Towards a pluralist and tolerant approach to teaching history: a range of sources and new didactics

Keynote address by Marc Ferro
General report by Henry Frendo

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Project "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century"

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The **Council of Europe** was founded in 1949 to achieve greater unity between European parliamentary democracies. It is the oldest of the European political institutions and has forty-one member states[1], including the fifteen members of the European Union. It is the widest intergovernmental and interparliamentary organisation in Europe, and has its headquarters in Strasbourg.

With only questions relating to national defence excluded from the Council of Europe's work, the Organisation has activities in the following areas: democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms; media and communication; social and economic affairs; education, culture, heritage and sport; youth; health; environment and regional planning; local democracy; and legal co-operation.

The **European Cultural Convention** was opened for signature in 1954. This international treaty is also open to European countries that are not members of the Council of Europe, and enables them to take part in the Council's programmes on education, culture, sport and youth. So far, forty-seven states have acceded to the European Cultural Convention: the Council of Europe's full member states plus Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Holy See and Monaco.

The **Council for Cultural Co-operation** (CDCC) is responsible for the Council of Europe's work on education and culture. Four specialised committees – the Education Committee, the Higher Education and Research Committee, the Culture Committee and the Cultural Heritage Committee help the CDCC to carry out its tasks under the European Cultural Convention. There is also a close working relationship between the CDCC and the standing conferences of specialised European ministers responsible for education, culture and the cultural heritage.

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1. Albania, Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, San Marino, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom.

The CDCC's programmes are an integral part of the Council of Europe's work and, like the programmes in other sectors, they contribute to the Organisation's three main policy objectives:

- the protection, reinforcement and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and pluralist democracy;
- the promotion of an awareness of European identity;
- the search for common responses to the great challenges facing European society.

The CDCC's education programme covers school and higher education. At present, there are projects on: education for democratic citizenship; history; modern languages; school links and exchanges; educational policies; training for educational staff; the reform of legislation on higher education in central and eastern Europe; the recognition of qualifications; lifelong learning for equity and social cohesion; European studies for democratic citizenship; and the social sciences and the challenge of transition.

About the symposium

The symposium "Towards a pluralist and tolerant approach to teaching history: a range of sources and new didactics" was organised jointly by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC) and the French Community of Belgium. It took place in the framework of the CDCC project, "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century". The project (described in detail in the foreword) promotes an awareness of history that is based partly upon seeking out and understanding the viewpoint of the other. This includes helping the young to develop the critical skills necessary to interpret information responsibly, such as the ability to detect hidden bias and stereotypes, and to compare information derived from a range of historical sources. Against this background, the symposium examined source material for 20th century history, namely archives, museums, oral history and cinema and television, to find means to exploit the rich but often untapped reservoir they represent, as well as identify the pitfalls and dangers involved in their use. These sources were discussed by experts in each field during the panel session and then by the participants, mostly history teachers, in the working groups. The latter contributed case studies, based upon experiences in their own countries, and thus provided the project with valuable examples of good and bad practice.

Besides the keynote speech and the general report, this book includes the panel contributions by the experts and a selection of the case studies. In the appendix, the reader will find Recommendation 1283 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on history and the learning of history in Europe, one of the statutory texts that has given priority to history education in the Council of Europe's activities.

The **keynote speaker,** Marc Ferro, is co-editor of the journal *Annales*, and chairman of the association for research at l'Ecole des hautes études en

sciences sociales. He is also responsible for the television broadcast "Histoire parallèle", produced by ARTE.

The **general rapporteur**, Henry Frendo, is professor of history at the University of Malta. The author of several books and articles on nationalism, political parties, colonialism, migrants and refugees, he directs courses on European political development, imperial and commonwealth history and migration, to name a few.

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Foreword [1]

Learning and teaching the history of the 20th century in Europe

Often considered by historians as the most difficult to study and to teach, the 20th century is the subject of a specific project "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century". In 1993 and 1997, the two summits of heads of state and government of the Council of Europe member states called upon the Council to develop in particular activities and educational methods relating to this period. The Parliamentary Assembly expressed a similar wish in a recommendation on history and the learning of history in Europe, adopted in 1996.

This project represents a complete teaching kit and may be described as an "atom" in which "satellites" gravitate around a "nucleus". This nucleus is a handbook for history teachers, devoted to the methods and different ways of presenting the 20th century to pupils. A Scottish historian, Robert Stradling, has prepared this work which comprises educational chapters and practical worksheets and exercises based on concrete cases and themes. While drawing on and amplifying the Council of Europe's recommendations already adopted in the field of history, he has adapted them to the problems and difficulties of the 20th century, taking into account the intellectual, political and social upheavals which have marked it. He has also attempted to identify the omissions and falsifications in the presentation of the century and deal with contentious issues, the source of conflict, confrontations and misunderstandings.

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1. This foreword is based upon a chapter previously published in *Lessons in history* (Council of Europe Publishing, 1999).

The satellites are teaching packs looking at women's history, population movements and nationalism in 20th century Europe. They are supplemented by reports and contributions on, amongst others, the use of new technologies in teaching, the problem of sources in contemporary history and the study of misuses of history. All these components form a teaching pack which can be used by all teachers and adapted to their needs and resources.

Specifically dealt with by several reports and workshops, the question of the collection and exploitation of source material for 20th century history is also included in the project within a transversal approach. It seeks to initiate pupils in the consultation and use of archives as a documentary basis or discussion theme. But unlike previous centuries, the 20th century can be studied and interpreted through new media such as the cinema, radio, television and more generally images which accompany or indeed replace written information.

These new sources must be inventoried and known, decoded and assessed. The power of images, whether still or moving, also increases the risk of the spectator's being manipulated: propaganda films shot by totalitarian regimes are perhaps the most tragic illustration of this, but omissions and misrepresentations – including those made by editing techniques or clever camerawork – are also a feature of films or documentaries which lay claim to objectivity or information. By discovering these techniques, deliberate or not, today's pupils who live in a permanent audiovisual environment will also learn how to be more critical towards it when watching television news programmes or a "contemporary" film.

Clearly, however, above and beyond propaganda and manipulation, the gradual transition from the written word towards an image society is also a historical phenomenon worthy of study. In this context the project offers teachers a filmography of the 20th century containing the 100 most significant films. These are to be used to shed light upon their period, both historically and culturally, and prompt discussion.

The project also seeks to encourage the use of sources which are little used in teaching, such as oral history. Sometimes, this is the only source available on a particular event or living environment and can provide an insight capable of counterbalancing the official history; increasingly it

makes for more personalised history by giving the speaker the role of witness. Some schools already invite former members of the resistance or former deportees to recount their memories, thereby enabling the listeners to put the period in context. Similarly, life in a factory can be illustrated by a talk by a former factory worker. However, oral history must also be multiple, since, like any other written or visual source, it too can lack objectivity.

The most recent technology, computers in particular, can also provide new sources of information, such as CD-Roms or Internet sites, but they can also be used as a means of teaching. Here too, it is important to help both teachers and pupils select and evaluate the plethora of documents available on the Internet, and to encourage them to look at their source, their reliability and all the risks of manipulation or omission which they may contain. For teachers, using the Internet means first of all knowing how to use it: depending on their training and their own attitude to such tools, teachers can be very much in favour or very much against. The project therefore also seeks to help them use these tools which will provide them with text and images. In this way, Internet sites and CD-Roms can be valuable supplements to textbooks and lessons.

Nevertheless, while these new tools have significant educational potential, teachers attending the training seminars stress the fact that they cannot replace books and papers and that while they do open new avenues, they will not completely revolutionise teaching. Furthermore, many teachers point out that their development in school is at present still limited because of the cost.

The teaching packs are in the form of loose-leaf files or ring binders each containing fifty or so pages designed for ease of use by teachers. They contain text, images, studies on themes and model exercises or workshop activities.

The first pack, on women in history, fits in with the Council of Europe's desire for fair representation of both sexes in society, but its aim goes far beyond simply redressing the balance. While emphasising the role of women in society, too long overlooked, it also seeks to view history from their perspective. Several seminars were held on this project which is based on specific collective or individual examples. Amongst these, the role of women in Stalin's Russia illustrates the life, activities and image of

women of the time, and the period through them. From Evgenia Ginsburg to Marie Curie, Agatha Christie to Melina Mercouri, biographies of women could provide the framework for lessons or themes, but it is also essential to present ordinary or unknown women and their views on events and the world. For that, the use of oral history must be encouraged: the teaching pack suggests examples and interviewing methods which could be used with women who have lived through historic events or who are representative of a period or a theme.

The pack also contains general subjects to be addressed in lessons, such as the struggle for the right to vote, working women or the image of women. It also deals with bias and omissions in the presentation of women in history and consequently has resulted in a genuine work of historiography conducive to comment and critical judgement.

Conceived in a similar way, the pack on nationalism goes beyond mere definitions of the phenomenon to look at the more day-to-day aspects, even including topics such as sport or currency. It covers the major historic consequences of nationalism, such as shifting borders or the break-up of empires (Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and the Soviet Union) and looks at relations between majority and minority groups within states. It then discusses the cohabitation of groups and the means of living together, for example via federalism. The pack, like the two others, is supplemented by a bibliography including written documents, films, and also CD-Roms and Internet sites.

The pack on migration examines population movements in Europe in the 20th century, the reasons why individuals and groups change countries and the cultural and social exchanges which result from these movements. Not restricted simply to the major migration waves of recent decades, it also covers transfrontier movements caused as a result of border changes or economic necessities, as in the case of border workers. It seeks to illustrate the situation and views of migrants as inhabitants of a host country, while facilitating dialogue and mutual understanding concerning increasingly similar concerns and lifestyles.

The Holocaust is also dealt with by the project. Teaching it, above and beyond the facts themselves, should personalise events through the life of victims, for example before and during the Holocaust. A 15-year old adolescent will be more moved by the story of a young person of the

same age before and during the war than by an overview of the period, and will develop a more concrete understanding of the extent of the tyranny and crimes. At a time when anti-Semitism is growing alarmingly in certain countries, it is important, over and above the facts, to point out that anyone could one day become the victim of such crimes, but thought must be given to the mechanisms which can, at the same time, turn normal individuals into torturers and executioners.

The project also examines the way in which the history of the 20th century is taught across Europe, in textbooks, syllabuses and lessons. It calls on teachers not merely to pass on facts but to deal with the practical expression and memory implicit in those facts. The concept of "place of remembrance", conducive to discussion and recollection, also introduces the idea of cultural heritage, which should not be restricted to a palace or a church, but should also include sites recalling the darkest hours of the 20th century, such as the trenches of 1914 or the concentration camps.

The theme of "living memory" can be illustrated by using little known documents such as letters sent by soldiers in the Great War to their families; these also provide an individual dimension to a collective event. Maps and photos, like film extracts, often speak more effectively to pupils than a mere chronological listing of events, and the presentation of a memorial also shows how a conflict affects a country or a region.

Lastly, comparative studies have been made on the training of history teachers and these serve as a basis for recommendations. Depending on the country, future teachers move directly from university to the school environment and their academic qualifications are supplemented by teacher training varying from short courses to one or more years of preparation for entry to the profession. The project sets out to assess and inventory the various models of teacher training although it seeks only to improve them and not to make them uniform. It insists on the need to develop in-service training for teachers, in both teaching techniques and in the choice of themes which should be presented to pupils.

The project aims to enable history teachers in Europe, whatever country they are from, to develop methods and themes adapted to the specific nature of 20th century history. It also aims to help them to incorporate all documentary sources and subjects into their teaching, and to adapt their approach to modern technological developments. The project under-

scores the specific nature of teaching 20th century history in relation to history training in general, and insists that the 20th century should be presented in a way which is more open to the outside world and enables pupils to understand this world more readily. Dynamic and appealing, such teaching must remind pupils, confronted outside the classroom by numerous external sources of history information, that school is the most appropriate place to learn about and analyse the history of Europe in the 20th century.

I. Keynote address

by Marc Ferro

We are going to study four problems. First of all, the nature and purpose of archives, followed by the various uses made of archives in history and their genealogy, our systems of knowledge and, finally, how we can construct history from these different collections of information.

We all know that to begin with there are written archives. They are the very foundation of historical knowledge and still hold pride of place today, being expected to yield up state secrets. Whenever archives are first opened, the media make a hullabaloo, often out of all proportion to their importance.

The opening of the Soviet archives is a case in point, with the media announcing that we had apparently made sensational discoveries. We duly "learned" that the Gulag existed, that Lenin was no angel, that Trotsky had led the Red Army, information that had been carefully "concealed". In other words, we found out that the emperor was naked. As if the official archives, because they were official, were a fount of truth.

The paradox here is that when we listen to our politicians, we know perfectly well that what they are saying is no more than brainwashing or propaganda, and that we vote for them when we believe them and against them when we are clear-sighted; but when, a hundred years later, those very same speeches become archives, they apparently turn into sources of truth! This is a basic contradiction that we must learn to overcome by not making a cult of archives. Although historians cannot work without making use of archives, we must learn to distance ourselves from them.

For these archives are an expression of official history, that is to say history as it is perceived and made by our leaders, whether they are political

leaders, party leaders, or bankers or church leaders. In other words, written sources only produce the writings and record the acts of the forces that govern or misgovern us; by reproducing them, we perpetuate their power, and if we criticise them, we remain caught up in their way of thinking. To put it another way, they set up a sort of dictatorship of opinion over us, and that is why these written archives deserve to be, if not contradicted or revised, then at least checked, which is not necessarily an easy task. For this reason, we have wondered for decades whether oral archives might not be an alternative source of evidence. It is no accident that a sort of counter-history has developed from oral sources.

Nor is it an accident that oral sources developed in countries where history, as a discipline, was suspect, as in Russia at the time of the Soviet Union. With the advent of perestroika, centres for oral sources multiplied, some were called *Memorials,* others Pamiats, and for three, four or five years, each of these centres made tape recordings of personal experiences. Such experiences counterbalanced the official version of history that in the Soviet Union more than elsewhere – as we know – was entirely manipulated. This led to a paradox, which still applies in Russia today and is also found in other countries, and that is that official history – which in France, Belgium or elsewhere may be national, nationalist, nationalistic or chauvinistic – was viewed with great suspicion. But let me remind you that in our western countries, a national, nationalist, nationalistic or chauvinistic version of history is balanced by other versions.

In short, historical phenomena can be approached in several ways. In the Soviet Union, there was only one way, and this is why people needed to express themselves to thwart it and tell the truth. The paradox arose out of the fact that in Russia, people gave greater credence to those who proclaimed their "personal truth" than to the army of historians who personified a regime that was held in contempt. I would say that a similar situation is developing in the west. As soon as someone picks up a microphone and talks about their life, giving their version of the truth, opinion tends to believe them more than it does the words of teachers, researchers, politicians or journalists.

So whereas in the past individual accounts, whether written or oral – though especially written – were simply one source of information to be compared with others, today, for many newspapers, oral sources have become the true fount of historical knowledge instead of work based on

numerous archives. Their ring of sincerity is supposed to represent the truth, despite the fact that oral accounts are, of course, obviously suspect, even though their sincerity is not to be doubted, for others, who are just as sincere, can put things differently. To each his own truth, as Pirandello put it. They express a vision of history, a representation of the past.

I was struck by an observation regarding the television programme *Histoire parallèle*. I have received thousands of letters which can be sorted into several groups. Most of them are from people wanting to add something to, or correct a detail of, what they had heard or seen in the programme; they are factual witnesses. But another group of people wrote down what they had never dared to say. These are written accounts of what could have been oral accounts (as you can see, the functions can be reversed). What was new was that they were saying, "We are writing down facts that have never been told before". An example most commonly found in testimonies concerning the Atlantic coast runs thus: "the period of history in which we suffered the most during the war was during the British and American bombing raids, but we have never been able to say so for fear of being taken for collaborators". This second type of account is most interesting and of considerable value to historians.

But the third observation I should like to make is more worrying. I have noticed that in these letters, the writers, instead of describing their situation in relation to history, to documents, to archives, to work already done and so forth, and instead of saying or judging that they do not understand what occurred, do the opposite: they – the witnesses – compare the information we give them with their own experience, which becomes the point of reference and the benchmark for their understanding. Enough to drive historians to despair! Historians can write books, lecturers can lecture, teachers can teach, but what counts is what people have experienced and the rest has no meaning or importance. This is evident when, for example, we examine the causes of the French defeat in 1940: numerous works have shown that France was perfectly well armed in 1940 and that it lost the war through bad management of its forces and arms, yet these letter-writers continue to believe that France was badly armed in 1939. In other words, oral sources, even if they are written down, must be approached with just as much circumspection as official sources.

Audiovisual sources, for their part, bear on all types and categories of history. Official history is dominant in a number of films or programmes; counter-history is also present in this field and the media pay greater attention to these programmes or films than to traditional versions of history. For example, in recent years, one programme on the Sétif massacres in Algeria in 1945 was enough for the press to devote whole columns to the assertion that "we were not told about the Sétif massacres" or "we were not told about the Madagascar massacres". But this is not true. If you open the newspapers of 1947-48, you will find entire columns on the Madagascar massacres and, in the 1945-46 newspapers, on the Sétif massacres, the attitude of the communist Charles Tillon and so forth. But they did not then measure their importance; that is coming out today. In the same way we continually hear that "we were not told of the massacres that went with the colonial conquests". But we were! Open the history books by Malet, Isaac or Huby. They explain that General Bugeaud burned the Algerian doyars one after the other. It is there in writing! There are texts, even books on the subject, that give the number of doyars he managed to burn in one week, but that did not cause a scandal. What has changed is our attitudes. Yesterday, when we read this news, we exalted the nation-state, we were spreading civilisation; today we read it in the light of human rights ideology, and we are horrified.

Audiovisual sources can belong to another group: they can be the medium of expression of all those who do not have the means to publish a book, a complex operation, either because they cannot write – such as peoples who have no written language – or because their accounts of what happened are rejected. They then use the camera to express themselves. In the United States, in particular, Indians in the West have made dozens of films on how the West was won, videos or films that everyone can afford. Obviously, they are not cowboy films or contemporary masterpieces, but they do, at least, tell the story the Indians could not write because they did not have a publisher or would not have found a readership. These films are, therefore, often the means of expression of those who cannot express themselves in other ways.

Thus each source, each centre for archives, has functions which must be discerned before it can be used, and it is the functions which determine the content.

In order to understand how the mass of information from these different types of archives is exploited or used, we must now cross the fence, not to examine the nature or substance of the sources or archives, but to study the types and forms of history that co-exist. One cannot talk of archives without knowing something about historiography.

What are the different types of historical writing that co-exist? First on the list comes general or encyclopaedic history, and set against it is a counter-history that challenges it.

The second type of history is memory history, fashionable in Russia because it enables events that were covered up to be brought into the light of day: it claims that the people's memory is alone capable of writing an authentic history. The same problem has arisen somewhat in France, with the advent of so-called pedagogical approaches which have tried to reject historical discourse as being an "official discourse" and consider that memory or experience should become tools of knowledge. In a way, memory reasserts the value of the past and serves a backward-looking questioning of contemporary society. These two types of history therefore exist independently of each other.

The third type of history is experimental history, which was first developed by the Annals School. The approach taken is a singular one. History is considered as a set of problems that one tries to solve. The range of problems can be varied, from the field of political or economic forces to marriage or the use of spices. The Annales School multiplies the problems in an attempt to establish the truth about our society. It is a diagnostic approach to history.

The fourth type is fiction history, history seen through works of fiction such as novels or films. An English historian commented that almost all the information given in Sergei Eisenstein's *The battleship Potemkin* had no historical foundation. How can a film in which almost everything was made up (even the Odessa steps appear to be larger than they really are) supply as much information about the Russia of 1905 as all the books on the period written by historians? For in the film, everything is so admirably rendered (the soldiers, the sailors, the food, and so forth) that it seems more real than real life. Fiction, or fiction history, therefore raises a genuine problem. We could complete this list of types of history by adding information, in whatever form (television, the press), and even a sixth

type, magazines. But today we shall look at the first five types of history and consider a number of problems connected with them.

The first problem is the choice of information in the various types of history. In memory history, the principle is simple: there is no choice to make, as the principle is that of accumulation.

In general history, hierarchy justifies choice: hierarchies of importance, reliability and, above all, sources, the official nature of the sources being essential. General history therefore reproduces the history of the authorities. On the one hand we have accumulation and non-selection, and on the other, hierarchy and selection.

In experimental history, the choice of information is quite different: in a study on the age gap between husbands and wives from 1914-45, for example, a number of town hall registers will be chosen and the method adopted will be made clear. But that choice, if explained, may then be criticised by other researchers who make a different choice and give a perfectly satisfactory explanation for doing so.

As regards fiction history, the scenario for Jean Marboeuf's *Pétain* provides a good illustration of the phenomenon. For example, the producer wanted pretty women to appear at some stage in the film. He also wanted Bousquet, who played no particular role in Pétain's destiny, to be mentioned. The cinema industry therefore has to make sure that films are in line with contemporary concerns. To put it briefly, we may say that in fiction history the choice of information is tied to the present. There is a certain amount of demagogy in war films which, for example, develop antimilitarism: Stanley Kubrick does this, unlike Elia Kazan who chooses to reveal the ambivalence of people's behaviour, which is less popular.

Let us turn to information. Television news, for example, gives priority to immediacy. The latest news is the most important: the newsreader is often handed small pieces of paper. The surprising or unusual nature of a news item may sometimes justify its being repeated, which serves no informative purpose but does maintain tension. News is becoming uniform: the same pictures of the Gulf War turn up over and over again. In one week, for example, Maradona's arrest, relief for the Kurds by helicopter and a football match were three news items that were broadcast in the same order in every country (except Italy, where the actress Silvana Mangano's problems with drugs grabbed the second place).

General history is chronological. This chronology acts as a mental and mnemonic frame. This principle is also applied in organising the discourse in memory history, testimonies usually being given in chronological order. In experimental history, the organising principle is logic. This makes it possible to judge the structure of an historical account by the yardstick of common sense and by its construction, which is not possible when, for example, one is reading a chronological account of general history. In experimental history, logic structures the account. In fiction history the principle applied is neither chronology (there may be flashbacks) nor even logic, but dramatic development and aesthetics. As for television news programmes, the governing principle is ubiquity and immediacy. During the Gulf War, the newsreader had to be skilled in both areas. He would say: "We're about to go over to Tel Aviv! No, Riyadh … Ah, we've got Damascus! Hello, Moscow!" The drama of the situation becomes the drama of the presentation: going over to Damascus or Moscow is more important than what is happening in Damascus. This goes further than info-tainment. The vital thing is to be everywhere in an instant.

The function of general history is to legitimise power or authority, for those in authority always have the floor, they are always given the limelight. The aim is indeed to glorify those with power, since the latent aim of historians is to receive honours, appointments, decorations, and so forth. In memory history, the important thing is the author's identification with the subject, the latent aim being the glorification of the particular group concerned (Armenians, women, etc.). The subject under study becomes genuinely sacred. The explicit purpose of experimental history is to analyse a given problem, its latent aim is intellectual authority, recognition as the most groundbreaking researcher. As for fiction history, the author seeks the pleasure of creative expression, the latent aim being narcissistic prestige. Finally, the objective of information/news is its own independence: that is what the informer/newsreader tries to show. Information, to make it quite clear that it is not servile, becomes a power itself.

In general history, the authors' creativity lies in classification. *La Nouvelle Histoire de France* by Revel and Burguière, published by Le Seuil, is creative in the way it organises themes. There is no creativity in memory history: everything is there, creativity or inventiveness is a sacrilege. But in experimental history, creativity exists: it is to be found in the choice of problems, such as the price of lentils in Le Puy between 1812 and 1886

compared with the price of lentils in Sétif in Algeria between 1839 (when Sétif was taken by the French) and 1886. But it is not enough simply to align statistics: the problem must be linked with other issues, such as the development of rural life in France. In fiction history, creativity lies in the choice of situations that allow for dramatic intensity. In the film on Pétain, Marboeuf came up with an interesting situation: the to-ings and fro-ings between ordinary people and those in power.

Two other aspects may be studied: the form (narrative, non-narrative, and the others) and what each type of history keeps silent about. Unfortunately, I do not have time to deal with them today. I would point out, however, that the main area that fiction history keeps silent about is sources. Film directors and novelists will never reveal their sources.

Schoolbooks mostly contain general history, with a little memory history. To be honest, I should point out that in all free countries, all historical writing contains sprinklings of the various types of history. However, there is a dominant type and specific proportions, over which the historian himself has no control. A Soviet history textbook is very close to the official version of history. A French history textbook gives a general history onto which are grafted a few examples of memory history. The Swiss include memory history in their textbooks, since in Lucerne, for example, children are taught the history of Lucerne.

No general history is of the experimental type. And yet in Chicago, I met a teacher who approached the history of the United States through problems. He would set a question on the fate of the Indians between 1800 and 1917, hand out to the pupils various documents and solutions put forward by various researchers and then start discussing the problem with the pupils. And so it went on; lesson after lesson, a new problem was set and the pupils would discuss the pros and cons. I find this experiment extraordinary.

Another, more difficult and perhaps more important problem concerns the genealogy of our mechanisms for making the world comprehensible so as to build up a vision of history or an understanding of the facts.

We first come to understand facts when we are at school or university. There we learn subjects: history, geography, English, French and other languages, to name a few. These subjects never communicate with one another: Chateaubriand is never mentioned in a history lesson; pupils

studying French will never learn about Goethe; those who study German will know nothing of Tolstoy; history and geography are never to be interwoven, or if they are, they are not to embrace literature. Thus, subjects do not communicate with one another. This is obviously very harmful, because when today we talk of Europe it is obvious that European culture includes Shakespeare, Molière, Goethe and others, and not just our personal dowry. These subject boxes solidify into walls at university and in research. Not only do disciplines multiply, but also each one wants to absorb the others. This is what I call "the sectoral imperialism of disciplines". Take history: at one time, demography claimed to be able to explain everything, then it was linguistics, then anthropology, and on and on. And today there are disciplines – the cognitive sciences – that question the validity of all other disciplines. The relationship between disciplines is therefore one of war rather than collaboration.

A second centre of knowledge which interferes with the first is the press. Every teacher who likes to think of him/herself as modern – or at least who liked to think of him/herself as modern thirty or forty years ago – thought that newspapers should be brought to the lesson so that the pupils could experience history as something active, something that was going on around them. But newspapers are organised in a particular way. Their layout reproduces the organisation of the powers of the state or the activities of society – foreign affairs, home affairs, health and so on – in order to express approval or disapproval of the authorities, to analyse society. There is no connection between they way in which they are organised and the disciplines of history, geography, biology or economics. Connecting the reading of a newspaper with the knowledge acquired at school or university is a difficult exercise. It can be done occasionally, but not over a whole year, for it would then cease to be a study of history and become a commentary on current affairs. The use of newspapers has its limits, because the second characteristic of a newspaper, as of television news programmes, is to give the news, news of current events, with little time to put things in perspective. And yet newspapers feel duty-bound to include a history page. Commemorations lend themselves to this. For example, a newspaper may run an article on the ending of slavery, but there will be no other information on the subject elsewhere in the same issue. That is to say, any report in the same paper on slavery in Mauritania today will have been in an issue published three months earlier, or will appear on page four two days later. The history page is disconnected from the present. Newspapers identify history with the past,

whereas history is not the just the study of the past, it is *also* the study of the relationship between the past and the present.

So the press cuts time into two parts, the past and the present, and severs the links between the past and the present. It does the opposite of what history is, and yet we use it because we think we are being modern and fashionable.

The third means of information is television. Television companies – even the specialised channels – do not divide up their programmes according to their subject matter. Nor do television channels classify their programmes in the same way as the press. They divide them up into types of programme: news programmes, magazines, documentaries, documentary dramas, fiction, cartoons and so on. What characterises television is that these types do not communicate with one another. If, for example, a channel runs an item on the National Front in its lunchtime news programme, it does not explain how that particular party is the successor to an earlier party or parties. That would be the subject of a magazine programme made quite independently. But you will never find the information given in the magazine in the news and the magazine never includes the information given in the news.

Whereas the press disconnects the past from the present, the audiovisual media disconnect the facts from an analysis of the facts in such a way that between what we learned at university, what we read in the press and what we see on television, which multiplies fictional programmes, news programmes and magazines and shows us the past after the present or the future, we cannot place these disparate elements in relation to one another.

My last point – and this will be my conclusion – is that with these data as a starting point, we must remember that the mechanisms I have been describing naturally vary from one country to another and that building up a history of Europe is an extraordinarily difficult thing to do. How can it be done? Three ways have been tried.

First of all, the way used by "diplomats", with committees of historians. Once discussions are over, there are no more rough edges, we are left with history without history.

The second type of history of Europe is where each country writes a chapter. France writes a chapter on Louis XIV, England one on the 18th century, Germany one on Bismarck, and so forth. Or else there is a German view of the 19th century, a British view of the 18th century, a French view of the 17th century, and so on, and this keeps everyone happy. This is obviously just as absurd as the first method but it gives an impression of objectivity, since each country writes a chapter. One such book was written a few years ago and the Greeks protested because none of the chapters had been written by Greeks. They said "We were the ones who founded Europe, and yet not a single chapter has been written by Greece". They therefore wanted to write a chapter giving the Greek view of the general history of Europe.

Now there is a third method that could be called a "denationalised version of history", whose guiding principle is not conciliation but conspectus; thus, the 1914-18 war began before 1914 and finished after 1918. Such history deals with economic conflicts that intersect military ambitions, or military conflicts that intersect economic ambitions. It is so analytical that there are no more Frenchmen or Italians, that passion and life as it is lived have been evacuated. The so-called history of Europe, like Unesco's history of the world, is gradually moving in this direction. Unesco has published several volumes of a history that no one has ever read. I do not know a single person who has read a single chapter of the history of the world published by Unesco.

Why is this a problem? Because it seems to me that the only way to write history is to take the opposite approach, to begin by drawing up a list of conflicts and taboos and look at them through the eyes of other people. A German should write about subjects that are taboo to the French and vice versa. A list of taboos is a necessary first step. Obviously, history is not restricted to taboos. It would be scandalous to study only the crimes associated with colonisation or those of the Nazis. Nevertheless, our approach must be the opposite of the diplomats': we must ask ourselves what was important to people in the period under consideration and then determine what interests people today, just as film directors and novelists do. Of course, we need to know this if we want our books to be read, but that is no reason for limiting ourselves to it. What was important to the people of the 16th century? We must not refrain from saying what was important to them under the pretext that it is of no longer of any interest to us today. In the early Middle Ages, for example, quarrels

over images were taken very seriously. Arianism divided the west, but no one is interested in that nowadays. It must be studied nonetheless. The first thing to do, therefore, is to identify taboo subjects, then determine what interested people at the time and then see what in the past impacts on our life today. It is not enough to simply study facts; we have to find out whether they had effects. Finally, we must try and see which problems are still "alive" today (the French Revolution, the religious wars between Protestants and Catholics because of the commemoration of the Edict of Nantes, Clovis, etc.).

As you can see, the didactics of sources is also a didactics of knowledge, and that is why I take the liberty of recommending that instead of continually turning to your computers in the belief that the truth will come from the Internet, you should from time to time read accounts, studies and reports on a particular subject that come from different horizons.

II. Can a new history save Europe from its past?

General report, by Henry Frendo

"Today Europe is trying to achieve self-definition on the basis of its own history", wrote Michel Oriol and Francis Affergan in their study on "Otherness and cultural differences", a few years ago. Has the time not come, they asked, to look beyond inward-looking conceptions of culture and to build up a universalism that would include cultural differences and not deny them? But the question of "the other" was posited against the sense of ourselves. Whereas the former question might be put in the context of a timeless quest for a definition of human nature, most modern authors – and not least historians – expected that otherness be seen within specific historical and geographical contexts. [1]

The difficulties that have traditionally permeated such attempts are underlined with vengeance in the instance underlined by Joseph Roth in his *Radetsky March,* which is based on the theme of commending error for history's sake. The protagonist of this work is a Slovene who was ennobled for rescuing the Emperor Franz Joseph at the battle of Solferino. When, years later, in his son's first primer, he read a grotesquely inflated version of that episode, he exclaimed that it was "a pack of lies". "It's for children", his wife replies. "Captain, you're taking it too seriously", says a friend, "all historical events are modified for consumption in schools. And quite right, too. Children need examples which they can understand, that impress them. They can learn later what actually occurred." [2]

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1. Michel Oriol and Francis Affergan, "Otherness and differences" in Carmel Camilleri (ed.) *Difference and culture in Europe* (Council of Europe Press, 1995), pp. 16-17.
2. David Lowenthal, "Towards historical literacy" in Sophie Jeleff (ed.), *History and its interpretations* (Council of Europe Publishing, 1997), p. 48.

David Lowenthal referred to this episode, exaggerating for emphasis, in his 1994 lecture in Paris on "historical literacy". Hyperbole is to one culture what understatement may be to another, but, for the purpose of understanding, the end result need not be different at all.

In the Brussels symposium, held from 10 to 12 December 1998, entitled "Towards a pluralist and tolerant approach to teaching history: a range of sources and new didactics", both our distinguished keynote speakers, Mr Hervé Hasquin, history professor and Minister of the Regional Government of Brussels and Mr Marc Ferro, historian, pointed their fingers at such problems. They drew on cases in Belgium and French historiography, namely cases with which they themselves, as a Belgian and a Frenchman respectively, were understandably most familiar.

Noting, after Raymond Aron, that "history is a human science, not an exact science", Hasquin warned against the nation-state cult, and equally against the identification of religion with nationhood. The former approach he qualified as a "Jacobinic vision of the state and nation-state … [that] often considered differences as suspect", the latter as a trademark.

Hasquin took and advocated what might be called a "revisionist" position, describing the nation-state as "an intellectual and political invention. Hasquin was suggesting that the past could be unscrambled and rethought, strongly hinting at a federalist solution. While defining democracy as the complex over the uniform, he sought to reverse perceptions of Charles V as the "goodie" and of his son Philip II as the "baddie", in so far as the son was only implementing what had been set in motion by the father. Invoking a lay, indeed a neutral conception of statehood, he rebuked what he called the satanisation of Joseph II, a Belgian king who in the late 18th century had proclaimed religious tolerance.

But of course history is not and should not be one composed of heroes and villains. One might add that Joseph II was no liberal, but how many liberal monarchs were there then? If we had to identify a "liberal" it would rather be one of his main critics, a Brussels lawyer, Vonck. If we wanted a conservative critic, upholding custom and privilege, that would probably be another Brussels lawyer, Van der Noot. The crux of the matter was that these two opposition leaders formed an alliance of conve-

nience, which did not last long, to oust Joseph II.[1] The context was more complicated still, but stereotyping historical personages, by whatever label, clearly will not help our understanding of history then or now.

The other profound question raised here, one about which there clearly was a divergence of opinion in the shades of discourse during the symposium, concerned the nature not so much of the state as of the nation. To what extent, if at all, could nationhood be universalised or globalised, relativised or neutralised? Were there no longer any identifiable core characteristics, no lowest common denominators, by means of which a particular people or nation cohered in a mainstream sense of belonging, borne in part of shared experiences, with all due respect for minorities and human rights? Were territorial allegiances about to be overtaken by transfrontier spatial planning? In the absence of self-conscious national or communal entities in the general "mosaic", who would federate with whom?

Hasquin's critical, almost negative position towards the nation state has been taken by other post-war historians, for example Elie Kedourie in his work on nationalism. This, he starts by saying, is a doctrine invented in Europe in the 19th century.[2] That is a position which contrasts with an earlier, more romantic stance taken by, for example, Ernest Renan, who saw the nation as "a soul, a spiritual principle".[3]

This troubling question, underlying much of the discourse in the symposium, was put in another way by Jean-Pierre Titz, Secretary of the Education Committee of the Council of Europe, when he said that in recent times "change had upset Europe's notion of itself". Well may that be so, indeed. Hence the urgency of investigating in what ways, and by what means, an inspiring and credible vision, at once common and diverse, can be secured for the future through past and present. That is a tall order.

In the introductory words of Henri Ingberg, Secretary General of the Ministry of Education of the French Community of Belgium, "connections must be established between the various sources to endow them

1. For an outline history, see Franz Hayt and Denise Galloy, *La Belgique des tribus gauloises à l'état fédérale*, (De Boeck, Brussels, 1997) pp. 84-87.
2. See, for example, Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London, 1971).
3. Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?", written in 1882, in H. Psichari (ed.) *Œuvres Complètes de Ernest Renan*, (Paris, 1947-1961), i. 903.

with meaning". In support, he quoted Fernand Braudel: "History is the study of the origins of the problems of our times". Although comprehending the genesis might guide us to the promised land, striking water out of the rock – or more realistically, building steady bridges over running streams – here we may have to go a little beyond that, pointing a finger, several fingers, towards the continent's shared future, as an unfolding pluralist, diverse and democratic reality.

Marc Ferro's address was another cannonade, highlighting problems and pitfalls, without the illusion of any easy answers. It was a little bit like trench warfare, advancing and retreating, but then prevention is better than cure, and forewarned is forearmed.

A man of the book as well as of the screen, Ferro is essentially pleading for relevance, authenticity and meaning. He is scorning superficiality, sensationalism and trivialisation. This concern is epitomised in his critique of the media man's pretension that there is such a thing as "history online". War, as Ferro put it, is not a football match. So, how do you go about writing a European history now, he asked – a question all of us have been asking ourselves as well.

One who tried his hand at that recently, incidentally, is Norman Davies. He also pondered long and deep upon that question and grappled with it. The really vicious quality shared by almost all accounts of "Western civilisation", he wrote, lay in the fact that they presented idealised, and hence essentially false, pictures of past reality. One got the distinct impression that Europe was a world "inhabited exclusively by Platos and Marie Curies…" But he also stressed that "historians must tell their tale convincingly, or be ignored." [1]

Judging by Marc Ferro's classification of historiographical typologies, and by the questions posed in answer to the question of approach, we may be constrained to have to try doing it by elimination.

First, "diplomatic" history does not work. Bilateral committees are too preoccupied lest one country take offence at what is said of it in relation to another. All controversial topics would have to be left out, leading to a "history without history".

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1. See Norman Davies, *Europe: a history* (Oxford, 1996). See also the review of it by Neal Ascherson, *London Review of Books,* vol. 19, No. 4, 20 February 1997, pp. 7-8.

Secondly, the one-chapter-each approach was not on either. A century for each of the great powers – the most favourable one to each one of these, naturally – or one historian from each country – the one most sympathetic to it, naturally. That would give "an impression of objectivity", but of course it was no history, let alone a European one.

Third, you had the attempt to "denationalise" history. This was a synthetic history, a parody without passions, without peoples: "no more passions, no more Frenchmen". It would pretend that the Great War was not really limited to 1914-18, so presumably, you would not have to signal who had declared it, or who had won it, and so on. The index to the book would leave out the more painful episodes characterising it.

A fourth suggestion would be to take a frontal approach to taboos and to have those who felt most troubled by aspects or epochs of their own history to tackle them themselves, but one would still have to take all viewpoints into account. Neutral histories that tried not to step on anybody's toes, such as Unesco's fifteen-volume history of the world, were a waste of time and would not be read.

Fifthly, one could have general histories such as a history of colonisation (or, one might usefully add, of Europe). Or histories could be memory-linked, of families, of towns, but these would remain "closed … sanctified".

There was then an "experimental" history, on the model. This is an influential school of thought going back to Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, best epitomised by Fernand Braudel's massive study of Europe and the Mediterranean – a school to which Ferro himself is close. By means of this approach, as he put it, different findings could be deduced from the same sources, focusing on aspects or problems across time. An approach known best for its insistence on inter-disciplinarity and *la longue durée*, the slowly evolving maturation of mentalities and courses of human behaviour in geophysical and socio-economic contexts at least as much as in political-étatist ones, but probably more so. Hence the tension between ordinary people and society at large, and those "on top": those who wield power and direct matters, including the "mass production oriented", opinion-forming peddlers and publicists of "historical facts".

Historical novels were another genre of history making not to be discounted, Ferro insisted. These influenced people's knowledge of history

or, at any rate, their impressions and perceptions of it. "Thanks to Alexander Dumas, one goes back to the times of Louis XIII."

Last but not least, there was the audiovisual. As much of the shooting practice during the symposium was directed at this target and at its various rings, displacing even archives by the overriding importance accorded to it, let me first briefly summarise Marc Ferro's position. I shall then return to elaborate on this leitmotiv in my sizing up of the panel discussions, including interventions from the floor, and of the conclusions of the three workshops held on 11 December 1998.

Essentially, Ferro was critical of the mentalities underpinning the organisation of information and even of education-related systems. At school, subjects were treated separately, and this malaise was carried forward to disciplines at university level, as if one discipline did not relate to or overlap with another. He calls this the "imperialism of disciplines". This, and no less the various mass media, he saw as dented, fractured, discounted.

The press was interested in the news, not in the actual story itself. A newspaper might have a "history page", but this would not relate to whatever else would be printed in the paper. "The newspaper destroys history … it cuts up the past and the present". The idea of the world portrayed by radio and TV was similarly faulted. What mattered was the scoop as the journalist imagined it, usually some bit of news relating to those who are perceived to wield power. There was thus "a hierarchy of sources". While newspaper pages tended to reproduce the organisation of the state, TV sliced up its programmes by genre: thus, for example the documentary, fiction, cartoons, newsreels, and – separate from these, perhaps once a week – the current affairs programmes, a disconnection between reportage and analysis. One loses one's bearings.

In the West, there tended to be a counterbalance between one interpretation and another – a nationalist versus a socialist or an imperialist one. But in the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe there was a monolith. Hence the sudden resurgence of oral history. The oral sources became a counter-history to written history, which was suspect. Therefore, everyone wanted to "tell his own story" – truth via the microphone. For the media such outpourings were often mistaken for history, but in reality these accounts were more a view of the self than a representation of the past. The opening up of new archives, especially the Russian ones, has

once again induced the media to focus on what they saw as most sensational and "actual", typically enough in bits and pieces.

All of the issues raised in the introductory addresses and the speeches by Hervé Hasquin and Marc Ferro were taken up, to a greater or lesser extent by the symposium participants, more specifically in the framework of their own tasks in the project at hand, "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century", as outlined by its chairman, Claude-Alain Clerc. Students, he said, had little if any clear notion of time, other than post-1989. Teachers were becoming mere co-ordinators. They had to make the best possible use of technological and electronic tools, as well as to engage in more team work. It was to assist in all this, he added, that the project had a five-pronged agenda. Its themes ranged from nationalism and population movements to women, human rights and minorities. There would also be a general European history handbook on 20th century European history to include a section on sources and bibliographies, which would serve both as a teaching aid in the upper forms of secondary school and for a general public as well.

Case studies from various countries had been prepared to help guide and substantiate discussion in the working groups, where specialists on different historical sources were among the participants. In addition, these specialists formed part of a panel or round table in plenary sessions, in the course of which they delivered their respective addresses and parried questions that were put to them. The round table was chaired by Ms Marcella Colle-Michel, vice-chair of the project group, and the sources discussed in this way were mainly these: *(1)* archives (Mr Kecskeméti and Mr Woloszynski); *(2)* information technology law (Joseph Cannataci); *(3)* museums (J. Patrick Greene); *(4)* oral history (Philip Ingram); *(5)* cinema (Dominique Chansel); and *(6)* TV (Bernard Balteau).

For the purposes of the general report, points made by members of the round table panel will be incorporated into the conclusions reached by the working groups, source by source, with reference to case studies by way of example where applicable.

The case studies examined by the three working groups in their deliberations, emanated from historian-practitioners in various European coun-

tries, including Albania, Armenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Greece, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, Scotland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain and Switzerland.

In the absence of precise guidelines as to what genre of case study was to be submitted, there was a wide variety in the responses, with only the Swiss entry consisting of a detailed and systematic appraisal of a case study about a school history project as such. This successful project consisted in a fully-fledged investigation into the building of a dam at Rossens in Fribourg, and all that went into that. Others, such as the Czech and Maltese ones, highlighted topics relating to historic events mainly in national history, which were earmarked in teaching exercises and field trips. Another approach, as in the case of Scotland and Spain, detailed the education and school system in so far as history subjects were concerned at different levels. Some, especially the Austrian one, were rather more on the theoretical side, while still others, as in the case of Slovakia, a personal view as to how European history is best taught was offered. Countries such as Armenia and Albania, the Czech and the Slovak republics and Lithuania, noted the significance of 1989 as a watershed. Efforts were being made to address the historiographical and methodological concerns arising from that. In general this meant a rewriting of history, but the speed and efficiency at which that could be done, for example through the provision of new textbooks, depended on many factors, not least the human and economic resources available.

In at least one eastern European country, many older teachers who had lived through communism and were moulded by it were reluctant to teach post-1989 or even post-1945 European history. In at least two others, problems existed with transport facilities for making the best use of museum visits whereas in another teachers had such low wages that they felt rather unenthusiastic about experimenting with novelty. The same applied for technology and exposure to the Internet or media resources, which in a country such as Spain, for example, were developing on all fronts at a fast pace. In all the European case studies submitted, however, of whatever genre, we find a compulsion to use history as a tool in understanding the fast changing world around us, and at seeking improved means for imparting historical knowledge to the young as an integral part of their education for life. Just to give an idea of this commitment, I have selected a few quotations from the case studies submitted for the Brussels symposium from different parts of Europe which can be quite diverse:

… I prefer to give lectures in museums, where archives are housed, at historical sites, even in cemeteries. For example, about 80 kilometres north of Prague there is the town and baroque fortress of Terezín. During the second world war, a Jewish ghetto and a Gestapo prison were there. After the war this fortress served as an internment camp for the Sudenten Germans ... [E]very year I ask my students to attend the Remembrance Day ceremony at the British war cemetery in Prague. After the ceremony, I collect them for a visit to the graves of the Czech legionaries that served in the first world war… (Czech Republic)

There is no statutory national curriculum ... There are no nationally defined areas of content. A very high degree of choice is devolved to schools ... Key features of historical understanding should underpin all topics chosen, for example awareness of the nature of evidence, a sense of chronology and historical sequence, awareness of cause and effect, change and continuity, a sense of heritage ... There is a balance between the Scottish, British and European dimensions. (Scotland).

History teaching in Greece is currently undergoing profound changes: new syllabuses, new textbooks, new methods ... There is one textbook per subject per class and they are produced and distributed by the state, which has a monopoly. The authors are selected by the Ministry of Education through competitive examination. As well as relating events, history books contain source texts and pictures which can help the teacher to make the lesson more interesting. Teachers also use maps, slides and so forth. History teachers do not receive any special training. (Greece)

Students also benefit when they are taken to visit various places of interest that are directly connected with the war, such as monuments, the war rooms and the War Museum, where they find a wealth of primary source material. Students learn how the Maltese must have felt towards the Axis powers, who were causing so much distress to the population. But students realise that things have changed. With few exceptions the countries of Europe have now learned to live in peace as one big family ... Teachers stress the importance of democracy and tolerance. Students are made aware that divergence of opinion is not something wrong; in fact it could be very healthy once we know how to respect each other's opinion and agree that we are different. (Malta)

Lutz Niethammer, a German historian, wrote as a motto to his introduction on oral history: "A democratic future needs a past where the silent majority in history is audible." At the Department of Social and Economic History at the University of Vienna, we have been working for more than fifteen years now at developing didactic-methodological concepts of teaching history … that try to combine structural approaches – such as the history of family structures, the history of industrialisation, the history of labour – with methods of

> everyday life history, such as oral history ... When [students] return to their school, they learn to analyse the interviews critically and write a short account of the topic or the person they have interviewed. (Austria)
>
> … I have to deal with several changes of borders, nationalities, currencies and laws … [S]tudents want to observe things from the point of view of the ordinary person ... I think that in teaching any historical topic emotional identification with the situation and survival of the ordinary person stimulates the student's awareness of historical events and a reflection on prejudice that is based on tolerance ... History allows us to show students that if the victories and losses of the nation and the state and the meaning of the historical person is not measured by a respect for life, freedom, humility before order, justice and respect for the weak, the result can be tragic. In my history lessons … I emphasise the three pillars on which European civilisation was established. These three pillars are Greek wisdom, Roman law and Christian morality. (Slovak Republic)

These case studies thus range from the general to the particular, the profound humanistic posture to a camouflaged nationalistic one, the technical and technological, the methodological and pedagogical, to respect for history as a discipline concerned with truth, being and understanding. To a greater or a lesser extent, these submissions contributed to the formulation of the reflections and recommendations made by the working groups, which were then further debated in plenary sessions.

I shall now deal with the source themes in the numerical order used above, incorporating ideas, suggestions and counter-suggestions generally with reference to each category. It is clear however that there is scope for cross-referencing and cross-fertilisation in the uses that can be made of these sources, both in the writing and in the teaching of European history, as well as in relation to other disciplines.

Archives

In the first place the archives themselves, *qua* sources, had to be contextualised and seen for what they generally were: records of the various organs and departments of the state, created largely in the process of public administration, often having political overtones. Authenticity was not the equivalent of veracity. One had to look at archives organically, not piecemeal. Although not intended as a means for informing posterity, archives helped organise the collective memory of the state and of the nation.

Archives could be deceitful as in the case of Soviet tribunals. Sources therefore still have to be confronted with empirical evidence, possibly from archives other than state ones. Information can be missing or eliminated from archives. It was important that the public be alerted to such things. Polish archives showed that evidence could be planted in order to incriminate the innocent and exculpate the guilty. This manipulation was discovered, for example, in matters relating to collaboration with the secret services.

As for *les années noires*, some wondered whether such events were better recorded or better forgotten. For research and pedagogical purposes, it would be advisable if archivists, librarians and curators could facilitate access to documents and activities in specialised institutions. It was important that the history teacher be involved in and abreast of specialised research. Original sources, such as newspapers, photographs, post cards and letters, impressed students and it would be helpful if these could be used even in class.

An educational service could be established to act as an intermediary between the teachers and the archival source. Documentation on European themes, such as freedom of the press and censorship, could be put together with a view to fostering a European conscience.

Sources which are neither in manuscript nor in printed form should be sought and brought to light because these may also be said to become in their own way archival. Among such sources could be included memories in stone such as epitaphs in cemeteries or inscriptions in palaces, what one architect has called "history on marble". This is a novel archaeology of modernity which, like local and oral history, would have the advantage of presence and visibility, invoking as much a sense of time as of place. Another source which could be better cultivated and accessed is print journalism in its various expressions from editorial content to setting styles and from photographs to cartoons. That would include letters sent to newspapers or reviews of letters about which stories are then written. These could be significant enough to change history and have sometimes done so – whether they be forgeries such as the Zinoviev letter in the British electoral campaign of 1924, or an appeal for justice as called for by Emile Zola in the Dreyfus Affair in France, spanning the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Print journalism has thus been shown as a means of exercising a tremendous influence on public

opinion, increasingly so in the 20th century because of greater literacy and improved technology. Such sources too could be seen as archival, with carefully selected specimen of "history in the making" as useful tools for history teaching, and indeed for case studies.

Information technology

While information technology (IT) opened new and exciting venues for the transmission of communications and data of all kinds, there were laws and conventions on intellectual property rights which needed to be respected, and which preferably should be harmonised throughout Europe. IT would mean that traditional sources of knowledge may disappear in the near future. Data protection laws, in place in twenty-two European countries, held that personal data must be stored only for a limited period – in accordance with European Convention No. 108 (1981) and EU Directive 96 (1995) with effect from October 1998. Could such data perhaps be locked up and preserved? CD-Roms and online networks meant that sources, for example museums, could be accessed from home, not limiting "the public" to those physically visiting a site. E-mail meant that many transactions would increasingly leave no trace for a future historian to record and to consult.

Although national legislation sometimes permitted material to be used for educational purposes this was not always the case when permission was required from rights holders. There existed an international Federation of Reproduction Rights Associations which was quite active in some countries such as Norway. As the Berne and the Universal copyright conventions protected information for up to seventy-five years after the author's death, rights for 20th century productions often had to be negotiated in advance and were quite costly. Video and even tape-recorded materials would cease to be oral or private the moment they were recorded or in any way publicised for commercial or even educational use.

Clearly while IT did open up a world of possibilities, excessive controls or fees even in the educational domain could be exorbitant or stultifying, rendering legal safeguards a hindrance as much as a help for the diffusion of knowledge. On the other hand, authors' works were often abused, as in the ongoing photocopying of books, without the slightest compensation to the author. From an educational point of view this could

mean that students would never really buy or read a book as such, limiting themselves to photocopies of a chapter or to a push button mechanism for ready made answers.

Museums

Museums contained the raw materials of history, and increasingly, were explaining and organising contents more didactically. Through exhibitions and other activities, museums could reach out to the general public, not just schoolchildren. The range of themes and exhibits had expanded wildly from art and natural history to rock concerts and football clubs, thus democratising various aspects and angles of history in the 20th century. Industry museums had cropped up in Britain, Germany and elsewhere. Environment was increasingly important in so-called eco-museums dealing with the culture of people and places. Museums focusing on the story of a nation, such as the House of History Museum in Germany, were still few in number. In Britain so far there were no such museums. Many small museums helped foster a sense of rediscovery, awareness and identity in the locality or region, although local pride sometimes took over. Migration history could also feature as the subject of a museum, not only in Europe. Participants felt that visits to museums should be more frequent and better structured, evoking inter-disciplinarity and providing feedback from students.

To be effective as historical sources, museums had to be integrated into the teaching and learning process. These were multi-sensory and activity-based, giving students authentic experience that could strengthen other learning methodologies. Preparation for such visits was necessary, in consultation with the curators, as these would then give pupils a holistic appreciation of the topic under study, developing cognitive and affective skills in ways not readily available through other source-media. They were ideal for the imaginative reconstruction of the past, for work related to subjects such as drama and technology, and as a motivational factor conducive to individual learning, for instance through the application of modern technology. Museums should be "partners" in education, especially history: a place for resources and experiences. They should be more school-friendly, or schools could have their own museums.

Oral history

Oral history may be a vital source of information through a wide variety of possibilities ranging from the recollections of grandparents to those of returned migrants or repatriated refugees, through folk legends and lullabies, proverbs and idioms or songs and dance customs, prayers or rituals, food recipes and drinking habits. It has been described as a voice for those who may not have had one in traditional history. They can also serve as a social function in educating young people and developing social skills, such as awareness of others, exploring and discussing, listening and responding. Interviewing for oral history can break down barriers through empathy and it can dismantle stereotypes. The observation of body language and tone of voice in interviews can be instructive.

Being accessible does not make it easy, however. It exposes the practitioner to the full range of problems encountered by a detective or a historian. Some issues and recollections are better avoided. There has to be respect for the witness in what and how questions are asked. Leading questions and preconceptions must be avoided. Before embarking on an oral history exercise, students should be given a broad background; they should have the big picture of events painted to them so that they may be able to contextualise evidence, and to identify what is not plausible. They would need help in knowing what evidence to accept or reject, and in formulating a coherent, structured and meaningful narrative.

The relevance of oral history is generally limited to a time span of some sixty years and one had to be aware of the falsification of memory. It was a good source for social history – such as how people lived – and for uncovering "hidden", non-documented history. Students would have to familiarise themselves with the period or area in order to be able to ask supplementary questions, but there could be some logistical problems relating to age or safety about which parents should be informed.

Learning outcomes should include the ability to evaluate, interpret, compare and draw valid conclusions, while in the affective domain the skills of social communication, empathy, sympathy and the appreciation of values rank highly. Within clearly defined limits and with adequate preparation, oral history as a source has significant potential.

Not altogether unrelated to oral history was local history, which also attracted some interest, although it was not catered for specifically in the

panel discussion. Interviews could also be helpful in local history, which can be a microcosm encapsulating the larger world. Local and regional histories were mentioned by a number of participants as potentially ideal starters for historical investigation and understanding, not only at the primary school level.

Local history could offer a wide range of sources at close and even intimate quarters in one's surroundings. In particular, places of remembrance could induce an appreciation of heritage and patrimony in a local or even a national sphere. However, students should try not to be inward-looking but to see links beyond the locality's frontiers.

In some cases historic sites in a locality, the Menin Gate in Ypres for instance, could evoke a meaning that well transcends the local and even the national. It might be worth noting here that the motto of the International Union of Local Authorities is precisely "think globally, act locally". That would not be a bad starting point for local history enthusiasts, inducing comparative insights for a broader understanding of human experience in time – by means of what is immediately visible, tangible and intelligible from their own daily surroundings.

Cinema

All the working groups discussed audiovisuals, especially cinema, in some depth. To a lesser extent they also discussed television. This discussion was prompted by the excerpts from films shown and analysed briefly during the round table discussion – the fiction film *vis-à-vis* the historical documentary, the use or abuse of music or images and the messages seen in context, as in the case of Franco-German fraternising scenes shot in 1930 or so.

The panel expert invited contributions for a project in which he was involved to select and document 100 fiction films of this century relating to themes being covered by this project. Such a film catalogue however would have to be accompanied by specific explanations and commentaries. These would be indispensable as teaching aids. There were categories of film which had to be identified and defined – informative, historical fiction, documentaries including newsreels.

One had to be able to detect bias or prejudice, for which a degree of "visual literacy" was necessary. Some participants felt that excerpts from

films, rather than entire films, would be more useful for teaching purposes, although that would also depend on the type of film. Students might be attentive to details, missing out on the more crucial aspects. Moreover film was only one source among others, which could be used to complement teaching.

Reading the image was a quality that needed cultivating and training. Montage, even if based on historical footage, could be just as misleading as in a fiction film, if not more, depending on how well and how truthfully the montage was done.

A number of films were brought up in the discussion as useful sources for history teaching. These included *Heimat*, a film on German public opinion during the nazi period; the recent BBC film, made with the help of a consultant historian, *The nazis* and the film *Shoah;* and Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's list.* There was *Bread and chocolate,* an Italian film about migrant workers in Switzerland; the pacifist film *La grande illusion*, made in 1937; and a pro-Franco film to contrast with Spanish films in the 1980s about the same period. You had the strong Wajda films about Poland under Soviet communism, particularly *Man of marble*, or indeed about France, such as *Danton*. There was *The battleship Potemkin* on Russia; *Platoon* on Vietnam; or even recently *Saving Private Ryan,* on appreciation of war suffering and how to deal with it. *Braveheart,* starring Mel Gibson, was a shot in the arm for Scottish nationalism. And there are several others of this kind usually dating as far back as the 1920s and 1930s.

In some cases, students made their own films. In some of the larger upper secondary schools in France, for example, film clubs were very active. A survey conducted at a Rome university found that documentaries were preferred, but ultimately the teachers would use whatever they could lay their hands on.

Television

The series "Jours de Guerre" on Belgian TV, which used 500 witnesses, cost 1.5 million Belgian francs and had an audience of some 200 000 people for over five years, was discussed by its director, Bernard Balteau of Radio télévision belge francophone (RTBF). Most of the viewers were over forty-five years old. Another series, "Les Années Belges," meant to

attract a younger (and in fact, it turned out, a rather smaller) audience, has been running for three years, similarly based on first hand evidence accounts.

One problem is the cost, because of the high payment for rights to archives such as Movietone News. People were interested in a history which they themselves had lived or recalled. An Austrian series on Europe between the wars was so well received that some teachers were using it instead of textbooks.

The problem with films, as opposed to books, was that whereas in the former you had run-on, non-stop images, in the latter you had to construct your own images. The mental processes involved were different. Nor was the scope the same because for a book one asked if it was good history, whereas for a film one asked if it was a good production. Here again, the values involved were different.

Although we had some discussion on textbooks, there was only very slight and passing reference to the possible role of theatre. This was a very European source, however. Perhaps it was not yet caught in the grip of technology and the electronic media. Theatre retains a direct human contact and appeal.

Conclusions

Summing up, this symposium showed how different and innovative sources, or traditional sources used in an innovative way, could sustain and enrich our historical understanding and the portrayal of Europe. These sources can serve as props and aids, but beyond that we have to "paint the big picture" – credibly, convincingly, tolerantly, steering carefully between Scylla and Charybdis.

Can a new history save Europe from its past? The real issue historians face, said Lowenthal, "is how objective truth can be produced by deeply subjective people". [1]

Supported however by a rich and increasingly accessible plurality of information and learning sources from across this continent; with insight,

1. David Lowenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

diligence, perseverance, tolerance and team work as European countries move ever closer to each other not just economically and politically but also culturally and as a new millennium dawns upon us, we trust and believe that the Council of Europe can rise to the challenge of wearing a multi-coloured coat proudly, consensually, thereby liberating European history from old-time national prerogatives and *raison d'Etat.*

III. Panel contributions

Archives and a common European heritage

by Charles Kecskeméti [1]

The writings of thinkers and academics question the credibility and actual information value of public archives fairly often. This questioning is based on two assumptions. As the state is not objective but biased (in favour of law, order, the ruling classes and so forth) documents can reflect only the state's view of things, which is by definition debatable; and secondly, as the state is concerned solely by matters within its own sphere of competence, documents provide only a truncated, disembodied version of history. These two assumptions, which are tantamount to assenting that archives are deceptive, reflect a misunderstanding of what public archives are, how and why they are compiled and how they can be used to learn about the past. In order to avoid falling into this trap, we should look at the principles and paradoxes underlying archiving and archives.

First, archives are not created in order to inform subsequent generations about events but in order to provide evidence of transactions carried out by public services. Secondly, the basic archiving unit is not a single document but a whole series of documents resulting from the functioning of a service. Such a series is not gathered but gradually accumulated. Last, in a modern state, archive institutions are responsible for acting as the organised memory of the community. They take over the documents that are no longer of current use to the originating department.

These three principles, common to all countries where public archives are compiled and preserved, give rise to two paradoxes characterising

1. Mr Kecskeméti is the former Secretary General of the International Council on Archives.

archives. By being archived, the end product of an administrative activity becomes raw material for historical or other forms (sociological, economic, legal, agricultural, etc.) of research. Secondly, the documents created in the performance of a given function, like vouchers of transactions carried out, will become, as historical sources, evidence of facts, trends or phenomena unconnected to the original transaction, depending on the links established by the researcher with other sources from other services. Consequently, public archives offer both authenticity and neutrality.

Authenticity

Everyone knows what an authentic document is; the originating body guarantees the accuracy of the facts it contains. Authenticity does not necessarily mean that the contents of the document correspond to reality. An authentic document is not necessarily an honest one. An extreme example is the documents of the political trials in the Stalin era. Everything said therein is false, but the trials actually took place, the accused confessed, the courts convicted them and the sentences were carried out.

The authenticity of a document can be ascertained by reference to formal characteristics: paper, seal, writing, style and so forth. In fact, however, it is established by its archiving context: file, series, collection. As soon as a document is made part of a series and is preceded and followed by other documents recording the background and follow-up to, as well as the consequences of, a transaction, its authenticity is, in principle, established. Of course, forgeries may deliberately be substituted for authentic documents, but in such cases falsification is easily detectable.

To sum up, authenticity is the responsibility of archivists, who are expected to detect forgeries. On the other hand, it is up to historians, through analysis or by comparison with other sources, to spot the deliberate errors and lies which may be contained in the texts of perfectly authentic documents.

Neutrality

Documents are neutral. Their ideological message depends on the interpretation given to them by a historian. For example, the construction of the Dakar-Bamako railway may be viewed as colonial exploitation by some or as a scheme for the advancement of Africa by others. In both

cases the documents are exactly the same. Similarly, some will regard feudal justice as institutionalised iniquity; others as proof of the excellence of feudal paternalism.

As already stated, thinkers – even some of the most renowned – do not believe in this neutrality. They maintain that behind the production of archives lies a more or less clear desire to be selective, that a state will produce documents only about things of importance to it and that, consequently, many aspects of reality to which the state is indifferent will be obscured and excluded from history. In fact, documents are created in accordance with legal, administrative and institutional rules, and the more interventionist a state is, the more documents there will be. The creation of documents is not a result of partisan inclinations or manipulation. However, there have been many examples of voluntary destruction of documents through malevolence, fear or necessity (whether real or supposed), changes of government, military defeat and judicial investigations. The neutrality of archives, more or less guaranteed when they are created, may be undermined at a subsequent stage as a result of destruction. Sometimes, instead of being destroyed, archives are hidden away in secret repositories.

By their very nature, public archives provide information only about fragments of reality, for the simple reason that administrative authorities do not act in a vacuum. No list is made of the passengers on the 8.10 a.m. No. 19 bus unless there was a fight or an accident, in which case the police will write a report. Conversations between chemists and their customers do not appear in documents unless there has been a case of poisoning, a hold-up or some other incident. Nevertheless, the 8.10 a.m. No. 19 bus may be the origin of all sorts of events resulting in the creation of documents (weddings, setting-up of associations, etc.), while pharmacies (like hairdressing salons) play an important role as meeting places in contemporary community life. Aspects of ordinary day-to-day living now appear only in statistics.

Public documents are not the only sources of historical information. Other sources include private archives (for example churches, firms, families) which are useful, indeed often indispensable, for learning about the past. They may be regarded as sub-archives in relation to public archives compiled by authorities. However, they need to be used with as much caution as public archives, if not more.

A duty to remember or a right to forget

Posterity is often discreet about major tragedies, iniquities, atrocities and massacres. Descendants wish neither to shoulder responsibility for crimes committed nor to relive the sufferings of their forebears. Often silence is adopted as the commonly acceptable solution. For two centuries, little was said about the Vendée war in France. The fate of the Spanish Inquisition archives is even more revealing. The vast majority of the archives of the provincial courts were destroyed in Spain and Latin America after the Inquisition had been abolished by the Cortes de Cádiz in 1813. Those that survived, such as the ones in Lima, were very seldom consulted for 150 or 160 years, for the very reason that led to the sacking of the courts in 1813.

The 20th century is strewn with tragedies throughout the world, particularly in Europe. Many people would like them to be hidden or minimised or at least commented on with a certain understanding.

Documents attesting to the unspeakable exist – because the unspeakable took place – in Anatolia and Ukraine, at Katyn, Mauthausen and Auschwitz and, more recently, in Bosnia. Each of these tragedies has its revisionists who categorically refuse to recognise the veracity of what they know to be true. There is no point in arguing. Those who deny the unspeakable are serving political ends or dictates that care little about the truth.

The mere desire to escape so as not to be confronted with abominable collective behaviour is not unshakeable. If a nation or community wishes to have a clear conscience, it must resolutely exorcise its past. Experience has shown that a community cannot face up to crimes or acts of cowardice immediately after they have been committed in its name. Ten, thirty or forty years later, however, such an exercise is necessary in order to avoid a state of collective schizophrenia. France is now in the process of ridding itself of the reassuring gloss of the Vichy period. Other countries, particularly in central Europe (Austria, Croatia, Hungary and the Slovak Republic), are still a long way from facing up to their past. And yet, the sources are there, and it is the future of the countries concerned that is at stake. As Alphonse Allais said, one should be wary of murder, because it leads to deceit and dissimulation. Future generations deserve better than a past that has been distorted, doctored or idealised for the sake of collective self-satisfaction.

I am not sure whether public repentance can help to put the historical record straight. Its results are liable to be the opposite of what was intended. It perpetuates or revives the "us" and "them" divisions instead of replacing them by collective lucidity. Furthermore, for psychological reasons, it raises questions about the wrongs committed by each side.

National heritages, European heritage: transcending nationalism

The political geography of Europe has been changing ever since antiquity, that is ever since the emergence of archive-producing states. The origins of the contemporary geopolitical organisation of Europe can be traced back to around the year 1000, when Russia and the Scandinavian, Czech, Polish and Hungarian kingdoms were created beyond the fortified boundaries of the Roman Empire and when, therefore, virtually the whole of the continent acquitted area-based political structures. I shall cite a few examples to illustrate the existence of a European archives heritage comprising a number of heritages common to several states.

The Holy Roman Empire lasted a thousand years, a remarkable length of time for an institution that was both ecclesiastical and secular, both unifying and multi-tiered, as well as highly complex because of its flexibility. To see in this system a precursor of the German nationalist regimes of the last two centuries is to miss the point. The Holy Roman Empire, covering the whole of the centre of Europe from Hamburg to Rome, was the framework for a large number of entities of various types (kingdoms, duchies, bishoprics, towns and so forth) whose inhabitants could speak whatever language they chose, from Italian and French to Czech and Dutch. The territory covered by the empire before the Thirty Years War is today shared between Germany and ten other states.

The Russian Empire, after emerging at a relatively late stage, went through a period of extremely rapid expansion between 1700 and 1914, reaching its maximum size at the end of the 19th century. The tide turned in 1918. Today the territory of the empire of Czar Nicholas II is shared between seventeen states, including the Russian Federation. The bulk of the exceptionally rich common archives heritage of these seventeen states is preserved in Moscow and St Petersburg.

In the case of the Habsburg dynasty, European geopolitics took an extraordinary turn when the House of Habsburg added to its hereditary provinces and the imperial crown the kingdoms of Bohemia and

Hungary-Croatia in the east, as well as Spain, the Netherlands and America in the west (with even a Portuguese interlude). The multinational system of the Habsburgs gave birth to a variety of common heritages besides those resulting from the functioning of the Holy Roman Empire's institutions, such as those of Austria-Spain, Spain-Netherlands, Austria-Belgium, Austria-Hungary, for example, together with the common heritages created by the institutions of the countries of the crown of St Stephen. Approaching such problems in the traditional spirit of patriotic crusades may spark interesting historical discussions but can scarcely make the historian's task any easier.

Archives have been produced by many other entities, which are by definition transfrontier ones. First and foremost there are the archives of the Catholic Church (the Holy See, religious orders) and those of the universities which, ever since their founding (Paris 1150, Oxford 1167, Salamanca 1218), have taken in students from all over Europe. Other entities that have produced multinational or supranational heritages include the Hanseatic League, the major banks, the workers' Internationals, among others. Libraries, too, keep a large number of collections of manuscripts relating to several countries.

Mention should also be made of three other types of archives resulting from relations between European countries and peoples. These are war archives, including the atrocities of the 1939-45 war, diplomatic archives and archives of international organisations, which are constantly growing in size and importance.

Lastly, any collection of archives created in Europe inevitably contains information on other European countries for the simple reason that people, ideas and goods have never ceased to circulate. However, I do not think that this aspect of European archives is relevant to the topic we are discussing today.

Archives and the history of nations

Archivists and diplomats are wont to regard public archives as forming a national asset of an inalienable and indefeasible kind, two qualities which underscore their value and attachment to the nation that owns them. This conception has a legal basis, and there is therefore no reason to challenge it. It is important that the ownership of public archives be governed by well-established, easily understandable rules. However, the

ownership arrangements applying to archives as material objects should not govern their non-material historical and cultural contents. An archive as an object is the inalienable property of a given nation. It may be handed over to another nation in accordance with the rules, conditions and criteria which have been the subject of numerous international studies and instruments, but the part of history that such an object describes, evokes, renders intelligible and reveals (I shall stop my list of verbs there) is non-material and, accordingly, cannot be the physical property of anyone. The archivist as curator manages the physical property of his or her nation. As a professional expert responsible for performing the duties of classification, description and disclosure, he or she is the servant of the intangible thing called knowledge of the past.

For approximately two centuries, Europeans have been learning a history divided into a series of national histories. The fact is that political borders, particularly east of the Rhine, fairly frequently undergo considerable changes, marking the birth, disappearance, expansion or contraction not any longer of dynastic possessions but of nations. In the logic of nationalist thought, the status quo of the moment becomes rooted in history, and this history, a highly emotive intellectual construction which is by definition intangible, is viewed as something belonging to the nation, as if it were a physical object.

Between 1850 and 1920 virtually everywhere in Europe, the national appropriation of history led to the creation of a rough outline which historians were left to fill in with varying degrees of freedom, depending on the period. In so doing, historians inevitably took (take) up a position and aligned (align) themselves with a particular national cause. Consequently, the details of their work are of but secondary importance.

The meaning and ethics of their profession require archivists (in so far as political authorities allow them) to avoid becoming involved in such a debate. They will communicate the relevant sources to any researcher, irrespective of the subject on which the latter may be working. Archivists' professional "neutrality" is fortified by the course of events in Europe. Changes in the nature of frontiers will not put an end to the well-rehearsed arguments, nor are they likely to remove from the intellectual sphere, in the foreseeable future, the outlines and templates used by the historians of European nations. Indeed, they will probably lead to the creation of additional outlines and templates, so that instead of becoming uniform, historical discourse will become enriched.

The national appropriation of history has, given rise, here and there, to antagonism towards foreign historians who "interfere in something that does not concern them". I have the feeling that this type of protest has gone out of fashion, at least in Europe.

Turning the common heritage to account

My basic premise is that the right of communities, whether national or otherwise, to learn about their history, and the right of individuals to consult archives, in accordance with the conditions outlined in the Council of Europe's draft recommendation, are recognised rights. Without such rights, discussion of Europe's common archives heritage is meaningless.

This heritage exists. Numerous measures could be devised to help to turn it to account. Many countries which had never had an opportunity to inventory and copy archives kept outside their borders are now embarking on this task. Experience shows that research campaigns of this type are generally well received by the countries in which the archives are located.

In some cases, such as Poland, the aim is more ambitious, namely to reconstitute the memory of a country erased from the map for over a century. With projects of this kind, it is no doubt in the partners' interests to deal with the legal problems by using the concept of "common heritage" as defined by Unesco and the International Council on Archives.

However, action to help to turn the European archives heritage to account should also involve other avenues of research besides those offered by national memories and documentary evidence on a nation's past in the archives of other nations. Hitherto untried methods need to be explored so that a new perception of European identity and history may at last emerge. I would like to point out straight away that the Europe I am speaking of is not the Europe of the 15, the 19 or the 23, nor the Europe of Unesco, but the whole continent of Europe as it appears on maps. In addition to investigation of sources of Europe's internal history, there are many other possible ways of encouraging research into relations with the Americas, Africa, the Arab world and so forth.

The following are a few tentative suggestions for projects, which, above and beyond their direct scientific interest and possibly their originality, would also have a moral or symbolic value. These are cataloguing the

sources of the European history of the Roma/Gypsies; producing a finding aid for the collection of *censored* archives kept by public, ecclesiastical or other bodies responsible for preventing the printing of manuscripts detrimental to the authority of the time or to the established order; and cataloguing the archives of the European concentration camp sphere between 1920 and 1970. A further topic which should be addressed one day is migration (population movements).

These four themes – the history of the Roma/Gypsies, censorship, migration and the concentration camp phenomenon – all have one feature in common. Research into them calls for working instruments (guides, databases, inventories, etc.) which only European co-operation can produce as they are intelligible only on a continental scale.

Access to archives: research and the general public

The problem of access to public archives (as, indeed, the problem of state policies concerning archives) is not merely a question of rules of disclosure and confidentiality time limits, which in most European countries are governed by legislative texts. To enable documents created by administrative authorities to be disclosed, they must first be preserved, sorted, transferred, classified and described. European experience of the last two centuries shows that a nation's memory cannot be properly preserved and made accessible to historical research unless both these functions are assigned to an individual specialised authority. In itself, the existence of such an authority does not guarantee preservation and access. The authority also has to be provided with powers through the promulgation of a law, as well as with means to enable the law to be applied.

The primary criterion in a study of geography of access to archives concerns transfers, that is the entrusting of collections of archives to archive institutions. In this respect, Europe may be divided into four areas.

The first is an area where the role of the state archives service is not fragmented and where transfers to archival custody take place in an appropriate manner. This straightforward model, where administrative authorities transfer their documents and the state archives service conserves whatever remains after they have been sorted, has so far operated with a reasonable degree of discipline and efficiency in only ten or so countries: the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Ger-

many, Austria and Switzerland – in other words, in countries with a registry/registratur which keep the concept of national memory intact. Central European countries with a registry (Hungary, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Czech Republic) are fairly close to this group.

The second is the "Latin" area (France, Italy, Belgium, Spain), where the two sovereign ministries (foreign affairs and defence) are autonomous in the archives field. The tradition of autonomous ministerial archives which characterises this area is in danger of spreading, particularly in the present situation. There are two main reasons for this. Currently fashionable pseudo-liberalism, which gives the impression that any reduction in the powers of central government is a good thing, accepts very readily the diminution of the state's "memory" function. Budgetary demagogy also profits by the situation, as the fact that expenditure on archives is hidden inside huge ministerial packages makes it possible to pretend not to increase such expenditure and the absence of archive transfers enables the budget earmarked for financing the state's "memory" function to remain stable.

The third is an area where transfers of documents are lagging disturbingly behind. For the countries in this third area, there is little information on transfers on archives or on the percentage of ageing documents remaining in the originating departments. From such fragmentary information, as is available it would appear that even in some countries with a strong archiving tradition, such as Poland, Portugal and Romania, a considerable volume of archives from the 20th century, particularly the second half of the century, remains stored in ministries, almost invariably in precarious conservation conditions. One day it will become clear how much damage these archives have sustained. All we know for the time being is that they are in constant danger. As for when it will be possible to consult them, that is anybody's guess.

The last area is one in which where no real state archives service has yet been set up. There are only two European countries in this area: Greece and Malta. Unfortunately there is no European or international standard for the setting-up of archives services that could be recommended to the governments of these countries.

The second criterion to be considered in a study of the geography of access in Europe concerns disclosure rules, policy and practice. These may be discussed in terms of three types of areas.

Areas where there is a relaxed policy characterises only a small number of countries, namely those that escaped the tragedies of nazism and communism (the United Kingdom, Sweden and Finland), together with two countries occupied by Germany between 1940 and 1945 (Denmark and Norway). Outside Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia are practically the only countries belonging to this group. These same countries practise systematic disclosure of administrative documents and do not have a system of disclosure by personal derogation. A file released by derogation is automatically declassified.

There are also areas where restrictions are motivated by events of 1939-45. In France, almost sixty years after the second world war, there is still reluctance to remove all the restrictions, and as a result time bombs periodically explode there. The same is true of Switzerland. In Hungary, problems of this type crop up with regard to the war, the alliance with Germany up to the end of the war, and the 1956 revolution followed by a period of repression. Similar restrictions are undoubtedly applied in Austria and perhaps in other countries which were occupied by Germany.

It is unlikely that this cautious attitude, however understandable it may be, can alternate the rifts and heal the wounds bequeathed by a past with which present-day generations do not like to be confronted. The fact remains that personal derogation without automatic declassification is commonly practised in this group of countries with the almost unanimous consent of historians.

Last, areas composed of countries that have a strong tradition of secrecy means that all archives research is subject to authorisation, that any archives can be withdrawn from consultation, that finding aids are not freely accessible and that only documents previously checked by archive staff are made available. This tradition prevails in only a few central and east European countries where the archives service, during the communist era, was attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Such a tradition does not disappear overnight, as evidenced by the case of the Russian Federation. The need for liberalisation comes up against the resistance of decision makers trained under the former regime who cannot imagine a state opening up its archives, even old ones, without access being tightly controlled.

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In conclusion, the principles and practices concerning access to archives vary greatly in Europe. The draft Council of Europe recommendation offers member states a model for an open and realistic access policy. Let us hope that it will be finally adopted next year.

Archive sources and their use in schools

by Ryszard W. Woloszynski [1]

Poland's national archives have been largely open, especially since 1990, to all interested parties and particularly historians. Only files concerning the last thirty years remain confidential, although archive directors may authorise access in certain cases; authorisations for foreign researchers to consult confidential files must be obtained from the Director of the National Archives. It is worth noting in this respect that a principle of reciprocity exists whereby Poland is particularly co-operative towards historians from countries which give Polish researchers access to their archives. History teachers and students doing research with a view to a diploma often visit the national archives. Sometimes teachers tell students who are particularly keen on local history, for example, exactly where to look for certain information.

Almost all national archive departments have information services which people can consult. Another way to find out what information is available in archives is through the exhibitions they organise around certain themes, including the more specialised sources, such as the Archives of the Polish Science Academy. These exhibitions are visited by children from primary and secondary schools, with their teachers, and they are shown round by archivists well versed in the themes on display.

School archives play an interesting role, as they sometimes contain older documents that were never passed on to the national archives. Such data have frequently enabled history students, trainee teachers or qualified teachers doing post-graduate research to retrace a school's history. School archives and school museum exhibits are also used in history teaching.

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1. Mr Woloszynski an education historian in Poland.

Over the last ten years numerous collections on contemporary history devised specially for schools have been reproduced for distribution to schools. Particular importance is attached to historical events about which little was previously known (political relations between Poland and Russia, for example) because until 1989 textbooks and history books treated them in a biased or abridged manner, if at all. In this way young people are given a true picture of past events.

The role of the museum in a pluralist, tolerant approach to teaching history

by J. Patrick Greene [1]

All museums contain historic objects, even those devoted to contemporary art where works acquire a history from the moment of their creation. That is not to say, however, that all museums concern themselves with history. A visitor going to Louvre in Paris or the National Gallery in London expecting to find a didactic museum would be disappointed, although they might find a special exhibition that takes a historical approach. The recent, excellent exhibition on Canaletto at the National Gallery is an example. Museums that originated as cabinets of curiosities, including some natural history museums, will have other schemes for presenting their material than history.

That said, the trend in museums over the past thirty years is towards a didactic approach, with a historical framework as the most common means of providing structure and theme. In consequence, museums provide a powerful and popular means of learning and teaching history, including that of Europe in the 20th century. In Britain, some 80 million visits are made to museums each year. The social spectrum of visitors is wider than any other cultural venue (even rock music concerts). Throughout Europe the modernisation of museums, the adoption of attractive exhibition design and the provision of programmes of activities to involve visitors have all resulted in attendance figures that exceed those for football. There is thus a huge audience of people willing to invest some of their money and precious leisure time in the pursuit of history.

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1. Mr Greene is director of the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, England and at the time of writing was chairman of the European Museum Forum, which organises the European Museum of the Year Award.

So what history do they get? The trend throughout European museums has been a democratisation of history in which topics that were hardly noticed fifty years ago are now commonplace. Museums that deal with industrial archaeology are a prime example. Ironbridge Gorge Museum in England was the first winner of the European Museum of the Year Award (EMYA), in 1977. Its influence has been worldwide. My own museum, the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, was established fifteen years ago in the buildings of the world's first railway station, which opened in 1830. The 1992 EMYA winner was the Museum of Technology and Work in Mannheim, which tells the story of the industrialisation of the state of Baden-Wurttenburg. Industrial museums in Turkey, Slovenia, Sweden and France have featured in recent awards. This is the history of ordinary people, whose lives have been transformed by industrialisation in every European country in the 20th century. It is significant that many of these museums, including my own, owe their existence to efforts by groups in the community to preserve buildings threatened by demolition. During the 1990s ambitious projects to present a comprehensive account of industrial history through a network of museums appeared in the Rhineland and Catalonia. Here one can observe a convergence with another trend in museums, that of the eco-museum movement in which a holistic approach to people and landscapes has been attempted following the ideas of Georges-Henri Riviere.

The European Museum Forum recommends candidates each year to the Council of Europe for an award that recognises achievements that contribute to the understanding of the culture of Europe. In 1995 this was won by a museum covering the history of post-war Germany, a history that all of Europe shares. The House of History of the Federal Republic of Germany achieved something hitherto very rare – the story of a nation in one museum. This is not something one would find in, for example, the British Museum, which perceives its role in a markedly different way. However, the new Museum of Scotland, which opened on 30 November 1998, has a part to play in establishing national identity at a time when the nation is about to have its own elected government.

An awareness of history is an essential part of a community's sense of identity. That is as relevant in a small town as it is on a national scale and it must be remembered that the vast majority of the new museums of Europe are small. Identity is a particular issue in the former communist countries where histories are being rediscovered, or uncovered. I was very moved by an exhibition about Project 501, Stalin's impossible

project to build a railway across northern Siberia, in a museum in Salekhard on the Arctic Circle. Similarly, the museum in Krasnayarsk (winner of the 1998 Council of Europe Award) had an unforgettable display created by veterans of wars in Afghanistan and Chechnya.

I am pleased to say that I have rarely seen museums that are stridently nationalistic, although in some local pride does overcome a sense of proportion. More often, however, museums contribute to understanding by providing historical context that combats the preconceptions and stereotypes of prejudice. The Tower Museum in Derry in Northern Ireland and the Levantis Museum in Nicosia are examples. In a multicultural Europe museums can play a part in fostering good relations between communities. The Tropical Museum in Amsterdam won the 1997 Council of Europe Award for its innovative approach to programmes for school children from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester opened an exhibition about the textile industry called "Fibres, Fabrics and Fashion" in 1997 that takes an international approach to the subject. Part of the exhibition tells the stories of people who moved to Manchester to find work and, sometimes, wealth. Migration of peoples is theme of 20th century history and is essential as a way of giving people back their roots. I recently visited the new Immigration Museum in Melbourne. Australia, in which people from Ireland, Italy and Greece can discover their histories – a reminder that the history of Europe is not found in Europe alone.

Finally, I must mention an excellent website (www.art-ww1.com) in which a consortium of museums from five European countries marked the 80th anniversary of the end of the first world war – an excellent example of learning and teaching the history of Europe.

Oral history

by Philip Ingram[1]

Oral history is perhaps the most accessible and valuable strategy available to the classroom history teacher. Yet it is also widely neglected within schools. Its accessibility is obvious, it requires no expensive resources and can be accessed to some degree by anyone who is able to speak or listen. Furthermore, it is open to everyone to be either a historian or a source. Every person has their own personal history which can be valuably shared with others and the topic matter is limited only by the interviewees available.

But the easy accessibility of oral history is not in itself a sufficient reason to employ it in the classroom. Oral history is much more than a cheap somewhat unsatisfactory alternative to the use of texts or technology in delivering the curriculum. It has many unique strengths which make it a worthwhile classroom strategy.

It helps the student to develop important social skills. Many of the most basic adult social skills are important practical tools to the oral historian. At the centre of the interview is the positive and trusting interaction between historian and source. The student must therefore develop listening skills and the tolerance not to interrupt. They must think hard about how to formulate questions which will generate useful and precise answers and how to approach subjects which can sometimes be very sensitive. They must develop their own self-awareness to realise how their own body language and tone of voice affects other people.

Oral history breaks down the barriers between different people and can have a positive social role. This is especially significant if your students

1. Philip Ingram is head of the history department in a secondary school, a teacher trainer in information technology and a textbook author.

interview much older people. The break-up of the extended family in many areas of Europe has broken the link between youth and old age. The old and young have developed stereotypes for each other which are damaging and dangerous. These stereotypes can be challenged through face to face contact. Oral history offers the shared experience. It enables individuals to empathise and value each other. It builds mutual respect between witness and listener.

By its very nature, oral history is active and puts a human face on classroom history. For some students it shows that history is not confined to the classroom, it is a happening which affects them and their relations. It is about where they have come from. It is immediate and intimate. Above all it is practical. It puts the serious work of the historian into the hands of the student and breaks the passive character of the history lesson. It allows students to *do* history instead of just study it.

These benefits are in themselves a good argument for oral history in the classroom but they should not allow us to forget that oral history is a serious academic pursuit. Once the interviews have taken place the real work of the historian should begin. Students must be encouraged to question their evidence, put it into useful categories and employ it to form a narrative which goes beyond the experience of an individual. This is a very demanding requirement which could extend the most able student. It asks the student to demonstrate a full range of historical skills as well as a broad background knowledge by which to contextualise their evidence.

Yet despite its obvious social and academic value, oral history is a most underused classroom strategy. Too often its image is a poor one. Witnesses often give evidence of dubious veracity or value which students are unable to challenge or correct within their own thinking. The result of this is that the academic rigour of oral history in the classroom is called into question. It is seen by many teachers as socially valuable but likely to generate a mixture of myth and irrelevant personal minutae which does little to advance historical understanding.

There is undeniably some truth in these concerns. Certainly, when we ask students to pursue a historical enquiry by collecting oral evidence, we expose them to the full range of problems normally encountered by the professional historian. They must learn to identify bias of the most subtle

kind, omissions in evidence and question the significance and relevance of evidence. They must ask how representative is this account? They must form questions which will generate honest but worthwhile answers. They must sort an enormous quantity of information and form their own narrative. In short, we are asking our students to demonstrate the full range of skills which would be expected of a mature and experienced historian. An apparent impossibility. Yet I believe that it is possible and more than this, I am convinced that it is the very difficulties which I have described which give oral history its value. The teacher must have a decisive input at three stages.

First, before starting an investigation the teacher must ensure that the students have a overview of the known facts and accepted ideas concerning the area of investigation. This is plainly a role for the teacher, but it must be done so as not to encourage students to seek a desired conclusion which confirms the lesson. Rather, it should allow the students to contextualise the information within a big picture and adopt a critical approach which allows for anomalies which may eventually call into question the content of the lesson.

Secondly, when the evidence has been gathered the teacher must help students to develop their own critical approach to the selection and rejection of information. It is not the teacher's role to carry out this vital function on behalf of the student, rather, the teacher must encourage the student to develop their own critical approach to the assembled evidence. In the first instance this should involve the teacher in asking critical questions of the student about the origin and content of the evidence, but the real goal must be to develop the student's own critical faculties. Structured resources can be developed and employed in this approach.

Last, the teacher must be able to assist the student in evaluating the content of the selected reliable evidence and forming it into a narrative. This is where students formulate their conclusions and order them into a coherent whole. Again, this is a very difficult craft to master but carefully directed teacher intervention and well-thought out resources can make it possible.

In conclusion, I believe that if we can encourage our students to collect their own evidence, select the evidence which they find most reliable and assemble that evidence into an ordered narrative we will be giving them important skills for life and future employment as well as greatly enhancing their appreciation of history. Oral history offers these opportunities in abundance.

Using 20th century images to teach 20th century history

by Dominique Chansel [1]

No one would dispute the tremendous development of mass media, above all audiovisual media, that has taken place in the 20th century and the potentially huge access to a wealth of pictorial sources afforded by technological advances. Young people in Europe have access to these images of varying origins – predominantly American. Unless we want to retreat into a narrow closed world – which will be increasingly difficult from a technical standpoint – the diversity of sources, which brings with it a diversity of viewpoints, should be welcomed.

Adolescents are interested, indeed fascinated with both new technologies and the images they convey. The power of the visual image and of film to shape our collective imagination, including the notion we have of history is evident, as is the growth in "consumption" of film in all disciplines, in particularly history and geography. This raises the critical question of how to make genuinely instructive use of film in history lessons so that students can learn to exercise critical judgement towards it.

The first step is to give teachers more training in this field so as to avoid inappropriate and sometimes harmful use of audiovisual material. Many novice teachers are untrained in film analysis and more specifically critical scrutiny of cinema and television material. Although innovatory teaching methods have been devised over the past twenty years for using texts, statistics, archaeological material, pictures and so on, with great emphasis on critical analysis, film continues, to a great extent, to serve at best as a

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partial illustration of the traditional lesson and at worst as a poor substitute for it. In the choice of audiovisual material there is also a marked preference for the documentary (archive footage, news reports, etc.) and a distrust of fiction.

The main challenge for history teachers is to demonstrate the following evident paradoxes. So-called documentary images can never be "reality" since they present only one person's view of a part of reality and are coloured by the observer's position and function, the target audience and the acknowledged or hidden objectives. The aim must therefore be to uncover the hidden agenda, point out the author's subjectivity – in short reveal the minor or major element of fiction in each specific portrayal of reality.

Secondly, despite the diversity of genres and styles, the national traditions in European filmmaking and the indelible imprint of the film maker's personality, it is necessary to show how fiction film is a particularly clear manifestation of the collective imagination.

Fiction films, with their clearly identifiable point of view (since we know the nationality, date and maker) and the public reaction to them (at commercial release or later when they are shown on television) are invaluable pointers to public opinion, attitudes or collective perceptions within a given society.

Comparing films made by people of different nationalities is good way of analysing and understanding how other people perceive the world. By way of illustration, a number of short excerpts from films on the first world war will be shown (a documentary montage and three fiction films: a German film by G.W. Pabst, *The Western front*, a French film by R. K. Bernard, *Wooden crosses*, a film from the former Soviet Union by V. Pudovkin, *The fall of Saint Petersburg*).

An analysis of the documentary will reveal that beneath the apparent neutrality of the image, a historical discourse far from neutral is carried out via the montage and the soundtrack. Excerpts from the three fiction films will illustrate how, beyond national differences, mentalities come together to denounce the mechanism of war and in their common praise for the spirit of brotherhood between those fighting each other.

At all events, the relationship between the cinema and the society of which it is an active component is multiple and complex. Students can

learn a great deal from analysing this relationship. Frequent findings from observation of school classes has shown that if the analysis of a film or film extracts is conducted with rigour and enthusiasm, it will not destroy what is essential in young people's relationship to film, namely their pleasure as spectators. This will only be increased by the satisfaction of deciphering the cinematic image.

We must set ourselves ambitious goals. We must make teachers, and through them students, more enlightened users of the historical material that is specific to the 20th century: the moving image. Film provides a very concrete starting point for a discussion of the concept of point of view; the reverse shot and therefore the other person's viewpoint (illustrating the advantages of looking at something from different angles). We need to teach recognition and scrutiny of what is "fictional" in documentary and what has documentary value in fiction films, including the so-called "entertainment" film. We must help develop a critical approach to audiovisual material by using practical examples; analysis of the various ideas present in film language, whether it purports to be documentary or fiction and whether it uses the crudest of stereotypes or the subtlest suggestion.

At the same time, we must think about the nature of "documentary" evidence and about the methods and precautions of historical analysis. We must point out to students the special problems of image manipulation, that is teach them to exercise critical judgement, think about the status of the picture in our society and how the picture relates to the actual event. Is the function of the picture to show or hide, to help understand the world, to move, to explain, or what?

There are major institutional difficulties. In analysing film, teachers from primary school to universities, come up against the problem of national copyright laws. Using particular works of art for teaching purposes may actually be illegal. Teachers do, of course, respect an author's right of ownership and fully accept the arguments of associations defending artists' rights. Pending European rules for co-operation between the commercial audiovisual sector and European education systems – including the most cash strapped – the following basic principles need to be kept in mind.

Firstly, the widespread introduction of video equipment in schools has led to illegal dissemination of cinema and television excerpts, and it would be

hypocritical to deny it, although this dissemination is technically an offence, there is no profit motive involved. Secondly, teachers need film to teach young people about film. Using film for educational purposes is in the long-term interests of the film industry since it is tomorrow's film audience that is being trained. Finally, presenting a short excerpt for the purposes of analysis and commentary if anything encourages students to discover the whole film.

IV. Case studies

Albania: the importance of museums in history teaching

Museums constitute an important source for teaching history in schools. Their displayed objects stimulate curiosity, creativity and critical thinking. To what extent are museums used in teaching history in Albania?

At the stage of initial training for history teachers many things are lacking when it comes to museums. Even professors at the higher schools under-evaluate the role that museums can play in history teaching. Future teachers do not obtain sufficient information on museums and their themes nor do they learn how to work with their pupils in these institutions. Therefore the information provided is sporadic and casual. In some cases, student teachers know something about museums in their own district. Unfortunately, in methods of history teaching, the role of museums is mentioned in only a few lines. Another negative factor is the fact that in Albania there is no complete publication on the distribution, location and themes of museums.

All the above-mentioned factors have caused museums to be under-evaluated. In this framework, quite often visits to museums are considered as a loss of time that could be used more effectively within classrooms. Such preparation of future teachers is without doubt reflected in their everyday teaching activity. We can say that in the Albanian schools the use of museums in the teaching of history in schools is of little significance.

The above conclusions find due expression even in the history curricula. Though recently we have noticed an attempt to introduce modern concepts and to enrich the curricula, not enough time has been set aside to

develop this activity and there is still only a limited amount of class time that could be used for visiting museums.

In primary schools the history curricula includes:

- fifth grade (11-years-old), new knowledge – 54 hours; revision and other practical activities – 12 hours;
- sixth grade (12-years-old), new knowledge – 54 hours; revision and other practical activities – 12 hours;
- seventh grade (13-years-old), new knowledge – 53 hours; revision and other practical activities – 13 hours;
- eighth grade (14-years-old), new knowledge – 58 hours; revision and other practical activities – 10 hours.

In the fifth, sixth and seventh grades, you might have the impression that a sufficient number of hours would have been set aside for visits to museums, but even here there are not more than two or three classes for this activity. A similar situation has been forced upon high general schools. Visits to museums have become more difficult due to some other factors such as difficulty in paying the transport costs, lack of information on when museums can be visited and the destruction of many museums (especially in the villages) during the 1997 turmoil.

In conclusion we can say that museums are not considered as being related to schools but as something separate from them.

(contributed by Adrian Papajani)

Poland: school museums

A school museum is a collection of objects, documents, pictures, and so forth, gathered by students, their parents and teachers, kept at school and displayed when conditions permit it in room set aside for that purpose. The school museum collection may be devoted to the history of the school, the history and culture of the region, or people of special merit for the country or region. These museums are created jointly by teachers, students and parents, as well as other people offering objects for the collection. In this way core competencies such as communication and cooperation are developed.

Experience in organising school museums in Poland indicates that they can be established in all types of schools, and students, regardless of their age, can be involved in this activity. The degree of involvement and responsibility depends on the age of the students: junior students can be involved in gathering objects for the museums, whereas senior students can be involved in creating records, describing objects and creating exhibitions. Gathering, describing and exhibiting a school museum collection requires knowledge of history, the vernacular, geography and the arts. It develops specific competencies, in particular collecting and selecting information, analysing historical written, iconographic and material sources and a comparison and systematisation of objects.

For over twenty years I have been running conferences, training programmes and a consultancy for teachers operating school museums, and for six years I have edited the magazine *School Museum*, devoted to the subject of school museums and popularising the tradition of the oldest Polish schools. In the job of training and inspiring teachers, I am supported by teaching consultants and local school authorities.

In the 1970s, school museums were created due to the initiative of teachers and organisations such as scouts' teams and students' self-government. Initially, they focused on the participation of the local commu-

nity in the struggle for the independence of Poland during the second world war. After 1980, the range of interests of the organisers of school museums became much broader, both as far as topics and as far as historical periods were concerned. More remote history, local tradition and ethnography became of interest. It should be noted that today, museums devoted to the history of individual schools, presenting their achievements, eminent graduates, as well as the everyday life of their students in the remote and recent past, play a significant role.

According to the latest data, there are 476 school museums, gathering approximately 102 000 objects, and they constitute an important element of the educational system. Therefore, a need to organise regular support for schools operating their own museums has been identified. To achieve that, a Social Council of School and Educational Museums has been established. It consists of scientists (mostly historians of education) and teachers with substantial experience in operating school museums. The council is responsible for supporting schools with their own museums, initiating the setting-up of new ones and a consultancy for teachers involved in operating them. The *School Museum* magazine, published five times a year, is one of the means to fulfil these responsibilities.

Establishing school museums and using them in the educational programme is related to the fact that Polish schools focus strongly on teaching local and regional history and culture. Due to that, there are natural opportunities for creating an interest on the part of the students in collecting objects of the past. Whether these natural opportunities are exploited depends on teachers and their ability to create an atmosphere in which students' interests are transformed into actions. To achieve that, it is important to involve parents and other people in co-operation with the school in this activity. Quite often, graduates' conventions or school anniversaries give an impulse to the creation of a collection of school relics from the past.

The main difficulties in popularising the concept of creating school museums are mostly of an organisational character. Space for storing and exhibiting the objects plays a very important role. Staff changes, leading to a decrease in the involvement in operating a school museum, are also an important issue.

Reviewing to date the experience and practice of operating school museums, the following conditions for their continuous and effective opera-

tion have been identified. First of all, they have to be established voluntarily, and a broad group of people (including parents and graduates) should be involved in the process. Administrative interference with the process does not help and can be counterproductive. On the other hand, an initiative on the part of the school to establish a museum must be formalised. Therefore, it is necessary for the school museum to be reflected in the school statutes as one of the forms of the school's educational process.

The "lack of space" barrier can be overcome by informing the school communities that the core of the school museum is more in the gathering of objects than in exhibiting them. It is important for the collection to be described and organised. The added value of such a collection comes from the fact that students themselves describe and classify the individual objects of the collection, thus their educational process becomes richer.

The network of school museums can be useful in the promotion of the concept of "Europe of homelands". Deployment of this concept makes it necessary to support the idea of establishing such museums and creates opportunities for a direct contact and exchange of experiences between schools operating museums in various countries.

I have published a book and over thirty articles devoted to the methodology of using museum collections in history teaching. Additionally, in the teachers' trade press I have published over twenty articles containing methodological advice and tips for establishing schools museums, using their collections in the process of education, creating records, describing and systematising exhibits, principles of developing a plan for exhibitions and forms and methods of involving students in this work.

(contributed by Piotr Unger)

Slovenia: a visit to a museum of modern history

There are many ways to use a pluralist and tolerant approach in our schools when we teach history. This example is based on a visit of a group of 14-year-old children to the Museum of Modern History in Ljubljana, Slovenia. In 1998 the museum was nominated for the European Museum of the Year Award.

Children in this age group are attending the last year of 8-year compulsory primary school where they learn history for three years. The lectures in the 8th grade class include the chronology of the 20th century. In 1996 the Museum of Modern History opened a permanent exhibition on the life of Slovenes in the 20th century. There are many visitors from our schools, who are guided through this exhibition by Mrs Irena Kodrič, a historian and curator. The visit takes pupils from the period at the beginning of the 20th century through the battles of the Great War to the period between the two world wars. Going from one room to another pupils can see all historical changes, including those dealing with the life of people. A room presenting the second world war is of special interest.

The next period that is presented is from 1945 to 1991, which includes life under the socialism. The whole visit takes about two hours and it is didactically a very good example of learning 20th-century history.

I want to focus on a visit to the second world war room. Children can learn everything from how the war started to the different occupation systems; they can see soldiers' uniforms, weapons and flags. In a ten minute documentary multimedia film, pupils are shown different points of view on the second world war and the war experience.

But what is certainly the most startling in the room is a scene of a mother with two small children standing at the site of their destroyed house.

Children are asked who is missing. They quickly realise that the children's father and the woman's husband is not present. So, where is he? We have many possible answers to that question: he was killed during the bombing of their house; he was mobilised as a German soldier; he was imprisoned in a concentration camp; he joined the partisan forces; or, he joined the Home Guard Forces to fight against communism.

These answers, which are given to the pupils, show how terrible the destiny of a family was during the war. But there is one thing we can be sure of. Whatever the man decided he tried to do the best for his wife and his children. Can we judge his decision? A teacher has *to be tolerant to the extent that he or she is able to accept the man's difficult decision, even if it was a wrong one.* What is certainly very important is that we explain to pupils that war is one of the greatest tragedies that can happen to a people. Pupils should learn that children and women suffered a great deal during and after the war if they lost a member of their family.

The second world war is one of the most sensitive themes with which to illustrate a tolerant and pluralistic approach to history. There are of course many others but this one has been chosen because it is new and it shows how difficult it is to deal with these problems. The new approach that is used by Mrs Irena Kodrič at the Museum of Modern History certainly represents a step forward in a pluralist and tolerant approach to the history of the 20th century. It can also be used as an example in other countries as it shows how tragic and inhuman a war can be.

(contributed by Vojko Kunaver)

Austria: social and economic history

If you ask what role history plays in developing the personal identity of young men or women, you may find out that political and diplomatic history – as it is still dominant in the curricula of secondary schools all over Europe – does not always help pupils to develop their own social and/or historic identity within the community or the society they live in. The "great men" concept of history, as it is also called, has a big disadvantage. It not only stimulates the fantasy of adolescents, but it also bears their frustration. Not every young man will become as powerful as Napoleon or as wise as Ghandi, not every young woman will be as combative as Joan of Arc or as mighty as Catherine the Great.

As members of democratic societies at the beginning of the 21st century we might also ask whether it seems desirable to orient the narcissistic fantasies of the next generation to such idols of history. If we understand "history" as a "science of reflection" and "history teaching" as a way to get to know the concepts of thinking about and the methods of dealing with the past in that direction, it might be desirable to have another approach to the past, such as a history which is much closer to the daily experiences of young people, a history which includes their social environment, the experiences of their parents and grandparents, their neighbours and friends.

Topics of social history (demography, urbanisation, migration, the history of childhood, youth, school, family, ageing), history of different social environments or strata (peasants, craftsmen, factory worker, employees, liberal professions, "information workers"), topics of economic history (the history of labour, of (un)employment, the production environment, the history of proto-industrialisation, industrial revolution, world economic crisis) or cultural history in a broad sense, including the history of religions, arts but also concepts of "material culture" and civilisation, all of these may be helpful in reaching this goal.

Through the structural description of past social, economic and cultural developments, the pupils may be much closer to the process of history in which they are involved or going to be involved themselves.

One objective of the coming discussions on reforms in the teaching of history therefore could be to aspire to a happy balance between political, economic, social and cultural history in the curricula, in textbooks and also in the training of history teachers.

It has been criticised in historiographic discussions since the beginning of the 1980s that these structural approaches to history – although they inform about general developments of social or economic life in the long-term run – tend to fade out the "social subjects", meaning the persons who are the actors and the victims in structural changes.

Consequently during the last twenty years historians have given much more emphasis to the concrete experiences of men and women in daily life, to the "history from below" or to "everyday life history". The new approaches and questions on history also generated new methods, such as oral history, the dig-where-you-stand-movement, or the new biographic concepts in history. Lutz Niethammer, a German historian, wrote as a motto to his introduction on oral history: "A democratic future needs a past where the silent majority in history is also audible."

At the Department of Social and Economic History at the University of Vienna, we have been working for more than fifteen years at developing didactic-methodological concepts of teaching history in schools that try to combine structural approaches – such as the history of family structures, the history of industrialisation, the history of labour – with methods of everyday life history, such as oral history. For example, pupils work on projects where they study sources and in a first step analyse general information about the development of family life in Austria/the Habsburg Empire. They then develop questions on a small topic of family history (work in the household, living conditions) which they ask, in a third step, to their parents or grandparents, or to people in homes for the elderly, and so forth. When they return to their school, they learn to analyse the interviews critically and write a short account of the topic, or the person they have interviewed. These accounts are compared afterwards with pertinent structural information, so that the individually collected information can be integrated into/or compared with the general tendencies in local or regional history.

With regard to background information on social or economic history, we have been publishing for the past twenty-five years condensed information on investigations in social and economic history especially for use by history teachers in the classroom. We hope to translate and to publish a bigger part of this information within the next few years on the Internet. This would make the information accessible to many history teachers all over Europe. We certainly hope that this information on topics of social and economic history can then be used in the development of many other school projects in everyday life history.

(contributed by Aloïs Ecker)

Czech Republic: sources for teaching history – their choice and use

As the history of our century shows us, it is possible to spread hate among nations or races in a few days but the way to tolerance takes years, decades or even generations. As a member of a small nation from central Europe, suppressed by both Hitler's Germany and the former Soviet Union over the last sixty years, I know the subject well. I teach mainly 20th century history – sometimes it seems to be a short century – because I believe the 19th century ended in 1914 and the 21st century started with the breaking-up of the bi-polar world in the 1990s. Therefore I will try and focus on the sources of specific interest for the teaching the history of the 20th century.

After November 1989, it seemed important to produce new textbooks. Now we have them, but of a different quality. What is most important for me is the simple fact of plurality of textbooks.

Many of the older teachers do not want to teach modern history. Having grown up during the German occupation, they studied in the 1950s and for three-quarters of their lives they lived under dictatorships. Most of them were accommodated to the given line and ideology. They lost the ability to think critically and now they are confused. Some of them refuse to teach post-1945 history because, as one of them told me, it is "no history at all, but dirty politics". The main cause of this attitude is, in my eyes, an aversion to historical self-reflection, an aversion that is common among the Czech people.

There are many sources of didactics for teaching modern history. I would not like to bore you with a list of archives, museums, historical memorials, and so forth that can be used as source didactics in the Czech Republic. Instead, I prefer to share some of my experiences with you. Our students are far more communicative outside their "Alma Mater", therefore I prefer to give lectures in museums, where archives are housed, at historical sites, even in cemeteries.

For example, about 80 kilometres north of Prague there is the town and the baroque fortress of Terezín. During the second world war, a Jewish ghetto and a Gestapo prison were there. After the war this fortress served as an internment camp for the Sudeten Germans. At this very impressive site thousands of Jews as well as Czechs were murdered and buried. Historical excursions to Terezín are very useful.

Another example: every year I ask my students to attend the Remembrance Day ceremony at the British war cemetery in Prague. After the ceremony, I collect them for a visit to the graves of Czech legionnaires that served in the first world war, the monument for Czech airmen that served in the RAF during the second world war, the monument for fallen resistance fighters in May 1945, the Soviet War Memorial and the Saint Andrew cross on the mass grave of the Russian Liberation Army soldiers. They are all within a ten-minute walk from one another and cemeteries are very evocative places.

Many of the new sources come from the media, such as the press, films – not only documentaries but also the old movies, TV serials, video cassettes, CD-Roms, the Internet, and so forth. The ideal situation would be to see documentary films or videos first, then visit the places, have a lecture "in situ" and combine it with a dialogue with eyewitnesses. In the case of so-called oral history, confrontation with eyewitnesses from "both sides of the front" is really the best.

It is not necessary to teach in central institutions such as the National Museum or the State Central Archive or another, as I prefer to give my lectures during historical excursions in the district archives or museums; some of them, such as the Prácheňské Museum at Písek, the winner of a Special Commendation in the context of the European Museum of the Year Award in 1996, are for our purposes more suitable than those found in Prague.

If I may summarise: the "contact" or "interactive" methods using contemporary techniques combined with eyewitnesses as the "human factor" are the best sources of didactics. But for the best you have to pay more. Not only money for transport, but the time and particularly the enthusiasm of the teacher.

(contributed by Lubor Václavů)

Switzerland: a practical study on the Rossens dam

The Ecole normale or teacher-training school in Fribourg (Switzerland) regularly organises a week's activity on a specific theme during which pupils form working groups and focus on a selected or proposed activity of a type that is difficult to organise in the course of the normal school year. Several pupils decided, during one such week, to look into the origins of a construction that had become part of the local landscape: the Rossens dam and the lake it formed fifty-odd years ago, called Lac de la Gruyère (Rossens is a village to the south of Fribourg, on the left bank of the Sarine). After discussing the project and evaluating the work involved, the steps to be taken and the possible follow-up, five pupils decided to go ahead with the project and set out on an adventure delving into local history.

The whole week was spent finding and listing sources of printed information and pictures, and the results soon surpassed all expectations.

The Fribourg canton and university library had a whole series of geological studies on the river Sarine, its course and its use as a source of hydroelectric power (the dam at Rossens was not the first of its kind built in the region, or even on the site concerned).

The firm which built and owns the dam, Entreprises Electriques Fribourgeoises, immediately opened its archives, which were (and still are) perfectly well classified and conserved. The pupils found technical studies and in particular those of an engineer, Henri Gicot, responsible for numerous bridges and dams, and a complete file on the Rossens dam (plans, correspondence, reports, etc.). In addition to this ample and varied written material, they also found a film and a large collection of photographs of the different stages of construction, which had been commissioned from a professional photographer. Other pupils unearthed news articles on the

political aspects of the project and the actual building work, right up to the filling of the lake and the inauguration of the dam.

A final, initially more heterogeneous source of information was found in official records (Entreprises Electriques Fribourgeoises being a state firm, and the dam itself having had to be classified a public utility in order to permit the required expropriations and qualify it for financial support from the canton), and also in literature, as the lake threatened a bridge associated with a variation on the devil's bridge legend, and the building work was soon to inspire a play in the regional dialect.

To this already plentiful wealth of material, the pupils added a survey carried out among a score of eye witnesses, mainly workers and a few local people (an innkeeper and some local farmers whose land was or was not threatened by the building of the dam). The survey was conducted using a questionnaire drawn up on the basis of an initial overview of the most representative and most descriptive sources (the comments of Mr Gicot, the engineer, in the local press, for example).

Having assembled this mass of documentary material, the pupils decided to take the work at least one step further, and perhaps even further still. This next step was a slide show, made up of slides of the photographic documents with a recorded commentary relating the background to the building of the dam, the main political stages, then the story of the actual building process, based on written sources and eyewitness accounts. Not satisfied with this thirty-minute slide show as the result of their labours, they decided to write up the experience and enter the paper in a competition organised annually in Switzerland, called *La science appelle les jeunes* or "Science calling young people". The competition was not only motivating but it also set a time limit for completion of the project.

It was during this stage that the main methodological difficulties were encountered. They included reading and understanding often very technical information and comparing the various sources in the light of their place in the decision-making process at the time.

The "political" sources had to be interpreted and it was necessary to grasp the issues surrounding a decision taken before the second world war ended in an attempt to avoid a social crisis such as decision makers had experienced in the early 1920s. However, there was no political

controversy as such (between left and right, for example) to further complicate matters, as the very strong conservative majority in the local Parliament at the time (of the Christian-Democrat variety, although the term was not yet in use) unanimously supported the scheme.

Last but by no means the least of the problems the pupils encountered was processing (transcribing) the eyewitness accounts. From the outset they ruled out the idea of a coded transcription as being too difficult to read and not faithful to the original oral version, however sophisticated a method this might be. Instead, they opted for the simplest form of transcription, placing the emphasis on the informative value of the account and leaving aside the more "colourful" aspects of some of the people interviewed (one person, of Italian extraction, had a strong accent, for example, while others had various idiosyncrasies of speech or pronunciation). These eyewitness accounts did not always concord with the written sources, as even the best of memories was not necessarily 100% accurate. When it came to wages, for example, complaints about the extremely low wages paid to unskilled labourers contrasted with the written evidence (collective contracts); or when it came to describing relations between the different teams of workmen - the tunnel borers and those who provided the concrete, for example - or between Swiss and foreign workers, or even among the Swiss themselves, some French-speaking Swiss workers having unpleasant recollections of their German-speaking foreman, for example, and laying the blame for the ill feeling squarely on his origins.

Once all these sources had been consulted, transcribed, digested and more or less assimilated, the pupils went on to produce a paper about eighty pages long, following an essentially chronological plan. With the help of an engineer from the Entreprises Electriques they checked all the technical aspects and the terms they needed to describe them accurately. This phase of the project naturally took a long time, spread over several months and part of the school holidays. Enhanced by the slide show and posters required by the competition rules, the project impressed the panel of judges enough for them to award it first prize in the history category.

The pupils then decided to take the project a stage further and turn their work into a book for sale to the public. Their contacts with a printer/publisher in Fribourg led, with financial support from a number of firms, to the publication, after a thorough revision of both text and illustrations, of

500 copies of a small book about 100 pages long, which were soon sold out. The publisher produced another 800 copies, which have now also been sold out.

All through the project, from the definition phase through the research, handling and verification of sources to the drafting of the first text and of the subsequent final version, I advised the pupils without actually interfering directly in their work. My role was limited to that of a resource person and I am impressed to this day by the enthusiasm and determination of these five schoolgirls.

(contributed by Michel Charrière)

Bulgaria: the use of authentic documents

In Bulgarian schools, the history of Europe in the 20th century is taught over two school years. The final part of the history curriculum for the ninth grade (the fourth year of secondary school) covers the start of the 20th century, up to the first world war. It is divided into three topics: civilisation in the modern age, international relations before 1914 and military action between 1914-18. The following year, in the tenth grade, history lessons are entirely devoted to the history of the modern world, with particular emphasis on European history. The curriculum covers the period from the end of the first world war up to present-day events. The guiding principle of curriculum content is that pupils should learn about the history and culture of others in order to arrive at a better understanding of their own achievements, limitations and perspectives. The variety of materials used is governed by this principle and the aims to develop the ability of these pupils to adopt an independent-minded, critical approach to different historical sources, and to analyse and make use of them.

Usually, the sources used are either taken from the textbook or selected and brought into school by the teacher, depending on the aims of the lesson. In history lessons, Bulgarian pupils read and analyse various documents bearing witness to the period studied, such as the 14-point peace plan submitted by Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States after the first world war. They are asked to comment on extracts from international treaties, such as the Treaty of Versailles, signed with Germany on 28 June 1919, the treaty establishing the Soviet Union in 1922, or the Franco-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance signed in 1935. Other examples are the 1934 Balkan Pact between Yugoslavia, Greece and Romania, the 1938 Munich Agreement and the 1939 non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union.

Other sources used in modern European history lessons are statutes, programmes and resolutions of political parties, coalitions and international

organisations. Pupils are asked to analyse the collective undertakings made in these texts over a specific period of time and, above all, the methods envisaged for putting them into practice. In this connection, the tenth-grade textbook may contain extracts from the covenant of the League of Nations or from the programmes of political parties in various countries. Extracts from the programmes of the German National Socialist Party (24 February 1920) or the French Popular Front (January 1936), or from the Resolution of the 5th Congress of the Communist International (June-July 1924), are selected because they allow the ideas of these organisations to be clearly brought out through analysis by the pupils themselves.

A variety of different sources are also used as a basis for explaining and commenting on social policy in different European countries after the first world war. Here, legislation is again used as source material, such as the laws on emergency powers (1920) and on industrial disputes and trade unions in Great Britain (1927), or the Enabling Act, introducing one-party dictatorship in Germany (1933).

In selecting documents for lessons on modern history – which does not tend to be the pupils' favourite period of history – teachers often use memoirs. Documents of this kind allow the common threads and interrelations of the histories of contemporary European countries to be understood more clearly. Although there are few extracts from memoirs within textbooks, teachers may compensate for this by making their own selection. In this way, pupils may become acquainted with Winston Churchill's recollections of the founding of the League of Nations and of Stalin's personality, or with his assessments of wars. Sometimes Leon Trotsky's little-known memoirs may be used as an additional source of information, in particular his views on politicians such as Karl Liebknecht. Recently published memoirs are quickly finding their way into the classroom. An example of this is Margaret Thatcher's book on the Downing Street years, from which pupils may obtain a description of the former British Prime Minister's impressions of the German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, and the French President, François Mitterrand, as well as her views on the activities of the EEC.

To a much lesser extent, pupils may undertake a critical analysis of the letters of European politicians. A deliberate effort is made to select letters reflecting Bulgaria's links with other European countries at specific points

in history. By reading and analysing Georges Clémenceau's letter to the then Bulgarian Prime Minister, Teodor Todorov, in 1919, pupils may find arguments for and against the principles on the basis of which peace was established after the first world war. A more specific example is the use made by some teachers of letters written by participants in the European resistance (from Greece, Italy, France, etc.) shortly before their death.

We encourage pupils to examine statements and speeches by European politicians in order to discover specific ideas and intentions and the methods envisaged for putting them into practice. This explains the tendency to use the actual texts of statements and speeches delivered by politicians of varying political persuasions. The attempt to study a wide variety of political views is a sign of the trend towards providing a more truthful view of the modern era. Typical texts of this kind, which are used in history lessons include Lloyd George's statement on the decisions reached at the conference on disarmament (27 May 1934), and Lenin's speech at the opening of the First Congress of the Communist International in 1919. Pupils have the opportunity to comment on Mussolini's appeal to the fascists concerning the march on Rome, a speech by General de Gaulle on the Fifth Republic in France, or a speech by Ludwig Ehrhard on the principles of German economic policy in the late 1950s.

In documents of this kind, efforts are also made to identify points of intersection between national and European history. In this connection, pupils may be asked to study an extract from the speech made by Winston Churchill to the British Parliament on 9 February 1941, concerning Bulgaria's position in the second world war.

Teachers and authors of modern history textbooks are also interested in the writings of contemporary historians, and, in particular, their assessments of politicians and political events. Like other texts, historians' works allow different viewpoints and ideas to be expressed, and enable pupils to develop a more tolerant attitude towards those with different opinions.

If the relevant technical equipment is available, audio and video material may be used, along with recordings of television programmes, for example discussions on current issues by historians. These act as a stimulus for discussions with pupils. The most favoured working methods promote

the freedom to defend a soundly argued individual point of view on national and European history, and tolerance towards the different opinions of other pupils.

(contributed by Roumiana Kouchev)

Lithuania: authentic documents – two examples for classroom use

The following is a letter from schoolchildren in Taurage[1] to the fighting Finnish legation in Lithuania.

> In these hard times for your people, we Lithuanians of Taurage, first-form pupils and friends of the Finns, send this modest sum of 20 litas 80 cents for your homeland Finland in its hour of need.
>
> We believe that the Finnish legation will understand the reasons why the Lithuanian people cannot present its condolences to Finland and give it more support.
>
> We hope, therefore, that you will receive this modest sum as a gift for your people.
>
> Please do not thank us publicly, as we would not like word of what we have done to get out. We collected this money without the permission of our authorities.
>
> You may, however, let us know if you received the money.
>
> Please send your answer to the following address:
>
> ST. Manualités
> 1st-form pupils
> Taurage Secondary School
> 1 March 1940.

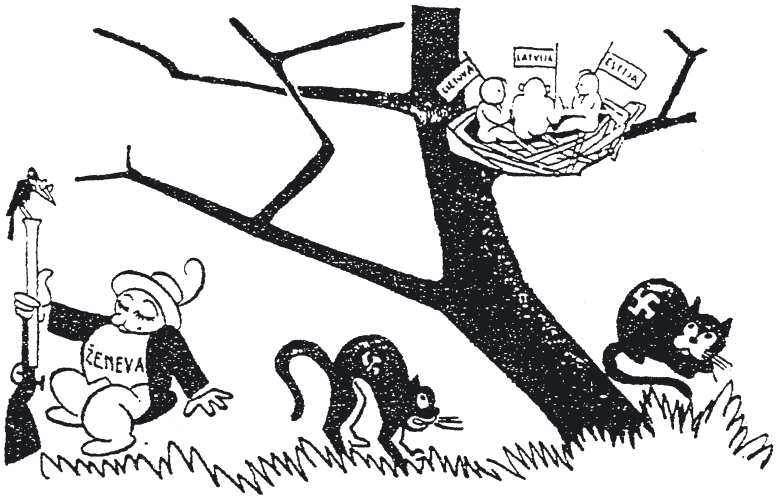
1. Taurage is a small provincial town in Lithuania.

This letter was published in a history textbook in 1998 (R. Jokimaitis, A. Kasperavicius; *Najausiuju laiku istorija 1918 – 1998*; V., 1998). It was written in 1940 during the war between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Pupils were asked to answering the following questions:

- what did the boys think of the war?
- the boys write that the Finns know "why the Lithuanian people cannot present its condolences to Finland and give it more support". Explain what they mean.
- why do they not want the Finnish legation to thank them publicly?
- what does this text tell us about the situation in 1940?

A cartoon and tasks from the 10th form textbook (age 16)



This cartoon was published in 1937 for the first time in the newspaper *XX amzius* (Lithuania). The texts in the cartoon are: on the forest ranger, "Geneva" and on the flags, "Lithuania", "Latvia", "Estonia".

Pupils were asked:

- what is the main idea of the cartoon?
- which historical period does this cartoon reflect? Choose the answer from the following options: 1917-1920; 1920-1930; 1937-1939; 1945-1990.
- describe the artist's point of view on the Baltic states in one or two sentences.
- what does the sleeping watchman symbolise?
- which of the following countries could have published the cartoon at that time?: Lithuania; Soviet Union; Switzerland; Germany.

The pupils were asked to back up their answers.

(contribution by Rimantas Jokimaitis)

Greece: a review of the situation

History teaching in Greece is currently undergoing profound changes: new syllabuses, new textbooks, new methods. Although the changes are not advanced enough for the results to be evaluated, we must bear them in mind if we are to give an accurate picture of the current situation.

Until now the use of sources was encouraged by the Ministry of Education, but what classes actually did depended largely on the teacher. In order to understand what went on in the classroom (and still goes on today), certain peculiarities of the Greek education system need to be borne in mind.

First textbooks: There is one textbook per subject per class and they are produced and distributed by the state, which has a monopoly. The authors are selected by the Ministry of Education through competitive examination. Besides relating events, history books contain source texts and pictures which can help the teacher to make the lessons more interesting. Teachers also use maps, slides and so forth.

Secondly, history teachers do not receive any special training. They are arts teachers who teach ancient Greek, modern Greek, philosophy and other arts subjects. However, they do not teach geography, which is taught by natural science and physics teachers.

Finally, the Greek education system is geared to examinations, culminating in the competitive examination for university places. This means that history teaching is subject to certain practical considerations and therefore tends not to foster initiative and flexibility.

In certain schools there are pilot courses, in the context of the schools' own activities, which are not controlled by the Ministry of Education. I have no detailed information about these courses at present, but they generally include field trips to visit historical and archaeological sites and

lessons on the sites concerned, with the active participation of the pupils. They appear to focus more on Antiquity and the history of towns and cities than on contemporary history.

The education reform that was announced a year ago and is currently being implemented includes a review of history teaching and its objectives, content and methods. As regards the use of source materials, a competition has recently been announced to produce teaching software (one history CD-Rom for each year of gymnasium) to encourage exploratory and project-based learning. The CD-Roms will be produced by the Ministry of Education and distributed free to schools, like textbooks.[1]

Twentieth-century history is one of the subjects taught in the last year of compulsory schooling (5th form). In Greece (especially in Athens and Salonika) there are numerous archives specialising in contemporary history which could be used in secondary schools as well as for academic and personal research. Some of these archives centres have been known to organise exhibitions and visits for primary and secondary school pupils, but these were one-off private initiatives.

(contributed by Christina Koulouri)

1. The last three years of compulsory schooling.

Malta: a review of the situation

10-year-old school children and the second world war

A CD-Rom for primary school children has been prepared regarding everyday life in Malta during the second world war. It was prepared for student teachers to experiment with during their practice teaching. The idea is to offer to the children an experience which is very different from the life they live nowadays. This new experience definitely enhances empathy in the children. It also enhances the teaching and learning of other skills. The children are encouraged to interview their grandparents or great grandparents regarding life in Malta during the second world war. Children are also trained in the skill of problem solving. They are asked to find out: what was life like in the shelters?; what difficulties had to be encountered?; how similar was life in Malta during the war to that of other peoples in Europe?; and were our "enemies" suffering as well during the war?

15-year-olds and the second world war

The second world war is also covered by students in form 5. They are encouraged to find information for themselves. So they visit the Bibliotheca, Malta's national library, and are encouraged to discover for themselves the vivid accounts produced in the press of the day. This will help them, among other things, to acquire the skill of extracting knowledge from sources. Reading the original accounts will also help them to understand the mentality of the people during the war. This provides a good background to the development of empathy. This exercise will also train them to detect bias in these sources.

Students are also presented with caricatures and documents originating from the Axis countries. Hence they will have different points of view on the same events. They will learn to seek the truth and be as objective as possible. We believe that such values are very important in the teaching and learning of history.

Students also benefit when they visit various places of interest that are directly connected with the war, such as monuments, the war rooms and the War Museum, where they find a wealth of primary source material. Students learn how the Maltese must have felt towards the Axis powers, who were causing so much distress to the population. But students realise that things have changed. With few exceptions the countries of Europe have now learned to live in peace as one big family and Maltese students accept differences of opinion and realise that being different can be beautiful. One of our major aims is to develop healthy and positive attitudes in our students.

14/15-year-olds and the study of nationalism

Maltese students also study nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries. Students who have chosen history as an option study in detail the unification of both Germany and Italy. The latter had serious effects on Maltese history because hundreds of Italian refugees came to Malta to escape persecution. The presence of Italian refugees in Malta increased Maltese nationalism and hence the demands for constitutional changes.

Students make use of cartoons and caricatures and contemporary newspapers, as well as official documents, especially since the publication of *Maltese Political Development 1798-1964*, compiled and edited by Professor Henry J. Frendo. Students are also taken around the island to visit places connected with Malta's constitutional and political history, such as to Valletta, where the Sette Giugno riots took place in 1919.

The use of sources depends very much on individual teachers. Some use newspaper clippings to train students in the skill of detecting bias and other skills such as observation, understanding sources and evaluating evidence. Teachers stress the importance of democracy and tolerance. Students are made aware that divergence of opinion is not something wrong; in fact it could be very healthy, once we know how to respect each other's opinion and agree that we are different.

14/15-year olds and the Sette Giugno riots in Valletta in 1919

Once again, sources are given great importance particularly in the study of this topic. Students are given various documents that present different points of view of the same event and are trained in the skill of comparing and contrasting sources.

It is important to point out that we do not give importance merely to history content and knowledge but also to the application and understanding of knowledge as well as the acquisition of skills. Cause and effect are dealt with because this helps students to understand that events do not happen in isolation. All this will help students to develop a historical awareness. Students learn that one event leads to another, which hopefully will help them to understand human activity. It might also help in the understanding of the self.

Students are taught that what happened locally (in Malta) has to be understood in its wider European context. They are asked, for example, to reflect on the social conditions of the Maltese before the 1919 riots. They are also asked to research the social and economic conditions in other countries of Europe. Were conditions similar or different? Within this framework, students are presented with photos, statistics and other material that present a picture of how life must have been in Europe after the first world war. This is reinforced with documentaries of the time. Students are encouraged to carry out research work, to challenge themselves with historical problems and try to find some of the answers. Of course, they do this with the help of the teachers who are urged to use a variety of teaching methods. CD-Roms on the 20th century are available and teachers are encouraged to use them as yet another teaching aid.

Conclusion

As I said before, the teaching methods adopted depend very much on the initiative and motivation of individual teachers. The Malta History Teachers' Association encourages the adoption of new methods in the teaching and learning of history. We also encourage teachers to give importance to knowledge, insight and understanding, concepts, the acquisition of skills as well as values and attitudes. Hopefully, this will make them better persons.

(contributed by Léonard Grech)

Scotland: national identity and dimensions of a larger heritage

How best can the national system in Scotland balance the need for awareness of young people's national identity, with concern for the wider British, European (and world) dimensions of their heritage?

National problems

- how to encourage more schools to teach Scottish history in a structured and coherent way within the limits of the circular time available to them?

- how to balance Scottish content with British, European and world contexts for study?

- what should be the rationale for the selection of content at each stage?

- how to deal with controversial issues in each context?

- how to balance the development of knowledge and understanding with the progressive development of historical skills?

Age range 5 to 14 (from year 1 to year 7 of primary education; and years 1 and 2 of secondary education)

- history at the primary stages is currently set within the wider context of "Environmental Studies" that is a multi-disciplinary approach which includes science, technology, history, geography, health, information technology and political/economic awareness. Attention to history varies in primary school programmes;

- history is studied by virtually all pupils in the first two years of secondary school. Time allocations range from fifty-five to eighty minutes per week;

- there is no statutory national curriculum. National guidance is backed by a system of inspection;

- there are no nationally defined areas of content. A very high degree of choice is devolved to schools. There are criteria for the selection of content to include balance across time, geographic areas, political economic and social aspects of history;

- key features of historical understanding should underpin all topics chosen, for example awareness of the nature of evidence, a sense of chronology and historical sequence, awareness of cause and effect, change and continuity, a sense of heritage.

- there is considerable emphasis on the development of skills, for example planning and organising work, selecting and evaluating evidence, presenting conclusions.

Outstanding national issues

- there are current concerns by HM inspectors about the attention to Scottish history;

- there are current concerns about the place of history in primary schools;

- do controversial or sensitive issues in Scotland's, Britain's or Europe's past receive attention? How can they be made accessible to younger children without the danger of over simplification or invalid generalisation?

- major national development is a review of the approach to environmental studies at the 5 to 14 stages. This will include attention to the study of Scottish and European history;

- HM inspectors to issue a national report in 1999 on standards and quality in history teaching, which will make recommendations on some of the above issues;

- considerable national investment in materials to encourage more study of Scottish history, through information technologies and CD-Rom resources;

14 to 16 stages (Standard Grade examination)

- from age 14 to 16, history in Scotland is an optional subject, studied for 160 minutes per week, by around one-third of the cohort. Other options are geography and modern studies (politics, social issues, international issues);

- the examination syllabus balance attention to Scottish, British, European and wider dimensions history.

There are three units of study

- unit A – Changing Life in Scotland and Britain from 1750-1850, or 1830-1930, or 1880-1980;

- unit B – International conflict and co-operation 1790s-1820s; or 1890s-1920s; or 1930s-1960s;

- unit C – People and power USA 1850-1880; or India 1917-47, or Russia 1914-41; or Germany 1918-39.

- there is a balance between the Scottish, British and European dimensions;

- there is a balance between treatment of major European wars and attempts at peacemaking, peacekeeping and reconciliation;

- potentially sensitive and controversial issues are dealt with. There is a strong emphasis in the teaching of the course on the evaluation of primary and secondary source evidence;

- in the examination, students are required to make a balanced evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of a range of sources; comment on accuracy, bias, exaggeration, selectivity, and so forth; set information in sources in a wider context; compare points of view contained in courses; and use their own knowledge to reach balanced conclusions backed with evidence.

Outstanding national issues

- whether the course is too heavily based on modern history?
- whether there is enough attention to specifically Scottish history?
- how can more emphasis on debate and discussion be encouraged?

Post 16 stages

- currently the national system is based on the higher examination taken in year 5 or year 6 of the secondary school. The higher examination provides entry to university;
- history is optional. Currently the subject is studied at higher level by around 10% of the cohort. Typically the subject is studied for 270-280 minutes per week;
- the higher examination is either medieval or early modern or modern history. The choice is up to the school;
- each course provides a balance of Scottish/British content, with European history;
- one paper is based on essays; one paper is based on the evaluation of sources, such as Standard Grade. There is also a prepared essay on a topic chosen by the student;
- controversial issues in Scottish, British or European history are covered, such as the Scottish Reformation, the Irish troubles, appeasement. Evaluation of source evidence is heavily emphasised, as is the reaching of personal conclusions on given issues;
- a small percentage of students go on to study at Advanced Higher in year 6 of secondary school. A special topic is studied in depth. Topics include mediaeval, early modern or modern history and are Scottish, British, European, American, or African history. The course includes a dissertation of 4 000 words on an individually researched theme;
- not all students are capable of taking the Higher Examination. The only alternatives are internally assessed National Certificate modules which have lacked status.

Outstanding national issues

- how to encourage more schools to tackle the mediaeval or early modern options. The vast majority of schools do 20th century history only;
- how to encourage more attention to Scottish history;
- how to provide more meaningful challenge for students who are not capable of aiming at a Higher Examination;
- how to encourage more students to study history for two years post-16;
- how to widen the range of methodologies used, especially the creation of time for debate and discussion;
- a major national programme, the Higher Still Programme, is due to begin in 1999 and will provide four levels of challenge for students at the 16-18 stages – Intermediate 1, Intermediate 2 Higher and Advanced Higher;
- the programme will increase emphasis on internal assessment and allow more time created for debate/discussion and wider range of methodologies.

(contributed by Lachie MacCallum)

Spain: history sources and their use in Spanish schools

It is no easy matter to define the concept of historical sources in order to outline their use for teaching 20th century history in Spanish secondary schools. An enormous, indeed sometimes excessive number of historical sources are currently available. There are memoirs, which are inevitably biased, archives, books, magazines, films, television recordings, voice recordings, reports of proceedings in parliaments, textbooks, the Internet and so on. This plethora of sources means that a wide variety of historical sources must be consulted in studying the 20th century, as this optimises the overview of our very recent past.

A recent study of compulsory secondary education in Spain which considered how teachers used available teaching materials and resources found that they mainly used their own materials and textbooks.[1] Trailing far behind came reference books (in 3rd place), other publications (4th), teachers' handbooks accompanying class textbooks (5th), audiovisual resources (6th), the press (7th) and computer facilities (8th). Computers and the press are thus least often used, despite the energetic promotion of both these media.

Given that most of the materials prepared by the teachers themselves are textual (for example photocopies, the occasional transparency obtained from a book or notes), it will readily be seen that verbal and pictorial material, especially textbooks, are the main resource used in the Spanish secondary education system. However, a variety of materials are to be found in the schools and are accepted by teachers, which shows that they are available, useful and in fact used.

1. "Diagnóstico del Sistema Educativo. La escuela secundaria obligatoria" (1. Informe Global, Madrid, 1997).

Textbooks

The aforementioned study also states that teachers consider textbooks as their main educational medium: 60% of the teachers interviewed affirm that textbooks are the main influence on their teaching practice, while 40% contend the opposite. Textbooks have an aura of authority for the students and their parents, who in fact feel that a teacher can be wrong but a book cannot.

In the years following the 1990 reform, textbooks were experimentally replaced completely with materials prepared by the teachers themselves. This was a period when textbooks were effectively demonised, but teachers soon began to realise the negative effects of their absence, for instance the immense effort of preparing alternative material. At the same time, the students soon tired of being inundated with photocopies. They and their parents realised that they preferred textbooks and began to complain when none were available.

Textbooks are the main resource for history lessons. Spanish publishing houses have a major if not decisive influence on curricula. The latter officially leave freedom of choice, but the fact is that textbooks present teachers with a ready-made option. The aforementioned study complains that publishing houses exert a certain amount of pressure and are highly commercial in their approach. In the case of geography and history, the contents of textbooks vary enormously from one course to another. The role, content and format of textbooks have undergone a radical transformation. They contain documentary sources, a wide range of exercises and extensive (though sometimes excessive) additional graphic and documentary material. They provide suggestions and materials for practical and active classes. Furthermore, the textbook sometimes breaks down into one version used by the student and another by the teacher, with a selection of exercises that amount to a unified approach to history teaching.

Teaching materials [1]

The study also states that photocopies, or to give them their technical name, "curricular materials" or "teaching aids", are the most frequently used resource alongside textbooks. Before introducing the 1990 educa-

1. Carmen Gonzáles Muñoz, "Materiales y recursos didácticos" in *La enseñanza de la historia en el nivel medio: situación, tendencias y innovaciones* (Madrid, 1996, pp. 295-317).

tional reform, the Ministry of Education poured a huge quantity of materials into schools in order to facilitate the reform. Never before had teachers received so much back-up material. However, little use has been made of it. Priority has been given to materials produced by schools for their own use. When combined with what is generally a standard textbook, these materials form an extensive educational complex with documentary dossiers comprising activities for students, special class notebooks, additional guides or materials for the teachers, complementary materials and special assignments at various levels. This approach, however, entails the risk of excessive or inappropriate use of resources. Many of the historical sources used by secondary schoolchildren derive from written texts (the press), maps or primary or secondary graphics.

This system has developed because history teachers advocate an innovative, standardising and participatory methodology modelled on university lecturing. Genuinely active methods are implemented, and the corresponding photocopied material is used in conjunction with books, which maintains some balance between contents and activities. Ideally the emphasis should be placed on content, while the activities should be left open so that they can be adapted to the needs emerging.

The resource myth: the media and the new technologies in history teaching

The popularisation of technology has filled schools with a multitude of previously unknown technical facilities. The trend is now for a student to be surrounded by several technical resources, whereas one technical facility used to be "surrounded" by several students. We are often confronted with the "resource myth", which centres the whole success of the teaching effort on the quantity and quality of the resources available. It is normally thought that if students can see spectacular historic documentaries produced by specialised agencies at home, schools can hardly afford to teach history by means of mere texts, no matter how richly illustrated. Schools are struggling on with insufficient, under-used media, which has a negative effect on students' attitude to these institutions.

Nowadays, the press (alongside television and radio) is a major source of information. It is also the oldest of the mass media. Yet, as already pointed out, the "press-at-school" projects implemented in Spain have been rather disappointing, as witness the fact that newspapers and com-

puters are the least frequently used media in the classroom. Use of the press is confined to narrowly contemporary aspects, identifying subjects directly affecting students' everyday lives and attempting to promote critical analysis of current realities. Beyond actually reading the press directly, newspaper cuttings and articles are sometimes included in textbooks and curricular materials.

One very interesting medium that is constantly developing and innovating is the audiovisual sector, in tandem with the new technologies. This sector has evolved from the traditional slide or overhead projector through tape recorders, television and videos to the more recent interactive videos, videodisks and the whole range of computer facilities. This evolution is reflected in the new technologies curricula aimed at primary and secondary school teachers, such as the course run by the University of Alicante.

Schools began introducing computer facilities fairly recently, on the grounds that the official computer programmes available could obviously be very useful to students. A field which is less well developed in Spain, and is in fact more or less rejected by teachers, is that of simulation, problem-solving, multiple cause and decision-making programmes and so forth, and computer games enabling students to familiarise themselves with a wide range of historical facts. These include the software mass-produced by private companies, often for purely commercial purposes and usually on CD-Roms.

The introduction of the Internet into history teaching is providing virtually unimaginable prospects for recording and managing information, thanks to: *(1)* facilities for updating recorded information without changing medium; *(2)* rapid automatic access to any given site; *(3)* the Internet's high density and long life capacities; *(4)* availability of an open data storage area and an unlimited mass of constantly reorganised and updated information; *(5)* accessibility by any teacher or student, who can link up with other colleagues or classmates; and *(6)* the ability to regard history not as the result of information transmission but rather in terms of immediate access to this constantly changing open storage area.

Many Internet servers are currently available in Spain, but we would single out the server run by Professor J. Tomás Nogales of the Department of Library Science and Documentation at the Charles III University,

Madrid. At the colloquy on "Art and contemporary history teachers", Professor Nogales presented his server along with the other media commonly used by secondary school students and teachers in Spain. The server contains discussion (e-mail) lists, newsgroups, full-text documents, historic documents, electronic texts and books, electronic series (such as reviews, newsletters), virtual art, museums and exhibitions, and courses and so forth, relating to history and art.

A new electronic review has recently been launched, *Hispana Nova*, which deals with contemporary history in general and modern Spain in particular. It is available on the Internet, thanks to the support and co-operation of the IRIS Network – Red Académica española.

Mention should also be made of the Clio Project, whose main objective is to build up a stock of history teaching materials on the Internet geared to secondary school students and following secondary curricula. It clearly meets a real need in schools, namely the availability of the Internet as an additional teaching aid. Clio provides materials for history teaching in the broad sense of the term, embracing artistic, literary, religious and philosophical aspects. The project emerged within the framework of the Colon e-mail list, through which the Internet users can discuss history and the new technologies. It is an integrated telecommuting experiment, given that the working group's fundamental medium for communication and co-ordination is, precisely, the data communication network. The work comprises not only creating and selecting teaching materials but also providing all secondary school teachers with a forum for sharing and exchanging information.

At all events, as we have seen, computer facilities are not widely used in the classroom. It is difficult to ascertain their availability in schools and the extent to which they are actually used. One resource for history teaching is called "Hipertextos y tutoriales", developed by Jaume Suau Puig (Contemporary History Department, University of Barcelona). The first in the series concerns the French Revolution, but further "tutorials" are being finalised to assist in studying and explaining present-day developments and events of historical importance (for example the crisis in Yugoslavia, the collapse of the communist world, Catalan historiography and citizenship and class).

In Spain, video is used in teaching the history of art and general history through the cinema. Given the increasing use of films in the humanities

and as a teaching aid for historical science, and on the basis of experience from the early cinema and history course (1985, Salamanca) up to the 1989-90 academic course, the Contemporary History Department of the University of Barcelona has set up a specialised section, which has successfully taken off. Furthermore, "Contemporary history and the cinema" is now an official subject in the new history degree course.

This change has been reflected in Spanish secondary schools by the fact that various teachers are now including the titles of historical films in their thematic bibliographies and documentation, in the fields of history, literature and cinematic research. Two Catalan educationalists are also including commentaries on such historic films as *La Marseillaise, Modern times* and *The battle of Algiers* in their pre-university reading lists for students. The first filmographic selection was that originally compiled by Francisco Moreno, together with the BBC documentary series "History of the 20th century". The Faculty of Information Sciences in Madrid has published an interesting book with an excellent critical analysis.[1] Furthermore, Magí Feixa, a humanist with wide experience as a secondary-level teacher of modern history, has published some useful educational and methodological works. We should also mention the works of J. E. Monterde and J. Fernández-Sebastián who pioneered the use of the cinema as a resource for history research and teaching, both in isolation and in conjunction with other disciplines. In fact, a school of contextual history of the cinema was set up on the basis of this publication in the Contemporary History Department at the University of Barcelona.[2] As regards documentary films, which usually break down into newsreels and factual documentaries, a number of titles have been published as a guide to this rather unfamiliar field.

Training is an increasingly urgent need because of the abundance and force of the historic and cultural messages transmitted by these media, and because many teachers do not yet have an adequate command of them. A number of faculties dealing with economic history have decided to introduce computer facilities in order to specialise study and teaching methods to the new curricula. The University of Seville has done so at

1. *Historia y cine: realidad, ficción y propaganda;* Madrid; Universidad Compluteunse; eds. Paz Moa and J. Montero (University of Alcalá de Henares, 1995).
2. José Maria Caparros Lerra, *100 peliculas sobre historia contemporánea* (Madrid, Alianza, 1997) and two other works, *El cine en Cataluña* (collective authorship) and *Una aproximación histórica* (Barcelona, PPU, 1993).

three different levels. The first level involves selective increases in the quantity and quality of information available to students in the classroom. The second involves extra-curricular activities continuing the teacher-student relationship outside school hours and enabling the student to decide when and for how long to access information on the subject. This provides students with much more information than would be possible during their short time at school each day. Lastly, computerised teaching can be used to guide the student's learning process and solve any problems arising. Even though this experiment has been centred on the area of economic history, the methods and conclusions coincide with and can easily be extrapolated to other subjects.

The Ministry of Education and Culture is developing a new technologies programme with a view to meeting all these needs. The programme draws on a combination of information media (text, graphics, executable files, images and audiovisual equipment) and the decreasing importance of the technologies themselves as compared with their contents, to combine the activities of the old Atenea (computers) and Mercurio (video) programmes in digital format with increasingly effective, integrated facilities. This means that a combination of computing and audiovisual media, namely the multimedia products that emerged in 1996-97, are now available in schools, which also necessitated giving them the requisite technological structures, contents and teacher training.

The following activities are in line with these aims:

- the information society in school: the school library. This activity involves making libraries places of access to knowledge, combining all the available digital information media and setting up comprehensive knowledge support networks;

- Plan Platea. This plan, initially launched in 1990 in order to equip schools with data communication facilities, is currently reinforcing communications structures in order to give teachers and schools access to the Internet, with the programme acting as an Internet access provider for the whole educational sector. The objective is for all teachers, and subsequently all students, to be able to use the Internet in the classroom;

- audiovisual and multimedia productions. Teacher training resources are being designed, produced and distributed, primarily from the angle of remote data communications;

- educational TV: following the launch of the Hispasat satellite and the Summit of Ibero-American Heads of State six years ago, the TEIB (Televisión Educativa Iberoamericana) programme was initiated, and for five years was primarily funded by Spain from a subsidy granted by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Spanish International Co-operation Agency at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Its broadcasting time is currently two hours a day, five days a week, covering the whole of Latin America, Spain and Portugal, with various TV programmes on contemporary history.

Educational exploitation of resources from the immediate environment

The idea of the student's immediate surroundings as an important educational resource underlies the subject of history in general. This conception involves opening doors and putting up with the inconvenience of such a hands-on approach. The immediate surroundings of schools have long been used in this way, although this use has seldom extended beyond school excursions and nature rambles, often concentrating on geographical aspects or museum visits. The aim has been to exploit the educational potential of nearby historical resources accessible to students and teachers, which may be physical or oral in nature such as urban buildings and remains, various kinds of objects, individuals' memories or, at a different level, municipal archives and parish records, to name a few. This approach can have a variety of functions: illustrating historical facts, visits, small-scale research projects on specific subjects and so forth. It is undoubtedly highly productive, since it also has an impact on social skills and attitudes, for example in dealings with the cultural or natural heritage. Nonetheless, this work must be placed in its context and we must remember that it has to be transcended if we are to go beyond a narrow, local approach to teaching.

First of all, museums can constitute a veritable system of history teaching aids, having undergone a series of changes which facilitate educational action. Spain has an enormous historico-cultural heritage that is an asset to be exploited in the framework of the new cultural industries emerging in post-industrial society. Co-operation in the field of museums and other heritage exhibitions centres necessitates mastery of the most advanced new technologies in the fields of leisure, cultural and cultural tourism.

Museums originally amounted to mere trophies, private collections and antique shows, but in the 19th century they moved on from the concept

of collection to that of exhibition. The challenge facing us now is how to transform exhibitions into workshops for mental activity, the word "workshop" being understood in its dictionary sense, namely a group of people learning about and experimenting in techniques relating to a specified field, generally in a play-oriented context.

Furthermore, over the last few years the type of knowledge transmitted by exhibitions has been changing, illustrating various problems *vis-à-vis* comprehension of the items on display, their suitability for the cognitive capacities of the different types of visitors, their compatibility with previous knowledge and the effectiveness and characteristics of informal learning processes in the museum environment as compared with formal school education. The "dinosaurs", or traditional museums, which are only comprehensible to experts, should be disregarded as archaic, and instead we should concentrate on exhibitions which provide contents conducive to communication and a reasoned approach.

The Catalan Museu de la Ciéncia i de la Técnica is an innovative museum which has organised two interdisciplinary courses. The main thrust of the first course was technological and the second concerned the social sciences field. Both courses attracted large audiences and were considered a great success by the teachers who attended. However, the Education Department must come to see such training courses as an alternative to the further training usually provided by the administration, which is either very general in nature or else too specialised to have any impact on the everyday realities encountered by teachers in schools. The results of this experiment were very positive. Interaction between the school and the museum has been very successful, and museums are receiving more and more requests for visits from schools every year.

To conclude this section on museums, we perhaps should adopt the following proposed by a Spanish colleague – the Ten Commandments for the educational museum:

- thou shalt not go to museums to read books;
- thou shalt not go to museums to copy texts;
- thou shalt go to museums to do things that are difficult to do in the classroom;

- thou shalt go to museums to seek answers to previously discussed questions and riddles;
- thou shalt go to museums to put questions and present riddles;
- museums shall be active, with not only manual but also mental activities;
- information sheets produced by museums often disguise the failure of a permanent exhibition; that which is supposed to be educational often proves to be merely visual;
- museums shall have educational flipcharts for both adults and children;
- thou shalt go to museums to learn how to do things;
- schoolchildren do not necessarily have to see the whole museum! [1]

Another relevant activity concerns archives at school. This field is rather underdeveloped in Spain because the country has over 30 000 recorded archives, into which very little research has so far been conducted. The information leaflets provide a highly organised and simple description of the whole visit to the archives, clarifying certain rather obscure concepts and reinforcing the information gleaned. There is also a summary of the most important definitions, the origin of the documentary holdings and the main tasks and services of the archives unit. The visits were complemented with slide and video shows, which provided the basis for questionnaires to be answered by students on a voluntary basis. This lack of activity is in line with a number of works dealing with the educational use of archives, extending from municipal archives to the university level through the secondary schools.

In connection with archives and teaching, the Centro de Información Documental de Archivos provides a vital service for national and international archivists. It supplies exhaustive bibliographical information on archiving theory and documentation on the holdings of various national and foreign archives, with over 12 000 monographs and a vast range of orally transmitted historical data.

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1. See Joan Santana, *Museos: al servicio de quién?* (Iber No 15, Barcelona I 1998, p.47.

Educational exploitation of the environment includes collecting eyewitness accounts. We have already mentioned the existence of primary and secondary historical sources. The former obviously include eyewitness accounts where the recent past is concerned, especially in certain well-defined fields. Historical memory is conserved not only in written documents. Many aspects of everyday life, folk culture, certain social forms or conventions, occupations and so forth, subsist only in the minds of the individuals who experienced them. Some of these individuals have put down their experiences in writing (such as memoirs, autobiographies, personal accounts). However, that is the exception rather than the rule. The facts reported and others which we will be mentioning reached our ears by oral transmission: some relate to traditions, mementoes and experiences reported by former generations (parents and grandparents, and other family), while others are events actually experienced by the interviewee.

"Live" testimonies have great educational and incentive value. We can transform schoolchildren's conventional view of historical events by comparing and contrasting it with the reality perceived by those who were personally affected by these events. Work has been done on oral transmission of history at university level, and a little less at secondary level, producing methodological models that can be adapted for use in the classroom or as basic texts. The universities have a variety of reviews specialising in oral history: *Historia y Fuente Oral, Migraciones y Exilios,* and *Arenal. Revista de Historia de las Mujeres,* which deals with issues relating to exile, the civil war, the transition period and women in the resistance movement, to name a few.

The history classroom

The restructuring and reorganisation of the classroom are closely linked to the change in teaching methods. The new technologies are helping create a better equipped school, with libraries, newspaper archives, video libraries, computer rooms, audiovisual theatres, and a more flexible distribution of space and timetables. This means that the history classroom must become a veritable documentation centre with a press archive and a multimedia library. This is the reason for the demand in Spain today for new special classrooms for history teaching or history workshops, perhaps annexed to the history department, thus abolishing the distinction between subjects which have their own special areas, such as physics and

natural science laboratories or art classrooms, and subjects taught in conventional rooms. These areas would have room for all the resources such as the library and the audiovisual facilities. This type of classroom would greatly increase teaching efficiency in small schools with a small or average number of students. For larger schools, in view of the large numbers of students, it would be better to equip the existing classrooms with movable furniture, screens, black-out facilities.

(contributed by Gregorio González Roldán)

Armenia: problems and perspectives of history teaching

Armenia has a population of 3 million, but there are more problems related to the process of teaching history than in other small countries. History teaching is emphasised in Armenia, perhaps because a knowledge of history will help us to affirm our national identity in relation to our neighbours and in terms of the former Soviet Union. Let me give you a short background of recent systems of history teaching and teacher training in Armenia. Much hard work has been devoted to reforming the education system and a new education law has been voted. Unfortunately, the reform of the education system is far from finished.

New specialised training for history teachers takes place in three state pedagogical institutes, in Yerevan, Gyumry, and Vanadzor and partially at the state university. Future teachers learn not only history disciplines, but also theory and the history of pedagogy. The training programme lasts for four to five years. During the teacher programme, students have practical training in schools under the guidance of trainers in methodology, pedagogues and psychologists. Once the study programme is finished, and students have passed their final exams in history, as well as those on theory, history and methodology of pedagogy, they can teach history in schools. Unfortunately, the low salaries of today's teachers do not satisfy history specialists and the best of them do not become teachers. History teachers are 90% women and 10% men.

Every few years, teachers do training courses to increase their professional qualification. Unfortunately, the current system does not accomplish its goal in terms of today's needs. This system, with some changes, dates from the Soviet period. In Armenian schools, history is taught from the middle school – in 5 to 8 classes. Two historical disciplines are taught, national history and German history. Equal time is devoted to each and

they are taught in parallel. The structure is traditional – Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and modern history.

Modern history, or the history of the 20th century is studied in the 8th form, the age of the students is from 14- to 15-years-old. Due to the new law on education, history teaching continues in upper secondary school, where students are in the 16 to 17 year old age group.

The main problem with history teaching in Armenia is the textbooks. Textbooks for national history have been prepared by academic specialists and are now in use. But the textbooks on general history were prepared during the Soviet period (before 1990), were reprinted, and until now were in use. This problem seems to have been solved for the near future. With the aid of a Council of Europe grant, new textbooks are in preparation and will hopefully be ready for the next school year.

(contributed by Armen Khachikyan)

Slovak Republic: identification of rules

"There exists only Europeans all having the same taste,
the same passion, the same life style."
(Rousseau)

I suppose that the basic rule for history teaching with regard to the current development of Europe is to enable students to see individual historical events from a vaster point of view, by taking into account the specific features of European history and from the perspective of the role of the region, nationality and the state.

When I present the development of the southern part of the Slovak Republic in lessons, I have to deal with several changes of borders, nationalities, currencies and laws. I am looking for teaching methods that will take in the meaning of historical events from a political point of view, the impact of events from the point of view of soldiers and powerful interests and the impact of events on individual people, that is property, family relationships, neighbour relationships.

I consider this form of work useful because it is understandable that students want to observe things from the point of view of the ordinary person. I have experienced students who will one day awaken and find that within their community where they were once a majority, they have now become a minority thanks to powerful conflicts and border changes. I think that in teaching any historical topic emotional identification with the situation and survival of the ordinary person stimulates the student's awareness of historical events and a reflection on prejudice that is based on tolerance.

Visiting museums, collecting testimonies from the local people as an after-school activity, seeing family pictures, seeing money that became worthless paper from one day to the other – these are all possible subjects that could be used when working with children. These topics contribute to seeing things from a humanitarian and understanding viewpoint.

History allows us to show students that if the victories and losses of the nation and the state, and the meaning of the historical person are not measured by a respect for life, freedom, humility before order, justice and respect for the weak, the result can be tragic. In my history lessons I emphasise the three pillars on which European civilisation was established. These three pillars are Greek wisdom, Roman law and Christian morality. I use an understanding of these historical and cultural roots and the role of the nation as a starting point for developing responsibility for the future of the community as well as for the fate of Europe. During my lesson preparation I keep in mind that European history could be observed from the point of view of the ideals discussed below, which I consider that everyone can understand.

*Democratic ideal*s. I suppose that my students as residents of the European continent consider themselves as part of European history. In the 20th century, almost each inhabitant of Europe can accept the idea that collective welfare depends upon the active participation of people in public problems. Each country today is trying to have a democratic parliament based on free elections.

Ideals of the state of law. Most countries and their people call for a state of law that clearly guarantees the rules of the game. In the whole of Europe, with some exceptions, the norm is to divide power between the legislative, the judiciary and the executive. History also provides examples to teachers, for example it shows that a private judiciary has never brought about peace.

Ideals of personal freedom and responsibility. Young people today do not like to be responsible for the fate of their community, nation, town, state, and so forth. But history lessons illustrate that not accepting personal responsibility and not fighting enough for personal freedom has led to tragedy, which is a lesson for the future.

We might understand the soul of a young person through his/her understanding of God, in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. It is important that each person be responsible for their acts to God and base their actions upon salvation. This responsibility determines their freedom to act. Happiness, position and fame are not automatically part of the European tradition, but are the result of effort as is the search for peace in one's own conscience.

I think that in central and eastern European countries the notion of personal responsibility is diminishing. History lessons that show that the desire for power, self-interests and a weak sense of morality can cause pain, decay and backwardness can be used as an example of the importance of forming personal responsibility for youth, their family, town, Europe and the world.

History is full of examples that illustrate that Europeanism is not the opposite of national self-confidence. I think that we can speak with students about the cultural and educational potential that is the property of each nation and in so doing, emphasise the nation. Love of nation and of its cultural heritage does not contradict an interest in the contribution of other nations to the rich mosaic of a European civilisation. Here, I invoke the educational principle that if patriotism is related to peoples' ideals, and supports enrichment for cultures and nations, then it will lead to prosperity.

I suppose that history lessons should be guided by the following: *(1)* topics should be presented objectively and according to the basic principles of humanism; *(2)* historical events can be used to strengthen students' feeling for democracy, to form their character, personal responsibility, concept of freedom and of moral values; *(3)* students should be encouraged towards a realistic view of the world and towards finding pragmatic solutions that are based on consensus to problems; *(4)* respect for national history and with the role of the student's own ethnic group related to European cultural heritage.

I suppose that each teacher should always reflect upon the ideals on which European civilisation is based. Among these ideals is a conception of wisdom that will lead to humanism and spiritual beauty, a sense of justice and a clearly formulated organisation of society and pragmatic solutions to problems.

If this could be realised by not only all of us, but by all teachers, then the ideals of education would be the only logical path for European historical heritage to follow. This would be the basis for models of human behaviour at worldwide level.

(contributed by Viera Hoffmanová)

Appendix

Recommendation 1283 [1] of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on history and the learning of history in Europe

1. People have a right to their past, just as they have a right to disown it. History is one of several ways of retrieving this past and creating a cultural identity. It is also a gateway to the experiences and richness of the past and of other cultures. It is a discipline concerned with the development of a critical approach to information and of controlled imagination.

2. History also has a key political role to play in today's Europe. It can contribute to greater understanding, tolerance and confidence between individuals and between the peoples of Europe – or it can become a force for division, violence and intolerance.

3. Historical awareness is an important civic skill. Without it the individual is more vulnerable to political and other manipulation.

4. For most young people, history begins in school. This should not simply be the learning by heart of haphazard historical facts; it should be an initiation into how historical knowledge is arrived at, a matter of developing the critical mind and the development of a democratic, tolerant and responsible civic attitude.

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1. *Assembly debate* on 22 January 1996 (1st sitting) (see Doc. 7446, report of the Committee on Culture and Education, rapporteur: Mr de Puig).
Text adopted by the Assembly on 22 January 1996 (1st Sitting)

5. Schools are not the sole source of historical information and opinion. Other sources include the mass media, films, literature and tourism. Influence is also exercised by the family, peer groups, local and national communities, and by religious and political circles.

6. The new communication technologies (CD-I, CD-Rom, Internet, virtual reality, etc.) are gradually extending the range and impact of historical subjects.

7. A distinction may be made between several forms of history: tradition, memories and analytical history. Facts are selected on the basis of different criteria in each. And these various forms of history play different roles.

8. Politicians have their own interpretations of history, and some are tempted to manipulate it. Virtually all political systems have used history for their own ends and have imposed both their version of historical facts and their definition of the good and bad figures of history.

9. Even if their constant aim may be to get as close to objectivity as possible, historians are also well aware of the essential subjectivity of history and of the various ways in which it can be reconstructed and interpreted.

10. Citizens have a right to learn history that has not been manipulated. The state should uphold this right and encourage an appropriate scientific approach, without religious or political bias, in all that is taught.

11. Teachers and research workers should be in close contact to assure the continued updating and renewal of the content of history teaching. It is important that history keep pace with the present.

12. There should also be transparency between those working in all areas of history, whether in the school classroom, television studio or university library.

13. Particular attention should be given to the problems in central and eastern Europe which has suffered from the manipulation of history up to recent times and continues in certain cases to be subject to political censorship.

14. The Assembly recommends that the Committee of Ministers encourage the teaching of history in Europe with regard to the following proposals:

i. historical awareness should be an essential part of the education of all young people. The teaching of history should enable pupils to acquire critical thinking skills to analyse and interpret information effectively and responsibly, to recognise the complexity of issues and to appreciate cultural diversity. Stereotypes should be identified and any other distortions based on national, racial, religious or other prejudice;

ii. the subject matter of history teaching should be very open. It should include all aspects of societies (social and cultural history as well as political). The role of women should be given proper recognition. Local and national (but not nationalist) history should be taught as well as the history of minorities. Controversial, sensitive and tragic events should be balanced by positive mutual influences;

iii. the history of the whole of Europe, that of the main political and economic events, and the philosophical and cultural movements which have formed the European identity must be included in syllabuses;

iv. schools should recognise the different ways in which the same subjects are handled in different countries, and this could be developed as a basis for interschool exchanges;

v. support should be given to the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, and Ministries of Education and educational publishers in member states should be asked to ensure that the institute's collection of textbooks be kept up-to-date;

vi. the different forms of history learning (textbook study, television, project work, museum visits, etc.) should be combined, without exclusive preference to any of them. New information technologies should be fully integrated. Proper educational (and academic) standards must be ensured for the material used;

vii. greater interaction should be fostered between school and out-of-school influences on young people's appreciation of history, for example by museums (and in particular history museums), cultural routes and tourism in general;

viii. innovatory approaches should be encouraged, as well as continued in-service training, especially with regard to new technologies. An interactive network of history teachers should be encouraged. History should be a priority subject for European teachers' courses organised within the framework of the Council for Cultural Co-operation in-service training programme for teachers;

ix. co-operation should be encouraged between teachers and historians, for example by means of the Education Committee of the Council for Cultural Co-operation's new project on learning and about teaching the history of Europe in the 20th century;

x. government support should be given to the setting up of independent national associations of history teachers. Their active involvement in the European history teachers' association Euroclio should be encouraged;

xi. a code of practice for history teaching should be drawn up in collaboration with history teachers, as well as a European charter to protect them from political manipulation.

15. The Assembly supports freedom of academic research but would also expect professional responsibility as in the parallel field of broadcasting. The Assembly therefore recommends that the Committee of Ministers:

i. ask governments to assure continued financial support for historical research and the work of multilateral and bilateral commissions on contemporary history;

ii. promote co-operation between historians so as to help encourage the development of more open and more tolerant attitudes in Europe by taking account of different experiences and opinions;

iii. ensure that the right of historians to freedom of expression is protected.

16. European collaboration should be encouraged in the field of history. The Assembly recommends that the Committee of Ministers:

i. study the basic elements of the different histories of the peoples of Europe which, when accepted by everyone, could be included in all European history textbooks;

ii. consider the possibility of establishing in member states an online library of history;

iii. encourage member states to establish national history museums on the lines of the German "House of History" in Bonn;

iv. promote multilateral and bilateral projects on history and history teaching and in particular regional projects between neighbouring countries.

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