

# Contents

<i>Abbreviations</i> .....	9
<b>Foreword</b> .....	11
<b>1 Post-Conflict Society in the Grip of a Difficult Past</b> .....	13
1.1 The Power of Shared Stories .....	13
1.2 Social Memory as Moral Discourse .....	16
1.3 Arch Myths of Guilt and Victimhood .....	20
1.4 The Role of Public Memory and History Education in Post-Conflict Reconciliation .....	23
<b>2 The Burden of the Past in Finland, South Africa and     Bosnia-Herzegovina</b> .....	27
2.1 Class Conflict: Civil War in Finland .....	27
The Parties and the Course of the Conflict .....	27
The Reds .....	27
The Whites .....	29
The Course of the War .....	30
The Prospect of Reconciliation .....	32
2.2 Race Conflict: Apartheid in South Africa .....	36
The Parties and the Course of the Conflict .....	36
The Africans .....	36
The Afrikaners .....	38
The Course of the Conflict .....	41
The Prospect of Reconciliation .....	44
2.3 Ethnic Conflict: War in Bosnia and Herzegovina .....	46
Three Nations – Three Generations .....	46
The Parties and the Course of the Conflict .....	48
The Serbs .....	48
The Croats .....	49
The Muslims .....	50
The Course of the Conflict .....	52
The Prospect of Reconciliation .....	54

2.4 The Chances of Reconciliation in Finland, South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina Compared .....	56
3 Dealing with Representations of Guilt and Victimhood in Finland, South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina .....	59
3.1 Guilt and Victimhood in Post-Civil-War Finland .....	59
3.1.1 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Reds .....	59
Red Guilt .....	59
Red Victimhood .....	65
3.1.2 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Whites .....	68
White Guilt .....	68
White Victimhood .....	71
3.1.3 Unloading the Burden of the Past in Finland .....	74
Public Memory in Political Fluctuations .....	74
History Education from Exclusion to Inclusion .....	77
3.1.4 Concluding Remarks: Delayed Reconciliation .....	83
3.2 Guilt and Victimhood in Post-Apartheid South Africa .....	84
3.2.1 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Whites .....	85
White Guilt .....	85
White Victimhood .....	89
3.2.2 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Blacks .....	91
Black Guilt .....	91
Black Victimhood .....	96
3.2.3 Unloading the Burden of the Past in South Africa .....	100
Did the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Rewrite the History? .....	100
Public Memory of the Rainbow Nation .....	105
History Education for the New South Africa .....	112
3.2.4 Concluding Remarks: Resolute Reconcilers .....	118
3.3 Guilt and Victimhood in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina .....	120
3.3.1 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Serbs .....	120
Serb Guilt .....	120
Serb Victimhood .....	122
3.3.2 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Croats .....	126
Croat Guilt .....	126
Croat Victimhood .....	127
3.3.3 Ascribing Guilt and Victimhood to the Muslims .....	130
Muslim Guilt .....	130
Muslim Victimhood .....	132
3.3.4 Unloading the Burden of the Past in Bosnia-Herzegovina .....	134

The Power of Local Myths .....	134
Public Memory – for Nation-Building or Reconciliation? .....	136
History Education – Segregation or Integration? .....	138
3.3.5 Concluding Remarks: European pressure – Domestic Doubts ...	146
 4 How They Managed to Deal with the Dark Past in Finland, South Africa and Bosnia-Herzegovina .....	149
Different Conflicts – Shared Myths .....	149
“History From Below” as a Remedy .....	152
The Quest for Multiperspectival School Lessons .....	154
The Bosnian-Herzegovinan Dilemma .....	157
 Bibliography .....	159
 Index .....	173