

Working Group on Conflict Resolution

Introduction

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Social and political conflicts related to tragic events of the recent or remote past, often called “memory wars”, have increased in many European countries because of deep changes of domestic and international landscapes. One of the most relevant sources for these conflicts has been the collapse of the Soviet Union, with the birth of many independent States and with the end of the Warsaw Pact. The events of the Second World War and of the Soviet regime became a matter of controversy between Russia on the one side and the Baltic States, Ukraine and Poland on the other side. These controversies also have domestic dimensions, as for instance the Holodomor, the famine of 1932–33 in Ukraine, which is still a matter of heated controversies not only between Russia and Ukraine but also within Ukraine, where public opinion is split between those who maintain that it was a genocide planned by the Soviet regime in order to crush Ukrainians’ resistance against collectivization, and those who consider it as the consequence of gross mistakes of the regime, which was unable to face an agricultural crisis and thus worsened it, but which didn’t have the intention of striking Ukrainian people. The new opportunities for free speech also unleashed in many of these States debates and controversies about their domestic communist regimes. The collapse of Yugoslavia fueled many controversies relating to internal political and national conflicts that had emerged during the Second World War.

A second source of controversies is the multicultural transformation of many societies: people whose forefathers shared conflicts whose echo still sounds today or, after a time of oblivion, has been reawakened for the purpose of building collective identities are now in daily contact. In the United Kingdom the T.E.A.C.H. report ¹ shows some historical issues which can stir emotions and conflicts in the classroom, depending on the ethnic and cultural back-

¹ The Historical Association, T.E.A.C.H.. A Report from The Historical Association on the Challenges and Opportunities for Teaching Emotive and Controversial History 3–19, London [2007].

grounds of the pupils: the Crusades, the partition of India, the Holocaust, the transatlantic slave trade, Irish history and the history of immigration to Britain². These conflicts lead many teachers to avoid such sensitive issues, as the report relates:

For example, a history department in a northern city recently avoided selecting the Holocaust as a topic for GCSE [General Certificate of Secondary Education] coursework for fear of confronting anti-Semitic sentiment and Holocaust denial among some Muslim pupils. In another department, teachers were strongly challenged by some Christian parents for their treatment of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the history of the state of Israel that did not accord with the teachings of their denomination. In another history department, the Holocaust was taught despite anti-Semitic sentiment among some pupils, but the same department deliberately avoided teaching the Crusades at Key Stage 3 because their balanced treatment of the topic would have directly challenged what was taught in some local mosques³.

Teachers often feel inadequate to teach these sensitive issues because they lack specific training, both in terms of content and didactical strategy, and this is true not only in the UK. Hence the need of a specific teacher training (both initial and in-service), which must involve not only history, but also citizenship education. Because many of these historical events have an impact on social conflicts, the pupils must be shown how conflicts can be managed and solved with democratic tools. The need for training is reemphasized because neither official curricula nor textbooks explicitly advocate a multiperspective and controversial didactical approach.

The members of the Working Group have discussed some of the major ways in which teacher training could focus on controversial historical issues. We start from a position that it is not enough to give a multiperspective view and critical information on historical events, but that it is also necessary to take into considerations pupils' emotions related to this information, which have a decisive impact on the outcome of didactical activity. It is therefore necessary to include psychological skills in the training, perhaps using workshop practices. It is then necessary to investigate the public use of history, which is becoming more and more relevant in European societies through official memory policies and media. In this context not only historians provide a great amount of research, but also socio-psychologists when investigating the implications of socially

² Ivi, p. 11.

³ Ivi, p. 15.

shared representations of history for the construction of social identities and for real-life intergroup relations and conflicts. Finally, a list of potential conflicts in one's country must be addressed and the relevant historical documentation must be provided for the construction of teaching units, together with the related citizenship issues, such as in case of conflicts having an international relevance or producing ethnic conflicts within a society.

In order to contribute to a project of teacher training on controversial historical issues the members of the Working Group have written a set of reports on the many conflicts of this kind in their own countries highlighting how they are (or are not) dealt with in history and civic education. Some teaching units, available in the project's website, have been constructed as examples of what can be used in teacher training.

Country Reports

Czech Republic

Marie Homerová

Teaching about conflicts in history and citizenship education

As my latest research and numerous consultations with Social Sciences' teaching experts and school teachers have shown, the traditional chronological concept of history teaching has changed only in details in the Czech Republic. History events are presented in a "neutral and scientific" way, i.e. as the overview of information; the main shortcomings are the insufficient pedagogical and didactic strategies. The reason is that there is a strong conviction among historians, educators and policy-makers, that history is a science and ought to be presented as an overview. It is not conceived by many theoreticians as a school subject where Citizenship can be effectively incorporated. Until now there have been no official efforts to integrate Citizenship in the school subject History, and there is no official ITT study program containing explicitly Citizenship education. School history textbooks are conceived in the same way, their texts are descriptive, and they are conceived as a survey of historical events, the conflicts included. Conflicts are presented as a survey of informative events; there is no effort to use conflicts as convenient education examples for Citizenship education.

Citizenship is taught separately in the school subjects Civics and Social Sciences presenting mostly theoretical texts without using cases and practical training for development of citizenship literacy and intellectual skills of pupils. The ITT university programs are based on the same attitude. Therefore the quality of Citizenship education and the development of citizens' skills are dependent on the professional skills and responsibility of each individual teacher. There has been no systematic concept on Citizenship's involvement in active Social Sciences' teaching elaborated yet. There is no didactic professional literature or teaching materials focused on conflict teaching combined with education for Citizenship.

The sensitive conflicts concerning Czech history discussed in public at present are: the Nazi Regime in Occupied Czech Lands and Collaboration; the expulsion of the German Population in 1945; the Communist Regime and Collaboration; Resistance in Totalitarian Regimes of 20th century; Society in the Period of Communism and Dissidents; the Velvet Revolution; and the Division of Czechoslovakia⁴.

These conflicts are luckily not completely left out of school teaching: Secondary Grammar school history teachers have the chance to teach these themes in special seminars (workshops). There are no official textbooks for these themes, but teachers can prepare their own teaching materials using mostly the professional journals, literature or documentaries. However, according to the research the workshops, lectures and seminars concerned with the teaching about Citizenship are mostly conceived as academic themes. Nevertheless, participating students have the chance to discuss, elaborate their own presentations or to do their own research. They are participating in active learning. The “conflict topics” are mostly focused on Czechoslovak or Czech History, the European or global dimensions are involved far less frequently. As all the university ITT study programs show academic lecturing prevails. ITT students of history are seldom trained in active didactics teaching, not to speak about integration of training in Citizenship. There is more lecturing and talking about teaching strategies for Citizenship than practical intensive training. The ITT pedagogical and didactic courses and ITT practical training are evidently insufficient and their quality should be enhanced⁵.

Due to the shortcomings in teachers’ pedagogical and practical training the number of young people who learn about “sensitive history” is limited. Secondary school students, predominantly vocational secondary pupils, have few opportunities to learn about the historical events and development after 1945. They know, sadly, very little about the political or cultural trends or decisive events from this period, despite the fact that such topics are highly important for their understanding of the present. This situation is often criticized in our pedagogical press and history teachers’ sessions. Recently numerous discussions and suggestions on “how to improve” this unfavorable state in history teaching have shown that the teachers want to change the existing situation.

⁴ History Teaching and Social Sciences curricula, 2005–2011; ITT Social Sciences Study and History Study Programs, 2011 (source: www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/akreditovane-studijni).

⁵ Source: www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/akreditovane-studijni programy-VŠ.

Nonetheless, little has been changed in practice. Critics have frequently emphasized the significance of teaching contemporary history as the basis for understanding of the phenomena of the current period. Numerous authors of critical articles have accentuated the knowledge of contemporary history as a means of prevention and for reducing extremist attitudes among young people, e.g. Neo-Nazis, radical anarchists or even school bullies⁶.

There are also opportunities for teaching about conflicts in extra-curricular activities or history competitions based on students' activities. Recently the Czech project called Disappeared Neighbors for secondary school students has been finished. This long-lasting project was enormously successful. It was organized and managed by the Jewish Museum in Prague and was aimed at students from 12–19. The project was based on students' own research in local archives, on interviews with eye-witnesses and the Holocaust survivors. Student teams from different basic and secondary schools tried to find out the life stories of their "lost neighbors" in their native town or village during the Second War. They were using archival materials, local chronicles, and survivors' memoires concerning the Holocaust's events. The results of their research have been elaborated in forms of records, papers or literary essays. The by-product was a big contribution to local history. Hundreds of students from all the regions in the Czech Republic participated in the project, highly intrigued, as they have described on the school websites.

Participating students appreciated in their radio and TV interviews especially their better understanding of the Holocaust origins, the reasons of the hatred and atrocities. They gained a more emotional insight and feeling of empathy, realized the omnipresent threat of "repeating history". The final results of the project were surprising, lots of records, valuable literary essays and videos have been elaborated. At the end of the project a literary competition was declared comprising life stories about the lost neighbors. Because of the unexpected success, numerous history teachers have suggested organizing a similar project again, predominantly the one focused on the events after 1945, e.g. Communist labor camps and political prisoners in the Cold War, the part of still unknown history among young people.

The events from contemporary Czech history are efficiently explored by

⁶ Sources: www.ucitelskenoviny.cz, www.ucitelskelisty.cz, discussion articles in 2010–2012.

Czech radio or TV documentaries. These materials are not elaborated explicitly for school teaching but might be effectively used in Citizenship education. The project Stories of the 20th Century is a successful series of narrative examples, broadcast by the Czech BBC radio . These stories, based on newly discovered archival materials and interviews with political prisoners, are mostly devoted to the history of the Cold War, starting with the Nazi occupation, German expulsion in 1945, the persecution of anti-communist political opponents, show trials of 1950s, the Warsaw Pact occupation in 1968, the dissidents in the 1970s and 1980s. The moving personal dramas reveal “unknown contemporary history”. These stories are available for school teachers in written form and DVD, very helpful for teaching about the totalitarian systems and human rights. Recently a long lasting TV documentary project presenting the events of the Nazi occupation, related to the Reinhard Heydrich’s Assassination, has started. It has brought about new findings from the archives. Numerous TV documentaries comprise also convenient materials for school teaching. History teachers might use these stories for showing “what is positive/ moral vs. negative/im-moral” in the life of an individual and society. Documentaries are available on the TV websites. They have to be mostly adapted in a more didactic concept, as these materials are aimed on more advanced learners of history. There are few pedagogically convenient school documentaries on the European history after 1945⁷.

ITT university programs include special optional seminars where students can attend theme-centered lectures or workshops focused on a selected conflict, e.g. Contemporary history including Resistance in the period of Communism; Show trials in the 1950s; the Prague Spring. In these seminars students can discuss and elaborate their own presentations or do their own research. Unfortunately the number of young people, who can learn about conflicts in modern history, is limited. The students from the other secondary schools and vocational schools, the majority of future citizens, very seldom have such opportunity,. . This situation at our schools is often criticized in our pedagogical press, but little has been done to change this unfavorable situation⁸.

⁷ Sources: www.postbellum.cz/prubehy20.stoleti, personal stories of anti-communist political prisoners.

⁸ Source: Národní ústav pro vzdělání, <http://www.rvp.cz>, 2010 Vzdělávací portal History textbooks, www.ucenionline.com, www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/akreditovane-studijni, střední a vysoké školy; www.ucitelskenoviny.cz, www.ucitelskelisty.cz, dis-

The state of citizenship education in the Czech Republic

“Education for Citizenship is obligatory part of the education theme Man and Society. Citizenship should be integrated in the whole teaching and learning of the Social Sciences subjects.

(Social Sciences’ curricula for primary and secondary Czech schools: The National Institute for Education, 2010)

According to the standing curricula and all the university initial teachers’ training study programs Social Sciences teachers and trainees are recommended to apply citizenship education either in a single school subject, e.g. in history teaching, or in inter-subject teaching, i.e. citizenship permeating in all the Social Sciences disciplines. Teachers and ITT students are advised to use effectively convenient topics and teaching strategies for developing democratic citizenship in schools. The main goals for citizenship education are defined as:

- to prepare students for the life in a free democratic society
- to develop students’ intellectual skills, notably critical thinking
- to develop mutual help and team cooperation by using communication skills
- to resolve and prevent conflicts in a non-violent way
- to cultivate the skills of each individual democratic citizen, each student’s personality
- to support principles of a civil society
- to understand the significance of democratic values in a multicultural society
- to develop the European and global dimensions, to acknowledge tolerance and human dignity
- to support efforts for sustainable local and global environment.

There are no concrete or practical instructions or teaching models for citizenship teaching and learning in the Czech curricula and the ITT programmes, only theoretical recommendations that every Social Sciences teacher should integrate in practical teaching. Teachers are recommended to incorporate citizenship in their lesson planning, to adapt their teaching to the level and advancement of students in each class. The mutual cooperation and interrelation between Social Sciences’ school subjects is theoretically also highly recommended, without concrete specification. One of the key goals, especially for the secondary school students, is to develop democratic environments in the classroom and in the local community, i.e. democratic relationship between teachers and students, between schools and other social and official institutions articles in 2010–2012

tions. The significance of convenient examples from history is emphasized as well as the importance of life-long education in a free civil society.⁹

The content and topics of all curricula for Social Science school subjects, history teaching included, are adapted to the age group, e.g. national history, national vernacular culture for younger students, more sophisticated topics on economic, political and civil society for more advanced students. In comparing the school curricula with the ITT study programs of Czech Faculties of Education and Faculties of Philosophy, it is evident that the study programs of Faculties of Education are mostly focused on the education for lower secondary schools whilst the Faculties of Philosophy's are more academically conceived, as their graduates are expected to become secondary school teachers for more academic schools or universities¹⁰.

How is Theory applied in School Practice and in the ITT Study program?

Case study: Recent Conflicts from the Past and Citizenship Education in the Czech Republic, History teaching

The outcomes of my latest research have shown that the traditional chronological concept of history teaching has changed little in the Czech Republic. The content of history, predominantly modern and contemporary history, was changed, "democratized", but not the pedagogical strategies, i.e. the pedagogical and didactic concept has not been sufficiently adapted to the current social requirements. The active citizenship is neglected despite the theoretical proclamations. The project's research has been based on Czech education materials used in schools and on university ITT study programs. The research was completed by numerous consultations with experts and teachers. For example, history events are mostly presented in a traditional, neutral and scientific" way in both secondary schools and ITT training. There is a strong conviction prevailing among historians and history educators that history is a science. In this opinion history teaching ought to be presented as an overview of information about the past. Despite official rhetoric about the significance of citizenship in all the curricula and ITT programs no serious official efforts to integrate active Citizenship in teaching of history has appeared until now. There is no officially approved ITT study program or school curriculum explicitly comprising Citizenship education or illustrative models of Citizenship teaching that might be more

⁹ Source: Národní ústav pro vzdělávání, <http://www.rvp.cz>, school curricula, 2010; www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/akreditovane-studijni, ITT study programmes.

¹⁰ Source: www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/akreditovane-studijni, ITT study programmes

helpful for teachers than contemplative theoretical treatises. School history textbooks, used in all types of schools, are conceived in the traditional way too, presenting only the description, an overview of historical data, names of personalities and events. "Sensitive history" and conflicts in the past are taught in a similar way. Citizenship is traditionally taught separately in the Social Sciences school subjects such as Civics or Fundamentals of Social Sciences. The same concept and attitude to teaching and learning is evident in university ITT . Therefore the quality and level of active citizenship education are more or less dependent on the professional skills and responsibility of every individual teacher. In other words: Citizenship education suffers from the lack of a thoughtful and well-elaborated system. There is a shortage of a well-elaborated concept of didactic and teaching strategies. There is a lack of didactic professional literature focused on "active teaching about Citizenship", or how teach "sensitive history, or how to use conflict events in training. Contemporary history topics, notably European, are insufficient in teaching despite the fact that this historical period is most suitable for active Citizenship teaching. In general the pedagogical and didactic use of history for Citizenship is underestimated.

The official approval of history textbooks

After the author finishes the text of a new history textbook, its content is supervised and checked by a commission of professional historians and didactic experts. The commission's members cooperate with the ministerial officials. When the members of the Accreditation Commission approve of the concept and content, the textbook is recommended to the Ministry of Education. Sometimes parts the text ought to be re-written according to the experts' advice, e.g. in case of factual errors or the convenient level of the written language. Only officially approved textbooks by the Accreditation Commission and the Ministry of Education can be published and used in schools. Non-accredited textbooks are legislatively prohibited. History textbooks ' content is chronological and descriptive, citizenship and is not explicitly incorporated¹¹.__

Conclusions:

- Education for Citizenship is required in theoretical proclamations, but teachers and university ITT students are not sufficiently trained in using the effective teaching strategies in practical teaching. New didactic materials on "citizenship

¹¹ Sources: www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/akreditovane-studijni.

in history teaching “ would be helpful for teachers and schools

- Training in active Citizenship should be enhanced, teachers need more intensive training in pedagogy and subject didactics, more concrete models of teaching would be helpful
- Teachers and ITT students require reforms accentuating the significance of contemporary and European history, useful for Citizenship. They view history examples as the means of prevention against negative social phenomena in the current multicultural society
- In and Out-of school projects focused on Modern and Contemporary history have been enormously successful, an immense positive contribution to the education for Citizenship
- More education documentaries focused on Citizenship can improve the quality and level of active teaching and learning in and out of schools
- Textbooks and teaching materials need to be pedagogically and didactically enhanced, incorporating more explicit Citizenship”
- Current teaching of Social Sciences and History is not thoughtfully related to the requirements of the current society, the system of education ought to be reformed, adapted to the needs and perspectives of the changing European identity which will be based on citizenship in future.

Estonia

Anu Raudsepp

1. The conflicts connected to the World War II in Estonian history

World War II has been connected to the biggest conflicts (communist and Nazi crimes against humanity) in Estonian history. Estonian independence was declared in 1918. The 20-year-long period of independence was followed by the time of occupations lasting for half a century: the first Soviet occupation (1940–1941), the German occupation (1941–1944) and the second Soviet occupation (1944–1991). Soviet and Nazi occupation caused a lot of suffering for Estonia.

In the last twenty years the three volumes of the “Political arrests in Estonia” series¹², several Repressed Persons Records¹³ and the so-called White Book about the losses inflicted on the Estonian Nation by occupation regimes 1940–1941¹⁴ have been compiled and this topic has been researched by historians.¹⁵

The first Soviet occupation (1940–1941) brought with it:

- 1) arrests: about 8,000 persons, of whom 98 % died, including 2200 persons (mostly civilians), who executed without any trial;
- 2) deportation on June 1941: about 10,000 persons, including about 400 Jews. A lot of them, especially children died because of hunger and diseases; about 4000 persons returned;
- 3) mobilization of Estonians into the Red Army in the summer 1941:

¹² For example: Politilised arreteerimised Eestis 1940–1988. [Political arrests in Estonia 1940–1988]. Vol. 1. Ed. by Leo Õispuu. Tallinn: Eesti Represseeritute Registri Büroo, 1996.

¹³ For example: Küüditamine Eestist Venemaale: juuniküüditamine 1941 & küüditamised 1940–1953. [Deportation from Estonia to Russia: deportation in June 1941 & deportation in 1940–1953] Ed. by Leo Õispuu. Tallinn: Eesti Represseeritute Registri Büroo, 2001. Etc.

¹⁴ The White Book. Losses inflicted on the Estonian Nation by occupation regimes 1940–1941. Editors Vello Salo, Ülo Ennuste, Erast Parmasto, Enn Tarvel, Peep Varju. Estonian State Commission on examination of the policies of repressions. Tallinn: Estonian Encyklopaedia Publishers, 2005

(available at

<http://www.just.ee/orb.aw/class=file/action=preview/id=12709/TheWhiteBook.pdf>)

¹⁵ Aigi Rahi-Tamm. Teise maailmasõja järgsed massirepressioonid Eestis: allikad ja uurimisseis. [Mass Repressions in Estonia after World War II: Sources and Current State of Research]. Dissertations Historiae Universitatis Tartuensis. 9. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2004; Aigi-Rahi Tamm. Deportation und Verfolgung in Estland 1940–1953. – Vom Hitler-Stalin-Pakt bis zu Stalins Tod. Hg. O. Mertelsmann. Tallinn: Bibliotheca Baltica, 2005.

about 33,000 men, who were considered as untrustworthy because of their nationality and social and other reasons suffered in work battalions, subordinated to the NKVD in 1941–1942. A lot of them died in work battalions.

The German occupation (1941–1944) almost totally annihilated the Jewish (about 900) and Gypsy population. All together approximately 7800 Estonian citizens (70 % Estonians, 15 % Russians, 12 % Jews) were executed. They were accused of activity in Soviet time and repressed by nationality (Jews, Gypsies).

By the second Soviet occupation (1944–1991) political, economic, social and cultural reorganizations were accompanied by further repressions: arrests (in 1944–1953 about 25–30,000 persons, from which died 11,000); deportations (in March 1949 about 21,000 persons); long-term imprisonment and executions which were meant to relieve the so-called anti-Soviet element. Mental and physical violence was widespread.

Aigi Rahi-Tamm summarizes: In 1940–53 Estonia bore heavy population losses. It is not yet possible to give the exact figures of the losses because the compilation of databases reflecting large groups of people is still in progress. That is why many of the numbers published are only estimations. During the whole period (1940–1991) nearly 90,000 citizens of the Republic of Estonia perished, and about the same number of people left their homeland forever. The human losses of WW II and the repressive measures following it are estimated to be 17.5 % of the number of Estonians, in addition to which the ethnic minorities of Estonia (except Russians) were almost totally destroyed. Estonians and Latvians are the only independent nations in Europe whose number is smaller today than in the beginning of the 20th century (that of Estonians is smaller by about 10 %).¹⁶

2. The conflicts connected to the World War II in Estonian National Curriculum

The study outcomes of history teaching are described in the Estonian National Curriculum (2011)¹⁷ : the causes of WW II; the aggressive foreign policy of

¹⁶ The White Book. Losses inflicted on the Estonian Nation by occupation regimes 1940–1941. Editors Vello Salo, Ülo Ennuste, Erast Parmasto, Enn Tarvel, Peep Varju. Estonian State Commission on examination of the policies of repressions. Tallinn: Estonian Encyklopaedia Publishers, 2005.

<http://www.just.ee/orb.aw/class=file/action=preview/id=12709/TheWhiteBook.pdf>. Pp. 26.

¹⁷ <https://www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/114012011002>

Germany, USSR and Japan; the contradiction of the results of World War II and its consequences for political, economic and ideological development of the World; Estonia in WW II, losing independence, impact to people's life's.

A special topic in the Gymnasium history curriculum concerns crimes against humanity: Nazi and communist crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity in Estonia, Holocaust and Gulag. The Civics curriculum concerns human rights, its violations and protection on State and international level, including European Court of Human Rights and International Criminal Court. All those history and civics topics are also presented according to international historical research in Estonian history and civics textbooks.

3. The conflict “Memorials War” connected to the different interpretations of consequences of the World War II

Since the concept of occupation of Estonia by USSR has not been accepted by Russian Federation, the topic of World War II is still a controversial issue in public history and in history teaching in Russian speaking schools¹⁸. History teaching in Estonia is based on the same Estonian National Curriculum and history textbooks in all schools. According to the research, based on Qualitative Interviews with Student of Estonian and Russian speaking Schools, the history connected to World War Two and Soviet policy is interpreted differently. For Russian Speaking

Students, it was the Victory over Nazism, for Estonian-Speaking Students it was connected to Estonia's sufferings with the Soviet occupation in the aftermath of World War Two. The interpretations of Russian speaking Students are influenced by Russian media, history teachers and Family¹⁹

The different interpretation of World War II consequences and conflict between different collective memories of Estonians and the Russian-speaking minority caused conflict in April 2007 in Tallinn. It was connected to the World War II monument (so-called Bronze Soldier, representing a soldier of the Soviet Army) on the grave of soviet soldiers who had died in 1944. The monument was erected in the center of Tallinn by the Soviet authorities in 1947.

That monument became during the Soviet occupation a central monu-

¹⁸ There are 540 schools of general education in 2011/2012 in total, for Russian-speaking students are 85 schools (source: Estonian Ministry of Education and Research <http://www.hm.ee/index.php?048055>).

¹⁹ Reet Roos. Eesti ja vene koolide noorte erinevad arusaamised ajaloost Teise maailmasõja näitel. „Haridus“, 2010,2. pp. 19-21 (http://haridus.opleht.ee/Arhiiv/2_2010/lugu6.pdf).

ment for the Russian inhabitants in Estonia; that is where ceremonies presenting the soviet symbols (soviet flags, hammer and sickle, and pentagon) and today's Russian national symbols (the Russian flag) were carried out. Thus, the carrier of identity for the Russian inhabitants was the symbol of the soviet army, which had occupied Estonia, reminding of lost supremacy to many people. To the Estonians, however, the soldier of the Soviet army was the symbol of violence and foreign power that endangered the Estonians remaining one nation.

So, there was big tension between the collective memories of the Russian-speaking minority and the Estonian community. Demonstrations by both, Estonians and Russians, by the monument exacerbated the whole situation even more. The decision by the government of the Republic of Estonia to displace the monument to Tallinn Military cemetery was followed by vandalism in Tallinn on April 26–27, when, in addition to depredation, political banners against Estonia were called out in Russia.

This topic has been researched by several scientists.²⁰ Heiki Pääbo summarizes the lesson of this conflict: When the events developed further and the Estonian Embassy in Moscow was besieged by the pro-Kremlin youth movement Nashi, the Estonian government realized that it was more than a domestic conflict and vandalism in Tallinn. War of Memories is a long -lasting psychological conflict, which can be more intensive or less notable but it is a constant process.²¹

²⁰ Karsten Brüggemann, Andres Kasekamp. The Politics of History and the War of Monuments in Estonia. – Nationalities paper, Vol. 36 (3), 2008, pp. 425–448; Heiki Pääbo. War of Memories: Explaining „Memorials War“ in Estonia. – Baltic Security & Defence Review. 2008, vol. 10. Pp. 5–28; Heiko Pääbo. Potential of Collective Memory Based International Identity Conflicts in Post-Imperial Space. Dissertation Rerum Politicarum Universitatis Tartuensis 3. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus, 2011.

http://www.ut.ee/ABVKeskus/sisu/publikatsioonid/2011/pdf/Paaboo_PhD.pdf.

²¹ Heiki Pääbo. War of Memories: Explaining „Memorials War“ in Estonia. – Baltic Security & Defence Review. 2008, vol. 10. P. 24.

Germany

Inga Niehaus

The cases mentioned below relate to conflicts surrounding textbook portrayals that are highly varied in nature. Some trace national controversies within a political context or discussed in the public sphere, such as depictions of the Armenian genocide. Other conflicts have been regionally confined to specific Länder or have only affected certain social or political actors and thus only a part of public life. As far as portrayals of Islam and Jewish history are concerned, we can only speak of a conflict to a certain extent as these cases primarily address academic debates on textbook depictions that have taken up specific issues discussed in the public sphere and initiated by certain religious or societal groups.

1. Armenian Genocide

In 2002 the Land Brandenburg included several cases of genocide in the 20th century in the history curriculum of the ninth and tenth grades. The Armenian genocide during World War I was one of the topics mentioned. On the demand of the Turkish government the topic was removed from the curriculum in 2004. A public protest arose as a result and the topic was reinstated to the curriculum. Since then Turkey and Turkish pressure groups in Germany have attempted to have the topic removed from the curriculum once again; however, there is strong public opposition. The matter is well documented in German newspapers, and has also been taken up by some Turkish and Armenian websites²².

²² "Geschichtsfälschung wie in der DDR" [FAZ Net, 25.01.2005] (<http://www.faz.net/s/RubCC21B04EE95145B3AC877C874FB1B611/Doc~E17597BDEB1C44B9EAE46946D16CA7545~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent.html>) [10.04.2012].

Armenier-Genozid. Brandenburg ist belehrbar [FAZ, 22.07.2005, No. 168, 31] (<http://www.faz.net/s/RubCF3AEB154CE64960822FA5429A182360/Doc~EBAC49C1D35904D95B0AF052A1F6EE610~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent.html>) [10.04.2012].

Lietz, Arne: Der Armenische Genozid als Unterrichtsgegenstand in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in: Barricelli, Michel/Hornig, Julia (eds.): Aufklärung, Bildung, 'Histotainment'? . Zeitgeschichte in Unterricht und Gesellschaft heute, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 237–246.

LISUM (ed.): Völkermorde und staatliche Gewaltverbrechen im 20. Jahrhundert als Thema schulischen Unterrichts, Ludwigsfelde-Struveshof 2005.

2. How to Deal with GDR History

Since 1990 the question as to how to deal with GDR history in school has been a matter of heated debate. Key issues include: How should GDR history be integrated into a common German history? How is the Stasi (Ministry of State Security) represented in the textbooks and the curriculum? Is the GDR demonised or glorified? What knowledge and what image do the students have of the GDR? There has been a great deal of academic research on the topic²³.

Pingel, Falk: 'Sicher ist, dass ... der Völkermord nicht mit Hitler begann und leider auch nicht mit ihm endet.' Das Thema 'Völkermord' als Gegenstand von Unterricht und Schulbuch, in: Radkau, Verena/Fuchs, Eduard, Lutz, Thomas (eds.): Genozide und staatliche Gewaltverbrechen im 20. Jahrhundert, Innsbruck 2004, 98–112.

Schulen und Schulverlage ringen mit Armeniergenozid [FAZ 11.02.2005, No. 35, p. 35] (<http://www.faz.net/s/Rub117C535CDF414415BB243B181B8B60AE/Doc~ED643415571B54E8BA0AFA1DA0AB3947C~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent.html>) [10.04.2012].

Völkermord an Armeniern vom Lehrplan genommen [FAZ 25.01.2005, No. 20, 33] (<http://www.faz.net/s/RubCC21B04EE95145B3AC877C874FB1B611/Doc~E278BD119018C41A69F66F867FCC47406~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent.html>) [10.04.2012].

Völkermord im Lehrplan. Die armen Schüler (FAZ.NET 9 Aug. 2009) [10.04.2012].

Völkermorde und staatliche Gewaltverbrechen im 20. Jahrhundert [article on teaching materials published by the Landesinstitut für Schule und Medien in Brandenburg, 2005] (<http://www.lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/Lernen-und-Lehren/content/2461>) [10.04.2012].

²³ Working papers of the Forschungsverbund SED-Staat, No. 38/2007. Concluding report: Das DDR-Bild von Schülern in Berlin by Monika Deutz-Schroeder and Klaus Schroeder with Uwe Hillmer, Berlin 2007 (<http://www.spiegel.de/media/0,4906,16648,00.pdf>) [10.04.2012].

Arnswald, Ulrich: Zum Stellenwert der DDR-Geschichte in schulischen Lehrplänen, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, vol. 54 (2004) no. 41/42, 28–35.

Arnswald, Ulrich: Zum Stellenwert des Themas DDR-Geschichte in den Lehrplänen der deutschen Bundesländer. Eine Expertise im Auftrag der Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, Berlin 2004. This expert report is on the website of the Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, available under "SED-Diktatur und deutsche Teilung in der Bildungsarbeit" (<http://www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de/download.php?file=uploads/zip/lehrplan-analyse.zip>) [10.04.2012].

Arnswald, Ulrich; Bongertmann, Ulrich; Mählert, Ulrich: DDR-Geschichte im Unterricht. Schulbuchanalyse – Schülerbefragung – Modellcurriculum [commissioned by the Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur and the Association of German History Teachers], Berlin 2006.

Das Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (MfS) in aktuellen Geschichts- und Politikschul-

3. Russlanddeutsche (Germans living in Russia)

The German pressure group “Deutsche Heimat der Deutschen aus Russland” (German Homeland of Germans from Russia) attempted to raise a protest against the representation of Russian Germans in a German textbook in early 2000. There were protests by the right-wing group in front of the parliament of the Land North Rhine-Westphalia and protests by left-wing groups in response. It was primarily an issue for regional politics, gaining only little attention from

büchern. Expertise im Auftrag des Ministeriums für Bildung, Jugend und Sport des Landes Brandenburg, by Heike Christiana Mätzing, 2006 (http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/bilder/pdf/Berichte_experten/maetzing_stasi.pdf) [10.04.2012].

Demke, Elena: Stasi und DDR-Bild in Geschichtsbüchern, in: Handro, Saskia/Schaarschmidt, Thomas: Aufarbeitung der Aufarbeitung. Die DDR im geschichtskulturellen Diskurs, Schwalbach/Ts 2011, 108–120.

Deutz-Schroeder, Monika; Schroeder, Klaus: Soziales Paradies oder Stasi-Staat? Das DDR-Bild von Schülern – ein Ost-West-Vergleich, Stamried 2008

„Die Friedliche Revolution in den Lehrplänen“. Die Stiftung Aufarbeitung hat 2007 die Lehrpläne aller Bundesländer daraufhin verglichen, wie die Friedliche Revolution 1989 in ihnen verankert ist: Eine Expertise, erarbeitet von Oliver Igel, Stiftung Aufarbeitung, 2007 (<http://www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de/downloads/pdf/2007/fr-lehrplaene.pdf>) [10.04.2012].

Die Geschichte der DDR in deutschen Schulbüchern seit 1990, in: ISF 4/2004, 365–376.

Engelhardt, Kerstin: DDR-Geschichte(n). Der Blick ostdeutscher Jugendlicher auf die DDR. Ein Bericht aus der historisch-politischen Jugendbildung von 1999 bis 2007, in Barricelli, Michel/Jornig, Julia: Aufklärung, Bildung 'Histotainment'? Zeitgeschichte in Unterricht und Gesellschaft heute, Frankfurt am Main 2008, 189–200.

Jarausch, Konrad: "Die Teile als Ganzes erkennen". Zur Integration der beiden deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichten, in: Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History, Online edition, 1 (2004), no. 1. (<http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Jarausch-1-2004>) [10.04.2012].

Mätzing, Heike Christina: Die Geschichte der DDR in deutschen Schulbüchern seit 1990, in: Internationale Schulbuchforschung 26 (2004) 4, 365–376.

Mätzing, Heike Christina: Fehlanzeige? Die Stasi in aktuellen Geschichtsschulbüchern, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 60 (2009), 4–17.

Neuner, Gerhardt: Eine "Fußnote der Geschichte"? Das DDR-Bild in heutigen Schulbüchern, in: Utopie kreativ, no. 108 (Oct. 1999), 31–40 (http://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/rls_uploads/pdfs/108_Neuner.pdf) [10.04.2012].

Scheer, Udo: Verdunkelte Geschichte. Eine Studie über die desolaten DDR-Kenntnisse deutscher Schüler – in Ost und West, in: Das Parlament, das politische Buch, 42 (2008)

the national media. The Georg-Eckert-Institut (Braunschweig) was officially requested to provide an expert opinion on the matter²⁴.

4. Case IV: Flight and Expulsion in the context of World War II

The topic of the “flight and expulsion” of Germans from the East is a central issue for German memory politics. Although the topic has always been important in the Federal Republic of Germany thanks to the work of various associations, memorials and publications, the last few years (since around the mid-1990s and increasingly since 2000) have seen the emergence of a new debate. The topic is addressed broadly and via popular history in literature or on the political level in the context of a “Zentrum gegen Vertreibungen” (Centre Against Expulsions). In history scholarship of the past few years it has primarily been addressed in the context of collective memory and the process of remembering.

Debates surrounding flight and expulsion address various aspects, some of them of a sensitive nature, such as the question as to whether Germans can also be victims, to what extent flight and expulsion can be dealt with in isolation from World War II, or the Europeanising of the topic “expulsion”. These discussions have an impact on the question as to how flight and expulsion should be addressed in school (history) textbooks, in turn reflected both in scholarly analyses of textbooks and curricula and in the production of new teaching materials²⁵.

<http://webarchiv.bundestag.de/cgi/show.php?fileToLoad=1720&id=1149>

[10.04.2012].

Statement by the German Association of History Teachers in July 2008: „Kultusminister sind mitverantwortlich für die Verklärung der DDR. Erschreckendes Unwissen der Jugend in Sachen DDR – Triumph der Gesinnung über die Urteilskraft“ (<http://www.lehrerverband.de/ddr.htm>) [10.04.2012].

²⁴ Pressemitteilung der Vereinigung “Die Russlanddeutschen Konservativen”: 18. April 2009: „Protest gegen die Fälschung der Geschichte der Rußlanddeutschen und die Medienhetze“ (http://www.volksdeutsche-stimme.de/aktuell/kampfweiter_011208de.htm) [10.04.2012].

Maier, Robert: Begutachtung der Darstellung der Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen im Schulbuch 'Geschichte und Gegenwart' vol. 2, ed. H.-J. Lenzian and Chr. A. Marx, Paderborn: Schöningh Verlag 2000 (unpublished review)

NPD buhlt um Stimmen von Russlanddeutschen, 21.09.2009 Spiegel Online (<http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,650151,00.html>) [10.04.2012].

²⁵ Aust, Stefan/Burgdorff, Stephan (eds.): Die Flucht. Über die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten, Bonn 2003 (especially: Noack, Hans-Joachim: Die Deutschen als Opfer. Ein neuer Blick auf die Geschichte, 15–20).

Beer, Mathias: Umsiedlung, Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen als internationales Problem. Zur Geschichte eines europäischen Irrwegs. Darstellung und Perspektiven, das Thema im Unterricht, Quellen und Materialien, Stuttgart 2002.

5. Portrayals of Jewish History, the Holocaust and the State of Israel

Since the 1970s, the relevance of this topic for society and education policy has been reflected in numerous initiatives to study (and revise) portrayals of Jewish history, the Holocaust and the State of Israel in curricula and educational media, as well as the role these topics play in the classroom and in teacher training. The subject was initially most intensively addressed by the activities of the first German-Israeli Textbook Commission in the years 1981–

Benthin, Madlen: Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ostmitteleuropa. Deutsche und tschechische Erinnerungskulturen im Vergleich, Hannover 2007.

Dolezel, Heidrun: Vertreibung und "Beneš-Dekrete" in tschechischen Schulbüchern seit 1989, in: Internationale Schulbuchforschung, 24, 2002, 4, 445–457.

Droste, Peter Johannes: Flucht und Vertreibung in polnischen Geschichtsbüchern: Kommentar und Ergänzungen zu Margarete Dörr, in Geschichte für heute, 4, 2011, 2, 59–65.

Faulenbach, Bernd: Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus den Gebieten jenseits von Oder und Neiße. Zur wissenschaftlichen und öffentlichen Diskussion in Deutschland, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, 51–52, 2002.

Gauger, Jörg-Dieter/Buchstab, Günter: Schule als gesellschaftlicher und politischer Seismograph. Der historische deutsche Osten im Unterricht, in: Gauger, Jörg-Dieter/Kittel, Manfred (eds.): Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten in der Erinnerungskultur, Sankt Augustin 2004. 85–109.

Gauger, Jörg-Dieter/Kittel, Manfred (eds.): Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten in der Erinnerungskultur, Sankt Augustin 2004.

Gauger, Jörg-Dietrich: Der historische Osten im Unterricht. Diachrone Analyse von Richtlinien und Schulbüchern im Fach Geschichte von 1949 bis zur Gegenwart, Hamburg 2001.

„Grenzverschiebungen. Zwangsmigration und Flucht von Polen, Deutschen und Tschechen im Zusammenhang mit dem 2. Weltkrieg“. Thema in „Lernen aus der Geschichte, August 2010 http://lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/sites/default/files/attach/grenzverschiebungen_und_zwangsmigration.pdf [10.04.2012].

Hahn, Eva/Hahn, Hans Henning: Flucht und Vertreibung, in: François, Etienne/Schulze, Hagen (eds.): Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Eine Auswahl, München 2005, 332–350.

Höpken, Wolfgang: Das Thema Vertreibung im deutschen Schulbuch, in: Kruke, Anja (ed.): Zwangsmigration und Vertreibung. Europa im 20. Jahrhundert, Bonn 2006, 107–115.

Jacobmeyer, Wolfgang: Die Darstellung der „Vertreibung“ in deutschen und polnischen Lehrbüchern des Faches Geschichte, in Robert Maier (ed.): Zwischen Zählebigkeit und Zerrinnen. Nationalgeschichte im Schulunterricht in Ostmitteleuropa, Hannover 2004, 83–100.

Nasalska, Ewa: Die Präsenz des Nationalen in der Darstellung der deutsch-polnischen Grenze und der Zwangsumsiedlung der Deutschen aus Polen in polnischen Geschichtslehrbüchern, in: Maier, Robert (ed.): Zwischen Zählebigkeit und Zerrinnen. Nationalgeschichte im Schulunterricht in Ostmitteleuropa, Hannover 2004, 69–82.

Netzwerk Migration in Europa: <http://lernportal.the-unwanted.com> (Website with

1985. The Commission analysed not only the portrayals of Israel and Germany in the textbooks of the respective other country but also inspired new ideas for further discussion on relevant curriculum contents and textbook depictions with a strong focus on Jewish history. In the context of teacher training, the Leo Baeck Institute, together with the “Memory and Future” Trust (Erinnerung und Zukunft) and the Hertie Foundation, initiated the programme “Jewish Life in Germany – School and Further Education” in the year 2006. The standing conference of federal ministers of education, as well as the national office and the individual regional centres for political education, presented their own initiatives, especially for teaching National Socialism and the Holocaust. There were also countless school projects and pupil initiatives on Jewish history in the respective areas and regions. Germany is also represented in the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education.

In the year 2000 a cross-regional scandal broke out over the use of out-of-date textbooks at schools in Hamburg, textbooks which in their depictions of Jewish history had recourse to anti-Semitic clichés. There is for the most part a consensus as to how the topic should be approached in Germany. However, while the greatest possible care should be expected of education policy-makers, curriculum designers, textbook publishers and teacher trainers when

teaching materials on the topic of flight and expulsion on the following topics and regions: Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s; Germany and Poland in the 1940s; Greece and Turkey in the 1920s) [10.04.2012].

Oswald, Anne von /Schmelz, Andrea: “The Unwanted”. Ein Lernportal über Umsiedlung. Flucht und Vertreibung für die historisch-politische Bildung, in: Strobel, Thomas/Maier, Robert (eds.): Das Thema Vertreibung und die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in Forschung, Unterricht und Politik, Hannover 2008, 217–228.

Paprotta, Meike: Vertreibung oder Umsiedlung? Interkulturelles Geschichtslernen im virtuellen Klassenraum, in: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht 62 (2001) 3/4, 191–210.

Ruchniewicz, Krzysztof: Zur versöhnungspolitischen Bedeutung der Schulbuchrevision im Hinblick auf die Vertreibungsproblematik, in: in: Kruke, Anja (ed.): Zwangsmigration und Vertreibung. Europa im 20. Jahrhundert, Bonn 2006, 151–159.

Strobel, Thomas/Maier, Robert (eds.): Das Thema Vertreibung und die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen in Forschung, Unterricht und Politik, Hannover 2008 (see especially: Strobel, Thomas/Maier, Robert/Wolter, Stefanie: Die Vertreibungsproblematik im Bewusstsein deutscher Schüler. Das Ergebnis von Umfragen, 135–146. Becker, Wiebke: Lebendige Geschichte. Reflexionen einer Unterrichtseinheit mit Zeitzeugenbefragungen zu Flucht und Vertreibung, 147–160.)

Uhl, Heidemarie: Der gegenwärtige Ort von “Flucht und Vertreibung” im deutschen und österreichischen Gedächtnisdiskurs, in: Haslinger, Peter/Franzen K. Erik/Schulze Wessel, Martin (eds.): Diskurse über Zwangsmigrationen in Zentraleuropa. Geschichtspolitik, Fachdebatten, literarisches und lokales Erinnern seit 1989, München 2008, 157–175.

addressing Jewish history, the history of the Holocaust and portrayals of Israel, recent studies have continued to identify shortcomings and distortions. In September 2011 an article published in Welt-Online by the journalist Gideon Böss gave rise to an interesting debate, primarily on the internet, on depictions of Israel in German textbooks. The books, it was claimed, consistently presented Israelis as perpetrators and Palestinians as victims. The publishing houses under critique found themselves under pressure to respond and defended the textbook portrayals with reference to didactic principles (multiple perspectives, controversy). The German-Israeli Textbook Commission, which was re-established in 2010 and is coordinated by the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI), is currently analysing the depiction of Israel, the Holocaust and Jewish history in German textbooks using a wide range of materials. It aims to present its findings and recommendations in 2014/2015²⁶.

²⁶ Böss, Gideon: Deutsche Schulbücher erklären Israelis zu Tätern, article in "Welt-Online" (<http://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article13622186/Deutsche-Schulbuecher-erklaeren-Israelis-zu-Taetern.html>) [10.04.2012].

Der Nahostkonflikt im Schulbuch: Verlage verteidigen ihre Haltung. <http://www.boersenblatt.net/457155/> [10.04.2012].

Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung (ed.), Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen. Zur Darstellung der jüdischen Geschichte sowie der Geschichte und Geographie Israels in Schulbüchern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Zur Darstellung der deutschen Geschichte und der Geographie der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in israelischen Schulbüchern, Frankfurt a. M., 1992.

Jürgen S. Nielsen, Judentum, Christentum und Islam in europäischen Lehrplänen. In: APuZ B7-8 (2004). (<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/28518/judentum-christentum-und-islam-in-europaeischen-lehrplaenen>) [10.04.2012].

Leo Baeck Institut für die Geschichte und Kultur der deutschsprachigen Juden / Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft und Kommission für die Verbreitung deutsch-jüdischer Geschichte in Deutschland (eds), Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte im Unterricht. Orientierungshilfe für Lehrplan- und Schulbucharbeit sowie Lehrerbildung und Lehrerfortbildung (2003) (http://www.pz-ffm.de/fileadmin/user_upload/bilder/Downloads/Orientierungshilfe/orientierungshilfe.pdf) [10.04.2012].

Leo Baeck Institut für die Geschichte und Kultur der deutschsprachigen Juden / Wissenschaftliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft und Kommission für die Verbreitung deutsch-jüdischer Geschichte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (eds.), Deutsch-jüdische Geschichte im Unterricht. Eine Orientierungshilfe für Schule und Erwachsenenbildung, 2., extended and revised edition, Frankfurt am Main 2011.

Leo Baeck Programm "Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland – Schule und Fortbildung" (<http://www.lehrerfortbildung-leo-baeck.de>) [10.04.2012].

Liepach, Martin und Wolfgang Geiger: Die drei G's – oder über die Hartnäckigkeit anti-

6. Portrayals of Islam and Muslim Societies

In 2011 the Georg Eckert Institute (GEI) completed a pilot study on the status quo regarding portrayals of Muslims and Islam in European textbooks, which picked up on the current debates surrounding the religious and social integration of Muslims in Germany and other European countries. The study investigated whether and how representations of Islam and Muslims in Germany and other West-European immigration societies might form the basis for Islamaphobia and to what extent these images are passed on by textbooks. This project was based on a study in which the GEI had participated in the 1980s on the presentation of Islam in German textbooks (cf. Falaturi 1986–1990).

The more recent study concluded that current textbooks continue to convey simplified representations of Islam, thus prolonging perceptions of Muslims

semitischer Bilder in Schulbüchern (<http://lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/Lernen-und-Lehren/content/9365>) [10.04.2012].

Liepach, Martin: Wie erzählt man jüdische Geschichte? Narrative Konzepte jüdischer Geschichte in Schulbüchern. In: Einsicht 04 (2010), 38–43 (http://www.fritz-bauer-institut.de/fileadmin/user_upload/uploadsFBI/einsicht/Einsicht-04.pdf) [10.04.2012].

Marienfeld, Wolfgang: Das Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung in Braunschweig. Die deutsch-israelischen Schulbuchempfehlungen, in: Menora 8 (1997), 369–402.

Marienfeld, Wolfgang: Jüdische Geschichte im deutschen Schulbuch im historischen Vergleich zwischen Gegenwart und kaiserlichem Deutschland, in: Internationale Schulbuchforschung 28 (2006), 139–161.

Nahostkonflikt – Wie ausgewogen sind deutsche Schulbücher?, article on the portal “edumeres.net” (http://www.edumeres.net/informationen/home/beitrag/browse/1/article/nahostkonflikt-wie-ausgewogen-sind-deutsche-schulbuecher.html?tx_ttnews%5bbbackPid%5d=13&cHash=effe18345f) [10.04.2012].

Seidel, Ingolf: Judenbilder in deutschen Schulbüchern (<http://lernen-aus-der-geschichte.de/Lernen-und-Lehren/content/7637>) [10.04.2012].

Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.), Unterricht über Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust (November 2005): http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/pdf/Bildung/AllgBildung/Zusammenfassung-Holocaust-November-05_01.pdf [10.04.2012].

Spiegel, Paul: “Deutschland ist kein braunes Land”, Interview in SPIEGEL Online, 21.9.2000: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,94556,00.html> [10.04.2012].

branded as a religious collective of non-European “others”. Most of the history and politics textbooks give the impression that “Islam” and “modern Europe” are mutually exclusive units between which contact is confrontational and which largely exclude overlapping elements and similarities. Simplified portrayals dominate; difference is explained in religious terms and qualities are attributed collectively, such that Muslims are depicted as pre-modern and thus as “others” incompatible with Europe. The study was given wide media coverage and has led to controversial public debates²⁷.

7. Colonialism

²⁷ Bielefeldt, Heiner. 2007. Das Islambild in Deutschland. Zum öffentlichen Umgang mit der Angst vor dem Islam. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte.

Falatouri, Abdoljavad: Der Islam in den Schulbüchern der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. 7 vols, published 1986–1990. Braunschweig: Georg Eckert Institute.

Halm, Dirk, Martina Liakova and Zeliha Yetik. 2007. Pauschale Islamfeindlichkeit? Zur Wahrnehmung des Islams und zur sozio-kulturellen Teilhabe der Muslime in Deutschland. In Mediale Barrieren. Rassismus als Integrationshindernis, ed. Siegfried Jager und Dirk Halm, 11–49. Münster: Unrast-Verlag.

Höhne, Thomas, Thomas Kunz and Frank-Olaf Radtke: Bilder von Fremden. Formen der Migrantendarstellung als der “anderen Kultur“ in deutschen Schulbüchern von 1981–1997. Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Beiträge zur Erziehungswissenschaft, 1999.

Jacobsen, Lenz: Integration: “In Schulbüchern wird der Islam zu rückwärtsgewandt dargestellt”, 06.10.2011. (<http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/schule/2011-10/schulbuecher-islam-studie>) [10.04.2012].

Jonker, Gerdien and Shiraz Thobani, eds. 2010. Narrating Islam. Interpretations of the Muslim World in European Texts. London: I.B. Tauris.

Kouparanis, Panagiotis: Islam-Bild in Schulbüchern ist klischehaft. Deutsche Welle, 15.09.2011. (<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,15391233,00.html>) [10.04.2012].

Kröhnert-Othman, Susanne; Kamp, Melanie; Wagner, Constantin (2010): Zum aktuellen Stand der Darstellung von Muslimen und Islam in europäischen Schulbüchern. Bericht an das Auswärtige Amt: “Dialog zwischen den Kulturen”. Georg-Eckert-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung. Braunschweig.

Radkau, Verena: “Modernes Europa” versus “antiquierter Islam”. Islamdarstellungen in europäischen Schulbüchern, in: Informationsdienst Wissenschaft, 15.09.2011 (<http://idw-online.de/pages/de/news440703>) [10.04.2012].

Radtke, Frank-Olaf, Thomas Höhne and Thomas Kunz. “Wir” und “sie”. Bilder von Fremden im Schulbuch. In: Islam im Schulbuch, ed. Islamrat für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 19–33. Kandern im Schwarzwald: Spohr Verlag, 2001.

Vereinfachendes Bild des Islam in Schulbüchern. Bildungsklick, 15.09.2011. <http://bildungsklick.de/a/80395/vereinfachendes-bild-des-islam-in-schulbuechern/> [10.04.2012].

There has been discussion over the “correct” or “appropriate” image of Africa or colonialism in schools and textbooks since the beginning of the 1960s. Since around the turn of the millennium, it has been primarily the political discussion over the definition of historical events that has led to controversial debate, such as the question as to whether the Herero Uprising can be classified as a “genocide”, and the related demands for apology and compensation.

Anke Poenische's study, “Afrika in deutschen Medien und Schulbüchern” (Africa in German Media and Textbooks) can be considered the most influential publication on the subject. Her work has not only received wide media coverage but has also given rise to parliamentary inquiries in the federal parliaments regarding textbook portrayals.

On the political level the debate has reached, amongst other forums, the Bundestag. Here debates were inspired by the complaints from the Herero people as well as by the return of the so-called “Herero skulls”. Alongside demands for recognition of the genocide and for compensatory payments, there were also calls for a more intensive focus on public and educational work in order to raise awareness of the subject in the public sphere. One step in this direction is to be the establishment of the topic in curricula. In March 2012 the debate reached a high point when one of the parties even called for a German-Namibian textbook commission and the development of a common school textbook²⁸.

²⁸ Kerber, Anne: Kolonialgeschichte in deutschen Schulbüchern. Kritisch oder kritikwürdig?, in: Lutz, Helma/Gawarecki, Kathrin: Kolonialismus und Erinnerungskultur. Die Kolonialvergangenheit im kollektiven Gedächtnis der deutschen und niederländischen Einwanderungsgesellschaft, Münster 2005, 81–93.

LISUM (ed.): Völkermorde und staatliche Gewaltverbrechen im 20. Jahrhundert als Thema schulischen Unterrichts, Ludwigsfelde-Struveshof 2005.

Macgilchrist, Felicitas/Müller, Lars: Kolonialismus und Modernisierung. Das Ringen um 'Afrika' bei der Schulbuchentwicklung, in: Aßner, Manuel et al (eds.): AfrikaBilder im Wandel? Quellen, Kontinuitäten, Wirkungen und Brüche, Frankfurt am Main 2012, 195–208.

Marmer, Elina et al: Racism and the Image of Africa in German Schools and Textbooks, in: The International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities & Nations 10, 2011, 5, 1–12.

Pingel, Falk: 'Sicher ist, dass ... der Völkermord nicht mit Hitler begann und leider auch nicht mit ihm endet.' Das Thema 'Völkermord' als Gegenstand von Unterricht und Schulbuch, in: Radkau, Verena/Fuchs, Eduard, Lutz, Thomas (eds.): Genozide und staatliche Gewaltverbrechen im 20. Jahrhundert, Innsbruck 2004, 98–112.

Poenicke, Anke: Afrika im neuen Geschichtsbuch. Eine Analyse der aktuellen deutschen Schulbücher, Sankt Augustin 2008.

Poenicke, Anke: Afrika in deutschen Medien und Schulbüchern, Sankt Augustin 2001

SERBIA

Marko Šuica

Serbia belongs to the group of Balkan countries with difficult recent and ruthless conflict experience. As one of the successors of former Socialist Yugoslavia, Serbia was engaged in the violent disintegration of the state. The politics led by Slobodan Milosevic and his regime during the nineteen nineties generated or maintained conflicts in several newborn ex-Yugoslav countries with Serbian populations. One decade long and geographically dispersed conflict ended with war in Kosovo and the intervention of the NATO alliance in Serbia. After the arrival of UN administration in Kosovo in 1999, the fall of Milosevic regime in 2000, and the establishment of new local government in Priština, Serbia came into a state of frozen conflict with Kosovo. Those circumstances influenced and still shape life in post-war Serbian society burdened with a complex dispute with the Albanian majority in Kosovo.

In the new Serbian democratic environment many changes have been initiated, among them extensive and ambitious comprehensive reform of education. Designed makeovers, foreseen to make outcomes of education more functional, adjusted to the needs of market and modern social setting, affected history teaching as well. In ten years of educational changes many controversial moves have been made, including reform of history teaching. One of the intended major changes was a reduction of time for history learning to three, instead of four years in elementary education. In addition, as support to history teaching, the curriculum team created several optional subjects based on historical content and analytical skills. Another big innovation aimed to change the structure of history curricula from strictly chronological to partly thematic (within defined historical periods). The restructuring of history teaching and the reform of education were halted after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Đindić, and the fall of the transitional government. In 2004 the new conservative gov-

(corrected version of 5.12.2001).

Poenicke, Anke: Afrika realistisch darstellen. Diskussionen und Alternativen zur gängigen Praxis – Schwerpunkt Schulbuch, Sankt Augustin 2003.

Poenicke, Anke: Jenseits des Forschungsstandes. Biologiebücher heute. Ein Beispiel für die Beharrlichkeit von Vorurteilen, in: Martin, Peter/Alonzo, Christine (eds.): Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt. Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus, Hamburg 2004, 711–715.

Reiche-Burkuye, Christiane: Wo liegt Afrika? Das Afrikabild an Berliner Schulen, in: Berliner Blätter 25, 2001, 92–97.

ernment abandoned the previous reform strategy, and the envisaged changes in history teaching were annulled. Changes that followed were more superficial than substantial, although some remains of reform attempts were visible. Among them it is significant to point out the opening of history education toward new didactical concepts and publishing of a new generation of history textbooks. The other key activity undertaken in 2002 and conducted till the middle of 2004 was cooperation of Serbian Ministry of Education with the History education department of Council of Europe. This cooperation was accomplished through several mass teacher training seminars on different topics and with involvement of foreign and local experts.

The politics of semi-isolation implemented by the new government (since 2004) affected the whole area of education, including history teaching. Contacts with the History education department of Council of Europe were terminated and the idea of in-service history teacher training has been diminished. Only projects in education that were previously commenced, planned or financed from the international resources were undertaken and further developed. Among them one has reached its final phase. It was making of standards for compulsory education, where history standards have significant position and could be implemented universally. It is because they were developed structurally, not thematically, or chronologically. They are divided in two main domains (Historical knowledge and Research and interpretation in history) and based on revised Bloom taxonomy. Standards are developed on three levels (basic, intermediate and advanced). Although finished in 2007, the Ministry of Education adopted standards only in 2009 and their implementation started this school year 2011/2012.

It is important to mention several partly realized important projects concerning history teaching, planned to inspire constructive post-conflict activities, relax ethnic tensions, start intercultural dialogue and encourage practice of minority rights in Serbia. These projects were launched under the supervision of OSCE, High commissioner for Human rights, and with assistance of independent Serbian experts and experts from Georg Eckert Institute. The first one intended to create specific supplements to official state curricula for the Albanian minority living in the southern part of Serbia in the region of Bujanovac, Medveđa, Preševo, and follow this up with teaching learning material. It was planned to engage representatives of the Albanian minority from Serbia as authors of the curricula and Teacher learning materials (TLM) and some independent external assistants.²⁹ In the center of project was the idea to overcome post-conflict

²⁹ Project of OSCE High commisioner

tensions and create an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect between Serbs and Albanians in Serbia. The curricula and TLM were supposed to be used in history lessons for Albanian national minority, as addition to regular general curricula and textbooks. In several mutual sessions held abroad (Germany, Albania) in Serbia and Skopje (FYR of Macedonia) Albanian teachers produced material that did not meet the desired and proposed standards. In the last phase after a second external evaluation of improved, but still inadequate TLM, the Albanian team withdrew from the project. The new Serbian Ministry of Education did not truly support the project and it faded out without expected result.

The second, even more ambitious and complicated project organized with the support of the same international institutions had the working title Ethno-historical guide through Serbia and gathered all national minorities from Serbia that were organized through their own national minorities councils. The objective was to create TLM for the 4th grade elementary school compulsory subject Nature and Society, though it could have been used in civic education classes too. It was meant to be introductory material for intercultural dialogue among different groups in Serbia, including the Serbian majority and national minorities. The loose framework of the material should have enabled pupils to learn from their angle some key points from the past of the country where they live, but also from their own and other nations past living in the same geo-political space. Several sections of TLM, with developed workshops and proposals for organizing projects, joint activities or simply national narratives, enabled pupils to adopt knowledge of general or unique historical experiences, similar or different customs, traditions, important persons, symbols and cultural heritage of various inhabitants in Serbia. The anticipated outcome was to show children of different national or cultural background that living together and understanding each other is not unnatural but on the contrary, precious achievement and general benefit for the whole society and state. Representatives of each national minority as part of a large multinational team had the task to present and write about their own group following an established pattern. Lack of crucial support of the Serbian Ministry of Education, and limited coordination between participants in the project resulted in the failure of the final product. The positive side of this pioneer project was its influence in a troubled neighboring country. The OSCE mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina used the drafted, unfinished version as the raw material for their own ethno-historical guide and brought the project to an end, but in another cultural and ethnic setting., After the intermission that lasted six years, the Serbian Ministry of Education re-es-

tablished disconnected relations with the History education department of Council of Europe in 2010 at the launch of a new project Shared histories. Even though the situation is improving, many issues still trouble Serbian public discourse, history teaching and transformation of conflict or post-conflict ambivalence into a regular one. The present-day position of the educational system in Serbia entirely mirrors social, political and economic challenges inherent to the country in transition. Current internal conflicts are mostly in the shade of the Kosovo crisis that shifts from frozen to controlled open conflict. Unclear political status of Kosovo and the application of Serbia for the candidate status to the membership in E.U. color social and political milieu in Serbia. Latent or existing conflicts in Serbia are not all related to the issue of war experience and confrontation with religious or national minorities. Some of them can be traced to the disturbed and degraded system of values in society, and crisis of educational outcomes. Public debates on history and history teaching in Serbia have several equally important flows covering different topics with the participants from miscellaneous political, social and academic background. Social or political influence of the debate itself depends on the social reputation and role of agents engaged in the discussion. Some discourses are withheld on the level of argumentative debate on methods of history teaching and use of history in the process of conflict resolution, while others are used for manipulation with history in political context. Illustrative examples of mentioned phenomena could be seen in different public debates. One relates to the concrete use of additional history teaching materials in the classroom and another to the role of religious institutions in the shaping of national identities usurping privilege to organize or participate in certain public, state holidays, particularly commemorative memorials for victims from different conflicts.

The use of specific history readers/teaching materials, Teaching Modern Southeast European History in four volumes by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) disrupted the traditional model of history teaching in Serbia displacing a one-sided version of the historical narrative from determined agenda.³⁰ This issue consequently opened the field for speculations about possible long term damage to pupils' national identity, personal integrity and historical conscience. Teaching material was developed by historians from eleven nations from the Balkan region and structured around the didactical concept of multiperspectivity. Although with some weak sides,

³⁰ Istorische čitanke 1–4, Nastava moderne istorije Jugoistočne Evrope, dodatni nastavni materijali, , (Beograd-Solin: Prosvetni pregled- Centar za demokratiju i pomirenje u jugoistočnoj Evropi) 2005.

history readers are big step forward in introducing multiple perspectives, tolerance toward “otherness”, understanding the complexity of historical reconstruction and difficulties in explaining and interpreting Balkan past. Basically, the main idea of editors of this material was to show that there is no simple, monolithic and unquestionable national narrative. The debate about the main objectives of History readers by CDRSEE in Serbia had political connotation hidden in expert discussions raised on methodological level. Concealed political substance of scholar confrontation appeared in distinctive and harsh argumentation announced in printed media and involvement of Ministry of Education in approval of this challenging teaching material. This debate could be described not only as the clash of two didactical concepts in history teaching, but also as the collision of two opposite perceptions of nation, society, history and complexity of their nature. The impact of the debate was so strong and politically shaped that the former Ministry of Education withdrew previously given support to the seminars for teachers planned as training for the adequate use of CDRSEE teaching materials. After years of strain, the materials are today available for use in secondary schools and could be easily downloaded from certain internet sites.

The historical dimension of unresolved internal Serbian division, part of civil war among resistance movements during Second World War still forms fertile ground for dispute on the level of historiography, but also in social and political context. The crucial dispute in that sense relates to reassessment of the role of communist and anticomunist royalist movements in the war against axis forces.³¹ This issue is, in the first place, linked to the revision of the role of Serbian royalist guerilla forces (Chetnik movement) during the Second World War, and decomposing the super moral image of the partisans. Re-examination of the historical role of different “national” subjects in the resistance or collaboration with Nazi occupying forces in Serbia was particularly emphasized during the war of the nineties when national homogenization was posted as the main pillar of war politics. During the war in Croatia and Bosnia wiping out historical differences and redefining recollection on partisans and royalist army was politically conducted and controlled in order to mobilize

³¹ B. Dimitrijević, K. Nikolić, Đeneral Mihajlović, Beograd 2000; K. Nikolić, Italijanska vojska i četnici u Drugom svetskom ratu u Jugoslaviji 1941–1943, Beograd 2003; M. Pavlović, B. Mladenović, Kosta Milovanović Pećanac 1879–1944, Beograd 2003, Milan Radanović, “Istorijska politika u Srbiji nakon 2000. Primeri manifestovanja sprege između akademskog istorijskog revizionizma i državne revizije prošlosti”, u: Izgubljeno u tranziciji. Kriticka

analiza procesa društvene transformacije, prir. Ana Veselinovic, Petar Atanackovic, Željko Klaric, Beograd: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2011, pp. 258–303.etc.

young people as volunteers for army and paramilitary forces under one flag. Today, the post-communist setting evokes academic and public debate on rehabilitation of Chetnics and their controversial role in the Second World War. The idea behind this change of memory pattern is the statement that previous, communist historiography was exclusive and had distorted the historical reality, by making educational and ideological background adjusted to the needs of the winning side from the civil war that was taking place within the wider Second World War framework.³² The post-communist space hastily became filled with different trends and ideas about what should we commemorate, value and remember, especially in the public sphere leaving space for new divisions and “excavation” of old conflicts giving them modern social and cultural form. This new interpretation of controversial issues from the Second World War has entered history curricula and textbooks.³³

Another more vigilant and potentially dangerous conflict source is linked with role of some traditional Churches in Serbia³⁴. Their policy has significant impact on social processes, different social agents and subcultures in turbulent period of transition. Economically polarized society with strong extremist groups of young or insufficiently educated people presents fertile ground for various manipulations related to national or confessional identity. A simplified and inappropriate notion of faith and religion is often used as a tool for manipulation and stirring of social milieu. Connecting religious superstition with national exclusiveness and mythologized historical content creates an inflammable mixture that could initiate numerous conflicts. Three potential hazards could be recognized in modern Serbia deriving from identity, confessional or

³² M.Pavlović, Partizani i četnici su prošlost, Blic, 14.04. 2009, <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Dodatak/88201/Partizani-i-cetnici-su-proslost>

³³ Dušan Kovačević et al., Istorija za 8. razred osnovnih škola (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2001). Kosta Nikolić et al., Istorija za III razred gimnazije prirodno-matematičkog smera i IV razred gimnazije opštег i društveno-jezičkog smera (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2003); Suzana Rajić et al., Istorija za 8. razred osnovnih škola (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstava, 2005).

³⁴ By Institutional Churches I mean traditional Churches recognized by Constitution and specific laws. In the group of traditional Churches in Serbia are included by the paragraph 10 of law on Churches and religious communities of Republic of Serbia from 2006: 1.Serbian orthodox church; 2.Roman catholic church; 3.Slovak evangelistic church; 4.Christian reformation church; 5.Evangelistic Christian church; 6.Islamic religious community; 7. Jewish community (Association of Jewish communities); Among other churches are: Russian orthodox church, Romanian orthodox church, Greek catholic church, etc. The problem that emerges regarding misuse of history, civic rights and political manipulation relates mostly Serbian Orthodox Church and Islamic religious community in Serbia.

national issues. Particularly convenient for manipulation is the way St. Sava school holiday is celebrated. With unavoidable orthodox ceremonies and rituals conducted by priests and highly ranked clergy, school holiday lose their universal humanistic substance and becomes ordinary religious festival familiar only to pupils from orthodox background. The secular state has traded its authority and most important attributes of civil society for unstable support of Serbian Orthodox Church. Since one extreme leads to subsequent response, part of the Islamic community in Serbia and Bosniak population raised their voice not only against the way this holiday has been celebrated, but going one step further, trying to undermine Serbian tradition of honoring and remembering the beginnings of Serbian schooling rooted in Middle Ages.³⁵ This problem is mostly evident in the region of Sandzak, in southwest Serbia, on the border with Kosovo, Montenegro and Bosnia. Sensitivity of multifaceted relations derives from the horrible experience of the wars of the nineties when Serbian paramilitary forces cloaked in national layers and under orthodox symbols committed crimes against Bosnjaks, citizens of Serbia. Insisting on its noticeable influence in schools instead of transforming national tradition to new modern and largely acceptable dimension, the Church has paradoxically degraded the value of holiday and its historical meaning. Leaving out from celebration children who are non-believers or pupils of different religious and cultural background, the universal spirit of holiday and intercultural dimension of education are extinguished. Voices against this way of commemorating coming from some political parties and members of other religious communities are understood as hostile act. Attempts of secularization are treated as revival of communist ideology or attack on Serbian tradition and “eternal values”.

Recent misbehavior of Orthodox Church authorities is related to condemnation of LGBT Pride parade (2009/2010) and unconcealed calls for a ban of the procession that was supposed to occur in the Serbian capital city.³⁶ Public dis-

³⁵ http://www.pressonline.rs/sr/vesti/vesti_dana/story/148502/Zukorli%C4%87+protiv+Svetog+Save.html;
<http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/231075/Muftija-Zukorlic-pozvao-na-bojkot-Svetog-Save/komentari>

³⁶ HELSINKI COMMITTEE bulletin FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SERBIA, THE PRIDE PARADE – ‘VIOLENCE CULTURE’

AND THE OFFENSIVE FROM THE RIGHT, <http://www.helsinki.org.rs/doc/HB-No72.pdf>; Govor mržnje Mitropolita Amfilohija Radovića, <http://www.labris.org.rs/saopstenja/govor-mrznje-mitropolita-amfilohija->

approval and evoking the biblical memory on “Sodom and Gomorrah on the streets of Belgrade” stated in a special press conference provoked clerically and nationalistically orientated non-governmental organizations, which mostly gather youngsters, to a counter-parade that ended in violence and demolition of the city center. Announced disrespect of human rights proclaimed by the Church was supported by many political parties. In January 2012 the Church also showed its arrogance and superiority over civil municipal authorities in Novi Sad, the capital of Vojvodina, during the commemoration to victims of Hungarian Nazi raid from 1942. Confrontation of Orthodox Church with mayor of Novi Sad had the result that clergy did not allow conjoint ceremony and prevented representatives of local government and highly ranked guests, among them ambassadors of Hungary and Israel to take part in the official part of commemoration.³⁷ This demonstration of exclusiveness in such sensitive historic occasions can't exemplify conflict prevention and historical reconciliation, nor establish moral pattern for historical and social awareness.

Last but not least, this report could not be complete if we omit very important historical, political and mental relation to the issue of Kosovo as a national idea, cornerstone of identity or tool for political demagogic, national homogenization and currently international dispute. The meta-historical remnants of the medieval battle of Kosovo (1389), as well as cultural legacy embodied in Serbian medieval churches, monasteries and fortifications, symbolize “Serbian Holy land”, one of the strongest components of Serbian national identity and recollection. The Serbian Orthodox Church has the leading role in preservation of the mythical layer of the event not recognizable in relevant historical core, but upgraded and developed in later times as universal moral code.³⁸ Although

[radovica.html](#) ; četvrtak 17.09.2009 | 01:28 -> 14:09 SPC o Povorci: Ljubav ili Sodoma
<http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?>

[yyyy=2009&mm=09&dd=17&nav_category=12&nav_id=381865](#)

³⁷ [Vesti](#) B92 | petak 20.01.2012 | 16:55 Problem sa obeležavanjem Novosadske racije, <http://www.b92.net/video/videos.php?>

[nav_category=905&yyyy=2012&mm=01&dd=20&nav_id=575690](#); Crkva neće s Gradom obeležiti 70 godina Racije, <http://www.021.rs/Novi-Sad/Vesti/Crkva-nece-s-Gradom-obezbedjenje-70-godina-Racije.html>;

[http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/303832/Novosadska-racija--obezbedjenje-SPC-u-mantiji-i-maskirnoj-uniformi](#)

³⁸ Marko Šuica, “The Image of the Battle of Kosovo (1389) Today: a Historic Event, a Moral Pattern, or the Tool of Political Manipulation,” in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States, History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, ed. Robert J.W. Evans and Guy Marchal,

school history curricula and textbooks provide narrative and reconstruction based on relevant research and historical sources, the Church as one of the main social agents persistently supports abandoned legend that the battle was lost due to treason among the Serbs, which was contained in oral tradition generated by Serbian bards in later times under Ottoman rule.³⁹ Even today results of modern historiography are largely undermined in amorphous public discourse and embedded eternal model of traitor among us which still works as manipulative instrument in different political situations.⁴⁰ The story about the Kosovo battle, victimization for the upper cause, and fictional treachery, long term consequences and outcomes of the battle even today strongly shapes Serbian identity.⁴¹ Its current significance is even larger, considering still ongoing political dispute on independence of Kosovo, Serbian joining E.U. preconditioned with recognition of borderline, etc. This conflict is active and omnipresent in everyday life. It largely affects young people in that legendary and distorted perception foundations generate self-awareness and attitude toward “others”. Working on this issue as part of conflict resolving is a great challenge for history teaching and civic education.

Taking in consideration present stereotypes, it is worthwhile to mention abating one of them, related to the negative image of Ottoman Turks. It is mostly visible in the visual reconstructions, i.e. images of devsirme (selection), duty of Christians in certain period of Ottoman history (15th–17th centuries) better known as the blood tribute in Serbian history textbooks. This early obligation implied very crude and drastic measures of forming the elite army forces and court administration from Christian children recruited at early age, taken from their families and converted to Islam. In history textbooks this sensitive topic is often presented with bias, in drastic visual form that evokes strong feelings among pupils, creating fertile ground for stereotypes, without implementation of multiple perspectives.⁴² This stereotype often leans on sensitive and very emotionally presented part of Serbian history that derives from the consequences of Kosovo battle (1389). Recently, thanks to very popular Turkish

(London:Palgrave Macmillan,2010),152–175.

³⁹ <http://otvorenaskola.mpn.gov.rs>, 8th may 2012. On this web site are posted all history curricula for elementary school.

⁴⁰ Sveti knez Lazar i Kosovski zavet, Svetigora – Večernje novosti, Cetinje–Beograd 2007.

⁴¹ Miodrag Popović, Vidovdan i časni krst, Beograd 1976; Tim Judah, Kosovo: War and Revenge, Yale University press, 2000; Marko Šuica, “The Image of the Battle of Kosovo (1389) Today”, with literature;

⁴² Marko Šuica, “Percepcija Osmanskog carstva u Srbiji,” in Imaginarni Turčin, ed. B. Jezernik, (Beograd: XX vek 2010), 285–299

romantic television novellas traditionally biased perception of Turks in Serbian society changed so much, that many youngsters observe Turkish culture differently even showing aspiration to learn their language.

New tendencies in history teaching in Serbia are mostly visible in the framework of reform of education, in-service teacher training seminars and regional history teaching projects commonly organized and sponsored by Euroclio association. Current developments of history teaching standards for secondary education include one domain that should integrate education about conflict prevention and resolution in regular history teaching. It is mostly based on the recent Council of Europe Recommendation 1880 (2009) on History teaching in conflict and post-conflict areas, and Recommendation CM/Rec (2011) 6 on Intercultural dialogue and the image of the other in history teaching. This means that conflict prevention and analysis of historical conflicts should become integrative and compulsory part of history teaching in Serbia on secondary level. On the other side, through Regional Euroclio projects and initiative, history teachers in Serbia, not only members of this international association, have the possibility to promote history as a tool for connecting nations from former Yugoslavia overcoming recent conflicts. Dealing with controversial issues or moving focus from strict political discourse in history teaching to history of everyday life, teachers can create a different and positive teaching ambience, necessary for the practice of multiperspectivity and teaching about conflicts and conflict prevention, especially in correlation with civic education.

Slovakia

Alena Mikulášová

History and citizenship education belong in the national curriculum in the common cross-sectional area of education called Human and Society. Geography belongs to this cross-sectional area as well. Subjects are taught separately. This statement is valid for lower as well as upper secondary schools. According to the national curriculum „knowing the past of own nation and other nations in the world, familiarity with the geographical characteristics of own country as well as other regions worldwide contribute to the creation of positive civic attitudes and obtaining of civic competencies that are key in education“.⁴³

As far as the textbook market is concerned, there is state control; each book is approved by the commission of Ministry of Education.⁴⁴ The project of common Slovak-Hungarian textbook should be also mentioned. The idea to prepare a common textbook has been abandoned. Nowadays the aim of the project is to prepare study materials, but these will not be primarily intended for students but for teachers. The possible date of finishing and publishing the materials cannot be precisely determined.

Knowledge and understanding history may be considered as an important basis for citizenship. In the Slovak educational system there is a lack of cooperation and lack of connections between history and citizenship education. They are mostly understood as separate subjects with separate content. Only very few topics reflect possible overlaps. The citizenship education deals with the topics like toleration; different worldviews; different world religions; human rights etc. There is no concrete instruction for a teacher of citizenship education to use and explain these topics using historical examples. The way of ex-

⁴³ National curriculum for lower secondary schools (ISCED 2) available at

http://www.statpedu.sk/files/documents/svp/2stzs/isced2/isced2_spu_uprava.pdf

National curriculum for upper secondary schools (ISCED 3A) available at

http://www.statpedu.sk/files/documents/svp/gymnazia/isced3_spu_uprava.pdf

⁴⁴ The procedure of textbooks approving is given by directive of the Slovak Ministry of Education no. 10/2011. Available at http://www.statpedu.sk/files/documents/metodiky/smernica_c_10_2011.pdf

planation is basically up to a teacher. The connection between Citizenship education and History is quite weak. Making connections between History and Citizenship education is up to teachers' creativity. Citizenship education deals with conflicts more on inter-personal basis or in common (for example there is a topic dealing with current global conflicts and challenges) and also guides teachers on how to handle conflicts, for example in a class room or between schoolmates, necessity of toleration of different religions, opinions etc.⁴⁵

Cooperation between history and citizenship education helps to develop important abilities and skills. It also enables students to understand and value principles of democracy, justice and responsibility. That means development of many skills e.g. analysis, synthesis, critical thinking, formulating questions, decision making, language and communication skills etc.

Many present conflicts have roots in different points of view and misinterpretations of history. It should be the role of the subject of history as well as Citizenship education to enable students to adopt an appropriate attitude. There are several tensions that occurred since 1990 in Slovakia that are rooted in history. After the fall of the Iron Curtain these topics were re-opened and influenced by the wave of nationalism. Further, conflicts are often mentioned in political discussions, usually before elections and in various political campaigns. This statement is valid mostly in the case of conflicts concerning Slovaks and Hungarians.

1. Who was the first in Carpathian basin? Slovak or Hungarian ancestors?

From a historical perspective this point seems to be only a little controversial. Some Hungarian historians, however, consider Huns as the ancestors of the Hungarians. Huns had stayed in the Carpathian basin for a short time before the arrival of the Slavs. This topic is fuelling xenophobic nationalist campaigns of extreme political parties (Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko in Slovakia and Jobbik in Hungary).⁴⁶

2. Disintegration of Great Moravia and arrival of Hungarians.

⁴⁵ Currently used textbooks of civic education and history at level ISCED 2 and 3A were analysed by the author of the report for the purposes of this report.

⁴⁶ For further reading e.g. Čaplovič, D. (1998). Včasnostredoveké osídlenie na Slovensku. Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press. Zábojník, J. (2004). Slovensko a avarský kaganát. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského.

As far as this topic is concerned, there is different understanding of these events in Slovak and Hungarian historiography. The same thing is valid also for the interpretation in school praxis and in text books. For Hungarians it is a conquest of homeland, for Slovaks it is the time when Slovak territory became part of Hungarian Kingdom and meant the fall of Great Moravia considered to be a successful and flourishing empire. There are differences in interpreting what was the decisive factor of disintegration of the empire. From the Slovak perspective there are several reasons underlined: conflicts between the successors of Svatopluk, conflicts in internal politics as well as arrival of first groups of Hungarians. From the Hungarian perspective, these events are interpreted differently. Some historians claim that after arrival of Hungarians, there were no organised units in Carpathian basin. This topic is also used in pseudo political discussion.⁴⁷

3. Integration of Slovak territory into the Hungarian Kingdom, King Stephen I. of Hungary.

There is controversy in historiography as well as in text books. There is a question: how was the Slovak territory integrated into the Kingdom? Was this territory conquered by Hungarians or was it a smooth change of power? Were the Slav people subjugated? The interpretation in Slovak historiography claims that it was a process of integration and that there wasn't any discontinuity of settlement. The person of King Stephen I is also interpreted differently. On one hand he was the first king of a new empire, Christian (also proclaimed a Saint). Slovaks do not really consider the Hungarian empire as a part of their own history. There is a tendency to bring this history closer and to understand it as a part of their own history – common for Hungarian and Slovaks. Analogically to the above mentioned topics, these events also became a part of political discussions from time to time. As an example, the visit of Hungarian president in Slovakia who wanted to bow to the statue of Stephen I, was from the Slovak point of view considered as provocation and the entry of Hungarian president on Slovak land was prohibited.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ For further reading Steinhübel, J. (2004). Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska. Bratislava: Veda. Central Europe in 8th –10th Centuries/Mitteleuropa im 8.–10. Jahrhundert. Bratislava: Slovak Academy of Sciences 1997.

⁴⁸ For further reading e. g. Marsina, R. (ed.). (2002). Nitra v slovenských dejinách. Martin: Matica Slovenská. Múcska, V. (ed.). (2002). East Central Europe at the Turn of the 1st and 2nd Millennium. Bratislava: Comenius University. Ruttkay, A. – Ruttkay, M. – Šalkovský, P. (eds.) (2003). Slovensko vo včasnom stredoveku. Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV.

4. Cohabitation of nations and nationalities in Hungarian Empire.

The Hungarian, and afterwards the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was multinational. Especially in the 19th century, in the time of the „nation spring“, there are many controversies concerning the cohabitation of nations in the Hungarian part of Empire. The processes of Magyarization and different political conceptions between L. Štúr and L. Kossuth have had strong political impact on history and on its interpretation. The second half of the 19th century was marked by the process of Magyarization and the effort to build a united Hungarian/Magyar nation. Until the 19th century, there had been no reason for conflicts between nations. Especially after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 there were efforts at ethnic assimilation. History of this region is usually written from one point of view.⁴⁹

5. Peace treaties after WWI; The treaty of Trianon.

The system of peace treaties signed after WWI is understood in Slovak historiography as a legal base for the existence of the Czechoslovak state that enabled Slovaks to gain national sovereignty and national rights. It also ended the period of violent magyarization. In Magyar historiography the system after WWI is understood as injustice that causes a loss of large parts of territory. Trianon until today causes political conflicts in Slovak and Hungarian interpretation of history and it is used in pseudo political discussions.⁵⁰

6. Jewish minority and deportation of Jews from Slovakia

One of the most dramatic conflicts is connected with events of WWII and the „solution of Jewish question“. In Slovakia this meant deportation of almost 60,000 Jewish citizens. These events had political, religious as well as racial

⁴⁹ For further reading e.g. Krajčovič, M. (2010). Slovenské národné hnutie v medzinárodnom kontexte od roku 1820 po vznik Slovenského štátu. Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press. Botík, J. (2007). Etnická história Slovenska. K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov. Bratislava: Lúč.

⁵⁰ For further reading e. g. Hronský, M. (1998). Boj o Slovensko a Trianon. Bratislava: Národné literárne centrum. Irmanová, E. (2002). Maďarsko a versaillský mírový systém. Ústí nad Labem: Albis International. Michela, M. (2009). Pod heslom integrity. Bratislava: Kalligram.

background reasons.⁵¹

All the above mentioned conflicts have extended into current politics and are from time to time opened in political discussions (especially the conflict between Slovaks and Magyars). As the research on the questionnaire showed, during university studies teacher trainees are not specially trained to deal with conflicts.

⁵¹ For further reading Kamenec, I. (1991). Po stopách tragédie. Bratislava: Archa. Hradská, K. (1999). Prípad Dieter Wisliceny. Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press. Lipscher, L. (1992). Židia v slovenskom štáte 1939–1945. Bratislava: Print-servis.

Ukraine

Polina Verbytska

Conflict of collective memory and historical memory policy

In recent years the interest in historical memory in Ukraine has significantly grown. Common perception of the historical past, collective historical memory is a significant basis for the integration and consolidation of the society. But the situation is aggravated when “in a community of one nation there exist several opposing or even conflicting in their content, canons of ‘historical memory’, where there are three partially intertwined interpretations of the past borrowed from three sources in different proportions:

1) romantic historiography of the early-middle 19th century representing the Cossack (romantic) vision of the past, mostly cultivated in the central Ukraine;

2) the populist academic historiography of late 19 – early 20th centuries – perception of the past as a battle field for twin Slavic nations – Ukrainian and Russian – for the Orthodox faith and social justice (this version of ‘historical memory’ still holds strong in the South and East);

3) the nationalist historiography of the 20th century, mostly originating from the diaspora – a version of the past colored with strong nationalistic aspirations, in particular with the cult of heroes from Ukrainian Nationalist Organization (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) as fighters for the Ukrainian statehood, inherent to the Western Ukraine and partially Volyn”.⁵²

Under such circumstances in Ukraine as a post-totalitarian country history turns into a political tool, a victim of various interpretations of the same historical past by different political forces. And in the contemporary situation there is much evidence that manipulation of reminiscences and memory have become a most powerful tool in managing individual and social consciousness.

The most controversial problems of historical memory relate to history of the XX century.

⁵² Yakovenko N. (2008) The Image of Self – the Image of the Other in School History Textbooks. In: Materialy robochoyi narady z monitorynhu shkilnykh pidruchnykiv istoriyi Ukrayiny. Comp. and ed. N. Yakovenko. Kyiv: Olena Telia Publishing House.

1. The Holodomor

The Holodomor – the artificial famine against the Ukrainian people in 1932–1933 – is a most significant example of political impact on the process of national historical memory conflict. On 28 November 2006 (under presidency of Viktor Yushchenko) the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in compliance with the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Punishment dated 9 December 1948 adopted the Law of Ukraine “On the Holodomor in 1932–1933 in Ukraine”⁵³, stipulating the following: Article 1. The Holodomor in 1932–1933 in Ukraine is genocide against Ukrainian people. Article 2. Public defiance of the Holodomor in 1932–1933 in Ukraine is deemed to be violation of the memory of millions of victims in the Holodomor, derogation of the Ukrainian people and is against the law.⁵⁴ The parliaments from Estonia, Australia, Canada, Hungary, Lithuania, Georgia, Poland, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico and Latvia formally acknowledged the Holodomor as genocide against the Ukrainian people; the European Parliament declared the Holodomor to be a crime against Ukrainian people and humanity. The dispute on whether the Holodomor was a genocide against the Ukrainian people or not gained additional momentum after President Yanukovych in the 27 April 2011 session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe declared that the Holodomor is unjustly called genocide against the Ukrainian people. In his opinion, it was no more than a common tragedy of nations in the USSR. It should be mentioned that November 26, 2011 President V. Yanukovych participated in commemoration of the Holodomor victims, which testifies to some changes of attitude to this problem at the highest state level⁵⁵.

⁵³ Vidomosti Verkhovnoyi Rady Ukrayiny, 2006, No. 50, p. 504.

⁵⁴ Law of Ukraine “On the Holodomor in 1932–1933 in Ukraine” Available from: <http://zakon.rada.gov.ua/cgi-bin/laws/main.cgi?nreg=376-16>. Accessed on: 16 February 2012

⁵⁵ Holodomory v Ukrayini 1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–47. Materialy dlia bibliohrafiji dokumentalnykh publikacij / Ukladachi: I.Odynoka, L.Prykhodko, R.Romanovskyi [Famines in Ukraine 1921–1923, 1932–1933, 1946–1947. Materials for bibliography of documental publications / Compilers: L. Odynoka, L. Prykhodko, R. Romanovskiy]. Derzhavnyi komotet arkhiviv Ukrayiny. – Kyiv, 2005. –55p.; Holodomor-Henocyd v Ukrayini, 1932–1933: Zakhidni Arkhivy, Svidchennia i novi doslidzhennia / Za redakcijeju Vsevoloda V.Isayiva [Famine–Genocide in Ukraine, 1932–1933: Western Archives, Testimonies and New Research / Edited by Vsevolod V. Isayiv]. – Ukrayinskyi Kanadskyi Centr Doslidzhen ta Dokumentaciji, Toronto, 2003. – 212 p.; Publications of the official documents, memories and witnesses. Materials for bibliography L. Burian, I. Rykun, compilation of 2001, G. Papakin additional, 2003–2007; Genocide of Ukrainian people – Famine of 1932–1933. Special department of the official web-portal of the State Committee of

2. The memory of World War II

This is one of the most controversial pages of history in the collective memory of the Ukrainian people. The process of creating historical memory about World War II is complicated by several factors, like different perceptions of the war by the participants and their offspring stemming from a long-term impact of the Soviet propaganda; an extreme politicizing of the war issue; frequent abuse of this issue by politicians who strive to achieve their agendas. The biggest problem of the controversial historical memory in Ukraine regarding the events of WWII is the role of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The conflict in the Ukrainian society around the issue of OUN–UPA is a conflict of collective memory where one part of the population both on the level of individual memory and on the level of memory modified by the Communist propaganda does not accept the nationalist movement, while the other supports it. On the other hand in the commemoration of World War II in contemporary Ukraine, we can distinguish two coexisting approaches – the first is implemented nowadays in the official policy which, like in Russia, views the victory in the ‘Great Patriotic War’ of 1941–1945 as one of the most important national holidays. Another vision of the liberation from the Nazi occupation by the Red Army considers it the day when one totalitarian regime was replaced by another, and so, like most Central and Eastern European countries, it is the understanding of WWII as a great tragedy and commemoration of memory of all its victims.⁵⁶

Archives of Ukraine. Electronic archive of the Famine. Available from:
<http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/>

⁵⁶ Hrynevyc Vladyslav. Gespaltene Erinnerung. Der Zweite Weltkrieg im ukrainischen Gedenken // Osteuropa. #55 Jahrgang. – Heft 4–6. – April–Juni 2005. – S.88–102; Hrytsak Ya. World War II in Ukraine unites victims not heroes. Available from: <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/columns/2011/05/7/37986/>. Accessed on: 16 February 2012; Kuzio Taras. History, Memory and Nation Building in the Post-Soviet Colonial Space. // Nationalities Papers, 2002, т. 30, №2; Jilge Wilfried /Stefan Troebst, Eds. “Gespaltene Geschichtskulturen? Zweite Der Zweite Weltkrieg und kollektive Erinnerungskulturen in der Ukraine” [Divided Historical Cultures? World War II and Collective Cultures of Rememberence in Ukraine]. Topical Issue. Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas. 2006. – 54. H.1, c.50–81; Re-bounding Identities. The Politics of Identity in Russia and Ukraine. Eds. by Domenique Arel and Blair A.Ruble. – Woodrow Wilson Center press Washington D.C. The John Hopkins University press. – Baltimore. 2006; Rogers Peter. Understanding Regionalism and the Politics of Identity in Ukraine’s Eastern Borderlands // Nationalities Papers, 2006, т. 34, №2; L. Grechyna, L. Dubych. Problem of OUN–UPA. Report of the working group of historians in the Governmental Commit-

3. Human rights as important aspect of historical memory about the World War II

Recent national and international research gives many accounts of processes in Ukraine as a post-totalitarian society testifying to the existence of increasing intolerance and violence and its various faces which affect people's lives: discrimination, intolerance, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, aggressive nationalism, homophobia, racism. One can observe a growing activity of youth right radical extremist organizations which are directed at violent actions on the basis of racial and national enmity. That is why human rights constitute an important aspect of historical memory about World War II. It is important to emphasize that human rights during World War II were threatened greatly. Thus, a special focus in the social and educational discourse should be given to the tragic events of World War II – Holocaust, other genocides, conflicts, deportations, confrontation, collaboration etc. and their lessons at the background of the contemporary processes of increase in intolerance and violence in Ukrainian society, especially among the young generation.⁵⁷

4. Volyn' tragedy (Volyn' massacre)

This is one of the tragic episodes of the Ukrainian-Polish conflict of the period of World War II in Volyn' (the region in north-west of Ukraine). It was an

tee on investigation of OUN-UPA activities. Two documents of the Committee after research work in 1997–2004. Available from: <http://www.ukrnationalism.org.ua/get/book.cgi?n=56>;

⁵⁷ Rohdewald S. Post-Soviet Remembrance of the Holocaust and national memories of the Second World War in Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania // Forum for Modern Languages Studies. – 2008. – #44(2). – P.173–184; Stalinism and Nazism: History and memory Compared. Edited by Henry Rousso. Translated by Lucy B. Golsan, Thomas C. Hilde, and Peter S. Rogers. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. Pp. xxvi, 324 p.; The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, memorialization / eds. R.Brandon, W. Lower. – Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008 . – 378 p.; Yekelchyk Serhy. Stalin's Empire of Memory. Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination. University of Toronto Press Toronto-Buffalo-London, 2004. – 222 p.; Young James E. The texture of memory: Holocaust and meaning. Cornell, 1993; M.Koval. Nazi Genocide against the Jews and the Ukrainian Population. // Ukrainian Historical Magazine—1992 — № 2. M.Popovych. Jewish Genocide in Ukraine: History and Lessons. // Philosophical and Sociological Thought. — 1994 — № 5–6; Podolskyi A.Yu. Uroky mynuloho: Istoriya Holocostu v Ukrayini. Navchalnyi posibnyk/ Muzej "Budynok Anny Frank" [Lessons of the Past: History of Holocaust in Ukraine. Manual / Museum "Anne Frank's House"], (Serija "Ukrayinska biblioteka Holokostu"), Ukrayinskyi centr vyvchennia istoriyi Holocostu. – Kyiv: "Sfera", 2007. 100 p.

international Ukrainian-Polish armed confrontation on the territory of Ukrainians and Poles' common residence. According to Polish estimations, during the Volyn' tragedy at least 35.000 people had been killed (mainly Polish civilians from villages), 18.000 out of which had been people with the confirmed surnames. Ukrainian estimations have been made only at the level of some villages and constitute about several thousand persons.

The events of 1943 in Volyn' remain an issue of intense Polish-Ukrainian discussion, conducted by the professional historians, politicians and public figures. In polish historiography the Volyn tragedy is treated only as an anti-Polish action of the Ukrainian insurgent army (UPA), in Ukrainian historiography the motives which urged the UPA for conducting this action are stressed, and considerable attention is paid to the "retaliation actions" of the Armia Krajowa (Polish national army), including those directed upon the Ukrainian civilian population. The discussion reached its most heated point in spring-summer 2003, at the 70th anniversary of those events. The positions of both sides are hard to generalize single-mindedly: in fact, the Ukrainian and (to a lesser extent) Polish society is greatly divided concerning the evaluation of Volyn' events, and also the majority of population know little about them or are indifferent to them. But one can define a whole range of views. On one extreme side there are Polish nationalists, Poles (mainly repatriates from the Western Ukraine and their descendants) who consider Volyn' massacre to have been an act of genocide against the Polish nation, and Ukrainian nationalists on the other extreme side who consider those events to have been a just retaliation for the historical injustices which Ukrainians bore from Poles throughout centuries under their rule, and especially during the period of inter-war Poland.

The fact that there are people from both sides representing the constructive approach who call for recognition of Volyn' massacre as a common tragedy of Ukrainians and Poles and acknowledging the guilt both on the Polish and Ukrainian side is crucial for the reconciliation process. The attitude of the official circles is closer to this central position. The manifestation of it was the official Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation on July 13, 2003 during the unveiling of the monument in village of Pavlivka in which the Presidents of Ukraine and Poland – Leonid Kuchma and Aleksander Kwasniewski – participated⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ Lukaszyw J.(Olszański T.A.). Walki polsko-ukraińskie 1943—1947 [Polish-Ukrainian Struggles in 1943-1947]. «Zeszyty Historyczne», 1989, N 90; Turowski J. Pożoga: Walki 27 Wołyńskiej Dywizji AK [The fire: Battles of 27° Volyn' Division of AK]. Warszawa, 1990; Lebed M. UPA. Niemcka okupacja Ukrainy [UPA German Occupation of Ukraine], ch.1. Drohobych, No.1, 1993; Torzecki R. Polacy i Ukrainscy: Sprawa ukraińska w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie II Rzeczypospolitej [Poles and Ukrainians: Ukrainian issue in the Period of WWII on the Territory of

Search for social consensus in the issue of historical memory through Teaching History

In the Ukrainian society a conflict line has been drawn, which was only made deeper due to the unsuccessful policy of historical memory. To unite different versions of historical memory existing in different regions of Ukraine and to reach consensus in a textbook is a daunting task.

Under such circumstances school history is still very influential in forming systematically in a young person's mind a certain image of the historical past of the national community with which they identify themselves.

How exactly is the modern model of school history represented in school textbooks created to educate a critical-thinking individual capable of living and effectively interacting in the contemporary society? This key question was raised by the analysis of school textbooks initiated by the Institute of National Memory in 2008. The existing school history textbooks were examined in respect of: their relation to the modern socio-cultural circumstances of the Ukrainian society; humanization of history and openness to "the other" and the world outside one's own community; and the development of critical thinking. The results of the majority of Ukrainian textbooks' monitored showed a paradoxical disparity between the challenges of today and school textbooks. Textbooks need to be re-appraised immediately, because schoolchildren, who have been taught something meant for a different system of values and different social orientations, will experience problems identifying themselves with common historical past and nowadays Ukraine.⁵⁹

Polish Republic]. Warszawa, 1993; Motyka G. Od rzezi wołyńskiej do Akcji «Wisła». Konflikt polsko-ukraiński 1943—1947. [From Volyn' Massacre to the Action "Vistula". Polish-Ukrainian Conflict of 1943-1947] Kraków 2011; Kyrychuk Yu. Narysy z istoriji ukrayinskoho nacionalno-vyzvolnoho rukhu 40–50 rokiv XX stolittia. [Outline of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement of 1940–1950-s]. L'viv, 2000; Filar W. Przed akcją «Wisła» był Wołyń [There was Volyn' Before the Action "Vistula"]. Warszawa, 2000; Polska-Ukraina: Trudne pytania. Materiały IX i X międzynarodowego seminarium historycznego «Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w latach II wojny światowej» [Poland-Ukraine: Difficult Issues. Materials of the IX and X international historical seminar "Ukrainian-Polish relations in the Period of the World War II"], Warszawa, 6–10 listopada 2001. Warszawa, 2002; Illyushyn I. Volynska trahediya 1943–1944 r.r. [Volyn' tragedy of 1943–1944]. Kyiv, 2003.; War inside War. UPA and AK without Praise and Disparagement. Available from:

http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2011/04/13/35759/view_print/

⁵⁹ Materiały roboczoї наради з моніторингу шкільних підручників історії України. (2008) Comp. and ed. N. Yakovenko. Kyiv: Olena Teliha Publishing House. Pp. .64–81.

The experts of the International network of textbooks research have monitored the national textbooks in history of Ukraine taking into account the respective criteria and recommendations of UNESCO. They have pointed out a number of considerable drawbacks in them, namely: presence of certain racial/ethnic/ cultural stereotypes; insufficient level of elucidation of other ethnic and cultural groups' history on the basis of their self-sufficient value; excessive militaristic attitude, characterized by disproportionately great attention paid to wars, destructions and murders; absence of possibility of objective impassionate view on one's own values; insufficient elaboration of methods and methodological apparatus⁶⁰.

A thorough analysis by the historians has not only enriched the historical didactics but has also brought about scholarly discussion on the need of approaching didactic and scientific history in the education of the young generation, promoting open professional and social discussion on teaching controversial and sensitive issues of national history memory.

The new approaches to teaching history have been introduced in the new version of the Basic and Secondary Education Standard in the sphere of "Social Sciences".⁶¹ Unlike in the previous version of the Standard, the historical and social sciences components have been clearly separated, not only in the formulation of their content, but also their aims and objectives have been defined precisely for reinforcement of the role of history as the main identity-forming subject, which teaches students dignity, human rights and democracy, develops their positive attitude towards common European values.

The aim of the educational sphere of "Social sciences", which consists of the historical and social science components is providing the realization of students' development as a free personalities, with the ability for effective self-realization in the modern diverse global world and possibility of taking part in the life of a democratic, social and lawful state and civil society, to learn throughout life.

The content of the educational sphere of "Social Sciences" is realized by teaching such separate subjects as history, law, economy, etc. as well as the integrated courses like civic education and social studies.

The historical component of the Standard plays the leading role in form-

⁶⁰ "History school textbooks as a factor of your historical memory forming". Analytical notes. Available from: <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/241/> 16 February 2012

⁶¹ The Decree of the Cabinet of Ministry of Ukraine on approval of the State standard of basic and full general secondary education. November 23, 2011. № 1392 Kyiv. Available from: <http://zakon.nau.ua/doc/?uid=1053.24.0> 16 February 2012

ing students' identity and their sense of dignity as a result of comprehending social and moral experience of previous generations, understanding history and culture of Ukraine in the context of historical process. The modern approaches to school history education have been introduced into the new version of the Standard: the anthropological approach, which means making history more personal, showing historical events, phenomena and processes from the point of view of ordinary people, reducing the volume of political history with preference given to socio-economic history, everyday life history and history of ideas – that is why this correlation should become the basis for forming the new content; as well as the competence approach, which means reducing the volume of knowledge for the benefit of forming students' skills and abilities. Teaching history foresees using the problematic-thematic approach combined with general, thematic and deep learning and synchronic teaching of the interconnected courses of history of Ukraine and world history. The achievement of the historical component of the Standard is its authors' aspiration for gradual increase in demands on students' academic achievements in each stage of history education. Since history teaching is based on the linear-chronological principle, the history periods are taught in respective grades (school years) and the content load grows gradually with every year (grades 8–11).

According to the new Standard the following modern methodological demands have been introduced into the history teaching and learning: critical thinking development, possibilities for various interpretations and evaluations of historical events, phenomena, processes, teaching controversial and sensitive issues of history, paying attention to everyday life history and history of ideas, combining the global (European, national, regional) and local history on different levels, as well as putting forward problematic-thematic approach to the content formation.

Among the drawbacks of the Standard are: the evident lack of coordination between the history and social sciences component, absence of interdisciplinary connections, especially in the content of the social component courses. The social component in comparison with the history component looks less systematic and integral, both the elements of content and the demands to the level of student's knowledge are not coordinated.

Civic education is insufficiently represented in the modern curriculum. It is considered that an interdisciplinary approach allows aspects of civic education to be taught in the following social studies courses: "Ethics" (in middle school), Law, "Individual and the World" (in high school). But there are a number of civic education courses developed by NGOs such as All-Ukrainian Associ-

ation of Teachers of History and Social Studies “Nova Doba” which are popular with schools and teachers in Ukraine as a variable component of the curriculum (as optional courses).

How controversial issues of historical memory are treated in history education in secondary schools

Controversial issues are included in the school curricula. According to the existing curriculum of high school (2010) the above mentioned controversial issues of historical memory are taught in history of Ukraine in the 10–11 grades. Taking into account the fact that the overwhelming majority of general secondary schools teach history of Ukraine according to the State standard level, this discipline is taught 1 hour per week.

In textbooks there is only narrative text, containing inaccuracies, little information, which has impersonal character and does not motivate students for learning something new. Concerning “Holodomor”, only facts and the general characteristic of the policy of 1932–1933 are mentioned, although the latter is described in more detail in the extracts from the historical sources. There are no descriptions of family tragedies, in the sources only general words like “famine”, “death of starvation/ hunger” are mentioned. For giving more emphasis to students’ understanding of this issue there are tasks in which students have to define the reasons and methods of Holodomor, its subjective and objective consequences, analyze the sources and evaluate them. As to the political and legal evaluations of Holodomor, there is lack of information about the Law of Ukraine “On Holodomor in 1932–1933 in Ukraine” of 2006 in the modern textbook and, accordingly, lack of political and legal evaluation of this phenomenon interferes with integral perception of this historical event and formation of critical thinking skills of the young people.

In the textbook for the 11th grade attention is paid to Holocaust as the genocide against the Jews only in the context of the world history. The main problems of history teaching – lack of time, overloading of curricula – caused the situation that the theme of Holocaust is at the periphery of teachers’ attention and is not the issue for assess students’ achievements.

The Ukrainian-Polish conflict in Volyn’ in the World War II is not given due attention in the new textbook. The narrative text about it contains just a few sentences. When we take into consideration the events in Volyn’ in 1943 in the context of declared openness to various points of view, we can observe that Polish vision of the war events is not reflected in the modern textbooks: neither

the partition of Poland as a consequence of Molotov–Ribbentrop pact, nor “Volyn’ massacre”, nor Polish image of UPA.

Despite the efforts and success of informal education, the majority of teachers are not ready for teaching controversial issues on the basis of modern principles. The presence of these issues in the in-service teacher training system depends on individual abilities of teachers.

Summary

On the one hand, the historical memory policy and, on the other hand, the problems of curricula content overloading and lack of teachers competences influence the elucidation of important issues in history teaching. The solid impetus for enhancing teachers' knowledge and skills in teaching controversial and sensitive issues is given by informal education and NGOs. “Together in One Land. Multicultural History of Ukraine” – a new textbook initiated by All-Ukrainian Association of Teachers of History and Social Studies “Nova Doba” is aimed at meeting challenges – conflict of history memory in Ukrainian society – and bridging the gap between standards, new visions of history educators, innovative methodology, based on the European approaches to history teaching.