Lessons in history

The Council of Europe and the teaching of history

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Preface

by Daniel Tarschys

Respect for other people, awareness of the common heritage and the free shaping of a mutually supportive future are the keywords which, ever since the Council of Europe's creation, have guided its activities in the field of history.

Indeed, from the very beginning, the Council's educational activities have been devoted in part, but in an ongoing way, to the teaching of history. Respect for other people encompasses recognition of their identity, their freedom to choose their roots and to have their own interpretation of the complex history of Europe, its lands and its peoples.

Respect for other people implies too that the inevitable inconsistencies between the various interpretations of history, the different views – which may indeed be totally conflicting – should be presented as objectively as possible. In the teaching of history therefore, there must be an emphasis on educating the individual in the essential preconditions for peace, understanding and creativity, namely an independent mind, tolerance, a sense of pluralism and a sense of dialogue.

Becoming aware of our common history means not only not ignoring the major movements of history which transcend national and territorial differences, but also highlighting them, especially when they have led to decisive progress for the civilisation we share.

Our common history, however, is not merely the most favourable and most peaceful chapters. The history and heritage of Europe are also made up of conflicts, extreme tension, destruction and aberrations of all sorts. It is in this context that we have to show courage, intellectual honesty and immense tolerance and be most strict as regards fundamental principles and values.

Freely shaping a common future is clearly the founding principle of all attempts at European integration, particularly since the second world war. Such a future cannot be a prisoner of history and the past but, as we know, requires us to transcend the tensions, lack of understanding and tragedies of the past.

At the same time, this common future should not simply ignore the past, whose most encouraging aspects can give us hope for European integration and whose tragedies can stir our resolve to lay the old demons for ever.

Guided by these three principles, the Council of Europe's work in the field of history, particularly in recent years, has given prominence on both a theoretical and a practical level to a European dimension of education which, it must be stressed, is first and foremost open to the rest of the world and designed to be in constant and creative development.

It is much to the credit of the author of this paper that he has been able to summarise in a few pages the long efforts expended over the last fifty years in this field.

In Europe once again united after the end of the cold war, history has made a spectacular comeback, giving us hope but also occasionally cause for anxiety. I am convinced that the Council of Europe has a paramount duty to pursue dialogue between its member states in this field, particularly for the benefit of the young generations.

Introduction

History and history teaching were amongst the first activities launched by the Council of Europe, which, from the outset, recognised their role and importance in fostering mutual understanding and confidence among the peoples of Europe.

As early as 1953, the Council of Europe invited history teachers and professors in its member states to reflect together on "the European idea in history teaching". A year later – on 19 December 1954 – the European Cultural Convention, which sets the framework for all of the Council's cultural activities, was signed in Paris. Calling on signatory states to "encourage the study … [of the] history and civilisation of the other Contracting Parties" and "develop [these studies] in the territory of the other Contracting Parties", it thus provided a legal basis for all the Council of Europe's activities in the history field and is still the primary foundation on which the Organisation's work on history is based.

The first stage in this work focused on the elimination of bias and prejudice in school textbooks: it was not merely a question of no longer depicting neighbouring countries as "bloodthirsty hereditary enemies bent on revenge"; an attempt was also made to introduce a transnational and European dimension into the hitherto very national contents of school textbooks. From the 1960s, the Council of Europe also began looking at the history syllabus and at how history was taught in European countries. It considered the approach to history teaching at various educational levels and looked closely at new methods of teaching both in and out of school. It also looked at how history was incorporated into the teaching of human sciences and gave considerable thought to the aims of such teaching.

The programmes on school textbooks and teaching were at their most intense in the 1950s and 1960s, and were subsequently supplemented by various more specific activities. It was only towards the end of the 1980s that the Council, spurred on by a clear renewal of interest in history in the member states, embarked once again on a number of large-scale activities in the field of history teaching – at the very time that the upheavals resulting from the end of communism in central and eastern Europe were completely rewriting the history and geography of Europe.

As in the aftermath of the second world war, the Council's task was to help reconcile the former adversaries of the cold war by fostering amongst them an awareness of what united them. History teaching in the countries formerly behind the iron curtain was an ideal way of furthering this mutual rediscovery. With its history in the new Europe initiative, the focus was on not only

eradicating old prejudices but also taking account of a completely new political and cultural landscape. Very quickly the Council of Europe placed its expertise in the service of countries where the education structures had scarcely moved on since the 1950s, remaining heavily influenced by the totalitarian ideologies which prevailed when they were set up. At the same time, the Council set out to promote in both western and eastern Europe the values of tolerance and democracy in history teaching at a time when these were not infrequently being challenged by rising extremism and xenophobia.

Finally, the last five years have seen the development of two major history activities. The first, part of the Council of Europe's "new initiative", is a series of programmes aimed at developing and consolidating democracy in the republics of the former Soviet Union. The history programme concerns both the means and the content of teaching and takes account of the specific features and needs expressed by the former Soviet republics The second, the project on "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century", is a genuine teaching kit for teachers, with themes and methods involving the use of new media and a variety of resources such as the press, cinema, museums and field work.

History textbooks and teaching: 1953-83

The very first conference on school textbooks was held in Calw, in the Black Forest (Germany) in August 1953. History teachers and professors from all Council of Europe member states reflected together on the introduction of the European idea in history teaching. As Professor Winding, one of the participants, said, "the delegation from each country had carefully examined the textbook of some other country … and then they had answered a series of questions … concerning the general outline of the books, the choice of topics and the treatment of certain subjects." The idea was primarily to assess the impartiality of the books, but also to identify prejudices and wrong interpretations; the discussions were prolonged, especially on the most controversial subjects but, Prof. Winding concluded, "After lively discussions the Assembly formulated a joint declaration."

This first meeting inaugurated a formula and working methods which would be followed at the conferences organised throughout Europe in subsequent years. These looked at the major periods dealt with in textbooks, covering the Middle Ages (Oslo, 1954), then the 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, and finally the period 1870-1950 (Istanbul and Ankara, 1958).

The conferences identified an abundance of prejudices found in all the textbooks, and not just in the ones published by the belligerents in the last two world wars. For example, Swedish school children were being taught that while the Danes were "cunning", Sweden's army was far superior to Denmark's. British textbooks "forgot" to mention the Spanish navigators who discovered certain islands fifty years before Great Britain. More generally, the Scandinavians and the Turks objected to the systematic presentation of the "barbaric" Vikings and the no-less "bloodthirsty" Ottomans whose lifestyle, culture and civilisation were completely ignored. Chapters on relations between west and east and on the Jews were frequently the ones containing the most clichés and prejudices; the terminology used – kings, tyrants, democracy, peasants, slaves, serfs, villeins – added to the confusion rather than made things clearer, especially for pupils required to cover vast and complex periods and topics in just a few hours.

This work was carried out in co-operation with several organisations, including Unesco, which had developed a similar programme at world-wide level. This period was also the start of co-operation between the Council and the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, which specialises in the study and contents of school history textbooks. European revisions of textbooks also gained from the experience already acquired by certain countries in this field: the Scandinavian countries had, since the 1930s, been trying to harmonise their textbooks and

remove the prejudices they contained, but this process had been interrupted by the second world war.

Following this series of conferences and the textbook revision work which the Council of Europe proposed to its member states, it was clearly important to go beyond the textbook dimension and give some serious thought to the actual teaching of history. A conference held in Elsinor (Denmark) in August 1965 produced a long recommendation – many of whose points are still relevant today for their clear-sightedness – laying down the principles on which the Council of Europe's subsequent activities were to be based.

For example, the conference argued that history was "a basis for the education of the citizen of Europe" and stressed its role in bringing peoples closer together. It referred to the importance of incorporating world history and non-European history into school curricula, stressed that it was not enough to learn dates in order to foster understanding and develop the faculty of historical reasoning and recommended "the use of a wide selection of authentic visual material and of written source material". In particular, the conference came out against any attempt to impose a "uniform teaching of history", thereby laying down a principle which would be constantly reasserted by the Council of Europe up to the present day.

Lastly, it called on teachers to show their pupils the European dimension of events of national history, and pointed out that topics as diverse as feudalism, religious reform movements, classicism and the baroque, or the industrial revolution could be presented in way which far transcended the borders of a single state.

These themes were expanded upon and developed at various other conferences which sought to encourage the acquisition by pupils of a critical sense and to teach them to understand the present in the light of the past. These conferences, while calling for a more even balance between national history and European history, also made a point of stressing the importance of local history and world history and considered the question of teacher training and the teacher training syllabus. Supplemented by a number of other more specific meetings organised up until 1983, these conferences enabled Europe to modernise and rethink its history teaching. The recommendations on textbooks were applied in practice in half of the 2 000 history textbooks in circulation in the Council of Europe member states, and the idea of European history, perhaps less easily quantifiable, entered the classroom as a result of these meetings. Nevertheless, although the main guidelines had now been drawn, it became obvious that there was still clear need to pursue and expand upon the work initiated in the past.

The quickening of European history – the history of peoples and not the history found in books – was in 1989 suddenly to increase the urgency and the volume of the efforts to be exerted.

History in the new Europe: 1991-96

In December 1991, a symposium of experts and history teachers in Bruges, organised by the Council of Europe, brought together for the first time teachers and education officials from both western and eastern Europe. It looked at all the questions raised by history in the new Europe which had come into being in the wake of the events of autumn 1989.

More than thirty years after the work on school textbooks and curricula carried out in the first Council of Europe member states, representatives of central and eastern Europe stressed the need to take similar action in their own educational systems, while bearing in mind the specific situation there and their own history. Above and beyond these essential changes, the symposium pursued and expanded the deliberations on history already initiated in previous years; it introduced new elements such as the concept of "European awareness", a more modern approach to teaching, the aims of history teaching and its role in promoting values such as tolerance, human rights and pluralism.

Two years later in Vienna in October 1993, the first summit of the heads of state and government of the Council of Europe member states clarified and finalised the objectives presented by the experts since 1991 and stressed the need to strengthen "programmes aimed at eliminating prejudice in the teaching of history by emphasising positive mutual influence between different countries, religions and ideas in the historical development of Europe." At the same time it reaffirmed the importance of cultural heritage for mutual understanding and cohesion in Europe with due regard for its diversity. Noting the resurgence of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism in Europe, it similarly placed an emphasis on the role of education in combating these trends.

These declarations and recommendations led to a project on "The teaching of history in the new Europe" comprising specialist seminars and conferences; its aim was to devise innovative teaching methods and provide practical documentation for teachers and curriculum developers.

This project included numerous studies of and proposals for the content of history teaching, particularly since the enlargement of Europe also meant the discovery by pupils of the history of countries formerly on the other side of the iron curtain. Even before the opening towards the east, teachers in western countries were already discussing how their country was treated in neighbouring states' school syllabuses. The "great powers" had always been dealt with more fully than smaller countries – and this was true also in the countries which had never achieved great power status. Often, however, it is the former "great powers", especially those with a colonial past, which have most neglected other

powers of the same standing, as for example in the way France, Spain and the United Kingdom portrayed one another. Old rivalries often exacerbated bias or negative judgments and often reduced the importance attributed to neighbouring states.

Clearly, the need to include central and east European countries in the syllabus has added to the problem – intentional or not – of fitting everything in, a task made all the more difficult by the limited number of hours allotted for history teaching. For example, in the course of the seminars and meetings Poland often regretted the fact that the only Polish history taught abroad was its disappearance in the 18th century and the invasion of 1939; its golden age in the 16th and 17th centuries was never touched upon. Similarly, Hungary was surprised at the emphasis placed in textbooks on the Treaty of Versailles, including in the countries not directly concerned by the treaty, whereas the Treaty of Trianon, which was so fraught with consequences for Hungary and its neighbours, was dealt with in just a few lines. With the former Soviet republics joining the Council of Europe, the disparities have merely increased: "We all know Shakespeare, Dante and Rousseau", Azerbaijani and Ukrainian historians pointed out, "but who in your countries has heard of Nizami or Tarass Shevshenko?"

The problem was of course similar in central and eastern Europe, where the presentation of western countries, and of their history, scrupulously followed Marxist-Leninist ideological tenets, overemphasising the class struggle or the birth of revolutionary movements in relation to other topics and events. The first concern of the former "people's democracies" was of course to rewrite their history, freeing themselves from the constraints imposed for over forty years by their own regimes and their Soviet neighbour. In Poland, for example, the textbooks prior to 1980 systematically concentrated on the "German invader", avoiding any reference to Russia. The German-Soviet pact of 1939 was conspicuous by its absence from school syllabuses, as too was the Soviet-Polish war and Marshall Pilsudski's victory in 1921, which since 1990 has become one of the high points of Polish history. While Russia's role in the third partition of Poland in 1795 could not in all honesty be overlooked, it was considerably played down in relation to Austrian and especially Prussian responsibilities, with teachers often being at pains to add that while Russians were Slavs, Prussians were "Germans totally alien to the spirit and culture of Poland".

There have also been several comparative studies on the way in which Europe is introduced into curricula and syllabuses. More often than not, it serves to clarify national history via themes and phenomena going beyond the geographical and intellectual framework of a single state, such as the industrial

revolution, socialism or world wars. The experts called for the introduction of new transversal themes into syllabuses, particularly in the fields of the history of institutions, science and technology, and philosophy.

The structuring of history in terms of national themes and European themes, the relative balance of which varies considerably from country to country, should not overlook the two other extremities: local and regional history and world and non-European history. At local level, history is an excellent introduction to awareness of a wider world, but it also represents a source of knowledge and curiosity, allied with a civic aspect. Many experts, however, have made no secret of the fact that in regions or cities which have changed nationality several times, and in border regions, local history often "worries" the school authorities who rightly or wrongly are concerned that it could reinforce separatist feelings.

For its part, the aim of non-European history is to remind us that Europe is just one part of the world; its "unique" destiny should not make us forget the importance and role of other continents, nor conceal the excesses committed there by European countries. A knowledge of world history should avoid prejudice between continents; perhaps above all, discovery of other civilisations helps mutual respect and dialogue, a particularly important theme in the general climate of the 1990s. In this context, the treatment of the Orient and Muslim civilisations is often incomplete or inadequate in a Europe which is open to migration and interculturalism.

In an attempt to go beyond an exclusively European focus, the projects developed around this idea of the new Europe have also emphasised teaching of the "positive mutual influences" between countries and peoples, and the benefits derived from cultural contacts throughout history. Using a number of concrete examples, including Andalusia before the Reconquest, the Hanseatic towns and the Jews in Prague to illustrate cohabitation and occasionally harmony between groups and cultures, the Council of Europe experts have demonstrated the value of these transversal themes without, however, losing touch with reality. The presentation of these exchanges must be based on facts and include the points of view of the various key players of the time. Moreover, these positive influences should not seek to conceal resistance to attempts at outreach nor gloss over the dark episodes of national or regional history, which also deserve to be considered from every angle.

The other major aspect of the project developed with reference to the new Europe concerned teaching techniques themselves. Among these, the participants at the different symposia called for a return to a chronological structure in history teaching, following the vogue for a thematic approach in the 1970s and 1980s, which proved to be far less effective than their instigators had

hoped. Similarly, the position of history as a subject in its own right was strongly reaffirmed, as was the desire to differentiate it clearly from the other human and social sciences. Such a realignment of history teaching did not however mean a return to the old lecturing style of history lessons: on the contrary, teachers wished to reach "beyond the school walls" in developing their activities and apply modern techniques, using databases, CD-Roms and computers. Pupils should develop their historical perspective through all media forms and through daily life, including research carried out "on the street" via local history activities. The potential offered by national or local museums is reason enough to encourage closer links between schools and such establishments.

But history teaching should be rethought for many other reasons too. Above all, teachers had become aware of pupils' lack of interest in studying history for a variety of reasons. Of these, the lack of motivation for subjects "the usefulness of which is poorly understood" was perhaps among the most worrying. Teachers also discussed whether presenting national history in accordance with traditional, or indeed middle-class criteria was the best approach for a growing number of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. This problem was perhaps made all the more acute by the way in which pupils from immigrant families perceived this national approach. This disaffection of the pupils contrasted sharply with the renewal of interest in history among the population in general; history today is not learned only in the classroom, but from a wide variety of external sources, even though schools are the best placed to impart practical skills and a critical spirit.

In addition, several seminars have been organised on the values passed on by the teaching of history. For the Council of Europe, it is essential that the outcome of this teaching should promote democracy and pluralism and enhance understanding between peoples and, within states themselves, between majority and minority groups. While these activities have been carried out in the specific context of the democratic transition of the central and east European countries, their recommendations certainly go beyond the framework of these countries and may be considered as relevant to the whole continent. Teaching techniques and teacher training in the old eastern Europe were looked at as part of the programme in order to adapt them to recent developments in these countries, but certain questions raised by these changes were of interest to all European countries. Promoting a critical spirit, independent and objective judgment and rejection of manipulations is as much a duty for all teachers as defending democratic institutions and the transmission of the values of solidarity and tolerance.

Moreover, the place and value of history have been widely referred to and studied in the many activities concerning the promotion of citizenship and the fight against racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia, in particular as part of the European youth campaign launched in 1994-95.

History teaching and the New Initiative of the Secretary General: 1996-98

In 1995, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe proposed a series of co-operation programmes aimed primarily at the republics of the former Soviet Union. These programmes were grouped together under the heading New Initiative of the Secretary General.

One of these programmes specifically concerned history teaching and was addressed in particular at seven former Soviet republics (Russian Federation, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus and Georgia) and Albania, at a time when these countries were applying for membership of the Council of Europe or had just joined. As with the other co-operation programmes, this initiative involved a large number of multilateral, national or regional seminars and meetings in the countries participating in the programme. While taking account of the particular needs of these countries, the meetings and resulting proposals turned the experience already acquired by the Council in the field of history teaching to account. The Council's partners in these activities – the Georg Eckert Institute, Euroclio (the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations), and Kultur Kontakt (Austria) – were involved in these programmes.

Following an assessment of the needs and the reforms already undertaken since 1991, the programme first focused on what was taught to pupils and what type of knowledge they required, then on school textbooks and finally on teacher training.

The reform of history teaching in the former Soviet Union raised a number of very specific problems, linked both to the nature and functioning of the former state and to the numerous successor states which replaced it post-1991.

In the Soviet era, the Ministry of Education in Moscow prepared a single syllabus per class which had a real legal force throughout the Soviet Union, from the Polish or Romanian border as far as the frontier with China or Japan. Heavily imbued with the cult of state history and devised in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideological principles, the syllabus relied on a single textbook, with very few illustrations, which served as the basis of the teaching. Read and commented on by teachers who dared not stray far from what it contained, this textbook portrayed a single and unquestionable history resulting in summaries to be learned by heart, proof that pupils had memorised and digested them.

Initially, the break-up of the Soviet Union made these centralised syllabuses and textbooks particularly obsolete in the countries which had proclaimed their independence. These countries, apart from wishing to reinstate their own history, also wanted to fill in the gaps of the former official Soviet history. However, they did not have a methodology enabling them to modernise their teaching; there was therefore a risk that they would reproduce, this time at the level of the new states, the old teaching approaches inherited from the preceding era. In the Russian Federation itself, the former centralised texts no longer fitted in with the new regime's desire for democratisation or with the very structure of the federation, comprising over 130 nationalities and minorities, each with a history and a culture often very different from those of Russia in the strict sense of the term.

A further and no less difficult problem was the fact that the economic and administrative upheavals had radically changed the organisation of education. Prior to 1991 the state provided each pupil with the same textbook; today, there are dozens of different textbooks on the market. The teachers choose them, and the families have to pay for them. This, in practice, has a considerable influence on access to the new textbooks, as the choice of books very often depends very heavily on economic considerations.

Syllabus content and presentation was the first major aspect of the activities of the this initiative. Once again a series of specialist, multilateral, national and regional seminars was held.

During these meetings, the Council of Europe representatives made it perfectly clear that they were not there to tell countries what they should be putting in their syllabuses, but rather to help adapt them to a democratic and pluralist education, aimed not only at transmitting knowledge but also at learning to question and evaluate such knowledge.

The discussions addressed the difference between the notion of "national" and "nationalist" history; it being essential that the former did not become confused with the latter, as it had often done in the past. It was imperative to avoid undesirable developments and confusion and to highlight the distortion of history which can result from such combinations.

Discussions also focused on how to give a European perspective to national history and on the need to present this history from several points of view, in particular by including national minorities, so often neglected by official history. They stressed the fact that history teaching should not concentrate solely on "major" political or military history but should branch out to incorporate daily life, culture, science and technology. The way a historical

figure is presented can also give greater insight into a period: by using biographies, the seminars taught teachers how to organise their lessons around a figure. They also showed that the textbook is not the only educational resource to be used, and highlighted the value of photographs, maps and films. For a long time, the former Soviet Union had had a dense network of historical museums and these were already well visited by school groups. While encouraging these practices, the seminars also sought to optimise this potential and help teachers prepare these visits better. This was particularly important since very often this was the only opportunity for their teaching to look beyond the confines of their schools. Work in the many libraries also deserved encouragement and development, for example by encouraging pupils to do research there.

However, modernising education also involves modernising the practice of teaching itself. The experts and teachers themselves noted that very all too often teachers were reluctant to abandon, even briefly, their textbook for other resources or methods and clung on to the book perhaps a little too strongly. The difficulty they had in moving away from the textbook was compounded by the questioning of the content of their lessons. Previously, it was often merely a question of transmitting the official view of history; today it was necessary to present several opinions and to question their validity. In certain countries, advising teachers to encourage questions from pupils is seen as a genuine cultural revolution after decades when pupils had neither to think nor to speak, but simply to listen and digest.

The revision of school textbooks has helped inject new life into teaching and to open it up more to the world and society. Despite the economic problems facing the former Soviet republics, there have been considerable changes in the last few years. The old voluminous and forbidding textbooks inherited from the former Soviet Union have been replaced by more attractive, illustrated books which no longer present a single account but contain practical exercises, ask questions and encourage pupils to reason. For example, the 1998 edition of the history textbook for Ukrainian pupils in the 7th form (15 years of age), published by Genesa in Kyiv, is an attractively illustrated book with several maps, a glossary and a bibliography. The syllabus for that year begins with the end of the Roman Empire in the west and ends with the fall of the Roman Empire in the east. It looks in reasonable detail at France, the Holy Roman Empire, England and Spain, but also covers transversal themes such as art and culture, including reproductions of miniatures, paintings and illuminations, which would have been unthinkable in such publications just a few years ago. Similarly, while in the period prior to 1991 there was only one Russian and Soviet history, Russian regions are now able to publish regional textbooks, with the emphasis on their own history, heritage and traditions. The Novgorod

region was the first to produce a regional history textbook, the fruit of the first experience of co-operation between Russian historians, themselves teachers, and Council of Europe experts.

In addition, particularly in border regions, multilateral programmes are looking at the possibility of producing regional school textbooks which transcend national frontiers. The Baltic states are at present working on such a book, as are Ukraine, Romania, Poland and the Slovak Republic as part of a project on the Carpathian region. Such an exercise is not always an easy matter on account of sensitive issues which are sometimes more acute in these sectors than in central areas which are far removed from borders and which have no minorities or co-habitation of several nationalities.

Contentious issues should, however, be included in syllabuses, even though discussions on some of them, for example relations between Germany and Ukraine after 1918 and between 1941 and 1944, still arouse such extreme passions that it would appear difficult to incorporate them quickly into school syllabuses.

Here too, the Council of Europe wishes to lend its hand to these projects by using the experience acquired by some of these states, for example the way in which history is now taught in Northern Ireland from the standpoint of reconciliation and understanding between the communities.

Lastly, the third section of this programme concerns more specifically teacher training. This will be discussed in several seminars in 1999 and 2000 and will enable the Council of Europe to pursue its co-operation with the beneficiary states which have said that they would like the co-operation launched in 1996 to continue beyond the initial framework of the programme.

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

Often considered by historians as the most difficult to study and to teach, the 20th century is the subject of a specific project on "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century". Currently in preparation, its teaching products are due to become operational by the year 2000. 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 will be a handbook for history teachers, devoted to the methods and different ways of presenting the 20th century to pupils. A Scottish historian, Robert Stradling, is preparing this work which will comprise 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 is adapting them to the problems and difficulties of the 20th century, taking into account the intellectual, political and social upheavals which have marked it. He will also be attempting 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 and nationalism in 20th century Europe. They will be 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 will form a teaching pack which can be used by all teachers and adapted to their needs and resources. It will be available in electronic and traditional formats (workbooks and books, supplemented by films and photos).

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

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

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

The project will also seek 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 will therefore also seek to help them use these tools which will provide them with text and images. In this way, Internet sites and CD-Roms can be valuable supplements to textbooks and lessons.

Nevertheless, while these new tools have significant educational potential, teachers attending the training seminars stress the fact that they cannot replace

books and papers and that while they do open new avenues, they will not completely revolutionise teaching. Furthermore, many teachers point out that their development in school is at present still limited because of the cost.

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

The first pack, on women in history, fits in with the Council of Europe's desire for fair representation of both sexes in society, but its aim goes far beyond simply redressing the balance. While emphasising the role of women in society, too long overlooked, it will also seek to view history from their perspective and let them have their say. Several seminars have already been held on this project which will be based on specific collective or individual examples. Amongst these, the role of women in Stalin's Russia will present the life, activities and image of women of the time, and will illustrate the period through them. From Evgenia Ginsburg to Marie Curie, Agatha Christie to Melina Mercouri, biographies of women could provide the framework for lessons or themes, but it is also essential to present ordinary or unknown women and their views on events and the world. For that, the use of oral history must be encouraged: the teaching pack will suggest 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 will also deal with bias and omissions in the presentation of women in history and will consequently result in a genuine work of historiography conducive to comment and critical judgment.

Conceived in a similar way the pack on nationalism will go beyond mere definitions of the phenomenon to look at the more day-to-day aspects, even including topics such as sport or currency. It will cover 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 will look at relations between majority and minority groups within states. It will then discuss the cohabitation of groups and the means of living together, for example via federalism. The pack, like the two others, will be supplemented by a bibliography including written documents, films, and also CD-Roms and Internet sites.

The pack on migration will look at 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. It will not be restricted simply to the major migration waves of recent decades, but will also cover transfrontier movements caused as a result of border changes or economic necessities, as in the case of border workers. It will seek to illustrate the situation and views of migrants as inhabitants of a host country, while facilitating dialogue and mutual understanding concerning increasingly similar concerns and lifestyles.

The Holocaust will also be the subject of a teaching pack or a later chapter in the project. This teaching, 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 is also studying 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 are being made of the training of history teachers and these will 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 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 should 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 will 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.

Other history activities

European Cultural Routes

Set up in 1987, the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe link several towns and regions in Europe around cultural themes and a common history, such as the Hanseatic towns, the Baroque or silk routes, the Celtic world or the Vikings. The first cultural route was a means of revitalising the Santiago de Compostela pilgrim ways, the main pilgrimage route in the Middle Ages travelled by thousands of pilgrims – it consists of carefully signposted paths, punctuated by sanctuaries, churches and resting places.

The Cultural Routes serve both to enhance a local site and to put it into its European perspective. They lend themselves to many educational activities which can highlight this two-fold dimension. The silk routes, which follow the textile trade routes in the Middle Ages, can be used as a means of learning about trade throughout the continent. By making a real or virtual journey along the Danube, it is possible to discover the history and culture of the peoples and countries along its banks. The Baroque route, over and above each individual monument, recalls the intensity of this cultural and intellectual movement common to the whole of Europe from the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th century, with all its regional and chronological developments and variations. Some stretches of the Santiago route have even been followed by school classes that simulated the journey of an imaginary monk of the 12th century, by reproducing his trip and the organisation behind it.

In addition, the Cultural Routes have resulted in many publications and studies on the sites and monuments along them. This, together with the published work of the Council of Europe, constitutes useful documentation for teachers and pupils alike. While the tourist aspects of the routes are the most developed and the best-known by the public, their educational aspect is also broad enough to be included in an active policy of raising awareness of history and heritage in the school environment.

European Heritage Days

Each year since 1985 tens of thousands of monuments and buildings are open to the general public for a weekend in September as part of the European Heritage Days initiated by the Council of Europe. In 1998, forty-four countries took part.

The presentation and visiting of monuments, often closed to the public because of their current use (ministries, administrations, firms) or simply poorly known,

help to make the inhabitants of a town or region more aware of the richness of the heritage surrounding them, and also offer a practical opportunity for this heritage to be discussed in the school environment.

In addition to these visits, certain schools, located in historic buildings or in buildings of some architectural interest, have taken the initiative of opening to the public during these days. For example, the international *lycée* in Strasbourg, located in a remarkable neo-Renaissance building constructed in 1901, organises visits of its premises during the Heritage Days weekend with pupils as guides. The pupils have also produced a display on the history of the school, supplemented by an exhibition of plans and old photographs and a presentation of school life in former times. Throughout Europe countless old schools have done something similar; but the opening of other premises also enables classes to study the function and history of a building participating in the European Heritage Days, before or after the visit. In addition, their European character encourages comparisons between countries, and at the same time illustrates the increasing interest taken by Europeans in their cultural heritage.

Council of Europe art exhibitions

From 1955 to the present, the Council of Europe has organised twenty-five art exhibitions throughout the continent on themes and periods covering the full range of European culture, such as humanism, the Gothic era and Romanticism, or highlighting the particular influence of a region or group of countries on Europe, such as Denmark under Christian IV or the Tuscany of the Medicis. These exhibitions bring together works which are often scattered throughout several countries and include paintings, sculptures, written documents, *objets d'art*, furniture or clothes. They have been increasingly well received by the public over the years.

Very early on, teachers working with the Council recognised the educational value of these events. They can put the spectator into a global environment, illustrate reciprocal influences between countries and show in a practical way the cultural exchanges which took place in Europe. In 1983 one of these exhibitions, organised in Lisbon, was devoted to the theme of "Portuguese Discoveries and Renaissance Europe"; during the exhibition a symposium for teachers was held on the same subject. Indeed, while the Portuguese discoveries are included in the syllabus of virtually all European countries, teachers have stressed how this presentation can help illustrate more effectively the theme of contacts between several parts of the world, or prompt reflection on the positive and negative consequences of these voyages. They called for the

teaching of the discoveries to include their scientific and technical aspects and their economic, social and intellectual impact.

This symposium helped strengthen links between the teaching profession and the organisers of art exhibitions. Some exhibitions now produce educational material subsequently disseminated in all countries. Today, exhibitions are visited by many school groups from the countries and regions where they are being held, but also sometimes from further afield.

In recent years, several thematic exhibitions have served as a documentary and educational basis for teachers, because they were particularly suited to the practical presentation of historical values and concepts such as "The French Revolution and Europe" (Paris 1989) presented in Bern during Switzerland's 700th anniversary celebrations. An exhibition on "Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators" covering the period 1930-96, organised successively in London, Barcelona and Berlin in 1996, looked at the concept of "official art", relations between power and culture, and the manipulations of propaganda. It provided a practical and visual medium for themes dealt with in schools, supplementing history classes and prompting questions and discussions.

Finally, the most recent in the series, on the treaties of Westphalia, which was organised simultaneously in Münster and Osnabrück in the winter of 1998-99, illustrated, through art and artefacts, the importance of these treaties for the balance of power in Europe. During the exhibition in Münster, several schools in the treaties' signatory states invited their pupils to play the part of the ambassadors and diplomats of the time. They simulated the 1648 negotiations, reflecting also on the political priorities of former times in relation to the situation in the contemporary world.

Museums and education

Beyond the traditional image of school groups, well-behaved or otherwise, filing past archaeological collections and paintings in their municipal museum, museums are an ideal educational resource for teaching history out of school. But their value can be significantly increased if an attempt is made to adapt them to this role, and if teachers learn how to work together with them.

The conferences on history organised by the Council of Europe have for a long time stressed the importance of museums in teaching pupils, and the Council has sought to develop these types of activities in practice. Since 1977, a yearly museum prize, the Prix Europa, awarded by the Committee of Ministers, and the Council of Europe Museum Prize, awarded by the Parliamentary Assembly,

recompense each year two museums which have made particular effort to improve the presentation and attractiveness of their collections, including from the educational standpoint. Several history museums have been awarded these prizes, in some cases for their themes which are significant for European values, such as military museums emphasising reconciliation rather than just bravery, and in others because of their efforts to provide information and reach out to the world outside.

Some museums take an active part in the Council's work on education, and are themselves genuine educational instruments working in close collaboration with schools. Among these the Historial de la Grande Guerre which opened in Péronne in the Somme in 1991, presents the events of the 1914-18 war through everyday objects and documents, and seeks to put visitors in the context of the time. Located in the heart of the battlefields where British, Australian and German troops fought, in an area abounding in memorials, the museum challenges visitors about the meaning of these events. It uses films and images in its presentations and has large databases on the war which can be used for educational purposes. It also produces documents and publications specially adapted for schools.

Opened in Bonn in 1994, the Haus der Geschichte (House of History museum), winner of the Council of Europe Museum Prize in 1995, offers visitors a circuit presenting objects and documents covering fifty years of contemporary German history. The visit begins among the rubble and ruins of 1945 and continues through the reconstruction of the 1950s. Then there are the first transistor radios, the psychedelic fashions of the 1960s, the Volkswagen and rock'n'roll, as well as the birth of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Berlin Wall, life in the German Democratic Republic and reunification. Benches from the Bundestag, a control tower from the border between East and West, and the Mercedes belonging to Chancellor Adenauer are to be found along this "multimedia visit adapted to the contemporary world", as its director, Professor Hermann Schäfer, puts it. For him the Haus der Geschichte brings museums out of their traditional framework and invites its visitors, depending on their age, to discover or rediscover the past through often very ordinary objects. The museum attracts a large number of school groups and seeks to be a living history lesson. Offering a more attractive format than a traditional exhibition, it conveys a knowledge of history adapted to the expectations of visitors who come to learn and at the same time to be entertained and who perhaps would not normally set foot in a more traditional museum.

School twinnings and local history

When the pupils of a school in Vilnius, Lithuania, compile documents on the day-to-day life of their city in the last century to send them off to a school in Madrid, they discover their local history and at the same time become aware of the European dimension in which they are living. It was this idea which led the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe to launch in 1991 a programme of school twinnings focusing on local history, bringing together schools located in the four corners of Europe. Under the direction of their teachers, pupils between the ages of 9 and 13 produce small history files which may contain text and drawings, photos and video footage, and send it off to their twin school. These documents are then used as material for presenting the life and history of the country or region of the partner school. The first history twinnings were launched in 1992-93 with some thirty schools and this number has gradually grown over the years.

Even though language or resource problems have sometimes caused difficulties – for example a Bulgarian school does not have the same technical facilities as a Danish school – these twinnings have met with considerable success among both teachers and pupils and have been an innovative initiative as regards fieldwork and the practical perception of Europe.

The Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe, bringing together the regions and towns of the Council of Europe member states has also developed many other projects aimed at raising the awareness of local history and is working for the preservation and enhancement of the cultural and historic heritage, with a commitment to make it better known at both local and European level.

Conclusion

The Council of Europe and history teaching: a permanent building process?

As is clearly illustrated by the preceding pages, the issues relating to history teaching are an integral part of the Council of Europe's fundamental approach to cultural and educational co-operation as a whole. The 1954 Cultural Convention states that knowledge of the history of each member state and awareness of their common history are fundamental to this approach. At the summits of heads of state and government, particularly in Vienna in 1993, the political importance of history teaching was emphasised.

Since 1990, as a result of the sweeping changes which our continent has undergone, Europe has once again had to come to terms with its history.

Ultimately, the division of Europe during the cold war will probably seem like nothing more than a brief interlude. Yet for the generation that lived during and immediately after the cold war, it represented a break in continuity, one which has left its mark on people's minds and is reflected in our curricula and textbooks by the lack of balance between short-, medium- and long-term perspectives and, very often, by the exaggeration of the contrasts or differences between certain parts of Europe (in particular, the east, the centre and the west) which may indeed have had some significance during the past forty years but have none at all in the long-term perspective of European history.

At the same time, the re-emergence of the dangers of ultranationalism, rejection of others and intolerance, trends which have been observed again and again across our continent, sometimes with dramatic consequences, whether in relations between states or within states, provides a challenge for historians and history teachers, as well as for all decision makers working in the field of education.

The Council of Europe is the ideal forum for discussion of such matters by virtue of its membership and because of the extensive experience it has gathered since its creation, as the preceding pages have shown.

The Council of Europe's action in this field has been a shining example of the potential role of educational co-operation in promoting reconciliation, recognition of otherness, mutual information and awareness, teamwork and co-operation in the truest sense of the word.

Looking ahead, the political importance of the purpose, content and methods of history teaching will undoubtedly remain a fundamental aspect of the Council for Cultural Co-operation's work.

It appears self-evident that if relations between, and in certain cases within, European countries follow the expected trend, the acceptance of difference and the creation of suitable conditions for a new approach to coexistence will largely depend on a thorough examination of the purpose of history teaching.

Without rejecting the legitimate objective of history teaching in a democratic state, namely to place the birth and development of nation states in their chronological context, it would seem inevitable that the purpose of history teaching should be broadened to include awareness of difference and, through practical, pragmatic teaching methods, the acceptance of plural approaches and concepts as regards the interpretation of particular historical events.

It will readily be accepted that the free, conscious development of a common future for the peoples of Europe can only be facilitated by increased knowledge both of the history of individual countries and of the major events in European history itself, as was strongly emphasised by the heads of state and government at the Vienna summit in 1993.

Finally, the new purpose of history teaching involves the continuous reconstruction of the image we have of ourselves and of others, and the image others have of us.

These images are manifold: the one we construct of our neighbours within the same district or region, the ones which exist between neighbouring countries or countries which are far apart, or between large regions within a continent which often form a fairly homogeneous cultural mass, and lastly the image which Europe constructs of itself and how it would like to be viewed by the rest of the world. In this context, the Council of Europe's action may take a number of forms, different yet complementary.

The bilateral assistance measures implemented under the New Initiative of the Secretary General, as described above, which are aimed at helping certain member states to reform their history teaching methods, and especially their textbooks, should certainly be continued, drawing in particular on the experience acquired and the networks of experts set up over the past few years and the mutual trust which has gradually built up during the process.

On a multilateral level, project activities based on the methods pursued in connection with the "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the

20th century" project, involving the production of model teaching material, specific teacher training activities and in-depth discussion of history teaching methods and approaches geared towards developing the skills of opinion-forming, research and dialogue, a genuine European education for democratic citizenship should become a reality and pupils should gain a greater awareness of the common European heritage.

In this context, as the heads of state and government urged, activities targeting the general public should be launched, focusing on the highlights of the development of Europe as a whole, and particularly its cultural development.

Through such well co-ordinated activities, possibly conducted in conjunction with other European organisations, in particular the European Union, a new approach to the very concept of history teaching should be developed to ensure that we do not go into the 21st century with 19th century ideas.

Such activities will, above all, enable the political objectives set as a priority by the Council's bodies at the highest level to be attained, and, more specifically, will foster greater mutual understanding, tolerance and pluralism, qualities which have represented the Council of Europe's very essence since its inception.

Appendix I

Recommendation 1283 on history and the learning of history in Europe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ii. consider the possibility of establishing in member states an on-line library of history;

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

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

Appendix II

Select Council of Europe bibliography

Teaching history in the new Europe, report of the symposium held in Bruges, Belgium (9-13 December 1991) (CC-ED/HIST(93)1)

History teaching: bibliography of the documents of the Council of Europe 1953-94 (CC-ED/HIST(94) 21)

The reform of history teaching in schools in European countries in democratic transition, report of the seminar held in Graz, Austria (27 November-1 December 1994 (CC-ED/Hist (95) 2)

Mutual understanding and the teaching of European history: challenges, problems and approaches, report of the symposium held in Prague, Czech Republic (24-28 October 1995) (CC-ED/HIST (95) 16)

Against bias and prejudice: the Council of Europe's work on history teaching and history textbooks (CC-ED/Hist (95) 3 rev.)

History without frontiers: a practical guide to international history projects in schools in Europe, by Sean Lang (CC-ED/HIST (96) 2)

The Council of Europe and school history, by Ann Low-Beer (CC-ED/HIST(98)47)

The museum as a resource in history teaching, report on a European Teachers' Seminar held in Stockholm, Sweden (9-13 March 1997) (DECS/SE/BS/SEM (97)5)

History and its interpretations (Council of Europe Publishing, 1997)

Internet site for the project on "Learning and teaching about the history of Europe in the 20th century", http://culture.coe.fr/hist20