BiH and the region is the narration of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people during the wars of the 1990s.

The analysed textbooks and teaching materials narrate this period overwhelmingly as the time of one's 'own' victimhood and thus portray the 'other' side as perpetrators. This main narrative is achieved through three strategies:

- the strategy of concealment, i.e., naming places of crimes but avoiding discussing them as places of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* and textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*);
- the strategy of not mentioning (textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)* and *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*) or relativizing crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*); and
- the strategy of pronouncing and, at the same time, justifying the execution of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people (textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*).

An exception is the textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, in which the crimes committed by the members of the HV against the Serbs are briefly mentioned without justifying them; however, the crimes committed by members of the 'own' people during the war in BiH are not addressed.

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)* and *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*

One sentence in the textbook is devoted to crimes committed against Bosniaks by members of the HVO⁵⁶; however, there is no mention that members of the ARBiH also committed crimes. The camp in Čelebići⁵⁷ is not mentioned, which indirectly implies that only non-Serbs were imprisoned in camps.

"The non-Serb population that did not escape in time or did not have money to buy their freedom mostly ended up in concentration camps. Among them, the camps in Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterm and Manjača stood out for their cruelty towards the prisoners. Camps for Bosniaks were also established during the conflict between the ARBiH and the HVO, such as Heliodrom near Mostar and Dretelj near Čapljina."⁵⁸

Other examples of the one-sided view of crimes:

"Then we will describe the beginning and the course of the war operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the crimes against the non-Serb population by Serb paramilitary formations and the Army of Republika Srpska. To facilitate further teaching, we will use the

⁵⁶ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 185.

⁵⁷ For a short summary of the historical background, ICTY investigations, indictments, and judgements see: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. (no date). *Crimes against Serbs in the Čelebići Camp*. ICTY.org, https://www.icty.org/x/file/Outreach/view_from_hague/jit_celebici_en.pdf. For the full ICTY judgement see: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. (16 November 1998). *Prosecutor v. Delalić, Mucić, Delić and Landžo, Case no. IT-96-21-T ("Čelebići" case), Judgement of 16 November 1998*. ICTY.org. https://www.icty.org/x/cases/mucic/tjug/en/981116_judg_en.pdf.

⁵⁸ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 185.

analysis of the visual material from the textbook U / 185 (pictures of the burning assembly and the concentration camp in Trnopolje) [...].”^{59 ii}

“[...]→ ethnic cleansing - expulsion of the non-Serb population from the area under its control → [...] – imprisonment of the non-Serb population in concentration camps (Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterm, Manjača ...).”^{60 iii}

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the part A) for students, crimes committed by the members of ARBiH are briefly mentioned, for example:

- ▣ Trials against members of ARBiH for crimes committed against Serbs and Croats are included,⁶¹ which is an important step towards inclusively addressing sensitive issues, and can be seen in the following example:

“One of the consequences of the siege of Sarajevo was also a number of crimes against civilians in the city committed by members of the RBiH Armed forces. This number should not be compared with the number of crimes committed by Serb forces. Its moral dimension and the stain in the course of heroic defence of multi-ethnic Sarajevo should be kept in mind. The most serious of these crimes were sanctioned before court during the war.”^{62 iv}

- ▣ Five cases before the ICTY: three against three members of the VRS, one against a member of the HVO, and one against a member of the ARBiH.⁶³ The last case is related to the camp in Čelebići. Its description includes the brief information that, among others, Hazim Delić was convicted of war crimes in Čelebići. Here, the camp in Čelebići is referred to in the following way:

“The Army of BiH detained prisoners in Prisoner of War collection centres, prisons and other places of detention (Čelebići, for example, was designated a *prison camp* by the ICTY).”^{64 v}

This description omits that the prisoners were mainly Serb civilians and also does not mention the women who were raped by their guards.⁶⁵

The part B) for teachers mentions the camp in Čelebići, the camps in Omarska, Heliodrom, and others without giving any information about them.⁶⁶ Instead, the material suggests tasking students with finding out “[...] and notice if there are mass graves in their immediate vicinity. What does that tell us?”^{67 vi}. The existence of mass graves points to a war crime. But the imprisonment of civilians, the use of physical force against civilians and their murder also constitute a war crime. Asking “what does this tell us?” without conceptualising what, for example, the Čelebići camp stood for, encourages a relativization of the crimes that took place here. Relativization of crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people is also supported by the two passages referenced below.

⁵⁹ *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 82.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82. [The three dots at the end of the quote are part of the original quote.]

⁶¹ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 30.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶⁵ Apart from ICTY documents, for a brief discussion of Čelebići, see also: Calic, M.-J. (2010). *Geschichte Jugoslawiens im 20. Jahrhundert*. München, p. 317.

⁶⁶ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 73.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* To answer the question, students should study the map on page 30.

Teachers are recommended to work on two case studies: Omarska and Trnopolje.⁶⁸ Among the listed questions aimed at follow-up with students, there are none about camps where Serbs were detained.⁶⁹ Although not directly, the text suggests that ethnic cleansing and the unlawful detention of civilians in camps were exclusively a practice of the Serbs:

“According to international law and conventions in force, camps for civilians may not be established, but the aggressor authorities underhandedly used the opportunity to treat camps for civilians as camps for prisoners of war and the camp inmates as prisoners of war.”^{70 vii}

Finally, in the continuation of the text, the camp in Čelebići is presented as a camp on the territory under the control of the Serbs, which is extremely misleading information:

“The camps in the area under the control of BiH Serbs were under the control of the police or military forces of Serb republic, the best known being Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje (all three on the territory of the municipality of Prijedor), Manjača (Banja Luka), Brčko Port, Foča Prison, Primary school Vuk Karadžić (Bratunac), Sušica (Vlasenica), Batković (Biljeljina), Čelebići (Konjic) and others.”^{71 viii}

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*

The conflict between Croats and Bosniaks is mentioned in the chapter “Beginning of the War in BiH”:

“In some parts of BiH (central Bosnia, Rama, Mostar), political disputes developed into armed conflicts in the spring of 1993. They led to the resettlement of inhabitants and a large number of deaths.”^{72 ix}

This passage could imply that crimes were committed by both sides, but does not explicitly say so. Specific places associated with specific crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ side are not mentioned (e.g. Ahmići⁷³ or Čelebići⁷⁴).

As in all analysed textbooks for teaching in the Croatian language, the war in Croatia plays a more prominent role than the war in BiH and is discussed much more extensively. In the textbook, crimes committed by members of Croatian forces in the war in Croatia are justified by the decisions of the leadership of Serbia, which makes the development of any empathy towards the suffering of Serbs impossible. Empathy with the victims of the ‘other side’ is clearly not one of the educational goals of the textbook.

“For the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia [...] the most responsible is the Serbian political leadership of the time, which pursued a Greater Serb policy, and Serb extremists

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 182-183.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁷² *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 178.

⁷³ Ahmići stands for the murder of approx. 120 civilian Bosniaks by members of HVO in April 1993. For the ICTY judgements see: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. (29 July 2004). *Prosecutor v. Blaškić, Case no. IT-95-14-A, Judgement of 29 July 2004*. ICTY.org. <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/blaskic/acjug/en/bla-aj040729e.pdf> and International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. (26 February 2001). *Prosecutor v. Kordić and Čerkez, Case no. IT-95-14/2-T, Judgement of 26 February 2001*. ICTY.org. https://www.icty.org/x/cases/kordic_cerkez/tjug/en/kor-tj010226e.pdf.

⁷⁴ The Čelebići camp was run by Bosniak and Croat forces.

who started the violence and crimes as a method of destabilization, conquest and ethnic cleansing of certain areas in Croatia. As a result of the violent Serb aggression against Croatia, some members of the regular Croatian troops also committed crimes. The murder of Serbs, as individuals and in groups, in Gospić, Osijek, Sisak, Pakračka Poljana, and Paulin Dvor in 1991, in Medak Pocket in 1993, as well as crimes committed after Operation Storm and the example of the Lora military prison, where some captured members of the Serb forces were maltreated, bear witness to this. The Croatian judiciary has conducted or is still conducting numerous criminal proceedings against the perpetrators of these crimes. The above-mentioned crimes were not part of Croatian policy, nor were they planned in advance with the intention of expelling Serbs out of Croatia. If the course of historical developments in Croatia from 1990 to 1995 is to be presented in its entirety and objectively, what has been mentioned here cannot be neglected. In particular, one must not neglect the circumstances under which the crimes were committed. Precisely because the Serb forces proceeded mostly systematically, they committed incomparably more crimes than their opponents, and therefore the number of Croat civilians killed is greater than the number of Serbs killed. Relative to the casualties caused in these areas by various forces in similar final operations in the past, the final liberation operation Storm was carried out with a minimal [number of] casualties. The leadership of the insurgent Serbs in Croatia is most responsible for the suffering and hardship of their compatriots because they rejected all peace proposals of the Croatian government and the international community. Precisely because of such circumstances, it is not appropriate to equate the circumstances of the emergence of refugee columns of the Serb population in [operations] Flash and Storm in 1995 with the displaced columns of Croats and the rest of the non-Serb population in 1991. The first columns are the result of legal liberation operations by the Croatian military and police forces, while the second are the result of the plan for an ethnically pure Greater Serb state.”^{75 x}

Textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*

The war in BiH is presented on only one page, which is not enough space to deal with such a sensitive topic.⁷⁶ The victims of the war in BiH are mentioned briefly without naming their ethnicity:

“The civilian population suffered a lot, and religious buildings and cultural monuments [were destroyed] as well. It is estimated that more than 150,000 people died in the war in BiH.”^{77 xi}

The textbook refrains from stating ‘who suffered the most’, but also does not name places of crimes committed by members of the ‘own’ people in BiH (e.g. Ahmići or Čelebići).⁷⁸

Similar to the textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, the war in Croatia is a more thoroughly covered topic in this textbook than the war in BiH. However, this textbook is somewhat more balanced, especially in noting that Croatian politicians sometimes poured oil on the fire, which in turn stoked the fears of the Serb population in Croatia, for example in the chapter “Homeland War”:

“Serb media and agitators from Serbia made the Serb population in Croatia afraid that the Republic of Croatia is becoming more and more similar to the Ustasha NDH and that if they want to stay alive they will have to take up arms.”^{79 xii}

⁷⁵ *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 173f.

⁷⁶ To compare: the chapter “Crisis of the Socialist Yugoslavia” is dealt with on 1,5 pages, the “Homeland War” in Croatia on 3 pages, and WWII on Yugoslav territory on 14 pages in this book.

⁷⁷ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 237.

⁷⁸ See footnotes 73 and 74.

⁷⁹ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 234, chapter “Homeland War”.

“The success of this propaganda was further reinforced by inappropriate statements made by some Croatian politicians, and anti-Croatian sentiment prevailed in the areas of Croatia inhabited by the Serb population [...].”^{80 xiii}

Unlike the textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, this textbook does not have the same strong line of interpretation and self-justification. However, it explicitly but only partially addresses crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people, the most explicit example being:

“At the call of the leadership of Republika Srpska Krajina, and partly out of fear of confrontation with the consequences of the crimes committed, the majority of the Serb population left this area and went away to Serbia. Their return continues to this day. During and after Operation Storm, some of the houses of the fled Serbs were burned down, and several murders of Serb civilians occurred. Individuals have been indicted for the above crimes, and some trials are still underway.”^{81 xiv}

At other places, the text might imply that the victims were exclusively non-Serbs:

“It is estimated that 13000 soldiers and civilians perished in the years leading up to the liberation of Croatia. Many were wounded, and many more fled their homes. The killing and expulsion of non-Serbs was intended to create an ethnically pure area inhabited exclusively by the Serbs.”^{82 xv}

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*

Only members of one’s ‘own’ people are mentioned as victims, while crimes committed by members of one’s ‘own’ people are omitted. The exception is two short passages in the chapter “Consequences of the Wars for the Yugoslav Legacy.” These would be listed as examples of good practice if they were accompanied by any facts or explanatory content. But without these explanations, and also without elaborating on which criteria was used to select these places, the locations listed remain just toponyms without contextualization:

“Places of mass crimes were: Srebrenica, Kozarac, Kazani, Kravice, Ahmići, Pakrac, Ovčara, Medak pocket. The most destroyed cities were: Vukovar, Sarajevo and Mostar.”^{83 xvi}

Ethnic cleansing is discussed in the same chapter. It is mentioned that in BiH members of all peoples were forcibly resettled, but only the consequences for the Serbs are detailed, on the territory of Croatia, FBiH and Kosovo.^{84 xvii}

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 239, chapter “Liberation of Croatian Territories”.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 235, chapter “Homeland War”.

⁸³ *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 180.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, chapter “Consequences of the Wars for the Yugoslav Legacy”: “One of the important consequences of the Yugoslav wars of succession is forced migrations, called **“ethnic cleansing”**. The population left their homes before the armies of the opposing peoples. Almost 450000 Serbs fled and were expelled from Croatia. Serbs made up about 12 percent of the population of this republic according to the 1991 census, but only slightly less than 4 percent according to the 2011 census. In BiH, about 1.3 million members of all peoples were displaced. According to the results of the (disputed) 2013 census, Serbs make up only 2.5 percent of the population in the Federation of BiH. Serbs were forced to leave Kosmet en masse in 1999 after the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army and police from this province.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.]

In the chapter “War in Croatia”⁸⁵, only Serb casualties during operations Storm (*Oluja*) and Flash (*Bijesak*) are mentioned, while Croat casualties and ethnic cleansing of the Croat population by members of Serb forces are not mentioned.

In the chapter “Civil War in BiH (1992-1995)”⁸⁶, the ethnic cleansing by members of Serb forces and the camps in northern BiH are not mentioned at all.

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

The text implies that the Muslims in BiH started the war, while the Serbs responded only in a defensive situation:

“On March 1, 1992, a Muslim attack on a Serb wedding parade took place, as a result of which the Serbs set up barricades in the town the next day.”^{87 xviii}

The text continues:

“Bloodshed occurred on the territory of Kupres, Bosanski Brod and Bijeljina. Both sides, Serb and Muslim-Croat, were armed. The Serbs relied on the JNA, the Croats on Croatia, and the Muslims had a paramilitary formation “Patriotic League”.”⁸⁸

The material does not explain the criteria used to select the three locations mentioned here, nor does it explain whose blood was shed here by whom. Since it is a section on the beginning of the war, it could therefore be, (but this is by no means certain) that the places are meant to represent events in the spring of 1992. In Kupres, this might relate to the fighting between Croat and Serb troops, during which war crimes were committed on both sides. In the case of Bosanski Brod, it might relate to the Sijekovac massacre in March 1992, in which members of Croat and Bosniak military units killed Serb civilians. Finally, the mention of Bijeljina might relate to the takeover of the town in early April 1992, which was accompanied by significant violence against the Bosniak and other minority populations. Whether this is all the case, however, remains unclear. The subsequent sentence that the Serbs relied on the JNA and the Muslims on paramilitaries could imply (but this, too, remains unclear) that the Serbs fought with regular combat troops, while the Muslims fought with irregular combat troops. Not only is there no mention here that Serbs and Croats also fought with the use of paramilitaries, but the reduction of the use of paramilitaries to the Muslim side seems particularly misleading. In Bijeljina it was Serbian paramilitaries - the Serbian Volunteer Guard, also known as Arkan's Tigers - who carried out the violence against the urban civilian population.

The failure to explain what the place names actually stand for here is part of the same problem mentioned in the upper section on the textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*. Without proper explanation and contextualization the places listed remain just toponyms where crimes took place. Explicit contextualization would not only be necessary here, but in addition, it would also significantly reduce the ambiguity of the text, which can easily lead to historiographical misinterpretations.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179f.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 186f.

⁸⁷ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

2.2.1.2. Srebrenica

Another highly sensitive and controversial issue in the country is what occurred in Srebrenica. The authorities in the RS recognise that mass crimes were committed against Bosniaks in Srebrenica in July 1995, but not that this constituted genocide. This position, which clearly contradicts the findings of the ICTY, is one of the main obstacles to mutual understanding and reconciliation. In FBiH, teaching about the genocide in Srebrenica was included into the new laws regulating education that came into force in Sarajevo Canton in May 2017.⁸⁹

Textbooks and teaching materials diverge massively in their treatment of this topic:

- ❑ All analysed textbooks deal with the topic in only a few sentences, while the textbooks used for teaching in Croatian and Serbian do not use the word genocide for what happened in Srebrenica.
- ❑ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* completely omits this highly sensitive topic. The events of July 1995 in Srebrenica are not mentioned.
- ❑ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)* devotes many more pages and content to the topic than all the textbooks used in the country. The main problem of this material in dealing with Srebrenica is that “Srebrenica” is reduced to the genocide in July 1995, and therefore, of course, empathy is only shown for the victims of this event. But the municipality of Srebrenica has a complex history in the war. The telling of this - which means to name Serb civilian victims from the surroundings of Srebrenica too - is avoided by the teaching material.

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*

The textbook briefly mentions that genocide occurred:

“In July 1995, Serb forces, the RS Army and the RS MUP under the command of Ratko Mladić captured the “protected zones” of Žepa and Srebrenica, killing more than eight thousand Bosniaks. Thus, the largest **genocide** in Europe after WWII was carried out, as also confirmed by the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 2007.”⁹⁰ xix

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

This teaching material extensively deals with the topic of Srebrenica. The 13-page material entails information, assignments, visuals, and more which is meant to be covered in two teaching hours. This raises questions on the feasibility of students’ proper comprehension of such complex and extensive material in such a short window of time. The unit related to Srebrenica entails examples of good and bad practice.

⁸⁹ From the preface of the *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 3: “In May 2017, the Canton Sarajevo Assembly passed the new Law on Primary Education and the new Law on Secondary Education, which foresee that the Canton Sarajevo Ministry of Education, Science and Youth would enable primary and secondary school students to study more intensively the siege of Sarajevo, in the 1992-1995 aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially the crimes against humanity and the crime of genocide committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the said period.”

⁹⁰ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 187. [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.]

Examples of good practice

In the part A) for students, there is a picture of a gathering of the non-governmental organisation (NGO) “Women in Black” in Belgrade.⁹¹ Since this NGO stands for the recognition of the genocide in Srebrenica, the presentation of this picture is a very good attempt to illustrate that not every Serb shares the opinion that no genocide took place in Srebrenica.

The part B) for teachers states that one of the functional objectives of the “Genocide in Srebrenica 1995, humanitarian and legal aspects” unit is to “exercise multiperspectivity”, and provides another related exercise: based on the textbook chapter on the fall of Srebrenica, students are asked to write an article from the perspective of a newspaper from BiH, from the Netherlands, and from the United States.⁹²

Examples of bad practice

The main problem in this teaching material is that “developing empathy with the victims” (which is one of the aims of the unit on the Srebrenica genocide) here means developing empathy exclusively with the victims of one’s ‘own’ side. Having said this, it must be clearly stated at this point that in dealing with the Srebrenica genocide, special empathy with the victims of this genocide is natural, justified and necessary due to the gravity of this war crime and the importance it has acquired in the collective memory of Bosniaks. At the same time, however, the history of Srebrenica during the war, like that of so many localities, is very complex. This can be seen, for example, in the history of the municipality of Srebrenica in 1992/1993, when the people of the town were threatened with starvation due to the blockade of aid supplies, and the ARBiH, followed by civilians, raided Serb villages in the area to capture weapons, ammunition and food. In the part A) for students, these events are described in the following way:

“Since Serb forces did not allow UN convoys to deliver food, the only source was entrenched Serb and occupied and burned Muslim villages. Srebrenica residents walked daily through the siege lines into these villages in search of food. They were called “food seekers”. In the search for food, many lost their lives. Civilians, often children, took part in the actions.”⁹³ xx

The civilians, who were searching for food, often followed the ARBiH units when they attacked. Serb civilians from the surrounding villages, including women and children, were also killed in these attacks,⁹⁴ but this is ignored in the teaching material. The “many [people who] lost their lives” refer exclusively to civilians of one’s ‘own’ people. There is no empathy for the civilians of the ‘other’ side who were killed. This is one of the greatest shortcomings of this account.

The same problem is found in the part B) for teachers. Here, for example, the units “Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity Committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995”⁹⁵ and “Genocide in Srebrenica 1995, Humanitarian and Legal Aspects”⁹⁶ have identical educational goals: develop empathy with victims, emphasize value of freedom, highlight the negative consequences of

⁹¹ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 44.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 76-77.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁹⁴ For instance, during the attack in the village of Kravica in the municipality of Bratunac on Orthodox Christmas in 1993, “[...] in which many Serbs, including civilians, were killed and injured and property destroyed on a large scale.” See: OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2016). *Hate Crimes and Bias-Motivated Incidents in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 2015 Monitoring Findings of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina*. <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/7/8/281906.pdf>, p.8.

⁹⁵ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 69.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

war, especially with regard to the violation of fundamental human rights, develop awareness against any form of segregation and discrimination and ethnic cleansing, peace education. However, in both units, there is not a single mention of casualties among civilians on the Serb side.

Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)

This methodological guide provides only basic information about the content of individual teaching units and lessons. The content related to Srebrenica is a part of the teaching unit “War and Post-war Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-2000)”.

It lists as learning aims:

“acquisition of knowledge about the silent occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the JNA and paramilitary formations from Serbia and Montenegro loyal to the SDS, [...], acquisition of knowledge about the beginning of the war of defence and liberation, the destruction, war crimes and genocide in Srebrenica [...]”⁹⁷ ^{xxi}

It lists as educational aims:

“development of love of country, condemnation of aggression of one state against another, condemnation of war conflict and material destruction, condemnation of persecution of people, condemnation of nationalism and religious discrimination, development of empathy among students and compassion for victim of persecution”⁹⁸ ^{xxii}

It lists as functional aims, among others:

“[...] developing students’ ability to learn history from a variety of historical sources, developing ability to recognize causal relationships [...]”⁹⁹ ^{xxiii}

Under “Suggestion for the realization of the teaching hour”, the text continues:

“In continuation of the class we will explain to the students the signing of the Washington Agreement and the creation of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then also the events that preceded the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement (murder of 71 inhabitants of Tuzla - May 1995, and the fall of the safe areas of Žepa and Srebrenica - July 1995). We will pay special attention to the genocide committed in Srebrenica in July 1995 [...]”¹⁰⁰ ^{xxiv}

On the same page, there is a plan for blackboard that reads:

“[...] - UN safe areas (Srebrenica, Žepa, Tuzla, Sarajevo, Bihać and Goražde); - Žepa was conquered in 1995, then also Srebrenica (11 July) → genocide of Bosniaks was committed in which more than 8 000 people were killed [...]”¹⁰¹ ^{xxv}

As with the *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, the main problem with dealing with Srebrenica in this methodological guide is that “developing empathy in students” in fact means empathy exclusively with the victims of one’s ‘own’ side. Serb victims from the surroundings of the Srebrenica enclave are not mentioned at all. The functional aim of “developing students’ ability to learn history from variety of historical sources” is not implemented because no perspective on Serb civilian victims of the war

⁹⁷ *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 81, “Tasks of the teaching unit”.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

is offered. Against this background, the educational aim “develop love for the homeland” could be interpreted as developing loyalty for one’s ‘own’ people, for it is clear that the lived experiences of other peoples in one’s homeland are not mentioned.

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*

The textbook does not use the word genocide for what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995. Instead, the sentence describes the events with the words: “the worst suffering of the civilian population after World War II.”^{102 xxvi}

Textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*

The textbook does not use the word genocide for what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995. It states:

“The biggest massacre of the war in BiH is considered to be the massacre in **Srebrenica** in July 1995. The Serb army [...]killed more than eight thousand Muslim men and boys at that time.”^{103 xxvii}

However, on the same page parts of Clinton’s speech during the opening of the “Srebrenica–Potočari Memorial and Cemetery for the Victims of the 1995 Genocide” in the year 2003 are reproduced, in which Clinton uses the word genocide for what happened in Srebrenica in July 1995.¹⁰⁴

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*

The textbook briefly mentions Srebrenica in two sentences without explaining what happened there. The two sentences are:

“Places of mass crimes were: Srebrenica, Kozarac, Kazani, Kravice, Ahmići, Pakrac, Ovčara, Medak pocket. Cities most destroyed were: Vukovar, Sarajevo and Mostar.”^{105 xxviii}

“The VRS captured Srebrenica and Žepa in July.”^{106 xxix}

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

The material does not include a single word about Srebrenica, thus keeping silent about the most controversial and sensitive issue in the Serb-Bosniak relations.

¹⁰² *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 179.

¹⁰³ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 237. [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.]

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 180, chapter “Consequences of the Wars for the Yugoslav Legacy”.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187, chapter “End of the War, Year 1995”.

2.2.1.3. References between the 1990s and WWII

As the representation of WWII is not the subject of this analysis, the following short section only serves to show links drawn between the representation of the 1992-1995 period and WWII. Thus, the WWII period comes into focus here because almost all textbooks and teaching materials construct a problematic connection between the two periods that aims to reinforce victim identity. Namely, the materials for teaching in Bosnian draw a symbolic parallel between German Nazism and Serb nationalism of the 1990s, as well as between the Holocaust against the Jews in WWII and the ethnic cleansing carried out by the Serb side in the 1990s (through the use of texts, photos, and questions). Materials for teaching in Serbian draw a continuum of Serb victimization not only from WWII to the 1990s, but from as early as the 17th century. One textbook for teaching in Croatian implies parallels between WWII and the wars of the 1990s in the region by the use of the term “Greater Serbia”.

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the part A) for students, the introduction to the unit “Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity Committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995” is:

“Remember the lesson **Results and consequences of the World War II**. You learned about the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime against the population of the occupied parts of Europe and especially against the Jews. At that time, you also learned about the terms **Holocaust** and **genocide** and about concentration camps, war crimes, persecution, labelling and extermination of the Jews. Despite the common knowledge that the anti-fascist struggle was believed to have ultimately destroyed everything that fascism and Nazism produced, the war in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina showed that certain features of the World War II are very visible even today.”¹⁰⁷ xxx

This recurring pattern, which in fact equates German fascism during WWII with Serb policy in the war years 1992-1995, is highlighted with several images that are intended to directly point out the parallels between the two historical periods (images of yellow stars for Jews and white belts for Bosniaks and Croats in Prijedor / images of Buchenwald Concentration Camp and Trnopolje camp / images of the mass grave in Majdanek and in Pilica (Zvornik)). Related to these images, students are tasked to:

“Similar to the reaction after World War II, when the world was shocked by the extent of the crimes committed by the Nazis on the territory of occupied Europe, a similar reaction followed the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the help of the teacher, compare these photos and conclude what is similar and what is different in the crimes of the two different wars of the 20th century.”¹⁰⁸ xxxi

¹⁰⁷ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 24. [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.]

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Comparing what is similar and what is different is an important task in history teaching, but this teaching material itself already provides the ‘correct’ answer:

“Let us remember: [...] The war terror in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s resembled in many ways the fascist crimes of the World War II.”¹⁰⁹ xxxiii

The part B) for teachers exhibits the same problem, although it does so in a more suggestive form. As part of the unit “Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity Committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995”, students watch a documentary about Omarska and Trnopolje, after which the teacher should ask students: “Is there an event in the past that this coverage reminds them of?”¹¹⁰ xxxiii

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*

The textbook implicitly suggests parallels between WWII and the wars of the 1990s by use of the term “Greater Serbia”. The chapter “Chetnik Terror”, dealing with WWII, explains to students the Chetnik movements and their strategic goal of a “Greater Serbia”.¹¹¹ A chapter dealing with the 1990s is titled “Greater Serb Aggression against Croatia”¹¹² xxxiv. The parallel use of the term “Greater Serbia” in both historical periods definitively points to the setting of implicit signs of equality between the Chetnik ideology during WWII and the ideology of the Serb leadership in the 1990s. This is a simplification of the historical actors and developments and will not help to restore mutual understanding between the two former parties to the conflict.

Textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*

The textbook does not draw parallels between WWII and the wars of the 1990s, nor does it directly or indirectly interpret one historical event through the other. There is even an example of good practice in the chapter about WWII which deals with the disputes over the issue of the number of victims in Ustasha concentration camps. The textbook mentions and briefly explains (p. 130) the manipulations of the number of victims carried out by both sides (the Croat and the Serb); in this way, information is provided on a controversial topic without favouring one of the interpretations, and opportunity is provided for the development of critical thinking.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹¹¹ *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 99f.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹¹³ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 130.

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

This teaching material uses the historical experience of the genocide of Serbs carried out in the NDH to legitimize the founding of the RS in 1992. Moreover, it suggests that genocidal efforts of the Croats against the Serbs have determined their mutual relations since the 17th century. These alleged aspirations are said to have finally culminated in WWII in the NDH.¹¹⁴

The sole purpose of the entire text is to explain the history of the Serb people as the history of a nation in self-defence against the genocidal threat that the Croats exercised against them throughout history. Referring to the founding of the RS in 1992, it states:

“In order to save the Serb people from a possible repetition of the genocide and to enable them to remain in Yugoslavia, the Assembly of the Serb people in Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaimed on 9 January 1992 the Republic of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina, later called Republika Srpska.”^{115 xxxv}

¹¹⁴ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*. See the second part titled “Supplements related to the Patriotic Defence War and NATO Bombing of SRJ”. For a comprehensive discussion of the completely monoperspectival and distorted historical narratives in this teaching material, see in subchapter 2.2.2. regarding the narrative ‘the Croatian genocidal efforts against Serbs’.

¹¹⁵ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16.

2.2.1.4. Conclusion

All the analysed textbooks and teaching materials narrate the conflict years of the 1990s almost exclusively as years of one's 'own' victimhood and portray the 'other' side almost exclusively as perpetrators (in the case of the subject of history teaching in Bosnian and in Croatian: mainly the Serbs; in the case of the subject of history teaching in Serbian: mainly the Croats).

- Three strategies are used to implement this main narrative. The first is concealing crimes or mentioning places where crimes took place without disclosing that these were crimes committed by the members of one's 'own' people (textbook and materials for teaching in Serbian language). The second is not mentioning or relativizing crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people (textbooks and materials for teaching in Bosnian language); and the third is speaking out and at the same time justifying the execution of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people (textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*).

The main problem of this approach in dealing with sensitive issues and controversial topics is that empathy is taught and learned only towards victims of one's 'own' side, i.e., one's 'own' people. The approach is in conflict with a number of learning outcomes stipulated in the CCC SLOs *History (2015)*, including the Learning outcome 3 of the Learning Area 1¹¹⁶ and the Learning outcome 3 of the Learning Area 4.¹¹⁷

The exception to these three strategies is the textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, which briefly mentions crimes against Serbs in Croatia without justifying them (but does not address crimes committed by members of the 'own' people during the war in BiH).


- The analysed textbooks address the topic of Srebrenica either very briefly (without discussion), or not at all. *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* completely omits the Srebrenica genocide. *Teaching material (CS, 2018)* does deal with it in detail and shows examples of good practice related to learning multiperspectivity. This is a significant step in the implementation of Learning outcome 3 of Learning Area 1 stipulated in the CCC SLOs *History (2015)*. However, this example of good practice in *Teaching material (CS, 2018)* does not lead to a questioning of the continued approach of decidedly empathizing only with the victims of one's 'own' side. This is particularly evident in the fact that the sensitive topic of Serb civilian victims from around the enclave of Srebrenica goes unmentioned.
- Almost all of the textbooks and teaching materials analysed (except *History 9, Erdelja et al., no year*) violate Learning outcome 1 of the Learning Area 3 of the CCC SLOs *History (2015)*¹¹⁸ and one of its key indicators: "Interprets past events within the context in which an event occurred and not in relation to contemporary norms and values."¹¹⁹ They do this by using WWII narratives to legitimize current interpretations of events in the 1990s. In this way, past events are interpreted in terms of contemporary norms and values.

¹¹⁶ "Interprets the past on the basis of didactically shaped historical sources, [...] discovers different historical standpoints [...]." CCC SLOs *History (2015)*, p. 7.

¹¹⁷ "Comprehends the complexity of historical cause and effect [...]." CCC SLOs *History (2015)*, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ "Elaborates on how main events are temporally connected to one another and reconstructs, tracks and interprets specific aspects (social, economic, cultural, religious, political, everyday life) of a society in different contexts in time and in different historical periods. CCC SLOs *History (2015)*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ CCC SLOs *History (2015)*, p. 16.



Teaching Material (CS, 2018) draws a parallel between the Holocaust and the ethnic cleansing in BiH in the 1990s, without differentiating, in the case of the latter, between the events in different places and their interpretation. The events depicted in the photographs have (to date) not been legally classified as genocide. However, their direct parallelization with images of the Holocaust suggests that the two historical events are not only comparable, but almost identical. In this way, the material aims to reproduce and reinforce the narrative of victimhood of Bosniaks.

The same strategy - building a collective identity based on the victim identity – is also found in *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*. Here it serves to explain the history of the Serb people as the history of a nation in self-defence against the threat of genocide exercised against them by the Croats throughout history. Both this threat and the Serb experience during the NDH is thus narrated to legitimize the establishment of the RS in 1992.

Finally, the textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)* for teaching in Croatian uses terms such as “Greater Serbia” to implicitly draw parallels between Serb policies during WWII and the 1990s.

2.2.2. Multiperspectivity and the use of sources

“When writing textbooks, authors should apply the principle of multi-perspectivity, in order to enable the pupils to learn tolerance. The principle of multi-perspectivity should be present in all aspects of the textbooks: in the texts, illustrations, and sources. A multi-perspective approach may be represented in the textbooks by the fact that other views of a particular fact or event are presented.” (2.3.)

in connection with

“Incorporate multi-perspectivity and show historical processes from the Modern Era, having as many historical sources of different origin, as possible.” (4.9.)

Guidelines (2006)

Implementation of multiperspectivity and related learning outcomes is not a predominant approach in any of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials. Despite some examples of good practice, the fundamental problem remains: the promotion of empathy solely towards one’s ‘own’ side (and with one’s ‘own’ victim role) in the depiction of the conflict-ridden years of the 1990s.

2.2.2.1. Examples of good practice

(i) Providing historical sources of different origin and differing historical perceptions

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*

The chapter “Breakup of SFRY and International Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina” includes “Historical Reader” that provides students with historical sources and questions. The historical sources provided are three quotes from politicians, taken from *Zimmermann (1997)*¹²⁰ a quote from Franjo Tuđman about BiH, from Ejup Ganić about BiH, and from Slobodan Milošević about Yugoslavia and BiH. The related task for students is:

“Analyse all three works and try to determine the policies and interests of the different sides in BiH.”^{121 xxxvi}

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the part B) for teachers, one of the functional aims of the unit “Genocide in Srebrenica 1995, humanitarian and legal aspects” is the “exercise of applying multi-perspectivity”. Based on the textbook chapter on the fall of Srebrenica, students are asked to write an article from the perspective of newspapers from BiH, the Netherlands, and the United States.¹²²

¹²⁰ Zimmermann, W. (1997). *Izvori jedne katastrofe*. Zagreb.

¹²¹ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 183.

¹²² *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 76-77.

One of the learning outcomes of the unit “Siege of Sarajevo, 1992-1995” is “to talk about different experiences and perspectives of the same event.”^{123 xxxvii} This learning outcome is related to an exercise in which students interview a person about memories of the siege of Sarajevo and then discuss with their teachers whether the interviewed person’s answers differ depending on age or gender.¹²⁴

(ii) Delivering different positions without favouring one or the other

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*

“During the Serb aggression, disputes broke out between Croats and Bosniaks. The already existing differences were deepened by the chaotic situation and the harsh war circumstances [...]. For the Bosniaks, the proclamation of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna (3 July 1992) was disputable, and the Croats felt that the Bosniak leaders wanted to minimize the role of Croats in all spheres of life in BiH.”^{125 xxxviii}

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

“The controversies surrounding Yugoslav unification are mainly based on two opposing views. According to one, 1918 represents a historical aberration, a misjudgement of the leading people of Serbia, a historical error and an event without historical basis. According to the other, the unification of 1918 was the result of a long struggle of the Yugoslav peoples, which began at the end of the 18th century.”^{126 xxxix}

(iii) Offering information that shows alternative developments of the ‘other side’

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the part A) for students, the picture of a “Women in Black” gathering in Belgrade to recognize the Srebrenica genocide is a good attempt at illustrating alternative developments in Serbia.¹²⁷

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66-68.

¹²⁵ *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 178.

¹²⁶ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 13.

¹²⁷ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 44.

2.2.2.2. Examples of good practice

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the unit on the siege of Sarajevo (in the part A) for students), the use and misuse of media during the war is discussed using the example of two different interpretations of the Markale massacre. Confronting students with different views is valuable and is a fulfilment of the *Guidelines (2006)*. However, it does not challenge the perspective of one's 'own' people and might even reinforce stereotypes about the enemy in war.

"During the siege of Sarajevo, two crimes against the civilian population of the city occurred at the Markale Market [...]. The media even then showed two versions of what happened, on one side "Oslobođenje" from Sarajevo and on the other side "Glas Srpski" from Banja Luka: [...]. The pages of Oslobođenje were filled with touching scenes after the massacre, such as, for example, two daughters searching for their mother Fatima, families asking for their beloved ones [...]. Unlike Oslobođenje, Glas Srpski puts forward speculations that arose about who fired the grenade at Markale. On the front page of these dailies from Banja Luka, the first and striking news item was statement of Radovan Karadžić with the large title "Muslim insinuations" that claimed that Muslims were killing themselves. On the same page, there is an article about the commemoration of the crimes against the Serb people during the World War II. [...] Commemorating the victims of the World War II at this specific moment was probably a way to justify the crimes and to stir up even more hatred against the non-Serb population. [...] To make the irony even greater, Krajišnik states "condolences to the families of those killed in the massacre". [...] Read the text with the help of the teacher. Is the killing of civilians at Markale a crime? How does Oslobođenje from Sarajevo portray the crime? How does Glas Srpski from Banja Luka approach the crime? Discuss in the classroom the role of the media in wars."¹²⁸ xl

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*

The textbook does not use a multiperspective approach in the chapter dealing with the war in BiH. Three images are shown: coffins in Potočari (2006), ruins in Mostar (1995), and ruins in Sarajevo (unspecified year, during the war).¹²⁹ These three images convey the clear message that in addition to Croats in BiH, Bosniaks also suffered in the war. However, there are no images that would convey the message that Serbs also suffered during the war.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12f.

¹²⁹ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 237.

2.2.2.3. Examples of bad practice

(i) Lack of multiperspective approach

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)

One of the educational aims of the teaching unit “War and Post-war Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-2000)” is “development of empathy and compassion in students for the victims of persecution”, and one of the functional aims is “developing students’ ability to learn history from different historical sources.”^{130 xi} Despite these defined aims, the main narrative of the teaching unit about Serb aggressors and non-Serb victims leads to the conclusion that the victims were exclusively of non-Serb ethnic origin. Even beyond that, the offered historical sources leave no further room for different perspectives.

(ii) Mingling facts and interpretations

Another problem identified in the analysis is the narration of historical events, which – without noting it – are interpreted from today’s point of view.

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)

At the end of the main chapter “War and Post-war Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-2000)” there is a chronology in which the following is listed for the year 1963:

“The KP BiH began to correct the wrong attitude towards Bosnian Muslims, recognizing that they are a separate nation.”^{131 xliii}

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

The text has several problems related to the chapter “Supplements related to the Patriotic Defence War and NATO Bombing of SRY.” The term “religious nations” is an interpretation, not a fact. Furthermore, the introduction of the concept of race is extremely problematic, and the term “doomsday nationalism” introduced into the historical debate by Serb historian Milorad Ekmečić, also reflects an interpretation, not a fact.

“By language and ethnicity, the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a true whole divided into three “religious nations”. Religious intolerance has always been stronger than the motive of unity. Based on systematic anthropological research, on living population and skeletons, French scientist Eugène Pitar found out in 1913 that Serbs were the oldest inhabitants of

¹³⁰ *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 81.

¹³¹ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 190.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, but that they were divided into three “religious nations”. Despite that, religious affiliation was so profound and widespread that the differences between the three religious groups (Orthodox, Muslim and Roman Catholic) were more pronounced than the differences between races in racially mixed societies in the Western world.”¹³² xiii

“There was “religious nationalism” or “doomsday nationalism”.”¹³³ xiv

(iii) Mingling facts and interpretations resulting in factual distortion

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

Contrary to what is claimed in the teaching material, the percentage mentioned in the following passage does not indicate the percentage of positive votes, but the level of voter turnout.

“The Muslim-Croat referendum on the independence of BiH was held on 29 February 1992, and the result was “almost 63% positive votes”, which was not a two-thirds majority.”¹³⁴ xiv

The textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)* more accurately states that the majority of Croats and Muslims in BiH voted for independence.¹³⁵

(iv) Monoperspectivity and the construction of distorted narratives

A monoperspectival approach leading to the construction of distorted narratives is one of the most extreme outcomes when facts and interpretations are not separated. As stated earlier, none of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials use a consistent multiperspective approach. However, only in the materials for teaching in Serbian does this practice of monoperspectivity lead to a very massive distortion of the historical narrative. “Distortion” means that the story is told ahistorically, i.e., according to recurring patterns that seem to dictate the course of events. Thus, these teaching materials aim to create a line of continuity in which all past and future events are presented as predictable because they always follow the same pattern.

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*

The textbook offers three main narratives that run throughout the final chapters of the book.

- Main narrative I: Western countries and institutions gave the war an international dimension and thus in effect contributed to the war;
- Main narrative II: Serbs defended themselves only against those who wanted to destroy Yugoslavia (international actors, Slovenians, Croats, and Muslims);

¹³² *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 15.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹³⁵ *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 185.

- ▣ Main narrative III: Serbs wanted to stay in Yugoslavia because they were the only people in Yugoslavia scattered across several republics / regions (“the Serb question”).

One goal of the final chapters of the textbook is to blame the “West” and the “international community” for the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia via stereotyped portrayals.^{136 xlv / xlvii / xlviii}

The chapter “War in Defence of Kosovo and Metohija”¹³⁷ provides a self-justifying narrative without any attempt at critical reflection on what happened in Kosovo. The conflict is explained only from one (‘own’ people’s) perspective. In a previous chapter titled “Economic, Political and Social Crisis”, the role of the social and economic crisis in Kosovo before the 1990s is not explained, but only presented as a nationalist crisis that had already been conjured up by the Kosovo Albanians in 1968.^{138 / xlix / l}

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

The teaching material constructs three narratives that run through the history of the Serbs from the 16th to the end of the 20th century. The first narrative can be referred to as ‘the Serb question’, the second as ‘the Croatian genocidal efforts against Serbs’, and the third as ‘the Western powers and Islam against Serbs’. All three narratives leave no room for any perspective other than the one narrated, and point to the final interpretation of the recent history of the Serbs as the story of a threatened and victimized nation that always acted defensively out of self-preservation. This finality of interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the teaching material is a pure flowing text, without any didactic apparatus.

Narrative ‘the Serb question’

The first sentence of the teaching material’s second part, titled “Supplements related to the Patriotic Defence War and the NATO Bombing of SRY”, states:

“With the proclamation of the Yugoslav state in 1918, Serbs felt that the Serb question, opened in 1804, had been solved by gathering almost all Serbs into one state.”^{139 ii}

From here the history of ‘the Serb question’ develops: in the socialist period, Tito created a “balance” at the expense of Serbia.^{140 iii / iii} According to the text, ‘the Serb question’ was then reopened with the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991.^{141 iv} Finally, the narrative of ‘the Serb question’ culminates in the interpretation of the 1992-1995 war, where the BiH conflict of the 1990s is presented as a direct continuation of the Serb national uprisings since the beginning of the 19th century:

¹³⁶ From the introduction to the chapter “Republika Srpska, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Area of the Former Yugoslavia at the End of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century”: “The West, intoxicated by victory in the Cold War, did not recognize the interest in maintaining Yugoslavia on new social and conceptual foundations. The US, Germany, the Vatican and other powers supported the violent secessions and denied the Serbs the right to self-determination. Yugoslavia disintegrated in a series of civil wars.” *Ibid.*, p. 177.

“[The Serbs] [...] received no support from the West for the defence of Yugoslavia. The victor in the Cold War benefited from the strengthening of nationalism and the division of the USSR into republics and supported a similar process also in Yugoslavia.” *Ibid.*, p. 178.

“The scope and timing of the wars over the Yugoslav legacy were largely controlled by the world powers.” *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 182f.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

The developments of 1990 (the new constitution) are mentioned with only a single sentence: “[...] Serbia has restored its authority in the territories of the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija”. *Ibid.*, p. 169. About the 1996-1999 conflicts, the text simply states: „[...] **rebellion of Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija (1996-1998)**. The FRY army and police put down the rebellion.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹³⁹ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁰ “Tito has been creating “federation of balance” that was on expense of Serbia.” *Ibid.*

“The national question was opened for the first time at the Eighth Congress of the SKJ in 1964, and the breakup of Serbia began after the Brioni Plenum in 1966, because the provinces were gradually elevated to the same rank as ‘the central Serbia’, and with the Constitution of 1974 they received the attributes of a state.” *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁴¹ „The breakup of Yugoslavia opened the Serb question, i.e. the question of the borders of the Serb state.” *Ibid.*, p. 15.

“The underlying causes of the civil war in Bosnia and Hercegovina (1992-1995) are basically the same as the historical roots of several similar uprisings in the history of these provinces in the 19th and 20th centuries. They are the inability of the Serb liberation movement to cope with the interests of Roman Catholic Central Europe, which used Bosnia and Herzegovina as a testing ground in a constant conflict with Russia. From 1805 to 1992, there were 14 different Serb national uprisings and insurrections. These movements, based on the agrarian question, were the basic motive of social progress until the unification in 1918. The most similar to the civil war (1992-1995) were the so-called Vukalović Uprising (1852-1862) and the Great Eastern Crisis (1875-1878). The cause of all these movements was the aspiration of Orthodox Serbs in BiH to unite with their compatriots in Serbia and Montenegro.”¹⁴² *iv*

Narrative ‘the Croatian genocidal efforts against Serbs’

The only purpose of the first part of the teaching material’s text titled “Supplements related to the Holocaust and the Genocide against Serbs in the NDH”, is the search for antagonisms. Highlighted is the hostility of the Croats against the Serbs, which eventually leads to genocide and makes the Serbs the only victims and glorified defenders.

“Thus, already at the beginning of the 18th century we encounter data that the Croat and Roman Catholic feudal circles, for reasons of religious and class antagonism, were ready to a genocide against the Orthodox Serbs [...]. The Roman Catholic Church, as well as the Croat and Slavonian feudal lords, played a decisive role in spreading intolerance against the Serbs.”¹⁴³ *vi / lvii / lviii*

According to the text, this proves the genocidal efforts of the Croats against the Serbs:

„Thus, it is quite clear that the idea of genocide against the Serbs was fully matured within the frameworks of the Habsburg monarchy even before the outbreak of the First World War. [...] When the Sarajevo assassination of Franz Ferdinand was carried out, the Croatian political circles, ready to commit genocide, considered that it was the convenient moment for the annihilation of the Serbs.”¹⁴⁴ *lix*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Further examples: “In defence of the so-called “historical right of the Croat people”, aimed at the establishment of a large and independent Croat state, an ideology of uncompromising, extreme Croat nationalism was created in the second half of the 19th century, which directed its blade of intolerance commonly against the Serbs.” *Ibid.*, p. 5.

“The destruction of the Serb name in Croat politics and in Croat society has always been accompanied by the constant public statements that the Serbs are traitors, troublemakers, that they are a people of bandits and robbers.” *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The whole text confirms what historian Dubravka Stojanović called an “extremely successful propagandistic formula.” She states: “Namely, with the coined phrase describing the “genocidal nature of many generations of Croats” [quoted after: Krestić, V, *O genezi genocida nad Srbima u NDH*, Književne novine, 15. September 1986], an idea was spread that this was a genetic trait of those people, which would inevitably drive them into a new genocide against the Serbs as soon as they have a chance. This propagandistic formula was extremely successful, especially among the Serbs in Croatia, and the constant abuse of history produced panic among the people and the impression that they needed to do everything to protect themselves from their neighbours. This was important for the moral and psychological preparation of the destruction of Yugoslavia and for creating a situation in which new crimes among neighbours would again become possible.” See: Stojanović, D. (2017). Invisible victims of the Holocaust. A Role Play: Perpetrators and Victims in Serb Memory of the Second World War. In: Karge, H., Brunnbauer, U. & Weber, C. (Eds.), *Erfahrungs- und Handlungsräume. Gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Südosteuropa seit dem 19. Jahrhundert zwischen dem Lokalen und Globalen*. De Gruyter, 153-164, 160.

Apart from generalizations and simplified messages as to Croatian national ideology from the late 19th century up to the WWII^{145 lx / lxi}, the text continues in relation to the NDH in the WWII:

“The ideology of the Ustasha movement, as the leading political factor of the Independent State of Croatia, corresponded to the national and religious attitudes of the vast majority of the Croat people [...]. In the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945), which the great majority of the Croat people supported, the most severe form of genocide was committed against Serbs, Jews and Roma.”^{146 lxii / lxiii}

The narrative of the genocidal efforts of the Croats against the Serbs throughout history predominantly serves to legitimize the developments of the 1990s. Taken together, both narratives - ‘the Serb question’ and ‘the Croatian genocidal efforts’ - lead to the following conclusion:

“With intent to protect the Serb people from a possible repetition of the genocide and to allow them to remain in Yugoslavia, the Assembly of the Serb people in Bosnia and Herzegovina proclaimed on 9 January 1992 the Republic of the Serb People in Bosnia and Herzegovina, later called Republika Srpska.”^{147 lxiv}

Narrative ‘Western powers and Islam against the Serbs’

The text in the second part of the *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, titled “Supplements related to the Patriotic Defence War and the NATO bombing of SRY”, emphasizes the antagonisms by setting up the perspective of ‘us’ versus ‘them’, where ‘them’ or ‘the others’ can be different actors depending on the argument. Often the ‘other’ is the Vatican.^{148 lxv / lxvi} Second, the international community as a whole is constructed as the enemy of the Serb people.^{149 lxvii}

Third, another enemy image is constructed by spreading anti-Islamic stereotypes:

“The Islamic Declaration was written in 1970 and circulated in manuscript form for two decades. Alija Izetbegović argued that Muslims should gain power through political and military means; he developed his ideas by studying Islamic fundamentalist thinkers. The first victim of such ideology was lay-Islam in BiH. Fundamentalist ideology won, in addition, also because of the efforts of American politics to counter communist ideology with religion. Precisely this support was crucial to the victory of Islamic fundamentalism in BiH over other Islamic currents.”^{150 lxviii}

¹⁴⁵ “Ivo Pilar’s ideas about Croatia to the Drina river, which includes Bosnia and Herzegovina, permeate all Croatian politics. They form the basis of the national thinking and geostrategic goals of the Croat people, and, with regard to the territorial claims of a Greater Croatia, form an organic unity of the views of the Party of Rights from the second half of the 19th century and the later realized territorial ideals during the Independent State of Croatia.” *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 7.

“On the basis of this ideology, Croatian politicians since the middle of the 19th century constantly intended to create a large and ethnically homogeneous Croatian state, on which territory there would be no Serbs. These are the ideological foundations of the genocide against the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia during the World War II.” *Ibid.*, p. 7-8.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

As for Muslims in the NDH, the text states: “A large number of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina put themselves at the service of the NDH and its policy of genocide.” *Ibid.*, p. 11.


¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁸ “The Vatican and Germany played a key role in the historic preparation of the civil war in Yugoslavia (1991-1995).” *Ibid.*, p. 15.

“The Vatican called for the creation of new Roman Catholic states in Eastern Europe.” *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁹ “The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disappeared from the political map of Europe in the interethnic, religious and civil war. The dissolution of the SFRY took place through the method of armed secession, with the full support of the international factor. The principle of territorial integrity of a state and its internationally recognized borders, guaranteed by the United Nations Charter, was not respected in the case of Yugoslavia. [...] The Serb people is excluded from the universal right to self-determination and even marked as aggressor.” *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*



Finally, the Kosovo crisis is used in the text to list all the historical and present enemies of the Serb people:

“The idea of “Greater Albania” was born in 1877 in the circle of Albanian intellectuals in Constantinople and was proclaimed in 1878 at the meeting of the League for the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian people in Prizren. [...] In order to achieve the outlined goal, throughout the 20th century Albanians sought the support of those forces interested in redrawing the borders in the Balkans (the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungary, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and the North Atlantic Alliance, led by the USA).”¹⁵¹ *lxix* / *lxx*

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 17.

The text concludes with the message: “Albanian separatism in the southern Serb province grew into open terrorism and armed clashes with the police and the Yugoslav Army in 1998. The Western powers intervened in the new armed conflict in the Balkans, protecting their strategic interests and once again blaming the Serbs for the alleged aggression.” *ibid.*

2.2.2.4. Conclusion

The implementation of multiperspectivity and the related learning outcomes articulated in the CCC SLOs History (2015) cannot be seen consistently in any of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials. Despite some examples of good practice, the CCC SLOs History (2015) standards cannot be achieved as long as the main problem remains in the textbooks and materials, namely developing empathy exclusively towards one's 'own side' and perceiving one's 'own' people exclusively as a collective of victims.

- Some of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials make an effort, at least in some passages, to comply with the principle of multiperspectivity and to implement the learning outcomes associated with it. This is most evident in the analysed materials for teaching in Bosnian, which in several places show different historical points of view by using sources from different origins¹⁵² or elaborate how and why people's memories of the past may differ.¹⁵³ In several places, this resulted in a successful implementation of Learning outcome 3 of Learning Area 1 in particular.¹⁵⁴ However, this approach is not consistent and therefore does not suggest that these materials are reliably written according to the aforementioned standards. For example, the treatment of most controversial topics and sensitive issues (see 2.2.1) is done without implementing these standards.
- Some of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials reflect different positions in individual passages without favouring one or the other position. These approaches represent attempts to implement Learning outcome 4 of Learning Area 2¹⁵⁵. The textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)* and *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* contain individual examples of such an attempt. However, this approach is marginal in both, as the main approach is to narrate self-justifying and ethnocentric perspectives.
- Interpretations are often presented as facts to legitimize current positions. Although the materials for teaching in Bosnian or Croatian are not free of this approach either, the mixing of facts and interpretations is by far the predominant approach in the materials for teaching in Serbian. Here, this approach is so fundamental and consistent that - unlike in the teaching materials for teaching history in Bosnian and Croatian languages - it leads to the construction of a completely distorted historical narrative.

¹⁵² Learning outcome 3 of the Learning Area 1, related Component 4: "interpreting on the basis of historical sources (the critical reception of sources)". Indicators at the end of the nine-year primary education and upbringing: Indicator 3.1: "Evaluates specific content, i.e. understands that historians construct history when writing about events from the past, and argues why history is not fully objective or neutral"; Indicator 3.2: "Analyses the factors influencing the writing of history"; Indicator 3.3: "Differentiates relevant from irrelevant information, key from secondary and verifiable from non-verifiable information in historical narratives and tales". *CCC SLOs History (2015)*, p. 8.

¹⁵³ Learning outcome 3 of the Learning Area 1, related Component 5: "Interpreting the past on the basis of archaeological findings and collective memories". Indicators at the end of the nine-year primary education and upbringing: Indicator 3.5: "Selects cultural and historical monuments and symbols to elaborate upon different interpretations (culture of remembrance)"; Indicator 3.6: "Elaborates upon how and why people's memories of the past can differ". *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

2.2.3. Critical thinking

“Questions and tasks for the students should be formulated in a way that will encourage critical and open thinking, as well as the ability to analyse historical processes. The authors should ensure that the text of the textbook encourages the development of the pupils’ critical thinking, by presenting historical content from different perspectives.” (2.6.)

in connection with

“[...] the author of the textbook should be using assignments and exercises of critical thinking, using illustrations suitable to the age of the pupil.” (4.10.)

Guidelines (2006)

Textbooks and teaching materials that have a very strong legitimizing narrative with a clear juxtaposition of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ do not aim to promote critical thinking in students. Despite some examples of good practice, the basic problem remains in almost all analysed textbooks and materials: the promotion of empathy only towards one’s ‘own’ people.

2.2.3.1. Examples of good practice

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*

The chapter “Breakup of SFRY and International Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina” contains a speech Clinton gave at one of the commemorative events in Potočari, in which he calls for coexistence in BiH. The assignment for students is: “Comment on these statements and explain whether you agree or disagree with them?”¹⁵⁶ ^{lxxi} This is a good example of an open-ended question that encourages students to do their own critical thinking.

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the part A) for students, the summary of the unit “Military-political Aspects of the Siege of Sarajevo” briefly discusses the tradition of coexistence:

“Despite the war and siege, the inhabitants of Sarajevo have not forgotten that they lived together for centuries. Watch such a story about how different nations co-operated together to survive the war and siege.”¹⁵⁷ ^{lxxii}

¹⁵⁶ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 187.

¹⁵⁷ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 12.

The mentioned story is about the young couple Boško (a Serb) and Admira (a Bosniak). It can also be found in the material for teachers. Their story is presented and didactically prepared in the teaching unit “Siege of Sarajevo 1992-1995” with additional material (internet links, questions, a song, a documentary film).¹⁵⁸

In the part B) for teachers, the following learning outcomes are mentioned for the unit “Genocide and crimes against humanity”, among others:

“To explain how and why people’s memories of the past may differ; [...] to represent your own opinion created based on a critical examination of historical sources [...]”^{159 lxxiii}

The related exercise asks for teachers to show the fifth episode titled “Safe areas” of the documentary “The Death of Yugoslavia” and to task students to draw a table with columns (for Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, the international community and the UN) and answer several questions such as: what are the basic interests of each of the presented groups, what are their positions in the war, what symbols do they use to express their identity, etc., and then discuss the following:

“To what extent do the national interests of the various parties have the same characteristics and how are they presented? To what extent are politicians willing to manipulate to advance national interests? To what extent can an ordinary individual be aware of this manipulation? [...]”^{160 lxxiv}

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*

The chapter “Croatia and BiH Today” openly discusses one of the main problems of today’s society in BiH:

“As the country is deeply divided along national lines, there are at least three different views of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its future today.”^{161 lxxv}

The associated question is: “What kind of composition do you think BiH should have?”^{162 lxxvi} This is a good example of an open-ended question that encourages critical thinking.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79f.

¹⁶¹ *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 241f.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

2.2.3.2. Examples of bad practice

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*

In the chapter “Breakup of SFRY and International Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, the textbook discusses Milošević’s speech in Gazimestan on 28 June 1989, in which he stated that the use of weapons to resolve the Yugoslav crisis is not out of the question. The accompanying question reads:

“Can you explain whether Milošević left room for a peaceful settlement with the other republics with this message? What did they have to expect in case they did not give in to Serbian pressure?”¹⁶³ lxxvii

This is a form of a leading question, it is a narrative that implies historical events are inevitable.

Teaching Material (CS, 2018)

In the part B) for teachers, both the text and the didactically designed exercises show a strong emphasis on ‘emotional’ history which aims to identify and empathize with the victims. Empathy is an important educational aim in each of the teaching units.¹⁶⁴ The problem here is that empathy is sought only with victims of one’s ‘own’ people’s side – so in this case only emotions related to the suffering of Bosniaks during the war are ‘learned’.¹⁶⁵ The didactic preparation, i.e., the interaction of texts, pictures, graphics, questions and tasks does not promote engagement with victims other than Bosniak. For example:

- Unit “Siege of Sarajevo 1992-1995 - Everyday Life and Endangerment of Humanitarian Law” - The question in an exercise with historical sources (letters or diaries of children from Sarajevo) is: “Which emotions predominate in their statements?”¹⁶⁶ lxxviii
- Unit “Siege of Sarajevo 1992-1995 - Everyday Life and Endangerment of Humanitarian Law” - The question regarding an oral history exercise (interviewing a person with memories of the siege) is: “Which emotions evolved during the interview?”¹⁶⁷ lxxix
- Unit “Ethnic Cleansing, War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity Committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-1995” - The question, related to a documentary about Omarska and Trnopolje is: “What emotions did the documentary evoke in them [students]?”¹⁶⁸ lxxx
- Unit “Genocide in Srebrenica 1995, Humanitarian and Legal Aspects”: Teachers are asked to talk to students about the emotions that watching the video “Srebrenica” (by Tarik Samarah) triggered.¹⁶⁹ lxxxi
- Unit “Genocide in Srebrenica 1995, Humanitarian and Legal Aspects”: The question related to the film “Srebrenica – Crime and punishment” is: “What emotions predominate in the film?”¹⁷⁰ lxxxii

¹⁶³ *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 180.

¹⁶⁴ *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*: One of the educational aims is empathy with people of Sarajevo (p. 50), but the text *de facto* highlights only Bosniak victims (except in the story of Boško and Admira). Other sections also refer to this educational goal of developing empathy with the victims (section on the siege of Sarajevo, p. 63, section on ethnic cleansing, p. 69, section on the Srebrenica genocide, p. 76 and 79).

¹⁶⁵ With one exception: the story of Boško and Admira in 1990s’ Sarajevo.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77. “After watching the video, teacher can talk with students about emotions that this video evoked in them.”

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*

None of the questions for students at the end of the chapter dealing with crimes committed by the Croatian military during the war in Croatia touch on the topic of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people, although they are mentioned in the text (albeit in a self-legitimizing manner). The questions are:

“Where were the worst crimes committed during the Homeland War in the Republic of Croatia? What material damage did the Serb-Montenegrin aggression bring to the Republic of Croatia?”¹⁷¹ lxxxiii

The first question is open-ended. Therefore, in principle, students could name crimes committed by Croatian forces against Serb civilians - but the interpretation of the entire text of the chapter will not inspire them to do so.¹⁷² Rather, the answers will likely align with the main perspective presented in the chapter, according to which one's 'own' people appears as a legitimate defender and liberator and the other (Serb) people exclusively as an aggressor.

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*

The paragraph “From Historical Texts” provides information about the creation of distorted representations of the Serb people by Hollywood film productions during the period of 1996-2011. A passage from one of the sources¹⁷³ used in the textbook talks about the “satanization of the Serb people” by film producer Angelina Jolie:

“A false image of the Serbs as the sole culprits of the war and its horrors has been created in foreign public opinion through the media. [...] Probably the best example of the satanization of the Serb people is Angelina Jolie’s film “In the land of blood and honey”.”¹⁷⁴ lxxxiv

One of the two questions at the end of this paragraph is: “Why are they [Serbs] presented in this way?”¹⁷⁵ lxxxv

Following the message of the text¹⁷⁶, the only possible answer would be: because the West has manipulated public opinion about the Serbs. In fact, the method of critical thinking is used here not to question one's own positions, but to reinforce them. Being critical of “how others see us” thus becomes an exercise in strengthening one's 'own' national convictions.

¹⁷¹ *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 175.

¹⁷² See also under 2.2.1 “Sensitive issues / Controversial themes”.

¹⁷³ The used source is: Antić, Č. et al. (2016). *Istorija Republike Srpske*. Beograd, p. 406.

¹⁷⁴ *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 181.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ As discussed in 2.2.2. under (iv) “Monoperspectivity and the construction of distorted narratives”.

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

Within the first section, titled “Supplements related to the Holocaust and the Genocide against Serbs in the NDH”, the question is asked how the genocide of the Serbs became possible. The text provides the answer to this question by confirming the above positions¹⁷⁷ without leaving room for critical thinking.

“One of the fundamental questions that arise in the study of the genocide committed against the Serbs in the Independent State of Croatia during the World War II (1941-1945) is: how was such a crime possible and why did it happen? Answers to this question can be given only by comparatively tracing the history of Serbs and Croats and their mutual relations over an uninterrupted series of several centuries, from the moment when Serbs found themselves in the same state community with Croats. That is, the genesis of the genocidal acts against the Serbs must be sought in the times when the Orthodox Serbs, under pressure from the Turks, began to settle in Croatian lands in the 16th and 17th centuries.”¹⁷⁸ lxxxvi

In the second section, titled “Supplements related to the Patriotic Defence War and NATO Bombing of SRJ”, there is the following question:

“After the genocide of the Ustasha against the Serbs, was a common life even possible? Leaving the original and majority position, the Croats switched to the victorious side twice in the 20th century.”¹⁷⁹ lxxxvii

After reading to the end of the text, only one possible answer remains: the common life was impossible after what happened to the Serbs in the NDH during the World War II. Given the narrative present throughout the whole text, the question is suggestive rather than open ended and does not encourage critical thinking.

¹⁷⁷ As discussed in 2.2.2. under (iv) “Monoperspectivity and the construction of distorted narratives”.

¹⁷⁸ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

2.2.3.3. Conclusion

The analysed textbooks and teaching materials, which have a very strong legitimizing narrative with a clear juxtaposition of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ (*History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*; *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*; *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*) do not aim to promote critical thinking among students, especially in the chapters on the wars and conflicts in the region in the 1990s.

The aforementioned corresponding texts in all three textbooks and teaching materials (*History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*; *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*; *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*) offer students only one interpretation of the cause of the events, and the posed questions are either leading questions or allow only one possible answer. This confirms the narrative intention of all three texts.

- In the textbook and the material for teaching in Serbian, especially in the *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, this problem is caused by the construction of distorted historical narratives, where the relationships between cause and effect are presented in a leading way.
- The textbook and the material for teaching in Bosnian (textbook *History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)* and *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*) are more in line with the presentation of cause and effect relationships.¹⁸⁰ Although some examples of good practices can be found, the main problem remains: the almost exclusive emphasis on one’s ‘own’ side and the learning of empathy only towards one’s ‘own’ people. This hinders the promotion of critical thinking. *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)* lists the development of critical thinking as an explicit functional objective in almost every teaching unit, with the exception of the last two chapters “Breakup of SFRY and International Recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina” and “War and Post-war Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-2000)”.¹⁸¹ lxxxviii
- Looking at textbooks for teaching in Croatian, the textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)* offers individual examples of good practice in promoting critical thinking. The strength of this textbook is that, unlike the textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, it does not tell the course of history as a confrontation between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

¹⁸⁰ In the *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, understanding cause-and-effect relationships is mentioned as a functional aim, a material aim or a learning outcome in each of the five teaching units (on p. 47, 50, 63, 69, 76).

¹⁸¹ *Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 79 and 81. *Teaching Material (CS, 2018)* lists as one of the learning outcomes in the teaching unit “Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity” the following: “Using arguments, discuss and represent one’s own opinion formed through critical research of historical sources [...]” (p. 79).

2.2.4. Language that does not induce hatred

“In general, the language used in the textbooks should be free of expressions and definitions, which induce hatred and create an image of enemies, especially when speaking about neighbouring countries.” (2.10.)

Guidelines (2006)

While there is no universally accepted definition of hate speech, for the purpose of the analysis of the textbooks and teaching materials against paragraph 2.10. of the *Guidelines (2006)*, the following definitions were used:

- the definition of the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers: “the term “hate speech” shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin.”¹⁸²;
- the European Court of Human Rights jurisprudence, including a reference to: “[...] all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred based on intolerance (including religious intolerance) [...]”¹⁸³;
- the definitions laid out in criminal codes in force in BiH.

The analysed textbooks and teaching materials were found to mostly refrain from language that contains expressions and definitions which induce hatred. Some characteristics of such language could be found in *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*.

¹⁸² Council of Europe. (1997). Recommendation 97(20) of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers to member states on “hate speech”, adopted on 30 October 1997, https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=0900001680505d5b

¹⁸³ European Court of Human Rights. (14 June 2004). *Gündüz v. Turkey*, Application No. 35071/97, para. 40, <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-61522>
European Court of Human Rights. (6 October 2006). *Erbakan v. Turkey*, Application No. 59405/00, para. 56, <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-76232>

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Teaching Material (RS, 2018)

In the section “Supplements related to the Patriotic Defence War and NATO Bombing of SRJ”, the expressions and definitions used in certain passages exhibit characteristics of language that induces hatred, for example:

“The Albanian population formed the most culturally backward national minority in the newly established Kingdom of SHS. The archaic views in Albanian society have been cultivating the awareness about the legality of acquiring property through robbery and the right of the strongest to extortion. The militancy of Islam has fuelled religious fanaticism among Albanians. A political framework was given to such a backward society by the idea of Albania in the four vilayets: Skadar, Ioannina, Bitola and Kosovo.”¹⁸⁴ lxvix

“The obsession with expansion into territories that had never before belonged to the Albanian state and the pathological hostility towards the Serbs intensified, especially after the Balkan wars of 1912-1913.”¹⁸⁵ xc

The words “backward” and “archaic” and the references to the Albanian “population”, “society” and “national minority” exhibit characteristics of a general prejudice and hostility towards this people. Furthermore, generalisations referring to “militancy of Islam” which allegedly “fuelled religious fanaticism” may similarly be characterized as stigmatising of an entire group.¹⁸⁶ Although embedded in a historical context, the wording alone must reasonably be judged as stirring up emotions or prejudices towards Albanians.¹⁸⁷ It appears to be a biased and one-sided portrayal of relations between Serbs and Albanians designed to promote hatred.¹⁸⁸

The fact that these texts are foreseen as teaching materials makes them more problematic,¹⁸⁹ particularly in view of ECRI’s General Policy Recommendation No. 10, which stipulates that States should promote “[...] critical thinking among pupils and [equip] them with the necessary skills to become aware of and react to stereotypes or intolerant elements contained in [the] material they use”.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁴ *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 17.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ For comparison see here also the decision of the European Court of Human Rights, *Norwood v. the United Kingdom*, Application No. 23131/03, <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-67632>

¹⁸⁷ For hate speech against ethnicities see also the decision of the European Court of Human Rights, *Atamanchuk v. Russia*, Application No. 4493/11, paras. 53-73, <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-200839>

¹⁸⁸ See here also the decision of the European Court of Human Rights, *Balsytė-Lideikienė v. Lithuania*, Application No. 72596/01, paras. 78-80, <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-89307>

¹⁸⁹ See on hate speech and teaching materials also the judgement of the European Court of Human Rights, *Aksu v. Turkey*, Applications Nos. 4149/04 and 41029/04, paras. 81-86, <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-109577>

¹⁹⁰ European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. (2006). *ECRI General Policy Recommendation No. 10 on Combating Racism and Racial Discrimination in and through School Education*, para. II(2)(e), <https://rm.coe.int/ecri-general-policy-recommendation-no-10-on-combating-racism-and-racia/16808b5ad5>

2.2.5. Building Mutual Understanding and Reconciliation

“Textbooks should be scientifically based, objective, and aimed at building mutual understanding, reconciliation and peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.” (2.2.)

Guidelines (2006)

The analysed the subject of history textbooks and teaching materials, which deal with the 1990s in BiH, contribute more to the politicization and instrumentalization of the past than to mutual understanding and reconciliation.

The subject of history teaching in the Bosnian language

Textbook *Historija 9* (Šabotić et al., 2012), *Methodical Guide* (Šabotić et al., 2012), and *Teaching Material* (CS, 2018) show a number of good approaches to developing critical thinking and the principle of multiperspectivity. *Teaching Material* (CS, 2018) stands out because it offers students exercises aimed at writing posts from perspectives other than their own, and it presents how and why memories of the past can differ. In addition, both *Teaching Material* (CS, 2018) and *Methodical Guide* (Šabotić et al., 2012) list functional aims and learning outcomes in the relevant chapters that are consistent with the parameters of the CCC SLOs *History* (2015).

Despite all this, one cannot conclude that this textbook and these materials fulfil the goal of contributing to mutual understanding and reconciliation. This is mainly because they all clearly show empathy towards only one people, namely Bosniaks, and thus remain biased. Therefore, students and teachers working with this textbook and these materials will develop positive and empathetic emotions exclusively towards the Bosniak people. In many places, the bias is hidden behind general terms such as “homeland”, “victims of persecution”¹⁹¹, or “population”.¹⁹²

- ❑ “To develop love of homeland” without attempting to integrate the perspective of the ‘others’ could be interpreted as developing loyalty exclusively to one’s ‘own’ people.
- ❑ Although the term “population” implies that the consequences of the crimes against humanity are presented for the entire population, this is not the case, as only the part that refers to Bosniaks is presented.
- ❑ Only the Bosniak victims of war are mentioned, while the Serb victims are ignored. When victims are mentioned by name, they are always of Bosniak origin.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ For example, the teaching unit “War and Post-War Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-2000)” lists among the educational aims: “developing love for homeland” and “developing empathy among pupils and compassion for the victim of persecution”. (*Methodical Guide* (Šabotić et al., 2012), p. 81).

¹⁹² For example, the teaching unit “Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity” lists among the aims of the teaching hour: “Review the chronology and consequences of the genocide and crimes against humanity against the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” (*Teaching Material* (CS, 2018), p. 79).

¹⁹³ The only exception is the story of Boško and Admira. (*Ibid.*, p. 68).

The subject of history teaching in the Croatian language

Textbook *History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*

This textbook currently comes closest to the *Guidelines (2006)* principle of building mutual understanding and reconciliation. It offers individual examples of good practice that stimulate critical thinking. It addresses the sensitive issue of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people (crimes committed by members of HV against Serbs during the war in Croatia) without relativizing or justifying them. However, the textbook does not address crimes committed by members of the Croatian forces during the war in BiH, nor does it offer multiperspective approaches in the chapter on the war in BiH. The language and narrative are fairly balanced, although the narrative focuses on Croatian history. One of the strengths of this textbook is that it does not tell the course of history as a permanent confrontation between one's 'own' people (Croats) and the other peoples.

Textbook *History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*

The strategy used in this textbook to pronounce but justify and relativize the crimes of members of one's 'own' people (crimes of members of HV against Serbs during the war in Croatia) is not compatible with the principle of the *Guidelines (2006)* on mutual understanding. In the chapters on the 1990s in the region, empathy is developed only towards one's 'own' people. Overall, the textbook conveys self-justifying and ethnocentric perspectives, primarily portraying one's 'own' people (Croat side) as a legitimate victim, defender, and liberator and the other people (Serb side) exclusively as the aggressor.

The subject of history teaching in the Serbian language

Textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)* and *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*

Both the textbook and the teaching material are not in line with the *Guidelines (2006)* principle on mutual understanding and reconciliation. They lack a multiperspective approach and the stimulation of critical thinking, while certain paragraphs in *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)* contain expressions and definitions that exhibit some characteristics of language which induces hatred, especially against Albanians. Both develop distorted historical narratives that contradict most of the learning outcomes of the *CCC SLOs History (2015)*. In these distorted narratives, facts and interpretations are not separated, and historical myths take the place of history. Both mention only victims of one's 'own' people, while ignoring the victims of other peoples (Bosniaks, Croats). In the textbook *History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, except for two very short passages taken out of context, crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people are not mentioned. In the *Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, there is no mention of crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people, not even of Srebrenica.



CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



The period of war and conflicts of the 1990s in BiH and the region has entered the subject of history textbooks and teaching materials, so keeping silent about the war and its consequences is obviously not an alternative. The war must be dealt with in classrooms, especially because the memories of the war are widespread among the public and are politically instrumentalized by all three sides in BiH.

History education in the 21st century should aim to develop not only historical knowledge, but also *critical* historical knowledge necessary for understanding political, social, cultural, and economical systems. Meeting these goals in classrooms would enable students to develop into critical and responsible young citizens in a democratic society.¹⁹⁴

History as a subject should provide the answers needed “to critically understand the present, by teaching that any feature of the past must be interpreted in its historical context and by raising awareness that historical interpretation is a matter of debate.”¹⁹⁵

In post-conflict societies, the subject of history teaching and learning faces special challenges because “history is so closely tied to the emotions associated with national identity and collective belonging.”¹⁹⁶ Therefore, the subject of history teaching and learning in these societies should aim to contribute to mutual understanding and social healing as well. Special attention must be paid to “balancing the cognitive, the emotive and the ethical dimensions in history teaching and learning.”¹⁹⁷ Educational authorities, textbook authors, and teachers need to ensure that historical empathy developed through textbooks and teaching materials supports understanding rather than leading to identification or sympathy with only one position.

These standards for teaching history, especially critical for a post-conflict society, can be achieved through well-crafted the subject of history curricula, textbooks and teaching materials, and competent teachers.

The comparative analysis of the subject of history textbooks and teaching materials currently used for teaching and learning about the 1992-1995 period throughout BiH with the above-mentioned standards for teaching history as well as with the principles set forth in the *Guidelines (2006)*, yielded the following conclusions and findings:

There is a need for a fundamental change in the approach to teaching the subject of history in BiH, especially in relation to the period 1992-1995, i.e., away from the currently dominant narrative of monumental history to the narrative of critical history.

- The analysed textbooks and teaching materials are ethnocentric and develop three mutually exclusive narratives.
- The analysed textbooks and teaching materials dealing with the 1992-1995 period in BiH contribute to the politicization and instrumentalization of the past rather than to mutual understanding and reconciliation.

¹⁹⁴ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 6

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ McCully, A. (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7:2, p. 1-15, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 9.

- All recount the conflict-ridden 1990s almost exclusively as the years of one's 'own' victimhood, promote empathy only toward one's 'own' people, and portray the 'other' side almost exclusively as perpetrators.
- The implementation of multiperspectivity and related learning outcomes is not a predominant approach in any of the analysed textbooks and teaching materials.
- Where present, multiperspectivity and critical thinking are not designed to challenge the actions of members of one's 'own' people.

The fundamental problem in the analysed textbooks and teaching materials is the narrative of what Korostelina calls “monumental history”, which stands in binary opposition to the concept of “critical history”:

“Thus, societies recovering from recent violence can choose to create a monumental history to support the prevalence of one particular group and promote it as innocent and heroic, thus developing loyalty among the younger generation. They also can choose to teach a critical history that holds all perpetrators accountable and shows the complex roots of violence without promoting loyalty to one particular side.”¹⁹⁸

Due to the telling of monumental history, the principles defined in *Guidelines (2006)* regarding the period 1992-1995 in BiH are implemented only selectively in the analysed textbooks and teaching materials. For the same reason, the principles and guidelines defined by the Council of Europe for history education in the 21st century are also implemented only selectively.¹⁹⁹

As one of the most important guidelines that could lead to the telling of history as *critical history*, the Council of Europe emphasizes that the study of history should foster the ability to present and critically examine different, even conflicting, narratives.²⁰⁰ Of the eight principles defined by the Council of Europe, five are listed in appendix to this report. These are considered extremely important in the context of teaching about the history of the 1990s in BiH.

¹⁹⁸ Korostelina, K. V. (2016). History Education in the Midst of Post-conflict Recovery: Lessons Learned. In: Bentrovato, D., Korostelina, K. V. & Schulze, M. (Eds.). *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Post-war Societies*. V&R unipress, Göttingen, p. 289-309, p. 294. Korostelina explains: “In monumental history, an enemy is perceived as a single “entity” with uniform beliefs and attitudes that support common policies toward other groups. The image of an outgroup is rigid, firm, and homogeneous. In critical history, the diversity and competing priorities within an in-group and outgroup are emphasized and their cultural and political structures described as more complex and sometimes conflictual.” (p. 295), as well as: “In monumental history, intergroup relations are presented in terms of in-group victimization and outgroup aggression. Such presentations are instrumental in denying in-group responsibility for aggressive actions and are easy to use. The biases and prejudice are transformed into deep beliefs about the outgroup as an essential enemy, thus decreasing any possibility of mutual understanding. In critical history, education presents not only positive but also negative actions of the in-group, providing critical analysis of political and social foundations and consequences of negative events.” (p. 296).

¹⁹⁹ Council of Europe (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The recommendations proposed here are based on:

- a) principles of the Council of Europe,
- b) the results of this analysis, and
- c) scholarly research on the teaching of history in divided societies and on the teaching of sensitive and controversial topics.

Recommendation 1: Develop flexible curricula

The principles of the Council of Europe require flexible curricula. New, flexible history subject curricula in BiH should eliminate the current overload of content in the curricula and instead focus on achieving student learning outcomes specific to history. Achieving these learning outcomes would equip young people with a foundation of knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to engage in democratic discourse beyond the confines of the history classroom and school.

Recommendation 2: Acknowledge multiple identities and shared experiences and foster historical empathy toward the 'other'

Implementing historical empathy means a more “balanced historical perspective, particularly by exposing [students] to the motivations and experiences of the other community.”²⁰¹ This can only be achieved in BiH by refraining from the portrayal of supposedly fixed victim and perpetrator roles and by acknowledging and making visible the multiple identities of oneself and the others. This would strengthen positive emotions towards the ‘other’ and reduce negative feelings, thus leading to a change in mutual perceptions.²⁰²

A balanced historical perspective on the ‘other’ in post-conflict societies could be achieved by:

2.1: Focus on positive stories from the ‘other side’

Positive stories from the ‘other side’ make the ‘other’ visible as someone other than just a perpetrator, namely, e.g. also as a “heroic helper”.²⁰³

2.2: Portray also the ‘other side’ as victims of the war

All sides have experienced terror, torture, flight, expulsion, and death in the war. Recognize members of the ‘other side’ visible as victims of the war.²⁰⁴

2.3: Understand why and how the group narratives are formed

Challenge entrenched and unsubstantiated positions, “myth-bust” and expose the abuse of history.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. W. (2010). “You Can Form Your Own Point of View”: Internally Persuasive Discourse in Northern Ireland Students’ Encounters with History. *Teachers College Record*, 112:1, p. 142–181, p. 143.

²⁰² Čehajić-Clancy, S. & Bilewicz, M. (2017). Fostering reconciliation through historical moral exemplars in a post-conflict society. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 23:3, p. 288-296.

²⁰³ “[P]resenting people with stories of heroic helpers may be an important strategy in promoting reconciliation after mass violence, as such stories seem to undermine both ingroup and out group entitativity and the mutually exclusive categorization of groups as victims and perpetrators.” (Ibid., p. 290) This argument can be also found in: Carretero M. (2017). The Teaching of Recent and Violent Conflicts as Challenges for History Education. In: Psaltis, C., Carretero, M. & Čehajić-Clancy, S. (Eds.). *History Education and Conflict Transformation*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 370; and Marko-Stöckl, E. (2008). *Specific report on the role of history for reconciliation. My Truth, Your Truth - Our Truth? The Role of Truth Commissions and History Teaching for Reconciliation*. EURAC research, Bozen, p. 22.

²⁰⁴ See: McCully, A. (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 7:2, p. 9. See also: Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. W. (2012). Trying to “See Things Differently”: Northern Ireland Students’ Struggle to Understand Alternative Historical Perspectives. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 40:4, p. 371-408, p. 398, which elaborates: “In this way, the emotional component of empathy—caring about people and their viewpoints— might motivate students to engage in the critical thinking that teachers value, and might ultimately help students achieve their own goal of understanding ‘both sides’ of the conflict.” A study dealing with the Northern Ireland context calls this approach “empathy as caring”. It explains: “Crucially, through caring comes the possibility ‘to change our beliefs or behaviours in the present based on what we have learned from our study of the past’ [...] this becomes especially important when presented with the stories of those from a different background to yourself who have suffered through conflict in the recent past.” McCully, A. (2012). *History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past*, p. 9.

²⁰⁵ Psaltis, C., McCully, A., Agbaria, A., Makriyianni, C., Pingel, F., Karahasan, H., Carretero, M., Oguz, M., Choplarou, R., Philippou, S., Wagner, W. & Papadakis, Y. (2017). *Recommendations for the History Teaching of Intergroup Conflicts*. European Cooperation in Science and Technology, p.7, <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.12927.61602>

Recommendation 3: Acknowledge multiple identities and deal with crimes committed by members of one's 'own' people against members of other peoples

While Recommendation 2 suggests making the 'other' visible as something different than just a perpetrator (e.g., "heroic helper" and victim), Recommendation 3 suggests making those from one's 'own' community visible as something other than just a victim, i.e., also a perpetrator. A critical examination of this aspect of history would require abandoning the monoperspectival view of one's 'own' people as a collective of victims. It would also require telling differentiated and individualized aspects of the wartime past, including crimes committed against 'others' by perpetrators belonging to one's 'own' people.

Diverse and contradictory sources should be used when dealing with sensitive or controversial issues²⁰⁶ in order to break the monoperspectival view. This would contribute to the development of a critical and reflective perspective towards the history of one's 'own' and other communities.

Recommendation 4: Acknowledge competing narratives

The study of history should foster the ability to examine differing, even conflicting, narratives.²⁰⁷ This requires teachers to present conflicting viewpoints to students. Rather than learning monoperspectival stories, students "must be learning to analyze how these stories are constructed, how they might be told differently, and how they serve social or political purposes in the present."²⁰⁸

"The skills of evaluation, analysis, synthesis and interpretation, developed through the handling of conflicting evidence, both deepen students' understanding of the past but also provide a foundation for taking a more critical stance to those who seek to use the past to justify contemporary positions."²⁰⁹ Using these skills helps in "presenting a different way of approaching history – one that involves a distanced, analytical perspective and a balance among conflicting viewpoints."²¹⁰

Recommendation 5: Strengthen teachers' competencies

The subject of history teachers should receive additional training specifically for teaching the history of the 1990s conflict years, especially because this period is proving to be the most controversial and sensitive in BiH today. Teacher training should focus not only on the cognitive but also on the emotional aspects of learning. It should aim to use the subject of history as an effective tool for peace education, mutual understanding and social healing between the former conflict parties. To achieve this, it is necessary to teach critical historical knowledge aimed at developing critical and responsible young citizens in a democratic society, rather than at reinforcing ethnically exclusive national identities.

²⁰⁶ Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*, p. 9.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁰⁸ Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. W. (2010). "You Can Form Your Own Point of View": Internally Persuasive Discourse in Northern Ireland Students' Encounters with History. *Teachers College Record*, 112:1, p. 175.

²⁰⁹ McCully, A. (2012). History Teaching, Conflict and the Legacy of the Past, p. 7.

²¹⁰ Barton, K. C. & McCully, A. W. (2010). "You Can Form Your Own Point of View", p. 151.

Principle 1: “Developing flexible curricula and interactive pedagogies which acknowledge cultural differences.”²¹²

Guideline 4: “Teachers should consider selecting resources from an all-embracing and inclusive body of sources to avoid cultural domination, stereotypes and discrimination.”

Principle 4: “Recognising that people of different cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds have often been long established in societies.”²¹³

Guideline 2.1: “History education should not overlook the existing diversity, nor be limited to the national narrative coinciding with the history of the largest or dominant linguistic and cultural community.”

Guideline 2.2: “History teaching should be inclusive by recognising that “All cultures are involved with one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated and un-monolithic”.”

Principle 5: “Valuing the multiple identities of both ‘the other’ and ourselves.”²¹⁴

Guideline 1.3: “Othering is a form of stereotyping where we perceive ourselves as part of a united and undifferentiated group of people, as us or we; and those outside the group as fundamentally different – as them or ‘the other’ – inferior or weaker, even possibly dangerous, and hence we as stronger or better [...]”

Guideline 2.2: “A growing number of individuals, especially young people, have multiple cultural affiliations to enjoy, but also to manage, on a daily basis. Their *composite identity* can no longer be restricted to a *collective identity* related to a particular ethnic or religious group.”

²¹¹ This is an excerpt from five out of eight principles and related guidelines as defined in: Council of Europe. (2018). *Quality history education in the 21st century - Principles and guidelines*.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 10f.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 16f.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18f.

Principle 7: “Addressing issues that might be sensitive or controversial.”²¹⁵

Guideline 1.1: “The use of diverse and contradictory sources shows that the construction of knowledge is an on-going investigation, and events can be analysed from different perspectives [...].”

Guideline 3: “It is the potential of controversial issues to arouse strong emotions, inside and outside the classroom that is regarded as the greatest obstacle to teaching such issues.”

Guideline 3.1: “Teachers express anxiety about their ability to deal with the emotional component of learning, and refer that initial training should focus the emotive aspects of learning rather than concentrating solely on the cognitive ones.”²¹⁶

Principle 8: “Balancing the cognitive, the emotive and the ethical dimensions in history teaching and learning.”²¹⁷

Guideline 1.1: “This is of particular significance in the context of studying the more recent past and relating it to contemporary events and concerns.”

Guideline 1.2: “Teaching should incorporate a multiperspective approach to enable students to engage with different views to build a more informed understanding and to reflect critically.”

Guideline 2: “Historical empathy is a complex concept to teach. It relates to connecting with and understanding the likely motivation and causal factors for historical events and people’s actions.”

Guideline 2.1: “To do this, students need to engage with historical material and acquire a level of knowledge of the time.”

Guideline 2.2: “Historical empathy does not lead to identifying or sympathising with a position but supports understanding. The aim of teaching to develop historical empathy should not be to provoke emotional responses in students.”

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22f.

²¹⁶ The Council of Europe has published a Training Pack for Teachers on Teaching controversial issues through Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education: <https://rm.coe.int/16806948b6>

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24f.

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²¹⁸ All links were accessed concluding with 18 October 2022.

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- i “Nesrpsko stanovništvo koje nije pobjeglo na vrijeme ili koje nije imalo novca da kupi slobodu najčešće je završavalo u koncentracionim logorima. Među njima su se po okrutnosti prema zatvorenicima izdvajali logori u Omarskoj, Trnopolju, Keratermu i Manjači. Logori za Bošnjake formirani su i tokom sukoba između ARBiH i HVO-a, kao što su Heliodrom kod Mostara i Dretelj kod Čapljine.” (*History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 185)
- ii “Potom ćemo opisati početak i tok ratnih operacija u Bosni i Hercegovini, te zločine nad nesrpskim stanovništvom koji su počinjeni od strane srpskih paravojnih formacija, te vojske republike Srpske. Da bi olakšali dalje praćenje nastave, poslužiti ćemo se analizom slikovnog materijala iz udžbenika U/185 (slike zapaljene skupštine i koncentracionog logora u Trnopolju) [...]” (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 82)
- iii “→etničko čišćenje – protjerivanje nesrpskog stanovništva sa prostora pod svojom kontrolom →... - nesrpsko stanovništvo zatvarano u koncentracione logore (Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterm, Manjača...)” [The three dots at the end of the quote are part of the original quote.] (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 82)
- iv “Jedna od posljedica opsade Sarajeva bio je i jedan broj zločina nad civilima u gradu počinjen od strane pripadnika Oružanih snaga R BiH. Ovaj broj ne treba porediti sa brojem zločina koje su počinile srpske snage. Treba imati u vidu njegovu moralnu dimenziju i mrlju na obrazu herojske odbrane multietničkog Sarajeva. Najteži od ovih zločina su još u toku rata sudski sankcionisani.” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 23)
- v “Armija BiH zarobljenike držala u sabirnim centrima za ratne zarobljenike, zatvorima i drugim mjestima zatočenja (npr. Čelebići su od strane ICTY okarakterisani kao prison-camp).” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 31)
- vi “[...] te primijete da li se u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini nalaze masovne grobnice. Šta nam to govori?” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 73)
- vii “Logori za civilno stanovništvo po međunarodnom pravu i važećim konvencijama se ne smiju osnivati, te su se agresorske vlasti lukavo poslužile s mogućnošću da se logori za civile tretiraju logorima ratnih zarobljenika, a logoraši ratnim zarobljenicima.” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 182-183)
- viii “Logori na području pod kontrolom bh. Srba bili su pod kontrolom policijskih ili vojnih snaga Srpske republike od čega su najpoznatiji Omarska, Keraterm i Trnopolje (sva tri na području opštine Prijedor), Manjača (Banja Luka), Luka Brčko, KPD Foča, O.š. Vuk Karadžić (Bratunac), Sušica (Vlasenica), Batković (Biljeljina), Čelebići (Konjic) i dr.” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 183)
- ix “U nekim djelovima BiH (središnja Bosna, Rama, Mostar) su u proljeće 1993. političke razmirice prerasle u oružane sukobe. Oni su doveli do raseljavanja stanovnika i velikog broja poginulih.” (*History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 178)
- x “Za ratove na području bivše Jugoslavije [...] najodgovorniji su tadašnje srbijansko političko vodstvo, koje je provodilo velikosrpsku politiku, i srpski ekstremisti koji su započeli s nasiljem i zločinama kao metodom destabilizacije, osvajanja i etničkog čišćenja pojedinih područja u Hrvatskoj. Uslijed silovite srpske agresije na Hrvatsku zločine su počinili i neki pripadnici redovitih hrvatskih postrojbi. O tome govore ubojstva Srba, pojedinaca i skupina, u Gospiću, Osijeku, Sisku, Pakračkoj Poljani, i Paulin Dvoru 1991., u Medačkom džepu 1993. te događaji nakon operacije Oluja i primjer vojnog zatvora Lora u kojemu su zlostavljani neki zarobljeni pripadnici srpskih snaga. Protiv počinitelja tih zločina hrvatsko je pravosuđe provelo brojne kaznene postupke ili ih još uvijek vodi. Spomenuti zločini nisu bili dio hrvatske politike, niti su bili unaprijed planirana s namjerom protjerivanja Srba iz Hrvatske. Spomenuto se ne smije zanemariti ako se tijek povijesnoga procesa u Hrvatskoj od 1990. do 1995. želi prikazati cjelovito i objektivno. Posebice se ne smiju zanemariti okolnosti u kojima su zločini počinjeni. Upravo zbog toga što su to uglavnom radile planski, srpske snage počinile su neusporedivo veći broj zločina od svojih protivnika, pa je i broj ubijenih civila Hrvata veći nego broj ubijenih Srba. Završna oslobodilačka operacija Oluja je u odnosu na žrtve koje su na tim prostorima u povijesti prouzročile razne vojske u sličnim završnim operacijama provedena uz minimalne žrtve. Vodstvo pobunjenih Srba u Hrvatskoj najodgovornije je za stradanje i patnju svojih sunarodnjaka jer je odbacilo sve mirovne ponude Hrvatske vlade i međunarodne zajednice. Upravo zbog takvih okolnosti nije primjereno izjednačavati okolnosti nastajanja izbjegličkih kolona srpskoga stanovništva u Bljesku i Oluji 1995. s prognaničkim kolonama Hrvata i ostaloga nesrpskoga stanovništva iz godine 1991. Prve kolone posljedica su legalnih oslobodilačkih operacija hrvatskih vojno-redarstvenih snaga, a druge su rezultat plana o etnički čistoj velikoj srpskoj državi.” (*History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 173-174)
- xi “Civilno stanovništvo jako je postradalo, isto tako vjerski objekti i kulturni spomenici. Računa se da je u ratu u BiH poginulo više od 150.000 ljudi.” (*History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 237)
- xii “Srpski mediji i agitatori iz Srbije plašili su srpsko stanovništvo u Hrvatskoj da Republika Hrvatska sve više postaje slična ustaškoj NDH i da ako hoće ostati živi, trebaju uzeti oružje u ruke.” (*History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 234)
- xiii “Uspješnosti ove propagande neodmjerenim su izjavama pridonijeli i neki hrvatski političari te je u područjima Hrvatske naseljenim srpskim stanovništvom prevladalo antihrvatsko raspoloženje [...]” (*History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 234)
- xiv “Na poziv vodstva Republike Srpske Krajine, a dijelom i zbog straha od suočenja s posljedicama počinjenih zločina, većina srpskog stanovništva napustila je to područje i otišla u Srbiju. Njihov povratak još uvijek teče. Tijekom i nakon operacije Oluja spaljen je dio kuća odbjeglih Srba, a dogodilo se i više ubojstava srpskih civila. Pojedinci su za navedene zločine optuženi, a neka suđenja su još uvijek u tijeku.” (*History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 239)

- xv “U godinama do oslobođenja Hrvatske, računa se da je poginulo 13000 vojnika i civila. Mnogi su ranjeni, a još ih je više izbjeglo iz svojih domova. Ubijanjem i protjerivanjem nesrba trebalo je stvoriti etnički čista područja, naseljena isključivo Srbima.” (*History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 235)
- xvi “Мјеста масовних злочина била су: Сребреница, Козарац, Казани, Кравице, Ахмићи, Пакрац, Овчара, Медачки цеп. Највише су били разорени градови: Вуковар, Сарајево и Мостар.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 180).
- xvii “Једна од битних посљедица ратова за југословенско наслеђе јесу присилне миграције, прозване „**етничко чишћење**“. Становништво је напуштало своје домове пред војскама противничких народа. Из Хрватске је избјегло и протјерано скоро 450.000 Срба. Срби су према попису из 1991. године чинили преко 12% становништва те републике, а према попису из 2011. године тек нешто изнад 4%. У БиХ је расељено преко 1,3 милиона припадника свих народа. Према резултатима (оспораваним) пописа из 2013. године, у Федерацији БиХ Срби чине само 2,5% становништва. Срби су 1999. године, након повлачења југословенске војске и полиције са Космета, морали масовно напустити ту покрајину.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.] (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 180)
- xviii “Дана 1. марта 1992. десио се муслимански напад на српску свадбenu поворку, да би сутрадан Срби поставили барикаде у граду. Крвопролиће се десило на подручју Купреса, Босанског Брода и Бијељине. Обје стране, српска и муслиманско-хрватска, биле су наоружане. Срби су се ослањали на ЈНА, Хрвати на Хрватску, а муслимани су имали паравојну формацију „Патриотску лигу.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- xix “U јулу 1995. године српске снаге, Војска RS-a и МУП RS-a, под командом Ратка Младића освојиле су “заштићене зоне” Жепу и Сребреницу и том приликом побили више од осам хиљада Бошњака. Тиме је почињен највећи **genocid** у Европи након Другог свjetskog рата, што је потврдио и Међународни суд правде у Хагу 2007. године.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.] (*History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 187)
- xx “Обзиром да српске снаге нису дозвољавале конвојима УН-а да доставе храну, једини извор била су утврђена српска, те окупирана и поапљена муслиманска села. Становници Сребренице свакодневно су у потрази за храном одлазили кроз линије опсаде у та села. Прозвани су „трагачима за храном“. У потрази за храном многи су изгубили живот. У акцијама су учествовали цивили а често и дјеча.“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 37)
- xxi “стјецанје знанја о тihoj окупацији Босне и Херцеговине од стране ЈНА и паравојних формација из Србије и Црне Горе оданих SDS-у, [...], стјецанје знанја о почетку одбрабеноослободилачког рата, разарањима, ратним злочинима и генциду у Сребреници [...]“ (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 81)
- xxii “развijaње љубави према домовини, осуда агресије једне државе на другу државу, осуда ратних sukoba и материјалних разарања, осуда људских прогона, осуда национализма и вjерске дискриминације, развijaње емпатије код ученица/ученика и suosjećанја за жртву прогона.“ (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 81)
- xxiii “[...] развijaње способности ученица/ученика да упознају историју из различитих историјских извора, развijaње способности уочавања узрочно-посљедичних veza [...]“ (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 81)
- xxiv “U наставку часа ученицама/ученицима ћемо појаснити потписивање Вашиingtonског споразума и настанак Федерације Босне и Херцеговине, а затим и догађаје који су претходили потписивању дејтонског мировног споразума (убиство 71 Тузлака и Тузланке – мај 1995, те пад заштићених зона Жепа и Сребренице – јули 1995). Посебну пажњу посветит ћемо генциду почињеном у Сребреници, јула 1995. године [...]“ (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 82)
- xxv “[...] - заштићене зоне УН-а (Сребреница, Жепа, Тузла, Сарајево, Бићац и Горажде); - 1995. освојена Жепа, а потом и Сребреница (11. јула) → почињен генцид над Бошњацима у којем је убијено преко 8 000 људи [...]“ (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 82)
- xxvi “[...] [дошло је до] највеће[г] страдањ[а] цивилног становни[штва] послије Другог свjetskog рата.“ (*History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 179)
- xxvii “Највећим масакром босанскохерцеговачког рата сматра се покољ у Сребреници у српњу 1995. године. Српска војска [...] тада је убила више од осам тисућа муслиманских мушкараца и дјецака.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.] (*History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 237)
- xxviii “Мјеста масовних злочина била су: Сребреница, Козарац, Казани, Кравице, Ахмићи, Пакрац, Овчара, Медачки цеп. Највише су били разорени градови: Вуковар, Сарајево и Мостар.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 180)
- xxix “ВРС је у јулу заузела Сребреницу и Жепу.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 187)
- xxx “Присјетите се лекције **Резултати и посљедице Другог свjetskog рата**. Научили сте о страхотима нацистичког режима над становништвом окупираних дијелова Европе, а посебно Јеврејима. Тада сте се упознали и са појмовима **holokaust** и **genocid** и учили о концентрационим логорима, ратним злочинима, прогонима, обилежаванју и уништавању Јевреја. Унаточ опћепознатој чинјеници да се сматрало да је антифашистичка борба у коначници уништила све оно што је са собом donio фашизам и nacizam, rat на простору бивше Југославије, а посебно у Босни и Херцеговини, је показао да су поједина обилежја Другог свjetskog рата веома видљива и у савременом добу.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.] (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 24)
- xxxi “Слично као иза Другог свjetskog рата, када је свијет остао шокiran размјерима злочина које су нацисти почињили на просторима окупиране Европе, слична реакција је услједила и након рата у Босни и Херцеговини. Уз помоћ наставника/ице упоредите ове фотографије и закључите шта је слично а шта другачије у злочинима из два различита рата XX stoljeća.“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 27)

- xxxii “Zapamtimo: [...] Ratne strahote u Bosni i Hercegovini 90-tih godina u mnogočemu su podsjećale na fašističke zločine iz Drugog svjetskog rata.” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 32)
- xxxiii “Da li ima neki događaj iz prošlosti na koji ih je ova reportaža podsjetila?” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 74)
- xxxiv “Velikosrpska agresija na Hrvatsku” (*History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 158)
- xxxv “У намјери да сачува српски народ од могућег понављања геноцида и да му омогући остатак у Југославији, Скупштина српског народа у Босни и Херцеговини прогласила је 9. јануара 1992. године Републику српског народа у Босни и Херцеговини, касније названу Република Српска.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- xxxvi “Proanaliziraj sva tri dijela i pokušaj odrediti politiku i interese različitih strana u Bosni i Hercegovini.” (*Textbook History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 183)
- xxxvii “Razgovarati o različitim iskustvima i perspektivama istog događaja.” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 63)
- xxxviii “Тјеком српске агесије избиле су несугласице између Хрвата и Бошњака. Већ постојеће разлике продубљене су каотићним стањем и тежким ратним приликама [...]. За Бошњаке је било спорно проглашење Хрватске Републике Херцег-Босна (3. српња 1992.), а Хрвати су сматрали да бошњачки чѐлници жеље минимизирати улогу Хрвата на свим подручјима живота у БиХ.” (*Textbook History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 178)
- xxxix “Контроверзе о југословенском уједињењу углавном се свде на два супростављена схватања. По једном, 1918. била је историјска девијација, погрешна процјена водећих људи Србије, историјска заблуда и догађај без историјске основе. По другом, уједињење 1918. било је резултат дуге борбе југословенских народа, која је почела крајем 18. вијека.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 13)
- xl “Prilikom opsade Sarajeva desila se su dva zločina nad civilnim stanovništvom grada na pijaci Markale [...]. Mediji su već tada prikazivali dvije verzije događaja, sa jedne strane sarajevsko „Oslobođenje“ a sa druge strane banjalučki „Glas Srpski“: [...] Stranice Oslobođenja bile su ispunjene dirljivim prizorima nakon masakra, kao što su, primjera radi, dvije kćerke tražile majku Fatimu, porodice se raspituju za svoje najmilije [...]. Za razliku od Oslobođenja, Glas Srpski iznosi špekulacije koje su se pojavile o tome ko je ispalio granatu na Markale. Na naslovnoj stranici ovih banjalučkih dnevnih novina prva i udarna vijest bila je izjava Radovana Karadžića sa velikim naslovom „Muslimanska podmetanja“, u kojoj tvrdi da su muslimani sami sebe ubijali. Na istoj stranici nalazi se i članak o sjećanju na zločine nad srpskim narodom tokom Drugog svjetskog rata. [...] Sjećanje na žrtve iz Drugog svjetskog rata baš u ovom trenutku vjerovatno je bio način da se opravdaju zločini i još više rasplamsa mržnja prema nesrpskom stanovništvu. [...] Da ironija bude veća, Krajišnik izjavljuje „saučešće porodicama poginulih u masakru“. [...] Uz pomoć nastavnika/ce pročitajte tekst. Da li su ubistva civila na Markalama zločin? Kako zločinu prilazi sarajevsko Oslobođenje? Kako zločinu pristupa banjalučki Glas Srpski? Raspravite u učionici o ulozi medija u ratovima.” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 12-13)
- xli “[...] razvijanje empatije kod učenica/učenika i suosjećanja za žrtvu progona”
„[...] razvijanje sposobnosti učenica/učenika da upoznaju historiju iz različitih historijskih izvora [...]“ (*Methodical Guide (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 81)
- xlii “КР БиХ почела исправљати погрешан став о босанским муслиманима признајући да су засебна нација.” (*Textbook History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 190)
- xliiii “По језику и етничкој припадности становништво Босне и Херцеговине је једна иста цјелина подијељена у три „религиозне нације“. Вјерска нетрпељивост је увијек била јача од мотива јединства. На основу систематских антрополошких истраживања, на живом становништву и на скелетима, француски научник Ежен Питар установио је 1913. да су Срби најстарији становници Босне и Херцеговине, али да су подијељени у три „религиозне нације“. Ипак, вјерска припадност била је тако дубока и тако се далекосежно простирала, да су разлике између три вјерске група (православаца, муслимана и римокатолика) биле јаче изражене, него разлике међу расама у расно мијешаним друштвима западног свијета.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 15)
- xliv “Постојао је „религиозни национализам“ или „национализам Судњег дана.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 15)
- xlv “Муслиманско-хрватски референдум о независности БиХ одржан је 29. фебруара 1992, а његов резултат било је „скоро 63% позитивних гласова“, што није била двотрећинска већина.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- xlvi “Запад, опијен побједом у Хладном рату, није препознао интерес за одржавање Југославије на новим друштвеним и идејним основама. САД, Немачка, Ватикан и други моћници подржали су насилне сецесије и ускратили Србима право на самоопредељење. Југославија је пропала у серији грађанских ратова.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 177)
- xlvii “[Срби] [...] [3]а одбрану Југославије нису добили подршку Запада. Побједник у Хладном рату имао је користи од снажења национализма и подјеле СССР-а на републике, па је сличан процес подржао и у Југославији.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 178)
- xlviii “Обим и вријеме ратова за југословенско наслеђе увелико су контролисали свјетски моћници.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 179)
- xliv “[...] Србија је вратила овлашћења на територијама аутономних покрајина Војводине и Косова и Метохије.” (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 169)
- l “[...] буна Албанаца на Косову и Метохији (1996-1998). Војска и полиција СРЈ угушиле су буну.” [The bold print corresponds to the original quote.] (*History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 182)

- li “Проглашењем југословенске државе 1918. Срби су сматрали да је ријешено српско питање, отворено 1804, тиме што су скоро сви Срби били окупљени у једну државу.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 13)
- lii “Тито је стварао „федерацију равнотеже”, која је ишла на штету Србије.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 13)
- liii “Национално питање је отворено први пут на Осмом конгресу СКЈ 1964, а разбијање Србије започето је после Брионског пленума 1966, јер су постепено покрајине биле дигнуте на исти ранг са „ужом Србијом”, а уставом из 1974. добиле атрибуте државе.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 14)
- liv “Разбијање Југославије отворило је српско питање, тј. питање граница српске државе.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 15)
- lv “Дубински узроци грађанског рата у Босни и Херцеговини (1992–1995) у основи су исти они као историјски корјени више сличних устанака у историји ових покрајина у 19. и 20. вијеку. Ради се о неспособности српског ослободилачког покрета да изађе на крај са интересима римокатоличке Средње Европе, која је Босну и Херцеговину користила као пробну област у сталном сукобу са Русијом. Од 1805. до 1992. било је 14 различитих српских националних устапака и буна. Ти покрети, засновани на аграрном питању, били су основни мотив друштвеног напретка све до уједињења 1918. Најсличнији грађанском рату (1992–1995) били су тзв. Вукаловићев устанак (1852–1862) и Велика источна криза (1875–1878). Узрок свих тих покрета била је тежња православних Срба у БиХ да се уједине са сународницима у Србији и Црној Гори.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 15)
- lvi “Дакле, већ у освит 18. вијека наилазимо на податак да су хрватски и римокатолички феудални кругови, из разлога вјерског и класног антагонизма, били спремни на геноцид против православних Срба [...]. Пресудну улогу у ширењу нетрпељивости према Србима имали су Римокатоличка црква, као и хрватски и славонски феудалци.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 4)
- lvii “У одбрани тзв. „историјског права хрватског народа”, која је имала циљ да образује велику и самосталну хрватску државу, у другој половини 19. вијека створена је идеологија бескопромисног, екстремног хрватског национализма, који је оштрицу своје нетрпељивости најчешће усмјеравао против Срба.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 5)
- lviii “Деструкција српског имена у хрватској политици и хрватском друштву увијек је била праћена непрестаним јавним истицањем да су Срби издајници, реметилачки чинилац, да су хајдучки и разбојнички народ.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 6)
- lix “Дакле, потпуно је јасно да је идеја о геноциду над Србима била сасвим сазрела у оквирима Хабзбуршке монархије још прије избијања Првог свјетског рата. [...] Када је извршен Сарајевски атентат на Франца Фердинанда, на геноцид спремни хрватски политички кругови сматрали су да је наступио погодан тренутак када Србе треба уништити.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 7)
- lx “Идеје Иве Пилара о Хрватској до Дрине, која укључује Босну и Херцеговину, прожеле су читаву хрватску политику. Оне чине основ националне мисли и геостратешких циљева хрватског народа, а у погледу великохрватских територијалних претензија чине органску цјелину између правашких погледа из друге половине 19. вијека и касније оствареног територијалног идеала за вријеме Независне Државе Хрватске.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 7)
- lxi “На темељу те идеологије, хрватски политичари су непрестано, од средине 19. вијека, намјеравали да створе велику и етнички хомогену хрватску државу, на чијој територији не би било Срба. То су идеолошке основе геноцида над Србима у Независној Држави Хрватској за вријеме Другог свјетског рата.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 7–8)
- lxii “Идеологија усташког покрета, као водећег политичког чиниоца Независне Државе Хрватске, била је у сагласности са националним и вјерским ставовима велике већине хрватског народа [...]. У Независној Држави Хрватској (1941–1945), коју је подржала велика већина хрватског народа, вршен је најтежи вид геноцида над Србима, Јеврејима и Ромима.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 9)
- lxiii “Велики број босанскохерцеговачких муслимана ставио се у службу НДХ и њене политике геноцида.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 11)
- lxiv “У намјери да сачува српски народ од могућег понављања геноцида и да му омогући остатак у Југославији, Скупштина српског народа у Босни и Херцеговини прогласила је 9. јануара 1992. године Републику српског народа у Босни и Херцеговини, касније названу Република Српска.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- lxv “Ватикан и Њемачка одиграли су кључну улогу у историјском припремању грађанског рата у Југославији (1991–1995).” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 15)
- lxvi “Ватикан је тражио да се у Источној Европи стварају нове римокатоличке државе.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- lxvii “Социјалистичка Федеративна Република Југославија нестала је са политичке карте Европе у међународном, вјерском и грађанском рату. Разбијање СФРЈ изведено је методом оружане сецесије, уз свесрану подршку међународног чиниоца. Начело територијалне цјелокупности државе и њених међународнопризнатих граница, гарантовано Повељом Уједињених нација, није поштовано у случају Југославије [...] Српски народ је изузет од универзалног права на самоопредељење, а чак је означен и као агресор.” (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- lxviii “Исламска декларација написана је 1970. и двије деценије кружила је у рукопису. Алија Изетбеговић се залагао да муслимани политичким и војним средствима освоје власт, а своје идеје изградио је проучавањем исламских фундаменталистичких мислилаца. Прва жртва такве идеологије био је лаички ислам у БиХ. Фундаменталистичка идеологија побједила је, поред

- осталог, и због напора америчке политике да се комунистичкој идеологији супростави религија. Управо је та подршка била кључна у побједи исламског фундаментализма у БиХ над осталим исламским струјама.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 16)
- lxi “Идеја о „Великој Албанији” створена је у кругу албанских интелектуалаца у Цариграду 1877, а саопштена на скупштини Лиге за одбрану права арбанашког народа 1878. у Призрену. [...] Да би остварили зацртани циљ, Албанци су кроз цијели 20. вијек тражили подршку оних сила заинтересованих за прекрајање граница на Балкану (Османско Царство, Аустроугарска, фашистичка Италија, нацистичка Њемачка и Сјеверноатлантски савез, предвођен САД).“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 17)
- lxx “Албански сепаратизам у јужној српској покрајини прерастао је у отворени тероризам и оружани сукоб са полицијом и Војском Југославије 1998. Западне силе су се укључиле у нови оружани сукоб на Балкану, штитећи своје стратешке интересе и опет оптужујући Срба за наводну агресију.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 17)
- lxxi “Prokomentiraj navedene izjave i obrazloži da li se slažeš s njima ili ne?” (*Textbook History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 187)
- lxxii “Unatoč ratu i opsadi, stanovnici grada Sarajeva nisu zaboravili da su stoljećima živjeli zajedno. Pogledajte jednu takvu priču o tome kako su različite nacije saradivale zajedno, da bi preživjele rat i opsadu [...]“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 12)
- lxxiii “Objasniti kako i zašto se mogu razlikovati sjećanja ljudi o prošlosti; [...] zastupati vlastito mišljenje kreirano na kritičkom ispitivanju historijskih izvora [...]“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 79)
- lxxiv “U kojoj mjeri nacionalni interesi različitih strana imaju ista obilježja i kako su prikazani? U kojoj mjeri su političari spremni manipulirati u cilju postizanja nacionalnih interesa? Koliko obični pojedinac može biti svjestan ove manipulacije? [...]“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 79-80)
- lxxv “Budući da je zemlja nacionalno duboko podijeljena, postoje danas barem tri različita shvaćanja Bosne i Hercegovine i njezine budućnosti.“ (*Textbook History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 241-242)
- lxxvi “Kakav bi ustroj po tvom mišljenju trebala imati BiH?” (*Textbook History 9 (Erdelja et al., no year)*, p. 243)
- lxxvii “Možeš li objasniti da li je ovom porukom Milošević ostavljao prostora za mirni dogovor s drugim republikama? Šta ih je očekivalo ukoliko ne popuste srbijanskom pritisku?” (*Textbook History 9 (Šabotić et al., 2012)*, p. 180)
- lxxviii “Koje emocije prevladavaju u njihovim iskazima?” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 62)
- lxxix “Kakve emocije su vladale tokom vođenja intervjua?” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 68)
- lxxx “Kakve emocije je kod njih [učenika i učenica] izazvala ova reportaža?” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 74)
- lxxxi “Nakon pregleda videa nastavnik sa učenicima može razgovarati o emocijama koje ovaj video kod njih budi.“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 77)
- lxxxii “Kakve emocije prevladavaju u filmu?” (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 78)
- lxxxiii “Gdje su počinjeni najgori zločini tijekom Domovinskog rata u Republici Hrvatskoj? Koliku je materijalnu štetu Republici Hrvatskoj donijela srpsko-crnogorska agresija?” (*Textbook History 9 (Bekavac et al., 2018)*, p. 175)
- lxxxiv “У иностраном јавном мњењу путем медија стварана је искривљена представа о Србима као јединим кривцима за рат и његове страхоте. [...] Вјероватно најбољи примјер сатанизације српског народа представља филм Анђелине Јули „У земљи крви и меда““ (*Textbook History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 181)
- lxxxv “Зашто су тако приказани [Срби]?” (*Textbook History 9 (Vasić, 2018)*, p. 181)
- lxxxvi “Једно од основних питања које се поставља приликом изучавања геноцида почињеног над Србима у Независној Држави Хрватској за вријеме Другог свјетског рата (1941-1945) јесте: како је такав злочин био могућ и зашто се десио? Одговоре на то питање могуће је дати једино ако се историја Срба и Хрвата и њихових међусобних односа прати упоредо у непрекинутом низу од неколико столећа, од тренутка кад су се Срби нашли са Хрватима у истој државној заједници. Дакле, генезу геноцидних радњи над Србима треба тражити у временима кад су се православни Срби, под притиском Турака, у 16. и 17. вијеку почели досељавати у хрватске земље.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p.3)
- lxxxvii “Да ли је послје усташког геноцида над Србима уопште и био могућ заједнички живот? Хрвати су два пута у 20. вијеку, напуштањем првобитне и већинске позиције, прелазили на побједничку страну.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p.14)
- lxxxviii “Argumentovano diskutirati i zastupati vlastito mišljenje kreirano na kritičkom ispitivanju istorijskih izvora [...]“ (*Teaching Material (CS, 2018)*, p. 79)
- lxxxix “Албанско становништво чинило је у тек основаној Краљевини СХС културно најзаосталију националну мањину. Архаична схватања албанског друштва његовала су свијест о легалности стицања имовине пљачком и правом јачег на отимачину. Милитантност ислама подстицала је вјерски фанатизам код Албанаца. Политички оквир тако заосталом друштву давала је идеја о Албанији у четири вилајета: скадарском, јањинском, битолском и косовском.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 17)
- xc “Опсједнутост проширењем на територије које никада раније нису припадале албанској држави и патолошко непријатељство према Србима, посебно је почело да јача након Балканских ратова 1912-1913.“ (*Teaching Material (RS, 2018)*, p. 17)

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