Carrier / Chiriac with Niran / Sinai

GEORG ECKERT INSTITUT
Leibniz-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung

2021

Explaining the Holocaust and Genocide in Contemporary Curricula, Textbooks and in Pupils' Writings in Europe

Country Studies

EDU|MERES

Peter Carrier / Christine Chiriac
with Ben Niran and Stavit Sinai

Explaining the Holocaust and Genocide in Contemporary Curricula, Textbooks and in Pupils' Writings in Europe

Country Studies

urn:nbn:de:0220- 2021-0037

Cite as:

Peter Carrier and Christine Chiriac with Ben Niran and Stavit Sinai. *Explaining the Holocaust and Genocide in Contemporary Curricula, Textbooks and in Pupils' Writings in Europe: Country Studies*. (2021). urn:nbn:de:0220- 2021-0037.

Explaining the Holocaust and Genocide in Contemporary Curricula, Textbooks and in Pupils' Writings in Europe

COUNTRY STUDIES

The National Dimensions of Explanations of the Holocaust and Genocides in European Educational Media

Peter Carrier / Christine Chiriac
with Ben Niran and Stavit Sinai

Contents

Introduction

These country studies summarise explanations of the Holocaust and other acts of extreme violence found in curricula, textbooks and pupils' writings in 2016 and 2017 in twenty-two countries in Europe and in Turkey. The countries are ordered alphabetically. Maps show the locations of schools in which the materials were used, which are representative not of national historical understandings, but of materials used in specific places at a specific time. The section for each country is divided into three parts encompassing three distinct levels of the curriculum: the 'prescribed' or 'intended' curricular standards issued by education ministries, the 'programmatic' curriculum presented in two textbooks used in state schools and the received or 'enacted' curriculum as recorded in the writings of young people. Explanations of the Holocaust and other acts of extreme violence found in curricula, textbooks and essays were subject to analytical criteria defined in terms of the conceptualisations of *paratexts*, of *events* and their comparisons, of the names and types of *protagonists* involved, of *effects and aftereffects* of the events mentioned, of the *timescale and spatial scale* ascribed to events (including their beginning, end and turning points), of the *points of view* of implied readers (of textbooks) and authors (of essays) and of the *causes* of the Holocaust and of other instances of extreme violence.

The project team consisted of Peter Carrier, project leader and principal investigator, Christine Chiriac, project coordinator, and Ben Niran and Stavit Sinai. Peter Carrier designed the methodology for the analyses of curricula, textbooks and pupils' essays and carried out most of the analysis of these essays. He was supported by Ben Niran who analysed the essays from Hungary and Slovakia and by Stavit Sinai for Belgium, Finland, Portugal and Romania. Christine Chiriac conducted most of the curricula and textbook analyses assisted by Ben Niran (studies for Hungary and Slovakia) and Stavit Sinai (studies for Croatia and Estonia). Meyrick Payne created the maps.

These studies were made possible thanks to generous funding from the European Commission, with additional support from the National Fund of the Republic of Austria for Victims of National Socialism, the Future Fund of the Republic of Austria, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs and the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research.

Special thanks are due to Marret Bischewski (Georg Eckert Institute, Germany), Önder Cetin (Georg Eckert Institute, Germany), Eleni Christodoulou (Georg Eckert Institute, Germany), Patrycja Czerwińska (Georg Eckert Institute, Germany), Karsten Eckert (Georg Eckert Institute, Germany), Sophie Friedl (University of Munich, Germany), Petra Hajdu (Budapest, Hungary), Jakob Kirchheimer (Georg Eckert Institute, Germany), Claudia Lichnofsky (Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany), Johannes Scharr (University of Heidelberg, Germany), Mariya Yanchevska (University of Hanover Library, Germany) and Anna Zadora (University of Strasbourg, France) for assisting us with research when seeking schools, educational materials or when translating materials; and Peter Heldt (Braunschweig), Andrew Lawrence (Hampton School, United Kingdom) and the pupils of the Ricarda Huch Grammar School (Braunschweig, Germany) for their patient support when conducting pilot studies.

ALBANIA

Curricula

The *Competency-based Curriculum* from 2016 is geared towards thirteen- to fourteen-year-old pupils and addresses the Holocaust in a section called 'The Era of the Major Shocks (1914–1945)', which deals with both world wars in the context of 'totalitarianism'. The section dedicated to the Second World War has a military focus and enumerates different aspects of the war, including the causes, character, progression and outcomes of the conflict as well as the Holocaust (14). The section also mentions 'consequences of the Holocaust' (15) alongside economic, social and psychological consequences of the war in general. The curriculum specifically refers to indigenous implications including 'the attitude of Albanians towards Jews in the Second World War' (16). Finally, 'Methodological Guidelines' (22) address 'the Holocaust, genocides and other crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, mass violations of human rights and fundamental values' in the context of 'teaching and remembrance'. The Holocaust, genocides and other atrocities are referred to collectively as 'devastating events' and as 'the darkest moment of history in Europe … and the world' (28).

The History Programme, geared towards fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds in year ten, follows a similar structure and teaching content. In the section 'The Era of the Major Shocks (1914–1945)', it also addresses developments in Germany by specifying topics comprising 'Hitler's seizure of power', 'the features of foreign and domestic policy of Nazism' and 'Hitler's antisemitism, which resulted in the Holocaust' (44).

These curricula prescribe a military and political approach to the Holocaust while briefly mentioning remembrance and other genocides. Educational goals are defined in terms of 'understanding' the nature of conflicts and the impact of 'national, ethnic [and] racial' factors on the Second World War and the Holocaust (C1, 9). They also claim to foster 'knowledge, skills, attitudes and values' with respect to totalitarianism, asking pupils to 'distinguish' key military blocs, 'locate' the main fronts and 'explain and assess' consequences of the Holocaust (C1, 15; C2, 44). The methodological sections emphasise educational measures which aim to 'prevent' the 'recurrence and the denial' of the Holocaust and other atrocities. To this end, teachers are invited to 'help pupils to develop knowledge and awareness' of the events and their causes, to encourage 'reflection' about ideologies, and to 'designate a day in schools for Holocaust remembrance and the prevention of crimes against humanity'. Moreover, the curricula recommend commemoration of victims of the Holocaust on 27 January and of 'victims of Nazi and communist totalitarian regimes' on 23 August (C1, 28; C2, 56). The second curriculum stipulates that pupils should be able to 'explain' the historical context of Hitler's accession to power, 'analyse' National Socialist policies and 'assess' (*gjykon*) antisemitism, 'which resulted in the Holocaust' (C2, 44).

C1 *Kurrikula e bazuar në kompetenca*, Fusha: Histori, Shkalla: IV, Klasa: VIII, Ministria e Arsimit dhe Sportit, Instituti I Zhvillimit të Arsimi, Tiranë, 2016 [Competency-based Curriculum, history, stage IV, year VIII, Ministry of Education and Sports, Education Development Institute, Tirana, 2016].
C2 *Program ii lëndës së historisë*, Shkalla e pestë, Klasa e dhjetë, Ministria e Arsimit dhe Sportit, Instituti i Zhvillimit të Arsimit [History Programme, stage five, year ten, Ministry of Education and Sports, Education Development Institute, accessed 20 October 2016].

Textbooks

Historia 9 [History for year nine] (2012)

Paratext ● The contents page of this textbook for the history of Albania does not address atrocity crimes. Pedagogical exercises invite pupils to describe facts ('Describe the Yugoslav

policy of ethnic cleansing …', 126) and explain causes ('Explain … the causes of the Greek chauvinist genocide of the Cham population…', 108). Other exercises encourage analysis and reflection ('Based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, describe which basic rights of the Albanians in Kosovo … were violated', 69; 'Define the contents of the Treaty of Lausanne and explain why it did not benefit Albanians', 93).

Events ● This textbook devotes approximately one page to each of the following topics: 'massacres' and 'ethnic cleansing' of Albanians during the Balkan Wars; forced 'resettlement' of Albanians from Chameria after the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923; 'ethnic cleansing' and deportations of Albanians in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Greece between 1925 and 1940; 'ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' of Cham Albanians during the Second World War; 'massacre' and 'genocide' of Kosovo Albanians at the end of the Second World War; 'ethnic cleansing' of Albanians in the former Yugoslavia between 1949 and 1974 and 'massacre' in Kosovo in the 1990s. The authors define 'ethnic cleansing' as 'state organised plans and attempts to evict a certain population by force from their homeland' and 'genocide' as 'state organised violence and terror against a certain population' (108). One exercise asks pupils to 'compare the policies pursued by the Greek state against the Cham population with those pursued by the Yugoslav state against the Kosovar population' (93).

Protagonists ● The authors define protagonists politically as 'the governments of Serbia and Montenegro' (68), 'Yugoslav communists' (122) and 'the Serbian regime' (127); militarily as 'units of the Greek Democratic Army under the command of Napoleon Zervas' (107) and 'the Yugoslav army' (128); and ethnically as 'Serbs and Montenegrins' (68). The authors also briefly personify '[t]he Yugoslav state', which '… manipulated religious affiliation [and] forced Albanians … to emigrate' (124). Victims of atrocity crimes are named as 'Albanians', 'the Albanian population', 'the population in Kosovo and other Albanian areas', 'the Cham population', 'Muslim Albanians' and 'civilians', while resisters include the 'Albanian resistance', 'the Cham partisan forces', and the Kosovo Liberation Army and its 'legendary commander Adem Jashari' (128).

Effects and aftereffects ● The outcomes of 'massacres', 'ethnic cleansing' and atrocity crimes from the Balkan Wars to the 1990s are presented historically as violence, conversions, expropriation, the destruction of property, villages and cities, deportation, expulsions and resettlement, and disenfranchisement, but also as resistance and flight. Further effects are said to have been the 'denationalisation of Albanian areas' (68) and 'educational discrimination' of Albanians by the 'Yugoslav regime' (123). Aftereffects include political change when Kosovo became an 'international protectorate' (128) and the 'political migration' of Albanians (129).

Causal agency ● The authors explain atrocity crimes as the responsibility of 'Serb and Montenegrin troops' (123) and 'the Yugoslav army' (128). Crimes are also ascribed to the political convictions of individuals ('Zervas was known for his anti-Albanian standpoint', 107; Milošević was an 'ultranationalist', 127) and political strategies ('in order to … disintegrate and denationalise [Albanians]', 122), whereas violence is said to have 'triggered the legitimate self-defence of the Albanian population' (123). Furthermore, 'chauvinism' is seen to have led to killings 'as a consequence' (108) and 'the Yugoslav regime's distrust' is construed as having 'created the conditions for ethnic cleansing' (124). Passive phrases such as 'the population … was subjected to massacres' (68) omit agency.

Times and spaces ● Atrocity crimes against Albanians are said to have been committed throughout the twentieth century. The authors mention time intervals from 1912 to 1915 (68), from 1923 to 1926 (92), from 1925 to 1940 (90), 'during the [Second World] War' (107) and from 1949 to 1974 (124). 'Bloody incidents' are said to have taken place 'in March 1998' and 'at the beginning of 1999' (128). Spaces ascribed to atrocity crimes are regional and include 'Kosovo and other Albanian areas in Serbia and Montenegro' (68) and 'territories of the Chameria such as Karbunara, Parga and Paramythia' (108). 'Bloody incidents' are located in

Prekaz, Reçak and Rugova (127–128), whereas Albanians are said to have been ‘relocated to Turkey’ (90) and ‘forced to flee to Albania’ (108).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook about the history of Albania addresses ‘massacres’ and ‘ethnic cleansing’ committed against Albanians in the twentieth century. ‘Genocide’, defined as ‘state-organised violence and terror’ (108), is also said to have been carried out against Albanians. The crimes are explained as outcomes of responsibility, political motivation, ‘chauvinism’ and ‘distrust’. Since victims are defined in ethnic terms as ‘Albanians’ and ‘the Albanian population’, whereas perpetrators include political and military groups as well as personified states, the textbook suggests that powerful collective agents persecuted unequal victims. An exercise which invites pupils to ‘compare’ crimes in different places and at different times (93) implies the continuity and similarity of anti-Albanian actions. Further exercises encourage factual learning, causal explanations, analysis and reflection.

Historia 8 **[History for year eight] (2013)**
Paratext ● The contents page of this textbook does not address atrocity crimes. Pedagogical exercises encourage comparison (‘Find out the similarity … between National Socialism and Fascism’, 39), opinions (‘What is your opinion about totalitarian regimes?’, 33) and discussion (‘Which court … denounces crimes against humanity today? Discuss …’, 82). One exercise requires pupils to colour in two circles which represent ‘the ethnic composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina’ and its political ‘division’ after the Dayton Agreement (118). Further factual exercises take the form of questions (‘What do you know about the antisemitic actions of National Socialism?’, 39).
Events ● This textbook addresses the Greek–Turkish population exchange and ‘repatriation’ (*riatdhesimi*, 56), ‘terror’ in the Soviet Union and forced labour in the Gulag, the ‘massacre’ of Jews during the Second World War, ‘massacre’ in Cambodia, as well as ‘massacre’, ‘crimes against humanity’ and ‘tragedy’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The textbook also briefly addresses atrocity crimes in Africa. While the authors do not mention the terms ‘Holocaust’ or ‘Shoah’, they define ‘genocide’ as ‘the attempt to make a people disappear completely’ (137). The textbook compares communism ‘in Russia’ and fascism ‘in Italy and Germany’, and defines both as ‘two types of totalitarianism’ (32). This comparison is reiterated in the exercise which asks, ‘What are the common features of totalitarian regimes?’ (33). The authors define the regime in Cambodia as ‘one of the most criminal … in the world’ (132) and crimes in Srebrenica as ‘the biggest massacre after the Second World War’ (117).
Protagonists ● The textbook categorises protagonists of atrocity crimes ethnically as ‘Greeks who lived in Turkey’ and ‘Turks who lived in Greece’ (56), or as the religious and ethnic communities of ‘orthodox Serbs’ and ‘Muslim Bosniaks’ (117). Jews are said to be ‘a people who lived in Palestine and later spread into other countries of the world’ (39). Protagonists also include military groups (‘the Yugoslav army’, ‘the Serbian troops’, ‘the SS’), organised resistance (‘partisans’), political leaders (Slobodan Milošević, Pol Pot) and ‘millions of people’. The authors personify political regimes such as ‘National Socialism [which] began the anti-Jewish fight’ (38) and ascribe entire political developments to individuals such as Hitler, who ‘established a terrible dictatorship’ (37).
Effects and aftereffects ● Outcomes of the Holocaust are expressed in numbers of victims in a diagram with the caption ‘Jews, victims of Nazism’ (38) and in another caption which states that ‘approximately six million Jews were massacred’ (78). Further outcomes of atrocity crimes include ‘the denationalisation of the Albanian and Slavic-speaking population’ following the Greek–Turkish population exchange (56), ‘fear’ and ‘terror’ in the Soviet Union (31), mass murder and rape in the former Yugoslavia (117) and mass murder and flight in Cambodia, where crimes are said to have ‘shocked the world’ (132). ‘Genocide, migration and civil wars’ in Africa are said to have ‘caused great damage’ (136). The after-effects of the

Second World War include justice (the Nuremberg trials), political change (the creation of the UN, and the division of Germany as well as the 'expansion' of the Soviet Union which 'resulted in large displacements of people', 81). Further outcomes are 'civil war' in Cambodia (132), trials in Den Haag after 'ethnic cleansing' in the former Yugoslavia (117), 'the creation of the independent state of Bosnia with two autonomous territories' (116) and jubilation in a picture of 'Bosniaks [who] celebrate the victory after the end of the civil war in 1996' (117). Aftereffects include 'the creation of the independent state' (116) and 'great damage' (136) following civil war in Bosnia.

Causal agency ● The authors ascribe crimes to responsible agents. 'Hitler … established a terrible dictatorship' (37) and 'Milošević, Mladić and Karadžić planned and carried out [crimes]' (117). The Holocaust is explained causally, whereby, 'The main reasons for the emergence of [the National Socialist regime] were the dissatisfaction that resulted from the decisions of the peace conference … which fostered extreme nationalism' (32) and 'dictatorship led to extremism' (33). The authors also acknowledge affective motivation ('hatred against democracy, communism and especially Jews', 38) and racism ('Hitler was a racist', 38).

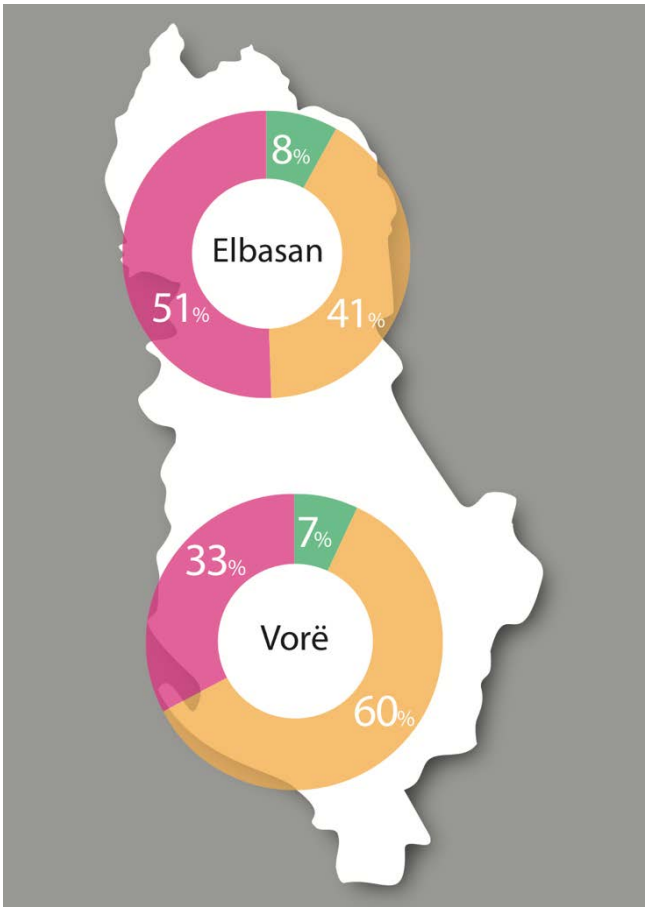
Times and spaces ● The Greek–Turkish population exchange is said to have taken place after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and the 'regime' in the Soviet Union to have 'become more cruel … after the death of Lenin (1924)' (30). The Holocaust coincides with the Second World War, and the (first) Nuremberg trial is dated precisely from November 1945 to October 1946 (81). In Cambodia, the end of 'Pol Pot's dictatorship' is dated from 1979. The space ascribed to atrocity crimes is regional (Chameria, Ioannina, Epirus and Thessaly, 56) and national, since a diagram shows the numbers of Jewish victims in 'Lithuania', 'Latvia', 'Hungary', 'Germany', 'Czechoslovakia', 'Romania', 'Russia' and 'Poland' (38).

Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains atrocity crimes as the outcome of responsibility, political 'dissatisfaction', 'hatred', nationalism and racism. Although the terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' are not mentioned, the authors define both anti-Jewish crimes and crimes committed in Bosnia and Cambodia as 'massacres' and compare fascism to communism. Protagonists are frequently defined ethnically, but also include military groups, political leaders and personified political regimes. By claiming that 'Hitler established a dictatorship' (37), the authors personalise causes of the political context of the Holocaust. Exercises typically encourage comparison, discussion and the expression of opinions.

T1 Thëngjilli, Petrika, Fatmira Rama, Ajet Shahu, Etleva Nita, 2012. *Historia 9 për klasën e 9-të të arsimit 9-vjeçar*. Tirana: Pegi [History for Year Nine of the Nine-year Education Programme, ages fourteen and fifteen].

T2 Dërguti, Menduh, Tomi Treska, 2013. *Historia 8 për klasën e 8-të të shkollës 9-vjeçare*. Tirana: Albas, seventh edition [History for Year Eight of the Nine-year Education Programme, ages thirteen and fourteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Isa Boletini Public High School in Vorë

Events ● Almost all the pupils in this class generally define genocide as 'annihilation'. They outline three examples: the Holocaust (circumscribed in terms of Hitler's treatment of Jews); the expulsion of the Albanians of Chameria in 1944, generally defined as a genocide and ascribed to 'the Greeks'; and the genocide 'of the Kosovars', variously described as the genocide 'in Kosovo' (2) or 'of the Albanians of Kosovo' (7), which is ascribed to Serbs, Serbia or Slobodan Milošević. All but two pupils address these three events with equal emphasis; they do this by treating them in separate passages, or by generalising genocide as 'one of the worst acts of humanity' (5). Only two pupils refer to the Holocaust as 'one of the most terrible' (2) or 'the most well-known' (7) among genocides. By contrast, pupil 8 relativises the Holocaust but also takes it as a model by asserting that 'we should also mention and talk about what happened in Kosovo'.

Protagonists ● Pupils systematically present perpetrators and victims in pairs. These include Germany, Germans or Hitler vs Jews, Greeks vs Cham Albanians or Albanians of Chameria, and Serbs, Serbia or Milošević vs Kosovo, Kosovars or the Albanians of Kosovo. Many essays evoke a universal counterpart to these particular groups and individuals by underscoring the universal significance of genocide as one of the 'worst acts of humanity' (5) or the 'most macabre event known to humankind' (14).

Effects and aftereffects ● Beyond the general definition of genocides as 'annihilation' and 'destruction', historical detail is sparse, and includes 'occupation' (3), 'expulsion' (5), 'prison' and 'hanging' (7), 'rounding up' and 'burning' (10). Considerable emphasis is placed on human effects including 'panic' (1), 'pain' and 'physical, but also psychic violence' (3), 'flight' (10, 13) and 'cruelty' (14). Half of the pupils address aftereffects in terms of ongoing 'traces' of (3, 6), or controversies over the past which lead to conflict and hatred (9) and 'unresolved questions' (6). Moreover, pupils readily relate recent events to their own lives in the present day by expressing their own misgivings, fears and moral judgements (see 'point of view' below).
Causal agency ● Genocides are largely explained as the outcome of decisions taken by responsible individuals (Hitler and Milošević) or collectives (Serbs and Greeks) and their motivations. Several pupils mistake motivations for causes by writing that genocides occur 'on the basis of ethnicity, nationality and race' (7) and thereby adopt perpetrators' categories without qualification. By presenting genocide as the responsible agent of destruction, four essays avoid naming agents and explain genocide tautologically. For example, pupil 8 characteristically writes that 'genocide destroys a country, a people and possibly even a part of society'.
Times and spaces ● Germany and Kosovo are the two most commonly mentioned spaces. Several pupils evoke territory as a pretext for genocide, as well as involuntary human migration. While some pupils associate genocide with wartime in general, the only years named precisely are 1998 and 1999 in relation to Kosovo. References to genocides as 'regular' (7) events taking place 'nowadays' (15) are frequent.
Points of view ● Half of the class writes descriptively, while the other half expresses strong affective responses with reference to genocides generally as 'most horrific' (2) and to the 'deep impression' (14) left by them. Almost half of the pupils likewise write in the first persons singular and plural, positioning themselves as emotive learners who fear watching films of genocides (3, 11) and who consider it 'horrific' to merely think about or commemorate genocides (1, 2, 3), or who express empathy with victims and their relatives (1, 3). 'Even now, when we speak about them [Hitler and Milošević] our faces take on a painful expression as if we had gone through these phenomena ourselves' (1). Pupil 7's claim on behalf of a moral community that 'a century of crime and genocide against our people cannot be forgiven' is uncharacteristic of this class. All but two pupils in this class ascribe the importance of learning about genocides to the importance of history for its own sake or to learning facts. Pupil 6 claims that 'information is useful' but that 'we are not very interested in' the Holocaust and genocides.
Explanation assessment ● In spite of a degree of similarity between the essays, which includes the small range of genocides to which pupils refer and the frequent mention of film material as a source of knowledge, their authors adopt different styles and explanatory techniques. The 'we' in whose name pupils write is a group of sympathisers with sufferers rather than, as in the exceptional case of pupil 7, a militant group. Pupils generally adopt either a neutral or an affective point of view. Affective expressions almost exclusively stem from personal misgivings of the pupils (expressed in terms of superlatives or fear) rather than from moral standpoints; these are correspondingly not channelled into calls to prevent future genocides. 'Humanity' is a dominant protagonist in the genocides explained in these essays. However, pupils conceive of an alternative to mass violence not in terms of human rights, but in terms of a vulnerable historical agent under threat from genocide (the 'history of humanity' (7) or of 'civilisation' (12)).

Sulë Misiri Secondary School in Elbasan
Events ● All pupils begin their accounts with a general definition of genocide as 'the deliberate killing of people' or of 'the population'. They provide examples of 'massacres in

Jasenovac' and of 'the Bosnian Muslim population' or 'the Bosnian Muslim population massacred in Nazi concentration camps' (11), and in one case, 'Bosnia against Herzegovina' (7). Four of the nine essays also refer to the breakup of Yugoslavia, typically in terms of 'the politics of S. Milošević' (12). In exceptional cases, pupils mention the Holocaust (7), the Crusades and Cambodia (1) and Kosovar Albanians (20). Pupil 7 writes that the Holocaust was 'the most infamous initiative to annihilate people in the history of humankind'.
Protagonists ● Pupils in this class most commonly name Slobodan Milošević and Bosnian Muslims. There are also single mentions of Christians, Albanians of Kosovo and Ratko Mladić.
Effects and aftereffects ● The named effects of genocides are largely 'killing' and 'massacre'. Five pupils confuse racism and humanity by referring to 'the destruction of the human race', while pupils 11 and 14 claim that, in concentration camps, 'people were cooked and made into soup for the rest of the camp'.
Causal agency ● Genocide is consistently explained in terms of religion on the basis of references to Bosnian Muslims and to 'religious reasons', although ethnicity, nationalism, race and politics are also mentioned. Pupil 1's claim that genocides occur 'for religious reasons and for reasons of race and political reasons' is reiterated in similar terms by almost all pupils in this class. Although phrased in causal terms, these claims in fact name perpetrators' presumed motivations. Pupils 7 and 18 define the causes as 'chauvinistic nationalism' and 'sick psychology' respectively.
Times and spaces ● References to Jasenovac and concentration camps generally are a consistent spatial support of these essays, while repeated references to 'the history of humanity' suggest that genocide is an ongoing historically consistent phenomenon. Pupil 1 evokes ancient genocides, while pupil 19 dates persecutions in Srebrenica and in Kosovo precisely in 1995 and 1998.
Points of view ● All pupils describe events in neutral terms.
Explanation assessment ● Over half of the twenty essays quote or paraphrase the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Four of them write that their essays are based on 'information provided by the teacher'. Remaining essays explain genocides in terms of the responsibility of the perpetrators and their motivations by drawing on local though largely selective and disconnected examples of the treatment of Bosnian Muslims in the 1940s and the acts of Slobodan Milošević in the 1990s.

S1 *Shkolla e mesme 'Isa Boletini'*, public high school (shkolla e mesme publike) in Vorë (population 25,000), with fifteen responding pupils with an average age of seventeen, supervised by teacher Vojsava Kumbulla.
S2 *Shkolla 'Sulë Misiri'*, secondary school in Elbasan (population 150,000), with nineteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Florenca Stafa.

Translations of Albanian educational materials by Delina Binaj.

AUSTRIA

Curricula

The first curriculum, Act No. 277 from January 2004, stipulates teaching about the Holocaust in year seven for twelve- to thirteen-year-olds in a section entitled 'Essential Transformation Processes in the Twentieth and Twenty-first Centuries and Fundamental Structures of Politics' (38). The text emphasises politics and ideology, and mentions the Holocaust in the context of a comparison of 'democratic, authoritarian and totalitarian state systems', illustrated with reference to communism, fascism and National Socialism.

In Act No. 185 from 2012, sections referring to the Holocaust are geared towards thirteen- to fourteen-year-old pupils and follow the same paradigm of 'dictatorial systems' and 'totalitarian rule' (46). National Socialism is highlighted as an 'example of a totalitarian system' with respect to ideology, propaganda and resistance, but also to 'persecution and organised mass murder'. The curriculum recommends identifying 'parallels' with 'modern forms of political extremism'. In addition, it deals with memory culture and 'the remembrance of Jewish life before and after the Holocaust.'

In Act No. 113 from 2016, three out of the nine teaching modules designed for thirteen- to fourteen-year-olds refer to the Holocaust, genocides or their contexts. The module 'Fascism, National Socialism, Political Dictatorships' (10–11) illustrates 'fascist and dictatorial systems' with the examples of 'Austro-Fascism', 'Italian Fascism', 'National Socialism', 'Stalinism' and the 'GDR'. The module 'Holocaust/Shoah, Genocide and Human Rights' (12) addresses the 'extermination policy' with reference to 'industrial mass murder' and 'euthanasia' as well as 'the experiences of victims, perpetrators and hangers-on [*Mitläufer*]'. The section also recommends studying and comparing 'genocides of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries' and their 'social consequences' in conjunction with the activity of the European Court of Justice and the United Nations. The third module, 'History Cultures, Memory Cultures, the Politics of Remembrance' (12), deals with the Holocaust and the Second World War in light of 'public remembrance culture' and 'representations of the victim myth', although the authors do not specify whether this reference is to the Austrian victim myth. Although National Socialism is placed in a European context, all three curricula focus on the role played by Austria (C1: 'in the Third Reich'; C2: in the 'NS time'; C3: with respect to 'extermination policy').

The educational goals are defined in terms of acquiring knowledge and understanding of history as well as 'democratic competence' (*demokratische Handlungskompetenz*), overcoming stereotypes, and identifying with human rights and the constitutional state (C1, 35). Besides training 'practical, explorative, problem-solving, social, communicative, project and product-oriented' skills (C1, 37), the curricula suggest touching upon the memory of the Holocaust. For instance, the third curriculum recommends analysing 'public remembrance cultures' about the Holocaust and the Second World War as well as deconstructing 'the victim myth' (12).

C1 *277. Verordnung: Änderung der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der allgemein bildenden höheren Schulen*, Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Januar 2004 [Act No. 277: Amendment to the Act on the Curricula of General Higher Education, Federal Law Gazette for the Republic of Austria, January 2004].
C2 *185. Verordnung: NMS-Umsetzungspaket*, Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Mai 2012 [Act No. 185: New Middle Schools Implementation Package, Federal Law Gazette for the Republic of Austria, May 2012].
C3 *113. Verordnung: Änderung der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der Hauptschulen, der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der Neuen Mittelschulen sowie der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der allgemein bildenden höheren Schulen*, Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Mai 2016 [Act No. 113: Amendment of the Act on the Curricula of Lower Secondary Schools, New Middle Schools and General Higher Education, Federal Law Gazette for the Republic of Austria, May 2016].

Textbooks

***Zeitbilder 6* [Images of an Age] (2013)**

Paratext ● This general history textbook is devoted to the period from the beginning of the modern era to the end of the First World War. The contents page does not directly address genocides. Exercises generally ask pupils to compare the perspectives of genocide victims and

perpetrators (133), by ‘identifying differences’ between forms of colonial rule (133) and by ‘assessing’ the relation between the defence industry and human suffering (143).
Events ● The textbook allocates approximately half a page to atrocities committed against Herero and Nama and an image and caption to the treatment of Armenians in 1915. It defines the former as ‘colonial mass violence’ which ‘is qualified as genocide in recent academic works’ (133), and the latter as ‘systematic mass displacement and murder of the Armenian population’ (143). The authors do not relate these two events to each other. However, they associate the Herero and Nama uprising (which preceded the atrocities) with the Boxer Rebellion in China by presenting them side by side in a chapter entitled ‘Imperialism – from the Point of View of Victims’ (132–133). Pupils are also invited to compare ‘colonial rule’ in Africa and China and to ‘find further examples of colonial mass violence’ (133).
Protagonists ● The textbook defines perpetrators as ‘German settlers’, ‘German colonial masters’ and ‘the whites’. Victims are defined as ‘Herero and Nama’, ‘the Africans’ and ‘the blacks’. Armenian victims are also mentioned.
Effects and aftereffects ● Flight, deportation, expropriation, ‘the concentration of the Herero and Nama in camps’, and the ‘destruction of their social and cultural life’ (133), as well as executions and mass murder feature as effects of the atrocities in German South West Africa. ‘Mass displacement and murder’ (143) are outcomes of the crimes committed against Armenians during the First World War. However, this book focuses mainly on commemoration at the Tsitsernakaberd memorial complex in Yerevan and the ‘scientific and public controversy’ about ‘the representation and interpretation of the events’ (143). The authors explain that the use of the concept ‘genocide’ to denote the persecution of Armenians is ‘controversial’ in Turkey, and that ‘in Turkey and in Armenia’ an ‘initial rapprochement’ is taking place (143).
Causal agency ● When addressing the case of the Herero and Nama, the textbook focuses on their uprising against colonial rulers rather than on genocide committed against them. The chapter ‘Imperialism …’ and the subchapter ‘The Uprising of the Herero and Nama – an Example of Resistance and Genocide’ (132) suggest that the atrocities resulted from imperialism and resistance. The authors explain the Herero and Nama uprising as a reaction against worsening economic conditions (cattle plague, drought, plunder and ‘profit-seeking land sales’), the ‘imbalance of colonial justice’, and racism. The suppression of the revolt is then said to have been ‘followed by executions’ and by the ‘planned destruction’ (133) of social structures, but those responsible are not mentioned. Thus, the textbook presents genocide as a chronological consequence of (and a reaction to) revolt in the context of imperialism. Similarly, the fact that crimes committed against Armenians are contextualised within the subchapter ‘War in the Industrial Age’ (142) implies a connection between genocide and modern warfare. Although the authors suggest intentionality by referring to the ‘systematic’ (143) character of measures taken against Armenians, they focus on commemoration and ‘representation’ rather than causality.
Times and spaces ● The Herero and Nama uprising is said to have taken place between 1904 and 1907, while no date is given to the subsequent atrocities. Atrocities committed against Armenians are dated from 1915 to 1917. The space ascribed to both ‘genocides’ is national, comprising German South West Africa and the former Ottoman Empire.
Explanation assessment ● The authors explain the massacres of Herero and Nama in the broader context of European imperialism and colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century. The uprising in South West Africa, which preceded crimes against Herero and Nama, is presented as a reaction of ‘the Africans’ to gradual impoverishment, ‘legal insecurity’ and abuses committed by the ‘colonial masters’ (143). Subsequent atrocity crimes are said to have been intentional, and ‘planned destruction’ is qualified as ‘colonial mass violence’. The Armenian case is addressed in the context of modern warfare and the First World War, but emphasis is placed on aftereffects rather than causes.

***Zeitbilder 7 & 8* [Images of an Age] (2012)**
Paratext ● This textbook covers general contemporary history from 1918 to the present day and deals with the Holocaust in a chapter entitled 'National Socialism and the Second World War'. The subchapter title 'From Antisemitism to the Holocaust (Shoah)' listed on the contents page suggests a monocausal process. Other subchapters deal with politics (the 'takeover' by the National Socialists), ideology (their 'worldview') and war. Exercises typically invite pupils to 'summarise', 'describe' or 'discuss' causes of genocide, but also to establish connections by 'comparing', 'arguing' and 'interpreting'.
Events ● The textbook addresses 'the annihilation of the kulaks' (half a page), the Holocaust (twelve pages), atrocities in Cambodia (a few lines), 'genocide' in Rwanda (quarter of a page) and 'ethnic cleansing' in Yugoslavia (one page). The authors underscore the singularity of the Holocaust ('unique in the history of mankind') and qualify it in moral terms as 'particularly abhorrent' (58). Fascism, National Socialism and Stalinism are defined as 'totalitarian systems' and compared (32–33). However, the authors also acknowledge that the totalitarianism paradigm can lead to the relativisation of the Holocaust.
Protagonists ● Stalin and 'the secret state police (GPU)' are named as perpetrators of the 'annihilation' of 'peasants, especially kulaks', 'men, women, children' and 'millions of Soviet citizens' (30). The perpetrators of the Holocaust are collective actors ('the German occupation force', National Socialists, the SS, soldiers of the Wehrmacht, 'Sonderkommandos', 'civilians') and individuals (Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich, Höss). The victims include 'six million European Jews' (90), Roma and Sinti, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Poles, Russians, 'political opponents', 'Soviet citizens', 'commissars of the Red Army', the disabled and terminally ill as well as 'foreign workers' and individuals (Felix Nussbaum, Judith Jaegermann). The authors mention resistance by communists, socialists, Catholics, women, German students and officers. They also address protagonists from Austria: 'the Austrian Globocnik', 'the Austrian Adolf Eichmann' and 'many Austrians' as perpetrators, but also 'Austrian Jews', 'Austrian Roma and Sinti', 'Austrian resistance fighters' and 'many people' who 'were indifferent' to the victims' situation (54). In Cambodia, 'the terror regime of Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge' are the perpetrators of crimes against 'two million Cambodians' (203), while in the former Yugoslavia 'Bosnian Serbs' oppose 'Bosnian Muslims' (220–221). In Rwanda only victims are mentioned ('hundreds of thousands of the Tutsi people', 206). By using passive formulations, the authors often ascribe actions within the Holocaust to unnamed protagonists ('there were posters', 'on park banks it was written that …'). An exception is the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, where 'the women and men' in the ghetto 'rose up' (88).
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of forced collectivisation include deportation, forced labour, the loss of property, resistance and 'approximately six million hunger-related deaths' (188). The effects of the Holocaust are discrimination, boycott, disenfranchisement, destruction of property, deportation, ghettoisation, forced labour, starvation and death by 'euthanasia', shootings and in gas vans and camps. By arguing that 'the housing shortage' in Vienna was 'solved at the expense of the Jewish citizens' (54), the authors suggest not only human responsibility for plundering victims, but also that Austrian society benefited from the Holocaust. The effects of other mass atrocities are internment in camps (Bosnia and Herzegovina), flight (Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina), rapes (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and mass death (Cambodia). Denazification and the Nuremberg trials with the recognition of 'crimes against peace' and 'crimes against humanity' in international law feature as aftereffects of the Holocaust. Moreover, the authors address commemoration (memorials in Auschwitz and Mauthausen) and financial reparations for forced labourers and survivors, as well as the restitution of confiscated properties. They also analyse the contemporary significance of the Austrian 'victim myth', the refusal of responsibility, 'revisionism', and Holocaust relativisation, trivialisation and denial (the Auschwitz and the Mauthausen 'lie',

91). The establishment of the International Criminal Court in Den Haag and the Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda are outcomes of the more recent atrocities, whereas crimes in Cambodia are said to have been followed by silence ('the world community was silent', 203).

Causal agency ● The textbook explains the Holocaust as an outcome of 'racist antisemitism and its forms of implementation from discrimination to industrial extermination' (91). The authors devote a subchapter to the National Socialist 'worldview' and qualify racism as a 'basic feature' of National Socialist policy (55) after tracing 'racially justified antisemitism' back to the nineteenth century, when the Jews' belonging to the European nations 'was questioned' (86). Text quotations and exercises also underline racism as the main cause of the Holocaust. The result is expressed in causal terms when '[an important part] of the Austrian population died as a consequence of racial fanaticism' (55). The implementation of genocide is then described as a sequence of chronological measures ('first exclusion … came about', 'later systematic extermination … followed', 55) leading ultimately to extermination in death camps. This chronology is said to be fuelled by human 'responsibility and participation' (54) in the Holocaust by 'individuals' (178) or collective perpetrators such as the government and 'the Nazis'. Atrocities against 'kulaks' are ascribed to motivation driven by the economy ('Stalin wanted to impose … modernisation of agriculture by all means', 30), but also to totalitarianism and dictatorship. Causal terminology is used when 'six million deaths by starvation' during Stalinism are circumscribed as a 'consequence of forced collectivisation' (188). Interestingly, the authors partly replicate the perpetrators' arguments when they state that 'small, unprofitable farms were merged into bigger production units' and 'as a result, the use of agricultural machines became profitable', but 'however, more than one hundred million peasants lost their … farms' (30). Other atrocities are ascribed mainly to responsibility ('terror regime of Pol Pot', 203).

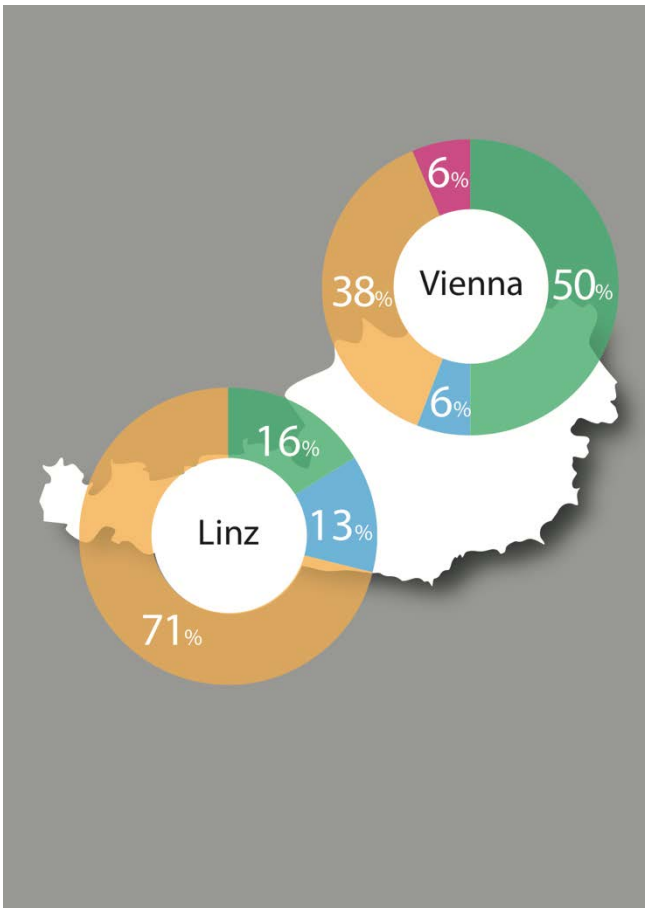
Times and spaces ● The textbook situates the Holocaust between 1933 and 1945 and describes it as a chronological progression of stages that are precisely dated, for example 'The Social Ostracism of the Jews' (1933–1935) and 'From the Withdrawal of Citizenship to Isolation' (1935–1938). Other massacres with precise dates are those in Rwanda (1994) and Srebrenica (1995). The 'great famine' during collectivisation is dated from 1931 to 1932 (30), and from 1932 to 1933 (188). The space ascribed to the Holocaust ranges from cities (Warsaw, Bamberg, Schloss Hartheim in Upper Austria) and military districts (the 'Generalgouvernement') to states (Austria, Germany, the Soviet Union) and regions ('eastern Europe'). Other atrocities are situated in states (Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Soviet Union).

Explanation assessment ● The authors present a chronological, cumulative process of anti-Jewish measures which stem from the 'racially justified antisemitism' of the nineteenth century and culminate in systematic annihilation caused by 'racial fanaticism'. The succession of well-defined and precisely dated stages leading to extermination suggests that the Holocaust was inexorable. However, various forms of 'responsibility and participation' are illustrated, including not only 'National Socialists' but also civilians and passive bystanders. The role of the Austrian state and of Austrian citizens in the Holocaust is depicted in the authorial text and via quotations, while references to the Austrian 'victim myth' and Holocaust denial acknowledge the involvement and responsibility of local perpetrators and the contemporary significance of the Holocaust. When explaining crimes occurring during Soviet collectivisation, the authors adopt the perpetrators' point of view by claiming that 'unprofitable farms' became profitable. They also present atrocities as an outcome of dictatorship and economic motivation.

T1 Scheucher, Alois, Ulrike Ebenhoch, Eduard Staudinger, Josef Scheipl, 2013. *Zeitbilder 6. Vom Beginn der Neuzeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges*. Vienna, Österreichischer

Bundesverlag Schulbuch [Images of an Age 6. From the Beginning of the Modern Era to the End of the First World War, history, social studies and political education, year six, ages fifteen and sixteen].
T2 Staudinger, Eduard, Alois Scheucher, Ulrike Ebenhoch, Josef Scheipl, 2012. *Zeitbilder 7&8. Vom Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges bis in die Gegenwart*. Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch [Images of an Age 7&8. From the End of the Second World War to the Present, history, social studies and political education, years seven and eight, ages sixteen and seventeen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Episcopal Petrinum Secondary School in Linz
Events ● The essays in this class give priority to the Holocaust and the colonisation of America. Most address the Holocaust by name while also paraphrasing it in terms of the persecution of Jews by Hitler. By contrast, colonisation is indicated by referring to the names of victims only, including Incas, Aztecs and above all indigenous populations. Half of the class also provide general definitions of genocide in addition to lists of examples or a series of short narratives. Most pupils name several examples and thus present a universal history of genocide stretching from prehistory to the present day, that is, from the Stone Age to the Crusades, the Conquistadors, slavery and atrocities committed against the Armenians and the ‘Islamic State’. Pupil 13 compares genocides by calling the Holocaust the ‘most well-known

example' (13), while pupil 10 qualifies the Holocaust in relation to all other historical events by calling it 'the worst event in recent if not all history'. Several essays imply similarity between different genocides by describing their effects wholesale with the term 'extermination'.

Protagonists ● The essays name a variety of protagonists consistent with the large number of different examples of genocides. However, the Holocaust is populated largely by Jews and Hitler or, exceptionally, Aryans, Nazis and rulers. 'Indigenous populations', Incas and Aztecs populate colonies, the perpetrators of which are generally named as Europeans. In addition to these proper names, the essays employ the categories of 'disbelievers' to refer to the victims of missionaries and adhere to a notion of a homogeneous 'people' or *Volk*, when referring to victim groups or 'cultural communities' (18). In three cases, Jews are not only named but presented as agents who sought to hide or flee (8), survived (12), or who were, contrary to an understanding propagated by ideologues at that time, 'an innocent group … who have little in common with each other' (10). Pupils 17 and 24 generally describe victims who fled.

Effects and aftereffects ● Most outlines of effects are ascribed to the Holocaust. In addition to defining these effects as killing, murder, slaughter, disenfranchisement, forced labour, annihilation and elimination, the effects of colonisation are defined as exploitation, slavery, disease and the destruction of cultures. Terminology evocative of that used by National Socialists themselves, such as 'eliminate' (*auslöschen*), 'destroy' (*vernichten*) and (most frequently) 'exterminate' (*ausrotten*), is used without qualification. Exceptions to this pattern include the notion that genocide involves an inexorable process akin to the extinction of a species (18) or the 'thinning out' of a population (15). In this sense, pupil 18 claims that, 'The dying out of peoples and cultural communities was and will always be an issue, often accelerated by deliberate annihilation'. Little mention is made of aftereffects of the Holocaust or extreme violence, except with reference to the denial, in contemporary Turkey, of atrocities suffered by Armenians during the First World War (7) and to general appeals to prevent genocides in the future.

Causal agency ● The large majority of pupils are keen to name responsible agents, among them Hitler, National Socialists, but also (in the case of colonisation) Europeans, individual Conquistadors and Spaniards, or Turks and the Ku Klux Klan. Their motivations are said to include 'hatred of Jews' (2, 10), the desire to expand power or gain wealth (5, 23), and the imposition of Christianity (1, 12, 24). Pupil 17 explains atrocity crimes by describing the motivations of perpetrators of colonisation, the Holocaust and the 'Islamic State' collectively as suppression of resistance, that is, of 'natives who did not submit', or of those 'who did not suit Nazis' or 'who did not agree'. Pupil 11 similarly conflates explanations of different genocides by adopting terminology from the ideology of National Socialist racial hygiene, and writing that 'white Americans wanted to kill black Americans because they were an 'inferior race'. Almost half of the class offer causal explanations. These are either partial, when the effect of disease on indigenous populations is mentioned (7, 12, 22), or moral when perpetrators are qualified as 'evil' or genocides defined as 'cruel' (3). Some suggest gratuitousness by writing that perpetrators had no identifiable motivation or that the Holocaust 'happened without provocation' (10, 18, 24). Pupil 15 also outlines the process of political scapegoating 'for something or other' pursued by 'fanatics' in dictatorships. Exceptionally, pupil 21 presents a causal explanation of the Holocaust which draws on political theology: 'Genocides usually are related to power politics, for example in the Holocaust Hitler increased the trust of the population in the Nazis by creating a general image of an enemy, Jews, by blaming them for almost everything which the population didn't like, and in this way he presented himself and his party as the redeemer who protected the German people from the Jews' (21). Though complex, this explanation of the Holocaust as a deliberate political strategy is partial insofar as it focuses on Hitler's individual responsibility and motivation at the expense of societal and historical forces.

Times and spaces ● Almost all essays refer to the time of the Second World War, together with six references to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries and the present day. The Holocaust is identified with concentration camps generally or with Mauthausen or Auschwitz. Some essays place genocides in nations such as Germany, Spain (11), Peru (16) and Turkey (19), but more frequently in regions and continents named as Central America, America, Australia and Africa. Exceptionally, pupil 17 addresses the political situation in spatial terms with the hope that some persecuted people might 'flee to another country not under the influence of the National Socialists' (17).
Points of view ● One fifth of the class expresses a moral aversion to genocides with superlatives. All others adopt a neutral descriptive tone. Pupil 21 claims that 'one should not reproach oneself or have guilty feelings because of the acts of others'. The majority of pupils assert that learning about the Holocaust and genocides should serve the purpose of preventing or not repeating genocides, or else 'learning from mistakes' (17, 21), knowing 'right from wrong' (18) or 'learning from the past' (23, 24) which, according to pupil 19, should be geared towards "'racialistically" thinking people'.
Explanation assessment ● These essays address several different genocides. They are rarely compared but rather placed in apposition in lists or in sequences of narratives. The pupils thus provide a universal explanation of genocide as a transhistorical phenomenon, but place particular emphasis on colonialism as a genocidal event while also acknowledging the unprecedented nature of the Holocaust. Hence, they treat the Holocaust ahistorically with little reference to specific spaces and places in which it occurred. As a result, Europe features less as the location of the Holocaust than as the perpetrator of colonial genocides. The Holocaust is explained largely in the passive mode while some refer to Hitler's motivation and to religious motivation in antiquity (19) or the role of 'certain religious cultures' in the Holocaust (18). Few essays mention Germany. No pupil mentions Austrian protagonists or acknowledges Austria's historical involvement in the Holocaust or subsequent debates about its involvement or about commemorations of the Second World War and the Holocaust. The tendency to explain genocides by ascribing responsibility to identifiable agents is exemplified by pupil 2's claim that, 'What is terrible is that only a small movement was to blame for this massacre'. Nonetheless, five essays also recognise the agency of victims who tried to flee.

Rahlgasse Secondary School in Vienna
Events ● Approximately half of the essays in this class begin with a definition of genocide (*Genozid*) as a synonym of the German word *Völkermord*. Pupil 18 writes that, 'If we had not been told what genocides are before the test, we would not have been able to fill in this form.' The overwhelming majority address the Holocaust, albeit by circumscribing it as 'genocide in the Second World War' (1) or as 'Jews were persecuted by Nazis' (14), without using the term 'Holocaust'. A number of other examples are listed or outlined in sequence, including 'the Armenian genocide' (7), 'genocides in Africa' (3) or 'North Korea' (10, referring to the contemporary nuclear threat). Colonisation and the persecution of Christians in ancient history are most prominent among these examples.
Protagonists ● The majority of essays are populated by 'peoples', 'groups' or 'population groups'. Of the sixteen essays which name protagonists of the Holocaust, seven present Hitler or 'someone pulling the strings' (3) as persecutors of Jews, while nine mention Jews without naming a persecuting agent. Seven pupils name further victims of the Holocaust including people with disabilities, Roma and Sinti, women, children, political prisoners, but also 'well-meaning people' who naively adhered to National Socialism (5) and people who 'did not accept what was propagated for war' (5). Other categories of protagonists frequently comprise 'Christians' when referring to ancient times; by contrast, only single mentions are made of Columbus in relation to colonisation (16), and of refugees in relation to the 'Islamic State' (3).

Effects and aftereffects ● Half of the essays define genocides generally as ‘elimination’, ‘extermination’, ‘killing’, ‘destruction’, ‘mass murder’ and ‘persecution’. Six essays provide further details about the Holocaust including forced labour (1, 8, 11), gas chambers (1, 18), medical experiments (8), six million Jewish victims (9), expulsion (9), work in quarries (11), deportation (11), shooting (18) and the fact that victims were deceived into believing that death camps were work camps (11). Other events referred to as genocides include hatred of refugees fleeing the ‘Islamic State’ (3), or that genocide entails war and victory (13), the burning down of a city (15) or territorial expansion (21). None of the essays address the aftereffects of the Holocaust and genocides.
Causal agency ● One quarter of the essays avoid explanation by writing that victims ‘were persecuted’ (1) in the passive mode or by listing names of genocides and victims (20). The most elaborate explanations are applied to the Holocaust which, in six cases, is ascribed to Hitler’s sole responsibility and in some cases his motivation; pupil 9 writes that ‘he wanted the “German *Volk*” to remain pure’ and that ‘he built concentration camps’; pupil 11 writes that ‘Hitler considered all races other than his own, especially Judaism, to be worse/less worthy’. Pupil 21 ascribes genocide to the wish to ‘expand an empire’. However, the most consistent thematic motivation for genocides, provided by a quarter of the class, is ‘religion’ generally saying that it ‘plays a very big role’ (3); pupil 5 refers to Jews as ‘this religion’. Three pupils address causality partially in terms of fear. This is variously elaborated as the fear of others, exemplified by pupil 2’s claim that, ‘Genocides have always arisen because someone was afraid of someone else or did not accept being different or one group saw itself as superior to another’ or as the manipulation of fear whereby, according to pupil 3, ‘Often they play with people’s fear, such as the fear of losing one’s job’. All genocides other than the Holocaust are explained in terms of the responsibility of a Nigerian prince (2), communists in China (3), Nero (10, 15) and Columbus (16). Unusually, referring to persecutions in Nigeria and India, pupil 2 compares shifting motivations for genocides over time by suggesting that ‘at that time many saw them [genocides] as not so bad because these peoples were rather primitive’. Pupil 16 applies a causal phrase to express a tautology, when ‘Jews were killed in order to eliminate them’. Pupils 4 and 17 both suggest that genocidal events themselves are the cause of genocides insofar as the Holocaust ‘had the goal of killing Jews’ or ‘colonies kill native Americans, Incas and other South American populations’.
Times and spaces ● Half of the essays place the Holocaust in the period of the Second World War. Three also refer to antiquity. However, five essays also underscore the present day in terms of genocides which are ‘always’ (2), ‘all the time’ (3) or ‘still’ occurring (6, 8, 10). Eight pupils write that the Holocaust took place in concentration camps, work camps or quarries. Three refer to Auschwitz and Mauthausen, while Germany and Upper Austria are mentioned only once as the site in which Hitler came to power (9) and as the location of Mauthausen (10). Ancient Rome, America, Egypt, Africa, Nigeria and India are mentioned in isolated cases. Exceptionally, pupil 5 claims that genocides occur ‘everywhere’, while three essays associate genocide with the acquisition of ‘new land’ in America (16), the ‘division of Africa’ (17) or the ‘expanding of empire’ (21).
Points of view ● One third of the pupils adopt a moral point of view by expressing judgement, calling genocides the ‘worst events in our history’ (1), ‘bad’ (6) or the ‘biggest’ and ‘saddest’ (5) events in history. One third likewise claims the expediency of learning about the Holocaust as a means to prevention (1, 5, 8, 14, 20) or because learners may ‘learn from [such events] and act upon’ them (2, 11) or ‘not repeat’ them (3). However, there is no correlation between those who adopt moral points of view and those who perceive such learning to be expedient. Pupils 8 and 11 use the terms ‘Final Solution’ and ‘race’ without qualification.
Explanation assessment ● The three genocides mentioned by this class (focusing mainly on the Holocaust but with frequent mentions of colonisation and the persecution of Christians in late antiquity) indicate that the pupils have a broad intercontinental horizon. No pupils

mention the involvement of Austria in the Holocaust. Although most essays explain genocides in the passive mode, some explain the motivation of genocides in terms of Hitler's wishes or 'race' (8, 11), albeit without questioning ideological conceptions of racialism. The explanations of the Holocaust as a result of religion and popular fear are redolent of present-day popular perceptions of the 'Islamic State' as a purveyor of fear in Western countries.

S1 *Bischöfliches Gymnasium Petrinum*, private secondary school (privates Gymnasium) in Linz (population 200,000), with twenty-five responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Johannes Bleil.
S2 *Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule (AHS) Rahlgasse*, secondary school (Bundesgymnasium, Bundesrealgymnasium) in Vienna (population 1.8 million), with twenty-one responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Barbara Helm-Arthaber.

Translations of Austrian educational materials by Peter Carrier and Christine Chiriac.

BELARUS

Curriculum

The *Curriculum for General Secondary Education* from 2012 stipulates teaching 'World History' and the 'History of Belarus' in separate sections, and refers to the Holocaust and genocides both in year ten (fourteen- to fifteen-year-olds) and year eleven (fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds). The unit called 'The Second World War. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union' (61–62) mainly deals with military aspects of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union (the German attack on the Soviet Union, the 'Blitzkrieg', the blockade of Leningrad, and the Soviet victory at Stalingrad). The concepts to be dealt with in this unit include 'genocide, Holocaust' and 'the UNO, the Nuremberg Tribunal' alongside military concepts (the 'phoney war', the US 'lend-lease' supply programme, and 'the partisan and underground movements'). The section entitled 'The Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic during the Second World War and the Great Patriotic War' replicates this military and regional emphasis, with the examples of 'Belarusian collaborators', 'Belarusian *Ostarbeiter*' (*Белорусские остарбайтеры*, 67), and 'the heroism and patriotism of the Soviet people' illustrating different Belarusian positions during the war. While the focus on Belarus and 'Belarusians' is explicit and 'Nazi Germany' is clearly represented as the 'attacker', no other groups of protagonists are mentioned. Therefore, it seems that here the wording 'the policy of genocide' (*Политика геноцида*) refers to measures taken by National Socialist Germany against Soviets during the 'Great Patriotic War', rather than to measures taken against Jews and Roma. Finally, the section 'The BSSR in the Second Half of the 1940s and the First Half of the 1950s' (76), which deals with post-war reconstruction, mentions 'human and material losses in Belarus' during 'fascist occupation'. Although the connection between the Holocaust and genocides is not dealt with explicitly, both terms are listed next to each other in the glossary on page 62, with 'genocide' in the singular as a generic concept. By contrast, the 'policy of genocide' mentioned on page 67 might be read as a more concrete reference to 'genocide' in the BSSR. Other atrocities are not addressed, although the curriculum refers to 'collectivisation' in the USSR (59), and 'the disintegration of Yugoslavia and its consequences' (71). The pedagogical recommendations include 'assessing the activities of statesmen', 'correlating' and 'comparing' historical events and processes, 'organising, classifying and summarising' historical facts, and 'explaining different perspectives' adopted towards historical data.

C *Учебные программы для учреждений общего среднего образования с русским языком обучения, Всемирная история. История Белоруссии, V-XI классы*, Утверждено Министерством образования Республики Беларусь, минск, Национальный институт образования, 2012 [Curricula for General Secondary Education with Russian Language of Instruction, World History. History of Belarus, years 5–11, approved by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus, Minsk, National Institute of Education, 2012].

Textbooks

***История Беларуси* [History of Belarus] (2009)**

Paratext ● The contents page of this textbook for the history of Belarus does not directly address the Holocaust and genocides. Exercise questions typically invite pupils to learn facts ('When did collectivisation begin?', 133). Exceptionally, pupils are asked to outline causes ('What is at the core of the Hitlerite racial theory?', 156), do research and express opinions.
Events ● This textbook addresses the National Socialist 'policy of genocide' (four pages), 'dekulakisation' in the Soviet Union (one and a half pages) and the mass shooting in Katyn (half a page). The generic concept 'genocide' is used instead of 'Holocaust' or 'Shoah', which are never mentioned in this book. Hence, the authors define the 'policy of genocide' as 'destruction of population groups on racial, national, political and other grounds' (158) and use it as a synonym for the 'extermination of the Belarusian population' (160) and of 'the peoples of the Soviet Union' (156) by National Socialists. Although effects of collectivisation are circumscribed as a 'tragic aspect of our history' (131), 'dekulakisation' is not specifically related to atrocities. The mass shooting in Katyn is defined in legal terms as a 'crime against humanity' and in moral terms as an 'act of barbarism' (151). In their explanation of the atrocities committed in the context of the Second World War, the authors focus on the Soviet people and the inhabitants of Belarus rather than on Jewish and Roma victims. However, they distinguish between 'Jews and Gypsies' who 'were to be completely exterminated' and 'Belarusians, Russians and Ukrainians' whom 'Hitlerites planned to exterminate' partially (158). A further hierarchic association is expressed statistically when the textbook claims that 'regarding the number of killed people, the camp Trostenets [in Belarus] was only surpassed by Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka' (160). Furthermore, the authors compare the damage caused by 'kulaks' and the measures taken against them. They likewise relativise Soviet atrocities by associating the shooting of Polish officers in Katyn with the 'liquidation of Soviet soldiers … by Polish supporters of Pilsudski' (151) and by calling both events 'crime[s] against humanity' (151).
Protagonists ● The textbook presents 'Hitlerite Germany', 'fascist Germany', Hitler, 'the Hitlerites', 'the Nazis', 'the Germans' and 'the occupation regime' as well as 'security divisions and the police, but also professional soldiers' (161), as perpetrators of genocide, while victims are named as 'the peoples of the Soviet Union' (156), 'Belarusians, Russians and Ukrainians' (158), the 'Belarusian people' (158) and 'Jews and Gypsies, who also lived in Belarus' (158). The authors also refer to 'Belarusian collaborators', 'Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Latvian police battalions' and 'pro-fascist organisations' such as the 'Belarusian People's Self-help' and the 'Belarusian Corps of Self-defence' (159). In the sections dealing with the 'policy of genocide', the authors juxtapose active perpetrators ('Hitlerites planned to exterminate', 158) with passive victims ('inhabitants of Belarus were to be Germanised', 158). However, the textbook allocates three times more space to Soviet resistance and victory over National Socialism than to the 'policy of genocide', and thereby underscores the 'fight of the Belarusian people against German occupants' (162) rather than their victimhood. In the chapters dealing with resistance and victory, Soviet partisans, the Communist Party, 'Belarusian patriots', the Red Army and 'local population' are all depicted as active protagonists. In turn, the authors conceptualise 'kulaks', the 'peasantry' and 'the rich peasants' both as perpetrators and as victims of 'the Soviet power' and the 'Soviet organs'.

The passage about Katyn does not identify perpetrators, since 'it could not be … established which side was guilty' (151).
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the 'policy of genocide' include plunder, 'economic and spiritual oppression' (159), Germanisation, the deportation of *Ostarbeiter* from Belarus and 'forced labour in Germany' (161) alongside ghettoisation, stigmatisation, pogroms and the 'mass extermination of the Jewish population' (160). The authors often use numbers to express the extent of genocide: 260 extermination camps and 100 Jewish ghettos in Belarus, 5,295 localities where the population was exterminated, and 628 Belarusian villages destroyed, with the result that 'in total fascists exterminated … more than 2.2 million people' in Belarus (161). The effects of forced collectivisation include 'repressive measures' (130), humiliation, stigmatisation, expropriation and plunder. Interestingly, famine and mass death are not mentioned. The aftereffects of genocide comprise the adoption by the UN of a resolution on the 'punishment of war criminals' (183), commemoration of 'all the victims of the fascist genocide' at the memorial in Katyn (161) and commemoration of 'the day of liberation of Minsk from the Hitlerite invaders' (199). In turn, the aftereffects of collectivisation are not only 'a tragic aspect of our history' but also associated with economic progress since the numbers of collective farms are said to have increased as a result of the peasants' forced participation in kolkhozes (130).
Causal agency ● The textbook explains the causes of 'dekulakisation' in terms of 'a new policy towards rich peasants' in the context of 'accelerated' collectivisation and industrialisation (130). The authors also ascribe responsibility for 'dekulakisation' to the 'Soviet power', which implemented 'a differentiated policy' towards peasants (130). However, the authors legitimise the 'repressive measures' by claiming that peasants 'were engaged in illegal propaganda', 'terror acts' and '519 anti-Soviet actions' so that 'the Soviet power' did not 'punish [all of them] undeservedly' (130). Causal terminology is used when the authors argue that 'dekulakisation' was developed 'given … the damaging activity of the kulaks, as well as the need for continuous collectivisation' (130), whereby those responsible for 'dekulakisation' are not always named. Thus, collectivisation is presented as a necessary policy with incidentally abusive implementation ('but collectivisation happened in a harsh fashion', 131). The 'policy of genocide' during the Holocaust is explained mainly as a consequence of responsibility since the authors repeatedly invoke perpetrators committing crimes ('the fascists exterminated …', 'the Hitlerites plundered …'). The authors also mention ideological and political causality ('Hitlerite racial theory'; annihilation as 'the purpose [of the attack on the USSR]', 156). Those responsible for the crimes in Katyn are not named, since 'there is no documentary evidence' proving whether 'this crime was carried out by the NKVD organs' or by 'fascist punitive forces' (151).
Times and spaces ● Genocide is said to have occurred 'during the Second World War' and the 'Great Patriotic War'. Emphasis is placed on May 1941 ('Plan Ost'), 22 June 1941 (the attack on the USSR), 19 July 1941 (the opening of the ghetto in Minsk) and 22 March 1943 (the massacre in Khatyn near Logoisk). Forced collectivisation is dated from 5 January 1930 and located in the USSR. Additional references include Nazi crimes on 'the territory of Belarus', in the Trostenets camp, the Minsk ghetto and the village of Khatyn.
Explanation assessment ● This textbook emphasises the anti-Soviet dimension of the Second World War and the 'decisive contribution' of the 'heroic Soviet people' to 'the defeat of German fascism' (173). At the same time, the concept 'Holocaust' is omitted, and measures against Jews and other groups are confined to a few lines. The 'policy of genocide' is explained as an intentional extermination process directed against the Soviet and Belarusian peoples. While perpetrators and victims of this genocide are clearly named, the authors avoid naming the perpetrators of the mass shooting in Katyn, and instead highlight prevention ('regardless of who committed this act of barbarism … this should never happen again', 151). The textbook partly ascribes responsibility for 'dekulakisation' to the 'kulak' victims

themselves and legitimises ‘repressive measures’ as (deserved) ‘punishment’. Furthermore, it associates collectivisation with economic progress rather than with mass death. The book depicts ‘kulaks’ and Poles as perpetrators and victims at the same time, without acknowledging qualitative differences between their actions and the atrocities committed against them.

Всемирная история **[World History] (2012)**

Paratext ● The contents page of this general history textbook does not address the Holocaust and genocides. Exercises require pupils to answer factual questions (‘Describe the Second World War’, 203) and to analyse information gained form the textbook (‘On the basis of an analysis … determine the characteristics of a totalitarian regime’, 44). Pupils are also invited to make connections (‘Compare Italian Fascism and German Nazism’, 66), and to reflect on causes (‘What was the reason for [collectivisation]?’, 96) and consequences (‘Which of the outcomes and lessons of the war are the most important?’, 203).

Events ● This textbook addresses the ‘policy of genocide’ (five pages), collectivisation (two and a half pages) and briefly mentions Katyn. Without using the words ‘Holocaust’ and ‘Shoah’, the authors define the ‘policy of genocide’ as ‘the extermination of certain groups of the population on racial, national or religious grounds’ (209). The authors conceive of the persecution of Jews as ‘racial policy’ which was ‘given special attention’, but generally subsume anti-Jewish measures to ‘the persecution of antifascist forces’ (41).

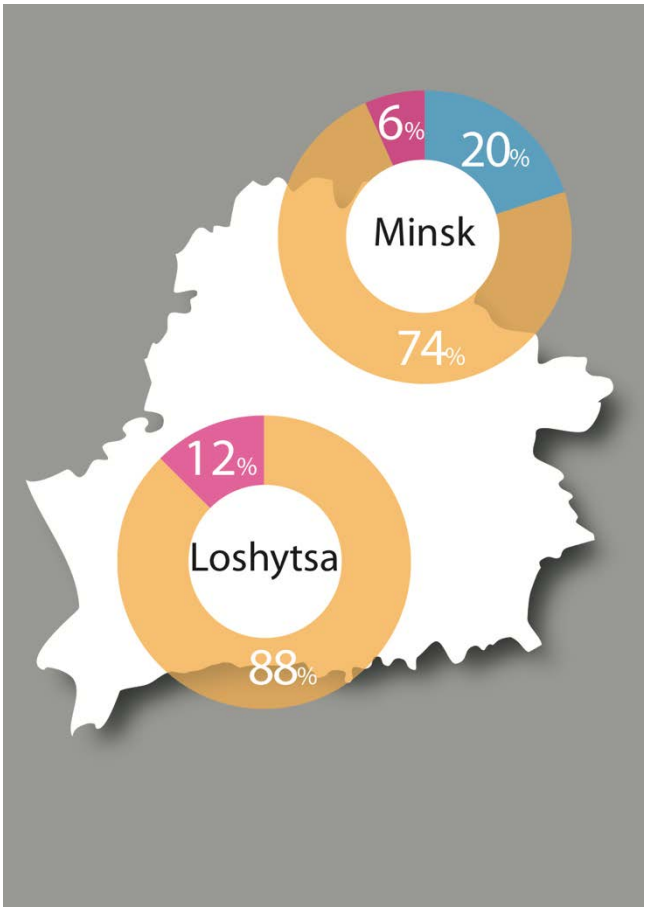
Protagonists ● The perpetrators of genocide range from ‘Germany’, ‘Nazis’, ‘fascists’, ‘the invader’ and ‘the enemy’ to ‘assault detachments (SA) and security detachments (SS)’, the Wehrmacht, *Einsatzgruppen* and the Gestapo, while victims are ‘communists and social democrats’ (38) and Jews. The authors caricature Hitler as a ‘political adventurer’ (8), ‘paid informant of the Bavarian military circles’ (21) and ‘charismatic leader’ (35). Other protagonists include ‘fascist and reactionary organisations … which chose the path of collaboration’ (176), but also partisans, ‘antifascist fronts’ and ‘guerrillas’ supported by ‘the local population’. In general, Jews are depicted as passive victims (‘millions of Jews were killed’, 178), while Soviet resistance and partisans are said to have ‘organised sabotage’, ‘destroyed bridges’ and ‘attacked German headquarters’ (180). The protagonists of collectivisation include the Soviet party leadership (94) and Stalin, who is portrayed as a ‘hero of the Soviet Union’ (91); they also comprise ‘emerging rural capitalists’ (94), ‘kulaks’ and ‘middle peasants’ (95). When addressing Katyn, the authors name victims and perpetrators explicitly, whereby ‘15,000 Polish officers were shot by the NKVD organs’ (179).

Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of genocide include disenfranchisement, ghettoisation, stigmatisation, plunder, the destruction of synagogues and shops, forced labour, pogroms, starvation, shootings and death in camps, with the result that ‘millions of Jews were killed’ (178) and ‘more than eleven million citizens of the USSR … and other countries were exterminated’ (183). Collectivisation is associated with plunder, eviction, discrimination and famine. Aftereffects of the ‘policy of genocide’ include ‘denazification’ (199), trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo and the creation of the United Nations. The authors also refer to territorial changes (Königsberg ‘became part of the USSR’, 200) and to population displacements (the German population ‘moved to Germany’, 200). In general, the chapters dealing with the Second World War emphasise the Soviet victory over ‘fascism’ resulting from the ‘heroism’ and ‘patriotism of the people’ (200–201). The results of collectivisation are that ‘millions of people suffered’ (94) and ‘370,000 kulaks … were subjected to repression’ (95). Interestingly, death is not mentioned, but circumscribed as demographic change such that, ‘The collectivisation and the famine … led to a reduction in the peasant population’ (95). A further consequence of collectivisation is industrial progress (‘the industrial leap was realised largely at the expense of the peasants’, 94). The discovery of mass graves in Katyn is said to have ‘led to the break’ in Soviet–Polish relations (179).

Causal agency ● The textbook ascribes genocide to the will of one person (Hitler), to the motivation of a personified nation-state (‘criminal goals pursued by Germany’, 152) and to the intentional manipulation of affects (‘Nazis skilfully exploited the “Versailles complex” and “racist and revanchist feelings”’, 35). Furthermore, responsibility is suggested by formulations such as ‘the Nazis provoked …’ and ‘the invaders organised …’. The authors similarly ascribe collectivisation to the political will of a collective perpetrator (‘the Soviet party leadership … strove to strengthen its power’, 94) and to the responsibility of an individual (‘Stalin … carried out’, 91). In addition, genocide is explained as a result of political causality (the ‘New Order’ established by the National Socialist regime) and of an ideology (‘extreme racism’), while collectivisation is presented as an outcome of economic policy (‘an essential condition for accelerated industrial development’, 94).
Times and spaces ● Repression against ‘kulaks’ is dated from 1929 to 1932, the Katyn massacre in 1940, and ‘genocide policy’ covers ‘the entire twelve years of the Hitlerite dictatorship’ (41). The spatial framework of collectivisation is national (USSR), while genocide is said to have taken place in ‘the occupied territories’ (176), regions (‘the east’, 159), states (Germany) and Europe. The authors highlight the camps Dachau and, in association with socialist victims, Sachsenhausen (38).
Explanation assessment ● The textbook ascribes genocide primarily to human responsibility (perpetrators committing crimes against victims) and explains it as an outcome of the actions of individuals (Hitler, Stalin), collective actors (Nazis, ‘the Soviet party leadership’) and personified states (Germany). The authors present the persecution of ‘kulaks’ causally as a result of economic progress and industrialisation, thereby depicting collectivisation as a necessary step towards ‘building socialism’ (91), with collateral destruction of human life. This explanation is reiterated in an exercise inviting pupils to ‘explain the causal relationship between … industrialisation, overcoming the technical and economic backwardness of the USSR, and implementing continuous collectivisation’ (111). Furthermore, the result of repression and famine is not death, but demographic change (a ‘reduction’ of the population). The ‘genocide policy’ is explained as the result of ideological and political causes (racism, the plan to establish a ‘New Order’). However, the focus of the textbook is on Soviet and Belarusian protagonists, whereas only one and a half out of five pages address anti-Jewish measures. While Jewish protagonists are mostly depicted as passive victims, Soviet actors are said to have actively contributed to the ‘victory over fascism’.

T1 Novik, E. K. (ed.) (Е. К. Новик), 2009. *История Беларуси. XIX – начало XXI в.* Minsk, BGU [History of Belarus. From the Nineteenth to the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century, year eleven, ages fifteen and sixteen]
T2 Kosmač, Gennadij, Vladimir Košelev, Marina Krasnova (Генадий А. Космач, Владимир С. Кошелев, Марина А. Краснова), 2012. *Всемирная история новейшего времени 1918 – 1945 гг*. Minsk, Narodnaja Asveta [World History of the Newest Time, 1918–1945, year ten, ages fourteen and fifteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Secondary School no. 132 in Minsk

Events ● Almost equal numbers of essays are devoted exclusively to definitions of genocide, to a sketch of the Holocaust without providing a broad definition of genocide, or to a combination of both definitions and examples. The examples provided include the Holocaust, the atrocities committed against the Armenians, atrocities occurring in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, and 'the genocide carried out by the Japanese during the Second World War' (7). Exceptionally, pupil 8 includes the expulsion of ethnic Germans in 1945. Pupil 12 confines his writing to details of atrocities committed in the Trostenets concentration camp in 1943 and 1944. Many propose numerical or statistical comparisons of different groups of victims to victims of the Holocaust, or claim, as in the words of pupil 12, that 'Belarus is the country which … suffered most from the genocide'.

Protagonists ● Almost all essays characterise victims as members of 'groups'; in conjunction with schematic definitions of victims as 'national', 'ethnic', 'racial' or 'religious' groups in almost half of the essays, this class evokes a set of plural but homogeneous cohorts of victims. Less schematic approaches name Jews, Armenians, Gypsies, Poles, Serbs and Muslims in context, but only four essays mention perpetrators, who are named as Hitler (2, 5), Nazi Germany (3), Serbs (3) and Japanese (7). Belarus is personified by some pupils when they state that this nation suffered a great deal or more than others during the Holocaust. The 'Ottoman Empire' (2) and 'Nazi Germany' (3) are similarly personified when presented as

agents of genocide. References to ‘peaceful people’ (6) and Soviet prisoners of war (11) are exceptions.

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to the general effects of killing, torture and destruction, this class adheres to two common tendencies. One is the quotation or paraphrasing of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948 which, according to pupil 3, consists in ‘killing members of a group, causing grave damage, preventing births, abduction of children from a family and the imposition of conditions which make life impossible’. The other tendency consists in pupils’ recognition that the concept of genocide and its recognition in international law was introduced after the Second World War. Two pupils also testify to the commemorations at the Jama memorial on the site of the pit in which Jews from the Minsk ghetto were shot (9), and to international memorial sites for commemorations of victims (11). Exceptionally, pupil 2 mentions death marches, and pupil 12 distinguishes between concentration camps and shootings in eastern Europe.

Causal agency ● Among the essays which offer explanations of genocides, most address either the responsibility or motivations of perpetrators. Responsible agents include the Ottoman Empire (2), Nazi Germany (3), Serbs (3), Hitler (5, 7), fascists (10) or Nazis (12). Their motivations are explained as ‘political, ethnic or religious’ (2) or in terms of ‘religious, racial, political or other reasons’ (8). Only pupil 10 explains the Holocaust causally as the result of ‘genocidal policy’. Half of the essays use only the passive mode while omitting any explicit explanation of genocides. However, several pupils offer implicit explanations, by either suggesting that the Holocaust is a by-product of war by contextualising it during or at the end of the Second World War, or reproduce and thereby perpetuate perpetrators’ categorisations of victims as ‘Muslims’ (3), ‘social and ethnic groups’ (5), or people ‘with religious, racial or national characteristics’ (7).

Times and spaces ● Most essays make reference to the Second World War, the ‘Great Patriotic War’ or to dates such as 1933 to 1945 (2) or 1943 (12). Two also refer to 1948 (1, 4) in reference to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Equal numbers of pupils refer to local places such as Minsk (9), Belarus (10) or the Trostenets concentration camp, and to non-local places such as Russia (3), Germany (10), ‘Nazi Germany’ (11) and Europe (11), but also to wartime military territorial expansion into Baltic countries and Ukraine (10).

Points of view ● Pupil 6 expresses ‘uncanny feelings’, but justifies these with reference to the infringement of ‘international law and … Article 357 of criminal law’; ‘It is absolutely horrifying if someone who has no right to take everything you have but does it.’ Pupil 4 similarly argues in moral terms in favour of universal principles of the right to ‘peace and security ... to found a family, procreate, do something important to be remembered by’ with reference to international law. All other essays are written descriptively. Over half of the pupils consider learning about the Holocaust and other genocides to be an expedient means to prevent further genocides or to ‘understand all the danger which genocide or Holocaust imply, and to become aware of this.’ (2).

Explanation assessment • Essays in this class largely describe the Holocaust in neutral terms, focusing on local effects in Belarus or in the Trostenets concentration camp, which are frequently explained in terms of numbers of dead or percentages of those who were said to belong to one or another of the categories of victims. They ascribe genocides to responsible agents and also explain them from the perpetrators’ point of view in terms of the religious, racial, political or national ‘characteristics’ said to have underpinned perpetrators’ own motivations. Although the accounts are largely neutral and descriptive, some pupils claim that Belarus ‘suffered most’ during the Holocaust. This neutral point of view is coherent with the legalistic explanation of the Holocaust as a breach of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The very similar definitions of genocide offered by pupils, their shared legal understanding of genocide as a punishable crime, and the rote

quotation of the Convention suggest that several pupils conferred, copying and pasting information from the internet. A minor tendency in this class is to express outrage at genocide as a matter of principle induced not from a historical narrative of the Holocaust and other genocides, but deducted from legal principles.

Loshytsa Secondary School

Events ● The majority of pupils in this class combine a general definition of genocide with a presentation of the Holocaust. However, others address either genocide or the Holocaust. Only pupil 3 mentions another genocide with reference to Srebrenica. The Holocaust is presented exclusively as a genocide against Jews, while pupil 5 and 7 include Slavs, 'non-Aryans' and Gypsies among the victims. Pupil 7 also compares victimhood in national terms by writing that 'White Russia suffered more than any other country under the genocides during the Great Patriotic War'; pupils 4, 6 and 8 similarly claim that 'according to the number of exterminated people, the Trostenets camp was outnumbered only by the Polish Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka' (8).

Protagonists ● The essays most commonly define protagonists in general terms as peoples, groups or people, and in fewer cases as citizens, children or innocent people. All but one of the essays also categorise victims as religious, racial, ethnic and national groups or write that putative membership of a group possessing such 'characteristics' was the reason for persecution. Approximately half of the class juxtaposes Jews with fascists, neofascists, a fascist regime or National Socialists. Unusually, pupil 9 mentions people who 'kept silent' and those who 'supported the Nazis'.

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to the general effects of destruction, extermination, persecution and elimination, pupils 6, 7 and 8 add local colour by describing the Minsk ghetto, the burning of inhabitants of the village of Khatyn in 1943, torture and shootings carried out in Trostenets, and the use of gas vans and dogs on Belarusian territory. There is a tendency to explain and compare the effects of the Holocaust in terms of the numbers of camps in Belarus and the number of Jews killed in Trostenets or in Belarus.

Causal agency ● Two thirds of the essays explain genocide as the consequence of perpetrators' motivations, such as 'the elimination of single groups according to racial, national or religious characteristics' (6). Pupils 5 and 9 also underscore the aim to prevent reproduction among Jews 'so that this people would cease to exist' (9). Only pupils 5 and 8 address a cause in terms of 'Nazi ideology'. The most complex explanation of the Holocaust is provided by pupil 9. He ascribes causality to the combined effect of organisations, effective communication and ideology, that is, to 'organisations which propagate nationalism and violence'. He also identifies ignorance and fear as indirect causes derived from the negligence of bystanders: 'Early on, many did not attribute much significance to this tragedy. Some kept silent, because they were afraid for themselves and their families. Other supported the Nazis and contributed towards their misdeeds.'

Times and spaces ● Over half of the essays claim that genocides are still occurring today (9), occur at 'all times' (2, 3) or may do so 'far into the future' (1). Others mention the period of the Second World War with reference to atrocities in Khatyn in 1941 (8), 1944 (7) or the Convention of 1948 (2). However, the majority of essays explain the Holocaust in spatial terms by associating it with specific places such as the Minsk ghetto (4, 8), Belarus (4, 6, 7, 8), Trostenets (4, 6, 7, 8) and Khatyn (6, 8).

Points of view ● In spite of the generally neutral tone of these essays, which contain only one reference to 'our history' (6), over half of them express a clearly moral attitude. These range from general comments indicating that it 'is unjust to kill people simply because they belong to another nationality, racial or ethnic group … [who] are not to blame for that and are just like all other people' (2), to recognition of the dangers risked by citizens who helped Jews (9). Most pupils consider learning about the Holocaust and other genocides to be an expedient

measure towards not repeating them. Pupil 8 exceptionally suggests that knowledge itself is expedient insofar as 'knowledge of the reasons for the emergence of genocide make it possible that people will not persecute other nationalities in the future, and avoid starting wars between peoples.' Pupil 9 establishes a direct link between the past and present-day life by warning the reader, in relation to the silence of bystanders during the Holocaust, that 'peace is very fragile and evil can destroy it if one remains silent and does not fight.'
Explanation assessment • This class focuses squarely on the Holocaust, especially on its local manifestations, understood in relation to local sites and events, in particular the Trostenets camp. The legacy of categories popular before 1991 is evident in the references to perpetrators as fascists and to the Great Patriotic War, while categories of victims are largely quoted from the Convention of 1948. However, the explanation of genocide in terms of motivations by listing categories such as 'racial, national or religious characteristics' without qualification or historical context reproduces and thereby perpetuates the point of view of the perpetrators. Presentism among members of this class is exemplified by pupil 9's claim that, 'Neofascist organisations which propagate nationalism and violence are by no means a leftover from the past and continue to emerge.' No pupils in the former Soviet state of Belarus address repression carried out in the Soviet Union. Most frequent, however, is a *universal* and *ahistorical* moral attitude towards killing. In general, many essays anchor their accounts by referring to Trostenets. Mentions of the significance of Trostenets in comparison to other camps testifies to this class's sense of belonging to a nation which has a claim to being a collective victim of the Holocaust.

S1 *Secondary School No. 132*, secondary school in Minsk (population 1.9 million), with twelve responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Alena Paliachonak.
S2 *Loshytsa Gymnasium*, secondary school in Loshytsa (former village, now located in the southern part of Minsk, population 1.9 million), with nine responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Aksana Koltan.

Translations of Belarusian educational materials by Mechtild Russell and Gisella Vorderobermeier.

BELGIUM

Curriculum

The *History Curriculum for Secondary Education* from 2014 is geared towards fourteen- to sixteen-year-old pupils and addresses 'learning contents', skills and 'pedagogical recommendations' in separate columns of a table. The section 'The Study of Western Societies 1919–1939' defines both communism and fascism as 'authoritarianism' and 'totalitarianism', and lists Nazism as a subcategory of fascism (23). A 'Synthesis' section (29–31) dedicated to the period from 1815 to 1939 deals with the concept of 'civilisation' and enumerates atrocities committed in the modern era. Here, the question 'extermination camps ... a sign of civilisation?' is followed by 'the slaughters in the trenches of the First World War' and 'the clash between Native Americans and White Americans' which 'resulted in genocide and banishment into reservations.' The curriculum addresses the Second World War in a section entitled 'The Study of Western and Non-western Societies, 1939–1989', where 'camp systems', 'genocide', 'human rights', 'war crimes' and 'revisionism/negationism' as well as 'resistance' and 'collaboration' are enumerated in a list of 'concepts' (41–42). The curriculum defines ideological implications of the Holocaust, exemplified by the 'elimination of those who do not conform to the ideology' (42) and by the 'Nazi ideology' which established 'the acceptance … of mass deportations' in society (44). It also defines

‘perpetrators’ and ‘victims’, and claims that ‘bystanders’ [*omstaanders*] are ‘divided into people who do nothing and others who resist’ (46). The Holocaust and genocides are linked in several ways. Extermination camps and atrocities committed against Native Americans are both dealt with as an infringement of ‘civilisation’. The section dedicated to the period from 1939 to 1989 (44) similarly juxtaposes ‘war crimes and genocide in the past and present’. This section elaborates on the use of the term ‘genocide’ as an ‘overarching concept’ and lists ‘Holocaust’, ‘Shoah’ and ‘judeocide’ as ‘more specific terms’ designating the ‘mass extermination of the Jewish people by Nazi Germany’ (47). The Holocaust and other atrocities are said to have sustained ‘concentration systems’, which were used not only by ‘the Nazis in Germany’, but also by the Spanish ‘against the Cuban guerrilla’, the British in ‘the Second Boer War’ and ‘Stalin in the Soviet Union’ (46). The pedagogical sections stipulate comparison of ‘communist and fascist propaganda’ and also of ‘the views’ and ‘iconography’ of ‘current extremist groups’ and ‘fascist ideology during the interwar period’ (26). In addition, the curriculum proposes an ‘empathy project’ (26) in which groups of pupils are assigned characters (‘a Jew’, ‘a worker’, ‘an industrialist’, ‘a woman’) and invited to ‘ask themselves how this character would have experienced … the 1920s and 1930s’ in Germany, Russia or the United States.

C *Leerplan Secundair Onderwijs, Geschiedenis,* Basisvorming, derde grad, eerste en tweede leerjaar, 2014/012 (vervangt 2004/039) [Secondary Education Curriculum, history, basic education, third degree, years one and two, 2014/012 (replaces 2004/039)].

Textbooks

***Passages 2* (2010)**

Paratext ● This textbook is devoted to the period from 1918 to 1945, which the introduction describes as the ‘years of search for true democracy’ but also as ‘the rise of totalitarianism’ (5). The subchapter ‘The Judeocide’ is included in the chapter ‘The Second World War’. It is contextualised militarily, since other subchapters are entitled ‘Blitzkrieg in the West’ or ‘War in the East’. A further chapter called ‘Belgium in the War’ includes the case study ‘An Accomplice City? Jewish Persecution in Antwerp’ alongside subchapters dealing with ‘Accommodation’, ‘Collaboration’ and ‘Resistance’. Most of the pedagogical exercises invite pupils to speculate (‘Do you see escape possibilities from those processes [of dehumanisation]?’, 128) and express opinions on contemporary political attitudes (‘What do you think of the attitude of the Turkish government [about the persecution of Armenians] today?’, 22). Exercises requiring facts and reflection on causes include the question, ‘What happened as a result of [the Treaty of Lausanne]?’ (19). The exercises also urge learners to explore which states have recognised certain atrocities as ‘genocide’, and to empathise with citizens in Turkey, for example, ‘who encountered difficulties for daring to speak about a ‘genocide’ against Armenians’ (21). It urges readers to establish connections by reading literary quotations by Auguste Bernau, James Bryce, Martin Niepage and Talaat Pasha in order to answer the question ‘In your opinion, did a genocide take place in 1915?’ (22).

Events ● The textbook addresses ‘the judeocide’ (nineteen pages, of which ten are devoted to the Antwerp case study), atrocities against Armenians, Greeks and Assyrians in the Ottoman Empire (four pages), and ‘terror’ and ‘famine’ during forced collectivisation in the Soviet Union (three and a half pages). All of these atrocities are defined in legal terms as ‘genocide’ (19, 21, 29, 110), while the Greek–Turkish population exchange and ‘the judeocide’ are also defined as ‘[ethnic] cleansing’ (*zuivering*, 108, 18, 23). The authors define the terms ‘Shoah’ and ‘Holocaust’ etymologically and qualify the term ‘judeocide’ as ‘neutral and historically most correct’ (110). An exercise suggests that ‘there are other mass murders called genocides’ and invites pupils to ‘give examples’ (21). The authors compare the ‘regimes of Stalin,

Mussolini and Hitler', concluding that they 'seemed very similar' (36) but 'there were fundamental differences' (37).
Protagonists ● Protagonists of atrocities carried out in the Ottoman Empire are defined as political and military groups (Young Turks, soldiers), individuals (Atatürk), ethnic or religious groups ('non-Turks', 'non-Muslims', 'Greeks', 'Armenians', 'Assyrian Christians') and, exceptionally, as personified states ('Turkey was [not] satisfied with its … borders', 18). Similarly, protagonists of crimes in the Soviet Union are defined as political groups ('communist officials', 'members of the Komsomol' and 'rich peasants … called 'kulaks' in the public sector', 29) as well as individuals (Stalin, Pavel Morozov, Dmitry Streletsky). The authors underscore various categories of victims who were considered to be 'opponents' of Stalin's regime, such as 'clergymen and believers, intellectuals, artists, opposition leaders … but also ordinary citizens' (29). Perpetrators of 'the judeocide' are defined as political groups (National Socialists), military groups (the SS, 'German troops'), and as individual people (Hitler, Himmler) or state forces ('the regime', 36; 'the occupant', 126). The textbook also underscores the participation of 'train drivers', 'suppliers', 'wigmakers' and 'neighbours, colleagues and friends' in anti-Jewish persecution (109). Victims are defined as groups (Jews, opponents of the regime, disabled people, Gypsies, homosexuals, Jehovah's witnesses, Russians), with few exceptions (the survivor Hirsch Grunstein). The case study about 'Jewish Persecution in Antwerp' ascribes 'accommodation' to 'most Belgian citizens' (118), 'collaboration' to the political parties Rex, Verdinaso and the Flemish National Confederation (121–122), and 'resistance' to '200,000 Belgians' and 'hundreds of smaller organisations' (122). Many visual quotations reproduce victimisation and perpetrators' agency (33, 94, 106, 108).
Effects and aftereffects ● The outcome of deportation and executions in the Ottoman Empire is defined demographically. For example, 'there were almost no Greeks left in Turkey' and '[after 1915] only few Armenians lived on what was to become Turkish territory' (20). The authors present collectivisation historically in terms of expropriation, deportation, forced labour, famine and death, while a textual quotation by Vasily Grossman refers to cannibalism (78). Outcomes of 'the judeocide' are presented historically as disenfranchisement, exclusion and death. Exceptionally, Hitler is said to have been 'extremely pleased with the results of the Wannsee Conference' (108). Aftereffects of atrocities in the Ottoman Empire include remembrance (a visual quotation depicts the Tsitsernakaberd Memorial, 22) and debate whether the events were 'a genocide … or consequences of war' (21). The authors state that, in the Soviet Union, '[t]ogether with the peasants many … skills disappeared in agriculture' (78) and '[a]fter the famine, resistance was broken' (79). Aftereffects of 'the judeocide' are explained not only legally (trials), morally and affectively ('what happened to the Jews … can only provoke revulsion' (*afschuw wekken*, 110)), and in terms of scholarly research ('The judeocide … is one of the most researched events in recent history', 126), but also as Holocaust denial (110), oblivion ('the role of the police … was quickly forgotten', 135) and reconciliation (135). The authors explicitly address conflicting political interests expressed in relation to commemorations of atrocities. For example, '[s]ome Jewish groups' are said to 'derive a victim status from the judeocide, which makes them rigid discussion partners' (110). Similarly, the authors question '[t]he Turkish government, which till today refuses to use the term 'genocide' and continues to talk of the 'Armenian question' while upholding the example of many European countries and the European Union, 'which have recognised the events of 1915 as a genocide in parliamentary resolutions' (21).
Causal agency ● The authors explain atrocity crimes in the Ottoman Empire mainly causally, as outcomes of political decisions. For example, '190,000 Greeks moved from Turkey to Greece … as a consequence of [the Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations]' (19). A textual quotation by James Bryce corroborates the authorial text in that '[t]he massacres are the result of a policy' (21). Moreover, atrocities are ascribed to

motivation driven by fear (‘they feared that European countries would have too much influence in the Empire’, 17), nationalism (a ‘dream’, 17; and a ‘desire for a Turkish nation state’, 16), political convictions (‘groups convinced that they were a nation … did not want any disturbing minorities’, 16) and personal will (Atatürk ‘wanted to make sure that all who were not Turkish would still feel Turkish’, 18). Mass death in Ukraine and the Volga region is explained causally since ‘forced deliveries’ are said to have ‘caused’ famine, which ‘cost many millions of lives’ (79). The textbook then explains ‘judeocide’ as a consequence of historical antisemitism, without explicit reference to agency. For example, Hitler’s ‘regime was the sad climax of a long tradition of hatred and persecution against Jews’, whose ‘roots lie in antiquity’ (33). While historical antisemitism is said to have been based on ‘religious motives’ and later ‘economic resentment’ (*wrevel*, 33), modern antisemitism ‘received a racial dimension’ (*raciale invalshoek*, 33). However, the authors relativise this argument by stating that ‘anti-Jewish views could be a breeding ground for providing help to perpetrators’ but ‘this cannot suffice as an explanation of the judeocide’, because ‘there is no necessary connection between antisemitism… and active participation in the extermination of the Jews’ (127). A further explanation of ‘the judeocide’ addresses its ‘bureaucratic’ implementation, drawing on academic research and terms coined by Hannah Arendt (the ‘banality of evil’) and Zygmunt Bauman (the ‘dehumanisation’ of victims by perpetrators, 127). The authors use causal terms when arguing that mass death ‘was … a result … of large-scale and dehumanising German eradication policy’ (95). ‘The judeocide’ is also ascribed to motivation based on advantages (‘there were no mass revolts [against National Socialists] because people … also had benefits’, 37), economic profit (‘people tried to make profit from selling’ plunder, 109), political convictions (‘For the Pope, communists were a greater danger than Nazis’, 111; ‘Collaborators saw something in Nazi ideology’, 121) and political expedience (the Allies ‘did not want to be blackmailed by German barbarism’, 111). The authors ascribe resistance to political motivation, arguing that resisters ‘oppose the regime … out of a desire for democracy and freedom, anti-fascism or Belgian patriotism’ (122).

Times and spaces ● Main dates include massacres of Armenians (April 1915), the decision preceding the Greek–Turkish population exchange (1923), and famine in the Soviet Union (in ‘the early thirties’, 79). ‘The judeocide’ coincides with the Second World War, but persecution is also said to have preceded the war (one image depicts an anti-Jewish boycott in 1933). The authors locate ‘the judeocide’ in states (Germany), regions (‘in the east’, ‘in Central and Eastern Europe’), cities (Kerch in Crimea), camps (Auschwitz-Birkenau, Majdanek, Bełżec, Sobibór, Chełmno, Treblinka, Bergen-Belsen), ghettos (Warsaw, Mizocz) and administrative districts (‘Generalgouvernement’). The textbook focuses especially on anti-Jewish persecution in Antwerp, which covers half of the pages devoted to the Holocaust (ten out of nineteen pages). Other atrocities are located in countries (the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, the Soviet Union, Ukraine) and regions (Asia Minor, the ‘Volga region’).

Explanation assessment ● Atrocity crimes are explained causally as the result of politics, ideology and ‘dehumanisation’, but also as outcomes of motivation based on affects such as fear and hatred, nationalism and political conviction, economic profit or simply personal will. The ‘desire for freedom and democracy’ and ‘patriotism’ are said to motivate resisters. The textbook defines atrocities and genocides in legal terms and uses the ‘neutral’ (110) term ‘judeocide’ instead of ‘Holocaust’ or ‘Shoah’, which it defines as ‘loaded’ (*beladen*, 110). It explains ‘the judeocide’ as a consequence of historical antisemitism and racism, but also relativises this explanation as partial. The authors devote a case study of ten pages to ‘Jewish Persecution in Antwerp’. They quote scholarly research and invite pupils to reflect on further conditions and consequences of atrocities, but also on personal attitudes including ‘collaboration’, ‘accommodation’ and ‘resistance’. The explanations of political uses of commemorations of atrocities in European countries and the Ottoman Empire express the

authors' potentially controversial points of view regarding 'rigid [Jewish] discussion partners' and the Turkish government's use of the term 'Armenian question' instead of 'genocide'.

Passages 3 **(2010)**

Paratext ● Neither the contents page nor exercises in this textbook, which is devoted to the period from 1945 to 2001, address mass atrocities.

Events ● The textbook addresses 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo (three pages) and 'crimes against humanity' in Rwanda (one and a half pages). It defines atrocities in legal terms and quotes Rafael Lemkin's definition of genocide (30). When explaining the context in which atrocities occur, the textbook also uses metaphorical language. For example, 'After his [Tito's] death in 1980, it started to seethe' (*begon het te rommelen*, 34) and 'the declaration of independence … was the fuse which lit the tinderbox' (*stak … de lont aan het kruitvat*, 34). A further connection between atrocities is established since both are included in a chapter called 'The Cold War' and in successive subchapters with similar titles ('The Civil Wars in Yugoslavia' and 'Civil Wars in Africa').

Protagonists ● The protagonists of atrocity crimes in the former Yugoslavia are defined in ethnic and religious terms as 'Bosnian Muslims' or '(Islamic) Bosniaks', 'Bosnian Serbs', 'Croats' and 'Albanian Kosovars' (30, 34–35), while Radovan Karadžić and Slobodan Milošević feature as individual perpetrators. Further protagonists include personified states ('Kosovo sought…', 'Serbia wanted …', 34) and international organisations ('the UN … failed to end the conflict', 35). Similarly, protagonists of the conflict in Rwanda are defined in ethnic terms, but also as political groups. For example 'Tutsi and moderate Hutu' are said to have been murdered by 'extremist Hutu' (36), who were 'incited by the Hutu government' (37). The extract by the perpetrator Pio Mutungirehe adds an individual dimension (37). Furthermore, 'Belgians' are said to have 'encouraged' the oppression of 'Hutu' by 'Tutsi' (36), while the UN 'did not intervene' (37).

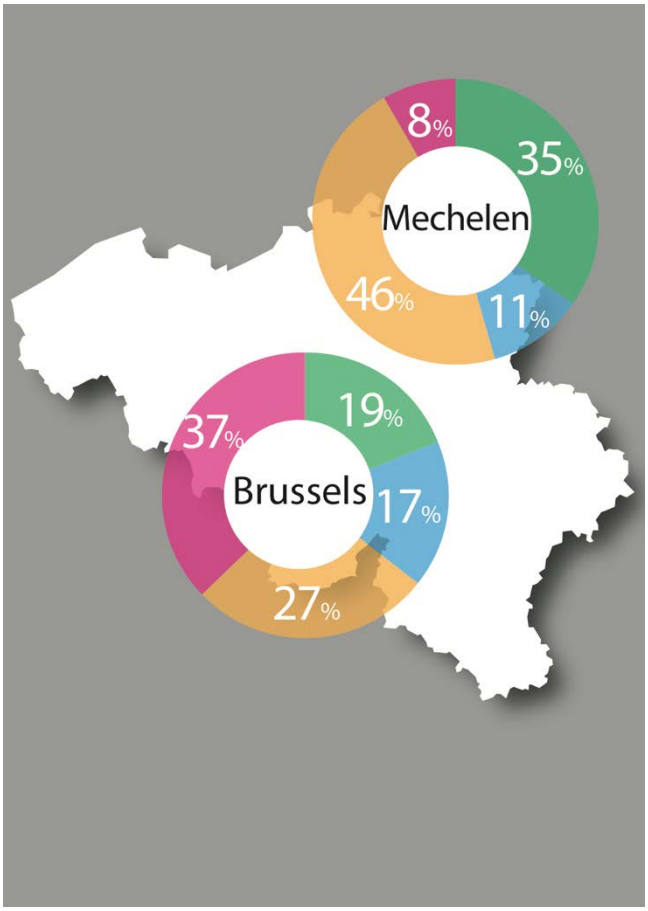
Effects and aftereffects ● The outcomes of genocides are said to be death and flight; flight is portrayed in images of refugee camps (35, 38). Aftereffects include not only trials and political settlement (following the Dayton Agreement), but also further conflicts. For example, the authors explain 'ethnic cleansing' in Kosovo as an aftereffect of the genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina: 'this compromise [in Dayton] upset the plans of the Serbian president … [who] searched for a scapegoat … [and] started ethnic cleansing against Albanian Kosovars' (35). The textbook explains outcomes of the genocide in Rwanda in a similar manner: 'The genocide had triggered huge flows of refugees and destabilised the entire Central African region. A civil war in East Congo … was a direct consequence' (38). Exceptionally, 'the many civil wars' in Africa are also said to have 'made many Western countries almost immune to suffering' so that 'there was little reaction' to atrocities in Rwanda (36).

Causal agency ● The authors explain the genocide in Rwanda in the military and political context of 'civil wars' fought 'after decolonisation' (36). They underscore intentionality ('suffering was deliberately provoked', 36), but also present social inequality as one of the causes leading to political and military tensions. For example, 'Hutu and Tutsi lived together in Rwanda for centuries, but not as equals' since '[rich] Tutsi oppressed [poor] Hutu' (37). Moreover, after 1962, 'Hutu expelled most Tutsi' and in 1990 'Tutsi and moderate Hutu invaded Rwanda', which 'led to civil war' (37). The textbook then explains genocide as a consequence of the civil war and ascribes atrocities to the responsibility of 'Hutu [who] were increasingly urged by the Hutu government to commit genocide against the Tutsi' (37). Exceptionally, the authors describe causal processes without addressing agency ('During the Belgian mandate, ethnic differences became more acute', 37). Similarly, atrocity crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina are explained in the context of 'civil war' (29). The authors emphasise that 'civil wars … usually break out between groups which have different

religions, ethnic backgrounds and/or political convictions' (29) and then give the example of the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Atrocities are also ascribed to human responsibility ('all warring parties in … Bosnia were responsible … for ethnic cleansing', 35) and to political motivation ('Serbia … wanted to extend its territory', 34).
Times and spaces ● The textbook dates the massacre in Srebrenica (1995), the siege of Sarajevo (from April 1992 to February 1995), 'ethnic cleansing' in Kosovo (1998) and atrocities in Rwanda (from 6 April to mid-July 1994) precisely. The places ascribed to crimes are local (Srebrenica, Sarajevo), regional (Central Africa) and national (Kosovo, Rwanda).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook defines genocides not only in legal, but also in metaphorical terms. It contextualises them militarily and explains them as outcomes of religious and ethnic differences and of social inequality. The textbook also ascribes atrocities to the responsibility of groups and individual leaders in the context of civil war, while 'Belgians', international organisations and 'Western countries' are said to have 'encouraged' oppression or 'failed' to end conflicts. Interestingly, the textbook includes violence among the aftereffects of mass atrocities. For example, 'ethnic cleansing' in Kosovo is presented as an outcome of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the conflict in East Congo is explained as a result of the genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda.

T1 Draye, Greet, Camille Creyghton, Sarah Verhaegen et al., 2010. *Passages, Deel 2, Het interbellum en de Tweede Wereldoorlog: 1918–1945*, Averbode: Averbode [Passages, part two, The Interwar Period and the Second World War: 1918–1945, years five and six, ages sixteen and seventeen].
T2 Draye, Greet, Maerleen Brock, Hans Cools et al., 2010. *Passages, Deel 3, Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog: 1945–2001*, Averbode: Averbode [Passages, part three, After the Second World War: 1945–2001, years five and six, ages sixteen and seventeen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Royal Atheneum Etterbeek in Brussels

Events ● Although the essays submitted by this class present an eclectic array of atrocities, twelve of them address the Holocaust, which pupil 13 defines as 'the genocide of the Jews' (13) and another as 'the most famous and cruel [genocide]' (1). Half of the essays address 'the conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi' (13), while approximately half of them also mention atrocities committed against Armenians, crimes committed under colonial rule in Congo and during the war in 'ex-Yugoslavia' (1, 6, 11, 15). Less frequent are references to the 'Scottish genocide' (1), 'genocides [of] the Roman Empire', the 'Putsch in Turkey' (2) and the atrocities committed by Mao (1), the 'Islamic State' in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, also known as Daesh), President Bashar al-Assad of Syria and Stalin (11). Most pupils define genocide as the 'murder' of 'entire nations' or 'groups of people' such as 'ethnic, religion groups or dissenters'. Four pupils provide an etymological definition of '*volkerenmoord*' on the basis of its derivatives 'murder' of 'a people'. Exceptionally, one pupil adds that genocides 'happen … in cooperation with the population' (4). One essay defines King 'Leopold in Congo' as the 'greatest genocide' (11).

Protagonists ● Twelve essays ascribe responsibility for the Holocaust to Adolf Hitler, who is said to have 'murdered all Jews in Germany' (2) and to have 'decided that these people could no longer exist' (13). Others write that National Socialists 'eradicated' (13) 'people' such as 'handicapped people' (11). Other agents include collectives, military corps and individual

agents. These include ‘soldiers and collaborators [who] worked in the concentration camps’ (2) and ‘the soldiers who work for FETO and were assigned … to assassinate people and President Erdoğan’ (2). Talaat Pasha is said to be the ‘leading figure behind the genocide’ of the Armenians, a ‘people’ who ‘suffered genocide carried out by the Turkish people’ (3). General [Ratko] Mladić is held responsible for the ‘Yugoslav war’ (4), during which ‘the Serbian army murdered all men in a Bosnian village’ (11). Most essays mention Hutu and Tutsi, but only one of them explains that ‘Hutu in particular exterminate the Tutsi’ (14). Those responsible for colonisation are defined as ‘white migrants’ (1, 5) who ‘exterminated’ ‘Indians’ (1), ‘Native Americans’ (5, 6) and ‘Aborigines’ (5), and as ‘colonial powers’ (11) such as ‘Belgian colonists’ (5) and ‘Spaniards’ (11). The latter are said to have ‘totally eradicated Mayans and Aztecs’ (11).

Effects and aftereffects ● Hitler is said to have ‘put [Jews] in camps (one of them is the Holocaust) where [he] made them work, giving them little or nothing to eat’ (13). Other effects include arrests (5) and gassing (12, 15) during the Holocaust and the inhumanity of the Serbian army, which ‘manipulated and separated men from girls and women’ (11). However, many essays quantify deaths. For example, they mention ‘the extermination of 50 million Indians’ (7). Pupil 7 also describes how the genocide in Rwanda evolved numerically, whereby ‘in a short time, only one hundred days, it led to many deaths. There were from fifty thousand to one million deaths during that time’. Similarly, ‘[o]ne and a half million [Armenians], men, women, children, and old people’ are said to have been ‘murdered, deported and starved’ (3). Pupil 11 also describes in detail how, during the breakup of Yugoslavia, ‘six thousand men were probably forced to line up in a meadow and were all shot dead’. Finally, pupil 15 quantifies in absolute terms the Rwandan genocide by claiming that the Hutu and Tutsi ‘completely eradicated the other population’ (15). Aftereffects of mass violence are defined generally as ‘extreme population decline’ (14), the assassination of Pasha, and ‘concealing of war crimes’ (4).

Causal agency ● Five pupils identify racism, colonisation and politics as causes of genocides no less than eighteen times. Pupil 5 characteristically associates racism with colonialism by writing that ‘Hutu and Tutsi were divided by the Belgian colonists. The taller people, with lighter coloured skin and less broad noses were Tutsi and had higher positions and a higher status. Even after independence, the groups did not always “love” each other’. Responsibility for this genocide is ascribed by another pupil to ‘the British’, who ‘forced [Hutu and Tutsi] to live together in one country which ultimately broke out into a very cruel war’ (11). Genocide is explained as a result of racism in combination with ‘prejudices’ (9), ‘ethnocentrism’ (15), ‘national feelings’, ‘feelings of superiority’, or ‘slightly different habits and … skin colour’ (11). ‘Genocide’, as pupil 15 writes tautologically, ‘kills anyone who is not of the same race or does not have the same belief’. Others explain mass violence politically. For example, ‘Assad’ is said to have ‘murdered his own people because they revolted’ (11). Pupil 4 claims that ‘political ideology’ caused the Holocaust, and pupil 10 argues that genocide ‘is result of a bad political system or a dictatorship’. Two pupils address the role of scapegoating: while the first writes that ‘National Socialists … chose the Jews as a scapegoat for all problems’ (5), the second underscores the result of scapegoating in the form of disposability (‘Jews were not allowed to participate in society at all. They became of no use at all’, 11). Exceptionally, pupil 11 outlines affective causes, which he describes as ‘deep hatred in all European countries of Jews’ and an aversion to dirt, since ‘[p]eople … believe that other people are … just dirty and disturb society’.

Times and spaces ● While one pupil claims that genocides have taken place throughout human history (‘genocide is of all times, in every time there have been genocides’, 1), most argue that ‘genocide is common in wars’ (15) such as the First World War (6, 15), the Second World War (2, 5, 6, 15) and the ‘Yugoslav War’ (4). While the ‘putsch in Turkey’ is dated precisely to ‘15 July 2016’ (2) and the genocide in Rwanda is said to have occurred ‘in the

1990s' (5), atrocities linked with colonisation are associated only with the discovery of or with 'Columbus' arrival in North America' (12, 6). The spatial horizon of the pupils covers Europe, North America, China and Cambodia and Russia, but only Auschwitz (5) is mentioned as a specific site of persecution.
Points of view ● While the majority of essays maintain a neutral point of view, almost half of them express moral judgement. One pupil concludes that 'inhuman beings existed in this world' (3), while pupil 11 expresses moral affect by arguing that 'by reading about it [genocide], if you are a bit racist, you will be disgusted by racism and want to stop being so'. One pupil acknowledges that '[what] I cannot understand is how a person suddenly comes up with the idea of destroying an entire people' (9). Exceptional in this context is pupil 15, a French and Dutch speaker born in Belgium, who acknowledges 'our mistakes' as a member of the nation.
Explanation assessment ● This class explains the Holocaust and mass violence as the results of interdependent racist, colonial and political causes. The essays profess a moral rejection of genocide, including reflection about Belguim's colonial past ('our mistakes', 15). However, they also adhere to Eurocentric depictions of colonialism, including '[t]he discovery of America' and reproduce notions of race and colour as valid categorisations. The essays present two types of effects of mass violence, one humanistic, the other numerical. Pupil 13 conceives of the Holocaust not as an event, but as a concentration camp.

Berthout College in Mechelen
Events ● Several essays in this class provide a general definition of genocide as 'mass murder' or 'destruction' of 'people' or 'populations', while two pupils define genocide as 'an idea' (10, 16) and another traces its meaning etymologically from '*volkerenmoord*' (11). However, the essays focus predominantly on examples of mass atrocities, primarily the Holocaust. Pupil 10 classifies this event specifically as 'a Jewish genocide'. The colonisation of the Americas is the second most common mass atrocity among these essays, referred to as 'extermination' (2, 18, 19), followed by the Crusades and atrocities carried out against Armenians during the First World War. Additional, albeit less commonly named, mass atrocities include the killing of Marie-Antoinette (15) and the 'destruction of lower classes of society' (16), 'the Assyrian genocide' (1), 'the murder of Muslims' (2), 'Genocide in South Africa', the 'Boer War' (5), the 'genocide in Rwanda' (8, 10), the 'Spanish Reconquista' (12), 'Palestine', 'Brügger Frühmette', 'the big leap forward' in China (19) and 'the death of black slaves' (7).
Protagonists ● The Holocaust is almost exclusively explained as the killing of Jews by Hitler ('Hitler kills Jews', 22, and 'all Jews were destroyed by Hitler', 23). Exceptionally, one pupil mentions that 'Gypsies [sic], and the disabled were killed' (21). The word 'by' (*door*) is used to present 'National Socialists' as the means by which Jews were killed ('the killing of Jews by the National Socialists', 1). Pupil 1 describes a similar relationship between a different set of protagonists in terms of 'genocide by the Turks on the Armenians and Greeks'. 'Spanish peoples [sic]', 'Spaniards', 'conquerors (*conquistadors*)' and 'Portuguese' are said, albeit anachronistically, to have 'murdered', or 'exterminated' the 'Incas' and 'Aztecs', who are each qualified as 'civilisations' (2) and as an 'indigenous population' (7). Likewise, 'Mayas' are said to have been 'expelled' by 'Americans' who also 'slaughtered Indians extensively' (15). Palestinians are also defined as a 'population' which 'Israel wants to completely destroy' (19). Pupil 19 uses an absolute binary categorisation when describing the Crusades as 'Christians who murdered all non-Christians'.
Effects and aftereffects ● Six pupils focus on 'gassing' being one of the most common effects in the context of the Holocaust, and four evoke 'gas showers'. Pupil 20 illustrates this with a drawing of a group of people wearing shtreimels and payot standing beneath a showerhead. Yet more common are 'concentration camps'; pupil 11's account of Jews being 'brought in

large amounts [*hoeveelheden*] to penal camps [where they were] gassed' metaphorically equates people with objects by using the noun 'amounts'. The Holocaust is said by two pupils to entail 'hard labour', while colonisation entails the 'use of indigenous population … as slaves' and the 'death of many black slaves' (7). Exceptionally, pupil 19 asserts that 'the big leap forward' enabled 'everyone to get an equal piece of land' (19).

Causal agency ● The Holocaust is explained in the most detail. Almost half of the essays ascribe responsibility to Hitler alone, while one holds the 'Aryan race' (7) responsible. However, most pupils write that racism and analogous attitudes enabled the Holocaust. Pupil 23 notes, for example, that 'Jews were murdered because … they did not belong to the ideal people' (23); pupil 21, who asserts that 'they were killed because they did not belong to the Aryan race', also provides a theoretical explanation by claiming that 'racism is the greatest instinct for genocide … people are being murdered by other groups because these groups think that the others are inferior'. Although the pupils generally hold Hitler responsible, they mention only two forms of motivations: 'hatred' (10) and the will 'to exploit' (14). An additional pupil renders the notion of exploitation with the expression 'used up', such that 'as soon as they were used up and can no longer work, they [Jews] were taken to the gas chamber' (20). Likewise, exploitation in the form of slavery is said to be the motive of 'Spanish peoples' (7). In this context two pupils (10, 12) name 'colonisation' as the enabler of mass atrocities. Equally common are ideological causes such as the 'big leap forward' and the idea that 'all were the same' (16), or Mao and Stalin's drive to 'murder [people] who opposed communism' (8). Classism also underpins pupil 16's explanation of genocide as the 'aim to systematically obliterate the lower classes of society'. Most common is the pupils' indication of political reasons, for example 'disputes between the leaders of different peoples' in which 'two areas or countries … enter into conflict over power, culture and belief' (14); the same essay claims that 'genocide is the result of one or more people who have too much power'.

Times and spaces ● The pupils' temporal horizon ranges from the middle ages, that is, from 'murders during the crusades' (9) until 'the time of Columbus' (7) and the 'Second World War', which is mentioned by six pupils. 'Colonisation' is identified as the time 'when the conquistadors arrived in America'. Mass atrocities are said to have occurred against Armenians in 1915 (1), while pupil 6 names 'Deir ez-Zor' in Syria as a place where 'Armenians were murdered' on '24 April 1914', and where 'their ships can be found'. This essay also acknowledges migration and its consequences, since the ships provided 'great proof that the Armenian people had to leave their country behind' (6). Additional places of persecution include Auschwitz (5, 23), Turkey (1, 10), Blood River (5), China (8, 19) and America, which is mentioned by four pupils.

Points of view ● Most of these essays contain neutral descriptions of mass atrocities. Only five pupils adopt a moral point of view by stating that atrocities are, for example, 'awful' (5), 'very bad' (10) and constitute a 'mistake' (13), or that 'we should never support such an idea' (16). Exceptionally, one pupil personalises mass atrocities by suggesting that 'people who carry out the genocide say they are the best, smartest or most efficient' (21). Only two pupils claim that learning is expedient in order 'to prevent [genocides] from happening again' (10).

Explanation assessment ● This class addresses not only the Holocaust, but also colonialism and examples of regicide and sociocide including the execution of Marie-Antoinette and the 'destruction of lower classes of society'. It focuses on ideological causes comprising racism and political expediency guiding responsible agents. Although the pupils are aware of historical oppression and racism which precede mass atrocities, they reproduce categorisations of 'Gypsies', 'Indians' and 'Aryan race' without contextualising them historically. Correspondingly, they accept the euphemistic topos of 'gas showers' and present Jews stereotypically.

S1 *Koninklijk Atheneum Etterbeek*, general secondary school (Atheneum) in Brussels (population 1.2 million), with fifteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Anais Maes.
S2 *Berthoutinstituut – Klein Seminarie*, Catholic secondary and residential school (secundair onderwijs) in Mechelen (population 85,000), with twenty-three responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Silke de Keyser.

Translations of Belgian educational materials by Janneke Panders and Jan Veninga.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Curricula

The *Framework Curriculum* for primary schools from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina stipulates teaching about the history of the twentieth century in year nine for fifteen-year-olds. It takes the form of a table with columns referring to thematic units, objectives, learning outcomes, activities and values. It does not mention the Holocaust and genocides explicitly, but deals with 'consequences of totalitarian regimes and the war', 'the suffering of civilians', 'trials of war criminals' and the 'founding of the UN' in the section dedicated to the Second World War (578–579). The educational goals include 'understanding and being able to explain' the consequences of totalitarianism and war, as well as acquiring knowledge about the Nuremberg trials and the UN ('when and why' the trials took place, 'when and why' the organisation was founded). Additionally, the column entitled 'Values, Attitudes, Behaviour' stipulates 'developing awareness' with respect to the 'suffering of civilians', the 'importance of the war criminals trials' and 'the role of the UN in the world'.

The Curriculum for the Fourth Year from Republika Srpska, which has been valid since 2014, is geared towards eighteen-year-old pupils in high schools. It likewise takes the form of a table, with columns dealing with 'Operational Objectives', 'Contents' and 'Correlations with Other Subjects'. The section dedicated to the Second World War (166–167) enumerates 'genocide; Holocaust' and the 'character and consequences' of the war in a glossary of terms, alongside military operations, treaties, alliances, and names of historical personalities. The political context of the Holocaust is defined as communism, Fascism, and National Socialism in relation to Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler (164). The following section, 'Yugoslavia in the Second World War' (167–168), does not mention the words 'Holocaust' and 'genocide', but deals with indigenous protagonists and developments during the war. It addresses the NDH (the Independent State of Croatia from 1941 to 1945) and 'its policy towards Serbs, Jews and Gypsies', 'the attitude of the occupiers and collaborators towards the civilian population' as well as 'resistance movements'. The glossary mentions the Ustasha and NDH leader Ante Pavelić, the Chetnik leader Dragoljub Mihailović and the concentration camps Stara Gradiška and Jasenovac. The connection between the Holocaust and genocides is not dealt with, but both concepts are listed next to each other in relation to the Second World War, while developments, actors and atrocities committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia are given more emphasis. The pupils are expected to be able to 'understand the character and consequences' of the war, 'explain' the NDH policy 'towards Serbs, Jews and Gypsies' and 'indicate' resistance movements.

The two curricula deal with the breakup of Yugoslavia in a similar way, without direct reference to atrocities committed in the 1990s. The curriculum from the Federation stipulates that pupils should 'understand' and 'be able to explain' the 'different interests of the Yugoslav republics' as well as the consequences of the war, and 'understand the importance of the Dayton Peace Agreement' (579). Likewise, the curriculum from Republika Srpska expects pupils to 'understand' the breakup process and the consequences of war, 'analyse' the

political situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and 'emphasise the importance of the Dayton Agreement' (169).

C1 *Okvirni nastavni plan i program za devetogodišnju osnovnu školu u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine* [Framework Curriculum for the Nine-year Primary School in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, accessed 17 March 2017].
C2 *Наставни програм за четврти разред гимназије свих смјерова,* Република Српска, Министарство просвјете и културе, Бања Лука, јуни 2014. године [Curriculum for the Fourth Year for All Types of High Schools, Republika Srpska, Ministry of Education and Culture, Banja Luka, June 2014].

Textbooks
***Historija* [History] (2012) from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina**
Paratext ● The contents page does not mention the Holocaust or genocides. While some factual exercises ask pupils to 'describe the situation in Russia during the Stalinist regime' (56) or 'the fate of Žepa and Srebrenica in 1995' (189), many of the exercises encourage reflection ('Select the articles [from the Convention on the Rights of the Child] which … would help a Jewish boy … imprisoned in a concentration camp', 96) and empathy ('How would you feel if you had to wear [a yellow star]?', 60).
Events ● The textbook addresses atrocities committed during Stalinism (one page), the Holocaust (eight pages) and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina (four pages). The authors associate Stalinism with dictatorship, totalitarianism and 'purges' which 'killed millions of innocent people', but not with famine during forced collectivisation. They define the Holocaust as 'unprecedented genocide' and as 'systematic extermination of Jews and other peoples of 'inferior race' during the Second World War, carried out in European countries under the control of Nazi Germany and its allies' (93). The textbook then addresses crimes committed in the 1940s on Yugoslavian territory in a separate chapter over approximately four pages. Mass murder in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s is qualified as 'ethnic cleansing' (185) but also in comparative terms as 'the worst genocide committed in Europe since the Second World War' (187).
Protagonists ● 'The Germans', 'the Nazis', Adolf Hitler and 'prominent military and state leaders of Nazi Germany' feature as perpetrators of the Holocaust, while victims are defined collectively as Jews, Roma, Slavs, political opponents, communists, the 'civilian population' (92, 191), women, children and old people (93). Anne Frank features as an individual victim in a quoted text. Protagonists of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia are the Ustasha, Ante Pavelić, 'Croats and Bosniaks' (as perpetrators) and Serbs, Jews and Gypsies (as victims). The authors distinguish between Bosniak collaborators of the Ustasha ('a small part of the Bosniak people', 155), Bosniak opponents of the Ustasha ('most Bosniaks, led by intellectuals and *ulama*', 155) and Bosniak resistance fighters (the Hadžiefendić Legion). Furthermore, the text addresses 'crimes of the Chetniks' led by Dragoljub Mihailović against Bosniaks and Croats (155). Protagonists of the 'interethnic conflict' in Bosnia and Herzegovina are mostly soldiers (the Yugoslav National Army, 'paramilitary units from Serbia and Montenegro' and 'forces loyal to the Serbian Democratic Party'), 'Serbs' and individual perpetrators (Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić). They are said to have opposed the Territorial Defence Force (later Army) of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also 'non-Serb populations', civilians, and 'Bosniaks'. The genocide of 1995 is said to have been committed by 'Bosnian Serb forces' (187). The textbook also underscores the role of the international community and the UN. The result of the international arms embargo is said to be 'that only Bosnia and Herzegovina was denied the right to self-defence' (184) since the other republics engaged in illegal arms trafficking. Furthermore, the textbook questions decisions made by the UN to

send ‘neutral units’ to Bosnia and Herzegovina and to establish ‘safe areas’ which were not ‘really’ safe (186).
Effects and aftereffects ● Stalinism is said to have effected ‘persecution, imprisonment and murder’ (55). The effects of the Holocaust include plunder, disenfranchisement, destruction, deportation, medical experiments and systematic extermination. Effects of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina are described as flight and death, but also as the destruction of ‘cultural, religious and other historical features’ which had previously underpinned the ‘national identity’ of ‘the non-Serb population’ (185). The Holocaust is followed by the Nuremberg trials where ‘the main war criminals … were prosecuted’, although ‘justice was not granted to all people’ (94). Further aftereffects include memorial days (the International Holocaust Remembrance Day) and monuments (the Stone Flower in Jasenovac). Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina is followed by political and social changes, such as the territorial division into ‘entities’ belonging to ‘three equal peoples’ (188), reconstruction, the return of refugees and displaced persons (which is ‘still not completed’, 188) alongside ‘progress’ in establishing a ‘multinational democratic system’ (188). Further aftereffects are commemoration (the Srebrenica-Potočari Genocide Memorial) and trials against war criminals qualified as ‘an important step in the process of building confidence, coexistence and forgiveness’ (188).
Causal agency ● Atrocities in the Stalinist period are ascribed to Stalin who ‘created a … totalitarian state’ (55) or else described (‘purges killed millions of innocent people’, 55). The authors explain the Holocaust mainly as a result of the responsibility of individuals (‘Hitler carried out massive terror against the Jews’, 93) or groups (‘the Nazis … exterminated’, 93; ‘the Ustasha regime … conducted mass terror’, 157). They also emphasise that one of the ‘goals’ of National Socialism was ‘to exterminate undesirable nations, first of all Jews’ (61). Furthermore, crimes of Ustasha and Chetniks are explained as a ‘clash of various ideologies’ within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (155). The genocide of 1995 in Bosnia and Herzegovina is ascribed to responsible agents (the ‘army ethnically cleansed … all areas under its control’, 185; ‘Serbian forces ... killed’, 187).
Times and spaces ● The Holocaust coincides with the Second World War (93), but anti-Jewish persecution is dated ‘from the beginning’ of Hitler’s rule (93), while key dates such as 1935 (Nuremberg Laws), 1938 (‘Crystal Night’) and 1945–1946 (first Nuremberg trial) precede and follow the war. The authors explain the war in the former Yugoslavia as a succession of precisely dated events including the declaration of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina (15 October 1991), the referendum on independence (29 February and 1 March 1991), the international recognition and the attack on Sarajevo (6 April 1992) and the peace agreement in Dayton (21 November 1995). The genocide is dated July 1995. The textbook associates the Holocaust with the camps Dachau, Buchenwald, Treblinka, Auschwitz, Mauthausen and Jasenovac, but also with states (Germany, ‘occupied countries’, the Independent State of Croatia – NDH), while Chetnik crimes are said to have been committed in regions and cities (eastern Bosnia, Foča, Goražde, Vlasenica, Bosanska Krajina). The genocide of 1995 is localised in Srebrenica and Žepa, whereby the authors mention both Serbian camps (Omarska, Trnopolje, Keraterma and Manjača) and Bosniak camps (Heliodrom, Dretelj).
Explanation assessment ● The authors address the Holocaust in ‘Nazi Germany’ and the crimes committed by Ustasha and Chetniks in separate chapters but explain both as results of individual and collective responsibility and of ideological motivation. While Stalinism is associated with purges rather than famine, the atrocities committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 are qualified as ‘the worst genocide’ in Europe since the Second World War. The authors explain the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a chronological sequence of precisely dated events culminating with ethnic cleansing and genocide, committed by perpetrators mostly defined in military or ethnic terms against civilians. The authors not only mention camps run by ‘Serbs’ but also ‘Bosniak camps’, while the role of the international

community is said to be ineffective. In the Second World War, crimes are said to have been committed not only by the Ustasha ('Croats and Bosniaks'), but also by Chetniks ('against Bosniaks and Croats') in a 'clash of ideologies'. Both the Holocaust and the genocide of 1995 are followed by commemoration and trials seen as 'an important step' towards reconciliation.

Историја **[History] (2012) from the Republika Srpska**

Paratext ● The contents page does not mention the Holocaust and genocides. Most exercises combine factual and causal questions such as, 'Against which nations was the genocide committed in the NDH and why?' (126).

Events ● The textbook addresses the 'genocide of the Jews' (eight pages) and mentions atrocities committed against Armenians (one line), while Stalinism (one page) and the war in the former Yugoslavia (seven lines) are not associated with organised mass murder. The terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' are not used in this textbook. Instead, the authors address 'the genocide … of millions of Jews and other peoples' (164). National Socialism, Italian Fascism and 'Spanish Francoism' are all subsumed to 'fascism' and 'totalitarianism', whereby the former is said to have been 'much more brutal' (49). The textbook describes the NDH as a 'satellite' of Germany and Italy, whose crimes it 'even exceeded' (123). The war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s is enumerated alongside 'unrest in Hungary (1956), Poland (1956), and Czechoslovakia (1968)' (141), albeit without further contextualisation.

Protagonists ● While perpetrators of the Holocaust are named as 'German war criminals', Adolf Hitler and 'German Nazism', the textbook clearly focuses on crimes committed in the NDH. Perpetrators include organised groups and institutions (the Ustasha organisation with 'the support of the Catholic Church'), members of nations ('Germans, Hungarians, Bulgarians', 115) and individuals (Ante Pavelić, Ante Boban, Vjekoslav Luburić, Jozo Matijević, Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović). Victims are defined collectively, as 'Serbs, Jews, Roma, Jewish women and children, communists', but also 'all those who declared themselves as Yugoslavs' (123). Serbs feature as victims and as resistance fighters ('the Serbian people … massively resisted', 117). In contrast to the first textbook, Chetniks are qualified as a 'resistance movement' rather than perpetrators of crimes (116). The authors mention 'the Great Powers' interference' (141) in the context of war in Yugoslavia in the 1990s, without addressing other protagonists. The atrocities committed against Armenians are ascribed to 'Turkey' and associated with subsequent international 'disapproval' (164).

Effects and aftereffects ● Kolkhozes in the USSR are said to have had 'certain advantages over individual agricultural holdings' but also 'many flaws' such as 'excessive bureaucracy' (52). Thus, the authors do not mention the mass death that followed forced collectivisation and associate Stalinism with 'economic growth' (50). The Holocaust results in persecution, plunder, deportation, torture, destruction, 'unprecedented terror' (119), mass killing and systematic extermination. Its aftereffects include justice (the Nuremberg trials) and commemoration (the memorial in Jasenovac), but also the 'development of human rights' and the adoption of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (164). The authors explain that, until 1945, human rights 'have been considered as internal affairs' of states, and give the example of the atrocities against Armenians, which 'did not cause adequate international condemnation' (164). Similarly, the genocide of the Jews did not yield 'necessary actions' by the Allies, but after the war 'conditions were created' for 'minimum standards for the protection of human rights' (164).

Causal agency ● Forced collectivisation is ascribed to Stalin's personal responsibility driven by economic motivation since 'he used every means in order to transform the Soviet Union … into an advanced industrial country' (51). The authors explain the Holocaust as a result of responsibility ('Germans carried out unprecedented terror', 119), which is also represented in images with the captions, 'Germans taking citizens … to execution' (119) and 'mass crimes by Ustashas…' (125). Motivation is associated with strong affect ('Ustashas … fuelled

tremendous hatred between Serbs and Croats', 74). The textbook also pointedly explains the Holocaust as an outcome of nationalism and ideology since National Socialism is qualified as 'the most reactionary, utterly nationalist and the most totalitarian regime known to humanity' (50). Ustashas are likewise characterised as 'extreme nationalists, chauvinists and racists … [who] from the very beginning tried to remove from their country all 'foreign' nations' (123) with the aim of creating 'an ethnically pure Croatian state with one Roman Catholic religion' (126). The authors explain the war in Yugoslavia and unrest in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia causally, since 'most of these wars were caused by the Great Powers' interference in the internal affairs of other countries' (141). Responsibility is ascribed to the 'European Community' which 'supported the secession of Slovenia and Croatia (and later Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia)' (142).

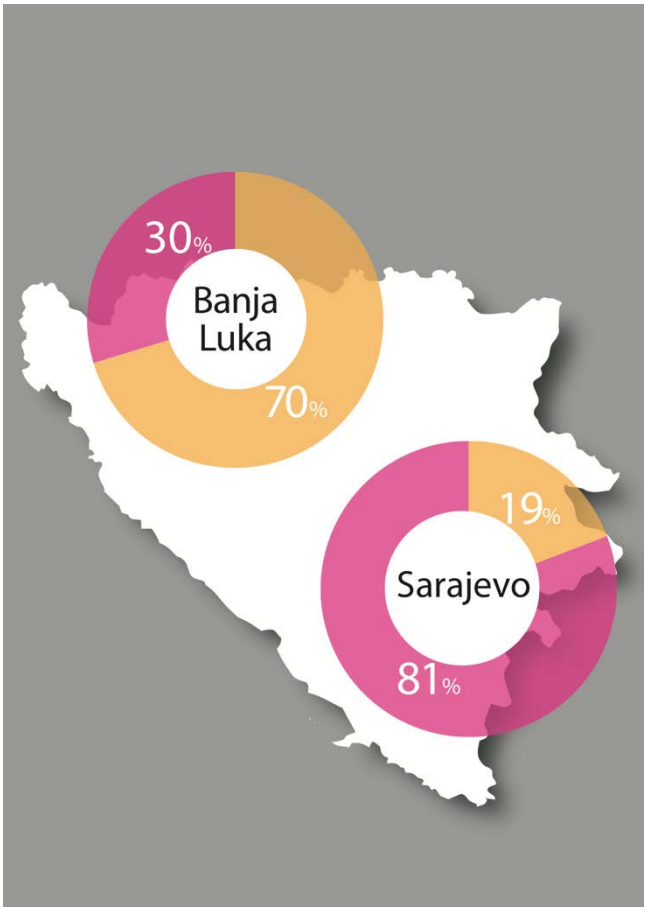
Times and spaces ● The 'genocide against Jews' and the crimes in the NDH are dated 'during the Second World War', with single events highlighted: for example 'the first mass killing in Stara Gradiška' in February 1942 and the liberation of Auschwitz on 27 January 1945. The beginning of the war in Yugoslavia is dated 1991. The textbook associates the Holocaust mainly with camps (Auschwitz, Danica, Stara Gradiška, Jablanac, Mlaka, Jasenovac) and other localities (Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Mačva, Jadar). Interestingly, while the authors name cities and villages of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia precisely, they confine spatial information about the war in 1991 to 'Yugoslavia'.

Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains 'the genocide … of millions of Jews and other peoples' (164) as a result of responsibility, affect and nationalist ideology. The terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' are not used in the book. The authors focus on crimes committed on the territory of the NDH, whereby Serbs feature exclusively as victims and resistance fighters. In contrast to the first textbook, Chetniks are associated with 'resistance' rather than crimes. While places of Ustasha crimes are named precisely, spatial information about the war of the 1990s is non-specific ('in Yugoslavia'). The authors explain this war as a result of international 'interference', but address neither other protagonists nor mass murder. Similarly, they associate Stalinism and forced collectivisation with 'economic growth' and only marginally with abuse described as 'the use of all means'.

T1 Izet Šabotić, Mirza Čehajić, *Historija – Udžbenik za deveti razred devetogodišnje osnovne škole* [History – A textbook for the ninth grade of nine-year elementary school], history, age fifteen (osnovna škola), Tuzla: NAM, Zenica: Vrijeme, 2012.

T2 Dušan Živković, Borislav Stanojlović, *ИСТОРИЈА за 3. разред гимназије природно-математичког и 4. разред гимназије општег и друштвено-језичког смјера* [History for year three of natural science and mathematics gymnasiums and year four of general and social-language gymnasiums], history, age seventeen to eighteen (gymnasium), Eastern Sarajevo: Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Resources, 2012.

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

A secondary school in Banja Luka

Events ● All but one of the twenty-seven essays in this class begin by defining what a genocide is, most commonly as the destruction or murder of a people, or as the mass murder or ethnic cleansing of civilians. Six of them confine their essays to definitions. All others include examples, which most commonly address the Holocaust, albeit while referring to names of (Serbian) victims and local places of victimisation without using the term 'Holocaust'. Almost all essays give priority to the Holocaust as a local event, often with reference to the Jasenovac concentration camp. One pupil mentions Japanese atrocities committed in China and Korea (3), and one pupil mentions the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995. No pupils compare genocides. However, pupil 3 writes that, 'The most well-known genocides took place in the Second World War', pupil 19 that 'The most well-known genocide was the genocide of Jews', and pupil 20 that , 'We have many examples of genocide against our people (Jasenovac, Jablanica) exactly like Hitler's murders of Jews in the Second World War in many concentration camps'.

Protagonists ● Genocides are most commonly presented as the persecution of one 'people' by another 'people', or else of 'civilians' or 'nations'. The Ustasha and NDH (the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War) and occasionally Croats feature most prominently as persecutors of Serbs. Five pupils mention only Serbian victims, while others characteristically define the Holocaust as the mass murder of three groups collectively (Serbs,

Jews and Roma) or name Jewish and Roma victims only in the context of crimes committed at Jasenovac, where 'most [who died] were Serbs, then Roma, Jews and those who resisted the NDH' (5). Exceptionally, pupil 1 writes that her school does not address 'the meaning of genocide', which is relevant for '[e]specially children whose parents or relatives were victims of the genocides'. Similarly exceptional is pupil 14's reference to Muslim victims in Srebrenica, and to the 'genocide of "neighbours"', probably in reference to Jan Gross's book *Neighbours* of 2001.

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to the general explanation of effects of genocide as murder, destruction, torture and persecution, three essays address the aftereffects of genocides. Pupil 1 emphasises 'to what extent and how war affects the psyche of children', and pupil 10 that 'many genocides have not been accounted for … most crimes of the NDH were never punished or judged'.

Causal agency ● Over half of the essays describe facts, narrate them in the passive mode or otherwise skirt causal agency. Others explain the Holocaust largely in terms of Hitler's or Germans' responsibility or, in three cases, of the responsibility of the Ustasha or the NDH. Motivations for genocides are defined generally as 'confession or nationality' (4), retaliation against Serbian resistance (5, 21), the wish to expel victims from home territory (20) or kill them 'because they are different' (17). In exceptional cases, essays offer a causal explanation in terms of 'wars, greater power in larger numbers, and territorial occupation' (11) and 'on account of religion' (17), while two imply moral causation by arguing that no people 'has deserved such a form of suffering' (14) or that mass murders result from revenge (21). Surprisingly, pupil 21 builds on her moral behavioural explanation of the Holocaust by asserting that, 'To a small extent the behaviour of Hitler and the Germans was justified. People have a need for revenge and this is why mass crimes occur.'

Times and spaces ● Very few essays indicate time periods. These refer to the Second World War or generally to the frequency of genocides; and in one case to 'the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia of 1992–1995' (27). By contrast, most essays keenly situate genocide spatially with reference to local sites including the concentration camp in Jasenovac, the massacre of partisans near Jablanica in 1943, and to the site of massacres of over 2,000 civilians in 1941 by German troops in and near the town of Kragujevac. Eight refer to Auschwitz. More generally, five essays underscore specifically territorial claims of perpetrators.

Points of view ● Alongside the largely neutral descriptive essays, eight adopt a moral stance by underscoring cruelty (9) or pain (2) or else by stating imperatively that genocides should not be forgotten (9) or that memorial sites should be visited (21). Four references to 'our' people and 'our' territory or towns, coupled with almost exclusively local examples of genocidal events and the focus on Serbian victims, point towards a communal national interpretation of genocide. A minority of pupils suggests that learning about the Holocaust and genocides serves expediently to remember victims, and to prevent or not repeat genocides.

Explanation assessment ● In general, these essays describe effects and aftereffects of genocides or express moral judgement and affect at the expense of historical explanation. Those who do offer an explanation for the Holocaust mostly hold Hitler and Germans to be responsible, and religion, revenge or territorial claims to have been their motivations. They assume that the Holocaust primarily involved the persecution of Serbs: essays either name the Holocaust or 'genocide during the Second World War' and then provide examples of only local concentration camps, or write about the 'Holocaust on Serbs' (17) or the 'Jasenovac Holocaust' as 'the genocide' (5). References to 'operation storm' (14) during the Croatian war of independence in 1995, or the suggestion that the NDH 'used methods which were too cruel even for the German occupiers' (5), reinforce the sense of Serbian victimhood and Croatian persecution among the pupils. Equally striking is the almost total absence of both mentions

and explanations of the atrocities committed in Srebrenica during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995; these are confined to uncommented references to Srebrenica in two essays (12, 13). Local flavour is further emphasised by spatial rather than temporal historical explanations of genocides since five essays indicate perpetrators' claims to a 'certain territory'. In sum, the historical content largely comprises passing references to Jewish victims alongside morally charged outlines of the persecution of Serbian victims, with traces of partisan heroism in references to Jablanica.

'Malta' Elementary School in Sarajevo

Events ● Most essays in this class begin by defining genocide generally as the mass murder, death or killing of a people, innocent people or many people. Almost all of these then present the example of Srebrenica and genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while four of them also mention the Holocaust, and one mentions Rwanda. Six essays are devoted exclusively to the example of Srebrenica. Comparisons, made in three cases, are confined to the suggestion that the atrocities committed in Srebrenica in 1995 were the 'biggest' (8) or 'most important' (13, 14) genocide.

Protagonists ● Three quarters of the essays address victims generically as 'people', 'innocent people' or 'many people'. Three suggest that 'a people' is targeted as a single ethnic unit. Exceptional mentions of other victims include civilians (7), fallen fighters (3), Jews (5, 9, 17) and Muslims (3, 13). Some pupils have a propensity to name the numbers of victims, ranging between 8,000 and 11,000 (3, 4, 5, 8, 11, 13). Only two mentions are made of perpetrators, which are the Serbian army (3) and Orthodox Serbs (13).

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to generic references to murder, mass murder and slaughter, almost half of the class address aftereffects of the genocide in Srebrenica. These include the annual commemoration day and, in one case, the fact that not all the remains of victims were found (13). Exceptionally, pupil 4 mentions rape and torture, pupil 16 defines genocide merely as a 'bad thing', while pupil 2 equates genocide with war insofar as 'Yugoslavia attacked Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to implement the idea of Greater Serbia, and carried out mass murder in Bosnia so that they submit'.

Causal agency ● Over two thirds of this class describe facts and personal impressions without indicating causal agency. Only four essays address the responsibility of Hitler (5), 'people who killed' (12), the Serbian army (3) and Orthodox Serbs (13). Motivations are explained more extensively as religion (13), race or belief (5), 'hatred, anger and war' or 'on account of difference' (13) or territorial expansion (2). However, the many essays which eschew causal agency but assert that the morality of genocide is 'bad' (16) or 'worst' (14) effectively imply that causes may lie in the moral fault of perpetrators.

Times and spaces ● All essays mention Srebrenica; one mentions Auschwitz. Only pupil 9 makes a historical reference to the periods in which the Second World War and the genocide in Srebrenica took place. Time is dominated by references to the annual commemoration of Srebrenica.

Points of view ● Although the majority of essays are descriptive and therefore adopt a neutral point of view, most authors write in the first person about their sources of knowledge or their lack thereof, while one third also express moral and affective judgement of genocide. Superlatives are commonplace, alongside such claims that genocides are 'striking' (7). Pupil 13 asserts that difference is desirable although 'it disturbs some people', and expresses hope for a future without genocide (13). Two pupils associate the genocide in Srebrenica with a sense of homeland (8, 14) while one asserts that it does not interest her (9). Only three pupils claim that learning about the Holocaust and other genocides is expedient, serving to aid prevention (1), to know why people lost relatives (4) and to 'not forget it, and extract knowledge from it' (10).

Explanation assessment ● The explanations offered by this class are marked by their focus on genocide in their home country, by their episodic understanding of genocide on the basis of a single event in Srebrenica rather than as a long-term historical development, and as the close association of genocide with warfare driven primarily by territorial claims. Pupil 2's explanation characteristically equates genocide with the aims of a war devoted exclusively to territorial expansion. The classes in Sarajevo and Banja Luka both generally categorise victims as civilians; however, while pupils in Banja Luka readily define Serbs as victims of Croatian aggression in the Second World War, those in Sarajevo generally avoid naming perpetrators while categorizing victims of the atrocities in Srebrenica in 1995 in general terms as 'people' or 'civilians', and at the same time openly expressing moral and affective points of view.

S1 Unnamed secondary school in Banja Luka (population 150,000), Republika Srpska, with twenty-seven responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Tatjana Jurić-Milinović.
S2 *Javna ustaova osnovna škola 'Malta'*, elementary school (osnovna škola) in Sarajevo (population 520,000), Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with seventeen responding pupils with an average age of fourteen, supervised by teacher Senada Jusić.

Translations of educational materials from Bosnia and Herzegovina by Claudia Lichnofsky, Selma Mezetović Međić and Sanela Šabić.

CROATIA

Curriculum

The *Curriculum for the Primary School* from 2013 addresses the Holocaust and genocides in year eight for fourteen- to fifteen-year-olds. The curriculum contextualises the Holocaust historically in the Second World War and politically within 'totalitarian regimes' (493/10), whereby military aspects ('the course of the war', the 'total war', 494/11) are underscored alongside 'concentration and assembly camps' (*koncentracijski i sabirni logori*, 494/11). The text focuses on 'victims and mass executions on Croatian territory', and deals with the actions of the 'Ustasha regime' against 'especially Serbs, Jews and Roma' in 'concentration camps' such as Jasenovac; 'mass killings' in Bleiburg, 'death marches' (*Križni put* or 'Way of the Cross') involving Croatians, as well as 'the suffering of the German and Italian minorities' (494/11). The curriculum addresses 'war crimes' in two separate sections: 'The World during the Cold War and the Collapse of the Communist System' (494/11–495/12) deals with consequences of the Second World War and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, while 'The Origin and Development of the Independent Croatian State' (495/12–495/13) outlines developments in Yugoslavia since the 1980s. The latter also addresses consequences of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina with reference to 'population displacement' and 'human casualties and material destruction', as well as 'war crimes' and 'ethnic cleansing' which are localised in 'Ovčara and Srebrenica' (496/13). The curriculum identifies the 'political and economic crisis' of the 1980s and the rise of 'Serbian nationalism' as causes having led to conflict, while 'Serbian paramilitary units' and the Yugoslav National Army are clearly associated with 'the aggressor' attacking 'Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina' (496/13). The connection between the Holocaust and genocides is not dealt with explicitly. However, both are defined as 'total war against the civilian population', 'state terror against citizens' and 'mass killings of civil population', albeit with a clear focus on indigenous developments in Croatia and neighbouring countries. Similarly, 'war crimes and ethnic cleansing' in the former Yugoslavia are dealt with more prominently than 'war crimes'

during the Second World War. By listing Serbs, Jews and Roma alongside Croats, Germans and Italians as victims, the Holocaust and other atrocities of the Second World War are conflated. The curriculum claims to strengthen 'knowledge and intellectual skills' as well as an 'understanding' of other cultures and of Croatian 'national roots' (484/1). Pupils are expected to acquire and apply historical knowledge about atrocities ('give examples of the Holocaust', 'assess the Ustasha', 'describe… war crimes and ethnic cleansing'), but also to position themselves morally ('condemn the mass killings', 494/11). Furthermore, the text encourages national identification by asking pupils to 'name prominent Croatian war veterans' and to 'clearly define… who was the aggressor and who was the victim' during the conflicts in Yugoslavia (496/13).

C *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, 2013 [Curriculum for the Primary School, 2013].

Textbooks

Povijest 8 **[History 8] (2007)**

Paratext ● This textbook, which deals with European and world history from the end of the First World War to the beginning of the twenty-first century, uses pedagogical exercises to encourage pupils to take a moral standpoint towards events which led to genocide ('How do you think people should react to propaganda materials which incite hostility and prejudice towards certain groups of people?', 53) and to explain and empathise with historical agents ('What contributed most to the suffering of people in the Second World War?', 122). The contents page does not address the Holocaust or mass atrocities.

Events ● The author provides a formal definition of the Holocaust as 'a particular genocide which occurred between 1933 and 1945 under the auspices of National Socialist Germany and their associates all over Europe (in … France, Hungary, the NDH (Independent State of Croatia), and Baltic countries)' (119). This genocide is said to have involved the 'systematic persecution and destruction of European Jews, in which about six million people were killed' (119). Elsewhere, the author defines genocide as 'a crime directed against a nation, racial, religious or ethnic group, with the intention of bringing about its complete or partial destruction' (242). Although the author categorises the Holocaust generically, she also qualifies it as 'one of the biggest crimes ever to have been committed in the history of mankind' (119). In the context of the Holocaust, 'mass murder' (126, 127), 'mass execution' (127) and 'genocide' (127) are also said to have occurred in Croatia during the time of Ante Pavelić and the 'Ustasha dictatorship' (123). Pavelić's regime is said to have 'implemented terror and violence' (127) by means of 'concentration camps' and 'death camps, where people were exposed to forced labour and torture' (127). The textbook localises 'mass murder' during the Pavelić regime with the 'Jasenovac camp', which it depicts in a photograph of the 'Stone Flower', 'a monument for the victims of Jasenovac camp by the sculptor Bogdan Bogdanović' (126). The author associates the 'first genocide in the twentieth century' with 'hundreds of thousands of Armenians [who] were killed in the Ottoman Empire … between 1915 and 1918' (11). 'Genocide' is also said to have occurred in Rwanda in 1994 (190). The fact that events in the Ottoman Empire and in Rwanda are covered in only a few lines is indicative of a hierarchy of mass atrocities.

Protagonists ● The textbook employs categories of individual and collective victims and perpetrators interchangeably. Victims of National Socialist persecutions are said to include, in addition to Jews (119–121), 'Poles, Soviet prisoners of war, and political opponents' (122), 'Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, socially disadvantaged people, and physically and mentally disabled people' (52, 122). 'German civilians' who collectively and actively 'embraced National Socialist ideas' (54), are also presented as victims of 'the National Socialists' following their takeover of civil society (52). However, the textbook identifies

‘Germans’ of the ‘middle class, military and industrialists’ (52) as active supporters of Hitler (52) and purveyors of racist and antisemitic ideology, which qualifies them as collectively responsible for its outcomes (50). The author also presents Hitler as an agent propelling the Holocaust, with a photograph of him with the caption, ‘One people, one Reich, one leader’ (50). Such personalisation is unique to Hitler. The author mentions the involvement of ‘doctors and SS therapists’ in Auschwitz (122), along with German troops who ‘were extremely cruel to Soviet citizens’ (115). The textbook compares Pavelić to Hitler and Mussolini (123). Whereas ‘Serbs, Jews and Roma’ (127) and ‘Croats and Bosniaks’ (126) are presented as passive subjects who suffered under the Ustasha corps, members of ‘the HSS [the Croatian Peasant Party], anti-fascists, and communists’ are presented as active resisting agents (127). Similarly, the author points out the passivity of Croat civil society under Pavelić while simultaneously underscoring Croats’ participation in partisan actions against the regime (128).

Effects and aftereffects ● The author highlights National Socialist persecutions of Jews in relation to the ‘final solution’, which she defines as the ‘National Socialist plan for the murder of millions of European Jews’ (121). The textbook evokes the ‘final solution’ visually with two iconic images of a ‘child at gunpoint’ (121) and Anne Frank (119). Additional effects include ‘mass execution centres’, ‘forced labour’, ‘overcrowded wagons’, ‘identification numbers’, ‘gas chambers’, ‘the killing of 1.5 million people in Auschwitz’, and the ‘march of death’ (122). The author presents these effects with the iconic photograph of the gate at the entrance to Auschwitz. The text also refers to the activities of ‘righteous among the nations’ (122) such as the ‘Danish resistance movement’ (122). Among the aftereffects are ‘the release of 7,000 of Auschwitz’s detainees by the Soviet army’ (122), the Yalta Conference (140), the Nuremberg trials (161) and a pervasive shift in human experience (‘life was not the same as before’, 222). Parallel effects are ascribed to the Ustasha regime, which include ‘death and working camps’, ‘forced labour’, ‘starvation’ (126), ‘persecutions’, ‘imprisonment’ and ‘killing’, ‘racial laws’ and the setting up of ‘special courts to severely punish’ citizens (127). The author introduces these events with a photograph of a Croatian girl wearing a ‘yellow star badge’ (126). She also points out effects such as ‘partisan’ and civil resistance (127, 128) to the Ustasha regime, including the youth of Zagreb, which prevented the separation of ‘young Serbs and Jews at the Sokola Stadium’ (128). The textbook shows the ongoing aftereffects of atrocities which prevailed long after 1945. These include ‘mass executions’ of ‘civilian partisans’ who were forced to ‘go back on foot’ from Bleiburg to Yugoslavia (‘Way of the Cross’, 153). Photographs of a child suffering from smallpox and of two child soldiers (190) from the genocide in Rwanda resemble photographs of a ‘child at gunpoint’ (121) and a Croatian girl wearing a ‘yellow star badge’ (126) in the presentation of the Holocaust and the Ustasha regime. This recurrent motif implies that children are among the main victims of genocides.

Causal agency ● The textbook associates genocides with four primary motivations (ideological, national, historical and ethnic). The Holocaust is explained as a consequence of racism and antisemitism (50) ensuing from ‘National Socialist ideology’ (52). These are a product of Germans’ belief that they were ‘a superior race’ (the so-called Aryans) and that ‘inferior races’ (such as Slavs) should serve those of ‘higher’ status (50). The author portrays antisemitism visually by reproducing a propaganda poster from 1937 depicting ‘antisemitic exhibitions’ (53). Racial ideology (‘racial laws’, 127) likewise functioned as the cause behind the ‘terror’ of the Ustasha dictatorship, although ‘persecutions of the Serbs’ are also said to have been conducted on ‘a national basis’ (127). By ascribing responsibility to ‘Hitler and Mussolini for deciding to establish the NDH’ (125), the author appears to absolve Croatian civilians from responsibility during the Second World War. And whereas the ‘persecution’ and ‘killing’ of Armenians and the ‘forced exchange of population … between Greece and

Turkey' are said to have resulted from historical 'changes' brought about by the First World War (11), the genocide in Rwanda is said to have occured due to 'interethnic violence' (190).
Times and spaces ● The textbook focuses on the European continent and the Balkans in particular. The author's use of an almost equal number of maps showing Europe and the Balkans ascribe importance to the Balkans as a locus of mass atrocities ('Map of NDH', 124; 'Yugoslavia after the War', 198). The textbook presents iconic sites of persecution such as Auschwitz (122) and the Jasenovac camp (126) in photographs.
Explanation assessment ● This textbook's account of genocides is largely affective. It appeals to the compassion and a sense of remorse of pupils by presenting events associated with atrocities with photographs of child victims ('child at gunpoint', 121; Anne Frank, 119; a Croatian girl with a 'yellow star badge', 126; a child suffering from smallpox and child soldiers, 190). Identification with victims is also solicited by pedagogical exercises (53, 122). By quoting a motto of National Socialist propaganda ('One people, one Reich, one leader', 50) without qualifying it historically, the author perpetuates the perpetrators' point of view. The author underscores the function of racist ideologies (antisemitism in the cases of the National Socialist and the Ustasha regimes) and national motivations in Pavelić's 'persecutions of the Serbs'. The author also highlights intentionality and 'systematisation' as underlying conditions enabling genocides. By emphasising its subordination within a dictatorship she also exempts part of German civil society from responsibility for the Holocaust. The author similarly downplays the role of Croats during the Holocaust and in conflicts accompanying the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The author's point of view thus corresponds to a reluctance within contemporary Croatia to address contested narratives surrounding traumas of both the Second World War and the 1990s.

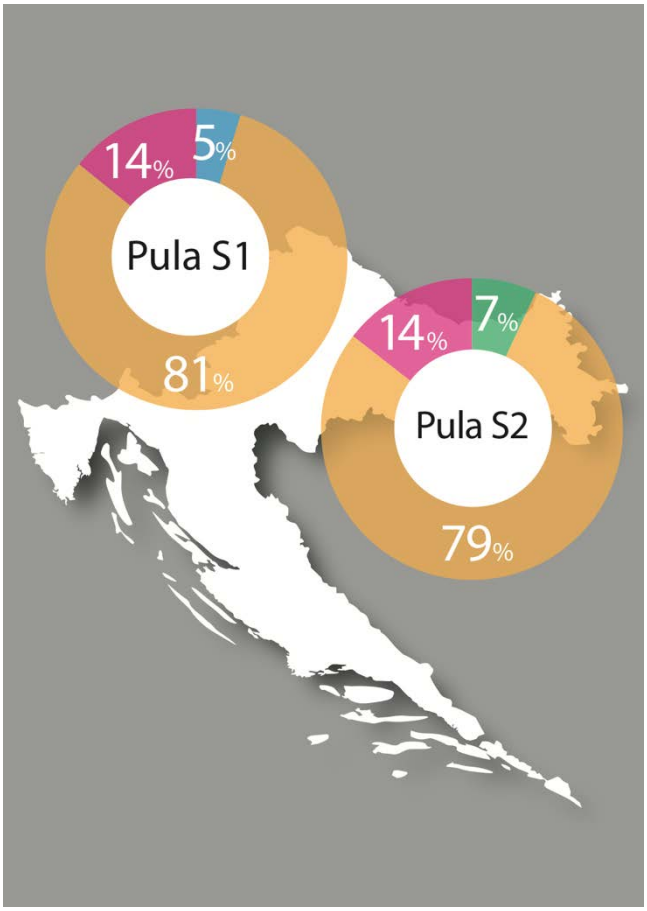
Povijest 8 **[History 8] (2011)**
Paratext ● This textbook focuses on European history from the end of the First World War to the beginning of the twenty-first century. It uses pedagogical exercises to encourage an affective attitude towards mass atrocities ('Describe the death of the first Croatian victims of Serbian aggression', 197).
Events ● The authors define the Holocaust and genocides as 'serious'. The Holocaust, 'the attempt by the National Socialists … to completely annihilate the European Jews' (115) is said to have been 'the most serious crime in contemporary history' (117). Genocides are similarly defined as 'the most serious crimes according to international conventions' (243). The authors adopt both the legal definition of genocide as a 'crime or criminal intent directed against the members of a particular social group or community (ethnic, national, religious, political, etc.)' (243), and define the Holocaust etymologically by stating that 'the word originally designates a sacrifice made to the gods by the Greeks and Romans, here the systematic annihilation of the Jewish people' (243).
Protagonists ● National Socialists are held responsible for the Holocaust (117), while the so-called 'final solution' is ascribed to 'high-ranking officials of the National Socialist Party and the German government, led by the high-ranking SS official Reinhard Heydrich' (115). The National Socialists and 'the Axis forces' are said to have committed genocide not only against Jews, but also against 'the Polish people' (115). The authors also adopt an intentionalist interpretation by writing that National Socialists 'destroyed the elite of Polish society … and Polish culture' (115). 'Roma' are also said to have been subject to 'mass murder in camps' (117). The word 'serious' is repeated in order to show that 'Allied forces … also committed serious war crimes such as the bombing of the city of Dresden (117). However, the textbook focuses on Hitler as the main agent responsible for the Holocaust. The textbook underscores this personalised explanation by reproducing National Socialist propaganda, including photographs of Hitler (22, 31, 33, 45, 90, 91, 94), as well as a reproduction of the front page of *Mein Kampf* (22, 45). The authors emphasise atrocities committed by Soviet powers over

those committed by National Socialists by presenting a graphic photograph of corpses in burial sites in the 'Katyn forest' (93). They also identify 'Chetniks' as a military and national group who 'committed a series of war crimes against non-Serbian peoples' (121), and who 'began their actions as a fight against the German occupiers, but very soon established full cooperation with them' (121). By contrast, the textbook emphasises the contribution of the 'first Croatian president' Franjo Tuđman, who is said to deserve 'great credit for the creation of the sovereign Republic of Croatia' (188). Finally, the textbook describes how prior to the conflict in the 1990s, 'the Serbian [*srbijanske*] media contributed to preparations by spreading anti-Croatian sentiment and equating the newly elected Croatian government with the NDH or Independent State of Croatia' (192), encouraging Serbs to initiate 'an armed rebellion' (192).
Effects and aftereffects ● The Holocaust is said to have resulted in 'the deaths of six million Jews' (115) which unfolded over two stages. These include 'pogroms against Jews', which happened as a result of the National Socialists' rise to power but were limited to 'talk about discrimination and the desire to exclude Jews from society, but not the attempt of physical extinction' (115). The second phase, is characterised by 'a radical change which occurred when German forces occupied Poland' (115), and the 'final solution', which is said to have involved 'the approval of the murder of eleven million European Jews' (117). The ramifications of the 'final solution' include atrocities described as 'slow death', 'ghettoisation' (115), 'six extermination camps (death camps) equipped with gas chambers for mass murder' (117), and the 'collective revenge of civilian populations' (117). The authors present these events with photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau's electric fence, a yellow star badge, and the entrance gate to Theresienstadt, followed by an explanation of the 'cynical' meaning of its motto '*Arbeit macht frei*' (116). Collective punishment is listed among the means by which 'Chetniks' terrorised the Croatian population during the Second World War (121). Effects of the Chetniks' atrocities include the 'destruction' and 'burning of Croatian and Muslim villages … cruelly killing their populations' (121). Aftereffects of the Holocaust include commemorations and educational initiatives such as the day of remembrance established in 2003 by European ministers of education 'to prevent the repetition or denial of these events' (117). This also applies to the local level in which 'Croatian schools commemorate the day of the liberation of the Auschwitz concentration camp as a day of remembrance' (117). When describing the aftereffects of the Second World War in Yugoslavia, the authors critique 'neighbouring Serbia', where 'Chetniks and Mihailović were recently formally appointed as fighters against fascism, despite completely different historical backgrounds' (122).
Causal agency ● The authors of this textbook ascribe responsibility and motivation to the 'National Socialists and their allies' for seeking to 'completely annihilate the European Jews' (115). They do this by pointing out pathological, ideological, psychological, affective and economic causes. Priority is given to pathological ('Hitlers' obsession with racist and antisemitic ideas', 115), affective ('Hitler regarded Jews … a great biological danger', 115) and psychological causality (National Socialists' 'narcissism' and 'cruelty', 115), where 'revenge' is also ascribed to the 'Chetnik terror' for seeking 'to punish Croatia for the crimes of the Ustasha' (121). Ideological causes are said to underlie Soviet atrocities in the 'Katyn forest', a massacre motivated by the Soviets' perception of their victims as 'the enemies of communism which had to be removed from society' (93). The authors ascribe economic motivations to the National Socialists' mass atrocities, stating that concentration camps were designated as places in which 'Jews should die like slaves working for the needs of the German war industry' (117). Finally, the authors underscore the ethnic and national motivations driving 'Chetnik terror', which 'desired to create an ethnically pure Serbian territory' and 'intended to rebuild the kingdom and an enlarged Greater Serbia' (121). The authors emphasise the intentionality of Chetniks' 'well-prepared plans and elaborate details … to annihilate the Croatian state' (121). Nationalist motivations are also attributed to

Slobodan Milošević, who pursued 'the idea of creating a Great Serbia', and who 'took advantage of his political rise and acted as the protector of the Serbian minority' (186).
Times and spaces ● The textbook focuses on the European continent and on Croatia in particular. The Croatian national flag appears frequently throughout. Places of persecution include 'Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka, Chełmno, Majdanek and Auschwitz-Birkenau' (117). The authors provide a map depicting the locations of concentration camps (with white human skulls) and extermination camps (with black human skulls). This choice of motif visually corresponds to a reproduction of SS symbols (116), as well as an image of the Chetnik flag which displays a white human skull on a black background (122).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook's account of genocides is often coloured by authorial qualifications such as 'serious' (117, 115, 243), 'great' (115, 121, 186) and 'like slaves' (117). Although the textbook presents an array of pathological, ideological, psychological, affective, economic and national causes underlying mass atrocities, its metaphorical use of language serves two purposes: to solicit identification with victims, encouraged by detailed images of Soviet mass atrocities (93) and by pedagogical exercises (197); and to conflate different mass atrocities together. For example, the authors' use of the adjective 'serious' connects atrocities committed by both National Socialist and Allied forces (117). Similar associations are used to suggest continuities between Serbs as a perpetrators of crimes against Croats in the Second World War and during the 1990s. The iconography of National Socialist death camps (117) are visually associated with that of the Chetnik flag (122). Although this textbook challenges the binary categorisation of 'victors' and 'defeated' and 'good' and 'bad' Second World War protagonists, it nonetheless presents Croats as the perpetual victims of Serbian nationalism. Consequently, the textbook expresses exclusivist national tendencies characteristic of postwar Croatian commemorations of twentieth century mass violence.

TI Snježana Koren, 2007. *POVIJEST 8 udžbenik za 8 razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb, Profil International [History 8. Textbook for Year Eight of Elementary School, age fourteen].
T2 Stjepan Bekavac, Mario Jareb, 2011. *POVIJEST 8 udžbenik za osmi razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb, ALFA d. d. [History 8. Textbook for Year Eight of Elementary School, age fourteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Pula Secondary School

Events ● The majority of pupils in this class define genocide as mass murder or the 'elimination' of a 'people' or 'race', followed by the example of the Holocaust. In exceptional cases, genocide is defined as 'discrimination' (1) or the 'infringement of rights' (12) with examples of Yugoslavia, Srebrenica, Vukovar and ISIL. Almost half of the class qualify the Holocaust as 'the most well known' or 'the biggest'.

Protagonists ● Most pupils define the Holocaust as an encounter between perpetrators (Hitler, Nazis or peoples) and victims (Jews, races or nations). The concept of 'race' is adopted unquestioningly by six pupils who qualify their statements regarding 'the Aryan race' (3), 'Jews, Muslims, blacks' (10) or 'black races' and 'special races' (11). Others delineate victims in terms of 'old people', 'Roma and Serbs' (1), 'Roma, dark-skinned people and homosexuals' (5) or as 'people of different nations and confessions' (21).

Effects and aftereffects ● Beyond general definitions of killing and murder, these essays provide considerable detail of the persecution process, ranging from 'burning', 'poison', 'gas' and forced labour. Moreover, pupil 5 acknowledges states who 'knew absolutely nothing about what was happening' during the Holocaust, while two pupils acknowledge the resistance of Jews who 'fought for their lives' (4) or who fled (18); two pupils likewise explain the function of the yellow star badge 'so that they could be more easily recognised by people so that they could turn away from them' (4), and with the effect that 'all people

avoided them, and they went to different schools, to different shops' (9). Aftereffects include the annual Holocaust Remembrance Day (1) and 'considerable traces in history and a deep wound in the memory of many people' (20).
Causal agency ● Striking among these pupils is their explanation of the Holocaust as the personal wish of Adolf Hitler. Characteristically, pupil 19 claims that 'Hitler built gas chambers and various death camps in which Jews were tormented, exploited and murdered', pupil 3 that he defended 'his Aryan race', and pupil 13 that '[a]t the time when Hitler carried out the genocide, he built camps for all people he didn't like'. Pupil 19 even combines causal explanation (Hitler's power of persuasion) with the personalisation of responsibility (of Hitler) and motivation (Hitler's desired goal), while at the same time questioning causal explanation: 'I know neither how Hitler managed to convince people that Jews are a "lower race" nor why his goal was to eliminate all Jews'. A small number also ascribe motivation to the persecution of 'other confessions'. Causal explanations made by almost half of the pupils range from 'discrimination' (13), mental instability (5, 15), 'racism' and Hitler's power of persuasion (19) to the lack of any reason (1, 21). An interesting exception is the *causal chain of motives* related by pupil 8, who writes that 'The Nazis loved only Germans. Only the German people, while they held other people to be unimportant. The Nazis killed Jews or put them in camps.'
Times and spaces ● Five pupils define the period of the Holocaust as 'Hitler's times' or 'at the time of Hitler', while approximately half of the pupils locate the Holocaust in concentration camps, alongside isolated references to Germany and Poland. Only pupil 14 refers to the local dimension of the event by mentioning the Jasenovac concentration camp.
Points of view ● The generally neutral points of view of pupils is complemented by the three pupils who recognise and empathise with victims as they resisted or fought for survival. Half of the class expresses moral judgement in terms of 'inhumane' treatment (15) or 'monstruous acts' (7), for example. Approximately half of the essays claim that learning about the Holocaust and genocides may prevent repetition. In exceptional cases, pupil 14 claims that such learning may make it possible 'to observe those who today have had much influence over people', while only pupil 16 explicitly relates learning to herself as a member of a communal 'we'.
Explanation assessment ● The majority of pupils give priority to the Holocaust. Their explanations are complex and in part contradictory. For example, descriptions of the persecution process are detailed and even recognise social ostracisation and exclusion preceding deportation and killing, and also Jewish resistance and types of causality including 'discrimination' and the influence of political persuasion over society. At the same time, pupils personalise causal agency during the Holocaust by ascribing considerable power to Hitler alone and ascribe causes of genocide to 'race' without qualifying or contextualising the category of race itself.

Pula Elementary School
Events ● Pupils in this class focus exclusively on the Holocaust or equate the term 'genocide' with the Holocaust, which is paraphrased as a confrontation between Hitler and Jews or as the 'hatred' (5) or genocide of Jews (7). In exceptional cases, pupils 3 and 5 also refer to crimes committed in the Soviet Union and pupil 8 mentions the 'genocide of Great Britain in Australia', while only pupils 8 and 10 refer to the 'home war' or war of independence in Croatia, dated from 1990.
Protagonists ● In line with the events, Hitler, Germans and Jews feature alongside Stalin and, less commonly, Nazis, Aborigines, Serbian soldiers, Croats, Bosnians and races. Considerable emphasis is placed on 'Germans' and the location of genocide 'in Germany'.
Effects and aftereffects ● Mass murder and killing are common to all essays, while one pupil also mentions details of gassing, burning, shooting (3), the destruction of shops, concentration

camps, the Nuremberg Laws, forced labour (6), rules and curfews (7). Pupil 8 emphasises the human aspect of 'fear and pain'.
Causal agency ● All pupils in this class explain the Holocaust and other genocides in terms of personal responsibility while only occasionally explaining their presumed motivations. Thus 'Adolf Hitler carried it out' (1) or 'Hitler killed Jews out of revenge' (3) or because 'Hitler hated them' (7) or else 'Stalin carried out genocide against people who did not adhere to his ideas' (5). Nonetheless, over half of the group offer causal explanations too, which range from political and moral to economic and psychological. Pupil 1, for example, asserts that the Holocaust 'would not have taken place if Germany had not been given a so-called punishment after the First World War'. Pupils 3, 4 and 5 ascribe the causes of genocide to madness, stupidity and hatred respectively, while pupil 5 goes so far as to claim that 'genocide is hatred of a people'. Pupil 2's claim that killing Jews 'is very bad' implies that the Holocaust is rooted in immorality. Pupil 7 recognises gratuitousness by claiming that 'people were sent to camps for no reason' (7).
Times and spaces ● Times are defined either as the 'Second World War', (in two cases) the 1990s or 'in Hitler's times' (7), while pupils situate the events in Germany, Poland or in camps.
Points of view ● Half of the pupils describe events in strictly neutral terms. Others adopt a moral stance towards a 'very bad' thing (2) or a 'terrible time' (7). Pupil 2 invites readers to 'imagine you are a Jew …', while pupil 3 stands out by basing her account on a visit to the Majdanek memorial and describing images in the exhibition as if she were witnessing the event itself. 'I was personally in the Majdanek camp, in Poland, where I saw how they killed Jews, as well as other people.' Among the four pupils who consider learning about genocide to be useful, two mention prevention, while pupils 4 and 6 claim that it helps them 'to know who the biggest enemies were' and to 'pay homage to them [Jews]'.
Explanation assessment ● Explanations offered by this class mainly address the Holocaust and explain it as the personal wish of Hitler. In addition to personalising genocide, several pupils propose causes of genocide. Exceptions to this pattern are pupil 2, who argues in purely moral terms why genocides are deplorable; and pupil 9, who describes circumstances in which she learned about genocides and thus addresses neither the Holocaust nor genocides directly. Unusual explanations of genocides include pupil 2's and pupil 3's assertions that genocides usefully prevent overpopulation. Pupil 2 claims that, 'One should not carry out genocides because of the economy, for birth rates fall' (2), while pupil 3 compares the world population to a body which heats up in order to shed a virus (overpopulation): 'I think that the genocide was necessary so that the world opens its eyes. If the genocide had not happened there would be twice as many people and overpopulation would be even greater' (3).

S1 *Gimnazija Pula*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Pula (population 58,000), with twenty-two responding pupils with an average age of fourteen and fifteen, supervised by teacher Filip Zoričić.
S2 *Osnovna škola Veruda*, elementary school (osnovna škola) in Pula (population 58,000), with ten responding pupils aged fifteen, supervised by teacher Nikša Minić.

Translations of Croatian educational materials by Mirjam Baumert and Claudia Lichnofsky.

CYPRUS

Curricula

The *Analytic Programme* from 2010 stipulates teaching about the Holocaust and genocides for fourteen- to fifteen-year-olds in year three of the grammar school (*Γυμνάσιο*) and for

seventeen- to eighteen-year-olds in year three of the 'Lyceum' (*Λύκειο*). The sections 'The Greek National Campaign (1912–1922) and the First World War' (49–50) and 'The First World War and Its Results' (103–104) deal with the 'Asia Minor catastrophe' (49), 'the relation between the Asia Minor campaign and the development of the Turkish national movement' and their 'consequences' (104), albeit without mentioning population exchange and atrocities. The 'settlement of refugees (Greeks and Armenians)' from Asia Minor in Cyprus is evoked in the section 'The Inter-war Period' (50–51), which also refers to 'the rise of Nazism and fascism' and the 'establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship'. The section 'The Second World War' (104–105) addresses 'the Jewish Holocaust and other Nazi genocidal programmes' alongside political and military aspects of the war such as 'diplomatic acts', 'the German attack on the USSR' and 'D-Day'.

The History Curriculum for year two of the grammar school is geared towards thirteen- to fourteen-year-old pupils and mentions the 'Armenian Genocide Monument in Nicosia' as well as the 'Armenian Genocide Memorial in Larnaca' in a section entitled 'Cyprus in the Protobyzantine Period' (22–25), which deals primarily with the settlement of the Armenians in Cyprus in the sixth century and 'their contribution to the … development' of Cyprus.

The History Curriculum for year three of the grammar school addresses 'the genocide of the Greek population of Pontus and Asia Minor and the Armenian genocide' with further reference to 'labour battalions', 'persecutions of the Greeks' and the 'genocide of the Asia Minor Hellenism' in a section called 'The Asia Minor War (1919–1922) and the Turkish National Movement: the Persecution of Pontic and Asia Minor Greeks, the Asia Minor Campaign (1919–1922), the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922) and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923)' (58–62). Here, the curriculum emphasises the 'conflicting national visions' leading to the war, in addition to the 'Movement of the Young Turks' and the 'Goudi Movement'. The section 'The Second World War' (67–70) focuses on 'causes', 'key stages' and 'rival blocs' in the war alongside 'material damage', 'lost lives', 'social and moral devastation' and the 'displacement of people'. The 'persecution of Jews', 'concentration camps' and 'Auschwitz' are listed among 'atrocities committed by Nazi Germany and especially the Holocaust of the Jews' (68).

Besides the use of the term 'genocide' to signify 'Nazi genocidal programmes' and the 'genocides' of the Greeks and the Armenians in the context of the Asia Minor War, no connection is made between mass atrocities of the First and the Second World War. However, the third curriculum stipulates doing 'a comparison of the Second World War and the First World War' (68), without explicitly mentioning mass atrocities. The pedagogical recommendations foresee that pupils should work with primary sources written by survivors and perpetrators, for example 'read … testimonies of Jews who survived the concentration camps', but also 'read passages' from Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in order to 'delineate' his personality and the 'reasons given for the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany' (C3, 69). Moreover, the third curriculum recommends doing project work about the 'Holocaust of the Jews', qualified as 'one of the darkest pages of human civilisation', and about 'Life in Auschwitz' as seen 'through testimonies of survivors' and 'through the written reports of Nazis' (70). Extracurricular activities include watching films (*Schindler's List, Life is Beautiful*) and reading literature (*If This is a Man* by Primo Levi and *The Diary of Anne Frank*). The Armenian genocide is introduced by recommending that pupils visit the memorials in Nicosia and Larnaca alongside other historical sites, museums and churches connected to the Armenians in Cyprus (C2, 25). Furthermore, pupils must 'present to the class' written and visual sources about 'the genocide of the Greek population … and the Armenian genocide', do 'project work' about 'the persecutions of the Greeks' (C3, 60), and study 'the genocide of the Greeks of Asia Minor' as reflected in novels and scholarly articles (59–60).

C1 *Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα για τη διδασκαλία του μαθήματος της Ιστορίας στην Πρωτοβάθμια και Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση*, της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο Κύπρου, Υπηρεσία Ανάπτυξης Προγραμμάτων, 2010 [Analytical Programme for the History Course in Primary and Secondary School, Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Education and Culture, Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus, 2010].
C2 *Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα Ιστορίας Β΄ Γυμνασίου* [Analytical Programme for History, secondary school, year two].
C3 *Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα Ιστορίας Γ΄ Γυμνασίου* [Analytical Programme for History, secondary school, year three].

Textbooks

Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ιστορία **[Modern and Contemporary History] (2013)**

Paratext ● Atrocity crimes are not addressed on the contents page of this textbook. Pedagogical exercises encourage reflection ('What significance does the Treaty of Lausanne have for Greece [and] Turkey …?', 110), further research and the collation of information ('Read the book *If This Is a Man* by Primo Levi, watch the film *Life Is Beautiful* by Roberto Benigni, collect all other information which you find interesting about Nazi concentration camps, and present the topic to your class', 136), commentary ('According to the historian G. Yanoulopoulos, the population exchange was 'tragic … but also a very advantageous solution'. Comment on this statement', 110) and empathy ('Using the information in the chapter … recount how life was in Athens or your home town on a winter's day in 1941–1942', 134).

Events ● This textbook addresses the Holocaust or 'genocide [*γενοκτονία*] of Jews' (five pages), 'expulsions' and 'systematic persecution' (102) of Greeks in Asia Minor and Pontus (four pages) and 'persecution' and 'executions' in the Soviet Union under Stalin (half a page). It also briefly mentions the persecution of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and the 'hard-fought war' (*σκληρό πόλεμο*, 148) in the former Yugoslavia. The authors define the persecution of Greeks in literary terms ('a real tragedy for Hellenism'), but also as 'extermination' ('hundreds of thousands of Greeks … were exterminated' or *εξοντώθηκαν*, 102). The Holocaust is defined in both legal and absolute terms as a 'symbol of the absolute crime against humanity' (136). The textbook distinguishes communism and fascism as 'two diametrically opposed models for economic and social reorganisation' (116), but also acknowledges that, during the war, 'outrageous atrocities [were] committed by all sides' (135). The authors claim that, 'however, the greatest spread of terror must be attributed to Nazi Germany' (135). They clearly focus on persecutions of Greeks in Asia Minor, while writing in one phrase that 'Armenians met the same fate' (102). Furthermore, a textual quotation by Sia Anagnostopoulou identifies 'interdependence' insofar as 'Turkisation by the Ottoman power legitimised the politics of the Greek state' and 'Greekisation by the Greeks legitimised the policy of the Young Turks' (103).

Protagonists ● Protagonists of atrocity crimes in Asia Minor include 'the Greek-Orthodox population' and 'Greeks, Armenians and Jews' who are contrasted with 'Young Turks', 'officers', 'Kemalists' and Atatürk. The population exchange also involves 'Orthodox Christians living in Turkey' and 'Muslims living in Greece' (109). Perpetrators of the Holocaust are defined politically ('the Nazis', 'the NSDAP'), militarily ('the SS', 'the conquerors'), as individuals (Adolf Hitler) or as states in the possession of Hitler ('Hitler's Germany'). Victims are named as 'Jews' and 'the Jewish communities of Greece', 'communists', 'social democrats', 'all those who were different (political opponents, Gypsies, homosexuals)' (117) and 'the peoples who did not agree to submit themselves' (127). The authors highlight 'Greek collaborators' and resistance of the National Liberation Front (EAM) in Greece and individuals (including the students Manolis Glezos and Apostolos Santas and

the women Electra Apostolou and Lela Karagianni). Agency in the Soviet Union is presented as a binary relation of perpetrators (Stalin and 'the state leadership') and victims ('rich peasants', 'those who were suspected' and 'Bolshevik leaders', 116). While visual quotations typically present passive victims ('Greeks are expulsed …', 103; 'Greek Jews suffer humiliations …', 132), textual quotations present the point of view of survivors (Rudolf Vrba, Alfred Wetzler) and resisters ('a member of the French resistance').

Effects and aftereffects ● Outcomes of the Holocaust include disenfranchisement, violence, stigmatisation, plunder, torture, emigration ('many intellectuals were forced to leave Germany', 117), the destruction of villages and of the 'Jewish communities of Greece' (132), mass executions, medical experiments and gassing, but also resistance followed by retaliation by National Socialists. The textbook presents 'systematic persecution' in Asia Minor historically in terms of expulsions, forced labour, the destruction of Smyrna and the massacre of its population, refugees, expropriation and the redistribution of property. Stalin's rule in the Soviet Union is depicted with reference to expulsions, expropriation, repression and executions. Aftereffects of the Holocaust are demographic ('forced population movements', 135), political (the creation of the UN and 'the weakening of Europe's international role', 136) and memorial ('The extermination camps … the torture and retaliatory mass executions of civilians and the genocide of the Jews forever become symbols of the absolute crime against humanity', 135–136). The authors emphasise not only the global dimension of crimes and war ('the consequences … have been severe for the whole of mankind', 136) but also claim that 'the worst situation prevailed in Germany and Austria, which were plagued by famine … and the risk of epidemics', 135). Atrocity crimes against Greeks in Asia Minor entail 'the end of Hellenism in Asia Minor' (107, 110) and 'the refugee issue in Greece' (121), which is dealt with over two pages in a separate subchapter. The authors describe economic and social aspects (a housing shortage, arduous professional reintegration) as well as the 'attitude of native Greeks towards the refugees [which] was often negative' (121). However, they also acknowledge that 'the economy was revitalised' and that refugees 'gave new impetus to literature and art' and brought to Greek society 'their way of life, their habits, their music, their cuisine' (122).

Causal agency ● The authors explain atrocity crimes in Asia Minor as the consequence of nationalism and war, whereby '[t]he strengthening of Turkish nationalism led … to systematic persecution of the Greek Orthodox population' (102) and the 'Greek defeat … led to the uprooting of Hellenism in Asia Minor' (110). This textbook also emphasises the complementarity of political motivation on both sides of the conflict, since '[b]ehind these armies stood de facto the Greek and Turkish populations, for whom the realisation of their national dreams presupposed the failure of the other's national dreams' (104). The textbook ascribes crimes in the Soviet Union to economic motivation, such that, 'in order to achieve [industrialisation], violent methods with high social costs were applied' (116). The Holocaust is explained as ideology in practice. For example, National Socialists are said to have 'appl[ied] aggressive racist policies' and 'eliminated all those who were different' (117), and Europe is said to have been 'organised according to the principles of National Socialism' (127). Furthermore, the authors write that rebellion 'led to a great number of executions' (132), but also that 'atrocities … reintroduced the idea of creating an international organisation' (136) in line with the UN. The textbook also ascribes the Holocaust to responsible agents ('Jewish communities … were exterminated by the National Socialists', 132), and resistance to national motivation ('the strong will of the Greeks to get rid of the conquerors gave birth to … resistance', 136).

Times and spaces ● The authors write that 'systematic persecution of the Greek-Orthodox population' in the Ottoman Empire began 'from 1913' (102) and that expulsions took place 'during the Balkan Wars and the First World War' (102). They also highlight 27 August 1922 (the conquest of Smyrna by Turks and the 'massacre' of Greeks) and January 1923 (the

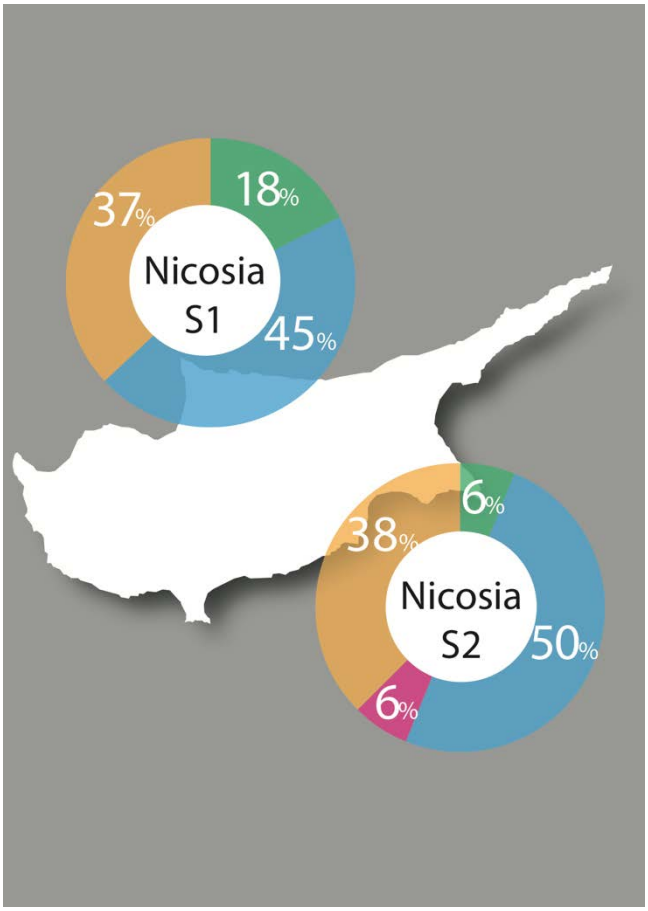
Treaty of Lausanne, where 'a population exchange was agreed between Greece and Turkey', 109). 'Parody trials' (*δίκες-παρωδίες*, 116) and executions of 'Bolshevik leaders' in the Soviet Union are said to have taken place from 1936 to 1938. Although the Holocaust coincides with the Second World War, particular emphasis is placed on the destruction of Kalavryta in December 1943 and on executions in 'Kokkinia, Piraeus' in August 1944. The space ascribed to atrocity crimes against Greeks is regional ('Asia Minor', 'Pontus' and 'eastern Thrace') and local (Smyrna), whereby 'population exchange' is conceived of as the movement of 'Orthodox Christians living in Turkey … to Greece' and of 'Muslims living in Greece' in 'the opposite' direction (109). The Holocaust is located in 'occupied Europe' (127) and 'occupied Greece' (132), whereas crimes are committed 'in Auschwitz' and against 'Jewish communities of Greece (Thessaloniki, Ioannina, Corfu)' (132).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains the Holocaust and atrocity crimes as outcomes of nationalism, war, ideology and political and economic motivations. It focuses on crimes committed against Greeks rather than Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Although the authors define fascism and communism as 'opposed models', they write that 'all sides' committed crimes during the Second World War. However, they ascribe 'the greatest spread of terror' to National Socialists. While agency is largely defined in binary terms as 'Turks' vs 'Greeks' or 'the [Soviet] state leadership' vs 'rich peasants', protagonists of the Holocaust also include Greek collaborators, and male and female resisters. Although most visual quotations depict scenes of victimisation, quoted texts present the Holocaust survivors' and resisters' points of view. The authors present the outcomes of atrocity crimes historically and from the points of view of destroyed communities. They also associate persecutions in the Ottoman Empire not only with 'the end of Hellenism' in Asia Minor, but also with refugees who 'revitalised' the economy and culture in Greece. The authorial text and a textual quotation explain how Turkish nationalism in Turkey and Greek nationalism in Greece were interdependent.

***Ιστορία της Κύπρου* [History of Cyprus] (2013)**
Paratext ● This textbook for the history of Cyprus is devoted to the period from prehistory to 1974. The contents page does not address atrocity crimes. Most exercises invite pupils to make comparisons ('What are the positive aspects of English administration compared to … Turkish rule?', 108) and to empathise with historical agents ('Suppose you live in Cyprus in 1821. Describe your thoughts, feelings and possible actions', 104).
Events ● The textbook addresses the 'massacre of 1821' (three pages) and the 'Turkish invasion' of 1974 (two pages). The authors describe the entire period from 1571 to 1878, when Cyprus was part of the Ottoman Empire, as a time of 'humiliation, degradation and oppression' (*Ταπεινώσεις, εξευτελισμοί, καταπίεση*, 92). They associate the 'Turkish invasion' of 1974 with 'ravage and destruction' (*τον όλεθρο και την καταστροφή*, 92), but also qualify it in literary terms as a 'Cypriot drama' with 'tragic consequences' (116).
Protagonists ● Protagonists of the 'massacre of 1821' pit 'the Turks' and 'Küçük Mehmet' as perpetrators against 'notables', 'clergymen' and Archbishop Kyprianos as victims. Exceptionally, a personified state (Cyprus) is said to have had 'the same fate' as other regions with Greek populations (92). Kyprianos and 'a Greek Cypriot who escaped' are represented in visual and textual quotations. The 'invasion' of 1974 is similarly explained in binary terms as enmity between 'the Turks', 'the invaders' or 'the invader forces' and 'Greek Cypriots' or 'Greek Cypriot inhabitants' (116). The authors also personify states ('Turkey invaded …' and 'Cyprus fights …', 92), while visual quotations represent victims (116).
Effects and aftereffects ● The 'massacre of 1821' is explained historically with reference to 'the arrest and execution of clergymen and notables … followed by the confiscation of their property', whereby few 'managed to escape' (102). The authors also circumscribe Ottoman crimes as 'horror and death' (102), while textual and visual quotations render the cruelty of

execution methods (105). Effects of the 'Turkish invasion' in 1974 include 'maltreatment' (116), death and flight as well as 'the destruction of cultural heritage' (116), economic losses ('the airport and the main export port … fell into the hands of the invaders', 116) and demographic change ('thousands of Turkish settlers' established in the 'occupied territories', 116). Aftereffects of the 'Turkish invasion' are demographic ('only a small part of the Greek Cypriot population lives in the occupied part', 116), moral ('those who are surrounded live under unbearable pressure and inhumane conditions', 116) and political ('the Turks founded the Turkish Cypriot State', 116; but 'Cyprus fights for the restoration of territorial integrity', 92).
Causal agency ● The authors explain the 'massacre of 1821' as a consequence of political motivation ('to prevent revolutionary actions', 102), but also frequently avoid agency ('The killing of the nobles was followed by the confiscation of their property', 102). 'Turkish invasion' is explained causally ('The coup was the reason for the Turkish invasion', 116) and as a result of responsibility ('Turkey invaded the island, occupied 38 percent of the country and brought [about] ravage and destruction', 92).
Times and spaces ● The massacre of notables and clergymen is said to have taken place on 9 July 1821 and the 'Turkish invasion' on 20 July 1974. The space ascribed to the massacre is national, since 'clergymen and notables from all over Cyprus' were involved and 'horror and death' spread 'over the island' (102). In 1974, 'invasion forces' are said to have occupied 'a small region of the province Kyrenia' and then 'occupied 37.6 percent of Cyprus' (116).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains the 'massacre of 1821' and 'Turkish invasion in 1974' as outcomes of political interests. Agency is defined in binary terms and opposes 'Turks' and 'Greek Cypriots'. The authors associate both Ottoman domination in Cyprus from 1571 to 1878 and the 'Turkish invasion' of 1974 with 'oppression' and 'destruction' and qualify the latter as a 'Cypriot drama' (116). By writing that 'those [Greek Cypriots] who are surrounded live under unbearable pressure' (116) but that 'Cyprus fights for the restoration of territorial integrity' (92), the authors emphasise ongoing aftereffects of the 'invasion'. Some exercises encourage pupils to empathise with the inhabitants of Cyprus.

T1 Louvi, Evangelia, Dimitrios Xifaras [Λούβη, Ευαγγελία, Δημήτριος Ξιφαράς], 2013. *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ιστορία – Γ' Γυμνασίου*. Patras, Diofantos Computer Technology and Publications Institute [Modern and Contemporary History for Year Three of Secondary Education, age fifteen].
T2 Pantelídou, Angelikí, Kalliópi Protopapá, Sávvas Giallourídis [Παντελίδου, Αγγελική, Καλλιόπη Πρωτοπαπά, Σάββας Γιαλλουρίδης], 2013. *Ιστορία της Κύπρου για το Γυμνάσιο*. Nikosia, Program Development Service – Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus [History of Cyprus for Secondary Education, age twelve to fifteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Terra Santa College in Nicosia

Events ● Having defined genocides as 'destruction', 'mass killing' or a 'very violent act', most pupils in this class give priority to the violence carried out against Armenians followed by isolated references to Stalin, colonialism, Sparta and Hiroshima, while four pupils refer to the Holocaust by mentioning either Germans, Jews or Hitler. Lists of genocides and general definitions of them as 'like the start of a war' (6) or 'something negative' (8) downplay differences, while pupil 11 asserts that the 'Armenian genocide' is 'the most tragic example' of genocide.

Protagonists ● Although this class names a large number of protagonists including Germans, Turks, Armenians, Hitler, Jews, Indians, Cretans, America, Ottomans and children, all but three essays place emphasis primarily on Turkish assailants of Armenians.

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to killing and destruction, pupils 1 and 6 list the capture of territory among the consequences of genocide. Pupils 8 and 9 confuse genocide with the 'dying out' or extinction of animals and with suicide and sacrifice in ancient Sparta respectively. Pupil 4 acknowledges 'tension' in the aftermath of genocides, while pupil 11 claims that 'until today "Turkey" does not recognise that its ancestors … carried out the biggest slaughter in centuries … which is why at some point they will be destroyed and pay for it'.

Causal agency ● Although almost all pupils ascribe responsibility for genocides to and name perpetrators; a notable minority identifies causalities which reflect recent local history. Accordingly, genocides are explained as a consequence of 'political reasons' (1) or of 'major powers' wanting 'to show their strength' (2) or of dispute. Pupil 3 thus writes that countries carry out genocides 'in order to conquer territories or because of disputes among them' (3), pupil 8 explains the cause of genocides as 'poor understanding over many years', while pupil 10 writes that 'people die in vain because some countries have conflicts and the easy solution is to do a genocide'.
Times and spaces ● The time frame is defined most commonly by the First and Second World Wars. Exceptionally, pupil 3 defines the Armenian genocide as 'recent', while pupil 6 claims that the 'poor understanding' between Turks and Armenians 'will never end'. The only spatial references are to Smyrna (Izmir) and Crete as places in which 'the Ottomans did genocides' (4).
Points of view ● This class largely describes events in neutral terms. However, about half of them also adopt moral standpoints by claiming that 'humanity has not developed but is becoming ever worse' (3) or by lamenting the 'innocent souls' (11) of victims and by adopting a militant tone towards Turkish perpetrators (11). Two pupils assert that learning about genocides might help to prevent future recurrences, while one expresses hope that prevention will succeed.
Explanation assessment ● This class focuses on atrocities committed against the Armenian population while explaining it in terms which appear in part to have been appropriated from the recent history of Cyprus. It cites, for example, claims to territory and disputes between foreign powers among the causes of genocides while skirting forms of persecution and killing. Moral standpoints are often justified in religious terms such that Cretans were subjected to a 'wicked experience' (4) or that 'Turks are a people not blessed by God' (11).

The Senior School in Nicosia
Events ● Pupils in this class present examples of both the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide, while giving priority to the latter. Half of them also provide definitions of genocide as killing. Exceptional cases include the persecution of native Americans (10) and ongoing persecution in the Middle East in 2017 (7).
Protagonists ● The essays quote two pairs of perpetrators and victims, comprising Turks and Armenians and Hitler and Jews respectively. Personalised protagonists include races and nations as categories of victims.
Effects and aftereffects ● All pupils conceptualise genocide as killing, while pupils 4 and 9 define it as 'condeming to death' and 'mass murder' respectively.
Causal agency ● While almost half of the class indicates no causality or uses passive constructions such as 'an entire people is killed' (8), the remaining pupils focus specifically on naming responsible protagonists. Almost half of the pupils write that racism motivated perpetrators, although they formulate this explanation in causal terms ('for racist reasons', 4, 5). The concept of race is here used without qualification.
Times and spaces ● No pupils indicate spaces or places in which genocides occur, while three refer to the occurrence of genocide in 1915 and one to genocides 'in history' and in the present day.
Points of view ● Pupil 3 defines genocides as a 'gruesome way in which someone can destroy an entire nation of people'. All other pupils adopt a neutral point of view by either describing events or providing lists of statements. Despite this, one pupil recognises that 'history plays a role in the present day' (7), and that learning about the Holocaust and genocides generally serves to 'remember and show respect to people who have died' (10) and to prevent further genocides (9).

Explanation assessment ● This class's thematic focus on the 'Armenian genocide' reiterates that of the Terra Santa College, although it also recognises the Holocaust. Outstanding features of this class are the unqualified use of the notion of 'race', and the conception of nations as victims. The essays are descriptive and adopt a neutral tone in spite of calls to usefully learn from genocides.

S1 *'Terra Santa' College*, private secondary school in Nicosia (population 280,000), with thirteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Marilena Stefani.
S2 *'The Senior School'*, secondary school in Nicosia (population 280,000), with ten responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Giorgos Kotsonis.

Translations of Cypriot educational materials by Charis Toska.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Curricula

The *Framework Education Programme for Basic Education* from 2016 for eleven to fifteen-year-olds addresses the world wars and communist, fascist and National Socialist 'totalitarian systems' in a section entitled 'The Modern Era' (56). Here, the curriculum also mentions 'antisemitism', 'racism' and 'their unacceptability in terms of human rights', while the Holocaust is listed in the historical context of the Second World War, in a subsection highlighting 'the situation in our countries', 'resistance' and 'consequences of the war'.

The second curriculum, *Standards for Basic Education* from 2013, stipulates teaching about 'The Modern Era' for fifteen-year-olds. It addresses 'memorial sites … associated with the Jewish and Roma Holocaust', located in Czechia and Europe (33). The section 'A Divided and Integrated World' (38) also deals with 'political, economic, social and environmental challenges of the contemporary world', with the examples of 'ethnic cleansing', 'terrorism', and 'child labour' among others. All these aspects are situated 'at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries', yet without further contextualisation.

The *Framework Education Programme for Secondary School* from 2007 is geared towards fifteen- to nineteen-year-olds and stipulates teaching about the Holocaust in the section 'The Situation in the Years 1914–1945' (45–46), which deals with 'the two world wars' and 'the major totalitarian ideologies', contrasted to 'the principles of democracy'. In this context, the curriculum underlines (the lack of) opportunities for individual action in 'totalitarian' systems, addressing the 'causes and nature of aggressive policies and the inability of potential victims to face them'. The Second World War is dealt with in terms of 'the global and economic character of the war', 'science and technology as a means of waging war' and 'the Holocaust'. None of the curricula mention 'genocide' or related events, and no connections are made between 'the Holocaust' and 'ethnic cleansing', which are dealt with in separate sections (C2, 33 and 38).

The first curriculum states that educational goals involve fostering the 'knowledge and skills' necessary for 'active participation' in 'democratic society' and encourages 'tolerance and the respect for human rights' as well as the 'prevention of racist, xenophobic and extremist attitudes' (51). These goals are reiterated in the third curriculum, which also claims to convey historical 'understanding' (39). The second curriculum touches upon human rights education and the remembrance of the Holocaust, expecting pupils to be able to 'explain antisemitism, racism and their unacceptability in terms of human rights' and to 'give examples of memorial sites … associated with the Jewish and Roma Holocaust' (33). In addition, this curriculum proposes practical exercises. For example, it requests pupils to

choose two concepts from a list comprising ‘ethnic cleansing’, ‘terrorism’, ‘peacekeeping’, ‘floods’, ‘demilitarised zone’ and ‘child labour’ and to ‘explain how they relate to events and phenomena in the world at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries’ (38).

C1 *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání*, Příloha č. 1 k Opatření ministryně školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy, kterým se mění Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání, čj. MSMT-28603/2015, Praha, leden 2016 [Framework Education Programme for Basic Education, annex no. 1 to the Measures of the Minister of Education, Youth and Sport, Prague, January 2016].
C2 *Standardy pro základní vzdělávání – Dějepis*, Pracovní verze z 30.4.2013, Zpracováno dle upraveného RVP ZV platného od 1.9.2013 [Standards for Basic Education – History, working version of 30 April 2013, processed according to the modified RVP ZV valid from 1 September 2013].
C3 *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro gymnázia*, Výzkumný ústav pedagogický v Praze, 2007 [Framework Education Programme for Secondary School, Pedagogical Research Institute in Prague, 2007].

Textbooks
***Dějiny 20. Století* [History of the Twentieth Century] (2005)**
Paratext ● The table of contents indicates that ‘Criminals and Their Victims’ and ‘Visiting the Theresienstadt Ghetto’ are subchapters of a section devoted to the Second World War. This section is introduced with a subsection entitled ‘The Most Destructive War in History, 1939–1945 – The Danger of Exterminating [*vyhlazení*] Entire Peoples’, which contextualises genocide militarily. Further subchapters deal not only with aspects of the war (‘From the Phoney War to the Attack against the USSR’ and ‘Fighting on the Eastern Front…’), but also with life under occupation (‘Under the Rule of the Swastika’; ‘Resistance to Evil’). Pedagogical exercises invite pupils to learn facts (‘Which countries participated in the Holocaust…?’, 63), assess causes (‘Why did it come to famines?’, 41) and reflect on morality (‘How did … people’s moral traits become manifest in the [occupied] territories?’, 84). Some sections encourage empathy. For example, a double page entitled ‘Visiting the Theresienstadt Ghetto’ describes an imaginary journey through time, whereby two Czech pupils ‘visit’ the ghetto and ‘interview’ a girl of their own age (64–65). This section is preceded by questions such as ‘How did people live in concentration camps?’ (63).
Events ● This textbook devotes seven pages to the Holocaust, one page to ‘famine’ (*hladomor*) in the Soviet Union, half a page to atrocity crimes against Armenians (‘genocide’) and Greeks (‘massacres’) on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, and a few lines to ‘tragedy’ in Katyn and ‘crimes’ in Cambodia respectively. It also briefly mentions ‘genocide’ in Rwanda and ‘bloody’ fighting in the former Yugoslavia. National Socialist crimes are defined legally as ‘crimes against peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity’ (83), while the terms ‘Holocaust’ and ‘Shoah’ are defined both etymologically and as ‘murdering [*vyvraždění*] of European Jews and Roma’ (62). The authors qualify the expression ‘Final Solution of the Jewish question’ as ‘cynical National Socialist terminology’ (62). They define genocide as ‘intentional mass murder [*vyvražďování*], liquidation [*likvidace*] of entire groups of a certain nationality, religion etc.’ (32). The textbook conceives of both ‘communist dictatorship’ and National Socialism as ‘totalitarian’ regimes (50). Furthermore, it invites pupils to ‘compare the victims of both world wars’ in terms of ‘numbers’ and ‘population groups affected’ (83).
Protagonists ● The textbook defines perpetrators of the Holocaust not only politically (National Socialists, ‘leaders of the NSDAP’) and militarily (the SS, the Wehrmacht, ‘the occupants’, 59), but also in terms of profession (‘scientists, artists’) or as ‘millions of simple Germans’ (63). Victims are named as Jews, Roma, communists, Soviet prisoners and

'progressive artists', as well as 'population groups, which were regarded by National Socialists as inferior (homosexuals, Slavs)' (42), 'millions of women, old people and children' (52) and 'the Czech nation' or 'Czech population' (59). Protagonists are also qualified as 'the silent majority', 'collaborators' and 'resistance fighters' (58). Moreover, the textbook underscores the European dimension of the Holocaust ('ten million Europeans died in concentration camps', 83). Exceptionally, Germans also feature as victims ('German families felt the consequences of the war' and 'inhabitants of Germany … lost their homes, health and lives', 59). While most visual quotations represent victims (58, 62, 84), textual quotations render the perspective of individuals such as Hitler (21), Himmler (42) and Rudolf Höss (63). The authors define protagonists of other atrocity crimes in political terms (the 'Soviet government', 22), in military terms ('the Turkish army', 34), in national or ethnic terms ('Armenians', 'Serbs', 'Turks', 'Hutu', 'Tutsi'), in combination ('Polish officers' and 'members of the Russian NKVD', 56) or simply as 'millions of people' (41).

Effects and aftereffects ● The authors explain the effects of atrocity crimes and genocide historically as famine, deportation, plunder (in the Soviet Union), 'massacres' and 'resettlement' (in the Ottoman Empire, 34), the 'liquidation of the intelligentsia' (in Cambodia, 94) and refugees (in the former Yugoslavia), but also in moral terms as 'bestial atrocities' (34). The effects of the Holocaust include boycotts, disenfranchisement, expropriation, stigmatisation, forced labour, medical experiments, Germanisation, mass death and survival, but also 'suffering' (62), a 'difficult and absurd … everyday life' (69), and 'heroic revolt' (63). By asking pupils to 'characterise the … stages [of persecution]: anti-Jewish laws, pogroms and the Holocaust' (63), this textbook presupposes that the genocide evolved according to a cumulative process. The aftereffects of atrocity crimes are said to have been trials and the punishment of criminals (in Nuremberg and Tokyo), commemoration (in Theresienstadt and Lidice), retaliation (the 'arbitrary expulsion of the Germans' from Czechoslovakia, 125), the creation of the state of Israel (63), emigration (of Armenians, 34), concealing (of famine in the Soviet Union, 41), as well as belated acknowledgement ('The Soviet government did not concede [the crimes in Katyn] until 1990', 56). The authors underscore human effects by stating that 'human losses were irreplaceable' (82) and 'the crimes of Auschwitz and countless Lidices influenced the thinking and behaviour of several generations' (107).

Causal agency ● The textbook explains the Holocaust as an outcome of motivation based on obedience (the SS 'were blindly obedient', 57), conviction ('leaders … were convinced of the superiority of the Aryan race', 63), belief ('soldiers were infused with faith in victory', 57) and fanaticism (which 'dominated some Germans', 63). Moreover, collaborators are said to have 'decided to profit' from occupation (59) and resisters were those who 'believed in the defeat of Germany' (59), while 'the silent majority' simply 'tried to survive' (58) and 'despair … led to [the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising]' (63). The authors ascribe crimes to responsibility, either explicitly ('the SS were responsible for the genocide', 57) or implicitly ('violence against Jews… began shortly after Hitler's takeover', 42). Causal explanations state that National Socialism was 'based on … chauvinism and racism' (43), and that 'racism … [was] put into practice' (63), with the result that Jews and Roma 'became victims of National Socialist ideology' (59). Furthermore, retaliation against Germans is said to have been a 'consequence' of German 'aggression' (59). Other atrocity crimes are explained causally ('the state continued to export grain [and] the result was … the death of millions', 41) or ascribed to responsibility (Polish officers 'were assassinated by … the NKVD', 56). Some explanations omit agency by using the passive voice. For example, 'the situation in Yugoslavia evolved dramatically' (162).

Times and spaces ● Most atrocity crimes are dated precisely, for example famine (from 1932 to 1933), the 'exodus of Greeks' (in 1922), Katyn (March and April 1940) and war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 1992 to 1995). Other crimes are said to have been committed 'during

the war' (against Armenians, 34) and 'in the 1990s' (in Rwanda and Burundi, 98). The Holocaust is marked by key dates such as the opening of the concentration camp in Dachau (1933), the Nuremberg Laws (1935), the 'Crystal Night, a pogrom' in November 1938 (43), the 'Lidice tragedy' on 10 June 1942 (62), the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943) and the Nuremberg trial (from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946). The space associated with atrocity crimes is national ('in the Soviet Union', 'in Ukraine') and local (Vologda, Kharkov), while population resettlements are conceived of as movements 'from Asia Minor' and 'to the Syrian desert' (34). The spatial framework of the Holocaust ranges from nations (Germany) and regions ('Eastern Europe') to administrative territories (the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia) and camps (Dachau, Auschwitz, Treblinka). The authors highlight places on the territory of Czechia such as Theresienstadt, Lidice, Ležáky, Ploština and Javoříčko. They suggest temporal and spatial progression by claiming that the crimes committed by National Socialists 'during the 1930s in their own country acquired a pan-European dimension after 1939' (62). Moreover, the present and past are linked in the subchapter 'Visiting the Theresienstadt Ghetto', which depicts two pupils today on an imaginary field trip to the Theresienstadt ghetto in 1944 (64–65).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains the Holocaust as a result of human convictions, obedience, profit-mongering, and of 'racism … put into practice' (63). The authors highlight the attitudes and motives of bystanders, collaborators and resisters, while pedagogical exercises urge pupils to reflect upon the moral aspects of genocide and to empathise with protagonists. The effects and aftereffects of genocide also include human 'suffering' and 'irreplaceable losses'. While the authors underscore the 'pan-European' spatiality of the Holocaust and name 'Europeans' as its protagonists, they also exceptionally define Germans as victims of war and retaliation. The explanation is contextualised nationally in terms of the Germanisation of, or expulsions of Germans from, Czechoslovakia, and in terms of memorial sites in Czechia.

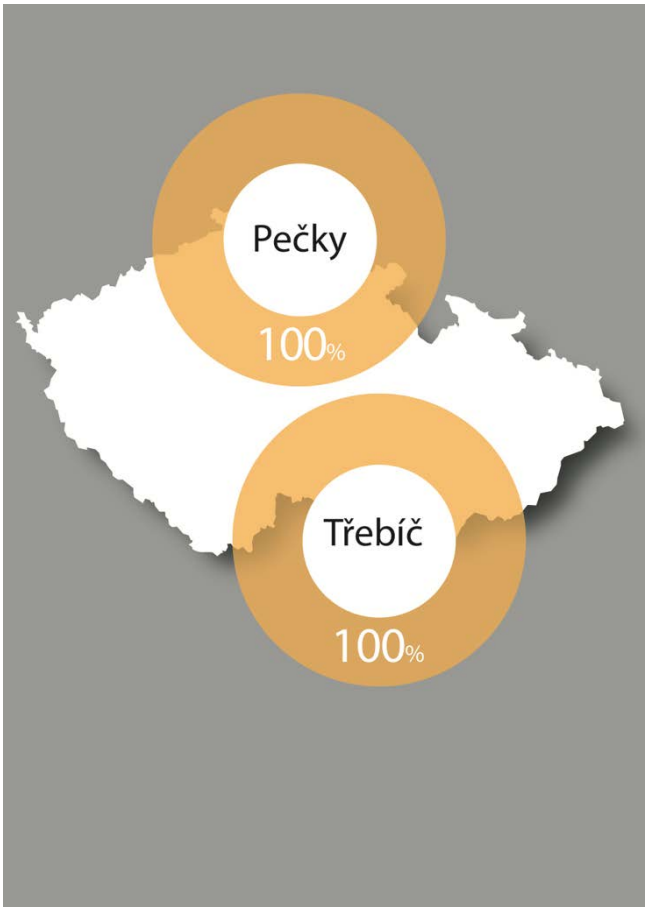
Dějepis **[History] (2007)**
Paratext ● This textbook, which deals with world history from 1918 to the present day, does not mention genocides on its contents page. The preface contextualises 'the genocide of Jews' and the attempted 'extermination of nations' (7) militarily and politically by defining the twentieth century as 'not a century of peace' and by associating it with 'totalitarian regimes'. Exercises invite pupils to reflect on causes ('What made it possible for totalitarian regimes to come to power …?', 68) and consequences ('How did the Second World War affect humanity?', 99) and to establish connections ('What were the relationships between the economic crisis and extremist views in society?', 46). Other exercises ask pupils about their own thoughts ('What comes to mind when you hear the word 'Holocaust'?') and feelings ('What feelings did you have when reading the excerpt [by Rudolf Höss]?', 84).
Events ● The textbook devotes eight pages to the Holocaust, half a page to 'genocide' and 'civil war' in Cambodia and to 'crimes against humanity' in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also allocates half a page to atrocity crimes in the Soviet Union, which it associates with the 'persecution of Cossacks' rather than with famine in Ukraine. The authors also briefly mention 'crimes against humanity' in Katyn and 'bloody massacres' in 'African countries'. The textbook defines the Holocaust as 'systematic murdering [*vyvražďování*] of Jews (but also of Roma) by National Socialists' (46), and genocide as 'total or partial eradication [*vyhubení*] of a particular group of people (for national, religious, racial or political reasons)' (123). Throughout the book, the Holocaust is qualified morally, and often metaphorically, as a 'bestial extermination process' (82), as 'barbarism in its worst form' (97), or in terms of 'the tragic fate of the Jews' (76). The authors locate 'totalitarianism' in 'Germany, Italy and Russia' (7) and compare aspects of the postwar expulsions of Germans to National Socialist crimes by claiming that '[s]ome Czechs acted like the National Socialists' (107).

Protagonists ● Perpetrators of the Holocaust include political groups (National Socialists), military categories (‘the occupant’, 76), corps (the SS, the Gestapo), personified states (‘the goal of Nazi Germany…’, 61) and individuals (Hitler, Reinhard Heydrich, Rudolf Höss). Although the authors state that, ‘The Jews were most affected by the extermination policy’, 82), they also devote paragraphs to ‘the Holocaust of the Czech Roma’ (77) and to the ‘National Repression’ of Czechs (76). Further victims include ‘Slavs’, ‘“coloured” people’ (‘*barevnými’ lidmi*, 45), ‘mentally ill people’, ‘homosexuals’ and ‘millions of Europeans’ (94). The authors acknowledge collaboration (‘[o]nly a small part of the population began to cooperate’, 87) and resistance (‘the Czechoslovak Jan Kubiš and the Slovak Jozef Gabčík assassinated Reinhard Heydrich’, 85). Visual quotations render not only victimisation (children behind barbed wire, 77; crowded beds in barracks, 82), but also ‘[t]he return of prisoners from concentration camps’ (108). Persecutors in the Soviet Union are named as Stalin, ‘the secret police’, ‘the army’, ‘Bolsheviks’ and ‘rich peasants … for whom the term ‘kulaks’ was found’ as well as ‘so-called enemies of the state’ (29) and ‘Don and Crimean Cossacks’ (30). Other protagonists are presented as binary pairs (‘Soviets’ and ‘Polish officers’, 97; ‘the regime of the Khmer Rouge’ and ‘Cambodians’, 122) or defined in ethnic and religious terms (‘Croats, Serbs and Muslims’, 152).
Effects and aftereffects ● The textbook defines the effects of atrocity crimes historically. These range from expropriation and discrimination to expulsion, executions, destruction, Germanisation and mass death, but also include survival and resistance. The authors underscore the human dimension of suffering by stating that ‘National Socialist policy permeated all areas of life’ (45) causing ‘unimaginable suffering’ (77). Moreover, crimes in Cambodia are circumscribed as the ‘liquidation of cities, intelligence, and all the achievements of civilisation’, while ‘[t]he influx of urban residents disrupted the lives of peasants’ (122). Aftereffects of genocide include trials, political change (‘the USSR was “promoted” to a superpower’, 98), commemoration (‘Do you know on which day we commemorate the Holocaust?’, 80) and consternation (‘crimes against humanity horrified the world’, 97). This textbook is exceptional insofar as it devotes one and a half pages to expulsions of Germans from Czechoslovakia (107–108) alongside half a page to the sections ‘Jews after Liberation’ (108) and ‘Roma after the War’ (109). The authors explain retaliation against Germans in legal terms as a ‘violation of a basic human right’ (107), underscore the suffering of ‘innocent … Germans’ and conclude with the precept that ‘it is necessary to derive lessons for the present day’ and ‘be reconciled with the past’ in order to ‘create good neighbourly relations’ (108). The authors also acknowledge antisemitism after the war, whereby ‘Czech Jews’ who had ‘returned to their home country’ were ‘disappointed by the behaviour of some Czechs’ and ‘began to leave Czechoslovakia’ (108).
Causal agency ● Causal explanations of the Holocaust draw on ideological and political motives. For example, ‘racism’ is said to have been ‘aimed at … Slavs, Jews and Roma’, whereby the ‘Nazi dictatorship’ is described as ‘reminiscent of colonialism’ and ‘Germanisation … was to culminate in … physical liquidation’ (94). Causal explanations are also implied in exercises which enquire, ‘What led to the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich?’ (88) and in formulations such as ‘Heydrich’s death unleashed Nazi terror’ (85) but ‘helped to consolidate the international prestige of the Czechoslovak exile government’ (85). Aftereffects of genocide are also explained in terms of ethnic prejudice. ‘Because many of the Jews … had declared [that they were of] German nationality, the Czech population often regarded them as Germans [and] the anti-German atmosphere [after the war] transposed to these victims of Nazi persecution’ (108–109). The authors ascribe crimes to responsibility (‘German soldiers … destroyed’, 97) and retaliation and resistance to determination (78) and affect (‘the hatred against the Germans broke out’, 78). The textbook explains other atrocity crimes as outcomes of responsibility, either explicitly (‘Soviets … killed’, 97), or implicitly (‘under the dictatorship of Pol Pot … there has been systematic liquidation’, 122).

Times and spaces ● The textbook dates repression against Cossacks from 1919 to 1920 and crimes in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, while the Holocaust is marked by key dates such as the beginning of the discrimination of Roma (1933), the Nurnberg Laws (1935), 'Crystal Night' (November 1938) and postwar trials (from November 1945 to October 1946). The space allocated to the Holocaust is mostly national and local, whereby National Socialists 'destroyed entire villages in Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, France and other occupied countries' (97). While defining Auschwitz, Treblinka and Majdanek as the 'most well-known' extermination camps (82), the authors underscore Germanisation in 'the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia' (76) and highlight sites of crimes on the territory of Czechia in Theresienstadt, Lety and Kunštát. The textbook locates some atrocity crimes less precisely 'in African countries' (122) and 'in the former Yugoslavia' (152).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook contextualises the Holocaust militarily and politically, and explains it primarily as a result of racism. Pedagogical exercises invite pupils not only to assess causes and establish connections, but also to express their own opinions and feelings in relation to genocide. Interestingly, the textbook associates persecution in the Soviet Union with measures against 'Don and Crimean Cossacks'. Some atrocity crimes are only briefly mentioned and located less precisely (in 'African countries'). The authors underscore the moral and human dimensions of genocide as a 'bestial extermination process' and as 'unimaginable suffering'. They also highlight atrocities committed on the territory of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and focus on protagonists within Czech society. For example, National Socialist measures taken against Jews from the Protectorate, 'Czech Roma' and the Czech population are dealt with in separate sections. Similarly, the authors explain immediate aftereffects of genocide such as retaliation against Germans on Czech territory, post-war antisemitism and the emigration of Roma from Czechoslovakia.

T1 Mandelová, Helena, Eliška Kunstová, Ilona Pařízková, 2005. *Dějiny 20. Století*, Liberec, Dialog, second edition [History of the Twentieth Century, year nine, age fifteen].
T2 Čapka, František, 2007. *Dějepis 9 – od roku 1918 do současnosti*, Prague, Scientia [History 9 – from 1918 to the Present Day, year nine, age fifteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Basic School in Pečky

Events ● In this class, five pupils write that they do not understand the meaning of genocide. Three of the remaining five provide short lists of words implying an explanation of genocide which juxtaposes 'KZ' and 'Gulag', 'Hitler ' and 'Stalin', and 'Serbs and Jews', without explaining distinctions.

Protagonists ● In addition to the above-mentioned protagonists, pupil 8 relates relations between some of them as 'Hitler's hunting of Jews and other peoples'.

Effects and aftereffects • Only one pupil provides an explanatory narrative in which the effects of genocide are generalised as 'pain, lawlessness and blood in human history' (8).

Causal agency ● The same pupil ascribes these effects politically to 'totalitarian or authoritarian regimes' and to 'the radicalisation of society', but also holds Hitler and Stalin responsible in equal terms.

Times and spaces ● There are no indications of times or spaces.

Points of view ● Common to almost all pupils is their acknowledgement that it is important to learn about the Holocaust and other genocides. They do this by stating that 'it was a bad time', that one 'should avoid these mistakes in the future', or 'learn from history and prevent similar things'. However, even those who adopt a moral stance do not relate these stated principles to either themselves or their own times.

Explanation assessment ● Explanations of the Holocaust and genocide in this class are largely implicit in lists of information which establish arbitrary associations between different events. Only pupil 8 provides an explanation of political causes and human effects while also ascribing responsibility to political leaders. Almost all pupils claim in principle that learning about the Holocaust and genocide might help to prevent future genocides.

Elementary School in Třebíč

Events ● This class refers to the Holocaust, other genocides and both the Holocaust and genocides in equal manner. Most of the eleven essays examined provide general definitions followed by references to the example of the Holocaust.

Protagonists ● Most pupils name Germans and Jews. Others also mention Roma and Slavic victims (8), 'Armenians' and 'deniers' (3) and 'racists' (2). Three pupils categorise victims collectively as 'other races' (2, 4, 6).

Effects and aftereffects ● The class adheres to two broad explanations of the effects of genocide. One group adopts the language of violence by describing 'destruction' and 'annihilation'. The other group describes the human cost of genocide in terms of 'suffering', 'hunger', 'not eating much', 'being hit' and 'bad conditions'. Exceptionally, one pupils refers to 'deniers who want to delete' (3) the memory of genocides.

Causal agency ● Half of the class makes no reference to causes or enablers. The other half explains the Holocaust and genocide as the result of human responsibility: in terms of motivation (hatred, envy and 'wanting to annihilate', 8); or as the effect of causes, which are named as stupidity (6), cruelty (7) or a 'lack of common sense' (6). Two exceptional pupils even apply universal ethical principles by claiming that perpetrators lacked empathy with their victims, and that greater empathy might have prevented them from participating in genocide. Pupil 8, for example, writes that 'I believe that it was very bad of these people [sic]. Because, if the people who kept others as hostages were themselves kept hostage, they would realise that it is bad' (8). Pupil 6 more characteristically relates that 'I once read that two out of three Jews were tortured, tormented with hunger or simply killed. That seems sad to me but, even more so, stupid. How can someone kill millions of defenceless people simply because they are from another race or religion?'

Times and spaces ● Named places range (most commonly) from 'concentration camp' to 'Germany' and 'everywhere'. Just over half of the pupils describe genocides in the simple past tense, while others relate the past to the present day by suggesting that genocides are 'ongoing' (3), that they 'could recur' (6) or are 'frequent' and 'ongoing' (8).

Points of view ● Again, two broad points of view are represented in this class. One is neutral and descriptive, the other moral and affective. The latter ranges from expressions of sadness and dismay in combination with claims that it is impossible to imagine the reality of genocide (6, 7, 9), to principled calls for learning as a prerequisite for prevention (11, 13), and the need to sustain remembrance of past injustices for their own sake, 'so that these terrible things are not forgotten' (2). Three pupils appear to perpetuate perpetrators' racial categorisation by adopting the terms 'other races'. However, pupil 9 exceptionally adopts the contrary point of view by claiming that 'I cannot imagine that this could happen now and that I were a Jew' [sic].

Explanation assessment ● This class manifests two explanatory tendencies. One group describes or defines what genocides are in combination with principled calls to 'learn' and 'act', while the other group offers affective and moral arguments expressing either causality or responsibility. Effects such as 'hunger', 'not eating much', 'being hit' and 'bad conditions' render genocide in terms which are familiar and easy to comprehend, but at the same time domesticate if not trivialise the effects of genocide. By referring to victims of the Holocaust as 'other races', some pupils explain the event by adopting the perpetrators' racial categorisation (and thereby the perpetrators' point of view) without questioning its validity.

Moreover, the claim that empathy on the part of perpetrators might have prevented their participation in genocide is largely speculative, since empathy is also a prerequisite for sadism, for example.[1] One pupil (3) argues metaphorically that 'this is a burning topic and some people would want this dark part of human history to be put out'. Pupil 10 openly claims to have obtained information from Wikipedia and is not accounted for in this summary.

S1 *Basic school Pečky* (population 4,600), with ten responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Eva Zajícová.
S2 *'Základní škola kpt. Jaroše'*, elementary school in Třebíč (population 37,000), with thirteen responding pupils with an average age of fourteen and fifteen, supervised by teacher Helena Štajglová.

Translations of Czech educational materials by Maria Hammerich-Maier.

ESTONIA

Curricula

The *Curriculum for Basic Schools*, amended in 2014, stipulates teaching the history of the twentieth century for pupils aged thirteen to sixteen (stage three of basic school). The section called 'The Second World War, 1939–1945' (28) addresses the Holocaust and 'the establishment of the UN', but also 'Soviet and German occupations' and the 'June Deportation' [of Estonians by Soviets], yet without elaborating on perpetrators and context. The broader political context is given by 'dictatorship' and 'totalitarianism', which are addressed in the section 'The World between the Wars, 1918–1939' (28). In this section, the Soviet Union and Germany illustrate 'totalitarianism', while 'democracy' is exemplified by the United States and 'authoritarianism' by Italy. A section entitled 'The World after the Second World War, 1945–2000' (29) addresses 'collectivisation' and 'mass repression' alongside 'Communist society according to the example of the USSR' and 'Estonia's development within the USSR'. Since this section deals with postwar history and emphasises the Cold War, 'the Singing Revolution' and 'perestroika', it can be assumed that 'collectivisation' and 'mass repression' also refer to developments after 1945.

The *Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools*, valid since 2014, includes teaching about the Holocaust and genocides for sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds. Besides dealing with 'the Balkan crisis' as an example of a 'new area of tension' in a section called 'The World at the Turn of the Century' (18), this curriculum devotes a separate section to 'crimes against humanity', illustrated by 'the concepts: genocide, the Holocaust, deportation and Gulag' (20). Here, the 'course content' includes causes of 'mass crime' described in terms of 'ideological bases' and 'psychological roots' (20). Furthermore, the section enumerates 'concentration camps and gulags', 'crimes of Nazism', 'crimes of Communism', 'genocide and ethnic cleansing' as well as 'crimes against humanity in Estonia'.

In the first curriculum, the Holocaust is placed in the context of the Second World War, while its overarching political context ('totalitarianism') is exemplified not only by 'Germany', but also by 'the USSR' (28). The second curriculum similarly conflates 'crimes of Nazism' and 'crimes of Communism' illustrated by the Holocaust and the Gulag, which are both defined as 'crimes against humanity' (19–20). Genocide and ethnic cleansing feature as further examples of such crimes (20). Educational aims are defined in the first curriculum as the conveying of 'knowledge', 'understanding' and 'respect for human rights' (1–2). Pupils are expected to be able to 'explain the meaning' of the terms 'dictatorship', 'totalitarianism',

[1] See Paul Bloom, *Against Empathy. The Case for Rational Compassion*, New York: Harper Collins, 2016.

‘national socialism’ [sic], and ‘Holocaust’, and to ‘identify’ historical figures (Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, 28). The second curriculum highlights the goal of ‘understand[ing] the nature of crimes against humanity’ and the ‘necessity to deplore and prevent them’ (20). It expects pupils to ‘explain’ terms (‘genocide, the Holocaust, deportation and Gulag’) as well as causality (‘the … development in society that made it possible for people to commit crimes against humanity’, 20).

C1 *National Curriculum for Basic Schools,* Appendix 5 of Act No. 1 of the Government of the Republic of 6 January 2011, Last amendment 29 August 2014.
C2 *National Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools*, Appendix 5 of Act No. 2 of the Government of the Republic of 6 January 2011, Last amendment 29 August 2014.

Textbooks

***Lähiajalugu I* [Recent History I] (2004)**

Paratext ● The cover image of this textbook shows the iconic perpetrators Hitler, SS troops and Stalin. These figures provide the initial focal point of the textbook, which deals with European history from 1919 to 1945. The cover determines the context in which mass atrocities are dealt with and indicates to readers that history is shaped by individuals and military forces. Pedagogical exercises focus on factual questions (‘What means were used to develop the leader’s personality cult?’, 33), causal questions (‘Why did non-democratic movements have many supporters?’, 33), and speculative questions, which encourage comparison between historical agents (‘Why did Germany deport and destroy defeated people?’; ‘Why did the Soviet Union do this?’, 119).
Events ● The authors repeatedly define atrocities in terms of ‘destruction’. By contrast, they define the Holocaust as ‘mass extermination’ (117, 124). Whereas the authors mention the term ‘atrocities’ (*terrorile*) once with regard to the Holocaust (46), they associate the term ‘mass murder’ during the Second World War with ‘Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians’ (116). The textbook also addresses the Greek–Turkish population exchange of the 1920s (half a page, 15), ‘British Colonial Wars’ once in relation to Winston Churchill (19) and ‘famine in the Ukraine’ (half a page, 63). The authors use the term ‘Holocaust’ (60, 62, 76, 103, 116–118, 124, 132), which the glossary defines in its exclusive sense as ‘[t]error against Jews and mass extermination of the Jews in National Socialist Germany and in the areas annexed by it from 1933 to 1945’ (132). The authors also emphasise the severity of National Socialist crimes by presenting large photographs of Second World War concentration camp prisoners (91). They also define collectivisation as the process in which ‘farms under private ownership were forcibly turned into joint enterprises’ (52, 133), and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as ‘the breaking of Japan’ (*Jaapani purustamine*) (114).
Protagonists ● The selection of types of protagonists in this textbook is eclectic. The authors attribute major atrocities to the National Socialist and Soviet regimes. First, the authors identify Hitler (42, 45, 46, 58), Goebbels (46) Himmler (60) and Rudolf Höss (117) as the main individuals responsible for the Holocaust. They also name ‘the National Socialists’ (58), the SS corps and the Gestapo (60) as collective agents. The exclusive understanding of the Holocaust is reiterated when Jews are named as its victims, while ‘Gypsies’, ‘Slavs’, ‘communists’ (32, 46, 60, 117), ‘the mentally ill’, ‘people with physical disabilities’ and ‘criminals’ (59) are referred to as victims in separate sections devoted to ‘Non-democratic Movements’ and ‘The Development of a Dictator’. The authors also name ‘Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians’ (116) and Yugoslav civilians (103), as well as ‘civil society’ as a whole (116) as victims of the Second World War. The textbook associates crimes of collectivisation with Stalin (50), as well as with the ‘Communist Party Control Commission’ (63), the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU) and the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD) (46). ‘Famine in the Ukraine’ is ascribed to the ‘heads of the republic’, the

‘Communist Party Control Commission’ and the ‘local control commissions’ (63). ‘Farmers’ and ‘agriculture’ feature as victims of collectivisation (50, 52–53). In addition to these cases, the authors introduce the Greek–Turkish population exchange of the 1920s with a photograph of Atatürk. They likewise ascribe the nuclear bombing in Japan to the United States, US special aircraft, and scientists (114), the victims of which are named as ‘people’ (114) and the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (115).

Effects and aftereffects ● The authors provide factual descriptions of National Socialist persecutions. These include ‘attacks on Jewish neighbourhoods’, ‘staging street fights with communists’ (58), the ‘loss of human rights’, ‘imprisonment’, ‘death camps’, ‘terror’, ‘deportation’, ‘shootings’ and ‘deaths of millions in the war and detention camps’ (44), preventing humans from reproducing (59), scapegoating (58), the yellow star badge (60), and ‘death by gas’ and ‘forced labour’ (117). The authors also mention ‘ghettoisation’, ‘raids’, ‘mass arrests’, ‘expulsion’, and the ‘Final Solution’ in the context of the Holocaust (117). The authors address crimes committed under Soviet rule in areas conquered in 1939 and 1940. Descriptions of Soviet aggression during the Second World War in Poland, Ukraine and western Belarus include ‘arrests’, ‘execution’, and ‘deportation to prison camps’ (116). Supported by visual aids, the authors highlight events in Katyn as an example of Soviet crimes. They also emphasise the ‘major deportation’ which was carried out by ‘Soviet rulers in the Baltic countries’, stating that ‘approximately 50,000 people were deported to Siberia, including more than 10,000 Estonians’ (116, 117). The authors also refer to Estonian civilians who actively participated in the killing of Jews , who are likewise called ‘citizens’ (124). The textbook presents partisan resistance movements during the Second World War, mentioning ‘The White Rose’ underground group in Germany and the ‘Forest Brothers’ in Estonia as examples (118). Crimes of collectivisation in the 1930s are called the ‘Great Purge’ (50), which is an ‘extremely violent’ event, and includes the ‘expulsion’ or ‘deportation’ of ‘nearly nine million farmers’, in addition to ‘seven million people’ who were killed, alongside the ‘destruction of agriculture’ and ‘a large-scale famine’ within Soviet Russia (50, 52–53). The authors mention Stalin’s ‘extensive system of prison camps (GULAG) … in which 1.7 million prisoners served their sentences in the 1940s’ (53). In addition, the textbook refers to ‘260,000 dead’ following the ‘the breaking of Japan’. Aftereffects of the Second World War include trials and punishment of the National Socialist elite and Japanese rulers, and the ‘cleansing of Europe from Nazism and Fascism’ (119). The book also mentions ‘war refugees’ (120), the beginning of a nuclear age (114), and the ‘mistrust’ of Eastern European populations on the part of Soviet rulers in territories conquered by them, including Estonia, during the Second World War (119).

Causal agency ● The Holocaust is said to have derived from political motives inherent in the ‘totalitarian’ and ‘authoritative’ character of the National Socialist ‘dictatorship’ (44). These include functional (national, economic, territorial and strategic) causes, and ideological causes derived from the National Socialist ‘official policy of racial purity’ (59). The authors relate these causes to motives when describing the National Socialists ‘writing the glory of their nation on the flag’, ‘to achieve economic prosperity and a happy life’ by ‘destroying’ ‘foreigners, treacherous … nations (such as Jews, Gypsies, Slavs) and communists’ (32). The authors also emphasise the National Socialists’ attempt ‘to annul the system of Versailles and found a Greater German State at the expense of other subjected peoples’ (62). They also explain the National Socialist persecution of Jews as a matter of ‘state policy’ (46, 60, 117) carried out in ‘the name of the people’ to serve the domestic goal of sustaining the ‘existing social order’ (46). The authors underscore the motivation behind Stalin’s atrocities in relation to the communist pursuit of a ‘new society’ (50), constructed for and by the ‘poor’ and ‘peasants’ (32). As with the National Socialists, the authors associate Stalin’s atrocities with the political character of an ‘authoritative and totalitarian dictatorship’ (44). The ‘Great Purge’ (50) is ascribed to Stalin’s personal and political motivation to depart from Lenin’s

'internationalism' and to his lack of 'confidence' in the 1917 revolutionaries (53). Although the authors ascribe personal responsibility to Stalin, the Holocaust involves not only personal but also collective responsibility, which the authors ascribe to all National Socialists (58). The authors define the motive for the US nuclear attack in Japan as the 'unconditional capitulation of Japan' (114).
Times and spaces ● This textbook presents atrocities chronologically from the 1920s to the mid–1940s. In addition to the histories of the United States, Japan and Soviet Russia, the authors focus mainly on Europe. The latter constitutes the book's main spatial point of reference, reinforced with seven maps (9, 14, 44, 92, 95, 102, 103). These maps provide factual, political and strategic information about the development of the Second World War, which suggests that Europe was a battleground of National Socialist and Soviet powers. These include maps entitled 'German Expansion between 1933 and 1939' (92), and 'War in Europe between 1939 and 1941' (102). Places of persecution include Auschwitz and Treblinka (117).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook's account of mass atrocities is descriptive. However, the authors explain mass atrocities generally as the consequence of racial and utopian ideologies which occur in the 'totalitarian' and 'authoritative' National Socialist and Soviet 'dictatorships' (44). Moreover, the repetition of the words 'destruction' and 'terror' to refer to atrocities committed by both National Socialist and Soviet regimes underscores a totalitarian paradigm which suggests equivalence between the scope and scale of National Socialist and Soviet atrocities. Hence, the authors challenge explanations of the Second World War since the end of the Soviet Union by presenting Soviets as usurpers of eastern European populations. This corresponds, on the one hand, to contemporary Estonian perceptions of Soviets as perpetrators rather than as liberators. On the other hand, the textbook positions Estonians in the context of mass atrocities as collaborators of National Socialism. By doing so, this textbook challenges the post-Soviet narrative of 'Estonian victims' by presenting Estonian civilians not only as victims of Soviet invasion, but also as active participants in mass atrocities.[2]

***Lähiajalugu II* [Recent History II] (2004)**
Paratext ● The back cover of this textbook shows three images: a starving African woman and child; an African man holding the remains of human skulls; and an African city congested with people and traffic. These images present a strong contrast to the front cover, which presents European families who live on two sides of a wall. These images introduce the textbook's foci, which comprises global and social history from 1945 to 2001. The back cover illustrates the context in which mass atrocities are dealt with and indicates to readers that genocidal events in the second half of the twentieth century occurred in Africa, while Europeans lived under a forced division. Pedagogical exercises focus on factual questions ('What changes occurred on the Europe map in the early 1990s?', 123), and on superlative questions which encourage pupils to promote prevention ('How would it be possible to solve them [the most important problems in Africa] today?', 77).
Events ● The authors use the term 'blood' to address mass atrocities. They attribute 'mass murders' to acts of war during the 'bloody events in the Balkans' in the 1990s (120) (three pages, 69, 120, 117), and describe the '1994 conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi' (half a page, 76) as 'bloody military clashes' and 'organised massacres' or 'organised bloodbaths' (*korraldatud veresaunade*). The authors employ the term 'blood' and thus associate three additional events: 'the Korean War' (12), the 'Algerian struggle against French power' (74), and the 'Bloody January of 1991 in Vilnius' (114). The authors introduce the latter with a photograph which shows the blood of protestors who were run over by Soviet tanks.

[2] Meike Wulf, *Historical Culture, Conflicting Memories and Identities in Post-Soviet Estonia*, PhD thesis,London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 2006, 3.

Additionally, the textbook associates ‘atrocities’ (*terrorile*) and ‘murder’ with acts committed during the ‘Vietnam War’ (one page, 24).

Protagonists ● Protagonists are selected and qualified according to their military functions. The authors present ‘[t]he former leader of the communist party Slobodan Miloševic [who] became the president of Serbia in 1990’ (107) as a perpetrator. By contrast, the authors acknowledge the changing military role of NATO, which initially ‘considered these events to be internal affairs of Yugoslavia’ but later took an active part in ‘bombing Serbia to force Miloševic to stop the violence in Kosovo’ (121). The authors explain the role of ‘the USA, Russia and the European Union’ as peace mediators, and underscore the role of Estonian soldiers who ‘also took part in peacekeeping missions on the Balkan Peninsula’ three times (twice in writing and once with a photograph, 121). In the context of the Vietnam War, the textbook identifies collective perpetrators, including ‘communists’ and ‘Soviet troops’ from the USSR, and ‘the National Liberation Front’ (Viet Cong), which is supported by ‘the North Vietnamese leadership’ (24). The authors also emphasise protagonists such as President Dwight Eisenhower and the US army, while presenting American students who ‘protest against the war’ as those who collectively brought about its end (24). The textbook ascribes equal importance to the roles of both US and Russian peacekeepers in the war in Kosovo, and as perpetrators in the case of the Vietnam War. ‘Albanians, Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims’ are said to be the victims of the war in the Balkans (121). The authors use a visual quotation of a woman surrendering (24) to present the ‘civilian population’ of Vietnam as a collective victim which endured ‘the greatest suffering’ during the war. The further use of visual quotations of civilian women appears in ‘the conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi in 1994’, with a photo of African women fleeing the country (77). ‘Hutu and Tutsi’ are said to be both victims and perpetrators of ‘the conflict … in 1994’ since ‘bloodbaths [were] carried out by both peoples (*rahva*)’ (76).

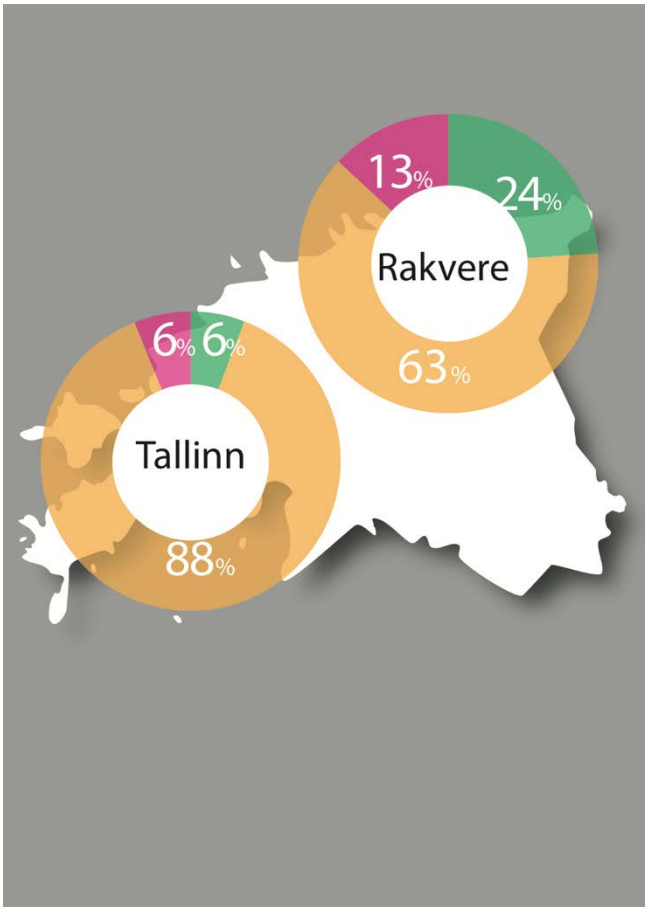
Effects and aftereffects ● The textbook lists the effects of wars and atrocities in the Balkans as ‘armed clashes’, ‘unrest’, ‘air strikes’, ‘bombing’ and ‘mass murders’ (120–121). The authors mention ‘punitive attack’, and the use of ‘poisonous substances’ on the part of American powers during the Vietnam War (24). The main effects of ‘the 1994 conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi’ are said to be ‘acts of war … claiming millions of lives in total’ (76). Aftereffects of wars in the Balkans include political and legal ramifications, such as the electoral victory of ‘Vojislav Kostunica, candidate of the opposition forces’, and the ‘handing over’ of Miloševic to the international court in Hague ‘[where] he was charged with crimes against humanity’ (121). Aftereffects of the war in Vietnam include the ‘departure of US troops from Vietnam’ and the signing of ‘a neutrality agreement’ (24), whereas ‘the 1994 conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi’ is said not only to involve refugees (77), but also to have international implications, because ‘many countries of this continent were also plagued by constant economic difficulties, famines’ (76).

Causal agency ● The textbook underscores three interrelated types of motivations associated with mass atrocities: national, ideological and historical. National motivation is said to be the driving force behind ‘mass murders’ committed during ‘the increasingly brutal war’ in the Balkans. It is also seen to derive from Miloševic’s ‘radical nationalist’ personal character (120) and from his political agenda ‘to forcefully suppress independence efforts in Croatia [which] triggered a war between Croats and Serbs’ (120). The authors ascribe the atrocities of the Vietnam War to ideological motivations, among them President Eisenhower’s ‘domino theory’, which posited that ‘the loss of even one Indo-China area, would also lead to the loss of other areas of the region’ (24). Although the authors assign ‘mutual’ responsibility to Hutu and Tutsi alike (76), the section about ‘the war between the Hutu and Tutsi in 1994’ is prefaced by the subtitle ‘Turbulent (*rahutu*) Africa in the 1990s’. ‘Turbulence’ in this case is ascribed to a historical cause, namely ‘colonial rule’ in Africa (74).

Times and spaces ● This textbook presents atrocities chronologically from the beginning of the 'Cold War' (4) to the period following its end in the mid-1990s. Although the authors examine both global and European history, six out of eleven maps presented in the textbook focus on the administrative military status of European countries after the Second World War (for example 'The Division of Germany and Austria into Occupation Zones', 26). Maps such as 'Europe after the Second World War' (7) reinforce the notion that Europe was the battleground for Soviet and Western powers. Other spaces ascribed to crimes are national (Kosovo, Rwanda), albeit with a regional focus ('[s]everal states (Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Congo, etc.) were drawn into this war', 76).
Explanation assessment ● The textbook's account of mass atrocities is descriptive and its authors maintain a neutral point of view. The naming of mass atrocities for example as the 'events in the Balkans' and 'the 1994 conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi' play down genocidal characteristics. However, the textbook also offers affective explanations. The characterisation of unrelated atrocities (in the Balkans, Rwanda and the Vietnam War) with 'blood', or as 'bloody', creates an association between these three events, but also evokes affective connotations (12, 74, 76, 114, 120). Visual quotations solicit affective reactions to genocide in Rwanda (human skulls, woman and child suffering from malnutrition, back cover) and by naming epidemics such as AIDS as an aftereffect of the 'conflict' (76). Expressions such as 'plagued by economic difficulties' (76) also connotes that Africa is a locus of malady. The authors explain atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the Cold War by underscoring the ideological motivations of Miloševic (121) and Eisenhower (24). Furthermore, the textbook highlights the peacekeeping contribution made by Estonian soldiers in the Balkans.

TI Värä, Eina, Tõnu Tannberg, Ago Pajur, 2004. *LÄHIAJALUGU I Ajalooõpik 9. klassile*. Tallinn, Avita [Recent History I. Textbook for year nine, age sixteen].
T2 Värä, Einar, Tõnu Tannberg, 2004. *LÄHIAJALUGU II Ajalooõpik 9. klassile*. Tallinn, Avita [Recent History II. Textbook for year nine, age sixteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Pelgulinna Secondary School in Tallinn

Events ● Almost all of the essays submitted by this class define genocide generally as 'something bad' or as 'a horrific event in history'. Half of them continue by recounting the example of the Holocaust, while five name 'the deportation' of Estonians under Soviet rule. Other examples provided include the persecution of Aborigines (3, 6), 'the genocide in North Korea' (5, 7), or genocides in Africa, China and Tibet (6, 7).

Protagonists ● General understandings of people involved in genocides include 'people' (1, 2), 'innocent people' (4), but also 'organisers of genocides' (4), 'someone who decides whether you should live' (10) and 'important people' (12). More specifically, two pupils acknowledge Jewish victims while one mentions Hitler. Categories of agents are provided by three essays and include members of nations, religions and 'races' (3, 6) or 'dark-skinned' people (7), whereby the concept of race is employed without qualification. Pupil 12 attributes her knowledge to 'my great-grandmother, who was deported … and who talks about it a lot'.

Effects and aftereffects • In addition to killing, half of the essays evoke deportation or 'the deportation', while only pupils 3 and 11 explain that they are referring to 'when the Soviet Union deported people to Siberia' or to deportation as a means to the Soviet 'Russification' of Estonia in 1941 respectively. A few pupils add additional details of the effects of genocides, which include rape, the division of families, flight, disappearance and hunger, but also 'injury to the body or mind' (3) or 'control of a national or other minority' (6).

Causal agency ● Two pupils outline moral and political causes of genocides generally, rooted in 'heartless, unfeeling greedy people' (1) and 'a belligerent and ruthless human race' (3) or occurring in situations when 'groups of people clash … and when members of the dominating and stronger group begin to torment other people' (3). All other explanations of genocides focus on the responsibility of states and their leaders, or on their orders and presumed motivations, which include 'the interest in torturing other people' (1), the wish 'to keep a nation pure … and to prevent people who are not entirely normal from reproducing' (2, 4, 11), the aversion to cultural or national difference or appearances (4, 5, 8, 10), antisemitism (6, 8, 11) and Russification (11). Pupils 1 and 4 doubt their ability to understand genocides; pupil 4 expresses dismay at 'a completely absurd thing' and that he 'cannot understand people who carried out genocides'.
Times and spaces ● Genocide is located in Germany in four cases and in Estonia in three cases, or in Sweden (2), Siberia (3) and 'all nations and states' (12). All four essays which evoke the temporality of the Holocaust or genocides locate them in the present-day as 'ongoing' (1), 'also done today' (2), 'all the time' (3), which 'happened … and will happen in the future' (5).
Points of view ● All but one pupil adopt a moral point of view by using superlatives such as 'the most horrific events' (1), while half of these add to their disapproval of genocides expressions of affect such as the hope 'that such acts of horror will never again be carried out' (4). Moreover, most essays convey a moral tale about genocides generally, which characteristically defend human rights by asserting, for example, that, 'Every person has the right to live and to be … for Jews … were also people' (4). Several essays also formulate moral points of view in imperative terms by ending with claims that, 'People should do everything to prevent such things' (10). Paradoxically, few name practical uses of learning about the Holocaust and other genocides; these include prevention (1), avoidance (4), changing the world (5, 8) or learning to 'understand good and bad' (6).
Explanation assessment ● This class provides a strong focus on both the Holocaust and the Soviet deportation of Estonians during the Second World War. However, by candidly acknowledging a lack of historical knowledge about the Holocaust and genocides, almost all pupils in this class provide very general moral and often affective explanations of genocides as something terrible, and also conclude their accounts with moral imperatives reproving genocidal behaviour and asserting claims to human equality. Pupil 8 even quotes Sid, a figure from the series of popular animated films called *Ice Age*, who claims that '… because of genocides I hate people! People are disgusting!' Explanations are based partially on moral causality but primarily on a wide range of motivations; these are defined in relation to genocide generally rather than specifically ascribed to particular genocides.

Rakvere Secondary School
Events ● Eighteen out of the twenty-two essays provide a very general definition of genocide as 'mass murder', 'massacre', 'destruction', 'killing' or 'liquidation'. Typical of this generalisation is pupil 18's claim that 'genocides are events in which many … people die'. Approximately half of the essays address the example of the Holocaust. Others name the deportation of Estonians during the Second World War (3, 6, 15), ISIL (20) and Hiroshima (17, 18). Exceptional cases include pupils who equate genocide with prison overcrowding (1) or with racism and slavery (21, 22) and one mention of genocide in Congo under Leopold II (1). Pupil 13 implicitly compares genocides by writing that the Holocaust is 'the most well known' while pupil 17 compares the Holocaust to the colonisation of America, '[p]erhaps something similar happened in America'. For want of knowing an historical example, pupil 16 offers a hypothetical example of genocide, 'in the case of a genocide the whole nation is killed … as if someone killed all Australians in the world, this would be a genocide'.
Protagonists ● While half of the pupils describe the Holocaust as Hitler's or, less frequently,

National Socialists' or Germans' persecution of Jews, a third of the class populate their accounts with victim groups defined with collective singulars such as a 'race', 'belief' or 'nation'. Less frequently mentioned victims are 'people' (6, 18), 'innocent people' (14) 'dark-skinned people' (5, 21), 'Christians' (20), 'Kulaks' and 'my grandmother' (3). Other perpetrators are defined as 'Russians' (3) or 'major powers' (18).

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to the large number of generic definitions of effects as 'mass murder', 'massacre', 'destruction', 'killing' or 'liquidation', some pupils provide details of physical (4) and mental (6, 13) injury. Only pupil 20 provides a more detailed account of forced labour, hunger and the enforcement of the yellow star badge. By equating genocide with slavery, pupils 21 and 22 describe debasement following the selling of slaves and the lack of food. Aftereffects include a mention of the annual Holocaust commemoration day (15). Less typical is pupil 3's recollection of her grandmother's personal account of flight after all her belongings had been taken by Russian and German soldiers, such that 'genocides have left sad thoughts in the minds of many people'. Two pupils underscore the effects of genocides in the present day in terms of remembrance and fear of new genocides. Hence pupil 14 writes that 'mass executions happened which left scars in many people and caused gaps in the family trees of many families', and pupil 20 suggests that 'today the danger of a genocide happening is very high when one thinks of the great danger of terror attacks today'.

Causal agency ● Almost half of the essays are void of causal agency and combine passive constructions and the neutral subjects 'one' and 'someone' or substantive phrases such as 'executions took place' (14). Others indicate responsible figures, most commonly Hitler, National Socialists or Germans, but also 'Russian and German soldiers' (3). Multiple motivations are presented, including the spreading of fear to gain power (20) or killing 'for fun, racism or simply in the course of war' (1). Pupil 17 evokes the association between Jews and disease in the minds of perpetrators as if the Holocaust had been designed as an antidote, whereby 'Germans thought that they had to be got rid of and otherwise in Germany there is a 'disease' (17). Pupil 20's claim that 'Hitler blamed with his cold heart the Jews for all kinds of problems' (20) identifies an affective and behavioural cause. Unusually, having understood genocides generally to be mass killing, pupil 1 claims that 'genocides occur in overpopulated prisons'.

Times and spaces ● Half of the essays indicate neither times nor spaces in which genocides take place. In addition to the Second World War (1, 4, 15, 17) and 'the Russian time' (3), four essays emphasise the relevance of genocides in the present day, either in terms of ongoing discrimination (21, 22), the risk of terror attacks (20) or generally that, 'Every event occurring in history affects us in some way or other!' (14). Pupil 20 evokes the physical traces of 'empty concentration camps and mass graves' left after the Holocaust.

Points of view ● Almost all pupils adopt a neutral point of view. Three make moral claims by writing that 'the Holocaust was not good', that victims were 'innocent' (14), or that the treatment of 'Kulaks' was 'terribly tragic' (3). A quarter of pupils consider that learning about the Holocaust and genocides may promote prevention, help learn from it (4), avoid insulting survivors (5), be prepared for the future (17) or 'stop complaining about the state [at times] when there is no war and no genocides' (20).

Explanation assessment ● This class stands out because most pupils genuinely recount their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust and genocides, including their doubts and misunderstandings. As a result, they write very general, largely timeless and spaceless, accounts of genocides and the Holocaust. At the same time, they favour description over explanation and therefore eschew both causality and expressions of moral or affective points of view.

S1 *Pelgulinna Gümnaasium Tallinn*, basic and secondary school (gümnaasium) in Tallinn (population 430,000), with twelve responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Johanna Bome.
S2 *Rakvere Gümnaasium*, secondary school (gümnaasium) in Rakvere (population 15,000), with twenty-two responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Heli Krisi.

Translations of Estonian educational materials by Kaja Ziegler.

FINLAND

Curricula

The *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education*, valid since January 2015, stipulates teaching about the Holocaust and genocides for thirteen- to sixteen-year-old pupils. It places the Holocaust historically in the context of 'the Great War era' (447) emphasising moral and universal aspects ('human rights') and military events (the 'viewpoint of ordinary people' after 'surviving a war'). Both the Holocaust and 'other forms of persecution' are subsumed under the legal concept of 'crimes against humanity'. The curriculum proposes to convey knowledge, encourages 'responsible citizenship' and underlines the role of 'the individual as a historical actor' (446). The pupils are expected to analyse information and source materials, acknowledge historical multiperspectivity, train their 'textual skills related to history' and use 'interactive and enquiry-based working methods' and 'games, films, and literature'. Pupils are also required to 'familiarise themselves' with the world wars and 'learn about' the Holocaust, atrocities, crimes against humanity and human rights.

The *National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools*, valid since August 2016, is geared towards pupils aged seventeen and older. It addresses the Holocaust 'and other genocides' alongside 'human rights issues' in the context of the 'World War period', in a teaching unit entitled 'International Relations'. The curriculum contextualises the world wars politically, situating them in 'the golden age of the nation state', and ideologically with reference to 'imperialism, nationalism, and other ideologies' and 'democratic and totalitarian states' (182). The reference to 'human rights issues, the Holocaust, and other genocides'(182) suggests that genocide is conceived of generically and the Holocaust evoked as one example of it. The teaching unit aims to examine 'the key phenomena of international politics' alongside 'changes in power relationships' and places emphasis on 'the use of history as a vehicle for politics' (181). Pupils are expected to 'master' concepts and theoretical models in order to 'explain' international politics, to 'recognise propaganda', to 'follow the media actively' and to 'assess' reasons and solutions for conflicts (181).

C1 *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014*, Finnish National Board of Education, Print: Helsinki 2016.
C2 *National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools 2015*, Finnish National Board of Education, Print: Helsinki 2016.

Textbooks

Aikalainen Historia **[Contemporary History] (2012)**

Paratext ● The chapter 'The Second World War' includes a subchapter entitled 'Holocaust'. Other subchapter titles such as 'Germany on the Road to Victory', 'Turning Points of the War and Total War' and 'The World War Ends' contextualise the Holocaust militarily. Most pedagogical exercises require causal explanations and take the form of questions including 'Why did the Germans fail to defend the Jews and other minorities, even though they saw how the Nazis treated them?' (49). Further exercises are factual or raise moral questions, for

example to ‘consider whether it was right that only leaders and soldiers from defeated countries were sentenced’ (75).
Events ● This textbook addresses the Holocaust (nine pages) as well as famine and purges in the Soviet Union (two pages). It also mentions Katyn briefly (one line). The former Yugoslavia and Rwanda are not associated with genocide, but with ‘war’ (140) and ‘[violent] civil warfare’ (184) respectively. The authors qualify atrocity crimes in the Soviet Union in moral terms as ‘terrible terror’ and ‘worst terror’ (39). The Holocaust is qualified in legal terms as ‘war crimes’ and ‘crimes against humanity’ (74), but also defined as the ‘systematic genocide of national, ethnic, religious and other groups by [the Nazis]’ (70). Moreover, the textbook specifies that, ‘When speaking about the Holocaust, the genocide of the Jews is usually meant’ (70).
Protagonists ● The authors typically define perpetrators of the Holocaust as political groups (‘the Nazis’, ‘Nazi officials’, 69) and military groups (‘special forces of the SS’ and ‘the military leadership’, 68), while individual perpetrators are named as Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Göring. Jews feature as ‘the main target of the Holocaust’ (70), while ‘others murdered’ include ‘Roma, homosexuals, the mentally ill, disabled, Slavs, Jehovah’s witnesses and communists’ (70) as well as ‘pregnant women, children … and old people’ (71). Resisters include ‘the Warsaw Ghetto Jews’ (58) and the ‘few Germans [who] rose to defend the Jews’ (49), as well as Yugoslavs and partisans, while personified countries such as the United Kingdom and France are said not to have taken ‘any action’ (54). When addressing atrocities in the Soviet Union, the textbook typically opposes an individual perpetrator (Stalin), a political group (communists) or a collective singular (‘the secret police’, 9) to victims defined collectively as peasants, ‘millions’ (9) and as ‘those … who were insulted as kulaks’ (37). Pavel Morozov features as an individual protagonist. In Katyn, the ‘secret police’ is said to have executed ‘20,000 Polish officers’ (68). Interestingly, few visual quotations represent acts of perpetrators against victims (48, 69). Other images show groups which are usually associated with perpetrators in a position of weakness (‘German soldiers surrendered in Stalingrad’, 66) or display (re)actions directed against perpetrators (‘A young woman kicks a German in Toulon’, 68; ‘A … camp inmate identifies a violent guard …. after liberation’, 70).
Effects and aftereffects ● The authors present forced collectivisation historically in terms of persecution, denunciation, expropriation, famine, forced labour and the death of ‘millions’ with the result that ‘[t]he entire rural area was in chaos for many years’ (37). They also present the Holocaust historically as cumulative ‘systematic persecution’ (49) which starts with boycott, disenfranchisement, flight and the destruction of property and culminates with ghettoisation and death. Further effects include the concealment of crimes (‘Nazis stopped persecution’ during the Berlin Summer Olympics in 1936, 49), collaboration (‘some ... started cooperating’, 68) and resistance (‘few Germans rose to defend the Jews’, 49). Exceptionally, the authors use metaphors to underline the moral gravity of National Socialist crimes, for example the occupied nations are said to have had a ‘hard fate’ (68) and the liberators of Bergen-Belsen ‘a shocking sight’ (71). Aftereffects include justice (the Nuremberg trials), political change (the territorial division of Germany and the creation of the UN, but also ‘cross-border arrangements’ which ‘led to large scale population transfers’ (74) and the strengthening of ‘the Zionist movement’, which ‘led to disputes’ between Arabs and Jews (158)). Exceptional aftereffects include persecution (‘many Germans in eastern Europe lived under persecution’, 74), the refusal to admit guilt (the accused ‘considered themselves not to be guilty’, 69) and insufficient information (‘It is still unclear how many German civilians knew about … the genocide’, 69). The outcome of collectivisation and industrialisation in the Soviet Union is that, in the late 1930s, ‘Soviet industrial production was … the largest in the world’ (36).

Causal agency ● The textbook ascribes 'bloody purges' to Stalin, and the Katyn massacre to the 'secret police' (68). It explains forced collectivisation in terms of economic motivation ('to make agriculture more efficient, the communists started collectivisation', 37) and famine and death as 'the consequence' (*seurauksena*, 37) of collectivisation. Besides ascribing the Holocaust to responsibility, the textbook explains it as an outcome of motivation based on affects ('Nazis fuelled hatred', 46), political strategy ('to silence their opponents …', 49), moral features ('the Germans' actions … were relentless', 68), obedience (the accused claimed that they had 'acted according to orders', 69), and rationality ('for the Nazis it was important that … prisoners were quickly and efficiently transported to … camps', 71). The authors also explain passivity and resistance in terms of motivation. For example, '[m]ost people thought they were wise to keep silent, so they would not be in trouble themselves' (49), but 'not everyone wanted to be subservient' (68). Moreover, the Holocaust is said to have been the 'consequence' of racism (70). However, the textbook sometimes describes mass atrocity as a process, without addressing agency ('the killing was carried out like industrial production', 71).
Times and spaces ● Famine in the Soviet Union is dated to 'the early 1930s' (37). The Holocaust coincides with the National Socialist regime and is marked by key dates such as 1933 (boycott), 1935 (disenfranchisement), November 1938 ('the so-called 'Crystal Night', 49), January 1942 (Wannsee Conference) and 1945–1946 (the first Nuremberg trial). The places ascribed to genocides are mostly national, and include forced collectivisation in the Soviet Union, the Holocaust in Poland, the Soviet Union and 'countries occupied by Germany' (68). The authors also place the Holocaust in a regional context ('eastern Ukraine' and 'eastern Europe', 69) and associate it with camps represented on a map (70). Auschwitz and Treblinka are qualified in comparative terms as the 'biggest camps' (71).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains mass atrocities as outcomes of human motivation based on economic interests, affects, political strategy, moral traits and obedience. Moreover, the Holocaust is said to have been the 'consequence' of racism (70). The authors adhere to an explicatory strategy rather than linear description, and to causal rather than factual pedagogical exercises. They categorise genocides in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda in the 1990s as military rather than genocidal events. Atrocity crimes are defined in legal and moral terms. The textbook correspondingly emphasises juridical outcomes (trials), uses metaphors to express the moral gravity of National Socialist crimes and touches upon moral aftereffects (the perpetrators' lack of insight, retaliation against Germans). It also questions perpetrators' categorisations of victims ('those who were insulted as kulaks', 37). Interestingly, visual quotations represent not only violence against victims, but also violence against perpetrators.

***Memo Historia* (2017)**
Paratext ● The contents page does not address genocides explicitly. However, the teaching unit 'The Second World War' includes a chapter entitled 'Jews in the Second World War in Finland' alongside chapters suggesting a military focus ('Hitler Gets His War', 'The War in the Whole of Europe', 'Weapons are Silent'). Most exercises invite pupils to 'interpret' propaganda images (38–39), 'justify the thesis' that 'Stalin's power was based on … terror' (27) and answer questions such as, 'Would you give Finland a clean record for how [people] behaved towards the Jews?' (110).
Events ● The textbook addresses four atrocity crimes, which are all defined in legal terms: famine, purges and 'ethnic cleansing' in the Soviet Union (two and a half pages); the Holocaust or 'Jewish genocide' (nine pages); genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina (half a page); and genocide in Rwanda (half a page). 'Ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' are defined in similar terms as 'mass extermination or deportation directed against a group of persons' (215) and 'systematic destruction of a particular group of people or a people' (217). Moreover, the

authors define the terms ‘Holodomor’ and ‘Holocaust’ etymologically and also qualify them as ‘the most devastating of Stalin’s acts of violence’ (27) and ‘the horrors of the Holocaust’ (106) respectively. The textbook compares the Holocaust and war when it states that ‘[e]ven at the front there was nothing as terrible as in the extermination camps’ (106).
Protagonists ● Perpetrators of the Holodomor are said to be individuals (Stalin), institutions (the ‘central government’, ‘authorities’, the ‘state police’, 27) and governing bodies (‘the communist leadership’, 27), while victims are named as ‘millions of people’ (27), peasants who were ‘labelled as … kulaks’ (27) and ‘anybody under any pretext’ (23) as well as ‘Ukrainians’ and ‘Russians’. Victims of ‘ethnic cleansing’ are named as ‘entire peoples’ and ‘Chechens’ (27). Political groups (‘the Nazis’), corps (SA, SS) and national groups (‘Germans’) feature as perpetrators of the Holocaust, while victims include Jews, communists, and Slavs. Named individuals include Adolf Hitler, Heinrich Himmler, Adolf Eichmann and Anne Frank, whereby the authors sometimes caricature Hitler as someone who ‘charms Germany’ (33), or as ‘one of the disappointed ones’ (34). The textbook rectifies the perpetrators’ racial understanding of the term ‘Jews’ by stating that ‘in reality, Jews were not another race, but ordinary Germans who only had another religion’ (42). ‘Nationalities and religious groups’ such as ‘Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks’ (138) equally feature as perpetrators in the ‘civil war’ (177) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Rwanda, ‘the army led by the Hutu’ and ‘death squads led by individual soldiers’ are said to have committed crimes against ‘Tutsi’ (186).
Effects and aftereffects ● The authors present the Holodomor historically in terms of expropriation, forced labour, famine and mass death, with a view to underscoring the human cost of denunciations (‘people denunciated their neighbours, friends and even relatives’, 23) and resignation (‘Those who were alive gave up’, 25). Outcomes of the Holocaust are also presented historically and range from disenfranchisement and stigmatisation to ghettoisation and extermination in camps. Exceptionally, the effect of anti-Jewish persecution is ‘outrage abroad’ (44), while Jewish immigration to Finland is said to have ‘caused a great deal of discussion’ (110). Outcomes of the genocides in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda are defined as ‘brutal killings’, ‘human rights violations’ (138) and death (186), but also international intervention (‘bombings’ by the NATO in Bosnia, 177). The ‘concealing’ of crimes and ‘not being able to quantify the total number of Stalin’s victims’ (27) feature as aftereffects of the Holodomor; those of the Holocaust are defined as denazification and trials against perpetrators, although ‘war crimes committed by the Allies were not dealt with at all’ (108). Exceptional aftereffects include distrust (‘For the Allies it was hard to believe that ordinary Germans did not know what had happened to the Jews’, 107), vigilantism and retaliation measures (109), and reconciliation (the Finnish prime minister ‘asked the Jewish community for forgiveness in the name of Finland’, 110). Education about the Holocaust is represented in an image showing children in a museum, with the caption, ‘Young people are acquainted with the horrors of the Second World War’ (107).
Causal agency ● The textbook ascribes the Holodomor to intentions (‘famine … was provoked by the central government’, 27), motivation based on paranoia (‘terror spread … wherever Stalin imagined he could see enemies’, 23), strategic goals (expropriation served ‘to force peasants to join the kolkhozes’, 27; people denounced each other ‘to preserve their life and liberty’, 23), and bureaucracy (local authorities ‘searched for … victims in order to fulfil the quota’, 27). The authors conflate causality and personal motivation when they state that ‘Stalin’s suspicions … led to a major killing operation, to ethnic cleansing’ (27). The textbook similarly ascribes motivation as a reason for the Holocaust. For example, Germans are said to have ‘felt suspicious of the Jews’ (37). Political ‘enthusiasm’ (110) and affects such as hatred and fear feature as further motives of collaborators, while morality is ascribed to helpers who ‘wanted to accept refugees for humanitarian reasons’ (110). Motives for the Holocaust are named as racist ideology (34), territorial expansion (‘to gain more living space’, 86) and the

goal of ‘destroying communism’ (86). The authors also use causal terminology when referring to outcomes of the Holocaust, for example the November Pogrom is said to have ‘caused outrage abroad’ (44). Exceptionally, atrocity is rendered in a descriptive fashion: ‘the destruction process only accelerated as Germany's position in [the] war deteriorated’ (107). The textbook explains other genocides in more explicitly causal terms. As a ‘consequence of the collapse of communism’ nationalism is said to have ‘escalated’ in the former Yugoslavia, a situation which was ‘sharpened’ by ‘the wealth gap’ and which finally ‘led to’ war (138). ‘Problems in Africa’ are broadly ascribed to ‘colonialism’, whereby ‘borders were drawn’ without respecting ‘the language, cultural or economic boundaries of the peoples’; this situation ‘led … to tensions’ which ‘erupted’ in war. The authors address the example of Rwanda, where ‘Europeans … ruled with the help of the Tutsi’ even though ‘the majority were Hutu’, with the result that ‘disputes between Tutsi and Hutu led to the Rwandan genocide’ (186).

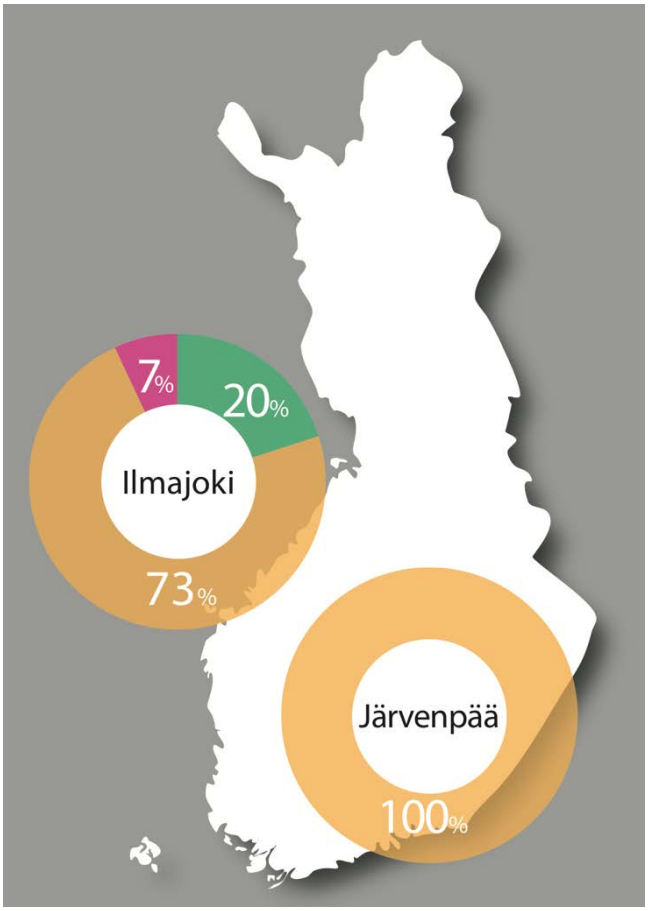
Times and spaces ● The Holodomor is dated from 1932 to 1933, while ethnic cleansing and mass relocation from Chechnya are dated to 1944. The Holocaust coincides with National Socialism, whereby the authors also highlight ‘the chain of events called Crystal Night’ in 1938 (44) and the decision ‘to destroy the Jews’ in 1942 (71). The genocide in Rwanda and ‘civil war’ (177) in Bosnia and Herzegovina are dated in 1994 and from 1992 to 1995 respectively. The textbook typically associates mass atrocities with states (Ukraine, the Soviet Union, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda), while the Holocaust is also associated with camps (Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen). Exceptionally, the authors locate the Holodomor in ‘rural areas’ and ‘kolkhozes’ (25).

Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains mass atrocities as outcomes of human motivation based on affects, political ‘enthusiasm’ and bureaucracy, but also of causes such as racism, nationalism, expansionism and colonialism. It contextualises genocides in relation to war and explicitly compares the Holocaust with war in moral and affective terms (‘Even at the front there was nothing as terrible as in the extermination camps’, 106). Collective protagonists are generally military, political and national groups. Although the authors critically qualify the perpetrators’ racial understanding of the term ‘Jews’, they use the terms ‘Hutu’ and ‘Tutsi’ without qualification. The textbook underscores moral outcomes of genocides (‘outrage’, distrust, resignation, and the need for help for ‘humanitarian’ reasons), but also antithetic aftereffects such as public discussion and the concealing of crimes, justice and vigilantism, reconciliation and retaliation. On the whole, pedagogical exercises encourage pupils to make connections (‘justify’, ‘interpret’).

T1 Kohvakka, Ville, Matti Ojakoski, Jari Pönni, Tiina Raassina-Merikanto, 2012. *Aikalainen Historia 8*, Helsinki, Sanoma Pro, fourth edition [Contemporary History 8, history, year eight, age fifteen].

T2 Hanska, Jussi, Kimmo Jalonen, Juhapekka Rikala, Anu Waltari, 2017. *Memo Historia 8*, Helsinki, Edita [Memo History 8, history, year eight, age fifteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Kartanon Koulu secondary school in Järvenpää

Events ● Approximately half of the essays submitted by this class define genocide as the 'extermination of a certain people' (5). Nineteen out of the twenty-two essays address the Holocaust, which is defined by a third of the class as 'the genocide of the Jews' (2). A number of other examples include the 'genocide in Russia' (1), 'the persecution of Christians … in the Roman Empire' (2), 'North Korea' (3), the 'shootout in Orlando', 'bomb attacks on churches' (22) and 'mass murder in Jonestown' (4). Two pupils address genocide tautologically by defining it as 'mass murder … in which many people are murdered' (22). Two pupils classify the Holocaust hierarchically as the 'most well-known genocide' (4), and as 'the topic most talked about at least in Europe' (3).

Protagonists ● More than half of the essays assert that Hitler was alone responsible for the Holocaust, such that he 'persecuted the Jews' (1) or 'murdered more than 6 million Jews' (17). Pupil 6 writes that the National Socialists 'killed 6 million Jews' and that Hitler's 'troops … committed many genocides' (6). Over half of the essays also depict Jews as passive agents who 'were discriminated against' (22). Stalin is also named by pupil 16 as a 'dictator'. Other categories of agents comprise 'Christians' in antiquity (2), and 'sexual minorities' involved in the 'shootout in Orlando' in 2016 (22).

Effects and aftereffects • Pupil 2 explains how the Holocaust evolved out of a series of events. '[The Holocaust] started with discrimination and the restriction of rights, then violence, and

finally began killing the Jews. [They] had begun to build concentration camps, especially in the area of Poland. The Jews had to do hard work and they were murdered by putting them in gas chambers. The longer the Second World War lasted … the faster the killing of the Jews became.' While three pupils perceive the effect of mass violence simply as death, such as pupil 1 who writes that 'lots of Jews died', two pupils focus on the number 'six million' (14, 17). Pupil 2 unusually refers to 'Christians who were captured and thrown to lions for food'. None of the essays address aftereffects of the Holocaust and genocides.
Causal agency ● Over half of the class ascribe sole responsibility for the Holocaust to Hitler. For example, the Holocaust is said to have taken place 'by Hitler's orders' (2, 11); or 'the Holocaust was Hitler's dreadful work' (7). 'Religion' is the second most frequently mentioned cause of mass violence. Pupil 1 writes that 'too many died only because they were born into a religion', and pupil 2 claims that 'Christians were persecuted … because they were not ready to worship the emperor'. Similarly, pupil 4 argues that 'the Holocaust … took place because of faith', and adds that 'mass murder in Jonestown happened because they [members of the Peoples Temple who collectively committed suicide in Jonestown in 1978] believed that the end of the world was approaching'. Other essays underscore 'ideological' motivation driven by 'the otherness or activity of a group of people' (22), psychological motivation entailing the wish 'to avenge their deeds on the persecuted people' (9) and 'race' (10).
Times and spaces ● The pupils' temporal and spatial horizon is defined largely as 'the time of the Holocaust' (11), 'when Hitler devastated everything' (5) and 'Hitler's Germany' (2). Two pupils name 'the Second World War' (2, 14), which is said to have taken place 'a hundred years ago' (14). While three pupils identify specific places of mass violence such as 'the area of Poland' (2), 'Russia' (1) and 'North Korea' (3), two pupils argue that genocides occur in 'different countries and places' (6) and that 'genocides have happened all over the world' (1). Approximately one third of the essays mention 'concentration camps' (1) or 'prison camps' (5) as the place to which 'the Jews were taken' (17), and pupil 1 clarifies the fact that 'concentration camps were not just labour camps but death camps'. Unusual is pupil 18, who associates genocides with a specific era ('at that time').
Points of view ● Most essays adopt a neutral descriptive tone. A small minority adopts a moral standpoint by writing that 'genocides are not good things' (8), that 'they are terrible and shocking' (16), and that Jews 'died in a cruel manner' (1). Only two pupils argue that 'by learning this [event]… maybe we can prevent it from happening again' (2).
Explanation assessment ● The majority of pupils in this class give priority to the Holocaust. They largely hold Hitler responsible for it. Although some tend to explain extreme violence as a result of 'religion', none of them explains precisely why religion leads to genocide. The emphasis on religion and monocausal if not exaggerated depictions of a Hitler who 'killed almost all Jews' overrides other causal factors such as racism.

Jaakko Ilkka secondary school in Ilmajoki
Events ● More than half of the essays from this class provide a general definition of genocide as 'mass murder and persecution of a particular people' (8). Two pupils qualify genocides as 'brutal' (6, 10). All essays refer to the Holocaust. Half of the essays also name other mass atrocities such as 'genocide in Cambodia' (1), 'Stalin's murders' (3), 'the murder of dark-skinned people after the American Civil War' (3), 'genocide targeting indigenous people', the 'Finnish Civil War' (3) and 'genocide … in which homosexuals are murdered' (12). Pupil 6 qualifies the Holocaust as 'the biggest genocide in history' (6) while pupil 10 defines it in exclusive terms as 'the genocide against the Jews' (10).
Protagonists ● More than a third of the essays focus on passive victims of mass atrocities without reference to responsible figures, such that 'many Indians were killed and enslaved' (2), 'genocide has also been targeted at indigenous people, such as the Indians' or

‘homosexuals are murdered’ (12). However, more than half of the pupils identify Adolf Hitler, ‘the leader of Germany’ (4) and ‘one of the most influential men in history’ (6), as someone who ‘committed a brutal genocide’ against the Jews, who are qualified by one pupil as ‘a nationality’ (6), and, according to pupil 1, against ‘all minorities’ (1). Agents include Pol Pot, who ‘killed the educated population’ (1) and Stalin, who ‘executed several officials, dissenters and ordinary people’ (3). Collective agents are classified according to colours, both of ‘skin’ and of political inclination. For example, pupil 3 writes that, ‘after the Whites won the Finnish Civil War, many Red leaders and agents were executed’, and adds that ‘the Ku Klux Klan began to persecute dark-skinned people’.

Effects and aftereffects ● ‘Concentration camps’ feature in more than half of the essays. Pupil 7 describes these as ‘bad places (close, sick, hungry)’. Pupil 4 describes a series of events located in concentration camps. ‘The Jews had to do forced labour and were treated really badly in the camps. They were sent in masses naked into the gas chambers and then so much poison came in that everyone died. The Jews also died in incinerators, too much strain and some died of starvation’. Another pupil specifically mentions the ‘poison Zyklon B which was sprayed from showers on the ceiling on people who were in the gas chamber’ (2). ‘Executions’ feature in almost half of the essays. These are said to be the fate of, for example, ‘Red leaders who were executed’ after the ‘Finnish Civil War’ (3), of ‘African-Americans who were persecuted and executed by Ku Klux Klan’ (13), and of ‘officials, dissenters and the ordinary people [who] Stalin executed’ (3). Only one pupil addreses aftereffects of the Holocaust by noting that ‘there are so few Jews today’ (4).

Causal agency ● Half of the essays explain the Holocaust as a consequence of Hitler’s personal responsibility. In two cases, Hitler alone is held responsible for atrocious acts. He ‘killed the Jews by shooting them’ (7), ‘lured them into the shower and they were gassed and the bodies were burned in a large stove that was heated’ (9), and tried to ‘destroy the Jews’ (10). Pupil 7’s description of ‘Hitler burying and burning people in the mass graves’ leads him to conclude that ‘it’s not difficult to bury or make a large number of people “disappear”’. Four pupils ascribe this responsibility to Hitler’s ‘hatred’ of Jews. Pupil 7 provides a biographical explanation of this motivation, according to which ‘Hitler saw that the Jews treated his family badly when he was smaller, which led to his extermination plans when he was grown’. Scapegoating is likewise substantiated biographically, such that ‘the cause of the genocide can be everything if you have experienced as a teenager that someone has been wronged and for the same the entire religious community is charged’ (7). The second most frequent explanation in this class infers mass violence from military motivations. ‘[W]hen you are at war against a country … you can conquer a country better by bombing and poisoning, so the people are murdered’ (10). Less common are ‘ideology, nationality or religious’ causes (6) and ‘ethnic reasons’ (1). Pupil 2 personifies genocides and explains them tautologically by writing that ‘many genocides have killed many people … genocides are always killing many people’ (2).

Times and spaces ● Whereas pupil 6 locates genocides in the past (‘luckily genocides are rare today’), pupil 12 claims that they are ongoing or just beginning (‘a genocide is now beginning in which homosexuals are murdered’). Two essays measure time as a category of a leader and a regime, as ‘the Soviet Union under Stalin’ (3) and ‘in Hitler’s era’ (2), or in relation to wartime, such as ‘after the Finnish Civil War’, ‘after the American Civil War’ (3) and the ‘Second World War’ (4, 8). While pupil 1 refers to Cambodia, pupil 2 locate genocides in ‘America’ and ‘Africa’. ‘Auschwitz’ appears in two essays, one of which qualifies it as ‘one of the largest concentration camps’ (4).

Points of view ● Almost all of these essays adopt a neutral point of view, while pupils 6 and 10 express moral judgement of ‘brutal killing’ and ‘brutal genocide’. Likewise, only two pupils write that learning about the Holocaust and mass violence ‘teach us what you should not do again’ (2), and that ‘we’ll know and not forget’ (8).

Explanation assessment ● This class explains the Holocaust primarily as the responsibility of Hitler. Two essays adopt the reasoning of perpetrators by explaining strategically efficient methods of mass violence ('you can conquer a country better by bombing and poisoning', 10). Unusual is also the factitious account of Jews mistreating Hitler in his childhood, which iterates a historic racist reasoning of perpetrators without contextualisation.

S1 *Kartanon koulu*, lower secondary school in Järvenpää (population 41,000), with twenty-two responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Kati Hynönen.
S2 *Jaakko Ilka koulu*, lower secondary school in Ilmajoki (population 12,000), with ten responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Anniina Mäki.

Translations of Finnish educational materials by Petra Sauerzapf-Poser.

FRANCE

Curricula

The *Special Official Bulletin No. 9* of 30 September 2010 contextualises the Holocaust historically in the Second World War period and politically in the confrontation between 'totalitarianisms' and 'democracies of the 1930s'. The curriculum also addresses the 'war of annihilation' and the 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies' in a section entitled 'War in the Twentieth Century'. This is followed by a juxtaposition of the Soviet, Fascist and National Socialist regimes in the 'century of totalitarianisms', with additional reference to French resistance 'against the Nazi occupier and the Vichy regime' in the section 'Frenchmen and the Republic'. Other mass atrocities and genocides are not mentioned, although emphasis is placed on 'new conflicts since the end of the Cold War', including the Gulf War of 1990–1991, the siege of Sarajevo from 1992 to 1995, and the attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001. The curriculum claims to foster 'understanding' of twentieth-century history by developing skills and reflection about historical sources.

The second curriculum, *History – Geography – Civic Education*, valid since 2009, is geared towards eleven- to fourteen-year-old pupils. This curriculum stipulates teaching about 'mass violence' with the examples of 'the war of the trenches' and 'the genocide against the Armenians', and places these events in the context of 'total war' in a teaching unit called 'World Wars and Totalitarian Regimes (1914–1945)' (61f). Both the Soviet and National Socialist regimes are associated with 'terror' (Stalinism also with 'mass terror' and 'great terror') in a section entitled 'The Totalitarian Regimes in the 1930s' (61). 'The genocide of Jews and Roma in Europe' is contextualised temporally in the teaching unit 'The Second World War, a War of Extermination (1939–1945)' (62), where Einsatzgruppen and death camps are evoked in order to illustrate 'various extermination mechanisms'. French collaboration is mentioned, albeit without evoking the French regime's participation in genocide. The curriculum defines educational goals in terms of knowledge of mass violence, of 'terror' under Stalin and Hitler, of concepts such as 'Second World War', 'liberation' and 'extermination camp', alongside the ability to describe and explain the genocide of Armenians and extermination.

C1 *Bulletin officiel spécial* n° 9 du 30 septembre 2010, Programme d'enseignement commun d'histoire-géographie en classe de première des séries générales [Special Official Bulletin No. 9 of 30 September 2010, history-geography, year one].
C2 *Histoire – Géographie – Éducation civique*, classes de sixième, cinquième, quatrième, troisième, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire,

mars 2009 [History – Geography – Civic Education, years six, five, four, three, Ministry of National Education, General Directorate of School Education, March 2009].

Textbooks

***Histoire* [History] (2011)**

Paratext ● This textbook devotes a chapter to 'The Second World War – War of Annihilation and Genocide of the Jews and the Gypsies'. Most subchapters deal with aspects of the Holocaust ('Deportation and Extermination', 'The Babi Yar Massacre'). Others focus on military aspects ('War of Annihilation in the USSR' and 'Atomic Bombing and Mass Destruction'). Exercises typically encourage acquisition of factual knowledge, asking questions such as 'What means do National Socialists use in order to annihilate …?' (103) and 'What … categories of population suffered mass extermination?' (101). Some factual exercises also invite pupils to 'write argumentative text[s] delineating the stages … of extermination' (109) and 'explain how a death camp functions' (113). Few exercises are causal ('Explain the causes of civil war in Bosnia', 189) or connective ('What paradoxes of Rudolf Höss's personality are outlined in these documents?', 115).

Events ● The textbook addresses the 'genocide of the Jews and the Gypsies' (thirty pages), atrocities committed against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (less than one page), the Nanjing 'massacre' (one and a half pages) and 'ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' in the former Yugoslavia (three pages). Nanjing and Yugoslavia are also qualified legally as 'crimes against humanity', 'war crimes' (192) and 'crimes against peace' (114). The famine in the USSR and the Gulag (three pages) are enumerated among measures of 'state violence' (226) in the 'totalitarian' Soviet Union. The textbook briefly mentions the 'massacre' in Katyn and 'ethnic conflicts' and 'genocide' in Rwanda (a few lines). While the authors do not use the term 'Holocaust', they define 'genocide' in legal terms with reference to the 1948 UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The term 'Shoah' is defined both etymologically and as 'extermination of Jews by Nazis' (101). Besides highlighting the 'exceptional position' (118) of the 'genocide of Jews' among atrocities committed in the twentieth century, the textbook does not establish explicit links between different mass atrocities. Instead, it tends to connote similarity by juxtaposing visual sources which depict different events. For example, a connection between the Nanjing massacre and the Holocaust is alluded to in images but not dealt with systematically. The chapter dedicated to the Second World War opens with a double page with two images of equal size side by side depicting executions in Nanjing (96) and the selection of deportees in Auschwitz-Birkenau (97). The relation between the two images is not explained and is therefore associative. This association is combined with the heading 'From a war of annihilation… to a genocide', which suggests linear causality.

Protagonists ● The authorial text depicts many of the protagonists collectively, including perpetrators ('Nazis', 'Germans', 'German soldiers', the SS, 'Einsatzgruppen'), victims ('Jews', 'Gypsies', 'homosexuals', 'communists', 'disabled people'), collaborators ('local administration and police', 122, 'the Vichy regime', 106, 'Ukrainian auxiliary troops', 111) and resisters ('resistance movements or partisans', 116). Individual perpetrators include those mentioned in the authorial text (Hitler, Eichmann, Göring) and those represented in textual and visual quotations; these comprise the survivors Samuel Adoner and Chil Rajchman, the 'inhabitant of Kiev' Iryna Khoroshunova (a bystander), and 'Einsatzgruppe C' member Kurt Werner (a perpetrator). The textbook also exposes institutions and professional groups which played 'an essential role' (122) in the Holocaust, for example the German State Railways, banks and companies, but also lawyers and civil servants. Protagonists of other atrocity crimes include groups defined in military terms ('the Japanese imperial army' and 'Chinese soldiers' in Nanjing), political terms ('activists', 'komsomols' and 'kulaks' in the USSR) and ethnic or religious terms (Armenians in 'Turkey', 'the Muslims' and 'the Serbs' in Bosnia and

Herzegovina). The book adheres to a model of binary enmity whereby the agency of active perpetrators (Nazis who 'plan', 'organise', 'fight', 102) is juxtaposed with passive victims (Jews who 'are selected' or 'are exterminated', 102). Moreover, because perpetrators' textual quotations (speeches and instructions by Nazi leaders) most often imply intentionality, while survivors' accounts reproduce experiences of suffering, the dichotomy between active perpetrators and passive victims found in the authorial text is reproduced in the quotations.
Effects and aftereffects ● The authors draw attention to a chronology of events starting with exclusion, arrest and deportation and culminating in extermination (120, 122, 126–127). The effects of mass atrocities in general, and mass death in particular, are also expressed in numbers or wordings such as 'catastrophic human toll' (91). Similarly, quotations referring to the 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies' succeed each other in a sequence which is suggestive of cumulation. Tables summarize material and non-material losses in similarly numerical terms. By focusing on aftereffects of the Holocaust such as trials and the punishment of war crimes, the authors reinforce the military and juridical contextualisation of the Holocaust. Denazification is defined in moral and psychological terms as the 're-education of mentalities' (245) and politically as the 'purification [*épuration*] of the administration [and] the media' (252). '[T]he question of … responsibility' is also said to be 'very present' in Germany, as 'a sign of democratic vigilance' (252). The authors associate further atrocity crimes with their historical outcomes (famine, deportation, forced labour in the USSR) and political aftereffects (migration of Armenians, territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina).
Causal agency ● By subsuming both world wars to the category of 'total war', by arguing forcibly that war in the twentieth century erased distinctions between civilians and the military, and by addressing Fascism, National Socialism and Stalinism in a section about 'totalitarian' regimes, the textbook presents the Holocaust and other atrocities as outcomes of modern warfare and of 'totalitarianism' in general. The authors also explain the Holocaust causally since it is said to have been envisaged by 'Nazi ideology' from its beginnings and remained an 'unchangeable objective' of the 'Nazi regime' (118). Further causes include antisemitism (120) and racism, which 'deeply pervades mentalities' (118), as well as 'economic objectives' and 'military goals' (102). The textbook explains 'extermination' in terms of motivation as 'a goal in itself' for Hitler (118) and as the 'desire to annihilate the enemy' (118) in war. Other atrocities are presented as consequences of war (those committed against Armenians are said to have 'resulted directly from war', 90), ideology ('racism' marked the 'Japanese expansion', 118) and political strategy (famine 'allowed the regime to break the … resistance' in Ukraine, 226). However, the authors often use passive formulations which elude causality and responsibility. For example, 'Jews are … assassinated' in 'gassing structures that improve over time' (108).
Times and spaces ● The textbook draws attention to a sequence of stages and 'key dates' of the Holocaust such as April 1940 (the first ghetto in Łódź), October 1940 (the first Jewish status laws in France), 22 June 1941 (the attack on the Soviet Union) and January 1942 (the Wannsee Conference). The overriding temporal framework of the Holocaust is, however, determined by chapter titles which emphasise the duration of conflicts and political regimes, such as 'The Second World War. War of Annihilation and Genocide of the Jews and the Gypsies', 'Origins and Rise of the Soviet, Fascist and National Socialist Regimes', and 'The End of Totalitarianisms'. All other atrocity crimes are also dated precisely. These comprise those committed against Armenians (24 April until June 1915), the 'Great Famine' (1932–1933), the Nanjing massacre (3 December 1937), Katyn (April and May 1940), Rwanda (1994), and Srebrenica (July 1995). While the space ascribed to the Holocaust is regional ('the whole of Europe under Nazi domination', 126), including occupied territories and collaborating regimes such as the Vichy regime, the authors specify that extermination was carried out largely in 'the East' and in internment, concentration and extermination camps

ranging from Pithiviers and Drancy to Treblinka and Auschwitz-Birkenau. Other atrocities are placed in national and local contexts.
Explanation assessment ● This textbook defines the 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies' and other atrocity crimes in legal terms, and typically addresses them in the context of war and politics ('totalitarianism'), whereby atrocity victims are sometimes conflated with civilian victims of war. Warfare, ideology and political goals feature as the main causes of mass atrocities, while the authors sometimes highlight the individual motivation of Hitler or Stalin. Although the authorial text defines protagonists collectively, individual protagonists feature in many textual and visual quotations. The authors emphasise the role of institutions and professional groups in the crimes. However, agency is mainly represented as a binary relation between active perpetrators and passive victims, whereby the authors often use the passive voice, impersonal formulations and linearity when explaining such events. While the effects of the Holocaust are expressed in numbers and circumscribed as 'stages' which culminate with death, aftereffects are juridical, political and moral. 'Responsibility' and 'democratic vigilance' feature as outcomes of the 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies'.

***Histoire* [History] (2015)**
Paratext ● The textbook places the Holocaust in a military and political context, since subchapters dealing with the 'Extermination of Jews and Gypsies' are included in the chapter 'World Wars and Hopes for Peace' and the 'Crystal Night' is a 'case study' in the chapter 'Genesis and Rise of the Totalitarian Regimes'. The latter chapter also includes a lesson entitled 'The Great Terror (1936–1938) in the USSR', which contextualises Stalinism as 'totalitarianism'. Pedagogical exercises encourage readers to reflect on causes and to compare rather than learn facts. While some questions ask why the extermination policy was 'essential for the Nazis' (115) and 'why the international community was slow to respond to the atrocities' in Bosnia and Herzegovina (158), most exercises invite pupils to 'analyse' propaganda posters (214), 'take note of the developments in the usage of the totalitarianism concept' (209), 'demonstrate the importance of studying' the Nuremberg trials (227), and write an essay on the 'success or failure' of denazification (242–243).
Events ● The textbook addresses the 'genocide of the Jews and the Gypsies' (nineteen pages), atrocities in the Ottoman Empire (one page), forced collectivisation and famine in the USSR (two pages), the Nanjing 'massacre' (half a page), Katyn (a short mention) and 'ethnic wars' in the former Yugoslavia (four and a half pages). The authors define most atrocity crimes in legal terms. For example, genocide is defined in terms developed by Raphael Lemkin (100), the atrocities in Nanjing and Katyn are qualified as 'war crimes' (110–111), and the former Yugoslavia is associated with 'ethnic cleansing' (157) and 'crimes against humanity' (160). Further definitions are etymological (Shoah, 112) or moral ('horrors of Nazi barbarity', 227; the 'worst killings' and the 'most terrible' massacre in Srebrenica, 160). The textbook associates atrocities with modern warfare and 'violence against civilians'. This levelling of differences is reinforced formally since atrocities committed against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, the Holocaust and other massacres are addressed in one comprehensive chapter ('World Wars and Hopes for Peace'). It is likewise pedagogically reinforced by exercises requiring readers to write about 'Civilians and the World Wars' (132–133) while referring to both Armenians and the genocide of the Jews in relation to civilian victims of military operations. Moreover, the authors compare 'totalitarian regimes' in the USSR, Italy and Germany and state that 'their practices are often similar' (184).
Protagonists ● The textbook depicts both perpetrators and victims as groups defined militarily (the SS, Einsatzgruppen), politically (National Socialists, the NSDAP, communists) and nationally or religiously (Germans, Jews, Gypsies, Russian, Poles). Individual perpetrators feature in the authorial text (Goebbels, Eichmann, Mengele, Himmler), and in quotations (the perpetrator Ilse Koch, the survivor Victor Klemperer, the 'communist resister'

Jorge Semprun). Furthermore, the textbook refers to facilitators of crimes (Allies who 'do not react' and collaborators 'everywhere', 116), helpers of victims (the inhabitants of Chambon-sur-Lignon and the Polish organisation Żegota) as well as 'Jewish reactions' (uprisings in the Warsaw ghetto, Sobibór, Treblinka and Auschwitz-Birkenau, 116). At the same time, the authors emphasise Hitler's individual influence ('Hitler implements the genocide', 90). Those caught up in other atrocities are defined in ethnic and religious terms as 'Croat, Serbian and Muslim communities' (158), including perpetrators ('the Serbs from Bosnia') and victims (the 'Muslim people', 157), while the UN, the 'international community', the United States and NATO feature as a third party. Further atrocities reveal binary enmity between Armenians and Turks (100–101), 'the Japanese' and 'Chinese population' (111), and Stalin or the 'Stalinist regime' and peasants or 'kulaks' (198–199).

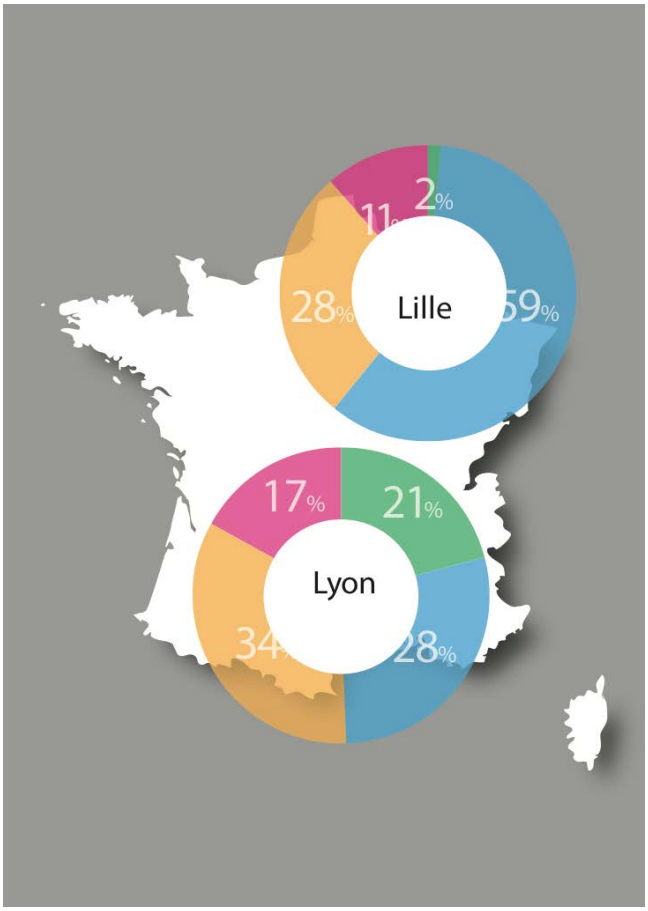
Effects and aftereffects ● Effects of the 'genocide of Jews and Gypsies' are often enumerated ('shootings … famine … gas vans, gas chambers', 131) and expressed in numbers. Quoted tables and graphs illustrate the numbers of 'Jews killed', and the 'record of the genocide of Jews', thereby associating the outcomes of the Holocaust with numeric data. Aftereffects include the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, denazification and trials. In addition, the textbook addresses commemoration and memory politics with a historical analysis of uses to which the Buchenwald concentration camp memorial was put from 1945 to the present day, including the Allies' denazification programme and political instrumentalisation of the site in the German Democratic Republic as a 'place of celebration of 'anti-fascism' (228). Other atrocity crimes are presented historically as forced labour, torture, rape (associated with the atrocities committed in the Ottoman Empire), experiments on prisoners and death (Nanjing). The authors underline contradictions between Stalinist propaganda and the 'hidden reality' of collectivisation on a double page contrasting a painting of a village fair in a kolkhoz and a historical photograph of undernourished children during the famine in Ukraine (198–199). Aftereffects of the 'Yugoslavian crisis' are juridical (trials) and political, including territorial division, 'the beginning of a new regional strategic order under American aegis' (157) and the United Nations Protection Force being 'discredited by its helplessness' (159).

Causal agency ● The textbook presents mass atrocities as consequences of modern warfare and 'totalitarian' political regimes leading to 'violence against civilians'. For example, the authors state that the 'total, planetary and ideological' Second World War confronted 'democracies … with totalitarianisms … [and] caused … 60 million deaths, half of them civilians, victims of genocide, bombing and exactions' (90). Further causes of the 'genocide of Jews' include racism and antisemitism which 'are the specificity of Nazism' (201) as well as 'territorial and ideological goals' (110). The authors also explain 'planned and industrialised death' as the 'objective' of National Socialism (115). This textbook more specifically pinpoints Hitler's individual responsibility (he is said to have 'implemented the genocide', 90) and personal motivation ('He wants ever more to destroy the Jews', 110). Responsibility is also ascribed to personified states ('The Croatian satellite state conducts a violent antisemitic policy and shoots almost all local Gypsies', 116). Motives of collaborators are defined as 'opportunism, greed or ideological choice' (116), while 'despair' is said to 'lead to resistance' (116). The authors present atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (158, 160) as consequences of 'civil war', 'ethnic hatred' and 'the revival of nationalist tensions', while a textual quotation by Yves Heller explains ethnic cleansing 'not as a consequence of the war … but rather as its goal' (157). Causes of other atrocities include 'political or even racial reasons' (in the Ottoman Empire, 133), ideology ('Stalin … wants to establish a classless society', 210), and economic considerations (forced collectivisation is implemented 'in order to finance industrialisation' and 'causes the famine', 210) as well as the 'intention to terrorise' (the Chinese population, 111).

Times and spaces ● The Holocaust is dated from 1941 to the end of the war in 1945 (87), including some events preceding the Holocaust such as the November Pogrom of 1938, which 'marked the transition to physical violence against Jews' (204). The textbook dates atrocities committed against Armenians (1915), Nanjing (1937), the famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), Katyn (1940) and the 'Srebrenica massacre' (July 1995) precisely. The space associated with the Holocaust is a 'European scale' (114), but also national (USSR, France), regional ('the East') and local (the camps Auschwitz-Birkenau, Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka). Other atrocities are ascribed to national contexts (the Ottoman Empire, Ukraine, Kazakhstan), regions ('the Balkans') and towns (Trnopolje, Srebrenica, Harbin).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains the Holocaust and mass atrocities as outcomes of warfare, ideology, politics ('totalitarianism') and economic factors. Most of the explanations are causal, while the authors occasionally highlight the role of motivation in terms of 'opportunism' and affects (hatred, greed, despair). The majority of the pedagogical exercises are causal or connective rather than factual. The textbook addresses a variety of protagonists of the 'genocide of the Jews and Gypsies', ranging from groups defined in military, political and national terms, to facilitators of crimes, helpers of victims, resisters and individual survivors. However, victims of mass atrocities are sometimes conflated with civilian victims of war. Exceptionally, Hitler's influence is exaggerated (he is said to have 'implement[ed] the genocide', 90). While the authorial text and some quotations represent effects of the Holocaust as numerical data, the textbook also addresses contrasts between propaganda and the 'reality' of famine in the USSR, as well as different uses of memory politics in Buchenwald after 1945. Both textbooks write about the 'genocide of the Jews and the Gypsies' without mentioning the term 'Holocaust'. The space ascribed to massacres is national, regional and local in both books, while only the 'genocide of Jews' is ascribed to the scale of 'Europe'.

T1 Zachary, Pascal (responsible author), Géraldine Ancel-Géry, Yannick Courseaux et al., 2011. *Histoire 1res L/ES/S. Questions pour comprendre le XX^{e} siècle*. Paris, Hachette Éducation [History for Year One. Questions to Understand the Twentieth Century, history, year one, age sixteen].
T2 Besset, Frédéric, Michaël Navarro, Raphaël Spina et al., 2015. *Histoire 1re ES/L/S. Questions pour comprendre le vingtième siècle*. Paris, Hachette Éducation [History for Year One. Questions to Understand the Twentieth Century, history, year one, age sixteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Jean Perrin Secondary School in Lyon

Events ● Over half of the pupils in this class define genocide in general as 'killing', 'destruction', 'extermination', 'murder' or 'massacre', with two deviant references to 'innocent people killed' and 'persecution'. All refer to the example of the Holocaust, and two evoke the continuation of genocides after 1945. The tendency to define genocides then list examples effectively understates differences between the Holocaust and other genocides. Nonetheless, pupils 6 and 7 evoke a hierarchy between events by writing that 'the Jewish genocide' is 'the most well-known'; pupil 7 also doubts the validity of this hierarchy by writing that the reason why the Holocaust is well known is 'because it was one of the most violent … but there are still [genocides] today, as in Palestine'. Pupil 4 similarly relativises the Holocaust by claiming that 'ISIS is almost the same thing as the Holocaust'.

Protagonists ● Two broad groups of protagonists feature in the pupils' essays, consisting in victims of the Holocaust ('Jews', 'peoples', 'communities', 'Gypsies', 'religions' and 'dead people') and colonial perpetrators ('Portuguese', 'Spanish', 'French, 'Europeans' and 'ISIS'), with minimal mention of perpetrators of the Holocaust ('Nazis' and 'Hitler') and victims of colonialism ('indigenous people').

Effects and aftereffects • Effects are defined variably as destruction, mass murder, extermination and killing of victims.

Causal agency ● Most essays avoid explanation by applying the passive mode with such expressions as, 'There took place …' (5). However, two pupils claim that Hitler alone was responsible for the Holocaust (1, 3), and that he was motivated 'by hatred' and the wish to establish 'a world of "pure race"' (1). Two essays claim that perpetrators are motivated 'by an idea' (2, 4), while pupil 4 ascribes genocides more generally to the ostracism of people 'who are killed since they are not accepted or they are not in line with social "norms"' (4). Two pupils even underscore arbitrary motivations such as 'simply to destroy' (2) or 'any reason' (6), and thereby suggest that arbitrariness rather than causes explain genocide: 'The population which suffers these genocides can be chosen for any reason (religion, country of origin, physical appearance, ideology…)' (6). By contrast, pupil 6's claim that, '[t]he aim is that the population ceases to exist' explains intentions underlying perpetrators' motives according to the internal logic of genocidal behaviour. Unusually, pupil 4 addresses the ignorance of contemporary bystanders, since, '[t]oday, events happen as in the past while no one knows how to intervene'.
Times and spaces ● While two pupils associate genocide with the Second World War from 1939 to 1945 and 1940 to 1945 respectively, all others either ignore time or (in one case) conceive of genocide as an ongoing phenomenon 'always' or throughout 'all history'. Conceptions of space and place are eclectic, ranging from the 'world' to 'Africa', 'Europe', 'Italy', 'Spain', 'the Bastille', 'Palestine' and 'Armenia', while the most consistent space is that of America, mentioned by three pupils.
Points of view ● All essays are descriptive and employ a neutral tone without referring to sources of evidence. Exceptionally, pupil 4 adopts a moral stance by qualifying victims as 'innocent' and by expressing outrage at the continuation of genocides while 'no one knows how to intervene'. Three pupils express concessions by relativising their knowledge with such phrases as 'I can't remember' or 'this is what I know'. Over half of the class suggest that it is important to learn about the Holocaust and other genocides in order to honour victims, or to avoid repeating them (3).
Explanation assessment ● Although the essays in this class evoke a range of different genocides and types of causal agency underlying them (including the role of Hitler, bystanders and ostracism, but also arbitrariness), they largely address the Holocaust and genocides from a neutral point of view. They do not compare, but generally define genocide as mass killing then list examples, including the Holocaust. The tendency to name several victims but few perpetrators of the Holocaust is accompanied by a reverse tendency to name several perpetrators but few victims of colonialism.

Fénélon Secondary School in Lille
Events ● All but four pupils mention both the Holocaust and the Armenian genocide. However, they generally do this not by referring to 'the Holocaust', for example, but to the 'genocide of' followed by the name of a victim group. Fourteen out of the twenty-four essays mention Armenian victims first, while six mention Jewish victims first. Seven essays mention other genocides, including those in Rwanda and Cambodia. Pupils underplay differences between genocides in two ways, either by defining genocide in the singular in very general terms, or by listing names of events indifferently without discriminating between them. Four essays underscore historical specificities by stating numbers of dead as either one or five million, while pupil 22 suggests that 'even bigger and more horrendous acts' occurred with the use of modern technology.
Protagonists ● Priority is given to victims rather than to perpetrators or bystanders. Among these, Armenian victims feature more prominently than Jewish and other victims of the Holocaust, while 'Turks' and 'Nazis' are mentioned four times each alongside 'Hitler' in three cases, and, in one case, 'Germans'. Each category of protagonists is conceived of as a

homogenous group; eight pupils nonetheless address alternative categories including ‘women’, ‘children’, ‘old people’ and ‘people’. Pupil 24 mentions Philippe Pétain.
Effects and aftereffects • Effects are described as death or extermination by all pupils who offer a definition, while four pupils also mention ‘work’, ‘displacement of populations’, ‘deportees’, ‘gas’ and ‘horror’. Aftereffects are defined in two cases as ‘denial [of genocides] by government’ and the ongoing ‘shock’ following the Holocaust, while pupil 24 disputes what he calls the erroneous categorisation of ‘Armenians as victims’ and ‘blaming of Hitler’.
Causal agency ● Causes are generally presented as historical facts detached from human volition in terms of ‘there took place …’, ‘organised by …’ and ‘as a result of …’. Hence one third of the class avoids any explanation of the Holocaust or of other genocides. However, one third also identifies responsible agents including Turks, National Socialists, Germans, the National Socialist regime and Hitler as organisers of genocides. Motivations are typically identified as ‘extending a state so that it is pure’ (3), ‘the desire of Turkish nationalists’ (18) and a ‘religious pretext’ (12). Pupil 12 also lists the role of governments who ‘deny’ genocides, albeit without explaining whether she refers to the perpetrator government, allies or enemies of perpetrators, or governments in power after the genocide. Two essays suggest moral causes derive from the ‘absence of pity’ (12) or ‘human stupidity’ (23), while another two underscore the relationship between war and genocide, either by implying by apposition an equivalence between ‘camps, the horror of war’ (13), by stating that the Holocaust occurred ‘during’ the Second World War’ (12), or that ‘genocide in Rwanda emerged from the civil war between Hutu and Tutsi’ people (12). Unusually, pupil 24 claims that ‘the Turkish authorities’ acted in retaliation to violence carried out by Armenians, and that ‘one should stop putting blame on Hitler, the Pétain government gave Jews to the Germans to avoid being killed and the French’ [sic].
Times and spaces ● For most pupils, genocides are timeless events, while one quarter situates them in connection with the Second World War, and three mention 1915. Only one pupil explains events historically in terms of development over time. Likewise, awareness of spaces and places is limited to ‘camps’ (in four cases), to ‘Europe’ (in one case) and to Turkey or eastern Turkey.
Points of view ● By presenting information without comment in the form of lists or short definitions or statements formulated in sentences without verbs, pupils generally express knowledge but shirk explanation. This reluctance to explain is often combined with concessions doubting the knowledge provided. Pupil 11, for example, claims that ‘the extermination of Jews … was apparently really horrible’. Several pupils likewise write in the first person ‘I’ while indicating the limits of their knowledge. Six of them express moral judgements of these ‘horrible’ (11) or ‘atrocious’ (22) events. Four suggest that learning about the Holocaust and other genocides may help to avoid further genocides, two insist that they should not be forgotten, while pupil 21 suggests that ‘assessing horror and attempt to understand’ is expedient in itself.
Explanation assessment ● The priority given to the genocide against Armenians conforms to the curriculum *Histoire – Géographie – Éducation civique*. Pupils in this class conceive of genocides primarily in terms of the groups of victims whom perpetrators targeted, that is, as ‘the genocide of’, followed by the name of a victim group; only in four cases do they also define genocides with reference to names of perpetrators. Details of the effects of genocides is largely limited to references to mass murder or numbers of dead. Statements of rote knowledge therefore outweigh elaborate explanations of causal agency, which are eschewed by a third of respondents, and limited to names of responsible perpetrators and religious, ethnic or social ‘reasons’ by those who address motivations.

S1 *Lycée Jean Perrin*, mixed vocational specialisation school in Lyon (population 500,000), with seven responding pupils with an average age of sixteen and seventeen, supervised by teacher Caroline Morel.
S2 *Lycée Fénélon*, general secondary school in Lille (population 229,000), with twenty-three responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Ann-Laure Liéval.

Translations of French educational materials by Peter Carrier and Christine Chiriac.

GERMANY

Curricula

The *Framework Curriculum of Berlin* (2006) addresses both the Holocaust and the Gulag in a section entitled 'Democracy and Dictatorship' (38), which deals with 'German and European history from the First World War to the end of the Second World War'. The curriculum evokes 'National Socialism', 'victim categories' (*Opfergruppen*) and 'the Holocaust', as well as 'Stalinism', 'waves of purges' (*Säuberungswellen*) and 'the Gulag' in order to exemplify 'features of and everyday life in dictatorships' (40). The section places the events in the political context of 'totalitarian ideologies of the right and the left' and evokes comparison of the inter-war period and the present day, emphasising that 'the opponents of democracy' – such as 'National Socialists' and 'Bolsheviks, later Stalinists' – should not be 'ignored'. Moreover, in a section entitled 'From the Renaissance to the Present Day' (49–50), dedicated to 'spheres of life in modern societies', the topics of 'totalitarian vs liberal thinking', 'terrorism in history and present time', 'Jewish and Christian life in Berlin' and 'German remembrance days' are listed as optional subjects.

The *History Curriculum* from Hesse (2010) stipulates teaching about the Holocaust for fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds in a section called 'National Socialism and the Second World War' (28–29). Here, the 'mandatory teaching content' includes the 'Nuremberg Laws' and the 'November Pogrom of 1938' alongside the 'NS race ideology' and the 'militarisation of state and society' in order to illustrate 'the development of totalitarian dictatorship' between 1933 and 1939. Furthermore, 'the Holocaust (Shoah)', 'Sinti and Roma', 'Auschwitz', 'the war of annihilation against the Soviet Union' and 'Japanese expansion in the Pacific' are enumerated in a subsection entitled 'War of Annihilation and Genocide', while resistance against the National Socialists is exemplified by the Kreisau Circle and the White Rose resistance groups.

Both curricula associate the Holocaust with 'totalitarianism'. However, while the curriculum from Hesse focuses on the 'Holocaust (Shoah)' and the atrocities committed against Sinti and Roma without mentioning Stalinism, the curriculum from Berlin clearly compares the Holocaust and the Gulag. Moreover, while the curriculum from Hesse focuses on 'racism, the Holocaust, a war of annihilation and genocide' as 'constitutive features of National Socialism' (C2, 28), the curriculum from Berlin emphasises 'the singularity of the Holocaust and the Gulag as features of National Socialism and Stalinism' (C1, 38). Both curricula define educational goals in terms of conveying historical consciousness (C2, 2) and 'independent historical thinking and reasoning' (C1, 9), and thus underline the role of history education as a 'prerequisite for … [democratic] participation' (C1, 9). Furthermore, the curriculum from Hesse claims that the study of the 'National Socialist dictatorship' makes pupils 'aware' of the 'question of responsibility' (C2, 28). The pedagogical recommendations include textual hermeneutics (critical reading), analytical skills ('recognising and analysing… ideological interest conflicts', C1, 39), visualisation exercises (creating collages and presentations), learning to express opinions and formulate arguments, and using sources (research in museums and libraries). Finally, both curricula recommend visiting memorial sites of National Socialism and the Holocaust (C1, 38 and C2, 29).

C1 *Rahmenlehrplan für die Sekundarstufe I, Geschichte*, Jahrgangsstufe 7–10, Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Sport Berlin, 2006 [Framework Curriculum for Secondary Education, Stage I, History, Years 7–10, Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Sport Berlin, 2006].
C2 *Lehrplan Geschichte*, Gymnasialer Bildungsgang, Jahrgangsstufen 6G bis 9G, Hessisches Kultusministerium, 2010 [Curriculum for History, Secondary School Level, Years 6G to 9G, Hessian Ministry of Education, 2010).

Textbooks

***Geschichte und Geschehen* [History and Events, Berlin] (2012)**

Paratext ● This textbook devotes a subchapter to the Holocaust entitled 'Exclusion Was Followed by Planned Extermination'. It contextualises this event politically and militarily within the chapter 'Between Democracy and Dictatorship', which also addresses 'The National Socialist Rule in Germany', 'The National Socialist Foreign Policy …' and 'The Second World War in Europe and East Asia'. Most pedagogical exercises encourage pupils to establish connections. For example, they are asked to 'compare Japanese propaganda … and occupation policy' (431), 'evaluate the different approaches … to denazification' (547), 'discuss what the "ordinary citizen" could have known' about the Holocaust (445), 'research the term eugenics in its historical and contemporary application' and 'comment on whether a state … has the right to legally enforce … sterilisation' (445). Some exercises invite pupils to empathise with different historical agents: 'Write a press commentary on the occasion of "Ten years of Kemalist Turkey" from the point of view of either a clergyman in rural eastern Turkey or a former Greek from Izmir or a Kemalist officer' (393).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (twenty-one pages), 'massacre' in Nanjing (one page), 'ethnic cleansing' and 'genocide' of Armenians (one page), the Greek–Turkish population exchange in the Ottoman Empire (half a page) and the 'genocide' of Herero and Nama (half a page). It also briefly mentions 'ethnic cleansing' of Muslims during the 'Balkan wars', the 'Bulgarisation' of Serbs in Macedonia, genocide in Rwanda, and associates 'famines' with both Stalin and Mao. The authors compare the ideology of contemporary extreme right-wing parties with that of the NSDAP by illustrating the sections about National Socialist 'forced sterilisation', 'eugenics' and 'euthanasia' with a poster of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) from 2009 (438). The image is captioned 'Even today, right-wing parties use the term "*Volksgesundheit*"' ('public health', according to National Socialist terminology).
Protagonists ● Protagonists of atrocity crimes are defined militarily ('the Japanese army', 'unit 731', 'prisoners of war', 'civilians'), politically ('the Young Turk government', 'Bulgarian nationalists'), in religious terms ('the Christian population'), ethnically ('Ottoman Armenians', 'the Tutsi minority', 'the Herero, a Southwest African pastoral people', 605) and as 'people', 'girls and women' and 'the population'. The authors qualify the perpetrators' racial understanding of the term 'Jews' by explaining that '[p]eople of Jewish faith were not defined as a faith community, but as a … race' (394). Likewise, they write that 'the very vaguely defined group of "asocials"' included 'people who, from a Nazi point of view, showed deviant behaviour towards the "official" social norm, for example vagrants, homosexuals, prostitutes' (394). Other victims are named as 'Sinti and Roma', 'Slavs', 'Africans', 'people with disabilities', 'Soviet soldiers' and 'the Polish elite (priests, academics)'. Perpetrators include corps ('the Gestapo, Kripo and SS … supported by units of the Wehrmacht', 438), political bodies ('the German government', 'the party leadership', 'the NSDAP') and professional groups ('economists and spatial planners', 'young technocrats', 'train drivers', 'staff from the city administration', 427–439). The authors also mention 'voluntary denunciations by the population' (398) and emphasise that 'many non-Jewish

citizens' profited from the Holocaust, for example 'business people', 'private people' and 'museums' (407). Many textual and visual quotations focus on individual protagonists such as Arthur Simson, the Mendelssohn family, Emil Martens and Fritz Sauckel. The textbook devotes separate sections to 'communist and social democrat resistance', 'resistance by individuals', 'churches and "The White Rose"', and 'conservative military resistance' in Germany.

Effects and aftereffects ● The authors explain the effects of atrocity crimes historically as disenfranchisement, boycott, emigration, plunder, expropriation, the destruction of material culture, deportation, resistance, forced labour, medical experiments and mass murder. They emphasise that 'girls and women were forced into prostitution in military brothels' (by the Japanese, 426) and that 'non-Jewish citizens profited' from 'Aryanisation' (407). Aftereffects of the Holocaust and the Second World War are both material ('central and eastern Europe were devastated', 540) and non-material ('everyday life … was marked by the consequences …', 448). The authors emphasise outcomes in Germany such as foreign occupation, 'massive migration' (540), denazification both in the 'Soviet occupied zone' and the 'Western zones' (542), the Nuremberg trials and the lack of willingness to face the past ('very few [Germans] were willing to deal with [the atrocities]', 540). Aftereffects of other crimes include belated recognition ('one hundred years later Germany acknowledged its guilt for this genocide' of Herero and Nama, 606), controversy ('The debate as to whether [crimes against Armenians were] a genocide continues today', 333) and repression ('To date, the issue of war crimes has been largely repressed in Japan', 431). Furthermore, the authors highlight the disappearance of 'economically powerful groups' following the 'exodus of Greeks and Armenians' (386).

Causal agency ● The authors explain the 'genocide' of Herero causally. Herero are said to have been 'subjected to discrimination and exploitation' and the 'subsequent … impoverishment … led to a revolt', whereby 'the German Reich sent … soldiers' and 'aimed to … exterminate' the Herero, a situation which 'led to the death of 80 per cent' of them (606). Similarly, the genocide in Rwanda is conceived as a consequence of 'boundaries of European colonial possessions [being] drawn without regard to tribal areas, language areas and cultural ties' (479). The authors explain other atrocity crimes as outcomes of political motivation (minorities were 'perceived as a threat' while perpetrators 'strove to found a pure … nation-state', 381) or of responsibility. For example, mass death of Armenians is said to have been 'approved, if not planned' by the Young Turk government (327), and the Japanese army is said to have 'committed grave crimes' in China (431). In a section entitled 'Racial and Pillage War' (425), the authors explain the Holocaust as a result of racist ideology and expansionism. The German Reich is said to have 'pursued a plan' which implied territorial conquest, German settlement, the "'disappearance" [of] the Jewish population' and 'decimating' Slavs. Textual quotations by Dieter Hüsken, Götz Aly and Susanne Heim highlight the planned 'ethnic homogenisation' and 'reorganisation of Europe' (427) while exercise questions ask, for example, '[w]hat consequences did the idea of 'inferior' … life include?' (440). The Holocaust is also explained as an outcome of economic motives (the desire for 'enrichment', 398), antisemitism ('the hope' that Jewish emigration 'would stir up antisemitism' in other countries, 398), contentment ('many were … satisfied that there was … a seemingly stable order', 432) and 'obedience' (432). Resistance is explained as a result of political 'liberal or republican' convictions (433) and strategic considerations ('only when defeat became apparent, [officers] formed a conspiracy group', 433). The authors emphasise individual responsibility by writing that crimes were committed 'mostly without protest' although '[t]here is no evidence that a soldier was severely punished … for refusing to participate in killings' (439).

Times and spaces ● The authors define atrocity crimes temporally, including those committed against Herero and Nama (in 1904), the 'ethnic cleansing' of Muslims during the Balkan Wars (from 1912 to 1913), deportations of Armenians and Bulgarisation of Serbs (from 1915

to 1916), the beginning of forced collectivisation (1928) and the 'time of the 'Great Terror' in the Soviet Union ('in the late 1930s'), crimes in Nanjing (from December 1937) and genocide in Rwanda (from April to July 1994). The Holocaust is defined chronologically from the Nuremberg Laws on 15 September 1935, the November Pogrom on 9 and 10 November 1938, Aktion T4 in October 1939, the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942. The space in which crimes are located is regional ('in the Balkans' and 'in East Asia'), national ('in the Ottoman Empire', 'in China', 'in Greece', 'in Turkey' and 'in the colony German South West Africa (today Namibia)' 605). Similarly, the space ascribed to the Holocaust is regional ('Eastern Europe', 'the East') and national ('in Yugoslavia'), but also includes administrative districts ('Generalgouvernement'), places defined militarily ('behind the front', 438), towns (Hadamar) and camps (Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka, Auschwitz). The textbook categorises European states in the 1930s in terms of the 'ideologies' 'fascism (Italy, Germany, Japan), communism (the USSR) and liberalism (England, France, the USA)' (413). On the same page, a map of Europe distinguishes between 'democratic, authoritarian and fascist regimes'.
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains atrocity crimes as results of colonialism, imperialism, ideology and politics. The authors explain the Holocaust as an outcome of racism and antisemitism, but also of economic motives, obedience and 'contentment' with a 'seemingly stable order', while resistance is said to have been motivated by political convictions and strategic considerations. By arguing that crimes were committed 'mostly without opposition' although soldiers were not punished for refusing to participate, the authors underscore personal responsibility for the Holocaust. The textbook defines protagonists not only as military, political, religious and ethnic groups, but also as professional groups, 'private people' and 'the population', while rectifying National Socialists' racial understanding of the term 'Jews'. The book focuses on aftereffects of the Holocaust in Germany, such as suffering, foreign occupation, migration, denazification, trials and the lack of willingness to deal with atrocities after the war. The authors establish continuity between National Socialism and contemporary extremism in Germany. Most pedagogical exercises encourage reflection, discussion and written comments.

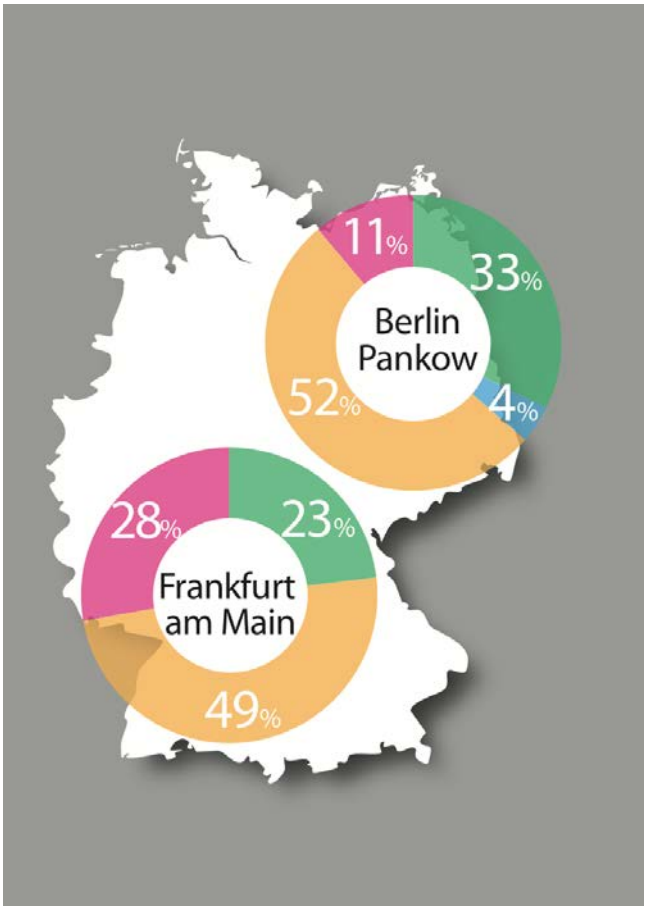
***Geschichte und Geschehen* [History and Events, Hesse] (2013)**
Paratext ● The chapter 'National Socialism and the Second World War' includes subchapters entitled 'Defamation, Exclusion, Pogrom', 'Shoah – the Genocide of the Jews' and 'Euthanasia, a "Fine Death?"'. It contextualises the Holocaust politically and militarily in related subchapters addressing 'democracies and dictatorships in Europe', 'National Socialist ideology', 'economic policy', 'aggressive foreign policy' and 'the Second World War'. Most exercises are connective and ask pupils to 'explain why the Nuremberg Laws are not compatible with our Basic Law' (141), 'find out what happened in your locality during the Pogrom Night' (141), and 'assess the claim of many Germans that they did not know anything about the Holocaust' (150). Some exercises encourage empathy ('put yourself in the role of the relative of a disabled person at that time', 155, and 'imagine' a tribunal for 'politicians of the Soviet Union' after Stalin's death, 57). Causal exercises invite pupils to 'explain why many people shared antisemitic positions' (127) and 'explain why the Sinti and Roma were affected by racial discrimination' (141).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (twenty-nine pages) as well as 'terror', 'deportations' and 'extermination' in the Soviet Union (two and a half pages). It also briefly mentions 'atrocities' committed by Japanese on civilians and 'crises areas' in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. The terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' are defined not only etymologically but also in moral terms ('terrible crimes', 3) and as 'systematic murder [of] about six million Jews and half a million Sinti and Roma' (151). The Holocaust is described as a 'unique crime'

(151). A map distinguishes between 'democratic, authoritarian and fascist regimes in Europe' before the Second World War (118).
Protagonists ● Perpetrators of the Holocaust include 'the SS and the police apparatus, but also regular units of the Wehrmacht' (147), 'National Socialists', 'Germans', 'German companies' and professional groups such as 'engineers', 'railway employees', 'scientists' and 'security personnel'. Victims are defined as 'Germans of Jewish faith' (138), 'Jews', 'communists', 'social democrats', 'Sinti and Roma', 'non-Jewish Poles', 'disabled people', 'homosexuals', 'Soviet prisoners of war' and 'forced labourers'. Textual quotations by Victor Klemperer and 'the Russian [forced labourer] Vasily Kozlov' convey individual experiences of survivors. Furthermore, the authors acknowledge bystanders ('Almost all people in the so-called Third Reich knew about the criminal acts', 139) and resistance in Germany (which 'involved people from all social classes, all political orientations and denominations', 156). They also mention 'partisan groups' in Yugoslavia and Greece (147) and 'Jewish resistance groups' (150). In the Soviet Union, Stalin, 'communists' and 'officials' are contrasted with 'peasants … disparagingly called "kulaks"' (49). An individual dimension is added by a textual quotation by Lev Kopelev.
Effects and aftereffects ● Outcomes of the Holocaust are presented historically as discrimination, boycott, disenfranchisement, expropriation, pogrom, ghettoisation, stigmatisation, resistance and mass murder, while 'German companies' are said to have 'profited' from the Holocaust. Persecution in the Soviet Union is explained in terms of 'arbitrary arrest', expropriation, deportation, forced labour ('people detained as work slaves') and killing, whereby 'terror' is said to have 'contributed to Stalin's preservation of power' (50). The textbook focuses on aftereffects of the Holocaust in Germany, including 'revenge, plunder' and 'rape' committed by occupation soldiers (220), expulsions of Germans from Czechoslovakia and Poland, denazification and the misuse of 'anti-fascism as a means of political legitimisation' in the GDR (280), re-education, democratisation, trials in Nuremberg and Frankfurt, reparations and commemoration (the Holocaust Remembrance Day and the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin). The authors also mention indifference (after the war '… few people [in Germany] wanted to know about … crimes', 220), reappraisal (the creation of the Central Office for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in 1958) and 'public debate' following the exhibition 'War of Extermination – Crimes of the Wehrmacht' of 1995. In the Soviet Union, communists are said to have 'distanced themselves from the worst excesses of … terror … only after [Stalin's] death' (50), while 'until today, it is unknown how many died in the camps' (48).
Causal agency ● The authors explain the Holocaust as a consequence of racism, which is circumscribed as a 'cornerstone of National Socialist ideology' (122), and of 'fanatic antisemitism', which is said to have been 'one of the foundations of the policy of the entire state' (138), so that the Jews' 'exclusion and persecution ultimately resulted in organised mass murder in the death factories'. Furthermore, the war against the Soviet Union is explained as an 'ideologically justified war of annihilation' (147) and 'six million people' are said to have 'died as victims of the National Socialist racial policy' (161). The authors also ascribe resistance to courage (3), fear (of 'persecution, terror and death', 156), political attitudes ('Some rejected the entire system … others disapproved the persecution and murder…', 156) and strategy (officers hoped 'to be able to avert the threat of defeat', 156). Further explanations of the Holocaust acknowledge that 'the SS and the police apparatus … were responsible for the millions of murders' (147) or avoid agency, for example 'With the attack on the Soviet Union, the mass shootings took on a systematic character' (150). The authors explain forced collectivisation in the Soviet Union as an outcome of ideology and responsibility, whereby private property 'did not fit in with the communist idea that all means of production needed to be nationalised … Stalin therefore ordered that … the entire economy

be subordinated to central planning' (49). Some formulations underline arbitrariness ('terror could hit anyone', 48).
Times and spaces ● In this textbook, the Holocaust is said to have coincided temporally with the National Socialist regime and spatially with Europe, since the authors write that 'National Socialists governed for … twelve years [and at] the end of their rule, Europe was in ruins and millions of people had lost their lives' (110). They also emphasise that, 'at the beginning of the Second World War, the industrially organised mass murder of millions of European Jews started' (150) and provide dates such as September 1935 (Nuremberg Laws), 9 to 10 November 1938 (*Reichspogromnacht*), 22 June 1941 (the German attack on the Soviet Union), 29 to 30 September 1941 (the massacre in Babi Yar) and 1943 (the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Stalin is said to have 'demanded ruthless destruction of "kulaks"… from late 1929' (49). The space ascribed to the Holocaust is national ('Germany', 'the Soviet Union'), territories defined militarily ('in the occupied territories'), regions ('in the East'), camps (Auschwitz, Treblinka, Bełżec, Sobibór, Majdanek), ghettos (Krakow, Łódź, Lublin, Warsaw), towns (Vinnytsia) and crime sites (Babi Yar).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains the Holocaust as a result of racism, antisemitism and 'ideologically justified' expansionism, while courage, fear, political convictions and strategy are said to motivate resisters. The authors also emphasise that some protagonists profited from atrocity crimes or instrumentalised them in order to consolidate their power while '[a]lmost all people in the so-called Third Reich knew about' the Holocaust (139) but did not resist. Jews are referred to as 'Germans of Jewish faith'. The textbook focuses on aftereffects of the Holocaust in Germany such as occupation, expulsions, denazification, reparations, commemoration and public debate. Most pedagogical exercises encourage pupils to do further research, 'assess' or 'explain' events, and empathise with historical agents.

T1 Adelmeyer Annette, Christine Dzubiel et al., 2012. *Geschichte und Geschehen. Oberstufe Gesamtband*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, first edition [History and Events. Upper Level Complete Edition, approved in the federal states Berlin, Brandenburg, the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saarland, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia, years eleven to thirteen, ages sixteen to nineteen].
T2 Sauer, Michael (ed.), Rolf Brütting et al, 2013. *Geschichte und Geschehen 4*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, first edition [History and Events – Part Four, approved in the federal state Hesse, year ten, age fifteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Rosa Luxemburg Grammar School in Berlin
Events ● Almost all essays in this class address the Holocaust. The selection of other genocides or events categorised as such, including the colonisation of North America, the Crusades and the persecution of Christians in Roman antiquity, but also witch hunting (23), the Babylonian exile (13) and the repression of dissent under the regime of Recep Erdoğan in contemporary Turkey (26), is broad. Strikingly, several of the essays defend an inclusive conception of genocide by attempting to treat a large number of different genocides; moreover, less than half of the pupils define genocide generally, preferring instead to recount specific elements of genocides they know.
Protagonists ● Almost all essays which deal with the Holocaust invariably represent the persecution of Jews or, more specifically, the persecution of Jews by Hitler. Exceptions to this rule in treatments of the Holocaust are mentions of National Socialists (17), the NSDAP (22), converted Jews (23), Sinti and Roma (1), communists (24) and 'survivors' (16). Other protagonists are comprised of an eclectic mix of 'peoples', 'groups', 'innocent people', Stalin and 'Tao' [sic], 12, indigenous peoples of America and political minorities. Some essays underpin their explanations of perpetrators' motivations by categorising protagonists as 'a specific race or a specific type of group' (19), 'red-haired women' (21), 'religious minorities' and 'Christians' (26), ethnic groups (*Volksgruppen*, 1, 11) and 'people who did not share the

opinion of the rulers' (18). Pupil 23 creates a neologism by defining a person who instigates or conducts a genocide as a 'genocider' (*Völkermörder*).

Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to the description of effects of the Holocaust and genocides as murder, execution, extermination and killing by all but three pupils, a small number of essays address the effects of genocide by equating them with warfare, the human experience of contemporaries during the Holocaust and the agency of bystanders and survivors. The first type (genocide as war) is described as 'war against various groups' (14) or as 'gang warfare' in the favelas of Venezuela (18). The second type (human suffering caused by genocides) includes the expulsion of indigenous Americans (19), the social isolation of Jews during the Holocaust (25) and the separation of family members, such that, 'He [Hitler] created so much unhappiness. He tore families apart.' (23), although this essay goes on to describe the Kindertransport of 1938 to 1940. The third type (the agency of protagonists) comprises Jews who hid or fled during the Holocaust (7, 28), the liberation of surviving camp inmates at the end of the war (16), but also 'Jews who emigrated from various European countries to Germany and lived in ghettos' (28). Exceptionally, pupil 17 writes that genocides entail '[k]illing mostly in a very brutal but simple ('practical') way'. Only pupil 7 tersely addresses aftereffects in terms of 'the Holocaust as the commemoration of Jews'.

Causal agency ● As indicated above, this class tends to explain the Holocaust and other genocides implicitly by categorising protagonists in racial, physical, religious, ethnic and moral terms. They thus largely explain genocides while adhering to the thought patterns of the protagonists of the events. Explicit explanations mostly draw on the responsibility and motivations of individuals and groups. These vary between Hitler's responsibility, motivated by hatred of Jews in the case of the Holocaust, and settlers' responsibility, motivated by the search for raw materials in the case of colonisation. Other motivations include '*Lebensraum*' (29), intolerance of criticism in Syria (28) and the lack of tolerance of Christianity in antiquity (26). The most frequently recurring motivation is named as religion, as 'many innocent people were condemned simply because of their belief or their opinion' (11), or 'because of religion' (15) and 'because of religious persecution' (25). Pupil 22 provides a particularly ambiguous explanation of the Holocaust by claiming that 'Holocaust: Jews guilty of everything murdered or gassed' without qualifying or contextualising this statement or ascribing it to an identifiable historical agent. Many pupils offer causal explanations, which adhere to three types. The first type of causality refers to discrimination, whereby 'Jews were held responsible for economic crises and many other things' (17), or whereby '[m]ostly there are minorities who are associated with the reason for certain negative happenings, or one side considers itself to be something higher' (11). The second type of causality evokes the absence of a democracy and free speech, 'for many expressed themselves critically and they do not live in a democracy' (28). The third type evokes the inactivity of bystanders, whereby '[o]utside countries rarely do anything against the genocide which occurs in a country' (26).

Times and spaces ● The Second World War, but also the First World War and the nineteenth century, the Middle Ages and antiquity are mentioned alongside Germany, North America work camps and concentration camps. Three essays define time either as 'Hitler's times' (10, 16) or 'the National Socialist time' (7), while pupil 28 writes that, 'President Assat [sic.] committed a terrible genocide about two to three months ago'.

Points of view ● One fifth of the class adopts an either moral or affective point of view. Among these, the description of acts of genocide as 'brutal' or 'bestial' is most common. Two essays stand out by adopting unusual points of view. Pupil 7 explains empathetically how Jews 'had no chance to defend themselves', while pupil 11 explains that, 'The first thing I think of is naturally the murder of Jews under Hitler. I think that I can relate to this primarily because it took place in Germany.' Such a subject position, which demonstrates self-reflection and the contextualisation of knowledge, is uncommon. Nonetheless, pupils 21 and 22 concede the limits of their knowledge. Almost half of the class considers learning about the Holocaust

and other genocides to be expedient, helping learners to avoid mistakes, learn from the topic, prevent or not repeat genocides or even to 'enlighten people very well or do something against prejudices' (25).
Explanation assessment ● This class is characterised by its largely inclusive concept of genocide and broad range of corresponding examples of genocide and even the creation of the neologism 'genocider'. It also includes survivors and Jewish resisters among protagonists, but ignores aftereffects of genocides. Many essays adopt the categories of racial, physical, religious and ethnic difference without contextualising them historically. Several also explain genocides in terms of responsibility and motivation, but also the process of discrimination, undemocratic conditions and bystanders' inactivity. Although the pupils adopt a strictly neutral point of view (using passive and 'there was' statements), they ascribe considerable expediency to learning about the Holocaust and other genocides.

Liebigschule Secondary School in Frankfurt am Main
Events ● Only five of the twenty-three essays submitted by this class define genocide in general terms, most frequently as a crime against or the destruction or killing of a people or a racial, national or religious group. Unlike other classes, they assume that readers know what genocides entail. Consequently, most essays narrate details of specific genocides in terms of who 'did' or 'does' (*verübt*, 10) a genocide. All but four essays focus on the Holocaust. The next most frequently presented genocide is defined as the 'Islamic State'. In addition, these essays address an eclectic selection of events ranging from slavery, the colonisation of North America, the Eritrean-Ethiopian war of the late 1990s, the Gulf War of 2003, atrocities committed under the regime of Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, the repression of Christians, biological warfare, violence occurring during the revolution of 1918 to 1919 in Germany and the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict of the 1990s. Pupils 1 and 15 equate war with genocide, such that 'world wars or wars were genocide, since many soldiers fought for their country' (1).
Protagonists ● Commensurate with the events outlined in these essays, Hitler and Jews feature most prominently as a standard rhetorical couple. Other protagonists of the Holocaust include 'foreigners' (1, 17, 22), 'a national, racial or religious group' (2), 'the handicapped, homosexuals' (5), '60 million people' (5), 'Nazis' (7, 13) and 'those who did not correspond to the stereotype of a German' (16). The essays are also populated by such figures as Saddam Hussein, Osama Bin Laden, Americans, slaves, blacks, fringe groups, drug addicts, white men, Christians, non-Muslims and 'real' Muslims. As in the class from Berlin, one pupil names perpetrators as 'genociders' (*Völkermörder*, 16).
Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to generic references to killing and murder and, in isolated cases, torture, gassing and slave labour, pupils 3 and 23 offer insight into the events from the point of view of victims, either as a life led in fear which entails the circumstantial transformation of friends into foes (3), or the possibility of escaping (23). A small number of pupils also address effects not customarily associated with genocide. These include suicide bombing (1), street fighting (20) and the attempt by citizens to 'mutually eliminate each other' (21). Only pupil 23 addresses the aftereffects of genocide, with reference to tension between Tamils and Sinhalese after the end of the civil war.
Causal agency ● The central explanation for the Holocaust offered by eleven essays in this class is that Hitler was responsible for killing or having Jews murdered. Characteristic of this tendency is pupil 5's claim that, 'He killed many millions of people (approx. 60 million) in the Second World War. His victims were mostly fringe groups like Jews, handicapped people, homosexuals etc'. In a similar fashion, the 'Islamic State' is accorded responsibility for 'carrying out genocide in the Middle East' (10). Coherent with this explanation, pupil 1 describes Hitler's motivation for 'killing or having all foreigners killed because he thought it was right that only Germans should live in Germany and that they should practise the

Christian religion.' Four types of motivations dominate the essays. Besides the wish to maintain a homogenous 'German' population, these are religion, the suppression of dissent by a government or dictatorship, and war. For example, pupil 17 claims that Hitler 'killed over a million people because he was not satisfied with their religion/origins' and, more generally, that 'genocide is often based on religious background.' Suppression of dissent is characterised by pupil 20's opening statement that, 'When peoples have a different opinion they are killed.' Finally, war is generally presented as the context in which genocides occur or else as equivalent to genocide. For example: pupil 18 claims that 'genocide occurs in wars'; pupil 1 claims that 'wars were genocide'; pupil 13 claims that, 'Most genocides were carried out in order to conquer or own something'; and pupil 21's claim that 'citizens attempt to eliminate each other so that there are no more tensions' equates genocide with warfare between equal opponents. Pupil 14's suggestion that concentration camps were built 'so that German citizens would know less about the terrible acts of Hitler' shows partial insight into motivations for the technical implementation of atrocities. Similarly, partial causal arguments are applied to explain specific reasons why people died, as the result of hardship experienced by slaves in slave ships (4, 10), or following the use of biological weapons (19). In addition, four pupils suggest more comprehensive causes for mass killing. Pupil 15's suggestion that, 'They often develop under the leadership (*Anführung*) of a dictator' (15) and pupil 17's suggestion that 'people want to feel strong and have more power' approaches a nomological explanation by suggesting that genocides follow a general historical pattern. However, others equally claim that murderers acted 'without reasons' (16) or 'without reason' (17).

Times and spaces ● The Second World War provides the main time frame in this class's essays, who also refer to 'Hitler's times' (6) or the 'age of Hitler' (12). One pupil evokes slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while three emphasise that genocides continue in the present day. Only pupil 14 locates the Holocaust, namely in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Reich and Auschwitz; others either refer to Syria, the Middle East, Africa, America or Sri Lanka, or do not refer to spatiality at all.

Points of view ● Two thirds of the essays contain descriptive accounts. Others adopt a moral standpoint and write that 'too much power does no one any good' (13), or that perpetrators 'only think of themselves' (17). Some write in the name of a sense of national belonging. Some pupils claim that genocide 'is important precisely because it is a decisive event in German history' (14), or that 'it is important because it is German history' (23), 'because it has a lot to do with Germany' (13) or because 'our ancestors were responsible of the Holocaust' (22). However, only three pupils associate learning about the Holocaust and other genocides with genocide prevention.

Explanation assessment ● The essays from this class encapsulate and classify a broad range of events as genocide. However, explanations are devoted mostly to the Holocaust, in terms of Hitler's responsibility and motivation. Presentism (the tendency to interpret the past in the light of contemporary events) is demonstrated by the large number of essays which name religion or belief as the main cause or motivation for genocide, exemplified by pupil 17's claim that Hitler was motivated by a distaste for other people's religion or pupil 14's claim that 'for them [supporters of Hitler] there was nothing like religious freedom, which has not completely changed'. Pupil 21's suggestion that genocides occur only after the failure of negotiations ('They try it by talking and discussing. If this fails, they try it with weapons') similarly blurs the notion of genocide with that of warfare as a response to failed rapprochement between equal opponents. Although most essays are descriptive if not moral, one pupil with Eritrean parents provides unusual insight into experience of war and genocide by adopting the point of view of victims.

S1 *Rosa Luxemburg Gymnasium*, for gifted children in Pankow, Berlin (population 3.5 million), with twenty-nine responding pupils with an average age of fourteen and fifteen, supervised by teacher Sabine Kammer.
S2 *Liebigschule*, secondary school (Gymnasium) in Frankfurt am Main (population 730,000), with twenty-three responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Martin Liepach.

Translations of German educational materials by Peter Carrier and Christine Chiriac.

HUNGARY

Curriculum

The *National Core Curriculum (Nemzeti Alaptanterv*) of 4 June 2012 outlines the material currently taught in all Hungarian public lower and upper secondary schools (years 5 to 12). The curriculum presents the Holocaust within a historical survey of the twentieth century which culminates with the Second World War. It stipulates the Holocaust three times in two sections entitled 'The Holocaust in Europe and Hungary' (years 5 to 8) and 'The persecution of Jews; events leading up to the Holocaust; genocide; the Holocaust' (years 9 to 12). Although the generic term 'genocide' is used, no other genocides are mentioned in the curriculum, which nonetheless refers to the postwar Rákosi regime in terms of 'nationalisation, single-party state, terror'. The curriculum associates the Holocaust and genocide with an educational goal which emphasises the importance of imparting to pupils a sense of belonging to 'Hungarian heritage and tradition', which also encompasses home and family. The curriculum stipulates a link between the study of history, the notion of a specifically 'Hungarian' identity, and the need to foster 'a positive self-image' in order to develop 'healthy' social relations (76) and states that history education bears directly on 'the formation of a sense of identity as an individual and as a member of a family, a community, a nation' (77).

C *110/2012. (VI. 4.) Kormányrendelet a nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról*, Magyar Közlöny – Magyarország Hivatalos Lapja, 66. szám, 2012. június 4. [110/2012. (VI. 4.) Governmental Decree on the Issue, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum, Hungarian Gazette – Official Journal of Hungary, no. 66, 4 June 2012].

Textbooks

Történelem 11 **[History 11] (2015)**

Paratext ● This book covers the period from 1849 to 1945. The cover includes a photograph of Budapest in ruins after the Second World War, suggesting the centrality of the war in Hungarian history. The war is the context for the presentation of the Holocaust. The chapter titles 'German occupation and the Holocaust in Hungary' and 'The Horrors of the War' suggest that occupation by German forces enabled the atrocities, and that the war itself was a source of horror. The pedagogical exercises are of two kinds. The first includes factual ('what'/'how') questions designed to test the reader's knowledge of terms and concepts relating to the history of the Holocaust (Nazi racial theory, planning of the 'Final Solution', concentration camps), and of the relationship between the Holocaust in Hungary and the political events that preceded and accompanied it ('What were the political consequences of the German occupation? What role did the political leadership play in the emergence of the *vészkorszak*?', 243). The second type of exercise focuses on making connections or comparisons between the events discussed, encouraging reflection, empathy and interpretation

in addition to factual knowledge. These questions usually accompany textual quotations, which the reader is asked to interpret and, occasionally, to complement with individually researched information. For example, in a section entitled 'What lessons can be learnt from the Holocaust?' the reader is asked to 'think about' a series of short, one-sentence quotations addressing the moral implications of the Holocaust, and to 'find the authors of the quotations on the internet' (238). Elsewhere, the authors, after providing a quotation from a memoir exonerating Horthy, ask the reader to explain 'why [it is] necessary to approach these memoirs using source criticism' and to 'debate how the evaluation of Horthy's political role in 1944 continues to influence public opinion today' (243).

Events ● The textbook devotes seven pages to the Holocaust. The discussion spans three chapters, including a section about the Holocaust in Europe (three pages), a section about the Holocaust in Hungary (three pages), and a page on the Arrow Cross terror during the siege of Budapest and the Romani 'genocide'. The Holocaust is defined as the 'racially based persecution of the Jews committed by the Nazis' (237). The text qualifies the Holocaust as genocide. The Nazis' goal is the 'cleansing' of Europe of its Jewish population (236) and the Hungarian term for the Holocaust, *vészkorszak*, is defined as 'the period of the genocide against the Jews' (241). Although the Romani 'genocide' is qualified as 'racial persecution', the expression 'Roma genocide' is used to define the term *porrajmos* (238). Atrocities against the Armenians are directly qualified as genocide (115); by contrast, the Nanjing massacre is qualified as a 'shocking example of violence', but not as genocide (164).

Protagonists ● The authors mention Nazis and National Socialists as instigators of the Holocaust; Einsatzgruppen aided by locals are the perpetrators of its early phase (236), while organisation of its later phase is ascribed to Reinhard Heydrich and Adolf Eichmann, with Hitler mentioned as a motivational figure (237). When presenting the Holocaust in Hungary, the textbook names the Sztójay government and the Hungarian interior ministry – specifically, Interior Minister Andor Jaross and Internal Affairs Secretaries László Endre and László Baky – as organisers of the deportations. Miklós Horthy is presented as a controversial figure who 'gave free hand to the government' (240) when persecuting Jews, but later saved the Budapest ghetto from destruction (242). While the Nanjing massacre was 'committed by the Japanese' (164), no perpetrators are mentioned in relation to the Armenian genocide (115). Victims of the Holocaust are identified as 'all peoples designated as inferior – first and foremost, the Jews' (236). While Jews are the most commonly cited, the text also mentions 'Gypsies, Soviet communists and POWs' as well as 'citizens of the occupied countries, expatriated persons, and Poles' (238). Perpetrators are generally portrayed as functionaries, while victims are presented as human subjects; for example, the text juxtaposes official portraits of Nazi officials with informal photographs of ghetto inhabitants or deportees (236, 239, 242), which differ both in their subject matter and in the mode of photography.

Effects and aftereffects ● The Holocaust resulted in the expulsion or killing of 'the majority of European Jews' (237). Deportation and ghettoisation resulted in hunger, sickness and death, including death by starvation. The traditional estimate of 6 million victims is complemented with more recent estimates of 5.1–5.9 million; the number of Roma and Sinti victims of the Holocaust is placed between 50,000 and 1.5 million. The text refers to over half a million victims of the Holocaust in Hungary, including 450,000 rural Jews (241). The text notes that the Jewish population of Budapest (over 200,000 people) was saved from deportation by Horthy's intervention, and that many were also saved by 'righteous gentiles'. The discussion of the Arrow Cross terror concludes with an image of the 'Shoes on the Danube Promenade' memorial (247). Regarding the victims of the Armenian genocide, the authors mention various estimates, citing both 'independent historians' and 'Armenian sources' (115).

Causal agency ● The text emphasises the hierarchical organisation of the Holocaust and implies shared responsibility. Thus, Hitler 'approved' the plan for the so-called Final Solution drawn up by Heydrich, who also directed the 'activity of the formations that perpetrated the

mass murders'; responsibility for organising the deportations is ascribed to Eichmann (237). The textbook explains the Holocaust as a result of the National Socialist's 'racially based persecution of the Jews' (237) and the 'implementation of their racial theory in practice' (236). Crimes are often perpetrated following orders from a higher authority, or as part of a plan to attain a goal (such as the 'calculated Nazi plan for the destruction of the European Jews', 241). Psychological motivations are also mentioned: the members of the Einsatzgruppen were 'ideologically committed and violently inclined' (237). The 'Armenian genocide' is presented in the context of 'Turkey's ethnic conflicts' during the First World War (115). The text therefore emphasises motivation and causality more forcefully than direct attributions of responsibility.
Times and spaces ● The text links the Holocaust, spatially and chronologically, with the expansion of Germany during the war (236). No precise time frame is given for the Holocaust; rather, the text highlights specific years, including 1941 (Einsatzgruppen, Kamianiets-Podilskyi) and 1942 (the Wannsee Conference, the construction of the first extermination camps). The text is more specific regarding the Holocaust in Hungary, naming the months in which the deportations occurred (241), with the most precise dates (month and day) appearing with reference to Horthy's suspension of deportations (243). The 'Romani genocide' is situated 'during the period of Arrow Cross rule in Transdanubia and the region of the capital' (247); the 'Armenian genocide' 'in Eastern Anatolia between 1915 and 1917'. Scenes of the Holocaust include the occupied Soviet territories, ghettos, and extermination camps (Auschwitz-Birkenau, Bełżec, Chełmno, Majdanek, Sobibór, and Treblinka; additional camp names are mentioned separately in connection with the Romani genocide). Poland is mentioned as the location of the extermination camps (237).
Explanation assessment ● The authors provide a comprehensive overview of the Holocaust that proceeds from a general presentation to details of the Holocaust in Hungary. The authors address the question of causal agency by demonstrating various motivations and levels of responsibility – from the ideological motivation, underpinned by National Socialist racial theory, behind the calculated planning of the 'Final Solution' by the National Socialist hierarchy, to the ideologically driven commitment and inclination to violence of the individual 'soldiers' or members of 'the formations which perpetrated the mass murders' (237). The question of responsibility for the Holocaust in Hungary is addressed similarly, insofar as the authors acknowledge Hungarian responsibility while naming 'the Germans' as the primary agent – the Holocaust in Hungary began in the wake of the occupation of Hungary by 'German forces' acting in compliance with 'Hitler's decision' (241). Although the perpetrators of an action are generally named, sometimes the subject of a verb is merely implied. A particularly conspicuous example of this is the formulation, 'the genocide [perpetrated] against the Christian Armenians in Eastern Anatolia', where no doer is named (115).

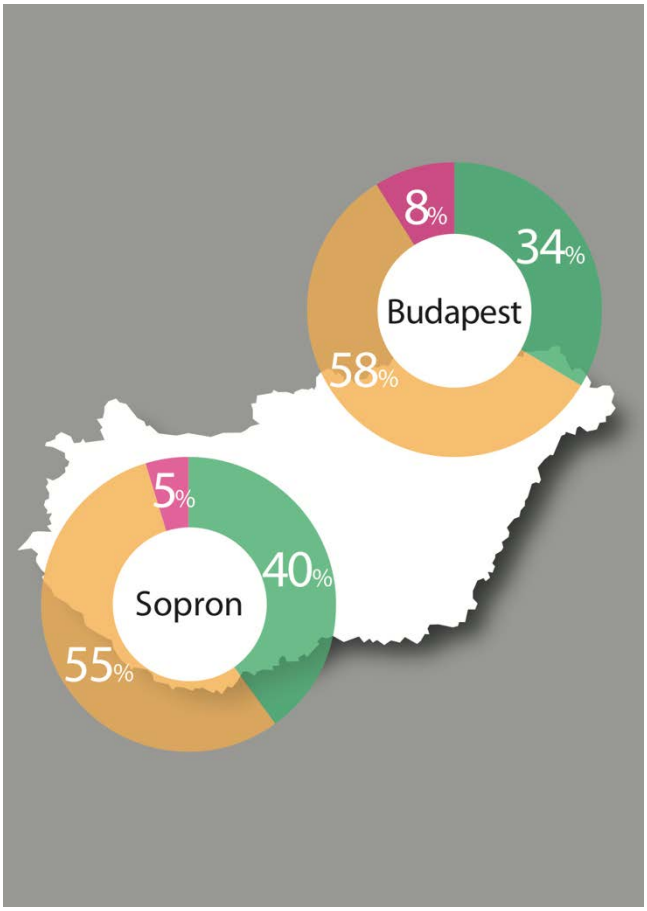
***Történelem 12* [History 12] (2016)**
Paratext ● The cover and contents page of this textbook, which covers the period from 1945 to the present day, do not address the Holocaust and genocide. The exercises emphasise causality, reflection and empathy (often fusing these elements) rather than factual knowledge. Questions typically cannot be answered on the basis of the text alone, but require reflection on the part of the reader, for example, 'Why could [the hate speeches of Serb politicians] succeed in unleashing such rage against innocent civilians?'(123). Other questions encourage the application of knowledge in a different context: after a discussion of the term 'war crime' with reference to Nationalist Socialist Germany, the readers are asked to 'discuss which wartime actions of the victorious Allies' might have qualified as war crimes (11). Thus, rather than offering an authoritative explanation of atrocities, the authors encourage the readers to interpret and reflect on causes throughout history.

Events ● The Holocaust is mentioned twice alongside other mass atrocities. These include the Vojvodina massacres from 1944 to 1945 (perpetrated by Yugoslav partisans against the Hungarian population of that region) and the crimes committed in Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The term 'genocide' appears three times, in relation to the Second World War, crimes against humanity, and armed conflicts in Africa. The expression 'ethnic cleansing' is more frequent, occurring five times, with reference to: the actions of the Yugoslav partisans in 1945 (11); violence in India/Pakistan and Palestine/Israel in 1947 and 1948 (25, 28); and the Yugoslav wars (122). With reference to the Vojvodina massacres, the authors distinguish between arbitrary violence and the partisans' 'systematic decimation' of the Hungarian population (50). Other terms used to denote genocidal crimes include 'mass murder', 'reprisal', and 'atrocity'.
Protagonists ● The authors name nationally or politically affiliated paramilitary formations as the perpetrators of genocide. Examples of this include 'Tito's partisans' (11), 'certain [Hungarian] armed formations' (50), the 'Yugoslav People's Army' and 'Serb irregular units' (121). With the exception of the Holocaust, all genocides are explained as the result of mutual violence between two warring sides. Thus, the Vojvodina Massacres are said to be part of a campaign to avenge the Délvidék massacre of 1942, while both in India/Pakistan in 1948 and Yugoslavia in the 1990s, 'militants on both sides' engaged in ethnic cleansing (122). Victims are referred to first and foremost as representatives of a nationality, and occasionally also as members of a social class. A chart showing Hungarian war casualties lists Jews as victims of the Holocaust (40), while the Vojvodina massacres targeted 'the Hungarian population of the towns and villages of Vojvodina', especially 'members of the intelligentsia or leaders of the local Hungarian communities' (50). Several Hungarian public figures are said to have protested against the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust or intervened on their behalf (48, 52).
Effects and aftereffects ● In addition to providing casualty figures for the Holocaust in Hungary (40), the Vojvodina massacres (50) and the war in Bosnia (122), the authors note that the Holocaust in Hungary resulted in 'a significant loss to the Hungarian intellectual elite' (55), while 'forced labour' and 'deportation' feature among a list of grievances suffered by the population of Hungary during the Second World War (40). Another prominent consequence of genocide is population exchange: following the Vojvodina Massacres, expelled Germans were 'replaced by 700,000 Serbs resettled from southern Serbia' (50), while ethnic cleansing in the wake of the partition of India and Yugoslavia likewise led to forced mass migrations (25, 122). The authors devote significant space to postwar war trials. For example, they note that, in addition to the Nuremberg trials, 'postwar trials in central and eastern Europe resulted in several thousands of death sentences' (11), while also observing that a significant number of the accused were acquitted (46).
Causal agency ● As in the previous textbook, attributions of motivation and causality occur more frequently than attributions of direct responsibility. Examples of the latter include the qualification (in a textual quotation) of the Arrow Cross as the 'primary murderers' (41), the attribution of the Délvidék massacre to 'members of certain [Hungarian] armed formations' (50), and the observation that the Vojvodina massacres were 'approved by the new Yugoslav leadership' (50). With regard to ethnic cleansing in India/Pakistan, Palestine/Israel and Bosnia, the authors indicate mutual responsibility by writing, for example, that 'massacres occurred on both sides' (25). The authors present a range of motivating and causal factors, ranging from a thirst for murder in the case of the Arrow Cross (41), revenge in the case of the Yugoslav partisans (11), and nationalism in the case of the Yugoslav wars (121). In the latter context, the text emphasises the role of politicians who 'exploited national symbols and prejudices to stir up emotions of fear, hate and thirst for vengeance', inciting their followers to 'commit crimes they would never have undertaken under normal circumstances.' Other ideologically motivated genocides include the Holocaust, an outgrowth of 'the racial theory of

National Socialist ideology' (9), and ethnic cleansing in India/Pakistan and Palestine/Israel, results of national and religious tension enflamed by territorial partition (25, 28).
Times and spaces • The most precise temporal and spatial information is given with reference to the Vojvodina Massacres, which the authors locate in the 'towns and villages of Vojvodina' following the Yugoslav partisans' reoccupation of that territory 'in October 1944' (41). Ethnic cleansing in India/Pakistan and Palestine/Israel is linked chronologically to the partitioning of those territories (25, 28). With respect to the Yugoslav wars, the authors mention Bosnia as the setting of a 'particularly cruel ethnic war' characterised by ethnic cleansing, the dates of which are given in a caption accompanying a map on the same page (122). Although no temporal or spatial information is provided regarding the Holocaust, the text encourages readers to consider spatial aspects of its history by asking the reader to identify the location of the Budapest ghetto (41).
Explanation assessment ● The authors present genocide as (1) the result of nationalistic and racial ideologies (the Holocaust, Vojvodina massacres and Yugoslav wars) and (2) as a phenomenon accompanying territorial partition (India/Pakistan, Palestine/Israel and Yugoslavia). With the exception of the Holocaust, all genocides are presented as links in a chain of mutual aggression between warring factions, the motives for which range from a primitive drive to murder to nationalist aspirations and political gain. Rather than aiming to present a 'definitive' account of history, the authors encourage the reader to use the text as a starting point for original research. For example, the reader is asked 'complete' a photograph from the Nuremberg trials by researching the National Socialist leaders named in the caption (11) and to find information about the Srebrenica massacre, which is not mentioned in the main text (121). The relevance of historical events is emphasised via a link to contemporary politics: after a discussion of the Délvidék and Vojvodina massacres, the reader is asked to identify the 'important event in Serbian-Hungarian relations' which took place in 2013 (50). The authors confront the reader with broader, theoretical considerations as well, such as the importance of confronting the past 'not just within the discipline of history, but in the public sphere as well' (41). At the same time, the authors occasionally reach their own conclusions from the historic events described. They conclude their discussion of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia by encouraging the reader to reject 'all historical myths which suggest the notion of ethnic superiority … and any attempt to historically justify ethnically motivated crimes' (123).

T1 Borhegyi, Péter, 2015. *Történelem tankönyv 11. a gimnáziumok 9–12. évfolyama számára.* Budapest, Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet [History Textbook 11. for secondary school grades 9–12. Budapest, Educational Research and Development Institute, history, secondary level].
T2 Borhegyi, Péter, 2015. *Történelem tankönyv 12. a gimnáziumok 9–12. évfolyama számára.* Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet [History Textbook 12. for secondary school grades 9–12. Educational Research and Development Institute, history, secondary level].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Berzsenyi Dániel Secondary School in Budapest

Events ● Most pupils define genocide as the destruction of a certain nation, people or ethnic group, while two pupils note that atrocities also involve the eradication of the victims' 'culture and traditions' or 'language and beliefs' (3, 8). Although all pupils cite the Holocaust as an example of genocide, only five make it the focus of their essays, and only three compare atrocities by defining the Holocaust as the 'largest and best-known' (8) or as the one 'with the most victims in history' (10). Other atrocities include: crimes perpetrated 'in the Soviet Union in the 1930s' (the Gulag and the Holodomor, 4, 6, 10); the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire (5, 8); the destruction of the Native American population (1, 7); atrocities committed by Islamic fundamentalists (1, 4); and religious persecution during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (6).

Protagonists ● Perpetrators and victims are typically presented in pairs, for example, 'Germans' and 'Jews'. The former are typically more powerful ('a stronger country', 8) and the latter weaker ('the subjugated people', 7). Alternately, both sides are presented as two equal 'peoples', 'nations' or 'ethnic groups' (1, 3, 7). Perpetrators are generally qualified politically ('the Assyrian Empire', 'Nazi Germany'), as national or political groups ('Germans', 'Soviets'), or as professional actors ('settlers', 'soldiers'), while two pupils write about perpetrators as a ruling class ('the leaders of a nation' or 'members of the German leading elite', 4, 2). About half of the pupils name Hitler as the perpetrator of the Holocaust,

while pupil 6 names Stalin as 'the person to be blamed' for the Gulag and the Holodomor, suggesting that he 'even surpasses Hitler'. All but two essays mention 'the Jews' as victims of the Holocaust. Most of the pupils describe victims in collective terms as a 'people' ('the native peoples of America', 'the Jewish people', 7, 9); less than half attempt a more individual characterisation ('people who were Protestants', 'people of Jewish origin', 6, 12), while only three use explicitly personal language ('unlucky captives', 'strong, healthy men', 4, 10). Pupil 12 provides an exceptionally personal characterisation of the unknown victim by writing that 'one of them might be a father of four, another a woman caring for her ill mother at home, but they don't know. They kill men, women and children without any consideration'.

Effects and aftereffects ● Evaluations of the effects of atrocities vary considerably. Most pupils suggest effects in their definition of terms. 'Genocide' is, and hence results in, 'the execution, annihilation, termination of a certain people or ethnic group' (5). Two pupils refer to numbers of victims ('millions were killed', 6, 12); others approach the effects of atrocities in demographic terms ('after the Holocaust, the number of Jews began to rise', 7; 'some areas … became completely void of Jews', 9). Pupils 3 and 7 emphasise abstract consequences in terms of 'the annihilation of a community together with its culture, knowledge, language, traditions and beliefs' (7), 'causing a huge loss to the whole world' (3); the same two pupils also address the question of the purpose of atrocities, noting that they 'don't think killing off a people would solve any conflicts' (3) and that 'no one ever achieved their goals in a way like this' (7). Two pupils mention the role of 'commemorative events' in perpetuating the legacy of the Holocaust, while one pupil approaches the question on a purely affective level, referring to genocide as 'a very cruel, sad thing that causes melancholy' (5).

Causal agency ● Essays include a mixture of causal explanations and passive formulations. While all but three essays mention some form of causal agency, about half also include, alongside attributions of responsibility, passive statements which describe atrocities without naming any form of causal agency ('people were killed', 5, 6, 12; 'genocide happened', 10). Several pupils mistake motivations for causes by explaining 'genocide' as the result of 'origin, religion, political views' (1), 'racism, antisemitism, xenophobia' (3), or 'hatred and jealousy' (7), while others adopt the perpetrators' categories, writing, for example, that atrocities took place 'because of overpopulation' (5) or due to the victims 'having a different religion' (12). Two pupils explain them tautologically ('the aim of this extermination was to eradicate entire peoples', 10), while others attribute them to affective motivations such as shame (2), arbitrariness (4, 7) or subservience born of fear (9, 12). By contrast, about half of the essays reflect a genuine attempt at a causal explanation; primary causes include religious intolerance ('the Germans were of the opinion that Jews had killed Jesus', 2) and racial ideology ('Hitler considered the German people to be Aryan, which is superior to all other peoples', 13). About half of the pupils also name responsible human agents, most typically 'Germans', 'Nazis' (2, 4, 9, 10) or another national group or entity. Only three pupils name individuals: two mention Hitler, while pupil 6 names Stalin as responsible for 'food shortages' that killed 'millions of people'. Pupil 9 presents an exceptional analysis by incorporating multiple types of causality, writing that 'Hitler had laws [condemning] the Jewish people … [so that] the territories subservient to Nazi Germany had to arrest the Jewish people and deport them,' after which 'the Germans took them to forced labour camps'.

Times and spaces ● Temporal references are made mostly in connection with the Holocaust, which occurred 'during the Second World War' (1, 9, 10). Atrocities are presented as something both ancient ('This is not something new, even groups of cavemen killed each other', 8) and contemporary ('genocides keep happening today also', 1). On this broad timeline, the Holocaust is situated 'not so long ago' (8, 9). 'Genocides' also occurred 'during the Reformation period' (6) and 'in the Soviet Union in the 1930s' (4). The most common geographical reference is to the Soviet Union; two pupils specify 'the Gulag' and the 'Ukraine' (6). Other places named include Asia, North Korea, China, Japan (Hiroshima and

Nagasaki), Mesopotamia and the 'Middle Eastern Arab world', where 'genocides keep happening today also' (1). Although three pupils mention National Socialist camps (6, 9, 10) only one situates the Holocaust geographically, noting that 'some areas (Poland, Italy, Hungary) became completely void [of Jews]', that the deportations occurred in 'the territories subservient to Nazi Germany' (9).
Points of view ● Over half the class (seven pupils) adopt an affective tone, using words like 'cruel', 'brutal' or 'sad' to describe atrocities, while four pupils condemn them on moral grounds as 'outrageous' or 'unjust'. Four pupils write in a neutral tone, often suggesting passive acceptance by either simply listing atrocities (1, 8) or providing details of the Holocaust without qualification (10, 13). One third of the class demonstrates extreme moral or affective responses. Pupils 3 and 6 emphasise a universal dimension, noting that an atrocity 'causes a huge loss to the whole world' and qualifying the Holocaust as 'the biggest shame on all mankind.' Although most of the class (eight pupils) writes in the first person, only three essays contain explicitly personal responses. In an exceptionally expressive response, pupil 12 notes that 'I get stomach cramps whenever I hear about [genocides]. They just utter numbers like this many thousand or even million … and I am dumbfounded, unable to process such a number'. Pupil 11 expresses a similar sense of incomprehension, for 'Even after watching all those movies, the hours of classroom discussions, it is still not clear to me exactly why [the Jews] had to be exterminated'. Two thirds of the class ascribe the importance of learning about atrocities to the importance of history for its own sake; the remainder recognise that mass atrocities are 'a deterrent example of hatred' (7).
Explanation assessment ● The essays demonstrate a wide range of explanations. Causal explanations and affective statements frequently overlap with neutral or passive formulations. One third of the pupils note that they had 'not yet studied about genocides in primary school' (2, 3, 5, 12) and ascribe their knowledge of mass atrocities to 'conversations with family and friends' (2) or 'social life' (12). Most pupils adopt a personal tone and identify themselves as sympathising with sufferers, citing both personal misgivings ('I find it disgusting when someone is judged by their religion', 2) and moral standpoints ('the Holocaust is the biggest shame on all mankind', 6). By contrast, five pupils employ a neutral authorial tone, presenting their observations as objective facts without specifying the source of their knowledge. The tone of these essays is generally neutral, with little or no causal explanation (an exception to this is pupil 10, who writes impersonally but attempts a causal analysis). Significantly, no pupil mentions Hungarian protagonists or acknowledges Hungary's historical involvement in the Holocaust; although two pupils raise the issue of commemoration, none mention the current debate about commemoration of the Second World War in Hungary.

Fáy András Secondary School in Sopron
Events ● 'Genocide' is defined as the 'deliberate and targeted murder of groups of people' (4, 9, 11) belonging to the same 'ethnic group' or sharing a 'religious conviction or nationality' (1, 2, 5). Six pupils associate atrocities with extermination, while the rest define 'genocide' as simply the act of killing people 'in large numbers' (2). Although all essays mention the Holocaust, most refer to it in passing as one example of atrocity among many. Only two pupils present the Holocaust as unique – as 'the biggest' or 'one of the biggest' atrocities (6, 7), while pupil 4 notes that 'the most well-known stories tell us of the Jewish genocides'. Pupil 1 equates the Holocaust with the crimes of the Stalinist regime when she writes that, '[t]he two main genocides were the Russian genocide and the German. The Russians put people into Gulags; the Germans put the Jews into concentration camps.' Pupil 6 does not hesitate to equate the Holocaust with Islamic violence by writing that, 'one hears about genocides rather often: Auschwitz-Birkenau in the time of Hitler … and nowadays immigrants, who attacked people in Paris and Brussels.' Other examples of mass atrocities

include the ‘persecution of Christians’ in Antiquity (2, 5, 6, 7, 11) and the mass murder of indigenous Americans (3, 5).

Protagonists ● The essays demonstrate a variety of overlapping categorisations. All pupils bar one refer to protagonists as groups, either as adherents of a religion (‘Christians’, ‘followers of Islam’, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11), as members of a social group (‘immigrants’, ‘soldiers’, 5, 6, 11), an ethnicity (‘Indians’, ‘Gypsies’, 3, 5) or a nationality (‘Russians’, ‘Germans’, 1, 10). Pupils 1 and 5 also name national entities (‘America’, ‘Roman Empire’) as protagonists. The most commonly named perpetrator of the Holocaust is ‘Hitler’ (2, 3, 5, 9, 10) alongside ‘the Germans’ or ‘Nazi Germany’ (1, 5, 10), while ‘America’ is credited with the liberation of the National Socialist concentration camps (2). All pupils mention Jews as victims of the Holocaust. In addition to these group categorisations, over half the pupils also cast protagonists as individuals, whether as ‘children and women’ (2), ‘nameless, innocent people’ (4, 11) or ‘two great leaders’ who ‘carried out huge genocides in America’ (6). Two pupils refer to victims in personal terms: pupil 7 notes that ‘many people’s relatives or ancestors lost their lives’ during the Holocaust (7), while pupil 4 exceptionally recounts that her own great-grandfather ‘went through living hell’ during the Second World War.

Effects and aftereffects ● With the exception of one reference to aftereffects of the destruction of indigenous Americans (5), effects of atrocities are mentioned only with reference to the Holocaust. Most pupils limit themselves to an evaluation of casualties (‘many people were killed’, 3, 6, 7, 10), while two address the fate of the survivors, whereby the United States is credited with sheltering those who ‘managed to escape in time’ (7). Four pupils address the issue of commemoration. Two specific memorials are mentioned: the Auschwitz Museum, ‘where you can see the horrifying things, or rather the remnants thereof’, (8), and the Shoes on the Danube memorial in Budapest (10), one of ‘quite a few memorial sites across our country’ (7). Pupil 4 offers an exceptional illustration of various ways of approaching the past. ‘The expression [genocide] must mean different things to all of us. Some will look up angrily upon hearing it; others will lay their heads and cry in silence … To me this word means the hidden past, the memories that my great-granddaddy took with him to the grave.’

Causal agency ● Half of this class makes direct attributions of responsibility, naming a group or an individual (Hitler) as the destroyer of another group; as in ‘the Roman Empire killed off Christians’ (5) or ‘Hitler wiped out … Jews’ (10). Pupil 2 attempts a more complex formulation, noting that ‘genocide is … in general, the work of a higher power’, and names Hitler as an example. Most pupils either mistake motivation for causality or adopt perpetrators’ categories, usually by naming religion as the cause of atrocities. These ‘derive from people’s religion’ (7) or occur ‘because of their religion’ (8). Three pupils suggest genuine motivating forces; these include greed, political deterrence (2) and hatred (5); pupil 9 explains atrocities in terms of collective responsibility and motivation by noting that mass atrocities occurred because the perpetrators were ‘displeased’ with the victims’ faith, but also attempts a causal explanation on the basis of prejudice by attributing the Holocaust to ‘a stupid understanding that Jews are not worth as much as other people.’ Pupil 8 suggests that ‘genocide’ is an arbitrary phenomenon, which ‘sometimes [happens] for a reason, sometimes not.’

Times and spaces ● Pupils locate mass atrocities on a loose timeline stretching from ‘ancient times’ to ‘the recent past’, with the ‘Second World War’ or ‘the time of Hitler’ in the middle. Four pupils refer to atrocities as something that has ‘always been present’. An exception to this generalising tendency is pupil 1, who distinguishes between various stages of the Holocaust as having occurred respectively ‘at the beginning’, ‘towards the end’ and ‘at the end’ of the war. Specific dates are named mostly with reference to recent Islamic fundamentalist violence. The most common spatial references are to Auschwitz (1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11) and to ‘concentration’ or ‘work camps’ (1, 5, 7, 9, 10); three pupils refer to ‘gas chambers’. Other locations include cities (New York, Paris and Brussels) as sites of civilian

attacks in 2001, 2015 and 2016 and the ‘American territories’ as the setting of the ‘genocide’ of the Native American population (5). Only two pupils go into geographic detail: pupil 1 locates Auschwitz ‘in Poland, close to Kraków’ while pupil 10 writes that the Shoes on the Danube memorial is located ‘in Budapest, by the Danube, at the place where it happened exactly.’
Points of view ● Half of this class writes affectively, describing ‘genocide’ as ‘horrendous’ or ‘horrific’ (1, 4, 5, 8, 10); the other half writes in a descriptive tone, emphasising moral misgivings over affective responses and qualifying atrocities as ‘merciless’ and ‘inhumane’ (1, 4, 7, 10). Half of the pupils underscore the moral injustice of atrocities, which involve murdering ‘innocent people who did nothing wrong’ (8). While three pupils express indifference or tacit acceptance of atrocities as a phenomenon (‘We have always been like this, and will be forever,’ 2), an equal number condemn atrocities in universal terms as ‘the nadir of mankind’ (5) and as a phenomenon which is difficult ‘to associate with a … feeling and thinking human being’ (4). Although all pupils agree that learning about atrocities is important, only two regard it as an expedient for preventing future atrocities.
Explanation assessment ● Half of the class demonstrates a clear understanding of the term ‘genocide’, while the other half approaches it as religiously motivated murder, occasionally blurring the definition of the term by citing recent Islamic fundamentalist violence as examples. The Holocaust is generally treated ahistorically, with few references to actual places (with the exception of Auschwitz) and times; only one pupil refers to Hungary as a location of the Holocaust. Most pupils condemn mass atrocities in the name of common humanity via active assertions (‘all human lives are equally worthy’, 9) or by using the pronoun ‘we’ to convey remorse or compassion (‘unfortunately, ‘we’ have always been like this’, 2; ‘we should not harm innocent people’, 8). Although pupils generally empathise with victims, direct expressions of identification with their fate are rare; an exception is pupil 4’s evocation of ‘people travelling straight to their death, crammed in crowded train carriages … nameless people the world … mourns to this very day.’

S1 *Berzsenyi Dániel Secondary School* (Gimnázium) in Budapest (population 1.7 million), with thirteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Monika Mezei.
S2 *Fáy András Secondary School* (Szakgimnázium) in Sopron (population 61,000), with eleven responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Vódli Zsolt.

Translations of Hungarian educational materials by Ben Niran and Petra Hajdu.

LITHUANIA

Curriculum

The *Curriculum for Social Education* addresses the Holocaust and genocides in the ‘History’ section, which is geared towards fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds in years nine and ten. It is organised in a table with columns entitled ‘Provisions’, ‘Skills’, ‘Knowledge and Understanding’ and ‘Educational Guidelines’. ‘Crimes against humanity’ are first addressed in the context of the Second World War and relate to the dichotomy between ‘democratic and totalitarian societies’ in a section which covers fascism, National Socialism and communism (966). While the column ‘Knowledge and Understanding’ stipulates teaching about ‘crimes against humanity and the Holocaust’, the parallel column ‘Educational Guidelines’ subsumes both ‘communist and Nazi crimes’ under ‘crimes against humanity’. This association between ‘Soviet and Nazi crimes’ is reiterated several times. The curriculum repeatedly stipulates a

‘comparison of the Soviet and Nazi occupation of Lithuania’ (967). ‘Features of the second Soviet occupation’ of Lithuania are then addressed separately in more detail and include ‘repressions’ against the local population, ‘mass deportations’, the creation of ‘collective farms’, and ‘cultural sovietisation’ (968). In sum, both the Holocaust (sometimes circumscribed as ‘Nazi crimes’) and the atrocities committed by Soviets are conceived of as ‘crimes against humanity’ and localised in Lithuania. Thus the curriculum creates a parallel between ‘Nazi and Soviet’ atrocities in line with the ‘totalitarian’ paradigm and represents the rule of both regimes in Lithuania. Finally, the curriculum also refers to atrocities in the context of decolonisation, where the examples of ‘civil wars’ and ‘massacres against civilians’ are subsumed under ‘postcolonial African and Asian population problems’ (968). The curriculum stipulates schools to convey ‘historical consciousness’, skills (‘problem solving based on historical experience’), understanding and knowledge (937). Pupils are expected to ‘assess’ crimes against humanity committed during the Second World War, illustrate ‘communist and Nazi crimes and the Holocaust’ by giving examples (966), ‘compare the Soviet and Nazi occupation of Lithuania’ and visit ‘Holocaust memorial sites related to their birthplace’ (967). Recommended pedagogical exercises include ‘critically assessing historical sources’, ‘interpreting developments in their contexts’, ‘explaining’ historical change using maps, and ‘associating’ the past and the present (937).

C *Socialinis ugdymas.* [Social education, accessed 24 March 2017].

Textbooks

Istorijos vadovėlis, 1 dalis **[History textbook, part one] (2011)**

Paratext ● The contents page of this textbook, which is devoted to the period from 1918 to 1945, does not address atrocity crimes. Most exercises are causal and ask pupils, for example, to ‘name the most important causes of the Holocaust’ and to ‘consider why, in some states, there was no Holocaust’ (182). Causal exercises also frequently take the form of questions, for example, ‘What was Stalin aiming for by means of collectivisation?’ (36) and ‘Why did the majority of Lithuanians welcome German units?’ (184). Some exercises invite pupils to ‘compare the German and Soviet policy in the occupied countries’ (182) and to ‘provide a … detailed answer’ to ‘how … the situation of Jews … changed’ after Hitler’s takeover (51).

Events ● This textbook addresses the Holocaust (fifteen pages), famine and ‘gruesome repression’ in the Soviet Union (two and a half pages), as well as the ‘massacre’ in Katyn and ‘cleansing’ (*valymo*, 177) committed by Soviets in the war (five pages). The author defines the Holocaust as ‘mass extermination of Jews during the Second World War’ (176). He defines ‘the communist Soviet Union, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany’ as ‘totalitarian dictatorship[s]’ (9) and frequently equates ‘the policy of Germany and the Soviet Union in the occupied countries’ (176). For example, the authorial text states that ‘German and Soviet power structures deported entire ethnic groups’ and ‘Nazis and Soviets tortured brutally’ (178). Visual associations are made between images of the Auschwitz and Vorkuta camps, which are reproduced on the same page (177), and between caricatures of Hitler and Stalin in the introduction to the chapter about the Second World War (140). Interestingly, the Soviet Union is said to have ‘carried out deportations to an even greater extent’ than Germany (176), and Vorkutlag is described as ‘the biggest concentration camp in Europe during the war’ (177).

Protagonists ● Perpetrators of the Holocaust range from collective agents (‘National Socialists’ and ‘the Germans’) to corps (the SS, the Gestapo, Einsatzgruppen) and individuals (Hitler, Himmler), whereas ‘anti-Jewish actions’ are said to have been committed ‘by the government apparatus, as well as the army, trade structures and the party’ (179). The textbook personifies states (‘Germany and the Soviet Union deported and killed …’, 176). Victims of the Holocaust include ‘Jews’, ‘people of Jewish origin’ (50), ‘Jewish and unwanted scientists

(and writers)' (50) and 'Jews who had participated in the liberation struggles of Latvia' (181) as well as 'Roma', 'Soviet prisoners of war', 'Polish civilians', 'the Baltic intelligentsia', 'the population of Lithuania' and 'people with other attitudes' (47). Although he claims that 'Nazi Germany bears the main guilt [*kaltė*] for the Holocaust in Lithuania and Europe' (189), the author acknowledges 'satellite states' and 'local collaborators' (179) such as 'the Lithuanian Activist Front', but also Latvian rescuers and Lithuanian resistance. By addressing a variety of 'powerful' perpetrators of atrocity crimes in the Soviet Union, such as political bodies ('the governing power', 'the Soviet government'), soldiers ('professional military troops', 33) and political leaders ('Bolshevik leaders, first and foremost Stalin', 31; 'the first secretary of the party committee, the chairman of the executive committee and the security officer', 33), the author explains repression as a highly organised political process directed against 'peasants' and 'so-called kulaks' (33). He also compares National Socialist and Soviet crimes by stating that 'German and Soviet power structures' deported 'entire ethnic groups', for example 'all the Jews' and 'Tatars, Chechens, Ingush people and Volga Germans' (178).

Effects and aftereffects ● The outcomes of the Holocaust are presented historically as disenfranchisement, exclusion, expropriation, the destruction of material culture, Germanisation, plunder, emigration, forced labour, ghettoisation and mass extermination. The author adresses the 'gruesome repression' of resisters (33), famine, deportations and fifteen million deaths after forced collectivisation. A human dimension including 'destroyed families', 'years spent in exile' and 'meaningless death' is ascribed to forced labour in the Gulag camps (33). Aftereffects of the Holocaust include the destruction of German cities and expulsions of Germans, the awarding of the title 'righteous among the nations' to rescuers and the Nuremberg trials. In an exercise, the author emphasises that 'after the Second World War, the crimes of the communists were not condemned and those responsible were not convicted' (197). Crimes in Katyn are said to have been concealed and recognised 'only in 1991' (183) by the Russian president. Aftereffects of forced collectivisation and the Gulag include 'economic achievements' (33); and 'due to Stalinism, the Soviet Union acquired the status of a world power … although the measures were drastic and the number of victims was enormous' (34). The textbook also addresses mass atrocities in films by quoting stills from *Downfall* by Oliver Hirschbiegel (2004), *Ghetto* by Audrius Juzėnas (2006) and *Katyn* by Andrzej Wajda (2007).

Causal agency ● This textbook explains the Holocaust as an outcome of antisemitic 'hatred' (44), racist 'views' (44), ideological belief ('many Germans … were convinced that the 'Jewish question' existed', 49), the desire for revenge ('to practise personal retaliation', 188), economic interest ('in order to get the fortune' of victims, 180), ambition ('to ingratiate themselves with the German government' or 'to make a career', 180) and political expediency (Lithuanians welcomed the Germans 'because they hoped to … restore Lithuanian statehood', 185). Responsibility for atrocity crimes is ascribed to 'Nazis [who] killed millions of innocent inhabitants' (141). The author also explains that, 'Antisemitism was part of Nazi ideology; therefore Germany started to persecute and exterminate Jews' (179). Raul Hilberg's writings are quoted as the source of 'three preconditions' (*išankstinėmis sąlygomis*, 179) for the Holocaust. First, 'there should have been no escape' for Jews, 'therefore all efforts were made to separate Jews from non-Jews'. Second, 'the relationship between Jews and non-Jews had to be discontinued, with the least damage to … the German economy. Hence, issues such as mixed marriages and … debt obligations … were addressed'. Third, 'the crimes were to be carried out in such a way that the murderers did not resist … and the non-Jewish … population did not object. Therefore … local collaborators were recruited' (179). Other atrocity crimes are ascribed to political responsibility and motivation, according to which 'the [Soviet] government wanted to disrupt the peasants' economic power' (33) and 'the NKVD carried out a cleansing of locals' (177). External causes include 'collectivisation … and the famine of 1932–1933, triggered by compulsory expropriation', following which 'about 15

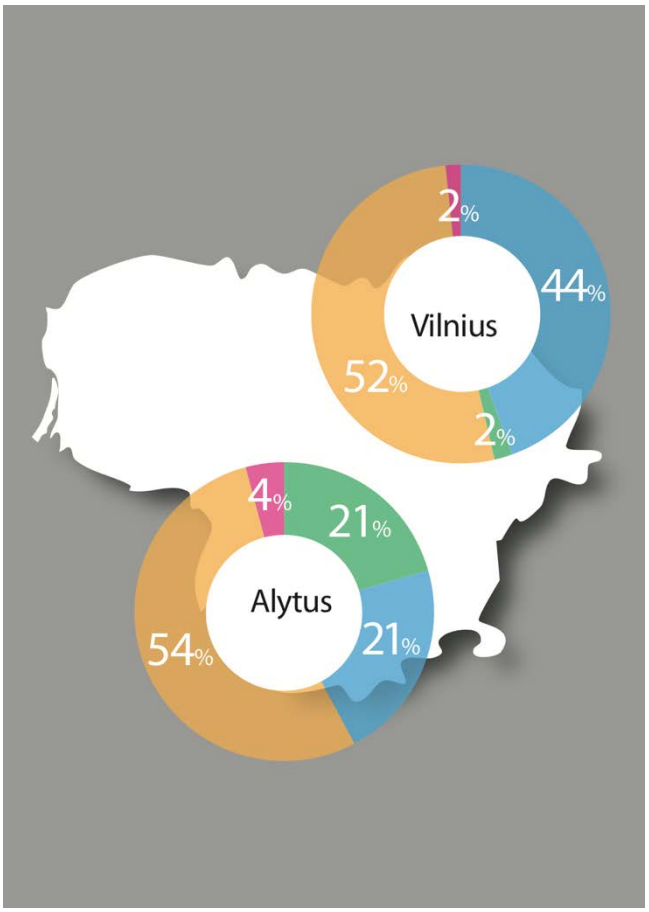
million inhabitants died in the Soviet Union' (33). Moreover, Polish officers 'were killed for the same reason for which Stalin ordered the arrest of Polish priests and teachers, in order to destroy the Polish elite' (183).
Times and spaces ● The 'massacre' in Katyn is dated from April 1940 and famine in the Soviet Union from 1932 to 1933. Although the Holocaust coincides with the Second World War, the author also acknowledges preceding developments. 'Principles' were established 'in the party programme of National Socialists in 1920' and 'put into practice after 1933' (48). The textbook highlights key dates such as the Nuremberg Laws (1935) and the 'so-called Crystal Night' (1938) as well as dates associated with National Socialist persecution on Lithuanian territory, where '[t]he biggest massacres take place from the end of June to the autumn of 1941' (188). The space ascribed to the Holocaust is national (Germany, Poland, the Soviet Union, Romania, Hungary, the 'Baltic States') and also includes 'the occupied territories' (144). The 'most important concentration camps of Nazi Germany' are listed in a table in the chronological order of their opening (178) and range from Dachau (1934) to Bergen Belsen (1943). The Holocaust in Lithuania is associated with Ponary and the ninth fortress in Kaunas (188). The author underscores the spatial dimension of atrocity crimes in the Soviet Union by describing 'a huge system of camps … from the Arctic Circle to the Black Sea, from Murmansk to Vorkuta and Kazakhstan' (33). Soviet repression is also located in 'occupied countries' such as Poland and 'the Baltic States' (177).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains atrocity crimes and genocide as outcomes not only of affective, economic and political motives, but also of ideology (antisemitism). The author explains rather than describes events. He explains the Holocaust as a process leading from political goals of National Socialists to their practical implementation with the help of local collaborators in order to avoid resistance in occupied countries. Effects of atrocity crimes are presented both historically and as 'destroyed families' and 'meaningless death'. Exceptionally, atrocities are said to have been followed by progress (of the Soviet Union to 'the status of a world power'). By opposing 'powerful' perpetrators and state structures with collective victims, the author suggests that atrocity crimes were organised and involved unequal protagonists. Throughout the book, the authorial text, visual quotations and exercises liken National Socialism and Stalinism, which are both categorised as 'totalitarian dictatorship[s]'. Exceptionally, Soviets are said to have carried out deportations 'to an even greater extent' than the National Socialists (176).

Istorijos vadovėlis, 2 dalis **[History textbook, part two] (2014)**
Paratext ● This textbook is devoted to the period from 1945 to the present day. It does not mention atrocity crimes on its contents page. Most pedagogical exercises are causal and invite pupils to 'reflect why the Soviet power deported women and children' (111) and 'identify the major consequences of collectivisation' (158). Some causal exercises take the form of questions, for example, 'Why were so many people killed in countries ruled by communists in the twentieth century?' (41). Further exercises urge pupils to empathise with protagonists of atrocity crimes and to do further research. For example, the authors ask pupils to '[e]nquire whether [their] relatives … were also deported during the Soviet occupation' (111), to 'identify the official reasons' and 'describe the most important experiences of these people'.
Events ● The textbook addresses aftereffects of the Holocaust (one page), 'extreme brutality' and mass killing in Cambodia (one page) and briefly mentions 'civil war' in Rwanda, 'internal shocks' in the former Yugoslavia and the 'genocide' of Kurds in Iraq (194). The second Soviet occupation of Lithuania (four and a half pages) is associated with 'liquidation' (*likvidacija*, 108) and 'physical and spiritual destruction [*naikinamas*] of the Lithuanian nation' (106). A textual quotation from *The Black Book of Communism – Crimes, Terror, Repression* by Stéphane Courtois et al. reproduces the death toll in several communist countries, and states that 'in terms of relative weight, first place goes to Cambodia' (41).

Deportations from Lithuania are said to have comprised 'a significant part of all Soviet Union deportations' (108).
Protagonists ● The textbook opposes 'the Khmer Rouge', Pol Pot and the 'revolutionary organisation … *Angkar Padevat*' (41) with 'inhabitants' of Cambodia (34). Perpetrators of the Soviet repression in Lithuania include political bodies ('the occupation government', 'the government of the Soviet Union', 'structures of the Interior and State Security' and 'committees of the Communist Party in cities') and soldiers ('military troops of the NKVD' and '*stribai*' battalions). Their actions targeted not only 'members of [historical] parties', 'wealthy farmers', 'owners of commercial and industrial companies' (106), 'famous personalities of independent Lithuania' (109) and 'resisters', but also 'infants, pregnant women, children, the elderly and ill people' (108) and 'the Lithuanian nation' (106).
Effects and aftereffects ● Effects of atrocity crimes include violence, executions and mass death (in Cambodia) and 'large-scale punitive operations', 'terror' (85), resistance, deportation, the destruction of material culture, disenfranchisement and death (in the Soviet Union). The authors also highlight 'moral consequences' such as 'rising alienation' and the destruction of the 'traditional way of life of the patriarchal Lithuanian countryside' following collectivisation (103). Aftereffects of the Holocaust include the emigration of Jews and the creation of 'a Jewish state in Palestine' (51). The 'genocide' of Kurds is said to have been followed by the arrest and conviction of Saddam Hussein (194). The authors explain that, following deportations of people from Lithuania, 'resistance of the villagers ended' (109), but eventually 'most of the deportees returned to Lithuania' (85).
Causal agency ● This textbook explains the deportations of Lithuanians primarily as an outcome of political motives. The Soviet government is said to have 'tried to crush the resistance' of Lithuanians and 'eliminate those who were unacceptable to the new system' (85) with the aim of 'changing the national composition of the country' (106) and 'separating people as quickly as possible from their past … and from their cultural heritage' (85). Repression is also ascribed to obedience insofar as 'orders from Moscow were followed diligently by committees of the Communist Party' (108). Furthermore, the authors frequently explain Soviet repression politically. For example, they claim that 'terror was an inseparable feature of Soviet rule' (85) and that '[c]ollectivisation ruined the traditional way of life' in Lithuania (103). Atrocity crimes in Cambodia are mainly ascribed to Pol Pot, who 'managed to kill about a quarter of all the country's inhabitants' (34).
Times and spaces ● Atrocity crimes in Cambodia coincide with the regime of the Khmer Rouge (1975–1979); 'civil war' in Rwanda is dated from 1994 and atrocities committed against Kurds from 'the late eighties' (194). Deportations from Lithuania during the second Soviet occupation are dated from 1944 to 1952, and 'terror' is said to have 'continued during the whole reign of Stalin' (85). Deportation sites are marked on a map of the Soviet Union (108). The authors also write that deportations were made to 'uninhabited or sparsely populated regions such as Siberia, the far east and the far north' of the Soviet Union (106).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook explains atrocity crimes as outcomes of political motivation. For example, the Soviet government is said to have intended to eliminate 'unacceptable' persons, crush resistance, change 'the national composition' of Lithuania and destroy historical and cultural ties. By defining deportations from Lithuania and Soviet repression as 'destruction' and by use of the metaphor 'the liquidation' of 'the Lithuanian nation', the authors address communism in terms borrowed from conceptualisations of genocide. Textual quotations (the death toll from *The Black Book of Communism*), underpin the assertion that crimes in both Cambodia and the Soviet Union were a result of communism. While some exercises invite pupils to reflect on causes and consequences, other exercises urge them to empathise with Lithuanian victims of repression.

T1 Tamošaitis, Mindaugas, 2011. *Istorijos vadovėlis – 1 dalis*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, second edition [History Textbook – Part One, year ten, age sixteen].
T2 Kraujelis, Ramojus, Arūnas Streikus, Mindaugas Tamošaitis, 2014. *Istorijos vadovėlis – 2 dalis*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, third edition [History Textbook – Part Two, year ten, age sixteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas Secondary School in Alytus
Events ● Almost all of the sixteen essays submitted by this class refer generally to attacks on Jews rather than to an event called ‘the Holocaust’. Pupil 1 refers exclusively to ‘attacks’ on Jews in seventh-century Spain (presumably referring to punishment for resistance to forced conversion), while four other essays evoke continuing atrocities against Jews ‘since the seventh century’ (7) to the present day. Exceptions to these evocations of the Holocaust and long-term anti-Jewish violence include four generic references to ‘genocide’, four references to anti-Muslim atrocities or (in one case, by pupil 9) to Muslim perpetrators of atrocities. Pupils 11 and 16 mention the ‘Armenian genocide’, while crimes perpetrated against ‘blacks in America’ (14), against indigenous ‘Indians when America was discovered’ and against ‘African peoples in colonies’ as well as the deportation of Lithuanians in the Soviet Union (16) are also mentioned.

Protagonists ● Jewish victims are evoked in all but four essays. Other victims include Muslims who are 'blamed for terrorism' (7), who were subject to a 'genocide against Muslims' (4, 5) or 'attacks on Muslims' (9). Only two mentions of perpetrators occur, when pupil 9 evokes Muslims who 'kill people with a different belief' and when pupil 11 writes that the Holocaust was 'carried out by the Nazis'. Instead, pupils eschew agency by writing primarily in the passive voice that '[g]enocide and the Holocaust are attacks…' (8), that '[i]t happened in ….', that 'attempts were made to …' (10), or simply 'Genocides – mass killings' (14). Mentions of 'races' or 'peoples' (14), 'gypsies', Lithuanians, (indigenous) Indians and Africans are exceptional.
Effects and aftereffects ● While all but four essays describe the effects of atrocity crimes as killing or murder, most also list forms of anti-Jewish discrimination including the destruction of property, dismissals by employers, restrictions on the use of public transport, dispossession, plunder and the prohibition of Jewish pupils from state schools. No essays address the aftereffects of the Holocaust or mass atrocities.
Causal agency ● Almost all of those pupils who provide an explanation of the Holocaust or atrocity crimes do so by identifying religious motivations of perpetrators, which are characteristically expressed in causal terms, according to which 'attacks on the Jewish people took place because of another religion or another religious affiliation' (1) or 'some Muslims emphasise their religion, kill heretics' (9). Pupils 6 and 15 also focus on religion by explaining events causally as the result of 'religious disputes'. Four pupils explain atrocities as the consequence of 'blame', whereby Jews 'were blamed for the defeat of Germany in the war' (2) and 'given all the blame' (12), or whereby 'Muslims are … blamed for terrorism' (4, 7). Only one pupil names responsible agents ('Nazis', 11).
Times and spaces ● Five essays locate atrocity crimes or anti-Jewish violence in seventh-century Spain. Five other essays associate the Holocaust with the Second World War or 'world wars' (3). However, pupils 7 and 10 evoke a consistent duration of attacks on Jews which have been occurring 'since the seventh century'. Further isolated references are made to America, Soviet Russia and Turkey. Only pupil 12 addresses the Holocaust in Lithuania.
Points of view ● All but two pupils maintain a strictly neutral point of view rendered in the passive voice. Exceptionally, pupil 4 adopts the point of view of an unnamed collective moral judge who writes that 'we lost many people during the genocide … We may not allow the tragic historic events to repeat themselves, because it is a huge mistake'. This moral stance is echoed in several pupils' recourse to 'blame' as a motivation for atrocity crimes. It is also echoed in the utility ascribed to learning about the Holocaust and atrocity crimes by pupils 2 and 3, who write that 'it teaches about discrimination. How one may not denounce people because of religion, race, ethnicity, because of appearance' with the effect that 'we can accept people of another race or another belief' respectively.
Explanation assessment ● Pupils in this class focus primarily on the Holocaust, which they explain as the result of ongoing religious antagonism lasting from the Middle Ages to the present day. The frequent juxtaposition of crimes committed against Jews and Muslims and the recourse to religion as an explanatory factor suggests that popular explanations of present-day atrocities impinge on explanations of past atrocities. Only one pupil evokes the deportation of Lithuanians during Soviet rule. The neutral tone of most essays and the rare mention of perpetrators grounds the descriptive approach of this class and its explanation of the Holocaust and mass atrocities almost exclusively in terms of motivation (blame and religious difference) as discrimination and violence suffered at the hands of an unnamed agent.

Vilniaus šv. Kristoforo Secondary School in Vilnius
Events ● Almost all of the twenty-five essays submitted by this class explicitly address the Holocaust. Two thirds of them define 'genocide' in general terms, while another third outlines

atrocities in the Soviet Union and those committed against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Six pupils compare events by calling the Holocaust the 'biggest' or 'most well known' or 'one of the most horrific' (5) atrocities.

Protagonists ● Victims of atrocities are defined generally as 'certain groups', 'innocent people', 'human groups' or 'nationalities'. Protagonists in the Holocaust are defined as Jews, National Socialists and Germans and, exceptionally, as 'rescuers' (8, 14), 'the handicapped' (17), 'Jews of different countries' (4), and even 'my great-grandfather' (24). Protagonists of further atrocities are said to include Armenians and Turks in eight essays, or Stalin (18, 20), Russians (6, 19), 'Bolsheviks … intellectuals, rich people … and those who think, are clever' (12).

Effects and aftereffects ● The essays provide a largely homogenous explanation of the Holocaust and of mass atrocities as 'killing', 'mass extermination' and 'murder'. They define the Holomodor in terms of hunger, the Gulag and deportation. Exceptions to this rule include the escape of pupil 24's great-grandfather from a Soviet prison camp, Jews who hid or were protected during the Holocaust (8) or, more generally, 'inhuman behaviour towards people' (5). Pupils 4, 9 and 14 identify (while personifying both nations) Turkey's failure to acknowledge atrocities committed against Armenians, while pupil 9 contrasts this to Germany's willingness to acknowledge the Holocaust. Only pupil 21 evokes 'days on which victims of genocides are commemorated worldwide'.

Causal agency ● The majority of essays in this class explain atrocities as the outcome of either individual and collective responsibility or of specific motivations. The Holocaust is presented as the responsibility of 'Nazis under the leadership of Hitler' (4, 14), for example, or of 'Hitler' (2, 5), 'Germans' (6, 10) or 'Nazis' (3, 9, 12). Five pupils similarly accord responsibility for atrocities to Turkey or 'Turks', or to Stalin (1), 'Russians' (6), 'by Bolsheviks' and 'under Saddam Hussein' (12) or 'Russia' (25). Only pupil 23 explains the Holocaust in terms of both responsibility and motivation, when she writes that 'I know that Hitler murdered the whole Jewish people because he simply didn't like it'. Other essays define 'not liking' (*Nicht-Mögen*, 16) or 'despising a human race' (5) as motivations without mentioning agents. Only pupil 12 evokes (without naming) antisemitic stereotypes, whereby 'Jews were blamed that the war was lost because of them, they are cleverer than others, greedy'. Ideological motivations are explained as 'race, ethnic culture' (1), 'race or religion' (8, 10) or as the 'wish to keep alive only healthy and beautiful people' (17). Pupils 5 and 16 suggest that the Holocaust was driven by 'the space in the world' (5) 'because of too big a population, in their opinion' (16), and thus suggest that perpetrators were motivated by a need to reduce overpopulation. Causal explanations differ from one essay to another. These include the suggestion that 'all exterminations occurred because of premeditated stereotypes' (13), that purges of intellectuals in the Soviet Union were motivated by anticipated rebellion and therefore constituted a pre-emptive atrocity crime, 'killing intellectuals, rich people and all those who could rebel against those in power' (13), or that atrocities are the direct result of the need 'for revenge, when one has psychological problems, when one thinks that one's own people is superior to another' (22). Or, as pupil 23 recounts, 'There is no strong reason for murdering an entire people'.

Times and spaces ● Times are evoked in association with corresponding events and most frequently include the First and Second World Wars, but also genocides 'in history' (5) or denial 'until today' (9). However, references to genocidal places and spaces outweigh references to times. The essays evoke Germany, Russia, Turkey and concentration camps, ghettos, mass graves, Auschwitz and the Gulag. Exceptionally, some essays ascribe a continental dimension to mass atrocities. Pupil 5 locates them in the 'African continent' and the 'fire of violence' and 'terror' (6) in Europe, while pupil 11 locates 'all genocides in Europe and China', and pupil 19 places the genocide against Jews 'in Europe'. Only three essays evoke local events. Pupils 5 and 7 identify the 'ninth fortress in Kaunas' as a site on

which Jews were murdered during the Holocaust, and pupil 10 that a 'genocide of the Jews happened in Lithuania, the Holocaust,' but also emphasises that this 'was carried out by the Germans'.
Points of view ● Although almost all essays adopt a neutral tone, one third of them also express a moral or affective point of view (or both) regarding 'a horrific event' (5), 'unjust acts' (7), 'the cruelest crime' against 'innocent people' (10) or a 'completely unethical and horrific' event (23). One quarter of the essays suggest that learning about the Holocaust and mass atrocities serve to 'not repeat' them. Others underscore (but do not explain) the utility of not forgetting (9, 25) or the moral expediency that 'we understand that that was bad' (13). Pupil 24's story about his great-grandfather's deportation and escape from a Soviet camp and about the proximity of 'my garden' to the mass grave of Jewish victims in Naujaneriai provides an exceptional connection between the writer and protagonists of two events, and between the past and present.
Explanation assessment ● This class presents a largely shared explanation of mass atrocities on the basis of general definitions, the Holocaust, atrocities committed in the Ottoman Empire and in the Soviet Union. Explanations in terms of individual or collective (national) responsibility are also largely common to most essays and to different atrocities. By contrast, pupils offer explanations in terms of motivations and causes only when writing about the Holocaust, and these largely differ from one essay to the next. By evoking racial motivation without questioning the validity of racial categories, some pupils perpetuate perpetrators' points of view. Explanations in terms of places and spaces outweigh explanations in terms of times. Despite this, few essays refer to local victimisation or perpetration. A relatively high proportion of pupils adopt a moral or affective point of view.

S1 *Alytus Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas gimnazija*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Alytus (population 70,000), with sixteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Ramune Petrosian.
S2 *Vilniaus šv. Kristoforo gimnazija*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Vilnius (population 570,000), with twenty-five responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Mindaugas Nefas.

Translations of Lithuanian educational materials by Dalia Lorenz.

MONTENEGRO

Curricula

The *History Curriculum* for basic schools (*osnovne škole*) from 2013 deals with the twentieth century in year nine (fourteen- to fifteen-year-olds). The section 'The Second World War and the Contemporary World' (20–21) focuses on military history and deals with the outbreak of the war, participating states, main events, consequences and political change as well as 'the importance of the establishment of the UN' in the aftermath of the conflict. A list of 'Concepts – Contents' includes the names of Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini alongside references to military activities ('the eastern Front', 'war in the Pacific', 'Stalingrad'). In addition, the section 'Standards of Knowledge' (27–28) refers to 'collaborationist formations on Yugoslav territory', the 'partisan movement' and the 'importance of the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples for the victory over fascism'. However, the curriculum mentions neither 'Holocaust' nor 'genocide', and does not refer to any specific places or events related to these concepts. The section 'Montenegro in Yugoslavia and the Creation of an Independent Montenegro' addresses the 'disintegration of Yugoslavia' and 'nationalism', but likewise omits direct reference to atrocities, focusing instead on developments in Montenegro.

The *History Curriculum* for general secondary schools (*opšte gimnazije*) deals with the world wars and contemporary history in year four (eighteen-year-old pupils), albeit without mentioning the Holocaust and genocides explicitly. However, the section 'The Second World War – 1939–1945' (23–24) addresses 'the characteristics of Hitler's racial policy' (*Hitlerove rasne politike*), 'the situation of civilians in wartime' and 'the trial of war criminals', alongside military actions and protagonists ('representatives' of Fascism and National Socialism', 'collaborationist formations in Yugoslavia' and 'the Chetnik movement'). The section 'The World in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century' (25–26) deals with the breakup of Yugoslavia, illustrated by the 'strengthening of nationalism' and 'the formation of new states' but without reference to wars.

Both curricula stipulate knowledge and understanding of history. The first curriculum invites pupils to 'analyse' the Second World War, write a chronology, locate relevant places on the map, 'know about' military operations, but also 'understand' the causes and consequences of the conflict. Furthermore, pupils are expected to 'understand the importance of the establishment of the UN' and to 'read the Universal Declaration of the UN'. The second curriculum asks pupils to 'indicate' representatives of Fascism and National Socialism, 'illustrate' the situation of civilians during the war, 'collect data' about the suffering of civilians in Montenegro and Yugoslavia, and 'determine' the characteristics of Hitler's racial policy. Both curricula highlight the indigenous contribution to the 'victory over fascism', asking pupils to 'understand the importance of the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples' (C1, 27) and to 'assess Montenegro's contribution' to victory (C2, 24).

C1 *Predmetni program – Istorija, VI, VII, VIII i IX razred osnovne škole*, Zavod za Školstvo, Ministarstvo Prosvjete i Nauke, Republika Crna Gora, Podgorica, 2013 [Curriculum – History, years six, seven, eight and nine of basic school, Institute for Education, Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Montenegro, Podgorica, 2013].
C2 *Predmetni program – Istorija, I, II, III i IV razred opšte gimnazije*, Zavod za Školstvo, Ministarstvo Prosvjete i Nauke, Republika Crna Gora [Curriculum – History, years one, two, three and four of general secondary school, Institute for Education, Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Montenegro, accessed 16 March 2017].

Textbooks

***Istorija* [History] (2003)**

Paratext ● This textbook deals with the Holocaust in a chapter entitled 'Consequences of the Second World War'. Genocide in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) is addressed separately in the chapter 'Yugoslavia in the Second World War (Until the Capitulation of Italy)'. The exercises are mostly factual and descriptive. They ask pupils to 'describe' living conditions for Jews in National Socialist Germany (259) and for Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in the NDH (267). Other exercises request pupils to reflect on perceptions of effects of war, with such questions as 'Why … the Second World War [is] considered to be the most horrific war in the history of mankind' (255).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust, including crimes in Yugoslavia (six and a half pages) and allocates one image and one sentence to 'massacre' in Armenia (213). The book also deals with 'nationalism and the disintegration' of Yugoslavia (three pages) and mentions 'war and violent interethnic conflicts' (291), but does not explicitly address genocide in this context. The authors define the term 'Holocaust' etymologically and as 'the extermination of Jews' by National Socialists (254), while 'genocide' is defined as 'the systematic destruction of a nation or religious group' (267). The atrocities of the Holocaust are qualified in moral terms ('horrible crimes') and in legal terms ('war crimes and crimes against humanity', 258). Moreover, the authors conflate victims of atrocities with civilian war victims by associating massacres in Armenia with 'human losses' in the First World War

(213), and by including information about Holocaust victims in a section called 'The Situation for Civilians in the War' (253).
Protagonists ● While protagonists of the 'massacre' in Armenia are not mentioned, the textbook addresses individual and collective perpetrators of the Holocaust ranging from Adolf Hitler and Ante Pavelić to 'German war criminals' (258), 'Ustasha officials' (261), 'Nazis', 'Einsatzgruppen' and 'collaborationist regimes and organisations' (270). By contrast, victims are always presented collectively and include 'European Jews', 'Polish and Russian Jews', 'prisoners of war', 'political opponents of Nazism', 'Serbs, Jews and Roma', 'the population', and 'elderly, women and children'. The authors highlight contrasting attitudes upheld by members of the same group by distinguishing between 'part of the Catholic clergy in the NDH … involved in … crimes' (261) and other members of the clergy who 'openly denounced crimes' (262). During the breakup of Yugoslavia, 'Serbs and Croats' are said to oppose 'the Muslim nation', while 'politicians, scientists, writers and some of the media' encourage 'inflaming nationalism' (290).
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust and genocide in the NDH are exclusion and discrimination (racial laws, disenfranchisement, stigmatisation, the interdiction of using the Cyrillic alphabet) and mass death. The aftereffects comprise denazification, the creation of the United Nations and the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, which are said to have been 'necessary in order to show the world that crimes should not remain unpunished' (258). However, 'many' of the National Socialists responsible for crimes 'managed to escape [and] avoid conviction' (258). Aftereffects of the crimes in the NDH include the subsequent masking of evidence ('destroyed files', 263) and the commemoration of victims in Jasenovac.
Causal agency ● The authors explain the Holocaust as a cumulative succession of measures instigated by perpetrators who plan and commit crimes. For example, the 'Nazis worked out a plan' (253) and 'fascists had committed … heavy and numerous crimes' (258). Individual and collective responsibility is also represented in quotations, for example that of Ward Rutherford who affirms that 'The Nazis in Auschwitz created the largest concentration camp in occupied Europe' (257); similarly, a portrait image depicts 'Ante Pavelić, a war criminal [and] creator of concentration camps' (261). The textbook underscores Hitler's personal motivation during the Holocaust ('According to Hitler, the communists and Jews ruined Germany'; he 'became the absolute master of Germany and could begin to achieve his nationalist aspirations', 256). Affective motives ascribed to personified collaborationist regimes on the Yugoslavian territory include 'racial, national and religious hatred' (270). Furthermore, the authors present the Holocaust as a consequence 'of the Second World War' (8, 256) and of ideology (racism, 258), while the breakup of Yugoslavia and 'violent interethnic conflicts' of the 1990s are depicted as the 'culmination' of an economic crisis and the intensification of nationalism (289–291).
Times and spaces ● The textbook affirms that the persecution of Jews began 'immediately after Hitler came to power' (253) and dates events such as the Wannsee Conference and the Nuremberg trials precisely. The end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is dated as 12 November 1995 (Dayton Agreement). The space ascribed to atrocities and genocides is national and regional; massacres against Armenians are located 'in eastern Europe' and 'in Armenia' (231), and the Holocaust is said to take place in 'the German Reich' (257), 'in various conquered countries' (257) and 'on the territory of the NDH' (261). Similarly, 'interethnic conflicts' are placed in 'Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina' (291). The authors highlight concentration camps in Yugoslav territory (Jasenovac, Jadovno, Stara Gradiška) and in occupied Poland (Auschwitz, Treblinka, Slavuta).
Explanation assessment ● The textbook underscores individual and collective responsibility for genocides both in the (mostly descriptive) authorial text and in quotations. Protagonists of the interethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia include not only ethnic and religious groups (Serbs, Croats, the Muslim nation), but also social agents ('politicians, scientists, writers' and

'the media'). The authors repeatedly imply that perpetrators were motivated by religious and national antisemitism. They present racism and nationalism as causes leading to genocide, while hatred is said to incite people to collaborate. However, Hitler's role as 'absolute master of Germany' who implemented 'his nationalist aspirations' (256) overshadows the responsibility of other perpetrators. In contrast to this individual perpetrator, the textbook depicts all victims of the Holocaust and of the atrocities in the former Yugoslavia as collective agents. Although they repeatedly highlight the intentionality and the planned character of genocides, the authors exceptionally conflate genocide victims with civilian war victims.

Историја **[History] (2012)**

Paratext ● This textbook addresses 'The Creation of the NDH and Genocide' in a subsection of the chapter 'The April War and the Preparation of the Uprising' within the thematic unit 'The Second World War (1939–1945)'. The exercises referring to genocides require pupils to answer factual questions ('What was the race theory of Hitler?', 51; 'What does the term 'ethnic cleansing' mean?', 131), while a few exercises require causal explanations ('Why did the USSR face shortages of food?', 47). Further exercises ask pupils to compare 'the position of Jews and other prisoners of war' (82), 'the human losses from [the Second and] the First World War' (87), and 'the Ustasha regime with the Fascist and Nazi regimes' (91).

Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust and crimes committed by the Ustasha and the Chetniks (three pages) and Stalinist 'totalitarianism' with atrocities related to purges and collectivisation (half a page). The authors allocate approximately two pages to the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They define genocide as 'the extermination of peoples or tribes' (*народа или племена*, 90) and ethnic cleansing as 'the killing and expulsion of the population of other nationalities from territories' (130), while the Holocaust is also qualified in legal terms ('war crimes and crimes against humanity', 110). The textbook emphasises that 'Jews had the worst position' among the victims of National Socialism (82), but conflates 'six million' Jewish victims with 'human casualties' during the Second World War (87).

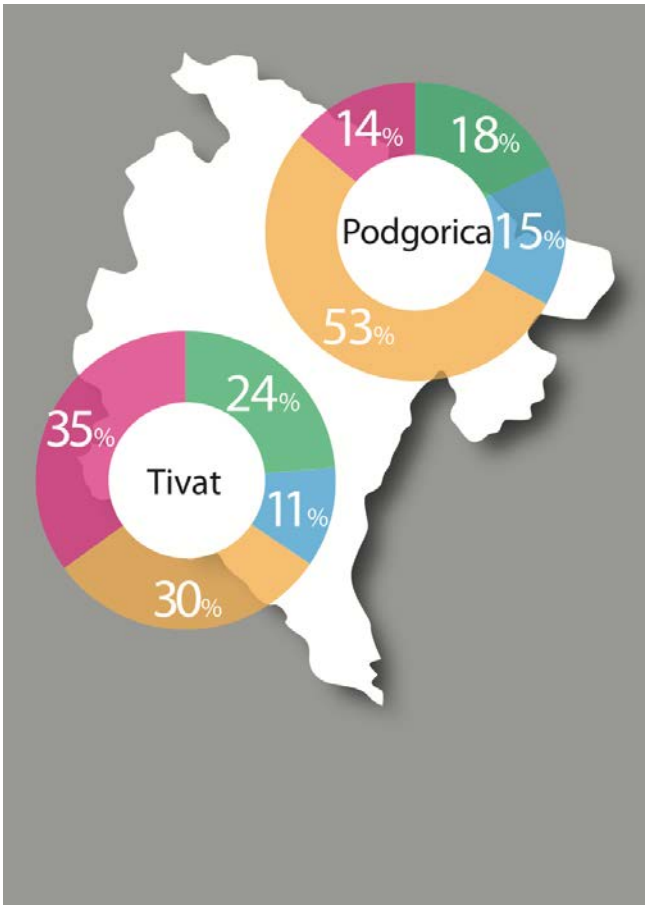
Protagonists ● While the perpetrators of the Holocaust are individuals (Hitler, Höss, Pavelić) and members of organised groups ('members of the Nazi Party', 'Ustashas'), victims are depicted collectively as 'Serbs, Jews and Roma', 'Slav peoples' and 'Gypsies'. Although 'active' perpetrators generally commit crimes against 'passive' victims, the authors also address active resistance by indicating that 'the people … confronted Ustashas with weapons' (91). The victims of collectivisation in the USSR are 'peasants' and 'especially the more prosperous peasants – the kulaks' (47), whereby only Stalin features as a perpetrator ('how did Stalin deal with his opponents?', 47). The perpetrators of the siege of Sarajevo in the 1990s are 'Bosnian Serbs', and 'war crimes' are said to have been committed against 'the civilian population' (130).

Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust include exclusion and death ('First, they fired them … then they were deprived of German citizenship, and eventually they ended up in concentration camps', 49). Forced collectivisation and purges under Stalin are associated with imprisonment, forced labour in camps, food shortages and 'the starvation of millions' (47). The effects of the breakup of Yugoslavia are 'huge human and material casualties' in Bosnia and Herzegovina (130), 'brutal war crimes' against civilians (130), refugees and the destruction of Vukovar and Sarajevo. Individual victimhood is represented in the visual quotation of an orphan in Srebrenica (130). The aftereffects of the Holocaust include not only the Nuremberg trials and the Jasenovac memorial, but also a gesture of reconciliation (a photograph of Willy Brandt kneeling before the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial and 'asking for forgiveness', 110). Artworks by Ivan Goran Kovačić and Skender Kulenović are described as the 'artistic testimony' of 'a Croat and a Muslim' to the suffering of Serbs caused by the Ustasha (97). The outcomes of crimes in Yugoslavia in the 1990s include the

International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague (with a photograph of Slobodan Milošević, 132) as well as international sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which are said to have 'destroyed' the economies of Montenegro and Serbia (131).
Causal agency ● The textbook largely ascribes the Holocaust to human responsibility. The authors describe how 'Hitler issued an order to systematically kill the Jews' (82), 'Ustashas … committed mass crimes' (97) and 'Chetniks committed crimes' (98); likewise, visual quotations show 'members of the Nazi Party [who] called for a boycott' of Jewish shops (50), and 'Nazis who committed war crimes' (110). Formulations such as 'the Nazis thought that a … relentless struggle was needed against [Jews]' (49) signify motivation. The Holocaust is also presented as a consequence of racism and the plan to 'create an ethnically clean state' (92). The famine in the USSR is explained in part causally when 'More than three million peasants were arrested', and 'the result was … food shortage … and the starvation of millions' (47), whereby famine appears as a collateral effect of imprisonment.
Times and spaces ● The temporal framework ascribed to the Holocaust is concurrent with the National Socialist regime in Germany and the Second World War, while the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is dated from April 1992 to November 1995. The authors' spatial conception of genocides is national (in the USSR and Yugoslavia, the NDH, in 'occupied countries', in Bosnia and Herzegovina), while cities (the massacre in Kozara, the siege of Sarajevo) and camps (Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška) are also highlighted. The progression of the Holocaust is presented in temporal and spatial terms, whereby, 'As Nazis were conquering country by country, antisemitic laws were immediately passed there, Jews were jailed in ghettos, and then sent to the concentration camps' (82).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook depicts genocides as cumulative processes, which are the outcome of human intentionality and responsibility, but also consequences of racism and nationalism. The authors present the Holocaust in consecutive stages leading from exclusion to death, whereby victims exceptionally offer active resistance. Victims of genocide are mostly collective actors. An exception to this is the picture of an orphan in Srebrenica (130). Although Jewish victims of the Holocaust are highlighted as having had 'the worst position', they are also conflated with 'human casualties' of the Second World War. The authors adopt the concepts of 'peoples or tribes' without qualification when categorising victims. When explaining forced collectivisation, the authors make an opposition between an individual perpetrator (Stalin) and collective victims ('peasants') and present famine as a collateral effect of other measures (imprisonment, forced labour) rather than as the result of intentionality. The aftereffects of the Holocaust and genocide include not only trials and commemoration, but also reconciliation and the creation of artworks.

T1 Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulović, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, 2003. *Istorija za I i II razred srednjih stručnih škola*, Podgorica, Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Resources [History for the First and Second Year of Secondary Education, years one and two, age fifteen to seventeen].
T2 Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Đorđević, 2012. *Историја за девети разред основне школе.* Podgorica, Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Resources [History for the Ninth Year of Primary School, year nine, age fourteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Štampar Makarije Elementary School in Podgorica

Events ● Pupils in this class most commonly refer to the Holocaust, while many also evoke crimes committed in the Soviet Union by mentioning Stalin, or define genocide generally. Other events include atrocities committed in Yugoslavia during the Second World War and the 1990s, Spanish colonialism, the Japanese invasion of China and atrocities committed against the Armenians. While three pupils establish a hierarchy by referring to the Holocaust as the 'most notable' or 'biggest' genocide, six pupils understate differences by either listing them or by drawing pictures which amalgamate different historical icons. Pupil 10 draws wigwams evoking Native Americans alongside a corpse burning on a pyre, a guillotine and people being shot; pupil 8 warns that a proliferation of robots in the future might cause a genocide.

Protagonists ● The majority of essays personalise history with references to Hitler and Stalin. They also evoke binary relations between Hitler or Germans and Jews, or between Stalin and 'opponents'. Others counter Romans and Christians, Chinese and Japanese, Serbs and Muslims, and Spaniards and indigenous people. Pupils invariably conceive of nations as victims of violence. One reference to 'other races' normalises the notion of race; one pupil reproduces an antisemitic stereotype of Jews as a 'resourceful race'.

Effects and aftereffects • Almost all pupils describe the effects of genocide in general terms as persecution, extermination and slaughter. A large number evoke specific episodes such as

‘crystal night’, ‘Srebrenica’ and the ‘Star of David’ badge which Jews were forced to wear during the Holocaust. Several pupils evoke the human effects of persecution in terms of humiliation (4, 8), suffering (17) and survival (15), but also rebellion (9) and ‘taking care of and concealing Jews’ (1).
Causal agency ● The majority of pupils in this class explain genocides in terms of motivations attributed to identified responsible agents. These include Hitler and Stalin, but also Germans, Romans and Ottomans. Six pupils (3, 4, 5, 9, 14, 19) consider the Holocaust to have been motivated by a sense of racial superiority, while two pupils focus on hatred or ‘wanting’ more generally. Pupils 6 and 11 mistake motivations for causes by claiming that genocides happen ‘because of religious beliefs or colour of skin’ (11) or ‘because of their religion or nationality’ (6). Nonetheless, some pupils explain causes in terms of mindset as a result of ‘human prejudice’ and a ‘way of discriminatory thinking’ (7) or as ‘consequences of human intolerance’ (8). One pupil admits that ‘unknown reasons’ underpin genocides (8), while another claims that they follow ‘a very clear cause and purpose’ (19).
Times and spaces ● ‘Camps’ are a common point of reference for both the Holocaust and crimes ascribed to Stalin, while a small number of pupils refer more precisely to ‘concentration camps’ or Auschwitz. Most pupils evoke the time of the Second World War, while one refers to the 1990s and pupil 8 establishes an explicit link between past genocides, present-day ‘intolerance’ and a future genocide caused by a large number of robots which renders people superfluous.
Points of view ● All but three pupils describe and define genocides in neutral terms or by drawing a picture without writing a text. Among the moral points of view, pupil 7 writes that ‘many genocides were completely unjust and unlawful’, and pupil 8 speculates ‘what would happen if some future heads of states, kings and dictators started doing whatever they like?’ Pupil 16 goes further by appealing to universal ethics, claiming not only in absolute terms that ‘genocide is utterly wrong’, but also because of common membership (‘we are all one nation’) and by appealing to a distinction between ethics and morality (‘love your own, respect all others’).
Explanation assessment ● The explanations of genocides in the nineteen essays assessed here are largely homogeneous insofar as they present binary relationships between perpetrators and victims, and because they locate the event in camps and during the Second World War. Although pupils in this class repeatedly define ‘nations’ as victims, there is also a tendency to refer to perpetrators simply as ‘Germans’ and to locate the Holocaust ‘in Germany’. Explanations focus primarily on responsibilities and motivations, though some also suggest elaborate mental or unknown causes. Points of view are largely neutral and thus consistent with the definitions of genocides in neutral terms, while a small number adopt a moral standpoint. In exceptional cases, pupils establish a hierarchy in which the Holocaust is the ‘most notable’ genocide; conversely, one pupil confuses different violent historical events in a sketch.

Drago Milović School in Tivat
Events ● Pupils in this class tend to define genocide in general terms as an ‘international’ or ‘massive’ crime or as ‘racial discrimination’, then outline the examples of the Holocaust and genocide in Yugoslavia. Pupil 14 includes the ‘Islamic State’ and ‘Al-Qaeda’ among examples of genocides. Three pupils establish a hierarchy between genocides by referring to the Holocaust as the ‘most notable genocide’ (6, 9) or by asserting that ‘Jews were among the most afflicted nations threatened by extermination’ (7).
Protagonists ● The essays establish a dichotomy between victims and perpetrators. Victims are generally classified as ‘groups’ qualified in ethnic terms following the concept of ‘ethnic cleansing’, but also as national, racial or religious groups. More specifically, they refer to Jews and Hitler in the context of the Holocaust, and to Muslims, the Serbian army and Serbs

in the context of the breakup of Yugoslavia. Three pupils present Serbia and Serbs as perpetrators of genocide ('committed by Serbia on Muslim people', 8), while two present Serbs as victims. One evokes historical repetition of 'massive genocide of Serbs by Croatian Balkan people' followed by 'ethnic cleansing and killing of Serbs in Kosovo' (13). Another provides a sketch of 'murdering Kosovo Serbs by Albanians' (14). Only pupil 10 uses the terms 'other races' without questioning the concept of race.

Effects and aftereffects ● Effects of genocide are most commonly conceived in terms of 'ethnic cleansing' characteristically used to describe the breakup of Yugoslavia. Other effects range from 'extermination', 'destruction', 'slaughter' and 'annihilation' to more familiar notions of 'discrimination' (15) and 'ruthless molesting' (10). Pupil 7 mentions the official annual day of Holocaust remembrance on 27 January, while pupil 13 points out that 'we are far too familiar with racial, ethnic or religious genocides'. Three pupils provide drawings. These all depict violence by shooting, gassing and burning, but also reflect human suffering: a gun with distressed stick figures (3); a gas van containing many stick figures, other stick figures shooting guns, a burning house, a man standing aside laughing, and a mother holding a child in distress (11); a row of stick figures ('Kosovo Serbs') being shot by 'Albanians' (14).

Causal agency ● A large number of pupils state presumed causes of genocide. These range from the 'very constrained' (presumably mental) state of people who perpetrate crimes (9), to 'racial discrimination' (10), 'not caring' (10), 'ideology', 'a sense of superiority' and 'cruelty' (13) and 'discrimination' (15). Others cite the responsibility of Hitler and his motivation ('Hitler wanted to exterminate all the Jews and create a mono-ethnic state', 6) or that of 'people who were under the direct command of Hitler' (7). In addition to the motives of hatred and prejudice (9, 10), pupil 6 untypically suggests that genocides constitute a means to 'preserve your one territory [sic] as a countermeasure to taking over territory from people of other religions'.

Times and spaces ● All essays depict both the time of the Second World War and the 1990s at the time of the conflicts in Yugoslavia. Three pupils also emphasise present-day genocides. Several pupils explain genocides by linking them to specific places. Pupil 7 writes that 'the Holocaust happened in Serbia', while pupil 15 refers to 'genocide in Germany'. Others similarly locate genocide in Yugoslavia, in Kosovo, the Balkans, Srebrenica and in Serbia, but also in Armenia and China.

Points of view ● Almost all pupils adopt a neutral narrative point of view. Pupil 9 adopts a militant tone by proclaiming that 'genocides should be brought to an end and people should stand up against the one [sic] who committed it'. Unusually, pupil 13 combines analytical insight with an affective, ethical and militant standpoint by lamenting a 'disgrace for the moral development of mankind' and that Serbs and Croats 'are still arguing about who started [the conflicts] first … instead of pointless arguing and blame-shifting we should try to eliminate the possibility of genocides'. The expediency ascribed to learning about the Holocaust and other genocides ranges from prevention to the need to learn about history for its own sake. Exceptionally, pupil 14 writes that this learning promotes 'better appreciation of our own liberty'. Two pupils defend learning about 'our' (national) history.

Explanation assessment ● This class stands out insofar as it addresses the Holocaust and genocide in Yugoslavia during the 1990s in equal measure. Several pupils explain genocides with reference to places and by establishing a stark dichotomy between perpetrators and victims, and by presenting Serbs as either perpetrators or victims. The tendency to explain genocide in terms of its causes rather than motivation and responsibilities is also remarkable. These pupils largely consider learning about genocides to be an expedient means of preventing further genocides, and some acknowledge ongoing public controversies over the meaning ascribed to them. A respondent who wrote out the definition of genocide from the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948, and one

whose essay reproduced his neighbour's essay verbatim were not considered in this assessment.

S1 *Osnovna škola 'Štampar Makarije'*, elementary school (osnovna škola) in Podgorica (population 190,000), with nineteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Igor Radulović.
S2 *Osnovna škola 'Drago Milović'*, elementary and secondary school (osnovna škola) in Tivat (population 9,500), with fourteen responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Ivana Kovačević.

Translations of Montenegrin educational materials by Selma Mezetović Međić and Erić Predrag.

THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

Curriculum

The *History Curriculum for Year Three of Grammar Schools* is geared towards seventeen-year-old pupils and is presented in the form of a table with the columns 'Knowledge' (*помнење*, literally 'memorising'), 'Understanding', 'Implementation', and 'Analysis, Synthesis and Evaluation'. The Holocaust is first enumerated in the column 'Knowledge' in a list of terms comprising 'antisemitism', 'white terror', 'Anschluss' (*аншлус*), 'capitulation' and other aspects of the history of the twentieth century (1). The list also includes 'genocide', which is listed next to 'the Cold War', 'apartheid' and 'détente'. The content to be learned focuses on military and political factors including 'the Holocaust' alongside 'the causes, course and consequences' of the two world wars, 'the rise of fascism, National Socialism and communism', and 'international relations after the Second World War'. Furthermore, 'member states' of the 'Entente and the Central Powers', 'military operations' in the world wars and 'international organisations' created after the Second World War are enumerated (1). The column 'Understanding' (*разбирање*, 2) explicitly refers to the 'persecution and suffering of the Jews in the Holocaust' in the context of 'Fascism and Nazism', while the column 'Implementation' (*применување*, 3) again mentions 'causes and consequences of the Holocaust' alongside 'causes of the First and the Second World War' and 'characteristics' of fascism, National Socialism and communism. Since enumerations and lists are predominant in the curriculum, no connection is made between 'the Holocaust' and 'genocide'. Moreover, the Holocaust appears several times as a singular event related to the Second World War and 'Nazism', while 'genocide' is mentioned only once, in the different context of the Cold War and 'apartheid'.

Educational goals – knowledge, understanding, analysis and synthesis – are stipulated in the titles of columns in the table. Pupils are required to 'know concepts and terms' such as 'Holocaust' and 'genocide', to 'memorise' features of fascism, National Socialism and communism as well as 'the Holocaust' (1), and to 'identify and describe … causes and consequences of the Holocaust' (3). Furthermore, pupils are expected to 'recognise the suffering of Jews in the Holocaust' and to be able to 'link ... (*поврзува*, literally 'make connections', 'relate') Fascism and Nazism with the persecution and suffering of the Jews'. A further causal link is evoked between 'the suffering in the Second World War' and 'the need to create international organisations' (2).

C *Историја за 3. Година гимназиско образование* [History for Year Three of High School, accessed 28 March 2017].

Textbooks

***Историја* [History] (2009)**

Paratext ● This textbook deals with 'consequences of the war' and the Holocaust in a chapter entitled 'The World during the Second World War', which focuses on military and political aspects such as war operations, coalitions and inter-state relations. Exercises typically invite pupils to 'reflect' (in order to answer questions such as, 'What was the impact of the Second World War on humanity?', 116), and to do research (about 'Macedonian Jews' and 'war criminals', 119).

Events ● The textbook allocates approximately five pages to the Holocaust and defines it as 'the systematic killing of Jews (men, women, children) and other populations, supported by Nazi Germany and its collaborators in the Second World War' (117). It places the Holocaust in the context of 'anti-Judaism', 'anti-Israelism' and 'antisemitism'. The authors use superlatives ('the most tragic period of Jewish history', 117) and biblical allusions ('Macedonian Jews and their Golgotha to the death camps', 119) to underscore suffering. No further atrocities are qualified as genocides. However, the textbook briefly addresses Greek–Bulgarian and Greek–Turkish population exchanges in a section entitled 'Denationalisation and Assimilation and Ethnic Exchanges' included in the chapter 'Macedonia between the Two World Wars'. The textbook addresses 'Stalin's terror' and collectivisation 'by force', but information is limited to economic results ('the USSR became an industrially developed country') with only a brief allusion to 'the enormous effort and sacrifice on the part of workers and peasants' (19). Likewise, the textbook addresses 'armed clashes' and 'interethnic conflicts' in Yugoslavia (203) without referring to mass murder. Although the authors distinguish conceptually between the Holocaust and other atrocities, they underscore stark similarities between Stalinist, Fascist and National Socialist 'totalitarianism' (53).

Protagonists ● The textbook addresses the perpetrators 'Nazi Germany and its collaborators', 'German officers', 'German National Socialists', Einsatzgruppen and 'Nazi leaders' (Hitler, Eichmann, Göring, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Bormann, Jodl). It defines victims as 'Jews, Roma and Slavic people … [who were] seen as inferior', but also as communists, 'homosexuals, mentally retarded, handicapped and emotionally unstable people' (119). Active perpetrators are juxtaposed with passive victims in both authorial texts and quoted images. Women and children feature exclusively as victims.

Effects and aftereffects ● Disenfranchisement, ghettoisation, expulsion, plunder, forced labour and the destruction of material culture (destroyed synagogues) feature as effects of the Holocaust alongside mass death expressed in numbers ('six million Jews' and 'around two million Slavic people', 119). The authors mention resistance once (the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Aftereffects of the Holocaust include the Nuremberg trials and remembrance suggested by a Star of David with the inscription 'Remember' and the caption 'In memory of the six million victims of the Holocaust' but lacking further contextualisation (119).

Causal agency ● When explaining the Holocaust, this textbook frequently uses passive formulations and omits naming responsible agents. The authors write, for example, that 'hundreds of Jews were killed, and numerous shops and synagogues were burned' (55). Images similarly show groups of victims without perpetrators, as in the picture of a group of children behind barbed wire captioned 'Children in the Holocaust' (117). The authors also explain the Holocaust as a result of responsibility ('special units … were surrounding and killing', 118) and of human motivation expressed as belief ('National Socialists … believed that the Germans were a superior Aryan race', 118) and affect (with antisemitism defined as 'hatred towards anything Jewish', 117). Furthermore, the authors ascribe the Holocaust to Hitler ('Hitler started the persecution of Jews', 118) and to personified states ('Germany started implementing the … Final Solution', 118). Causes of the Holocaust are traced back to antisemitism in the Middle Ages insofar as authors establish historical continuity, claiming that 'in the Middle Ages … the persecution was on a smaller scale', while 'the new age

brought racial hatred on a much larger scale' (117). The Holocaust is also indirectly presented as a consequence of war and politics ('As a result of the war, the European liberal democracies underwent a deep … crisis. This led to the rise of totalitarianism', 53). The textbook emphasises ideological causality by arguing that 'The essence of the official policy of the German state comprised antisemitism, racism and anti-communism' (55). Other atrocities are merely described ('86,000 Macedonians were expelled from Bulgaria', 85) or explained in terms of the responsibility of personified states (one exercise asks pupils 'What policy did Greece implement in the Aegean part of Macedonia?', 86).
Times and spaces ● The Holocaust is situated temporally 'in the Second World War' (117) and marked by dates such as 1935 (the 'Nuremberg Laws'), 1938 ('Crystal Night'), and 1942 (the Wannsee Conference). Significant places include camps (Majdanek, Auschwitz, Treblinka, Mauthausen, Dachau, Bergen-Belsen) and cities (Bitola, Štip, Skopje), but also regions (eastern Poland, the Balkans), states (Germany, the USSR) and 'Europe' (118). Space is defined militarily; the 'progression' of 'German troops … towards the east' results in the Einsatzgruppen gradually 'surrounding and killing Jews, Roma, and communists' (118).
Explanation assessment ● The authors explain the Holocaust as an outcome of ideology, belief and affect, but also as a consequence of war, politics and 'systematic' action, imposed by active perpetrators on passive victims throughout the textbook. The textbook refers to forced collectivisation under Stalin and to the breakup of Yugoslavia, albeit without addressing mass murder directly. Frequently, explanations remain linear or are replaced by descriptions, whereby 'German troops' progress 'towards the east' with the result that 'by the end of the war, around six million Jews had been killed' (119). Causality of the Holocaust is seen as historical and is traced back to the Middle Ages, when 'Jews were blamed for the death of Jesus Christ' (117). However, the authors offer only a general explanation for the link between the religiously motivated persecution of Jews and modern antisemitism, culminating in the Holocaust as 'racial hatred on a much larger scale'. Pedagogical exercises invite pupils to undertake further research (119) and thereby expand upon knowledge gained from the textbook.

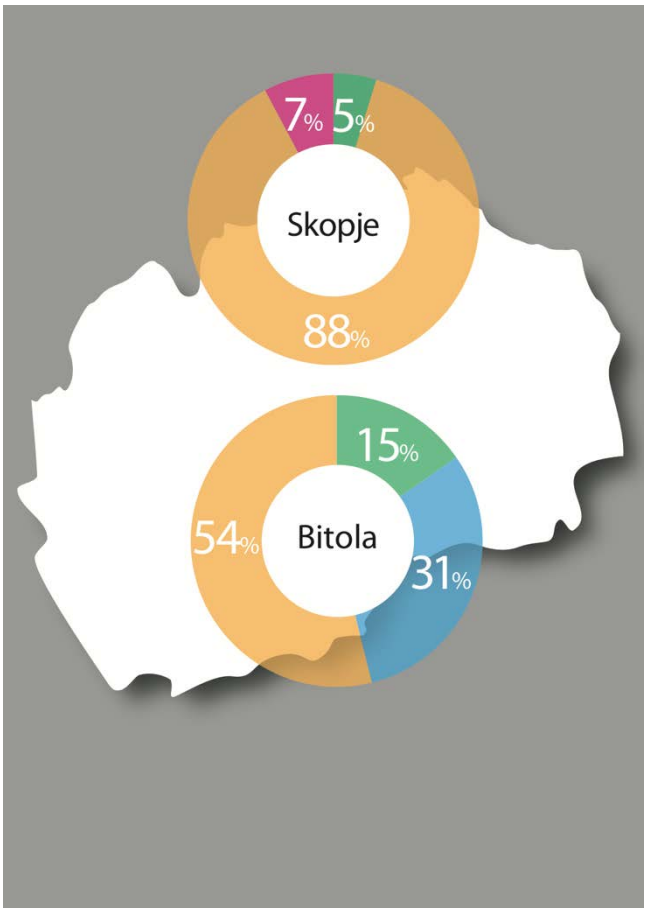
Истопуја **[History] (2014)**
Paratext ● This textbook addresses the Holocaust in a subchapter entitled 'The Consequences of the Second World War and the Holocaust', in the contexts of military operations and relations between states. Most exercises request factual information ('Where were the biggest ghettos?', 95) and causal explanations ('Explain why Nazism had the support of the majority', 41; 'What were the causes of the Holocaust?', 95).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (five and a half pages), and atrocity crimes in Cambodia (seven lines). The Holocaust is defined as 'the systematic persecution and killing of the Jews, sponsored by the state, carried out by the Nazi regime in Germany and the collaborators', but also as 'the most tragic period in the history of the Jews' (93). The authors outline the etymology of the terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah'. Events in Cambodia are defined as 'genocide', a term which is clarified in a separate glossary as 'an illegal act of systematic, total or partial mass extermination of an ethnic, racial or religious group' (143). Furthermore, 'bloody clashes' and 'a bloody civil war' in Bosnia and Herzegovina are mentioned, yet without reference to organised mass murder. The authors do not link the Holocaust and the atrocities in Cambodia. However, they juxtapose Fascism, National Socialism and Stalinism and describe a 'collision between totalitarianism and liberalism' (39). Furthermore, the textbook compares the Vietnam War and the events in Cambodia, whose causes are deduced from a 'powerful national and anticolonial movement developed in Indochina' (141).
Protagonists ● 'Nazism', 'the Nazis', and 'the Nazi regime in Germany and the collaborators' feature as perpetrators of the Holocaust, alongside Jewish, Slavic and Roma victims. In general, agency is ascribed to the perpetrators, while women are only victims, with the

exception of the partisan fighter Ester Ovadia 'Mara' represented in an image and caption (94). In Cambodia, 'the Communist Party' is the perpetrator of the 'genocide against its own people', committed during the rule of the 'Khmer Rouge, led by Pol Pot' (142).
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust include disenfranchisement, discrimination, ghettoisation, the destruction of material culture (synagogues, cemeteries), forced labour and extermination by shooting, in gas vans and death camps. The Nuremberg trials are the only aftereffect mentioned in this book.
Causal agency ● The textbook typically uses descriptive, passive formulations ('Over three million people were killed', 95), but also ascribes the Holocaust to responsibility ('the Nazis deported the Jews', 95) and motivation whereby antisemitism is presented as a source of affects 'ranging from antipathy to aggressive hostility', 93). In some cases, explanation yields to description which borders on tautology ('in accordance with the Final Solution, the Nazis deported the Jews', 95). Like the textbook from 2009, this textbook traces antisemitism back to the Middle Ages. Religious antisemitism is said to have been 'based on the idea that the Jews bear the guilt for the death of Jesus Christ' (94). This provides the basis for a linear development which 'later … grew into racial hatred', enabled by nationalism and 'pseudo-scientific' theories (95). Responsibility for mass murder in Cambodia is similarly ascribed to 'the Communist Party, which implemented the policy of genocide' (142). Interestingly, the authors compare the events in Cambodia to those in Vietnam as associated aspects of 'the anticolonial movement' in Indochina, suggesting that the Communist Party of Vietnam was responsible for the 'liberation' of the country from 'the French' and from 'American imperialism'. Nationalism is also seen as an enabler of the atrocities in Cambodia, where '[a] very powerful national and anticolonial movement developed' (141).
Times and spaces ● The textbook situates the Holocaust temporally during the 'Nazi regime' (93) and the atrocities in Cambodia during the 'rule of the Khmer Rouge' (142). Places range from ghettos (Warsaw, Łódź, Krakow, Lviv, Minsk) and camps (Auschwitz, Majdanek, Chełmno, Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka) to military districts (territories occupied by the National Socialists, 'Warthegau, the annexed part of Poland', 95), and states (Germany). Both the temporal and the spatial conceptions of the authors suggest progression, characterised by expressions such as 'in the beginning', 'later', 'gradually' and covering the time from 1933 to the end of the war as well as the territory of Germany and, later, of 'other occupied countries' (94).
Explanation assessment ● The authors present a chronological, cumulative process of anti-Jewish measures expanding geographically from Germany to the occupied territories. The descriptive, linear explanation is underscored by pedagogical exercises which invite pupils to answer questions, while other exercises focus on causality. The Holocaust is explained as an outcome of responsibility, motivation and ideology, whereby the 'roots' of modern racial antisemitism are traced back to religious antisemitism of the Middle Ages. Frequently, the textbook uses descriptive formulations rather than causal explanations. Furthermore, by arguing that 'antisemitism … which preceded the Holocaust, is an inseparable part of the history of Europe' and that 'there is not a single nation that has not had longer or shorter antisemitic periods' (93), the authors explain the Holocaust as an inevitable consequence of pre-existing causes. In the case of Cambodia, 'genocide' is explained as an indirect outcome of nationalism and anticolonialism.

T1 Veljanovski, Novica, Gordana Pletvarska, Sonja Cvetkovska, Dzaferi Šičeri (Новица Велјановски, Гордана Плетварска, Соња Цветковска, Џафери Шичери), 2009. *Историја за трета година гимназиско образование*. Skopje, Prosvetno Delo [History for the Third Year of Secondary Education, year three, ages sixteen and seventeen]
T2 Ristovski, Blaže, Šukri Rahimi, Simo Mladenovski, Todor Čepreganov, Stojan Kiselinovski (Блаже Ристовски, Шукри Рахими, Симо Младеновски, Тодор Чепреганов,

Стојан Киселиновски), 2014. *Историја за трета година гимназиско образование*, Skopje, Albi [History for the Third Year of Secondary Education, year three, ages sixteen and seventeen]

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Orce Nikolov Secondary School in Skopje
Events ● The majority of pupils in this class provide a definition of genocide as the 'devastation', 'liquidation' or 'extermination' of a nation or national group, followed by the example of the Holocaust. Six of the nineteen essays only relate specific examples of genocides, including the Holocaust but also 'hunger' (4) 'genocides done in Africa and Asia' (7), Bosnia (11) and 'Chernobyl' (19). Other examples include 'Indians' (5), 'the bombs thrown by the USA in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the ones in Serbia' (9), while pupils 11 and 15 also evoke the victimisation of Macedonia. A large number of pupils in this class define examples of genocides hierarchically by referring to the Holocaust as the 'biggest' (5, 13, 15), the 'best example' (16) or 'best known' (2, 6, 10, 18) example. Exceptionally, pupil 7 defines the Holocaust as 'not the biggest' in comparison to 'many more victims' in atrocities committed in Asia and Africa.
Protagonists ● Victims are defined generically as nations or groups, qualified most frequently as 'religious', 'ethnic' or 'racial'. Protagonists of the Holocaust are invariably Hitler, Jews, Hitler, Germans and National Socialists, while Roma, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals,

slaves and survivors are mentioned in isolation, alongside several mentions of Joseph Mengele or a 'doctor'. Bosnian, Macedonian and native American ('Indian') victims are also mentioned in isolation. Pupil 5 names 'Europeans' as colonial perpetrators and pupil 7 points out that 'European forces … did not take any measures to stop the activities of the camps'.
Effects and aftereffects ● Pupils provide detailed descriptions of the persecution process during the Holocaust covering the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, eviction, the burning of property, slave labour, deportation, camps and medical experiments. Pupil 3 claims ambiguously that Jews in camps 'used to produce soap and leather'. None mention aftereffects, while pupil 4 claims that 'Hitler opened a museum in which he displayed the belongings of the killed Jews'.
Causal agency ● Pupils in this class explain the Holocaust and other genocides as a result of individual responsibility and motivation in equal measure. National Socialists typically 'performed' (1) genocide, while Hitler 'wanted to kill them because they were more progressive and richer' (16) or 'because Hitler wanted more power and he liquidated Jews, who were the richest at that period' (13). Pupil 15 suggests that genocides are motivated by differences of opinion, whereby 'people with some opinion are massively liquidated by people who do not think the same way'. Other motivations include 'people thought to be less worthy' (6), a sense of racial superiority (4, 12), different 'personal attitudes' (9) and, implicitly, national, ethnic, racial and religious prejudice (2, 6, 8, 10). Apart from pupil 17's explicit recognition of antisemitic motivation according to which Jews were killed 'just because they were Jews', causal explanations of the Holocaust are confined to implicit references to ostracism resulting from the obligatory yellow star badge 'so that they could be told apart' (5) or to the immorality of persecuting 'people who have not done anything bad' (9).
Times and spaces ● References to the Second World War and concentration camps consistently locate the events in time and space, alongside some references to Auschwitz. Only pupil 11 refers to ongoing events 'in our vicinity' for Macedonians who 'even today … are facing problems provoked by the [Greek] government'. One pupil evokes genocides in Africa and Asia.
Points of view ● There are few exceptions to the neutral points of view adopted in these essays. These include one expression of affect since 'the very thought of it is horrifying' (2) and two moral appraisals of genocide as 'the worst of violence' (2) and as 'wasting many lives of people who have not done anything bad' (9). Moral indignation is expressed by two pupils who underscore Macedonian victimhood. Pupil 11 defines the persecution of Macedonians from 'Aegean Macedonia' following the partition of Macedonia in 1913 as 'the worst' genocide, while pupil 15 demands that 'a massive genocide should be done to the Albanians because of their evil blood and the fact that are going to take over our homeland'.
Explanation assessment ● The majority of pupils in this class focus on the Holocaust, which they explain as the persecution of victims as members of national groups categorised as 'religious', 'ethnic' or 'racial'. Some essays outline motivations such as the drive for power and differences of opinion or attitudes, but causal explanations are largely implicit. Two pupils (13, 16) reproduce antisemitic stereotypes without qualifying them, while pupil 15 cynically extols 'the genocide of the Jews, done by smart and good Germans'. The strictly neutral descriptive explanations of genocides in this class appear incongruent with the highly detailed historical accounts of persecution and massacres; this neutrality is acheived with the use of the passive mode, the gerund and substantive phrases beginning with 'liquidation', 'destruction' and 'extermination'.

Bitola Secondary School
Events ● Half of the essays in this class provide a generic definition of genocide as the 'devastation', 'extermination', 'slaughter' or 'killing' of a 'nation' or 'family'. These, and the

remaining essays which do not define genocide, focus almost exclusively on the example of the Holocaust. Five of them focus on the Armenian genocide, while two address colonialism or the 'genocide of the Macedonians' (26, 27) respectively.
Protagonists ● Victims are generically named as nations, families, or specifically as Jews and in certain cases as Armenians (5), Roma (5), 'Indians' (11, 12, 28), Macedonians (26, 27) and survivors (17). Perpetrators are named less frequently, as 'they' or as 'Turks' (5), 'Nazis' (10), Hitler and Germans (13, 20, 24) and 'Greek occupiers' (26, 27).
Effects and aftereffects ● All but five essays define the effects of genocide simply as killing, extermination, torture or devastation. Two describe the events as the violation of human rights (14, 17). In exceptional cases, pupils understand genocide to mean 'extinction' (13, 24, 25, 30). Pupil 6 similarly defines the effect of genocide as 'eliminating … genes'. More specifically, pupil 21 claims that several European countries were responsible for deportations but that victims were 'mainly taken to Germany'. Pupil 17 exceptionally evokes the experiences of victims as 'not having the right to basic necessities', 'watching the death of the next of kin' and a 'post-traumatic period'.
Causal agency ● Surprisingly, twenty-two essays indicate no causes and imply neither responsibility nor motivation. Three pupils imply that genocides are caused by immorality, that is, by 'cruelty' (14) or by 'inhumanity' (17) and constitute a 'bad thing' (6). In four cases, responsibility is ascribed to 'Fascism' (3), 'Germans' (20), 'European countries' (21) and 'Hitler and the German army' (24). Explanations of motivation for genocides adopt what they presume to be perpetrators' points of view without qualification. For example, pupil 4 explains in terms of ethnic cleansing that Jews were killed 'so that the country stays clean', and pupil 22 claims that, 'The main reason for the Holocaust was to exterminate the Jews'.
Times and spaces • The two thirds of the class who evoke times and spaces consistently locate the Holocaust during the Second World War in 'camps', some of which are named as Auschwitz, Treblinka and Jasenovac, alongside ghettos. Only pupil 6 suggests that genocides have taken place 'throughout history'.
Points of view ● All pupils adopt a neutral point of view with the exception of two moral appraisals of genocide as a 'bad thing' (6) with 'horrible consequences' (18). Half of the class write that learning about the Holocaust and other genocides should help to prevent further genocides.
Explanation assessment ● This class is marked by its highly consistent focus on the Holocaust, on its relatively consistent temporal and spatial location, and on its categorisation of victims as nations, families, or specifically as Jews. The largely neutral descriptive points of view of pupils are complemented by a tendency to relate rather than explain events. Motivations for genocides are explained in intentionalist terms which reflect the pupils' presumed points of view of perpetrators. However, exceptions reveal insights into moral assessments of causes and the recognition of prevention measures.

S1 *Gimnazija 'Orce Nikolov'*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Skopje (population 550,000), with nineteen responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Jasmina Ivkovska.
S2 *Gimnazija 'Josip Broz Tito' Bitola*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Bitola (population 75,000), with thirty responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Iljo Trajkovski.

Translations of educational materials from the Republic of North Macedonia by Marina Guguchevska.

POLAND

Curricula

The *Curricular Framework with Comments from 2009* stipulates teaching about the Holocaust and genocides for pupils aged sixteen and older. The section called 'The Totalitarian System in the Soviet Union' addresses 'the Great Famine (*Wielki Głód*)' (44) in order to illustrate 'the collectivisation of agriculture and its consequences' after 'Stalin's rise to power'. The comparison of two 'totalitarian systems', National Socialist Germany and the Soviet Union (44), provides a broader political context. After mentioning 'stages, fronts and turning points of the war', the section entitled 'The Second World War' deals with 'causes and consequences of the Holocaust' as well as the 'resistance of the Jewish population' (45), while 'the Warsaw Uprising' is addressed in a separate chapter called 'The Polish Territory under Two Occupations' (45). Here, the 'methods of German and Soviet policy in occupied Poland' are compared. In the section dedicated to the 'Advanced Level', the Holocaust is dealt with in the subsection 'Europe under German Occupation and the Holocaust' (56), where 'the policy of the Third Reich against societies in occupied Europe' is illustrated by 'the Nazi plan to exterminate Jews and other nationalities and social groups' (*narodowości i grupy społeczne*). The attitudes of various protagonists are illustrated by 'attitudes (*postawy*) of the Jews to the extermination policy', 'positions of the Polish society to the Holocaust' as well as 'the attitude' (*stosunek*) of societies and governments of 'the Western world' and the 'Catholic Church' to the Holocaust (56).

The *Second Curricular Framework for Elementary School*, valid since September 2017, includes teaching about the Holocaust and genocides for twelve-year-olds. Besides dealing with 'political and military turning points' of the war, the chapter entitled 'The Second World War and Its Stages' (90) addresses 'the annihilation (*zagłada*) of the Jews and Roma', 'the extermination (*eksterminacja*) of other nationalities', and 'the heroism of the Poles when saving Jews from the Holocaust'. Further 'consequences' of the Second World War include 'forced displacements'. The section 'Poland under German and Soviet Occupation' juxtaposes 'principles and methods of German and Soviet policy in occupied Poland' (90). 'Examples of German and Soviet crimes' are enumerated side by side and include 'Palmiry, Katyn, the Massacre of the Lviv Professors, and Zamojszczyzna', while the 'massacre in Volhynia' illustrates 'the Polish–Ukrainian conflict' (90).

In the curriculum of 2009, the connection between the Holocaust and genocides is established within the political context of two opposing 'totalitarian systems', with 'the Great Famine' illustrating Soviet totalitarianism and the Holocaust exemplifying 'the policy of the Third Reich' (C1, 44 and 56). The curriculum of 2017 highlights the Holocaust as well, but reinforces the comparison of 'totalitarianisms' and conflates 'German and Soviet crimes'. Educational aims are defined in the first curriculum as the conveying of 'knowledge' (43). Pupils are expected to 'describe' consequences of collectivisation including 'the Great Famine' (44), 'indicate' causes and consequences of the Holocaust, 'describe' examples of Jewish resistance (45), and 'characterise… the Nazi plan to exterminate Jews' (56). By contrast, the second curriculum highlights the goal of 'introducing the pupils to values' such as 'the nation', and 'patriotism' (12). It also stipulates 'encouraging' a respectful treatment of national and religious symbols, and 'creating a connection between the pupils and their home country' (13). This focus on fostering national identity is mirrored in pedagogical recommendations. While the first curriculum expects pupils to 'describe the positions of the Polish society towards the Holocaust' (56), suggesting a wide range of possible attitudes, the second curriculum underscores 'the heroism of the Poles when saving Jews from the Holocaust' and urges pupils to 'know examples' of this heroism (90).

C1 *Podstawa programowa z komentarzami*, Tom 4., Edukacja historyczna i obywatelska w szkole podstawowej, gimnazjum i lyceum, 2009 [Curricular Framework with Comments, volume 4. Historical Education and Citizenship in Elementary School, Grammar School and High School, 2009].
C2 *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły podstawowej*, Załącznik nr. 2 [Curricular Framework for Elementary School, Appendix 2, accessed 28 February 2017].

Textbooks

***Po prostu historia* [Just History] (2012)**

Paratext ● The Holocaust and genocides do not feature on the contents page. Most exercises require causal explanations, asking pupils, for example, to 'assess the causes' of the National Socialists' actions against Jews (78) and 'assess the consequences' of the Soviet economy after 1929 (102).

Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (thirteen pages), forced collectivisation and the 'Great Famine' (two and a half pages), the 'crime' in Katyn (one and a half pages), 'ethnic cleansing' and 'horrible crimes' in the former Yugoslavia (one page), 'massacres' in Nanjing (fifteen lines) and Rwanda (eight lines). The 'bloody regime of the Khmer Rouge' in Cambodia is mentioned briefly in a table (286). The authors define the terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' etymologically and qualify the Holocaust both as 'genocide' and as 'martyrdom of the Jewish people [*męczeństwo narodu żydowskiego*] during the Second World War' (173). Whereas the 'conflict … between Serbs and Croats' in the 1990s is called 'ethnic cleansing' (305), and Serbs are also said to have committed 'ethnic cleansing' of Albanians in Kosovo (306), the authors define the atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina as 'horrible crimes' (305). Although the textbook describes the Holocaust as 'a crime that had no equal in the history of mankind' (215), some exercises ask pupils to 'point out … similarities and differences' between the 'totalitarian states' Italy, Germany and the USSR (105) and to 'compare' the policy of Germany and the USSR as 'the two occupiers' of Poland (216).

Protagonists ● The textbook features individual perpetrators of the Holocaust (Hitler, Himmler, Heydrich) as well as collective perpetrators defined in political terms (the National Socialists, 'officials of the Third Reich', 'puppet governments') and in military terms ('the occupier' or '*okupant*' (176), the SS, 'Einsatzgruppen', 'Wehrmacht soldiers'). Victims are defined collectively as Jews, Slavs, Gypsies (*Cyganie*), communists, homosexuals and Freemasons, but also as 'Jewish representatives of culture and science' (77) and 'representatives of the Polish elite' (208). In addition, members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) are said to have committed 'ethnic cleansing' of the Polish inhabitants of Volhynia (216). The textbook briefly mentions Polish perpetrators in Jedwabne and Radziłów, where 'Poles also took part in the Jewish pogroms' (215). This book devotes two pages to 'resistance in Europe' (174–175). Significantly, comparable agency is ascribed to both Poles and Jews, in terms of passivity, collaboration and resistance. For example, while many of the visual quotations depict active perpetrators and passive victims of the Holocaust (77, 174), the Nanjing massacre (81) and the atrocities in Ukraine (98), the authorial text distinguishes between Jews who 'passively accepted their fate' during the Second World War, who collaborated with the Germans ('Jewish police in the ghettos', 215) or fought in the resistance (the Jewish Military Union, the Jewish Combat Organisation, Mordechai Anielewicz and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). This is echoed in the depiction of Poles, who are said to have been 'mostly indifferent to the fate of the Jews', while 'some Poles delivered Jews to the Gestapo' or 'blackmailed' them, although 'many Poles risked their lives to save Jews' (the Żegota council, Catholic activists, Irena Sendler, 216).

Effects and aftereffects ● The Holocaust is presented historically in terms of exclusion, disenfranchisement, plunder, immigration, flight, the destruction of material culture, Germanisation, 'spiritual and intellectual destruction' (211) and death, but also collaboration,

resistance and rescue. Forced collectivisation in the Soviet Union is said to entail expropriation, resistance, repression, deportation, famine and 'cannibalism' (98), while a textual quotation also suggests that the 'poorest' farmers 'benefited' from joining the kolkhoz (104). The authors explain aftereffects of the Holocaust in political and legal terms as denazification, the creation of the UN, and the punishment of perpetrators in the Nuremberg trials, which are called 'a symbolic victory of Good over Evil' (256). The explanation of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina follows a similar pattern, focusing on the territorial division of the country and trials of war criminals in a 'situation' which is said to 'remain tense' (305). The political aftereffects of Katyn are given particular emphasis, since they provided a pretext for propaganda by 'the Germans' (206) and fostered the end of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Poland.

Causal agency ● The authors address the Holocaust in the chapters 'Europe under Occupation' and 'In Occupied Poland', which deal with both German and Soviet occupation and with Katyn. Occupation is the context in which genocides are said to occur. The Holocaust is ascribed mainly to responsibility ('SS-Einsatzgruppen killed the Jewish population', 167), quotations (a directive to the Wehrmacht recommending the use of 'all means' in the war, 169) and exercises ('name the … officials of the Third Reich who accepted the plan for the extermination of the Jews', 177). Stalin is said to have 'decided' upon forced collectivisation, while the 'authorities' which implemented it are 'activists, members of the Komsomol, and even security forces and the Red Army' (98). Responsibility for the 'crime' in Katyn is ascribed to individuals (Stalin, Voroshilov, Molotov), political bodies (the 'politburo of the communist party', 212) and 'the Russians' (214), whereas victims are described as 'Polish officers' and 'reservists' who 'represented the core of the [Polish] intellectual elite' (206). Hence, perpetration and victimhood are dichotomised between Stalin's crimes and Polish national victims. Moreover, responsibility is contextualised legally as an infringement of human rights. In the 'bloody conflict … between Serbs and Croats' (305) for example, both Serbs and Croats are said to have committed 'ethnic cleansing' (305), while 'the Serbian leaders… Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić' and the Croat Ante Gotovina are defined as 'war criminals' in Bosnia and Herzegovina (305). In Nanjing, 'Japanese soldiers' are said to have committed crimes against 'Chinese' and 'civilians'. Causes leading to the Holocaust include racism and antisemitism (76, 129), but also strategic considerations (executions 'were to intimidate' and 'force people to surrender', 209). Interestingly, the authors indirectly absolve Poles from responsibility in the Holocaust when they claim that 'the Germans prompted the Poles to commit crimes and exploited [their] mood' (215). The use of passive constructions such as 'there were also pogroms' in Poland (129) and 'the official policy against Jews was also tightened in Poland' (130) avoids naming active agents. Whereas Stalin and the NKVD, the Japanese and the Hutu are held responsible for the crimes in Katyn, Nanjing and Rwanda respectively, forced collectivisation is explained causally 'as a consequence' of the imposition of high production quotas and confiscations as 'the Great Famine broke out' (98).

Times and spaces ●The textbook dates the atrocities in Ukraine (1932–1933), Nanjing (1937), Katyn (1940), Croatia (1991), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995), Kosovo (1999) and Rwanda (1994) precisely. It states that the Holocaust took place 'during the Second World War' (173), but that 'after the NSDAP's takeover of power … persecution began' (76). The space ascribed to the Holocaust is regional ('Eastern Europe under German occupation', 172) and local (Lidice, Oradour-sur-Glane, Babi Yar, Palmiry, Jedwabne, the camps Treblinka, Bełżec and Auschwitz, the ghettos Warsaw, Łódź and Cracow).

Explanation assessment ● The textbook addresses seven atrocity crimes while emphasising the unprecedented nature of the Holocaust. However, the chapter 'In Occupied Poland' contrasts 'German Occupation' with 'The Policy of the Soviet Occupier'. These two sections are placed in close succession, and represent Poles as victims of both National Socialists and

Soviets. Moreover, exercises invite pupils to 'compare the politics of the two occupiers towards the Poles and assess the main similarities and differences' (216). This chapter also devotes a double page to the sections 'Katyn …' and 'The Extermination of the Jews', which again categorise Poles and Jews as victims. However, the authors also address Jewish and Polish passivity, collaboration and resistance. Although they contextualise perpetrators' vocabulary by defining victims of collectivisation as 'peasants, whom the Soviet propaganda called kulaks' (98), the authors unquestioningly adopt terms such as 'tribe' (*plemię*, 309) by naming perpetrators in Rwanda as 'combat troops of the Hutu tribe' and victims as 'people of the Tutsi tribe'. Atrocity crimes are generally ascribed to responsible individuals and groups, while ideology (racism, antisemitism) and military and political strategic considerations are named among their causes.

Poznać Przeszłość **[Get to Know the Past] (2012)**

Paratext ● The contents page does not mention the Holocaust and genocides. Most exercises encourage causal explanations by inviting pupils to 'explain how the Nazi ideology led to genocide' (153) and 'assess the consequences of … collectivisation' (43).

Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (sixteen pages), forced collectivisation and famine (two and a half pages), the Katyn 'crime' (one and a half pages), the Nanjing 'genocide' (half a page), mass murder in Cambodia (half a page) as well as 'ethnic conflicts' and 'ethnic cleansing' in the former Yugoslavia (one page). The authors define the terms 'Holocaust' and 'Shoah' etymologically, but also as 'genocide' and as 'the extermination of six million Jews by the Germans during the Second World War' (152). Furthermore, the 'Great Famine' is said to have been recognised by twenty-six states as an 'act of genocide against the Ukrainian nation' (39). The textbook compares National Socialism with Italian Fascism and states that they differ 'with respect to antisemitism' (31).

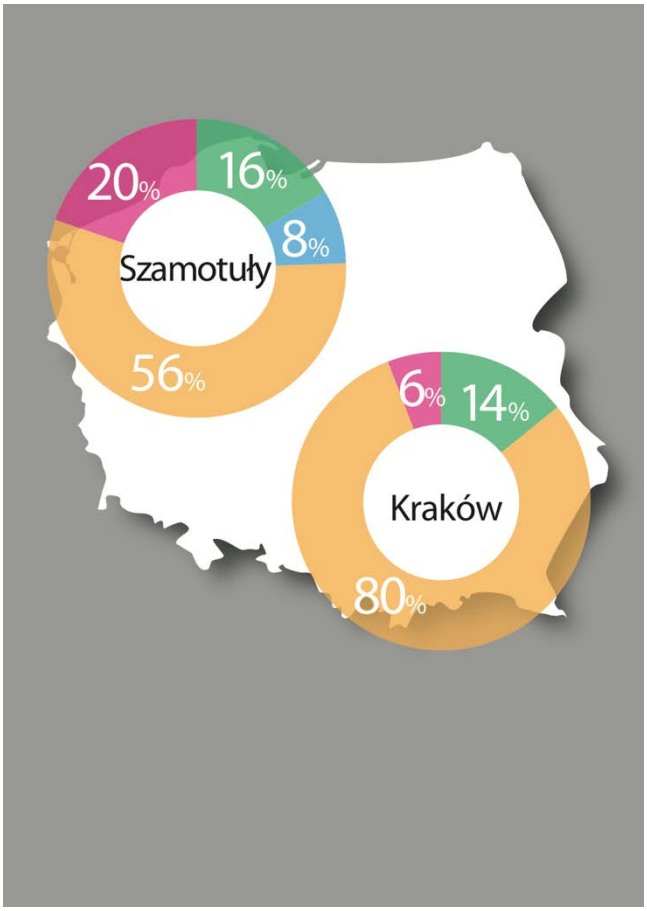
Protagonists ● The authors depict the main protagonists of the Holocaust in an active-passive dichotomy when defining the events as the 'extermination of … Jews by the Germans' (152). Further perpetrators include individuals (Hitler, Eichmann), political bodies (the 'German leadership', National Socialists), military groups (the SS, 'the German army and police') and other collective agents ('National Socialist scientists'). Collaborators include 'Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians' (157), governments from Western Europe, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which is said to have committed crimes against Poles, and Polish 'blackmailers' (*szmalcowniki*, 155) of Jews. Victims of the Holocaust are named as Jews, Roma, Slavs, communists, disabled people, homosexuals, political opponents, priests, Soviet prisoners of war, political commissars of the Red Army, homeless people and Jehovah's Witnesses. Polish victims include 'the Polish elite' (182), members of the clergy, academics and children. While resisters are mostly organised groups (the French Resistance, the Yugoslavian and Soviet partisans, the Polish Armia Krajowa, the Jewish Military Union and the Jewish Combat Organisation), most rescuers are individuals (Julian Grobelny, Jan Karski, Irena Sendler, Józef and Wiktoria Ulma). The authors also describe the protagonists of other atrocity crimes in terms of political and military groups which commit crimes against civilians. For example, 'the Bolsheviks' and Stalin 'with the help of the secret police' commit crimes against 'millions of Soviet citizens' (38), the 'Japanese army' commits massacres against 'civilian population' in China (53) and 'the pro-Chinese Khmer Rouge' murder the 'intellectual elite and the clergy of Cambodia' as well as 'people who could read and write' or 'wore glasses' (280). The Katyn 'crime' is said to have been committed by Stalin, the NKVD and 'members of the politburo' against '15,000 Polish policemen, soldiers, chaplains' and 'elite' representatives (186). The protagonists of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia are defined in ethnic and religious terms as 'Serbs', 'Croats', 'Bosniaks' or 'Muslim Bosniaks', whereby 'all conflict parties, but especially the Serbs, committed ethnic cleansing' against 'civilians' (344). Here, the role of the UN, the EU and NATO is described as 'powerlessness'

(*bezsilność*, 345). As in the first textbook, authors contextualise perpetrators' language when referring to 'prosperous peasants, who were pejoratively called kulaks' (39).
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust include the human cost of exclusion, resettlement, Germanisation, forced labour, emigration and death, but also the cultural 'disappearance' of the Yiddish language from Central Europe (152) and human endeavour entailed in collaboration, resistance, rescue and survival. Trials are listed among the aftereffects of atrocity crimes, while education is represented in a picture captioned 'The March of the Living organised by the Israeli Ministry of Education …' at the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum (217). Emphasis is placed on remembrance, illustrated by reference to the 'righteous among the nations' and by an image of 'experts … examining [the inscription] *Arbeit macht frei*' recovered after theft (217); this picture is followed by an exercise asking 'why the German slogan at the gate of Auschwitz is so important to culture.' The authors acknowledge the intentional 'concealing' of crimes ('the Soviet leadership tried to keep [the famine] secret', 39) and its misuse for propaganda (the communist 'legend' Pavel Morozov as a 'hero and martyr' of collectivisation, 41). Further aftereffects are expressed in political terms: the end of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Poland after Katyn, the international recognition of territorial 'sovereignty' for Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks after Dayton, and the recognition by several parliaments of the famine in Ukraine as an 'act of genocide' (*akt ludobójstwa*, 39).
Causal agency ● The authors explain the Holocaust primarily as a consequence of ideology. They trace nationalism and racism back to the nineteenth century while referring to Arthur de Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (30). They also address 'racist policy' based on 'pseudo-scientific guidelines', eugenics, the striving for territorial expansion or 'living space' and the extermination of people as characteristic of National Socialist ideology. The textbook states that 'several million people … died as a result of the implementation of … the Nazi ideology' (217) and asks pupils to 'explain how the Nazi ideology led to genocide' (153). Anti-Jewish measures are described as a cumulative process starting with stigmatisation and ghettoisation as a 'first step towards systematic extermination' (195) which culminates with mass death. Single actions are ascribed to the responsibility of individuals ('Hitler … skilfully exploited the fear of German society', 31) and groups ('scientists … performed criminal experiments', 34; 'the Germans [executed] their criminal plans … with great scrupulousness', 151). While Poles feature as rescuers of Jews and as victims both of National Socialism and Stalinism, the authors downplay responsibility for Polish crimes against Jews by externalisation and the use of passive constructions. For example, the textbook states that 'the Poles as a nation did not allow themselves to be misled by the Germans to commit pogroms against Jews, although it came to denunciations' and 'mass murder of Jews by Poles took place only in 1941 in Jedwabne' (155). The textbook also explains atrocity crimes in Cambodia as a result of ideology ('the attempt to implement [the] Maoist-chauvinist worldview', 280). Similarly, violence is ascribed to communism 'since its creation' and Stalinist social policy is said to have 'aimed to destroy family ties' (41). Stalin's personal responsibility is underlined in the caption accompanying a propaganda poster which claims that, 'in reality Stalin consciously took decisions which led to the death of millions of Soviet citizens' (38). The authors describe further atrocity crimes as the result of responsibility (of the Japanese army in Nanjing, Stalin and 'members of the politburo' in Katyn, and Serbs in the former Yugoslavia).
Times and spaces ● The temporal framework of the Holocaust is established precisely ('the genocide started in mid-1941 and lasted forty months', 152). However, persecutions and crimes are concurrent with the entire National Socialist regime, as are crimes in Cambodia with the regime of the Khmer Rouge (1975–1979). The authors date the famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), Nanjing (1937), Katyn (April and May 1940), and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (5 April 1992 until 1995) precisely. The spatial conception of the Holocaust is

national, with ‘most of the crimes’ being committed ‘on the territory of the Polish Republic and in the Soviet Union’ (157) or ‘in the German Reich’ (34). The textbook refers to camps (Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen-Gusen, Kulmhof, Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka, Auschwitz-Birkenau), the Warsaw ghetto and sites of mass killing (Wieluń, Babi Yar, Ponary, Palmiry).
Explanation assessment ● The textbook presents ideology as the main cause leading to genocides, but also underlines the responsibility of political and military groups who commit crimes against civilians. The authors focus on causal explanations and exercises throughout the book. Most perpetrators, victims and resistance fighters are depicted collectively, while rescuers are individuals. Poles are generally depicted as rescuers and victims, while their responsibility for committing crimes against Jews is limited to marginal actions formulated in the passive voice (‘it came to denunciations’, ‘mass murder of Jews by Poles took place’, 155). However, the authors juxtapose German and Soviet occupation policies in Poland in the sections ‘The Politics of the Third Reich towards the Poles’ and ‘The Politics of the USSR towards the Poles’ which bear similar titles and succeed each other. The authors conceive of the aftereffects of atrocity crimes in political terms as instrumentalisation, the breakup of diplomatic relations, and the recognition of territorial sovereignty.

T1 Dolecki, Rafał, Krzysztof Gutowski, Jędrzej Smoleński, *Po prostu historia, szkoły ponadgimnazjalne, zakres podstawowy* [Just History, Upper Secondary Schools, basic stage], history, age sixteen to seventeen (*liceum*), Warsaw, WSiP (Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne), 2012.
T2 Roszak, Stanisław, Jarosław Kłaczkow, *Poznać Przeszłość, wiek XX, podręcznik do historii dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych zakres podstawowy* [To Know the Past, Twentieth Century, History Textbook for Upper Secondary Schools, basic stage], history, age sixteen to seventeen (*liceum*), Warsaw, Nowa Era, 2012.

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Comprehensive Secondary School in Krakow

Events ● All but one of the ten essays submitted in this class evoke the Holocaust. In addition to isolated evocations of 'colonial expansion' (1), Hiroshima (4), Mao (6) and 'the persecution of Christians in ancient Rome' (6), the majority of pupils also evoke crimes committed in the Soviet Union and in particular the massacre of Polish nationals by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from 1943, which pupil 8 refers to as the 'biggest in Polish history'. By contrast, pupil 10 writes about genocide generally while equating genocide to ghettos and concentration camps.

Protagonists ● Pupils in this class tend to personalise perpetration by naming Hitler, Stalin or Stepan Bandera, in contrast to victims, who are collectively named as 'Jews' (1, 2, 3, 5), 'innocent people' (1, 10), 'people' (4, 5), 'Christians' (6) and 'Poles' (8, 9). Exceptions include references to 'European powers' (1) as colonial perpetrators and to 'mad people and bureaucrats' (4) and 'UPA units' (7, 8, 9) in Volhynia. Pupils 7 and 10 exceptionally evoke helpers of Jews, but pupil 7 also perpetuates a notion of 'the Jewish race'. Pupil 8 relates his knowledge to 'one person from my family who died' when expulsed by the UPA.

Effects and aftereffects ● All essays provide considerable detail of the effects of genocides ranging from arrest, disenfranchisement, deportation, inhumane treatment, expulsion, torture, shooting, gassing, killing and, in the case of the Volhynia massacres, the burning of villages and of people alive. Exceptional effects range from victims being processed into soap (2, 3) to

details about ‘small portions of food’ (2) and ‘difficult conditions, hard work and uncomfortable sleeping conditions’ (10) in camps, which render genocide in terms familiar to pupils’ own horizon of experience.
Causal agency ● Pupils largely explain genocides by describing events in the passive mode while identifying responsible agents albeit without indicating their motivations. Pupil 2 writes that ‘millions of innocent people died because of one person (e.g. Hitler)’, while pupil 5 claims that ‘Hitler wanted to destroy’ and that ‘he was of the opinion that the Aryan race should rule over others’. Other pupils write that purges took place ‘on Joseph Stalin’s orders’ (6) or that UPA units were solely responsible (8). Among those who evoke motivations, pupil 1 argues that colonialists strove to conquer territory and that victims were those who ‘did not know the new culture and who resisted it’. Pupil 4 ascribes motivation to ‘the ideas of mad people and bureaucrats’ but also defines causes of genocides universally as a tendency of ‘the human species to mutually destroy itself’, in particular as a result of ‘stupidity, or without reason’. Pupil 10 similarly ascribes the cause of the Holocaust metonymically to the feelings and morality of guards whereby, ‘Those in power and guards had no mercy with the people and behaved purely selfishly’.
Times and spaces ● The Holocaust is conceived of spatially in connection with ghettos and concentration camps by almost all pupils. Atrocities committed in the Soviet Union are located in ‘Russia’ by three pupils. References to the persecution of Polish people are expressed in relation to Volhynia, Katyn and ‘Polish territory’ (9). Apart from isolated mentions of the twentieth century and the Second World War, three pupils claim that genocides have ‘always’ (2) taken place, ‘took and continue to take place’ (4) and ‘occur everywhere and will never disappear’ (10).
Points of view ● Almost half of the class adopts a moral point of view by referring to the behaviour of perpetrators or by qualifying events as ‘the most terrible’ (2). Two pupils evoke moral attitudes in the present day by claiming that the Holocaust ‘cannot be forgiven’ (4), or that ‘if they wish to be reconciled with the Polish people the Ukrainians should stop … commemorating the criminal activities of the UPA in Ukraine’ (8). Half of the class considers that learning about the Holocaust and other genocides promotes genocide prevention, or that it helps people to ‘avoid mistakes’ (2) or heed a warning (4).
Explanation assessment ● Almost all pupils in this class avoid explanation by using passive constructions, or by explaining the Holocaust and genocides exclusively as the result of acts of responsible individuals or political agents such as Hitler, Stepan Bandera, the UPA or ‘big powers, especially European ones’ (1). Many of them conceive of genocide as a singular episode rather than as a long-term process, by taking that episode or place for the event in its entirety. Pupil 6 evokes, for example, ‘the genocide in Warsaw during the Warsaw Uprising’, and pupil 10 writes that ‘genocides *are*, for example, ghettos … another example *are* concentration camps’ (our italics). Polish victimhood is associated with the Volhynia massacres in almost half of the essays; one pupil devotes his account exclusively to this event, while two exclusively treat the persecution of Jews during the Holocaust.

Secondary School No. 1 in Szamotuły
Events ● The most consistent event named by this class is Katyn, which is variously explained as the ‘liquidation of the Polish intellectual elite, police and military and many others’ (2), the ‘killing of Polish officers’ (6) or the ‘shooting of the Polish population’ (3). Just over half of the essays also address the persecution of Jews and Poles during the Second World War. Other events include Volhynia (1), the Inquisition (1, 7), Hiroshima (6, 7) and the destruction of the World Trade Center and the ‘Islamic State’ (7, 9), while one essay mentions only genocides in Africa (5). Relativisation of genocides is implicit in the appositional grouping of different victim and perpetrator groups (see ‘protagonists’ below) or even explicitly, when pupil 8 argues that ‘in addition to the Holocaust one should also talk about

the murder of Poles and Roma'.
Protagonists ● These essays consistently pit civil populations against soldiers, 'Germans and Russians' against 'Poles and Jews' (4, 6) or 'German and Soviet powers' against Jews and Poland (8). These perpetrator and victim groups are regularly named in pairs as if to state their equivalence. Armenians, Christians and Japanese civilians (6, 7, 10) are also listed. Exceptionally, pupil 5 addresses 'people who knew about it but did nothing' in general terms. Stalin and Hitler are mentioned only once, while pupil 9 focuses on families, the Polish people, their fatherland and 'my fellow countrymen'.
Effects and aftereffects • In addition to the effects of killing, death, deportation and shooting, some essays mention in isolation slave labour, persecution, injustice, punishment and limits imposed on free speech.
Causal agency ● Responsibility is ascribed to collective perpetrators identified as Germans, Russians, Soviets, National Socialists, Ukrainians, Americans, and to the individual agents Hitler and Stalin. Motivation is ascribed to the Gestapo whose members 'despised the Poles considerably' (2), while Soviet and German 'occupying powers … were driven by hatred of Poles' (3). Pupil 2 writes that Katyn was driven by 'the fear that Poles would conspiratorially build a Polish state', while pupil 7 suggests causally that genocides happen 'mainly because of political, religious, confessional disputes'. Three out of the ten pupils provide no indication of causal agency.
Times and spaces ● All essays associate genocides with the Second World War or with both world wars. Some name specific years such as 1940, 1943 and 1945. A large number also evoke the present day, either to assert that genocides no longer occur (1, 3, 4), that they have always taken place or for centuries (1, 5) or are still occurring today (7, 9). Half of the class evoke sites of persecution, including concentration camps, mass graves and Polish streets.
Points of view ● The majority of essays in this class express moral and affective judgement of genocides. By qualifying perpetrators as occupying powers, pupil 3 positions herself as a member of an occupied nation and the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 as a 'battle for the life and heart of Poland'. Others appeal to 'our history' (9) and write 'as a Pole' (8) or even claim 'a certain dislike of this nation [Germany]' (6). However, pupil 1's appeal to a national community 'with us in Poland' is tempered by an appeal to 'we in Europe'. Among those who consider that learning about genocides is expedient, one names prevention, one commemoration of the dead and two that 'we should know how to behave if such a thing happens in the future'.
Explanation assessment ● By framing genocide within the broad context of the early twentieth century and the two world wars, this class suggests that genocide is a direct consequence of war between two unequal forces, characteristically explained by pupil 4 who writes that, 'In my opinion, every war or uprising in which many people were killed can be seen as a genocide'. The perception of genocide as a byproduct of conflict or as punishment for self-assertion against foreign powers is reinforced by the moral (rather than historical) accounts provided by pupils 5, 6, 8 and 9, who write about genocide generally and end their accounts with an imperative to 'pray for those who lost their lives' (5) or with an expression of moral opinion that the greatest suffering related to Katyn was that of families of victims who had 'entered the battle for their fatherland' (9). Hence pupils 2 and 3 characteristically equate Katyn and the Warsaw Uprising with genocide, as if these events stood metonymically for genocide in general.

S1 *Liceum Ogólnokształcące* in Wysokie, Nowa Huta, comprehensive secondary school in Cracow (population 760,000), with ten responding pupils aged sixteen, supervised by teacher Andrzej Górniak.

S2 *Zespół Szkół Nr 1 – Gimnazjum i Liceum im. ks. Piotra Skargi*, secondary school (Gimnazjum, Liceum) in Szamotuły (population 19,000), with ten responding pupils aged sixteen, supervised by teacher Wiesława Araszkiewicz.

Translations of Polish educational materials by Arkadiusz Szczepanski.

PORTUGAL

Curricula

The *Curricular Organisation and Programmes* stipulates teaching for twelve- to fifteen-year-old pupils. It addresses 'genocide' and 'resistance' as 'basic notions' to be studied in addition to 'the course of the conflict' and 'paths to peace' in a section entitled 'From the Great Depression to the Second World War' (139). The curriculum also enumerates fascism, National Socialism, totalitarianism, antisemitism and collectivisation to be taught in a section entitled 'Between Dictatorship and Democracy'.

The *History Programme* (a more detailed version of the first curriculum) specifies geographical foci such as 'Fascism in Italy', 'Hitlerite totalitarianism in Germany', 'totalitarian violence' in the USSR (71) and 'Europe under Nazi rule' (72). The curriculum illustrates the 'greatest military conflict in history' by giving examples of the 'disrespect of the Nazis for human rights' and 'the role of resistance movements', as well as 'Nazi concentration camps', 'atomic weapons' and the 'human costs of the war' (73).

The *Curricular Goals for History*, valid since 2013/2014, addresses the role of Portugal as a 'global power' in a section entitled 'Expansion and Change in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries' (13). Here, 'attitudes of Europeans towards Blacks and Indians' and 'persecutions of Jews' illustrate the 'universality of racist values and attitudes until the present day'. The curriculum stipulates teaching the history of the twentieth century for fourteen- to fifteen-year-olds. In a section called 'Crisis, Dictatorships and Democracy in the 1930s', it highlights the 'racist and genocidal character' of National Socialism and deconstructs the notion of 'German racism' as 'belief in the superiority of the "Aryan race"', the 'creation of "living space"' and the 'antisemitic persecution that culminated in the Holocaust' (26). The same section mentions Stalin's 'regime of terror' in the USSR and its 'heavily repressive measures' (26). Furthermore, the section 'The Second World War: Violence and Reconstruction' deals with 'human and material losses' and 'atrocities committed against civilian populations', enumerating the examples of 'the consequences of Nazi racism', 'the violence perpetrated by Japanese troops' and 'the systematic destruction of cities' (27).

All three curricula refer to the Holocaust. 'Fascism in Italy', 'Hitlerite totalitarianism in Germany', and 'totalitarian violence' in the USSR (C2, 71) are all associated with 'dictatorship' and contrasted with 'democracy' (C1, 139; C2, 71). Furthermore, 'consequences of Nazi racism', 'violence perpetrated by Japanese troops' and 'the systematic destruction of cities' are conflated as 'human and material losses caused by the Second World War' (C3, 27). Analytical comparison is stipulated in the third curriculum, which recommends 'characterising' the 'ideological principles common to fascism(s)' (26). A further comparison is that of Stalinism and fascism; the curriculum suggests 'distinguishing' between the two and 'pointing out the existence of similar practices (*formas semelhantes de atuação*) in 'ideologically antagonistic' regimes (26). The curricula define educational goals as the acquisition of a 'critical spirit' and 'moral judgement'. Pupils are expected to 'recognise' the 'disrespect' of National Socialists for human rights and to be able to 'understand' the role of resistance (73). They are also expected to 'characterise' National Socialism, 'highlight' its 'racist character' (71) but also 'distinguish' between Stalinism and fascism (C3, 26). Pedagogical recommendations include textual hermeneutics (analysing

excerpts from historical documents, reading *The Diary of Anne Frank*), analytical skills ('analysing' causes and consequences of 'German racism', C3, 26), visualisation exercises ('locating' on the map 'the main dictatorial regimes worldwide', C3, 25), and working with sources (collecting documents and hearing songs related to resistance movements, C2, 73).

C1 *Organização Curricular e Programas*, Volume 1, Ensino Básico, 3.° Ciclo, Ministério de Educação [Curricular Organisation and Programmes, Volume 1, Basic education, third cycle, Ministry of Education].
C2 *Programa História. Plano de Organisação do Ensino-Aprendisagem*, Volume 2, Ensino Básico, 3.° Ciclo, 4.ª Edição, Ministério de Educação [History Programme. Teaching-Learning Organisation Plan, Volume 2, Basic education, third cycle, fourth edition, Ministry of Education].
C3 *Metas curriculares de história*, 3.° Ciclo do Ensino Básico, Governo de Portugal, Ministério da Educação e Ciéncia, 2013/2014 [Curricular Goals for History, third cycle of basic education, Government of Portugal, Ministry of Education and Science, 2013/2014].

Textbooks

***Descobrir a história* [Discover history] (2010)**

Paratext ● The contents page does not mention the Holocaust and genocides. While some pedagogical questions are factual, most of the exercises encourage pupils to 'interpret' textual quotations and 'identify differences' between the messages they convey (107), express a personal 'point of view about the process of collectivisation' (115), 'discuss different perspectives' when approaching Stalinism (117) and reflect whether 'there were any winners' of the Second World War (133).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (seven pages) and atrocity crimes in the Soviet Union (two pages) and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (one visual quotation). The authors define the Holocaust as 'mass extermination of the Jews, carried out by Nazi power during the war' (132). While the textbook qualifies the Holocaust as 'genocide' (132), it associates Stalinism with 'horrors' (116) and Sarajevo with 'war and ethnic cleansing' (179). Although the authors circumscribe the uniqueness of the Holocaust in terms of 'the greatest massacre of a people (*o maior massacre de um povo*) in history' (139), they define both National Socialism and Stalinism as 'totalitarian' regimes (114).
Protagonists ● The textbook presents individuals (Hitler) and organised groups ('German soldiers', the SS, the SA and 'the Nazis') as perpetrators of the Holocaust. It personifies states ('Germany managed to dominate…', 130) and political regimes ('Nazism … persecuted … opponents', 122). Victims are defined collectively as Jews, Roma (*Ciganos*), 'blacks', communists, disabled people, women and children. However, textual quotations underscore the experience of individuals (Ester Zylberberg, 106). The authors also address Portuguese collaboration by quoting the example of the Salazar regime, and devote one page to the Portuguese rescuer Aristides de Sousa Mendes (139). The authorial use of the passive voice (Jews were 'shot and burned', 132) is reiterated in pictures depicting victims in concentration camps (132) and in exercises asking 'how were Jews treated … ?' (133). However, the authors also address French and British resistance and acknowledge German resistance by quoting Emmi Bonhoeffer and 'a member of the Socialist Party' (107). The perpetrators of 'horrors' during Stalinism are individuals (Stalin) and organised groups (the Cheka, the NKVD, the police, 116), while victims range from 'kulaks', 'opponents', 'politicians and intellectuals' to 'hundreds of thousands of peasants' (114) and 'millions of people' (116). The textbook adopts the term 'kulaks' without qualification. The authors do not mention protagonists of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Effects and aftereffects ● Effects of the Holocaust are explained sequentially, whereby Jews 'became victims of persecution, expulsion and, later, extermination' (106). Further effects of

genocide include humiliation, imprisonment and enslavement, but also flight, rescue and survival. The effects of 'horrors' during Stalinism are presented historically as expropriation, persecution, purges, deportations, forced labour, torture and murder, although the text does not specifically associate collectivisation with famine and mass death. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina is said to have caused people to flee. Aftereffects of the Holocaust are legal (the Nuremberg trials), political (denazification, the creation of the UN, and an 'increase' of emigration of Jews to Palestine), affective and moral (the concentration camps are said to have 'shocked the world', 106). Exceptionally, the textbook illustrates 'different versions' (*versões*, 125) of Hitler by quoting an official portrait made in 1938, a caricature published in 1940, and texts by William Carr (1969) and David Irving (1978). Although the pedagogical exercises ask 'What sources agree with Hitler's vision?' and 'Which [sources] do you consider most credible?', the authors do not contextualise the quotations. Thus, the textbook leaves teachers and pupils to distinguish between propaganda, political caricature, research literature and Holocaust denial. The authors concede that 'the number of victims' of Stalinist repressions is said to be unknown, since 'it was in the interest of the regime … to conceal this information' (116). However, forced collectivisation is also said to have 'allowed the USSR to … become one of the greatest powers' (114).
Causal agency ● The textbook explains the Holocaust causally, whereby the economic crisis of the 1930s 'contributed to the establishment of totalitarian governments' (102). Furthermore, nationalism is described as one of the 'principles' of National Socialism (106) alongside racism and antisemitism (107, 123). The Holocaust is also ascribed to responsibility ('the Nazi power … carried out … mass extermination', 132) and to Hitler's motivation (he 'announced his aversion to … communism and Judaism', 105). The 'horrors' of Stalinism are ascribed to individual responsibility; Stalin is said to have 'decided upon … the liquidation of the kulaks (peasants) as a class' and 'put into practice … the elimination of opposition' (114). The authors also qualify 'totalitarian violence' as if it were an inherent 'characteristic' of Stalinism (122). The textbook does not address causes of 'war and ethnic cleansing', which are simply said to have 'ravaged' Bosnia and Herzegovina (179).
Times and spaces ● The 'liquidation of the kulaks' is said to have been decided upon in 1928 (114), while the Holocaust is situated temporally 'during the war' (132). The space ascribed to the Holocaust ranges from camps (Auschwitz-Birkenau) and ghettos (Warsaw) to administrative districts (the 'Generalgouvernement') and nations (Germany, Belarus).
Explanation assessment ● The textbook addresses National Socialism and Stalinism in the context of 'totalitarianism', and thus implies that both the Holocaust and 'horrors' under Stalin have common political grounds. However, the Holocaust is also described as the 'greatest massacre … in history' (139). While the authors explain the Holocaust as a succession of measures driven by ideology (nationalism, racism, and antisemitism) and identifiable responsible agents, they sometimes avoid causal explanation by using passive formulations, which are reiterated in quotations and exercises. The authors do, however, define causality in essential terms, as a 'principle' of National Socialism or as a 'characteristic' of Stalinism. Exceptionally, the authors personify states and political regimes as perpetrators of genocide. Although quotations illustrate 'different versions' of Hitler, the textbook does not contextualise the sources, but invites teachers and pupils to do this. However, exercises generally encourage pupils to 'interpret' quotations and express personal 'points of view'. Collectivisation in the USSR is associated with economic progress rather than atrocity crimes.

***Novo Viva a história!* [The New Live History] (2016)**
Paratext ● The chapter 'The Second World War: Violence and Reconstruction' includes a subchapter entitled 'The Consequences of the Second World War', and the subchapter 'The Court of Justice: the Trial of War Crimes', which contextualises 'war crimes' militarily and

legally. Exercises referring to the Holocaust are factual (pupils are asked to 'define' antisemitism and 'locate' the 'most important concentration camps', 93), causal ('Which minorities were being sent to the concentration camps? Why?', 115) and connective ('distinguish' between National Socialism and Italian Fascism, 93), (explain the 'relation between Hitler's rise to power and the Versailles Treaty' in an essay, 89).

Events ● The authors address the Holocaust (eight pages) and famine during collectivisation in the Soviet Union (two pages). They briefly mention atrocities in Rwanda and Burundi and Bosnia and Herzegovina. They define the Holocaust as a 'genocide committed by the National Socialists against Jews', while genocide in general is defined as 'systematic mass extermination of a group of people of similar ethnic origin or religion' (128). The authors also qualify the Holocaust in legal terms ('war crimes and crimes against humanity', 126; the 'denial' of human rights, 115) and in moral terms ('barbarism' void of 'humanity', 115). While both Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina are associated with 'ethnic [and] religious fights' (194), events in Rwanda are also qualified as 'tribal … fights' (194) and 'genocide' (124). The authors express the uniqueness of the Holocaust as 'the greatest massacre (*o maior massacre*) in history' (94) and describe National Socialism as the 'ultimate exponent (*expoente máximo*) of fascism and totalitarianism' (92). However, 'totalitarianism' is associated both with Stalinism and National Socialism (88), whereby the convergence of these 'ideologies of opposing camps' (86) is expressed as 'distinct ideas, similar actions' (*ideias distintas, atuações semelhantes*, 101).

Protagonists ● Perpetrators include 'the Nazis', 'the Germans', 'Nazi leaders' and Hitler, but also personified 'Nazism', which is said to have 'put into practice … mass extermination' (92). The textbook defines victims as Jews, communists and 'those who were considered opponents … or "inferior"', with the examples of the 'mentally disabled, ill, old people, gypsies [and] homosexuals' (92). An individual, albeit anonymous victim of the Holocaust is represented in a full-page image of a female camp inmate; the accompanying text specifies in the first person that 'I am from a Jewish family' (115). Other photographs feature Anna-Maria Ernst, a survivor of the Holocaust (92). The authors also address resistance: 'French resistance', 'nationalist guerrillas of the USSR' and 'partisans' in Yugoslavia (118). Stalin is featured as the sole perpetrator of 'terror' and famine, whereas victims are expressed collectively as 'kulaks', small landowners', peasants, Soviet people, 'opposition suspects' (100) and 'all those who resisted against collectivisation or who did not reach the objectives' (102). Further individual protagonists are mentioned in a quotation from a novel by Mikhail Sholokhov which deals with expropriation (101). Hutu and Tutsi feature as protagonists of the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi, while 'Serbs, Croats and Muslims' appear in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Effects and aftereffects ● The authors present the effects of the Holocaust as a sequence of cumulative stages (literally 'wave[s] of persecution', *vaga[s] de perseguições*, 92) starting with employment bans and boycotts, continuing with disenfranchisement and stigmatisation, and culminating in deportation and extermination. The effects of collectivisation are 'satisfactory results in the agricultural sectors', achieved, however, 'at the expense of eliminating and deporting all those who resisted' (102). Effects are also mentioned with a view to underscoring 'human costs', 'the terror of hunger' and the peasants' resistance, which is illustrated by both visual (102) and textual quotations (103). The textbook emphasises political aftereffects of the Holocaust such as denazification, democratisation, the creation of the UN, the imposition of 'a new world order' (122) and the creation of the state of Israel. The authors also address legal aftereffects on a double page dealing with the Nuremberg trials. Outcomes of collectivisation and the 'Stalinist politics' are qualified morally as 'deep marks [left] on the Soviet people' (102).

Causal agency ● This textbook ascribes National Socialism and Stalinism to common causes since 'economic difficulties and social change brought about by the postwar period, combined

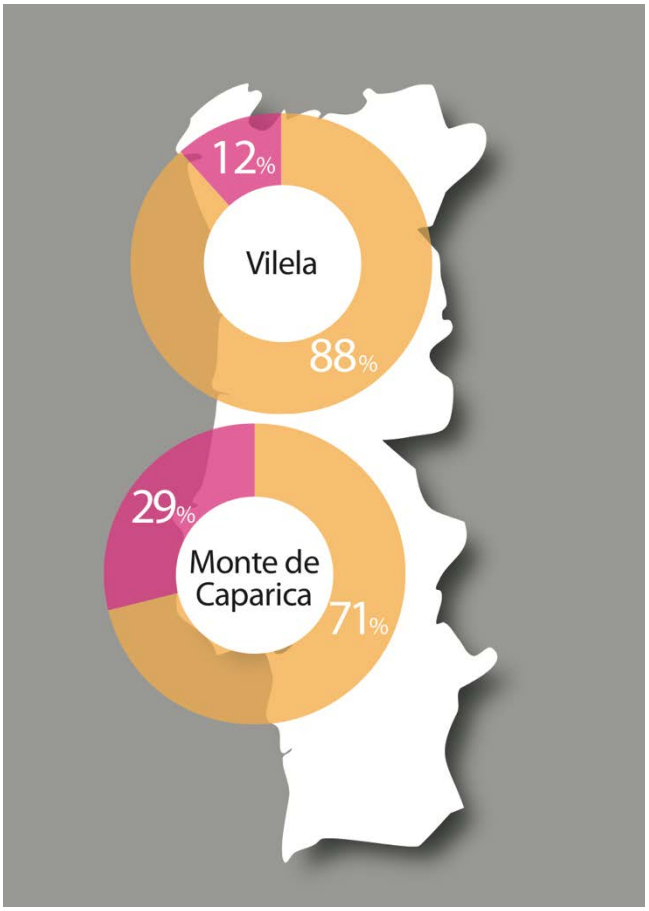
with the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia' are said to have 'led' to the rise of both 'far right' ideologies and 'communist parties' (86). The authors explain the Holocaust as a 'consequence of Nazism' (92) and present antisemitism, racism, nationalism and imperialism as characteristics of National Socialist ideology. Furthermore, antisemitism is said to have been 'recurrent throughout history' and 'more violent in times of crisis or epidemics', but 'it was during the twentieth century … that Jews suffered the greatest massacre' (94). Thus, the authors connect historical antisemitism and the Holocaust, albeit without further explanation. The textbook also presents the Holocaust as an outcome of responsibility ('the Nazis forced …', 92; 'the Germans plundered …', 118) and of affective motivation ('hostility', 94; 'hatred' 115; National Socialists were 'completely obsessed' with racial purity, 92). However, when illustrating the 'waves of persecution' the authors use passive formulations and omit naming the responsible agents by writing, for example, that 'synagogues were destroyed' and 'Jews were exploited' (92). A textual quotation by the scholars Robin Milner-Gulland and Nikolai Dejevsky explains collectivisation causally since its 'ultimate' objectives are said to have been 'the development of the proletariat' and turning the Soviet Union into 'a modern … state' (101). A further quotation underscores this causality, in that 'the terror of hunger [was] conducted like a well-organised military campaign' (103). However, the textbook also exaggerates Stalin's responsibility since he is said to have been 'the undisputed master [*senhor*] of the USSR' who 'established a regime of true terror' (100). The authors contextualise the conflicts in Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina in political and religious terms by defining them as 'ethnic and religious fights' (194).

Times and spaces ● The temporal framework of the Holocaust is synchronous with the National Socialist regime (from 1933 to 1945) since the 'first persecution wave' begins in 1933 (92), while the first Nuremberg trial ran from November 1945 to October 1946 (126). Similarly, the 'regime of true terror' coincides with Stalin's rule from 1927 to 1953 (100). The space ascribed to the Holocaust is national (Germany), regional (Eastern Europe, 118) and 'a great part of the world' (127). The textbook also associates the Holocaust with camps (a map depicts Buchenwald and other camps, 93). Stalinism is associated with 'concentration camps in Siberia' (102) and the Soviet Union, while the space ascribed to other conflicts is regional (sub-Saharan Africa, the former Yugoslavia) and national (Rwanda and Burundi, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Explanation assessment ● Although the Holocaust is qualified as the 'greatest massacre in history' (139), the authors explain both National Socialism and Stalinism as 'ideologies of opposing camps' arising out of common causes (economics, social change). However, as the textbook does not explain the similarities and differences in the formulation 'distinct ideas, similar actions', the juxtaposition remains schematic and elusive. The Holocaust and Stalin's 'regime of true terror' are explained causally as outcomes of ideology and politics, but are also ascribed to responsibility. When explaining the Holocaust, the authors occasionally employ passive formulations. They employ metaphor to describe cumulative events leading to mass death ('waves of persecutions'). Similarly, they compare famine in the USSR to a 'well organised military campaign' (103) in order to underscore its systematic character. However, the textbook associates forced collectivisation not only with 'terror' and 'hunger' which left 'deep marks' on people, but also with economic progress. The authors emphasise political and legal aftereffects of the Holocaust such as the creation of the state of Israel, democratisation and trials. While most protagonists of atrocity crimes are typically defined as groups, an anonymous victim of the Holocaust is represented visually and in the accompanying first-person text. The authors write about 'kulaks' in the context of Stalinism and 'tribes' in the context of the genocide in Rwanda without contextualising these terms. Moreover, the authors measure the effects of the Holocaust in universal (legal and moral) terms, but explain atrocities in Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina historically and politically in terms of 'fights' driven by ethnic, religious or 'tribal' interests.

T1 Amaral, Cláudia, Júlia Castro, Bárbara Alves, Pedro Almiro Neves (coordinators), 2010. *Descobrir a história 9*. Porto: Porto Editora [Discovering History, year nine, age fourteen to sixteen].
T2 Maia, Cristina, Cláudia Pinto Ribeiro, Isabel Afonso, 2016. *Novo Viva a história!, 9o año.* Porto: Porto Editora [The New Live History! year nine, age fourteen to sixteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Secondary School in Monte de Caparica
Events ● The essays in this class define genocide in three ways. The most common is the definition of genocide as ‘extermination’ (1) of different ‘races’ (2) or ‘groups’ (17) with ‘opposing ideas’ (5); as pupil 5 writes ‘genocide takes place when a group or race of persons tries to exterminates or kill people who have an opposite idea or an opposite religion’. Less common is the definition of genocide as ‘irrational hatred of one group of people against another, leading to the deaths of thousands or millions of people’ (4). Two additional pupils define genocide as ‘a group of thousands or more who wishes to make a race or group of people disappear’ (3). More than half of the essays mention the Holocaust, yet without qualification. The two pupils who define it write that ‘the Holocaust was the place of concentration where all the people to be killed were collected’, while pupil 9 claims ‘the Holocaust was those group of people who were sent to concentration camps’. Additional

examples of genocides include ‘the war that takes place in Syria’ (8), which six pupils mention; ‘the case of Islamic State’, which four pupils address mostly in relation to ‘Jihadist terrorist attacks’ (6) as well as to the ‘recent incidents in France’ (2). The least frequent are ‘The wars … in Iraq’ (18) and ‘Rwanda’ (2) which two different pupils refer to.

Protagonists ● Eight of the essays identify ‘Germans’ and ‘National Socialists’ as protagonists who ‘intended to destroy the Jewish people’ (1), and ‘persecuted and tortured the Jews until they extinguished them’ (17). Adolf Hitler is mentioned less frequently. The relationship between Hitler and the National Socialists is elaborated upon by pupil 14, who qualifies Hitler as ‘one of the National Socialists’, and pupil 9, who mentions that the ‘National Socialists were “ruled” by Hitler’. Hitler is said to have ‘put the children and also the women in gas chambers’ (9). References to civilians are made by two additional pupils, one of whom writes that ‘Germans attempted to exterminate all Jews, killing men, children, adolescents, and adults’ (19). Three additional groups are identified in different contexts: ‘Muslims’, defined by pupil 1 as ‘a people that intends to terrorise and dominate by carrying out terrorist attacks’. Similarly common are the pupils identifying ‘Jihadists’ (6, 20); by contrast, the genocide in Rwanda is not characterised by specific agents but as ‘peoples of one ethnicity [who] choose to destroy another’ (2).

Effects and aftereffects ● More than a quarter of the essays mention ‘gas chambers’ as the main phenomenon linked to the Holocaust. Pupil 20 specifically points out how Jews were deceived by Hitler: ‘the Jews were taken to gas chambers that Hitler disguised as showers, so he said that they went out of their free will (they thought they were taking a shower), and then Hitler set the gas chambers in motion and killed all the Jews he [could kill], and he did not even know if all were really Jews’ (20). Unlike the generic statements ‘many people die in masses’ (6) or ‘terrorist attacks cause a high number of victims’ (1), two pupils quantify the Holocaust as the ‘extermination of 6 million people’ (1, 2). Additional effects include ‘persecution’ (3), ‘torture’ (17), and ‘attacks’ (19). Exceptionally, Jihadists are said to be ‘killing thousands of Syrians’ (20).

Causal agency ● This class underscores the affective and religious causes of genocides. While affective causes are described in terms of ‘hatred’ (‘the genocide also happens because of the almost deadly hatred against a particular people’, 9), religion is listed as a cause in itself (‘killing people who have … another opposite religion’, 5). Four pupils underscore racial motivations, for example ‘acts of peoples [who] decide to put an end to [other people’s] race’ (2). Pupil 6 addresses the role of ideology when they write ‘peoples … choose to destroy another [people] because of their doctrine or opinion. [They] die just because they have opposite ideas’. Exceptional is pupil 2 who asserts ‘lifestyle’ as causal motivation: ‘Rwanda, where one people choose to destroy another [people] because of their … lifestyle’. Collective responsibility is ascribed to Germans, National Socialists and Jihadists, but also to Hitler as the only individual protagonist. Untypical is pupil 1’s assertion that the ‘Germans’ had the ‘intention to kill the Jewish people’ for no apparent reason, and that ‘Muslims as a people … intend to terrorise and dominate by carrying out terrorist attacks’.

Times and spaces ● The pupils’ temporal imagination revolves around events in the twentieth century. Three pupils refer to the Second World War, although only one specifies dates (‘1939–1945’, 17). Pupil 3 identifies the Holocaust period as the ‘National Socialist era, when it was ordered by Hitler’. Three pupils claim that genocides are ‘still happening today’ (15), for example in ‘Syria’, which six pupils mention, as well as in Iraq (18) and the geographically undefined ‘Islamic State’, which four pupils refer to. Additional loci of mass atrocities are located in Europe, ‘Germany’ (20, 3) and ‘Paris and Nice’.

Points of view ● More than half of the essays adopt a neutral point of view regarding genocides. Almost one fifth of the class present a moral position; expressed, for example, by pupil 19 who depicts genocides as the ‘sacrificing of innumerable innocent lives as the Germans did with the Jews, attacking them and killing them mercilessly … in cold blood’,

and Pupil 14 who describes ‘Islamic State and Syria’ as ‘something very cruel’. Only two pupils find studying genocide expedient ‘in order to prevent the genocides of past, present [and] in the future’ (3). Pupil 20 concludes that by learning about genocides ‘we understand that it is not fair and that we do not have the right to try to destroy anyone’.
Explanation assessment ● The emphasis on affective and religious causes of genocides in this class correlates with the focus warranted to the intention of ‘Muslims’ ‘to terrorise and dominate by carrying out terrorist attacks’. This notion corresponds with the contemporary perception of Muslims as purveyors of terror in Western countries, and is also congruous with the unqualified use of race as a concept. This validation culminates in pupil 20’s application of National Socialist reasoning whereby ‘Hitler … killed all the Jews he [could kill], and he did not even know if all were really Jews’. The placing of genocide in remote and undefined spaces such as the ‘Islamic State’ corresponds to a reluctance to address atrocities of Portuguese colonisation, which none of the pupils refer to.

Group of Secondary Schools in Vilela
Events ● A third of the essays submitted by this class define genocides as ‘mass murders’ (1) and the ‘extermination of numerous peoples’ (9). More than half of the essays refer to the Holocaust, which pupil 12 describes as the ‘genocide of the Jews’. Two additional events include ‘the massacre of the Jews in Portugal’ (3) and ‘the Islamic State’ (12). Exceptionally, pupil 14 admits that ‘I've never heard of genocide’.
Protagonists ● Three essays refer specifically to ‘Jews’ (2) or the ‘Jewish people’ (4) as passive agents to whom ‘the Holocaust occurred’ (*ocorreu*, 2). ‘Jews’ (2) and the ‘Jewish people’ (4) are said to have been ‘captured because they are Jews’ (9). Pupils 2 and 9 also identify civilians such as ‘children, parents, brothers’ (2) and ‘numerous peoples’ (9) as victims of the Holocaust. Pupil 10 refers to the Holocaust vaguely as ‘something that has to do with National Socialists’ who, according to pupil 4, ‘killed the Jewish people’. Hitler is mentioned once and appears as a personification of idealised Aryan attributes, whereby ‘Hitler was a rather strict man and was tall, blond and blue-eyed’ (15).
Effects and aftereffects ● Gassing features as one effect of the Holocaust. Pupil 2 provides two separate, conflicting descriptions, when he writes that ‘some were enslaved, others dragged into gas chambers … When they thought that they would take a shower, they died. In these gas chambers, there are traces of people scratching the walls with their own nails’. The second description conflates the chambers with disease and starvation, whereby ‘The people were dragged into chambers, warehouses or depots (*armazéns*) and stayed there until they died because of hunger or disease’. Others pupils underscore the primacy of cinema in their knowledge of the Holocaust. For example, pupil 9 refers to ‘the movie *Life is Beautiful* [which] shows a [Jewish] family trying to survive but only the boy survives’. The same pupil describes *The Boy in Striped Pyjamas* in which he [the protagonist] is arrested and a boy who met him and played with him … and in the end the boy gets into the Jewish prison and they come into a concentration hall and die’. Two additional pupils mention the aforementioned films, along with *Schindler's List* (10, 11).
Causal agency ● Two pupils attribute responsibility for the Holocaust to National Socialists (4, 10) and Hitler (15). Pupil 15 explains that the Holocaust resulted from Hitler’s ‘goal to kill all people who were not blond and did not have bright eyes’. ‘Genocide’ is consistently ascribed to racist, religious, ethnic and cultural causes. For example, ‘genocide is a policy made to kill a particular race for political, social, etc. reasons’ (13), and ‘people are murdered entirely because of their religion or ethnicity’ (11). This claim is reiterated, albeit implicitly, by pupil 4, who argues that ‘a mass murder of a people [occurs] because they are of other ethnicities or other beliefs’. Similarly, pupil 1 writes that ‘genocides are mass murders of people of other races, cultures or other faiths’ and pupil 9 suggests that ‘[numerous peoples] were tortured and killed because they belonged to a different culture’.

Times and spaces ● The essays present two types of temporal perception. Some essays associate mass violence with periods of political rule and wartime, in 'the National Socialist era' (2), 'when the Nazis killed the Jewish people' (4) or the 'Second World War' (12). Others suggest that atrocity crimes are recurrent, universal phenomena insofar as, 'Genocide took place in the history of the world' (13). Spatially, pupil 12 mentions 'the Islamic State' and pupil 3 refers to Portugal as the place where 'the massacre of the Jews' (3) took place.
Points of view ● More than half of the pupils adopt a neutral tone when writing about violence. Only two of them express a moral standpoint, exemplified by pupil's 1 general observation that, 'it is the inequality that exists here'. Pupil 2 expresses empathy when he writes that 'we can imagine the suffering that these people went through' and that 'the National Socialist era' brought 'terrible times'. One pupil suggests that 'it's important to learn about genocide, because knowing what it means can prevent it' (14).
Explanation assessment ● The essays in this class convey descriptive explanations of extreme violence, and suggest that racism is the main cause of genocide, alongside religious, ethnic and cultural factors. However, the pupils adopt normative notions of race, culture and ethnicity without contextualisation. Films about genocidal events are frequently evoked as sources of knowledge, the historical content of which is accepted as valid. In one case, a reference to a film leads the writer to define concentration camps as 'Jewish prisons'. All of the essays which refer to films evince a general identification with Holocaust victims.

S1 *Escola Secundária do Monte da Caparica* (population 21,000), with twenty-one responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Marta Torres.
S2 *Agrupamento de Escolas de Vilela*, elementary and secondary school in Vilela (population 5,200), with fifteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Sandra Costa.

Translations of Portuguese educational materials by Hugo Bezerra Tiburtino.

ROMANIA

Curricula

The *School Curriculum for Year Ten* from 2004 stipulates teaching for sixteen-year-old pupils and lists five 'relevant thematic fields' to be studied repeatedly with increasing complexity throughout elementary and secondary school. The field 'International Relations' places the Holocaust in the political and military context of 'the great conflicts of the twentieth century' (7). Although the section does not refer to the Holocaust in Romania explicitly, it recommends teaching about 'Romania and the two world wars'.

The *History School Curriculum for Year Twelve* from 2009 is geared towards seventeen- to eighteen-year-old pupils. It includes the same five 'thematic fields', but the section 'People, Society and the World of Ideas' (5) stipulates teaching about the twentieth-century conflict 'between democracy and totalitarianism'. The geographical context is 'Romania and Europe', and the focus on 'ideologies and political practices', albeit without direct reference to the Holocaust and genocides. However, in a section called 'Methodological Suggestions' (7), the curriculum recommends emphasising the 'morphology' of political systems and 'ideas, practices and personalities' rather than conveying chronologies of events. Accordingly, teaching about 'Democracy and Totalitarianism' is expected to deal with 'ideas, practices and personalities', touching upon 'socialism, communism and National Socialism'. Further to this conflation of ideologies, the text conflates both 'the Gulag and the Holocaust'

with ‘state terrorism’ practised against civilians in a juridical context by contrasting them with ‘human rights’ (7).

Both curricula define their educational goals as the acquisition of historical knowledge and understanding and the ability to ‘functionalise’ these in social and professional contexts (C2, 2). The two curricula recommend training skills such as communication, argumentation, historical multiperspectivity, critical thinking, comparative analyses, synthesis and work with sources.

C1 *Programe şcolare pentru clasa a X-a, ciclul inferior al liceului, Istorie*. Aprobat prin ordin al ministrului nr. 4598/31.08.2004, Ministerul Educației şi Cercetării, Bucureşti [School Curricula for Year Ten, Lower Level Secondary School, History. Approved by order of the minister no 4598/ 31/08/2004, Ministry of Education and Research, Bucharest].
C2 *Programă şcolară istorie clasa a XII-a*, Ciclul superior al liceului, Ministerul Educaţiei, Cercetării şi Inovării, Bucureşti, 2009 [School Curriculum History for Year Twelve, Upper Level Secondary School, Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation, Bucharest, 2009].

Textbooks

***Istorie* [History] (2005)**

Paratext ● The Holocaust and genocides are not mentioned on the contents page. Factual exercises ask the pupils to ‘identify’ and ‘indicate’ ‘specific features of Nazi policy’ (96). Further exercises emphasise reflection and comparison and invite pupils to ‘debate’ ‘Hitlerism [as] a regime of intolerance’ (96), ‘compare … the use of propaganda and terror … by communism, fascism and Nazism’ (96) and ‘write an essay entitled ‘The Holocaust – what we can learn for the present’ (106).

Events ● This textbook addresses the Holocaust (three and a half pages), ‘massacres’ in Rwanda and Burundi (ten lines), and forced collectivisation and famine during the ‘Stalinist regime’ (a few lines). It defines the Holocaust as ‘the extermination by Nazi Germany and her allies of approximately six million Jews between 1933 and 1945’ (107). The authors also circumscribe the event as an ‘immense human tragedy’ (107). While the Holocaust is qualified as ‘genocide’, with emphasis on its ‘organised, deliberate’ character (107), the famine in the USSR is associated with ‘repression’ during the ‘Stalinist regime’ (95), and describes atrocities in Rwanda as ‘interethnic massacres’ (140). Some images associate the Holocaust with other atrocities committed during the Second World War. For instance, two images with the captions ‘Civilians fleeing from bombed Leningrad’ and ‘The Warsaw Ghetto – the deportation of Jews’ are juxtaposed without further contextualisation (99). Furthermore, a table entitled ‘The record of the Second World War’ (102) compares the numbers of soldiers and civilians killed in different countries. By focusing on civilian victims of the Second World War, such images and tables understate the specificity of the Holocaust, categorise all victims as civilian casualties, and thereby contradict the ‘organised, deliberate’ (107) causes of the Holocaust as outlined in the text. Furthermore, both National Socialism and communism are associated with ‘totalitarianism’ and contrasted with ‘democratic regimes’ (88, 97). Exercises reiterate these associations by inviting pupils to ‘compare’ different regimes (96, 97).

Protagonists ● The textbook mentions National Socialists, Einsatzgruppen, ‘the Hitlerite regime’ (97), ‘Nazi Germany and her allies’ (107), ‘the Antonescu government’ (107), Rudolf Höss and ‘SS leaders led by Eichmann’ (107) as perpetrators of the Holocaust, while ‘victims of Nazism’ are Jews, Anne Frank, ‘members of the Roma ethnicity’, ‘political and religious opponents’ and people ‘of various nationalities’. The authors also refer to collaborators (the ‘complicity’ of ‘local police and the autochthonous people’, 107), resistance (the ‘Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of the Jews’, 106) and rescuers (‘Romanian righteous among the nations’, 107). The book generally adheres to a model of binary enmity whereby active perpetrators are

juxtaposed with passive victims. Furthermore, while all perpetrators are men, the only two women mentioned are a victim (Anne Frank) and a rescuer (Queen Elena of Romania). Stalin alone is said to have 'imposed' forced collectivisation, while 'eight million peasants' are called 'victims of repression and famine' (95). 'Hutu' and 'Tutsi' protagonists of the atrocities in Rwanda and Burundi are presented as both perpetrators and victims. The suggestion that 'civil war between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnicities' forced 'millions of ethnic Hutu and Tutsi' (140) to flee replicates ethnic categorisations employed in the conflict itself.

Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust include expropriation, stigmatisation, disenfranchisement, ghettoisation and forced labour, as well as mass death by starvation, shootings, massacres, pogroms and extermination in death camps, with additional reference to collaboration, rescue, resistance and survival. The authors mention numbers of victims (six million Jews) and rescuers (16,000 'righteous among the nations') but also claim that 'numbers… cannot reveal the immense human tragedy' of the Holocaust (107). The aftereffects comprise the Nuremberg trials and the punishment of war crimes alongside remembrance (the Holocaust commemoration day in Romania). The authors refer to 'the founding of the State of Israel' and the emigration of the 'majority of Jews who survived the Holocaust … to Palestine' (106). The contemporary relevance of the Holocaust is underscored in an exercise inviting pupils to write an essay entitled 'The Holocaust – what we can learn for the present' (106). Ongoing aftereffects of the 'massacres' in Rwanda are similarly said to have 'persisted after 2000' (140).

Causal agency ● The textbook enumerates 'human rights violations' among the 'features' of totalitarianism (92) and states that National Socialist and Stalinist 'totalitarian regimes' are 'responsible for the death of millions of innocent people' (97), thus explaining mass death as a consequence of totalitarianism in general. However, the authors also ascribe the responsibility for forced collectivisation to Stalin as an individual ('he imposed … collectivisation', 95) and sometimes omit naming perpetrators ('eight million peasants' were 'victims of repression and famine', 95). They explain the Holocaust as a result of the 'ultranationalist, racist and antisemitic ideology' of National Socialism (97) and underline its 'official, massive and organised character' (106). The textbook emphasises ideological causality by arguing that racism was 'at the origin' of the Holocaust (107) and that 'the Hitlerite regime' discriminated against Jews 'in the name of the so-called purification of the Aryan race' (97). Ideology is illustrated in textual quotations of the NSDAP party programme (96). Responsibility for the Holocaust is expressed in terms of both intentional action ('systematic … persecution of the Jews' and 'massacres committed by … the SS', 107) and motivation (the Nazis' 'obsession' with 'living space', 107). However, when describing specific anti-Jewish actions, the authors often do not name perpetrators but use passive constructions, such as 'initially Jewishness was defined', then ghettos 'were constituted', while 'in parallel … deportation … took place' and 'millions of Jews lost their lives' (107). In sum, the Holocaust is explained as a cumulative process with ideological causes, but without perpetrators and conducted against collective, passive victims. This explanation is reiterated in the conclusion that 'the Holocaust led to the death of millions of people in Europe' (107). The atrocities in Rwanda and Burundi are similarly explained as the culmination of a causal chain which began with a 'lack of access to information and education', then 'entailed … ethnic intolerance' and finally 'led to the civil war' (140).

Times and spaces ●The textbook dates the Holocaust from 1933 to 1945, concurrent with the National Socialist regime in Germany, and highlights dates such as 1933 (the first concentration camp in Dachau), 1942 (the Wannsee Conference) and 1943 (the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising). Similarly, the 'interethnic conflicts' in Rwanda and Burundi are dated from 1993 to 1997, with emphasis on 'interethnic massacres' in 1994. Forced collectivisation is said to have started in 1929. The space ascribed to the Holocaust ranges from regions and geographical territories (Bessarabia, Transnistria) to 'Europe' (107) with emphasis on

extermination camps in Chełmno, Bełżec, Sobibór, Treblinka, Majdanek and Auschwitz, and on pogroms in Dorohoi, Bucharest and Iaşi. The authors describe the progression of the Holocaust in spatial terms, arguing that the 'official persecution of the Jews began in Germany and was extended to the territories annexed by her' (107).
Explanation assessment ● The authors present a cumulative and chronological process of anti-Jewish measures induced primarily by ideological causes. The genocide in Rwanda is explained in a similarly concise and linear way, whereby 'one million people became victims of intolerance which led to the civil war' (140). Although the authors mention human responsibility and deliberate actions, they frequently avoid naming agents by employing passive expressions. The Holocaust and 'repression' during the 'Stalinist regime' are also ascribed to a common form of government, totalitarianism. The quoted images (diagrams, tables, chronologies and maps, with a few photographs of human protagonists) and the textual quotations (the NSDAP programme, the rules of the Dachau concentration camp, alongside witness reports by bystanders and a victim) likewise explain the Holocaust as a consequence of political and institutional regulations and decisions, with less emphasis on human perpetrators, motivation and responsibility.

***Istorie* [History] (2006)**
Paratext ● This textbook deals with the Holocaust in the context of international relations, war and politics. 'Fascism', 'Nazism' and 'Communism' are subchapters of the chapter 'Political Regimes in the Interwar Period', while 'The Holocaust' is addressed in a separate chapter which follows 'Great Conflicts of the Twentieth Century' and precedes 'Postwar International Relations'. Most exercises first invite pupils to 'study sources' and then 'describe' the life of prisoners in 'a Nazi camp' (116), 'debate' about 'the responsibility for … the Holocaust' (116) or answer questions such as, 'What should be done to ensure that the Holocaust never happens again?' (116).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (five and a half pages), the famine in Ukraine (a quarter of a page), atrocities in Yugoslavia (half a page), and briefly mentions Katyn (a few lines). It defines the Holocaust as 'the state-sponsored systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany, its allies and collaborators between 1933 and 1945' (113). The author does not define other atrocities, but emphasises their gravity in terms of 'atrocious famine' in Ukraine (97), 'horrors' during 'interethnic conflicts' in Yugoslavia (126) and 'tragedy' in Katyn (103). Although the author defines only the Holocaust explicitly as 'genocide', he associates National Socialism with Stalinism in the chapter 'Political Regimes in the Inter-war Period', and deals with communism in Romania in terms borrowed from conceptualisations of the Holocaust, such as 'extermination regime' (132).
Protagonists ● Protagonists of the Holocaust range from collective agents ('the Nazis', 'Jews and Gypsies', 'Romanian citizens of Jewish nationality', and 'peoples considered inferior') to individuals (the perpetrators Hitler, Antonescu, Bormann, Himmler, the victim Anne Frank, and the rescuers Gheorghe Petre and Magdalena Stroe). Other protagonists include organisations, institutions and corps such as 'organs of repression', 'the Nazi regime', the Waffen-SS, the police, the Romanian army, 'the National Legionary State', but also 'the Jewish Combat Organisation' and the 'resistance movement'. Although active perpetrators are juxtaposed with passive victims, several exceptions present victims as active subjects. These include 'courageous resistance by the Jewish population', and the Jewish Combat Organisation, which 'unleashed the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising' (113). Whereas protagonists in the 'horrors' in Yugoslavia are not named, those caught up in the atrocities in Ukraine and Katyn are perpetrators (Stalin and 'the repression organs', 'the Russians') and victims ('rich peasants (kulaks)', 'Polish officers'). Furthermore, while all named perpetrators are men, women feature only as victims (Anne Frank, 116) and rescuers (Queen Elena, Magdalena

Stroe, 114). Photographs and captions similarly depict ‘children [and] mothers’ (116) as victims.

Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust include stigmatisation, disenfranchisement, plunder and death by starvation, disease, medical experiments and pogroms, with the result that ‘approximately five [sic] million Jews were annihilated by the Nazis’ (113). In addition, the author refers to the destruction of material and non-material culture, including synagogues which were ‘burned down’ in Romania and the ‘disappearance of some ancient Roma communities’ (114). Forced collectivisation under Stalin is associated with deportation, imprisonment, forced labour and famine which ‘caused millions of deaths, especially in Ukraine’ (97). A textual quotation addresses denial (‘a communist denied … that there was famine’, 99). Aftereffects of the Holocaust include the trial of ‘several Nazi criminals’ in Nuremberg (113), the commemoration of victims in Europe and Romania, the designation of rescuers as ‘righteous among the nations’ (113) and the UN Universal Declaration of the Human Rights (127). The author mentions that the ‘Holocaust had profound consequences for the collective consciousness of the Jewish people’ (113). When referring to Katyn, the textbook emphasises that the events were kept secret for a long time and ‘acknowledged by the Russians not earlier than half a century after the tragedy’ (103).

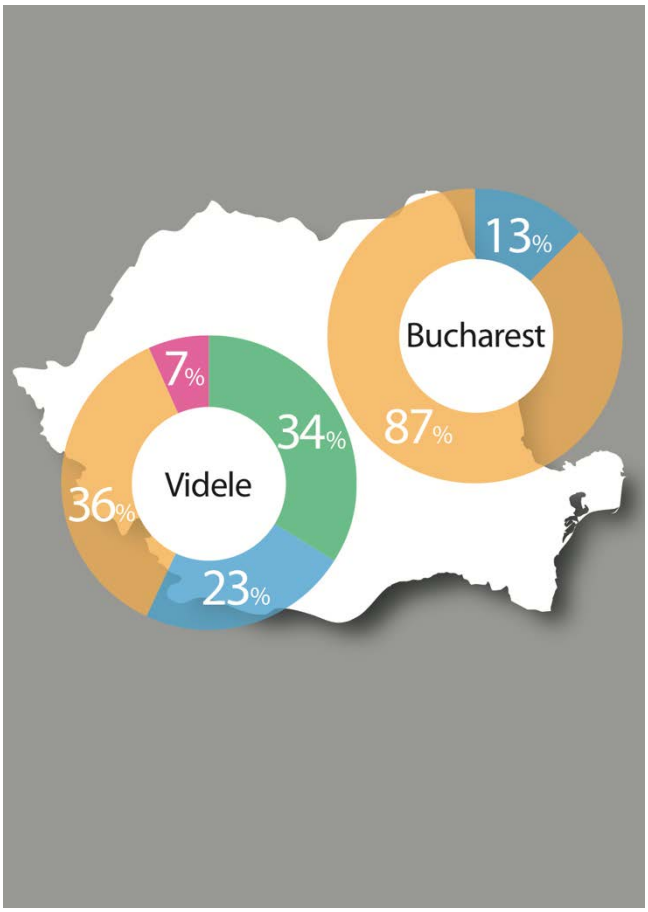
Causal agency ● The textbook explains the Holocaust as a result of National Socialist ideology, whose ‘foundation’ lay in ‘exacerbated nationalism, racism and antisemitism’ (94). The author also emphasises that the Holocaust in Romania had ‘roots in the antisemitism which appeared in the period of the formation of the modern nation-state’ (114). However, most explanations in this textbook focus on human responsibility. The author ascribes the Holocaust to Hitler’s agency (Hitler ‘unleashed a savage persecution’ of Jews, 113; his ‘inhuman policy led humanity to … horrors’, 94), but also to collective perpetrators who commit crimes (‘repression launched by the Nazis’, 105; ‘Jews were killed by the army, police and gendarmes’, 114). Frequently, the textbook describes anti-Jewish actions by using passive formulations (‘a pogrom took place’ and ‘extermination camps were built’, 114). Captions accompanying images of camp prisoners similarly use the passive voice (‘Jews brought to Auschwitz’, 116). In the case of the Holocaust in Romania, the textbook suggests a causal chain in which the ‘roots’ of the event are traced back to the nineteenth century (114). Romanian responsibility is minimised and externalised, since the author argues that ‘Romanian patriots’ were ‘in favour of the emancipation of Jews’ and that ‘the Great Powers exerted pressure’ and ‘provoked resentment’ among ‘Romanian … elites’, such that ‘antisemitic parties’ appeared and that ‘the occasion for practical implementation … was given by Hitler’s accession to power’ (114). The famine in Ukraine is ascribed to the will of a single person (‘Stalin decided to pursue collectivisation’ and ‘the immediate result of the collectivisation was an atrocious famine’, 97). Other atrocities such as those occurring in the former Yugoslavia are explained causally when, for example, ‘the violation of minority rights had as a consequence … interethnic conflicts’ (126). By contrast, images portray only victims, while their captions name neither victims nor responsible agents by simply describing ‘horrors during the interethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia (Sarajevo)’ (126).

Times and spaces ● The textbook dates the Holocaust from 1933 to 1945 and underscores single events such as ‘Crystal Night’ (1938), the decision to implement the ‘final solution’ (1942), the decision taken by the Romanian government to ‘stop deportations’ (1942), the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943), and the liberation of Auschwitz (27 January 1945). The temporal framework ascribed to other atrocities is less precise, with collectivisation starting ‘after the death of Lenin’, while the crimes in Katyn are placed ‘after the Soviet attack against Poland’ (103) and the conflict in Yugoslavia is situated at ‘the end of the second millennium’ (126). The author’s spatial conception of the Holocaust is European (referring to ‘most of Europe’, 105; and ‘the whole of Europe’, 113). However, when addressing the Holocaust in Romania, the textbook also highlights regions (Transnistria, Bessarabia, northern Bukovina,

and northern Transylvania), cities (Bucharest, Odessa, Iaşi, Dorohoi) and camps (Bogdanovka, Akmetchetka). The spatial scale ascribed to other atrocities is national (Ukraine, Russia, Yugoslavia) and local (Sarajevo, Katyn).
Explanation assessment ● The author explains the Holocaust in the context of totalitarianism as a chronological succession of measures culminating in mass murder, and underscores causes such as 'exacerbated nationalism, racism and antisemitism'. Both National Socialism and Stalinism are defined as totalitarian interwar regimes. Although only the Holocaust is qualified as 'genocide', borrowed terminology such as 'extermination regime' is used to explain communism. The Holocaust is mainly explained as an outcome of responsibility (that of Hitler and National Socialists), but also of anti-Jewish actions, which are then described without reference to causality. The author traces the 'roots' of antisemitism in Romania back to the nineteenth century, minimises Romanian responsibility, and occasionally uses affective language and hyperbole to emphasise the gravity of genocides.

T1 Stan, Magda, Cristian Vornicu, 2005. *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*. Bucharest, Editura Niculescu ABC [History. Textbook for Year Ten, ages fifteen and sixteen]
T2 Băluţoiu, Valentin, 2006. *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*. Bucharest, Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică [History. Textbook for Year Ten, ages fifteen and sixteen]

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Theoretical Secondary School in Videle

Events ● The majority of pupils in this class define genocide as a 'deliberate annihilation' or 'mass killing' of a 'national', 'ethnic', 'racial' or 'religious' 'community' or 'people', and as 'a crime against humanity'. In order to illustrate this, most pupils mention the Holocaust and the European colonisation of the Americas. In exceptional cases, genocide is theoretically defined as a 'modality' (1) or as 'a form of discrimination' (9, 13) followed by the example of 'St. Bartholomew's Night' (1, 9). Exceptional is pupil 11, who identifies communism as 'genocide'. Likewise, pupils 4 and 9 name the attack on the World Trade Center as 'genocide', and pupil 8 and 9 identify 'the wars in Syria, Iran, Iraq [and] France' as 'genocide'. A quarter of the class focus on mass atrocities against 'Christians' such as the Armenians (2, 5, 7, 16). Pupils 2 and 6 qualify the Holocaust as the 'biggest' (2) and 'the most serious' genocide (6); the famine in Ireland is similarly qualified as 'big' (5, 6, 8, 13).

Protagonists • Most pupils identify 'Jews' (1, 2, 6, 12, 14, 15) as the object of 'destruction' (1, 14, 15) of Adolf Hitler (2, 14) and National Socialist Germany (1, 14). Only pupil 11 addresses Romania's involvement in the Holocaust, albeit without further elaboration. Others define 'native Americans' (6, 13, 15), or 'redskins' (4, 15) as victims of 'European' colonisation (4, 5, 8). Two pupils adopt the term 'redskins' without contextualising it historically, one of whom complements his description of atrocities with a drawing of what appears to be a native American being shot by a figure holding a gun (15). Others delineate 'religious minorities' (2, 10) such as 'Christians' (1, 2), 'Roma' (12), 'coloured people' (10) and 'persons with physical or mental disabilities, homosexuals and Jehovah's Witnesses' (12). Exceptionally, pupil 7 mentions 'Kurdish' people, 'Moriori' and 'Pygmies'.

Effects and aftereffects ● The 'killing of six million Jews' is the most commonly stated effect of the Holocaust (2, 4, 12, 14, 15). Pupil 2 similarly quantifies effects in terms of '1.8 million casualties among Armenians' (2). Although the class does not expand on the effects and aftereffects of mass atrocities, one pupil describes in detail 'medical tests' conducted by National Socialists, in which 'eye colours were changed by spraying substances' (12). With regard to the Holocaust, the pupils also mention 'pogroms' (1), 'indescribable torture' (2, 3), 'death by exhaustion', 'illness', 'shooting', 'gas chambers', 'freezing' (12), 'Zyklon B' (15) and 'deportation' (16). The effects of colonisation are described as forced conversion to Christianity and enslavement by pupil 15.

Causal agency ● The pupils identify Hitler (2, 14) and National Socialist Germany (1, 14) as a subjective and personified means by which the Holocaust was implemented. Protagonists' motives are said to have been the 'destruction' of Jews (1, 14, 15) and the 'final solution' (2, 14). Almost half of the class explain atrocity crimes as results of political and historical causes such as 'totalitarian regimes' (1) and 'colonisation' (4, 5), but also of social discrimination based on 'race', 'ethnicity', 'nationality' and 'gender' (9, 10, 13, 15) and of the religious discrimination of 'people who belong to a minority and whose religion is other than the Orthodox' (10).

Times and spaces ● Mass atrocities are said to have occurred from early modern to contemporary times. Pupil 10 places the Holocaust exclusively within the scope of the Second World War in contrast to a diffuse 'time of communism'. However, almost half of the events accounted for take place in the early modern period, and include 'colonisation' and 'St. Bartholomew's Night'. Four pupils provide exact dates of contemporary events such as the persecutions of Armenians ('1915–1916', 2, 16) and the attack on the World Trade Center (4, 9). Although all essays focus on Europe, they also provide examples of atrocities in Africa, Asia, Asia Minor, the Americas, New Zealand and the Middle East.

Points of view ● Although half of the pupils maintain a neutral point of view, more than one third of them adopt a moral standpoint by describing atrocities as an 'indescribable' act (2), and as 'brutal' (12), 'unfair' (13) and 'cruel' (14). Pupil 11 domesticates atrocities morally by explaining them as a demonstration of an individual's power, that is, as 'a bad and stupid

form of showing how strong you are' (11). More than half of the essays claim that learning about the Holocaust and genocides may prevent their repetition.
Explanation assessment ● The majority of pupils in this class give priority to the Holocaust, which they explain as premeditated mass killing. Other forms of mass atrocities are said to be derived from social discrimination. Only one pupil writes that Romania was one of the places in which the Holocaust occurred. Although the majority of pupils explain genocides in universal terms as 'a crime against humanity', the examples they provide show particular sensitivity towards atrocities in which Christians were victims, as in the cases of St. Bartholomew's Night, the famine in Ireland and atrocities committed against Armenians. However, Europeans are also said to have victimised indigenous Americans for religious reasons. Although pupils are aware of non-Western histories, they use the term 'redskins' without qualification, and mention recent wars in Syria, Iran and Iraq without contextualising them historically.

Nicolae Iorga Theoretical Secondary School in Bucharest
Events ● The majority of the twenty-eight essays submitted by this class define genocide as an act of 'mass killing', 'assassination' or 'extermination'. They focus almost exclusively on the Holocaust, to which they refer as 'genocide'. Only two pupils (1, 13) mention 'the Armenian genocide' and 'the Greek massacre' (13, 25). One pupil (25) mentions the 'genocide in Iran'. The Holocaust is described as 'the biggest' (5, 22, 23), 'most popular' (6) or 'most important' (11) genocide. Two pupils provide an etymological definition of the Holocaust in terms of 'total burning' (12, 27).
Protagonists ● The majority of pupils associate the Holocaust with 'Jews' and 'Roma', who are qualified as the victims of 'Adolf Hitler', 'German National Socialists' and 'Germany'. In exceptional cases, pupils qualify military agents such as 'German troops', 'the SS', 'commanders and generals', and 'doctors' such as 'Josef Mengele'. Three pupils qualify Jews and Germans as 'races' (2, 3, 15), and two of them define Jews as an 'ethnic group' (1, 2). Exceptionally, pupil 1 categorises 'communists', 'Ottomans' or 'Turks' as victimisers.
Effects and aftereffects ● Mass murder and the killing of six million Jews are common to all essays. A partial explanation is given by one pupil who states that 'more than 500,000 Jews were incinerated' (10). The second most commonly mentioned effect is 'gassing' (eleven pupils). Many pupils similarly claim that the 'burning of Jews' (6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 20, 24, 27, 28) occurred when the victims were 'alive' (7, 11). Pupils 16 and 27 emphasise that Jews were 'burned in the oven'. The act of burning is also associated with the burning of 'personal goods and the sanctuaries where [Jews] prayed' (10). To a lesser degree, pupils mention 'ghettoisation', 'transportation to the camps Auschwitz-Birkenau 1 and 2', 'shooting' (2, 27), 'concentration camps' or 'special camps' (3, 4, 12, 17, 18, 19), 'torture' (3, 9, 28), 'labour' (3, 6), 'raids', confiscation of 'Jewish property' (4), starvation (4, 6, 11, 16), imprisonment (9), 'cold' (11) and 'terrible medical experiments' (4, 6). Pupil 6 uses sarcasm when describing Mengele's medical experiments as 'original' in inverted commas. Although one pupil addresses the immediate aftereffect of the Holocaust as the 'liberation of camp prisoners in 1945' (6), most pupils attend to secondary responses in the form of 'documentaries', 'interviews with survivors', compensation (28), and turning 'Auschwitz into a museum' (12).
Causal agency ● More than a third of this class offer causal explanations of the Holocaust as a corollary of racism (3, 6, 10, 16, 20, 21), politics ('dictatorships or absolutist monarchy', 'leaders' 2, 6, 20) and nationalism ('Turks desire freedom as a nation', 1, 22, 23). Only pupil 1 explains mass atrocities as the result of pathological causes instigated by 'sick persons' (1). Racism appears when the pupils describe Hitler's motivation to 'obtain a pure race' (21) or 'a perfect people (blond people with blue eyes)' (16). Personal responsibility is ascribed to Hitler, who is said to have 'had a problem with Jews, although [he] was Jewish' (5, 7). Pupil

24 reiterates Hitler's responsibility, claiming that Hitler personally executed Jews in Auschwitz, and that he 'used rooms which were specially prepared in order to gas [Jews] and then he burned the corpses' (24). Similarly exceptional is pupil 10's claim that Hitler's 'hatred of Jews' aimed to make 'Jews be forgotten'. Pupil 27 identifies economic factors by providing a partial explanation of the killing process whereby 'at the beginning [Jews] were shot. This method was then considered to be too expensive, so that eventually they were gassed with some gas bottles from Bayer'.

Times and spaces ● The Second World War provides the temporal framework for this collection of essays, which is mentioned by nineteen pupils. Pupil 17 places the Holocaust within the 'time of Hitler' (17), while an additional pupil situates it 'during National Socialist dictatorship' (21, 16). 'National Socialist Germany' is mentioned by five pupils and constitutes the main site of the Holocaust. Pupil 1 also writes that the 'Armenian genocide' took place in 1915, while pupils 10 and 6 associate the rise of Hitler to power and the liberation of Poland with years 1933 and 1945 respectively. While nine pupils focus on Auschwitz, few pupils name places where mass atrocities took place outside of Europe, such as pupil 1 who mentions 'Asia, Central and South America, and Africa'.

Points of view ● More than half of the pupils describe events in neutral terms. The rest adopt a moral and in part affective stance towards acts of 'inhumanity' (1), 'mistakes and horrors caused by leaders' (7) and 'a horrible period [when] many innocent people died unjustly' (28). Pupil 12 states that 'no human being, regardless of his race, deserves to go through such tortures and to be killed without any guilt'. However, pupil 15 expresses the contrary argument by writing that the Holocaust was 'very useful on a global level and … should not have stopped there. The total extermination of the Jewish and Roma race would have been a bonus for contemporary society'. The majority of the pupils consider learning about the Holocaust and mass atrocities to be useful, yet only six of them specifically claim that it fosters prevention. Pupil 10, for example, claims more generally that 'pupils can develop their thinking with respect to racism and international righteousness'.

Explanation assessment ● The essays submitted by this class primarily explain the Holocaust as a result of either racism or political conditions and interests. This emphasis on racism perpetuates (rather than historicises) historical racial categorisations of both Jews and Germans (2, 15, 21). By contrast, pupil 1 points out the pathological cause of genocides. However, the essays also focus on the subjective means by which the Holocaust was implemented by addressing Hitler's personal wish to exterminate Jews. While almost no pupil expresses a moral position regarding the Holocaust, one pupil asserts that 'no human being … deserves to go through such tortures' (12), and another that the Holocaust 'should not have stopped there' (15).

S1 *Liceul Teoretic Videle*, secondary school (liceu) in Videle (population 11,000), with sixteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Monica Iorga.
S2 *Liceul Teoretic 'Nicolae Iorga'*, secondary school (liceu) in Bucharest (population 1.9 million), with twenty-eight responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Magda Stan.

Translations of Romanian educational materials by Christine Chiriac.

SLOVAKIA

Curriculum

The *State Educational Programme* outlines the main principles of Slovak educational policy according to the Education Act of 2002, as well as the specific topics and goals of individual

educational units. The curriculum stipulates teaching about the Holocaust in the unit 'Man and Society', which covers history, geography and civic education, in particular in subsections about the Second World War and the history of the First Slovak Republic as an Axis state from 1939 to 1945. The first of these sections establishes a connection between the war and the Holocaust by aiming to enable pupils 'to recognise the dangers of ideologies which preach racial intolerance' and 'to describe the causes and the course of the Second World War' (16). The Holocaust is listed after sections on the history of the war, resistance, and 'life during the war'. Pupils are expected to 'assess' the Holocaust, suggesting an intellectual or moral dimension to the event, whereas the curriculum stipulates they 'show', 'describe' or 'chronologically order' other events. The second section covers the Holocaust during the First Slovak Republic between 1939 and 1945. This section focuses on the Holocaust in terms of 'the tragedy of the Jews' and the subtopics 'authoritarian regime – Jewish Code – deportations' (16). Learners are expected to 'critically assess' and 'analyse' topics (including Germany's policy towards the Slovak Republic, the consequences of the Jewish Code, and the consequences of the Holocaust). Pupils are also encouraged to write a 'short essay on everyday life in the Slovak Republic,' a topic which may or may not include a discussion of the Holocaust. Thus, by counterbalancing knowledge of the Holocaust with awareness of and empathy for the ordeals of the Slovak population during the war, the curriculum contextualises genocide within the broader aims of history education. These aims are conceived as 'perceiving patriotism and national pride in the context of European multiculturalism' in order to 'foster in pupils a love of their homeland while developing and strengthening their awareness of belonging to European civilisation' (long version, 14). The main aim of history education is to encourage learners to approach history not as a 'closed past', but rather as something they may engage with actively, 'via the prism of their own presence' (3), in order to foster in them the ability to form their own opinions within the 'value range of a democratic society.' (2)

C *Štátny Vzdelávací Program pre 2. stupeň základnej školy* (State Education Programme for Secondary Schools), 2011.

Textbooks

***Történelem a gimnázium 2. osztálya számára* [History for the 2nd year of secondary school] (2007)**

Paratext ● The cover image and chapter titles of this textbook deal with world history from 1526 to 1914, but do not address mass atrocities. The pedagogical exercises generally focus on factual information, while occasionally encouraging document analysis and independent reflection. Following a textual excerpt describing atrocities committed against the indigenous populations of South America, the reader is asked to determine 'whether the author is biased' and to justify their response 'based on the source' (11). Elsewhere, the authors assume a Christian moral-religious value system on the part of the reader, especially when seeking to evoke empathy with victims of atrocities; for example, they ask the reader to explain why 'the otherwise Catholic Spaniards could carry out such atrocities against the indigenous population' (11).

Events ● The textbook presents several atrocities while qualifying them generically as instances of 'annihilation', 'devastation' or 'massacre'. These include the 'persecution and massacre' of the indigenous populations of South America (10); the 'incalculable devastation' suffered by the Native American population (203); and the 'enormous human loss' caused by the Ottoman Wars of the seventeenth century, which resulted in the 'near complete annihilation' of settlement in certain regions of Hungary (74–75). A paraphrase of the term 'genocide' appears in an excerpt from the Hungarian Declaration of Independence of 1849, in

which the House of Habsburg-Lorraine is accused of attempting to 'murder the [Hungarian] nation' – a reference to Habsburg oppression of Hungarian political sovereignty (188).
Protagonists ● The authors attribute the conquest of Central and South America to 'Spanish conquistadors' (9), with Hernando Cortez and Francisco Pisarro named as commanders of the 'Spaniards' responsible for the persecution of the native population (10). The destruction of Native Americans is attributed to 'whites' and 'settlers with the help of the army', whereby General Custer is named as a prominent military leader (203). Perpetrators of genocidal atrocities during the Ottoman Wars include 'the Turk, Tatar and lowland Rumanian', alongside the 'janissaries' (75). Perpetrators are qualified in negative terms: the Spanish invaders are described as 'cruel' and 'bloodthirsty'; the US Army under Custer committed 'an inhuman massacre' (203); while the seventeenth-century invaders of Hungary are referred to as 'merciless robbers and burners' (75). Victims are generally presented as innocent human beings: the indigenous people of South America are referred to as 'islanders,' including 'women and children' (10); the indigenous people of North America as 'indigenes', 'Indians' and 'innocent people'; with the Cherokee tribe and the Sioux chieftain Sitting Bull named as symbols of suffering and resistance (203). While perpetrators are referred to generally as members of an ethnicity, nationality or military formation (the 'Spaniards' are represented in a single unidentified painting of the siege of Tenochtitlan, 10), detailed information is provided about the victims. Aztecs and Incans are represented with images of Quetzalcoatl and Machu Picchu (11), while a portrait of Sitting Bull and a photograph of the Indian Memorial at Little Bighorn (203) evoke the Native American legacy.
Effects and aftereffects ● The authors show that atrocities lead to population decline and demographic change. A chart on page 11 suggests that, in the wake of the Spanish conquest, the indigenous population of South America dropped from 25 to 6 million, that the conquest of the American West led to the 'extinction of entire tribes', and that the Cherokee tribe alone lost '4,000 people on the Trail of Tears' (203). The Ottoman wars led to a population drop of several hundred thousand and the 'almost complete eradication of the settlement network' of medieval Hungary, while the subsequent influx of refugees caused significant demographic changes (75).
Causal agency ● While the authors generally address responsibility and motivation to an equal degree, the section about seventeenth-century Hungary prioritises description of events over attributions of responsibility. The conquering Spaniards 'committed terrible massacres with impunity … showing no mercy to either women or children' (10), while US settlement policy caused the 'extinction of entire tribes' (203). Genocidal events during the Ottoman wars are generally attributed to impersonal causes such as 'murder, enslavement, epidemics and famines', although mention is also made of invaders 'slaying the strong men and enslaving their wives and children' (74). Genocidal actions involve several motivations. The 'cruel' and 'bloodthirsty' invaders of South America were led by conquistadors who were driven by a 'desire for wealth and the search for El Dorado' and acting on behalf of the Spanish crown (11). Likewise, in the case of the American West, several causes operate. The settlers were driven by a desire for territorial expansion born of the economic hardships of the post-Civil War era. This government-sanctioned policy was implemented 'with the help of the Army', whereby the 'refusal to comply' by indigenous people served as the pretext for genocidal violence (203).
Times and spaces ● Mass atrocities are said to have begun in South America with the arrival of the Spanish invaders following the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 (10); the conquest of the Inca empire is said to have lasted for forty years, beginning in 1532. A textual quotation names 'Hispaniola' as the setting of the first atrocities; Tenochtitlan is mentioned as the capital of the Aztec empire, and is represented visually in a period painting. Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Peru are named as the present-day territorial equivalents of the Inca empire. Atrocities in North America are temporally situated in the years following the

end of the American Civil War, with 'the real conquest of the West beginning during Grant's presidency' (203); spatially, the destruction of the Native American population is linked to their expulsion 'further and further west,' where many lost their lives 'on the way to the reservations'. Genocidal events in seventeenth-century Hungary are addressed in the context of the Ottoman wars, especially the Long Turkish War (1593–1606). Mass destruction occurred 'in the territories that lay in the path of the fighting,' that is, the Great Hungarian Plain (75–76). A visual quotation (74) illustrates the decrease in settlement density in the region of Buda during this period, and a textual quotation names several destroyed settlements, among them 'the town of Kaba was reduced to dust and ash, Szoboszló likewise' (75).

Explanation assessment ● The authors present atrocity crimes as the result of the interplay of three main factors: arbitrary cruelty, desire for territorial or material gain, and service to a higher authority or common cause. Thus, atrocities in South America were perpetrated by 'cruel' and 'bloodthirsty' individuals commanded by conquistadors greedy for wealth and acting in the service of the Spanish crown. Likewise, the 'inhuman massacre' of the Native Americans was perpetrated by soldiers in accordance with a governmental policy of territorial expansion. The reader is encouraged to interpret textual and visual quotations. For example, pupils are asked to determine whether the author of a quotation describing Spanish atrocities is biased, and to interpret a chart showing the decline in the indigenous population (11). In their presentation of the Ottoman wars, the authors ask the reader to evaluate an excerpt from a seventeenth-century Hungarian chronicle, and to use this document to determine the reasons for the depopulation of the territory (75). The authors encourage knowledge of and empathy for the victims, providing information about the Aztec and Inca civilisations and citing Las Casas' *History of the Indies* to illustrate the crimes of the invaders. They occasionally raise moral questions, such as how the 'Catholic Spaniards' could have perpetrated such atrocities, or how the soldiers who 'a decade earlier had fought for human equality' could be led by Custer to murder 'hundreds of innocent people' and be subsequently glorified as heroes (203).

Történelem az alapiskolák 9. osztálya részére **[History for the Ninth Year of Secondary School] (2013)**

Paratext ● The cover image and chapter titles do not mention mass atrocities. Sections devoted to the Second World War evoke victimisation ('Europe, the Dictators' Victim'), the normality of civilian life ('Life in Occupied Europe', 'Life in the Slovak State') and resistance to National Socialist rule ('The Slovak National Uprising') rather than collaboration or mass atrocities. Exercises requiring empathy with victims and moral reflection establish links between past events and pupils' personal lives. The textbook requires readers to work with and quote historical caricatures and photographs. For example, in an exercise reconstructing the siege of Leningrad, learners integrate three photographs of a victim of the siege (85); in another, readers are invited to compare antifascist and conservative assessments of the Slovak National Uprising (81).

Events ● The textbook focuses on crimes committed in the Soviet Union under Stalin, during the Second World War and following the breakup of Yugoslavia. The authors refer to 'genocide' in Srebrenica (119) and to 'ethnic cleansing' as 'the systematic extermination of the civilian population based on ethnicity' (119). Most atrocities are linked to the Second World War, 'the most horrible war in the history of humanity' (88). The Holocaust is defined as 'the extermination of the Jewish population during the Second World War' (69), with reference to the 'mass killing of the Jews' (68) and 'inhumane anti-Jewish measures' (76). Other wartime atrocities include crimes against non-Jewish populations in Poland (68) and Slovakia (the 1945 Nemecká massacre, 88), persecution of the Slovak population by Hungary, and the bombing of Hiroshima, qualified as a 'tragedy' (108). Other atrocities include Stalin's 'reign of terror', which involved the 'extermination of entire nations' and 'mass murders' (34,

36, 78), Srebrenica, ‘the biggest post–1945 massacre’ (118), and the attack on the World Trade Center in New York in 2001.

Protagonists ● This textbook contrasts political or military bodies or individual perpetrators to religious, ethnic and individual victims. Stalin is held responsible for the deaths of ‘20–30 million people … in the Soviet labour camps’ (34). Although Hitler is mentioned in a section entitled ‘Europe under Hitler’s Authority’ (68), he is not defined as a perpetrator. War crimes against non-Jews are ascribed to military bodies including ‘invaders’, ‘military formations’ and ‘the attacking army’ (68), while the Holocaust is attributed to political agents such as ‘the Nazis’ and ‘the Nazi leadership’ (68). While Germany is the main perpetrator of the Slovak Holocaust, the authors also name Slovak collaborators including the government, Hlinka Guard and individual political leaders. Hence ‘the Slovak government … deported 13,000 Jewish citizens following the German occupation of Slovakia’ (76), while ‘members of the German military commando, helped by units of the Hlinka Guard’, committed some of ‘the greatest crimes’ (88); Slovak partisans are likewise presented as both victims of persecution and perpetrators of ‘senseless cruelty toward the German-speaking population’ (88). Victims of the Holocaust include ‘Jews and Gypsies’ alongside other ‘ethnic or social groups which opposed Nazi authoritarianism or did not correspond to Nazi ideology’, among them ‘Soviet prisoners’, ‘homosexuals’ and ‘Jehovah’s Witnesses’ (68). Victims of the ‘Bolshevik dictatorship’ are presented in political terms as ‘people who thought differently from the Bolsheviks’ (34). Elsewhere, victims are portrayed as individuals, as ‘an elderly woman [and] children’ (68) and as ‘Muslim men, women and girls’ (119). Countries are occasionally personified, whereby the Soviet Union turned from ‘aggressor’ to ‘victim’ following the German invasion (78).

Effects and aftereffects ● Effects include displacement, death and destruction, presented in disconnected lists (for example, Stalin’s policies resulted in ‘the mass displacement of the population, famine, the extermination of entire nations’, 34). The numbers of casualties are often combined with information about material damage or causes of death. For example, ‘the Soviet Union’s economy lay in ruins, it had lost 27 million people … 60,000 villages had been burned by the German army’ (86), and the bombing of Hiroshima ‘destroyed the centre of town’ and caused ‘the immediate death of 80,000 people’ (83). The effects of the Holocaust are likewise presented numerically in a chart called ‘The Holocaust in numbers’ (69), which divides the total number of victims into subcategories according to cause of death (‘those who died during transport’, ‘those who were shot’), and provides casualty numbers of seven extermination camps. The authors distinguish between deaths suffered ‘from starvation, malnutrition, hard labour or other tortures’ in concentration camps, and the fate of victims in ‘death camps, which served [the aim of] mass killing’ (68). Effects of the war in Slovakia likewise include material losses and human casualties (88). Although commemoration is not mentioned, the authors reiterate the notion that effects of atrocities endure after the crime itself. These aftereffects may be physical (after Hiroshima, ‘60,000 more died from the effects of radioactive radiation within a year’, 83) or moral (the ‘destructive effect [of the Holocaust] will remain long after [the perpetrators] themselves have turned to dust’, 93). Although the authors address the Allies’ decision to prosecute war criminals (82), they provide only the example of the Nuremberg trials.

Causal agency ● Responsibility is most commonly attributed via active formulations, whereby the nature of the crime itself is often left unspecified (‘Japanese occupying forces manifested brutal oppression’, ‘partisan formations employed senseless cruelty’, 78, 88); less frequently, more specific language is used (‘Nazi formations shot …’; ‘Serb paramilitary units murdered …’, 88, 119). The authors tend to name indirect responsibility for the Holocaust. For example, they attribute to the National Socialist leadership the decision that ‘the Jews should be taken to concentration camps’ but evoke perpetrators’ passivity when writing that ‘they let them die from starvation, hard labour or other types of torture’ (68). Slovak

complicity in the Holocaust is described indirectly insofar as 'the government interned Slovak Jews in extermination camps' (76), while the Holocaust in Slovakia is euphemised as 'the consequence of … inhumane antisemitic measures' (76). Atrocities are attributed to a variety of factors, including ethnic tensions in the case of Yugoslavia and racial ideology in the case of National Socialist Germany. The Holocaust in Slovakia is explained as the result of combined factors including authoritarianism, antisemitism and coercion by an external authority; the authors link the persecution of Jews to the government's totalitarian and antisemitic policies (62), while noting that Slovakia was 'forced to submit to German interests' (68). A distinction is made between causes and justifications: Stalinist crimes were committed 'ostensibly in the interests of communism' (34), while the Slovak government claimed self-defence as justification for its policies (62).

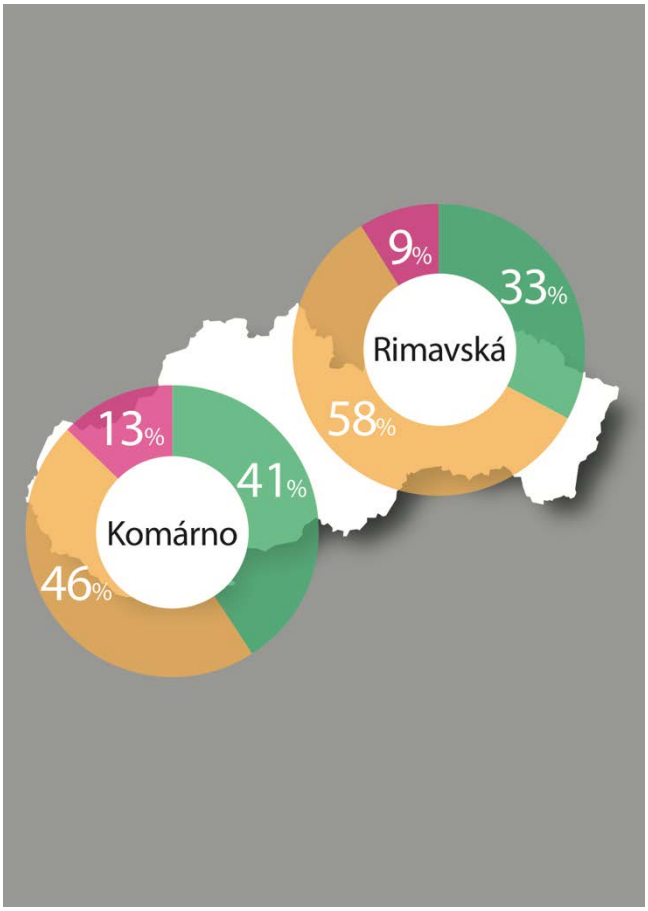
Times and spaces ● Time is largely defined in relation to the Second World War, while certain crimes are linked to specific episodes of the war, such that 'the persecution of the Roma … occurred at the time of the wartime Slovak Republic' (51), deportations of Slovak Jews occurred 'in the autumn of 1944, following the German occupation of Slovakia' (76), and additional atrocities occurred 'after the suppression of the Slovak National Uprising … in January 1945' (78). Atrocities in the former Yugoslavia are likewise punctuated by dates of political events ('after the collapse of Yugoslavia … between 1991 and 1995'), while Srebrenica is qualified as 'the biggest post-1945 massacre'. The attack on the World Trade Center is defined as 'an event which left its mark on the twenty-first century' (109). Atrocities are situated in a variety of spaces ranging from regions and continents (Southeast Asia saw 'severe and brutal oppression' by invading Japanese forces, 78) to specific locations ('in the lime kiln next to Nemecká', 88). Poland is singled out as the main setting for National Socialist atrocities, alongside the Soviet Union (68). The term 'ghetto' is mentioned three times, but only the Warsaw ghetto is named (68). Other locations include the Gulag, prisons, concentration camps and 'death camps' (68) of which seven are named (69) including Auschwitz, which also features in two images. Spatial references in Slovakia relate primarily to war crimes, such that the 'Nováky labour camp' is the only Slovak location named in connection with the Holocaust (77).

Explanation assessment ● The authors encourage empathy for victims via visual and textual quotations, including images of Holocaust victims and an excerpt from a political prisoner's memoirs (69). Elsewhere, the authors encourage moral reflection, juxtaposing textual quotations from a Hlinka Guard flyer and a letter from Slovak rabbis appealing to the perpetrators' 'Christian and human conscience' (77). The authors distinguish between the policies of the Slovak government and parts of the civilian population who 'sympathized with [the Jews] and tried to help them' (76), asserting that most Slovaks 'opposed the collaborationist system of the Slovak state' (80). Slovak leaders are presented in self-exculpatory passages containing, for example, no mention of Jozef Tiso's antisemitic policies (62). Similar notes on Vojtech Tuka and Alexander Mach, central perpetrators of the Slovak Holocaust, state only that they 'promoted collaboration with Nazi Germany' and 'were sentenced for crimes' which are left unspecified (76). The authors encourage learners to understand the link between past events and their personal lives, such that 'racial hatred … [is] always relevant' and 'the possibility of a return to barbarism cannot be excluded' (93).

T1 Elek, József et al., 2007. *Történelem a gimnázium 2. osztálya számára*. Bratislava, Slovenské pedagogické nakladatel'stvo [History for the Second Year of Secondary School, history, year two, age fifteen to sixteen].

T2 Kováč, Dušan et al., 2013. *Történelem az alapiskolák 9. és a nyolcéves gimnáziumok 4. osztálya részére*. Orbis Pictus Istropolitana, Bratislava [History for Year Nine of Secondary School and Year Four of the Eight-year Gymnasium].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Mihály Tompa School in Rimavská Sobota

Events ● Half of the essays submitted by this class define the term ‘genocide’. Of these, four define ‘genocide’ as ‘mass murder’ (13) or as a time ‘when many people are killed’ (1, 2, 5), while others define the term more specifically as a ‘crime’ (9, 14, 18) against a racial, religious or ethnic group, which occurs ‘when one race exterminates another’ (6). Pupil 20 notes that war ‘is also a kind of genocide’. Two pupils observe that it derives from the Latin word *genocidium*, without further explanation. All but four pupils either name or allude to the Holocaust, the ‘best-known genocide’ (13, 18). Nine pupils refer to the Holocaust without using the term, for example by naming ‘Auschwitz’ or ‘the Jewish camps’ as examples of mass atrocity (4, 5). Other mass atrocities are the destruction of the indigenous American population (9, 18, 20) and the ‘genocide of the Ukrainians’, or ‘the genocide committed by Stalin’ (18, 19), which are qualified as the ‘biggest genocide’ in contrast to the Holocaust, which is merely the ‘best known’. Two pupils refer to atrocities committed by Great Britain: one names ‘Great Britain, the Ottoman Empire and Japan’ as having committed ‘larger genocides’ than the Holocaust (13), while pupil 18 notes that ‘the Brits exterminated the Tasmanians’. One pupil indirectly alludes to slavery (without using the term) as an example of mass atrocity in North America, where ‘the northerners exterminated the southerners (blacks)’ (6). Individual mention is also made of the First and Second World Wars (specifically, the battles of Verdun and Doberdò and the bombing of Hiroshima, 3), and to

crimes committed by ‘colonising countries’ against ‘the inhabitants of the colonised country’ (20). Finally, pupil 18 notes that ‘there are smaller genocides today as well, for example thanks to the Islamic State; the end of these is still not in sight’.

Protagonists ● Protagonists are generally presented as groups: all pupils refer to victims as groups, while ten pupils refer to perpetrators as groups. Seven pupils depict a binary opposition between perpetrators and victims (‘Germans’ and ‘Jews’, 3, 4, 12, 15, 16; ‘Brits’ and ‘Tasmanians’, 18; ‘one race’ and ‘another race’, 6). Among the fifteen pupils who use the terms ‘people’ or ‘group’ to refer to victims, seven qualify these groups as either ‘racial’, ‘religious’ or ‘ethnic’ or a combination thereof. Perpetrators are also personified as political entities, that is, as ‘greater powers’ or ‘colonising countries’ (5, 20) or as specific nation-states (‘Nazi Germany’, ‘Great Britain’, ‘Ottoman Empire’, ‘Japan’, 13; ‘Stalinist Soviet Union’, 18, ‘America’, 20). Only six pupils refer to protagonists in personal terms. Four of them name historic individuals such as Hitler (8, 10, 17) and Stalin (19), while two pupils note that victims of atrocities included ‘women and children, the sick and the old’ (3, 18). The most frequently named victims are ‘Jews’ (eleven pupils), ‘homosexuals’ (five pupils), and ‘Gypsies’ (four pupils); while four pupils mention other races or nationalities, including ‘Indians’ (9, 18, 20), ‘blacks’ (6), ‘Tasmanians’ (18) and ‘inhabitants of African countries’ (20), whereas pupil 1 names ‘civilians’ as victims of ‘genocide’. Only two pupils mention Hungarian victims of the Holocaust; pupil 20 notes that ‘many Hungarians were also taken to Auschwitz’, while pupil 18 makes the personal observation that ‘even our great- or great-great-grandparents might have been forced into camps or died there’.

Effects and aftereffects ● Ten out of the twelve pupils who name effects describe them in terms of casualties, nine of them noting that ‘many people died’ or ‘were killed’ in mass atrocities. Eight pupils cite numbers of victims, mostly with reference to the Holocaust, whose Jewish victims numbered ‘in the hundreds of thousands’ (4) or between ‘5 million’ and ‘6 million’ (8, 12, 13, 20). Two pupils note that these numbers are exceeded by victims of atrocities committed by the Soviet Union, in which ‘6–10 million people died’, or ‘millions more … than during the entire Holocaust’ (19, 18). Other numbers refer to the First World War, in which ‘1,000,000 and 525,000 died … [at] the battles of Verdun or Doberdò’ (3), and to ‘more ancient battles … [where] three-quarter [million] to one million people died’ (4). Two pupils address the fate of survivors: during the Holocaust, ‘whoever did not convert to a different religion was sent to a camp’, while ‘those who converted survived’ (3); survivors ‘went into hiding for a long time, and there were those who paid to be hidden’ (4). Two pupils mention ‘forced labour’ (21) and ‘shooting in the head, hanging, [death] in the gas chambers’ (4) as effects of the Holocaust.

Causal agency ● Thirteen out of the eighteen pupils who offer causal explanations adopt the passive voice without naming perpetrators and write either that victims ‘were killed’ or ‘exterminated’ (eleven pupils) or that ‘genocide happens’ or ‘comes to pass’ (9, 11, 18). Nine pupils attribute responsibility directly, either via active constructions (‘x killed or exterminated y’, 3, 4, 8, 12, 17, 20) or passively (‘x was committed or initiated by y’, 5, 13, 17, 19). Nine pupils name motivational factors, most commonly a combination of hatred, racism and intolerance (10, 11, 17, 18). For example, ‘genocide’ occurred because perpetrators ‘believed themselves superior and hated people of different religion’ (11) or ‘could not live in peace with a person of a different skin colour or who professed different views’ (18). Pupil 12 suggests that these motives stem from ignorance or arbitrariness: ‘the Jewish people were not human in the eyes of the German people. And they exterminated the Jewish people without thinking’. Three pupils adopt perpetrators’ categories, naming circumstances as the cause of mass atrocities, which occurred when ‘people became overpopulated … [and] it was necessary to re-establish order with some means’ (7), or ‘because [the victims] settled in [the perpetrators’ territory] or their religion doesn’t conform’ (6). Only one pupil attempts a causal explanation, citing ‘political disagreements’ as the factor

that causes ‘a great power [to turn] against a certain group’, after which ‘laws, and later the camps were created’ (5), while pupil 4 notes that the Holocaust occurred ‘because of fascism (Nazism)’. For pupil 1, atrocities occur ‘for no reason’.
Times and spaces ● Mass atrocities are said to have occurred ‘over the course of history’ (3, 4, 19), from ancient times (4, 18) to the modern era and the twentieth century (18). ‘Smaller genocides’ continue to occur today, and ‘the end of these is still not in sight’ (18). The Holocaust is located historically during the Second World War (6, 8, 21) or ‘when Hitler ruled’ (4). Most spatial references are made in relation to the Holocaust, and include ‘concentration camps’ (3, 4, 5, 21) in ‘Poland’ (3, 12). Six pupils name Auschwitz, ‘the biggest camp’ (20), while two pupils mention ‘the barracks, the ovens, the crematoria’ (18) and the ‘gas chambers’ (20). Pupil 6 also mentions Europe and America as, respectively, places where ‘those of Jewish religion were exterminated’ and where ‘the northerners exterminated the southerners (blacks).’
Points of view ● All but two pupils adopt a neutral tone. Of those who write neutrally, three indirectly suggest the immorality, violence and arbitrariness of the Holocaust, either by noting that the perpetrators ‘told the people they would take them to a secure place, but there they killed them’ (7); by detailing the nature of the atrocities (‘shooting in the head, hanging, but mainly [death] in the gas chambers’, 4); or by suggesting that perpetrators committed atrocities ‘without thinking’ (12). Two pupils write affectively. Pupil 19 implies a moral assessment of perpetrators who were ‘capable of killing someone just because of his religion or ethnic group’ (19), while for pupil 18, ‘genocide’ is ‘a consequence of human stupidity’ that involves perpetrators ‘cruelly murdering [their victims], sparing neither women, children, the sick or the old’. The same pupil exceptionally adopts a personal tone, noting that it is important to study the Holocaust since ‘even our great- or great-great-grandparents might have been forced into camps or died there’. Five pupils note that they have learned about mass atrocities in school, while twelve others heard about the subject from other sources (four pupils refer to the film *Downfall*).
Explanation assessment ● Most of these essays are brief and their tone detached. Pupils occasionally confuse terminology. For example, pupil 3 refers to ‘Auschwitz’ and ‘the Holocaust’ as unrelated examples of mass atrocity, and pupil 10 names ‘Holocaust, Gypsy Holocaust, Jewish Holocaust’ as examples. Most of the pupils adopt a passive, impersonal tone; less than half of them attribute responsibility or name motivational factors. ‘Genocide’ is generally seen as a historical phenomenon which is not relevant to the pupils’ personal lives, having occurred in the remote past ‘over the course of history’. Only two pupils locate atrocities in ‘the modern era … less than a hundred years ago’ (18) or suggest that they still occur today. Likewise, while three pupils mention a class trip to Auschwitz, only one of them describes this experience in her essay; and although two pupils note that the Holocaust also claimed Hungarian victims (Slovakia is not mentioned), only one pupil considers that learning about this event may prevent future atrocities.

Selye János Secondary School in Komarno
Events ● Half of the essays submitted by this class attempt a definition of the term ‘genocide’. Of these, four define it as the physical extermination of one people by another (6, 10, 13, 14) and three associate it with territorial conquest, such that ‘genocide’ occurs ‘when a people conquers another people’s country and exterminates them to a certain degree’ (5). Pupil 3 describes the phenomenon in demographic terms as ‘when the headcount of a nation is decreased by military means’ (2). Although only four pupils employ the term ‘Holocaust’, eight allude to it via references to ‘the Nazis’ extermination of the Jews’ (8, 9, 12,14) or to ‘concentration camps’ (1, 7, 16), while another four do not mention it at all. The most frequently cited atrocity is the destruction of the indigenous population of America (3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13); others include crimes perpetrated in Australia (3, 5); the ‘Soviet labour camps’ (1,

9); and examples from ancient history and the prehistoric era (3, 5, 11, 13). Individual references are also made to crimes of 'Mao Ze-Tung' and the 'Islamic State' (1, 7). Comparisons of mass atrocities are rare. Only one pupil refers superlatively to 'genocides' as 'the most horrific events of our history' (13). By contrast, two other pupils consider the Holocaust an unexceptional atrocity, asserting that the 'Soviet labour camps' claimed more victims (9). A list of atrocities from throughout history includes 'the Huns' pillaging in Europe, the Crusades, Jihads, the Bosnian civil war, atrocities committed during the First and Second World Wars, the Punic Wars and 'the Mongol invasion' (3). While three pupils link 'genocide' with war ('wars themselves can be taken as a kind of genocide', 13), pupil 15 distinguishes between the two, noting that whereas 'many people die' in war as well, 'genocide' involves the extermination of an entire people based on racial or religious considerations.

Protagonists ● Perpetrators and victims are typically grouped in binary pairs. Six pupils employ the phrase 'one people exterminated another people', while five use the word 'people' to denote victims only. Specific groups include 'European', 'American' or 'white' colonisers and 'indigenous inhabitants' or 'Indians' (3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13), and less frequently, 'Nazis' and 'Jews' (6, 8, 9). Perpetrators include political entities (colonial or ancient empires, dictatorships, 3, 5, 7), national groups (Germans, 6; Americans and Russians, 8), countries (Germany, 3; Soviet Union, 9), the 'Islamic State' (7), 'white man', 'European man' and 'homo sapiens' (9, 12, 11, 13). Only three pupils name individuals: two refer to historic figures ('Hitler', 'Stalin', 'Mao Ze-Tung', 1, 12), while pupil 14 names 'the German soldier' as the executioner of 'the Jews'. Victims are generally presented as groups, as 'Jews' and 'Indians' by eight and six pupils respectively; or as individuals ('women and children', 9, 10, 11; 'a person', 1, 14). While one third of the pupils make no qualitative distinction between perpetrators and victims, an equal number qualify perpetrators as 'cruel', 'bad' or 'evil' (1, 8, 9), or imply that their actions are immoral (7, 10, 12). Four pupils present perpetrators as militarily, politically or even culturally superior, while condemning mass atrocities; a revealing example is pupil 13, for whom 'genocides [are] the most horrific events of our history' but who then groups 'a more advanced European people', 'the Nazi group' and 'homo sapiens' on the one hand and 'negroes', 'Jews', 'Indians' and 'Neanderthal man' on the other.

Effects and aftereffects ● Approximately half of the essays suggest that mass atrocities result in 'the extermination, destruction of a culture or a race' (13). Additional effects include demographic displacement and decrease, usually in the wake of conquest, as in the case of the indigenous American population, which 'the white man exterminated … and took away their territories' (9). It is because of 'genocide', which involves 'one people [conquering] another people's country and [exterminating] them', that 'a large part of today's peoples do not live in their homeland' (5). Pupil 11 notes that 'many people were killed, because of this the population decreased rapidly', which is why 'now Jews only occur in smaller numbers'. Two pupils address the memorialisation of past atrocities. Whereas pupil 1 suggests that proof of the Holocaust is 'preserved to this very day', pupil 5 notes that this is not the case for all mass atrocities, which 'it is impossible to list … because not all were recorded'. The effect most associated with atrocities today is 'fear', as pupil 7 notes with reference to the 'Islamic State'; likewise, pupil 5 notes that 'even today many remember [the Holocaust] with fear because of the survivors and the lost family members' – a legacy he expects will 'fade away over the course of history' (5).

Causal agency ● Most essays employ a mixture of causal explanations and passive formulations. Eleven pupils directly state who is responsible; nine provide motives for the actions they describe, while only four attempt a genuine causal explanation of mass atrocities. Several essays include attributions of responsibility and motivation alongside passive statements, as in the case of pupil 7, who attributes mass atrocities to 'political, religious or racial discrimination' and responsibility for '[killing] innocent civilians' to the 'Islamic State',

but also uses the passive voice by adopting categories akin to the ideology of the perpetrators when referring to the Holocaust, during which people 'were deported because of their origins, views, and sexual orientation'. Two other pupils similarly adopt the perpetrators' categories, writing that atrocities take place when a minority group 'presents a problem', 'bothers' or 'endangers' a majority group (6, 13). Pupil 4 explains atrocities tautologically, noting that 'wars and battles exterminated many peoples'. Motivational factors include the desire for conquest, territorial expansion and power (3, 4, 5, 7, 12), or the desire to secure an 'advantage' over another group (6); pupils 12 and 13 explain 'genocide' as a by-product of war, itself the result of inevitable 'conflicts and religious differences'. Pupil 14 distinguishes between personal responsibility and obedience to a higher authority, noting that 'it wasn't the German soldier's fault that he had to execute the Jews, this was his command from higher-ranking people' and attributes responsibility exclusively to the latter, such that 'the guilty ones were those who directed this whole thing'. Three pupils explain atrocities as a result of moral intolerance. Pupils 7 and 16, for example, underscore a feeling of superiority and self-righteousness, 'when a given people, or any other group, feels superior to the oppressed layer' and 'takes it as a holy truth that their views are right … that even human lives are worth sacrificing in the interest of the greater good' (7) and are 'unwilling to accept as human beings those representing other points of view' (16), while for pupil 1, mass atrocities result from a '[way of] thinking … according to which certain circumstances may give us reason to mercilessly extinguish the lives of … our fellow men'.

Times and spaces ● The most common temporal reference is to the Second World War, which is not always directly associated with the Holocaust. Pupil 6 distinguishes between atrocities of 'earlier times … at the time of colonialism' and events which occurred over 'the past 100 years in Europe, mostly in Germany' – a reference to the Holocaust, 'one of the youngest genocides' (5). For half of the class, 'genocide' is a phenomenon as old as humanity itself ('the genocidal tendency was already present in man in prehistoric times, when homo sapiens exterminated the Neanderthal', 13), and one which has occurred frequently over the course of history (3, 5, 6), and may occur in the future (8, 12), 'at anytime, anywhere, to anyone' (15). The single most common spatial reference is to labour or concentration camps, though only one pupil mentions a camp by name ('the most notorious one, the one in Auschwitz', 1), the same pupil also refers to 'Stalin's work camps' and 'Hitler's concentration camps' as 'examples of genocide'. Geographical places named include America and Germany (3 pupils each); Europe and Australia (2 each), and Africa and ancient Rome (pupil 3).

Points of view ● Only four pupils employ a consistently neutral tone. Most of them write affectively or employ moral arguments (seven pupils in each case), referring to 'cruel' (1, 9), 'horrific' (1, 13), 'shocking', 'frightening' and 'painful' (1, 7, 8) events. This point of view is frequently expressed in relation to the innocence of victims ('the most painful thing is that [atrocities are] also done to small children, although they're completely innocent', 8) or to the perpetrators' lack of moral restraint ('the reason why [ISIL] is frightening, really frightening, is that while its opponents cannot act unrestrainedly, ISIS kills innocent civilians anywhere, at any time, since they feel authorised to do so', 7). Although three quarters of the essays contain moral judgements, clear assessments such as 'genocides [are] the most horrific events of our history', committed by 'bad people' (13, 8) are rare. Pupils 1 and 12 exceptionally condemn, in universal terms, any ideology 'according to which certain circumstances may give us reason to … extinguish the lives of … our fellow men' (1), and the greed that is often another motivating factor for such actions (12). Over half of the authors qualify their knowledge of the Holocaust and genocides by writing 'I imagine', 'as far as I know' or 'in my opinion' (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 15).

Explanation assessment ● These essays generally define genocide as the physical destruction of a group, linked to territorial conquest and often war. No emphasis is placed on one particular atrocity. The Holocaust is generally presented as an unexceptional example in a

long list of crimes and is not the most frequently cited event. Pupils tend to group protagonists in binary pairs, usually without qualitative distinctions. However, some of them contrast the military and political superiority of perpetrators to the moral superiority of victims. Pupils explain genocides generally as the result of the wish for and policy of territorial expansion and, to a lesser degree, of moral intolerance. Moreover, pupils present mass violence as a past phenomenon with little relevance to the present day or to their personal lives. No mention is made of either the role of Hungary or Slovakia in the Holocaust, or of more recent atrocities.

S2 *Základná škola Mihálya Tompu – Tompa Mihály Alapiskola*, primary school in Rimavská Sobota (population 25,000) with 11 responding pupils with an average age of 15, supervised by teacher László Angyal.
S1 *Selye János Gimnázium*, secondary school in Komarno (35,000), with 16 responding pupils with an average age of 16, supervised by teacher József Elek.

Translations of Slovakian educational materials by Ben Niran.

TURKEY

Curricula

The *Year Ten History Teaching Programme* of 2011 stipulates teaching for fifteen- to sixteen-year-old pupils. It addresses the 'Events of 1915' (*1915 Olayları*) in a section entitled 'The Long Century (1800–1922)' (30). The 'events' are placed in the historical context of the First World War, with additional reference to war operations, border changes and 'Atatürk's love for the homeland and nation'. The curriculum also devotes an annex of eight pages to 'The Armenian, Greek-Pontus and Assyrian Issues' and deals with the 'Armenian allegations of genocide' (*Ermeni soykırım iddialarının*, VI) in detail. The 'Armenian issue' is said to have emerged at the end of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878 (II); the curriculum emphasises 'Armenian revolts' and events such as the Zeitun rebellion, atrocities in Bitlis and the Siege of Van (IV). The protagonists are 'Armenian underground organisations' responsible for 'actions' (III) and 'atrocities … against the Turkish people' (IV), and the 'Ottoman Empire', which is said to have 'repressed' these (III). Further protagonists include 'European states' and 'Great Powers' which exerted 'political pressure' on the Ottoman Empire (III). The policy of the Ottoman Empire towards Armenians is also described in terms of 'precautions' or 'measures' (*önlemleri*, IV) and 'deportation' (*tehcir*, IV) which resulted in 'losses' (*kayıpların* ,V). The curriculum addresses 'Armenian lobbying concerning genocide claims' (V) as well as legal implications of 'Armenian genocide allegations' by referring to the Treaty of Lausanne and the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The curriculum mentions the 'Pontus allegations' (*Pontus iddialarının*, VIII) in the section 'The Long Century (1800–1922)' and refers to 'the main communities' involved in the allegations as well as 'their activities', albeit without naming them. Protagonists playing a 'role' in this context are the Fener Greek Patriarchate, the 'churches affiliated to it' and 'Greece'. Great Powers (England, France, America and Russia) are evoked in relation to the 'politicisation of the Pontus allegations'.

The *Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Teaching Programme* of 2012 is geared towards seventeen- to eighteen-year-olds. This curriculum mentions the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and stipulates teaching about 'genocide' (*Soykırım*) and 'examples from the war' (20) in a section entitled 'The Second World War'. Here, the curriculum also mentions 'economic and social consequences' of the Second World War, the role of the UN 'in protecting world peace', 'the human rights and freedoms after 1945' and 'consequences of the use of nuclear weapons'

(20). Protagonists and places of the 'genocide' are not specified, whereby 'Germany's attack on the USSR' and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour illustrate 'warring parties' and 'stages of the war' (19). The 'human rights violations in Bosnia and Herzegovina' are stipulated in the context of 'developments … in the Balkans after the disintegration of the Eastern bloc' (28) in a section called 'The Globalised World'.

The first curriculum addresses the Armenian and Pontus 'issues' in the same thematic unit and in similar fashion, suggesting equivalence between the two. However, it allocates six pages to the Armenian 'issue' but only one page to the Pontus 'issue'. Moreover, it associates the Armenian 'issue' with more current events such as the 'murders committed by the Armenian terrorist organisation ASALA (1973–1994)' (VI). Both curricula mention the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, albeit in different contexts. While the first curriculum expects pupils to 'prove the invalidity of the Armenian allegations' with reference to the Convention (C1, VI), the second curriculum stipulates teaching the definition of 'genocide' and 'examples from the [Second World] War' in line with the Convention (C2, 20). Pedagogically, the first curriculum stipulates 'understanding' of the 'Armenian issue' (II) and of 'the necessity of taking the decision concerning deportation' (IV). It expects pupils to be able to 'explain the dimensions of the atrocities committed by the Armenian underground organisations against the Turkish people' (IV). The second curriculum stipulates 'assessing' economic and social consequences of the Second World War (20). Recommendations in the first curriculum include watching a documentary about the 'Events of 1915' (34) and 'comparing' the definition of genocide in the Convention with the 'Armenian allegations' in order to 'prove the invalidity' of the latter (VI). The second curriculum recommends drawing a poster about 'the values brought to humanity' by the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the context of the Second World War (20) and 'do[ing] research on literary works and films about the events in the Balkans' (28).

C1 *10. Sinif Tarih Dersi Öğretim Programi ve 10. Sinif Seçmeli Tarih Dersi Öğretim Programi,* Ortaöğretim, Milli Eğitim Bakanliği, Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı, Ankara, 2011 [Year Ten History Teaching Programme and Year Ten Elective History Course Teaching Programme, Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, Board of Education and Training, Ankara, 2011].
C2 *Çağdaş Türk ve Dünya Tarihi Dersi Öğretim Programi*, Ortaöğretim, Milli Eğitim Bakanliği, Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı, Ankara, 2012 [Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Teaching Programme, Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, Board of Education and Training, Ankara 2012].

Textbooks

Çağdaş Türk ve Dünya Tarihi **[Contemporary Turkish and World History] (2015)**

Paratext ● This textbook deals with contemporary Turkish and world history. It addresses 'human rights violations' in the chapter entitled 'Consequences of War' alongside 'political', 'economic' and 'social results'. The textbook thereby contextualises atrocities committed during the Second World War legally and militarily as 'consequences' of war. The 'Armenian allegations' (*Ermeni İddiaları*) are contextualised politically and addressed in the chapter 'Turkish Foreign Policy', which also deals with 'Turkish–Greek relations'. Pedagogical exercises typically invite pupils to learn facts by asking multiple choice and 'true or false' questions. Some exercises encourage pupils to do further research ('investigate literature and art … about human rights violations', 44) and 'assess the events in Bosnia according to the … Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide' (199). One exercise asks pupils to carry out group work in class, that is, to 'assess human rights violations committed by Germans and Japanese' and 'present' their 'consequences' (68).

Events ● The textbook addresses genocide (*soykırım*) and 'war crimes' committed by National Socialists (three pages), Armenian 'genocide allegations' (*soykırımı iddialarını*, 160) (one page), 'ethnic cleansing' (*etnik temizlik*, 199) in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 'crimes against humanity' in Kosovo (four pages). Genocide is defined legally with reference to the UN Genocide Convention, as 'human rights violations intended to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group' (68, 77). The textbook defines both Fascism and National Socialism as 'totalitarian regimes' (27) and associates 'human rights violations' and 'war crimes' during the Second World War not only with Germany and Japan, but also with the Soviet Union.
Protagonists ● The textbook ascribes mass atrocities to Adolf Hitler, the NSDAP and 'leaders of the Nazi party' but also to a personified 'Nazi Germany' which 'murdered minorities such as Jews and Roma' (67). The authors conflate 'genocide' and war by claiming that 'Germany, the USSR and Japan in particular' committed atrocities against 'prisoners of war and civilians' (67). Most visual quotations show victims from the perspective of perpetrators (43, 68). However, one image reverses this by depicting German people as prisoners of what are claimed to be American concentration camps; the quoted newspaper clipping, which depicts people behind barbed wire, is accompanied with the caption (in Turkish) 'An article about the concentration camps in the Second World War' (67) and a further caption (in English) 'Real Death Camps of the Second World War. How Eisenhower gruesomely exterminated one million Germans'. 'Armenians', 'non-Muslims' and 'Great Powers' (160) are presented as the authors of atrocity crimes and 'Armenian allegations'. This textbook also focuses on more recent actions of 'Armenian terrorists' and 'the terrorist organisation ASALA' or the 'Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia' against 'Turkish diplomats' and '35 Turks' (160). The authors solicit identification with Turkish victims by describing them as 'our fallen diplomats' (160). Protagonists of atrocity crimes in the former Yugoslavia are called 'ethnic groups' (*etnik grupların*) or communities with 'the same ethnic origin' (194), whereby 'both Serbs and Croats' are said to have committed ethnic cleansing. The 'massacre' of 'Bosnian Muslims' is ascribed explicitly to 'Serb forces under …. Ratko Mladić' (197). Further protagonists include 'women and children' (196), 'civilians' (197) and '312,000 people' (197) who encounter personified states ('Serbia refused…', 196; 'Western states did not want …'; 'Russia supported …', 197). The UN is said to 'not [have] been effective in resolving the crisis' (196).
Effects and aftereffects ● Effects of genocide during the Second World War include deportation, medical experiments, euthanasia, 'inhuman practices' (65) and mass death. A quoted letter by Albert Einstein to Atatürk addresses the emigration of (Jewish) 'professors and doctors from Germany' to Turkey (75). Effects of the 'Armenian allegations' are said to be 'terror' and crimes against Turks (160), while genocide in the former Yugoslavia is associated with death, flight and the concealing of mass graves (198). Aftereffects of the genocide during the Second World War are legal (the UN Genocide Convention and trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo which were 'not entirely successful', 65), but also demographic ('Millions of forced labourers … prisoners of war and victims of the concentration camps returned to their countries', 65) and memorial ('war crimes … left traces', 65). Atrocity crimes in the former Yugoslavia entail political peacemaking efforts (the Dayton Agreement) and legal trials, but also the identification of '370 mass graves' (198).
Causal agency ● Genocide is ascribed not only to the responsibility of a personified 'Nazi Germany' which 'murdered … Jews and Roma' (67), but also to Hitler, who 'wanted … blind discipline' (29), and to the motivation of personified states who 'committed human rights violations according to political opinion, ethnicity and religion' (67). The chapter title, which contextualises atrocity crimes as 'Consequences of War', implies military causality. The authors also imply that causes of this genocide were ideology, 'totalitarianism' (27), opposition to the Versailles treaty and imperialism, while passive formulations such as

'human rights violations were committed during the Second World War' (68) evade agency. The textbook implies political causality when stating that 'the Armenian question arose in the late nineteenth century, in the context of the political interests of the Great Powers' (160). 'Terror' is then ascribed not only to the responsibility of 'Armenians' who 'founded … ASALA' and 'engaged in terrorist activities' (160), but also to political motivation ('the Armenian issue [was] revived for political purposes' and 'the ultimate goal is the dream of "Greater Armenia"', 160). Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina is explained causally, since 'peace treaties signed after the First World War caused [*neden*] ... territorial disputes and the emergence of the minority issue' (194), and 'political, social, economic, religious and cultural differences among these communities … caused [*neden*] constant conflicts' (194). More specifically, the 'superior [military] position' of the Serbs is said to have 'led to an increase in civilian casualties' (196) and disagreements between Bosniaks and Croats are said to have 'made the job of the Serbians even easier' (196). The authors also explain crimes as outcomes of the imperialist motivation of Slobodan Milošević who 'pursued the dream of … "Greater Serbia"' (195) and to political and economic motivation ('influenced' by Bosnia and Herzegovina's 'underground wealth' and 'strategic importance', 196). Moreover, responsibility is ascribed to groups ('Serb forces … massacred', 197) and states (Serbia 'launched a brutal war', 196; 'Germany, Austria, Hungary … closed their borders to refugees', 196). Textual quotations reiterate 'economic differences' as well as ethnic and religious 'differences between the peoples of Yugoslavia' (194).
Times and spaces ● While 'human rights violations' coincide with the Second World War, trials are dated more precisely, 'between November 1945 and October 1946' in Nuremberg and 'in 1946' in Tokyo (67). The 'Armenian question' is said to have arisen 'in the late nineteenth century', whereas 'terror' by the ASALA is dated 'from 1973 … until 1994' (160). The textbook dates atrocity crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina 'from 1992 to 1995' (197) and 'massacre' in Srebrenica in July 1995 (197). The space ascribed to genocides is national ('Nazi Germany', Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina), regional ('in occupied territories', 68; 'in Balkan countries', 194) and local ('concentration camps', Sarajevo, Srebrenica).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook contextualises genocides legally on its contents page, in exercises, in definitions and when referring to trials and the signing of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1948. Atrocity crimes committed in the Second World War and in Bosnia and Herzegovina are also contextualised militarily. The authors explain genocides mainly as outcomes of responsibility and of political, ethnic and religious motivation, while occasionally implying military and political causality. 'Ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia and Herzegovina is addressed more extensively (four pages) than genocide committed by the National Socialists (three pages). The authors explain atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the outcome of political and military causes, and of 'differences' and 'disagreements' between protagonist groups. The textbook sometimes personifies states and conflates genocide victims with civilian victims of warfare, while soliciting national identification with Turkish protagonists called 'our diplomats' (160). Furthermore, the book focuses on Armenian 'genocide allegations' and 'terrorism' at the end of the twentieth century rather than on events to which the 'allegations' refer. One of the visual quotations is misleading, since it claims that 'real' concentration camps of the Second World War were run by American forces to persecute German citizens.

İnkılâp Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük [History of the Reform of the Turkish Republic and Ataturkism] (2016)

Paratext ● This textbook, which deals with the 'History of the Turkish Republic Reform and Kemalism', does not mention atrocity crimes on its contents page. Pedagogical exercises ask pupils to learn facts by answering 'true or false' questions such as '[was] Population exchange a problem between Turkey and France [?]' (188). Causal exercises typically take the form of

questions by demanding, for example, '[w]hat would the Entente states want to achieve by endorsing the minorities' attacks against Turks?' (34) and '[w]hat might be the reasons for … population exchange?' (180).

Events ● The textbook devotes two and a half pages to the 'relocation' (*tehcir*) of Armenians, 'terror' (*terör*) by Armenians and the 'unfounded Armenian allegations' (*asılsız Ermeni iddialarını*, 209). It also addresses the Greek–Turkish population exchange (*nüfus mübadelesi*) (one page), 'human rights violations' and 'crimes against humanity' during the Second World War (half a page), as well as 'oppression' (*baskı*) and 'cruelties' (*zulümleri*, 206) in Cyprus (half a page). While 'states participating in the Second World War' are said to have 'violated … human rights as never before' (203), atrocities in Cyprus are said to have been 'increasingly transformed … into a genocide' (*soykırım*, 206). The authors associate both 'Greeks' and 'Armenians' with 'attacks [against] Turks' (34).

Protagonists ● The textbook creates an opposition between 'Armenians' and 'Armenian units' and 'Turkish civilians' and 'the defenceless Muslim people' (209); the reference to 'our units at the Caucasus front' (209) solicits the readers' identification with Turkish soldiers in the First World War. Protagonists of 'relocation' are 'the Ottoman government' and 'Armenians' (28), while 'terror' against 'our embassies' and 'our diplomats' (210) is ascribed to 'Armenian terrorists' and 'Armenian terror organisations' (210). 'Western states' and 'some states' are said to 'support the unfounded Armenian allegations' (209) and 'close their eyes' in the face of 'terror against Turkey' (210). 'Activities against Turks' are also ascribed to 'Greeks', the societies 'Mavri Mira' and 'Pontus' (34) as well as 'Pontus gangs' (35). 'States participating in the Second World War' (203) are said to have committed 'human rights violations' against 'soldiers and civilians'. In Cyprus, 'oppression' and 'cruelties' against 'Turks' are then ascribed to 'Rumlar' (206), a generic term derived from the Arabic *Rûm* and usually used to refer to Christians or, more specifically, to Orthodox Greeks. Moreover, in this subchapter, entitled 'The Heroic Turkish Army' (*Kahraman Türk Ordusu*, 205), 'Turkish soldiers' are said to have 'performed [a] peace operation' in Cyprus (206).

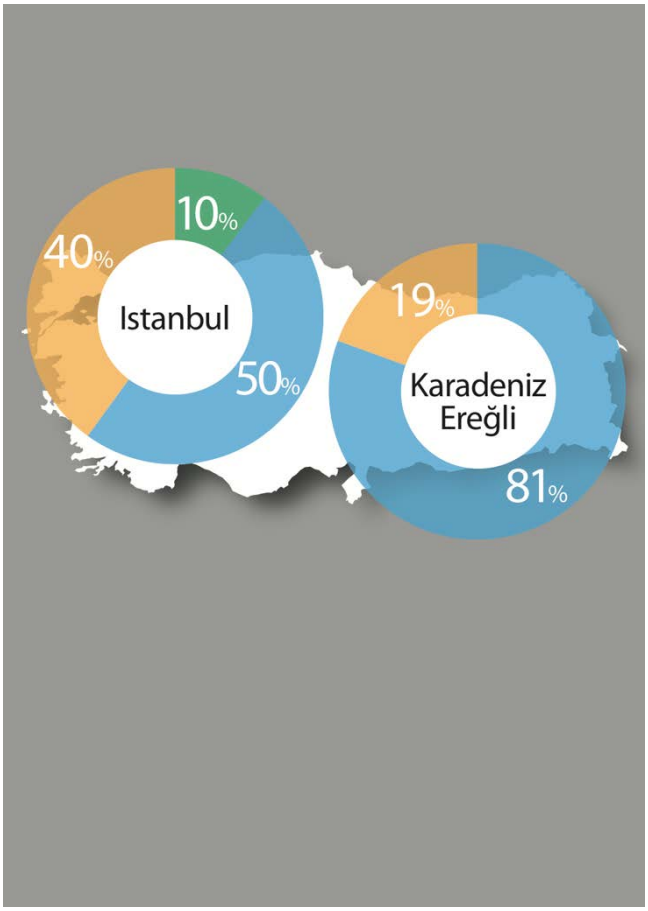
Effects and aftereffects ● While the Second World War is associated with 'the death of millions' (203), 'Armenians' are said to have committed 'mass murder' (*toplu katliamlara*) and 'terror' (209), followed by their 'relocation' (*tehcir*), whereby 'a small number of Armenians lost their lives' (209). Atrocity crimes committed during the Second World War are said to have been followed not only by trials and the punishment of criminals, but also by 'human rights [having been] secured in international documents' such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (203). Aftereffects of 'relocation' include 'terror' (210) and 'Armenians [wanting] their unfounded genocide allegations to be accepted by Turkey' (209), while crimes in Cyprus are said to have been followed by the Turkish 'peace operation' (206).

Causal agency ● The authors ascribe political motivation to 'Armenians' who 'wanted to establish a state in Anatolia' (34), to 'England and Russia' who 'wanted to divide the Ottoman Empire' (209), and to the 'Ottoman government' which 'wanted to relocate Armenians in a region which was … more secure' (209). Furthermore, the textbook explains the 'relocation' as an outcome of moral motivation since the decision 'was the most human' (*insani*) measure and 'was intended to [provide] protection' (209), while the 'allegations' are ascribed to the motivation of Armenians who 'want Turkey … to accept the claims' (209). The authors also explain atrocities and 'terror' as outcomes of responsibility. For example, Armenians are said to have 'committed mass murder' (209), Western states are said to 'support' the 'allegations' (209), and 'mass media' are said to have 'contributed knowingly or unknowingly to the spread of terrorism' (210). The authors describe 'relocation' causally, since 'the government issued the Relocation and Resettlement Law', 'then Armenians … migrated', but 'a small number of Armenians lost their lives due to severe travel conditions and diseases' (28). The conflict in Cyprus is ascribed to motivation ('*Rumlar* wanted to join Cyprus to Greece' and 'used all means' to 'make the Turks emigrate', whereby 'Turkey …

had to … perform a peace operation', 206). The textbook explains genocide during the Second World War as an outcome of responsibility ('states … violated … human rights'), but also uses causal terminology (violations 'resulting in the death of millions', 203).
Times and spaces ● The 'Relocation and Resettlement Law' (Sevk ve İskân Kanunu) or 'Deportation Law' (Tehcir (Göç) Kanunu, 28) is dated 27 May 1915, while 'terror' is dated 'since 1973 … until 1980' (210). Interestingly, the authors suggest a continuity from past to present by claiming that 'the unfounded Armenian allegations … were supported then as now by Western states' (209). The Greek-Turkish population exchange is dated after the Lausanne Convention of 30 January 1923 (180). While 'human rights violations' coincide with the Second World War, the authors date 'international documents' signed after the war more precisely, for example the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (10 December 1948) and the European Convention on Human Rights (1950). The beginning of the Turkish 'peace operation' in Cyprus is dated 20 August 1974. The authors ascribe the events referred to as 'Armenian allegations' to national and regional spaces (the Ottoman Empire, eastern Anatolia, 28), and locate 'mass murder' on a local level in Mus, Van and Bitlis (209), while describing 'migration' and 'relocation' from 'areas close to the frontier' to 'more secure areas … to Syria and northern Iraq' (28).
Explanation assessment ● This textbook contextualises atrocity crimes legally and politically. It deals extensively with 'relocation', 'terror' and 'allegations' of 'Armenians' as well as the Greek-Turkish population exchange, while briefly addressing crimes committed in the Second World War. The authors acknowledge the unprecedentedness of 'human rights violations' during the Second World War ('as never before', 203) but associate 'genocide' (206) only with crimes committed in Cyprus after 1960. Furthermore, they sometimes conflate genocide victims with war victims. The authors adhere to a model of binary enmity whereby 'Armenians' and 'Greeks' are frequently contrasted with 'Turks'. Moreover, by referring to Turkish protagonists as 'our units' (209) and 'our diplomats' (210), the authors adopt and encourage a national point of view, which is reinforced in opposition to 'Western states' which are said to support the 'allegations … then as now' (209). Atrocity crimes are typically explained as outcomes of political motivation and of responsibility. For example, Armenians are said to have 'committed mass murder' (209) in order to 'establish a state' (34) and the 'Ottoman government' is said to have 'relocated' them to 'more secure' regions (209).

T1 Okur, Yasemin, Akın Sever, Hakan Kiziltan et al., 2015. *Ortaöğretim Çağdaş Türk ve Dünya Tarihi 12*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Devlet Kitapları [Contemporary Turkish and World History, Ministry of Education, year twelve, age eighteen].
T2 Tüysüz, Sami, 2016. *İlköğretim 8. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılâp Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük*, Ankara: Tuna Matbaacilik [History of the Reform of the Turkish Republic and Ataturkism, year eight, age fifteen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

M. Emin Saraç İmam Hatip Secondary School in Istanbul

Events ● Almost half of the sixteen essays submitted by this class define genocide generally as a conflict between nations or states in which one nation either destroys or removes the sovereignty and independence of its adversary. It follows that several of the nine essays which address the Holocaust typically define it as war or as a 'war against Jews' (12). All of these essays limit the conception of this war to an attack by Adolf Hitler on Jews. Five essays address crimes perpetrated against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, albeit by arguing that Turks acted to prevent Armenians from persecuting Turks. Six other essays address crimes committed against victims defined as Turkish or Muslim. These include the attempt by 'Greece, Armenians, Homoeans … to rob the Turkish people of their independence' (1), the 'Muslim genocide and East Turkistan' (2), 'the intention of the English to carry out a genocide against the Ottomans' (11), Chinese-led 'murder in East Turkistan' (13), 'genocide of the Uyghur Turks' (14) and crimes perpetrated in the Soviet Union against 'Muslims in Caucasia' (16). Three essays explicitly compare atrocity crimes by suggesting that 'the biggest genocide is the genocide of the Maya' (2) or that the Holocaust 'was one of the biggest in world history' (10). Pupil 16 equates persecutions of Jews and Muslims by ascribing types of treatment meted out on Jews during the Holocaust to Muslims in the Soviet Union. 'Nazi Germany killed Jews in concentration camps. On the other hand, leaders of the

USSR, Stalin and Lenin, squashed Muslims into train wagons and expelled them to Siberia. They killed them in gas chambers.'

Protagonists ● In addition to the general categorisation of protagonists as nations and states, the essays are populated primarily by Hitler or Germans vs Jews, Turks vs Armenians, but also English people vs Ottomans. The essays also refer to Chinese, civilians and Muslims.

Effects and aftereffects ● The general effect of genocides is typically presented as 'the will of one nation to destroy another nation' (8). Five pupils (7, 10, 12, 14, 16) provide considerable detail about techniques of killing, including rape, burning, branding, torture, gassing and pouring salt into victims' eyes. A small minority of pupils emphasise the loss of national independence in the context of a genocide of Turks (1, 13) or the mocking or ridiculing of Jews by Hitler (4, 10). However, these essays also deal extensively with the aftereffects of genocides by claiming to rectify wrong interpretations of past atrocities. Six pupils address present-day controversy over the interpretation of the persecution of Armenians during the First World War (9, 13, 15). Pupil 9 argues, for example, that 'they [Armenians] have convinced the whole of Europe and we say, come, we'll prove who killed whom … Europe accepts this only because it is in its own interest', while pupil 15 claims that 'the genocide of Armenians is a complete lie and an invention'.

Causal agency ● The essays in this class tend to explain the Holocaust by personalising responsibility for it. Nine essays ascribe responsibility exclusively to Hitler, while a further six ascribe responsibility to Germany, Nazis or Nazi Germany, while others refer to perpetration carried out by 'one person' (1) or by 'a nation' (8, 13). Others attribute to 'English people' the genocide of Ottomans (11), to 'the Chinese' the persecution of Uyghur Turks (14), and to 'Stalin and Lenin' the persecution of Muslims in the Caucasus (16). Some pupils name motivations for the colonisation of Africa as the search for minerals (1), or Armenians' search for 'gold and land' in Turkey. Pupils 4 and 10 explain the Holocaust with reference to the presumption that 'Adolf Hitler considered the Jews to be weak and ridiculed them' (4). Two causal explanations include pupil 12's claim that 'war against the Jews' began 'because Adolf Hitler was from Germany', or pupil 15's ascription of misinformation about crimes perpetrated against Armenians to 'the media and the press'. In an exceptional case, the Second World War and the use of nuclear weapons by the United States are interpreted as a consequence of the Holocaust (14). Several pupils repudiate the crimes against Armenians by denying them outright (9, 13, 15). Others downplay these crimes by writing that deportations of Armenians were a preventative measure to protect Turks from violence (6) or a just reaction to the killing of civilians by 'Armenian gangs' (15), while two pupils disavow the suffering of Armenians by addressing the victimisation of Turks alone (1, 2).

Times and spaces ● The essays in this class refer only intermittently to times and spaces concerning the history of genocides in terms of 1939, 1991 and Africa, England, Israel, Germany, Japan, Caucasia and the Crimea. Unusually, pupils 9 and 14 evoke a future third world war.

Points of view ● Although half of the class adopts a neutral point of view, others address moral and affective concerns, sometimes in a militant tone in conjunction with an expression of belonging to a national community. 'Doing a genocide is for me a bad thing because it can prevent two countries from being close' (8). Militancy is expressed by five pupils who argue, for example, that, 'The Greeks in the Aegean tried to occupy us' (1), or that, 'We must know about these injustices and fight against them' (16). Pupil 2 represents an exceptional case by presenting himself as an advocate of genocide. 'In my opinion one can carry out a genocide against evil countries which consist of evil people (Israel).' Over half of the pupils ascribe no expediency to learning about the Holocaust and other genocides by writing that it is merely useful to learn about the past in general or that it is unimportant; two pupils claim that they may learn from the past (8, 13), while two advocate in a militant tone the memory of Turkish victimhood (1, 15).

Explanation assessment •● Explanations contained in these essays are largely conditioned by the point of view of their authors. Half of the class (all pupils who address the Armenian genocide) assume Turkish victimhood. These essays thus explain not the motivation of Turkish, but of Armenian perpetrators who, for example, 'killed our women, soldiers. The only thing they wanted was gold and land' (9). Two points of view provide the framework for these explanations. The first tendency is recrimination: to explain the falsity of accusations of Turkish responsibility for crimes perpetrated against Armenians as a reaction to (6, 9, 13, 15), and then explain Armenian perpetration. The second tendency is omission: to explain persecutions of Turks while omitting a mention of Turkish persecution of Armenians (1, 2, 11). Exceptionally and somewhat confusedly, pupil 3 challenges Turkish victimhood by writing that Armenians' claim to having persecuted Turks is false. 'Armenians say that they committed a genocide on us, but we do not accept this'. Finally, the tendency to explain genocide as pre-emptive violence extends to explanations of both the crimes against the Armenian population and the Holocaust. Exceptionally, pupil 2 writes that 'Adolf Hitler with his progressive thinking knew that the Jews would later be harmful to humanity' (2), while pupil 6 explains the deportation of Armenians as a measure to 'avoid an uprising' (6).

Aydın Ortaokulu Secondary School in Karadeniz Ereğli

Events ● Two of the ten pupils who submitted essays in this class write that they 'have no idea about this topic'. All others write about genocide in general. Two write that it involves 'the intention … to destroy a nation' (1) or 'horrific acts against the people' (7) while pupils 3, 4 and 6 define genocide specifically as the public shooting of blindfolded people, while pupils 2, 4 and 5 claim that genocide either 'goes hand in hand with war' (2, 4) or that soldiers carry out genocidal shootings (6). Half of the class focuses on atrocities committed against the Armenians from 1915 to 1916 while denying their status as a genocide, either by writing that 'perhaps one or two Armenians died' (1) or that 'we are not a people which carries out genocides … in fact we had to experience genocide by other nations' (2), or by directly denying the status of this event as a genocide ('it is not true', 4; 'this happening is false', 7; 'no one did any evil to anyone', 8). None mentions the Holocaust. However, pupil 1 evokes atrocities committed against Jews in contrast to the Armenian genocide, while pupils 5 and 7 evoke 'what the Jews did to people'. Pupil 1 compares the Holocaust and the crimes perpetrated against Armenians in order to assert that the latter was not a genocide because it did not involve mass killing.

Protagonists ● In addition to general references to 'people' and 'nations', the pupils populate their essays with Armenians, Turks, Muslims, the Ottoman Empire, Hitler and Jews in accordance with the topics they address.

Effects and aftereffects ● Generic terms refer to the effects of genocide as destruction, murder, horrific acts, massacre, torture and killing. Two trends include the suggestion that victims were blindfolded before being publicly shot, and the claim that crimes committed against Armenians do not constitute a genocide.

Causal agency ● Only half of this class offers an explanation of genocide. Those who do so primarily ascribe responsibility to an individual perpetrator. Pupil 1 claims that 'Adolf Hitler is the one who carried out a genocide. … He killed the Jews'. However, the remaining pupils in this group write that Jews were responsible for either 'torture' (5) or for 'doing things to people' (7), or that the claim that Turks carried out a genocide are false (7). Pupil 1 claims that Ottomans' responsibility for 'forcing Armenians to leave our country' was a reaction to Armenians' ending of Turkish–Armenian friendship 'by cooperating with the Russians' during the First World War. Implicit in this explanation is a dual political and moral causality according to which Russian–Armenian cooperation destroyed a friendship, such that Ottomans reacted to Armenian betrayal by expulsing Armenians. Other pupils write more

generally that genocide is motivated by the wish to punish people (3) or to 'teach all people [watching] a lesson' (6).
Times and spaces ● The essays refer generally to 'history' and 'the past', and to the 'Caucasian front' (2, 4) and to 'gas chambers' (1).
Points of view ● The majority of pupils in this class adopt a moral point of view. Half of these assert the falsity of claims that many Armenians died (1) or deny that a genocide against Armenians occurred (2, 4), while the other half claims that 'genocide is a form of punishment' (6), and that 'we must learn from the misery which Jews brought on people' (5) or 'judge Jews for what they have done to people' (7). In addition to the utility of learning about the past in general, pupil 1 claims that 'it is important to learn about genocides … so that future generations do not make the same mistakes as past governments'.
Explanation assessment ● This class largely explains atrocity crimes as the outcome of military actions. It focuses squarely on the persecution of Armenians while evoking the Holocaust in terms of suffering said to have been caused by Jews (5, 7). By defining the Holocaust as the 'killing of one's own nation', pupil 1 disclaims the status of the Armenian allegations as a genocide. Almost half of the class explicitly denies the events of 1915 and 1916 by stating that this fact is 'false'. Coupled with denials are explanations of atrocities as a form of punishment and of self-defence designed to pre-empt anticipated violence.

S1 *M. Emin Saraç İmam Hatip Ortaokulu*, secondary school in Istanbul (population 14.6 million), with sixteen responding pupils with an average age of thirteen and fourteen, supervised by teacher Erdi Mece.
S2 *Aydın Ortaokulu*, secondary school in Karadeniz Ereğli (population 100,000), with ten responding pupils with an average age of thirteen and fourteen, supervised by teacher Nurhan Akkaş.

Translations of Turkish educational materials by Baris Can and Dilan Tas.

UKRAINE

Curricula

The *Programme for Secondary Schools, World History* from 2014 is geared towards fifteen- to seventeen-year-olds. It addresses the 'Holodomor' (*Голодомори*) and the 'great repressions of the 1930s' in the context of 'Stalin's plan for the "construction of socialism"' in a section entitled 'Russia – the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1939' (6). Teaching about the Holocaust is stipulated in the section 'The Second World War. The World after the Second World War' (9–10), which focuses primarily on 'stages' of the war and 'military operations'. The Holocaust is addressed in terms of 'Operation Barbarossa', 'Germany's attack on the Soviet Union' and 'features of the occupation regime'. The curriculum also mentions the 'Nuremberg and Tokyo trials of war criminals', but does not address protagonists or places in which the Holocaust took place.

The revised version of this curriculum, the *Programme for Secondary Schools, World History* from July 2016, mentions the concept of 'genocide' in connection with the First World War, in particular the 'arms race', 'weapons of mass destruction', 'militarism' and 'trench war' in a section called 'The Backgrounds of the First World War. The War and its Consequences' (2–3).

The third curriculum, the *Programme for Secondary Schools, the History of Ukraine* from July 2016, deals with the Holocaust in the section 'Ukraine in the Second World War (1939–1945)', which focuses on 'the occupation of Ukraine by German troops and their allies' (11–12). Details of this include 'mass extermination of civilians', the National Socialist

'new order' and 'concentration camps' alongside 'collaboration', 'resistance', the 'Ukrainian liberation movement', 'Ostarbeiter' (*Остарбайтери*, 11) and 'children of war' (*діти війни*, 12). This curriculum also covers the Holodomor in the section 'The Rise and Establishment of the Soviet Totalitarian Regime (1921–1939)' (8–9), where 'expropriation and forced collectivisation' are contrasted with 'the resistance of the peasantry'. The section mentions the 'grain procurement crisis' of 1927–1928 and 1928–1929 and emphasises 'the causes and course of the Holodomor from 1932 to 1933', which is described as the 'genocide of the Ukrainian people' and categorised among 'violations of human rights under the totalitarian regime'. Further aspects of the Holodomor include 'the law of the five ears of corn', 'forced grain reserves' and 'black boards', while 'mass repressions', the 'Great Terror', 'russification' and 'mass graves of the victims of repression' such as Bykivnia exemplify other atrocities committed by the Soviet Union. The curriculum does not establish an explicit connection between the Holocaust and genocides. It addresses the Holocaust in the context of the German attack on the Soviet Union, but does not mention Jews or Roma. The concept 'genocide' is used both in the context of the First World War and when referring to the Holodomor as the 'genocide of the Ukrainian people'. The pedagogical recommendations of the third curriculum also emphasise the Holomodor. Pupils are expected to 'interpret' and 'apply' the concepts and terms 'Second World War', 'Great Patriotic War', 'Blitzkrieg' and 'the Holocaust' (C1, 9–10) and to 'apply' the terms 'arms race', 'weapons of mass destruction' and 'genocide' mentioned in the context of the First World War (C2, 2–3). By contrast, pedagogical recommendations referring to the Holodomor are more participative (C3, 8–9), demanding pupils to 'use maps as a source of information' about the Holodomor, 'identify key trends and contradictions' of 'forced collectivisation', 'express their own judgements about human rights violations' under the 'totalitarian regime' and 'assess' the Holodomor in 'legal terms' as 'the genocide of the Ukrainian people'. An 'Explanatory Note' (2–3) defines pedagogical goals as 'preserving historical memory', 'fostering national identity', and 'renewing the interest in the history … of Ukraine' as a response to 'the undeclared "hybrid war" of the Russian Federation' against Ukraine. The emphasis on the Holodomor might be understood as one aspect of this effort to 'consolidate the nation' via 'education, and especially history' (1).

C1 *Програма для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів, Всесвітня історія, 10 – 11 класи*, 2014 [Programme for Secondary Schools, World History, years 10–11, 2014].
C2 *Програма для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів, Всесвітня історія*, 10—11 *класи*, Затверджено наказом Міністерства освіти і науки України від 14.07.2016, no. 826 [Programme for Secondary Schools, World History, years 10–11, approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine on 14 July 2016, No. 826].
C3 *Програма для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів, Історія України*, 10—11 *класи*, затверджено наказом Міністерства освіти і науки України від 14.07.2016, року № 826 [Programme for Secondary Schools, History of Ukraine, years 10–11, approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine on 14 July 2016, No. 826].

Textbooks

***Всесвітня історія* [World History] (2011)**

Paratext ● The Holocaust and genocides are not mentioned on the contents page. In the foreword, the author affirms that one of the textbook's purposes is to foster 'compassion for the victims of war, aggression, and genocide' (4). However, most of the exercises referring to genocides are factual, asking pupils, for example, 'what policy was carried out by Nazi leaders against the Jews?' (33). Further exercises ask causal questions, such as 'why … did the National Socialist leadership treat workers … so cruelly?' (26). Some exercises focus on

reflection by asking pupils to ‘give their view’ about the ‘New Order’ envisaged by the Nazis (35) and to think about ‘how the Balkan conflicts … could have been stopped’ (141).
Events ● This textbook, which covers the period from 1939 to the present day, addresses the Holocaust (four pages) and atrocities in the former Yugoslavia (one page). The author defines the term ‘Holocaust’ etymologically and as ‘the destruction of the Jewish people in the years of the Second World War’ (27). Bosnia and Herzegovina is associated with ‘ethnic conflict’, while ‘ethnic cleansing’ is said to have been carried out in Kosovo (139).
Protagonists ● The textbook addresses individual and collective perpetrators of the Holocaust ranging from Hitler, Göring and Hess to groups qualified in military terms (‘the invaders’, ‘the occupants’) and in political terms (‘the Nazis‘, ‘the German leadership’). ‘Jews, Gypsies, and the Slavic people’ feature as victims alongside ‘prisoners of war, the civilian population, and the members of the Resistance’ (27). The survivor testimony of Jankiel Wiernik is presented in a quoted text (27). Furthermore, the author mentions the role of ‘the world community’, which ‘failed to stop … aggressor states’ (44). While many of the quoted images represent active perpetrators and passive victims (uniformed men shooting a man in front of a mass grave, 27), the textbook allocates two pages to the ‘Resistance movement’ and addresses the activity of organisations such as the Free France resistance movement, the People’s Liberation Army in Yugoslavia and the resistance in Poland. The author names protagonists of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina as ‘three ethnic religious groups: the Serbs (Orthodox) … the Croats (Catholic), as well as Serbs and Croats of Islamic belief’ (139), albeit without categorising these as either perpetrators or victims. The conflict in Kosovo is said to have been ‘sparked’ by ‘NATO forces’ as a reaction to ‘ethnic cleansing’ initiated by ‘the Yugoslavian president S. Milošević’ against ‘Albanians’ (139).
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust are exclusion, the destruction of material culture, forced labour and death, which is expressed in numbers several times (‘eighteen million people were taken to concentration camps, of which twelve million were exterminated, among them six million were Jews’, 27). The author also underlines the death of ‘prominent scholars, clergy, famous doctors, lawyers, artists who benefited science and culture’ (27). Further effects are that ‘the economies of all the enslaved countries worked for the invaders’ (25), but also that a ‘strong resistance’ opposed the National Socialists (28). The outcomes of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina include ‘tens of thousands’ of dead and wounded, refugees and displaced persons as well as ‘hundreds’ of destroyed cities (139). The aftereffects of the Holocaust are denazification (which, however, ‘thousands of people managed to avoid’, 51), the Nuremberg and the Tokyo trials, and the fact that ‘only a few tens of thousands’ of Jews were left on the territory of the former USSR out of ‘2.75 to 2.9 million’ before the war (27). While aftereffects of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina include the Dayton Agreement and the division of the country into administrative units, the war in Kosovo is followed by ‘the international isolation’ and prosecution of Milošević (139).
Causal agency ● While the chapter about the Second World War has a military focus, the author explains the Holocaust causally, as a result of the ‘New Order’ envisaged by the National Socialists for the occupied territories. The ‘purpose’ of the ‘New Order’ is said to have been ‘the liquidation of the … sovereignty and the … achievements’ of occupied countries, as well as ‘plunder and arbitrariness’ (25). When affirming that ‘the plan envisaged … colonisation’, extermination and enslavement, the author highlights the intentionality of the Holocaust, whereby the ‘essence’ of the National Socialist regime is said to have been ‘anti-human’ (26). The textbook also highlights human responsibility with formulations such as ‘the German leadership decided on the physical destruction of all Jews in Europe’ (27) and ‘the Nazis managed to exterminate twenty-two percent of the population’ (28). The author evokes individual motivation in an exercise asking ‘what was the aim of Adolf Hitler and his entourage when they started occupying European countries?’ (25). The outbreak of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is explained in the context of the ‘transition from the communist to

the democratic system' (138) when, after the death of Tito, 'centrifugal tendencies intensified' and 'national problems became the focus of political life' (138). Individual responsibility for 'ethnic cleansing' is ascribed to Milošević (139).
Times and spaces ●The textbook states that the Holocaust took place 'during occupation' (26) and 'during the years of the Second World War' (27). It highlights the Wannsee Conference (1942) and the (first) Nuremberg trial (1945–46) among other key dates. The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is said to have started in March 1992 and lasted for three and a half years, while the conflict in Kosovo is said to have taken place in 1999. The space ascribed to the Holocaust ranges from local (Oradour-sur-Glane, Lidice, Khatyn, Babi Yar) and regions ('eastern Europe'), to 'occupied territories' in different countries such as the Baltic States, the USSR and Ukraine. The author highlights 'the largest … concentration camps', including Auschwitz, Majdanek and Treblinka (27).
Explanation assessment ● The textbook explains the Holocaust as a constitutive part of the 'New Order' established by National Socialists in the occupied territories. Colonisation, extermination and enslavement are said to represent the core of National Socialist ideology, whereby the systematic character of the Holocaust and the 'anti-human … essence' (26) of National Socialism are repeatedly underlined. While perpetrators and victims of the Holocaust are both individuals and collective actors, the textbook allocates a section to international resistance and mentions the passivity of the 'world community'. Although death is sometimes assessed statistically, the author also emphasises that people 'who benefited science and culture' (27) lost their lives. The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina is explained with passive formulations which elude responsibility ('centrifugal tendencies intensified' and 'national problems became the focus of political life', 138), whereby perpetrators and victims are not named. By contrast, the author ascribes individual responsibility for 'ethnic cleansing' of 'the Albanians' in Kosovo to Milošević, and the responsibility for starting the war to 'NATO forces' (139). The nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains unclear since 'ethnic cleansing' is only associated with Kosovo.

Всесвітня історія – новітній період **[World History – The Recent Period] (2011)**
Paratext ● The back cover indicates that the author is the director of the Ukrainian Centre for the Study of the Holocaust. The textbook addresses the Holocaust in the section 'The Second World War. The World after the Second World War', which focuses on 'military operations' and 'stages of the war', but also includes the subchapter 'The Occupation Regime and the Resistance Movement in the Occupied Territories. The Holocaust'. The introduction opens with a definition of genocide in a box. The Second World War is then qualified as 'the main page' of contemporary history, whereby 'most of the human losses were among civilians – victims of the genocide' (6). The author expresses the conviction that 'the collapse of totalitarian regimes drew a line under one of the bloodiest experiments in world history' (9). Pedagogical exercises encourage pupils to establish connections by asking questions such as, 'How did the Second World War differ qualitatively from other wars?' (10), 'Are there factors that can justify the collaboration of individual people?' and 'What are the lessons of the Holocaust?' (42). Causal questions include, for example, 'Why did NSDAP member Schindler save Jews?' (39) and 'Why did the socio-political crisis [in Yugoslavia] acquire the form of a civil war?' (135).
Events ● The textbook addresses the Holocaust (nine pages), the Katyn 'tragedy' (half a page) and the 'civil war' in Yugoslavia (half a page), yet without explicitly associating genocide with the latter. Since the book covers world history from 1939 to 2011, the famine of 1932 to 1933 is mentioned only briefly in a lesson about Canada, which 'recognised the Holodomor … as genocide against the Ukrainian people' (95). The author defines the Holocaust as 'the death of a significant part of the Jewish population of Europe … as a result of the organised extermination of Jews by the Nazis and their accomplices in Germany and the territories it

occupied in 1933 to 1945' (36). Furthermore, the author qualifies the Holocaust in legal terms (as a 'crime against humanity') and morally as the National Socialist's attempt to destroy 'the basic values of human civilisation' (6). Genocide is defined as 'complete or partial destruction of certain groups of the population on racial, national, religious or other grounds' (6). The words 'Holocaust', 'Shoah' and 'genocide' are also defined etymologically. The author uses a superlative to qualify the civil war in Yugoslavia as 'the largest armed conflict in Europe since the Second World War' (189). Quoting Yehuda Bauer, the author states that the 'singularity of the Holocaust' (*Винятковість Голокосту*) derives from 'the total nature of its ideology' and 'the embodiment of an abstract idea in a planned, methodically implemented mass murder' (37).

Protagonists ● The perpetrators of the Holocaust are mostly military groups ('the military', 'Hitler's troops' or 'Hitler's men' (*гітлерівці*), 32, 39) but also other collective actors ('the Nazi order', 'the NSDAP', 'the Hitlerites', 'Ukrainian policemen', 33) and individuals (Hitler, Heydrich, Goebbels), while victims are 'a significant part of the Jewish population of Europe' (36), 'Roma and Sinti' (33), 'Ukrainians, Russians and other Slavic people' (32), 'mentally ill' and 'disabled persons' (36). Although many of the quoted images depict passive victims and active perpetrators (32, 38, 39), a section of the Holocaust chapter is allocated to 'Jewish Resistance' (38–39). In the section 'Collaborationism' (34–35), the author distinguishes between military, political, economic, administrative and cultural collaborationism as well as 'friendly relations' with 'the occupants'. Here, the quoted images show groups which fought under National Socialist command (the Russian Liberation Army, the 'Azeri branch of the Wehrmacht', 35). A further section addresses 'The Reaction of Countries and Nations to the Holocaust' (39), underlining the role of individual rescuers (Raoul Wallenberg, Janusz Korczak, Oskar Schindler), but also of rescuing or passive governments. The 'tragedy' in Katyn opposes 'more than twenty thousand Polish officers, as well as representatives of the intelligentsia' and the 'Stalinist regime' or 'Stalin and other Soviet leaders' (15). In the civil war in Yugoslavia, interestingly, 'Croatians and Muslims united against the Serbs' (189).

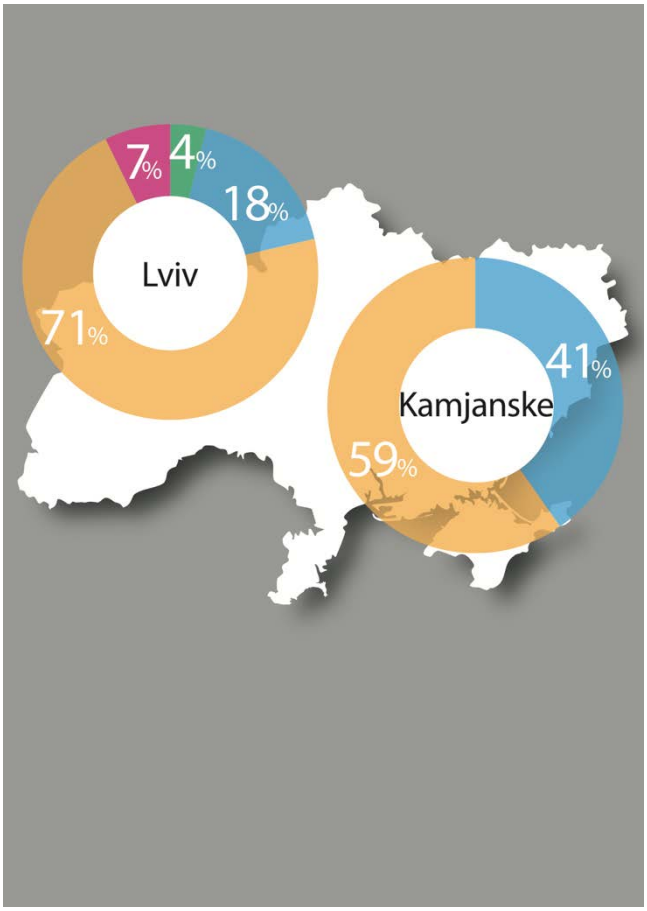
Effects and aftereffects ● The effects of the Holocaust comprise exclusion, death, resistance, collaborationism and flight. However, the author focuses pointedly on death by emphasising that 'the main sense [*смысл*] of the Nazi 'New Order' was … the denial of the right to life of millions of people and entire nations' (32). He repeatedly expresses death in numerical terms, while also circumscribing the Holocaust in moral terms as an attempt to 'destroy … the basic values of human civilisation' (6). Aftereffects are denazification, demilitarisation, reparations, the awarding of the title 'righteous among the nations' to rescuers, trials of war criminals and the punishment of collaborators. The author also claims that 'Nazism and fascism were destroyed as … alternatives to democracy' (55) and that the Holocaust 'forever remains a horrible lesson … and a … warning to mankind' (39). A quoted fragment of the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust of 2000 outlines a commitment to remembrance and prevention (65). In a further quotation from a statement by the Russian State Duma, the author acknowledges 'condemnation' of the 'Katyn tragedy' (15). His assessment of the civil war in Yugoslavia concludes that, in retrospect, 'the problems of peaceful coexistence of different ethnic communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina remain unresolved' (189), but 'in recent years, signs of stabilisation have appeared' (191).

Causal agency ● The author explains the Holocaust as a succession of chronological, cumulative 'stages of anti-Jewish policy' (37) culminating in 'shootings', 'ghettos' and 'death camps', as suggested by the subtitles in the Holocaust chapter. The Holocaust is explained in terms of racism and antisemitism, which are qualified as 'preconditions of the Holocaust' (*Передумови Голокосту*, 36) and which 'became state policy' (37). The author also identifies human responsibility by using formulations such as 'the Nazi aggressors strove towards total physical destruction of entire nations' (6) and 'the leaders of several German

parties used antisemitism to create the image of an "internal enemy"' (36). The motivation of different protagonists is expressed in terms of economic interest ('these murders were supposed to give … economic advantage', 6), electoral purposes ('the parties proclaiming "simple" ways to solve problems … by destroying the "internal enemy" sought to grow their popularity', 36), ideological convictions ('for certain political forces … the idea of Nazism was attractive', 34), and political incentives ('many people … hoped for the creation of their own states as a result of the participation in the military actions', 34). The 'Katyn tragedy' is explained as a result of human responsibility ('following a decision by the Soviet leadership', 15) based on political motivations ('Polish officers were carriers of the national idea and liberal values and … represented a danger to the Stalinist regime'). The author explains the civil war in the former Yugoslavia as a result of 'national intolerance and religious extremism' which 'led to the enmity between Serbs …. Muslims and Croats' (189).
Times and spaces ● The temporal framework ascribed to the Holocaust is 1933 to 1945. The author presents the events as a succession of stages introduced by key dates such as the occupation of Poland in 1939, the attack against the USSR in 1941 and the Wannsee Conference in 1942. The spatial conception of the Holocaust ranges from the domestic ('SS men … broke into Jewish homes', 37) and towns (Khatyn, Lidice, Babi Yar) to states (Germany), 'occupied territories' and 'Europe' (33). The textbook refers to ghettos in Warsaw, Łódź and Ukraine, and concentration camps 'in Germany and all territories occupied by the Nazis' (33).
Explanation assessment ● The Holocaust is explained as a succession of chronological, cumulative 'stages' of anti-Jewish measures, which are the outcome of the 'preconditions' of racism and antisemitism. A quoted text underscores the 'singularity' of the Holocaust, while the author affirms that the 'main sense' of National Socialism is 'the denial of the right to life' of 'entire nations'. Economic, electoral, ideological and political interests feature as motivations for individuals and groups to participate in the Holocaust. The Holocaust chapter also addresses 'Jewish resistance', 'collaborationism' and 'reactions' of the international community in separate sections ranging from half a page to one and a half pages. The outcomes of the Holocaust are expressed in moral terms as the destruction of 'basic values', a 'horrible lesson' and a 'warning to mankind', while quotations highlight commitment to remembrance and prevention. The author generally ends his explanations of genocides with a reconciliatory note, pointing out that atrocities have been followed by official condemnation (as in the case of Katyn), and 'stabilisation' in Bosnia and Herzegovina in spite of some 'unresolved problems'.

T1 Ladychenko, Tetyana W. (Т. В. Ладиченко), 2011. *Всесвітня історія*. Kiev, Gramota [World History, year eleven, age sixteen to seventeen].
T2 Shchupak, Ihor (Ігор Щупак), 2011. *Всесвітня історія – новітній період, 1939–2011*. Zaporizhzhia, Premier [World History – The Recent Period, 1939–2011, year eleven, age sixteen to seventeen].

Essays



Locations of schools showing atrocity types addressed by pupils in each school.
KEY: • Pre-twentieth century mass violence
• Early twentieth-century atrocities prior to 1933
• Atrocities of the Second World War period
• Contemporary atrocities

Lviv Secondary School no. 65

Events ● Of the sixteen essays assessed in this class, twelve focus squarely on the Holomodor, twelve also mention either the Holocaust or Jewish victims, while one focuses exclusively on the Holocaust. Connections between genocides are made in only two cases, where Slavs and Jews are named jointly as the sole victims of National Socialism (23) and where the Holocaust is called a 'large-scale' genocide in comparison to the 'small-scale' genocide of Ukrainian intelligentsia of the 1930s (7).

Protagonists ● References to Ukraine, Ukrainians, the people and the nation testify to a shared understanding of the Ukrainian nation as a victim of a genocide perpetrated by 'Soviet power', the 'Soviet state' or the 'USSR'. In some cases, victims are presented as farmers or peasants (15, 24) or as all humanity (3, 6).

Effects and aftereffects ● All pupils define genocide simply as 'destruction' while a large minority relate the story of deaths as a result of starvation following the imposition of grain quotas and the confiscation of crops. Although memories of Ukrainian history are expressed vividly in the essays, few pupils explicitly addresses collective remembrance. Pupil 4 refers to the relaxing of the taboo surrounding the deportation of Crimean Tatars in 1944 after 1989. Pupil 15 addresses the taboo imposed on the Holomodor in the Soviet Union after 1945.

Causal agency • A minority of pupils explain causes of the Holomodor in terms of the drive to acquire land, power and wealth, or else to 'make Ukraine pliable' (13). To this they

generally add that responsibility for the famine lay with Stalin and that he acted 'deliberately' (13). Causes of the Holocaust vary from Hitler's mental state as 'a sick brute' (2) to 'Hitler's policies' (7) and 'discrimination in action' (14). However, most pupils do not name causes of genocides as such, but partial causes of selected events leading to genocide. Common partial causes refer to immediate causes of death, whereby 'they took all their food' (20) or 'confiscated food' (24) or to behavioural causes of persecution, according to which 'the strong people … wanted to prove that they are strong and powerful' (8) or to intimidation and obedience governing the relationship between leaders and followers (2). Most frequently, explanations of genocide involve combinations of motives and responsibilities. For example, pupil 16 states that 'one wanted to destroy the citizens' in 1931 and 1932. Pupil 2 alludes to universal ethical reasoning underpinning perpetrators' actions by inferring, by negation, that 'nationality, race or sexual persuasion … are not criteria to condemn someone or to decide whether they should live or not'.

Times and spaces ● References to time and space are confined largely to 1932 and 1933 and to the Second World War. Several ascribe importance to Ukrainian territory. Only pupil 10 mentions the mass murder of Jews in Babi Yar in 1941.

Points of view ● This class adopts two points of view, dividing the group into those who describe history neutrally and those who express either a moral judgement or affect or both together. Some use strong emotional language, referring to 'an extremely painful topic' (2) or 'bestial inhuman behaviour' (3). Two drawings of graves, each bearing the words 'never again' alongside the words 'Armenia', 'Ukraine', 'the Holocaust', 'Cambodia' and 'Bosnia', convey a fatalistic attitude towards the past by repeating the exhortation 'never again' (5, 11). Other images evoke popular religious iconography in the form of a candle (9) and an angel with a child within a cross accompanied by the exclamation 'Holomodor genocide 32–33 remember!!!' (15). Attitudes towards the expediency of learning about genocides takes two forms. One group recommends learning about the Holomodor as a tool to sustain memory of 'our history' or because this history took place on 'Ukrainian territory'. The other group advocates genocide prevention so that, for example, 'the young generation can remain human and fight for truth' (7). A small minority claims that the goal of learning is to acquire 'facts', implement 'humanism', or because the past has value in its own right.

Explanation assessment ● This class explains genocides mainly in terms of responsibility and motivation, focusing on who perpetrators were and what drove them rather than on societal or historical causes. However, many also provide causal explanations. By naming causes such as 'for ethnic reasons', and by applying the causal phrase 'because of' to explain the genocide as the result of national, biological, racial or sexual 'characteristics', a large number of pupils inadvertently reiterate motivations of perpetrators and thereby confuse causality with motivation. By explaining the national legacy of the Holomodor with ethically and affectively charged language, these essays suggest that the policy of promoting public remembrance of the Holomodor introduced under Viktor Yushchenko's presidency has had a lasting effect, and that this policy prevails in the minds of young people over professional historiography, which is less consensual.[3] This assessment is based on sixteen out of twenty-five essays submitted by this class; nine essays contain almost identical paraphrases of excerpts presumably obtained from the internet.

Kamjanske Grammar School

Events ● Almost every one of the fourteen essays analysed in this class defines genocide as 'mass destruction' then outlines examples of both the Holocaust and the Holomodor in equal detail. Pupils 8 and 11 establish a hierarchy between genocides by writing that the Holocaust

[3] According to Kulchytskyi, S. (2012). Holomodor in Ukraine 1932–1933. An Interpretation of Facts. Noack, C. et al. (eds), *Holomodor and Gorta Mór. Histories, Memories and Representations of Famine in Ukraine and Ireland*, London: Anthem Press, pp. 19–33, p. 20.

was the ‘worst form of genocide’ and that the genocide against Armenians ‘takes second place after the “Holocaust”’.
Protagonists ● The most prominent protagonist common to these essays is a cohesive ‘people’, conceived as a collective subject, whether perpetrator or victim. Pupils largely describe ‘Jews’, ‘Nazis’ and ‘Hitler’ in the context of the Holocaust, and ‘Ukrainian people’, ‘Stalin’ and ‘Soviets’ in the context of the Holomodor. Exceptions include ‘people who are different’ (1), ‘humanity’ (2), ‘Gypsies’ (3), ‘innocent’ (5) and ‘ordinary’ (6) people.
Effects and aftereffects • Effects are described in broad terms as destruction, murder, discrimination and hunger, but also as exile, emigration and the restriction of rights. Many pupils also indicate for whom the effects were of consequence, that is, for the Ukrainian people, other nations, humanity, Jews and writers. Famine during the Holomodor is often conceived in familiar everyday terms, whereby ‘one took all food away from people’, and ‘one could not buy food in the shops’ (7).
Causal agency ● Pupils explain genocide in terms of responsibility and motivation. Those held responsible include the ‘totalitarian communist regime’ (2) and the ‘state [which] gave them nothing’ (8) in the context of the Holomodor, and ‘German Nazis’ (3) and ‘Hitler [who] had a plan to destroy the Jewish people’ (8) in the context of the Holocaust. Pupils suggest a wide variety of motivations. Pupil 9 writes that perpetrators of the Holocaust ‘considered them [Jews] to be different’. Others write that genocides in general are driven by ‘national, ethnic or religious motives’ (6) or occur when a nation ‘considers itself superior to others’ (5). By contrast, pupil 8 writes that Ukrainian intellectuals were shot in the 1920s and 1930s ‘simply because they wanted to be themselves’. Only two pupils address causality, by suggesting that cruelty was a root of genocide (1), but also by ascribing responsibility not to human agents but to ‘cruel times’; while pupil 3 suggests that ‘extreme discrimination’ was the cause of genocide.
Times and spaces ● Dates provided cover the Holomodor and the Second World War alongside two references to the present day. Spaces include Ukraine, concentration camps, Babi Yar and ghettos.
Points of view ● Several pupils speak in the name of a national ‘we’ or of ‘my country’ (8). However, an equal number appeal to a universal community of remembrance wherein ‘we are all related by blood’ (1), or appeal to the need to remember other nations’ tragedies as well as one’s own (2). Two pupils adopt a metahistorical standpoint by demanding analysis of present-day events (4) or by explaining National Socialists’ own explanations of their acts (3). The importance of learning about genocides is described as a means to prevent future genocides; alternatively, learning about the past is described as a necessary end in itself. Pupil 11 reports exceptionally that learning about genocide teaches us ‘that we are all equal’.
Explanation assessment ● Explanations of the Holocaust and other genocides range from defining motives to naming those responsible. Exceptionally, pupil 6 distinguishes between motives and causes, between national, ethnic and religious ‘motives’ and the lack of a viable cause (‘groundless deliberate destruction’). However, by explaining genocides in terms of perpetrators’ motives without qualifying them, two pupils tacitly condone perpetrators’ self-justification, as ‘the mass annihilation of all people who are different’ (1) and the ‘destruction of Armenians because they belong to another confession’ (11). A further apparently apologetic explanation of genocide is provided by two pupils who suggest that genocide was designed to reduce overpopulation and ensure higher living standards. Although pupil 1 condemns genocide, she suggests that genocide prevented overpopulation, since ‘without genocide, far more people would now be living on earth and where should they all find homes and where can such a lot of food be found[?]’ Similarly, pupil 9 writes that the Holomodor was motivated by the wish to ‘reduce the population in order to live better. Fewer people, fewer problems’. Four of the essays contain such concise definitions in formal language that they were not considered to be genuine and were excluded from this assessment.

S1 *Lviv Secondary School No. 65*, secondary school in Lviv (population 730,000), with twenty-five responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teachers Olha Pedan-Slyepukhina.
S2 *Gymnasium Kamjanske*, secondary school in Kamjanske (population 250,000), with fourteen responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Oleksandra Kozorogh.

Translations of Ukrainian educational materials by Ludmila Shnyr.

Appendix – List of curricula, textbooks and pupils' essays

COUNTRY	Curricula	Textbooks	Essays
Albania	C1 *Kurrikula e bazuar në kompetenca*, Fusha: Histori, Shkalla: IV, Klasa: VIII, Ministria e Arsimit dhe Sportit, Instituti I Zhvillimit të Arsimi, Tiranë, 2016 [Competency-based Curriculum, history, stage IV, year VIII, Ministry of Education and Sports, Education Development Institute, Tirana, 2016]. C2 *Program ii lëndës së historisë*, Shkalla e pestë, Klasa e dhjetë, Ministria e Arsimit dhe Sportit, Instituti i Zhvillimit të Arsimit [History Programme, stage five, year ten, Ministry of Education and Sports, Education Development Institute, downloaded on 20 October 2016].	T1 Thëngjilli, Petrika, Fatmira Rama, Ajet Shahu, Etleva Nita, 2012. *Historia 9 për klasën e 9-të të arsimit 9-vjeçar*. Tirana: Pegi [History for Year Nine of the Nine-year Education Programme, age fourteen and fifteen]. T2 Dërguti, Menduh, Tomi Treska, 2013. *Historia 8 për klasën e 8-të të shkollës 9-vjeçare*. Tirana: Albas, seventh edition [History for Year Eight of the Nine-year Education Programme, age thirteen and fourteen].	S1 *Shkolla e mesme 'Isa Boletini'*, public high school (shkolla e mesme publike) in Vorë (population 25,000), with fifteen responding pupils with an average age of seventeen, supervised by teacher Vojsava Kumbulla. S2 *Shkolla 'Sulë Misiri'*, secondary school in Elbasan (population 150,000), with nineteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Florenca Stafa.
Austria	C1 *277. Verordnung: Änderung der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der allgemein bildenden höheren Schulen*, Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Januar 2004 [Act No. 277: Amendment to the Act on the Curricula of General Higher Education, Federal Law Gazette for the Republic of Austria, January 2004]. C2 *185. Verordnung: NMS-Umsetzungspaket*, Bundesgesetzblatt für die	T1 Scheucher, Alois, Ulrike Ebenhoch, Eduard Staudinger, Josef Scheipl, 2013. *Zeitbilder 6. Vom Beginn der Neuzeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges*. Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch [Images of an Age 6. From the Beginning of the Modern Era to the End of the First World War, history, social studies and political education, year six, age fifteen and sixteen]. T2 Staudinger, Eduard, Alois	S1 *Bischöfliches Gymnasium Petrinum*, private secondary school (privates Gymnasium) in Linz (population 200,000), with twenty-five responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Johannes Bleil. S2 *Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule (AHS) Rahlgasse*, secondary school (Bundesgymnasium, Bundesrealgymnasium) in Vienna (population 1.8 million), with twenty-one responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Barbara Helm-Arthaber.

	Republik Österreich, Mai 2012 [Act No. 185: New Middle Schools Implementation Package, Federal Law Gazette for the Republic of Austria, May 2012]. C3 *113. Verordnung: Änderung der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der Hauptschulen, der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der Neuen Mittelschulen sowie der Verordnung über die Lehrpläne der allgemein bildenden höheren Schulen*, Bundesgesetzblatt für die Republik Österreich, Mai 2016 [Act No. 113: Amendment of the Act on the Curricula of Lower Secondary Schools, New Middle Schools and General Higher Education, Federal Law Gazette for the Republic of Austria, May 2016].	Scheucher, Ulrike Ebenhoch, Josef Scheipl, 2012. *Zeitbilder 7&8. Vom Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges bis in die Gegenwart*. Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag Schulbuch [Images of an Age 7&8. From the End of the Second World War to the Present, history, social studies and political education, years seven and eight, age sixteen and seventeen].	
Belarus	C *Учебные программы для учреждений общего среднего образования с русским языком обучения, Всемирная история. История Белоруссии, V-XI классы*, Утверждено Министерством образования Республики Беларусь, минск, Национальный институт образования, 2012 [Curricula for General Secondary Education with Russian Language of Instruction, World History. History of Belarus, years 5-11, approved by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of	T1 Novik, E. K. (ed.) (Е. К. Новик), 2009. *История Беларуси. XIX - начало XXI в.* Minsk, BGU [History of Belarus. From the Nineteenth to the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century, year eleven, age fifteen and sixteen] T2 Kosmač, Gennadij, Vladimir Košelev, Marina Krasnova (Генадий А. Космач, Владимир С. Кошелев, Марина А. Краснова), 2012. *Всемирная история новейшего времени 1918 -1945 гг.* Minsk, Narodnaja Asveta [World History of the	S1 *Secondary School No. 132*, secondary school in Minsk (population 1.9 million), with twelve responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Alena Paliachonak. S2 *Loshytsa Gymnasium*, secondary school in Loshytsa (former village, now located in the southern part of Minsk, population 1.9 million), with nine responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Aksana Koltan.

	Belarus, Minsk, National Institute of Education, 2012].	Newest Time, 1918-1945, year ten, age fourteen and fifteen].	
Belgium	C *Leerplan Secundair Onderwijs, Geschiedenis*, Basisvorming, derde grad, eerste en tweede leerjaar, 2014/012 (vervangt 2004/039) [Secondary Education Curriculum, history, basic education, third degree, years one and two, 2014/012 (replaces 2004/039)].	T1 Draye, Greet, Camille Creyghton, Sarah Verhaegen et al., 2010. *Passages, Deel 2, Het interbellum en de Tweede Wereldoorlog: 1918-1945*, Averbode: Averbode [Passages, part two, The Interwar Period and the Second World War: 1918-1945, years five and six, age sixteen and seventeen]. T2 Draye, Greet, Maerleen Brock, Hans Cools et al., 2010. *Passages, Deel 3, Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog: 1945-2001*, Averbode: Averbode [Passages, part three, After the Second World War: 1945-2001, years five and six, age sixteen and seventeen].	S1 *Koninklijk Atheneum Etterbeek*, general secondary school (Atheneum) in Brussels (population 1.2 million), with fifteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Anais Maes. S2 *Berthoutinstituut – Klein Seminarie*, catholic secondary and residential school (secundair onderwijs) in Mechelen (population 85,000), with twenty-three responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Silke de Keyser.
Bosnia and Herzegovina	C1 *Okvirni nastavni plan i program za devetogodišnju osnovnu školu u Federaciji Bosne i Hercegovine* [Framework Curriculum for the Nine-year Primary School in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, downloaded on 17 March 2017]. C2 *Наставни програм за четврти разред гимназије свих смјерова,* Република Српска, Министарство просвјете и културе, Бања Лука, јуни 2014. године [Curriculum for the Fourth Year for All Types of High Schools, Republika Srpska,	T1 Izet Šabotić, Mirza Čehajić, *Historija – Udžbenik za deveti razred devetogodišnje osnovne škole* [History - A textbook for the ninth grade of nine year elementary school], history, age fifteen (osnovna škola), Tuzla: NAM, Zenica : Vrijeme, 2012. T2 Dušan Živković, Borislav Stanojlović, *ИСТОРИЈА за 3. разред гимназије природно-математичког и 4. разред гимназије општег и друштвено-језичког смјера* [History for year three of natural science and mathematics	S1 Unnamed secondary school in Banja Luka (population 150,000), Republika Srpska, with twenty-seven responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Tatjana Jurić-Milinović. S2 *Javna ustaova osnovna škola 'Malta'*, elementary school (osnovna škola) in Sarajevo (population 520,000), Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with seventeen responding pupils with an average age of fourteen, supervised by teacher Senada Jusić.

	Ministry of Education and Culture, Banja Luka, June 2014].	gymnasiums and year four of general and social-language gymnasiums], history, age seventeen to eighteen (gymnasium), Eastern Sarajevo: Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Resources, 2012.	
Croatia	C *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, 2013 [Curriculum for the Primary School, 2013].	TI Snježana Koren, 2007. *POVIJEST 8 udžbenik za 8. razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb, Profil International [History 8. Textbook for Year Eight of Elementary School, age fourteen]. T2 Stjepan Bekavac, Mario Jareb, 2011. *POVIJEST 8 udžbenik za osmi razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb, ALFA d. d. [History 8. Textbook for Year Eight of Elementary School, age fourteen].	S1 *Gimnazija Pula*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Pula (population 58,000), with twenty-two responding pupils with an average age of fourteen and fifteen, supervised by teacher Filip Zoričić. S2 *Osnovna škola Veruda*, elementary school (osnovna škola) in Pula (population 58,000), with ten responding pupils aged fifteen, supervised by teacher Nikša Minić.
Cyprus	C1 *Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα για τη διδασκαλία του μαθήματος της Ιστορίας στην Πρωτοβάθμια και Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση*, της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού, Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο Κύπρου, Υπηρεσία Ανάπτυξης Προγραμμάτων, 2010 [Analytical Programme for the History Course in Primary and Secondary School, Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Education and Culture, Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus, 2010]. C2 *Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα Ιστορίας*	T1 Louvi, Evangelia, Dimitrios Xifaras [Λούβη, Ευαγγελία, Δημήτριος Ξιφαράς], 2013. *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ιστορία – Γ' Γυμνασίου*. Patras, Diofantos Computer Technology and Publications Institute [Modern and Contemporary History for Year Three of Secondary Education, age fifteen]. T2 Pantelídou, Angelikí, Kalliópi Protopapá, Sávvas Giallourídis [Παντελίδου, Αγγελική, Καλλιόπη Πρωτοπαπά, Σάββας Γιαλλουρίδης], 2013. *Ιστορία της Κύπρου για το Γυμνάσιο*. Nikosia,	S1 *'Terra Santa' College*, private secondary school in Nicosia (population 280,000), with thirteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Marilena Stefani. S2 *'The Senior School'*, secondary school in Nicosia (population 280,000), with ten responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Giorgos Kotsonis.

	Β΄ Γυμνασίου [Analytical Programme for History, secondary school, year two]. C3 *Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα Ιστορίας Γ΄ Γυμνασίου* [Analytical Programme for History, secondary school, year three].	Program Development Service – Pedagogical Institute of Cyprus [History of Cyprus for Secondary Education, age twelve to fifteen].	
Czech Republic	C1 *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání*, Příloha č. 1 k Opatření ministryně školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy, kterým se mění Rámcový vzdělávací program pro základní vzdělávání, čj. MSMT-28603/2015, Praha, leden 2016 [Framework Education Programme for Basic Education, annex no. 1 to the Measures of the Minister of Education, Youth and Sport, Prague, January 2016]. C2 *Standardy pro základní vzdělávání – Dějepis*, Pracovní verze z 30.4.2013, Zpracováno dle upraveného RVP ZV platného od 1.9.2013 [Standards for Basic Education – History, working version of 30 April 2013, processed according to the modified RVP ZV valid from 1 September 2013]. C3 *Rámcový vzdělávací program pro gymnázia*, Výzkumný ústav pedagogický v Praze, 2007 [Framework Education Programme for Secondary School, Pedagogical Research Institute in Prague, 2007].	T1 Mandelová, Helena, Eliška Kunstová, Ilona Pařízková, 2005. *Dějiny 20. Století*, Liberec, Dialog, second edition [History of the Twentieth Century, year nine, age fifteen]. T2 Čapka, František, 2007. *Dějepis 9 – od roku 1918 do současnosti*, Prague, Scientia [History 9 – from 1918 to the Present Day, year nine, age fifteen].	S1 *Basic school Pečky* (population 4,600), with ten responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Eva Zajícová. S2 *'Základní škola kpt. Jaroše'*, elementary school in Třebíč (population 37,000), with thirteen responding pupils with an average age of fourteen and fifteen, supervised by teacher Helena Štajglová.

Estonia	C1 *National Curriculum for Basic Schools*, Appendix 5 of Act No. 1 of the Government of the Republic of 6 January 2011, Last amendment 29 August 2014. C2 *National Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools*, Appendix 5 of Act No. 2 of the Government of the Republic of 6 January 2011, Last amendment 29 August 2014.	TI Värä, Eina, Tõnu Tannberg, Ago Pajur, 2004. *LÄHIAJALUGU I Ajalooõpik 9. klassile*. Tallinn, Avita [Recent History I. Textbook for year nine, age sixteen]. T2 Värä, Einar, Tõnu Tannberg, 2004. *LÄHIAJALUGU II Ajalooõpik 9. klassile*. Tallinn, Avita [Recent History II. Textbook for year nine, age sixteen].	S1 *Pelgulinna Gümnaasium Tallinn*, basic and secondary school (gümnaasium) in Tallinn (population 430,000), with twelve responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Johanna Bome. S2 *Rakvere Gümnaasium*, secondary school (gümnaasium) in Rakvere (population 15,000), with twenty-two responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Heli Krisi.
Finland	C1 *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014*, Finnish National Board of Education, Print: Helsinki 2016. C2 *National Core Curriculum for General Upper Secondary Schools 2015*, Finnish National Board of Education, Print: Helsinki 2016.	T1 Kohvakka, Ville, Matti Ojakoski, Jari Pönni, Tiina Raassina-Merikanto, 2012. *Aikalainen Historia 8*, Helsinki, Sanoma Pro, fourth edition [Contemporary History 8, history, year eight, age fifteen]. T2 Hanska, Jussi, Kimmo Jalonen, Juhapekka Rikala, Anu Waltari, 2017. *Memo Historia 8*, Helsinki, Edita [Memo History 8, history, year eight, age fifteen].	S1 *Kartanon koulu*, lower secondary school in Järvenpää (population 41,000), with twenty-two responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Kati Hynönen. S2 *Jaakko Ilka koulu*, lower secondary school in Ilmajoki (population 12,000), with ten responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Anniina Mäki.
France	C1 *Bulletin officiel spécial* n° 9 du 30 septembre 2010, Programme d'enseignement commun d'histoire-géographie en classe de première des séries générales [Special Official Bulletin No. 9 of 30 September 2010, history-geography, year one]. C2 *Histoire – Géographie – Éducation civique*, classes de sixième, cinquième, quatrième, troisième, Ministère de	T1 Zachary, Pascal (responsible author), Géraldine Ancel-Géry, Yannick Courseaux et al., 2011. *Histoire 1res L/ES/S. Questions pour comprendre le XX^{e} siècle*. Paris, Hachette Éducation [History for Year One. Questions to Understand the Twentieth Century, history, year one, age sixteen]. T2 Besset, Frédéric, Michaël Navarro, Raphaël Spina et al., 2015. *Histoire 1re ES/L/S.*	S1 *Lycée Jean Perrin*, mixed vocational specialisation school in Lyon (population 500,000), with seven responding pupils with an average age of sixteen and seventeen, supervised by teacher Caroline Morel. S2 *Lycée Fénélon*, general secondary school in Lille (population 229,000), with twenty-three responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Ann-Laure Liéval.

	l'Éducation nationale, Direction générale de l'enseignement scolaire, mars 2009 [History – Geography – Civic Education, years six, five, four, three, Ministry of National Education, General Directorate of School Education, March 2009].	*Questions pour comprendre le vingtième siècle*. Paris, Hachette Éducation [History for Year One. Questions to Understand the Twentieth Century, history, year one, age sixteen].	
Germany	C1 *Rahmenlehrplan für die Sekundarstufe I, Geschichte*, Jahrgangsstufe 7-10, Senatsverwaltung für Bildung, Jugend und Sport Berlin, 2006 [Framework Curriculum for Secondary Education, Stage I, History, Years 7-10, Senate Administration for Education, Youth and Sport Berlin, 2006]. C2 *Lehrplan Geschichte*, Gymnasialer Bildungsgang, Jahrgangsstufen 6G bis 9G, Hessisches Kultusministerium, 2010 [Curriculum for History, Secondary School Level, Years 6G to 9G, Hessian Ministry of Education, 2010).	T1 Adelmeyer Annette, Christine Dzubiel et al., 2012. *Geschichte und Geschehen. Oberstufe Gesamtband*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, first edition [History and Events. Upper Level Complete Edition, approved in the federal states Berlin, Brandenburg, the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saarland, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia, years eleven to thirteen, age sixteen to nineteen]. T2 Sauer, Michael (ed.), Rolf Brütting et al, 2013. *Geschichte und Geschehen 4*. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, firstedition [History and Events – Part Four, approved in the federal state Hesse, year ten, age fifteen].	S1 *Rosa Luxemburg Gymnasium*, for gifted children in Pankow, Berlin (population 3.5 million), with twenty-nine responding pupils with an average age of fourteen and fifteen, supervised by teacher Sabine Kammer. S2 *Liebigschule*, secondary school (Gymnasium) in Frankfurt am Main (population 730,000), with twenty-three responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Martin Liepach.
Hungary	C *110/2012. (VI. 4.) Kormányrendelet a nemzeti alaptanterv kiadásáról, bevezetéséről és alkalmazásáról*, Magyar Közlöny – Magyarország Hivatalos Lapja, 66. szám, 2012. június 4. [110/2012. (VI. 4.) Governmental Decree on the	T1 Borhegyi, Péter, 2015. *Történelem tankönyv 11. a gimnáziumok 9–12. évfolyama számára.* Budapest, Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet [History Textbook 11. for secondary school grades 9-12. Budapest, Educational Research and	S1 *Berzsenyi Dániel Secondary School* (Gimnázium) in Budapest (population 1.7 million), with thirteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Monika Mezei. S2 *Fáy András Secondary School* (Szakgimnázium) in Sopron (population 61,000), with eleven responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Vódli Zsolt.

	Issue, Introduction and Implementation of the National Core Curriculum, Hungarian Gazette – Official Journal of Hungary, no. 66, 4 June 2012].	Development Institute, history, secondary level]. T2 Borhegyi, Péter, 2015. *Történelem tankönyv 12. a gimnáziumok 9–12. évfolyama számára.* Oktatáskutató és Fejlesztő Intézet [History Textbook 12. for secondary school grades 9-12. Educational Research and Development Institute, history, secondary level].	
Lithuania	C *Socialinis ugdymas.* [Social education, downloaded on 24 March 2017].	T1 Tamošaitis, Mindaugas, 2011. *Istorijos vadovėlis – 1 dalis*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, second edition [History Textbook – Part One, year ten, age sixteen]. T2 Kraujelis, Ramojus, Arūnas Streikus, Mindaugas Tamošaitis, 2014. *Istorijos vadovėlis – 2 dalis*. Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, third edition [History Textbook – Part Two, year ten, age sixteen].	S1 *Alytus Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas gimnazija*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Alytus (population 70,000), with sixteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Ramune Petrosian. S2 *Vilniaus šv. Kristoforo gimnazija*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Vilnius (population 570,000), with twenty-five responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Mindaugas Nefas.
Montenegro	C1 *Predmetni program – Istorija, VI, VII, VIII i IX razred osnovne škole*, Zavod za Školstvo, Ministarstvo Prosvjete i Nauke, Republika Crna Gora, Podgorica, 2013 [Curriculum – History, years six, seven, eight and nine of basic school, Institute for Education, Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Montenegro, Podgorica, 2013]. C2 *Predmetni program – Istorija, I, II, III i IV razred opšte gimnazije*, Zavod za Školstvo, Ministarstvo Prosvjete i Nauke,	T1 Nikola Mršulja, Lovćenka Radulović, Željko Drinčić, Zdravko Pejović, 2003. *Istorija za I i II razred srednjih stručnih škola*, Podgorica, Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Resources [History for the First and Second Year of Secondary Education, years one and two, age fifteen to seventeen]. T2 Slavko Burzanović, Jasmina Đorđević, 2012. *Историја за девети разред основне школе.* Podgorica, Institute for Textbooks and Teaching	S1 *Osnovna škola 'Štampar Makarije'*, elementary school (osnovna škola) in Podgorica (population 190,000), with nineteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Igor Radulović. S2 *Osnovna škola 'Drago Milović'*, elementary and secondary school (osnovna škola) in Tivat (population 9,500), with fourteen responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Ivana Kovačević.

	Republika Crna Gora [Curriculum – History, years one, two, three and four of general secondary school, Institute for Education, Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Montenegro, downloaded on 16 March 2017].	Resources [History for the Ninth Year of Primary School, year nine, age fourteen].	
Poland	C1 *Podstawa programowa z komentarzami*, Tom 4., Edukacja historyczna i obywatelska w szkole podstawowej, gimnazjum i lyceum, 2009 [Curricular Framework with Comments, volume 4. Historical Education and Citizenship in Elementary School, Grammar School and High School, 2009]. C2 *Podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego dla szkoły podstawowej*, Załącznik nr. 2 [Curricular Framework for Elementary School, Appendix 2, downloaded on 28 February 2017].	T1 Dolecki, Rafał, Krzysztof Gutowski, Jędrzej Smoleński, *Po prostu historia, szkoły ponadgimnazjalne, zakres podstawowy* [Just History, Upper Secondary Schools, basic stage], history, age sixteen to seventeen (*liceum*), Warszawa, WSiP (Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne), 2012. T2 Roszak, Stanisław, Jarosław Kłaczkow, *Poznać Przeszłość, wiek XX, podręcznik do historii dla szkół ponadgimnazjalnych zakres podstawowy* [To Know the Past, Twentieth Century, history textbook for upper secondary schools, basic stage], history, age sixteen to seventeen (*liceum*), Waszawa, Nowa Era, 2012.	S1 *Liceum Ogólnokształcące* in Wysokie, Nowa Huta, secondary school (Liceum) in Cracow (population 760.000), with ten responding pupils aged sixteen, supervised by teacher Andrzej Górniak. S2 *Zespól Szkól Nr 1 - Gimnazjum i Liceum im. ks. Piotra Skargi*, secondary school (Gimnazjum, Liceum) in Szamotuły (population 19.000), with ten responding pupils aged sixteen, supervised by teacher Wiesława Araszkiewicz.
Portugal	C1 *Organização Curricular e Programas*, Volume 1, Ensino Básico, 3.° Ciclo, Ministério de Educação [Curricular Organisation and Programmes, Volume 1, Basic education, third cycle, Ministry of Education]. C2 *Programa História. Plano de Organização do Ensino-Aprendizagem*, Volume 2, Ensino	T1 Amaral, Cláudia, Júlia Castro, Bárbara Alves, Pedro Almiro Neves (coordinators), 2010. *Descobrir a história 9*. Porto: Porto Editora [Discovering History, year nine, age fourteen to sixteen]. T2 Maia, Cristina, Cláudia Pinto Ribeiro, Isabel Afonso, 2016. *Novo Viva a história!, 9o año.*	S1 *Escola Secundária do Monte da Caparica* (population 21,000), with twenty-one responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Marta Torres. S2 *Agrupamento de Escolas de Vilela*, elementary and secondary school in Vilela (population 5,200), with fifteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Sandra Costa.

	Básico, 3.° Ciclo, 4.ª Edição, Ministério de Educação [History Programme. Teaching-Learning Organisation Plan, Volume 2, Basic education, third cycle, fourth edition, Ministry of Education]. C3 *Metas curriculares de história*, 3.° Ciclo do Ensino Básico, Governo de Portugal, Ministério da Educação e Ciéncia, 2013/2014 [Curricular Goals for History, third cycle of basic education, Government of Portugal, Ministry of Education and Science, 2013/2014].	Porto: Porto Editora [The New Live History! year nine, age fourteen to sixteen].	
Romania	C1 *Programe şcolare pentru clasa a X-a, ciclul inferior al liceului, Istorie*. Aprobat prin ordin al ministrului nr. 4598/31.08.2004, Ministerul Educației și Cercetării, Bucureşti [School Curricula for Year Ten, Lower Level Secondary School, History. Approved by order of the minister no 4598/ 31/08/2004, Ministry of Education and Research, Bucharest]. C2 *Programă şcolară istorie clasa a XII-a*, Ciclul superior al liceului, Ministerul Educației, Cercetării și Inovării, Bucureşti, 2009 [School Curriculum History for Year Twelve, Upper Level Secondary School, Ministry of Education, Research and Innovation, Bucharest, 2009].	T1 Stan, Magda, Cristian Vornicu, 2005. *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*. Bucharest, Editura Niculescu ABC [History. Textbook for Year Ten, age fifteen and sixteen] T2 Băluţoiu, Valentin, 2006. *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*. Bucharest, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică [History. Textbook for Year Ten, age fifteen and sixteen]	S1 *Liceul Teoretic Videle*, secondary school (liceu) in Videle (population 11,000), with sixteen responding pupils with an average age of fifteen, supervised by teacher Monica Iorga. S2 *Liceul Teoretic 'Nicolae Iorga'*, secondary school (liceu) in Bucharest (population 1.9 million), with twenty-eight responding pupils with an average age of fifteen and sixteen, supervised by teacher Magda Stan.

Slovakia	C *Štátny Vzdelávací Program pre 2. stupeň základnej školy* (State Education Programme for Secondary Schools), 2011.	T1 Elek, József et al., 2007. *Történelem a gimnázium 2. osztálya számára*. Bratislava, Slovenské pedagogické nakladatel'stvo [History for the Second Year of Secondary School, history, year two, age fifteen to sixteen]. T2 Kováč, Dušan et al., 2013. *Történelem az alapiskolák 9. és a nyolcéves gimnáziumok 4. osztálya részére*. Orbis Pictus Istropolitana, Bratislava [History for Year Nine of Secondary School and Year Four of the Eight-year Gymnasium].	S2 *Základná škola Mihálya Tompu - Tompa Mihály Alapiskola*, primary school in Rimavská Sobota (population 25.000) with 11 responding pupils with an average age of 15, supervised by teacher László Angyal. S1 *Selye János Gimnázium*, secondary school in Komarno (35.000), with 16 responding pupils with an average age of 16, supervised by teacher József Elek.
The Republic of North Macedonia	C *Историја за 3. Година гимназиско образование* [History for Year Three of High School, downloaded on 28 March 2017].	T1 Veljanovski, Novica, Gordana Pletvarska, Sonja Cvetkovska, Dzaferi Šičeri (Новица Велјановски, Гордана Плетварска, Соња Цветковска, Џафери Шичери), 2009. *Историја за трета година гимназиско образование*. Skopje, Prosvetno Delo [History for the Third Year of Secondary Education, year three, age sixteen and seventeen] T2 Ristovski, Blaže, Šukri Rahimi, Simo Mladenovski, Todor Čepreganov, Stojan Kiselinovski (Блаже Ристовски, Шукри Рахими, Симо Младеновски, Тодор Чепреганов, Стојан Киселиновски), 2014. *Историја за трета година гимназиско образование*, Skopje, Albi	S1 *Gimnazija 'Orce Nikolov'*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Skopje (population 550,000), with nineteen responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Jasmina Ivkovska. S2 *Gimnazija 'Josip Broz Tito' Bitola*, secondary school (gimnazija) in Bitola (population 75,000), with thirty responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Iljo Trajkovski.

		[History for the Third Year of Secondary Education, year three, age sixteen and seventeen]	
Turkey	C1 *10. Sinif Tarih Dersi Öğretim Programi ve 10. Sinif Seçmeli Tarih Dersi Öğretim Programi,* Ortaöğretim, Milli Eğitim Bakanliği, Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı, Ankara, 2011 [Year Ten History Teaching Programme and Year Ten Elective History Course Teaching Programme, Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, Board of Education and Training, Ankara, 2011]. C2 *Çağdaş Türk ve Dünya Tarihi Dersi Öğretim Programi*, Ortaöğretim, Milli Eğitim Bakanliği, Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı, Ankara, 2012 [Contemporary Turkish and World History Course Teaching Programme, Secondary Education, Ministry of Education, Board of Education and Training, Ankara 2012].	T1 Okur, Yasemin, Akın Sever, Hakan Kiziltan et al., 2015. *Ortaöğretim Çağdaş Türk ve Dünya Tarihi 12*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Devlet Kitapları [Contemporary Turkish and World History, Ministry of Education, year twelve, age eighteen]. T2 Tüysüz, Sami, 2016. *İlköğretim 8. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılâp Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük*, Ankara: Tuna Matbaacilik [History of the Reform of the Turkish Republic and Ataturkism, year eight, age fifteen].	S1 *M. Emin Saraç İmam Hatip Ortaokulu*, secondary school in Istanbul (population 14.6 million), with sixteen responding pupils with an average age of thirteen and fourteen, supervised by teacher Erdi Mece. S2 *Aydın Ortaokulu*, secondary school in Karadeniz Ereğli (population 100,000), with ten responding pupils with an average age of thirteen and fourteen, supervised by teacher Nurhan Akkaş.
Ukraine	C1 *Програма для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів, Всесвітня історія, 10 – 11 класи*, 2014 [Programme for Secondary Schools, World History, years 10-11, 2014]. C2 *Програма для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів, Всесвітня історія*, 10—11 *класи*, Затверджено	T1 Ladychenko, Tetyana W. (Т. В. Ладиченко), 2011. *Всесвітня історія*. Kiev, Gramota [World History, year eleven, age sixteen to seventeen]. T2 Shchupak, Ihor (Ігор Щупак), 2011. *Всесвітня історія – новітній період, 1939-2011.* Zaporizhzhia, Premier [World History – The Recent Period,	S1 *Lviv Secondary School No. 65*, secondary school in Lviv (population 730,000), with twenty-five responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teachers Olha Pedan-Slyepukhina. S2 *Gymnasium Kamjanske*, secondary school in Kamjanske (population 250,000), with fourteen responding pupils with an average age of sixteen, supervised by teacher Oleksandra Kozorogh.

	наказом Міністерства освіти і науки України від 14.07.2016, no. 826 [Programme for Secondary Schools, World History, years 10-11, approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine on 14 July 2016, No. 826]. СЗ *Програма для загальноосвітніх навчальних закладів, Історія України*, 10—11 *класи*, затверджено наказом Міністерства освіти і науки України від 14.07.2016, року № 826 [Programme for Secondary Schools, History of Ukraine, years 10-11, approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine on 14 July 2016, No. 826].	1939-2011, year eleven, age sixteen to seventeen].	