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EDITOR

Edin Radušić

AUTHORS

Emir Filipović
Sanja Gladanac
Amila Kasumović
Marija Naletilić
Mirjana Trbojević
Edin Veladžić

EDITORIAL BOARD

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PROOF READING

Zenaida Karavdić

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Branislav Blagojević

DESIGN

Dragan Knežević
Nermin Mašinović

PRINT AND CIRCULATION

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Preface

Association of history teachers of Bosnia and Herzegovina – EUROCLIO HIP BiH, in cooperation with the European association of history educators EUROCLIO, started in early 2015 the implementation of the project “History that connects and separates. How to process the topic of abuse of history on the road to the last war in Bosnia and Herzegovina through joint innovation of history teaching.” Open society fund in BiH recognized the moment and the importance for this topic to be further researched and it has supported us in our efforts to present our viewpoint regarding this issue. Throughout the year the EUROCLIO HIP BiH team, composed of university and school history teachers and history researchers, has been researching and collecting the material. The results of that work are now before you.

After 10 years of cross-border (inter-state) cooperation on developing the teaching material on regional history of the 20th century used in the countries of the region, EUROCLIO HIP BiH noticed the need to tackle the more recent history of the 1990s in the context of BiH and the region. Central position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the regional wars of 1990s, division of curricula and existence of three different, exclusive and often mutually conflicting histories pose a particular problem to BiH educators, which deserves special attention.

Particular challenge was the question how to teach the period just before the war. EUROCLIO HIP BiH consulted its members and regional partners and proposed to deal with this complex issue by opening a new dialogue about how and to what extent was the history (ab)used to increase the divisions within the society. To what extent did the citizens ‘learn’ to be afraid and to hate the ‘other’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina? There is a new dialogue among professional historians, in seeking the common ground about how was history used and abused in literature and other forms of public expression, by leaders, intellectuals, media and politicians.

The project we are implementing with this material focuses on the role history played in the last decades of the 20th century. The project is intended for historians, history teachers in schools

throughout BiH and wider community responsible for education policies in BiH.

We tried to find examples how was history used and abused in the period 1980-2000, and how it served in division on 'us' and 'them'. By forming the team of experts (teachers and researchers) and including the experts from the region, we attempted to create a model for establishing and implementing a common approach in BiH on how to teach about causes of the last war from 1990s, with particular attention on how history becomes a weapon in hands of the media. Through implementation of project activities and inclusion of expert public, primarily from BiH, we created the material "Abuse of history in the processes that led to the last war in BiH: A framework for change of paradigm of history teaching in schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina" with concrete recommendations and examples on how to teach history of the 1990s in schools in BiH.

**Abuse of history...
that led to the last
war in Bosnia and
Herzegovina:
A framework for
change of paradigm
in history teaching
in schools in
BiH**

Use and abuse of history

In different spheres of activity (from global politics via actions of academic circles and media to history teaching in schools), there are different levels of use and abuse of the past for the contemporary political purposes. Although there is a certain positive move in presenting the past in history textbooks since the end of the war, a mono-perspective approach and forcing of 'our', single truth. It particularly refers to interpreting the WWII and the period of decomposing of Yugoslavia and wars that followed, which take up significant space in the last generation of textbooks. The interpretations there range from sterile, but mono-perspective presentations, to openly favored presenting of events. It can also be concluded that interpretation of history reflects to a large degree the existing state of division among national communities in BiH and beyond, which disables serious consideration of the past and bringing children up as a thinking (human) being. There are several methods used in abuse of history at different levels. Dominating are manipulation with facts and focusing on 'only our faith' in the past (victims, oppression, liberation fight, our remembrance ...) therefore, apart from rare (hardly visible) examples of balanced interpretation and confrontation with the past, it is in the service of creating national awareness and underlining a clear difference between 'us' and 'them', in the past as well as in the present. Indirectly, it could be concluded that the goal of such an interpretation of history is keeping a community homogenous and alert, so that 'history (victimization, oppression) does not repeat on us', which can lead towards very dangerous understanding of relations between communities as US OR THEM!

The analysis of the academic material shows that the past, especially segments of disaster and suffering of own group in the past was plentifully used in 1980s and 1990s to the aim of national homogenization that came as a counterpoint to inherited ideals and ideology of brotherhood and unity. According to a widely accepted definition (national) homogenization is inserting (national) ideology into the body (mind, mental set, notion) of imaginary collective by intellectual and political elite. Although etymology of the term homogenization shows to the primordial, naturally given 'selected

collective', which was particularly insisted on by (national) elites, in the essence, they – due to their ideological choice and ruling context – actually construct the collective. To what scope is it going to be unified in a certain chronological unit finally depends on the development of context, i.e. how the historical processes are going to be developing. National ideology essentially presents a narrative that defines the position of a collective in (desired or undesired) past, (regularly undesired) present and desired future, towards a collective should be led by the emerging political elite. The mentioned narrative pretends to be a collective means for self-understanding and basis for new culture of remembrance. Nationalism theoreticians believe that each national homogenization is, in the end, connected to the demand for having an own state (according to S. Veladzic, Homogenization ...), while in case of Bosnia this definition is supplemented by a demand to join the 'mother land' or keeping it in the state framework where the mother group (nation) is dominating. The focus in this analysis was, concretely, on Serb, Croat and Moslem / Bosniak national ideology in Bosnia and Hercegovina, all in the Yugoslav context of crisis and decomposition of the common state, that is, processes led by new national or transformed national-communist elites. In that process, past is plentifully used, while the Yugoslav brothers grow into enemies. To simplify, in the final stage there will be open announcements of returning the ghosts of the past war and extracting examples of own affliction by 'till yesterday' brothers and point stronger right to Bosnia and Hercegovina than others, as part of wider territory (Serb, Croat) or independently Bosnian – Herzegovinian territory. Old stereotypes are being upgraded, new ones are being built, in order to prove that peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been hating each other for centuries and that that hatred is the basic cause of misunderstandings and conflicts in the country. Space was created for just revenge for old injustices and wrong doings, indirectly, but in final stages also directly. As processes of homogenization were focused on pointing the differences among population, though it was very much similar, repeated national awareness – groups were attempted to be strongly distanced from all those who do not belong to the group.

Evidence of differences and different interests were sought in history, since Middle Ages to Ottoman times and first Yugoslavia, WWII (especially within NDH¹ and territories where Chetniks were active, they were often shown as a monolithic group), and finally the

Socialist Yugoslavia. The spectrum of pointing the perils of own group was very wide, from pointing to the inequality and unjust legal position to pointing the oppression by others and emphasized reminding on historical suffering (Muslims/Bosniaks by Serbs, Serbs by Croats and Bosniaks, Croats by Serbs). On a time-scale perspective, Serb particularly scrutinized Ottoman and NDH period, Bosniaks the WWII and first Yugoslavia period, while Croats focused on Yugoslavia periods presented as times of stopping the Croat (European, civilizational) development and Serb domination.

Particularly revived were memories on the atrocities of the WWII and mutual killings. Appearing as opposite, but essentially the same process, was negating or diminishing crimes committed by own group and pointing humanity and justice of own group and injustice of others.

There are several methods used in use and abuse of history at different levels. Dominating are manipulation with facts and focusing on 'only our faith' in the past (victims, oppression, liberation fight, our remembrance ...) so history was not used as point of interaction and cultural and any other cooperation, but rather as space for creating national awareness and underlining sharp differences between 'us' and 'them', in the past as well as in the present.

More concretely, the Road Map brings before teachers the significance of studying Yugoslav crisis and encourages them to use the history teaching for multi-perspective confrontation with Yugoslav crisis. To that aim we offered methodological models through shaped workshops, widely created database and instructions how to use some of the materials in the database that is posted on EUROCLIO HIP web page.

Through workshops and through accompanying material it is possible to reconstruct and also to deconstruct national homogenizations and activities of national-political elites at high (highest) level, but also the consequences such actions left on a micro level and on understanding of national goals by leaders on a micro space. It could be used to process themes of ideology, practical propaganda, publicity and (quasi) scientific activity, along with perception imposed through all the mentioned about the others, as one of the main causes of national homogenizations of Bosnian

1 NDH-Nezavisna Drzava Hrvatska, the Independent State of Croatia

collectives. In stimulating the awakening of religious and national sentiments and channeling the evoked and freed national energy, means of national homogenization and articulating of national interests through national-political narrative have been invented. Main part of these activities are conducted by cultural and intellectual (national) elites, religious communities and national political parties. Not challenging the presence of usage of 'historical faith' of peoples from Ottoman period (conversion to Islam and position of Christians), Austrian period (Serb perception of unjust power) and period of first Yugoslavia (Croat and Muslim perception of Serb domination), it was the WWII as a traumatic remembrance that stayed in the post-war period to live in the collective memory of (a part of) Bosnia and Herzegovina population, which was used in the time of crisis for creation of collective remembrance to this eventful period. The constructed perception of a communist system as a guarantor of social-political stability and a safety lock to repeating the bloodshed of 1941-45 in the crisis of decomposing the Yugoslav state and idea, started to fade more and more. As socialist Yugoslavia to a large degree built its legitimacy on this interpretation, it imminently led to opening the space for new ideologies and leaders who proclaimed themselves the interpreters of the wish of their people. Multiparty elections and victories of national parties gave them legitimacy for such interpretations and seeking for change. Remedying historical injustices was also demanded. Looked from Bosnia and Herzegovina perspective, war in Croatia presented the final phase of national homogenizations and national divisions on the basis of forced mono-perspective use and selecting of historical events and their interpretation. The complete material, as a result of the project enables responsible and multi-perspective dealing with these topics, with emphasized dimension of confrontation and deconstruction.

Yugoslav crisis and wars in history teaching in Bosnia and Herzegovina

History teaching since the bloody breakup in the early 1990s essentially became and stayed part of national (nationalistic) narratives and ideologies. Although there were changes, sometimes intensive changes in official teaching plans and programs and accompanying textbook and other teaching material, as well as occasionally in school manifestations, its homogenizing role was essentially getting stronger as old narratives first indirectly – and lately also directly – included the last war and ‘newly proved differences’ and mutual suffering. In simplified terms it is possible to say that the war was continued by war in histories. Serious facing with the past from the position of a human being and not a member of a collective, or a collective as a whole, has never found its place in history teaching.

The last generation of history textbooks for primary schools came deeply into the wars of the 1990s and became an official interpreter of our (national) story, keeping earlier established national narratives about previous periods. The best offer of this approach were examples of ‘correct incidental representations’ of others.

Detailed analysis of history textbooks for primary schools, where we have presented crisis and fall of Yugoslavia as well as the war 1991/2 – 1995 in all three discourses show² that history of the fall of Yugoslavia has well entered the classrooms, not so much by the quantity of content as by the exclusiveness in interpretation

It appears that interpreting the WWII is a certain prelude to the last war and that authors, in interpreting the past, neglect the dynamics of historical changes and mainly do not respect the specifics of the time

² An ongoing project worth praising is Pro-menta and Open Society “What do we teach our children” that analyses the history textbooks in use in primary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the point of view of universal human values and active work on problems and solving the historical issues.

in which those historical processes took place. In several places it could be concluded that textbook interpretations of the WWII and the fall of Yugoslavia are a part of the narrative. This concept implementation started in school systems in primary schools, and it can be expected that it will continue to prove in the secondary school where it still has not been equally developed in all three discourses. Despite certain differences in the quality of textbooks and approaches to WWII and fall of Yugoslavia and the period of national homogenizations, not a single one official textbook offered truly multi-perspective approach or a position of non-particularized humanism. History textbook for the final (ninth) grade of primary school per Framework Federal teaching plan and program (Curricula), as a whole, is methodically and in content a solid one. However, the situation is different when it comes to the topics of WWII, crisis and fall of Yugoslavia, as well as the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although titles of lectures covering the WWII attempt to show that Bosnia and Herzegovina was treated in whole, the major focus is on the Bosniaks and their faith. Though that part of textbook mentions Ustasha crimes over Jews, Serbs, Roma and other undesired elements, the authors present Chetnik crimes over Muslims more concretely and in more details. The emphasis is given to Muslim resolutions against Ustasha crimes and responsibility of Muslims for participation in crimes and violence over the others is decreased. It may be imposing a possibility of interpretation that Bosniaks are a chief bearing part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In presentation of events more important is the issue of foundations of modern Bosnia-Herzegovina state than individuals and non-particularized universal human values.

In the lecture that treats the decomposing of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the interpretation is mono-perspective, Serbia is presented as exclusively guilty for the fall of Yugoslavia without getting deeper into the Yugoslav problems. Also the domination of Serbia in this stage of socialist Yugoslavia is over-emphasized. It does not show that both centralization and decentralization are legitimate options, as long as violence is not used for their realization. The authors here are interested exclusively in collective and not individual rights, which are not treated even to clarify why one option is better for an individual than the other. In relation to the referendum in BiH they avoided to mention a major desire of Serbs

and attitude of Serb representatives in relation to the future of the state/republic. Also, **war and post-war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-2000)** is reconstructed exclusively from the position of state, problems and dilemmas are not dealt with, but untouchable facts are presented. Although in a part of a book used data are acceptable, the interpretation of the start of the war is simplified. Remaining text of this lesson is also mono-perspective. Although noticeable suffering of Bosniaks in the war is not disputable (Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, prison camps ...), it is disputable that the focus is solely on them.

History textbook of the final grade of primary school used in Republic of Srpska is strongly Serbo-centric. History of the area of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina in general is poorly and marginally mentioned, even then the focus is on history of Serbs. In reconstruction of historical events dominating is perspective from above (state, nation), political history, lectures are often long and overburdened with excessive number of facts and they are not adjusted to the age of pupils. Economic and cultural themes are mentioned sporadically, and even less mentioning is given to position of women. In presenting the themes authors dominantly use reconstruction, therefore more serious possibility of active learning and problem solving is lacking. In lectures dealing with WWII in Yugoslavia there is obvious placing of guilt for the defeat of King's army by a much stronger opponent from real factors onto the Croats, focus is on suffering of Serbs in NDH, while there is too little reflection on suffering of others in NDH (Jews, Roma, ideological enemies). Executors of crimes against Serbs are presented generally, so it is not clear if it was Ustasha crime or crime of 'Muslim militia' that were separate semi-organized military formations in NDH. Partisan and Chetnik movement are equalized, while the partisan movement is almost exclusively presented as Serb. Chetniks are presented as exclusively positive force that does not commit crimes and do not cooperate with the occupants, while the Muslim militias are almost equalized with Ustasha. In lectures covering the fall of Yugoslavia, war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and creation of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, events are looked at only from the position of collective constructed interest of Serb state and Serbs, while the guilt for taking wrong path and consequences are always passed on the 'others'. Similar to the period of WWII, the focus is again on Serbs as victims.

In the textbook of final grade for pupils who attend in Croatian language, history of Croatia and Croat people dominates. According to the Contents of the textbook, Bosnia and Herzegovina is dedicated only one lecture, while in lectures themselves Bosnia and Herzegovina is mentioned only in few places, and there the emphasis is on Croat people in BiH. There is a strong flavor of national feeling throughout the text, Croat symbols are emphasized, Croat territories are underlined, presenting unfavorable position of Croat people in state communities which Croatia was a part of in the 20th century (particularly Yugoslav state). There is an intention to develop the feeling of empathy towards own people and feeling of patriotism. It is particularly present in lectures on the homeland war, with emphasis on Croat victims and significance of defending the Croat territory. Especially illustrative was emphasizing Croat symbols throughout the textbook. Times of crisis and last war was processed in five lectures and they fully correspond to the general assessment of the textbook. The lecture *Fall of SFRY* pointed the basis of great Serbia politics and emphasized the positive role of Franjo Tudjman, the first President of Croatia. Emphasis is on Croat symbols and national feeling through events of establishment of an independent state. The lecture *Serb rebellion in Croatia* presented extremely negatively the Serb people as an aggressor, while the suffering of Croats is underlined through the lesson. The following lesson *From international recognition to victory in the homeland war* also contains narrative in a patriotic tone and stresses the strength and power of Croatian army and promotes the heroes of homeland war. It is positive that the lesson *Consequences of homeland war* mentions the suffering and crimes on all sides, but the emphasis is still on Croatia and Croat victims. The only lesson focused on Bosnia and Herzegovina *Bosnia and Herzegovina – an independent state* gives emphasis on Croats in BiH and their participation in war in BiH and their suffering.

The analysis of representation of topics on crisis in Yugoslav state, fall and war in BiH and Yugoslavia, in teaching in Republic of Srpska and parts of Federation BiH where the teaching is performed in Bosnian language confirms the aforementioned conclusion on unfinished and modest presentation of these topics in secondary schools and the necessary help to teachers to facilitate facing this period, in a multi-perspective and responsible manner. They also need the material for this. History teachers in schools where the

teaching is performed in Croatian language, where the crisis and war period are more represented, could benefit from correction of mono-perspective and narrative approach.

Though there are currently several valid textbooks in Republic of Srpska for secondary schools, the topic Bosnia and Herzegovina before the war is mentioned in one to two sentences within the teaching units. The most detailed textbook is the one for the fourth (final) grade of gymnasium. Lesson *Internal turmoil and disintegration policies from 1960s to 1991* deals with this topic. Nevertheless, there is only one subtitle dedicated to the fall of Yugoslavia, and BiH in that time is not particularly mentioned. After the lesson there is a paragraph with recommendation (or advice?) that *students get acquainted with the recent past from parents, participants in events, press, documentary films, and to discuss the information obtained at a class.* (page 163 of the said book). Although *oral history* presents quite a legitimate approach to studying the past and the method also encourages students to independent research, rather than being merely passive consumers of served contents, in this concrete case it would be mandatory for the teacher to offer basic information on what *oral history* is, what are the advantages and disadvantages of that method. Considering the historical period studied, it is dangerous to leave the students to make conclusions dominantly based on oral legacy. At the same time, the valid Curriculum in Republic of Srpska gives guidelines and foresees processing of this period. It is foreseen that a “student should be able to: list the most important crises that preceded fall of Yugoslavia, understand disintegration processes in Yugoslavia, *analyze political situation in BiH in the beginning of 1990s, state the importance of the Dayton agreement.*” Vocational secondary schools in Republic of Srpska have two Curricula for history, one for schools where history is taught only one year (from pre-historic times to Dayton), and another where history is taught two years (second year is dedicated to the 20th century).

In the valid textbook studying Yugoslavia after the WWII is even more modest, one subtitle is Yugoslavia from 1950 to 1991. There are 5 sentences about the pre-war time, and the sentences about BiH are: “*The war started in Croatia in 1991, and next year in BiH as well. War in the former Yugoslavia was of national and religious character, particularly expressed in BiH.*” (pg. 218) According to curricula Yugoslavia after WWII should be studied only 3 classes

(which partially justify such modest teaching units), while it is also recommended that: 'students understand disintegration processes in Yugoslavia, its fall and proclamation of independent republics'. It also mentions understanding the multiparty system. For schools where history is taught two years the Curriculum foresees 6 classes for Yugoslavia after WWII (including classes of examination; it is up to the teacher how to organize these classes and for what). Also in recommendations, students should understand: disintegration of Yugoslavia, independence of the republics, *political situation in BiH*, and the Dayton agreement. According to the aforementioned, one could conclude that textbooks for secondary schools in RS are not in compliance with the expectations of the Curricula, and the teaching plans do not necessarily require facing the past and multi-perspective approach. The situation is similar with textbooks, plans and programs in Bosnian language, where the topic of crisis and fall of Yugoslavia is also very modestly processed and not from the position of multi-perspectives and facing with the past. Textbooks for secondary school in Croatian language (gymnasium and other secondary schools) process in more details the period before the war and the war time, but like in textbooks for primary schools, the focus is on the history of Croats and Croatia. The textbook in use in the final grade of Gymnasium, Yugoslavia and Milosevic are accused for the fall of Yugoslavia, along with Serbian desire for power and dominance, while for the war itself the program of having 'all Serbs living in one country'. Processes that led to proclamation of independence of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are presented as positive and democratic. According to the textbook, the war was caused by Milosevic's wish to conquer Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Significant attention also in the textbook for gymnasiums in Croatian language was paid to homeland war, and the attitudes are essentially the same as those in primary school textbook. The war was called an aggression to Croatia, in a mono-perspective manner, while all the activities of Croatian authorities leading to regaining full control over Croatia were supported. Part of the textbook treats the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and labels it as a megalomania-Serbian aggression, while the internal dimension of the war was presented as mutual destruction of conflicted parties and creation of ethnically pure territories. The Croat-Bosniak (Muslim) conflict in the textbook was presented as a consequence of movement of Muslim population from east to central Bosnia, all a

result of Serbian aggression. The end of the war was also processed from one perspective, affirming Croat-Bosniak (military) cooperation after the Washington agreement. Positive thing is that in the part of the textbook dealing with war in BiH the authors stressed the negative impact of the war (human suffering, devastation of economy and cultural heritage). A bit shorter but essentially very similar is the presentation of these events in the textbook for secondary vocational schools. As expected, none of the textbook or teaching plan and program for primary and/or secondary school does not deal with usage of history in the process of national homogenizations and divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. None of the approaches has isolated the elite from the rest of the collective, questioning the flow of historical events.

As it is, the students may get the impression that passed historical processes containing war, killing, violence, divisions, domination, etc. were necessary and as such could not be avoided. In that way the universality of humanism becomes questionable, and indirectly there is a conclusion that it is pointless to positively act in the future. We believe that the material that came as a result of our project will significantly help the teachers, content-wise, methodically, and as an aid in adopting the approach that derives from position of non-particularized, universal, human values. We believe that offered workshops, which can serve as a model, guidelines on how to use the offered material for own workshops, give an incentive to teaching staff for active, multi-perspective approach, for processing the topics of national homogenizations and use and abuse of history in the context of the decomposition of Yugoslav state and idea, and wars that followed. The end goal is facing the past for better future.

Recommendations

How To Teach History Of The 1990s In Schools In Bosnia And Herzegovina

Successfulness of education should depend on how much it strives to promote non-particularized universal human values. The material offers some of the models the teachers should use and adjust to the age of students, methodologically and in terms of contents, with an advice that the material is used, partially or in whole, in primary and secondary schools, especially since the topics from the context of fall of Yugoslavia are already placed in actual history textbooks for primary school. Processes from the period of crisis of Yugoslav state and idea have left the traces that can efficiently be used for facing with the latest past. The complete material is a sort of an instruction for teachers to work with students from positions of universal human values, individuality, multi-perspectivity, with multi-type sources and active work in the aim of constructing a child as active and responsible citizen. The goal is not fight against collective (national) identity, but fight against absolute in collective (national) identity and interests that, in its extreme in practice leads to negating universal human values or their limiting only to one group ('us'). Such particularizing through history as a subject leads to creation of obeying soldiers (disciplined subjects a la Michel Foucault) and in the end leads to preparing the young people for some future conflict, historical vengeance or domination. In the material offered, we propose a road to history teachers, which will, along with the analysis (Road map) help them to accept the necessity to change the paradigm. Instead mono-perspective national narrative of one of national politics/ideologies transferred into textbook lessons, they should embrace the true multi-perspectivity, active work with multi-perspective sources, deconstruct ideologies, which will finally lead to an understanding that responsibilities for war crimes and wrong doings in the past need to be localized from the nation to a group, individuals and ideologies.

We recommend responsible, professional dealing with 'heavy topics' that are differently presented in the official history teaching. We recommend necessary confrontation with recent past.

Previous analysis in the part of reflecting to the actual textbook offer emphasize the necessity to process the themes of fall of Yugoslavia and multi-fold and multi-type crisis that led towards war in Yugoslavia. History textbooks for primary and partly secondary schools treat these issues in a way that they passed on official political or media attitudes about the break of a concept of joint living into the schools as places of education and upbringing. They do not start from the position of universalism and humanity, but from romantically presented position of own (national) group. There was a complete neglect on pointing to the existence of groups and individuals that fought for peace (anti-war demonstrations, etc.), which would, through promoting peace as non-particularized, even unconditional, universal human value, be very useful for the children. It could be one of possible models how to teach history of the 1990s in the 20th century, where a true peace-making would appear as a counter point to war heroes we find in the textbooks.

Clarification Of Material

Material that is an integral part of the Road map is multifold. The first group are workshops prepared in terms of contents and methodology for some of the crucial questions this project treats, and the second group are ideas on how to approach certain historical topic from the time of dissolution of Yugoslavia and national homogenizations. In both cases we start from positions of multi-perspective in all levels (approach to the topic, source material), multi-type of sources (text, picture, caricature, audio and video material) and active work. Third part of prepared material is widely set database consisting of six sub-bases the teachers can use for efficient processing of topics of use and abuse of history in the aim of national homogenizations and divisions as a precondition for mutual war. In the wider sense, the material can be used to process all topics from the context of Yugoslav crisis and wars.

Workshops

Workshop 1

We and/or them: Introduction to the war of 1990s: (ab)use of the past in homogenizations and divisions among national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Clarification of workshop:

Basic idea of the workshop is to consider, based on various sources (predominantly videos and press articles), (ab)use of the past in the aim of homogenization of own group and underlining sharp differences with other similar national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the eve of the war and in wider Yugoslavia context. Particular focus is on analysis of 'warning the own group about history repeating', especially in part where their national group suffered crimes committed by other (closely related) group. Recent history was mostly used in that process (especially crimes committed in the WWII). The subject of analysis will also be hidden favoring of own group while ignoring others, be it regarding cultural contribution or (especially) victims in the past.

Goal

Analyzing the source, selecting the data, extracting arguments, presenting and confronting arguments, students should come to the conclusion how important was the (ab)use of history in the process of national homogenizations and preparation of own group for possible, upcoming ,conflict. The end goal is that children develop a feeling for universal human values that are not limited to any group or any kind of people.

Workshop 2

Fear is justified: Assembling national lines

Clarification of workshop:

Basic idea of the workshop is to process, based on reports from battlefields in Croatia (here concretely from Hrvatska Kostajnica) and press reports of 'sides in conflict' and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through multi-perspective and active work of students, the issue of impact of the war in Croatia to finalization of processes of homogenization and divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and wider Yugoslav context. We took, as an example, reports of republic TV stations and influential newspapers that were watched and read in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Particular focus is on disclosing the used model of 'proving' that history 'repeating' (suffering of own group and historical hostility of other(s)). In doing that there is a major connection made with the WWII and 'undefined in time' historical right to the territory and just fight of one's own group. Though it is difficult to 'measure' that impact of war in Croatia on particular national groups in BiH as a whole or in particular regions, events that followed are a proof of strong and probably decisive influence of war on the finalization of processes of national homogenizations and divisions. Daily presentations of war scenes, killing of civilians, devastation and destruction of homes, burning and other war atrocities, undoubtedly increased fears with common people in Bosnia and Hercegovina, which was used to end the aforementioned process.

Goal:

Students should arrive at the conclusion to what extent the war in the neighborhood served for the conclusion of processes of homogenization and divisions, through analyzing the source(s), recognizing the general model and arguments, and confronting them. End goal is that students recognize the danger of uncritical accepting of media reporting.

Workshop 3

“Death of Yugoslavia”: Nationalism and an individual

The workshop processes the documentary film “Death of Yugoslavia”. The goal is to show the use of documentary film as historical source, the subsequent analysis of which builds interpretation about events that had an introductory character for the fall of Yugoslavia. Through organized work in a classroom students answer to key questions in what way is the nationalism built up, what is the role of an individual in the process of building up and spreading nationalism.

Teachers’ guidelines for the workshop ***Symbols at work***

Particular or all parts of national and state symbols are often based on elements of the past and as such they present extremely good matter to illustrate in what way was the history used in certain key moments for assembling national lines and producing larger differences between the opposing groups. This was particularly present immediately prior to the fall of Yugoslav federation when most of federal republics decided to change the state symbols to new ones, based on ancient heraldic symbols that originate in deep history of the Middle Ages or in national movements of the 19th century. Through the prism of supplied photographic material showing emblems and flags, and the accompanying texted material and material from Euroclio HIP web page, it could be very plastically shown to the students how were the symbols perceived, interpreted or equalized with certain political ideas.

The integral part of activities will contain observing and commenting the source material that are primarily made of photos and symbols divided in three categories. The teachers may choose the order in which they will present the sources to students, and then they can, together with students, notice similarities and differences in certain

heraldic representations. Common characteristics noticeable at first sight between Middle Aged and modern emblems and flags show that old models served as direct 'role models' and an inspiration for creating state symbols in the last decade of the 20th century. The differences between socialist times and modern symbols show the intention to firmly break up with the recent past and to put the focus on the 'glory days of history'. The socialist emblems had a unified form based on Soviet emblems and the art of soc-realism, where old national or state signs were reduced or put aside. By enlivening historical symbols a move was made to stress the new political moment, to provide legitimacy to new states and the identity based on ancient times. Existing problems were deepened by the fact that certain historical symbols were associated with crimes of the past, and as such were unacceptable to all the peoples who lived in a certain country.

Database on web page of the association

We did not pretend that we placed the most quality and most representative material in the database prepared for teachers and available at EUROCLIO HIP web page (that was not the goal and we do not consider ourselves the best experts on the literature that treats the crisis and fall of Yugoslavia). With the creation of database we intended to help the teachers to recognize the importance of a concept to process the topics that treat the use and abuse of history, to see how history was used and is still being used in teaching practice. Material as a whole initiates the teachers to face the difficult themes of the past, with an idea and shaped demonstrative workshops and theoretical and source material that will help a teacher to form own workshops and to investigate further in the aim of confronting with the past for the sake of the future. This goal determined, both in content and methodologically, the character of the material available to teachers.

In the time of liberalization of Yugoslav communism, that greatly came as a consequence of attempts to enliven the concept of self-managing democratic socialism and to re-legitimize the national within principal theoretical frame of Marxism (that was at the

beginning of the 1970s, in the 1980s motives and causes of liberalization were different), there came works and actions (first literary, then other followed) which were condemned (there were open discussions about them, public condemnations in the media etc.) due to their problematic (mono-nationalistic) interpretation of the past that did not go in favor of building inter-ethnic Yugoslav society, but offered victimizing mono-national perspective in which those nations that Yugoslav brotherhood and unity was supposed to be built with have been presented as communities of dehumanized individuals, tormentors. In that regard, there were discussions on freedom of creation and its real meaning, for in Yugoslav communism that was presented as democratic, self-managing socialism, it was important to show to the outer world that it had evolved from dogmatic and oppressive nature of Stalinism. It is however, important, that in the given literature, it was stressed that the communist system did not principally solved the issue of recognizing and recognition of victims and punishing the villains, on the contrary, the villains (who stood on unacceptable ideological positions) were practically incorporated into the socialist society and ruling structures, while the victims remained on the social margins. It might be said that liberalization, i.e. its period in communism eventually ended with a certain form of oppression, for communism – due to legitimizing the national – acted as a containing oppressive roof, calming down the bunch of national antagonisms, since national ideology never died nor transformed into some more humane form that would create bridges between nations rather than tearing them down. The crisis of inter-ethnic (national) relations was strongly expressed in the field of (national) culture. The key crisis of inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia that will lead to the fall of communism emerged under the influence of international context (eastern revolutions) in the end of 1980s. That crisis brought about the official replacement of ideological and political paradigm. In that context, earlier problematic narratives about the past (particularly literature) that were accused of spreading hatred, prejudice and smashing the Yugoslav togetherness, became legitimate narratives in the interpretation of own national past. Additional ‘aggravating’ circumstance was the fact that the literature in its description of the past was not bound by scientific methodology, not even with moral ethics, but due to the passionate representation (and the fact that it had been banned in, now so much hatred and disqualified

communism, who failed to protect national interests, instead, as it was believed, degraded and endangered them) it gained sensationalism, media publicity, making its popularization and coming into masses much quicker and easier. The first sub-base of the total material (*Scientific discussions on the use and abuse of history*) brings books, collections and articles that more concretely clarify the phenomenon of using the objective context and non-agreed views on the past, which, in the time of crisis brought the national homogenization and war as the final consequence. More specifically, one part of the prepared material in this sub-base does not have a direct link with Yugoslav reality, but was selected with the aim to disclose the phenomenon of national homogenization, while the other part is more concrete and is dedicated to particular segments of political use of the past in times of Yugoslav crisis.

The second and third sub-bases (*Newspaper and other texts from 1980s and 1990s; video material*) essentially show the concretization of political use of the past in the field. Re-examining the Yugoslav communist narrative about the past, particularly the WWII, that was opened in academic circles of 1970s and 1980s, at the end of 1980s and early 1990s came down to daily and weekly papers and other media (on Yugoslavia, Bosnia or local level), which gave space to new national narratives about the past (covert but also overt).

Particularly interesting is the fourth section in the base of prepared material – *Historiography as applied history*. A number of historians, with mere stressing of significance of historical events, and occasionally participating in instrumenting the past, contributed to the use and abuse of history. Here it is not necessarily about forging the facts or hiding from then accepted historical methodology, but more about selecting the themes being processed and setting the focus to one dimension of the question, or on one interested party (contemporary national group or similar). Historians and institutions where historians work and act consciously or less consciously contributed to the use and abuse of history in the current political purposes; some to use the anniversary of some event to enter the public space, give importance to their trade and their view on a certain event, other in order to come closer to the politics or, even, to create it. Some of them published books and papers only in historiographic magazines, while other go to weekly and daily press. Regardless of motifs for acting in turbulent times of crisis and

decomposition of old values, historians and their trade, voluntarily or not, were used to legitimize national-political narratives of division and fear of 'history repeating' (suffering of the past) in the 1980s and early 1990s. As crisis and national feelings were growing in the public space, the more evident was participation of institution historians in the process of homogenization of national groups. They join the remaining part of national-cultural intelligence and become part of national narratives. Their attitude towards large phenomena of the past often is not defined only by individualism but with belonging to a certain school, space, institution, national group or political choice (not any more dominantly communist).

It particularly comes to the surface in those cases when historians do not interpret events of the past in their original meaning and wider context, but focus only on those parts and phenomena that in the given moment bear certain political or national tone. The mere focusing on some selected historical topics in the time just before collapse of Yugoslavia show that higher public interest caused higher engagement of historians. Increased presence of historical topics in scientific, political or public discourse had as a consequence that some events were taken out of the wider context and were understood exclusively in reduced meaning that could concretely be applicable for break-up or assembling the national lines.

The fifth sub-base titled *Discussions on the history teaching* contains books, papers and analysis dedicated to analyzing history teaching in schools (education system, teaching plans and programs, textbooks) with particular focus on use and abuse of history in schools, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighboring countries, Serbia and Croatia).

The last sub-base *bibliography* is additional guideline to teachers for books, collections and articles that treat theoretical and practical issues of national homogenization, Yugoslav crisis and fall of Yugoslavia. In this section of the database we did not limit ourselves on works that aimed to deconstructing (national) narratives about the past, but there are papers of authors who aimed at reconstructing of the past, even those that could be categorized as those (ab)using the past.

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We and/or them:

**Introduction to the war of 1990s:
(Ab)use of the past in homogenizations
and divisions among national groups in
Bosnia and Herzegovina**



Key question

To what extent and in what way was the history (ab)used in different social and political levels in the process of homogenization and creation of national divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia?

Clarification of workshop

Basic idea of the workshop is to consider, based on various sources (predominantly videos and press articles), (ab)use of the past in the aim of homogenization of own group and underlining sharp differences with other similar national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the eve of the war and in wider Yugoslavia context. Particular focus is on analysis of 'warning the own group about history repeating', especially in part where their national group suffered crimes committed by other (closely related) group. Recent history was mostly used in that process (especially crimes committed in the WWII). The subject of analysis will also be hidden favoring of own group while ignoring others, be it regarding cultural contribution or (especially) victims in the past.

Goal

Analyzing the source, selecting the data, extracting arguments, presenting and confronting arguments, students should come to the conclusion how important was the (ab)use of history in the process of national homogenizations and preparation of own group for possible, upcoming conflict. The end goal is that children develop a feeling for universal human values that are not limited to any group or any kind of people.

Way of work

A teacher gives students the instructions how to work and divides them into three approximately even groups. Each group receives documents related to its task:

1. sources that show the process of Serb homogenization and stigmatization of others;
2. sources that show the process of Bosniak/Muslim homogenization and stigmatization of others
3. sources that show the process of Croat homogenization and stigmatization of others.

Students look at, read and analyze received historical sources, paying attention to key question and question(s) specifically relating to the task of their group. The result of their work should be written in the form of bullet points, which will be presented to other students by a group representative. **Group 1** presents the process of homogenization of Bosnia&Herzegovina Serbs and stigmatization of others; **Group 2** presents the process of homogenization of Bosnia&Herzegovina Bosniaks/Muslims and stigmatization of others; **Group 3** presents the process of homogenization of Bosnia&Herzegovina Croats and stigmatization of others. After that, all students, under the moderation of the teacher, analyze the presented arguments (thesis) and try to answer the key question: To what extent and in what way was the history (ab)used in different social and political levels in the process of homogenization and creation of national divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Organizations of class/ workshop

1. Step one The teacher gives instructions for work, informs the students about the key question of the workshop and historical context, divides them into three groups, gives them sources to work on and clarifies to each group their concrete task in relation to the sources. (10 min)
2. Step two: Source analysis, discussion within the group and forming the thesis/conclusion (40 min)
3. Step three: Short presentation of sources analyzed and presentation of conclusions by one or two representatives of each group (20 min)
4. Step four: Final discussion through the prism of key question, moderated by the teacher. Focus is on position and arguments of all three sides, pointing to similar and different elements, methods and models in (ab)use of history in the times of decomposition of socialist Yugoslavia (20 min).

Questions with sources

1. Is it visible from the sources that each group gave itself more rights on Bosnia and Herzegovina than to other, if yes, why do you think so?
2. What was the representation of own people in the past, and what was the representation of other groups of population?
3. What was the representation of own people towards other nations in the past, and what was the representation of other groups towards own group?

4. Why do the participants in the events reflect to the past when they talk about the current moment?
5. What state organizational form do they advocate and what are their arguments?

Key question

To what extent and in what way was the history (ab)used in different social and political levels in the process of homogenization and creation of national divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia?

Questions for final discussion

1. What was the particular focus of the national leaders in argumenting their group perils throughout the history?
2. Is the focus only on their group, or they start from the position of universal human values?
3. To what extent one nationalism 'fed' the others?
4. Are the (overt and covert) messages that open the dilemma WE or THEY recognized?
5. What similarities and differences in the process of national homogenizations can be observed?

SOURCES FOR GROUP

1

VIDEO MATERIAL:



The speech of Slobodan Milosevic at Gazimestan in 1989 at the occasion of 600th anniversary of Kosovo battle of 1389.

<https://youtu.be/gQQKF25IoUc>

The speech of
Zeljko Raznatovic Arkan,
commander of Serb paramilitary
forces in 1992.

<https://youtu.be/p5eww9iylfg>



Jadovno, a
documentary about WWII camp in
Jadovno, 1991

<https://youtu.be/E0mIYT8hwKA>

TEXTUAL SOURCE

Source 1

„... In that sense, Serbs and Kosovo can be compared, to a certain degree, with Jews, who had much graver destiny, being not only without a state for 2000 years, but also without land, scattered all over the world. Their ‘wall of crying’, just like Kosovo, played the role of reminding on a defeat (in 1389) that needs to be avenged.“

(Čedomir Lukić, *Značaj boja na Kosovu*, *Politika*, Beograd, 28, juni 1989.).

Source 2

„Pomen kosovskim junacima. Arhijerejskom
“Religious service to Kosovo heroes. Bishop’s liturgy pointed to the significance of Kosovo battle; Dignified church manifestation; 50.000 people attended the sermon and gathering afterwards.

Knezina, August 13.

... Today, in Knezina near Sokolac, a holy Bishop’s liturgy was held, and Tuzla-Zvornik diocese paid respect to heroes of Kosovo battle. ... It was purely a praying gathering, showing the greatness of Kosovo battle – for freedom and faith of that time. ... Many citizens came to this exclusively religious ceremony carrying flags of SFR Yugoslavia.

Understandably, there were flags of the Serb Orthodox Church, and flags of SR Serbia, posters, flags and badges with images of Slobodan Milosevic, Njegos, and Momir Bulatovic. ...“

(Đ. Kozar, M. Plivčić, Pomen kosovskim junacima, Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 14.8.1989.)

Source 3

“All shall pass and everything shall get even, but hatred of Osmanovic never will. (...) Just because you are of the same blood, originating from your seed, their hatred is infinite. That is why their madness has no limits. That origin is the spot on their conscience and their name (...) How could they become ‘Croatian flowers’ and craziest fighters for Ustasha state? For and because Pavelic put destruction of Serbs For and because Pavelic put destruction of Serbs as the foremost and holy covenant on his flag! (...) That kind would, just as well, agree with the Devil himself, with whoever, only if the promise is eradication of Serbian name. Origin, it is the origin that keeps them restless, tormenting them when they sleep, that is the unhealing wound.“

(Vuk Drašković, Nož, ZAPIS, Beograd 1982., 24-25).

Source 4

Old bey families run the whole social life (...) having the decisive influence, families that took a prominent role in Ustasha movement during the war (WWII). They have a firm ideological connection to Islamic religious community and they intensely domesticate the apparatus of ruling close to original forms of islammic rule (...) more and more expressed islamization of this area is reflected also through construction activity, opening of new mosques... Expansion of fundamentalism here was brought in its orthodox form from kairo by Ahmed Smailovic, a member of Islamic religious leadership and member of all larger mosque councils in Europe and world.“

(Mirko Carić, „Akcija „muslimanskog“ socijalizma“, Nin, Beograd, 29.10.1989., 18-19).

Source 5

“On ecan never forget or allow crimes committed by Ustaschas, whose genocide ideology the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) tries to revive.

BOSANSKA GRADISKA, 28 February – a normal and honest man cannot accept that the newly formed HDZ from its rally openly and officially advocates reviving the ghosts of the past, changing republic and state borders and claiming

territories, even one whole nation. These were the sentiments of the citizens of Bosanska Gradiska, Potkozarje region and Lijevice field, after the general assembly of HDZ and statements of its president Tudjman and other participants in that foul rally ... From all these villages and settlements the message was that Ustasha crimes committed in the area must never be forgotten, for they left behind 13.000 killed men, women and children, thousands of vacant homes and several thousands war orphans. The atrocities of Ustasha camps in Jasenovac, Stara Gradiska, Sisak, Jastrebarsko and other places, cannot be forgotten.“

(Ogorčenje i zabrinutost u Potkozarju, Glas,

Source 6

Clarificatin with the source: Party of democratic action (SDA) on the session of the Assembly of SR BiH (30-31 January 1991) asked that proclamation of the Declaration on state sougvernty and wholeness of Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to be introduced onto the Agenda. This proposal provoked interesting reactions from party leaders and deputies, which were expressed during a discussion about the Declaration, i.e. the future status of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Chairman of the Serb caucus said that Declaration of such title and content should be removed, not only from this but from any other future session. Alija Izetbegovic criticized the tatement of Radovan Karadzic to 'authorize the President of SR Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, to represent interests of Serbs from BiH in Yugoslavia'. Karadzic replied that 'sougvernty of Yugoslavia is the primary sougvernty for the Serb

people', therefore, in case of decomposition of Yugoslavia he authorizes Milosevic, but in case Yugoslavia is preserved and developed, then he authorizes Izetbegovic. At the same session in February 1991, Izetbegovic stated twice that he would 'sacrifice peace for the sake of sougvern Bosnia, but he would not sacrifice a sougvern Bosnia for the sake of peace'... Serb deputies in the Assembly understood Izetbegovic's statement to 'sacrifice peace for sougvernty of Bosnia' as very threatning and insulting. Member of Presidency of SR BiH, Nikola Koljevic, called it 'horrifying'. ... Pantelija Milovanovic said that 'Serb mothers still give birth to Princip's', while Milan Nedic said that 'the new Bosnian sougvern will not be able to cross the bridge over Miljacka river, just like his predecessor 76 years ago'. Radoslav Spremo, a deputy of Serb movement of renewal (SPO) said that his party is in favor of Yugoslavia and federal BiH, where federal structure is the maximum BiH can get, with the following message to his opponents: "If you

don't like it, Serb people shall live in a single Serb state, whose borders on the east are sacred, and in the west pits that have become sacred."... Haris Silajdzic asked why the Muslims in Serbia, that is, in Sandzak, are not a constitutive nation?

Deputy Rijad Rascic assured that SDA is not participating in decomposition of Yugoslavia and that by Declaration "it does not intend to create independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina or enslave Serbs and/or Croats in it." During assembly discussions SDA deputies stated their thesis about 'thousand years of continuity of BiH' and SDS deputies about BiH as 'Serbian land for centuries'. HDZ deputy Anto Simic from Odzak advocated 'on behalf of people of northern Bosnia for unique, single and sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina'; acting president of HDZ and member of BiH presidency, Stjepan Kljuic, said that HDZ favors Yugoslavia that should be agreed by 'compromise' and that they don't want Yugoslavia 'as it is today'.

(Skupština Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, Zapisnici zajedničkih sjednica Skupštine Republike Bosne i Hercegovine 1990.-1996., Sarajevo, 1996., (Citirano preko: Ivica Lučić, Bosna i Hercegovina od prvih izbora do međunarodnog priznanja ČSP, br. 1., 107-140, (2008))

SOURCES FOR GROUP

2

VIDEO MATERIAL



Speech of Alija Izetbegovic in August 1991 at SDA rally in Foca where Bosniaks were paying religious ceremony for deceased civilians of Foca killed by Chetniks in Dec. 1941 and Aug. 1942

<https://youtu.be/YSq91nsK6ww>

Speeches by SDA politicians, Adila Zulfikarpasic and Senad Sahinasic in August 1991 at a rally in Foca where Bosniaks were paying religious ceremony for deceased civilians of Foca killed by Chetniks in Dec. 1941 and Aug. 1942.

<https://youtu.be/OudA08E7Nb4>



TEXTUAL SOURCES

Source 1

“Announcement of celebration of 600 anniversary of Kosovo battle in Knezina, Romanija mountain, after the same celebrations in Knin and Gazimestan where Chetnik’s iconography was presented, caused concerns among Bosnia and

Herzegovina Muslims, but also authorities. Powerlessness and tension within authorities was reflected in over-emphacised underlining of exclusively religious connotation of the announced event. The fact that Muslim public in Bosnia and Herzegovina was panicking reflected in the appeals published in ‘Oslobodjenje’ column, inviting BaH authorities to prohibit the rally, or at least the symbols under which

persecution of Muslims took place in the WWII.”

(S. Veladžić, Bošnjaci u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1990. do 1992. godine: Uzroci i sredstva nacionalne homogenizacije, Magistarski rad, Sarajevo, 2011, 39-40).

Source 2

“Bestial slaughtering of thousands of Muslims on the banks of Drina river, in villages in Foca, Cajnice, Sandzak regions, was even more bestially silenced. The communist ‘deep freezer’ froze every thought on paying the most elementary respect to innocent victims...,

(Hadžem Hajdarević, „Dženaza – sućut i opomena“, Preporod, Islamske informativne novine, Sarajevo, 1.9.1990, 2.)

Source 3

“With the feeling of satisfaction and relaxation we can state that one, to date almost tabu topic, i.e. genocide over Muslims, is finally opened for scientific research and historical, cultural and political judgement. For that we must give credit to Vladimir Dedijer and other authors and associates on this paper (...) that started (...) researching of an important aspect of historical faith of Muslims in our area, that is, a history of negative, negating, genocidal relation of certain groups towards them, but groups and their recidives who with they have to keep on living and finding solutions for mutual relations.

(M. F., „Ratni zločini nad našim narodom“, Preporod, Sarajevo, 15.3.1990., 12. Citirano preko: S. Veladžić, Bošnjaci u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1990. do 1992. godine: Uzroci i sredstva nacionalne homogenizacije, Magistarski rad, Sarajevo, 2011, 94).

Source 4

TREBINJE: Slogans caused unrest among Muslims ... at the entrance to Trebinje... These slogans appeared on the road: 'Death to the Muslims', 'Alija, you bastard', 'This is Serbia', 'Muslims – out'... Also, there are disturbing slogans and songs appearing more often in various catering objects. Most often the slogans are in the tune: From Trebinje to Bileća there won't be a Turk left, From Bileća to Plana we will slay the Muslims...

(Muslimanski glas, List Stranke demokratske akcije, Sarajevo, 3.5.1991., 13).

5. izvor

"In European scientific world and books published on a Slavic south, but out of Bosnia, there is a continuity of its name and the name of its language ever since the times of its statehoodness, reflecting in fact that traditional-statehood and contemporary-ethnic cultural identity of Bosnia, which existed in European consciousness even after 1463, when it fell under the Ottomans, although the political carriers were the Bosniaks who converted to Islam (...) Muslims of Slavic origin and language continued the tradition of statehoodness of medieval Bosnia, so in ethnic, political and language sense they called themselves Bosniaks."

(Muhsin Rizvić, „Bosna i njen jezik u izvanbosanskim znanstvenim djelima i književnohistorijskim izvorima“ Bosna i bošnjaštvo, (simpozij održan u Sarajevu 29. i 30. juna 1990. u organizaciji Bošnjačkog instituta iz Ciriha i novina Naši dani), Sarajevo, 1990, 49)

Source 6

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Chairman of the Serb caucus said that Declaration of such title and content should be removed, not only from this but from any other future session.

Alija Izetbegovic criticized the statement of Radovan Karadzic to 'authorize the President of SR Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic, to represent interests of Serbs from BiH in Yugoslavia'. Karadzic replied that 'sovereignty of Yugoslavia is the primary sovereignty for the Serb people', therefore, in case of decomposition of Yugoslavia he authorizes Milosevic, but in case Yugoslavia is preserved and developed, then he authorizes Izetbegovic. At the same session in February 1991, Izetbegovic stated twice that he would 'sacrifice peace for the sake of sovereign Bosnia, but he would not sacrifice a sovereign Bosnia for the sake of peace'... Serb deputies in the Assembly understood Izetbegovic's statement to 'sacrifice peace for sovereignty of Bosnia' as very threatening and insulting. Member of Presidency of SR BiH, Nikola Koljevic, called it 'horrifying'. ... Pantelija Milovanovic said that 'Serb mothers still give birth to Princes', while Milan Nedic said that 'the new Bosnian sovereign will not be able to cross the bridge over Miljacka river, just like his predecessor 76 years ago'. Radoslav Spremo, a deputy of Serb movement of renewal (SPO) said that his party is in favor of Yugoslavia and federal BiH, where federal structure is the maximum BiH can get, with the following message to his opponents: "If you

don't like it, Serb people shall live in a single Serb state, whose borders on the east are sacred, and in the west pits that have become sacred."... Haris Silajdzic asked why the Muslims in Serbia, that is, in Sandzak, are not a constitutive nation?

Deputy Rijad Rascic assured that SDA is not participating in decomposition of Yugoslavia and that by Declaration "it

does not intend to create independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina or

enslave Serbs and/or Croats in it."

During assembly discussions SDA deputies stated their

thesis about 'thousand years of continuity of BiH' and SDS deputies about BiH

as 'Serbian land for centuries'. HDZ deputy Anto Simic from Odzak advocated 'on behalf

of people of northern Bosnia for unique, single and sovereign Bosnia and

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Kljuic, said that HDZ favors Yugoslavia that should be agreed by 'compromise'

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(Skupština Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, Zapisnici zajedničkih sjednica Skupštine Republike Bosne i Hercegovine 1990.-1996., Sarajevo, 1996., (Citirano preko: Ivica Lučić, Bosna i Hercegovina od prvih izbora do međunarodnog priznanja ČSP, br. 1., 107-140, (2008)

3. SOURCES FOR GROUP

VIDEO MATERIAL



Stjepan Mesic on proclamation and recognition of the Independent state of Croatia in 1990.

<https://youtu.be/5Pjw4aFWr14>

Franjo Tudjman on the establishment and recognition of the independent state of Croatia in 1990.

<https://youtu.be/noQ5kyfHibQ>



TEXTUAL SOURCES

Source 1

„... Croatia, geopolitically, belonged to the western civilization, but as a country on the edge, it was exposed not only to ideological, but also to violent influences. Intertwining of those civilizations and contrasts of their forces on a Croatian soil had more negative than positive consequences. ... In the following centuries, however, history did not particularly favor Croats. Pressed between bigger and powerful neighbors: Venice, Hungary and Austria, followed by Habsburg and Ottoman empires, the Croats could not expand in number or in territories. Crippled by Ottoman conquests from the east, Croats were left only to go in depth and in height.

Therefore, it is no wonder that many Croat knights and masters (Counts) were poets, while in Dubrovnik (a Croat city-state), within a gunshot range from the Turkish border – 50 years before

Shakespeare – there was a theatre playing and literature flourishing in Croatian language. For centuries the Croats have been dying with the name of Jesus Christ on their lips – ‘for the honorable cross and golden freedom’ – but not only in the interest of its homeland, but also for the Europe and the whole west, to live and flourish. ...By defending the Europe from Ottoman infestation Croatia deserved an honorable title „Antemurale Christianitatis“. We should mention that at times when the Turks conquered Budapest, ruling it for 145 years, and sieged Vienna itself, they never conquered Zagreb. Due to their heroism, in the west Croats have become known as the fearless warriors.

Not succeeding to defend their national sovereignty in the Habsburg monarchy in which the initial personal union with the King turned into a real union unfavorable for Croatia, the Croats were the main advocates for creation of a joint state of South Slavs, after the WWI in 1918. Yugoslavia was in the interests of victory forces in the WWI and their Versailles order in Europe, for it fitted into ‘cordon sanitaire’ towards Germany, but also the new threat from the east – Soviet Russia.

The Croat people, thus, got the task to defend the Europe and western civilization for the second time in history. However, it soon turned out that the Croats have been sacrificed again. Instead of ideal of freedom, Yugoslavia turned into a nightmare, ‘a peoples’ dungeon’ the Croats wanted to get out from. Serb hegemony over the Croats and other non-Serb nations was the main cause of failure of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the WWII. In history it is hard to find a similar

example to assassination of the leader of Croat people (Stjepan Radic and other) in the parliament in Belgrade (in 1928) after which there followed a military-monarchistic dictatorship. Ever since then the major part of Serb political elite has been imagining the Yugoslav state merely as the expanded – great Serbia. In the WWII, Tito managed to renew Yugoslavia, defeating in the anti-fascist war both the Ustasha separatism and Chetnik hegemonism with federalistic program of equality of nations and their right to self-determination till secession. After Tito died, Serb politics has risen against constitutional federalism, trying to support (communist) one-party system, for the purpose of imposing a centralistic-hegemony order. Croatia, as well as Slovenia, draws conclusion from its overall historical experience. It sought the way out in a pluralistic democracy and demanded redefinition of relations between the Yugoslav nations on the confederative basis, as a union of sovereign republics. “

Croatia in today's Europe (a lecture held in Yale University on 22 Sep. 1990, Dr Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia)

Source 2

“Even in the late 1960s, the Belgrade hegemony knew how to get rich easily. Under the mask of self-management, central investments and credit funds were transferred to Belgrade banks, which, as we know, were in Serb hands and had no accountability towards the republics and the economy. The Federation gave those banks all the authority in the future taking of the money from the companies, and disposing it as they pleased. It caused the absurdity where the banks were deciding on investments, and not the economic subjects. Extracting the money from the economy, the Federation and its subject banks accumulated enormous funds, which caused that Belgrade centralism, far more vicious than the criticized Soviet one, concentrated high power over

pleased. It caused the absurdity where the banks were deciding on investments, and not the economic subjects. Extracting the money from the economy, the Federation and its subject banks accumulated enormous funds, which caused that Belgrade centralism, far more vicious than the criticized Soviet one, concentrated high power over the economy of non-Serb peoples and areas. Due to the devastation of a substance of Croatian economy, the unemployment started to grow. The consequence of that was the outflow of the most capable qualified cadre from Croatia and west Herzegovina, to abroad. That is how migration became one of the largest Croat tragedies. The Belgrade hegemony considered all the Croats, especially those from west Herzegovina, Ustashas. Nevertheless, they liked to enjoy in their hard earned foreign currency.“

Power of Belgrade (Vrisak, - glasilo nezavisne javnosti, Široki Brijeg, 16. 1. 1991; list je počeo izlaziti 1990. godine)

Source 3

“Serbian dinar destroys our economy... oh Bosnia, make your own money...”



(Vrisak, - glasilo nezavisne javnosti, Široki Brijeg, 16. 1. 1991)

Source 4

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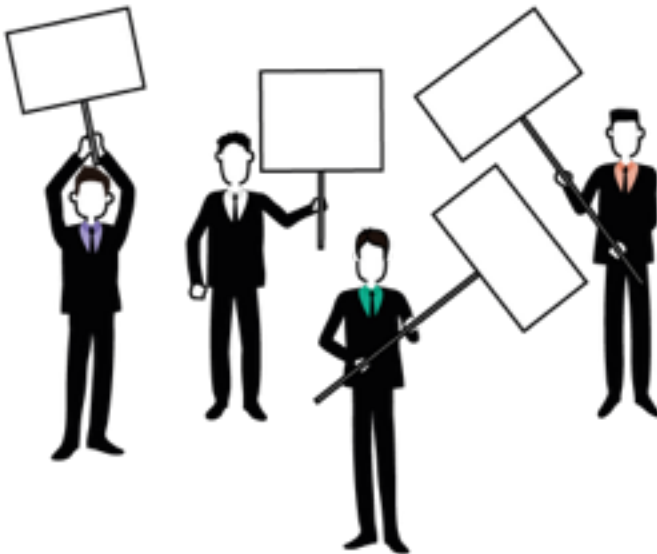
Deputy Rijad Rascic assured that SDA is not participating in decomposition of Yugoslavia and that by Declaration "it does not intend to create independent state of Bosnia and Herzegovina or enslave Serbs and/or Croats in it."

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(Skupština Republike Bosne i Hercegovine, Zapisnici zajedničkih sjednica Skupštine Republike Bosne i Hercegovine 1990.-1996., Sarajevo, 1996., (Citirano preko: Ivica Lučić, Bosna i Hercegovina od prvih izbora do međunarodnog priznanja ČSP, br. 1., 107-140, (2008))

The impact of war

Fear is justified: War in Croatia as the final stage - homogenization and separation among national groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina



Key question

How did the war in Croatia influence the finalization of homogenization and division processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Clarification of workshop

Basic idea of the workshop is to process, based on reports from battlefields in Croatia (here concretely from Hrvatska Kostajnica) and press reports of 'sides in conflict' and in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through multi-perspective and active work of students, the issue of impact of the war in Croatia to finalization of processes of homogenization and divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and wider Yugoslav context. We took, as an example, reports of republic TV stations and influential newspapers that were watched and read in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Particular focus is on disclosing the used model of 'proving' that history 'repeating' (suffering of own group and historical hostility of other(s)). In doing that there is a major connection made with the WWII and 'undefined in time' historical right to the territory and just fight of one's own group. Though it is difficult to 'measure' that impact of war in Croatia on particular national groups in BiH as a whole or in particular regions, events that followed are a proof of strong and probably decisive influence of war on the finalization of processes of national homogenizations and divisions. Daily presentations of war scenes, killing of civilians, devastation and destruction of homes, burning and other war atrocities, undoubtedly increased fears with common people in Bosnia and Hercegovina, which was used to end the aforementioned process.

Goal

By analyzing the sources students are supposed to recognize the general model and define arguments that were used to finalize the process of homogenization of particular national groups and deepening the divisions. The ultimate goal of the workshop and activities is that students recognize the ways of a single-sided media reporting and manipulating with information in such reporting, thus becoming aware of the dangers of non-critical accepting of media reporting.

Way of work

Step 1: Teacher gives students instructions about how to work. In the introduction the teacher explains the terminology of the sources and perception of terms and symbols from the WWII that are used in the sources: Ustasha, Chetnik, sahovnica, kokarda, red star, skull.

Step 2: Teacher divides students into three groups to analyze sources using the supplied questions.

Step 3: Each group has a task to look at and analyze sources (video sources and textual sources), based on supplied questions.

Group 1: focuses on materials that relate to reporting of Croatian media during war. Students should particularly focus on the use of terminology and symbolism in those

Group 2: analyze sources about Serbian and Montenegrin media reports in the war and the use of terminology and symbolism in those reports

Group 3: analyze sources on reports of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslav media (YUTEL) about the war in Croatia, use of terminology and symbolism in those reports.

Step 4: students present their conclusions, and with moderation of the teacher they analyze presented source analyses and answers. Presented arguments and conclusions are being compared and based on that, through questions in final discussion, students try to answer the key question: How did the war in Croatia influence the finalization of homogenization and division processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Step 5: With the help from the teacher, students should make a common report on the event in question, using the facts appearing in all variations of reporting, and to answer the question for final discussion: What is the danger of non-critical accepting of media reporting?

Questions for work with sources

1. How the sources present 'their' side and how the 'other' side?
2. What symbols do you see in sources and what those symbols could mean to conflicting parties (marks on uniforms, flags, etc.)?
3. What terminology is used for 'own' side and what for the 'other' side?
4. Do you recognize the connection between terminology used then and previously in the WWII?
5. To what extent were the reports exclusive in documenting rights of one side (to a territory etc.) or calling to a cohabitation of different groups?

Questions for group work with sources and final discussion

1. What do the field reporters particularly focus on?
2. Is the focus only on their group, or they start from the position of universal human values?
3. Are there similarities in reporting?
4. To what extent could the war in the neighborhood be used for finalization of homogenization and division processes?

Clarification

Through this procedure students will be able to independently get acquainted with the sources, exchange opinions and their own conclusions, and select a rapporteur. The workshop is implemented in a block-class of 90 minutes. In case the workshop is being implemented during a single, 45 minute class, students should be given 2 textual sources and continue as described above.

VIDEO MATERIAL

Sources



Croatian television and their video about warfare in and around Kostajnica
<https://youtu.be/zw71EE8UJDE>

Television Novi Sad (Serbia – Vojvodina) about warfare in and around Kostajnica
<https://youtu.be/tCc3IT5bs5Q>



TV Belgrade about warfare in and around Kostajnica
<https://youtu.be/ScjMwqD75Bo>

Yutel television about warfare in and around Kostajnica
<https://youtu.be/m2d-D0CR2EM>



TV Sarajevo about warfare in and around Kostajnica
<https://youtu.be/Q4hu3i2hQ6o>

RTV Montenegro about warfare in and around Kostajnica
<https://youtu.be/k-s4JEvMQhA>



*Yutel [TV daily news](#) was made with the aim of transformation of way of transmitting news and events in SFR Yugoslavia and preservation of unity of the state in those days. The program was broadcasted from 1990 to 1992. The program, with the seat in Belgrade, had been moved to Sarajevo, in the desire that information on actual events are transmitted in a more trustworthy way from the places close to actual locations (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Source 1
“Vukovar finally free”



“The last fights in Vukovar ceased today afternoon, in the vicinity of the hospital, where, according to military sources, Croatian guards and police attempted to provoke an attack on that health care institution. ... In the vicinity of the hospital, in Ive Lole Ribara street, many local and foreign journalists saw today 33 dead bodies, mainly civilian. There are more bodies in other streets around the hospital, and they give a horrifying picture. Territorial defence of Vukovar, with help from the Army, formed today the city militia. The intention

militia. The intention was to prevent robbery and to establish control over the whole city. ... There is an ongoing evacuation of civilians from Vukovar and Borovo naselje... JNA provides transport for children, women and old, mainly powerless persons. On the other side of Danube river care is provided by the Red Cross of Vojvodina, providing them shelter, food and further transportation.

Serbs, refugees from Vukovar, claim that Croatian guards and police killed a lot of people in their homes. It is assumed that many of them got killed from the shelling”

(Belgrade ‘Politika’, 20 November 1991).

Source 2

“Corpse of the city that had been killed slowly”

“... We are passing by some digged – about park. The earth piles are not from the shelling. “It is only one of the improvised graveyards.” The people of Vukovar under siege used to bury their dead here at night. The military is digging them out now and presenting them as mass graves of Serbs. Foreign journalists told me before this trip that Serbs attempted to present the famous eighty corpses of ‘Temisvar’ also as dead Serbs in front of the hospital in Vukovar. The bodies, nevertheless, had hospital tags.

They did not get to be buried before the ‘liberators’ came. I asked was it possible to get to the hospital. “Better not. But I don’t think the bodies are still there. You will see them, anyway, in the brick factory. They are bringing them there now.” We are led to the brick factory by a coarse voice from the loudspeaker set on some armoured transporter, inviting the remaining citizens to come and help with identification. We take over a tractor driving four corpses there. Bozo recognizes the driver and stops to tell him something. The driver calls me over. ‘Jornalist’, come and see!

Under a blanket, in the trailer, there are massacred bodies of an old woman and three men. “We have just taken them from under the rubbles.” We go back to

the Jeep and move on. "They said they found yesterday five children... from three to ten years old." There are many people in front of the brick factory. The European Mission car is also parked there. There are more than hundred bodies in the yard. Most of them in black plastic bags. "These are not all. There is more, there, on the other side. They keep bringing them. We better go now."

... At the beginning of this year Vukovar had more than 80.000 citizens. Only a handful more than a thousand will see the end of the year in a completely devastated town. Nobody knows and hardly ever it will be known how many people, soldiers and civilians were killed in the insane 'liberation' of Vukovar. That Saturday more than 300 bodies was waiting for post-mortem and identification. In the coming months new bodies will be discovered, under ruins or in improvised graveyards of Vukovar. They will call it "Croatian Stalingrad" and "Serb Galipolje". It was, however, Vukovar. It used to be a town

(Boris Dežulović, Leš grada kojeg su ubijali polako, Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, 3. 12. 1991, <http://www.jutarnji.hr/boris-dezulovic-usao-je-1991--u-okupirani-vukovar--ti-cuti-i-ne-pricaj-s-nikim--samo-gledaj-i-povracaj---/988018/> (Accessed, 6 NOV. 2015)

Source 3

"The agony of Vukovar"

"Military sources state that there are negotiations for unconditional surrender of Croatian forces in Vukovar, most of which has been taken by JNA units. ... Doctor Vesna Bosanac sent an appeal to French state secretary for humanitarian actions, Bernard Koushner, asking him to do everything to prevent suffering of civilians in a city that had been completely 'flattened' to the ground. ... The appeal stated there were 500 wounded, 2000 children and 15.000 civilians..."

(Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 19. 11. 1991.)

НОРВЕЖЕ НЕ СЕ ТЕЖ БРОДАТИ: Војници наредане саобраћаја у Бундесу

Source 5

“Decisive moments of the war”

“It took three months to the ‘people’s’ army of former Yugoslavia, and great sacrifices, to take the most of Vukovar. The defence of Croatian Leningrad destroyed about 200 tanks, took down 15 aircrafts... more than 12.000 soldiers, reservists and Chetniks have been killed ... According to already well paced practice, with coming of Chetniks to the town there was a massive exodus of Croats, i.e. ethnic cleansing, followed by destroying anything that may point that they lived there once: Graveyards, churches, municipal books...”

(Muslimanski glas, glasilo Stranke demokratske akcije, 29. 11. 1991, 10)

Source 6

“Remember Vukovar”

... For the past three months the basements of Vukovar have been keeping the people of this town, sentenced to the most horrifying death – of famine, cold and illness.

... They call them refugees... These sad and unlucky women, they happen to have lived in the death city, in Vukovar. And after all its golgota, they survived but lost everything... One is Maria, the other Theresa.

‘... I don’t understand where all that hatred comes from. I only know that on that day we departed here with the army that they were singing. From joy we were leaving. That we are being taken away. ... Perhaps we were taken away so that ‘Vukovar’ remains ‘pure’...’

‘One my neighbor was in the room with already one wall being taken down, and an aircraft came along and fired a machinegun, and he was killed. They had no place to take him or bury. They made a coffin out of a closet, put him in and landed into a ditch next to the garage. ... It is all so horrible, so horrible. All the water there is infected. They were throwing dead to the wells. All life is gone from Vukovar...’”

(Muslimanski glas, glasilo Stranke demokratske akcije, 29. 11. 1991, 11).

Nationalism and an individual

3. Death of Yugoslavia



The workshop processes the documentary film “Death of Yugoslavia”. The goal is to show the use of documentary film as historical source, the subsequent analysis of which builds interpretation about events that had an introductory character for the fall of Yugoslavia.

Death of Yugoslavia is a documentary serial made by the BBC in 1995. The series were made after the book “Death of Yugoslavia” written by Allan Little and Laura Silber. The documentary covers the period of the fall of Yugoslavia and ensuing wars in the area. Some of the material were seen for the first time in this documentary, along with the interviews of the leading politicians who were involved in conflicts, inter alia, Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic.

The documentary was awarded BAFTA in 1996 for Best Factual Series. Since it contained a lot of interviews with the leaders involved in the conflict, it was often used as evidence by the ICTY in the Hague.

SOURCE

<https://goo.gl/YjP7D0>



Key question

In what way is the nationalism built? What is the role of an individual in the process of building up and spreading of the nationalism?

1ST STEP

The teacher gives an introduction about the documentary ‘Death of Yugoslavia’ and presents a brief contents of Episode 1 that treats the Kosovo crisis and the 7th session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Teacher gives instructions to students to make notes during the film, using the table below.

2ND STEP

Watching the movie and making notes in the table provided to each student.

DOWNLOAD TABLE



<i>Questions</i>	Serb side	Albanian side	Croatian side	Slovenian side
Who appears in the film?				
Which terms (vocabulary) the persons in the film use in their speech?				
What kind of emotions the politicians try to evoke with their performance?				
What are the motifs of their performance?				
What is the relation of politicians towards the masses/ common people?				

3RD STEP

Pair work. Students should compare their notes with notes of their colleagues and to give joint answers to following questions:

Which national interests were presented in the film:

- A. of Serb side
- B. of Albanian side,
- C. of Croatian side,
- D. of Slovenian side.

4TH STEP

Closing discussion. Questions:

- To what extent the national interests of different parties have common characteristics and how are they presented?
- To what extent were the terms manipulated in the aim of achieving national interests?
- To what extent can an individual be aware of this manipulation?
- To what extent the interest of high politics simultaneously reflect the interests of a little man (ordinary people)?
- In what way is the nationalism built? What is the role of an individual in the process of building up and spreading of the nationalism?

Symbols at work

Teacher's guidelines for the workshop



Particular or all parts of national and state symbols are often based on elements of the past and as such they present extremely good matter to illustrate in what way the history was used in certain key moments for assembling national lines and producing larger differences between the opposing groups. This was particularly present immediately prior to the fall of Yugoslav federation when most of federal republics decided to change the state symbols to new ones, based on ancient heraldic symbols that originate in deep history of the Middle Ages or in national movements of the 19th century. Through the prism of supplied photographic material showing emblems and flags, and the accompanying texted material, it could be very plastically shown to the students how were the symbols perceived, interpreted or equalized with certain political ideas.

The integral part of activities will contain observing and commenting the source material that are primarily made of photos and symbols divided in three categories:

1. Heraldic, state and national symbols of the Middle Ages and Early modern history;
2. Emblems of Yugoslavia republics used in the socialist system;
3. State and national symbols selected just before the decomposition of Yugoslavia.

The teachers may choose the order in which they will present the sources to students, and then they can, together with students, notice similarities and differences in certain heraldic or vexillology representations. Common characteristics noticeable at first sight between Middle Aged and modern emblems and flags show that old models served as direct 'role models' and an inspiration for creating state symbols in the last decade of the 20th century. The differences

between socialist times and modern symbols show the intention to firmly break up with the recent past and to put the focus on the 'glory days of history'. The socialist emblems had a unified form based on Soviet emblems and the art of soc-realism, where old national or state signs were reduced or put aside. By enlivening historical symbols a move was made to stress the new political moment, to provide legitimacy to new states and the identity based on ancient times. Existing problems were deepened by the fact that certain historical symbols were associated with crimes of the past, and as such were unacceptable to all the peoples who lived in a certain country.







Project participants

Edin Radusic radusicedin@yahoo.com



Edin RadušiĆ was born 1970. in Foča, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He graduated in history at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo, received Master's degree at the University of Athens in 2000 (in Southeast European Studies), at the University of Sarajevo in 2004 (in History of Bosnia in 19th and 20th century), and Phd at the University of Sarajevo in 2008. He has been employed at the History Department of Faculty of Philosophy of Sarajevo University. Scientifically

deals with the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 19th and 20th centuries in wider European context. Besides other projects, Edin RadušiĆ has participated in regional Euroclio project which includes Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. He is author of a book, several scholarly articles, as well as the co-author of the textbook and two work books for history the seventh grade of elementary school.

Sanja Gladanac sanja.simpson@gmail.com



Sanja Gladanac was born 1985 in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. She graduated in history at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo (2007), received Master's degree at the University of Sarajevo in 2012 (in History of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 19th and 20th century), and now is Phd candidate at the University of Sarajevo. She has been employed at the Institute for History of Sarajevo University. Scientifically deals with the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Second World War. She is author of several scholarly articles,

Amila Kasumović akasumovic80@gmail.com



Amila Kasumović was born 1980 in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. She graduated in history at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo, received Master's degree at the University of Zagreb in 2008, and Phd at the University of Sarajevo in 2013. She currently works as an assistant professor at the History Department of Faculty of Philosophy of Sarajevo University. Scientifically deals with the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 19th and 20th centuries in wider European context.

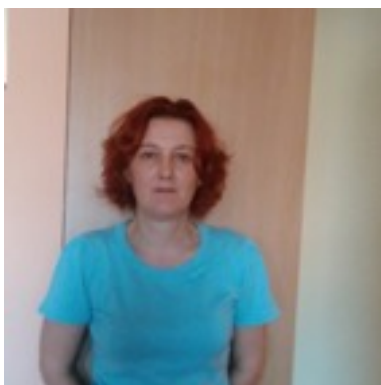
Marija Naletić marijanaletilic@gmail.com



Marija Naletić was born in 1960 in Siroki Brijeg, Bosnia and Herzegovina. She graduated from Department of History at Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, where she also became a Master of Science in 2008 (theme of post-graduate studies was history of BaH in the 19th and 20th century). She works at the Agency for pre-school, primary and secondary education in BaH, as Head of department for common core curricula defined on learning outcomes. She is a coordinator of the project of making the Common Core Curricula defined by learning outcomes,

member of the steering board of EUROCLIO HIP BiH, author of a number of scholarly and technical papers in History of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 19th and 20th century and workshops related to innovative approaches to history teaching. She has established cooperation with the Georg Eckert institute in Braunschweig, Germany. She was a chairman of the BaH History reform board.

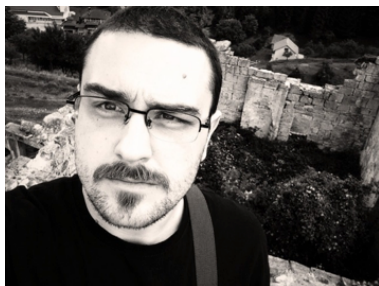
Mirjana Trbojevic mirjanatrbojevic@yahoo.com



Mirjana Trbojevic was born in 1975 in Banja Luka. She graduated from Faculty of philosophy, Department of History. Since 2000 she has been working as history professor in secondary school. She has completed a number of teacher trainings and participated in various seminars organized by ICRC, OSCE, Yad Vashem, Goethe institute, EUROCLIO HIP BiH. She has completed the training for teacher of Culture of Religions and she taught that subject. She also completed the training for teacher trainer for inter-religious classes. At several events she gave lectures about Holocaust. She has been a

member of EUROCLIO HIP BiH since 2007.

Emir O. Filipovic melisa.foric@gmail.com



Emir O. Filipović was born in 1984 in Ključ, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He graduated history at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo. He wrote his master's thesis on chivalry in medieval Bosnia in 2009 and his doctoral dissertation on the relations between the Bosnian Kingdom and the Ottoman Empire (1386-1463) in 2014. He currently works as a lecturer in medieval Bosnian history at the University of Sarajevo. He has attended

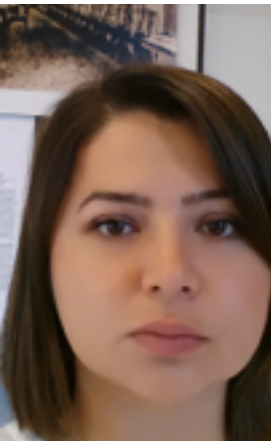
several international conferences, written a number of scholarly articles and is also the president of the Society for the Study of medieval Bosnian History "Stanak".

Edin Veladzic veladzice@yahoo.com



Edin Veladzic graduated from Department of history, Faculty of Philosophy at Sarajevo university in 2000 and worked as a history teacher for two years after that. In the period 2003 to 2007 he worked at the History institute in Sarajevo as an expert associate for modern history of the 19th and 20th century. He received Master of Science title for the Austrian period in BaH history in 2007. He attended several advanced trainings abroad. He is a co-author for history textbook and book of supplementary material in history for the 2nd grade of Gymnasium. He has written a number of scholarly papers. He is one of the founders and the first president of the Association of history teachers in BaH – EUROCLIO-HIP BiH. He was an active participant and an organizer of a number of scientific seminars and conferences in the country and abroad. He is currently engaged at the Ministry of civil affairs of BaH as an expert on European integration and international culture cooperation. He was appointed an Ambassador of the European Association of History Educators – EUROCLIO in 2014.

Senada Jusic senadajusic@gmail.com



Senada Jusic is a historian, history teacher, author of the book “Yellow building by the river Miljacka” and co-author of pedagogical modules and materials “Latin bridge” and “MonumentInmotion”. She is a student of post-graduate studies at Sarajevo Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History. She is a board member of Euroclio HIP BiH. She is an author within the research of the status of history as a subject and the work of UNICEF in Yugoslavia until 1957. She has cooperated with institutions from the sphere of history (Sarajevo Institute of History, Historical Archive in Sarajevo) and other organizations (EUROCLIO, ZFD, HIA, Anna Frank House, Women to women, CDRSEE etc.).

Melisa Foric melisa.foric@gmail.com

Project coordinator, was born in 1980. She received her degree in History at University in Sarajevo, Faculty of Philosophy. She works as a research assistant at the Centre for Balkan Studies at the Academy Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. She is an author and co-author of several history textbooks for primary and secondary school, and co-author of the Culture of religions textbook. Melisa has been a Secretary of the Association of the historians and history teachers of Bosnia and Herzegovina EUROCLIO-HIP BiH and a member of Association since 2003. Moreover, she has participated and coordinated several projects on History education in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region like: History in action - preparing for the future: Bridging histories in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Latin Bridge, History that connects Western Balkans, Memory in motion, etc. She has also participated

actively in many regional and international conferences related to history and history education. Her field of research is prehistory, early and ancient history and archaeology. She participated many local and international archaeological projects and surveys- She is member of European association of archeologists and National Committee ICOMOS in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bojana Dujkovic-Blagojevic

bojanadujkovicblagojevic@gmail.com



Project coordinator, was born in 1976 in Doboj. She graduated at University of Banja Luka - Faculty of Philosophy, where she received Master's degree. She is working in civil society organization in BiH. Bojana is involved in Association of the historians and history teachers of Bosnia and Herzegovina EUROCLIO-HIP BiH and a member of Association since 2003. So far she was participant, coordinator and author in several international projects. Bojana is member of National Board of United World College in Mostar. in 2014. she was appointed for EUROCLIO Ambassador.