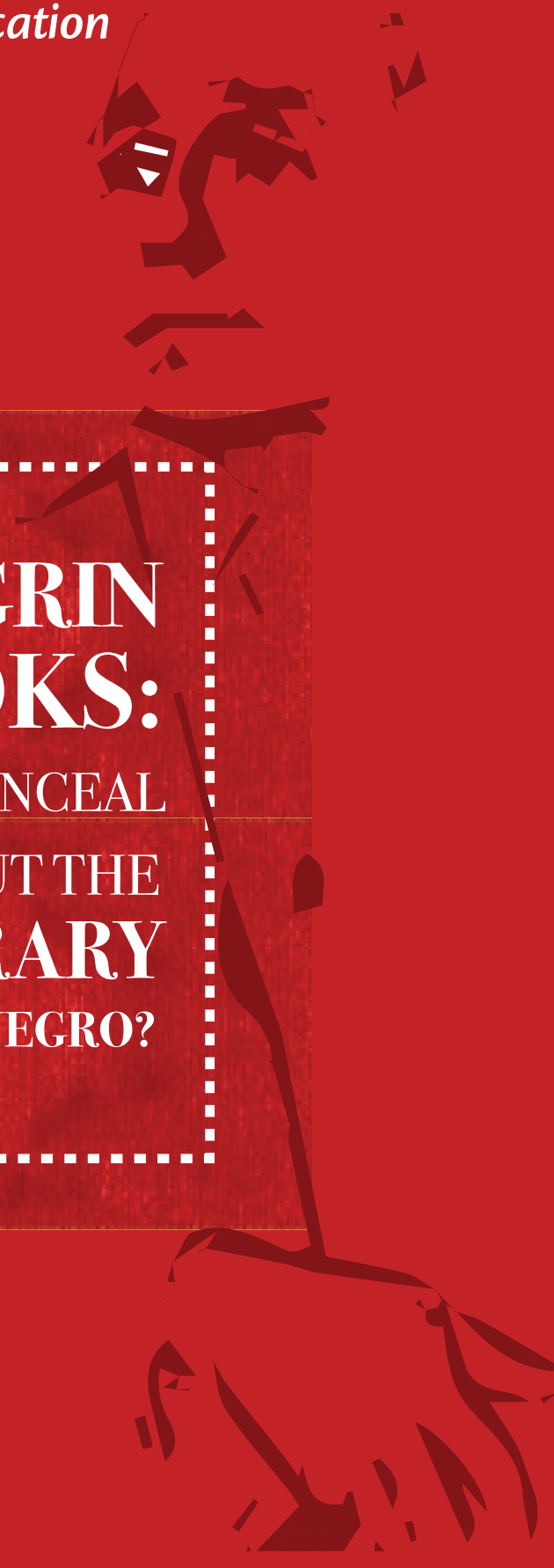




Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education

MONTENEGRIN TEXTBOOKS:

WHAT DO THEY CONCEAL
AND REVEAL ABOUT THE
CONTEMPORARY
HISTORY OF MONTENEGRO?





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Podgorica, 2016.

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Publisher:

Centre for Civic Education (CCE)



Centar za građansko obrazovanje
Centre for Civic Education

Library:

Human rights

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Translation into English:

Centar za građansko obrazovanje (CGO)

ISBN

COBISS.CG-ID

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INTRODUCTION

Centre for Civic Education (CCE), within its sub-programme Transitional justice, aims to contribute to the effective process of facing with the past through series of different, yet interconnected, activities.

In this respect, the CCE team, within its study *“Montenegrin textbooks: what do they conceal and reveal about the contemporary history of Montenegro?”*, analysed the content of material which is nowadays available in formal education system, including primary, secondary and higher education level, whereby higher education was analysed through the sample of three faculty units of the University of Montenegro. Furthermore, a research was conducted with the objective to assess the impact of some of the effects of such education approach on the (lack of) knowledge of students. Finally, an assessment of the existing model of history teaching, with accompanying recommendations to modernise and harmonise it with the needs of a society, which tends to develop into a democratic, is also provided.

Focus of this study, among other issues, was on the manner in which the causes, course and outcome of war events which marked the history of region, thereby of Montenegro as well, are presented in the Montenegrin education system. Unfortunately, Montenegrin textbooks are practically “cleansed” of all potentially “dangerous” content, which restricts the potential of society to comprehend and evaluate that period based on facts, which further encumbers the already arduous process of facing the past.

History teaching should develop critical thought and spirit of tolerance, prevent or challenge the existing prejudice and promote openness towards diversity. However, judging by what Montenegrin students can learn through the formal education system, we are far from that. Namely, Montenegrin students cannot learn in schools either on the extent or the manner in which Montenegro participated in war events, nor which war crimes were perpetrated during the nineties in region and in Montenegro, nor how many victims were on the behalf of Montenegro, from Montenegro and in Montenegro.

Montenegrin educational institutions still demonstrate insufficient will that is necessary to resist the politicisation of textbooks, either in what they conceal or reveal, which questions the educational role of history as a subject, at least when it comes to contemporary history of Montenegro. Moreover, it is concerning that this approach is present on every level of education – from primary to higher, which already yields the teaching staff which does not have this part of history in his/her memory, nor has had the chance to learn about it adequately, but already enters classroom to teach it.

“Remembrance” occurs under the influence of many factors, out of which one of the most influential is the history teaching in schools, and especially history textbooks. They promote a certain value system, legitimise and determine political and social order. Therefore, it could be said that education obtained in schools is the result of complex relations of power and fight of groups determined by class, gender and religious belief. Precisely because of that, textbooks play a paramount role and serve as important levers of power in every part of the world.¹

Hence, it is necessary to change the existing textbooks and update them, while persons in charge of this task should have the integrity to refuse making compromises with authorities on the manner in which Montenegrin contemporary history should be presented, history already marked by those who are still high on the political ladder of Montenegro.

¹ Remembrance Against History - History Textbooks as a Global Problem, Dubravka Stojanović, Belgrade History Gazette IV, 2013



ANALYSIS OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FOR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Isidora Radonjić

PRIMARY EDUCATION

History, as a subject in Montenegrin primary education system, is taught in VI, VII, VIII and XI grade.

In line with course programme, period related to disintegration of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and later developments are taught in IX grade within the topic *“Montenegro in Yugoslavia and formation of independent Montenegro”*.

Operative objectives of this programme are that *“pupils are familiarised with the political organisation of SFRY and the position of Montenegro within that structure, know about cultural and economic development of SFRY, have the knowledge about political position of Yugoslavia in global context, as well as about causes which led to collapse of socialism and disintegration of SFRY, familiarised with economic and cultural development of Montenegro in Yugoslavia, educated on position of Montenegro within the FR Yugoslavia and state union with Serbia, and also about basic causes of aspiration for state independence of Montenegro, historic significance of referendum which occurred on 21 May 2006 and creation of independent and internationally recognised state of Montenegro”*. It further states that pupils have to analyse *“the causes of collapse of socialist system and Yugoslavia”*.³

In the textbook *History for IX grade of primary school*, by Slavko Burzanović and Jasmina Đorđević, issued for the first time in Podgorica in 2009 by the Bureau for Textbook and Teaching Materials, lesson titled *“Disintegration of SFRY”* is elaborated on five pages with the accompanying photographs and illustrations, more precisely from page 128 to page 132. Latest edition, which is currently in use, is published in 2015, and that one was the subject of this analysis.

Pupils are introduced with that lesson through the information about the death of Josip Broz Tito and the manner of state management thereafter, with the explanation: *“With the slogan „And after Tito – Tito”, leadership of Yugoslavia tried to continue the same state policy as they had before. It failed. State disintegration began a decade later, followed with bloody wars”*⁴. Disintegration of SFRY begins with the explanation of protests in Kosovo: *“In first half of eighties, Yugoslavia faced the outburst of Albanian nationalism on Kosovo. Student protests in 1981 turned to massive demonstrations where Kosovo sought to become a republic, which was officially interpreted as first step on its path to secession from SFRY”*⁵. Later on, they shift the focus on economic crisis: *“State debt exceeded USD 20 billion. It should have been paid off, but it was spent more than earned... Inflation was increasing – devaluation of money. Social discontent increased along with the deterioration of economic circumstances”*.⁶ Next comes the part about the different views of state leadership on crisis resolution: *“Those who sought greater powers from federal government were met with opposition from republic leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia, who feared from state centralisation and endangering of republic interests. Political and intellectual elites formulated the programmes which emphasised certain national interests and suggested the manners of their realisation”*.⁷ Emphasis is also on the Memorandum of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts: *“As a form of interest of Serbian people, the Memorandum emphasises the unification of Serbs in one, national state or life in centralised Yugoslavia”*.⁸

2 The course programme, HISTORY VI, VII, VIII and IX grade, Podgorica 2013, p. 3

3 The course programme, HISTORY VI, VII, VIII and IX grade, Podgorica 2013, p. 3

4 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 128

5 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 128

6 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 128

7 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 128

8 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 128

The dissolution of League of Communists of Yugoslavia is briefly elaborated: *“Interethnic conflicts and disputes on the need of society democratisation were destroying the LCY. Internal differences became so great that LCY dissolved at its Congress in January 1990. Hence, the political force which had been deciding on the fate of the country for five decades was gone.”*⁹

They emphasise different republican policies concerning the fate of joint state: *“Slovenia and Croatia advocated the increase of powers of republics. Serbia advocated strong federal state. Disputes transferred to broader social classes”*.¹⁰ They also pointed out on deepening of gap between the nations *“apart from the politicians, chauvinist-minded intellectuals and certain media contributed to such state of affairs, thus inciting the hatred towards other nations. Mass gatherings, or rallies, were used to solidify the ranks of supporters. Such climate saw the replacement of leaderships in Vojvodina and Montenegro. State organisation of Serbia changed as well.”*¹¹

Pupils receive scant information on the developments that took place in Montenegro, and only in part of the creation of new states: *“During 1990s, multiparty elections were held in every republic. In Montenegro and Serbia, ruling parties remained in power. Other republics saw the coming of new political powers, characterised with their aspirations to restore the independence of their states... Serbia and Montenegro created the joint state on 27 April 1992 under the name of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Preparations for the referendum in Montenegro lasted seven days. Serbia did not hold a referendum.”*¹²

Also, the war on the territory of former Yugoslavia is very briefly explained, with the allegations that it started with the intervention of Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) in Slovenia, and that war events later aggravated in Croatia: *“Similar events followed the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbs declared the Republic of Srpska, and Croats, Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. The war began in April 1992”*.¹³ Pupils can learn that *“it was exercised the so called ethnic cleansing – killing and expatriation of people of different nationalities from the territories which sought to join their state. Capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, was under the siege of Bosnian Serbs more than three years. Human and material casualties were tremendous. Many cities, Vukovar, Sarajevo, Mostar, were destroyed.”*¹⁴ There is no mention of individual crimes, or the ones responsible for them, but only generally statement that *“cruel crimes were perpetrated against civilian population, on which about 300 000 lost lives witness”*.¹⁵ This is followed by the photos of destruction of Vukovar, Dubrovnik and three other which are collectively described as *“victims of disintegration of SFRY”* but without specifying the events to which these are directly related or who are the victims.¹⁶

Regarding the role of Montenegro during the events of war, students are informed through one single sentence: *“Montenegrin reservists participated in the attack of YPA on the region of Dubrovnik.”*¹⁷

There is no elaboration of the details of participation of FRY in war events, just the statement that *“Due to the involvement in war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, international community punished the FRY in 1992 by excluding it from international organisations and by imposing economic sanctions. The economy of Serbia and Montenegro was destroyed amidst the sanctions.”*¹⁸ It is suggested that waves of refugees from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina intensified the poverty in FRY, but also the emigration of its population.

As far as the termination of war is concerned, it is explained: *“Under the strong pressure from international community, presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia signed the agreement in Dayton (USA) in November 1995 on the ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Finally, peace accord was signed in Paris in December 1995.”*¹⁹

The same lesson further enlightens the events that took place on Kosovo: *“Kosovo became the new hotbed of wars. After the abolition of autonomy, the majority of Albanian population refused to acknowledge the state governance of*

9 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 129

10 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 129

11 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 129

12 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 129

13 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 130

14 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 130

15 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 130

16 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 130

17 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 130

18 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 131

19 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 131

Serbia and created its own parallel institutions. Conflicts between the Albanians and police and military forces become a commonplace and turned to uprising. The international community interfered by making a political intervention in favour of Albanians. Upon the breakdown of negotiations in Rambouillet, NATO launched a military action.”²⁰ One single sentence describes the losses, and solely on the Serbian side: “During months-long bombing of FRY (March-June 1999), Serbia suffered human loss and vast destruction of military, transport and economy objects.”²¹ There is no mention of Albanian, or Montenegrin victims, or the background of the bombing, nor of the manner in which the bombing was terminated.

Finally, several sentences explain the path to the independence of Montenegro and Kosovo: “Political powers which advocated the maximum of independence of Montenegro saw their prevalence since 1997. In 2003, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia disappears from the political map of Europe. It was replaced by the temporary State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. After the referendum from 21 May 2006, Montenegro declared state independence. Kosovo declared its independence in February 2008. Serbia rejected this act as an illegal and contrary to international law. Independence of Kosovo was recognised by USA and the majority of European states. Declaration of Kosovo’s independence was disputed by several states, among others, by Russia, India and China.”²²

SECONDARY EDUCATION

History, as a subject in gymnasiums, as part of Montenegrin secondary education system, is taught in I, II, III and IV grade.

Period in the focus of this analysis is elaborated in the fourth grade within the topic “*Montenegro in Yugoslavia and the renewal of independent Montenegro*”.

According to this course programme for gymnasiums, operative objectives envisage that: “*pupil needs to be educated on the political organisation of SFRY and the position of Montenegro within that framework, that s/he is able to specify the economic and cultural development of SFRY, familiarise with the political position of Yugoslavia in global context, know how to assess the basic elements of collapse of socialism and disintegration of SFRY, describe the economic and cultural development of Montenegro in SFRY, know how to describe the position of Montenegro in FRY, comprehend the position of Montenegro in State union with Serbia, be able to list the reasons behind the renewal of independence of Montenegro, understand the importance of Referendum from 21 May 2006 for the renewal of independent and internationally recognised Montenegro, understand the process of accession of Montenegro to European Union*”.²³

In the textbook *History for IV grade of gymnasium*, by Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović and Zvezdan Folić, first published in Podgorica in 2003 by the Bureau for Textbooks and Teaching Materials, lesson “Crisis and disintegration of SFRY” is elaborated only on three pages, or from page 254 to page 256. Latest issue of this textbook is from 2014, and it was the subject of this analysis.

High school pupils obtain nearly the same information from this textbook, like the information from their primary education, noting that independence of Montenegro is not elaborated, or any recent events from the region, which is contrary to planned operative objectives of course programme, because the textbook was issued earlier and it is not harmonised with operative objectives. Namely, this lesson ends with sentence: “*State union of Serbia and Montenegro was declared in February 2003*”.²⁴

Yugoslav crisis is dominantly explained through the economic crisis: “*During the beginning of eighties, Yugoslavia was shook by serious economic crisis. State debt exceeded USD 20 billion by the end of 1983. Dinar was devaluated by 30 percent, the inflation increased by 45 percent, the state was not able to pay for the oil and raw materials, hence there was the consequent lack of them. The coupons for gas and some elementary products were introduced... The inflation rose, thus in 1987 it amounted 140 percent, two years later it was 250 percent, which led to drastic fall in the standard of living. The standstill was complete, while the economic crisis was further aggravated by the political crisis*”.²⁵

20 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 131

21 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 131

22 History for IX grade of primary school Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Djordjevic, Podgorica 2015, p. 132

23 Course programme History for I, II, III, IV grade of gymnasium, Podgorica 2014, p. 22-23

24 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 256

25 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 255

Part regarding the demonstrations on Kosovo, conflicts between the political leaderships of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, Memorandum of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the dissolution of League of Socialists of Yugoslavia, is the same as the one contained in textbooks for primary schools, with some of the sentences being identical, which were actually later incorporated in the textbook for XI grade of primary school.

Textbook for gymnasiums provides a special review on the role of last Prime Minister of Yugoslavia, Ante Marković, reminding that he gave the *“last glimmer of hope that SFRY would survive as a federal state”*²⁶, and by concluding that after the failure of reforms which he advocated *“Yugoslavia gravitated in the direction of fierce crisis, orchestrated by national leaderships from certain republics.”*²⁷

As far as Montenegro is concerned, pupils are taught that referendum was held in 1992, and that a new state union was created – Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, composed of Serbia and Montenegro, but the volume of information related to that matter is the same as the one contained in textbooks for primary schools.

Later on, pupils are taught about war conflicts, whereby the information is also identical to information contained in textbooks for primary schools, which heavily relies precisely on textbook for gymnasiums, hence there are cases of verbatim.²⁸ They explain that first war events took place at the Slovenian territory, and that these later on aggravated in Croatia, followed by: *“Similar events followed the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbs declared the Republic of Srpska, and Croats Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. The war began in April 1992, and it was characterised by cruelty against the civilian population.”*²⁹ There is no precise information on civilian casualties: *“It was exercised the so called ethnic cleansing – killing and expatriation of people of different nationalities from the territories which sought to join their state. Capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, was under the siege of Bosnian Serbs more than three years.”*³⁰ Also, one single sentence explains the involvement of Montenegro in war events: *“Montenegrin reservists participated in the attack of YPA on the region of Dubrovnik.”*³¹

The sanctions were elaborated in the same manner, as well as the impact of wave of refugees on FRY and Dayton Agreement.

That same lesson provides specific information on the conflicts in Kosovo, and later NATO bombing: *“During months-long bombing of FRY (March-June 1999), Serbia suffered human loss and vast destruction of military, transport and economy objects”*³², i.e. same as the information from the textbook for IX grade of primary school, with the same deficiencies which were already indicated.

Further, course programme for history for I and II grade of secondary vocational school envisages, within the topic *“Montenegro in Yugoslavia and the renewal of independence of Montenegro”*, for the pupils to *“familiarise with the political organisation of SFRY and position of Montenegro within it, know how to assess the basic elements of collapse of socialism and disintegration of SFRY, be able to specify the reasons behind the independence of Montenegro, understand the importance of Referendum from 21 May 2006 for the renewal of independent and internationally recognised Montenegro”*.³³

Disintegration of Yugoslavia and the accompanying events in *History textbook for I and II grade of secondary vocational schools*, by Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulović, Zdravko Pejović and Željko Drinčić, first published in Podgorica in 2003 by the Bureau for Textbooks and Teaching Materials, are elaborated within the lesson *“SFRY from constitutional changes in 1963 till the disintegration”*, on four pages, or from page 289 to page 292. Latest issue of this textbook came out in 2015, and that one was the subject of this analysis.

26 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 255

27 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 255

28 It should be noted that the first edition of textbooks for primary schools was published six years later compared to the first edition of textbook for gymnasiums

29 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 255

30 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 255

31 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 255

32 History for the IV year of gymnasium, Šerbo Rastoder, Radoje Pajović, Zvezdan Folić, Podgorica 2014, p. 256

33 Course programme History for I and II grade of secondary vocational schools, Podgorica 2014, p. 16

Yugoslav state crisis is predominantly described through the manifestation of nationalism and economic crisis. Hence, it is explained: *“Area of economy was characterised with the tendency of weakening the relations between some Yugoslav republics. Inter-republic trade exchange between 1970 and 1980 dropped from 27.7 to 21.1 percent of total exchange. Simultaneously, there is strengthening of solidarity within the national communities and gradual territorial closure, manifestation of disintegration tendencies and nationalism.”*³⁴ This is accompanied with a list of detailed information, such as: *“During that period, foreign debt of Yugoslavia grew rapidly, from USD 1.200 000 000 in 1971, to about 18. 000 000 000 in 1980... The number of unemployed people increased rapidly and by the end of 1984 amounted nearly one million. Unemployment rates differed from one area to another, ranging from 1.4 percent in Slovenia to 24 percent on Kosovo.”*³⁵

Later on, pupils are educated on the upsurge of nationalism in the following manner: *“Political crisis in the state influenced the strengthening of nationalism in every area. Nationalists asserted their national subordination in Yugoslav community and demanded a higher level of equality and national homogenisation. Nationalist forces first appeared in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia during the sixties and seventies, and culminated with great separatist movement in Kosovo in 1981. During mass demonstrations in Pristina and other places in Kosovo, Albanian population demanded an equal treatment in state union, whereby the dominant motto read: Kosovo – republic”. Demonstrations came to an end after the intervention of police and military force, and courts sentenced many people to imprisonment, mostly students and intellectuals, due to their participation in demonstrations. Repressive actions did not resolve the problem, but rather postponed it for certain period of time.”*³⁶

Next it elaborates the Memorandum of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAAS) from 1986 *“whereby it (SAAS prim. author) accuses the communism of being anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav, founded on the domination of Croats and Slovenians and composed with the aim to dissolve Serbian unity.”*³⁷ It also clarifies: *“Rallies that were organised against certain political individuals and legitimate representatives of government became the basic manifestations of nationalism. They turned to so called “anti-bureaucratic revolutions”, whereby several political officials were first removed from power primarily in Kosovo and Serbia, and afterwards legitimate leadership of Vojvodina in October 1988 and then in Montenegro in January 1989. During this period, the majority of Serbian leadership thought that Yugoslavia could only be saved based on the establishment of Serbian hegemony and with the introduction of more firm central authority”.*³⁸ It further states: *“Simultaneously with Serbian, the nationalism gained on strength in Slovenia and Croatia.”*³⁹, and it explains the outcome of multiparty elections held in 1990: *“Communists won in Serbia and Montenegro, while in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia opposition parties prevailed, mostly nationally-oriented. This accelerated the process of disintegration within the state significantly.”*⁴⁰

Pupils can inform themselves on negotiations of republic leaderships which were conducted during 1991, and which did not result with an agreement: *“Crisis turned to war and fierce international conflicts on the territory of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and thus ended in the disintegration of SFRY.”*⁴¹

War conflicts are not explained in detail, instead the outcome is summarised in few sentences: *“Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia separated into individual states, while Serbia and Montenegro continued to exist in a joint state, by declaring the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) on 27 April 1992. War operations in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were officially terminated with the signing of peace treaty in Dayton (USA) on 12 November 1995. National leaders – Slobodan Milošević, Franjo Tuđman and Alija Izetbegović confirmed with their*

34 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 289

35 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 289

36 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 290

37 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 290

38 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 290

39 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 290

40 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 291

41 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 291

*signatures the solution which implied the integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its internal organisation in relation to Republic of Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.*⁴²

Near the end of the lesson, textbook contains the information on interethnic conflicts which occurred in Kosovo between Serbian and Albanian population in 1998/99: *“Albanian population was not satisfied with its position in province, and their leaders started exceeding demands more frequently asking for the independence of Kosovo. That period was characterised with intensified armed conflicts between the police and army of Yugoslavia, who tried to preserve the unity of state and security of non-Albanian population, and armed Albanians who began forming their own paramilitary unit, named Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA).”*⁴³ It is also stated that as the result of failed negotiations: *“NATO Alliance launched air strikes on FRY on 24 March 1999, dissatisfied with the attitudes of Serbian leadership, and under the excuse of securing and protecting basic human rights of Albanian population on Kosovo. Aviation and guided missiles sought to destroy anti-aircraft warfare, airports, radars, artillery and armoured units on Kosovo and south Serbia, as well as the bridges, roads, railroads, oil refineries, numerous factories and often residential objects. During these attacks, several hundred members of military and police forces were killed, as well as part of civilian population, and tremendous material damage to Serbia was made.”*⁴⁴ There is no specific information on the impact of NATO bombing on Montenegro. Finally, it provides the information on the signing of agreement from Kumanovo which stopped the NATO intervention.

Lesson ends with 1999, hence there is no information on the referendum based on which Montenegro renewed its independence, which is envisaged under the course programme. Causes of the disintegration of Yugoslavia are explained in this textbook in detail, while the information concerning war effects is scant. Position of Montenegro in war is not mentioned, nor its participation in any other form.

42 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 291

43 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 291

44 History for first and second grade of secondary vocational schools, Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulovic, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, Podgorica 2015, p. 291





STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY MONTENEGRIN HISTORY THROUGH THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

Isidora Radonjić

History Department, within the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Montenegro, examines the disintegration of Yugoslavia on third year within the subject “*History of Yugoslavia II*”. There is no specific subject that examines the history of Montenegro in XX century, or the nineties of last century, even though future history professors, among others, are educated on this department.

According to plan of work, the disintegration of Yugoslavia is planned for the last week, concluding with the Constitution from 1992, in other words, students of history do not examine the entire war within that programme, or the events from the contemporary Montenegrin history.

Basic literature for this subject is the *History of Yugoslavia 1918 – 1988*, by Branko Petranović, published by Nolit from Belgrade in 1988, and *History of Montenegro (from oldest times until 2003)*, *Montenegro in XX century* by Živko Andrijašević and Šerbo Rastoder, published in Podgorica in 2006, by the Centre for Expatriates of Montenegro. None of these books is in the form of textbook. Andrijašević’s and Rastoder’s book elaborates on contemporary Montenegrin history until 2003, even though students are not obliged to study that according to the official programme.

Department for the *Education of Teachers*, within the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Montenegro, envisages the examination of history of Yugoslav people by the end of World War II under the plan of work for the subject History, hence, there is no mention of history after 1945.

At the *Faculty of Political Sciences*, University of Montenegro, students deal with history of Balkans through two subjects within their programme. More precisely, according to students, those events are examined through the *History of Diplomacy of Montenegro*, where the basic literature is the *History of Diplomacy of Montenegro 1711 – 1918* by Radoslav Raspopović, published in 2009 in Podgorica by the University of Montenegro. Therefore, contemporary Montenegrin history is not examined. Also, based on the *History of Balkan Relations* they learn about Balkan history, as well as about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and basic literature for this subject is the book *Imagining the Balkans* by Maria Todorova, published in Belgrade, and the publisher is Library XX century, and it is not in the form of a textbook.

At the *Law Faculty* of the University of Montenegro, Montenegrin history is not examined as a separate subject, thus, neither is this period. However, within the subject *International Humanitarian Law*, which is taught on IV year, only on International and Legal Department, students are taught the definition of war crimes and the manner of operation of Hague Tribunal. Nevertheless, that material is not substantiated with examples, nor it has any mention of war which took place on the territory of former Yugoslavia and related crimes. They use the textbook *International Humanitarian Law*, by Vladan Jončić, published in Belgrade in 2010 by the Law Faculty of the University of Belgrade.



HOW MUCH MONTENEGRIN HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS KNOW ABOUT THE RECENT PAST OF MONTENEGRO AND REGION?

Tamara Milaš

One part of this analysis was supposed to provide an insight into the extent of knowledge of Montenegrin high school pupils on issues concerning the recent past of their country, hence those questions were comprised in the form of a questionnaire and related solely to contemporary history of Montenegro, with an emphasis also on war crimes.

In line with existing regulations, research team of the Centre for Civic Education (CCE) sent request to the Ministry of Education of Montenegro for the approval to conduct the research in schools, which would have been done in the form of a short questionnaire, prepared by the CCE team on the basis of similar projects in region. The approval was requested to interview a sample of 120 high school pupils in six Montenegrin municipalities, thereby covering the northern, central and southern part of Montenegro. More precisely, plan was to conduct the research in the following schools: PIMHS “Ivan Goran Kovačić” (Herceg Novi), PI Gymnasium Kotor (Kotor), PI Gymnasium “Slobodan Škerović” (Podgorica), PI Gymnasium “Stojan Cerović” (Nikšić), PI Gymnasium “Tanasije Pejatović” (Pljevlja), PI Gymnasium “Miloje Dobrašinović” (Bijelo Polje), during the period 22 - 29 April 2016.

Request for the approval of research implementation, along with the accompanying questionnaire, was addressed to Ministry of Education of Montenegro on 15 April 2016, more specifically to Director General of Directorate for general secondary, vocational and adult education. Throughout the course of months-long communication with the representatives of Ministry of Education, CCE’s team was redirected to diverse addresses.

Final response, which came at the CCE demand to receive any written record on the outcome of this request, came on 1 June 2016 as an email from Miomir Anđić, PhD, and it is enclosed integrally:

“Dear,

The subject of Your survey is elaborated in the fourth grade of gymnasium. Considering the temporary distance in the historiography, we believe that the existing textbooks for fourth grade do not contain the value judgements on the historical events from the Survey.

We reiterate that these topics are taught to pupils of fourth year of gymnasium, who already completed their teaching year, and that it would unwise to seek for a feedback from the pupils of lower grades.”

Though indirectly, this demonstrates that education authorities are aware of flaws in the existing textbooks and their influence on the (lack of) knowledge of pupils, but also that they are not prepared to investigate that effect on the education of pupils.

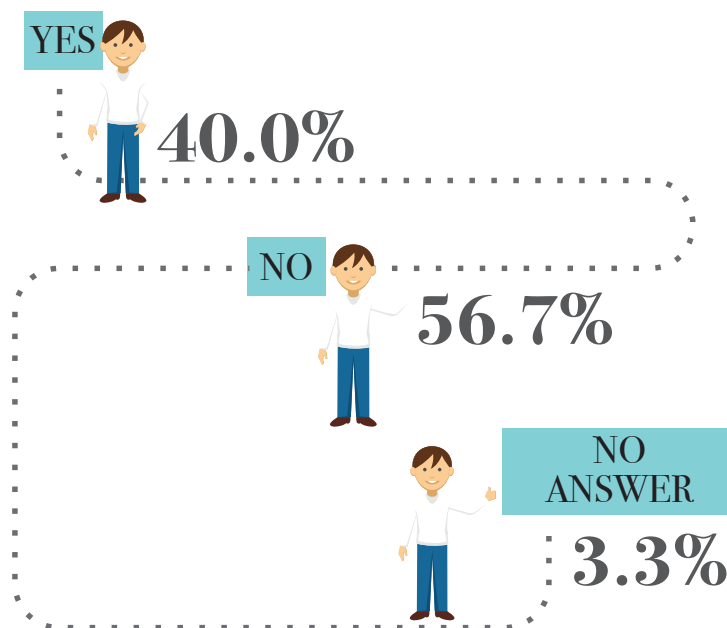


MONTENEGRIN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS KNOW ABOUT THE RECENT PAST OF MONTENEGRO AND REGION?

Tamara Milaš

Centre for Civic Education (CCE) conducted a field research from 6 to 11 May 2016 encompassing 120 Montenegrin students, from three faculty units of University of Montenegro. Respectively, 40 undergraduate students from the Law Faculty of Law, Faculty of Philosophy - from the departments of *Sociology*, *History*, *Education of Teachers* and *Geography*, as well as from the Faculty of Political Sciences - from the courses *International relations*, *Journalism*, *European studies* and *Politology*, were interviewed. Out of the total number of respondents, 32.5% were male, 65.8% were female, and 1.6% did not specify their gender. In terms of age, research covered students from 19 to 27, or those who were born during the period 1989 – 1997.

When asked *whether they examined recent Montenegrin history during their history classes*, the majority of students, or 56.7%, stated that this part was not present within their formal education, 40% stated it was, while 3.3% of respondents did not provide an answer to this question.



Graph: Did you examine recent history of Montenegro through history lessons?

When the responses are analysed per faculty, the majority of those who were not educated on recent Montenegrin history are within the students of Faculty of Philosophy (65%), followed by the respondents from the Law Faculty (50%) and Faculty of Political Sciences (45%).

The majority of those who claim that they are familiar with this subject are from the Faculty of Political Sciences (35%), while that percentage is somewhat lower on the Law Faculty (27.5%), and lowest on the Faculty of Philosophy (22.5%).

In the case of *recent history of former SFRY republics*, 12.5% of interviewed students admitted that they are not familiar with it, 58.8% has minimum and 28.4% specific extent of knowledge, while 3.3% did not provide an answer. The majority of those who claim that they are familiar with this subject are from the Faculty of Political Sciences (35%), while that percentage is somewhat lower on the Law Faculty (27.5%), and lowest on the Faculty of Philosophy (22.5%).

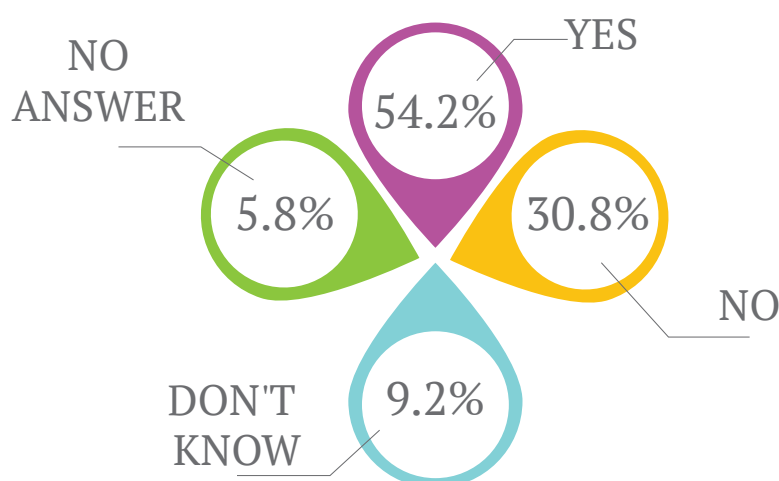
Still, when that knowledge is tested, it turns out that 50.8% of respondents do not know *the number of republics and provinces in former SFRY*, 40.8% knows, and 3.3% did not answer. When asked to list *former SFRY states which are internationally recognised today*, 62.5% of respondents did not know the exact or complete answer, 6.7% did not give an answer, and slightly less than one third (30.8%) knew to list every state which derived out of the former SFRY. Even 85% of interviewed students from the Faculty of Political Sciences were not able to list all internationally recognised states that once used to be part of the SFRY.

Based on three offered options, half of the interviewed students (50.8%) marked correctly the year when *the referendum, which was the basis for the creation of FRY, was held* by stating that it was 1992, 40% did not give the correct answer, while 9.2% did not provide any answer. 86.7% of the students knew that Serbia and Montenegro – nowadays both independent states – made the FRY.

When it comes to *reasons behind the disintegration of SFRY*, answers differ. In so, the students of Faculty of Political Sciences primarily state the following: “influence of foreign powers”, “poor policy of political leaders from the region”, “desire for secession, primarily of Slovenia and Croatia, which did not want to stay in federation”, “strengthening of nationalist ideas of leaders, but also of religious differences between the nations”, as well as the “fall of communism” and “economic weakening of member states”. Their colleagues from the Law Faculty estimate that those reasons are mainly: “Tito’s death”, “influence of Western powers”, “strengthening of nationalism”, “influence of USA”, “hatred among the nations”, as well as the “economic crisis”. The ones from the Faculty of Philosophy mostly note “the fall of communism”, “influence of foreign powers”, “hatred among nations”, “nationalism”, and a number of them stated that they don’t know the reasons which led to disintegration of SFRY.

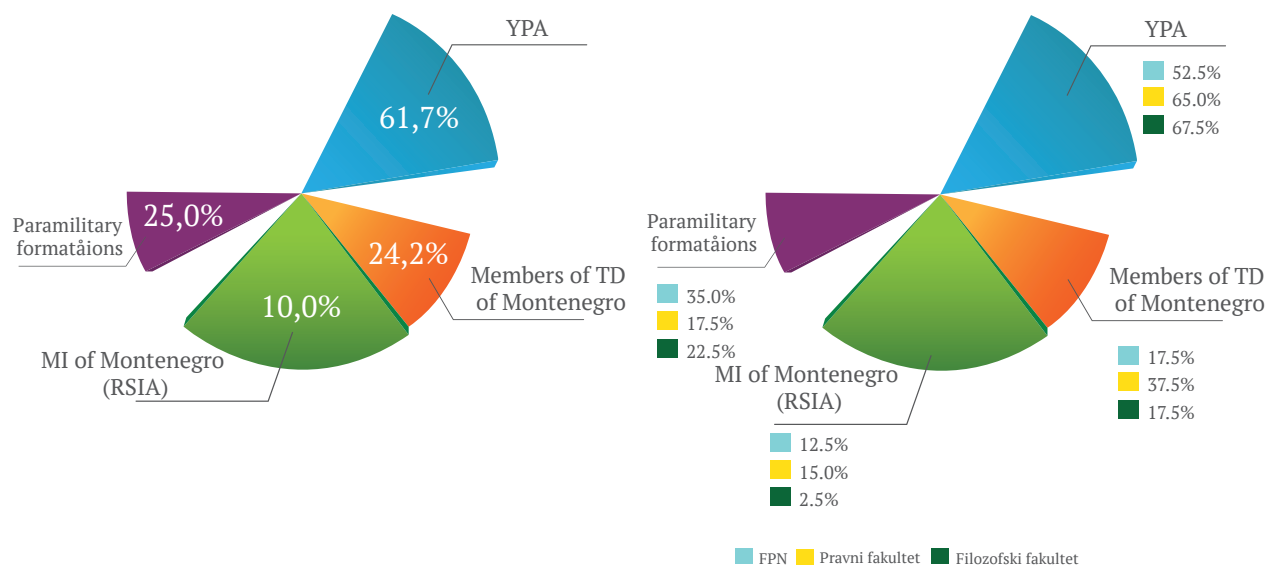
When asked why *war occurred on the territory of former SFRY*, 57.5% responded by stating the following key causes: “aspiration for the secession by certain republics”, “secession of Slovenia”, “aspirations of Croatia and Slovenia for independence due to the unequal position within the SFRY, which later occurred”, “unconstitutional separation of Croatia and B&H which neglected the constitutional status of Serbia”, “disagreements between the then leaders of republics”, “political and hegemonic aspirations of then leaders of republics”, “political regime of Slobodan Milošević”, “religious and national animosity among nations”, “hatred among the nations”, ethnic, religious and national divisions”, “nationalism”, “influence of foreign powers”, “the West”. Number of those who did not know, or did not wish to answer this question, was significant.

Majority of Montenegrin students (54.2%) consider that *Montenegro participated in the war from 1991 to 1995*, almost a third of them (30.8%) claim otherwise, while 9.2% did not know the answer to this question, and 5.8% refused to replay. Thereby, highest percentage of students from the Faculty of Philosophy stated that Montenegro participated in the war – 62.5%, the least of them is from the Faculty of Political Sciences – 45%, while the respondents from the Law Faculty are in between with 55%.



Graph: Did Montenegro participate in the war from 1991-1995

Almost two thirds of students gave the wrong answer among offered options when asked about the **year when an armed intervention was perpetrated on Dubrovnik and Dubrovnik region in general**, and slightly less than a third of students (30.8%) claims that this event occurred in 1991. The number of students who knew when the armed intervention happened in Dubrovnik is lowest at the Faculty of Philosophy (15%), while the number of those who actually knew is considerably higher on Faculty of Political Sciences (35%) and Law Faculty (40%).



Graph: Who performed the armed intervention on Dubrovnik, and in general on Dubrovnik region? (total cross-section)

Graph: Who performed the armed intervention on Dubrovnik, and in general on Dubrovnik region? (cross-section per faculty)

When asked **who performed the armed intervention on Dubrovnik, and on Dubrovnik region in general**, for which there were four possible answers, with an option to choose more than one answer, 61.7% of students marked that the intervention was perpetrated by the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), 24.2% believes that it was done by the members of Territorial Defence (TD) of Montenegro, 10% believes that it was done by the members of Ministry of Interior of Montenegro (then RSIA - Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs), and 25% believes that the intervention was carried out by paramilitary formations.

When asked about the reasons behind the **armed intervention which was performed in Dubrovnik, and in Dubrovnik region in general**, one third (33.3%) of interviewed students responded by spontaneously stating the following reasons: "national conflicts between Serbs and Croats, and persecution of Serbian population from the territory of Croatia", "militarist tendencies of political leaders of Croatia and Serbia", "conquering of Croatian territory, i.e. the annexation of Dubrovnik, the so called "war for peace", while the number of those who do not know what caused this event is considerable.

When asked about the **death toll of members of YPA from Montenegro on Dubrovnik battlefield**, 50% of the students answered correctly, based on three offered options, that there were 165 Montenegrin members of YPA, 28.3% did not answer correctly, and 21.7% did not give any answer.

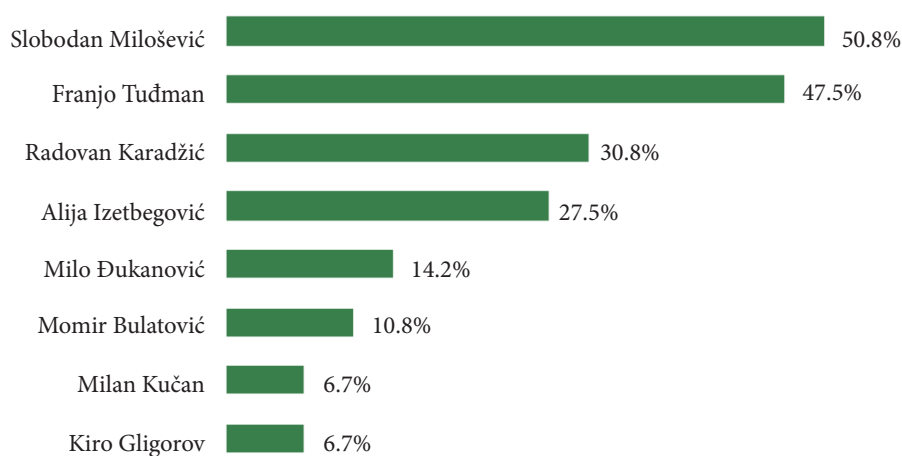
When asked **which proceedings were conducted before Montenegrin judiciary for the war crime cases**, Montenegrin students marked the following out of the offered options: "kidnapping of passengers from the train Belgrade – Bar in Štrpci" (35%), "camp Morinj" (30.8%), "Bukovica" and "attack on Dubrovnik" (25%), "deportation of refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina" and "Kaluderski laz" (15.8%), "genocide in Srebrenica" (15%), "camp Lora" (9.2%), "siege of Sarajevo" (5%) and the "Assassination of family Klapuh" (1.7%).

When it comes to **territories of states where the war events took place**, students stated that the war was waged on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (74.2%), Croatia (71.1%), Kosovo (49.2%), Serbia (35%), Montenegro (15.8%), Slovenia (14.2%) and Macedonia (8.3%). Lowest number of students from the Law Faculty thinks that war events also took place in Montenegro (7.5%), slightly more at the Faculty of Political Sciences (15%) and the majority of them is from the Faculty of Philosophy (25%).

When asked to say *what they know about Srebrenica, Vukovar and siege of Sarajevo*, 55.8% of respondents replied briefly, whereby their answers varied greatly, thus they knew the most about Srebrenica, slightly less about the siege of Sarajevo, while it was apparent that they knew the least about the events from Vukovar. **Srebrenica** is mainly described as “genocide”, “genocide against Muslim population”, “crime against humanity”, “massacre”, “war crime”, “worst crime since World War II”, by assessing that “Serbs are most responsible for this crime”. While the majority of students from the Law Faculty and Faculty of Political Sciences agree that it was the case of genocide, nobody from the Faculty of Philosophy described this crime as a genocide. **Siege of Sarajevo** is described as “the longest siege in modern history”, “siege conducted by the army of Republic of Srpska (ARS)”, “event with highest number of victims”, “ethnic cleansing”. In case of **Vukovar**, they mostly say that it is “a place on the border of Serbia and Croatia where siege and mass destruction took place”, “crimes which were defined as genocide or ethnic cleansing were committed there”, “bordering city where mass destruction took place, because it was considered to be a part of Serbian territory”.

40% of the students heard about **Srdan Aleksić** and his heroic act, after whom a street was named recently in Podgorica, while 38.3% did not hear about him, and 21.7% of respondents did not provide an answer to this question.

When asked *which politician was most responsible for the civic war which took place on the territory of SFRY*, 58.8% of students listed Slobodan Milošević, 47,5% Franjo Tuđman, 30,8% Radovan Karadžić, 27,5% Alija Izetbegović, 14,2% Milo Đukanović, 10,8% Momir Bulatović, while Milan Kučan and Kiro Gligorov got each 6,7%. Montenegrin students mostly agree with the assessment related to responsibility of political leaders from former SFRY states for war events, but there are differences when it comes to Radovan Karadžić and Milo Đukanović. Namely, while 50% of respondents from the Faculty of Political Sciences deem Karadžić responsible for this crime, that number is drastically lower among the students of Law Faculty and Faculty of Philosophy ranging from 20 to 22.5%. Also, 22.5% of students from the Faculty of Philosophy state that Đukanović is responsible, while that percentage is twice lower at the Faculty of Political Sciences (12.5%), and on Law Faculty it is lower by two thirds (7.5%).



Graph: In your opinion, which politician is most responsible for the civic war which took place on the territory of former SFRY?

Even though the issue of NATO bombing is still highly present in Montenegrin public, only 27.5% of students are aware of the fact that there were seven victims during NATO bombing in Montenegro, 55% answered incorrectly, while 17.5% of the students did not provide any answer. Among the spontaneous questions related to **key causes of NATO bombing**, 58.3% of the students who gave an answer mostly stated: “the impossibility of finding a solution for the situation in Serbia and Kosovo”, “unwillingness of Slobodan Milošević to abide the UN demands”, “final stage of war in Kosovo and Metohija”, “conflict between Serbia and Kosovo”, “violation of rights of Albanians from Kosovo, their unfavourable position, Serbia’s attack on Kosovo”, “threat of humanitarian catastrophe on Kosovo”, “Slobodan Milošević’s policy”, “Kosovo”, “YPA’s aggression against Kosovo”, “US interests”, “State’s refusal to join the NATO”.



HISTORY TEACHING IN MONTENEGRO – BETWEEN THE IDEOLOGY AND SCIENCE

Miloš Vukanović

Education on history always played a specific role in the system of education of some state. Along with the course subject language and literature, history has immense potential to influence the formation of one's opinion on personal identity, personality and society.

Within Montenegrin education system, like in almost every other education system, history as subject contains the programme norm as follows: *“In the education process, History has the primary importance in the formation of national identity and development of personality. Reading of history texts is accompanied by intense emotions which influence the formation of sentiments – patriotism, feeling of honour, loyalty and national awareness”*.⁴⁵

This means that the creation of this subject and manner of its implementation will be always heavily influenced by state and current national ideology, perhaps the most out of every other course subject. This provides the explanation as to why during certain periods of time and national frameworks, there are different interpretations of history.

It is not easy to answer the question *whether the history teaching is more shaped by new scientific findings or the change in national status and ideology*. Unfortunately, for the significant part of European countries, history education evolved based on the principle of development of patriotism, precisely due to the interference of national ideologies, which led to the creation of history of *“pride and suffering”*. Such history education cannot yield many positive outcomes, since it creates fetched pictures on someone's national significance and wrong assumptions on the position of one's own state in terms of regional and global historic processes. As a rule, it is characterised with the incitement of animosity towards internal and external enemies, often identified in historic conflicts between closest neighbours. Accordingly, many states try to incorporate the norms and methods in the core of history education that affect the development of contemporary democratic and civil society. The idea that *“history contributes to severance of some of the prejudice towards certain nations, races and religious groups”*, which is the integral part of Montenegrin history education, has penetrated our education system amidst the wave of continued efforts of global reform which tends to create a responsible and innovative history teaching.

Understanding the history teaching through the prism of development of patriotism and honour, sooner or later, results with problems when one needs to explain the events from national past which can be regarded as negative and controversial from that angle of historic understanding. Considering the fact that contemporary history, in many areas, mainly influences the individual and society as a whole, one can get the notion on importance of teaching contemporary history and facing its every aspect. Complexity and insufficient exploration pose minor obstacles compared to lack of will when facing the events that still attract many controversies and emotions.

⁴⁵ Course programme, History VI, VII, VIII and IX grade, Podgorica 2013, p. 3

And where is the historical education of contemporary history in Montenegro?

According to programmes, history education in Montenegro is based on the principle of chronology. This means that contemporary history is examined as final unit of final years of primary and secondary education. As far as the history of second half of XX century and the beginning of XXI is concerned, course programme defined the operative objectives pretty well with an apparent lack of tendency to examine the increase of nationalism in Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, causes of war on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and the overall social changes in region and Montenegro. Even though operative objectives are based on the idea of understanding the political changes during last three decades, it is safe to make the judgements on social changes which influenced the formation of society in which we live today. Also, it is impossible to evade the war events in region and role of Montenegro in them as topic, because these still cause conflicting opinions and divide the population.

Textbooks, which follow the programme, had been written years before the adoption of latest course programme. Consequently, they essentially do not correspond to given operative objectives, and content-wise they end before the referendum, renewal of independence and beginning of European integration, or prior to state regulation and social form in which the pupils nowadays live.

In practice, the situation is even less favourable. Low number of classes and the fact that schools leave the material related to contemporary history for the end of an already shortened final year of primary and secondary schools, unofficially, leads to the lack of lectures on this matter. Causes of this practice could be found in the lack of available time. However, it is certainly present also a lack of will amongst professors to tackle the controversial historic issues.

Consequences of such relation towards contemporary history can be profound and catastrophic. By creating the gaps in the history education of pupils, we leave room for that void to get quickly filled with non-historic education imposed by social environment". A research from 2005⁴⁶ indicated that non-historic education in Europe affects the formation of historic awareness by 30%. In post-conflict societies, that percentage goes up to 80%, primarily in relation to the creation of awareness concerning conflict period. This further strengthens the extremist nationalist mentality through the aforementioned history of "*pride and suffering*" and hinders the reconciliation process.

However, models of contemporary and innovative history education slowly gain on momentum in region, even in Montenegro. Those models primarily relate to change of methods in terms of the history education from a practice based on the transfer of knowledge to a teaching based on the development of abilities of students. Such history education has been designed as a mean of prevention of abuse of past through the promotion of complexity and multi-perspective of history, as well as a mean of critical thinking development. Furthermore, such history education has no intention of conveying the unique truth from the past. But, it does aim to get closer to historic truth as much as possible based on facts and qualified evidence, thus striving to objectivity. Finally, it aims to deconstruct historic myths and stereotypes by placing the traditional historic approach of "*pride and suffering*" through different aspects, by providing the support to educators and students to question their own cultural idioms. All of these are opposite to traditional pattern composed around the principle of suffering of one's own nation, on one hand, and national pride, on the other side, but neglecting to underline the damage done to others, as well as the history of those areas which are not connected to national narration.

History education must always promote the idea that there are different perceptions on past and it must be cautious when referring to delicate and controversial topics in order to prevent the influence of unilateral, biased and politicised views on the past.

Also, by inciting the empathy, we should develop the ability to disagree with different perceptions of past, but without resorting to hatred and violence. History classes should integrate values of respect of diversity, dialogue and equality. In this regard, education must be based on **competencies** including the cognitive (knowledge), functional (application of knowledge), personal (behaviour) and ethical (principles which affect the behaviour) components.

History education should be constantly subjected to innovations with the promotion of pupils' engagement, ability and autonomy.

⁴⁶ History, identity and the school curriculum in Northern Ireland: and empirical study of secondary students' ideas and perspectives, Keith C. Barton, Alan W. McCully, Journal of Curriculum Studies, 2005/1/1

High-quality history education contributes to the development of key competencies⁴⁷ such as social and civic, cultural awareness and expressiveness, learn how to learn, digital skills, sense for the initiative. Also, it provides transversal competencies such as critical thinking, creativity, problem-solving and decision-making. In addition, it develops key skills and concept of contemplation: understanding of chronology, historic significance, primary sources, interpretations, causes and consequences, permanence and change, compare and contrast, empathy, facts and opinions of bias and objectivity and etc.; as well as the development of ability to gather, organise, research and assess the source in a logical and consistent manner which leads to conclusions and creation of new ideas.

Finally, history education on includes the strategies of pedagogic assessment, which enhances independent education, motivation and engagement, fosters the sense of responsibility, passion for active participation, need to take the initiative and stimulation of communication and cooperation. It emphasises the development of curiosity, autonomy, open-mindedness, research spirit and the ability to think independently and oppose the manipulation.

This methodology is slowly finding its way into Montenegrin plans and programmes, and in last several years the majority of professors on all levels of education have passed through certain training concerning contemporary and innovative history teaching. They have more and more assistant teaching material at their disposal, which facilitates the work of educators if they seek to address the insufficiently elaborated topics.

However, the lack of an adequate textbook, as well as the examination of contemporary methodology during the initial training of teachers, presents a great challenge for the process of facing the past.

And facing the past and the integration of this process into history education system is not only one of the pillars necessary for the establishment of democratic society, but a condition for long-term success in reconciliation, both internal and the one with neighbours. Given that all these norms have been proclaimed several times as the objective of many segments of current reforms, hope remains that the initiative for the publication of new textbook for the history teaching of final grades of primary and secondary schools will result in the creation of teaching materials aligned with that idea, and conducted through new teaching methodology. This would pave the road to so much needed gradual harmonisation of textbooks to principles of contemporary and innovative history education. Eventually, Montenegro would create the conditions for the efficient facing with past and a sustainable regional cooperation.

⁴⁷ Defined by the European reference framework of 2006 http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/publ/pdf/ll-learning/keycomp_en.pdf

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