

Common trends in contemporary debates on History Education¹

Maria Repoussi
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

1. Introduction

The contemporary world is characterised by greater and smaller controversies over 'school life of the past'¹. History Curricula, History textbooks and History Education in general constitute the field of unprecedented intense, ideological debates about the use of the past in contemporary societies. Symbolic wars, cultural wars, wars of identity, History wars, memory wars, whatever they are called, they consider History Education their favourite battlefield². This is an crucial historical phenomenon for history in education revealing the importance given to school history, as it is still considered the main apparatus for the social production of national identities. Thus it creates a new environment, both challenged and threatening, for the Didactics of History. Historical Consciousness, Historical Culture³ or even Historical Literacy⁴ as the main purposes for History education have more and more to deal with on the one hand the challenges and on the other the threats exerted over curricula, textbooks and educational personnel. As History education becomes public property, it has to confront its relation with memory, memories and different agencies of memory developed extremely at the turn of 20th to 21st century. It has also to reposition itself in the broad field created by history studies, public history and cultural studies.

In the frame of this paper, I claim that controversies –even if it is only a matter of one- in History Education is not a local phenomenon that could be explained only in relation to social and political national or regional conditions. Globalization does not only organize the everyday life. It demands that we enlarge the explanatory framework by taking into consideration the interdependence of historical phenomena on a global scale⁵. Globalization moreover constitutes the key concept to understand humanity in its third millennium⁶. Controversies on History Education is a typical global case, as they have acquired more and more common aspects so that they can be read overall as battles in the same war which is being waged in different parts of the world. We consequently have probably to extend the vertical and even the horizontal way to think of them in favour of the global one. What is at stake surpasses the frontiers of the nation state in question and finally concerns future global developments and the formation of citizenry in the contemporary world.

My attempt is, therefore, to approach the History Education conflicts in a comparative way, in order to bring to the surface the regularities of contemporary conflicts waged in radically different national contexts. I first argue that in recent debates, in contrast with the previous ones, the first common aspect is the conservative character of the attacks which History Education faces. I also maintain that this is essentially a backlash movement to the gains of the sixties, a reaction against whatever changes occurred in the traditional school history paradigm⁷. I continue by selecting two cases studies belonging to totally different social, geographical, political and cultural context, by reading their discourses and

¹ An important part of the research made for this paper was carried out in the Georg-Eckert Institute for International Textbooks Research to which I owe many thanks

by defining the main arguments which have a repeated value in the rhetoric of controversies.

2. The shift of the '60s and its contestation

"What did you learn in school today" is the title of a droll Tom Paxton's song of 1966⁸, in the middle of the thrilling decade of sixties.

"I learned, the child replied, that war is not so bad,
I learned about the great ones we had had.
We fought in Germany and in France.
And someday I will get my chance.
I learned our government must be strong;
it's always right and never wrong.
Our leaders are the finest men,
and we elect them again and again."

The lyrics reflect the sentiments and conceptions of the new generation of Americans towards school history and its messages. It is a cultural artefact of the social pressure exerted on History Education in USA during the sixties. Evidence with similar meanings is abundant in the western cultural environment of the sixties⁹. In Australia, the critical approaches concerned established interpretations of settlement and progress¹⁰. In general, the 1960s History Textbooks and Curricula, considered as conservative texts of dominance and control became the target of broad social criticism.

In the end of the sixties and the beginning of seventies in some cases¹¹, school history demonstrated important signs of transformations due to the societal pressures. As Linda Levstik argues for the American case, "in a society torn by civil rights, women's rights, and antiwar protests, it was difficult to maintain the illusion that a unified history of progress and consensus was possible"¹². The shift was also supported by new epistemological, both historiographical and pedagogical, premises. Julian Dierkes attributed the changes in the West German curricula of the sixties to the shifts mainly in academic paradigms, moving from *Historismus* to *Sozialgeschichte*¹³. Hanna Schissler maintains the dependence of changes in school history on the historiographical revolution which has modified the writing of history¹⁴. The pedagogical revolution also was an important motive force for the fertilization of the changes which were put forward by society and historical sciences. The shift from the teacher to the child as the subject of learning which prevailed in the educational avant-garde from the beginning of the century became dominant and is integrated into the official texts of the Education systems¹⁵.

Many directions of changes can be, consequently, depicted in the new canon. On the one hand; it was the effort to renovate the content of school history in order to include the excluded sides of the past, to give voice to the silenced agents of history or give place to the themes that have been considered important by the new historiographical approaches¹⁶. The minority groups, the different cultures as well as the arts, childhood, women and the every day life started to challenge the one single national narrative and the great events of the nation. On the other, it was the tendency to keep up with the pedagogical trends which view the child as an active learner. According to these premises, history taught in schools needed a new pedagogical environment advocating shifts from expository to investigative procedures of learning. In their heart, they were the historical sources and the procedures to read them, to compare, to criticize and to proceed to an account. New types of textbooks, radically different from the previous ones, or novel class

materials made their appearance in schools, intended to promote meaningful learning and the social purposes of education¹⁷. Having studied school textbooks in the USA, Francis Fitzgerald claimed that 'the texts of the 1960's contain the most dramatic rewriting of history ever to take place in American schoolbooks¹⁸. A similar example came also from Canada. The textbook "Many cultures, Many Heritages", published in 1975, can be seen as an average textbook of the era. Inquiry based teaching in a multicultural anti-nationalistic perspective was in the core of the new canon¹⁹.

Until the 80's, pressures on School History continued to be exerted accelerating changes inaugurated during the sixties. They can be summarized as attempts for (a) the actualization of School History content in order to keep pace with the epistemological historiographical evolution, the flowering of its production and the influx of history objects (b) the dissociation from ex cathedra teaching and the integration of discovery-based and collaborative conditions of learning. (c) the elimination of nationalistic stereotypes, bias and prejudices as well as the inclusion of the concept of otherness (d) the orientation towards European and world history as a counter-balance to the monopoly of national history (e) the adaptation of event-based narrative to the social, cultural and everyday life aspects of the past (f) the openness to extra-curricular histories, to the history told by the family, the local community, the museum or the monument and last but not least (g) the correspondence to the multicultural reality of modern societies.

In the beginning of the seventies, a collective work under the direction of Martin Ballard entitled *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History* expressed the change in perception which had been noted in formal History education in the western world at least. 'In the first place," it was argued in the introduction, "it yearly becomes clear that history teaching must break out of the narrow nationalistic strait-jacket in which it has lived for so long. In a century of world-wide communications- and indeed of world-wide warfare- it has become inexcusable that teachers should continue to work from syllabuses which were designed to prepare pupils for life in a narrower environment. The following articles present the case why history teachers should be prepared to abandon the shallows where they have lived for so long and 'launch out into the deep"²⁰.

The consciousness of the necessity to overcome the narrow nationalistic narration of School History was indeed the starting point for the transformation ethics as it liberated the class of history from a series of constraints and mobilized a series of shifts, among which was the questioning of the one single truth, the downplay of a totally embellished image of the national self and the replacement of a single-party irrevocable absolute historical narration.

Towards the end of the eighties, the first indications appeared of questioning the changes that we consider to have been gained, some of which were perhaps hesitant and / or premature among educators. The crisis of that period concerns mainly education systems affected considerably by the challenges of the sixties. The common trend of these early –in relation to what was to follow- reactions to the New History in Schools was the involvement of politicians. In the United Kingdom, the reaction took the form of a counter movement at the head of which was Mrs Thatcher herself and the ministers of Education of her government. Their purpose was the control of History Education by increasing the centralizing influence of the state through a National Curriculum²¹ In France, there had been a previous reaction by a heteroclite political coalition including people from the extreme right to the left. The history taught in schools was, according to the leader of the National Front Le

Pen, anti-national and this was the fault of a bourgeois globalised French class which side by side with the Marxist internationalism slaughtered national history and love of the homeland. Similar declarations also belong, however, to politicians from the socialist party like Jean-Pierre Chevènement (*Historiens et Géographes* 278 (1980), p. 557). History textbooks were accused of painting a wrong picture of France as an exploitative colonial power²². In the USA, the Reagan era also saw a return to a strong emphasis on national identification²³.

3. The conservative restoration

The reactions of the eighties toward the renovations in School History would be followed by others, both more vehement and longer lasting, strongly mediated and having a high level of networkness. In the USA, Ronald Evans qualifies this phenomenon as 'conservative restoration' and suggests that we correlate it with the educational, political and economic forces outside education and with the rise of a new right in power, having the control of considerable financial resources from both governmental and private sources'. 'New right and neo-conservative reformers were, he adds, well organized, highly motivated, visible, articulate and well funded'²⁴.

Central to this new right is, according to Gill Seidel, the cultural struggle. New right movements in Great Britain or in France, he argues, are engaged "in a cultural battle to unsettle and displace the dominant ideology which constructed the post-war liberal and social democratic consensus"²⁵

The approaches of the backlash movement as a form of rightwing politics cannot however explain the range and the effect of the conservative discourse, without its correlation with the dawn of a new nationalism, that of the nineties which surpasses the frontier lines of rightwing and leftwing political spheres. The new nationalism with its emphasis on reinforcement of national identity is considered to be the selective response of local societies to globalization²⁶. Tessa Morris-Suzuki pointed out that this 1990s nationalism is "deeply obsessed with the relationship between globalisation, national identity, history and memory"²⁷. As Antonis Liakos argues, referring to the Greek history war of 2006-2007, "History" and "globalization" were set in contrast in a matrix where pastness, particularity, and nationality are pitted against presentism, modernism and cosmopolitanism"²⁸. Globalization is also combined with a "corrosive cynicism of a menacing cosmopolitan elite"²⁹ and history/memory/national identity are considered its medicine. Relative to this turbulent relationship is also the growth of the past which characterizes the contemporary world and multiplies the pressure exerted on school history. Others researchers blame it onto the failure of the two major collective political plans oriented towards the future, that of socialism³⁰ and that of the nation state, as the political form which can assure the fundamental human rights³¹. Brubaker introduces the image of reframed nationalism as the consequence of the post-Communist reorganization of political space³².

Olivier Mongin's interpretation of modern, lonely, restless, imposed individualism is also interesting for the explanation of the return to nationalistically historical schemes³³. According to this interpretation, it is claimed that a rise in and transformation of individualism was observed in the 80's. In the 90's, the writer claims that we passed through an individualism that was not chosen but imposed. It was somewhat restless and characterized by loneliness. It gained ground in various social spheres, the private sector more than the public, and contributed to the isolation of individuals and their network of friends, family, work and social life. This phenomenon has a negative affect on social cohesion which is threatened both by

the actual exclusion of a portion of the population and by the economic and social consequences. The representative character of democracy recedes in the face of a democracy of public opinion which cedes great privileges to the mass media, who are moulded by it and simultaneously they themselves mould it. Political power increasingly adapts to this democracy of public opinion, which is usually phobic to change. The adaptation usually takes the form of a subordination of politics to mass media controlled by a public opinion which they have formatted.

The new nationalism of the 90s is the organizational framework of the History Education wars at the turn of 20th to 21st century. The new social, cultural and political environment of a resurgent or reframed nationalism selects History Education as the main battleground to fight many issues. It is not so much to control the historical representations of the future generation as research has revealed the out of school, ongoing, unpredictable and changeable character of the historical conceptions and ideas of the new generation. It is much more to confirm which of past history is the dominant narrative, as school history has always been the major place to prove it. The dominant narrative is tied also to fundamental social and political issues relative to future developments of the nation-state and its position in broader political forms. The kind of arguments used in the debates reveals the internationalization of the backlash rhetoric. We will visit it by selecting two cases from totally different national, economical and cultural conditions of life

4. The Japan Textbook controversy

In late 1996, a new Japanese foundation, Tsukuru-Kai, Society for the creation of New History Textbooks, came to question Japan's contribution in relation to the presentation of the darker sides of the country before and during WWII and promoted 'Return to Japan'³⁴. It was the beginning of an internal crisis on collective memory and simultaneously the start of a new type of war between Japan and its neighbours, South Korea and China which have suffered from Japanese brutality.

Improvements to the content of Japanese history textbooks were made from the mid-1980s, and in the 1990s, concerning the recognition of the crimes of the Japanese military, especially the issue of 'comfort women', before and during World War II³⁵, (Irie, 1997) as well as other dark sides of Japanese history³⁶. It was the result of a growing movement claiming apology and compensation by the Japanese government, a pressure exercised also by international organizations such as the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists in 1994 or the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations in 1996. The reports referred to large numbers of women and girls having been held captive, beaten, tortured, and repeatedly raped in wartime Japanese military installations. Comfort women were described as sex slaves and their treatment as a crime against humanity³⁷. The reports called also upon Japanese government to include the historical facts in the curricula. In the mid 1990's, after an official resolution expressing formal regret over it, the dark side of the 'comfort women' came to be referred to in almost all of the history textbooks³⁸

Tsukura-Kai is presented as taking the responsibility for a counter movement. It was part of a new type of national organization formed by University professors in which rightist and nationalistic ideas were presented as liberal. It was also part of a network of parliamentary and extra parliamentary associations of right-wing nationalism aiming to correct national history by securing the deletion of all references to Japanese war crimes. Their cause was supported by a wide ranging group of literary, media, academic and business personalities³⁹. According to their declarations, 'Japanese soil has bred civilization and produced unique traditions [...].

However, historical education in the post war period has neglected the culture and traditions that for the Japanese are based on duty [...] involving a shameful loss of national pride.

Especially in the field of modern history, they claimed, the Japanese are treated like criminals who must continue apologizing for generations to come. After the end of the Cold War, this masochistic tendency continued to increase, they argue, and in current history textbooks the propaganda of former war enemies is included and treated as if it were the truth. There is no other country in the world where history education is taught in such a way' they claimed⁴⁰. . Thus, Tsukura-Kai was appointed as the supporter of Japanese History and undertook the responsibility to change the historical narrative taught in Japanese schools. They have already issued a series of books, as 'The History that textbooks do not teach' which have become best sellers before editing in 2001, their first history textbook addressed to junior high school students. In this historical version of the Japanese past, comfort women or the other crimes of the Japanese military had disappeared. It was, according to several criticisms⁴¹, a nationalistic view of the Japanese past similar to that taught before and during the war. Children must become proud of their history, by recognising the Japanese role in achieving the liberation of Asia. For them, history lacks those intrinsic criteria of truth or evidence that could resolve conflicting interpretations. History according to this discourse had to fix a sense of pride in being Japanese. This was the correct history, against the loss of a distinctive Japanese historical consciousness. The corrected national history became the fair and true historical account of the Japanese.

"On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war, the masochistic and servile historical consciousness [of the Japanese], which has been distorted by the policies of the postwar occupation, has to be reconsidered. On the basis of a fair and true historical account, we have to recover [our] history and restore the honor and pride of the Japanese"⁴²

Many publications have narrated the evolution of this -internal and external- war⁴³. In the frame of this paper, there will be a limit on the main rhetorical places of the counter movement in order to follow them in other political, national and economical contexts. The major symbol of the nationalistic rationale is the uniqueness of the Japanese nation and culture, the nation understood as a real entity, its existence taken diachronically for granted. The unique Japanese nation is threatened by forces of disintegration and has to be protected by the Japanese patriots, against its former enemies who have imposed a negative image of the nation and its culture. The threat is considered as a uniquely national problem in which all other nations are exempt. It is also presented as the result of an international conspiracy having agents in the national soil. Honour and pride are the fundamental communicative topos of a discourse in which the main signs of the previous discourse on historical thinking and understanding are absent.

Similar argumentation can be encountered in India

5. The Indian History textbooks controversy

One of the founding principles inscribed in the Indian constitution is considered to be secularism. Secularism as educational policy aimed at counterbalance the influence of religious ideas on the educational system, which were a legacy of nineteenth-century colonial historiography dividing India's past between different religious periods and creating stereotypes about various communities, especially Hindus and Muslims. In 1961, the Indian government headed by the Congress Party created the

National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) in order to assist the Ministry of Education in Education. One of the tasks of NCERT with the collaboration of a well-known group of historians, was the release of new schoolbooks combating communal distortions in the teaching of Indian history, insisting on India's composite past and promoting secularism⁴⁴. The new generation of NCERT History textbooks encountered a series of assaults by the nationalistic Hindu communal political forces. The first attempt was in 1977-1979, when the Hindu political forces come to share power in the Indian government, during the Janata Coalition. This first attempt, made to ban history textbooks, failed because a countrywide protest movement developed over this issue. The second one was in 1998-2004 when Hindu communal forces [Bharatiya Janata Party]⁴⁵ came back to power and launched a major attack on secular teaching of History and history textbooks written in the similar way, as well as secular education in general. As it was claimed, by their Minister of Education, in 1998, Indianization, Nationalization, Spiritualization of school education, the 'return to India' was the main aim of their governance⁴⁶. Hindus selected "to use history textbooks as instruments to further their vision of a narrow, sectarian and Talibanised Hindu nation"⁴⁷. They first infiltrated several major historical and scientific institutions and replaced the leading figures of NCERT by the Hindu followers or sympathizers in order to create a permanent and stable communal front in favour of their efforts to change history taught in schools. In November 2000, a new National Curriculum Framework (NCF) was released advocating the revision of the NCERT existing history textbooks. In October 2002, the first of them was released.

According to the supporters of these views, Indian school history was mentally enslaved to the old pre-independence pattern and to the imported western values supported by an internal enemy, the Nehru Congress government and the leftists. This was against the conceptions of the Indian people who believe in the cultural supremacy of India over the West. The national and cultural independence of India was to be achieved by recognizing the cultural supremacy of India and rewriting school history.

"Ignoring any debate on the issue, the Nehruvian Congress Government at the instance of the leftists became proactive and imposed a Euro version of Indian history on the students of schools and colleges. This was contrary to the general impression of Indian people, who believed in the cultural supremacy of India over the West. The leftist and Congress combine however, ignored the sentiments of Indian people projected by Hindu nationalists and called them communal and reactionary. They did not pay attention to the inclusion of the educational heritage of the country in the curriculum of schools and colleges. This was a subtle attempt to move the people away from their cultural roots"⁴⁸

The Hindu Supremacist theory –the media referred to it as 'saffronization of history, saffron being the colour representing 'militant' Hinduism – was also combined with the under-estimation of other communities living in India. They portrayed all communities other than the Hindus as foreigners in India and they described the medieval period as the Muslim period. "In the name of instilling patriotism and valour among Indians, they spread falsehoods, treated mythological religious figures as actual historical figures and made absurd claims"⁴⁹. Muslims representing the largest

religious minority in India and having ruled the country for centuries, have been the prime targets of the Hindu nationalists. According to the Hindu nationalist account, Aryans were the original inhabitants of India and the first Indian civilization was an Aryan civilization. During this period, when Hindu ruled, India made great advances. It was the Golden Age of India. The coming of the Muslims was presented as corresponded to the dark period of Indian History as the Kings of the Muslims were not civilized, ruled cruelly and destroyed the great Indian civilization and the already existing Indian nation. Muslims, tyrants were also traitors because they were responsible for the Partition. Characteristic of the new spirit of saffronization imposed on the Hindu History textbooks is the absence on any mention of Gandhi's assassination in the Contemporary India History Textbook, for IX grade, as the assassin was a Hindu nationalist⁵⁰.

In the Indian debate as in the Japanese one, despite the differences in social and political context, there are essentially the same presences and absences: Uniqueness, supremacy, honour and pride, conspiracy imaginary against Indian history and identity on the one hand. Silence for the issues of historical knowledge, critical thinking or active learning methods, on the other. The core of these rhetorical sites is legible in almost all the controversies over the school life of the past. In Russia, it was Putin in 2007 who complained that the negative view of the Soviet past in current history textbooks is down to the fact that the authors received foreign grants to write them⁵¹. In Greece, the attempt to avoid the hostile stereotypes for the Ottoman rule or to present historically the past of Greek Turkish relationship is considered as a threat to the national identity initiated by either imperialistic centres or globalization agencies and supported by European or Turkish interests⁵². In Australia, the representation of the colonization of Australia, the recognition of a full range of voices in the telling of Australian history and the integration of Indigenous perspectives in NSW History Curriculum was accused to put the nation's collective memory under siege from the 'black armband' view of history⁵³. The 'masochistic view' in the Japanese history war is rendered as 'mournful view' in the Australian one. In USA, the effort "to encourage visitors" of an exhibition on the National Air and Space museum "to undertake a thoughtful and balanced re-examination" of the conditions of the end of WWII and revisit the American decision to use the atomic bomb or to rethink the "human suffering... and the long term implications" of the atomic bomb generated a similar war As, after the exhibit was cancelled, newly installed House Speaker Newt Gingrich told the nation's state governors, the 'Enola Gay fight was a fight, in effect, over the reassertion by most Americans that they're sick and tired of being told by some cultural elite that they ought to be ashamed of their country'⁵⁴. Masochistic, mournful, shameful for the nation and the homeland, the new history runs the risk to become the old one.

¹ For a general view of USA textbooks wars in 20th century cf Giordano, Gerard: Twentieth-century textbook wars. A history of advocacy and opposition. Peter Lang 2003. For the USA cultural wars cf Jensen, Richard: The culture wars, 1965-1995: A Historian's Map in: Journal of Social History 29 (1995), p. 17-37 and Kohn, Richard: History and the Culture Wars: The case of the Smithsonian Institution's Enola Gay Exhibition', The Journal of American History 82:3(1995) p. 1036-1063. For a general survey of literature and research on educational texts cf Borre Johnsen, Egil: Textbooks in the Kaleidoscope, translated by Linda Sivesind, Scandinavian University Press, 1993. For a comparative study between USA, Germany and Japan cf Hein, Laura/Seleden Mark (eds): Censoring History, NY/London 2000. For history

and social studies textbooks controversies there is a lot of national based researches. Cf for ex for Israeli and Palestinian textbooks Cf.: Pingel, Falk (ed.): *Contested Past, disputed present*. Studien Zur Internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Schriftenreihe des Georg-Eckert-Instituts, Band 110/2, 2003. For Australia cf Macintyre, S/Clark, A.(eds): *The history wars*. Melbourne 2003. For USA cf Nash, Gary/Crabtree Charlotte/Dunn, Ross: *History on trial*, Vintage Books, N.Y. 2000. For Northern Ireland cf Smith, Margaret: *Reckoning with the past*. Lexington Books, NY/Toronto/Oxford 2005. For the Balkans cf Koulouri, Christina (ed.): *Clio in the Balkans. The Politics of History Education*, Thessaloniki 2002. Cf also the following references here

² Cf. also Clark, Anne: *What do they teach our children?*, op. cit., pp. 171-190

³ Cf Erdmann, Elisabeth: *Historical Consciousness, Historical Culture: two sides of the same medal?* In: *Yearbook of International Society for History Didactics 2006/2007*, p. 27-37

⁴ Cf The national Centre for History Education in:

<http://hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&itemid=361&op=page>, 25/10/2006

⁵ Cf the manifesto of Global History in <http://histoireglobaleblogspot.com>

⁶ Cf Waters, Malcolm: *Globalization*. Routledge, London 1995, p.1

⁷ I use here the concept of pedagogical paradigm as it was introduced by Anne Bruter. Cf. Bruter, Anne: *L'histoire enseignée au Grand Siècle*. Beloin/Paris 1997. The pedagogical paradigm is a coherent complex of content, practices and objectives which assure the stability and the longstanding of a school discipline. Nicole Tutiaux use the term pedagogical model in a similar way. Cf Tutiaux-Guillon, Nicole: *Le difficile enseignement des 'questions vives'en histoire-géographie* in: Legardez, A./Simonneaux, L.(eds.): *L'école à l'épreuve de l'actualité*. ESF/Paris 2006, p. 124

⁸ Cited by Sidney Brown, " 'Coming apart': Americans recall their school history texts since the 1960s", in faculty.ed.uiuc.edu/westbury/Paradigm/vol2/Par2.6.Brown.doc. Thanks to Antonis Liakos who brings it to my notice.

⁹For ex "Please miss, when were you discovered?", asked a small black child to her white English teacher. It is cited in: Slater, John: *Teaching History in the new Europe*. Cassel, Council of Europe, 1995

¹⁰ Clark, Ann. op.cit., p. 173

¹¹ Cf Cajani, Luigi: *Controversial History for Italian Schools*", in: Pellens, Karl/ Behre, Goran/ Erdmann, Elisabeth/ Meier, Frank/ Popp, Susanne (eds), *Historical Consciousness and History Teaching in a Globalizing Society*, Frankfurt am Main 2001

¹² Levstic, Linda: *NCSS and the teaching of History in Davis, Jr (ed.): NCSS in Retrospect*, National Council for the Social Studies, bulletin 92 (1996), p. 26

¹³ "Calls for knowledge and memorization of important historical events had disappeared from the curricula by the 1960s. Knowledge of history as the overarching goal of education was replaced by an understanding of history through the application of historical methods" Dierkes, Julian: *The Nation in German History Education* in Schissler, Hanna/Nuhoglu Soysal, Yasemin: *The Nation Europe and the world*. NY/Oxford 2005, p. 88

¹⁴ Schissler, Hanna: *World History: Making Sense of the Present* in: idem, p. 229

¹⁵ Cf Houssaye, J: *Le triangle pédagogique*, Bern 1998. Astofli, Jean-Pierre: *Les mutations du paysage pédagogique* in: Ruano-Borbalan, Jean-Claude (ed.), *Eduquer et former*, Paris 2001

¹⁶Le Goff, Jacques/Nora, Pierre: *Faire de l'histoire*. Paris, 1975

¹⁷ Marsden, William: *The School Textbook. Geography, History and Social Studies*, London/Portland 2001

¹⁸ Fitzgerald, Frances: *'Changing the Paradigm. Perceptions of American History After World War II'*, in: Berghahn, Volker/Schissler, Hanna (eds): *Perceptions of History. International Textbook Research on Britain, Germany and the United States*, Oxford/ New York/ Hamburg 2001, p. 19

¹⁹ Tountas, Jim: *Teaching History, late 60s to mid 80s*, <http://instruct.uwo.ca/edu/500-001/history/c/>, 31/05/2008

²⁰ Ballard, Martin: *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History*, London 1970, p. 5

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- ²¹ Phillips, Robert: *History Teaching, Nationhood and the State*, London 1998, p. 4.
- ²² Cf Bonilauri, Bernard: *La désinformation scolaire. Essai sur les manuels d'enseignement*. Paris 1983
- ²³ Berghahm/Schissler, op. cit., p. 9
- ²⁴ Evans, Ronald: *Social studies wars. What shall we teach the children?*, New York/ London, 2004, p. 171-172
- ²⁵ Seidel, Gill: *Culture, Nation and 'Race' in the British and French New Right*, in Levitas, Ruth (ed.): *The Ideology of the New Right*, Cambridge 1986 p. 107-135
- ²⁶ Cf Robertson, Ronald: *Globalization. Social Theory and Global Culture*, London 1992, p. 91
Cf also Held, David: *Democracy, the Nation-State and the Global System*, in Held, David(dir.): *Political Theory Today*. Polity Press 1991, pp. 197-235
- ²⁷ In: Saaler, Sven: *Politics, Memory and Public Opinion. The History Textbook Controversy and Japanese society*, Deutsches Institut fur Japanstudien, Band 39 Munchen:2005, p. 14
- ²⁸ Liakos, Antonis: *History wars: Notes from the field*, paper presented at International Society for History Didactics Conference on Public Uses of History, Thessaloniki 19-21/9/2007
- ²⁹ In: Saaler, op. cit
- ³⁰ In China, for example, according to the interesting analysis of Ian Buruma, the demise of Communist ideology has forced the Communist party to seek an alternative method to legitimize its monopoly of power in the country. Buruma asserted that the proliferation of patriotic museums and emphasis on patriotic education in China serves as further evidence of the Communist Party's push to use patriotism to garner national support. Cf. Buruma, Ian: *The Politics of Memory in China and Japan*, Modern Asia Series, Harvard University Asia Center, talk given in September 30 2005, summarized by Michelle Lee
- ³¹ Cf the analysis of Torpey, John: *The Pursuit of the Past: A Polemical Perspective*, Paper presented at Canadian Historical Consciousness in an international context: Theoretical Frameworks, Vancouver BC,, University of British Columbia in: Saaler, op. cit., p. 15
- ³² Cf the introduction in: Brubaker, Rogers: *Nationalism reframed*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 1-10
- ³³ Crozet, Yves/ Bolliet, Dominique/ Faure, François/ Fleury, Jean (dir.), 2005, *Les grandes questions de la société française*, Paris 2005, p. 319-320
- ³⁴ Cf. Masanori, Nakamura: *The History Textbook Controversy and Nationalism* in: *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 30:2, p. 24-29.
- ³⁵ Irie, Yoshimasa: 'The History of the Textbook Controversy', *Japan Echo* 24, 3, 1997, p. 7
- ³⁶ (a)The character of the Pacific war –aggressive or not -, (b) war crimes, (c) the Nanking Massacre (1937), in which 250000 Chinese civilians and soldiers were killed, (d) the Unit 731, responsible for bacteriological warfare in China, deported forced labour, killing of civilian populations in Southeast Asia and (e) the battle of Okinawa.
- ³⁷ Cf. McCormack, Gavan: *The Japanese Movement to 'Correct' History*, in Hein, Laura/Selden, Mark (eds): *Censoring History. Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*. Armonk/New York/London 2000, p. 53-73
- ³⁸ Cf. Towara, Yoshifumi *Junior High School History Textbooks: Whither 'Comfort Women' and the Nanking Massacre?*, *Sekai* 681, (2001), <http://www.iwanami.co.jp/jpworld/text/textbook02.html>
- ³⁹ McCormack, op. cit., p. 56
- ⁴⁰ Cf. Saaler op.cit., p. 40
- ⁴¹ Cf Barnard, Christopher: *Language, Ideology, and Zapanese History Textbooks*, London/ New York 2003, p. 17
- ⁴² Cit. by Saaler, op.cit., p. 76
- ⁴³ Cf Nelson, John:, *Tempest in a Textbook. A report on the New Middle-School History Textbook in Japan* in: *Critical Asian Studies* 34:1, (2002). pp. 129-148
- ⁴⁴ Cf. Mohammad-Arif, Aminab: *Textbooks, nationalism and history writing in India and Pakistan* in: *Manufacturing Citizenship. Education and nationalism in Europe, South Asia and China*, London/New York 2005, p. 143-169

⁴⁵ The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] [Indian People's Party, was created in 1980, as a major Indian political party. It projects itself as a champion of the socio-religious cultural values of the country's Hindu majority, conservative social policies, and strong national defense constituency is strengthened by the broad umbrella of Hindu nationalist organizations, informally known as the Sangh Parivar (League of Indian nationalist organizations), in which the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh plays a leading role. Since its inception, the BJP has been a prime opponent of the Indian National Congress. It has allied with regional parties to roll back the left-of-centre tendencies formerly endorsed by the Congress Party, which dominated Indian politics for four decades. The ideological trend of the BJP is Hindutva, literally "Hinduness," or cultural Hindu nationalism.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bharatiya_Janata_Party

⁴⁶ Cf. Bénei, Véronique: *Manufacturing Citizenship: Education and nationalism in Europe, South Asia and China*, New York 2005

⁴⁷ Mukherjee, Mridula/Mukherjee, Aditya: *Communalisation of Education. The History Textbook controversy: an overview*, in:
<http://www.sacw.net/HateEducation/MridulaAditya122001.html>

⁴⁸ Upadhyay, R: *The politics of education in India: need of a national debate*, South Asia Analysis Group, paper no 299, <http://www.saag.org/papers3/paper299.html>

⁴⁹ Cf Mukherjee, op. cit.

⁵⁰Cf. Mohammad-Arif, op. cit

⁵¹ Cf Walker, Shaun: *Vladimir Putin rewrites Russia's history books to promote patriotism in The Independent World*, 20 August 2007. For a general view of the issue cf. Lisovskaya, Elena/Karpov, Vyacheslav: *New ideologies in Postcommunist Russian Textbooks in: Comparative Education Review* 43, 4(1999), pp 522-541

⁵² Cf Repoussi, Maria: *Politics questions History Education. Debates on Greek History Textbook In: Yearbook of International Society for History Didactics 2006/2007*, p. 99-110. Cf also Repoussi, Maria: *Battles over the national past of Greeks. The Greek History Textbook Controversy 2006-2007*, in: *Geschichte für heute. Zeitschrift für historisch-politische Bildung* 1/2009

⁵³ Cf. Parkes, Robert: *Reading History Curriculum as a postcolonial Text: Towards a Curricular Response to the History Wars in Australia and Beyond in : Curriculum Inquiry* 37, 4 (2007), p. 387

⁵⁴ known as Enola Gay War. Cf Linenthal, Edward/Engelhardt, Tom (eds): *History Wars: The Enola Gay and other battles for the American past*, NY 1996, Cf also Kohn, Richard: *History and the Culture Wars: The case of the Smithsonian Institution's Enola Gay Exhibition in: The Journal of American History* 82:3, (1995), pp. 1036-1063. Also Jensen, Richard: *The culture wars, 1965-1995: A Historian's Map in: Journal of Social History* 29 (1995), p. 17-37. Hassian, Jr/Bryan Hubbard Marouf: *The Generic Roots of the Enola Gay Controversy in: Political Communication* 15:4, (1988),p. 497-513. Thelen, David: *History after the Enola Gay Controversy: An Introduction in: The Journal of American History* 82, (1995), pp 1029-1035