

Disarming History

International Conference on
Combating Stereotypes and Prejudice in History Textbooks of
South-East Europe

Visby, Gotland (Sweden), 23–25 September 1999



This booklet was prepared as a provisional report on the *Disarming History* conference which was held in Visby from 23 to 25 September 1999. It contains the presentation of the various topics on the agenda.

UNESCO will prepare and distribute later an official report on the proceedings of the conference.

Should participants and observers wish to send texts or make amendments to the attached texts, would they please send them to:

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Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you for having taken part in this important and timely gathering, “Disarming History”. I thank our hosts here in Visby for their hospitality. There could have been no more appropriate venue for this conference than Gotland, whose rich history was marked by its strategic central position in the Baltic Sea. Visby played an important historic role in the Hanseatic League and is on UNESCO’s World Heritage List. It has also been the venue for recent activities promoting a culture of peace. Two



months ago a very productive meeting of Greek and Turkish Cypriot artists took place here in Visby which I am confident will lead to greater cooperation between the two communities in Cyprus.

Your own encounter has a history! After a successful conference on “South—East Europe, a Crossroads of Cultures”, held in UNESCO Headquarters in February 1998, I was convinced that it would be useful to bring together, on the theme of disarming history, representatives of Ministries of Education, history textbook authors, researchers and editors from the South-Eastern European countries. Contemporary history shows how urgent is the need to combat stereotypes and prejudice in school books. I would like to thank all of you for the ideas and proposals you have presented here.

Today’s conflicts share a pattern of stereotyping: new stereotypes are being created and the old ones strengthened. The insecurity felt by many people in crisis-ridden communities, gives rise to anxiety and fear. This can easily be manipulated to give rise to aggressiveness and hatred which is turned against others – neighbouring peoples, minorities, any group, in fact, that can be designated as “national traitors”. Thus, a particular interpretation of

past history is exploited to “arm” a population psychologically in preparation for a new chapter of tragedy and warfare.

UNESCO, home to all cultures, wished to fulfil its role by helping you to take a look together at the historical and cultural links between your countries; to appraise, together, the way in which you view each other; to try to dispel misunderstandings and create a climate in which tensions can be eased. Even when misconceptions are serious, deep-rooted, and of very long standing, even if there are many grievous wounds, we must never lose hope. History teaching can be an excellent vehicle of mutual understanding, especially between neighbouring countries, provided that it does not exclusively extol the national identity. UNESCO will provide every support to your initiatives in carrying out revision of school textbooks, to remove any prejudice or stereotypes they might contain vis-à-vis other nations or certain groups.

In UNESCO, the countries of South-Eastern Europe have an important role to play. UNESCO has many tasks but a single mission: to build peace. Peace, as we now understand, is not the exclusive business of governments and international organizations. It is more than the absence of war and violence. It depends on our values and attitudes in our communities, our families, our schools. Peace must be cultivated, learned and, above all, put into practice. To make peace, we must act to transform conflict and conflictual approaches into cooperation and cooperative attitudes. Only this can make the world better for all.

We wish to see the Balkans move on, from being one of Europe’s main focal points of instability to being part of the European mainstream. We do not want the conflict now ending in Kosovo to be the prelude of others; we want to build the true basis for a new area of peace; so that future conflicts are prevented at source, and democratic institutions attain their potential, protecting the rights of all. It is towards this end that we must pool our energies in a determined manner in the months ahead. Today we organize a conference. Tomorrow we must act. From this meeting, I ask you to go back to your respective countries fully determined to act on what you have decided here.

The International Year for the Culture of Peace, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations for the Year 2000, is a major milestone. The action of UNESCO and the United Nations alone is not enough, however. The development of a culture of peace requires the full participation of everyone, and especially of every educator. An important dimension of UNESCO's approach is educational. It includes the improvement of school textbooks, production of teaching materials, organization of seminars and conferences, and the Associated Schools Project.

The future needs peace, and for the construction of the Europe of to-morrow, peace is indispensable. We all realise that Europe cannot be fully stable until the sources of instability and strife in its South-Eastern part are identified and dried out. This cannot be accomplished by the force of arms. Rather it requires a broad effort, encompassing ideas, skills and resources of each and everybody. Our responsibility is to do more than manage problems and cope with crisis. We must see through the smoke of current events to the broader horizon beyond. But first of all, we must dispel the darkness of yesterday and promote the idea of a Europe of regions, a Europe of unity in diversity, made up of an interlinking and interdependence of regions, a spirit of global solidarity.

South-Eastern Europe has always been seen as a crossroads of civilisations and hence one of Europe's real centres of diversity in cultural richness. Let us ensure that each piece of its *mosaïque* be valued, as the heritage of all. Our common task ahead is to ensure that future generations can live all together in a world without hatred, in a spirit of peace and non-violence based on democratic values.

Federico Mayor
Director-General of the
United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural Organization
Address delivered at the closing session
of the Conference

Declaration

Nous, représentants des cultures de l'Europe du Sud-Est, réunis à Visby, à l'invitation de l'UNESCO, en vue d'un débat sur l'enseignement de l'histoire dans les écoles, avons abouti aux réflexions suivantes:

L'espace historique de l'Europe du Sud-Est, ces dernières années, est marqué par l'action de forces de destruction aux effets inquiétants. La montée de nationalismes exacerbés, les ressentiments et les revendications de droits historiques sur divers territoires, ont suscité des divisions, des haines, des conflits. Respectant les valeurs fondamentales de l'humanisme européen, la liberté, la tolérance et le droit à la différence, nous condamnons toute action politique, militaire et économique qui porte atteinte à la dignité des hommes et des peuples, ainsi qu'à leurs droits traditionnels.

L'histoire qui, par son exigence de vérité, nous éclaire sur notre origine et notre identité, a aussi une mission émancipatrice qui projette une image constructive de ce que nous devons être. Le devoir de l'historien serait de définir les causes des conflits et leurs effets, et de promouvoir en même temps un climat de solidarité dans les différences, d'établir le dialogue pour reconnaître l'autre et aussi nous reconnaître dans l'autre.

Si la connaissance est un volet de l'image historique du passé, l'interprétation en est un autre. Le rôle de l'historien ne se limite donc pas à identifier les faits et à tracer les grands courants de l'évolution historique. Il lui appartient de les présenter de façon que l'on puisse y prendre appui pour contribuer à promouvoir le progrès de l'humanité, ainsi que pour justifier l'engagement de tout sujet historique.

Il est injuste qu'un peuple soit privé de la connaissance de son passé, mais il est tout aussi absurde que les faits historiques soient dénaturés et mis au service d'une idéologie de haine, d'exclusion et d'agression. L'histoire doit se méfier des manipulations idéologiques et des mythologies partisans. Si les peuples ne peuvent pas réécrire leur passé, ils sont du moins appelés à créer leur avenir à partir de principes qui dépassent les divages idéologiques ou ethniques de ce passé. La tâche de l'historien consiste justement à considérer la réalité des faits et à en tirer

les conséquences au profit des grands principes démocratiques et humanistes.

L'un des dangers majeurs de toute recherche historique consiste à accorder une importance excessive à certains phénomènes, au point de trahir la vérité et de transformer les faits en légendes ou en obsession collective.

Enfin, l'histoire européenne doit être envisagée du point de vue de la tendance à constituer des ensembles plus vastes et elle ne peut ignorer la convergence des aspirations et des intérêts de la majorité des Etats en Europe. Cette convergence ne supprime pas la spécificité nationale et régionale ; elle revendique, au contraire, à travers le respect des particularismes, des divergences et des divisions, l'application des principes démocratiques. C'est tout en reconnaissant les particularités nationales, affirmer les valeurs universelles au sein du pluralisme politique, culturel et religieux.

Nous, hommes de culture de l'Europe du Sud-Est, nous déclarons prêts à relever les défis de notre époque pour défendre et illustrer la culture de la paix et les valeurs qui assurent la liberté, la justice et la plénitude de l'humain.

Visby (Gotland),
25 septembre 1999

Peter Curman, poète (Suède)
Anton Donchev, écrivain (Bulgarie)
Göran Hägg, professeur et écrivain (Suède)
Dan Haulica, écrivain et critique d'art (Roumanie)
Ismail Kadare, écrivain (Albanie)
Nikola Kovac, historien et écrivain (Bosnie-Herzégovine)
Ingemar Lindahl, poète (Suède)
Hercules Millas, chercheur en science politique (Grèce)
Luan Starova, écrivain (Macédoine)
Nikolay Stoyanov, éditeur et écrivain (Bulgarie)
Vassilis Vassilikos, écrivain (Grèce)
Jusuf Vrioni, écrivain et traducteur (Albanie)

*(Participants of the Round Table on REVISITING THE BALKANS
Looking at South-Eastern Europe through Aiterature and Art)*

Conclusions and recommendations

The participants

NOTE WITH GREAT INTEREST the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace, adopted by the United Nations 53rd General Assembly on 13 September 1999, encouraging, inter alia, “revision of educational curricula, including textbooks bearing in mind the 1995 Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy for which technical cooperation should be provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization upon request”,

CONSIDER the Visby Conference as one of the first steps towards the implementation of that United Nations Programme of Action, which should be followed-up;

RECALL the perspectives for international co-operation in the field of improving curricula and textbooks for the teaching of history, historical research, bi- and multilateral revision of textbooks and the co-production of textbooks by two or more countries, outlined in UNESCO’s Medium Term Strategy 1996-2001 (document 28 C/4, paras 158 and 159);

NOTE WITH APPRECIATION that the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe proposed, on 21 September 1999, a new co-operation agreement between the Council of Europe and UNESCO, which would cover, inter alia, the reform of the education systems in South-East Europe, including curricula and textbooks;

HAVING SHARED INFORMATION on a number of interesting experiences and ongoing projects presented during the Visby Conference by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the

European Union (Stability Pact, Royaumont process) as well as Non-Governmental Organizations and institutions such as the Georg Eckert Institute, EUROCLIO, CIVITAS, Central European University, Association internationale d'études du Sud-Est européen (AIESEE) and the Joint History Textbook Project, and governmental as well as non-governmental experts from the South-East Europe subregion,

A. Express concern about

- (i) the political and economic situation of South-East Europe, causing a crisis of public expenditure on education;
- (ii) ongoing problems of living together of people with different cultural backgrounds in this region;
- (iii) existing tendencies of emphasizing, in history teaching, the national identity at the expense of the identity of others;
- (iv) the contents of many history textbooks, placing too much emphasis on national aspects at the detriment of international, regional and local dimensions of history, and reflecting the history of wars and violence to the detriment of giving due account of periods of peaceful coexistence, co-operation and cultural exchange, of mutual enrichment between different groups as well as between nations;

B. Agree on the following principles and perspectives:

- (i) History textbooks should be used, among other instruments, for the shaping of understanding the past and present and for developing open-ended perspectives for the future; they should give space to the development of the multicultural world of today, as outlined in the Report of the World Commission of Culture and Development (Perez de Cuellar Report "Our Creative Diversity");
- (ii) History teaching should foster individual judgment and critical thinking through, inter alia, presenting a number of

sources open to interpretation and giving access to the perspectives of various actors in history and at present from different perspectives and different interpretations, based on concepts such as “learning to live together” and “education for pluralism”, outlined in the Report of the World Commission on Education for the 21st Century (Delors Report “The Treasure Within”) and the Recommendation No. 1283 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (1996);

- (iii) History teaching should contribute to fostering media competence of young people, supporting their ability to understand and select information from the various sources of information competing for their attention;
- (iv) Educational curricula and teacher training should provide for innovative interdisciplinary approaches to history and literature, foreign language teaching and other subjects;
- (v) The commemoration of days and events that create feelings of national antagonism should be transformed into opportunities for addressing the need for reconciliation, understanding and co-operation;

C. Recommend to the Director-General of UNESCO, in co-operation with the European Union (Stability Pact and Royaumont process) and the Council of Europe, to

- (i) develop further the perspectives on history teaching, as they are outlined in UNESCO’s Medium Term Strategy, into a coherent strategy for inter-agency and institutional co-operation and also for co-operation with NGOs;
- (ii) update existing ways for dissemination of experiences, ideas and proposals and for networking, making full use of the new information technologies and including the dissemination of results of relevant research such as the “Youth and History” project;
- (iii) identify a number of best practices in history teaching;
- (iv) promote research and evaluation in this field;

- (v) elaborate a specific plan of action for the South-East Europe subregion, aiming at, inter alia, fostering the process of establishing and further developing partnerships between governmental and intergovernmental institutions; innovation in teacher training; involving UNESCO's Associated Schools Network in the development of new materials and methods of history teaching; recognizing best practices in history teaching which can contribute to the transformation of negative feelings into reconciliation; adaptation and large-scale implementation of such examples of best practice; encouraging innovation in history teaching through a number of pilot projects; encouraging experiments with bi- or even multilateral co-production of supplementary educational materials and certain modules of history textbooks; facilitating access to innovative materials and methods through the Internet; providing support to initiatives which its Member States of South-East Europe may wish to take in carrying out a bilateral or even multilateral revision of school textbooks so as to remove any prejudices or stereotypes they might contain vis-à-vis other nations or groups.

D. Recommend to the Member States and their National Commissions of South-East Europe to

- (i) provide, wherever possible, for a number of different history textbooks among which the teachers can choose;
- (ii) facilitate the use of supplementary materials such as texts provided by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Union or selected in projects conducted under the umbrella of those intergovernmental institutions and organizations as well as non-governmental organizations working in the field of history teaching such as the Georg Eckert Institute and EUROCLIO;
- (iii) introduce, into teacher-training, methods for using additional textbooks and supplementary materials;

- (iv) facilitate evaluation and research on history teaching;
- (v) ensure intellectual freedom for textbook authors and link textbooks to the curricula, setting up teams of authors of history textbooks who should include practitioners and have access to textbooks from other countries as well as information provided by international organizations;
- (vi) facilitate and encourage contacts between professional organizations of historians and teachers of history at national, regional and international levels;
- (vii) include, into bilateral agreements on cultural cooperation or on the agenda of relevant regular meetings in this context, the exchange of curricula and textbooks and other educational materials;
- (viii) seek co-operation with UNESCO or European intergovernmental institutions and organizations in preparing pilot projects for bi- or multilateral coproduction of history teaching materials.

E. Recommend to the other Member States and their National Commissions of the Europe Region to

- (i) take note of the results and proceedings of the Visby Conference;
- (ii) provide support to subregional activities in South-East Europe in the area of reforming history teaching and designing new textbooks and teaching materials;
- (iii) invite experts from South-East Europe to relevant meetings in other parts of Europe;
- (iv) make available information on bi- or multilateral experiences in history textbook revision to countries of the South-East Europe subregion.

F. Recommend to specialized institutions and professional associations and organizations to

- (i) participate in UNESCO's Network for International Textbook Research and, in particular, share their experiences, ideas and proposals with the other members of that network;
- (ii) develop proposals and innovation and further develop international co-operation in history teaching to be submitted, through governmental channels, to UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Union (in the frameworks of the Stability Pact and the Royaumont process) as well as non-governmental organizations working in this area;

G. Recommend that UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the European Union, governments, non-governmental institutions and specialized institutions support and assist

- (i) the Georg Eckert Institute in its tasks as co-ordinator of the UNESCO Network for International Textbook Research and as the Council of Europe's clearing-house for the exchange of textbooks and information, to develop a specific section on South-East Europe, inter alia through providing updated information and materials for the website of that network, and completing the stock of relevant history textbooks for the centre;
- (ii) EUROCLIO in strengthening the learning and teaching of history and in promoting innovation in this area.

Programme

23 September 1999

9:30 A.M. WISBY HOTEL

Opening ceremony

Welcoming addresses

Election of Conference Officers

Dr Falk Pingel was elected chairman of the conference

Presentations aimed at setting the scene for the events scheduled over the following days

Introduction of participants

11:00 A.M. - 1:00 P.M. WISBY HOTEL

SESSION I

– State-of-the-art of relevant work on combating stereotypes and prejudice in history textbooks of South-East Europe

Keynote presentation: Historiography and textbook writing in Southeastern Europe (*Evangelos Kofos*)

Presentation of national experiences by the participants

Discussion

3:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M. GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Parallel workshops

Workshop I

New approaches to history textbook writing

(*Joke van derLeew-Roord*)

Workshop II

Misleading concepts in history textbooks

(*Christina Koulouri*)

23 septembre 1999

9H30 WISBY HOTEL

Cérémonie d'ouverture

Allocutions de bienvenue

Election du Bureau de la Conférence

Dr Falk Pingel a été Président de la Conférence

Définition du cadre de travail des jours suivants

Présentation des participants

11H - 13H WISBY HOTEL

SESSION I

Bilan des travaux menés sur la lutte contre les stéréotypes et les préjugés dans les manuels d'histoire des pays du Sud-Est européen

Exposé liminaire: Historiographie et rédaction de manuels dans le Sud-Est européen (*Evangelos Kofos*)

Présentation par les participants d'expériences nationales

Débat

15H - 17H GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Ateliers parallèles

Atelier I

Nouvelles conceptions de la rédaction de manuels d'histoire
(*Joke van derLeew-Roord*)

Atelier II

Concepts dans les manuels d'histoire
(*Christina Koulouri*)

5:30 P.M. - 7:00 P.M. WISBY HOTEL

**Presentation of relevant programmes by
International Organizations active in the region**

Council of Europe, European Union (Stability Pact and
Royaumont Process), KulturKontakt, CIVITAS, Euroclio,
Centres of South Eastern-European Studies
Proposals for a multilateral programme in the history
textbook development of the region

24 September 1999

9:30 A.M. - 1:00 P.M. GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

SESSION II

Recent findings in historical research for the region

Keynote presentation: South-Eastern European civilization
between synthesis and conflicts (*Razvan Theodorescu*)

Discussion

A different point of view : The Balkans created by Europe :
Balkan myths and stereotypes in the European imaginary
(*Svetla Moussakova*)

3:00 P.M. - 5:00 P.M. GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

**Presentation by outstanding personalities:
writers, artists, journalists**

In collaboration with the Baltic Centre for Writers and
Translators, a special programme and a Round Table entitled
"Revisiting the Balkans: Looking at South-Eastern Europe
through literature and art" will be organized in parallel with
the conference.

During this session the main conclusions of these events will
be presented to the participants

17H30 - 19H WISBY HOTEL

Présentation de leur programme par les organisations internationales présentes dans la région

Conseil de l'Europe, Union européenne (Pacte de stabilité et le Processus de Royaumont), KulturKontakt, CIVITAS, Centres d'études du Sud-Est européen
Esquisse d'un programme multilatéral de développement des manuels d'histoire dans la région

24 septembre 1999

9H30 - 13H GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

SESSION II

Etat actuel de la recherche historique dans la région

Exposé liminaire : La civilisation du Sud-Est européen entre synthèse et conflits (*Razvan Theodorescu*)

Débat

Point de vue : Les Balkans créés par l'Europe : mythes et stéréotypes balkaniques dans l'imaginaire européen
(*Svetla Moussakova*)

15H - 17H GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Interventions de personnalités éminentes : écrivains, artistes, journalistes

En collaboration avec le Centre baltique des écrivains et traducteurs, un programme spécial et une table ronde seront organisés, en marge de la conférence sur : Revisitons les Balkans, regardons le Sud-Est européen à travers l'art et la littérature

Pendant cette séance, les principales conclusions de ces réunions seront exposés aux participants

5:30 P.M. - 7:00 P.M. GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

SESSION III

Strengthening subregional cooperation in the field of history teaching and textbook production

Keynote presentation: Easing conflicts through textbook research and textbook comparison. What measures can be taken in the Balkan region? (*Falk Pingel*)

Presentation of governmental policies in the field of history teaching and textbook production by the participants at the conference

25 September 1999

9:00 A.M. - 10:30 A.M. WISBY HOTEL

SESSION III (Continuation)

Introduction of successful examples from other regions on history textbook harmonization

Discussion

Proposals for a multilateral programme in the history textbook development of the region

11:00 A.M. - 12:30 P.M. WISBY HOTEL

Closing Session

Concluding remarks from the chairperson of the conference

Reports from Drafting Group

Approval of Declaration and Framework of Action

Address by the Director-General of UNESCO

17H30 - 19H GOTLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

SESSION III

Renforcement de la coopération sous-régionale dans le domaine de l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la production de manuels

Exposé liminaire : Apaiser les conflits grâce à la recherche et à la comparaison des manuels scolaires. Que faire dans la région des Balkans ? (*Falk Pingel*)

Présentation par les participants des politiques gouvernementales dans le domaine de l'enseignement de l'histoire et de la production des manuels

25 septembre 1999

9H - 10H30 WISBY HOTEL

SESSION III (Suite)

Quelques exemples de réussite dans l'harmonisation des manuels d'histoire dans d'autres régions

Débat

Esquisse d'un programme multilatéral de développement des manuels d'histoire dans la région

11H - 12H30 WISBY HOTEL

Séance de clôture

Remarques finales du président de la conférence

Rapport du Groupe de rédaction

Approbation d'une Déclaration et d'un Plan d'action

Allocution du Directeur général de l'UNESCO

Session I

Textbooks:

The pendulum of “loading” and “disarming” history: The South-Eastern European test case

by Dr Evangelos Kofos

For more than a century the end of wars was followed by the agonising assessments of their causes. Following the First World War, but more so after the Second, social scientists sought to trace the origins of conflicts in the mentalities — individual and collective — of the peoples themselves. The ethnocentric appraisal of the past and stereotyped negative perceptions of neighbours — *the other* — were seen as determinant elements which had shaped attitudes for “revanchism” or for messianic calls to redress “historical injustices”. These, in turn, brewed antagonisms and eventually triggered conflict. Considerable portion of the blame was reserved for the teaching of history and geography. Thus, the efforts to cure the malaise — both during the inter-war period and the first post-WWII decades — concentrated on eradicating in history teaching such negative approaches as nationalism-chauvinism, revanchism and intolerance. Today it is South-Eastern Europe that is emerging from wars, civil conflicts and social upheavals. Therefore, it is timely to take a quick look at our rich experiences as a world community, as Europe, and even as S.E. Europe in coping with the consequences of the armed conflicts and pitfalls of transition.

In assessing the causes and the monstrosity shown in the conduct of two world wars, governments, international associations, and educators placed a considerable portion of the blame on the type of education provided to young Europeans. In particular, the teaching of history was found guilty of contaminating the youth with all those negative attributes brewing conflicts.

Concentrated efforts were directed at ostracising nationalist-chauvinist interpretations of history from school textbooks and implanting democratic values. The facts of this epopea are well known to this expert audience. Nevertheless, at the risk of oversimplification, I think it is useful, at this opening session of the conference to make reference to the work of certain international organisations and institutions.

As early as in the 1950s, UNESCO and the Council of Europe, became actively involved in the field. Undoubtedly, they were inspired, in the early post-war years, by the constructive efforts of French and Germans in resolving many long entrenched problems dealing with their mutual history. UNESCO, being a world-organisation, led the way by promoting simultaneously both the “negative” and “positive” approach to textbook improvement. The *negative* approach meant the elimination of erroneous, false, exaggerated and offending statements about nations and peoples and their inter-relationship. On the other hand, the *positive* approach aimed at curing deficiencies caused by serious omissions. Through a process of inserting “necessary” and “desirable” presentations, educators sought to improve a better understanding of historical perceptions of others, and the values of peace, tolerance and democratic values in general. UNESCO sought to popularise these objectives through conferences, meetings of educators, and publications. To this end, it utilised various National Commissions to stimulate work on the regional level. As it turned out, this proved to be the most appropriate forum to move from theoretical discussions to practical applications, particularly among neighbouring peoples.

On its part, the Council of Europe, being a community of Western European democracies prior to 1990, was in a better position to explore more advanced areas of textbook improvement. Its task appeared easier, as it sought to co-ordinate the efforts of memberstates sharing more or less the same democratic values and, to a considerable degree, common historical experiences. Thus, in close co-operation with the Georg Eckert Institute, it initiated, from 1960 to 1990, a series of thematic studies for the teaching of European history and the European concept for the promotion

through history teaching of the values of civic societies, human rights, tolerance etc.

On a non-governmental, professional level the Georg Eckert Institute had been – as early as in the 50's – a major protagonist in removing from history and geography textbooks errors, political and religious bias, chauvinist fanaticism, negative stereotypes and intolerance toward the “other”. Over the years, it experimented with a technique based on reciprocity and strict academic standards. In bilateral meetings, far from the spotlights of international audiences, it encouraged the two sides to table their observations on the other's textbooks (negative contents, omissions, unacceptable interpretations, etc) and to submit in writing their own proposals for revision. Joint recommendations of specialists would then be forwarded to governments and/or publishers for inclusion in future editions.

Meanwhile, as traditional international conflicts withered away in Western European countries, new areas of tension began to emerge within European societies. These were the result of cleavages caused by the influx of alien-culture refugees or “migrant workers”, by the impact of economic and social inequalities, and by the national revival of certain ethnic groups, long considered assimilated or fully integrated in Western national states.

The influx of alien-culture refugees or “migrant workers” in Western European countries – including Greece after 1990 – raised a new set of questions which needed to be urgently addressed. Similarly certain ethnic groups long considered assimilated or fully integrated in Western national states began to show a new awareness of their national/ethnic identities. This appears to be the current new challenge faced by politicians, educators and textbook writers in Western societies. It has been so noted in January 1996 by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe calling: (a) for measures in support of the teaching of history in conditions which will ensure that it will not be manipulated or distorted for political or religious reasons, and (b) for encouraging pupils to develop their critical qualities in appreciating their national history as well as that of minorities.

These are only a few new areas that are being discussed on an overall European level. There are others, and even more pressing.

The explosion of the means of information dissemination through a multiple of media outside central government control has limited to a small fraction the input of history knowledge through the school education process. In the 1950's, it was believed that almost 90 per cent of the knowledge of history acquired by pupils originated with textbooks. By the late 1980's, the percentage had shrunk markedly. Textbooks now have powerful rivals in TV and other mass media, a wide variety of publications and, more recently, the Internet and CD-Roms.

Consequently, the whole traditional concept of the textbook being dominant as well as the authoritative source for shaping the students' appreciation and perception of history, has come into question. If the textbook cannot meet the traditional educational requirements of history teaching/learning, then a preferable new approach would be to develop the students' ability to comprehend differing and antagonistic value judgements, and thus enable them to formulate objective opinions through a critical process. This could simply be summarised as a process whereby students are not offered ready-made "correct" facts or assessments, but are assisted in developing their ability to make educated judgements.

It was correctly observed that if educational authorities do converge on such views, then methodical and didactic approaches to history teaching would take precedence to simple textbook revision.

Contrary to the prevailing perception of the Balkans being a quagmire of emotive nationalist conflicts — and this is somehow reflected in the teaching of their national histories—the region has some experience with constructive efforts in this respect.

In the 1980's, while the East-West political discourse had progressed, the Balkan states — through their UNESCO National Commissions — sent delegates to Istanbul to a preliminary conference on school textbooks. Despite insufficient experience at the time with Western European ground work on the subject, the participants re-affirmed certain basic principles of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, heard reports by certain delegations on their countries' history and geography textbook work, and agreed to meet

in Greece in two years' time to discuss concrete ways of co-operation in the field.

The Patras Conference of the Balkan National Commissions for UNESCO, in 1988, was attended for the first time by all six Balkan countries – including Albania – and observers from UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the Georg Eckert Institute. It was a unique experiment. All delegations, composed of educators, Ministry of Education officials and independent historians specialising in Balkan history, had come to the conference with their homework done, as they had already exchanged and reviewed their respective school textbooks.

The conference developed along three levels:

- (a) Discussion of general principles governing history and geography textbook work (lists of such principles were tabled by all delegations to be available for a synthetic study at a later stage).
- (b) Presentation by each country of new developments in its history and geography textbooks, followed by exhaustive discussion by all delegations.
- (c) Optional, separate, bilateral meetings of all delegations, in order to assess specific issues of a bilateral nature. It was during this phase that participants were able to voice their concern and to table concrete suggestions either of a general nature or on specific issues. As a result, certain delegations agreed to hold bilateral conferences of educators and Ministry of Education officials, while pursuing preparations for a third conference of UNESCO Balkan national commissions.

Political developments since 1989, postponed these plans, with one exception: In May 1990, however, government delegations of educators and historians from Bulgaria and Greece met in Athens. This was another “first” in textbook co-operation. Undoubtedly, the Bulgarian delegation represented a country at the threshold of transition. Zhivkov had fallen and his successors were still experimenting with the evolution of their country toward democratisation. For the purpose of the meeting, this did not prove a handicap.

The two sides were able to discuss, in the good old Georg Eckert Institute tradition, specific issues in their mutual relations. There was considerable convergence on specific issues of history interpretation concerning the Thracians, the Byzantine-Bulgarian relations and the Ottoman period. Despite different approaches on the treatment of historical events of Greek-Bulgarian relations in the 19th and 20th centuries, the two sides were able to record their observations in a conciliatory spirit. A memorandum drawn by the two delegations was certainly a landmark. It proved, however, to be a paper landmark. As the winds of political change swept away the past, other priorities took precedence, in both countries. Nevertheless, government officials in Athens and Sofia have repeatedly referred to the need for bilateral consultations on the subject.

A new era was emerging. Before proceeding with a discussion of the post-1990 transitional period in S.E. Europe a note should be added on Greece's similar experiences, *mutatis mutandis*, of 20 years earlier. Greece had gone through a nationalist-oriented dictatorial regime in the period 1967-74, and the Greek people, both in Greece and Cyprus, had suffered the calamities of a quasi-nationalist fundamentalism. The collapse of this regime ushered in a period of transition and democratic rehabilitation. As a result a major reform in the educational system was introduced including the rewriting of history and geography textbooks. Thus, by the mid-1980's Greek textbooks had significantly been cleansed of negative or offensive attributes to Balkan neighbours and had considerably suppressed nationalist rhetoric and jingoistic presentation of wars with neighbours.

The collapse of the communist system in Central, South and Eastern Europe in 1989-1990, shattered not only the bipolar international security system but destroyed as well those internal mechanisms which for decades controlled the social and ethnic cleavages in the "socialist" countries. During the transitional period that followed, most of the emerging new societies experienced, with varied degrees of intensity and duration, phenomena of nationalism, reminiscent at times of a pre-war vintage. In the territory of the ex-SFR of Yugoslavia, the fact that four of its numerically major peoples

were engaged in national and ethnic armed conflicts further accentuated the situation. As influential segments of society shaping the new political order appeared to endorse such tendencies, it was not surprising that negative phenomena were reflected in hastily redrafted, nationalist-oriented new editions of history school textbooks.

Following the period of — what I would call — the “infantile nationalist reawakening”, certain countries in the region had second thoughts, and took action to redress the most acute negative manifestations in new editions. So much, however, cannot be said of the warring zone countries of the peninsula. Nevertheless in regions not directly affected by armed conflict, a grassroots movement is endeavouring to shift the pendulum in the other direction. As such, it is supported by specialised international institutions organisations and NGOs, but more so by the emergence of a new generation of democratically-oriented intellectuals and educators. Nevertheless, the road is still a long one, particularly since the teaching of history is directly linked to the construction of new societies, where “national interests” and even “nationalist visions” are interwoven with the spreading of democratic values and the setting up of democratic institutions.

We have to be visionaries as well as realists. S.E. Europe is far from being a coherent region. Even its boundaries are changing like the desert sands. History had been unfair to it, dividing it for centuries by hard demarcation lines, shaping different mentalities and stimulating conflicting visions. As a result it will take a very long time to “disarm history”. These dividing lines — including the most recent one erected during the second half of the 20th century — have created varied forms of perceptions of one’s own stage in the historical process of the region. This past decade has offered us plenty of evidence to that effect. Societies and even political elites in certain countries perceive their people or countries in a state of nation-building and a process of national independence-unification. In this climate they adapt their political goals. Elsewhere, the perception of “greater states”, although not translated into action political programmes, has given shape to quasi “national visions” or

“dogmas”, viewing lands and peoples in neighbouring countries as “unjustly” outside their state boundaries.

Whereas there might or might not be historical justification for such perceptions it is critical to know how such views are or would be presented in textbooks; because this will directly affect the shaping of mentalities of future generations in S.E. Europe. Intellectuals, educators and political elites in each country have to address the problem. Outsiders, however, have also a role to play in assisting the local actors not only with constructive ideas and support but also by skilfully studying school textbooks for early warning signals of trends in societies and regimes which might be brewing the seeds of future conflicts.

If we wish to establish credible long-duration Confidence Building Measures in conflict-prone situations, we have to focus on the proper training of the youth. But we need to be *Prometheans*, not *Epimetheans* — provident not imprudent. This should be the yardstick in coping with such issues in the S.E. European terrain, now in the state of transition.

Session II

La civilisation du Sud-Est européen entre synthèse et conflits

par Răzvan Theodorescu (Roumanie)

Pas mal d'intellectuels européens de ce siècle finissant, ouvert par deux guerres balkaniques et par une autre à échelle planétaire, éclatée toujours dans cette péninsule d'entre le cap Matapan et le Danube, auraient pu partager l'esprit des « litanies des Balkans » dues au célèbre Georges Duhamel, écrivain et membre de l'Académie Française, dans ses « Images de la Grèce », partie du triptique composant une de ses oeuvres les plus consultées: « O, péninsule balkanique, tourment des idéologues, traquenard des diplomates, purgatoire de l'Occident, réservoir de catastrophes, notre Asie d'Europe... »¹.

Dans un monde où le terme « balkanisation » est devenu, avec une facilité déconcertante et parfois provocatrice, un concept politique indiquant l'instabilité, les prétentions territoriales, la répressions des minorités ethniques et religieuses, la règle de l'intervention étrangère – en plus un concept appliqué tous azimuts, depuis l'Asie jusqu'en Amérique Latine –, la mission de chaque savant, de chaque enseignant impliqué dans la recherche et l'explication du Sud-Est européen – de ses pays et de son ensemble également – est celle de trouver des moyens convaincants afin d'expliquer combien ces Balkans tant démonisés furent une terre de tolérance religieuse, de synthèse culturelle et parfois même d'avant-garde spirituelle. C'est-à-dire des traits de civilisation qui sont rarement ou jamais mentionnés dans les traités universitaires et dans les manuels scolaires ciblant cette soi-disante « poudrière » de l'Europe – une parmi tant d'autres, il faut le dire, depuis l'Irlande jusqu'au Proche Orient –, car on oublie combien le monde actuel vit, quotidiennement presque, certaines conquêtes de l'esprit des Balkans qui mériteraient une approche dépourvue de préjugés, depuis l'idée même de la Constitution et depuis le droit romain jusqu'à la morale chrétienne.

La division des Européens dans le sens proposé jadis par Immanuel Wallerstein dans une autre livre déjà célèbre² - ceux de la zone atlantique, ceux d'une autre zone, méditerranéenne, enfin ceux d'une troisième zone, orientale – nous rappelle que devant une Europe atlantique, catholique et protestante (donc capitaliste, dans le sens de Max Weber), façade vers le Nouveau Monde, s'est toujours trouvée une Europe de l'Est orthodoxe et, sur les bords, musulmane, bâtie sur les traditions de ce que Dimitri Obolensky nommait le « Commonwealth byzantin », suivi et imité, en partie, par celui des Turcs ottomans. On pourrait ajouter que devant un Occident des morcellements étatiques post-romains, un Occident des nations et des Etats nationaux d'après la Renaissance et des tendances contemporaines vers les structures supranationales, s'est trouvé cet Orient des supranationalismes romains et byzantins, d'une « ordre interimpérial »

¹ Géographie cordiale de l'Europe. 56^{ème} édition. Paris. 1931. p. 211.

² The Modern World System. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World – Economy in the Sixteenth Century. Academic Press, Inc., 1974.

turc, russe et autrichien ; un Orient européen redécouvrant, dans notre siècle, la mystique herderienne du « Volkstaat » traduite dans des idéologies nationales très diverses, celle « dacique » et « néoroumaine » de mes compatriotes, celle « touranienne » en Bulgarie et en Hongrie, celle « néohittite » en Turquie kemaliste ou bien celle « néobyzantine » de la « Megali Idea » en Grèce.

Cette Europe orientale située pour des siècles dans la sphère de la Russocratie et de la Turcocratie, monde du césaropapisme – opposé au papocésarisme occidental –, monde aux traditions politiques teintées d'absolutisme, du culte écrasant du leader (plus ouvert, donc, aujourd'hui aux républiques présidentielles, là où le parlementarisme moderne a des traditions plutôt maigres) représente bien autre chose que l'Europe centrale (ou bien, selon l'appellation d'entre les deux guerres, l'Europe centre-orientale). Une Europe issue de l'empire iagellon et de l'Austrocratie qui a laissé son empreinte décisive sur l'Hongrie et le Pays Tchéque, sur la Slovaquie et la Pologne, sur la Croatie et la Slovénie – nous voici donc entrés dans un territoire traditionnellement balkanique ! –, une Europe pendulant entre Orient et Occident, entre le monde allemand et le monde russe ; ajoutons vite qu'il ne faudrait pas oublier les attirances orientales de cette « Ostmitteleuropa », celle de la Pologne vers la Russie des tsars, pour ne plus parler des rapports récents de cet espace avec ce que fut le colosse soviétique.

Il s'agit d'une Europe centrale qui a rempli et partagé avec l'autre Europe, orientale, la même fonction de bouclier du christianisme (« propugnaculum, antemurale christianitatis »), la même « mentalité obsidionale » dirai-je ; mais qui se séparait de cette Europe orthodoxe par son expériences – partagée, cette fois-ci, avec l'Occident – de l'humanisme et de la Renaissance, depuis Raguse et Cracovie jusqu'à Prague.

Revenant à l'Europe orientale, les critères qui la définissent sont à la fois géographiques et culturels, ethniques et confessionaux, déterminant des frontières plutôt flexibles ; elles ont pu contenir, selon l'époque, soit l'Asie Mineure – dans la protohistoire, au Moyen Age, de nos jours (par l'intermédiaire de l'OTAN) –, soit la Hongrie, la Pologne ou bien la Finlande même, pays soumis aux « sultans des sultans » ou bien aux « empereurs des toutes les Russies ».

A son tour, cette Europe orientale, ne l'oublions pas, est partagée dans deux grandes sous-zones : d'une part, celle du Sud-Est européen comprenant l'espace balkanique proprement dit et l'espace carpato-danubien, d'autre part la sous-zone slave de l'Ukraine et de la Russie, ce dernier espace des traditions impériales, véhiculant des idéologies supranationales depuis celle de « la troisième Rome », jusqu'au panslavisme et à la « statalité asiatique » de type stalinien et jusqu'à l'« internationalisme prolétarien ».

Cette Europe orientale, immense réservoir de l'Europe toute entière et de toute la planète, vit pour le moment – soit-il dit en passant – certaines nostalgies totalitaires, certains excès nationalistes et orthodoxes (la « répolitisation » de

l'orthodoxie est une réalité à cette fin du XX-e siècle !), mais aussi bien certains projets d'intégration avec les autres deux Europes, occidentale et centrale³.

Revenant à la démarcation géographique à peine évoquée, la sous-zone sud-est européenne comprend donc deux grandes entités, étroitement apparantées : (1) la région des Carpates et du Danube, (2) la région des Balkans, auxquelles s'ajoutent aussi d'autres sous-divisions géo-historiques moins importantes⁴. Avec des destinées tout aussi variées que leur relief, ces dernières s'enchaînent à partir de l'Archipel grec et du Peloponnèse jusqu'en Macédoine et en Albanie, au Raška et au Banat, depuis la zone dalmate et monténégrine jusque dans la zone danubienne et dans celle des « Mésopotamies pannoniennes », depuis la Thracie et la Bulgarie istro-pontique jusqu'en Transylvanie, en Moldavie, au Boudjak et en Bessarabie.

L'existence dans cette sous-zone d'un foyer culturel tout-puissant, placé symboliquement entre deux mers et deux continents – celle de Constantinople, devenue Stamboul – allait marquer profondément la civilisation romaine tardive, byzantine et ottomane.

Quant à l'existence d'un relief qui a déterminé certains espaces, elle pourrait expliquer, du reste, les directions constantes de la politique et du commerce qui s'y sont développés, notamment les constances de la civilisation de toute l'Europe orientale. Si les montagnes, dominante géographique du Sud-Est européen (Alpes Dinariques, Balkans, Pinde, Rhodopes, Carpates) représentent un facteur décisif dans la naissance des « autonomies » balkaniques et carpato-danubiennes ; si, par contre, ce fut la plaine qui donna sa physionomie particulière à l'espace russe, ce furent en revanche, les grands surfaces d'eau qui tracèrent les principales voies du rayonnement culturel. Nous avons en vue des mers – dont les bassins, de l'Antiquité à nos jours, ont constitué de véritables unités historico-culturelles –, la Mer Noire rattachant la Méditerranée et l'Egée à l'Asie, l'Adriatique unissant l'Italie aux Balkans, la Baltique, enfin, introduisant dans une seule et même unité culturelle certaines régions scandinaves et russes, ainsi que la plaine polonaise ; et nous pensons aussi aux fleuves (le Danube, la Maritsa, le Vardar, la Morava) qui relient l'Europe centrale à la Mer Noire et les pays danubiens au bassin de l'Egée, ou bien à ceux de la sous-zone russo-ukrainienne (le Dniepr, le Don, la Dvina, la Volga) grâce auxquels la Russie rejoint l'espace balkanique, la Mer Noire, la Baltique et le Caucase.

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³ Voir les mêmes conclusions dans mon étude « Modèle culturel, confession et religion dans les Europe de l'An 2000. Le paradigme sud-est européen » dans *Romanian Journal of International Affairs*, IV, 1998, pp. 201-203.

⁴ Une partie de ces considérations sont tirées de mon texte du rapport au XV-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques (Bucarest, 10-17 août 1980) : Emil CONDURACHI, Răzvan THEODORESCU, « L'Europe de l'Est – aire de convergence des civilisations », dans *Rapports I. Grands thèmes et méthodologie*, Bucarest, 1980, p. 9-87.

L'Europe historique, comme entité, existe sûrement depuis le moment où, dans les frontières d'une empire tricontinental, la « pax romana » devenait une « pax romana christiana ». La synthèse de civilisation sud-est européenne – comme composante d'une culture qu'on peut appeler « européenne » – commence avec l'empire chrétien du IV^e siècle dont le centre furent, avec Constantin le Grand, justement les Balkans. Elle commence en fait par une coexistence unique en Europe, d'éléments fort divergents : c'est ce que nous avons appelé jadis le « front byzantin » – avec ses éléments de basse époque romaine et orientaux – et le « front pontique ». Autrement dit, les deux forces en présence étaient, d'une côté, la civilisation sédentaire d'antique tradition méditerranéenne, celle du monument d'architecture, de l'image humaine taillée dans la pierre, d'un autre côté, la civilisation de la steppe, toute imprégnée d'esprit nomade, illustrée par le fastueux agencement du métal et des pierres précieuses, hautement apprécié par les populations qui descendaient des contrées lointaines, de cette « vagina gentium » qu'était la Sibérie et l'Asie Centrale.

Premier niveau, donc, de coexistence entre l'Empire crépusculaire de Rome et le « Barbaricum ... extra fines imperii », il marquait une synthèse culturelle qui allait inspirer tout l'Occident, au milieu des conflits politiques qui, du IV^e au VII^e siècles mettaient face à face Romains, Goths, Gépides, Avars, Byzantins, Arabes et Slaves.

Le second niveau, celui de la « grande brèche » de la civilisation antique et du début du Moyen Age – pour reprendre le fameux syntagme de Denys Zakythinos⁵ – sera marqué, à l'âge des ethnogenèses européens, par le même balancement entre synthèse culturelle et conflits politiques ou religieux impliquant déjà ce qu'on pourrait appeler dès maintenant – et jusqu'aujourd'hui – les « deux Europes ».

Grecs, Roumains, Albanais, Bulgares, Serbes, Croates et – en dehors de la région sud-est européenne proprement dite, mais en rapport avec elle – Magyars, Russes, Moraves, Polonais sortirent d'une ethnogenèse comprise entre le VII^e et le XI^e siècle, formant des Etats avant et après l'an mil⁶, dans un phénomène politique exactement à l'opposé de ce qui se passait vers la même époque en Occident, où la pulvérisation des Etats va constituer un trait typique de l'étape finale des temps carolingiens. Ce qui nous intéresse dans ce contexte c'est le caractère spirituel unitaire du Sud-Est européen – et de toute l'Europe orientale d'ailleurs – révélé par le phénomène de vaste dimensions et de longue haleine du missionnarisme byzantin parti de Constantinople, de Salonique ou d'Ohrid, traduction idéologique des tendances expansionnistes de Byzance le lendemain de la conclusion d'une crise religieuse, l'iconoclastie en l'occurrence, action soutenue en vue de la diffusion de la doctrine et de l'autorité de la « seconde Rome » dans les régions européennes où les structures locales réclamaient le passage à une nouvelle étape historique, sur des fondements chrétiens, sédentaires et unitaires. A

⁵ Byzance. Etat – Société – Economie. Variorum Reprints. Londres. 1973

⁶ L'Europe aux IX^e – XI^e siècles. Aux origines des états nationaux. Varsovie. 1967.

l'exception du territoire carpato-danubien, habité par les Roumains héritiers de l'ancien christianisme latin, les zones sud-est européennes et russes devaient subir maintenant l'action missionnaire de Byzance. Elle s'accompagnait de la diffusion de certains modèles artistiques imbus de faste, repris dans chaque aire missionnaire, dans les années mêmes de la conversion, par tel ou tel monument hors série, un « monumentum princeps » conçu à de vastes dimensions et bâti avec des matériaux de prix, à Pliska et à Preslav en Bulgarie, à Studenica en Serbie (de même qu'à Kiev et Cernigov en Russie), tous devenant nécropoles dynastiques, sièges des couronnements, prototypes stylistiques à l'intention de la postérité.

En prolongeant ce moment missionnaire, toute la première moitié de notre millénaire finissant va créer dans le Sud-Est européen un paysage de synthèse entre le modèle byzantin en liturgie, architecture, iconographie, manuscrits, hagiographie, littérature polémique et homilétique, poésie lyrique et la vigueur, la spécificité des cultures nouvellement écloses – avec un héritage antique romain ou bien barbare, slavo-asiatique –, créant de prototypes culturels rayonnant des Balkans vers les pays roumains et russes. Le troisième niveau chronologique de synthèse sud-est européenne fut marqué au XIV^e – XV^e siècles par l'« internationale hésychaste »⁷ prenant source dans le mysticisme et le monachisme byzantin et cela en dépit des guerres locales, byzantino-serbes ou serbo-bulgares ; « internationale des lettrés », cosmopolite, dans un « Commonwealth byzantin »⁸ illustré par un Bulgare tel Constantin de Kostenec écrivant sur les despotes serbes, par un byzantin serbisé tel Démètre Cantacuzène rédigeant la vie d'un saint bulgare, par un Serbe tel Pachôme traitant des vies des saints russes ou bien par un Balkanique multilingue tel Grégoire Tsamblak ou bien – et le terme exprime à merveille la communauté multiethnique du Sud-Est européen – par un « serboalbanitobulgarovlahos » (donc un « serboalbanobulgaroroumain » !) tel le moine serbe actif en Valachie, Nicodème de Voditza et de Tismana. Elle est comparable, en fin de compte, cette « internationale orientale » à celle contemporaine du « gothique international » évoqué par Huizinga dans un livre encore mémorable.

Cet internationalisme spirituel qui caractérise les Balkans – exprimé en grec et en slavon – fut suivi par le premier conflit majeur des civilisations s'y trouvant : celui entre le christianisme byzantino-balkanique et byzantino-roumain, d'une part, et l'Islam ottoman, d'autre part. Marqué de conquêtes territoriales, de colonisations ethniques, d'abjuration de foi plus nombreuses dans les anciennes terres de la « haeresis balcanica » dualiste, depuis la Thrace bulgare jusqu'en Bosnie et en Albanie, ce conflit ayant des conséquences cruciales pour le Sud-Est européen au long d'un demi-millénaire, tout en inaugurant la note spécifique de

Al. ELIAN. « Byzance et les Roumains à la fin du Moyen Âge », dans Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Londres, 1967, p. 199.

⁸ D. OBOLENSKY. The Byzantine Commonwealth Eastern Europe – 500-1453, Londres, 1971.

cette partie du continent – la déjà-mentionnée « situation interimpériale »⁹ – coexiste, d'une manière paradoxale presque, avec une synthèse spirituelle peu connue par l'historiographie traditionnelle. Je pense à l'identification récente d'un espace culturel ruméliote, à partir de la fin du XIV-e siècle, dans l'Est bulgare et au Bas-Danube oriental caractérisé par une tolérance à la fois inattendue et exemplaire d'une vraie souplesse doctrinaire, d'un syncrétisme religieux, d'un supra-confessionnalisme du mouvement islamique « bektâşi » prêchant des lieux mixtes de culte, un vrai mélange de rites, de contacts entre les « dervisches » musulmans et les moines orthodoxes hésychastes¹⁰. C'était une tolérance – évanouie, hélas, dans la nuit du temps – persistante jusqu'à l'aube des temps modernes, explicable, en partie au moins, par les liens de cette zone avec l'Anatolie, avec certaines traditions nomades et chamanistes de l'Asie.

L'âge moderne du continent, celui de l'humanisme, du baroque et des Lumières, trouvera son contrepoids sud-est européen de la « Byzance après Byzance »¹¹ qui recevait d'éléments de culture occidentale par le truchement des missionnaires, des marchands, des diplomates, des intellectuels arrivés partout et surtout dans les pays roumains restés autonomes après la chute de Constantinople et de la conquête turque des Balkans ; conquête qui devait conduire, par voies multiples, à l'adoption d'une partie importante de l'héritage d'autres deux empires tricontinentaux, le romain et le byzantin et, en quelque sorte, à une nouvelle unité culturelle, possible dans le cadre plus large, mais non dépourvu de conflits – autre que ceux politiques, mise à part les tentatives de croisade tardive venue du nord du Danube – de la « pax ottomanica ». Cette unité relative se laisse reconnaître dans les Balkans, notamment à l'échelon urbain, depuis les coutumes jusqu'à l'artisanat, sans exclure un certain esprit de tolérance confessionnelle, ce qui explique en partie des manifestations culturelles que l'on constate chez les peuples chrétiens dominés tout au long de l'époque de la Turcocratie (l'exemple le plus éloquent en ce sens est celui des Grecs de la capitale impériale, drogman et phanariotes au service de la Sublime Porte).

Dans cette unité relative du Sud-Est européen, vraie synthèse entre Orient et Occident, on doit déceler certains facteurs qui ont joué leur rôle – rarement mentionnés dans les travaux évoquant l'histoire de cette région – dans la création d'une « forma mentis » commune, depuis l'aube de la modernité, au XVII-e siècle, jusqu'au siècle dernier ; tel fut le mécénat des voievodes roumains de Bucarest et de Iassy, celui des milieux marchands de la diaspora grecque de Venise ou de Vienne ; tel fut l'influence russe croissante dans les affaires du Sud-Est européen depuis l'idéologie de la « troisième Rome » et celle du

⁹ Le concept appartient à l'historien autrichien Alexander RANDA. Le même auteur parle d'un « imperium in imperio » roumain dans la *Byzance après Byzance* de Nicolae IORGA (*Pro republica christiana. Die Walachei im «langen» Türkenkrieg der katholischen Universalmonarchie - 1593-1606*, Munich, 1964, p. 11).

¹⁰ M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans*, Istanbul, 1995 ; voir dernièrement, du même auteur et dans le même sens : *Pour une concorde islamo-chrétienne. Démarches byzantines et latines à la fin du Moyen Âge* (de Nicolas de Cues à Georges de Trébizonde), Rome, 1997.

¹¹ C'est le titre, devenu célèbre, du livre de Nicolae IORGA publié pour la première fois en 1935, *Byzance après Byzance*, réédité par l'Association Internationales d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen, à Bucarest, en 1971.

« panslavisme » - prêchée, d'ailleurs, par un Balkanique, le Croate Krejanić-jusqu'au « chemin de Byzance » de la Grande Catherine ; tel fut le rôle de l'imprimerie vénitienne du Monténégro jusqu'en Valachie, créant à son tour les premiers livres religieux en slavon des Balkans ; tel fut le rôle des « iatrophilosophes » grecs étudiants à Padoue et diffusant la première instruction moderne, mais aussi la pensée du Stagirite dans toute l'Europe de Sud-Est et jusqu'à Moscou ou bien celui des livres de sagesse et de délectation, car on y traduisait Gessner et Florian, Marmontel et Métastase, pour ne plus parler de Voltaire, l'« hérétique » par excellence aux yeux des moines slaves, grecs et roumains, du Mont Athos jusqu'en Olténie et en Moldavie.

Il s'agissait d'une unité fondamentale, enfin, au niveau du « tiers état » du Sud-Est de l'Europe à la veille du XIX-e siècle et de ce romantisme découvrant les sources populaires, dans ce monde paysan du nord de la Grèce, de Serbie, de Hongrie méridionale, de Bulgarie et de Valachie, ainsi que dans l'univers de villes prospères de Crète et des îles ioniennes ; c'était exactement le monde où se dessinaient certaines préférences pour une iconographie proche de l'esprit folklorique et du texte des « livres populaires », pour l'abondance décorative dans les arts visuels, pour certaines formes mélodiques et chorégraphiques également.

Quant aux deux siècles derniers, celui « des nationalités » et celui « des révolutions », l'Europe de Sud-Est – théâtre de guerres d'indépendance, de mouvements révolutionnaires des deux extrêmes politiques, d'insurrection contre l'opresseur étranger ou bien de luttes intrabalkaniques à l'ombre des grandes puissances étrangères, de révolutions antitotalitaires enfin – s'est révélée unitaire dans sa pensée historiste impliquant les idéologies, je dirais même « les mystiques nationales » mentionnées tout au début.

La quête historique du primordial et du mythe, de l'image archétypale, le recours à une tradition majeure, ontologique et essentielle des penseurs, des anthropologues de la culture, des phénoménologues de la religion – tel Mircea Eliade, pour citer un seul nom sud-est européen – ont essayé de reconnaître l'unité humaine des Balkans et du pays carpatodanubien dans les couches profondes du folklore, de l'archéologie, de la « première histoire », des croyances archaïques¹² qui donnerent à la fois les idoles des Cyclades et de Cernavoda, le « megaron » hellénique et les sanctuaires-calendriers des Daces, les fêtes dionysiaques et le culte d'Orphée le Thrace. Au delà des conflits de l'histoire, les synthèses de civilisation du Sud-Est européen nous éloignent un peu des stéréotypes reconnues dans les belles « litanies des Balkans » d'un Georges Duhamel.

¹² R. THEODORESCU, « Réflexion historique moderne et image en Europe sud-orientale », dans Roumains et Balkaniques dans la civilisation sud-est européenne, Bucarest. 1999, pp. 434-435.

**Les Balkans créés par l'Europe :
mythes et stéréotypes balkaniques dans l'imaginaire culturel européen**

(Résumé)

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L'étude présentée est inspirée de l'orientation comparatiste *imagerie culturelle* dont l'objet est d'analyser l'imaginaire national à travers l'interprétation des images et des représentations culturelles dans les textes des auteurs qui écrivent sur des réalités culturelles différentes de la leur. L'ensemble de ces écrits constituent les éléments premiers de l'imaginaire national lié à un pays ou à un peuple: ce processus est réalisé en fonction des relations avec une idéologie dominante mais aussi en fonction de l'ensemble d'une culture hégémonique.

Dans cette perspective, nous évoquons la problématique de la construction d'un imaginaire balkanique spécifique dans la culture occidentale à deux niveaux complémentaires : d'abord, le niveau de l'oeuvre romanesque, par le biais de laquelle un auteur essaie de "transposer" sous forme d'un thème, d'un motif, ou d'une métaphore les sentiments et les idées qu'il a pour un pays, un peuple ou une culture (Rabelais, Ronsard, Montaigne, Voltaire, Lamartine); ensuite, le niveau des relations que l'oeuvre pourrait avoir avec les contextes historiques, socioculturels et idéologiques où elle se situe et dans lesquelles elle participe explicitement ou implicitement.

Dans ce sens l'étude des stéréotypes comme la réduction maximale d'une représentation paraît évidente. Le stéréotype est bien une sorte de résumé, d'expression emblématique d'une culture, d'un système idéologique et culturel. Le stéréotype peut également, dans certaines conditions historiques, sociales et culturelles participer dans un processus de mythification. C'est ce mécanisme-là qui est au centre de notre hypothèse : dans la littérature française, en recourant aux stéréotypes et aux mythes, se construit, au cours des siècles, un imaginaire balkanique spécifique. Il reflète les intérêts économiques et politiques qu'a eus la France à l'Orient, surtout à partir de la Renaissance. L'imaginaire culturel qui s'est forgé en conséquence, est véhiculé par un système complexe de connaissances dont le vecteur principal est l'enseignement de l'histoire balkanique.

Session III

Easing tensions through textbook research and textbook comparison:

What measures can be taken in the Balkan region?

Falk Pingel

I. Introduction

How to get “out of the rut” – that was one of the themes addressed in one of the major stocktaking academic meetings concerned with conflicts as well as confidence building measures in the Balkan region. Many questions have been asked: “What sort of democracy and what sort of reconciliation?”, “What can the cultural world contribute to reconciliation in South Eastern Europe?” [Culture and reconciliation in Southeastern Europe, Thessaloniki 1997] or to quote from a textbook “What can the Western states do to strengthen democratic development in this region?” [Geschichtsbuch 4, Berlin 1996, p. 202] – may be too many and too heavy questions to be answered. I do not want to add more of the same; I cannot propose to you clear-cut solutions; I’ll be more moderate; I strive to suggest some practical steps which might bring us on a new path leading possibly “out of the rut”, but nevertheless, on tracks that have already led conflicting parties through a difficult process from confrontation to understanding.

Firstly, however, I like to come back to the questions without which obviously no debate about the Balkans can be performed – even in textbooks [*transparency from French textbook*]. This map shows the area where democracy is in question, where conflicts, unrest, even wars are threatening established European political structures and economic well-being.

Behind the questions posed in academic conferences on how to deal with the Balkans, as well as the question marks and white political areas on the map in the textbook, there are two fundamental suggestions:

1. At best, the region is seen as an area of change, at worst, it is conceived as an area of trouble. In view of the most recent events which neither the academics in 1997 nor the textbook authors of 1991 foresaw, public opinion is shifting to the worse image.
2. Quick solutions cannot be expected. What can be said at best is that future is open. More likely is now the worst case: future will be shaped by the historical legacy of the region which was only pushed into the background during the socialist period. It is as vivid as it was before and after the First World War. We are taking up the problems politicians couldn't solve in the peace agreements after the Great War. And we still use – to a certain extent – the same means as they did: conducting international conferences which work out proposals to give the region more stable politico-cultural contours; if the proposals are not accepted, military intervention has to be expected.

In a sense, we are here to overcome this century-old perception. Historians and political scientists have analysed the historical factors that influence considerably the interpretation of the roles the various parties played in the struggles of the past and still play in the present conflicts. A lot has been written about traditional enmities in the region, not only about the clash between the “European” and the “Oriental” culture but also the fighting and troubles between the Balkan peoples who regard themselves as defenders of the European civilisation but are destroying thereby their own well-being. Prof. Kofos speaks of deeply rooted “mistrust and even hostility” towards each other [Culture and reconciliation]. History confronts us with a bulk of traditional roles and characteristics attributed to groups and institutions involved in the conflict for a long time. [Höpken: *Geschichte und Gewalt*. In: *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 1993, p.55-73] We are rather in a phase of re-enforcing old stereotypes than in a state of bias-free open-mindedness - on either side of the cultural border: West and South-East.

I will not contribute to another historical analysis of how and why the Balkans emerged as a field of conflict and disturbance. I only want to

identify some major problem areas concerning the presentation of these conflicts in textbooks as we – and I like to underscore this – are not here to solve the conflicts,

- * we are here to find ways to deal with them which can contribute to a better understanding of each other, to mutual acceptance without denying the long history of wars, persecution, discrimination.

We do not question what has happened. We are dealing with the possible impact it might have on us and on our children in particular. Is this history a burden which prevents us from accepting our neighbouring peoples as *they are*? Are we only able to see them through the eyes of the past, to take always into account what they, their parents' and grandparents' generations *have been* and have meant for us? Is history not *behind*, but *between* us? If so, history seems to be more an obstacle than a mediator to mutual understanding. Thus, are we doing here something that will sharpen the conflicts, make even more obvious the dissent rather than harmonizing opposite views?

- Certainly, the first step towards understanding is acceptance of the difference. We have to be aware of the issues we do not agree upon.

Textbook consultations have been used as a means to discuss, to compare and to revise images of history shaped by a certain political, cultural or social frame. History schoolbooks can be looked upon as a society's official memory. They depict what the adult generation wishes to pass on to the next. In this sense, textbook talks have an influence on the relationship between the generations, and if conducted on an international level, between the generations of different countries. Some researchers have doubted that textbooks still influence the thinking of young people who are exposed to the mass media which are much more attractive. This might be true. Even then, however, textbooks reflect important streams of thinking in a given society – not always necessarily the dominant one. The transfer of the set of knowledge and interpretation is not steered in one direction only: from “society” or the government which issues the curriculum guidelines into textbooks. The other way around is also possible:

- a textbook published, even if it transmits a minority interpretation at that time, sets a new standard and may have an impact on curriculum revision.

II. Issues to be treated

I now want to identify some topic areas which – according to the textbooks studies already conducted – are crucial for an unbiased perception of international as well as intercultural relations, not only inside the region but also between the region and greater Europe. The selection may be seen as the summarizing result of research done by the Georg Eckert Institute and other institutions or individuals mostly present in the conference here. I do not claim to present a complete enumeration of problematic issues. Others may find even more. The following topics, however, deserve our attention as they highlight the problematic relation between history and future, “us” and “them”, self-definition and the image of the other.

1. The first issue is about the relation between the past, the present and the future. It is true that we analyse history with our own categories (not those of the time we are examining), that we have an interest in history because we regard the past as having an impact on our life, our attitudes, our thinking. Do we think, however, that history determines the present? In contrast, it explains how our present situation came into being, but it does not tell us how it will develop in times to come. The right of history as something which has already happened ends when the future begins. Of course, all three dimensions of time (past, present and future) are linked together, although they have their own claims on us. We can neither change the past nor the future. Obviously, what has taken place and what has not taken place cannot be altered. Thus, change is the dimension of the present binding together past and future, given factors and open possibilities which together create a new reality. Otherwise, history would repeat itself. Many of our forefathers believed in the repetition of historical eras or in the determination of human action and thinking by a predetermined fate. Sometimes, up to

our days, the impact of history seems to be so overwhelming and convincing as if it had a binding force on people, as if we had to follow a path already mapped out by past events. Almost all the textbook analyses done so far state that the texts allot such a weight to the impact of history, particularly national history, that they do not let room for manoeuvre in the future. The texts perpetuate age-old conflicts, as Kofos has pointed out, instead of allotting them an appropriate place in history which opens up new and different opportunities for mutual relations in the future.

Thus, surprisingly, my first proposal concerning the examination of history books is

- that we look at the concept of the future which is implicitly embedded in the presentation of the past in textbooks. In many of the Balkan history textbooks, of the former Yugoslavian republics in particular, a future perspective is lacking. They equate the past with the present and the future. That means determining the future through history and this I call misuse of history.

That is my first point:

- Through unfolding the past we implicitly develop a concept of the future. Can we find out what future the textbooks in use open up to the youngsters? Are they doomed to repeat history? Do they have a choice to develop their own interest in and interpretation of history?
- 2. My second concern is the balance between the European and national dimensions. For a long time, the Balkan peoples needed the European powers to become independent. As the great European powers never granted independence *and* “ethnic borders” in a way acceptable to them, the relation to Europe remained ambivalent throughout the last hundred years. As the new states never embraced “the whole nation”, with independence the “national goals” were not fulfilled. The main claim – with only a few exceptions – the South-Eastern Europe states had on Europe was to grant or guarantee independence and allow the dominant people to set up a socio-cultural framework which marginalized the other ethnic groups. Furthermore, most governments aimed at enlarging the borders granted by international agreements. Thus, they became amenable to dictatorial tendencies,

whether they came from inside or outside. They remained part of the European power play and, finally, depended on Germany and/or Great Britain/France in the thirties again. It was the power of the Western European states that attracted them and what they had to fear. To a much smaller extent, they saw “Western European” societies as an example which should be imitated. You may characterize the attitude to the great powers with a Latin proverb: “Timeo danaos et dona ferentes”; Snezhana Dimitrova has exemplified this for Bulgaria so convincingly. Although the scepticism about European power politics has not been totally overcome today – the recent military intervention in Kosovo backed and renewed it – the image of Europe as an economic-political unity has undergone considerable change. Now it is widely felt a must to enter European organizations like the Council of Europe, OECD, EU etc. The new states emerging from the former socialist Yugoslavia are created at a time of accelerated European integration. The awakening of national sovereignty and pride – in contrast to dependence on the Soviet system – goes hand in hand with a still growing trend to international economic and political cooperation as well as cultural exchange. Particularly in the youth, the member states of the EU are seen as a model of prosperous, modern societies. There seems to be no alternative to liberal capitalism and a moderate welfare state. It may well be that the nation state still serves as a precondition for reaching political freedom and group identity. However, it is certainly no longer the only politico-economic institution to guarantee the future well-being of one’s own people. It is the start, not the target of development.

Therefore,

- the relation, the balance between national and European, even global history could be one the first topics to be dealt with. How this relation is to be presented in textbooks is one of the most important issues for textbook writers; and who would doubt that this relation is deeply rooted in European history.
- 3. That leads to my third point, as the relation of the Balkan states to Europe is not a one-way-street. The question to what extent Balkan textbooks pay attention to the European dimension has to be

amended by an analysis of how the Balkan region is presented in Western European textbooks. International comparative textbook research is a joint venture. For many Western Europeans, particularly young people, the Balkan peoples represent an “other”, an outsider rather than an insider. To make our students aware that the Croats, the Macedonians, the Rumanians belong to the European family and are allowed to enjoy a room in the European house is a big task for textbook writers and educationalists (not to speak of politicians) in Western Europe.

- Therefore, textbooks consultations should not be restricted to the Balkan countries; they should be open for a real European perspective and also include participants from the “old” Western European states to improve the image of the Balkan in their textbooks as well.

The problem can be approached from two angles. Self-image and the image of the other are predominantly shaped by the still continuing history of mutual conflicts by both sides:

- Yugoslavia represents the conflict during the transition from the end of the communist system to a new, pluralistic and democratic Europe, which is dealt with most extensively in the textbooks of Western European countries.
- Not only Western European textbooks, however, present the Balkans exclusively as a region ridden by wars, also the vast majority of the textbooks of most of the Balkan countries put the emphasis on protracted conflicts, insoluble religious and ethnic dissent and depict their neighbours mainly as enemies who question their national rights and threaten their borders. Some of them draw a more unfavourable image of the Balkan people (except of their own) than the Western European schoolbooks do. Almost all textbooks of the Balkan countries display a negative image of the region they themselves belong to. The authors are not able to acknowledge common experiences like periods of a more or less peaceful living together or side by side of different people and religions.
- Contrary to what the textbooks reveal, the South Eastern European societies share a good deal of history. The prevalent national approach,

however, does not allow so far to push the commonalities to the forefront.

Joint textbook consultations can serve

- to find out more about what the peoples of the Balkan region have in common rather than to stress the differences.
4. My fourth topic is closely related to the last statement. The historical narrative centers around the concept of an ethnically homogeneous nation. As Wolfgang Höpken pointed out in his contribution to the Thessaloniki conference on reconciliation in 1997, “ethnocentricity” shaped the textbooks of the Balkan countries also after the Second World War when many of the Western as well as Eastern European textbook writers composed their texts along the lines of the “divided world” attaching less importance on national issues than on the global divide which also separated the East from the West of Europe. In this respect, according to Höpken, the Balkan textbooks fell behind the main stream of textbook writing in Europe for the first time. Despite the official ideology of socialist internationalism, most emphasis in history teaching has been attributed to national as opposed to international history which has been taught in separate hours and treated in separate books. Although this separation will be overcome step by step, the narrative still focuses on the distinctive characteristics of one’s own ethnicity rather than stresses European or regional cooperation. What is even more important: ethnicity creates its own borders, it separates and does not unite, as this map from a Macedonian textbook clearly shows. (*Transparency*)
- Today, we strive in Europe to open the borders rather than to erect new barriers.
5. My last point deals with events, unfortunately central to the European, and the Balkan history of the 20th century in particular: with wars. Undoubtedly, the history of our century cannot be written without referring to wars. Wars, however, have different faces. Looking into textbooks of various European countries we are confronted with a lot of different messages the texts, and the illustrations in particular, transmit to the young readers. (*Transparency*) This example from a German history book puts the losses, the casualties to the fore.

Although English history textbooks describe at length the warfare machinery, the new weapons like tanks and planes, they do not aim at glorifying military action. They want to show how disastrous effects these modern weapons have (*Transparency*). Again, the victims are not to be forgotten. We all know that without the brave, courageous fighters, Hitler's, or any other dictator's army could not have been besieged. Thus, textbooks may praise their role (*Transparency*). Often, however, by so doing, they diminish the enemy, they eulogize one's own soldiers and demonize those of the other side.

III. My proposal for remedy: towards a culture of comparison

After having identified some problem areas crucial for the construction of new and the revision of old textbooks, I would like to suggest to you practical measures

- to build up "institutionalised forms of bilateral, regional and European co-operation" in the field of history education, "in order to [...] convey to new generations a better understanding of neighbours' perceptions, values and identities" as Prof. Kofos has aptly put it.
- To ensure that textbook consultations are conducted with the backing of the respective governments, it would be desirable to take up the suggestions made by the representative of the Greek government on the occasion of the 1998 Thessaloniki textbook conference to include an exchange of information about the development of new textbooks and curricula in the cultural agreements.
- Furthermore, we propose to set up a unit which collects information on all textbook projects in the region. Information should be accessible through Internet. That can easily be provided for within the framework of the UNESCO International Textbook Research Network.
- The unit could also be commissioned to check from time to time whether textbook groups have been set up on a bi- or multilateral level and whether recommendations have been put into praxis. It could help to distribute findings and conclusions of textbook projects in the region and to examine to what extent they could be relevant for other countries, too.

The Georg Eckert Institute would be ready to oversee such a unit. “The institute has become increasingly involved in studies dealing with highly controversial issues. The role of the institute in such projects is not only to provide expert knowledge, but also to create an atmosphere of confidence among people with different opinions and to foster a free debate about content and methods. On such occasions, the institute strives to act as a ‘neutral’ mediator between conflicting parties.” (Civnet journal, vol 2, no. 2) As the institute with its library and the UNESCO Network can offer an infrastructure already at hand, only a limited amount of additional financial means is needed.

I am fully aware that we deal with sensitive issues, that group identities are at stake, that textbooks and curricula which are officially approved by state authorities are under examination on an international level.

- We are far from prescribing any changes in the national curricula and textbooks.
- Our aim is to lay the foundation for an increasing mutual awareness that not only we portray “our people” and our neighbours in our own textbooks but the neighbours do the same in “theirs”.

“Europeans have many common historical reference points. However, they see them from different perspectives. Looked upon from the individual national, ethnic, religious, social or cultural perspective, historical events and process take on a different meaning.” [Culture of European History, p. 220] It is decisive for group identities in a European context, “that these diverse ways of interpreting history are compatible with one another and acceptable for all sides.” The foremost aim is not to harmonise or streamline historical interpretations across Europe. Diversity means richness. To enjoy this richness, however, we must be aware of it, we must know about it, we have to exchange our views and we must be able to see ourselves from the point of view of the other in order to understand both: us and them.

- The precondition and the very first step is that we make accessible each other’s textbooks and curricula.

On a European level, the Council of Europe has invited the Georg Eckert Institute to act as a “clearing house” for the exchange of textbooks and for providing mutual information on the comparison of textbooks.

Thus, if you have difficulties to get history textbooks from other countries, please apply to the Institute, we might provide you with books from our library or we can help to organize an exchange of textbooks between the parties involved.

- Then, you would like to compare the presentation of certain topics in the textbooks, identify omissions, bias, different interpretations, but also many events and processes which are depicted in more or less the same way. Meanwhile, scientific methods have been developed to conduct comparative textbooks studies. The recently published “UNESCO Guide on International Textbook Research” available here for conference participants gives an overview about stages of research, methods to be applied and the design of international projects.
- At least, experts from three quite different fields of experience should be involved in a project: university researchers, school practitioners (senior teachers, members of in-service teacher training institutions) and representatives of ministries of education. Needless to say that textbook authors and curriculum planners belong to the group anyway. We need the teachers’ opinion in order to develop ideas appropriate to the students abilities. Controversies over incriminated texts can often not be decided or argued upon without the contribution of scholarly research. For any implementation of possible findings or recommendations the assistance of educational authorities is indispensable. “In many cases, *official agreements* between the ministries of education or the central curriculum research institutions are drawn up. However, the members of each group should act as free researchers, not as representatives of the respective governments.” [UNESCO Guide]

In the past, textbook consultations of this kind were mostly conducted on a bilateral level. As I have shown in the first part of my paper, we are increasingly confronted with transnational problems on a European or even global level. Thus, we have to distinguish different dimensions of textbooks consultations:

- bilateral projects between two states which are often conducted under the umbrella of the respective ministries of education

- multilateral projects with participation from all or several countries of the region to be organized as a rule with the help of international organisations and NGOs although it is desirable to also involve representatives of the governments
- multilateral projects on a European level or at least with the participation of experts from outside the region
- last but not least projects dealing with textbook issues between different communities of the same state, e.g. with the various history books used by the Serbian, Croatian or Muslim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bi-national textbook conferences still reflect the overall importance of national history with all its shortcomings, as explained above. Thus, I like to recommend to act from the very beginning on a multilateral level, even on a European scale, with participation of experts from within and outside the region. This approach often makes it easier to discuss core problems of national interests, as you have a better chance to find neutral observers in the group when more countries are represented.

- An outsider's point of view can ease tensions and controversies between conflicting parties.
- Confrontations over problems related to highly sensitive national issues can more easily avoided in a multilateral project which concentrates on more general topics as outlined in the first part of my paper.

Such a group firstly determines the controversial opinion on a general level giving different interpretations from different countries as examples. It then identifies problems restricted to two or some neighbouring countries, step by step. The group can divide in subgroups dealing with bilateral issues and reporting back to the whole project. Having experienced co-operation in the larger group, a rational atmosphere can be maintained in the bi-national group even if issues are at stake that have divided communities over decades or centuries.

- Summing up, I like to suggest to start with more general problems relevant to the whole region and then to raise more specific and concrete issues which concern only some partners.

Particularly the states of the former Yugoslavian Federation still drift apart. It is asking too much of us if we as scientists and educationalists should change the prevalent direction of politics.

- In view of violence and hatred which accompanied the breakdown of the Soviet system and the dissolution of the Yugoslavian Federation, we cannot expect to reach joint recommendations like the results of the German-Polish or German-French textbook consultations which are often referred to as successful agreements on textbook revision.
- First of all, we should attempt to develop “a culture of comparison and an awareness of difference” rather than to reach uniformity and harmony. The latter can probably be attained only after a long process.

I like to close with a quotation from the UNESCO guide:

“It is impossible, in the long run, to teach insights or disseminate knowledge through textbooks which do not correspond to the general political context. *The relationship between politics and education, however, is not one-sided.* They influence each other. Education can supply new aims that will be propagated in schools and textbooks before they are implemented and fully realised on the political level. *Education can lay the foundations for forming attitudes and opinions which are essential to policies that promote peace and mutual understanding.* Through education, we can legitimately instil a sense of global responsibility in the students’ minds, although in reality pupils are confronted with violations of this principle almost every day.”

Workshop I

Report by Joke van der Leeuw-Roord

What could make a good history textbook?

Since 1989 textbooks in the South East region of Europe have been undergoing an almost constant process of change. Results of the Youth and History Survey showed in 1996 that young people in 26, mostly European, countries do not like their textbooks. Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Turkey and Slovenia were included in this research and had results similar to the other countries involved in the Survey. Consequently we may conclude that there is an urgent need to develop debate, research and models for good, innovative and interesting history textbooks.

The participants of the workshop were asked to reflect on some urgent questions related to development and use of history textbooks. They agreed to specify the term history textbook for those books used for history education in primary, secondary and high school or gymnasium.

It was more difficult to identify the role of the textbook. A wide variety of aims were mentioned. The textbook should be an educational tool, the way to communicate heritage, the instrument to develop historical thinking and understanding. A textbook should create identities, foster critical and independent thinking, and develop a variety of skills and attitudes.

The question if history textbooks should offer an undisputed narrative of the past opened an interesting debate. Although many participants would like to realise that idea, it was understood that it was in fact not possible to create an undisputed narrative. Total objectivity is impossible if facts have no common understanding in certain countries. Agreed interpretations of the past, contradict the core of the historical profession. Suggestions were made how to

present these multiperspective facts and interpretations to pupils and students in secondary and even primary education.

It was agreed upon that writing history textbooks should be teamwork. The authors should be experienced teachers, teacher trainers, academic historians and people with special interest in the learning and teaching of history. It was also stressed that authors should be given appropriate time, freedom and resources to produce the textbooks and additional materials.

The choice and implementation of textbooks is also a cause of concern. In many countries in the region a choice in textbooks is now available but teachers are not used to develop and apply criteria for textbook selection. Further, new approaches of the textbooks are quite often not properly understood by the users. It was apparent that teacher training should be in the core of further educational development.

The participants were asked to deepen their ideas for a model of an innovative, good and interesting textbook, which could serve as a model for textbook writing as well as for an instrument for textbook selection. A working model was available for each participant at the end of the workshop.

The debate on the issues related to the question what could make a good history textbook, was open and constructive. All participants shared their problems, opinions and ideas with others without constraints.

1. CHALLENGING

- The history textbooks do not give final answers,
- The history textbooks open the way for further questions and personal research.
- The history textbooks stimulate pupils' critical thinking, develop personal judgements.
- The history textbooks develop pupils' personal judgements.

2. ACTIVE AND CREATIVE

- The history textbooks foster independent learning.
- Pupils should be able to use the text without the interference of the teacher.
- Pupils should learn by experience.
- The history textbooks should encourage a spiral development of skills and attitudes.
- The history textbooks should contribute to the personal development of the pupils.
- The history textbooks contain different kinds of tasks and assignments.

3. ACADEMICALLY AND PEDAGOGICALLY UPDATED

- The history textbooks should apply the results of accurate modern scholarship.
- The history textbooks have to search for the truth.
- The history textbooks have to be written without national bias priority.
- The facts have to be correct.

4. MULTI-PERSPECTIVE

- The history textbooks offer pluralistic interpretations of the past.
- The history textbooks include sources defending different opinions.
- The history textbooks oppose bias and stereotyping.
- The history textbooks implement new elements in history education such as gender, human rights, multiculturalism and equal opportunities.

5. AGE-GROUP AND ABILITIES

- The history textbooks are child, age-group and focused.
- The history textbooks take into account the level of the reader.
- The history textbooks offer differentiation in tasks and assignments by input and/or outcome.
- The history textbooks offer assistance by assessment and moderation.

6. LANGUAGE

- History textbooks have to take into account the language skill of their targeted age group.
- The history textbooks should also reinforce the pupils' conceptual and language skills.

7. COVER THE CURRICULUM

- History textbooks should cover the curriculum but must leave space and time for experiments and extra-curricular activities.

8. ATTRACTIVE

- History books should be attractive.
- Illustrations have to be functional source material, not merely decorations.

9. RELATIONS TO ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

- History textbooks should contain references to fiction, non-fiction and other resource material such as multimedia and information technology.

10. CROSS-CURRICULAR TOPICS

- History textbooks should offer teachers and pupils suggestions on cross-curricular topics and projects.

Workshop II

Report by Christina Koulouri, Greece

Workshop: Misleading concepts in history textbooks

During this workshop, where different countries from South-Eastern Europe were represented, we tried to assess the prevailing situation concerning stereotypes and misleading concepts in history textbooks. All cases cited confirmed the hypothesis that various kinds of inaccurate, misleading or one-sided interpretations of the national past of the peoples of the region appear in history textbooks. In fact, we observe outright distortions of facts and historical developments or misleading interpretations projected as self-evident historical “truths”, such as, for example, theories implicitly admitted about national continuity from pre-history to the present. Finally there are cases where controversial issues pass in silence. This procedure of constructing national historical narratives, which may be found in both the West and the East of Europe, is related to the creation of national states and the subsequent need of creating national cohesion. Since the 19th century, as it has been pointed out during the workshop, national literature and history writing have been mutually “contaminated”. National myths created by literature have been integrated into the historical narrative and vice versa.

Nevertheless, there are differences in history textbooks of the various Balkan countries for historical reasons. The historical moment of creation of the respective nation-state, the transition to democracy, and political circumstances in the region may explain why certain historical myths and stereotypes still appear in textbooks. The survival of stereotypes in history teaching is not limited to textbooks. History teachers, the media, family and social environment are sometimes more important factors in shaping the pupils’ historical consciousness — some of them even before

schooling. That is why we should also invest in teachers' training (initial and in-service), especially in the new generation of teachers because the old generation who grew up under the communist regime (in the case of the ex-communist countries) can hardly get rid of stereotypes and a certain way of thinking.

As far as history textbooks are concerned, we suggest that we should not only neutralise the historical narrative but also include positive assertions vis-à-vis the neighbouring countries. Nationalism and ethnocentrism cannot be overcome by adding more information on European world history but rather by changing the interpretation of national history. National history is in fact the most problematic, that is why it is important that it be taught in schools. Otherwise, children will acquire knowledge of their national history through the media or the family instead of learning it properly at school. The improvement of history textbooks could thus be achieved by reforming the narrative of national history. Moreover, textbooks should include references to Balkan history, with the aim of promoting mutual understanding among the peoples of the region. Thus they will come to know each other better not only in periods of crisis and conflict when the creation and spread of stereotypes is easier. This is the only way to fight prejudice and mutual rejection. Ignorance may – and actually does – nourish stereotypes and intolerance.

National Presentations

Albania

La maison d'Editions des Manuels scolaires publie chaque année tous les livres d'histoire (inclus le cycle élémentaire, secondaire et supérieur).

En toute conscience, je sais que nous avons encore à faire pour améliorer la qualité des manuels, parce que nous savons qu'il est très important pour l'éducation que les élèves trouvent la réponse à toutes leurs demandes. Et les demandes sont nombreuses, dans les jours troubles que nous vivons., avec toutes les tensions politique du temps.

En Albanie nous avons commencé une révision générale des manuels d'histoire par l'histoire de l'Albanie avec un traitement plus objectif des contenus et événements historiques, indépendant des circonstances politiques actuelles et avec une présentation pédagogique et méthodologique plus variée.

Nous préparons pour très bientôt deux nouveaux manuels pour les minorités grecque et macédonienne : l'histoire de la Grèce pour la septième classe et l'histoire de la Macédoine pour la septième classe aussi (les auteurs sont des professeurs d'université, experts de l'Institut pédagogique et enseignants dans des écoles pour les minorités).

Les élèves étudient actuellement beaucoup plus l'histoire et la culture des grands pays et l'histoire des guerres. L'histoire mondiale et la culture mondiale est le produit de tous les événements historiques et toutes les cultures des grands pays et des petits pays, parce que les contacts des peuples et les interférences ont été très étroits depuis des temps très anciens.

Je pense que, jusqu'à maintenant, on n'avait pas évité dans les manuels d'histoire, les stéréotypes et les préjugés. Pourtant, dans les manuels d'histoire nous pouvons donner un message fort de tolérance et de respect pour les petits pays et je pense que cela aidera dans la lutte contre les préjugés, les mythes et le nationalisme.

Teuta Mati

4 – La lutte contre les stéréotypes et les préjugés dans les manuels de l'histoire

Pendant le période de la transition, après la victoire du pluralisme politique en Albanie, la lutte est orientée, en premier plan, contre les stéréotypes idéologiques qui ont été enracinés dans les manuels de l'histoire, une caractéristique celle-ci pour tous les pays de l'ex-bloc socialiste. L'histoire nationale ainsi que celle mondiale étaient envisagées selon les formations économiques et sociales où la force motrice de la société humaine était la lutte des classes. Celle-ci était considérée comme le fil conducteur rouge de toute l'histoire et les textes devaient en tenir compte. C'est la raison pour laquelle dans ces textes passaient en premier plan les guerres, les insurrections, les révolutions et les résistances. Les autres aspects avaient passé en second plan. Des générations entières sont formées dans l'esprit de l'inimitié vis-à-vis des voisins et des étrangers. Ces derniers étaient considérés comme des envahisseurs qui avaient apporté seulement du regrès et des malheurs, des retours en arrière. Sous l'influence de cet esprit un élève de l'école de huit ans avait désigné Scanderbeg, l'héro national de l'Albanie, comme un combattant en train de percer le ventre à un turc.

Dans le rapport entre l'infrastructure et la superstructure, la première place était réservée à l'infrastructure, tandis que dans le rapport entre la masse et l'individu, les masses populaires jouaient le rôle primordial. L'extrémisme allait jusqu'au point d'analyser les grands peintres tels que Onufre, David Selenica pour y voir seulement le rôle décisif des masses. L'histoire était présentée dans ces manuels sans noms, ni symboles, où les figures historiques se présentaient comme des comparces qui accéléraient ou ralentissaient le processus historique. Les figures historiques étaient traitées en noir et blanc. Selon la historiographie m-l avait le droit d'entrer dans l'histoire seulement celui qui terminait sa vie sans aucune "tache" ou déviation au intérêt du prolétariat, mais ceux-ci étaient rares. Durant la revalorisation des événements et des figures beaucoup de personnalités ont retrouvé leur place selon les mérites, mais les cas ne manquent pas où on en est allé dans l'autre extrémité.

Dans l'analyse du rapport entre le facteur interne et celui externe le facteur interne a toujours été considéré comme décisif, alors que l'histoire de l'Albanie est pleine d'exemples qui témoignent en faveur du facteur externe.

Dans l'historiographie de la période de la Dictature communiste étaient introduits les concepts historiques empruntés à l'histoire soviétique tels que: genre, tribu, population, peuple, nationalité, nation socialiste et nation capitaliste, comme des catégories à travers lesquelles était passé l'histoire du peuple albanais. Une telle conception eut deux conséquences négatives:

1. Le primitivisme de l'histoire du peuple albanais. Ainsi la nationalité albanaise englobait la période entre IX siècle jusqu'aux années 30 du XIX siècle. La nation était liée à la création d'un marché unique et au développement des rapports capitalistes sur la base de la définition de Stalin.

2. L'histoire de l'Albanie, comme celle des pays ex-socialistes, était une enclave isolée et il n'en était pas question d'intégrer l'histoire socialiste à l'histoire capitaliste européenne.

Le changement ne pouvait pas se réaliser tout de suite par ce que premièrement, il se devait effectuer dans l'esprit et la méthodologie scientifique durant un long processus de rééducation et d'éducation qui ressemblerait à celui de la période après la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale quand il a été organisé par la Dictature communiste la rééducation des vieux historiens et des jeunes historiens avec l'idéologie marxiste, avec la seule condition qu'aujourd'hui elle se faisait sur un terrain meilleur dû à l'ouverture de l'Albanie vers le monde.

Deuxièmement, la guerre a été adressée contre les préjugés historiques. Les peuples des Balkans, et plus en là, ont coexisté les uns avec les autres, ils ont échangé dans le domaine de la langue, de la culture, de l'économie, des événements politiques etc. Ils ont écrit, pour ainsi dire, des pages de collaboration dans la voie commune durant l'organisation des guerres, des insurrections, des assemblées et des révolutions. Ces pages n'ont pas été reflétées comme il se devait dans les manuels historiques. Ainsi, par exemple, au XVII siècle ils ont été organisées quatre assemblées balcaniques: deux en Albanie et deux en Serbie, où ont participé les albanais, les serbes, les macédoniens, les bulgares et les bosniaques, mais elles n'ont pas été citées dans aucun des manuels des pays voisins. Des centaines d'albanais ont porté leur contribution dans les révolutions serbe, grecque et roumaine, mais de nouveau le silence dans les manuels historiques. Dans nos manuels des dernières années les aspects de collaboration occupent une place importante, ce qu'on en aurait souhaité même pour les autres.

Quelques peuples ont été étendus dans le passé au-delà des frontières nationales, ils ont tué, ils ont envahi, ils ont brûlé et assimilé.

Les projets nationalistes pour la création des Etats nationaux aux confins des Empires moyenâgeux, les plans pour le morcellement injuste des terres du voisin et la légalisation internationale de ce morcellement, sont les facteurs principaux de l'inimitié entre les peuples de cette région. Ici les mites nationalistes sont enchevêtrés avec les injustices des Grandes Puissances. Les historiographies nationalistes historiquement se sont efforcées d'argumenter que leurs peuples sont les plus vieux des Balkans et plus en là, que ceux-ci sont les descendants des pélasgiens ou des illyriens, que leur culture est la plus ancienne et a joué un rôle déterminant etc. Avec ces prétentions nationalistes on a soufflé sur le feu des nationalismes et des inimitiés. Du fond des siècles nous avons hérité des épithètes outrageuses et dénigrantes les uns vis-à-vis des autres. L'histoire ne peut pas être oubliées, c'est la raison pour laquelle il faut tout d'abord écrire la vérité, il faut prendre les responsabilités de la part des groupes politiques et ensuite il faut se mettre à établir les ponts d'amitié et de collaboration entre les peuples de cette région. Dans cette direction les manuels scolaires de l'histoire peuvent jouer un rôle déterminant.

2 - Une nouvelle conception de l'histoire dans les manuels d'histoire

A coté de la lutte contre les stéréotypes et les préjugés ils ont été faits des efforts pour une conception nouvelle de l'histoire dans les manuels scolaires en combinant l'histoire nationale avec celle balkanique et plus en là. L'histoire est conçue d'une manière intradisciplinaire: économique, politique, sociale, culturelle, religieuse, la contribution de la femme etc.

L'historiographie de la période de la Dictature communiste traitait l'histoire en mettant au centre du problème la lutte des classes ainsi que les intérêts du prolétariat et comme voie du développement était conçue celle des révolutions, tandis que dans les nouveaux manuels de l'histoire la voie principale est celle de l'évolution où les grandes personnalités ont marqué les changements dans l'évolution historique. On leur donne une place méritée dans le processus historique en tant que facteurs déterminants.

Jusqu'à présent dans les manuels d'histoire, quant au rapport entre le coté information et le coté formation, la place principale a été réservée à l'information, tandis que dans les nouveaux manuels on donne une place importante à la formation comme l'éducation civile avec une culture démocratique, la place de l'élève dans la société, les droits de l'homme, l'éducation avec le sentiment du travail où l'activité humaine, les inventions, l'énergie sont la force motrice de la société, l'éducation avec l'amour pour le pays, pour le peuple et le respect pour l'histoire et la culture des autres peuples.

Un nouveau critère est celui de l'usage du mémoire historique pour ne pas répéter les phénomènes négatifs.

Quant au rapport sur les cotés qui nous unissent et les cotés qui nous séparent, on a ajouté les cotés qui nous unissent. Les minorités sont vues davantage comme des ponts de liaison, comme des ambassadeurs des nations auxquelles elles appartiennent. Cette année, suite aux conventions internationales, à la septième classe, dans les écoles des minorités, sont prévus l'histoire du peuple grec et l'histoire du peuple macédonien, où les élèves vont apprendre l'histoire de leur peuple d'une manière entière, chose qu'on aurait souhaité que se fasse même de la part de nos voisins.

Dans les rapports entre les pays de notre région sont manifestées deux réalités:

1) La réalité d'en bas, créée entre les peuples, une réalité amicale de rapports réciproques.

2) La réalité d'en haut, créée sur la base des concepts nationalistes des parties extrêmes, une réalité d'inimitié, fomentée par les projets nationalistes pour créer les Etats nationaux avec une extension comparable à celle de la période des Empires moyenâgeux, par les plans injustes pour le morcellement territorial au préjudice des voisins et la légalisation internationale de ce morcellement.

Des deux réalités la première est laissée de bon gré en oubli tandis que la seconde a été largement propagée sachant bien qu'elle est unilatérale. Cependant il ya eu même des dirigeants qui ont voulu sincèrement mettre en exergue la réalité de la collaboration plutôt que celle de l'inimitié, mais cette volonté est laissée en oubli. D'autre part il y en a eu d'autres qui cherchaient un gouvernement commun pour pouvoir ensuite réaliser leurs visées d'hégémonie nationale.

L'histoire, la culture, les manuels d'histoire peuvent et doivent être des moyens puissants de collaboration entre les peuples des Balkans. Il est d'une importance primordiale la connaissance de l'histoire de l'un l'autre à travers les échanges culturels, les publications communes, les activités communes. Dans le domaine de l'histoire il serait utile la préparation d'une histoire des Balkans qui aurait pour auteurs des représentants de tous les pays et de tous les peuples concernés. C'est sur cette base que pourraient se fonder les manuels scolaires de l'histoire.

Prof. Dr. Petrika THENGJILLI

Bulgaria

What makes the production of history textbooks so important for the Balkan people? This question has also two aspects:

The first aspect: Most of the modern European nations have constructed their national literacy and their national literature upon the basis of a certain spoken language. For most of the Balkan peoples, the situation is just the opposite. As far as the ninth century they receive the Cyrillic script and a substantial part of their literature from Byzantium.

The second aspect: For long periods of foreign political domination national literature remained the most widely spread element of national cultural life.

All this creates a specific attitude towards books and towards their authors and reproducers. It is not by incident that most of the Medieval Balkan manuscripts were created by lay people. The common addition in Medieval handwritings says that "the hand is mortal and disappears, while the written remains for ages".

But let us come back to our contemporary problems. Our Balkan history is full of national and political conflicts. Under the influence of the dominating communist ideology the Bulgarian history textbooks were overloaded with hostility towards our neighbors. The history of Bulgaria up to World War II and even up to 1956 was also represented with strong ideological trend.

Since 1992 an equally strong tendency of deideologization of history teaching and history textbooks production started. It is a process that has not finished yet.

A new tendency occurred among the Bulgarian political circles in power. The initial changes at the end of 1989 were a bit mechanical, aiming only the

disposition of the Communist party from the political power. None of the political formations at that time had clear ideas for the future. And none of the popular public figures had the ability to define that future. But all of them were convinced that parliamentary democracy in Bulgaria has no alternative. This became the first “pillar of wisdom” in Bulgarian society. Later the integration of the country into the European union and into the Euro-Atlantic structures became the second “pillar of wisdom”. It was unanimously voted in our Parliament.

The foundations of the third “pillar of wisdom” were laid in an expose of the prime-minister Ivan Kostov on the National television. On the 24-th of March he stated that the contemporary values and interests of the Bulgarian nation definitely include “the quality of life and the personal happiness of every Bulgarian citizen; the strong civil society and maintaining social peace”. Side by side with them were: “equal and mutually beneficial relations with the neighbours; stability, security and prosperity for the Balkans; preserving of Bulgarian national identity through implementation of our national values into the common values of Europe; full membership into the European union.”

This in practice defined the basic characteristics of Bulgaria’s new political image:

- 1/ the parliamentary democracy
- 2/ the perspective for European integration
- 3/ the national identity

The Ministry of education and science of the Republic of Bulgaria is doing its best this new policy to enter the history textbooks and history education. At the present moment the Ministry is at the stage of introduction of new history textbooks. But even now it is clear that the deideologization will be accomplished; alternative textbooks, approved through competition; and in these textbooks the Bulgarian history will be represented in its Balkan and European context.

Our desire is the young Bulgarians to love their native country, to live in peace with their neighbours and to belong to a united and prosperous Europe.

Valery Katzunov
Sofia, Bulgaria

Romania

Mirela-Luminița Murgescu

History and History Textbooks in Romanian Schools in the 1990s

The place of history in the curricula has changed twice in the 1990s. During the last decade of the communist rule, Romanian history was studied first during the 4th grade and then again from the 8th to the 10th grade (the 9th and 10th grade being at that time also compulsory), while world history was taught first in a chronological manner from the 5th to the 7th grade, and then under the label "Basic Problems of World History" during the 11th and 12th grade. In the early 1990s the 9th and 10th grade were no longer considered compulsory. Therefore, in order to let nobody finish school without being taught the whole national history, Romanian History was relocated to the 7th and 8th grade, while world history had to be compressed to the 5th and 6th grade, especially at the cost of ancient and medieval history. In high school the "basic problems" moved to the 9th and 10th grades, while the 11th and 12th grades were assigned for a more detailed and "profound" study of Romanian history.

A new change in the curriculum was decided in 1995/1996 and began to be enforced in 1997. In compulsory schools the part of world history was enlarged also to the 7th grade, while Romanian history was now compressed to the 8th grade. A similar change is now being prepared for the high schools, where the place of the "basic problems" is to be taken by a new scheme of world history focused on European history, which will also be extended from the 9th to the 11th grade, and which will also include some lessons about the Romanian specifics in world (European) history. The history of the Romanians will be concentrated in the 12th grade, with a focus on the 19th and 20th centuries. The internal division lines in world history have also shifted from the more traditional borders of the major historical eras (AD 476, 1492/1642, 1917/1918) to more generic limits around AD 1000 and 1800.

The renewal of the history schoolbooks has passed through several stages during the 1990s.

At first, soon after the revolution of December 1989, the Romanian history schoolbook written by Petre P. Panaitescu at the beginning of the 1940s. It was a way to reject the communist "authentic" national memory which had been obscured or perverted by the communists. This radical change was more than the teachers would accept. Besides, the professional historians were offended by the fact that almost half a century of scholarship were so bluntly discredited, and at the political level there was also no consensus to support the return to the old schoolbook of Panaitescu. Under these circumstances the experiment has failed, and the Panaitescu schoolbook was practically not used in schools. Few months later, it was accepted to use the schoolbooks of the late 1980s, avoiding the parts which had been too outrageously perverted by the official

ideology of the Ceaușescu regime (for example the chapters about the Romanian Communist Party and the whole communist rule).

Then, in 1991-1992 there were published a new series of schoolbooks for Romanian history. The common feature of the three schoolbooks of this generation was the effort to produce a detailed and politically less biased version of the past. The result were long and rather boring narratives, the textbooks of this generation, besides methodical shortcomings, contain plenty of factual errors and are nationally biased.

The third phase was that of the alternative schoolbooks authorized after an audit and an auction according to Western standards and co-financed by the World Bank. The process of evaluating the new textbooks is coordinated by the CNAM (The National Commission for the Schoolbook Approval) which appoints specialized evaluation teams consisting generally of secondary school teachers and by exception of university teachers. The CNAM selects according to quality/price criteria 3 history textbooks for each gymnasium grade, and approves an unlimited number of schoolbooks for highschools.

The insertion of the new generation of textbooks was preceded by a renewal of the official syllabi for the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th grade (4th, 5th, 6th and 7th grade). There is also a great effort to prepare in haste new schoolbooks for the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th grade. Schoolbooks for the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th grade should be used already in the schoolyear 1999/2000, this means beginning with this autumn. The strain put on authors, publishing houses and evaluation commissions was terrible and, although school has already begun some weeks ago, the new schoolbooks which are now being published couldn't be yet distributed in the schools and will reach the pupils and teachers probably in October. And it is too soon to evaluate whether and to which extent the haste will have a negative impact on the quality of schoolbooks. Nevertheless, the alternative textbooks published beginning with 1995 are better than the old generation, both in technical aspects (maps, colored illustrations) and in the contents determined by the new syllabi, which try to depart from the excessive political and national bias and to introduce also themes of everyday life and civilization.

Turkey



THE HISTORY EDUCATION AND HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN TURKEY

In Turkey, despite some positive steps during the last years, history education in elementary and secondary school levels is far from being truly educative. It is dry, static, devoid of vitality, self-centered, shortsighted, based on labelling and memorising, conservative, and isolated from the outside world.

It is self-centered and short-sighted, because it stems from the outdated attempt to overcome the fears of an era in the distant past which is very different from the present. It reflects the traumatic experience of the Ottoman Empire during its period of contraction, the isolationist character of Turkish nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century, perceptions of being threatened, of being under siege with no exit. What is presented as history education is, to a large extent, attempts to compensate these emotions of inadequacy and damaged existence with stories of victory and honour from an earlier era and to carry them as a series of superiority and hostility stories to the eve of the third millennium.

As has also been indicated by the students and teachers in an European survey on Youth and History carried out in Turkey by our Foundation, it is based on labelling and memorising, because, first of all, it is not designed to accommodate different comprehension levels of every age group: the procedure has been to prepare high school textbooks at first, and then to create junior high school textbooks by reluctantly removing some details from those texts, and finally to arrive at elementary school textbooks by removing yet another group of details, again, reluctantly, from them. What has emerged as a result is a series of stories which is alien especially to children in the 6-15 age group, and which is uncoordinated. Secondly, both the university entrance exams and the private high school entrance exams are in the form of tests, which is totally lacking in cause and effect relations, by further reductionism in even more fragmented small pieces.

It is dry and devoid of vitality, because in the face of post-1960 socio-political and ideological movements, it seeks to find a remedy not in providing the school system with well-educated, mature and open-minded educators, but in imposing more and more rules and bans on exchanging information. As a result, preparation and control of the textbooks have been entrusted to authors and teachers who themselves know of almost no tool except the textbook in front of them, who speak no foreign language, who have been deprived of opportunities for research and for intellectual development.

Under these circumstances, history education and textbooks lack not only the ability to attract the attention of students, but also the capacity to prepare children and young people for the constantly expanding horizons of the present globalisation of our world, to equip them with multi-dimensional thinking, creativity, cultural richness, mutual tolerance and world citizenship. Probably the most striking indication of the present situation is the introverted and isolationist approach of the textbooks: while Turkey has been struggling to be accepted as a European country for the past thirty five years, and while Europe itself is evolving from the Common Market to the European Community to the European Union, textbooks in Turkey are unfortunately far from trying to create sympathy for the historical and cultural legacy of Europe or trying to create a feeling of Europeaness or even belonging to the world in general. In this process, the chauvinistic-nationalistic attitudes in neighbouring countries, most of whom constituted part of the Ottoman Empire in the past, have always been put forward as grounds for extreme-nationalism at home, in a sort of retaliation.

The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey (History Foundation for short) is a non-governmental organisation established by 264 prominent intellectuals and promotes research, publications, scientific meetings and exhibitions relating to the economic, social and cultural heritage of Turkey and the region of which it is a part. The Foundation seeks to engage the public

imagination with a historical awareness free from chauvinism to help future generations gain a rich and broad historical perspective, while searching for a new consciousness and identity.

In the eight years since its establishment, the History Foundation has held more than 100 conferences, published more than 120 books on history and continues to publish four journals. It does not only comprise internationally known Turkish historians, related academics and professionals but has also many connections with the outside world. The History Foundation is currently engaged in several projects ranging from creation of an oral history archive to preparation of international conference on new approaches in historiography and museology.

History Foundation has a prolific history in the field of research and writing on history education and textbooks. The works include: (1) A conference on History Education and New Criticism of Textbooks (March 1994); (2) A National Symposium on History Education and the Textbooks (September 1994); the symposium proceedings were published by the History Foundation; (3) Survey on History Consciousness of High School Students (January-June 1995), results of this project were published in book form as History Consciousness and Youth by Prof İlhan Tekeli; (4) An International Congress on History Education and the Image of the "Other" (June 1995) with the financial support of Körber Foundation; proceedings of this congress were published in book form by the Foundation. (5) A Workshop on History Education and History Textbooks in Turkey and Germany in collaboration with Georg Eckert and Goethe Institutes (January 1997); (6) Organisation of a local history competition in 6000 high schools, under the auspices of President Süleyman Demirel, with the support National Lottery Administration of Turkey (January 1998 - September 1999). Additionally, several books were published on historiography and history teaching including Turkish version of Dr. Etienne Coupeaux's work on the ideological trends related to history education policies in the period of 1931-1993: From the Adriatic to the Sea of China.

Since September 1998, the History Foundation has also been working on a project for re-writing of the history textbooks, with the aim of preparing alternative textbooks. In the light of the problems summarised and situation described above, this project, in general, comprises: (a) the preparation of alternative social studies and history textbooks for primary education; (b) informing the public of these alternative textbooks by a country-wide, high-level, continuous, insistent and convincing campaign so as to offer, promote, and secure public support for these books.

For that purpose, the following steps have already been taken:

- preparation of a detailed project,
- setting up an advisory committee, composed of history teachers, pedagogues, and academics and several committee meetings to discuss the matter in detail,
- meetings with the Minister of Education and main high ranking officials in the Ministry,
- communicating with a number scholars and organisations abroad who work on history education and textbooks, for any kind of advice and co-operation,
- opening up a platform for history teachers for regular meetings in order to discuss the problems and solutions for the history education in Turkey mainly in three biggest cities, namely Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. Funding of this large-scale project is not yet secured.

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The task of history textbooks in Serbia is described as follows: "History helps us to realize that freedom, mutual understanding, cooperation and peace are needed by all peoples irrespective of their language, religion, colour of their skin and way of life, so that each of them severally, and all of them together, could continue to develop and live a life as good and humane as possible."¹

What has remained of that humanistic ideal? As a subject history is introduced in the fifth grade of the primary school (age 10-11). During the following four years of the primary school there are 247 history lessons. National history is taught in 127 lessons (51,41%) and general history is taught in 120 lessons (48,59%). In the secondary school oriented toward natural sciences, (214 lessons of history) national history occupies 35,05 % of all lessons, while in the secondary school oriented toward social sciences (344 lessons) national history covers 37,21% of the curriculum.

Naturally, the repercussions of the breakup of Yugoslavia have also had effect on historical education. Strengthening national identity has become an important goal of education in post-Yugoslav time. However, "deYugoslavization", that is, self-distancing from the experience of the common life with other ex-Yugoslav nations is not so drastically expressed in Serbian textbooks as it was the case of Croatian textbooks.²

Actually, there are very few fundamental changes following 1991. The reason for that is quite trivial. The history textbooks in Serbia are in most cases still written by the same authors who wrote them in 70-ies and 80-ies. This inertia had both a good and a bad consequence. To start with the good one: in ex-Yugoslavia only "internationalist" approach was the "politically correct" one, so these literally old authors (some of them are veterans of the World War II, they are mostly older than 60, no one is younger than 50) remained faithful to the "internationalist" ideals of their youth. But their age and ideological education had negative consequences. First of all, in the textbooks there is still a big space devoted to the "workers' movement", "international workers movement" and similar topics of the old Communist ideological education. Not to mention that the politics and wars are overrepresented, at the expense of the social and even more of the economic history. The official chronological limit of the Curriculum is around 1950. The rest is left to the skill and good will of the teacher. Here we come to the most crucial problem. The history textbooks are not only, let alone most important creators of the "historical consciousness" in Serbia. There are some other sources of the historical consciousness: the media, (mostly popular publicistic books, feuilletons, historical TV programmes), and even the "oral history", mostly transferred from one generation to another within a family. Therefore, the role of the teacher in the creation of a rational historical consciousness is immense. So, it would be very important to include Serbian history teachers in EUROCLIO Standing Conference of History Teachers Associations, PROCEED and Georg Eckert, as well as in other programmes.

¹B. Draskovic, I. Makek, *History Textbook for the 5th Grade of the Primary School*, Belgrade, 1992, p.9 (Quotation from D. Stojanovic, "History Text-books mirror their time", In: V. Pesic-R. Rosandic "Warfare, Patriotism, Patriarchy," Belgrade, 1994, p.81-111.

²W. Hepken, "History education and Yugoslav (Dis-)Integration", In: Melissa K. Bokovoy, Jill A. Irvine, Caril S. Lilly (editors) *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992*, New York, 1997, p.79-106.

Presentation of Organizations

UNESCO

More than 50 years in promoting textbook research and development

- 1946** Resolution on the revision of textbooks, UNESCO General Conference, Paris
- 1948** Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations General Assembly, Paris
- 1949** Framework for the improvement of history and geography textbook
- 1950** First series of seminars on the mutual revision of textbooks
- 1953** Launching the Associated Schools Project
- 1968** Recommendation on Education for International Understanding as an integral part of the curriculum and life of the school, IBE, Geneva
- 1974** Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, UNESCO General Conference, Paris (updated in 1995)
- 1983** Intergovernmental Conference on the implementation of the 1974 Recommendation, Paris
- 1987** Launching the Linguapax Project
- 1989** International Congress and Declaration on peace in the minds of men, Yamoussoukro, Côte d'Ivoire
- 1992** UNESCO International Network of Textbook Research Institutes

The production of publications and the organization of seminars has always been the main thrust of action in this sphere. In 1949, UNESCO drew up a framework to improve history and geography textbooks. Between 1950 and 1953, UNESCO held the first series of seminars on the mutual revision of textbooks. With the benefit of experience thus acquired, the Organization began to encourage the mutual revision of history textbooks in order to eliminate biased presentation of facts and nationalistic prejudice. Each biennium thereafter, regional, bilateral and multilateral consultations took place.

Within the framework of its International Network of Textbook Research, UNESCO continues to provide guidelines and support to Member States wishing to carry out bilateral or multilateral, revision of textbooks to remove prejudice vis-à-vis other nations, or groups of people.

In 1997 the Secretariat of UNESCO, in collaboration with the National Commissions and relevant NGOs and Centres working in the region, developed a programme aimed at highlighting the important achievements of the region, strengthening the spirit of tolerance and developing a culture of peace. This programme is being coordinated by UNESCO's Programme for Central and Eastern European Development (PROCEED), which coordinates also the present project in history textbook development. The Visby Conference represents the first phase in a long-term project and a logical follow-up to the International Conference "South-East europe – Crossroads of Cultures", held in Paris in February 1998.

(UNESCO was represented by Genc Seiti who also chaired the presentation and by Kay Lisengard)

The dissolution of Former Yugoslavia in the early 90's led to the 4 year long war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which left the country in a

disastrous condition in all areas considered. The Washington agreement, creating peace between 2 of the worrying parties, as well as the Dayton peace accord, ending the war in 1995, led to a complex state of affairs which could be presented through a relevant area for us here, namely the education system.

The issues that will be raised here are focusing around the politically socialising intentions of the various education systems in Bosnia and Herzegovina and will therefore give an overview of the conditions in which the educational authorities are operating, and will also look at the possible effects cross the educational systems and within the society in large. As the current system is highly fragmented and politicised there is also a need to introduce some of the efforts that the international community has worked on to overcome the problem of segregation in schools along ethnic lines. The task is enormous and the political resistance to develop and work together on the necessary changes, that would jointly improve the educational conditions and the future lives of the children, are remarkably apparent at all levels within all sides.

The paper will present in detail the progress made up to date in terms of textbook and curricula revision activities, the problems encountered when focusing on the content and teaching of national subject, among them history, and the possible future development which is currently discussed.

Kay Lisengard

Associate Expert

UNESCO Sarajevo Office

Council of Europe

It is a great pleasure for me to take part in this International Conference “Disarming History” on combating stereotypes and prejudice in history textbooks in South East Europe and I would like to thank UNESCO very warmly for its invitation. I would also like to thank our Swedish hosts.

The Council of Europe is responsible for a Programme of Activities on the reform of history teaching and the preparation of history textbooks in Central and Eastern Europe and my colleagues and I have been carrying out this programme mainly in some of the former Soviet Republics since 1986.

The main aim of the Programme is to help the countries involved to improve their history teaching. History is an important subject that contributes to the education of future citizens of democratic countries. History, as we see it, should not simply be a list of dates and events to be learnt by heart but should aim at interesting school pupils in their national history, European and world history and teach them attitudes, skill and values which will remain with them throughout their lives.

This Programme of Activities has been carried out through workshops, seminars and advisory missions focusing on:

- curricula and standards;
- the preparation and publication of new history textbooks;
- the initial and in-service training of history teachers.

One of the first seminars in this Programme was on “The preparation and publication of new history textbooks in European countries in democratic transition” which took place in Warsaw in November 1996. We invited all the Council of Europe’s new partner countries in Central and Eastern Europe and looked at the textbooks which were being published and how to improve them.

We have come a long way since that series and have been able to make more practical contributions to the publication of new history textbooks in Moldavia, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, etc.

I would like to say a few words about activities which could be transferable. The Council of Europe is now responsible for the “Tbilisi Initiative” which is the preparation and publication of a Caucasian textbook. The Council of Europe is working closely with teams of authors from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Russian Federation.

In order to ensure that we avoid a certain number of problems, we prepared a list of guidelines which have to be respected by the authors.

The textbook should be free of political or ideological stereotypes which could reinforce the political problems of the day, and should contain no information which could be interpreted from a nationalistic or xenophobic point of view. Also, the language has to be neutral and not polemical.

We have also recommended that a balance should be found between:

- texts;
- maps;
- photos;
- extracts from historical documents;
- tasks and possibly tests for the pupils.

The aim of the textbook is to:

- interest pupils in history and, in particular, the history of their neighbours;
- encourage them to look for further information elsewhere;
- develop their skills in critical thinking;
- awaken their reasoning skills.

The textbook’s main aim is, however, to create a climate of tolerance and understanding for the pupils at the schools in the four countries involved. They will be the future citizens of these countries and the peaceful coexistence of that region is their responsibility.

In the Council of Europe, we have also the Black Sea Initiative on history. The aim of this Initiative is to look at how the history of the Black Sea is taught and what is taught and then try to improve the curricula and perhaps the textbooks of the countries involved. This time we are not aiming at producing a textbook, but perhaps a teaching pack for teachers with information from each of the countries.

In the Black Sea Initiative on history, we are also actively involving pupils from each of the countries. Partner schools from the countries will work together on a local archaeological site and exchange information on a regular basis. We hope to include the results of the work of this network of schools in the teaching pack.

In addition to what I have just said, we are now starting to work in South Eastern Europe. I had begun to work with history educators in Albania three years ago, but, to my great regret, events stopped me from continuing.

Now in 10 days' time, we will be in Tirana and start again. We are organising a seminar on "The reform of history teaching and we will prepare a programme of activities for the next two-three years. I suggest that in this programme we should be looking in more depth at:

- the history curricula;
- the new history textbooks;
- the initial and in-service training of history teachers.

Then, to my great satisfaction, my colleagues and I will be organising a similar seminar in the²former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia". This will be the first time that we have been to this country and we will also be looking at the possibility of developing a similar programme for the ²former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" as the one in Albania.

The Council of Europe will also organise a seminar on Sarajevo in May 2000 within the framework of its project on "Teaching and learning about the history of Europe in the 20th century in secondary schools".

Finally, I would just like to mention that I may help to organise a seminar on "Teaching controversial and sensitive issues in

secondary school history education” in Sarajevo in November. At that seminar, I am hoping to be able to give examples of the way in which

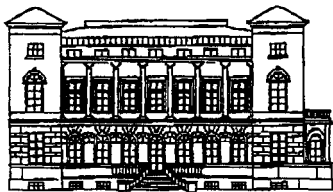
- the Spanish education system deals with teaching the Franco period.
- Northern Ireland deals with history education.

We shall also be looking at examples in history textbooks and how the initial and in-service training of history teachers deals with ways of teaching controversial and sensitive issues.

To end my short presentation, I would like to say that it is always a great pleasure for me to co-operate and work with you all and, in particular, with:

- UNESCO,
- Euroclio;
- the Georg Eckert Institute;
- Austria’s KulturKontakt with whom I will be working next week in a history workshop for the Graz process. The results will be submitted to the Sofia conference organised within the Graz process in mid-November

Alison Cardwell
Council of Europe



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***Main activities of the Georg Eckert Institute
in Central and Eastern Europe - History/Civics projects***

Textbook exchange and research with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

The Georg Eckert Institute developed first contacts with the Baltic countries by organizing a conference on *Nation and state building* which took place in 1993, and maintains since then a close exchange with authors engaged in the construction of new textbooks. The Institute has set up at the Vilnius Institute of Pedagogics, in cooperation with the Lithuanian Ministry of Education, a Textbook Research and Information Centre accessible to teachers and researchers from the Baltic countries and neighbouring states. A scholarship programme was set up to enable teachers, textbook authors and scholars to carry out research works at the Vilnius Textbook Centre. For 1999, workshops on new geography textbooks and on the presentation of the Soviet era in history textbooks are planned. Furthermore, teaching materials on the Baltic countries aimed at German schools are being developed.

Latest publication:

Robert Maier (ed.): *Nationalbewegung und Staatsbildung. Die baltische Region im Schulbuch.* Frankfurt/Main 1995 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung. Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol. 85); Textbook Research and Information Centre for the Baltic Countries (VTIC): Newsletter 3, Vilnius 1999; cf. <http://www.pedagogika.lt>.

Forthcoming publication:

Evaldas Bakonis: *The history textbook: developments, use and evaluation*, Vilnius 1999 (in Russian language)

German-Polish textbook consultations

Since 1971, German and Polish historians and textbook authors meet every year to analyse and review textbooks in use. In 1976, German-Polish recommendations were published by the joint German-Polish Textbook Commission under the title "Empfehlungen für die Schulbücher der Geschichte und Geographie in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in der Volksrepublik Polen" (Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts für internationale Schulbuchforschung, vol. 22/XV). Academic follow-up conferences dealt with conflicting issues and key topics of Polish-German relations. The conference reports are published in a separate series. A working group is currently finalizing a book entitled: "Deutschland und Polen im 20. Jahrhundert. Hinweise für den Geschichtsunterricht". This work will complete the partly outdated "Empfehlungen". A conference took place in 1996 on *The coexistence of Germans, Poles and Jews in particular historic places*.

The 1998 conference dealt with the topic *Borderlines and frontier regions in the Polish and German history*.

Latest publication:

Robert Maier and Georg Stöber (eds.): *Zwischen Abgrenzung und Assimilation - Deutsche, Polen und Juden. Schauplätze ihres Zusammenlebens von der Zeit der Aufklärung bis zum Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges*. Hanover 1996 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol. 88). Heinz Duchhardt and Bogdan Wachowiak: *Um die Souveränität des Herzogtums Preußen. Der Vertrag von Wehlau 1657*. Hanover 1998 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol. 88/BV).

Russia

Within the frame of the German-Russian textbook consultations, a conference took place in Moscow in October 1996 on *How the German Empire and the late Czar Empire are presented in German and Russian textbooks*. Another German-Russian conference held in Braunschweig on 10-15 June, 1997, dealt with *Coping with the Socialist past in textbooks*. Experts from **Ukraine, Georgia, Romania, Lithuania and Hungary** participated in the meeting.

Latest publication:

Isabelle de Kegel and Robert Maier (eds.): *Auf den Kehrighaufen der Geschichte? Der Umgang mit der sozialistischen Vergangenheit*. Hanover 1999 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol. 97). *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 17 (1995), No 4 "Rußland im Umbruch".

Czech Republic

After having thoroughly examined the time-period of World War II, the German-Czech Textbook Commission is now going to investigate the topic *nation building*. A conference took place in Braunschweig in September 1997 on *Nation - awakened, called into being, exhausted, destroyed, resurrected ... or just constructed? Textbook historiography and its treatment of the nation-state*. Experts from **Austria and Slovakia** also took part in. Investigations about this topic will be carried on. The next conference is planned for October 1999.

Latest publication:

Robert Maier (ed): *Tschechen, Deutsche und der Zweite Weltkrieg. Von der Schwere geschichtlicher Erfahrung und der Schwierigkeit ihrer Aufarbeitung*. Hanover 1997 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol 94).

South-Eastern Europe

National stereotypes and prejudices in textbooks and popular literature of South-Eastern Europe was the subject of a meeting held in Braunschweig in 1993. In this context, the Institute has also brought together a team of researchers from **Turkey, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria, Slovenia**, investigating the presentation of the Balkan wars in textbooks. The purpose is to find ways of dealing with armed conflicts in this century that do not perpetuate hatred but lay foundations for a peaceful settlement. This team is likely to be extended to the participation of researchers from **Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia**. A stocktaking conference presenting the most important results of textbooks projects recently conducted in the Balkan region has been held in Thessaloniki (Greece) in 1998. The textbook research unit at Thessaloniki University plans to publish the conference papers in 1999.

Latest publications:

Wolfgang Höpken: *Geschichte und Gewalt. Geschichtsbewußtsein im jugoslawischen Konflikt*. In: *Internationale Schulbuchforschung* 15 (1993) No 1, pp. 55-73.

Wolfgang Höpken (ed.): Oil on fire? Textbooks, ethnic conflicts and violence in South-Eastern Europe. Hanover 1996 (Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, vol. 89).

Ukraine

The Georg Eckert Institute has been conducting since August 1997 a three-year-running project on "History and Civics textbooks of the non-Russian CIS-States - the tension between national self-assertion and international orientation" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. The Ukraine is the major project partner. The aim of the project is to realize a comparative analysis of textbook development in the project's partner countries after the collapse of communism and to promote democratic and innovative approaches in textbook construction. The first textbook conference was held in Ukraine in December 1998. The theme was *The individual and the society - controversial questions and their presentation in history and civics textbooks*. About 40 Ukrainian and 8 German historians as well as experts from Switzerland, Belorussia and Moldova took part in the meeting which was opened by the Ukrainian Minister of Education. The Ukrainian media showed a brisk interest in the event. The conference results will be published in Ukrainian. In April 1999, four Ukrainian scholars and textbook authors attended a workshop on *Nation building and the popularity of the idea of the national state after the second world war* at the Georg Eckert Institute. Ukrainian participants will be invited to a textbook conference jointly organised by the GEI, the German and the Belorussian UNESCO-Commissions, to be held in Minsk in Dezember 1999.

Georgia

The cooperation with Georgian textbook experts, initiated within the framework of a UNESCO conference, is developing further through regular visits of Georgian scholars to the Georg Eckert Institute. Five scholarships have been awarded to Georgian authors. A delegation made up of two Georgian scholars headed by the Georgian vice-minister of Education, stayed in Braunschweig in June 1997 on the occasion of an international conference. During an expert meeting in Braunschweig on 22-26 March, 1998, two Georgian representatives reported about the current situation in the teaching of history and civics as well as about curriculum and textbook development. Magda Telus from the Georg Eckert Institute lectured at Tbilisi University and the institute for teachers training in April 1998. It is planned to develop a reader on history didactics.

Latest Publications:

International Textbook Research 20 (1998) No 4 „Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Uzbekistan“

EUROCLIO

EUROCLIO was represented by Joke van der Leeuw-Roord

The inherent danger of history education is that through deliberate political interference or lack of sensitivity it can fuel existing antagonisms. History is perhaps the most vulnerable subject to the possibility of being used as a vehicle for political propaganda, fear, hatred and aggression. On the other hand history education can be used to build and maintain democracy and to strengthen mutual understanding between different countries and peoples in Europe. Good history education can help young people to develop a balanced and multi-dimensional image of the past as well as the critical and analytical skills necessary for them to become responsible citizens in a democratic society.

After the collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989, several agencies and governments felt that it was important to support history education on a European-wide scale, by sharing and exchanging knowledge and experience in the learning and teaching of history. At the Council of Europe symposium *The teaching of history since 1815 with special reference to changing borders* in the Netherlands, in 1993, the representatives of 17 national and regional organisations of history teachers founded EUROCLIO. EUROCLIO has grown to become an association representing 57 organisations in 36 countries. EUROCLIO's role is to strengthen the place of history and to foster developments and innovation in the learning and teaching of history throughout all European countries.

EUROCLIO is recognised by the Council of Europe as a Non-Governmental Organisation and affirms the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention of Human Rights, the Convention on Human Rights issued by the United Nations and the UNESCO recommendations relevant to history teaching. Apart from that, EUROCLIO has no political, philosophical or religious affiliations.

CIVITAS

Although the mechanisms of democracy may now appear in many places, too often they have no foundations in a culture of democracy. Without such a culture—citizens' understanding of their rights and responsibilities, and willingness to exercise them—the mechanisms of democracy cannot work.

As a result, the promises of economic development have too often been lost to pervasive crime and corruption. Ethnic and religious differences have been inflamed, bringing refugees, terrorism and war. Cynicism and demagoguery have begun to threaten the bright hopes that arose a short ten years ago.

The culture of democracy arises from many sources, but one of the most instrumental is education and, of course, history teaching. Unfortunately, the importance of education and culture to the strength of free societies is often undervalued. Ministries of education and school systems in the new democracies have not been in the forefront of reform. As a result, many democracies, new and old, do not devote classroom time to a civics curriculum, teachers lack the necessary training, and their classroom materials—often communist-era “civics” textbooks—still do not address students as prospective citizens of a free society.

Some 450 civic educators and private and public sector leaders from 52 nations met in Prague in 1995 for a discussion of the role of education in strengthening the culture of democracy. They agreed to join in an international effort to “raise the importance of civic education on the international agenda”. They created the “CIVITAS” movement. Today the CIVITAS global network includes governmental, non-governmental and international affiliates at every level and in all regions of the world. The network's central purpose is advocacy for civic education, marshalling resources, training teachers, providing classroom materials, developing curricula and helping to set standards of evaluation and performance.

CIVITAS has engaged academic, NGO, foundation and governmental supporters and programme participants from over 125 countries. It operates from a lean, but active secretariat in Strasbourg, France, the home of the Council of Europe, one of its early supporters.

There are more than 40 member-organisations (May, 1999) from all over the world, e.g. Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, France, Germany, Romania, Lithuania, Russia and organisations from Africa, North and South America, Asia and Australia.

Transforming Classrooms in Bosnia

In 1996, CIVITAS conducted its first pilot program in war-torn Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country that desperately needed curriculum development, teacher training, and new textbooks teaching tolerance and democracy. This project was run in Bosnia, Croatia and Republika Srpska.

In all, over 800 teachers in the federation have been trained in civic education, and subsequently they have taught 16,000 students.

Civic education is now taught in a third of the Bosnia and Herzegovina secondary schools and half of its primary schools. In fact survey shows that at least one school in every municipality now offers such a program. This includes Republika Srpska, where CIVITAS is present in every region, taught by a corps of 100 CIVITAS-trained teachers.

The International Civic Exchange Program for Eastern Europe

The CIVITAS Exchange program—funded in large part by the U.S. Department of Education and directed by a consortium led by the center for Civic Education—enables civic educators from the United States, Eastern and Central Europe and from newly independent states to assist each other in strengthening education for democracy.

This program includes:

- 1) seminars on the basic values and principles of constitutional democracy and its institutions;
- 2) reciprocal visits by civic educators to school systems, institutions of higher learning and non-profit organisations;
- 3) translations of basic documents of constitutional government;
- 4) joint research projects;
- 5) adaptation of exemplary curricular and teacher education programs.

Bulgaria

CIVITAS member, the Bulgarian Open Education Center, in co-operation with the University of Iowa and the Center for Citizenship Education in Poland, is spearheading efforts to develop a civic education curriculum for introduction in the country's schools by the academic year 1999-2000. The center is also carrying out a student self-government project that is setting up student-community councils in 15 cities. It conveys its message of citizen rights and responsibilities in a democracy through its network of 20 youth centers. Recently, the center has begun taking on a more regional dimension, offering training for civic educators from the newly independent states and developing regional summer schools for teachers.

Croatia

While the Croatian Parliament is debating whether to include Project Citizen as an elective in its national curriculum, hundreds of Croatian children and their teachers were preparing to showcase their projects last June in Zagreb. The Project Citizen showcase was the culmination of two years of effort by Croatian educators and officials, with continuing co-operation from the Center for Civic Education (CCE), to adapt the program for use in the country's

primary and secondary schools. As part of the pilot initiative, the Ministry of Education and CCE representatives worked to adapt Project Citizen workbooks from the Bosnian model and to provide hands-on training for participating teachers. These efforts have helped raised the profile of civic education and won sufficient political support to place the issue on the legislative agenda.

Ukraine

CIVITAS is starting a new project in Ukraine. This project will result in:

- a) prepared curriculum for Civic Education;
- b) prepared textbooks for Civic Education;
- c) trained Ukrainian teacher trainers;
- d) establishment of three resource centers for Civic Education in Kiev, Charkiv and Lviv.

The project CIVITAS Ukraine is run by American and European organisations. The project is financed by the U.S. Government and the European Union.

Kosovo

Mr. Balazs Hidveghi, Executive Director of CIVITAS spent last week in Kosovo. His mission was to explore the situation of CIVITAS activities in the field of Civic Foundation.

Civnet

The Website ²Civnet” (www.civnet.org) is accessed by more than 5000 educators per week from over 110 countries. Once an Internet pioneer, and now the recipient of many rewards and accolades, Civnet remains a unique resource where educators can find and access civic education syllabi, curricula, national standards and

online textbooks. It provides a global directory of civic organisations, weekly news briefs about the work of building civil society and democracy, fora on teaching techniques, and a bimonthly journal of articles about civil society, teaching methodology and the development of non-governmental organisations.

CIVITAS pays particular attention to South-Eastern Europe and, during the CIVITAS Council Meeting (Palermo, June 21, 1999) a Special Resolution called "Education for Democracy: An Immediate Need for South-Eastern European Stability and Prosperity" was adopted. The Resolution urged the European Commission, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe and the United States Government to make education for democracy a prominent element in the effort to fulfil the hopes of South-Eastern Europe.

Main partners of CIVITAS:

World Bank, European Union, Council of Europe, UNESCO, U.S. Information Agency, U.S. Department of Education, U.S. Department of State, Center for Civic Education, American Federation of Teachers.

Girvydas Duoblis

International Association for South-East European
Studies (AIESEE)
Razvan Theodorescu

Recent findings in historical research on South-East Europe*

In order to give an accurate image on multidisciplinary historical research on South-East Europe – from political and social to literary and artistic history, from the history of language to that of beliefs – we resorted to the presentation of the main directions and results obtained on the last de decade by the International Association for South-East European Studies (AIESEE), as a non-governmental scientific organization belonging to UNESCO, established about forty years ago, enhancing an important segment of the academic and university research from twenty-five countries on three continents. In this research dedicated to the past and present of South-East Europe, AIESEE has a great advantage: that of gathering the contributions of historians from the countries of this area and those of Western Europe, Russia, United States or Japan, all of them making their studies on primary sources such as archives, collections, museums of Balkan and Danube area, therefore the most reliable sources. We emphasize this aspect because the extrascientific and compilatory character of more and more books and studies on the Balkans, especially after the crises in Bosnia and Kosovo, gave birth to confusion and created stereotypes among the intellectuals in many countries, as well as in the education field.

On the other hand, the results of this international and multidisciplinary research could be included rapidly in the scientific course, due to the rhythmic publishing of the works presented in the scientific meetings organized by AIESEE in a new manner, beginning with 1990, when the well-known ideological and political obstacles of the totalitarian regimes were removed in most of the South-East European countries. The debates took place in Bucharest, Thessaloniki, Tirana, Athens, Montreal, Madrid, Paris, Skopje and Ohrida. The papers were published in Association Internationale d'Etudes du Sud-Est Européen. Bulletin

* Results of Colloquia, scientific conferences and congresses of AIESEE, from 1990 to 1999.

(abbreviation Bulletin) and in Septième Congrès international d'études du Sud-Est européen. Thessalonique, 29 août- 4 septembre 1994. Rapports, Athens, 1994 (abbreviation Congrès Thessalonique). The most recent contributions, which are to be published, were presented only a month before at the Huitième Congrès international d'études sud-est européennes. Bucarest, 24 -28 août 1999 (abbreviation Congrès Bucarest). In the near future will also be published the works of the colloquium of Skopje – Ohrida, dedicated to the inter-war period (colloquium Skopje - Ohrida).

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1) A new conception of the scientific cooperation of the historians focusing the South-East Europe and the cooperation with institutions of the European Union

- The extension of research on the connection with Central Europe and Mediterranean area;
- A new approach of the relations of this area with Ukraine and Russia;
- The preparation of a collective international work “Pour une grande histoire des Balkans des origines à 1912” (authors of the project: A. Guillou, H. Antoniadis-Bibicou).

Contributions on research (Bulletin 24-25 / 1994-1995): V. Papoulia, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, M. Garašanin, A. Suceveanu, R. Theodorescu, V. Căndea, T. Teoteoi, P. Bádenas de la Peña, M. Delibaşi, S. Demiraj, V. Friedman, O. Yassar-Nasteva, M. D. Peyfuss, C. Popişteanu, F. Constantiniu, V. K. Volkov, D. Berindei.

2) Ethnic and religious tolerance and intolerance in a multiethnic and multiconfessional world

- Religious feeling and religious tolerance;
- Cases of Islamic- Christian supraconfessionalism and of theological collaboration in the way of a common mystic spirit;

- Muslim and orthodox customs;
- Anthropological matters on denial of belief and renegades;
- Folk religious, myths and particular rites;
- Past and present of ethnic and religious minorities (Aromanians, Jews, Moslems).

Contributions on research (Bulletin 26-26 / 1996-1997): A. Guillou, M. Garašanin, A. Fol, P. Xhufi, S. Anamali, V. T. Gioultis, M. Balivet, F. Duka, M. Tirta, J-F. Gossiaux, D. Popescu, I. Pérez Martín, E. Popeanga, R. Theodorescu, M. Angel de Bunes Ibarra, P. Bádenas de la Peña, F. J. Juez Gálvez, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, S. Pesmazoglou; (Congrès Bucarest): M. Maxim, K. Kyçyuku, M. L. Murgescu, S. A. Somel, J. Landau, L. Tafta, Gh. Zbucea.

3) South-East European mentalities

- Politics and mentality (Middle Ages, modern times);
- Power and ideological symbol;
- The testimony of written culture and figurative language;
- Prophecy and eschatology.

Contributions in research (Bulletin, 19-23 / 1993): M. Tatić-Djurić, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, P. Boiceva, A. Kirin, V. Cădea, R. Theodorescu; (Congrès Thessalonique): H. M. Miedlig, M. Cholevas, P. Kitromilides.

4) Balkan confrontations and cooperation in the inter-war period, a preface of today Balkans

- Confrontation on the '30;
- The involvement in the Balkans of the Great European Powers (France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Soviet Union);
- Balkan monarchies and dictatorship (their specific character, foreign and national monarchies);
- The state of right and political extremes.

Contributions in research (Congrès Thessalonique): P. Tzvetkov, P. Skowrovek, M. Smirnova, A. Yazkova, P. Tzermias; (Colloquium Skopje - Ohrida): I. Bulei, P. Bádenas de la Peña, A. Garabedian, K. Svolopoulos.

5) Political changes after 1984-1985

- The concept of “national state” at the end of 20th century;
- Journalism and democracy;
- Distortion in western image of South-East Europe.

Contributions in research (Congrès Thessalonique): A. Suppan, I. Deutscher; (Bulletin, 24-25 / 1994-1995): R. Zaïmova, R. Theodorescu; (Congrès Bucarest): M. Zlateva, W. Fischer.

6) Geopolitics and cultural communications

- Roads of commerce and roads of belief;
- Languages of communication in South-East Europe;
- Ethnic and spiritual (monastic) colonization.

Contributions in research (Bulletin, 28-29 / 1998-1999): R. Theodorescu, T. Stoianovich, P. Cabanes, V. Tăpkova-Zaïmova, M. Balard, Y. de Siké, D. Kovačević-Kojić, E. Dragnev, M. Nystazopoulou-Pélékidou, G. Drettas.

7) European thinking and South-East Europe

- Western “Enlightenment”, French Revolution and South-east Europe;
- What “Balkanology” is?

Contributions in research (Bulletin, 28-29 / 1998-1999): H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, N. Ș. Tanașoca, M. Delilbaşı, A. Tabaki, R. Argyropoulos, C. Mazauric, P. Kitromilides, B. Bojović, T. Gueorgueva, A. Garabedian.

8) Imagology

- The image of “the other” in the last two modern centuries (image of the Bulgarian, the Turk, the Greek, the Romanian).

Contributions in research (Bulletin, 28-29 / 1998-1999): M. Todorova, P. Agelov, P. Odorico, J. L. Bacqué-Grammont, I. Ortayli, A. Popović, L. Trgovčević, B. Lory, S. Damianakos, A. Puto.

UNESCO Center for Women and Peace in the Balkan Countries

Ketty Tzitzikosta

It gives me special pleasure to be invited to ~~address~~^{participate} this conference, on a topic whose importance for all of us and whose long-term significance need no further explanation. To me, as President of the UNESCO Center for Women and Peace, the significance of the event is particularly greater because of two more reasons - on one hand because it responds to one of the fundamental tasks of our institution - the education for peace and better understanding. The Center, whose opening was declared by the Director General, Dr. Federico Mayor, in May 1994, includes among its selected targets: the building of peaceful coexistence and stability in the Balkan region through cooperation and friendly bonds among women in the area; the support to the setting up of a culture of peace and to the dissemination of its values; the fight for the respect of human rights in all the countries of area and under all circumstances; and the promotion of women's activities focusing on cultural diversity, inter-cultural dialogue, adult education, democratic practices and leadership;

The Center is targeted at offering the institutional framework and the capability requested by most of the activities of the Association of Interbalkan Women's Cooperation Societies, and nevertheless is open to all organizations, institutions and private persons interested in developing activities and projects in favor of peace, better understanding and women's advancement in the Balkans. Our institution implements its objectives by organizing congresses on various priority issues for the women living in the area, by carrying on projects benefiting Balkan women, by publishing and disseminating relevant information and by developing active collaboration with governmental, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations.

I was saying that I have two reasons of satisfaction in attending this conference. The second one is that this meeting is a ~~natural and very successful~~^{very important} follow up of our previous initiative in the field.

^{Since} Indeed, UNESCO Center for Women and Peace in the Balkan Countries, in collaboration with the Research Unit on School Textbooks of the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki, Greece, and supported by UNESCO Education Sector - ~~the Section for Humanistic, Cultural and International Education and the Institute for International Research of School Textbooks~~ proposed a joint project of closer specialists' cooperation in restructuring

~~and the Institute Eckert Institute~~

school textbooks, ~~aiming at the improvement of Balkan nations' relations~~. The project consisted of the organization of an International Conference in Thessaloniki, on "The Image of the "Other" / the Neighbor" in the school textbooks of the Balkan Countries", which was held in Thessaloniki, on October 16 - 18, 1998. The event provided a highly scientific and objective, yet informal, framework for the exchange of views and information on the findings of their latest research activities by scholars, researchers and academic personnel. The major changes of fundamental education and school textbook restructuring with a view to forming an objective historical, political, social, economical, behavioral, cultural understanding of Balkan reality were discussed extensively.

The program was proposed as a reasonable and hopefully efficient response to the general interest in closer Balkan cooperation, in improving understanding among the countries of the area, through a closer coordination and the best possible use of available resources in a particularly sensitive field, namely the education of the younger generation on issues of tolerance and collaboration.

Fighting the adverse effects on youth of misguided religious fanaticism and nationalism, which is a threat to peace, to the future of Europe and more specifically, of the Balkan region is not an easy undertaking. Nevertheless in our approach, we have relied on the outcome of the most important activities in this field carried on by UNESCO, by the Institute "Georg Eckert" in Braunschweig, and since 1992, by the Research Unit on School Textbooks of the Pedagogic Section at the Aristotle University School of Philosophy.

All these activities point to the fact that school textbooks play a very definite role not only in the quantity and quality of the student's knowledge but, also, in shaping their emotional identity. In all countries and periods, school textbooks were found to be deliberately used from the earliest age of the pupils, to mold their personality and consequently to have a paramount impact on the values, behavioral models and attitudes transmitted to younger generations.

It is also a matter of consequence that through school textbooks students' attitudes and stereotypes which are significant for their future choices and their behavior in general, are formed and cultivated. For this reason, especially in recent years, sustained research undertaken on school textbooks brought evidence of the fact that hostile nations have introduced their nationalistic prejudices in school textbooks, thus creating strong chauvinistic profiles of their enemies.

At the same time, one of the optimistic findings of the researches was the conclusion that, under favorable auspices, school textbooks can become the most effective mean that we dispose of to disseminate positive attitudes, to educate on the principles of tolerance, to build up the values of the culture of peace in the young minds. These are the fundamental values which, Dr. Federico Mayor proposed to the humanity, as the global concept of culture of peace, encouraging the mankind, with his exceptional force of convincing and leading, that we all admire, to replace confrontation, fighting and violence with new and better ideals.

School textbooks were also proven to be a means of developing public sensitivity for and awareness of ethnic stereotypes, of the significance of cultural diversity and of the importance of sustained intercultural dialogue.

The participants in the conference also referred to the ways in which school textbooks ascertain facts and truths, from the past and present. The survey of recent research and the critical analysis of the texts suggested that school textbooks of the Balkan Countries still circulate some of the negative stereotypes, impregnated with hatred or misunderstanding. This was particularly true in the sensitive area of history, and this is how this meeting was born.

This is also, I think, a fine example of how people have to look on their own existence, as individuals and communities, with deeper understanding, with more tolerance, with increased wish for substantial improvement. Of course, we must understand that in building bridges of understanding and friendship at the place of conflict and bitterness we need much more than better education. Quite at the opposite of France and Germany, which stand for the classical example of nations having surpassed many critical issues on their way to reconciliation, but doing so in a clear context, the Balkan countries are still uncertain about future, and on many occasions witness international "playing" with vital issues like reshaping borders. What the Balkan countries need most for the moment is to be allowed to decide on their own solutions and steps towards a clearly defined future.

May I express my deep belief that this meeting will help overcoming many of these painful realities and promoting new and more convenient approaches. May I also assure you of our permanent support to this program, of our commitment to the goals of the education in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, of respect for cultural diversity and dialogue.

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Revisiting the Balkans

Looking at South-Eastern Europe through Literature
and Art

A Round Table of Outstanding Creators

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Baltic Centre for Writers and Translators

The Declaration adopted by the participants in the Round Table
appears on page 8 and a booklet will be published separately.

Revisiting the Balkans

Looking at South-Eastern Europe through Literature and Art

In collaboration with the Baltic Centre for Writers and Translators, a special programme and a Round Table on “Revisiting the Balkans: Looking at South-Eastern Europe through Literature and Art” has been organized in parallel with the conference.

In a special session of the conference, a group of outstanding creators: writers, artists, journalists, publishers, art critics, translators presented their vision of the future and were available for individual interviews.

