

THE EUROPEAN HOME: REPRESENTATIONS OF 20TH CENTURY EUROPE IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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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.

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;

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 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 BOOK

The European home: representations of 20th century Europe in history textbooks is a study carried out by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in the context of the Council of Europe's project "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century" (see Appendix 3). Using a cross-section of secondary school history textbooks, it informs on the general developments in the presentation of history over the last decades, and provides an overview of how certain aspects of European history are dealt with. Some of the topics discussed are taken from the darker side of Europe's past, such as occupation policy, the Holocaust, genocide and war. Others deal with textbook market structures, the space allotted to regional, national, European and world history, and the importance of textbook layouts and tasks assigned to pupils – whether they develop key skills of critical investigation or encourage pupils to digest pre-structured knowledge.

Relevant to European integration is the issue of what "Europe" and the "European dimension" really mean to the young. What are key concepts in the circles of pan-European decision makers are sometimes undefined, underlying assumptions in history textbooks. This book calls for a definition(s) and discussion of Europe to be brought to the forefront. If the multi-perspective nature of Europe is to be grasped, then it must encompass more than a sum of European institutions, often perceived as remote bureaucracies. The author has included in his recommendations, partly directed towards textbook authors and curriculum designers, ways and means to help young people perceive "Europe" as having a meaningful and positive role in their daily lives. This concept of Europe goes beyond economic policy and politics and will emerge through a study of European commonalities, mentalities and lifestyles, and tasks which allow pupils to exchange ideas on this topic.

The main author, Falk Pingel, is currently Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany, and a lecturer at the University of Bielefeld. He has lectured widely on contemporary history and history teaching at international level. His most recent publication is the *Unesco guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision* (Unesco, Paris, 1999).

The author has worked in conjunction with many textbook analysts and researchers across Europe.

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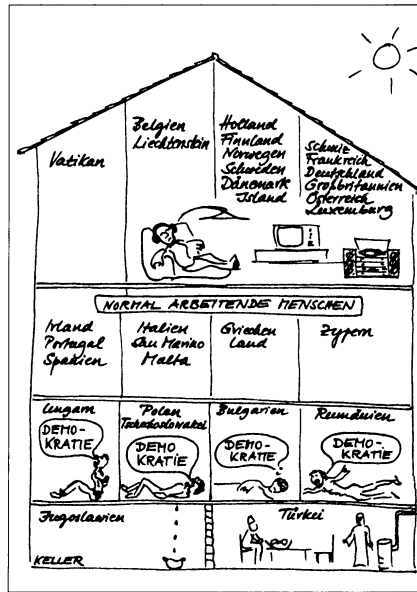
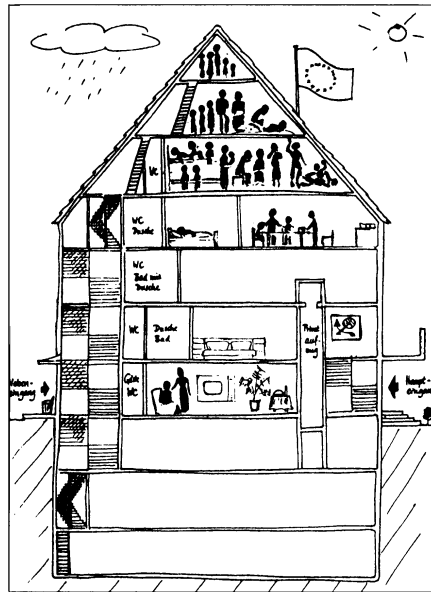
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I. INTRODUCTION

What is it like to live in the "European home"? Do all the tenants (or owners?) live in rooms of a comparable standard? Who, in fact, is allowed to move in? Is it large enough or should it be extended? Today's pupils tend to have opinions on these and many other questions that are thought-provoking. Often they differ from those of their teachers and the older generation. Young people choose their own approach and use their own language, as shown by the two cartoons produced by one class in a German vocational school.

Europa – ein „gemeinsames Haus“?

6 Nachdem in einer Berufsschulklasse im Schuljahr 1990/91 das Thema „Europa“ behandelt worden war, faßten zwei Schüler ihre Vorstellungen vom „Europäischen Haus“ in folgenden Zeichnungen zusammen:



1. Vergleiche die beiden Zeichnungen. Welches sind nach den Vorstellungen der Jugendlichen die wichtigsten Merkmale des „Europäischen Hauses“?

2. Fertige selbst eine Zeichnung des „Europäischen Hauses“ an. Lies dazu vorher noch einmal die Darstellung S. 173–175.

(Germany) Geschichtsbuch 4. Die Menschen und ihre Geschichte in Darstellungen und Dokumenten. Von 1918 bis 1995 (1997)

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How much should present-day pupils know about contemporary history? To be more precise, how much should they know about the European dimension in this context? What kind of subject matter are they presented with and how are they motivated to investigate further into recent European history? Clearly, history textbooks represent only one of the various media that can offer insights and approaches to this subject. We know that pupils cannot remember or even deal with all the material contained in a textbook. We also know that young people often have access to other materials that enable them to develop an appreciation for contemporary history. The textbooks themselves tend to give an official or "authorised" version of the problems since they reflect the concepts contained in curricula sanctioned by the authorities. In other words they contain the knowledge that an older generation wishes to convey to a younger generation at any one time in any one society.

The inclusion of eastern European states in European organisations shaped up to now by the "western" European countries has made us particularly aware of the fact that many of the nationalistic movements we associate with the 19th century have still not fallen away, despite the various peace treaties that were signed after the first world war. How to explain these developments to young people is no easy matter, especially with regard to those states that have recently regained their sovereignty and are now looking for closer links with the European Union. The conflicts that have resulted, for example in the former Yugoslavia, can indeed be regarded as anachronistic but they are very much a part of ongoing European history and must be resolved as soon as possible. We assume that border and reunification problems must be regulated through discussion rather than aggression and conflict. The present situation in this respect represents a real challenge to our teachers. They need to supply facts and, at the same time, deal with issues that are highly sensitive and difficult emotionally.

This is true not only for the eastern European countries. Ethnic, national or regional movements can also be found in the west, for instance in Belgium and Spain. The latest Spanish curriculum for the social sciences (*ciencias sociales*) places a definite and positive emphasis on the European dimension but at the same time gives extensive coverage to the autonomous regions in Spain, with the result that textbooks are available in several different versions. This situation is comparable with that in Germany, where certain federal states adapt books to provide a regional perspective. When textbook authors are required to include such a regional perspective they must inevitably dispense with other subject matter. If European or international perspectives are to be covered as well, they are often dealt with in a very general, even superficial manner. Certain countries, even neighbouring states, are increasingly lumped together in one chapter whereas in the textbooks of

the 1960s and the 1970s they were treated individually. In other words, the emphasis on a European or an international dimension tends to mask the differences that exist between different regions or countries in Europe.

A word on terminology

The term “present-day Yugoslavia” refers to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, composed of the two autonomous republics, Serbia and Montenegro.

The term “former Yugoslavia” refers to the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, which – before its dissolution – was composed of the six autonomous republics of Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro, and the two autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, both integrated into Serbia in 1990.

After the break-up of the former Yugoslavia, all of the republics, now independent, kept their names except Macedonia. Owing to strong Greek objections, it was admitted to the United Nations in 1992, and then the Council of Europe under the provisional name (including inverted commas) of “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”. Thus, contrary to press use, “Macedonia” used alone refers only to Macedonia at the time it was an autonomous republic of the former Yugoslavia.

Study aims and choice of textbooks

Our study is intended to demonstrate various possibilities of dealing with the subject of European history in the 20th century through a variety of European textbooks and examines the extent to which the European dimension can be found in school history books used in compulsory school in European countries. Shortly after it was founded, the Council of Europe had already called for the inclusion of a European dimension in the history books of its member states. This development began with the symposium entitled “The European idea in history teaching”, which was held in 1953. Subsequently there have been a vast number of activities in this field, particularly in recent years as the Council has expanded its membership. All of this work has culminated in recommendations for subject matter and methods and these guidelines have proved especially useful for the present study.¹ Seminars and publications have often adopted quite different approaches for defining which topics best illustrate the development of European history. The results of these efforts reflect how the European idea has changed during the relatively short period of forty-five years. We now find much greater emphasis placed on modern

1. Maitland Stobart, “Fifty years of European co-operation on history textbooks: the role and contribution of the Council of Europe” in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, vol. 21, pp. 147-161 (Georg Eckert Institute, 1999).

history than on the European traditions that crystallised during the Middle Ages and after. Our study concentrates on the 20th century and the process of integration that we are still witnessing.

In general, only textbooks can be examined in order to provide an overall summing up of the issues, approaches and problems which are addressed in history teaching. If we were to investigate and document how history is actually taught in the many schools of so many different countries, the result would be a mammoth reference work of little practical use. The textbooks, however, afford us only a vague insight into how history is taught in our schools; nevertheless, a study of such textbooks can give us a very good impression of the materials and methods that teachers have at their disposal. We have tried to strike a balance between a quantitative evaluation, a hermeneutic interpretation and the inclusion of representative quotations. Various illustrations, maps and whole pages from the textbooks have been reproduced. Our aim was to select those examples which show what the various books have in common with regard to European history but, equally, we wanted to document where differences lie. These are often quite significant and vary not only among the textbooks of a certain country but also differ in the emphasis they place on a national, European or global dimension. The main objective of this project is to encourage the reader to think about what teaching European history should entail and, at the same time, inform him or her about the many different approaches that are already being implemented.

In view of the large number of differing school systems and the varying structure of school-book markets in the countries which have signed the European Cultural Convention, a truly representative study would have to take each country into consideration. This, however, would be too vast an undertaking for the purposes of this study. Thirteen countries were chosen, representing the various regions, school-book systems and size of country. The countries chosen were France, Germany, the Netherlands, the Russian Federation, England, Spain, Italy, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Norway and Finland. For these countries, as far as possible, we have put together a representative sample of history textbooks which have been evaluated according to a uniform pattern that will be explained below. In accordance with the aims of the Council of Europe project "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century", the study concentrates on textbooks used in the last two or three years of compulsory school (the 14 to 16-year age group). History – and especially the 20th century – is a compulsory subject to at least this age group.

On average three to five textbooks from each country chosen were selected. Most are used frequently. This information is based not only on official statistics

but also on reports made by teachers, educational institutes and publishers, as there are not always official statistics available on the ranking of the books. Some books, although not in widespread use, were taken into account because they represent an exceptionally original approach. The definition of one sample per country cannot therefore be called representative in the strict sense as greatly differing information is at hand. Our selection criteria for the textbooks were based on the following: the most widely used textbooks; those published within the last three to five years, and written or revised after the dissolution of the communist system; those which are in accordance with the curriculum in use; and those with an original approach to the subject.

The textbooks were examined according to a list of questions applied to all books. A quantitative evaluation was carried out only with regard to the amount of space in the textbooks allocated to national, European and world history in the presentation of the 20th century. The results of the individual analyses conducted by different researchers have led to a summary evaluating each country which served as the basis for this report.¹

In addition, we have included some particularly interesting examples from other countries; these, however, have not undergone such a thorough evaluation. The study will also be looking at: a new history book from the Slovak Republic, which is oriented towards Europe; the situation in Greece, one of the few countries outside the former communist bloc to prescribe that only one history book should be used in all its schools; and the problems that textbooks from the Balkan countries face, in general, when trying to introduce a European perspective.

Furthermore, we feel that the history books from "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Bosnia and Herzegovina² and Croatia are of particular interest since at this very moment the desire to establish national identity and the wish to be regarded as a part of Europe emerge in the time of a conflicting situation. This issue is treated in many of the textbooks published in southern and western Europe.

Our analysis is concerned with more than the actual content of the books. It is relatively easy to pinpoint the events, the historical epochs and individuals that are dealt with. Listing such facts, however, does not tell us much about how the historical background and its ramifications have been interpreted. Thus, we were also interested in the following questions.

1. Although this report draws heavily on the individual analyses, the compiler of the report (Falk Pingel) has selected the examples and the quotations, and has drawn up the overall evaluation.

2. The textbooks examined from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina are used only in the Bosniac part of the federation.

Do the books suggest some kind of general conceptual approach? In particular, we were interested in finding out whether they tackle certain problems that have polarised the development of modern European history, such as democracy and dictatorship, co-operation and conflict, unity and diversity, colonisation and decolonisation.

Do the books encourage pupils to make their own judgements or do they tend to offer explanations that are more or less not open to debate? In particular, we wanted to ascertain whether the texts develop the ability to think for oneself, to locate, handle and critically analyse different forms of information and evidence, to frame relevant questions and to arrive at responsible and balanced conclusions and to see other points of view.

The 20th century has witnessed many traumatic events that have had consequences for most of Europe, as well as for the rest of the world. Above all, these events have left their mark on how the various states define themselves, the rituals they follow in order to maintain a certain national "public" identity. Can "remembrance and commemoration" become a real obstacle to the goal of creating a European identity? Hence, we have paid close attention to the manner in which certain themes have been covered, in particular the second world war – highlighting occupation policy and the Holocaust and transnational migrations and ethnic conflict.

In our opinion, making pupils aware of the European dimension and related issues should not degenerate into a solely Eurocentric approach. At the moment, Europe, as a concept, cannot substitute either for national identity or global awareness. For this reason, we have always attempted to produce a qualitative, and quantitative analysis along the following lines.

What is the balance between local/national, European and world history, what are the links between them?

Unlike during the cold war period, relations among the European states are no longer limited to politics and economics. So many contacts have already been made on the individual, scientific and cultural level. Is it possible for textbooks to convey to pupils what has happened, and is increasingly happening, on this more informal level? Thus, we have asked ourselves: What is the balance as regards political, economic, social, cultural and technological aspects?

The market for school textbooks

There is a free and open market for textbooks in most of the countries surveyed, though not in all of them. In the Nordic as in most of west and

south European countries such as, for example, Germany, England, the Netherlands, France and Italy or Spain, private publishing companies put together teams of authors and produce the textbooks, which then have to gain a foothold in the markets. However, there are remarkable differences here. On one end of this system there are countries such as the Netherlands, Finland, Spain and England, in which schools are completely independent in their decisions on what textbooks to choose. In other countries, like in Germany and in most of the former communist countries, the government exercises a certain degree of control over textbook acquisition, through procedures of varying degrees of strictness. This is normally confined to examining whether acceptance norms and curricular recommendations have been adhered to. What has been recommended for the curriculum definitely determines the final choice and will therefore be dealt with in a little more detail further on. Since new curricula are in force in Great Britain and the Netherlands, the norms for these curricula influence the structure of textbooks in these countries although no official process for choosing textbooks exists.

In England the choice of books continues to be extremely wide and varied. Series of books which have been available for decades, dealing with history chronologically from beginning to end, are generally not used; a system of course units is preferred. In this way English textbooks are structurally different from the others, which are mainly chronological. Denmark, which is not examined here, as well as the Netherlands, come closer to the British model.

Relatively stabilised market structures prevail in other European countries. Book series put out by a small number of publishers dominate 50% or even more of the market (for example in France, Spain, Italy and Germany, with some regional differences; the three series making up the Norwegian sample and the two from the Finnish sample cover more than 90% of the market). In such cases it is easier to make a choice.

In some countries, however, there is only a small, open choice of textbooks, if at all, and this is usually the case in former socialist states. Nevertheless, there is no longer a uniform system in these countries and there is a clear, overall trend towards opening up and privatising the market. In Poland and the Russian Federation, the former state publishing companies (Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne and Prosvvesceniye), which held the monopoly, are still by far the market leaders. Their books are much more influential than the German or English ones in their respective countries, which have to share the market with numerous competitors.

In the past years, the Ministry of Education in Lithuania commissioned a certain publishing company or team of authors to write a book on a certain

subject for a specific class level.¹ Up to 1998, there was practically no room for competitive offers for public school textbooks. In 1998, a new book developed according to international standards came out (LIT 2).² In 2001, teachers will probably have a choice between three books. There are indications that the Greek market for school textbooks will become more liberal in the near future.

Though, in principle, Finland has a competitive open market, there are only two major publishing houses producing history textbooks for the comprehensive school level. They have published competing textbooks for the market with some difference in chronological approaches. It is up to the schools to decide which approach and which textbook they are going to use. Therefore it is clear on the whole that the books analysed here are distributed to a completely different degree.

The curriculum situation

Teaching contemporary history

Curricula are undergoing a great deal of change in many countries. This is a matter of course for the former communist states. New curricula have in many cases not yet been formally approved – in particular those covering contemporary history (for example in the Russian Federation, where so far there are only proposals and recommendations; also the Czech history curriculum is only provisional). Otherwise, these are often so new and revolutionary that textbook authors have not yet been able to take them fully into consideration. For assessment purposes, therefore, the fact that new textbook concepts are still being developed should be taken into account. All the more so, the teacher has a crucial role to play, particularly in the schools of the countries in transition.

Decisive changes are also taking place in some western countries, such as in Italy, where guidelines have been adopted which will place more emphasis on contemporary history. Currently, one entire school year has to be devoted

1. Although a Swiss and a Norwegian school textbook have been translated into Lithuanian, financed through foundation funds, these books are practically not available for normal schools. In order to provide more information, particularly recently, the expert in history didactics, A. Kasperavicus, has written a booklet on international history, which is, however, more in the form of an academic crash course. Nevertheless this booklet is often used by teachers, probably because it offers rapid subject orientation. For the time period 1956-93, a source book, compiled by D. Kaunas, has been developed, containing mainly newspaper articles with comments by the editor. It is not a schoolbook in the strict sense.

2. See Appendix 2 for the names of the specific textbooks referred to for each country covered by the survey.

to the history of the 20th century. Most of the Italian textbooks analysed (I 2, 3, 4) are already following the new guidelines. Two books (I 1 and 5) are still based on the old programme, which also includes part of the 19th century.

The new Norwegian curriculum goes even further. As in some of the German federal states, the curriculum deals with the first half of the 20th century (until 1945) in the 9th grade and to devote the whole last year of compulsory schooling – the 10th grade – to contemporary history in a very strict sense, that is the time period from 1945 onward.

A major reform, which will in all probability change the contents and appearance of school textbooks, is to be implemented in France. The current French textbooks dealing with the 20th century, however, do not yet reflect the reform. It is our impression that publishing houses adjust in phases to new conditions. The first new textbooks concerning the 20th century will likely be available for the school year 1999/2000.

The comparison between old and new Italian books will make it clear that the more extensive treatment of the 20th century has produced a new concept of what contemporary history could be about, since we find that the emphasis on the European dimension is more or less in competition with that on the global dimension. The 20th century has been characterised by a desire for economic and political unity within Europe, as well as by further political movements and events that had their origins in Europe itself, such as the two world wars or the national-socialist and communist regimes. It would therefore seem only natural to give preference to the European dimension during this period of time. The old history syllabuses as a rule, tended to emphasise these aspects, if they regarded the 20th century at all as an historical entity in itself. However, the newer syllabuses have had to address a further problem. On the one hand, Europe has become a much more significant factor in world politics since the collapse of the communist bloc, even though its relations to eastern Europe have still not been resolved. On the other, the advent of global media influences both our daily lives and our economic situation. Are we therefore justified in seeing the world only from a European perspective? It seems much more likely that the end of the 20th century will be dominated by an exchange of ideas between different cultures, in other words, *by an intercultural universal dimension*. Surely we should be concentrating on ways of tolerating other cultures and traditions particularly since history has shown us repeatedly how one culture has attempted to eradicate another. In view of the conflicts that have taken place in the 20th century, it would appear much more sensible to set our sights on achieving some form of global peace rather than concentrating on how Europe has managed to finally, or at least temporarily, settle its differences.

The new syllabus for modern history in Italy has tried to find a compromise between these two tendencies. The emphasis is certainly on European history, which constitutes the main part of the course, but at the same time it is firmly embedded in a global context. The aim is to identify the role of Europe in world affairs and to understand the influences that Europe and the rest of the world exert on each other. Much less importance is attached to learning about non-European countries and their differing cultures. It will be interesting to see that some of the more recent textbooks, published after the introduction of the new syllabus, have gone further. They offer us a kaleidoscope of various regions of our globe, defined either politically, economically or culturally. Europe is one such region and it certainly receives more attention than many of the others. Nevertheless, the general perspective is – in contrast to the curriculum – definitely global rather than European.

When textbook authors try to implement a syllabus they often find themselves in a dilemma. Quite clearly, some Italian authors already feel that our future will be subject to much greater influence from global rather than European issues. The dichotomy, sometimes even the contradiction, between the requirements of the syllabus and its realisation in the textbook indicate that this whole area is still very much a subject of debate. At this point we must take a closer look at two central problems associated with the teaching of modern history.

Firstly, unlike historical epochs in the past, contemporary history is still very much open to interpretation. Comparisons of the present with the past can be only conditional, never absolute, since we are unable to say whether any particular development is going to continue. This means that pupils can be given no more than a provisional interpretation which might alter radically during a lifetime or even during the period they spend in school. We have, for example, recently experienced a major turning point in the tide of history, one which only very few people could have predicted. Schoolteachers, in their teaching schemes, quite definitely would not have covered the likelihood of such a revolutionary change. In any treatment of Europe the overriding factors have been the cold war, the arms race and confrontation between the superpowers. It would have been impossible to speculate about the collapse of the Soviet Union, the reorganisation of the political map in eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany or the terrible events that have reshaped the former Yugoslavia. The history books of the 1980s in both the east and the west assumed quite categorically that the prevailing post-war political and economic situation would continue well into the next century. It is quite evident, then, that the teaching of modern history should allow for various interpretations and encourage the pupils to put forward their own, possibly contrary ideas about what the future might hold in store: otherwise it risks the danger of being overtaken by the course of events.

Secondly, however, this rather open approach to changing developments stands in opposition to the view that authors and teachers should be concerned only with proven facts. There is a great deal of support for the idea that no historical judgement may be made on a situation that is still in flux. According to this point of view, history lessons must exclude any treatment of present affairs, since their interpretation might be vulnerable to political bias.

This opinion did indeed play an important part in the discussions concerning the new Italian syllabus. A comparable debate is going on in Spain. The argument against incorporating contemporary developments into history lessons is persuasive but in practice leads to a number of problems. What actually constitutes the "present" is itself open to interpretation. How could we possibly deal adequately with post-war German history without including reunification? It would be impossible for the textbooks of Baltic countries to end with the Stalinist period or the Breshnev era. The history of these countries can no longer be treated without including the events that led to their new-found sovereignty. If such a viewpoint is valid for the Baltic states, what about other countries? Surely pupils in Italy, France or Norway should be acquainted with the facts surrounding the collapse of the Soviet system and all the ramifications which are still affecting questions of sovereignty as well as economic and political relations within Europe.

Our concept of Europe has, in the intervening years, been expanded considerably. The ever quickening pace of events has forced us to become increasingly flexible about what we should define as "history". A period of change and flux cannot be interpreted in the traditional, static manner. Authors can do little else but adopt an overall perspective and try to give examples of how these developments might continue. The speed of development in textbook and curriculum revision varies considerably; this study can only show an excerpt from ongoing changes and constant factors – a "snapshot", so to speak, of continuing developments.

The revolutionary changes that took place in the early 1990s have obviously influenced authors to include interpretations and even speculations that take these events into account, even when the syllabuses have not made this a requirement. Our analysis therefore states: the year or the event which ends the textbook, whether the pupils are encouraged to think about the future course of developments, or whether the textbook presents a period of history that is regarded as a closed book, without any potentiality for affecting the future.

This is reflected by Robert Stradling in his seminar report:

...the provisional nature of any interpretation of recent events seems to me to be a very good reason for teaching about contemporary developments

rather than avoiding them. This is surely an important lesson for any history pupil to learn, namely that interpretations of events written by people who lived through them are not necessarily more valid, reliable or truthful than interpretations written by historians some years or centuries later. This, in itself, can be a useful means of learning, firstly, how to critically analyse the glut of information processed and transmitted by the mass media on a daily basis, and, secondly, to transfer that understanding and those skills to their study of texts and primary and secondary source material on earlier periods.¹

History and the social sciences

Over the last few decades, there have been repeated attempts to establish the social sciences as a subject that will integrate historical, economic and political elements and the new approaches regarding environmental studies. Although history, as a subject in its own right, has managed to survive in most European countries, many of the political institutions responsible for education have begun to think seriously about fusing all the social sciences into one school subject, particularly in the light of the rapid developments in information technology.

The implementation of the Hungarian curriculum is of special interest in this respect. From 1998 onwards pupils will be taught according to the Basic National Curriculum, which will have a major impact on history as a school subject. This is because the curriculum no longer speaks of separate and individual subjects but uses the term "areas of education". History is subsumed in the area called "people and society".

In the overall aims of this basic curriculum, priority is given to educating the pupil to adopt democratic values. Creating a sense of national identity takes only second place, with a definite provision for recognising and preserving the rights of ethnic minorities. The third major aim is to get pupils to accept the humanist values we associate with Europe and to see Hungary as a part of Europe. In fourth place we find an emphasis on globalisation, on accepting the responsibility for global problems affecting all mankind. How are these four objectives to be achieved in practice?

An interesting fact is that in the area of "History", Europe does not feature explicitly as a subject for study but is nevertheless implicitly treated in almost all the topic areas. On one occasion there is a reference to "European integration". Overall, it can be said that the subject matter tends to be traditional and it corresponds more or less to the main topics identified in history text-

1. Robert Stradling in the report on the seminar "Teaching the history of Europe in the 20th century: approaches and problems", held in Budapest (Hungary) from 11 to 13 December 1997 (Doc. CC-ED/HIST/Eur (98) 1) p. 13.

books of other countries as well. Despite the overall integrative approach the area of "history" still maintains the age-old division between national and European or international history. In contrast, the European dimension is accorded much greater significance in the area of "Society and citizenship". Here we can find suggestions for teaching schemes such as "Our place in Europe and the world" or "Our state in Europe" with particular reference to certain European institutions.

In view of these curricular requirements, it is hardly surprising that Hungarian history textbooks offer only scant information on European institutions whereas the social study textbooks provide in-depth explanations. The history textbooks will gradually conform to the requirements of the new curriculum. A new series coming out now adopts an integrative approach although even this textbook is not strictly oriented towards the new curriculum. The authors strive to give cultural phenomena a more prominent place. For the time being, the book has been introduced on trial and we do not yet know whether teachers like to work with it.

In some countries, such as Spain and France, geography and history are included in the same textbook, although they are still treated in two separate sections. In these cases, we have only analysed the history section.

In Norway, a new curriculum covering all the school disciplines is in force since 1997. Like the British National Curriculum it defines overarching aims for all the subjects as well as learning objectives, methods and assessments pertaining to the disciplines and topics. As history is seen in the wider field of social studies, each of the three disciplines (history, geography and civics) has its own right. "At the same time", however, to quote from the Norwegian analysis conducted by Svein Lorentzen, "the integrated human being calls for interdisciplinary approaches, which gives the National Curriculum of 1997 a dual perspective." The learning objectives regarding the time period after the second world war reflect the latest developments and speak out in favour of international and, in particular, European co-operation. They strive to bring up democratic citizens able of critical thinking and negotiation. The pupils are supposed to: "familiarise themselves with conflicts and co-operation in Europe and elsewhere in the world, and with the work for disarmament, peace and international justice" and "work with the political development in Europe after the second world war, discuss problems and possible outcome of the political changes in central and eastern Europe".

The Norwegian textbooks analysed are already based upon the brand new curriculum; as they were still in print, we had to work with the manuscripts.

The history curriculum framework

Although the history curricula of most countries follow chronological order whereby the 20th century is generally dealt with in the final class of compulsory school, the subject can also be taught in 8th, 9th or 10th grade classes, depending on the school system in question. The style of presentation therefore differs strongly from country to country, as pupils of varying ages are addressed.

Whenever a highly subject-focused approach is chosen for the curricula, there is no specified class level for teaching 20th century European history. If the curriculum is structured chronologically, as a rule, the unit taught in the 8th, 9th and 10th grade covers the period between the first world war and the mid-1990s. In some instances, the unit also covers the 19th century to a certain degree. The most common division into periods, ranging from the eve of the Great War to the "silent revolution" of our days, corresponds to an interpretation, more and more prevalent in academic research, where the so-called "short 20th century" is contrasted with the so-called "long 19th century", a period which is frequently said to encompass the time from the French Revolution up to the first world war.¹

A further difference in the structure of curricula which affects textbooks should be mentioned here. Although curricula mainly combine national, European and global history, traditionally in the Russian Federation and some other countries, national and international history are taught separately in two courses, using separate textbooks. The textbooks dealing with Russian history are more extensive than those dealing with general history. The provisional curriculum currently in use in the Russian Federation emphasises Russian history as part of world history and Russian history is consequently regarded in the textbooks as being part of European civilisation. Nevertheless, European issues are discussed mainly in conjunction with general or global history which are taken into consideration for this study. In both types of books dealing with general or Russian history respectively, the elements concerning the European dimension will be compared. Of course, there is a lack of detailed description of Russia in the textbooks dealing with general history, particularly apparent in the treatment of the cold war; only its international role is mentioned and practically no connection with domestic development is described. The effects of general European development on national history (and vice versa) cannot therefore be dealt with sufficiently. Though the division of the textbooks into Russian history and world history has been maintained as formerly, the courses are taught integrally in a number of schools. In co-operation with the European Standing Conference

1. Eric Hobsbawm in *Age of extremes: the short 20th century 1914-1991* (Penguin, London, 1994).

of History Teachers' Association (Euroclio), the Miros Institute has recently brought out a two-volume pilot edition for the post-1945 period.

The Lithuanian curriculum integrates Lithuanian history into general history (European and non-European history), but mainly into European history alone, as non-European history is hardly mentioned. Nevertheless, there are still separate history books, so that in practice both sectors are dealt with separately, contrary to the syllabus. The first textbook with an integrated approach has come out recently and starts with a European perspective on Lithuanian history (LIT 2).

A new syllabus has come into effect in the Netherlands, which depends less on chronological order. Moving away from the prevailing chronological approach, the Dutch curriculum formulates "core aims" for social and history education, which include a study of the forms of government in Europe, bloc formation following the second world war, the relationship between the economic powers (Japan, the United States, Europe, Southeast Asia) as well as practical co-operation between political/administrative bodies at European level and how national politics are related to European politics. Subjects such as the second world war or international migration suggest a comparative European or international approach, even though this is not expressly required. The aim is to help pupils define their own position in Europe. In view of this type of curricula, it is not surprising that Dutch textbooks are among the few that present the subject of Europe in a pupil-oriented perspective.

Some of the curricular requirements will be gone into in more detail as they already explain the result of our study to some extent. The French lower secondary school curriculum for teaching 20th century history, for example, defined subject areas which shape the structure of the textbook to a considerable degree. This can be seen from the following core topics:¹

Wars and crises from 1914 to 1945:

- the first world war and its consequences;
- Europe's decline;
- the Russian Revolution and the foundation of the Soviet Union;
- the United States, from prosperity to crisis, the world economic crisis;
- Fascist Italy; national socialist Germany;
- France of the inter-war period;
- the second world war.

1. A new curriculum came out in August 1999, with only slight differences.

The world from 1945 to the 1960s:

- new international relations, the formation of the blocs;
- France of the 4th Republic, economic recovery;
- the emergence of the Third World and decolonisation;
- present times, from the 1960s to our days;
- the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, cultural development;
- the 5th Republic;
- the crises of the 1970s and today's world: the rise of new powers (Japan, China, the Arab countries);
- new strategic regions: the case of the Pacific.

The history curriculum in Spain for the secondary schools¹ (Diseños Curriculares Españoles de Historia para la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria) offered the following choice of European topics:

- the political and administrative organisation of Spain and Europe;
- religion, art, and culture in Europe from the 15th to the 18th century;
- the process of European unification;
- Spain and the world: European Union and Latin America.

It is interesting to note that art and culture as pan-European phenomena are to be dealt with when discussing early modern times but that they do not figure in present day history. The curricula of many other countries make similar provisions. We do, however, find that the Spanish textbook E 2 has included a chapter with a European dimension entitled "The avant-garde artists and authors of the 20th century" (see also the excellent chapter on art and philosophy in this book).

The close link to Latin America as established in the curriculum is distinctive for Spain. The world is represented by those regions to which Spain feels particularly attached. In general, other curricula also tend to concentrate on a specific national relation with the world.

The Norwegian guidelines for the 9th grade put emphasis on the totalitarian ideologies and the world wars as cornerstones of our century. Pupils are supposed to: "work with the communist revolution in Russia, and the development of communism and socialism in Europe and Norway"; "to reflect on the basic ideas of fascism and nazism, in such a way that they can develop a reflective attitude towards these ideologies, and their modern successors"; and "work with forces, conflicts and choices which led to the two world

1. A new Spanish curriculum has also come out, but as the French curriculum, with only slight changes.

wars, and the connection between them". They are also asked to treat the topic of the two world wars as a topic of reflection, by involving themselves in learning about how they developed.¹

The forming of different political systems (democracies and since independence, dictatorships) is a focal point of many curricula. The teaching aims of the first Lithuanian curriculum can be summarised as an example of this. By combining skills and knowledge with national and European references, it encourages critical thinking and an awareness of international responsibility, thus reflecting the aims of numerous curricula in European countries. However, these teaching aims, which are listed below, are only partially fulfilled by the first Lithuanian history textbooks. They are the ability to:

- recognise the meaning of the forms of world development and Lithuanian history;
- indicate on a map the most important geopolitical changes and the major European countries of the 20th century;
- analyse differences between democratic and totalitarian societies;
- understand the role of social change in history and demonstrate it by means of examples;
- comprehend the major problems of civilisation in the 20th century: ecology, morals, unequal development of world regions, the danger of self-destruction; and
- link historical events in Europe to Lithuanian history.²

The role of the textbook in teaching varies considerably in the countries surveyed. In general, one can state that if the market for school textbooks is open and unrestricted, the books themselves tend to play a less significant role in the teaching process. In Greece, in contrast, history lessons revolve mainly around the particular textbook in use. In the 9th grade there is a great deal of material to be covered – from the Middle Ages to the post-1945 period – and so it is hardly surprising that pupils are expected to learn, above all, dates, names and events mentioned in the book. The book provides few opportunities for the pupils to form their own opinions and judgements. Also teachers in Greece rely heavily on the textbook when preparing their lessons. Over the last few years, the Pedagogical Institute, a co-ordinating body for education in schools, has always supplied a teacher's manual containing information on how the teacher can best exploit the material in the course book.

1. *Laereplanverket for den 10-aarige grunnskolen*, Det Kongelige Kirke-, uddannings- og forskningsdepartement, 1996.

2. Lietuvos respublikos kultūros svetimo minierija: *Istorija V-XII kl (Vidurines bendrojo lavinimo mokylos programos)* [Lithuanian curriculum for secondary schools] (Vilnius, 1993).

We often find such teacher manuals in other countries too, for instance in Germany. Here, however, they supply additional source material and teaching schemes to help plan the concrete lessons for each unit. We have found that, overall, these manuals tend to ignore the European dimension rather than integrate it into the authorial text or the sources contained in the pupil's textbook. This shows that many authors still do not appreciate Europe as a topic worthy of careful and in-depth analysis.

As a rule, in the Russian Federation, textbooks have to be gone through paragraph by paragraph. Important events, people, conclusions and explanations are often learned by heart from the texts. Lesson preparation is based mostly on these textbooks. Textbooks were widely used in this way in most schools of the former socialist countries. One of the few empirical studies conducted in the former Czechoslovakia has shown that teachers used textbooks as primary sources for the planning and performing of teaching. A typical procedure was that teachers introduced a new topic through oral presentation and the pupils had to study and to repeat it at home from the textbook, fulfilling some tasks and questions as presented in the book. Then, during the next lessons, the pupils were controlled or examined about what they had learned using, basically, the textbook as a source.¹ Although the situation has changed dramatically since 1989 in some schools, the way of teaching in most of them still follows a more traditional model. Despite a remarkable richness of methodological approaches in textbooks and attempts in teacher training to move away from a teacher-centred presentation, the reality in many western as well as southern European schools is that the teacher tells a story and the pupils answer questions, as a 1997 regional empirical study conducted in Italy revealed.²

On the other end of this extreme, in some Nordic countries, but particularly in England, the Netherlands and to some extent in Germany, where teachers use numerous additional materials, textbooks often serve simply as background material or are sometimes not used during lessons at all. Textbooks are certainly not always gone through systematically. As a rule, the contents of German textbooks are far too extensive to do so. Teachers are expected to select and choose, which has consequences for the evaluation of the results of our study. It certainly cannot be assumed that all the contents of textbooks or methods described in our study are actually used during lessons.

1. Jan Prucha in *Teorie, tvorba a hodnocení učebnic* [Theory, development and evaluation of textbooks] 2nd ed., (UUVPP Prague, 1989).

2. Olga Bombardelli (ed.): *Quale Europa a scuola? Inchiesta sulla dimensione europea nell'uso dei libri di testo* [What Europe at school? Survey about the European dimension in the use of textbooks], (Milano, Franco Angeli 1997).

II. SUMMARY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULTS

Methods of presentation

Although each country has its own, individual educational system, we have found that over the last few decades history textbook authors all over Europe have taken new steps in the way they structure and present their material. Until the mid-1960s the books were mostly concerned with the history of the particular state or nation. Over the last twenty years they have dwelt more on general, international or global issues. True, the perspective and the tenor of textbooks is still rooted in the concept of a nation or a state but this concept plays an increasingly minor role. Prominence is given to the overall historical issues, which might then be exemplified and treated in greater detail by reference to specific events that took place in particular countries.

There is a definite drift towards viewing history as a social process, affecting everyday life, rather than a sequence of events dictated by individuals or political institutions. In the long run, less importance will be attributed to facts, figures and dates than to long-term developments that result in changes which can no longer be compartmentalised into certain epochs and certain states.

Authors explain *the learning objectives* or the structure of the book in only a minority of the books analysed. If certain objectives are mentioned, they are often too general, such as "the study of the past helps to understand the present" (for example E 1, p. 4; E 2, p. 5). Two Spanish books (E 2 and E 3) offer a teaching guide (*Guía Didáctica*) with more detailed teaching aims for each chapter. In the preface to the Greek book GR 1, the author says that he hopes a knowledge of history will enable the pupils to direct themselves in a world that has so many different traditions and structures, both politically and culturally, so that peace and prosperity will be given the chance to flourish. Hardly any concrete conclusions can be drawn regarding the use and interpretation of the textbooks for lessons. Current interests and problems are seldom openly used as selection criteria or a leading approach to a historical topic.

On different occasions, the authors of the Spanish book E 3 point out that historical knowledge is supposed to encourage critical thinking while discouraging simplistic judgements and a "black and white" way of thinking. In no case is Europe or European awareness mentioned when authors indicate what their objectives or selection criteria are. It remains unclear to the pupils

why a certain topic is selected or treated in more detail than others. Often pupils are not even aware that a selection has been made. This is, in particular, the case when a chronological narrative is the dominant form of presentation. The stream of history as it is presented in the book seems to be a true representation of the flux of "real" events.

A simple, but clear guideline is found in the introduction of one of the Finnish books (FIN 2). The authors state that their book contains elements of political history, the history of ideas, economic history and cultural history which together form the whole process of history. Not all of these elements are given equal weight as political history is at the forefront. Pupils are supposed to understand historical concepts and causal relations. These are modest objectives which can easily be implemented when working with the text, illustrations and maps.

In general, the different levels of presentations, such as information versus explanation or depth versus breadth can be found.¹ But only rarely do authors change their style of writing within one book according to different subjects or levels of explanation. If they do so the reason why an author gives his or her writing a particular colour is not explained but has to be discovered by the pupils who are, however, normally not aware of the linguistic dimension of a text. Linguistic research shows that descriptive text often transmits the message that what they describe should be regarded as factual and as such "right" and can be taken for granted without further inquiry. This boils down to translating "descriptive" as "assertive". The role of language becomes obvious when a dry and factual description turns into an emotional narrative often decorated by quotations. Then, we can draw the conclusion that sensitive issues, "national questions" are at stake. The reviewers have often found this change from an expository and descriptive style to an emotionally loaded one in textbooks from the Balkan countries, particularly in textbooks from "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia".

The less uniform the layout of a book and the richer it is in different materials, such as maps, photos, quotations from historical documents and so forth, the more the pupil needs to be directed. French and English books, in particular, offer on nearly each and every page multiple approaches to the topic, aimed at developing training skills and methods of interpretation. The idea is to encourage pupils to analyse and define the topic under examination on their own. But they must know how to make use of the material.

1. We refer here to Herlihy who proposes three categories: expository-descriptive, explanatory, investigative-argumentative. John G. Herlihy, "The nature of the textbook controversy" in John G. Herlihy (ed.), *The textbook controversy: issues, aspects and perspective* (Ablex Publishing, Norwood, N. J., 1992) p. 7.

So it is not surprising that one of these French textbooks (F 2, see also E 1) devotes one full page at the beginning to explaining the methodological arrangement of each double page. As a rule, the left page and the top third of the right are filled with "documents," such as large-format maps, photographs, statistical data, exercises and questions. The pupil is supposed to start working on the documents before reading the text. The actual author's text takes up only about half of the right-hand page. The most important terms are defined in a box. In addition, each of the five head chapters is concluded by a so-called *gros plan* or close-up focusing on one particular aspect of the whole topic, mainly on the basis of source materials and illustrations. This is clearly not a reading book, it is a workbook. Pupils have to combine different elements and they are encouraged to draw conclusions, to evaluate and then compare their results with what is written in the text.

The last page of an English textbook (GB 4) contains a table indicating the key elements required by the curriculum and the corresponding exercises. It is like a short methodological guide through the textbook. Relatively short pieces of information, different illustrations, maps and graphs are presented which often have to be linked by a pupil activity. Compared with text-oriented books, a skill-based textbook contains less facts and gives less pre-established explanations. Therefore, the status accorded to history textbooks and the way they are used vary considerably from one country to the other. This observation is underpinned by a number of concrete examples, which we took from certain "types" of textbooks. On the one extreme we have books which are basically text-oriented, with only a few illustrations that are mostly black and white and convey little information. As a rule, these books have hardly any tasks or questions to be completed by the pupil (for example GR 1). At the other extreme we find workbooks which contain an impressive variety of materials for the pupil, such as fictive and genuine texts, maps, statistics and multicoloured illustrations. In order to make the most of these textbooks the reader needs to consult the suggestions and directions which are normally given at the beginning.

Just how great the differences can be even within one country can be seen when considering the three Hungarian history textbooks analysed. Although the relation between text and other material (including maps, photos, charts) is almost the same in all Hungarian history books (about 78% written text to 22% other material) H 1 encompasses 18 pages of text sources (6% of the volume), but H 3 provides not even an entire page (or less than 1% of the volume). However, with its total of 366 pages, the textbook with the highest methodological standard H 1 is also by far the most voluminous one (H 3 has only 168 pages).

The extent to which the didactical approaches may vary even within one country can be seen when looking at Spain. The following illustrates the

MANUEL : MODE D'EMPLOI

Votre manuel est divisé en deux grandes parties :

- 31 chapitres d'histoire regroupés au sein de 5 blocs.
- 36 chapitres de géographie regroupés en 10 blocs.

chaque bloc est précédé d'une double page de présentation **Découvrons ensemble**

Chaque chapitre est présenté sur une double page de la façon suivante :

Objectifs

Que devez-vous être capable de faire après avoir travaillé sur les documents, lu le texte et surtout participé à la leçon en classe ? Que vous demandent-on ? Voici une proposition de contrat, entre vous et votre professeur, que celui-ci adoptera ou modifiera selon le travail que vous effectuerez ensemble.

Titre du regroupement des chapitres

Regardez la table des matières. Chaque grand thème par exemple « La Première Guerre mondiale » ou « L'espace français », comprend plusieurs chapitres qui se complètent et que vous devez revoir ensemble. En histoire, chaque période est présentée par un **film des événements** puis dans une **chaîne chronologique** dont votre professeur vous expliquera l'utilisation. En fin de thème, un **gros plan** permet de découvrir un point précis avec des activités plus variées. Des **prépa-brevets** vous permettant de vous entraîner progressivement à l'examen.

Documents (textes, cartes, photos ...)

Soyez actifs :

- Quelle est la nature du document ? Sur quoi vous renseigne-t-il ?
- Répondez aux questions. Elles vous guident vers l'essentiel, mais prenez aussi des initiatives. Que peut-on observer d'autre d'intéressant ? Peut-on rapprocher ce document d'un autre ?
- S'il s'agit d'un document iconographique, d'une pyramide des âges ou encore de cartes, cherchez dans les pages 5 à 11 comment les exploiter. En appliquant la méthode, vous irez plus loin dans la découverte du document et, surtout, vous deviendrez capable de le lire seul.

Texte de synthèse

Après le travail sur les documents, ce texte revient sur les points que vous avez découverts. Il vous dit ce qu'il faut savoir d'essentiel. Il est court et simple pour que vous puissiez le lire lentement, en étant très attentif aux mots nouveaux.

Des mots pour le dire

Il s'agit du vocabulaire essentiel du chapitre, c'est-à-dire de mots qui vous seront utiles à propos d'autres sujets. Vous devrez pouvoir les réemployer. Certains, qui ne seraient peut-être pas dans votre dictionnaire ou dont le sens est particulier en histoire ou en géographie sont expliqués dans le lexique (page 218 à 224). Ils sont alors signalés par la vignette ◊ dans cette rubrique.

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space allowed for the different materials in the textbooks (figures given in percent of the total volume):

Table 1: different materials in Spanish textbooks

Textbooks	Author's text	Sources: source texts and illustrations	Questions and answers
E 1	60%	5% and 30%	5%
E 2	30%	22% and 30%	18%
E 3	30%	20% and 35%	15%
E 4	30%	10% and 50%	10%

It goes without saying that a book which uses colour with an interesting layout is usually much more expensive than one which follows more traditional lines. That has to be kept in mind when recommendations for improvement of textbooks are to be worked out. One of the problems that must be addressed is that of cost. A lavishly compiled textbook is of little use if the pupil cannot afford to buy it. The prices for a single volume can vary considerably. A German history textbook might cost about 10 to 15 euros, in Poland it could be 6 euros and in the Russian Federation, it may cost only 1 euro. In many countries it is mainly the private rather than the state schools that can afford to buy a more expensive and comprehensive textbook. As a rule, skill-based textbooks are considerably shorter than textbooks proper. To understand them requires more time than that necessary for merely reading the textbook. Thus, the English units often contain about 100 pages and the French books about 150. In contrast, Russian, German and Italian history schoolbooks sometimes have more than 300 pages. The English books are written mainly for 14-year-olds, in contrast to the German books, which are read by 15- to 16-year-olds. Most of the text can be easily understood, since a narrative style is used, sometimes containing fictional elements. In the English book GB 1, for every page of commentary we find two to three pages of additional materials and pupil tasks. This approach is inconceivable for Russian, Italian or German textbooks, which tend to employ the dry and sober diction of the scientific community. Most of the textbooks from the former socialist states are overloaded with facts, making little attempt to introduce a narrative flow or provoke discussion. Though German and Italian history books include all kinds of source materials as well, the author's text is more dominant – it comprises at least 50% of each volume. It goes without

saying that they cover more topics and give more detailed explanation. However, they are often more difficult to understand, containing a number of more obscure expressions that will not be immediately understood by pupils.

Education systems that tend to be undifferentiated have greater problems in handling authentic source material. Pupils require much more time to evaluate such materials by themselves than a teacher who can select and summarise those aspects which he or she considers appropriate for the particular group of learners. The German school system, basically tripartite but also including comprehensive schools up to the age of 15 and 16, is particularly suited for a closer examination of the different approaches and methods that schoolbooks employ. The editions for the gymnasium (school form with the highest standards) often contain lengthy quotations, up to half a page of printed text, whereas those for the *Hauptschule* (less academically oriented) restrict themselves to very short quotations, often containing so many ellipses that one can hardly regard them as original and authentic documents. In fact, they often fail to transport the *Weltanschauung* that lay behind their formulation. In such cases authorial comment would undoubtedly be the better alternative – and in every case the quotation is so misleading that authorial explanation is necessary. Every teacher of history, at whatever level, is aware of this dilemma. Original and authentic documents pose a major didactic problem for the teacher as well as the pupil. cursory quotations, as we have said, do not enable the pupil to understand the background but authors in countries that have only recently had access to documentary evidence wish to include this at any cost. Often, the source quoted gives the pupil no satisfactory answer to the questions he or she wants to pose.

If the commentary and the source material are particularly complicated we can usually expect the bibliography and information at the end of the book or the individual chapters to be more extensive. An index or time chart is useful for summarising the material dealt with but in order to benefit from it the pupil must be motivated and be able to work independently. Above all, it is German and French textbooks that are increasingly incorporating such overviews; a particularly good example for European developments, entitled “Steps to European unity”, occurs in the German textbook D 2, p. 270-271.

Only some of the skill-based units address European issues. In the French book F 2, out of a total of thirty-one double-page subchapters, only three are explicitly devoted to Europe, typically at the beginning and the end. Europe is present, however, in most of the other subchapters, but mainly on maps and hardly at all in questions and exercises. Also, one close-up deals more or less with European society in general as shown by the title “The consumer society and its consequences”. In another French book (F 3, p. 168), the working section (*dossier*) provides important data relevant to the construction of

Europe, an excerpt from the Maastricht Treaty, opinion polls in which the European Union is evaluated by the general public and information on the radical changes which took place in eastern Europe from 1989-91. Nevertheless, textbook authors obviously feel that Europe as a theme is becoming increasingly significant, as European issues are no longer totally neglected in the exercise and question sections, as was the case a few years ago. Such sections normally contain topics that the authors regard as important or appropriate for developing the pupils' ability to evaluate.

In many textbooks from the eastern European countries, illustrations and excerpts from historical documents play a minor role. Often, they just illustrate the text. They do not offer a different approach nor do they open up other perspectives. As a rule, they visualise what has been already presented in the written text. This also applies to Finnish books, but to a lesser extent. How an issue is to be evaluated or interpreted depends almost exclusively on the text.

In one Russian textbook (RUS 1, p. 14), we find questions concerning Europe in the conclusions at the end of the introductory chapter, entitled "The world at the beginning of the 20th century":

In what ways did European hegemony express itself and how did it come about?

Give reasons for the growth of nationalism and racism in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century.

In a similar manner questions are formulated that relate to the conclusions of the section entitled "The hopes for stability and the optimism of the Europeans" (p. 25):

What are the origins and characteristics of European militarism?

Why were the pacifism and optimism of the Europeans unable to prevent the outbreak of world war?

These questions presume that there is one correct answer only. Basically, their function is to recapitulate the most important statements of the preceding section. They are not intended to encourage the pupils to offer their own opinions. Only in one of the Russian textbooks (RUS 2 p. 155) is one of the two questions dealing with European themes formulated less rigidly (RUS 4 has no questions that deal with Europe as a whole): "In your opinion, was there a danger of military conflict in Europe during the 1920s?"

In one of the Czech textbooks we found some of the very few tasks and questions related to Europe:

- try to evaluate the results of the conference in Potsdam;
- which were the causes of the cold war in Europe?

- what was the doctrine of President Truman?
- what was the influence of the Marshall Plan for the post-war Europe?
- what causes led to the creation of two independent states in Germany in the year 1949?“. (CZ 2, p. 20)

Also if not explicitly mentioned the European dimension is present in the following questions:

- describe the world in the post-war period (that is after the year 1945);
- compare the conceptions of United States and of the Soviet Union about the post-war development of the world;
- explain the differences between the democratic system of society and the Stalinist type of society;
- explain the causes of the cold war. (CZ 4, p. 14)

The Slovak textbook (SK 1), which was published in 1995, is a particularly good example of how the former socialist states have introduced completely new didactic concepts. In the Slovak Republic, the teaching of history has traditionally concentrated on instilling facts and figures rather than encouraging pupils to think for themselves. This is the first totally new textbook published after independence and the authors have tried to incorporate an international perspective by combining textual comprehension with factual information on important events and people. From a didactic point of view this is a much more open approach, enabling pupils to make up their own minds and, at the same time, smoothing the transition from traditional to more modern teaching methods. This book is particularly important since, for the time being, it is the only one available for normal schools. It contains not only a wealth of information for both pupils and teachers but can also be regarded as a comprehensive teaching and learning aid that goes far beyond the requirements stipulated by the official curriculum.

The authors made a definite decision to counteract nationalistic tendencies, which have also infiltrated the educational establishment, by integrating the European and global perspective into one textbook.¹ The authorial text is supplemented by numerous quotations from original sources, as well as illustrations, all of which appear alongside the relevant passages so that the reader has no difficulties in matching the text with documentation. The exercises are obviously designed to test knowledge but they do allow pupils to speculate and develop their own opinions as well. At the end of the book, the most important events of each decade of this century are recorded by a series of images – the most encouraging invitation to the readers to

1. Nevertheless, Slovak history is treated in a separate book which is, however, constructed according to the same methodological principles.

memorise historical dates we have yet encountered in any of the textbooks. The pictures include both scenes taken from daily life as well as events from sports, politics, culture and technology. A time line provides an additional tool for memorising dates.

Probably the Dutch textbooks are the best examples of how to combine the different approaches and methods without overloading the content and making the layout too complicated. The text is often crucial for interpreting issues such as colonialism, nationalism or European awareness. But the source material often has an independent function. Pictures are sometimes provocative and the sources stimulating. Dutch publishers compromise at around 200 pages per volume.

Bearing these different approaches in mind, it is clear that our intention is not to evaluate the various kinds of textbook structures. Our aim is rather to determine in what way and to what extent textbook structures enable the European dimension to be taken into account.

Nation, Europe, world

To start with a general, positive result, European relations are no longer neglected in the textbooks we analysed. The connection between national and general history is often pointed out, particularly in the chapters dealing with the 20th century.

Many textbooks portray European interdependencies in a variety of ways. What is emphasised is the idea of *belonging* to Europe: the European dimension complements the national dimension instead of contradicting it. Roughly speaking, we can differentiate three different modes in which textbook authors have attempted to place greater emphasis on the European dimension.

Firstly, many of the countries in western and southern Europe (with the exception of Greece) have history textbooks that usually contain a paragraph or introductory page (sometimes two pages) outlining general tendencies and developments during the 20th century. Both European and global influences on national history are dealt with but there is no clear dividing line between national and international history. When more detailed information is presented we often find that the emphasis shifts to national history but the European and international dimension is always present. There are only a few chapters that deal exclusively with national history. As far as textbooks of the Council of Europe new member states are concerned, the Czech books stand out due to their integrated approach. In most of them, Czech history is constantly described and explained in the context of European or international history.

Secondly, although we like to concentrate our interpretation on those chapters which deal explicitly with European integration we have not found many of them. In general, we can say that in the newer textbooks more space is devoted to the topic. This is a welcome development since many teachers are not familiar with the historical background of the movement towards integration, nor do they fully understand the various decision-making processes and the responsibilities and tasks of the European institutions.

Thirdly, we have found many examples from western and eastern Europe where a very clear distinction is made between national history on the one hand and European or general history on the other hand. Although both aspects are taken into consideration in the same book they are treated as separate items. The book contains two distinct narratives. It is left to the teachers or pupils to find out how they are related to each other.

Although textbooks from any one country usually adopt one of these models, we sometimes find that at least two of them appear in textbooks from the same country. This is the case in Finland, for instance. The Finnish textbook FIN 1 treats Finnish and world/European history together, taking a closer look at the national history in each time period. However, the textbook is constructed around broad themes. Another (FIN 2) treats Finnish and world/European history mostly separately, also putting more emphasis on national topics.

The Spanish textbook E 1 first devotes 85 pages to the Spanish history of the 20th century before covering 20th century international history in 71 pages. The following chapters address topics with a European dimension:

Focusing on individual countries:

The Russian Revolution;
Italy under the fascists;
National socialism in Germany;
The wars in the Balkan Peninsula;
The fall of the dictatorships in the Mediterranean (Portugal, Greece, and Spain);
The fall of the Soviet Union;
The fall of the socialist systems (Poland, Hungary, German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia).

Focusing on general topics:

The first world war. Europe re-mapped;
The years between the wars;
The second world war;
The east's confrontation with the west during the 1950s;
The present-day world economy: the European Union;
The concept of a "United States" of Europe;
From the Hague Conference to the Treaty of Maastricht;
Difficulties concerning integration.

Another Spanish textbook, E 3, on the other hand takes an integrated approach: the chapters deal with general historical topics, but there are small subchapters which are devoted to Spanish history only. The topics covered in the chapters relating to Europe and focusing on individual countries as well as those chapters considering subjects of general European relevance include the following:

the Russian revolution;	the east's confrontation with the west;
Germany after the Treaty of Versailles	conflicts within the socialist bloc;
Italy, the first exception in Europe;	the changes in the Soviet Union;
imitating Mussolini: the nazi regime;	conflicts: the war in Bosnia;
the first world war;	Europe's recovery: the first steps towards European co-operation;
a new Europe: 1918;	the common European market;
dictatorships versus democracies;	the eastern countries;
the second world war;	re-mapping eastern Europe.
Europe, a destroyed and divided continent;	

The table below demonstrates not only the similarities as far as the subject matter is concerned but also the differences with regard to the emphasis placed on the history of individual countries and Europe. This is also confirmed by the quantitative evaluation of each topic's share in the respective textbooks (figures given in the number of pages devoted to each topic and the percentage of the total number of textbook pages they represent).

Table 2: space devoted to topics in Spanish textbooks

Textbooks	Topics			
	Spanish history	specific European countries	Europe in general	rest of the world
E1	85 pages or 55%	14 pages or 9%	25 pages or 16%	32 pages or 20%
E3	25 pages or 17%	28 pages or 19%	37 pages or 25%	57 pages or 39%

In spite of the trend towards generalisation, national history remains in the foreground. It is clear that each country still regards itself as a starting point of description, and European or global contents are often discussed only if they have an immediate bearing on a country's national history. National history is also allocated the most space in most of the textbooks.

Local history, however, has no systematic significance in the textbooks. The time intervals and geographical areas dealt with are too extensive to be directed towards a "small area" in a specific region. To study daily or local history is an exception.

The history of the individual countries surveyed and the history of Europe are the main topics. World history generally plays a smaller role. Quantitative information can be compared only for textbooks integrating all three sectors. Usually 30% to 50% is focused on one's own national history, 30% to 40% on Europe and 10% to 20% on the rest of the world. Generally speaking, the history textbooks from the south-eastern regions of Europe contain a relatively high content of national history, around 50% to 60%.

However, there are considerable differences in the individual textbooks themselves. Non-European history comprises only 5% to 7% of Polish textbooks and 6% in the Lithuanian book, LIT 1, which deals exclusively with international (not Lithuanian) history. The first Lithuanian curriculum ignored non-European history altogether so it is not surprising that this history textbook focuses only on Europe.¹

It is striking that the proportion of European issues does not often increase when it comes to the post-war period. As wars and dictatorships are usually seen as European phenomena, the textbooks cover more European history when dealing with the first half of the century than with the second, which is shaped by the superpowers. The Norwegian case where we have different textbooks for the two periods shows this clearly: while the textbooks for the 9th grade have a coverage of about 40% to 50% on European issues, the coverage is only about 20% to 25% in the 10th grade textbooks. Correspondingly, the proportion of non-European (American, African and Asian) history is higher (almost 50%).

The Greek textbook GR 1 also has a high percentage (66%) of national history, while non-European topics make up only 4% of the material and can

1. The international subjects named in the curriculum were the first world war, the February and October Revolutions in Russia, the fascist government in Italy, fascism/authoritarianism, the nazis' seizure of power in Germany, the second world war, the death of Stalin, Khrushchev's reform, the cold war and the collapse of the communist system.

thus be regarded as negligible. We find coverage of only the United States, and, as examples of the Far East, China and Japan.

Germany is, so to speak, the intersection point of political developments in this century, having been strongly implicated in the starting of both wars and having experienced democratic, fascist and communist regimes. The requirements of international peace treaties such as the Treaty of Versailles and the Potsdam Agreement had a lasting effect on Germany's national development. History textbooks on the 20th century are structured according to the following political turning points in German history:

- the course and result of the first world war;
- the Weimar Republic;
- national socialism;
- the course and result of the second world war;
- the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic/reunification;
- the superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union;
- the scenes of world events (Middle East/Third World).

The proportion of national history is between 40% and 70%, one of the highest within western Europe, not at the cost of European history, however, but of world history, the proportion of which has generally fallen compared with the textbooks of the 1980s. During the last decade, reunification and the continuing public debate about the nature of national socialism have resulted in an increase of content matter concerning German history. However, it must be said that, as a rule, German textbooks incorporate national history into European and global developments. A comparison between two textbooks from the same publisher, which appeared in 1983 and 1996, can serve to exemplify this shift in emphasis.

Table 3: comparison between German textbooks in 1983 and 1996

Topics	% of pages on topics in <i>Zeiten und Menschen</i> (1983)	% of pages on topics in <i>Rückspiegel</i> (D5, 1996)
Germany	56%	60%
European countries	11%	12%
Europe in general	10%	20%
the rest of the world	23%	8%

The methodological approach has also influenced this result, although this could hardly have been intended. Difficult periods, such as the national socialist era and, increasingly, the history of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), are supplemented by lengthy eyewitness reports which, quite naturally, require more space.

The division into periods in French history textbooks is, in comparison, far less dictated by the national history of France: both world wars; the development of Russia/Soviet Union, the United States, fascist Italy and national socialistic Germany; international relations and world problems after 1945; and the Fourth and Fifth Republics (see Appendix 1).

When other countries are mentioned, not only in the general context of international relations but are reported on separately, for example their internal situation, individual world powers are clearly at the forefront. The Europe of nations is above all a Europe that has been influenced by Great Britain, France, Germany – and in so far as it is clearly defined as a European power – Russia or the Soviet Union. It is amazing that this tendency to emphasise world powers goes so far that the neighbouring countries, with which more intensive or at least more continuous relations have often existed, have been swallowed up by them and are practically no longer found in text, but only on maps, if at all. This applies to all of the western European textbooks studied.

The eastern European textbooks follow a somewhat different approach. For example, the Polish textbooks deal in detail with the former Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as these countries came under Soviet rule in practically the same way as Poland itself. Central and south-eastern Europe are given whole sections in the Russian textbooks. In the history textbooks of the Balkan states, Europe is only rarely covered as a topic in its own right. Most of the time we find a division between national and international history, although some of the recently published Croatian and Bosnian textbooks seem to be veering in a new direction, as they try to incorporate the very sensitive issues of balancing national self-determination with the desire to participate in the process of European integration. But there would appear to be no consensus about how such a division should be made – the authors are wary about promoting or reinforcing a stereotypical concept of the “Balkan problem”.

The textbooks from “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” cover each historical epoch in terms of global, Balkan and national history but this approach affords only a superficial understanding of national history within a European or international context, since the three topics are seldom inter-linked. It is quite clear that the key issue is the problem of national self-determination, particularly during the 20th century, with the European dimension coming in a poor second. Self-image and the image of the other are predominantly shaped by the still continuing history of mutual conflicts.

The more Europe is regarded as one entity and the more its influence on individual European societies in general is recognised, then the less the coverage is given to individual states. The reverse also applies: where individual countries are dealt with in particular detail, the importance of a more general point of view, emphasising structural factors, is reduced. This takes an extreme form in Polish textbooks. Polish authors prefer an approach oriented towards individual countries, thus about 90% of the proportion of European issues is approached through the individual countries.

It is noticeable that in the countries where there is only one history textbook for each class level or where general and national history are separated, non-European history is represented only to a small extent – well under 10%. This applies to the Russian Federation and Lithuania where general or international history is mostly filtered through European tradition.

The United States represents the world in the 20th century, and is the only non-European power whose internal situation is dealt with in some detail, especially in western, northern European and Italian textbooks. China and Japan are often mentioned, but only seldom are they given a chapter or section of their own. The North-South divide or the economic gap between industrialised countries and the so-called Third World are critically commented upon in the textbooks in many countries, particularly in those of central and eastern European countries. Most of the textbooks, in some form or another, deal with anti-colonial movements and the process of decolonisation. Textbooks from the “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”, however have only a few chapters concerned with international developments outside the Balkans, fewer, in fact, than earlier textbooks. One, FYROM 2, in the 1992 edition, contains almost a complete page on this subject, whereas the 1998 edition devotes only a few sentences to the topic and must therefore be regarded as totally superficial.

The fact that Europe subjugated a large part of the non-European world during the era of imperialism is not exactly concealed, but it does not provide the main theme for textbooks which deal with the 20th century. As a result of both world wars, the European powers were forced to give up their foreign possessions gradually. This process is described in very different ways, both in intensity and in length.

One of the results of globalisation is that more emphasis must be placed on international aspects in the presentation of 20th century history. Does this mean that the European dimension will receive less attention? Already this appears to be the case in some of the new Italian history textbooks. In units dealing with the 20th century they include almost every part of the world and their structure is so complex that the pupil probably becomes confused. One of these new textbooks (I 4) not only has all the traditional topics we

would expect but also includes material on Darwinism and racism, Jewish immigration into Palestine, the construction of the Suez and Panama canals, the lifestyle of indigenous populations in Australia and New Zealand, colonialism and independence movements in Africa, the transformation of Indian, Chinese and Japanese society, the situation of minorities such as the Armenians and the Kurds, the musical tastes of young Americans, the exploration of space, Brazil on the verge of becoming a developed country and the situation of women in Islamic regions – a veritable kaleidoscope of the modern world. The question is whether the teacher can cope with this vast selection of material or whether both the teacher and the pupil will simply be overwhelmed. Will they be hopping from one subject to another, unable to find either the time or the background information necessary for a detailed study of the more important topics? Perhaps the authors of the textbooks should have the courage to make a more stringent selection. This is a good example of how the particular “learning culture” of a country, the teacher training system and the curricular requirements can influence the contents and methodological approach of a textbook.

Thus, the majority of textbooks try to create a world picture of the present, even if it is focused on the country in question and on Europe. Nevertheless there is a wide variance to this and further examples will be dealt with later.

Subjects with reference to Europe

The central factors of European development in this century, as they are presented to pupils, are not flattering to our part of the world. Europe in the 20th century is torn by wars and divided by the opposing forces of dictatorships and democratic constitutions. This impression is accentuated by the fact that history lessons on the 20th century usually start with the first world war. New textbooks used in the last year of compulsory school often begin at this point. Even the Finnish textbooks encompassing 1800 to our day start 20th century history with the first world war. The disputes between the “imperial powers” leading to the war, their internal political structure and the consolidation of social conditions at the peak of industrialisation are usually attributed to the 19th century. This war therefore represents a clear turning point in teaching contemporary history when a chronological approach is being followed. The inter-war period is characterised by the struggle to defend democratic forms of government which came into being after the first world war. However, the century ends with a chain of events which are judged far more favourably; the breakdown of the communist system, resulting in complete independence for the countries and nations formerly under the influence of the Soviet Union.

The majority of textbooks begin with a general introduction on the first world war and its aftermath. The war and its end are usually regarded as European events which redefined the political map of the continent, marked however by a clear loss of power. Whereas the period of imperialism was considered to be a period of European world power in which Europe made its mark on the world, the "decline of Europe" is now being heralded. The United States provides an important impetus for the redefining of the European continent – the opposition to revolutionary Russia or the later Soviet Union is already becoming apparent. The new states that emerged as a result of the Treaty of Versailles were forced to accept the burden of national and ideological conflicts. The whole problem of ethnic minorities, which has returned to haunt us today, is given wider coverage in the textbooks analysed here than in those published before 1990. In particular, Italian textbooks provide a relatively comprehensive survey of the different ethnic groups and regions, whereas others often provide only a few examples, which include statistics or tables.

After this, the textbooks studied normally deal with the country's own national history up to the second world war. This includes the world economic crisis, sometimes dealt with in a whole chapter under a global or European heading. Almost all textbooks follow with chapters on fascism in Italy and nazi Germany and on the Soviet system. The second world war and the occupation of nearly the whole of Europe, excepting Great Britain, by national socialist Germany represent further events encompassing Europe and existentially affecting the national history of the individual countries. The fight for national self-assertion directed towards dictatorships, and for democratic autonomy, is seen under a European perspective. Fascism was spreading "in Europe", but did not seem to be rooted in European thinking – at the most it emerged out of the worldwide economic crisis. "Stalin's dominance" developed parallel to this; western powers had no other choice but to enter into a strategic alliance which did not survive the war. The history of the struggle between democracy and dictatorship continued after the defeat of fascism in the form of opposition to the Soviet system.

Correspondingly, we have the most important of the major themes, which can be found in all of the textbooks: the two world wars, the development of Russia or rather the Soviet Union, the United States, fascist Italy and national socialist Germany, international relations and global problems after 1945. This scheme, which basically follows the chronological pattern of history and the sites where historical events took place is particularly evident in the highly transparent structure of French history textbooks (see Appendix 1).

The "hot" and cold wars are the predominant subject units with a European approach to the 20th century. The fact that the dissolution of the Soviet

Union is now being dealt with in all the textbooks analysed has not changed this structure, but has merely modified it somewhat. On the whole, Europe is presented as a divided continent, torn by the rivalry between democracy, fascism and communism. The future is too uncertain to allow the victory of democracy to be presented as the historical result of this process. This victory is without doubt the aim of the people of Europe, but it is perceived as being only partially successful – as symbolised by a map in a French history textbook published in 1992 which clearly shows that the process of democratisation has yet to be finalised. Many countries in eastern Europe are shown with a question mark, as it is still unclear what their political system will turn out to be.¹ The headings of the relevant chapters in a Polish textbook (PL 2) are more optimistic: “On the way to democracy” and “The people’s spring 1989”.

Considering this rather sceptical portrayal of Europe’s “performance” in our century, it is not surprising that the move towards European integration, which achieved only economic and political results after the experience with war and dictatorship, is regarded in the beginning as part of the ideological conflict of the cold war. Numerous textbooks from both sides of the former blocs present the Marshall Plan and the American effort to strengthen western European countries against the Soviet Union as the actual birth of practical European policy. “The Marshall Plan requires European co-operation” is a heading in the Dutch textbook NL 3. Even though some of the European builders, such as Schumann, Spaak and Adenauer, are named and pictured, it is said that a vital impetus came from outside. Close relations with the United States are usually pointed out in connection with the history of the development of the western European bodies following the second world war. Only some textbooks stress original European roots. The following is taken from a French textbook:

The idea of the European Community has been formed in stages, arising from the will of a small number of states to solve their problems through law and not by war and to build up a great economic power comparable to Japan and the United States. (F 3, p. 166)

Europe is developed as an autonomous unit where portrayal goes beyond the political history of events, creates new perspectives or adds historical flash-backs. However this is the case in only a minority of textbooks.

An example of this is seen in a Dutch textbook (NL 3, p. 96), which places this topic under the theme “Europe: unity and disunity”. There is one map of Europe showing the political changes in 1914, 1921 and after 1945 respectively, the last year under the heading “Spheres of influence in Europe”. This

1. *Histoire Géographie 4^e* (Belin, Paris, 1992) p. 180.

deals essentially with the allocation of European countries to the two super-powers. The Berlin blockade, the building of the Berlin Wall, the Vietnam War and the Cuban missile crisis, like in so many other textbooks, form the pivotal points of the cold war, which – if one were to go by the textbooks – should be part of most pupils' general knowledge. European unity is mainly considered as a political and economic process; cultural aspects, which are predominant in the textbook's portrayal of early European history, are of minor importance – with some remarkable exceptions to be mentioned later on.

Critical differentiation, which is the mark of this Dutch textbook – not an untypical thing for Dutch history textbooks – is reflected in the unusual (because many faceted) way the political situation in countries under Soviet influence is evaluated. Although crucial stages in the resistance against Soviet dominance, as in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia are dealt with, there is at least a hint that the event which for many – in both east and west – was to be the “miracle year” of 1989, was unexpected. An Italian textbook (I 5) formulates this idea similarly in its chapter heading, “Miraculous – 1989: Europe is no longer divided”.

The term “Europe”

In view of the dominant approach described above, it is not so surprising that the term “Europe” often appears as a name in texts and maps, but is seldom defined, historically traced or made explicit in its various meanings (for example “War in western Europe 1939-41” in GB 3, p. 52; “Victory in Europe” in GB 4, p. 94). We will deal with exceptions to this in a further section.

In the Greek textbook GR 1 the term “Europe” is frequently used but almost exclusively in a geographical sense. Hence we find distinctions made between eastern, western, southern and central Europe. Nowhere is there a reference to a European “idea” or a European dimension. This is all the more surprising since Greece, as well as many other countries, still regard Greek antiquity as one of the cornerstones of European civilisation. A reason for this may be the fact that in Greece both history and the classics (that is ancient Greek, Hebrew and Latin) are usually taught by the same person, who might thus be less inclined to deal with contemporary developments.

Nevertheless, the term “Europe” does have implications that, in this case, go well beyond a geographical definition. Typically, in many of the textbooks analysed, the term implies much more than the authors are willing to reveal. In this textbook, Europe is already mentioned in the first sentence of the preface:

The end of this century represents a major turning point for the people of Europe and the rest of the world.

A few sentences later we learn that:

This book concentrates ... mainly on Europe. Our continent, which is often known as "the Old World", is of particular interest because the developments that have taken place here over the last few centuries have influenced events in other continents. It was in this region that the New Hellenism was born out of the decline of the Byzantine Empire and this took place during the period that we will be studying. (GR 1 pp. 5-6)

The textbook covers a period from the Middle Ages to the post-war era! Thus, Europe as a topic is introduced only to enable the author to concentrate on the decisive phase of Greece's national history. The nation is placed squarely within Europe, which, although its culture and civilisation are outlined, is never regarded as a theme in its own right. The preface stresses the importance of Europe but the textbook is almost completely dedicated to the history of Greece. Europe serves as a hazy backdrop against which the contours of national developments can be highlighted. The majority of textbook authors tend to adopt this focus, especially for the period before European institutions were first established.

From time to time and on a case by case basis it can be concluded from the texts which historical events might have led to European commonalities, but the extent to which these have created European unity has not been a subject of discussion in the long term, despite emphatic statements found in Polish textbooks, such as:

The night of 31 August 1939 – 1 September 1939 was the last night of peace in Europe. (PL 3, p. 180)

The planned economic aid for war-torn Europe was limited in 1947 to the countries which were clearly on the side of the United States. (PL 1, p. 205)¹

The term "Europe" generally appears in the introductory chapters on the first world war, but the meaning and extension of the word seem to be self-evident. There is a lack of development of the various meanings and its political, economic, geographical or cultural content. This represents one of the biggest obstacles to a conscious understanding of the European dimension. There is really no clear information for pupils on what Europe actually means. On the other hand, maps are relatively uniform. They may contribute to shaping a representation of Europe's extension in pupils' mind.

The key role that the term "Europe" plays in the analysis of the socio-political situation at the end of the first world war can be illustrated by a few passages

1. This sentence, by the way, is misleading, as the Soviet Union did not allow the countries under its influence to join the Marshall Plan.

quoted from Hungarian textbooks. On the first pages of two of these textbooks we find:

At the turn of the century, the greater part of the world was controlled by the great powers... How is one to judge Europe's world supremacy? (H 1, p. 7)

At the end of 1918, Europe was in a feverish and chaotic situation. (H 1, p. 10)

This situation is marked by:

Revolutions, unrest in Europe and Hungary (H 2, p. 3) or Europe's and Hungary's troubled years (H 3, p. 7)

The crisis sparked off by the war shatters the century-old, traditional, dynastic system of Empires in Europe, and in its place emerge endeavours which aim at an ethnical, economical, political and ideological new order. (H 3, p. 5)

The text here suggests that the whole of Europe is susceptible to similar conditions, that Hungary is part of Europe and consequently subject to the same conditions and that the old European order has been destroyed, but the new one has not yet taken on its final shape.

Despite this basic typification of the initial situation, the textbooks fail to provide a more precise geographical definition or an inner differentiation of Europe. The northern countries, for example, were not affected by the dissolution of the "dynastic system of empires". The arguments applied to the whole of Europe are actually mainly relevant to the region in central Europe which includes Hungary. This is, however, not mentioned anywhere in the text. The term "Europe" stands for the whole post-war era; it is used as a general term representing political-economical changes which developed in the wake of the war. In the Hungarian as well as in many of the other textbooks analysed, those changes are, however, only illustrated with reference to a few single countries. The European dimension, which takes up such a dominant position in the preliminary sentences, then gradually drifts into the background.

The use of the term "Europe" is not clear. Even on maps, statistical data are shown which actually refer only to the old "western Europe" (for example F 3, p. 135). Maps in two Finnish textbooks sometimes exclude the eastern European countries from Europe, sometimes not, without indicating any reason for the different representation of Europe. In contrast, a map in a French textbook, posing the question, "Europe – from the Atlantic to the Urals?" is exemplary (F 3, p. 167). The European Union countries, the European economic sector and the European countries outside these areas are shown in different colours; in the east, Europe is bordered by the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldavia and Turkey(!). Also, the British textbook GB 4 (p. 97) regards Turkey as a part of Europe. A Russian map (RUS 2, p. 298) is remarkably comprehensive, without cutting off the edges of the Nordic

countries and even including Iceland. Moscow, by the way, is hard by the eastern borderline of Europe.

In this respect the Greek textbook, again, is of interest. Although the term "southern Europe" occurs, it is not used with reference to Greece's position within Europe. Greece, quite simply, belongs to "Europe" without any further specification. Also "central Europe" is a concept that plays an important role; "eastern Europe" is more or less synonymous with Russia or the Soviet Union. As far as the 20th century is concerned, there is no treatment of Greece's neighbours in the Balkans and consequently no mention of the term "south-east Europe"! However, in contrast to textbooks from other countries, much more attention is paid to relations between Greece and Turkey.

Are there new results?

Three important features remaining from older textbooks

Firstly, Europe is mainly depicted as being geographically transparent; its connecting features are unclear and are generally negative (world wars/fascism/communism/cold war/division) rather than positive (democracy/personal freedom/human rights, etc.).

Secondly, the European bodies established after the second world war mainly influence politics and the economy; they have been founded by "higher authorities" due to interests regarding domestic as well as foreign politics and export economy. A dimension of day-to-day history throughout is still seldom found. The question of what joins the people living in Europe, beyond their organisations, is rarely posed, nor are the precursors of the integration movement in the 1920s mentioned. Apart from a few exceptions, the European idea or concepts outside real political considerations of usefulness are not dealt with.

Lastly, in the period under examination, the image of Europe has undergone a decisive change. Throughout the last decades, historical education in east and west has been marked by thinking in terms of political blocs. Europe was divided and, from a western point of view, it was often doubtful whether the east truly belonged to Europe at all; the view taken in the countries under communist rule was that western Europe stood for the capitalistic system as dominated by the United States.

Surprisingly, until now no new conception of Europe has been created, reaching from Ireland to the Urals, from Iceland to Malta. The geographical maps which capture this picture are not substantiated by the text. This greater Europe remains a challenge; but many textbook authors dare not even ask how Europe will endure and productively change the tension of different cultures, religions, languages and historical traditions. Many history

textbooks still treat the countries of Europe according to the old idea of a more or less ethnically homogenous state, although in general this idea will not stand up to sociological analysis. Minority groups in their own country or the growing together of different cultural groups are dealt with in more detail only in a few countries. Italian and Dutch history textbooks stand out from others in dealing with the topic. In general, it is probably more thoroughly treated in civics textbooks. Only a few textbooks risk a glance into the future and discuss options future citizens of Europe have to tackle with. Again however, it can be legitimately asked whether this is something history textbooks should do.

Generally speaking, the findings of the 1995 textbook analysis conducted by the Georg Eckert Institute still hold true: geography or social history textbooks tend to provide a wider and more in-depth range of up-to-date information, such as data on the economic and social situation of the population in different European countries or on the European Union as a whole as well as on individual aspects of European policy.¹ For an even more thorough overview of the way European topics are covered in schools, one could include civics and geography textbooks.

New results reflecting changes

In contrast, there have been certain changes as well. In past studies on the place of Europe in school textbooks a common criticism was that far too much space was devoted to European institutions, which were presented in a complicated manner and using structural layouts which were difficult for pupils to understand. The main question seemed to be: "How does Europe function technically?" Thus the Commission of the European Communities building in Brussels came to be a visual symbol of European integration – this building was the "European subject" most often shown in the European analysis published by the Georg Eckert Institute in 1995. (This picture has been reproduced again in the new Slovak history textbook SK 1). The way towards European integration was viewed almost exclusively as a political and economic process. This one-sided, institutional approach was supplemented by a critical report on the encouragement of economic exchange between the members of the European Economic Community or the European Union.

Although similar models of the institutional systems of European bodies can still be found (the Macedonian textbooks, in particular, do not present a real

1. Falk Pingel (ed.), *Macht Europa Schule? Die Darstellung Europas in Schulbüchern der europäischen Gemeinschaft* [Europe at school. Europe's presentation in the textbooks of European countries] (Moritz Diesterweg, Frankfurt, 1995).

international or European perspective but describe Europe mainly through its organisations), they are increasingly accompanied by texts explaining the tasks and aims of these bodies in more detail than previously, thus the development of European integration is now seen in relationship to general history. At least it can be said that attempts have been made to substitute a problem-oriented approach for an institutional one. In 1993, the Dutch National Centre for Teaching Materials studied the portrayal of European identity in history textbooks, and concluded that these sources rarely provided pupils with any cause for enthusiasm for Europe. The topic was presented in a dry manner and did not relate to its readers at all. Lively anecdotes and examples of concrete, real life situations of European citizens were lacking and the challenges that European integration presents on an everyday level were ignored.¹ One could certainly extend this critique to nearly all European history textbooks. Although everyday elements of a common European identity are still mentioned far too rarely, this situation has improved. Not only Dutch authors have taken this criticism to heart. The similarities and differences of social standards within Europe is mentioned with increased frequency and the expectations that young people have of European unity, which are often contradictory, are sometimes discussed.

From the Russian Federation to Spain, authors speak of the ambivalence of unity and variety. The conflict between demand for national sovereignty and central European dirigism can be felt in some texts. Even if Europe becomes concrete in supra- or international organisations such as the European Union and the Council of Europe, it is not to be identified with them. Particularly in view of the necessary opening-up towards central, eastern and south-eastern Europe, it is often emphasised that these European organisations have expanded or that new ways of co-operation must be found. Such a perspective can of course be presented only by textbooks published after the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The predominant method of interpretation, however, is changing rather slowly. Integration into a western European context and European institutions is the overall aim. This view is also taken in the eastern European textbooks. It is a matter of integration into western European tradition and participation in development, from which the socialist states had been cut off. Nevertheless, history textbooks from western Europe now pay more attention to developments in the former communist states than they did during the cold war period. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the states of eastern Europe were generally regarded as vassals of the communist

1. Nationaal informatiecentrum leermiddelen [National Information Centre for Teaching Materials]: *Een open oog voor Europa*, Enschede 1993.

superpower and a clear distinction was made between the democracies of the west and the dictatorships of the east. The only exception could be found in Scandinavian textbooks, which presented a less uniform and more positive image of socialist society. Now, however, almost all textbooks are trying, in some degree, to include the most important aspects of perestroika.

The quantitative proportion taken up by European subjects has increased somewhat. Compared to the editions from the 1970s and 1980s, the Spanish textbooks in particular place more emphasis on the issue of Europe. It is therefore evident that even as far as public historical awareness is concerned, Spain no longer maintains the isolated position within Europe which it held during the era under Franco. The events of the past decade have led textbook authors to pay closer attention to Europe. This of course particularly applies to the countries formerly under the influence of the Soviet Union, but it is also evident in French history textbooks as well. The case of Germany, being an exception, has already been mentioned.

The layout of history textbooks changed considerably in the last decade. Many modern textbooks include a variety of sources, illustrations or exercises for learning. In some cases, these are even more important than the text. In former times, pictures, maps, photos, and so forth, illustrated the author's authoritative text. Today, for example in some French or English history textbooks, the text is a mere illustration of what is presented by means of multi-coloured pictures, graphs, etc. In older textbooks, European issues were seldom dealt with in the source material. This is beginning to change as well. Though still in a minority, textbook authors are trying to make pupils reflect upon Europe.

III. WHAT ARE PUPILS OFFERED?

Different dimensions of development: social context, politics, economy, culture and technology

In this chapter we present some of the highly attractive content concerning the development of art and technology. In the past these topics have not received much attention, so the examples we give might well persuade future authors to devote more time to art and especially technology, a topic which is of great interest to pupils in this age group. The clear dominance of the political dimension which still characterised history textbooks all over Europe ten to twenty years ago has decreased. Politics, the economy and factors of social life are often seen together.

French textbooks continue to profit widely from the writing of modern social history, certainly due to the French *Annales* school. For example, the decrease in population in Europe and the “uncertain” role of women during the war and post-war period are listed among the consequences of the first world war, as follows:

The women replaced the men who had gone to the front ... but for a lot of the men the war only accentuated traditional divisions – men at the front, women behind (F 4, p. 20).

Thus, the traditional roles were re-established when the men came home. The gender bias in labour survived wartime.

One French textbook also describes social coverage as a means of improving the social situation of the population during the years of reconstruction following the second world war. It points out that women’s wages were raised to the same level as men’s (F 1, p. 110). The relation between production regulations, the structure of trade (free trade) and the social conditions of the population are mentioned most frequently in French history textbooks. However, the information given is always so brief that it cannot be of real use to pupils without further explanation – often provided by means of statistics and other visual material.

In the chapter on questions regarding the future of the globe (F 4, p. 172), a comparative statistical table shows life expectancy, infant mortality and literacy rates and so forth, in underdeveloped and industrial countries. There are numerous elements of social history and sources concerning the living conditions of the population in the sections dealing with the world economic crisis in all textbooks analysed.

Two Finnish textbooks, FIN 1 and FIN 2, treat demographic development, migration and the birth of the welfare society as European phenomena, and not as belonging to the history of particular countries:

A remarkable deal of the wealth produced by the fast economic growth of western Europe was directed towards increasing the amount of public sector services. The modern welfare society, which provides equivalent education, health care and social services for all of its members, was born. (FIN 2, p. 320)

The most in-depth examination of a variety of social issues can be found in some of the Italian textbooks. These are often mentioned in the book's introduction. One of these books (I 5) has three subdivisions of the longer chapters which elaborate on the following themes: "Mankind and the environment", "Mankind and culture" and "Mankind and institutions".¹ One of the Russian textbooks, RUS 2, discusses the theme of the present-day structural crises in the economy, the effects of the scientific-technological revolution, and contains a distinct section on the "formation of the basis of the information society, 1970-95", which are rarely discussed topics in history textbooks.²

The effects of Marxism are still felt in the treatment of social tensions and social relationships in Russian history textbooks, which examine these issues in great detail, and view them as important forces in the course of history. In the Russian textbooks, it was the unsolved social problems that followed the first world war which brought the fascists to power. After the second world war, ideals of social justice could be more successfully targeted. Factors that led to further progress include, according to RUS 2, the maintenance of political order, the development of human rights, fair distribution of wealth and the raising in general of standards of living by the scientific-technological revolution. Another Russian textbook, RUS 4, notes, more critically, that in the west, large sections of the population were excluded from social progress as well. The textbook RUS 1 expresses the fear that the social problems in eastern Europe will become more acute and could lead to further political instability.

While authors in the so-called old "western" democracies express a frequently critical view of the uneven distribution of wealth and the collapse of

1. Another, I 1, devotes three in-depth chapters to social development in the 20th century, giving equal treatment to social, economical and technical aspects. The second part concentrates on science and technology as productive forces and the fourth on new patterns of consumer habits and social interaction. Other topics dealt with are the affluent society, religion, legal and social rights for women and the impact of technology on work, to name but a few.

2. This textbook has various sections on science, technology and culture. "Science and technology" is in the introductory chapter and "States in Europe and North America at the turn of the 20th century" "Ideas, art and literature in society" as well as "Literature and art" are subsections in the chapter on "Science and technology" during the inter-war period.

social support programmes, the authors in the former socialist countries preach a need for complete market freedom. In respect to social problems and equalities in the European Union, RUS 1 states:

It became clear that many goals that appeared to be realistic could not be accomplished, such as full employment. It became clear that government interference had to be prevented: competition and market forces had to be given their freedom. (RUS 1, p. 187)

In contrast to the detailed and critical approach to modern industrial society in Italian and Dutch textbooks, and to some extent in French and German ones, many textbooks from the eastern European countries give the impression that the period after 1945 is a mere footnote to history and does not belong to it. One cannot find a detailed description of post-war society in Polish textbooks; instead they more or less “list” events and mention problems. English textbooks also give this period terse treatment. It may be worth investigating if and to what extent the missing material is covered in civics lessons.

As a rule, Polish and Czech textbooks mainly feature the political dimension of history. They present, in substance, a political history of the European continent and pay little attention to the historical aspects of civilisation and of the everyday life of people, their cultural patterns and behaviour, opinions, attitudes and prejudices, expectations and so forth. In the Czech textbook CZ 2, ten non-Czech personalities from Europe are described in some detail. They are all politicians: Adenauer, Brandt, Brezhnev, Gorbachev, Khrushchev, Monnet, Nagy, Tito, Ulbricht, Walesa. This book, nevertheless, is the only exception which presents not only a description of historical events but also some data about the lifestyles of ordinary people (for example in the 1920s and 1930s), the prices of food and of renting flats, fashion and sports in that time, to name but a few elements.

It is indeed among the Dutch books that people’s perspectives, perceptions and expectations provide the background for following political and economical developments:

After the first world war, feelings of disappointment, pessimism, and fear were present throughout Europe. This disappointment and darkness had its roots in the atrocities of the war. Millions of young people perished or were maimed. Many of those who participated in the war were traumatised by the event. They no longer felt as if they were part of society. They also felt that their contributions to the war effort, having risked their lives for their countries, were not recognised. They spent years in trenches in fear and suffered greatly. This is why they were called the “trench generation”.

The disappointment was greatest in the countries which lost the war such as Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Yet in Italy, which was on the winning side, it was felt that the Versailles Treaty was to their disadvantage.

Throughout Europe, among the winners as well as the losers, fear prevailed. Fear of communism and the revolution. In Russia, the communists succeeded in coming to power by means of a revolution. Many feared that this might occur elsewhere in Europe, that European society would collapse and the godless communists would seize control. Politicians who promised that this would not occur could rely on great popularity. (NL 4, p. 62)

In view of the fact that the two world wars play such a central role in the history of the 20th century, it comes as no great surprise that technology is often regarded as military technology. The English textbooks, in particular, take up this theme and often contain many illustrations and drawings that explain the destructive power and the operation of the weapons used. However, there is no attempt to glorify war as such. The aim is to make clear how destructive modern weapons are. War, as well as society, has experienced the effects of industrialisation.

The Norwegian history guidelines point towards another direction putting the stress on increasing inter-relatedness through modern technology and mass communication. Pupils should "find out how modern technology has made the world smaller, and how contact, commerce and co-operation across country borders and between continents, has become more and more necessary".¹

"The Space Race" is an attractive chapter in one of the English textbooks (GB 2). In others, future global problems are also dealt with, for example rising awareness of environmental destruction ("The new morality", GB 1, p. 94; "The changing world", GB 3).

Even more surprising, however, is the fact that war and dictatorships often reappear in the relatively few chapters that deal with art and culture in the 20th century. The French history textbooks all have a chapter concerning art in the inter-war period (as do I 1 and I 2; the latter contains a chapter entitled "Art as an expression of society's anxiety between the wars"). In addition, a French textbook (F 4) contains a report in which art is more or less presented as "the eyewitness of totalitarian regimes", in a negative and a positive sense. Art can be harnessed to the aims of a dictatorship but can also be an expression of resistance.

1. *Laereplanverket for den 10 aarige grunnskolen, Det Kongelige Kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartement, 1996.*

Source D The race into space

At first the Soviet Union appeared to be well in the lead, especially in April 1961 when they outstepped the world by sending the first man into space. Overnight, Yuri Gagarin became a world famous name. Two years and two months later the Soviet Union scored another success when Valentina Tereshkova became the first woman in space. In fact, the Americans were probably already in the lead.

The American spacecraft were far more advanced than their Soviet counterparts, which is why they were taking longer to develop. However, it was in the interests of NASA, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to give the impression that they thought the Russians were ahead. Then the US government would spend still more money on the space programme. In the end it cost them 25 billion dollars. Watched by an astonished world, live on their TV screens, Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin left Apollo 11 and landed on the surface of the moon on 20 July 1969. The USA had won the Space Race.

After the race

Space travel did not end with Apollo 11. There were more Apollo missions to the moon and the Russians landed an unmanned lunar rover, Lunokhod. The Soviet Union concentrated on developing their Mir space station while NASA produced the reusable Space Shuttle which could land back on earth, unlike all previous rockets. The emphasis was now on scientific and military research. The public were no longer fascinated by space now that the race was over. Space exploration was no longer in the news.

Remember...

- The Space Race was part of the Cold War rivalry between the Superpowers – America and the Soviet Union.

Investigate

- Why did the USA and the USSR want the German rocket scientists?
- Read Source B.
 - According to President Kennedy, why did America want to land a man on the moon?
 - What other reasons do you think that there might have been which Kennedy does not mention?

Source E Buzz Aldrin on the moon

The last two of a total of eight subchapters on the era after 1945 in the Slovak textbook SK 1 are devoted to scientific-technical and cultural developments. Each subchapter is presented on a double page. This layout helps with the clear structuring and the easy understanding of the most important contents, particularly as these are illustrated by means of arresting images. However, as a result, there is little space left for text, rendering it extremely concise and factual. The variety of perspectives which are addressed by means of text and images ensures that the presentation on the whole is quite impressive. The achievements in the fields of space exploration and electronics are pointed out side by side with the dangers which emanate from atomic pollution as illustrated by the catastrophe of Chernobyl. As is often the case in this textbook, daily phenomena (aggressions in the football stadium) and great political or cultural events are arranged side by side. While the Soviet Union, due to its extraordinary achievements in the field of space exploration, is still mentioned in the subchapter on technology, the majority of examples given in the section on culture are from the western world.

When we compare the textbooks from Bosnia and Herzegovina with the others that are used in the Balkans, we note that they are much more interested in presenting the tensions that technological and cultural globalisation have caused, especially in the area of economic development. One of the Bosnian textbooks, BiH 2 (p. 103), is much readier to criticise the fact that the developed world is trying to dump its problems on the underdeveloped countries, whereas a Croatian textbook contains many statements that clearly imply a belief in continuing economic and technological progress (see HR 2, p. 122 and p. 192). The Macedonian textbook FYROM 1 (p. 200) is particularly cavalier in its treatment of events after the second world war: "There were, indeed, localised conflicts and armed rebellions but these had no effect on economic and technological developments for the rest of the world."

Science and technology, which are generally regarded as being of global significance in this century, receive more coverage than changes in the everyday culture of society. The latter tend to appear, if at all, in the chapters concerned with national history. Croatian textbooks maintain, with some justification, that the social sciences should be seen from a national perspective, whereas the natural sciences are a topic that affects the whole world (see HR 1, p. 73). Overall, textbooks from south-east Europe highlight particular cultural achievements mainly in order to emphasise how progressive their own country is. Although the Greek textbook GR 1 deals with art and culture in a wider context than just Greece, the passages covering these topics are concerned mainly with the lives of famous personages; there is little attempt to present the cross-fertilisation that took place among these European élite.

The Slovak textbook SK 1 is exceptional in dealing with the topic, since it espouses the philosophy that both culture and the sciences cannot be treated from a solely national point of view. When the Spanish textbooks take a closer look at how mass media influence everyday life, a note of complaint or resentment can be traced. They tend to see the media as an American phenomenon that produces uniformity rather than cultural diversity.

Links between national, European and global history

An example typical of French history textbooks is the crossing of general – in this case global – and national history. This is shown in the section dealing with the world economic crisis (F 4, p. 52), entitled “The world economic crisis. Is the crisis the same all over the world?” The worldwide crisis is symbolised by an illustration from a German publication: the tentacles of an octopus are threatening to crush the globe. The consequences for individual European countries are described as follows:

A global crisis ... affecting the industry of Europe. ... The crisis first affects Austria and Germany, the countries most dependent on American capital, the withdrawal of which leads to a drop in industrial production parallel to that of the United States. In 1931, the situation deteriorates because of Germany's political difficulties. The stock market crash and bank crashes have repercussions on the whole of central Europe.

The United Kingdom is the third country to be hit by the crisis in 1931. The English react very quickly by devaluing the pound, which is, however, a leading currency at international level. The world monetary system is destabilised. The depression affects France later, for her more traditional economy is less linked to international capitalism.” (F 4, p. 52)

Regarding expectations for the future, the French textbook (F 4, p. 172) lists problem areas and geographical areas: the ability of the United States, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, to be the unique superpower of tomorrow is questioned. There are other contenders such as Japan and the European Union, since Maastricht. The uncertain future of the Third World is addressed, with a small map entitled “Democracy in Africa”, where only Namibia is shown as a democratic state. Other countries are shown as on their way to democracy.

On the one hand, the authors contend that the nations and Europe will be in conflict with each other in the foreseeable future. On the other, the idea that “national and European identity” are already combined is demonstrated simply by showing a picture of the French passport. The holder is supposed to be a citizen of France as well as of the European Union (F 3, p. 166). “Dutch or European?” a Dutch textbook asks in a somewhat provocative manner (NL 5), discussing different options and opinions in a chapter devoted to issues of citizenship and civic education.

2 Une Europe qui se cherche

L'idée de Communauté européenne s'est forgée par étapes, à partir de la volonté d'un petit nombre d'États de régler les problèmes par le droit et non par la guerre, puis de constituer une **grande puissance économique** (doc. 3), à l'égal du Japon et des États-Unis.

A. De Rome à Maastricht

1. Les Européens ont d'abord créé un grand marché, aujourd'hui en voie d'achèvement. La **Communauté Économique Européenne (C.E.E.)**, mise en place à Six par le traité de Rome, en 1957 (voir p. 100), s'est traduite par une Politique Agricole Commune (**P.A.C.**) et par une circulation facilitée des marchandises et des hommes (doc. 2).

2. Devenue une force d'attraction pour ses voisins, l'Europe des Six s'est progressivement élargie à **douze membres**, tout en précisant ses institutions : une Commission d'experts fait des propositions, un Parlement donne des avis, un Conseil des ministres décide. En 1978 est institué un **Système monétaire européen (S.M.E.)**, fondé sur l'**E.C.U.** (doc. 1), qui limite les écarts de valeur entre les monnaies. L'**Acte unique** de 1986 vise à supprimer tout contrôle aux frontières communes.

3. Signé en février 1992, le **traité de Maastricht** propose une étape supplémentaire, celle de la **Communauté Européenne (C.E.)** ; avec la création d'une banque centrale, d'une monnaie unique, ainsi que d'une **citoyenneté européenne** avec défense commune (voir doc. 3, p. 168).

B. Quels rivages pour la Communauté ?

1. Cette même année 1992, la Communauté (325 millions d'habitants) conclut, avec sept autres pays d'Europe, un accord de libre-échange pour un **Espace Économique Européen (E.E.E.)** de 380 millions d'habitants. Cette extension du Marché commun ouvre à d'autres partenaires la porte de la future Communauté. À condition d'accepter en bloc le traité de Maastricht, des pays comme la Suède, la Finlande, l'Autriche pourront, dès 1995, intégrer la C.E.

2. L'effondrement du communisme en Europe de l'Est pose aujourd'hui la question d'un élargissement de la C.E. à des pays comme la Hongrie, la Pologne ou la République tchèque, converties à la démocratie et à l'économie de marché.

C. Un réveil des Nations ?

1. Les parlements des États ont largement ratifié le traité de Maastricht, il en va différemment des peuples consultés par référendum (voir p. 168). Dans un contexte de crise économique, **beaucoup d'Européens craignent de voir se dissoudre leur identité nationale**. Des **mouvements régionalistes** se renforcent : corse et basque en France, flamand en Belgique, lombard en Italie, sans parler du problème de l'Irlande du Nord.

2. À l'Est, deux États multinationaux – la **Yougoslavie** et la **Tchécoslovaquie** – éclatent. En 1991, Slovènes, Croates et Macédoniens font sécession ; la Bosnie, où cohabitent des chrétiens serbes et croates, et des musulmans (doc. 4), sombre dans une guerre cruelle entre communautés (doc. 5). Aux premiers jours de 1993, la Slovaquie se sépare de la République tchèque.

VOCABULAIRE

Économie de marché : système économique des pays capitalistes. Il est fondé sur le principe de la libre confrontation entre la demande des consommateurs et l'offre des producteurs.

Régionalisme : mouvement qui revendique la reconnaissance de caractères propres à une région, comme la langue, les fêtes populaires, l'artisanat, etc.



■ L'E.C.U. Initiales de European Currency Unit : Unité de compte européenne, dont le valeur dépend de celle des différentes monnaies des États de la C.E.



■ Identité européenne et identité nationale.

A noteworthy approach is used in an Italian textbook (I 1). The book is divided into four sections. At the end of each, one sees the title "World scenarios", in which locations beyond those normally mentioned are presented, such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Numerous maps assist the reader's orientation. This way, each chapter concentrates on the perspective of the country where the pupils live and on Europe, yet encourages, at the end, discussions of a larger theme including other parts of the world. It is not surprising that this book devotes an unusually large percentage of its content to world history: 36%. The quantity of information pertaining to Europe is also relatively high: 37%. Because the authors approached each time period or geographical region from a thematic perspective, individual European countries are focused on more briefly: 9% of the text is devoted to them. Italian history is, at 27%, given, relatively speaking, less attention.

World war and cold war – dictatorship and democracy

The situation at the turn of the century: Europe after the period of imperialist expansion

In the Dutch textbook NL 4, we find the following:

If you look at a map of the world, you will see how small Europe is in comparison with the rest of the world. And yet Europe has had a tremendous influence on these other countries. This is reflected in the fact that European languages are spoken throughout the world.

At the turn of the century it was western Europe that dictated global events. America, Japan and China were still in their infancy. The other parts of Asia and Africa had become colonies of the European powers, namely England, Germany, France and Russia. (NL 4, p. 9)

As is so often the case, Europe in this instance is identified with the major powers, which are regarded as posing a threat to smaller nations or even denying their right to exist. It is quite logical, then, that texts from these countries view Europe in a somewhat critical light. The first sentence of one of the Bosnian book analysed, BiH 4 (p. 5) states that: "At the beginning of the 20th century the European powers dominated international affairs." The Croatian book HR 1 paints an even more threatening picture:

In order to promote their expansionist policies, the major European powers began to form political and military alliances at the turn of the century. (HR 1, p. 5)

An Italian textbook (I 2) calls Europe "the mistress of the world". In a Russian textbook (RUS 1, p. 13) we repeatedly find a similar formulation that is common in other textbooks as well: Europe dominates the world.

Almost all the schoolbooks paint a similar picture of Europe's pre-eminence in the early 20th century, even though they might not afford Europe the same prominence. The Dutch textbook NL 4, whose first chapter, entitled "Europe and the world 1870-1918", begins with the following passage:

At the beginning of the 20th century Europe dominated the world. The invention of more and more machines which were used to produce an increasing variety of goods led to great changes in industry and the social order within European society. (NL 4, p. 9)

But now the setting has changed:

With the capitulation the European powers finally lost their hegemony in world politics. First the United States, and then gradually the Soviet Union, began to dominate international affairs. After the war, many European states were able to achieve their desire for independence or the resurrection of their national identity, for instance, the Irish, the Poles, the Slovaks, the Czechs and the Croats." (SK, p. 12)

Europe's decline in power on an international level was accompanied by domestic political instability. "Europe remained a volatile area," it says laconically in the Hungarian textbook H 1 (p. 13). The territorial changes resulting from the peace treaties are depicted on several maps, particularly in the textbooks of those countries that were affected by these territorial changes. It is therefore hardly surprising that this episode is given ample coverage in the Hungarian textbooks and that it is critically appraised.

Europe with its former two poles – the Entente and the Triple Alliance – has ceased to exist. Austria-Hungary has retired from the ranks of the great powers. (H 3, p. 19)

The two world wars and their consequences

The first world war is often regarded as a major turning point in European history. For the first time people were confronted with the massive destructive power of weapons produced in an industrialised society. The horrors of war, so central to a presentation of the 20th century in textbooks, are introduced at this point but is the subject, with all its ramifications, covered in such a way that 14- to 16-year-olds can grasp the enormities? The emphasis shifts from textbook to textbook, providing us with an insight into how the various countries deal with the phenomenon of world war. English, German, Russian and Polish textbooks, for example, have a very different approach to describing the Great War. Although the effects of the war on Europe and the rest of the world are never completely ignored, many textbooks tend to concentrate on those events that are seen as significant for shaping the particular country's history.

Apportioning blame and guilt in a war is never an easy matter. Former allies can quickly become enemies and the victors, as well as the vanquished, are often involved in war crimes. Again, it is an English textbook that tries to stimulate pupils to find their own answers to such a complicated problem. Russian soldiers can be seen as either long-awaited liberators or as blood-thirsty avengers – which version is correct? (GB 4, p. 98). The textbook supplies various perspectives but provides no solution; instead it expects the teacher to initiate and encourage debate among the pupils themselves.

It is striking that English and, to some degree French textbooks, cover the first world war in as much detail as the second world war, with particular attention being paid to the emotions these two conflicts aroused. However, in German textbooks, as well as in textbooks from other countries occupied by the nazis, the emphasis is clearly on world war two. For the general public the first world war has lost much of its significance. Many eastern European countries first gained independence in the aftermath of the Great War and with the advent of the second world war this newly-won independence was again under threat. As a consequence of this fact, most textbooks are concerned with detailing how independence was maintained or regained. In contrast, the first world war is still regarded as a traumatic experience in Britain, since her naval supremacy had been called into question for the first time in centuries and her survival as a nation became dependent on the United States, the new superpower. This highly emotional response can be seen in the detailed descriptions of the mechanised equipment deployed, such as tanks and planes, and the horrors that accompanied trench warfare. (GB 2, p. 14-15)

“Art and poetry in the first world war” (GB 2, p. 23) is a section that might be viewed as a genre in its own right. There is more poetry in these chapters than in any of the other books analysed. For Britain this war seemed to herald the end of civilisation and school textbooks are written to convey this impression as vividly as possible.

The coloured illustrations of dog-fights or tanks tearing their way through the trenches might be misinterpreted by German pupils, who could regard them as exemplifying an underlying militarism in British society. Superficially, they seem to belong to the genre of war comics rather than history textbooks but the authors’ intentions become clear in captions like “Hell cannot be so terrible” or “The sorrowful dark of Hell”, as well as in the following chapters about the tremendous damage caused by modern warfare. “Depth study: the western front”; “New weapons”; “A battle in focus: the battle of the Somme”; “Life in the trenches”; “Focus study: the sorrowful dark of hell” are titles found in GB 2. See also the title in F 1, “The industrial war”. These illustrations show how important the first world war is in British perceptions

of modern history. On the other hand, however, a German textbook begins its account with a photo over two pages, showing a war cemetery in France with thousands of crosses that stretch to the horizon. Although the illustrations in the English and German textbooks are very different in nature, their message is the same, namely that very little can be gained through war.

However, we can still find many textbooks that do not present the topic of war in such a negative fashion, preferring rather to emphasise the heroic aspects and the positive results for national sovereignty.

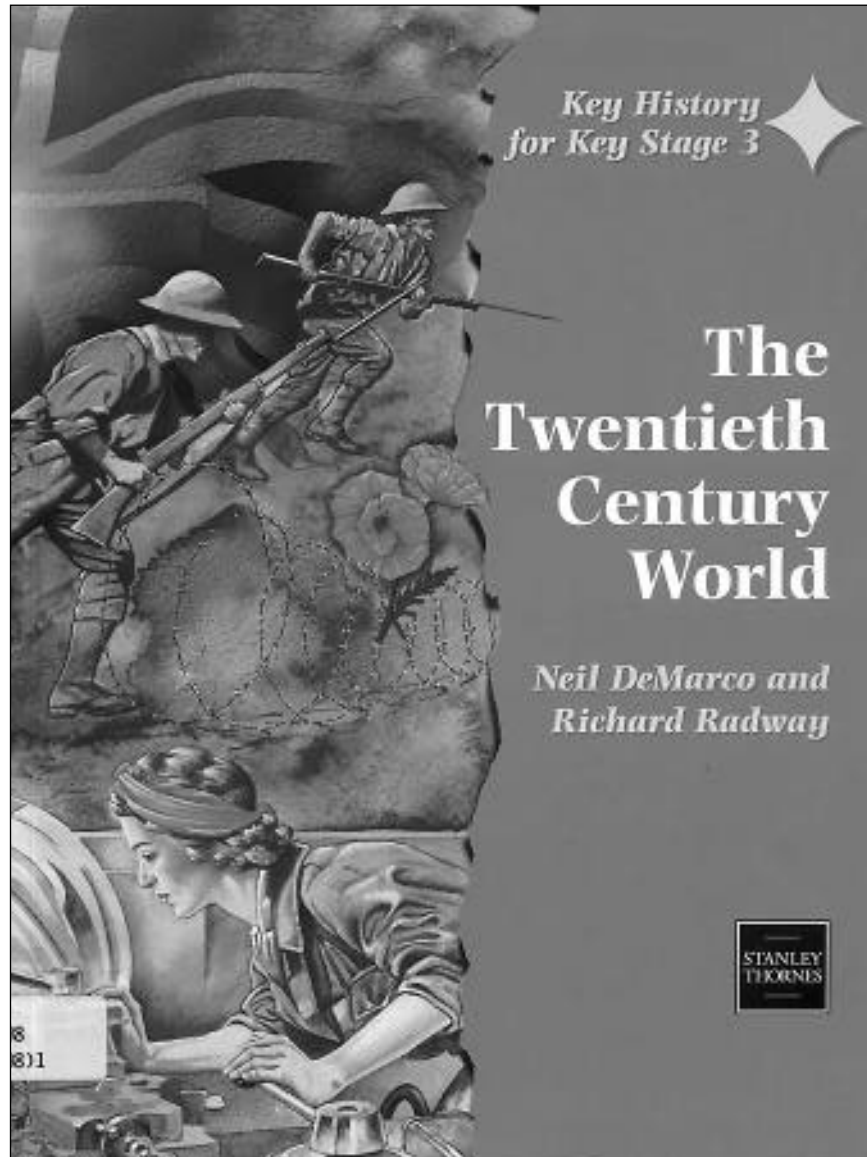
The reasons for the outbreak of the first world war have always been a matter of debate, in particular the question of whether Germany alone was responsible, as documented in the Treaty of Versailles. Many authors take a closer look at this question in order to investigate more general theoretical concepts about cause and effect and their implications for historical developments. The Norwegian textbook authors refer to "the shot in Sarajevo" as the "trigger", not the "reason" for war. The British textbook GB 1 (pp. 4 and 8) proposes four reasons for the war, which apply equally for all the parties involved: nationalism, imperialism, militarism and alliances.

The book goes on to identify five concrete events that led to the outbreak of war and Britain's entry, naming the particular countries:

- Austria declares war;
- Russia mobilises;
- Germany attacks;
- France fights back;
- Britain joins in.

The very choice of words implies certain value judgements and these should be discussed during the lesson. The course of developments becomes very clear, provoking the pupils to reflect on whether the war could, at any one stage, have been prevented or limited.

An older German textbook contains a short but interesting presentation of the opinions that prominent German historians hold on the subject of "who is to blame", citing two contemporary sources that stand in contradiction to each other – excerpts from speeches of the Kaiser and of a parliamentarian of the Social Democratic Party. Thus pupils realise that representatives of different political persuasions and social classes held very different opinions. This introduces the whole problem of objectivity without, however, producing a satisfactory answer on the basis of the sources consulted. On the other hand, the intention here is not to supply hard and fast solutions but rather to provide pupils with the opportunity to come to grips with problems that will continually recur throughout the history syllabus. Little by little they will gain



The British did develop tanks. Instead of wheels they used caterpillar tracks developed in the Canadian logging industry. These spread the weight of the tank over a wide area so allowing it to travel over uneven and muddy ground. Their strange shape allowed them to cross trenches as is shown in Source C.

Tanks were first used on the Somme on 15 September 1916. However, of the 49 tanks to be used in this battle, only 9 reached the German trenches. Most simply broke down while others stuck in the mud and the shell craters created by the heavy British artillery bombardment. The tanks weighed 28 tonnes, so that even with caterpillar tracks they still sank into the soft mud. At the Battle of the Somme their average speed was half a mile per hour. This meant that they were an easy target for German artillery. Once hit by a shell they simply became a fiery tomb for the eight men inside.

The first great success for the tank came in 1917 at Cambrai when they enabled British troops to make a major advance. This time there had been no artillery bombardment and so the ground was firm. However, with German trenches captured and open territory in front of them, the attack had to stop because most of the tanks needed repairing.

1 Tank advances towards German trench. Bullet-proof armour. Cage to prevent attack by grenades. Tank is heavy and difficult to attack.

2 Weight of tank causes it to fall forward and bridge the trench. Troops follow tank to capture enemy trench. Wire cut back with.

3 Weight of tank enables caterpillar tracks to grip and so it can move forward. Troops enter enemy trench.

4 Troops build parapet and reinforce trench against enemy counter-attack. Tank moves on to attack next line of defence.

Source C How a tank crossed an enemy trench

It was marvellous... The tank waddled on with its guns blazing and we could see Jerry popping up and down, not knowing what to do, whether to stay or run... The Jerries waited until our tank was only a few yards away and then fled - or hoped to! The tank just shot them down and the machine-gun post, the gun itself, the dead and the wounded who hadn't been able to run, just disappeared. The tank went right over them. We would have danced for joy if it had been possible out there.

Quoted in *The Somme* by Lyn MacDonald

Source D By Lance Corporal Lee Lovell, an eye-witness to the first use of tanks on 15 September

Investigations

- 1 Read Source D. What evidence does it provide about the effect of the tank on the morale of British troops?
- 2 What evidence does Source D provide about the effect of tanks on the morale of German troops?
- 3 What has happened to the tank in Source A? Why did this tend to happen to tanks?
- 4 Were tanks as successful as Churchill hoped? Explain your answer.
- 5 Write your own 'Remember' box for this unit. Did the new weapons help to break the stalemate?

Key words
Artillery Large guns which fired shells over a large distance, and so could be positioned well behind the front line.
Infantry Soldiers fighting on foot.

17

Focus Study: 'The Sorrowful Dark of Hell' – Art and poetry in the First World War

What does the art and poetry of the First World War tell us about the experiences and feelings of the soldiers who fought?

Art in the First World War

Source A *The Menin Road*, near Ypres in Belgium, painted by Paul Nash in 1919



Source B *The War* by Otto Dix



Source C Stretcher-bearers pulling a stretcher bringing wounded to a dressing station, painted in 1919 by Stanley Spencer. Spencer was a member of the Royal Army Medical Corps during the war and was sent to northern Greece, which is why the soldiers in this picture are wearing cloth to protect their heads from the sun.



Key words

Dressing station A dressing station was a medical point close to the front line. The wounded would be bandaged and receive emergency treatment before being taken to field hospitals behind the lines.

21

(UK) Key History for KS3 – *The Twentieth Century World*,
© Stanley Thornes, Publishers for Education, England
Paintings: *The Menin Road* by Paul Nash and *Travoyes Arriving with Wounded at a Dressing Station at Smol, Macedonia, September, 1916* by Sir Stanley Spencer, courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London
Painting *The War* by Otto Dix © Adapp, Paris 2000

more confidence in making judgements that can stand the test of objectivity.¹

Military victory in a modern war can mean a political and/or economic defeat – many textbooks, particularly those from England, France and Italy, convey this message very clearly (“Weakened victors in Europe” is one heading in D 3). Many books speak of Europe’s defeat. The chapter on the consequences of the war in one of the French textbooks (F 4, p. 20) is even titled “Europe – drained and impoverished”. The French books make this point particularly clear in their brief and precise language:

The decline of Europe ... a star on the wane. Europe is no longer the economic heart of the world. The war has put a freeze on exchanges over the old continent.

- i. Two rising states have increased their power:
 - Japan, which has appropriated the Asian markets;
 - the United States, above all, which are now money lenders to Europe and hold half the gold stock of the world. Wall Street has supplanted the London Stock Exchange and the dollar the pound sterling.
- ii. Europe’s colonial rule begins to be contested:
 - voices claim independence in certain parts of the empires; they put forward the colonies’ participation in the defence of the mother country as well as the peoples’ right to self-determination.” (F 3, p. 18)

A table shows an overview of the losses suffered in Germany, France, Great Britain and Austria-Hungary (“An unparalleled catastrophe”).

The Finnish textbook FN 1 attributes the term “superpower” to the former colonial powers which lost their influence through both wars:

European superpowers, Great Britain, France and Germany had obtained colonies all over the world and the development of Europe defined the development of the whole world. However, the two world wars that were fought in the first half of the 20th century ended the leading role of Europe. (FIN 1, p. 180)

“An exhausted continent” is described in one of the Italian textbooks (I 2, p. 305) and “Europe brought to its knees” is the heading of the corresponding chapter in another (I 3). The damage caused by the war, the uprooting of people, the loss of normal, everyday peace are all described emphatically to clearly show the social crisis of the 1920s.

The hiatus created by the first world war in the political situation in Europe is emphasised in practically all history textbooks. “The new map of Europe” (F 1, p. 21) is visualised, the conditions for peace as laid down in the Treaty of Versailles are clearly summarised: “The Versailles peace treaties reshaped the

1. *Unsere Geschichte*, Wolfgang Hug (ed.) (Frankfurt, Diesterweg, 1991) vol. 3, p. 31-32.

political organisation of Europe" (FYROM 2, p. 28). "At the end of the Great War three empires had ceased to exist: the Russian, the Austro-Hungarian and the German Empire" (HR 1, p. 6). In contrast to older textbooks, multi-ethnic combinations such as those of the former Czechoslovakia and former Yugoslavia or Poland are often emphasised and possible future problems pointed out.

It is an educational challenge not to portray the wide areas of failed democratisation following the first world war as an absolutely inevitable development or even to go from the Treaty of Versailles straight to communist and fascist dictatorships and the authoritarian regimes. An initially open perspective is offered under the heading "Attempts at orientation and planning of the future following the first world war" in the German textbook D 1. A Slovak textbook evaluates future developments before they actually take place:

Even before there was a final peace, Europe was divided into states that accepted the new status quo and others that refused to acknowledge it. This division meant that renewed war was a distinct possibility, all the more so as the victorious powers began to have very different ideas about how Europe was to evolve in the future. (SK, p. 14)

From the Italian textbook I 5 we learn how quickly love for one's own country can be linked with hate for another. It is one of the few books that deals more extensively with the way in which xenophobia develops, the process whereby national pride can turn into a hatred of anything foreign. The relevant chapter is entitled "The factory of hate" and investigates Italian irredentism, French *revanche* and pan-Germanism:

With the political situation worsening and the threat of war looming ever nearer, terms such as nationalism, patriotism and love of the fatherland were constantly being misused in order to demonise the enemy, a tragic situation to which all the European powers succumbed. (I 5, p. 136)

The Bosnian textbook BiH 2, which again turns out to contain a wealth of material, has this to say about the social and psychological ramifications of the war:

For the first time in Europe's history, the generation that grew up before 1909 had come to believe that war was a thing of the past. (BiH 2 p. 5)

With respect to the post-war period (p. 13) it states:

Post-war reconstruction was carried out on a systematic basis; the psychological effects, however, were much more difficult to overcome. People in the west had lost faith in the ideals of liberty, rationalism and progress.

The authors of the Italian textbook I 5 point out, as do the authors of a Dutch textbook, using a similar argument (NL 2), that after the first world war there was a tendency, not only in Italy, to stir up hatred among the masses against foreigners as well as against certain sections of the indigenous population:

After the war the hatred that had built up towards the external enemy was accompanied by hostility towards the enemy within, for example hostility towards a certain social class. This resulted in a great deal of social upheaval. All the various ideologies that developed out of the Great War were extremely intolerant and obsessed with the idea of opposing something or someone. (I 5 p. 137)

There is often an individual chapter on dictatorships in the period between the two world wars, in which the headings sometimes equate dictators with the systems. "Mussolini's Italy", "Hitler's Germany", "Stalin's Russia" are examples of this found in GB 1 (p. 1). A French textbook also uses a heading similarly with "Hitler's imperialism". Contrast this with "Depth study: national socialist Germany" found in another English textbook (GB 2, p. 33).

Progress seems to have left Europe, as summed up by one of the Italian textbooks:

Whereas the United States is the land of economic progress and democracy, Europe has become the fatherland of totalitarianism; German nazism joins Russian communism and Italian fascism. (I 5, p. 248)

Often, equal weight is put to the communist and to the fascist form of modern dictatorship. In the Norwegian textbooks, however, the development of German national socialism comprises by far the largest chapter on the totalitarian ideologies of Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. This gives room to carefully explain the path the Germans have taken from the destruction of the first democratic government they ever had up to a brutal anti-Semitism culminating in the *Cristalnacht* and mass annihilation on a scale that was not known before. Though the Norwegian textbooks describe nazism through its leaders and the *Führer*, they contain a lot of background information allowing the pupils to discuss what may have convinced the Germans to support a repressive, dictatorial system. They offer many illustrations, questions and sources to discuss and to think about.

Most of the history textbooks used in countries that were formerly within the Soviet sphere of influence contain outright condemnations of the former Soviet Union and, above all, of the Stalinist era:

Even before Lenin died the communist dictatorship had been transformed into a ruthless totalitarian regime. When Josef Stalin took over in 1924 the brutality assumed proportions that went beyond anything experienced before. The secret police suppressed anyone who showed the slightest signs of disagreeing with communist policy. Under the communist regime

... millions of innocent people were interned in work camps and prisons, or banished to Siberia; others were simply massacred and vanished into mass graves. (SK, p. 18)

The conflict between dictatorships and authoritarian regimes on the one hand and western democracies on the other, is dealt with as a central aspect of 20th century European history. "Democracy and dictatorship" is the title of a chapter in an English textbook (GB 4, p. 33), which compares western democracy with the dictatorships of Italy, the Soviet Union and Japan. Nazi Germany is given a separate chapter. Some of the French textbooks also speak of the triumph of democracies over authoritarian regimes when dealing with the results of the second world war. On the other hand, the end of the Spanish Civil War can be described as "an initial victory of dictatorship over democracy" (F 4, p. 88). Foreign policy in the 1930s is mainly viewed through the contrast between democracy/dictatorship. Appeasement policy is evaluated critically; it is admitted that the western powers tried to use Germany as an umbrella against the Soviet Union ("Why did the democracies not intervene faster in view of the rise of dictatorships?" is the question asked in F 4, p. 90.).

Other textbooks, in particular those published in the first half of the 1990s, mark a sharp difference between the revolutionary regime of Lenin and Stalin's dictatorship. A study conducted by the Balkan Colleges Foundation evaluates a 1996 textbook from "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia":

The unit that covers the two Russian revolutions, the civil war and the formation of the USSR (on 2 pages) builds an entirely positive image of the changes in Russia before the coming of Stalin to power. The collision between the new and the old here takes on the dimensions of the struggle between the good and evil. A whole era, one of the greatest tragedies of our century, comes out in clichés and idioms drawn from outdated slogans. All that happened in the 1930s is here cut down to a single closing sentence: "After the death of Lenin, to the leadership of the Soviet Union came Josef Vissarionovich Stalin and it was with him that the period of personal dictatorship began".¹

It is not always made clear to what extent various governments were, in fact, authoritarian regimes. Explanations are really given only for the two states that had an obviously fascist leadership. The Lithuanian textbook LIT 1, for instance, fails to give a clear description of the system prevailing in Lithuania: "Lithuania was one of the many European states in which different kinds of dictatorship usurped a democratic form of government" (p. 72). The weakness of Lithuanian democracy is explained by referring to the general failure

1. *The Image of the other: analysis of the high-school textbooks in history from the Balkan countries* (Balkan Colleges Foundation, Sofia, 1998) p. 42.

of eastern Europe to install democratic institutions, in particular Russia at the time of the revolution. In the authors' opinion, eastern Europe's history of political instability did not favour the establishment of democratic governments. Spanish history textbook authors now view the Franco regime as one dictatorship among others during the 1930s and 1940s without either glorifying or exculpating it.

The Russian textbooks have also begun to contrast the opposing concepts of democracy and totalitarianism, moving away from the idea that the war was a confrontation between the capitalist and the socialist models of society:

The central issue and the cause for international tension in Europe from 1918-1945 was the clash between two completely different political ideologies – on the one hand, the liberal-democratic system and on the other, the totalitarian system (in both its radical right-wing and left-wing forms). (RUS 2, p. 84)

The textbooks that were examined are positively critical of the collaboration between Stalin and Hitler. The ambiguity of the great dictators may be best described by the way they are portrayed in the Norwegian textbooks. The chapters on Russia under Stalin stress both the path towards a modern, industrial state, fighting poverty and starvation as well as the terror of the communist regime. The authors regard Stalin as the ruthless dictator who achieves his aims through suppression of democratic rights and mass executions, but propagates, at the same time, a self-image of a heroic leader who completes the work begun by Marx and Lenin. Regrettably, the textbooks focus on presenting the biographies of the dictators – particularly those of Stalin and Hitler – and hardly ever dwell on the lives of remarkable artists, democratic politicians and so forth. At least the Hungarian textbook H 1 presents a rather balanced choice of biographical sketches with Stalin, Hitler, Roosevelt and Churchill each receiving equal attention.

Presented under European perspectives, both world wars are the dominant subjects, particular in the English history textbooks on the 20th century. The chapters on the second world war are the longest in four of the English textbooks studied (GB 1, 2, 3, 4), and the same often applies to the French history textbooks. As an example, GB 4 devotes nine out of twenty-two chapters to subjects seen from an overall European point of view. Chapters 1-3, 6, 8, 16, 18, 20 and 21 are entitled respectively:

- From the parade ground to the trenches;
- The western front, 1914-18;
- The eastern fronts and the war at sea;
- Democracy and dictatorship;
- The origins of the second world war;

- Occupied Europe;
- Victory in Europe;
- Divided Europe;
- Europe in ruins.

In addition, “nazi Germany”, “inside Germany” and the “the Russian front” are portrayed in separate chapters. Obviously, European issues refer mainly to wars and dictatorship. In sum, about sixteen chapters deal with the two world wars.

In all the Norwegian textbooks covering the time period 1914-45, the chapter on the second world war is by far the largest one. Around 30% of the text is spent on the background, development and outcomes of the war putting more or less equal weight to events outside Norway and to Norway under German occupation.

Also in the Norwegian textbooks, as may be assumed from the above-quoted guidelines, which stress peace education, the portrayal of the battlefields focuses on the horror of a war without meaning and end. This process has caused suffering to the conquered and the conquerors, to soldiers as well as civilians. Several textbooks, for example, contain a photo showing a line of soldiers who have been blinded. A French textbook (F 1) recounts the plight of the soldier in the Great War (1914-18), vividly describing the physical and psychological pressures he was subjected to and pointing out how arbitrary and pointless military strategy actually was. The horrific loss of life resulting from trench warfare is given particular attention in another French textbook (F 2, “Close up: war in the trenches”).

Regarding the geographical regions generally dealt with, there is a clear distinction between textbooks from western and eastern countries. Both concentrate on their own battlefields. Besides this geographical preference they also differ in the patterns of description. Trench war in the west represents the destructive forces of modern technology which affect, in the end, both sides in almost the same manner – be it the victorious or the besieged. Modern war levels down both. Military strategies as well as individual bravery are in vain. All the Norwegian textbooks give illustrative examples of how difficult everyday life was for the population on both sides. The pupils are confronted with the nazi atrocities in the occupied territories, on the one hand and on the other, large scale photos show the bombed cities of Dresden and Hiroshima. As in many English textbooks, a poem gives the pupils a momentum of reflection.

In contrast, textbooks from eastern and central European countries deal more with strategic issues, with particular capacities of military leaders and heroism that still play a decisive role in the war. In general, Polish, Russian and



Jens Bjarneboe

Vise om byen Hiroshima

Det var en vakker morgen udi Hiroshima by,
En sommermorgen nittenfemogførti.
Og solen, ja den lyste fra en himmel uten sky,
En sommermorgen nittenfemogførti.

Småpikene de lekte udi have og blant trær
og gjorde altting slik de store gjorde.
De pyntet sine dukker og de vasket dukkeklær
og kvinnene skar brød på kjøkkenbordet.

Og mange småbarn var det som stadig lå i seng
for dette var en tidlig morgentime
mens solen strålte deilig og mens duggen lå på eng
og blomster nettopp åpnet sine kroner.

Det var en vakker morgen udi Hiroshima by,
En sommermorgen nittenfemogførti.
Og solen, ja den lyste fra en himmel uten sky,
En sommermorgen nittenfemogførti.

Lithuanian textbooks give more coverage to military aspects of the two wars. They focus more on quantitative information about the armies, less on the social aspects and on individual suffering in the fighting. A central topic in textbooks from the former Yugoslav republics is the struggle against fascism.

In the history textbooks used in “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two world wars are regarded as the major events influencing modern history. This viewpoint is reflected in the curricula and teaching schemes. More than one third of the Macedonian curriculum is assigned to the two wars, so it is not surprising that the textbooks have so many pages covering this topic. Treatment in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina is not quite so extensive, ranging from one fourth to one third of the textbooks. We often find that the authors make a division between the national and the international and European ramifications of the world wars.

The Macedonian books have the widest coverage of the two world wars, concentrating particularly on the second world war. Nevertheless, the more recently published books seem to be reversing this policy.

Table 4: the second world war in FYROM 1, FYROM 2 and an earlier 1992 edition of FYROM 2 respectively

total number of pages	second world war	outside the Balkans	Balkans (excluding the former Yugoslavia)	former Yugoslavia (excluding Macedonia)	Macedonia
266 pages	82 pages	19 pages	7 pages	25 pages	31 pages
127 pages	39 pages	10 pages	3 pages	7 pages	19 pages
152 pages	53 pages	13 pages	3 pages	16 pages	21 pages

The systematic collaboration of certain groups (such as the Ustashi in Bosnia) with German occupation forces is usually played down and regarded as the exception rather than the rule. In contrast, the role of resistance groups is often exaggerated. But we must also remember that textbooks from western Europe, such as from France, have only recently begun to treat this sensitive issue more objectively. Further research and wider public debate are necessary before we can expect a more balanced approach to this topic to be incorporated into schoolbooks from the former socialist countries.

Textbooks from the Balkan region underscore that their peoples were often forced to fight for foreign interests, particularly those of the Austro-Hungarian

empire – a fact that contributes to the overt or hidden scepticism which characterises many passages dealing with the so-called great European powers and which will be renewed if the narrative comes to the present conflict in the region.

In the textbooks produced in the countries formerly occupied by Germany, the national perspective regarding war is central, but the European-wide dimension of occupation and resistance is usually mentioned and supported by examples:

All over Europe people rose, isolated at first, to resist the degradation of defeat and determined to fight against the occupying forces. (F 3, p. 86)

This quote is followed by two boxes dealing with the resistance of Polish partisans and the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The suffering of the French population, illegal resistance and military activities are focused on. Collaboration is now more extensively discussed and not only touched upon as in older textbooks (for example the chapter “Collaboration and resistance” in F 2, p. 60). The Lithuanian textbook LIT 2 is the first to present the nazi occupation policy and the annihilation of the Jews in juxtaposition to Lithuanian collaboration and anti-Jewish crimes committed after the war.

The role of the individual countries is dealt with, for example in English and French textbooks, only to the extent that seems necessary for comprehension of the course of the wars. Surprisingly for readers from eastern European countries, the English textbooks do not describe nazi occupation policy in any detail. When dealing with suppression, persecution and mass extermination, they focus on the Holocaust.

The period of classical imperial powers ends with the second world war. These worldwide changes are made particularly clear in the English textbooks, as Great Britain was directly affected by them (“Depth study: the end of empire” in GB 2, p. 92; “The end of empires” in GB 3, p. 86). In textbooks from other countries, the end of the first world war is seen as the more important turning point.

When dealing in particular with war and national socialism, but also with regard to life under Soviet and German communism, German history textbooks often contain long excerpts from individual contemporary reports. This has a double aim.

Firstly, it is intended to show how receptive people were to dictatorial currents and to what extent this affected daily life. Dictatorship is not only a matter for “high politics” and powerful individuals. Remarkably, German

textbooks are the ones which least regard national socialism as "Hitlerism". The many steps involved in adaptation towards active support are shown.

Secondly, it is an attempt is made to understand the motives of those who adapted and those who took a stand against dictatorship. Empathy with the attitude of the victims of persecution and resistance is to be awakened.¹

"Can we attain lasting peace throughout the world?". This is the question posed by the German textbook D2 4 (p. 280), in view of the fact that war has always been a recurring phenomenon throughout Europe and the rest of the world. The latest German textbooks for the age group 10-16 usually finish up with an overview of the topic "War and peace", since this theme has now been incorporated into the curriculum requirements of Nordrhein-Westfalen, the largest of the federal states. Reference is often made to previous chapters on the world wars, but there is now much greater emphasis on the European dimension. The reasons for war, the aftermath of war, war propaganda, the idea of a lasting peace as well as ways of safeguarding it – these are the kinds of themes presented, with examples from antiquity right through to the present. Such an overview enables pupils to see the 20th century in perspective and shows that there is no need to glorify a nation's military achievements or the heroism of its soldiers. A prerequisite for peace is the establishment of international political institutions, along with further social integration. In such an overview the authors can pay more attention to the work of the United Nations and similar organisations.

These books contain a great deal of material that is not commonly found in history textbooks. There are reproductions of paintings as well as poems, all of which offset the main body of the text, which is more politically oriented. Ways of attaining and maintaining peaceful relations in the world are the main issues in this chapter on "War and peace". It would definitely be a step in the right direction if other countries began to include such an overview in their curriculum guidelines and their textbooks. The Netherlands have already tried to do this, although the material is systematically embedded in individual chapters. These examples demonstrate that the undertaking is not as difficult as has been assumed in the past.

The Holocaust

The destructive nazi policy against the Jews is singled out and treated in some detail in English and French textbooks ("Global war", subtitled "Depth study: the Holocaust" in GB 2; "Close-up: the organised hell" in F 2), as well

1. One German book (D 2, pp. 112-117) contains personal accounts on: "Life under dictatorship: participation, adaptation or resistance?", containing excerpts from life histories, interviews with an SA leader and a social democrat and sections on communist resistance, as well as resistance in the military and in the church.

as Italian and some Spanish and, of course, all German textbooks. History textbooks from the eastern European countries emphasise the impact of occupation in general and often mention the annihilation of the Jews only in passing.

This issue deserves careful examination, as it may be very problematic to only just mention that over 6 million people were murdered systematically, or on the one hand, to describe the annihilation of the Jews and other peoples in length and depth and to illustrate acts of terrible cruelty with photos and so forth, to 14-year-olds. The selection of information is often arbitrary, if not inappropriate.

Presenting the Holocaust alongside other themes such as war, occupation, collaboration and resistance poses a major problem since the topic is not only important but also highly sensitive. Our study shows that there are basically two approaches to the problem.

Firstly the extermination of the Jews is seen as one component of an extermination policy that extended to other parts of the population. There is no separate description of the Holocaust and the persecution of the Jews, nor do we find details about the conditions in which Jewish people lived. These were often very different from those which prevailed for the majority – even before the persecution began. This approach tends to be favoured by textbooks used in eastern Europe.

Secondly, the Holocaust is regarded as a topic in its own right within the description of the second world war. In this approach we find a much more comprehensive account of what happened but there are other problems to be confronted. Can children really understand the full extent of the terror and violence? Can they deal with the emotional impact of descriptions and pictures dealing with the gas chambers or the corpses in concentration camps? There is simply not enough space in a textbook to provide an adequate account of all the aspects. The various steps along the path to the final extermination and the development of prejudice and discrimination require more than two to four pages. One consequence is that the terror is often conveyed through personalised accounts. Here we can see that school textbooks are not the best medium for a true description of what a dictatorship entails.

Although English textbooks do not overemphasise Hitler's biographical details, they do tend toward a personalised view of history. In those sections dealing with nazi persecution, it is Hitler, the SS or the Germans that are most frequently referred to. In other words, Hitler makes the decisions and the rest carry them out.

The personalised approach adopted by the British textbook GB 1 (pp. 44-45), sees Hitler as being primarily responsible for national socialism in Germany. Hitler is portrayed in a very sketchy and suggestive biographical account – a problematic example of a pupil-oriented, personalising approach to history.

Žodynas

Getas – miesto dalis, skirta tam tikrai rasinei, tautinei arba religinei grupei prievarta apgyvendinti.
Holokaustas – auka sudeginant, visiškas sunaikinimas.
Krematoriumas – pastatas su įrenginiu lavonams deginti.

Lenkų rašytojo antikomunisto mintys apie Vokietijos ir SSRS koncentracijos stovyklas

Jokioje šiuolaikinėje valstybėje – išskyrus Rusiją – nepasisekė mobilizuoti tiek šimtų tūkstančių žmonių budelių tarybai. <...> Rusijoje priverčiamoji darbo stovyklų prižiūrėtojų bei pareigūnų vaidmuo buvo daug pasyvesnis, tose stovyklose žmonės buvo naikinami ne dujomis ar kankinimais, bet žūdavo nuo atšiauraus klimato, baidių sąlygų ir bado. Tad tikrai Vokietijoje sveiki ir tariamai normalūs žmonės masiškai ir aktyviai dalyvavo žiauriai fiziškai kankinant ir žudant <...>

Z. Grabowski. Ojczyzna Europa. Londyn, 1967, k. 163-164.

Vaclovas Sidzikauskas apie savo išgyvenimus nacių koncentracijos stovyklose 1941-1942 metais

<...>Soldau koncentracijos stovykla buvo <...> sakyčiau, skastykla, palyginti su Auschwitzo pragaru, kurioje buvo naikinami tik Soldau apylinkės lenkai ir žydai. Tačiau šiurpių veidų nesigė ir čia. Pats mačiau, kaip lenkai kunigai ir vienuolės buvo sodinami į sunkvežimius ir išvežami iš stovyklos, o paskui juos važavo automobilis su SS vyrais, kurie vežėsi kulkosvaidžius ir kastuvus. Sugrįždavo tik SS vyrai. <...>

Vokietijos kacetai, nors aš galiu kalbėti tik apie Auschwitzą, nuo kalėjimų skyrėsi tuo, kad kalėjimuose buvo privalomos taisyklės, kurios saistė ir prižiūrėtojus, o kacetuose slautė pilniausia ir nepažabota sauvalė. Prižiūrėtojas galėjo sužaloti ar net užmušti be jokios kaltės, vien tik todėl, kad jo tokia nuotaika ar kad jam nepatiko kalnio "fizionomija".



Konclagerių vergai

V. Sidzikauskas. Lietuvos diplomatinės paslaugos. Vilnius, 1994, p. 200, 203.

7. Apibūdinkite elgesį su kaliniiais koncentracijos stovyklose (kacetuose).

Clearly, the authors have tailored their material to suit the age group they are addressing but this means that a false picture is presented. Dictatorial regimes need more than just a dictator if they are to survive.

In the British textbook GB 2, the chapter concerned with the Holocaust opens with a survivor's report "of a nazi mass shooting". Unlike the narrative in GB 1, the authors change the point of view when explanations are sought for anti-Semitism, which is not solely attributed to Hitler:

Anti-Semitism is the hatred and persecution of Jews. Hitler did not invent it. Anti-Semitism existed everywhere in Europe and had done for many centuries. Hitler went further and created a political party based on it. (p. 57-58)

One page is allocated to a sober, unemotional description of how discrimination developed into extermination. At the end the authors deal with a question that pupils are likely to ask: "Why didn't they [the Jews] resist?"

The answer is brief:

In most cases, the victims did not realise what was about to happen to them. The SS went to a lot of trouble to make sure they went to their deaths unsuspecting. They were told they were to have showers for reasons of hygiene.

On a superficial level the answer is correct. But what if a pupil dismissed this answer as totally improbable and asked whether the Jews would have defended themselves, had they known of their fate? The teacher would have to admit that the textbook answer does not tell the whole truth. Many victims did indeed suspect that they were to be murdered but tried to rationalise the irrational. Can 14-year-olds deal with such a complex situation? Must a school textbook present all the arguments and ramifications or should it let this particular age group believe that the victims would have rebelled if they had not been duped by the SS?

The nazis exterminated almost every Jewish community in Europe. Many of the maps document this fact and yet we still find traces of what might be termed a "national subjectivity". The map from GB 2 locates the largest extermination camps in Poland but mentions only two in Germany itself, namely Belsen and Dachau. These are the two camps that are synonymous with nazi atrocities in the minds of British and American citizens, since Belsen was liberated by the British and Dachau by the Americans. Similar camps, such as Neuengamme and Buchenwald, which were also liberated by the western allies, are not marked, quite clearly because they did not receive the same media attention. The British Army filmed the dreadful scenes they found in Belsen, producing a report that left an indelible image on the public's conception of what national socialism represented. For the Russians and the Poles, however, it is Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald that represent

the true horror of the camps in the Reich, since so many of their countrymen were murdered in these camps.

Only years later did the name of Auschwitz come to symbolise the full extent of nazi terror and brutality. On every map, Auschwitz is labelled as a "concentration and extermination camp", although the difference between the two terms is not explained. In Poland, Auschwitz is primarily a symbol for Polish resistance against nazi suppression, whereas for the Jewish community worldwide it stands for all the atrocities committed against them. History textbooks for use in schools cannot hope to come to grips with the complexities that arise from these differing interpretations of a place name. We must then ask ourselves how the pupils can possibly appreciate that any treatment of this subject might be objective, given the fact that every presentation has a national bias. The understanding and the interpretation of the Holocaust represents one of the major stumbling blocks in the fostering of a European dimension in the minds of a younger generation.

Most of the Russian history textbooks treat the topic in a quite traditional way. The term "Holocaust" as well as the terms "genocide", "catastrophe of the European Jews", "policy of state anti-Semitism" and similar terms are simply lacking in the normative documents, that is the compulsory minimum contents of the curriculum and the wider curriculum. Most of the textbooks on the history of Russia stick to the traditional treatment of this topic. The "new order" introduced by the nazis is mainly characterised as the policy of enslavement of Slav peoples. The Jews, however, are either not mentioned, or mentioned only in passing. In fact, it is not mentioned there that the German occupation authorities used the anti-Semitic propaganda to carry out a selection of people on the basis of national principles. As a whole, an overview of the most widespread Russian textbooks shows that their authors do not fully realise the importance of the topic of the Holocaust as such, and in many aspects they have not been able till now to overcome the biased presentation of the history of the second world war from the communist period. It is namely for this reason that among the textbooks examined, only one, the Russian textbook RUS 1, treats the topic sufficiently and consequently. This textbook, although written for the lower secondary level, is also widely used in the higher forms (in the 11th grade in particular) and has a wide distribution.¹

The Russian textbook RUS 1 features the main characteristic of national socialism: nationalism, totalitarianism, worshipping violence, support of the

1. As a reminder of how different Russian textbook authors handle the topic, we like to mention another popular textbook, "The world in the 20th century", edited by O.S. Soroko-Tsupy (Proveschenie, Moscow 1996) which carefully avoids the subjects of Holocaust. As it is orientated towards elder learners in the 11th form, it is not included in our analysis.

masses, anti-democratic attitudes, anti-Semitism. It is stated that anti-Semitism became the official policy of the fascist state. All the different steps from discrimination to extermination constantly intensifying the persecution are mentioned, such as the boycott of Jewish shops in 1933, the so-called Nuremberg laws depriving the Jews of their German citizenship, the pogroms from 1938 and later on, the ghettos. It is also made clear that all these measures had a tremendous effect on Jewish everyday life. The Jews were forbidden to appear in public places, to run a business and they were forced to wear a yellow star stitched to their clothes. So, the extermination of the Jews was prepared: "The extermination began in the war years: 6 million Jews became victims of the racial madness of the nazis." (RUS 1, p. 96)

Further, in the material dealing directly with the second world war, repeated reference to the anti-Semitism of Hitler's policy is made. In the chapter entitled "Poland's part", we read

There began the systematic destruction of Jews, the Polish intelligentsia. Labour conscription was enforced and hundreds of thousands of Polish people were taken to Germany to do forced labour. (RUS 1, p. 132)

On page 146 in the chapter "Resistance movement" we are told that:

The actions of the German occupation forces to implement the race policy for the extermination of "inferior peoples" had been one reason for resistance. All over Europe, Jews, Gypsies, and later the Slav population of Europe, became the victims of this policy. On the whole territory of Europe concentration camps were built, the biggest of which were Osventsim, Majdanek, Treblinka, Dachau, Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrueck, Mauthausen ... In the concentration camps there was an overall number of 18 million people. Twelve million of them were killed. (RUS 1, p. 146)

Further, in smaller letters (indicating optional material), Hitler's policy towards the Slavs is characterised as genocide, whereas towards the Jews it is characterised as "a real catastrophe". The Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942 is mentioned as well as the extermination camps (namely Osventsim and Treblinka), the gas chambers and crematories, the mass executions of the Jewish population, especially on Soviet territory.

The extermination of 11 million Jews had been planned. When this horror conveyor of death stopped, more than 6 million of them had died. (p. 147)

In paragraph 19 of "Reasons for the development of the cold war", the international tribunal for the highest-ranking nazi leaders is mentioned, and there is a photo of "nazi leaders in the prisoners' dock at Nuremberg" (p. 159). Once again, the tragedy of the Jews during the second world war is referred to as one of the main reasons to intensify efforts for "a movement to create a Jewish state in Palestine". (p. 174)

We have quoted extensively from this book to show that even on a factual basis and against a curriculum background which does not prescribe to deal with the Holocaust at all, sufficient information can be given. From this point of view, the book can serve as an example of the minimum which should be said about the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population during the war. Although the language is factual emotions are not to be suppressed.

Sometimes "objective" language may confuse pupils. They could take nazi ideology as reality, if even unconsciously. The Russian textbook RUS 5 describes nazi ideology in the subchapter on "Ordinary fascism" as follows:

Slavs, Gypsies and Jews belong to inferior races. The inferior races were subject to extermination. Gypsies and Jews had to be exterminated at once ... Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians have to vanish. They have to be used in the interests of the Reich. (RUS 5, p. 70)

Even if it is said that this reflects how the nazis thought about other peoples it may well cement existing prejudices in the pupils' minds. Under all circumstances, textbook authors should avoid to use the language of the perpetrators in their own text. It must be quite obvious who is speaking. Any quotation from the nazi terminology must give pupils the chance to discuss and to find their own way to talk about what the nazi called "inferior races", in their own words, without diminishing "the other". Still the best way to do this is to insert sources that are meant as material for discussion and reflection, not only for pure information.

The authors of this book draw a remarkable conclusion from the description of various population groups which were murdered under nazi occupation (p. 76). They argue that any state terror "without regard of circumstances, time and place" has only one logical way of development: it begins with the smaller units (groups, parties), it grows and then more and more it seizes new categories of the population. It concerns not only "not ours" but also takes in "ours". You cannot just sit and hope only Jews, Gypsies and communists will be shot.

Though many texts, such as the one quoted above, set the persecution of the Jews in the broader context of racism and genocide policies, almost all the textbooks of countries which were heavily occupied place the Holocaust under the overall theme of occupation policy and measures of persecution which were first and foremost directed against one's own people. Therefore, it is a subchapter of or just integrated into the text about persecution and occupation under the nazis in general. It is scarcely taken as a particular threat of global significance to humankind. As a rule, textbooks dealing with world history separately (such as the Russian ones) just mention the Jews as one of the persecuted groups without particular reference to the Holocaust.

In contrast to some of the English, Italian or Nordic textbooks, it is not seen as a universal challenge as it has its place in the national history.

Transnational migrations and ethnic conflicts

"The refugees were the grey-faced, shabbily dressed men, women and children who shuffled along Europe's roads in the first weeks of peace." This is the introduction to a short chapter about refugees after the second world war in the British textbook GB 4 (pp. 112-113). It goes on to state that "about 12 million of the 30 million refugees were Germans who had been driven from their homes in Czechoslovakia or what was now Poland", a comment which is rather unusual for a non-German textbook. Other groups are not mentioned by name, a fact that indirectly hints at the most difficult problem associated with this topic. Under what circumstances can someone be classified as a refugee? Authors are faced with a further difficulty when trying to describe the situation certain groups were in, and explaining why these people chose or were forced to flee. Unfortunately, the book just quoted gives only scant information on such themes and finishes with a brief statement about the role of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA): "And by the end of 1947, most of their work was done."

The transnational migrations which followed both wars are mainly dealt with in the textbooks of those countries affected by them. There are, however, remarkable exceptions (for example "Refugees" in GB 3; others can be found mainly in Italian textbooks). The overall figures given for those who forfeited their homes, lost their possessions and tried to relocate and establish a new life under such dire conditions varies from between 25 million to 30 million. Each author tends to emphasise one or another aspect of the migration issue, according to his or her individual interests. As a rule, they do not inform their readers that their textbooks cite just a few of the many groups affected. It is often unclear what authors are trying to emphasise – the number of people who had to leave their homes or what it means for a society as well as individuals to resettle large portions of a population. Pupils obviously need geographical orientation, factual information and background knowledge about the different groups and various reasons for migration and they should be encouraged to appreciate the richness of the multicultural environments resulting from these population movements. None of the many texts or maps seems to be able to cope successfully with this complex problem in all its ramifications. It would seem that the topic cannot be adequately treated within the confines of a history textbook.

Only rarely do the texts supply detailed information on the plight of ethnic minorities, refugees and migrations; the maps relating to this topic are often too confused. An Italian textbook (I 2, p. 302) has one section with the

following title: "Refugees in the post-war period". Here we find references to the 200 000 Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians who emigrated from the Soviet Union to the Baltic states, as well as to the 1 million Russians who emigrated to the west after the Bolshevik Revolution. Turkey and Greece also experienced population movements, affecting approximately 430 000 Turks and 1.35 million Greeks – facts that are not usually documented.

As far as the situation after the second world war is concerned, this particular book also adopts a more summary approach. We find a map which illustrates the expulsion of populations as well as the migration of workers in the 1950s.

The authors latch onto the same theme later in the section entitled "The reconstruction of society" – referring here to the period after the second world war. In this instance they are especially concerned with German, Italian, Russian and Polish refugees, together with those people who were forcibly resettled. They speak of 12 million refugees who were held in camps or deported by the Nazis. There is reference here to how international organisations helped to resettle displaced persons. However, none of the texts or the maps is able to convey the intricacies and complexities associated with the problem. This is quite simply an area that cannot be adequately treated in school textbooks. The subjective concerns of the authors tend, at this moment, to override an objective treatment of the overall problem.

Another Italian textbook tries to give as complete an account as possible, with a map and explanations. It also mentions the Jews who survived the persecution, most of whom emigrated to Israel. In all there were 25 million refugees (in other books we find a figure of 30 million) on the move, forced to give up their homes and, for the most part, all their possessions.

The topic of migration need not necessarily be treated from an intercultural perspective. The topic is sometimes dealt with from a national vantage point. Croatian textbooks, for example, emphasise the fact that emigrants from Croatia still have a very pronounced sense of patriotism. The large numbers that left Croatia at the turn of the century represent a "tragic loss for the nation" but, on the other hand, they founded organisations that promoted and reinforced a belief in Croatian nationalism; many of these people participated in "the war to defend the Republic of Croatia" (HR 1, p. 152).

Both the former and present-day Yugoslavia represent the conflict during the transition from the end of the communist system to a new, pluralistic and democratic Europe, which is dealt with more extensively in the textbooks of varying countries. Other problem areas are often mentioned. "A reawakening of the nations?" asks the French textbook (F 3, p. 166), referring to the Corsicans and Basques in France, the Flemings in Belgium, the Lombards in Italy and the problems in Northern Ireland. The "cruel" civil war in

Yugoslavia and the division of Czechoslovakia are also noted. "Ethnic and territorial conflict of the new states", referring to Armenia and Azerbaijan, and the "War between brothers" of the Yugoslav people are sections found in the Italian textbook I 2 (pp. 339-400). "The tragedy of Yugoslavia" is a chapter found in another Italian textbook (I 4). A difference is made clear between justified national consciousness and excessive, exclusive nationalism in the German textbook D 2.

But in Tito's Yugoslavia, the Croats and Slovenes also felt themselves to be at a disadvantage compared with the Serbs; the Serb, on the other hand, felt humiliated by the more economically successful Croats and Slovenes. ... During the first free elections the national powers were victorious ... they wanted to leave the state of Yugoslavia and found an independent national state, regardless of the fact that strong national minorities are living in almost all republics. Thus irreconcilable standpoints were built up through the kindling of national feeling. (D 2 p. 212)

The attempts of the United Nations and other organisations to restore peace are also dealt with (p. 212) and critical judgement is called for: "What can the western states do to strengthen democratic development in this region?" Most of the western European textbooks, however, present the Balkan region exclusively as a conflict ridden area fostering rather than combating stereotyped images which the pupils have already in mind when viewing TV or reading newspapers.

In the 20th century, certain countries, either individually or in concert, have instigated major conflicts that devastated the European continent and caused the loss of untold lives. Politicians in the United States as well as in Europe drew the conclusion that in a recovering Europe national interests have to be linked or even subordinated to European interests. No matter where one stands on this issue, the Nato intervention in Yugoslavia does prove that European co-operation can curb nationalist policies that fail to recognise basic human rights. Of course, that may renew the fear of a European power play which is dominated by the interest of the economically strongest states. In almost all of the textbooks from the Balkans this scepticism is still virulent.

Self-image and image of the other in the various republics that have emerged from the former Yugoslavia are first and foremost shaped by their mutual conflicts and the attempt to establish a national identity; they exclude each other from belonging to the community of European civilisation. Croatia and Serbia, in particular, view themselves as the defenders of civilisation and each other as the barbarians intent on destroying it. This situation is reflected in the history textbooks – recent events have precluded any attempts to reconcile their differences or concentrate on what they have in common. In Croatia the textbooks highlight the most important phases of the war for independence, stressing the fact that they fought a "just war" and exonerating any

crimes committed by their army. The authorial text is quite adamant about this; there is a clear tenor of patriotism and national unity, ruling out any form of contradiction:

The Croatian forces, who from the spring of 1991 were able to deploy more and better armoured equipment, inflicted great losses on the aggressors. They destroyed the enemy's tanks and planes, as well as his morale. The battles around Vukovar represent a lasting memorial to the heroism of the Croatian Army. The patriotism and courage shown by our soldiers in defending their homeland will serve as an example for future generations. All our people, at home and abroad, united in this struggle to oust the Serbian aggressor and establish a new Croatia that enjoys an international reputation for upholding the right to freedom and self-determination. (HR 2, p. 213)

We find detailed descriptions of the crimes committed against the Croatian population by the "Serbian aggressors" in 1991. The Serbs, portrayed as "merciless barbarians who ran amok", waged war with the intention of "genocide" (HR 2, p. 208-12). The authors claim that Croatia was forced to renounce its European links when it was compelled to join the Serb-dominated former Yugoslavia. In the long run, however, this attempt at subjugation was successfully resisted. This classification of Serbia as an anti-European, non-civilised state is powerfully underlined when the role of Serbia is compared with the Austrian occupation before the first world war. "Generally speaking, it can be said that the Austro-Hungarian government enabled Bosnia and Herzegovina to become part of Europe again. The population ... was able to embrace European values once more".¹

Croatian textbooks view European integration in a positive light, not least because the European Union lent support to the country in its struggle to achieve independence; however, there is only scant coverage of the various stages on the road to European unity. Again we find that emphasis is placed on Europe's contribution to Croatia's national history:

When the European Community became fully aware of the armed aggression and the plight of the civilian population it began to follow the course of events much more closely since it had a vital interest in keeping this part of Europe free from war. (HR 2, p. 209)

The textbooks from Bosnia and Herzegovina are more cautious in how they present the conflict with Serbia, devoting less space to the topic. They regard Bosnia and Herzegovina as a European region that differed from other states only in so far as it retained many cultural elements that had been introduced during the period of the Ottoman Empire. The books concede that there

1. *Povijest* [History], Tomislav Jelic (ed.), Franko Mirosevic *et al.* (Školska knjiga, Zagreb 1998). This book deals with the period from the 18th century to 1914.

were certain tensions between a Slavic culture and a culture based on Arabian, Turkish and oriental values but these tensions are seen wholly from a European perspective.

According to the Croatian textbook section entitled "Weaknesses which socialist Yugoslavia could not survive" there is no doubt that the responsibility for the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia lies with the Serbs and their disregard for the rights of other nationalities, particularly in Kosovo.

... Tito died in 1980 ... The economic and social crisis took a turn for the worse. In 1989, the rate of inflation amounted to more than 2 000%. In addition, the relations between the states continued to deteriorate, as in Kosovo, where the Serbian policy was violating most cruelly the human, citizen and national rights of the Albanians, who constitute the majority population in this area. (HR 1, p.40)

In order to round off the picture we should mention that Serbian textbooks regard the country as a victim of the policies implemented by the major European powers. Serbia is portrayed as a state entirely at the mercy of the whims of the United States and the Soviet Union/Russian Federation, countries that were, or are, only interested in their own imperialist and self-centred interests. The reader gets the impression that Serbia has been misunderstood and misused, especially since the Serbs themselves feel that they have done a great deal to benefit both Europe and the rest of the world.

The European Union was much more hesitant in taking up the cause of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a fact which is reflected in the author's text, when we read that although Europe was ready to recognise Bosnian sovereignty it did little to actually help defend the country. In fact, we are told, some European states preferred to support the "aggressor", thus calling into question their commitment to democratic principles, peaceful progress and cultural autonomy, "which, at least on paper, were to be the foundation stones of a new Europe". And so we can infer that the EU is regarded as the legitimate heir to the former powers that had dominated Europe for so long. From the perspective of the Balkan states the EU can never be seen in a completely positive light.

The more recent Bosnian textbooks are particularly sensitive when dealing with the armed conflicts that have taken place everywhere since the second world war. They include figures for casualties and refugees, something that occurs only rarely in the books of other Balkan states (see BiH 2, p. 106). In BiH 1 the chapter concerning the post-1945 period begins by listing the losses, both human and material, that the former Yugoslavia suffered during the second world war. The text states that, proportionally, "the Bosnian Muslims suffered more than others".

Investigación

El conflicto yugoslavo (1980-1995)

Los comienzos de la desintegración

Desde 1981, la región autónoma de **Kosovo**, en la que los albaneses suman casi el 80 % de la población, pretendía ser reconocida como república; el 20 % restante lo componía la minoría serbia y montenegrina. Los disturbios nacionalistas eran cada vez más intensos y más duramente reprimidos.

La LCY (Liga Comunista Yugoslava) dejó de existir en el XIV Congreso (1990). Ese año se celebraron elecciones multipartidistas y ganaron por mayoría los nacionalistas, con la excepción de Serbia y Montenegro, en donde triunfaron los comunistas, a pesar del hundimiento de los regímenes comunistas del Este europeo. En mayo de 1991, **Eslovenia y Croacia votaron la separación de la Federación Yugoslava**, cuyo ejército se hizo con el poder federal. En junio, Eslovenia y Croacia proclamaron oficialmente su independencia.

Inicio de la guerra civil

En julio de 1991, las tropas federales abandonaron Eslovenia, con lo que, de hecho, la Federación Yugoslava aceptó la **independencia eslovena**, pero se reanudó la **guerra en Croacia**: la actuación del ejército federal —en realidad, serbio— alcanzó niveles de genocidio.

El 15 de septiembre, la República de **Macedonia** proclamó su independencia, pero el reconocimiento internacional de su soberanía se vio bloqueado por Grecia, que deseaba la incorporación de Macedonia como provincia.

La **República de Bosnia-Herzegovina** proclamó su independencia el 3 de marzo de 1992 y fue rápido el reconocimiento internacional. Estaba compuesta por un 45 % de musulmanes, un 31 % de serbios (ortodoxos) y un 17 % de croatas (católicos). Los serbios de Bosnia se opusieron a la independencia de su república y constituyeron milicias armadas apoyadas por las fuerzas de la Federación Yugoslava, reducida ya a Serbia y Montenegro. El ejército bosnio, armado con material ligero, no pudo resistir el avance de las milicias y del ejército federal.

La indefensa población de Bosnia no pudo hacer nada para salvarse. Centos de mezquitas y templos católicos fueron pasto de las llamas, cientos de pueblos fueron arrasados y cientos de croatas y musulmanes. Estos dos pueblos se unieron entonces para luchar contra el agresor serbio, pero en muy pocas zonas de la república consiguieron detener su avance. [...]


La guerra ha causado ya alrededor de 150 000 muertos, 151 000 heridos y más de 2 000 000 de refugiados. Además de unos 12 100 paráliticos, aproximadamente 38 000 mujeres violadas y 156 000 detenidos en campos de concentración. Y la masacre continuará, porque nadie hace nada para evitarlo.

Bosnia-Herzegovina. Cróatas en la guerra
 Ana Echeverri Viza
 Ediciones

La **respuesta internacional** a la petición de ayuda de Bosnia fue el embargo de armas a los contendientes y el bloqueo a la Federación Yugoslava. El embargo de las armas sólo perjudicó a los bosnios, porque los serbios disponían de armamento pesado. El problema bosnio se complicó con la actitud de los croatas que también constituyeron milicias apoyadas por el ejército.

Después de que las repúblicas de Eslovenia, Croacia, Macedonia y Bosnia abandonaran la Federación Yugoslava, los dos restantes, Serbia y Montenegro, constituyeron el 21 de abril de 1992 la **República Federal Yugoslava**. En las elecciones volvió a ser elegido presidente Slobodan Milosevic, comunista de la línea dura y defensor a ultranza de la vieja idea de la *Gran Serbia*.

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The Bosnian Muslims were subjected to a most brutal policy of genocide during the second world war, a fact that merited no attention [in post-war Yugoslavia]. It was forbidden to talk about the matter, which more or less implied that the victims were of less significance than those of the other ethnic groups in Yugoslavia. (BiH 1, p. 119)

Concerning the Greek-Turkish antagonism after the first world war it can be said that the Greek authors are astonishingly restrained in their comments on the expulsion of the Greek population from Asia Minor and on the destruction of the Greek community in Smyrna. These tragic and violent events are regarded as one of the most traumatic defeats in modern Greek history; in former times their remembrance aroused national sentiment and hatred against the Turks. Now, they are being presented in a factual, more or less descriptive manner without stimulating negative feelings against the former enemy.

In a comprehensive article about the reshaping of Bulgarian nationalism in history textbooks over nearly one century, Snezhana Dimitrova and Naum Kaytchev characterise the still ambivalent opinion about the concept of the nation. They found in the Bulgarian history textbook published after the dissolution of the communist regime two different narratives:

On the one hand, a new geopolitical perspective was set up; the ... identification with "Europe" prevailed, a scheme which emphasised the "universal" rather than the national citizenship identification However, despite its ostentatious modernising and liberal wording, the 1993 textbook conceived and presented the "national question" as "a question of unification of Bulgarians in their ethnic borders."¹

The second narrative deals with the forming of the Bulgarian nation from the peace of San Stefano up to the breakdown of communism. It is concerned with the problem of "just borders" and national homogeneity. The first one is oriented towards European societies as a model for Bulgarian statehood and citizenship. Thus, for Bulgaria, Europe is not always seen in the same light: it never granted the Bulgarians "their ethnic borders" – an unresolved question which still affects the national consciousness. For building the new, post-communist Bulgarian society, however, there is no alternative than to adopt a modern concept of citizenship education which emphasises the values of the constitution. Both concepts are to be found in the textbook which presents, according to Dimitrova and Kaytchev, "a strange mixture of ethnic (Herder-type) and civic (French-type) nationalism".

1. Snezhana Dimitrova and Naum Kaytchev, "Bulgarian nationalism, articulated by the textbooks in modern Bulgarian history 1878-1996", in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research*, vol. 20 (1998) p. 51-70.

Even some of the new Czech textbooks with an remarkable integrated approach have been criticised for their traditional concept of what the nation represents. According to P. Ěornej¹ the prevailing meaning of the nation in countries of central and eastern Europe is based on an ethnic principle. It means that, for example, the Czech nation is understood as a community of people which share the ethnic characteristics of "real Czechs" (as for origin, language, cultural patterns, etc.) and not just as a community of all inhabitants of the Czech Republic. In this approach ethnic minorities are treated as separated or "non-Czech" from the majority population. Ěornej argues that this is somewhat reflected also in present-day history textbooks: an ethnocentric approach, which is a heritage of fixed stereotypes that arose in the 19th century, in the treatment of Czech and European history which has not been removed. Empirically an ethnocentric approach has been evidenced by Ěanik, who published some findings from his content analysis of present-day Czech history textbooks. He has found that some textbooks developed after 1990 present a biased view on German and Jewish minorities and their role in Czech history.²

Although the Macedonian textbooks underscore that, according to the curriculum, the history of the neighbouring peoples should be taken into account, this is done mainly from a Macedonian point of view. Neighbouring countries are treated according to the same scheme: it starts with basic information about the political system, followed by a sketchy overview on some economic issues and ending up with an almost obligatory critical review of the attempts at "denationalisation" and "assimilation" of the Macedonian minority living in the respective country. The pupils learn something about cultural life of the Macedonians but virtually nothing about the culture of the host country. Even statistical data (which is not often found in the books) about emigration in other countries are provided. On the one hand, minority politics of other countries – of Bulgaria in particular – are often criticised, and on the other, minority problems in one's own society are sometimes not even mentioned. Although history textbooks are going to be translated into minority languages, in "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" as well as in Romania for example, the minorities using these textbooks are often confronted with the point of view of the majority society only.

In western history textbooks, however, "the clash of civilisations" (D 4, p. 196) receives increasing attention in history textbooks. Western lifestyles and values are compared with life in Islamic societies or in so-called underdeveloped

1. P. Ěornej, *Problém evropské dimenze ve vyučování dějepisu* [Problems of European dimension in the teaching of history] in E. Walterová (ed.), *Evropská dimenze ve vzdělávání a v přípravě učitelů* (Pedagogická fak. UK, Prague 1996) pp. 141-148.

2. D. Ěanik, *Národ, národnost, menšiny a rasismus* [Nation, nationality, minorities and racism] (Institut pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku, Prague, 1996).

countries, from which many immigrants enter the industrialised European world. Also its societies can no longer be regarded as culturally homogenous. That is mainly presented as a mere fact. How to tackle it still seems to be an open question.

Europe: tradition and future

Is Europe able to stand up for itself as a “third power” between the “super-powers”, following the second world war? (D 2, p. 244). Posed as a question when seen from the time of the cold war, today this question is, explicitly or implicitly, given a positive answer in most textbooks.

At the end of the second world war, Europe seems to face a similar situation as it did in 1918: although some of its states belong to the victors, it has, on the whole, suffered a defeat and faces a fundamental new order:

1945 saw the onset of a new era in the world's history. The second world war put an end to Europe's leading role. ... Two countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, advanced to the position of superpowers – one of these being a non-European, the other a half-European state. (H 1, p. 143)¹

In the post-war era, Europe at first offers itself as an “area of conflict” and a place of “balanced terror” (D 1). It moves in the shadow of world powers and is usually not given a chapter of its own, as are the world powers. It is part of a divided world order and included in expressions such as “the west, western bloc, industrialised nations”, without being mentioned explicitly.

When describing the cold war phase, textbooks continue to prefer a relatively traditional form of presentation, which features political history, information on significant events, important politicians and arms systems as well as international alliances. The Dutch textbook, NL 4 (p. 204) states: “European unity is created by America.” Through their mutual co-operation, Europeans can enjoy sunny peace and protect themselves against the communist storm, as a poster puts it very nicely. The British textbook GB 4 adopts a typically controversial position by looking at the options open to the allies after 1945. Could the west have prolonged co-operation with the Soviet Union despite Stalin's mistrust? After all, the United States was interested in promoting free trade and Britain was in favour of a policy of rapid reconstruction. The cold war was not a foregone conclusion; it was the result of concrete decisions and specific policies arising from the mutual mistrust that two completely different political systems engendered. Most of the textbooks analysed follow this line of argument but, unlike GB 4, they do not allow the pupils to make their own judgements.

1. Similarly, H 3, p. 120, states: “Europe, which used to dominate the world's politics, is now about to lose its dominant role.”

Textbooks from countries which came under the influence of the Soviet Union emphasise the role of the superpowers on the one hand and their own political powerlessness on the other. The outcome seems as inevitable as the process leading there: "An iron curtain has descended between the eastern and western part of Europe" (H 1, p. 246). The contrast between the new superpowers, who were at opposite ideological poles, leaves European countries with no room for individual political decision making. There are no alternatives available; the situation seems to invariably lead to a confrontation between the blocs. The authors of the Slovak textbook SK 1 are particularly careful in the way they phrase their comments. They try to make the reader understand why many people were not averse to communism after the war:

Stalin attempted to extend his influence in those countries that had been liberated by the Red Army. His aim was to consolidate the position of the Communist Parties in these countries so that he could, *de facto*, control the policies of their governments. This tactic was facilitated by the fact that in several states the Communist Party had gained a certain reputation because they had actively opposed fascism. This explains why communists participated in the post-war governments of Czechoslovakia, Italy and France. (SK 1, p. 42)

Against the all-too-visible backdrop of the cold war, European integration begins to take shape:

In 1952 six capitalist countries constituted the European Coal and Steel Community – the first real union. The European Economic Community, the EEC, meant co-operation on a wider basis ... The leading member states of the EC are (West) Germany and France ... Fear of threat posed by the Soviet Union played a major role in the emergence of western European unity. Since western Europe was not able to defend itself, it submitted to the military and political superiority of the United States. However, Europe continued in its efforts to counterbalance the economical preponderance of the Americans (and later of the Japanese). This was the EEC's purpose. (H 1, p. 266)

In the former textbooks influenced by communist ideology, we find that institutions in western Europe, such as the EEC, used to be seen simply as an extension of the United States' attempt to threaten the communist bloc. Now they are covered much more objectively. The Slovak textbook examined points out that the idea of an integrated and unified Europe was born 50 years ago; contrary to the opinion of many pupils, it is not a development that has only set in since the collapse of the Soviet bloc.

It is only later on that "the construction of Europe" (F 1 and F 2) is shown in detail in most textbooks of the European Union member states. Europe's increasing size is visualised by means of maps. Mainly, the European

Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Parliament are explained in more detail; other organisations and institutions are often just named. The French textbooks deal with the individual stages in a particularly informative manner, with reference to French interests as well as the motivations of the other member states.

In the Balkan textbooks analysed, the establishment and integration of European institutions are usually covered only in a very general and haphazard manner. The endeavours to achieve European integration are firmly placed in the post-war period and are regarded as being primarily of a political and economic nature. Unlike most textbooks from eastern and south-east Europe, the two from Bosnia and Herzegovina depart from a purely factual presentation in order to investigate the pros and cons connected with the idea and the process of European integration. They deal with the various stages, namely the foundation of the EEC, the European Parliament and the expansion that led to "the Europe of twelve states" (that is the European Union), which has since grown further. The authors consider the EU to be a powerful economic force which has resulted from the idea of European integration and the advent of the Single Market. They believe that "Europe can be reborn now that the communist bloc has collapsed". Nevertheless, we find references to certain problems, for example the destruction of agricultural produce by member states, "simply to prevent prices from falling" (BiH 2, p. 107; also BiH 1, p. 116). Critical comments like this are rarely found in the Croatian history textbooks, which on the whole are full of optimism concerning future progress. A free market economy, democracy and pluralism are the values that characterise western civilisation and the authors feel that Croatia is now returning to its European roots.

Eastern Europe carries more weight in almost all the textbooks from Germany, England, France and Italy, as compared with textbooks published in the 1980s, although information about the political and economic system of the eastern European states is still scarce or almost exclusively related to the most recent events in the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, the national uprisings of the 1950s and 1960s are dealt with (for example excerpts from radio broadcasts reporting on the Hungarian uprising of 1956 in D 1, p. 145) as well as the movements which led to perestroika (D 2, pp. 208-215), giving coverage to its development in individual countries such as the former Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and so forth. After the publication of the German-Polish recommendations for textbooks, which resulted in widespread public debate, the relations between Poland and Germany were examined in more detail, at least in the school books used in the Federal Republic. Since then, Poland has been viewed as a precursor of the move towards democracy in eastern Europe. In a comparison of German and French textbooks we find that *Solidarność* is regarded as a prime mover in

transforming the role that Poland played in this development, namely from passive to active. At the same time these textbooks point out that there is no guarantee that the political and economic reforms adopted by the former socialist states will lead to success. The situation is still precarious.¹

The German textbook D 2 characterises the changes in eastern Europe with words that are easily remembered. It describes the revolution in Hungary as “quiet”, in Czechoslovakia as “gentle”, in Romania as “bloody” and selects the word “war” for Yugoslavia. But how is the process of democratisation related to Europe? Rather than unifying, Europe seems to be splitting up into autonomous regions and states. This book D 2, p. 215, gives a complicated account of the contradictions between national, ethnic aspirations and the desire for European integration. Included is a quotation from the Hungarian writer, Györgi Konrad:

At the moment, in eastern Europe the movement is away from European integration, and yet everyone still claims that this is their aim – a paradoxical situation. In fact, we are witnessing the disintegration of Europe, with states and regions becoming ever smaller. (D 2, p. 215)

Whether required by the curricula or not, the majority of the history textbooks we analysed cover the world historical changes which occurred at the turn of the 1980s to the 1990s. They have thus already become history. They have created new parameters for the ongoing development of the political and economic situation in Europe. Some textbook authors try to indicate possible future lines of development which could come to dominate the 21st century; others close with a matter-of-fact report on the disintegration of the socialist systems and the establishment or re-establishment of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. The Hungarian textbooks, for instance, end with the year 1990, but not without having determined Hungary's position in an enlarged Europe.

The Russian textbook RUS 2 interprets the collapse of the communist system as a return to a more basic community:

The collapse of the totalitarian regimes in eastern Europe has created a new situation – European civilisation has been reunited on the basis of a liberal democratic system and a socially orientated economy. (RUS 2 p. 256).

Two other Russian textbooks (RUS 1 and 4) bring forward similar arguments. In the light of this unequivocal endorsement of unity and democracy in Europe, it comes as no surprise to find that the Russian textbooks are highly

1. Berit Pleitner, *Europa – die unitas multiplex. Zur europäischen Identität am Beispiel der Wahrnehmung Polens in deutschen und französischen Schulgeschichtsbüchern* [European identity and the images of Poland in German and French history textbooks] in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research*, vol. 20 (1998) pp. 19-34.

critical of socialism. One (RUS 1) names a chapter dealing with the period after 1945 "Totalitarian socialism in the east".

How can pupils manage to find their way in the "European home?" The perspectives of the new Europe, the clash of traditions as well as new expectations, which particularly characterise the young, are only seldom mentioned in the textbooks, although the younger generation has its own opinion on these subjects (D 2, pp. 246-247). The drawings in this textbook were done by pupils during a history lesson. They are particularly good for stimulating discussion about prejudices against certain populations or states in Europe. Like the caricatures which follow, they do not embody a final point of view but are meant to encourage others to form their own opinion. Of course, such a method can involve certain risks. Prejudices may play a central role in the classroom discussion and thus preclude any kind of rational judgement. In textbooks from countries and societies that have a democratic tradition, at least since 1945, we often find similar illustrations or source material, which, on occasion, can be very provocative. Is Europe a fortress, trying at all costs to keep out anyone who does not rightfully belong? Or will it collapse like a pack of cards when challenged from without? The textbook supplies material for discussion but avoids giving any set answers that could be memorised and tested. Any conclusions must be reached during the lesson itself; they do not appear in the book.

Many of the textbooks also deal with the obstacles that still stand in the way of further integration. The Italian textbook I 1 is particularly concerned with this problem, entitling one chapter "The difficult road to European unity". The Dutch textbooks (see NL 4, p. 241) are exceptional in that they contain both sides of the debate: should the member states retain independence and refuse to let the European Parliament supplant their own parliaments or should the European Commission in Brussels gradually take on the role of a supranational government, answerable only to Strasbourg as the democratically elected legislative body for Europe? The Norwegian textbooks discuss the pros and cons of European integration critically. The message is, nevertheless, positive. As one headline puts it: "Europe on its way towards unity" (N 4).

The Greek textbook GR 1 gives a brief and factual account of how the EEC developed. The decision of Greece to join is described as "an historic achievement". The aim of European co-operation is described as follows:

Together Europe can secure the economic and social progress of the member states and continue to improve their standard of living. The final objective is to consolidate and maintain peace and freedom for every individual. (GR 1 p. 376)

The German textbook D 2 takes the opportunity at this point to define the western world:

[Its solidarity] is based on common economic, political and cultural foundations; we therefore speak of a joint "western civilisation". This is based on the principles of free democracy and market economy, but also encompasses the planning of living conditions which will determine mass consumption, wealth and high-technological communication through the freedom of the individual. Europe and America are today the western world – despite all differences. (D 2, 1996 edition, p. 163)

This is the kind of standard that will determine whether a country can be classed as European in a cultural rather than a geographical sense. So what appears to be a description of the state of affairs is, in fact, a kind of model that defines a political and a moral norm. Europe becomes the arbiter in all matters concerning ethical problems and stands for much more than the individual states do, although some of them may embody this ideal. The concept of Europe, at this level, implies a very clear and specific form of how people from different countries can live together; in other words, the epitomisation of a civil society. At the same time it includes the common political philosophy shared by the European states, such as the willingness to embrace democratic reforms and to encourage public debate. As a result, the term "Europe" can also be used to exclude a number of states that might have geographical claims to membership but whose constitution does not conform to the moral and ethical definition that is now associated with this concept.

Such enthusiasm is lacking in the English textbooks; they attribute a double meaning to the modern conception of Europe – continental Europe and Europe including Great Britain. The main focus of English history-teaching units clearly lies in the period before 1945 and in the post-war order immediately following the second world war. The United Nations is treated with approximately the same emphasis as the European institutions. From the British point of view, it is patience above all which is needed to understand the process of unity. Active supporters of the integration process, its historical roots and aims are hardly mentioned. An extreme example of this attitude is the following:

Political changes – Europe: Europe is slowly moving towards union. The member countries of the European Union are wondering whether to have a single currency and, eventually, one parliament in Brussels [good-bye, Strasbourg]. All these changes would have been unthinkable just a few years ago – and yet they have happened. Whatever the future holds, great effort and tolerance will be needed to meet the coming changes and to ensure the safety of the planet. (GB 3, p. 95)

A German textbook (D 1, p. 249) states that we in the west have to re-examine our idea of Europe, as "eastern Europe is standing in front of the door".

The west should open itself up to the east – a viewpoint which is mainly supported by the textbooks of the former socialistic states. Various options are discussed (“Expansion and/or increase”, D 1 p. 249). Hopes and disappointments among the population with regard to “wrestling to find the right way” are described (D 1, p. 249). In particular, the still underdeveloped control of European institutions is critically observed (D 2, p. 243, “Is this ‘European tiredness’ to be attributed to the European Parliament having no decisive influence?”).

The textbooks from central European countries use specific terms to differentiate between the regions across Europe. Being located in the middle between east and west seems to create a need for a clear definition of their own position within Europe. Hungarian history textbooks therefore speak of northern, southern, western, eastern, south-east, central-east, and central Europe, but only the first three regions are more or less clearly defined. Frequently, the individual regions imply not only a geographical but also a socio-cultural position. Northern Europe implies the effectuation of a highly developed, democratic social state, achieved as early as the years between the wars, at a time when dictatorships or authoritarian regimes came to power in many other European countries (see H 1, p. 30). Astonishingly, the Albanian textbooks as well feature the Nordic countries between the wars in a similar way. Eastern Europe is usually equated with the Soviet Union or its territory, so that when talking about the cold war era the term can stand for the entire eastern bloc, whereas when dealing with the interim war years and the time since perestroika it usually refers only to the Soviet Union/Russian Federation (and the Commonwealth of Independent States). Apart from that, the authors differentiate between “eastern, central and central-eastern Europe”. However, as a few samples quoted from Hungarian textbooks illustrate, these terms are used neither consistently nor clearly.¹

The cultural break which the era under the Soviet Union entailed for the central European countries is described graphically in the following quote by the Hungarian author Mátyás Helméczy:

In the spring of 1949, our country was transformed into a one party state in accordance with the Soviet model. It was torn from the midst of the

1. The following sentences demonstrate the inconsistencies in the use of the terms: “In the interim years [central and eastern Europe] fell more and more behind western Europe” (H 1, p. 22). “In eastern Europe the ‘Stalin model’ was put into effect” (H 1, p. 284). “In the oppressed central European countries the first signs of a crisis could be made out” (H 1, p. 287). “The dictatorship based on the one party system and the rule of the Soviet Union in central and eastern Europe found itself endangered” (H 1, p. 88). “As of the mid 1960s, eastern Europe experienced calmer and more harmonious years” (H 1, p. 288). “In the 1970s and 1980s, the economic development of the eastern European countries began lagging” (H 1, p. 290). “Gorbachev’s policy not only reformed the Soviet Union but also sparked off the revolutions in central and eastern Europe” (H 1, p. 291). “However Gorbachev changed the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and gradually ‘surrendered’ eastern Europe” (H 1, p. 339).

countries belonging to the west and from a tradition that had existed for more than a thousand years and was forced to join the east. This was a fundamental change in our situation. We used to belong to the central zone of the three European regions. With respect to culture, religion, social structure, and economic system, our boundaries used to be fluid in the west but quite fixed in the east. Now the contrary is the case (H 3, p. 140)

According to Helméczy, this historically established zone called "central eastern Europe" is located in an "area encompassing almost 1.5 million square kilometres and lying between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean, Germany and Russia, the Empire of the Habsburgs and Turkey." (H 3, p. 14)

Before being forced to integrate themselves into the eastern bloc, the Baltic states and the Czech Republic, analogue to Hungary, also saw themselves as belonging to a central region in Europe, between east and west, as it were. During the communist era, they were torn from Europe, then belonged to the "east" and are now either "joining Europe" or "returning to Europe".

Despite the widespread motto "Unity in diversity", the idea of a "unified Europe consisting of regions" is hardly reflected in the textbooks. Western Europe is the centre of the action; it is the point of reference around which the text revolves. Western Europe previously (1919 and 1945) managed to rise from the ashes (H 1, pp. 265-266); today it constitutes the third largest centre of world trade next to Japan and the United States (H 1, p. 259). It is characterised by a successful market economy and is in the process of tackling the second scientific-technological revolution (H 3, p. 153). The term "Europe" is associated with democracy, wealth, a fair tax system, a parliamentary system, and democratic government changes (H 3, p. 38-39). Attributes such as these reinforce the pupil's conviction that despite having to cope with problems such as environmental protection, unemployment, terrorism, Aids and so forth, western Europe can look forward to dynamic developments (H 1, p. 270). Striving towards integration into Europe is therefore fully justifiable.

Even when considering the tension between unity and diversity, the Hungarian textbook H 1 (p. 268-270), comes to the conclusion that this harmony of contrasts is supposed to characterise only western Europe (a happy western Europe, one feels inclined to add); the differences, however, between western and eastern Europe are to be overcome as soon as possible. The question whether the east might not want to proceed along its own (unique) path towards integration, much as the countries in the west did who only slowly joined the European Community or the European Union, is actually never raised. Even today, the European Union is still divided into sub-units that do not include all countries, as for example in the case of the

monetary union. And yet, from an eastern as well as a western point of view, it is the east that is expected to catch up with “western” standards.

One of the Italian textbooks has a particularly comprehensive chapter on aspects of European integration, unity and diversity. At times, the language transcends the sober, informative tone that usually prevails in such descriptions:

The member states of the EU display great differences, not only in their geographical size but also in their political and economic significance; each state has its own history; each nation has its own characteristics, customs and lifestyles, which differ widely from each other. However, in the European Union each country has the same status. This can be seen from the fact that the stars of the European flag are equal in size (I 4, pp. 342-362)

The book goes on to say that after the horrors of two world wars, the citizens of Europe are fully committed to preserving peace.

The German textbook D 1, p. 242, in dealing with questions regarding the future in a way no other textbook does, is the only one to include a future date in the total time frame:

The year 1999 – a common currency (euro) is to be introduced in all countries of the EU which fulfil certain economic conditions. (D 1, p. 242)

The 1992 edition of the German textbook D 4 presents, in the very last chapter, a singular comparison of the everyday life of young people in industrialised and developing countries. Unfortunately, we can no longer find this section in the latest edition of 1997. The authors included a new chapter on “The world after the breakdown of communism”. Obviously they did not want to add many more pages, thus they deleted the chapter about how young people live at the same time, but at different pace of development. It was one of the rare examples of a socio-cultural analysis seen under a historical aspect. Changes in textbooks are not always for the better.

Europe as idea and concept

In this section we investigate whether textbooks reflect the changes that have taken place since 1989-90. Do they convey a new concept of what is meant by Europe, that is do they include eastern Europe? Up till now history textbooks from both western and eastern Europe have tended to adopt a definition of Europe that is essentially based on western European conceptions. This became very clear as a result of the quantitative analysis, which showed that countries such as Germany, Great Britain and France were over-represented. Is there any chance that this bias can be altered?

The analysis carried out by the Georg Eckert Institute in 1995 already showed that some of the Italian textbooks transmitted the most enthusiasm for

Europe, while also dealing with political and philosophical dimensions. This has been verified. The Italian textbook I 5 states "the idea of European unity is old, going back to the time of Charles the Great and his Holy Roman Empire". After the two world wars, the idea of united countries brought about by the encouragement of unity between people has been continued. The text ends with a recommendation to the pupils:

The idea of European unity is of extreme importance and constitutes a basic element of contemporary history. We recommend that you follow the development of the idea of European unity because it is the focal point of our hopes. (I 5, p. 7)

A similar approach is also followed by a German textbook, which explicitly posed in the first edition of 1992 the justifiable, but seldom discussed question, "Europe – more than just a geographical term?" (D 4, 1992, p. 120). The new edition poses the questions "Europe – on the way to a federal state?" and "What is Europe?" (D 4, p. 141). There is, however, no answer, only further question marks:

It is not easy to delineate this continent, even geographically. On the map, Europe looks like an appendage to the gigantic Asian continent. In the North, West and South, sea delimits its borders; but how far does it extend in the East? To the Don, to the Urals or even further?

History does not furnish a clear answer as well: Is Europe historically defined by the boundaries of Charles the Great's Empire, by those of Christendom or the sphere of influence of Human Rights and Enlightenment ideas?

From the political viewpoint, Europe has been conceived up to the collapse of the eastern bloc as the European unification of the western democratic states. Now that the Soviet system has broken down, the question must be raised again: What is Europe? How should European integration look? Is Europe on the way to becoming a federal state? In one of the following sub-chapters the same question is taken up again. Now, the authors go a little bit deeper into the "idea" of Europe. Everything which is common knowledge regarding the Middle Ages in other textbooks is repeated here and at the same time a leap is made to the present:

- Charles the Great as "the father of Europe";
- Christian tradition as a common foundation ("as the Christian Occident, Europe defended itself against advancing Muslims, whereby Russia was involved in this defence");
- the Gothic and Baroque periods as cultural heritage;
- education and human rights as new basic values;
- industrialisation as an economic motor;
- imperialism and nationalism as dangers to unity.

In an exemplary manner, it is shown here how the definition of unity also creates a criterion of exclusion, which even points at the common enemy, for example the Muslims.

The authors from states that have gained or regained their sovereignty are at pains to convince young readers that they all now belong to Europe. The Croatian textbook HR 2 (p. 192) tries to promote this European identity by using the expression "we, as a traditionally European country". They maintain that the elections held in 1990 ensured "the definite and long-lasting integration of Croatia into western European civilisation, and this has always been Croatia's rightful position in the world" (HR 1, p. 143), because Croatia is "an old European country that has always embraced the Catholic faith" (HR 2, p. 192). The most recent conflicts in this region have led authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina (and to a greater degree authors from Serbia) to adopt a more critical stance *vis-à-vis* Europe; the Bosnians feel European Union policies were a "failure", the Serbs regard them as "treachery". Despite all such criticism, we can trace an unmistakable interest and continuing desire to participate in the further process of European integration (even in Serbian textbooks, at least prior to the Kosovo conflict).

But perhaps this occasionally ambivalent attitude towards Europe will prove to be one of the strengths of future textbooks from south-east Europe. As we have already shown, the latest textbooks from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia would seem to justify this view. This approach, which we might term a "Balkan perspective", could encourage authors to concentrate less on being dependent from European power politics but to shed light on the particularities of the region. Hitherto we find most emphasis is placed on the role of the larger countries rather than on the diversity that results from the different, sometimes contradictory cultures prevailing in smaller states and regions. As we have noted, Islamic culture is covered in the Bosnian textbooks, which also contain a remarkably European approach to the most important developments of the 19th century – a period which is not analysed in the present study.

However, this approach could be continued and successfully applied to an interpretation of 20th century history. A new history textbook series has already taken steps in that direction, but unfortunately the volume dealing with the 20th century is not yet available. The schoolbooks are mostly concerned with the problems of gaining or regaining independence in the 20th century period, thus ignoring political, industrial and cultural issues in a wider European context. Europe is only of interest when it influences the course of national history. The authors often imply that an understanding of national history is a prerequisite for any further interpretation of international affairs but the pupils actually gain no further insights into the problems concerning nation-states and European integration.

As the history textbooks concentrate on the conflicts between the Balkan countries in a way similar to those from western Europe, they tend to reinforce stereotyped views instead of refuting them and featuring a broader image of the politico-cultural climate in the region.

In his introduction to the analysis of history textbooks from the Balkans, Tzvetan Tzvetanski concludes:

Speaking about the Balkan history textbooks, I would not like to omit discussing the balance between our native Balkan history and the history of the world. With the exception of the Macedonian history textbooks, native history is generally not viewed as something separately Balkan, nor is dealt with as such. A certain distance from our Balkan affiliation is demonstrated ... through some degree of indifference towards essential points in our interrelations – cultural connections and mutual influence, Balkan cooperation, common and different features in the state structure. Such an attitude is based upon the wish to underline the specific cultural role that the respective country has played in a wider civilisational context ... for the history of Western Europe.¹

All the schoolbooks from the Balkan region are adamant about the fact that their particular state is a part of Europe. Two points, however, should be reiterated: although the “western-style” textbooks now in use usually identify the east with the Russian Federation and still regard the Balkans mainly as a politically unstable region, the Balkan textbooks could and might be the first to discard such stereotypical views of south-east Europe. However, before this can happen there must be a change in the underlying mentality of the authors; the smaller European states often seem to have an inferiority complex *vis-à-vis* the larger countries, which are always portrayed as the dominant force in European politics and are therefore also seen as responsible for what happens. There will have to be more critical reflection on the role that small states must play within a wider Europe.

Modern Europe has arisen from the experiences of war and self-destruction. Several textbooks emphasise peaceful solutions to conflict, with which the idea of Europe is to be combined.

The German textbook D 5 (p. 335) draws a clearly positive balance regarding the movement towards European unity, letting history speak for itself:

History's answer is peace in the sense of silenced weapons for two generations (“negative peace”). Freedom, safety, material wealth, chances of personal development, a European partnership with a Franco-German friendship after such terrible wars (“positive peace”). Fifty years after

1. Tzvetan Tzvetanski, “The textbooks of history: ‘we’ and ‘the others’”, op. cit., p. 9.

the end of the second world war, European integration has made tremendous progress.”¹

The majority of the Russian textbooks also give a positive account of Europe’s future perspectives. They even espouse a general theory of progress and modernisation. The Russian textbook RUS 2 (p. 6) contends that:

History has shown us that socialism is not a viable alternative to liberal democracy. Most of the former socialist states as well as many others that were constituted along socialist lines have realised that the European form of capitalism is the only way to modernise society. This has resulted in the re-establishment of global unity at the end of the 20th century.

This textbook goes on to state that society will be modernised:

... within the framework of democracy ... giving due consideration to the rights and freedoms of each individual. This is why, at the end of the 20th century, the struggle for individual freedom and the rejection of any form of despotism have attained such an important significance ... The varied experiences of human beings from different countries and continents enable them to gradually form values that are of general validity and that can be adopted by the whole of mankind. Our century is characterised by a move towards globalisation, international understanding and integration, allowing us to appreciate both the unity and the diversity of the world.

The expression “European civilisation” is used consistently by two Russian textbooks (RUS 1 and RUS 2). They seem to split up the world into spheres of civilisation that have different prospects for development. Obviously the term “civilisation” serves as a substitute for “social formations”, a term derived from the attempts of historical materialism to explain how societies come into being. The first of these (RUS 1, p. 15) states that, for Europeans, “the individual human being was of the essence” (p. 17), whereas other civilisations were more interested in “the human being’s role and position in the organisation of society.”² Referring to decolonisation, the textbook maintains that there are “groups of civilisations” that remain stable:

Large areas of the world were dominated by certain cultures and civilisations that resisted the influence of Europe. There are four such groups in

1. This quotation is found in a chapter devoted to the subject of war and peace in a cross-section from ancient history until the present. This chapter can be found in other German textbooks, as it is required by the curriculum of one federal state. Surprisingly, it is the only chapter in the book which treats Europe extensively.

2. “One characteristic of European civilisation is the recognition that each individual has certain rights, in particular the right to hold property ... [The Industrial Revolution] allowed Europe to become economically independent from the rest of the world and enabled it to become the predominant military power ... The hegemony of Europe meant a radical change for the rest of the world; in a certain sense the world was unified. Other civilisations such as those of India, China and the Islamic world could no longer exist in isolation. They were now all forced to come into contact with Europeans.” A similar line of argument can be found in RUS 2 (p. 5).

Asia and Africa: (1) the Chinese-Confucian group (China, Japan, Vietnam, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore); (2) the Indo-Buddhist-Muslim group (India, Pakistan, Southeast Asia); (3) the Arab-Muslim group (Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, the Maghreb states); and (4) Central and South Africa (dozens of different states, tribes and military alliances that cannot be exactly defined). (p. 258)

Has Huntington's concept of a "clash of civilisations" found new followers among Russian textbook authors?

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In general, it can be stated that the histories of individual nations or states which still have the most prominent place in the presentation of contemporary history are generally imbedded in a mainly European context. The stages of overall European development in this century are taken into account though often not explicitly. The major events which had a lasting impact on individual states or Europe as a whole are mentioned. All the textbooks analysed do not only convey knowledge but also try to develop a sense of historical understanding and analysis – although they differ considerably in emphasis and in the methods applied to reach this goal. As textbooks must be seen against the pedagogical background of each country it does not make sense to give detailed recommendations for the presentation of the European dimension in history textbooks. On the one hand, they must be adjusted to the special needs of the pupils and the divergent curricula as well as marketing structures. On the other, the variety of topics addressed and skills to be learned is so vast that the best recommendation is to select from the examples offered in the analyses what fills the gap and suits the pedagogical environment, as different as they are, in the various countries. Hardly any critical issue, be it omissions or distortions, one-sided approaches and so forth, can be identified which would apply to all the textbooks examined. What is totally lacking in one, is dealt with in another in length and depth. To combine all the positive items, however, is not feasible. We would bypass a clear structure and produce a thick book considered unreadable by the young.

In many countries the history syllabus will continue to follow a chronological pattern. Many teachers find that this clearly defined structure is the most suitable for their pupils because it enables them to remember important themes and events according to a system they are familiar with. Nevertheless, in the Council of Europe's seminars for teachers, the shortcomings of the chronological model have come in for criticism in that it was impractical for classroom purposes. It was impossible to teach everything and treat themes with sufficient depth. Instead, three turning points in Europe in the 20th century were identified as being the focal points around various developments which could be taught within a local, European or world context. These were: 1917, 1945 and 1989.

Quite clearly, we cannot concentrate only on these three focal points. However, this approach does provide us with the possibility to impose some

kind of order on the diverse elements that have characterised 20th century history. From a methodological point of view, it is clearly suitable for treating the overall significance of particular events first, before looking more closely at the influence these have had on national or regional issues. This approach assumes that history is no longer a subject concerned solely with national history. Instead, the emphasis lies on events and aspects that have assumed a supranational or international significance.

There can be no doubt that there "is a good deal of knowledge taught from all perspectives on the history of the great powers, but a good deal of ignorance is prevalent in the history of the smaller, less dominant states of Europe. This ignorance needs to be addressed, both in our universities and our schools". However, we are all aware that history, as a school subject, cannot be all-inclusive. Time alone places restrictions on what can be taught, and thus priorities must be set. Be this as it may, there are good arguments for:

- taking a much closer look at certain political and economic phenomena within Europe, for instance in the arts and also everyday life, that have influenced the smaller and "less important" European states;
- textbooks which pay more attention to how these smaller, neighbouring states have contributed to historical developments;
- adopting an interdisciplinary approach in this matter since research has shown that, as a rule, geography textbooks supply more information about current affairs than do history textbooks.

What can be identified is perhaps a problem which all history textbook authors have to face when dealing with the new, enlarged Europe. There are joint organisations, a lot of common activities and a certain understanding that the peoples of Europe are growing together in the long run. That is the immanent perspective of the stream of European development as presented in almost all of the textbooks. That is what we "learned" from the war experiences, from the fighting inside Europe. It is the new message after the collapse of the communist system, openly expressed or given as an underlying assumption. History, however, does not really support this view. The pace of development, the role of tradition, orientation towards ongoing modernisation and cultural backgrounds are so different that future expectations and historical experience hardly match. The definitions of Europe as presented, for example in some Italian or German textbooks, appear to be idealistic. That means they are not based on historical thinking. Where authors, however, do not even try to characterise the main features of Europe, but simply describe its factual development, Europe cannot be conceptualised. They may inculcate considerable information or knowledge into pupils but they do nothing to develop their sense of understanding.

Surprisingly, the development of new textbooks takes much longer time than anticipated. This also holds true for western European countries with open textbook markets such as Great Britain or Germany. In the first years after the collapse of the communist system, nearly every country under examination coped with the new situation by adding to textbooks a few pages which discussed events of 1989 and afterwards. A new, integrated narrative text, which throws a different light on the entire epoch since 1945, can be found only in textbooks published in recent years. In addition, publishers have to wait for new curricula or guidelines to come into effect before developing a new design for their textbooks. In this respect, the result of this study can only be provisional. In a couple of years, some new textbooks series will be available, for example, in Germany, France, Italy and Lithuania.

It is to be hoped that recommendations evolving from this study can offer some useful guidelines for textbooks authors and curriculum developers.

School texts should at least begin to grasp a greater understanding of the significance of Europe throughout history¹ and of what it means today in its various contextual aspects. This should not require great expense or much more space in texts.

Authors need only explain to pupils in greater detail the different ways of referring to Europe and show that Europe itself represents a variable concept which changes through history, both in the definition of its components and in its range as well as in people's awareness of it. Though European integration is a result of the second world war it is not confined to the historical conditions which shaped its "birth".

The prevailing "vagueness of vocabulary" when talking about Europe should and can be avoided.

The latter point has already been asked for by the Council of Europe in its summarising publication on history teaching and textbook revision *Against bias and prejudice*.² Some shortcomings last long.

It is also crucial to indicate to what degree European commonalities and differences are presented in the text. This goal could be reached by taking into account the following:

- *every author should clearly explain what concept of Europe he or she is using (for example whether the term introduced is in a geographic, political-economic or cultural context;*
- *does the concept of Europe change over time?*

1. Italics indicate the authors' key points.

2. *Against bias and prejudice*: recommendations adopted at Council of Europe conferences and symposia on history teaching and history textbooks (1953-95), Doc. CC-ED/HIST (95) 3 rev.

- *a greater understanding of the increasing economic, political and cultural links between the European states, which are no longer limited to the members of the European Union should be developed;*
- *if we want to foster an awareness of European inter-relationships we should not be satisfied with inserting European issues and addressing them only occasionally in many chapters;*
- *separate chapters or sections dealing with Europe will help pupils to express themselves and to develop concepts with which to talk about Europe and to exchange opinions with fellow pupils at home and abroad. These chapters are still missing or are too scarce and sketchy in many textbooks.*

In many textbooks the European dimension can only be discovered as an underlying assumption or hidden concept; only in a minority of the textbooks analysed has it been dealt with as a separate entity with its own history. It would be wrong to say that the European dimension has been successfully integrated; the term itself is frequently used but rarely explained, and, as our linguistic analysis shows, it has been interpreted in different ways. As a rule, pupils will not bother to conduct such an analysis themselves but tend rather to simply ignore short references to a wider European context which is not explained but only indicated through the quite general formula "in Europe". Very often we find the European dimension appearing as the standard phrase "this Europe", so we cannot expect pupils to have a clear understanding of how the particular topic relates to European history or how Europe's geographical borders are defined for the period under discussion.

This superficial treatment by means of short references whenever appropriate should be replaced by longer passages or chapters that deal explicitly and extensively with Europe as a topic in its own right. Pupils must realise that Europe plays a highly significant role in the course of 20th century history.

This can be achieved by concentrating rather than dispersing the relevant information, an approach that need not automatically result in a longer book. In some cases, where more than 50% of the presentation is devoted to national history, there should be a definite shift in emphasis. By no means should there be any reduction in the presentation of non-European history, which is often already at a minimum.

There can be no doubt about the importance of national traditions for creating an historical awareness and an identification with the political and cultural life of a state, but today, in the wider European context, this national consciousness cannot be promoted by an insular approach that ignores other countries and cultures or, even worse, stirs up resentment. This insight is by no means new; it was already acknowledged as one of the guiding principles

for the textbook revisions initiated by the League of Nations after the first world war. Unfortunately, it has continually been flouted by nationalist movements to the detriment of a wider and deeper understanding of peaceful international relations.

In the past, the great powers have always regarded Europe as a theatre in which they could compete among and against each other. Today the process of co-operation within Europe is accelerating, fostering the free flow of communication and intercourse among the various countries. This process represents the best opportunity for each state to expand and develop its economic and cultural strengths. At the turn of the century the major imperialist powers were seen as the essential embodiment of European hegemony. Today, the economic and political stability of even the most influential states, such as France, Germany and Great Britain would suffer major setbacks if co-operation within Europe were to fail. In the course of the 20th century we have witnessed a fundamental reversal in the relations between central European agencies and the individual states.

Only a few schoolbooks have realised these new ramifications of the European dimension for the separate states that constitute Europe. Most textbooks still concentrate on national history, that is a description of how the particular country developed, gained and maintained its independence, with only weak relations to European issues. This approach is basically a reiteration of historiography as applied to the 19th century.

The alternative is to *anchor firmly national history within its European context*, so that the history of Europe is seen as a gradual evolution from the attempts by one or more states to dominate the continent through to a consensus that peaceful relations among European states are much more beneficial. Thus a national perspective would gradually succumb to a European perspective.

Europe can no longer be simply regarded as a backdrop against which national interests or national sovereignty can be highlighted. The whole process of European integration must therefore be set against the narrative of national aspirations toward independence or sovereignty and there are many ways in which this can be accomplished in school textbooks.

Textbook authors should develop their own concept of Europe in order to emphasise the European dimension as a result of events in the 20th century. These books must provide material that can be discussed and debated by the pupils.

Obviously every textbook will endeavour to present a picture that enables pupils to identify with their own country and understand what they all have

in common. Identification, a feeling of belonging, patriotism, such values are instilled by narrating national history.

But what about Europe? What does Europe have to offer in this regard?

In Chapter 4 we have attempted to give authors possible answers to this question by supplying a number of quotations taken from textbooks that appear to identify and come to grips with this problem. The intention is not to provide definitive solutions on how to present a European dimension but rather how to arouse interest among pupils and teachers in approaching the topic from a completely different angle.

Until now Europe has featured above all in the authorial text; the topic is found less often in the tasks to be completed by pupils or in the illustrations and pictures that supplement the text. As a rule, this additional material is designed to enable pupils to delve deeper into a topic or to imprint the topic on their minds. Here we find only scant reference to the European dimension, from which we can conclude that the authors feel the topic is not worthy of closer attention. This attitude must be changed. Often schoolbooks contain much more material than can actually be covered or remembered and teachers have a tendency to select those themes which can easily be presented and understood or which belong to a traditional canon of knowledge. In contrast, Europe is a relatively new topic, so special attention must be paid to the layout and presentation in order to attract and motivate both the pupils and the teachers. *The European dimension should be incorporated in all the media that accompany a school textbook.*

A quantitative analysis of the amount of space devoted to the European dimension does not really give us a clear picture of the topic's significance for history lessons. The quality of the presentation is highly important if the topic is to have any chance of being successfully integrated.

Europe does not stand only for politics, economic associations, large conglomerates or technological innovations. These aspects are covered more or less sufficiently in many textbooks. *Europe is also a part of the pupils' daily lives.*

There is a strong European and global influence on what young people can or want to consume in their everyday lives – in their leisure time but also during the time they spend in school. Most history textbooks tend to ignore young people and their history, the differing preconditions for their development and the fact that, throughout the continent, there is an increasing tendency for them to have similar lifestyles and expectations for the future. One might assume that the social sciences should pay more attention to these aspects but social and cultural history are also gaining ground within the history curriculum and the European dimension must be included in this area

too.

The topic of Europe is no longer simply confined to a presentation of the most important institutions but there is still a definite lack of motivating material to convey a vivid and direct impression of what Europe really stands for. Tasks like those in the German textbook D 2 (see page 9) can encourage pupils to first express their own ideas, to breathe life into the subject and to gather more information about Europe from the textbooks they use.

History lessons usually do the exact opposite. The book prescribes what is to be learnt and how the pupils are to think. However, 20th century European history is so fascinating and diverse that it is virtually predestined for a completely different approach.

Pupils could exchange their ideas and views on Europe first and then investigate whether their textbook can help to develop or modify them. By this method pupils can adopt a critical stance towards their textbooks and ascertain which areas and topics are inadequately covered.

National histories are usually either tragic, heroic or simply successful. Authors and teachers are much less likely to succumb to these unequivocal interpretations when they deal with Europe as a topic.

For the pre-1945 period there is an almost exclusive emphasis on the economic and political crises that characterised the 1920s and the 1930s. *Very few authors embark on a description of the mentality and feelings of large sections of the population in many European countries. An attempt to cover this area of experience might possibly lead to a presentation of regions that are not normally covered in any history of the 20th century.* Is it right to ignore the Scandinavian countries simply because they were involved in fewer conflicts and aggression than so many other states? Surely there is good reason to analyse why peaceful relations and co-operation were feasible within Europe before the European Community came into existence.

The development of historical awareness among European peoples differs tremendously at any one time. This fact is difficult to convey in textbooks for the lower secondary level. At the moment we find narratives that concentrate almost exclusively on the conflict between the dictatorships and the democracies, with most emphasis being placed on the military and political consequences and the various wars that culminated in the cold war. This emphasis is all the greater in textbooks designed for younger pupils, since there are limits on the amount of material they can handle. We register a definite tendency to present 12- to 14-year-olds with vivid pictures and photos of massacres and war. However, with less teaching time and shorter textbooks at their disposal, authors must reflect more deeply on their selection criteria, since the simplified presentation and explanation of historical

processes can easily lead to a one-sided approach that puts too much strain on the young.

When there are detailed descriptions of war and genocide, authors should avoid concentrating solely on technological and military aspects.

There is also little to be gained from fostering polarised concepts such as friend-foe, good-evil or victim-culprit. Most of the time this is a simple way of avoiding the difficult problem of explaining why humans are prepared to commit inhuman atrocities. It may, for instance, be much more useful to analyse the various stages and events that led up to the establishment of a dictatorship rather than provide a detailed description of what happened afterwards. This approach can stimulate discussion about the ways and means of preventing such regimes from gaining power.

Sensitive topics which are, on the one hand, an integral part of national history but, on the other, have a European dimension are often not adequately presented in the normal chronological courses such as the *Shoah* or the different kinds of migrations that have taken place within Europe. In cases like these we would welcome supplementary material providing a wide spectrum of methodological approaches appropriate to the particular age group of learners. If this cannot be included in the textbook, additional teaching units should be made available.

The same may apply for of human rights, since the 20th century has witnessed so many abuses and infringements of international law in this area. There is rarely any attempt to speculate on how basic human rights can be introduced and upheld. Education in this subject seems to be by negative rather than positive example.

An exception is the new approach adopted by some of the more recent German textbooks that provide a cross-section for the topic of "war and peace". With the help of these books history lessons can convey a much deeper understanding of how long-lasting periods of peace have been secured in the past. Most of the textbooks in use, however, are more concerned with the outbreak of wars and the conflicts themselves than with the search for peaceful and non-violent solutions.

What is true for the topic of Europe is true for the topic of peace: it must be treated as a theme in its own right. Only then can organisations like the United Nations be covered in a manner that will encourage pupils to reflect on how peace can be secured and maintained. This theme is, in fact, much more important than war, aggression and military action.

As a result of the cold war and the bloc system authors in both the east and the west have more or less abandoned a wide-ranging concept of what con-

stitutes Europe. In fact, a divided Europe is regarded as the logical consequence of the first world war. The European dimension is initially associated with the decline and fall of the major imperialist powers, the threat from the former Soviet Union, the worldwide recession and national socialist aggression. The impression we get is highly negative.

Many texts in books from the former socialist states emphasise that they “are returning to Europe”. But which Europe do they mean? Most of the time it is western Europe that serves as a positive example, particularly in the form of its strongest and economically most powerful organisation, the European Union. So are we talking about integration into western Europe rather than the development of a new concept for an expanded Europe that also has its roots in the period prior to 1939?

This very wide-ranging concept of Europe is certainly present in coverage of the Middle Ages and, to some extent, of the 19th century but authors appear to have rejected it when dealing with the post-1918 period. *There is as much to be gained from looking back into the past as forward into the future, if we wish to avoid a stereotypical image where Europe basically stands for a cultural transfer from west to east.*

Europe cannot be defined simply by its institutions, such as the European Union, the Council of Europe or the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. This would restrict the history of European integration to the post-1945 period and highlight political and economic co-operation to the detriment of the social and cultural dimension. Even in the most recent textbooks with a definite European bias we find that the separate chapters dealing with Europe are almost exclusively concerned with the period after 1945. This perspective may be justified when we teach social sciences or politics but it is too short-sighted an approach to history lessons.

A few paragraphs or subchapters should at least deal with the beginnings of the European unification movement in the 1920s, which then can be related to its development after the second world war.

Three different structural patterns can be chosen to carry out these recommendations in school textbooks.

Firstly, almost all analysed textbooks stress as turning points of the overall history of the 20th century the two world wars, as well as the recent breakdown of the Soviet system. Each of these turning points, the reorientation after the two world wars and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, can be treated under a European perspective, in three separate chapters. These chapters should focus not so much on the political and economical clauses of the peace treaties or the new frontiers created through them but should concentrate on pointing out the impact on social and cultural life and new

political orientations. Is there a common denominator for historical consciousness and to what extent could it generate a European policy, in spite of the regional, national and ethnic differences?

These three cross-sections made at the beginning, the middle and the end of the 20th century may enlighten and anchor the importance of European issues and relationships in pupils' minds. Without such an approach, pupils will hardly have the chance to grasp the mutual influence of national and European development during this century, with regard to the preponderance of national history teaching in many countries.

Yet a three-fold treatment of the European dimension may not be feasible within the schools time schedule. This holds particularly true for countries in which teachers do not treat only the 20th century within one school year. Teachers may have to concentrate on one of these three cross-sections, but they should in any case also briefly refer to the other ones. Otherwise, they will present an unbalanced image of Europe, either filled with conflicts, or one-sided and oriented towards the west. Teachers can then decide on which of the three cross-sections they would like to highlight.

Even the whole historical process of the 20th century could be broken down into these three sections "Reorientation after the first world war", "Divided world after 1945" and "Towards globalisation". Each of these three main sections could then be differentiated between the global, European and national dimension.

This schema is particularly convenient for the textbooks which put emphasis on national history, thus allowing to place the latter into a wider context.

Secondly, many school textbooks, above all from Nordic countries, from Italy and Spain, but also an increasing number of them from central European countries, offer at the beginning of each chapter an overall introduction about a longer period or a certain content area, sometimes on a double page including large-format illustrations. The latter have the symbolic function of messages given about the respective period or region. The general features are then displayed in the following subchapters, often illustrated by examples taken from national or local history. The mode of presentation is thus a deductive one. The different dimensions world/Europe/nation are not treated separately, but always put in relation to each other, which is certainly a better way to show the interconnections than in the first model. Yet practice reveals that the intermediary, European level often remains very nebulous and hardly illustrated. Text and pictures become more concrete on national or local level, and the key concepts are developed on international or global level.

Once this model has been chosen, the European level should not be skipped, but emphasised more than is usually the case within the overall presentation.

This holds particularly true for symbolic language, for European symbols are used above all for the period after 1945. Generally, national symbols are predominant, but one of the most frequently used European symbols is made of images from the individual European states, such as the flags of European member states and of the Marshall Plan recipients, to name but two.

Thirdly, school textbooks seldom adopt only one of the models, but often mix them. A general chapter for example introduces the history of the 20th century or the reorientation after the first world war, often followed by chapters focusing on the history of single countries, even if general aspects are decisive for selection, for example the presentation of fascist systems or of societies going through an economic crisis and so on; this may then be followed by a deductive chapter about the cold war. The place allotted to Europe in this combined form is often quite arbitrary, thus somewhat veiling the logic of European development. Nevertheless, authors who choose this form often distinguish themselves by a vast number of interesting didactical approaches. Rarely treated fields such as arts and culture are often vividly depicted in a European perspective. The stimulating arrangement may thus compensate the lack of systematic approach. *Whatever structure an author may prefer, he or she should deliberately decide the place to be imparted to the European dimension.*

Europe could otherwise be strangled between the future orientation towards the "one world", the problems among the industrial states and the so-called underdeveloped regions on the one side, and the still existing strong national traditions on the other side. Europe would appear fragmented throughout the text without receiving its proper place and extent.

The imparting of a European historical consciousness cannot be standardised. Neither the Council of Europe nor any European organisation has the right to intervene in the curricula of individual member states. In addition the European Union may intervene only with subsidiary means, to foster the consideration of the European dimension in education. To strengthen European aspects, it is therefore decisive to involve textbook authors, curriculum designers and teachers. Since its founding years, the Council of Europe has been committed to history teaching and has discussed in conferences and seminars how the member states present and teach their own and each other's history with the aim to deepen the understanding of different traditions, to reduce prejudice and to encourage an awareness of increasing mutual interdependence. Today, there is a growing demand among pupils

and teachers throughout Europe for a broader view of historical developments which would allow national events and cultures to be seen in an international and European setting. Only then can an understanding emerge for increasing mutual responsibility.

The exchange of experiences in common seminars and projects has sped up the development of new schoolbooks with innovative didactical approaches. This huge advance can be clearly seen from the comparison of the two Lithuanian history textbooks of 1993 (L1) and 1998 (L2), from the new series of Croatian history textbooks, even if the volume dealing with the 20th century has not yet been printed, or from a new Russian history textbook about the post-war period, which has been developed within a European cooperative project and is now being tested.

The textbook pages shown speak for themselves in their diversity. It is not to be feared that a standardised textbook production will emerge in Europe. Europeans have many common historical references, yet they see them from different perspectives: historical events and processes are evaluated differently from respective national, ethnic, religious, social or cultural viewpoints.

It is crucial for European identity that these various approaches to history be compatible and reciprocally accepted. This has not often been the case in the past and this situation has aggravated economic or political conflicts of interests.

It is important to find a balance between the national, European and global dimension. Adequate means for doing this are reciprocal comparative textbook analyses, exchanges and the joint development of teaching materials and bilateral textbook recommendations, which foster the comparative angle of approach without prescribing standardisation.

It is the authors' hope that this text will contribute to these objectives.

APPENDIX 1
Excerpt from the contents page of Histoire Géographie: Education civique. 3^e technologique (F 2)

First world war	Inter-war period	Second world war	The world since 1945	France since 1945
1900-1914: Europe's faces	The world after the first world war	The war from 1939 to 1942. The ebb...	East and West: from cold war to détente	The Fourth Republic
1900-1914: Europe competes	Soviet Union 1919-1939: an isolated country	The war from 1942 to 1945 ... and flow	The defeated nations' revival: the FRG and Japan	The fall of the French empire
1900-1914: Peace or war?	Italy 1919-1939: fascism	Collaboration and resistance	The dissolution of the colonial empires	Economy and society: 1945-1960
1914-1918: The Great War	The United States 1919-1929: apparent prosperity	Post-war reconstruction	Nations on the sidelines of growth	The Fifth Republic: 1958-1981
1917-1920: The Russian empire in revolution	The United States 1929-1939: the crisis and its consequences	Close-up: "Organised hell"	The Soviet Union and eastern Europe: from communism to nationalism	The Fifth Republic: 1981 up to now
1914-1918: Consequences	Germany 1919-1939: nazism		Current conflicts	Economy and society since 1960
Close-up: Trench warfare; Civilians	France 1919-1939: political instability		Close-up: The consumer society and its consequences	France and Europe's construction
	1935-1939: on the march towards war			Close-up: The Algerian war for independence
	Close-up: Arts of the inter-war period			

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Excerpt from the table of contents of *Andere tijden* (NL 4)

Europe and the world 1870-1918	Fascism and national socialism Italy and Germany	The Netherlands in the 20th century	The world after 1945
Europe		Since 1945	International politics
Economy Society Mentality (racism, sense of mission) Politics	Politics and society Mentality (racial doctrine, degenerate art) Economy Domestic policies The second world war (offensive warfare in the west, the attack on the Soviet Union and the United States, the turning point in Stalingrad, two atomic bombs, war victims) Arts	Politics Economy Society The second world war	The cold war America's economy America's military power America's political power Poland and Germany The Iron Curtain American assistance programme Containment The Berlin blockade The Korean war The nuclear umbrella The arms race The Cuba crisis The criticism towards America.
Europe and its colonies		After the war	Europe
Politics Economy Society Mentality Arts		Mentality Society Economy Politics Arts	The European Economic Community The EEC's enlargement The rearmament issue Credibility The abandonment of the arms race Revolutions in eastern Europe Conclusions

Further main chapters not presented in the table are "Europe, Asia, Africa 1880-1940", "The Soviet Union in the 20th century" and "The United States in the 20th century".

APPENDIX 2

Textbooks analysed

Bosnia and Herzegovina

BiH 1: *Historija* (History). 8. Razred osnovne škole. Abdulah Jabucar et. al. (ed.). M. Imamovic et.al., Sarajevo: Ministarstvo obrazovanja, nauke i kulture 1994

BiH 2: *Historija* (History). IV. razred gimnazije. A. Jabucar et.al. (ed.). Mustafa Imamovic et.al., 2nd. ed., Sarajevo: Ministarstvo obrazovanja, nauke, kulture, sporta 1996

Croatia

HR 1: *Povijest* (History). Za osmi razred osnovne škole. Franko Mirosevic (ed.). Ivo Peric, 3rd ed., Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1994

HR 2: *Hrvatska i svijet u XX. stoljecu* (Croatia and the world in the 20th century). Franko Mirosevic (ed.). Ivo Peric, 2nd ed., Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1994

Czech Republic

CZ 1: *Lidé v dějinách, Období 1918-1945* (People in History, The Period of 1918-1945). Jan Kuklík, Prague: Fortuna 1996

CZ 2: *Dějiny moderní doby, 3. díl, 1945-1991* (History of the Modern Age, Part 3, 1945-1991). Eva Mikolášková (ed.), Vladimír Nálevka, Praha: Fortuna 1997

CZ 3: *Dějepis – Nová doba, 2. díl* (History, New Age, Part 2) Marie Jošáková (ed.), Pavla Vošahlíková, Jirí Jozák, Prague: Práce 1996

CZ 4: *Dějepis – Nová doba, 4. díl. Československo a svět* (History – New Age, Part 4. Czechoslovakia and the world). Naïa Mytinová, Marie Jošáková, Prague: Práce 1995

CZ 5: *Dějiny nové doby 1850-1993*. (History of Modern Times 1850-1993). Vira Olivová, Prague: Scientia 1995.

Finland

FIN 1: *Kohti nykyaikaa. 1800-1900-luku* (Towards the present years 1800-1900). Mirja Valinsaari and Aila Niemitukia (ed.), Pirkko Metsäkallas et al., Helsinki: WSOY 1997

FIN 2: *Horisontti. Napoleonista nykypäivään* (Horizon. From Napoleon to the present). Liisa Saarenheimo (ed.), Osmo Lappalainen et al., Helsinki: Otava 1997

“the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia”

FYROM 1: *Istorija* (History). Za IV. klas gimnazija. Blagoj Cukarski (ed.); S. Mladenovski et. al., Skopje: Prosvetno delo 1992

FYROM 2: *Istorija* (History). 8.oddelenije. M. Veljanovski et. al., 2nd ed., Skopje: Prosvetno delo 1998

France

F 1: *Histoire Géographie. Initiation économique. 3^e*. Marie-Thérèse Drouillon, Eric Baconnet, Jean-marie Flonneau, Martine Mari, Antonella Romano (ed.), Paris: Nathan 1994

F 2: *Histoire Géographie. Éducation civique. 3^e technologique*. Jacques Chapon, Guy Lancelot, Michel Konrat, André Vasseur, Alain Prost, Paris: Hachette 1995

F 3: *Histoire Géographie. Initiation économique. 3^e*. Rémy Knafou, Valéry Zanghellini (ed.), Maité Frank et al., Paris: Belin 1993

F 4: *Histoire Géographie. Initiation économique. 3^e*. Jean Brignon (ed.), Françoise Aoustin et al, Paris: Hatier 1995

Germany

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APPENDIX 3

Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century¹

Often considered by historians as the most difficult to study and to teach, the 20th century is the subject of a specific project on "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 British 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.

The satellites are teaching packs looking at women's history, population movements, cinema, the Holocaust 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 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

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

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 camera-work – 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 teaching pack on cinema offers teachers a filmography of the 20th century containing films illustrative of historical themes. 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 textbooks 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 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. Biographies of famous 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 pack on teaching the Holocaust, 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 also to adapt their approach to

modern technological developments. The project underscores 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.

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