
NATIONAL TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSIES IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

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I.

Whether international textbook controversies have been occurring more frequently and whether they have aroused public interest more violently in recent times it is difficult to judge. Yet, following the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the bankruptcy of communist doctrine many events seem to point in that direction: there has been a strong tendency towards the revitalization of “national memory” and “national historic identity”, mostly combined with fundamental reinterpretations of national historical events or periods. The academic deconstruction of familiar national “master narratives” has also advanced further, the same thing has happened with large-scale revisionist interpretations in many fields. These developments can lead to a contested past and furthermore to a fundamental change in national history textbooks turning them into elements of a political battle about the valid interpretation of national history, the true historic reflection of the people, and the national and cultural identity of society.¹

Even though it is hard to judge the impact of the textbook controversies in absolute terms, one can be certain that global awareness about national and international textbook controversies is rising sharply. This is not only the case with experts and scientists but also among a widespread intellectual audience. The Internet adds to this by spreading current controversies from all around the globe, utilizing a universal “lingua franca”. Controversies that would otherwise have received only local attention, now receive attention on a global scale. For example, this is the case in the ongoing Greek conflict regarding a history textbook sponsored by the European Union,² an example of a national conflict where conservatives together with representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church fight against a new more liberal view of the Ottoman or Turkish history in Greek collective memory. Then there is the case of the East Asian controversies dealing mostly with Japanese textbooks. These debates have been carried on for many decades. They show a national as well as an in-

ternational level of conflict.³ There are many other cases – for example Australia,⁴ postcolonial India,⁵ the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,⁶ and textbook battles in the United States concerning the National Standards of (World) History⁷ or the attacks of “intelligent design” against evolution biology⁸. On another level but not less exciting is the debate on the international efforts undertaken to combat any state regulations that dictate historical views for the use in the classroom, and prohibit the free discussion of scientists about controversial historical topics.⁹ One famous example is the French “Loi n°2005-158 du 23 février 2005 portant reconnaissance de la Nation et contribution nationale en faveur des Français rapatriés”, a law on colonialism which required high-school (lycée) teachers to teach the “positive values” of French colonialism to their students (cf. article 4). The law created a public uproar, and was finally repealed by President Jacques Chirac early in 2006. This whole debate about the right of the state to prescribe historical opinions to teachers or even to the scientific community is to be seen in the context of, on the one hand, an increasing prosecution of crimes against humanity and, on the other hand, of compensatory payments for victims of political violence; both needs legal bases which also include historical interpretations. Apart from that, this whole complex has didactically seeing such a great importance because it touches the laws prohibiting the denial of the Holocaust that are required in many countries.¹⁰

II.

Before dealing with questions of if and how current textbook controversies and the effects of the globalizing world are (possibly) connected in the main part of this paper (IV), and also before asking what other factors contribute to the current increase of history textbook controversies in the part following this (III), I would like to point out one more thing that seems important. The general public, interested in this history textbook matter, is currently not exclusively paying attention to prominent textbook controversies. Rather than doing so, the public also often pays attention to successful bi- and multilateral textbook co-operation. Such joint-venture projects are being carried out very often by countries with troubled relationships. They prove that the resolution of each other’s historical prejudices and national stereotypes is possible, even if those prejudices and stereotypes are rooted deep within the national experience and historical rendition and even if they have caused wounds which are far

from being healed. Projects such as the German-French,¹¹ the Israeli-Palestinian¹² or the East Asian joint-venture textbook (China, Japan, Korea)¹³ exemplify how national history lessons can achieve two important goals: to teach national identity and, at the same time, teach peacefulness, empathy and the ability to change perspective. All these projects originate from the vision of a national identity that is strengthened rather than weakened by an equal and peaceful dialogue of mutual understanding.

Although the use of these joint-venture schoolbooks is usually not widespread in the participating countries, their importance and their influence can hardly be overestimated because they represent a tremendous compromise. The solutions found in these joint-venture textbooks influence public consciousness, even though they are occasionally fiercely criticized and rejected. Most of the time, however, they provide a strong impulse for the mid-term modification of textbooks. Furthermore, these projects develop an immense momentum on an international scale. The experiences and the success of these ventures in one country serve as a model and incentive for other countries. For example, projects currently in development profit from the experience gained from previously completed projects. This is true for many current projects, such as the German-Polish,¹⁴ the Central Asian,¹⁵ the Indo-Pakistani joint history textbook and the Bangladesh-Pakistani schoolbook¹⁶ or the schoolbook for countries bordering the Mediterranean¹⁷.

III.

Occasionally, when history textbook controversies receive great attention from the international press, the question arises why school books have this potential to anger the public. The first response to this should be that events like the ones described should be considered absolutely normal in a democratic society. After all, history textbooks do not only transmit historic knowledge and methodical skills to the next generation, they also carry over the 'cultural memory' – meaning the knowledge that is shared by a society and that supports its concepts of unity (integrating function) and individuality (identity-creating function)¹⁸. Ever since their 'invention' and implementation, history as a school subject and also history textbooks themselves have been geared towards the task of teaching national culture to young people politically through history education. All analyses of the "subtext" of official teaching aims show that teaching the basics of

the history of a nation is always done with – among other things – the aim to develop a patriotic identity in young people and with the aim of justifying the government's demand for national loyalty. The points of reference in history education were and always will be the identity and integration of the political system that is responsible for this education.

If history textbooks represent the afore-mentioned historical and political identity that government and society provide for handing on to the next generation, it seems self-evident that competing political forces argue over the contents of new history textbooks and curricula. This is especially true in pluralistic and democratic societies, and it is also especially the case when these political forces have different or even controversial views. Because books spread quickly through schools, all political forces take historical textbooks seriously, regardless of whether students really understand their textbooks or even read them carefully. After all, textbooks reach virtually every student and often have a strong influence on how classes are taught; they shape the “hidden curricula” of the school system.

Fierce history textbook controversies often occur in democratic nations with a “difficult” history. These are nations that are unable to find a way to deal with their troubled past that is acceptable to all. This troubled past burdens their “national memory” and “collective identity”. Examples for this are memories of colonialism and imperialism, slavery and forced labor, wars of aggression and crimes of violence committed by the military, but also cultural and religious discrimination and genocide of certain ethnic groups, often minorities, on a national or international scale.

In cases like these, it is often not only the political parties of a nation that are torn by the issue, but also the entire society itself. The dividing question is: what kind of national history should be taught through history education? Most of the time, conservative movements demand that an almost totally positive version of national history be taught through history education. For one thing, they usually argue that youth has the right to be “proud” of its own nation and its history. Furthermore, they claim that in times of accelerated, dynamic social and economic change, the social integration of society can only be assured efficiently, if one offers the socially deprived groups a prestigious “collective memory” as compensation for their precarious social identity. In contexts like these, it is often immigrants and ethnic minorities that are portrayed as a threat to the national

identity. Certain movements argue that in order to be protected against this threat, social awareness and affiliation have to be re-enforced throughout the entire population by emphasizing the importance of a strong national identity and a glorious national history. The representatives of the liberal spectrum usually advocate a different concept of national identity and strength. According to them, the historical pride of a nation is based solely on the effort that it makes to accept its historical responsibility, especially if this nation has a "difficult" past. They argue that instead of suppressing the past or denying it one has to take responsibility in the present for the crimes and suffering committed by one's own nation in the past. This follows not only from moral standards, but also from the notion of justice for the descendants of the victims, for example the descendants of original inhabitants (indigenous people) whose rights and territories were violated or the descendants of colonial inhabitants who were exploited or present neighboring nations that were attacked in the past. The liberal view is that history textbooks have a duty to enable the younger generation to feel empathy and to change perspective. Above all, textbooks have to show young people their national history in a way that makes them realize their historical responsibility and accept it willingly.

When asking about the causes of public history textbooks controversies, one encounters very different responses; most of them have only to do with the nation state and ignore globalization. A common situation is that opposite and deeply rooted, emotionally charged opinions exist in society about how to deal with a difficult national past. These opposing opinions escalate when dealing with a potentially controversial new history schoolbook. However, there is more to it than meets the eye. For example, a comparison between the Japanese and the German cases – both nations have to deal with a very troublesome national history – shows that controversies that are reported worldwide regularly occur in Japan, but not in Germany. To a certain extent this is a result of the different schoolbook admission procedures. Once every four years Japan, which has 127 million citizens, authorizes a very limited number of history textbooks for the entire school system. This procedure promotes public focus and scrutiny on this recurring event and thereby creates very favorable conditions for angry public debate, in part orchestrated by the mass media since the Japanese political culture contains two parties which have opposing views on how to deal with the troublesome national

history. The ways of coping with the national past represent in a symbolic way the difference of political identities and values. In the federal German system on the other hand, the opinions of the political parties about the nation's history are not defined in such a clear-cut way. Furthermore, there are no fewer than 16 states¹⁹ that continuously authorize schoolbooks in a very heterogeneous educational environment. Without wanting to overestimate the importance of these processes, it has to be said that the complexity of the uncoordinated local procedures in Germany does not help to attract public attention. So the German public is less likely to be fixated on the authorization of new history textbooks and on history textbooks controversies than the Japanese public.

Regardless of the effects of globalization which will be discussed in the next part of this paper, there seems to be a typical potential in history textbooks for "national scandals" orchestrated by the mass media. Textbooks serve as a context or justification for a fight over national identity and discrimination between "inside and outside". This subject can also receive great public attention because contrary to research literature published by historians, discussions about history textbooks are comparatively easy to follow and therefore have a low entry-threshold. This means that almost every citizen thinks of himself or herself as fully competent to participate in the discussion and to reach a judgment.

Furthermore, history textbooks are considered to be of vital importance to everybody: the history education that is taught is often considered to be nothing less than the "future of the nation" and the identity of society itself. Finally, this subject draws additional emotional force from the immediate pressure to act: when "innocent children" are at stake and when there is the risk of "great harm" – from whatever political angle – one absolutely must act immediately! The popularity of topics that concern the shaping of a national identity through history education is rising because it is a field where it is easy to generate public uproar. And this result is welcome to national politicians in the course of globalization, because to many, national history education appears to be one of the rare domains where the power of the national government is still comparatively intact.

IV.

In our view, history textbook controversies do not come as a surprise in democratic nation states – they are to be expected. There are,

however, a number of very characteristic factors which typically favour the rise of textbook controversies in our globalizing world. First and foremost, there is the increase of the number of democratic systems in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the end of both the apartheid regime in South Africa and of various dictatorial regimes in Latin America at the close of the twentieth century. In combination with these political initiatives and with the politics of reform, of decentralization and of liberalization in other systems such as the People's Republic of China, this new democratic spirit has been a major reason why nowadays we have considerably more public history textbook controversies than we used to have before 1990.

This is closely connected to a second aspect. Since the end of the Cold War many new and many old nation states have had to define again their concepts of national identity and of collective memory or to re-define existing ones, for example by replacing the concept of economic classes by those of ethnic or religious identities. It goes without saying that this kind of upheaval is also reflected in history textbooks. With hitherto unknown frequency, many countries began to introduce new and different history textbooks which – and for many this was yet another novelty – had to compete with others in a market for textbooks. Not infrequently did and do these books present fundamentally new national master narratives with radically revised assessments of the past of the state, the society and the nation. Of course, such profound processes of reassessment or reconstruction of collective memory can cause intense political irritation leading to conflicts about the content of history textbooks.

Thirdly, we have to bear in mind that there has also been a sharp rise in international standards for politically correct recognition of historical responsibility within the bounds of human and civic rights; these standards are also observed more and more frequently all over the world. This development began in the 1970's with the various movements for emancipation and civic and human rights. With the end of the Cold War system of two superpower blocs this development gathered new momentum and has now become a constitutive part of the globalizing world. For by now, any democratic country or any global player enterprise which wishes to maintain its reputation or any globally acting NGO would come close to political suicide by aligning itself with partners who do not handle their "difficult" pasts in a politically correct and appropriate way, for example by publicly

acknowledging the perpetration of acts of violence by the state,²⁰ by trying to compensate the victims and – last but not least – by an appropriate revision of their national narrative in general and of their history textbooks in particular. It is an unsurprising side effect of this process that in many countries nationalist demagogues are up in arms against the world wide acceptance of these standards and that they are causing a furor of excited history textbook controversies over such seemingly “masochistic versions of history” (this is the Japanese catchphrase).

Fourth, we further want to underline very definitely the well-known fact that the age of globalization and the geo-political restructuring of spaces and regions constitutes an enormous challenge for the nation state and traditional national identity. More than ever the nation state strives for national integration, since for the large majority of its population the nation state continues to represent the decisive point of reference for everyday life and political discourse. It is to the nation state that people look for protection within and without, for social welfare and economic success, international competitiveness and participation in a prestigious collective identity.

Accordingly, any recognizable sign of the weakening of a nation state easily results in unsettling its people – and it is just as easy for the mass media to play on such fears: signs such as the superior economic power of global player enterprises, the increased global competition for jobs, the increase in global migration, the growing influence of supranational institutions and organizations of national politics and – last but not least – as far as Europe is concerned, the gradual merging of the nation state into a supranational state, the European Union (1992).

In the face of the interrelatedness of the nation state, history education and national identity we have, on the one hand, an increasing tendency among politicians and legislators to regulate discussions of history by law in order to contain internal political conflicts. On the other hand, there is an increasing openness for public history textbook controversies even in countries which until recently were wholly unfamiliar with that kind of debate because their national identities and collective memories were based on a broad consensus – such as in the Netherlands, for example.²¹ Their quarrels over their new history textbooks and the question of whether or not these served to instill Dutch history with sufficient intensity into the collective memory of the young can easily be identified as the expression of

– genuine or media-hyped – worries about their national identity which, according to conservative publicists, is threatened from three sides, by immigration, by globalization and by European integration.

Fifth, the current textbook controversies discussed over the world are also closely connected to significant developments in our academic discipline, which in turn also reflect our globalizing world. First of all in this context, as mentioned before, we have to name the Internet itself: in contrast to former times, the Internet makes sure that any instance of national or international history textbook controversy, however remote it may be, is communicated comprehensively all across the world wide web in a global “lingua franca”. Furthermore, international organizations nowadays much more frequently promote highly attractive research and cooperation programmes in the areas of “historical consciousness”, “historical culture”, “national identity”, “collective memory”, “national heritage”, or the “perception of the self and of the other”. And more and more often history textbooks become an integral part of this research.

In addition, it is highly relevant for history textbook disputes that in many countries historians and historical studies have begun to deconstruct familiar national master narratives in a professional way, which may also be linked to a generational change. In any case, this leads to a new plurality of historical discourse which may result in unsettling parts of the general public. One frequent response is the conservative or revisionist demand for a reinforcement of traditional national history in textbooks; sometimes this even triggers national history textbook controversies. An audience that may shun debates with academic experts often shows little inhibition concerning textbooks for schools.

Furthermore, the didactics of history as a discipline participates in all those scientific developments which are pertinent to the analysis of textbook controversies. Therefore it has gained a higher and higher profile in research, has secured its place within the universities and has formed international networks. Thus it functions as an important soundingboard for all cases of history textbook controversies which it frequently refers to and discusses in conferences all over the world, thus also contributing to its increased popularity.

In addition, one has to point out a further aspect, which may be less striking but is nonetheless very important. As we all know, history education should not be a subject dedicated to the perpetuation of pre-established nationalist beliefs or received opinions. On the

contrary, all over the world history didactics as an academic discipline is committed to a concept of history education which aims at empowering pupils to think in historical terms and concepts, to apply the principles of multiple perspectives and of historical source analysis, and to scrutinize historical interpretations and judgments. In many countries this commitment has resulted in new standards for teacher training and for the teaching of history but it has also caused reservation and even aversion among national-conservative and religious elites. Not only do they object to the precedence given to critical scrutiny over loyal beliefs, but they also object to the tendency towards formal education. Formal education implies that to the degree in which modern history education aims at formal historical competencies and skills, the specifically local character of the content of the national narratives begins to disappear. Content elements increasingly become mere examples which are selected primarily for their relevance for the everyday world of the pupils or something like that. In any case, the procedures of iconic source analysis for instance can easily be demonstrated, using examples which do not refer to national history; teaching formal historical competencies and skills does not necessarily need the national historical narrative.

As far as scientific developments are concerned, however, the most important change can be said to be the interdisciplinary broadening of scientific interest in history textbooks and textbook controversies. In the wake of the "linguistic turn" and the "cultural turn" a number of historical and political disciplines have come to discover history textbooks as an interesting source for the analysis of historical identities, memories, mental attitudes and the perception of the self and the other. Again, this reflects the age of globalization, as many contemporary studies of history textbooks which come from outside the fields of didactics of history or the educational sciences are part of research projects on global history or on comparative area studies.

The sixth (and last but one) point of this survey refers to the fact that all over the world there is a growing interest in the commercial marketing of history. Therefore the rise of a textbook dispute widely covered by the media may well be due to a publisher's attempt to turn the history textbook in question into a bestseller on the book market. Examples of this can be found in the Netherlands and in Japan. And, of course, well-staged schoolbook scandals are also more than welcome for a rise in publishing or viewing statistics of the mass media. What is most important for us here, however, is that the

commercialization of history contributes to the high degree of plurality in historical discourse. In certain groups in society, this may reinforce the desire to define binding canons, interpretations and evaluations for the representation of national history in history textbooks in order to safeguard the national collective memory and thus the cohesion of the nation. It goes without saying that this also provides excellent ground for the rise of national and international textbooks disputes.

If one analyzes spectacular history textbook controversies, one always has to ask to what extent the interest shown by the mass media actually reflects the political importance of the problem at hand or to what extent this is a case of the so-called CNN-effect, which is to say the dispute has been generated primarily for and by the media. One also has to clarify to what extent this is a case of a deliberately provoked "history war" which uses the history textbook (or a curriculum) to provoke a "scandal" which serves primarily to push the borders of acceptable public discourse to the right or to the left (depending on the wishes of the instigators). For whenever anyone stirs up a public dispute over highly provocative political positions, even though he may seem to be damned and crushed by the critical reaction of the public, he can also count on the "scandalous" view becoming just a little more popular. The fight of the proponents of "Intelligent Design" for an ideological revision of textbooks offers an excellent example of this kind of tactics.

V.

Let us conclude our deliberation by referring to Pierre Nora's analysis of the so called "age of memorialism"²² because this emphasizes overarching developments which are of vital importance for understanding the potential links between current history textbook controversies and the transformations of a globalizing world. Nora describes the past two or three decades as the "age of memorialism" because of the unprecedented world-wide boom of collective identities, of national commemoration, and of the question of the self and the other. Amongst other effects, this has resulted, Nora believes, in an increased number of textbook controversies. It is not only the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the fundamental change of familiar systems of bipolar political order which account for this "age of memorialism". In fact, Nora recognizes an over-arching trend towards the democratization of history which undermines firm belief in

the unquestionable validity of traditional national narratives. This is, according to Nora, partly due to the movements for political emancipation and liberation which defined their own historical identities and specific collective memories as one aspect of their struggle for emancipation, which in turn deconstructed the official national history. But for Nora the increasing commercialization of history is also a constitutive part of this process of the democratization of history as is and – what is particularly pertinent to our subject – the strong tendency to undermine the monopoly of interpreting the past which professional historians used to enjoy. According to Nora, today it is not only academics who decide on the “truth” of history, but more and more frequently it is politicians, legislators and judges, as well as eye-witnesses and the media.

This development is reinforced by what Nora – in turn referring back to Halevy²³ – calls the “acceleration of history”. According to Nora, the realization that the only permanent element in the past, the present and the future is continual change has now become a collective experience. This results not only in feelings of uncertainty and fear about the future, but, one may add, also in a growing trend for future “history wars” and history textbook controversies.

All the elements named above cover potential challenges for future research on textbook controversies and “history wars”. Since no single one of these factors is sufficient in itself, each case must be recognized as having many causes and much complexity, and it must be studied in the context of national and international comparisons.

Notes

- 1 Cf. e.g. Apple, Michael W. and Christian-Smith, Linda K. (eds.): *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York 1991. Cf. Hein, Laura/Selden, Mark: *The Lessons of War, Global Power and Social Change*, in: Hein, Laura/Selden, Mark (eds.): *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*. Armonk, N.Y. 1999, pp. 3-50. Cf. Foster, Stuart J./Crawford, Keith A. (eds.): *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks*. Greenwich/Conn. 2006. Nicholls, Jason (ed.): *School History Textbooks across Cultures. International Debates and Perspectives*. Oxford 2006.
- 2 Cf. Repoussi, Maria: *Politics Questions History Education. Debates on Greek History Textbook*, in: *Yearbook of International Society for History Didactics*

- 27/28 (2006/2007), p. 99-110. See also in this volume the articles of Antonis Liakos (pp. 57-74) and Théodora Cavoura (pp. 91-96).
- 3 Cf. Saaler, Sven: Politics, Memory, and Public Opinion. The History Textbook Controversy and Japanese Society. München 2005. Cf. Schneider, Claudia: National Fortresses Besieged: History Textbooks in Contemporary Mainland China, Taiwan and Japan, in: Richter, Steffi (Hg.): Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia. Frankfurt/M./New York 2008, pp. 245-270. Cf. Richter, Steffi: Japan. Der Schulbuchstreit als Indikator nationaler Selbstreflexion, in: http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~oarev/download/richter_schulbuchstreit.pdf (30.3.2008).
 - 4 Cf. the article of Bill Leadbetter in this volume, pp. 97-198.
 - 5 Cf. e.g. Gottlob, Michael: Historie und Politik im postkolonialen Indien. Göttingen 2008; cf. Delhi Historians' Group (ed.): Communalisation of Education. The History Textbooks Controversy. New Delhi 2001. Cf. Bénéï, Véronique: Schooling Passions: Nation, History, and Language in Contemporary Western India. Stanford 2008.
 - 6 Cf. e.g. Adwan, Sami/Firer, Ruth: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in History and Civics Textbooks of Both Nations. Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools. Hannover 2004. Cf. e.g. Pingel, Falk (ed.): Contested Past, Disputed Present. Curricula and Teaching in Israeli and Palestinian Schools. Hannover 2003.
 - 7 Cf. Nash, Gary B./Crabtree, Charlotte/Dunn, Ross E.: History on Trial. Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past. New York 2000.
 - 8 Cf. in general: Giordano, Gerard: Twentieth-century Textbook Wars. A History of Advocacy and Opposition. New York 2003. Cf. Herlihy, John G. (ed.): The Textbook Controversy. Issues, Aspects, and Perspectives. Norwood, N.J. 1992. Cf. Concerning "intelligent design": Hemminger, Hansjörg: Bericht: Intelligentes Design und der Kulturkampf in den USA, in: www.ezwb-berlin.de (hg. v. Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen; EZW). Cf. e.g. Alters, Brian J./Alters, Sandra M.: Defending Evolution in the Classroom. A Guide to the Creation/Evolution Controversy. Sudbury, MA 2001.
 - 9 See the article of Luigi Cajani in this volume, pp. 39-56.
 - 10 See the article of Winfried Schulze in this volume, pp. 9-38. – I will add for the German perspective which is of special importance in this matter that the existing history teacher association is not discussing the law which punishes the denial of the holocaust, since it has been scientifically proven beyond doubt that the holocaust did occur and because its denial has always served propagandistic means.
 - 11 Cf. Bernlochner, Ludwig/Geiss, Peter: Histoire/Geschichte – l'Europe et le monde depuis 1945. Le manuel d'histoire franco-allemand. Paris/Stuttgart 2006; Bernlochner, Ludwig/Geiss, Peter: Histoire/Geschichte – l'Europe et le monde du congrès de Vienne à 1945. Le manuel d'histoire franco-allemand. Paris/Stuttgart 2008.

- 12 Adwan, Sami/Bar On, Dan: *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis*, hg. v. Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME). Beit Jallah 2003.
- 13 Cf. the Korean version of the trilateral supplementary history textbook: *Mirae-neul yeoneun Yeoksa: Han Jung Il-i hamgye mandeun Dong*, Asia 3 *guk-ui Geunhyeondaesa* [History Opens the Future: The Contemporary and Modern History of Three East Asian Countries], ed. by Trilateral Joint History Editorial Committee. Seoul 2005. Cf. an unofficial translation of the preface and the table of contents in English: <http://www.gwu.edu/~memory/issues/textbooks/jointeastasia.html>.
- 14 Cf. e.g. Flückiger, Paul: *Kontroverse um deutsch-polnisches Schulbuch*, in: *Welt online. Politik*, 29.3.2008. http://www.welt.de/politik/article1814647/Kontroverse_um_deutsch_polnisches_Schulbuch.html (30.3.2008).
- 15 As a first idea of that project cf. e.g. Rahul, Ram: *Central Asia: A Textbook History*. New Delhi 2000. Or: *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Unesco publishing, 6 vol., 1992-2005.
- 16 Cf. e.g. Khan, Fozia Sadiq/ Daudpota, Q Isa: *Joint Indo-Pak School History Textbook on the Web* (20.9.2000), in: <http://www.chowk.com/articles/4903> (30.3.2008).
- 17 Cf. for example European Commission. *External relations: The Euro-Mediterranean Partners* http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/euromed/index_en.htm (30.3.2008). See also Al-Ashmawi, Fauziya: *The Image of the Other in History Textbooks in some Mediterranean Countries* (Spain, France, Greece, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia), in: <http://www.isesco.org.ma/english/publications/Islamtoday/13/P6.php> (30.3.2008).
- 18 Cf. e.g. Assmann, Jan: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* [Cultural Memory]. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, 6th ed. München 2008, pp. 130-161.
- 19 The German "Bundesländer".
- 20 Cf. the demand of the European Union in the course of EU membership talks that the Turkish republic should accept the term "genocide" as accurate description of the deliberate and systematic destruction of the Armenian population by massacres and deportations by the Ottoman Empire in 1915 ff. during and just after World War I.
- 21 See e.g. Popp, Susanne: *Geschichtliches Überblickswissen aufbauen – ein konzentrisch-longitudinales Geschichtscurriculum aus den Niederlanden*, in: Erdmann, Elisabeth/Maier, Robert/Popp, Susanne (eds.): *Geschichtsunterricht international – Bestandsaufnahme und Visionen. Worldwide Teaching of History – Present and Future. L'enseignement de l'histoire dans le monde – Bilan et visions*. Hannover 2006, pp. 269-300.
- 22 Cf. Nora, Pierre: *Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory*, in: *Transit* 29 (2002), 4 (19.04.2002).
- 23 Cf. Halévy, Daniel: *Essai sur l'accélération de l'histoire*. Paris 1948.