

# DARE

Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning

**Conference:**

**Pathways Interconnecting**

**History Education and**

**Democratic Citizenship Education/**

**Human Rights Education**

**in Adult Learning**

**Berlin, 29 - 30 May 2009**

**Conference Documentation**

**Conference Organizers:**



**Conference Partner:**



**DARE BLUE LINE EDITION**

Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning  
EU Project No. 134263-LLP-1-2007-1-DE-GRUNDTVIG-GNW

### **Copyright Information**

The copyrights to the reports, research papers and presentations in this conference documentation are owned by the respective authors.

# CONTENT

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	4

## RESEARCH RESULTS:

### LINKAGES BETWEEN HISTORY EDUCATION, DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION

“Methodologies of using history as a tool for conciliation (across time, across groups) by stressing multiperspectivity, inclusion, critical thinking and comparison” <i>Dagmar Kusa (Euroclio - The European Association of History Educators)</i>	6
---	---

“Gender in Peacebuilding: History, Memory and Conflict Dynamics” <i>Marina Grasse and Dana Jirouš, Andrea Zemskov-Züge (OWEN e.V. Mobile Academy for Gender Democracy and Peace Development)</i>	15
---	----

“Memory, European Identity and the Year 1989” <i>Prof. Dr. Eckart D. Stratenschulte (European Academy Berlin)</i>	23
--	----

“European Memory of ‘1989’ – The Challenge for Civic Education” <i>Prof. Dr. Bodo von Borries (University of Hamburg)</i>	29
--	----

### Country Reports / Good Practices

“Teaching the history of Romanian communism in high schools: problems and suggestions” <i>Andrei Muraru (Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania)</i>	47
--	----

“Interconnecting history Education and Democratic Citizenship Education / Human Rights Education: Good Practices from the United Kingdom / Scotland” <i>Tanveer Parnez (Black and Ethnic Minorities Infrastructure in Scotland)</i>	51
---	----

“The Slovenian case: 1989 and its role for EDC/HRE in adult education” <i>Alenka Elena Begant (EIP Slovenia – School for Peace)</i>	52
--	----

TRAININGS / WORKSHOPS

Workshop:

“Remembering for the future: Gender as a topic of history and remembrance” 60

*Danijela Cenan, Dana Jirouš, Inga Luther, Anna Trautwein (OWEN e.V.  
Mobile Academy for Gender Democracy and Peace Development)*

Training:

“Understanding the mechanisms of 89 – a simulation on regime change for use in  
youth and adult education” 65

*Marta Kozłowska, Wilhelmina Welsch (Humanity in Action Deutschland e.V. /  
Fundacja Humanity in Action Polska)*

CONFERENCE FLYER 70

MEDIA COVERAGE 72

PICTURE GALLERY 77

## INTRODUCTION

Why is History Education in Europe so closely connected with Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education? Why does lifelong learning play a crucial role for integrating the national concepts of history, remembrance and citizenship into a European perspective? And how does the impact of the 1989 regime changes shape these concepts? Which theories and practical tools have already been developed to include this European dimension into local, regional, and national projects?

These questions were the guiding stars of the DARE Conference “Pathways Interconnecting History Education and Democratic Citizenship / Human Rights Education in Adult Learning” in Berlin, May 29/30, 2009. In the frame of the “HistoryForum09 / Geschichtsforum09, AdB Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten and DARE Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning organised a joint conference with the aim to bridge the gap between academia and practice approaches in non-formal education on the issue of the European 89 regime changes and their role for non-formal civic education in Europe. About 40 participants from more than 15 European countries engaged in experts’ discussions, presentations, workshops and trainings. The second conference day was used to present results and best practices to the public during two panel discussions at the HistoryForum09. This central German event commemorating the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 89 revolution was attended by thousands of visitors.

The reports and educational tools collected in this conference documentation are structured in three sections:

1. Research Results
2. Country Reports / Good Practices
3. Trainings / workshops

The results presented in section 1 show clearly that knowledge about mechanisms of adopting recent history has become a cross cutting issue for (re)conciliation, peacebuilding, formation of identity and collective memory. Section 2 is focused on concrete regional examples of intersections between history education and citizenship education in Romania, Scotland and Slovenia. As these reports show, individual perceptions of everyday-life in connection with regime changes, (forced) migration and marginalization have become a hot topic for concepts of identity and citizenship. Section 3 presents two innovative educational tools for lifelong learning: a simulation on the 89 regime changes and a gender workshop to raise awareness on the differences between *history* and *herstory*.

This publication is a result and part of the work plan of the EU Grundtvig Network Project “DARE – Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning”, funded with support from the European Commission (EU Project No. 134263-LLP-1-2007-1-DE-GRUNDTVIG-GNW) to the beneficiary organisation AdB – Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten.

The conference documentation is available as well in print as for download (pdf-file) at [www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu). Please do not hesitate to contact us should you need additional information.

Our warmest thanks to the workshop leaders, training facilitators, moderators, speakers, researchers and all others who helped to make this conference a success!

Georg Pirker, Anne Stalfort  
*DARE Project Office Berlin*

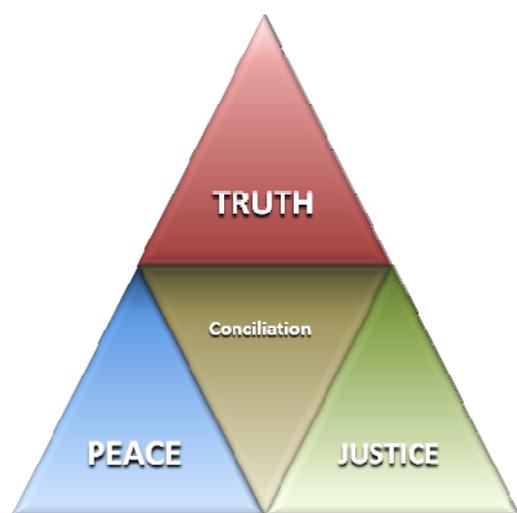
For further information on DARE and on the EU project, Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning, please visit [www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu) or contact Georg Pirker at [pirker@adb.de](mailto:pirker@adb.de).

## **Methodologies of using history as a tool for conciliation (across time, across groups) by stressing multiperspectivity, inclusion, critical thinking and comparison**

*Dagmar Kusa, EUROCLIO – The European Association of History Educators*

### **HISTORY EDUCATION AND THE PROCESS OF CONCILIATION**

Post-conflict societies are striving to heal wounds of violent conflict in multiple ways. Documentation is gathered on events and acts committed, perpetrators are identified and responsibility for action attributed. Often, commissions and tribunals are set up to establish the “historical truth” and lead the process of transitional justice. What is the place and role of history education in the process of coming to terms with the past? How can history education assist in transition towards opening and deepening of democratic systems?



#### **Truth, Justice, and Peace triangle**

Transitioning societies, particularly those recovering from violent conflict, are “muddling through” three major processes aimed towards post-conflict conciliation at the same time: process seeking to uncover and document the “truth” – taking stock of the events that took place, collecting documents, researching, archiving, publicizing evidence.

The second process strives to see justice being served – identifying perpetrators, bringing them in front of a tribunal or a commission, establishing mechanisms for

compensation of victims and survivors, etc.

The third process is devoted to build foundations for a long-lasting peace, rebuilding broken relations, healing mistrust, overcoming stereotypes and resentment.

Very often these three elements do not complement each other easily, but quite the contrary.

Documenting “who did what to whom” and “who started it” usually does not automatically contribute towards building bridges between communities in conflict. The process of justice is selective and symbolic and does not seek to establish full truth. It may foster a more peaceful future, but often it may

also foster resentment and alienation in parts of the population that seek vengeance. All three processes are needed and beneficial in their own right, but finding a balance between them is often tricky.

### **The Present in the Past**

Historiography is traditionally seen as closest to the “truth” element within the triangle: as an objective endeavor to document the past events in as much detail as possible. In practice, however, the way history is written and particularly how history is taught in schools is influenced by political agendas and interests. The recorded past is to represent heritage of a nation or a group, the roots in which national identities are based. In its selectiveness and purposefulness, history education in many countries strives to shape and mould collective memory of the people rather than offer objective multilayered inquiry into the past events.

Collective memory’s goal is to unite, to differentiate ‘us’ from ‘them’, gloss over the unflattering parts, and exaggerate and mystify the positive ones. Thus it is an entirely different “animal” from the actual past, which historiography strives to uncover. “Its relationship to the past is like an embrace... ultimately emotional, not intellectual”, said American historian Bailyn (In: Blight, 2002). Blight describes academic history as a secular exercise, striving to achieve maximum objectivity, while collective memory is like a church, where the nation and great stories about its heroism and suffering are put on a pedestal and worshiped as deities (Ibid.). Collective memory serves as a tool for personification of an ethnic community, a proof of its existence for its members and leaders. When some elements of the past are not entirely convenient, reliance on historical facts is replaced with reliance on imagination and myths, or some elements are overemphasized and missing facts are filled in with speculations in order to complete the narrative of the group’s mission and purpose and to tug on emotional strings.

Transitioning societies are especially prone to use lens of the present times to look at the past. There are unfortunately too many instances of political leaders intervening in historiography and history education, establishing rules, selecting authors and topics that can and cannot be covered and how, Russia being among the most recent and extreme examples of this when, after continuous mounting pressure, a presidential commission “for counteracting attempts to falsify history to the detriment of Russia's interests” was created by the Russian lawmakers (Dolgin, 2009).

Public opinion research shows how significantly what we learn in school and from public debates impacts our attitudes towards others. In Slovakia, recent public opinion poll shows that children soak in statements from the top political leaders. A recent survey of ninth grade students carried out by the Center for Research on Ethnicity and Culture (“Školy budú učiť tolerancii“, 2008) shows increased

racism towards the Roma and increased negative attitudes towards the ethnic Hungarians. The latter engender the most negative attitudes – surpassing the negative attitudes towards the Roma for the first time. This trend, according to the authors, is a direct result of the increased nationalism in public debate at the top political level, directly using the quotes floated by political leaders and charged with strong negative emotions. Furthermore, surveys show how big the impact of what is taught in history lessons and how is on public attitudes. When studying inter-ethnic relations, it is obvious that attitudes towards others often come with strong emotions. These are usually rooted in the perceived injustices and wrongdoings by the other in the past, highlighting a largely black and white vision of the world offered by traditional history education. Surveys among students about heroes and shameful eras in Slovakia (and likely elsewhere as well) show that students repeat quite directly the events covered in their history lessons, knowing very little to nothing about any other nation's history or about different interpretation to the same historical events they are familiar with (Kusa 2009).

### **Can history and peace coexist?**

When evaluating a situation anywhere, one must look not only to the top of the pyramid, but also to the lower levels. There are more and more efforts in Europe to put forth a more complex history, researched and written in collaboration of people from different sides of ethnic or religious divide, even if the governments are usually not ecstatic to see such efforts.

The EUROCLIO annual questionnaires distributed among the educators from the member history teachers' associations support general trends observed within the European Union space: reforms taking place in European educational systems are largely positive in terms of methodology. They recognize the importance of teaching skills of critical thinking and variety of sources and tools used in the classrooms. At the same time, many countries are grappling with shrinking time devoted to history lessons in the curricula and with increase in requirements set forth by curricula. The political leaders on national level are however often the last ones to recognize the need for multiperspectivity, outward-looking orientation and introspection on the basis of comparison and broader context. (van der Leeuw-Roord, J.: 2, 3)

The common Slovak-Hungarian textbook efforts are a living showcase of how the education authorities often lag behind the developments in the field. The Slovak and Hungarian historians came together to write a 15 chapter book on topics from common history from both perspectives. The Slovak Minister of Education Ján Mikolaj expressed his dislike of the book including two perspectives on the same event: "I can't quite imagine how we will transform this kind of a book that has two differing opinions on the same historical era into a textbook... We cannot put two different interpretations into schools. I don't see any purpose in that." ("Spoločný dejepis sa nepíše, bude to len monografia").

The year 2009 is the European Year of Innovation and Creativity, where education plays an important role, which is increasingly recognized in various EU documents and policies – particularly following from the Lisbon Strategy. The next decade will be the Decade of Education, as outlined most recently in the European Council on Education, Youth and Culture's Conclusions on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ("ET 2020") where one of the strategic objectives is „promoting democratic values, social cohesion, active citizenship, and intercultural dialogue...” emphasizing delivery of skills and competencies and broader learning communities and innovative and creative approaches to education. Skills of critical thinking, comparative analysis, establishing causation and values of inclusive citizenship and openness towards other cultures simply cannot be achieved through requiring memorization of one-sided chronological lists of events, kings, victories and losses.

Until the national education policy makers do not grasp the importance of these ideas or are ignorant of them, it will be challenging to translate them into practice – since their practice very much depends on the decisions of the national governments.

### ***History in Action: Planning for the Future***

EUROCLIO – the European Association of History Educators - has been implementing these principles into practice since its creation in 1993. During this time it has initiated over 25 international project that bring together history educators from diverse settings to collaborate together on improving the quality of history education in their countries. Among the best examples of history education that fosters cooperation is the EUROCLIO project *History in Action: Planning for the Future* in which history educators from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia collaborated together for the first time since the civil war. The team of authors and experts from the three countries came together in 2003 to start the process of working together on a common textbook on the ordinary life in former Yugoslavia in the second half of the twentieth century.

This process took three projects (sponsored by the Danish and the Dutch governments) to complete. The first one focused on network building, establishing history teachers associations in the participating countries and identifying the right people to participate. 55 authors and experts have been trained and cooperated intensely on the publication in various roles over those years. It was not an easy process – a number of the participating experts experienced the war first-hand and stood on the opposing sides of the conflict. All have been directly touched by the war which is still very fresh in people's memory. Sitting behind the same table has been challenging and thus the first two years trust and team building were essential parts of the process. In the second year, the team focused on the themes and topics they could cover together, and settled on exploring the ordinary life, consciously staying away from the more sensitive topics. The materials were developed in 2006-2007, utilizing the experience and input

from experts from previous EUROCLIO projects in Macedonia, Montenegro, Russia, Ukraine, and elsewhere.

The resource book *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country. Every Day Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia between East and West 1945-1990* is a result of this long-term project. Examples of different workshops connected to three topics – ideology, standards of living and mass culture - can be found in the book. Each workshop begins with a short introduction followed by the aims of the workshop and the organization of the lesson. Different sources are included and several teaching methods and approaches are proposed. At the end of each section of the workshop, the reader can find questions for analyzing the specific sources and how to evaluate them. Conciliation sometimes happens not only between countries, but within them.

### **Retelling the History**

*Retelling the History* was a joint effort of AHRM (the Association of Historians of Republic of Macedonia) and EUROCLIO attempting to stop the centrifugal forces that seem to be pushing the majority Macedonian and ethnic Albanian history education away from each other. The project team there was comprised of 11 historians from Macedonia of different profiles, elementary and secondary school teachers and scientists. They had set for themselves the task to elaborate an alternative history education program history that treated also the recent period of history of Macedonia, especially the period between 1990 and 2000, having in mind that with the previous programs it was almost excluded. Considering that the existent history programs are burdened with political and military history, greater importance is dedicated to the social and the cultural dimension, and especially again to the everyday life of common people. The publication is an example of a neutral and non-favoring approach of historical events. At the same time the publication and accompanying program indicate and encourage different aspects of teaching, such as the development of historical skills, critical thinking, building of own attitudes, and a multi-perspective approach towards historical sources. After six years of involvement in the Balkan region, there is a team of authors and experts that is closely connected and trusting to the extent that they are ready to approach the most sensitive and the most controversial elements in the common past of the former Yugoslav countries together. In a planned project *History that Connects: How to Teach Sensitive Issues in the Countries of Former Yugoslavia*, the educators will tackle the impact of the wars of the twentieth century on the lives of the citizens of Yugoslavia together. Having a team of trained experts with the previous experience and high level of trust in each other, such endeavour is possible.

Learning from the process here, it is clear that quality history education is an ongoing process rather than a set of (however enlightened) rules, regulations and guidelines. This process has to invest into

the educators and their personal development just as much as in the development of the contents and the methodology. In the future, EUROCLIO will be paying even more attention to this aspect of the work in post-conflict setting, guiding educators to learn in an experiential way about their identities and values that are attached to them that they carry with them in order to approach the process of development of educational materials with the understanding of such large issues and their place in history and history education.

### **Building Social Cohesion and Inclusive Diversity**

Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall, the focus of European history education experts, like other non-governmental actors, had their eye mostly trained on aiding the former Soviet Bloc countries to learn to come to terms with the past. It is becoming increasingly apparent that Western Europe has many issues to deal with as well. Especially since 9/11 and violent events in Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain that followed in the years since, there seems to be a growing tension within the Western societies. Immigrants and their descendents often grapple with suspicion, feel alienated and secluded from the mainstream of the societies.

Human beings are social creatures, hardwired to connect. They yearn for recognition and respect from others and feel the need to belong. Violation of recognition or of respect leads to feeling of humiliation, alienation, and in extreme cases may result in violent reactions.

Humiliation and human dignity studies are relative newcomer to social sciences. Combining social sciences with brain research and behavioral studies, it offers a fresh (if common-sense) look at the dynamic side of human relationships – whether of individuals or between groups. Part of these studies have shown the overlap between social and physical pain – our brains process both in the same exact spot in our brains. Humiliation was thus dubbed as a social pain by some of the experts, having some of the same consequences as physical pain.

It is prudent to avoid reductionism of complex human interactions and cognition into a set of biological functions. The lessons learned from this literature is the highlighted importance of inclusion and acknowledgement of human dignity. Humiliation may lend its own “rationality” to violence. Prevention of such extremes can be done through sincere connections across the divides among us. Here, history education can and should play a key role as well.

### **Understanding the “Big History” from the “Small Histories”**

*“What connects us across the canyon of time is the small history of human life, marked by birth and by death. It, too, is full of turning historical events, struggles, aggressions and coups, victims and treasons, victories and losses, altogether events that shine so glamorously in history books. Only we don’t explain them as results of artificial abstractions in small history, but as results of impulses*

*that forever accompany human life, love and hate, faith and hopelessness, modesty and pride, ambitions and weakness, and of all that that magnificently stands out in human stories that are preserved and that we tell again and again.” (Milan Šimečka)*

Amsterdam is a city where over 60% of school-going population is foreign born or descendants of immigrants. Visiting schools in Amsterdam 2007 during the *Municipal Experts Meeting on Social Cohesion* organized by the International Center for Conciliation and the Amsterdam City Hall, we spoke to several students after their history lessons. The general feeling was that “they are not in it”, that they are learning somebody else’s history while their own story of migration and stories important to their communities are not heard and are not invited to be heard anywhere either.

Talking to history educators and docents at the House of the Wannsee Conference in Berlin one year later, it was also apparent that stories that are deemed crucial within the European history are increasingly difficult to teach as well. Teaching the lessons from the Holocaust, for example, can nowadays be a combustible topic despite the best intentions. History educators are in the vast majority not equipped to face the complex issues of identities in the increasingly diverse Europe. Facing the expansion of the European Union and its diversification, often accompanied with reactive inward-looking sentiments and growing demands on delivery of skills and amount of knowledge to the students places extraordinary pressure on present-day teacher. EUROCLIO is investing into exploring alternative and innovative approaches towards inclusive narratives of communities that enrich both understanding of local history as well as understanding of connections to and impact of the “big history” on the lives of ordinary Europeans.

In cooperation with education stakeholders like Facing History and Ourselves and others who have similarly realized the challenges that history education is facing in the EU, EUROCLIO is developing a project in the European big cities, focusing on capturing the oral histories of migrants as well as of the urban communities and changes within them – the multifaceted migrant history of Europe. The pilot projects in various European cities will result in developing case studies and educational resource material available for use and for replication in other settings.

Such approaches are not only necessary for fostering social cohesion in large European cities, but also for understanding the depth and the meaning of European identity. Finding common themes in the past of the European countries and exploring them across the borders and divides assists in defining and understanding of European identity and of our place in it. European history is sometimes looked at skeptically and with mistrust from individual national leaders and citizens. However it is not exclusive to a deeper understanding of national histories, quite the opposite. By seeking the connections and wider contexts, we learn more about ourselves. EUROCLIO has endeavored to use its wide network of

history educators towards this goal in the project *Connecting Europe through History*, conducted together with Europeana, bringing together 21 countries to explore one common theme in the past of the European countries – the trajectory of human rights development. There, history educators from most European countries explored the history of human rights movement in a comparative perspective, but also discussed in depth the connection between history education and human rights – right to be educated, equality in access, safeguarding democracy, and shared best practices and methodology for approaching such topics in classrooms. In the future, other topics that are predominant in all societies will be explored – migration, gender, modernization, and others. These efforts contribute towards development of modules on European history and heritage for teachers that EUROCLIO together with a large network of top stakeholders in history education seeks to develop for a comprehensive website portal in the future.

### ***The past in the present***

Academic historians at a recent UNESCO conference on transnational history in Cambridge, UK, spent quite some time contemplating whether the contents of global history should be approached chronologically, topically or regionally – pondering the pluses and minuses of the different foci. In their previous work, UNESCO published 52 volumes of books on transnational history. Unfortunately, it is not a widely known or a widely used resource, being both expensive and largely inaccessible.

It is not to say that books are already obsolete, but when approaching such large and complex topics as the European or transnational history, online technology that is nowadays available promises to deliver far more useful results. The debate on the priority focus is no longer necessary as the technology solves the dilemma easily for us – all foci are possible at the same time.

With the growing complexity and demands on history education, the approaches have to adapt to the changing situation. When focusing on delivering the grasp of key concepts and skills to the learners, we can at the same time bestow confidence in their abilities to work with the provided materials, navigate through them according to their immediate needs and priorities. In the instant gratification society of today, the approach is shifting from an author-centered to a learner-centered approach, flexible in terms of contents as well as of situation and needs. The role of the teacher is shifting. The necessity to hold all information needed for the job in one's head is diminishing with the available technology. However, it is more crucial than ever before to teach the skills of navigating, evaluating, comparing the immense amount of information, think critically, analyze and to learn through inquiry from a multitude of sources and narratives.

History education that fosters peace and social cohesion goes across boundaries, divides, generations, sources and disciplines and helps to understand connections between the intimate, personal identity of people and the big history of nations and of Europe as an emerging social entity. It

is a challenging and fluid process, a dialogue in which students, teachers, and societies learn from each other.

## Bibliography

- Blight, D.W., (2002). *Historians and Memory*. Common-place. Vol. 2, No. 3. <http://www.common-place.org/vol-02/no-03/author/>
- Council Conclusions on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ("ET 2020") adopted at the 2941th Education, Youth and Culture Council meeting in Brussels, 12 May 2009. [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/107622.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/107622.pdf) (accessed on 19.5.2009).
- Dolgin, B. (2009). *Russia's history wars*. Open Democracy News Analysis. <http://www.opendemocracy.net> (Accessed on 26.5.2009).
- Hartling, Linda M. (2005) *Humiliation: Real Pain, A Pathway to Violence*. Preliminary draft of a paper prepared for Round Table 2 of the 2005 Workshop on Humiliation and Violent Conflict, Columbia University, New York, December 15-16, 2005. <http://www.humiliationstudies.org/documents/HartlingNY05meetingRT2.pdf> (accessed on 12. 5. 2009)
- Kusa, D. (2009). *Ethnification of the Political Systems of Central Europe: the Case of Hungarian Minority in Slovakia*. Doctoral Thesis. Boston: Boston University.
- Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country: Everyday Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945 - 1990
- "Spoločný dejepis sa nepíše, bude to len monografia" (2008). SITA. 19.5. Pravda. . [http://spravy.pravda.sk/spolocny-dejepis-sa-nepise-bude-to-len-monografia-tvrdi-minister-phk-/sk\\_domace.asp?c=A090519\\_085632\\_sk\\_domace\\_p12](http://spravy.pravda.sk/spolocny-dejepis-sa-nepise-bude-to-len-monografia-tvrdi-minister-phk-/sk_domace.asp?c=A090519_085632_sk_domace_p12) (accessed on 19.5.2009)
- Šimečka, M. (1992): *Kruhová obrana*. Bratislava: Archa.
- "Školy budú učiť tolerancii" (2008), 21.8. SME. <http://www.sme.sk/c/4034411/skoly-budu-ucit-tolerancii.html> (accessed on 15. 5. 2009).
- Van der Leeuw-Roord, J. (2003). *History Changes: Facts and figures about history education in Europe since 1989*. The Hague: EUROCLIO.

# Gender in Peacebuilding: History, Memory and Conflict Dynamics

*excerpt from: "Gender in Peacebuilding: Pedagogical Ideas and Experiences"*

*by Marina Grasse and Dana Jirouš, with contribution from Andrea Zemskov-Züge*

*A publication of OWEN e.V. – Mobile Academy for Gender Democracy and Peace Development, Berlin*

*Translated (abbreviated version) by Julia Brooks*

## Theoretical Overview

A central element of OWEN's educational work involves engaging with individual memories and life experiences. This focal point derives from our experience that the processes of societal transformation in Central and Eastern Europe - including East Germany - after the collapse of socialism were accompanied by far reaching reinterpretations based on individual life experiences and historical perspectives. This transformation showed, on the one hand, the close concurrence of official histories and political power structures and on the other hand, the meaning of history and historical memory for societal reform. In our work with diverse social groups – within Germany as well as internationally – it has become clear that a great potential for conflict, but also for societal reform, can arise from the interaction of official histories and individual experiences and memories. Based on this experience, we have gradually developed methodological and thematic approaches to stimulate dialogue between women and men from diverse social groups and societies regarding their own historical experiences and their meaning for self-understanding and action.

The biographical and historical work of our educational project "OMNIBUS 1325" ([http://www.owen-berlin.de/html/english/projects/proj\\_omnibus.html](http://www.owen-berlin.de/html/english/projects/proj_omnibus.html)), a course in gender and civil conflict resolution work) concerns itself in the broadest sense with history and the interaction of the politics of history and individual and collective memory. In the first section of this article we will illuminate a few theoretical assumptions which form the basis of our work, and the second section will use examples from practice to show how this theory is implemented in our educational efforts within OMNIBUS.

## The Politics of History

The perception and interpretation of "history" arises in general from the selection of particular events which are assessed to be important in a given socio-political context. What is determined to be important or "correct" depends considerably on the respective politics of history and the socially accepted historical narrative.

The concept of the politics of history refers to the manner in which meanings and interpretations of historical events serve ongoing political and societal purposes. Interest groups compete with another to determine which aspects of the past, and in which manner, will be remembered and interpreted, making the politics of history also a politics of power which serves to advance particular political interests. This is particularly relevant in conflict situations, where involved parties often revert back to their own “knowledge” of history in order to justify their respective demands. In democratic societies, negotiation over the official historical memory takes place through public discourses among civil society, yet civil society is largely excluded from decision making over historical memory in totalitarian societies.

### **What is a culture of memory?**

The foundation of our work with memory is the assumption that memory is produced with intention, no matter what is being remembered. Norms are defined at the societal level which prescribes the manner in which memory is created and the content which will prevail in public discourse.

Strands of discourse are understood under the culture of memory as means by which memories are reproduced, expressed, narrated and developed. This can occur in more or less official spaces. Cultures of memory are to a great extent determined by political and societal systems, as many of the rules which govern political participation in general are also mirrored in cultures of memory. In societies in which human rights are lowly regarded and the freedom of expression is strongly curtailed, the possibilities for free and open articulation of different memories are likewise very limited.

Nevertheless, all actors who are involved in history and memory in the broadest sense have a stake in the development of cultures of memory and can also influence them to a certain extent. A vital goal of our educational work is to make the rolls of individuals as actors of and in cultures of memory known in order to support a conscious participation in these cultures of memory.

The process of memory occurs principally in the overlapping area between historical events, subjective experiences and “official” remembrance. Meaning is ascribed to memory only after the remembered occurrence or experience takes place, making it closely tied to the present and expectations of the future which are held by the bearers of the memories. Thus, memory represents an active and selective process of reconstruction of the past.

The Egyptologist Jann Assmann and the Anglicist Aleida Assmann have proven the worth of OWEN's educational work. For them, the concepts of collective, cultural and communicative memory stand in the forefront, and will be explored here in more detail.

### **Individual Memory**

Individuals remember that which they personally live, experience, learn and "retain" in their personal memory, and they can normally differentiate between memories of "knowledge", feelings and later interpretations. Witnesses, who for example personally experienced the era of National Socialism and the Second World War, do not remember exactly that which then occurred and they experienced, but they remember instead that which they can retrieve from their individual memory from a contemporary perspective. Individual memory is biographical memory, necessarily tied to the lifetime of the remembering person.

### **Collective Memory**

The overarching concept of collective memory denotes the common body of knowledge shared by a group, or collective, about the past. Individual memory gains meaning through the process by which it is shared with others in different forms of "memory collectives" such as families, local communities, nations or societies.

Collective memory always occurs selectively, with some specific temporal or societal contexts being left out while others are accentuated. Collective memory is also political memory in the sense that it can serve to legitimize societal power relations and structures within the collective. Aleida and Jan Assmann further differentiate between the communicative and cultural levels of collective memory.

### **Communicative Memory**

In communicative memory, we share with other living generations a common pool of memory, as individual memories of past experiences are passed onward. The communicative memory originates from an environment of spacial proximity, common ways of life and shared experiences, and often contains elements with particular emotionally or sensual meaning. With the passing of each generation, society's profile of living or short term memory is displaced, giving communicated memories a specific and limited time horizon.

### **Cultural Memory**

Cultural memory secures the collective memory of those events, which, due to the passing of generations, can no longer be shared directly through communicative memory. The safekeeping of collective memory occurs through cultural forms such as written texts, memorials/monuments, rituals, symbols and institutions. Its content depends on societal conditions as well as political structures and power dynamics, such that only those matters which fit into the collective historical outlook of the society are retained as cultural memory.

The interaction of different levels of memory has decisive meaning for the development of the historical consciousness of individuals, groups and societies. In our educational work with history and biography, we operate on diverse levels on memory. We frequently address our work to cultural foundations of memory in the form of historical knowledge, yet there is also room in seminars for memory and narratives from individual and communicative memory.

Biographical memory and those memories and narratives conveyed by relatives are often associated with the emergence of strong emotions. For example, tales of the wretched experiences of parents or grandparents with war or violence can produce feelings of pain, sorrow, shame and guilt. Such narratives can also awake or foment hatred, which is then passed on to successive generations. Therefore, it is particularly important for peacebuilding work that any emotions which may arise in discussions relating to painful or traumatic experiences be able to be expressed and reflected upon. There is thus a necessity for protected spaces for dialogue which convey security and trust in order to enable participants' emotions to remain tied to their memories of past experiences rather than to become associated with the present situation or conflict.

Personal memories and narratives always constitute a process of selective and, consequently, subjective (re)construction of the past, which can not be equated with the actual events and occurrences from "back then". For biographically-oriented educational and historical work, it is therefore of central importance to distinguish between events, experiences, memories and narratives. Events are temporally limited to the duration of their occurrence, and can thus never be mirrored in pure form, although it is goes without question that many scenes and details in narrated histories do factually refer to the past chain of events.

The concept of experience comprises the views and perceptions of the respective person. Multiple people who are present at a single event can experience and perceive the occurrence completely differently. Already as an event is occurring, a process of selection is taking place in which some details are noticed while others are overlooked.

The active reconstruction of past experiences brings a further process of selection to bear. From an abundance of possible memories come only those elements to consciousness which are in some way related to the present situation. This could mean a current occurrence, picture, space, odor, or more broadly, the current life situation of the person narrating or the expectation of an upcoming event. Experiences are reflected and processed memories. The individual draws a “lesson” from his/her experience and gives it meaning. It should be kept in mind that such lessons are always a construction after the fact and can not be mistaken for the direct experience of an event.

The elements of memory which can be presented in a story or history also depend divisively upon the situation in which the story being is told. Although different persons require different circumstances under which to tell their stories, in general a safe space is needed for the telling of personal stories, with an atmosphere of acceptance, trust and care, as well as an audience which listens with attentiveness, respect and empathy.

### **Examples from Practice:**

#### **1) Life Paths and Points on the Map**

Family origin, territoriality, nationality, and identity have played important roles in the armed conflicts in the Caucasus since the beginning of the 1990s, as ethnic affiliations were often used as rationales for the legitimization of territorial claims and armed violence. In response, we are applying the methodology of “Contextualizing Life Paths” in the Caucasus and Germany to further mutual understanding through historical-biographical dialogue. The purpose of this exercise is to use histories and biographies to illuminate the interaction of time and place while bringing together diverse groups.

For this exercise, multiple large geographical maps are hung on the wall in which the current territorial borders of the Caucasus are marked, including a world map. Participants are asked to mark on the maps with coloured dots the locations where 1) they currently live, 2) they were born, and 3) their family root's lie. They then discuss what they see on the marked maps, including any thoughts or feelings which the maps elicit. Participants' answers demonstrate the challenge of describing an image without immediately jumping to subjective interpretation, and the diverse meanings that the maps have for those involved. When asked which feelings and associations the maps elicit, participants often feel the need to tell personal stories, but also express their hopes for the future.

This activity typically evokes thoughts of peace, memory, history, diversity and interconnectedness. Since it shows that all individuals are unique yet interconnected, and that they bring their own individual life paths and histories to the group, this exercise serves as a good introductory activity.

Exercises such as this also illuminate the turbulent history of migration in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a result of war, crisis and displaced borders.

## **2) Communicative and Collective Memory / The Time Line**

We have worked with variations on the “Time Line” exercise in all OMNIBUS courses. The purpose of the exercise is a personal examination of different perspectives on history and historical memory, as well as reflection upon the interaction between historical developments and different levels of memory and historical consciousness. Additionally, the exercise sensitizes participants to the differences of various presentations of history, making them aware of their own rolls and responsibilities in passing on history to future generations.

A large sheet of paper with four well-spaced horizontal lines of different colours is hung on the wall. Each line symbolizes a time line which spans from the past into the present, with an arrow leading into the future. Decades are marked out along the lines beginning with 1860.

First, participants are asked to mark the birthday of an older person whom they knew personally (such as a grandfather or grandmother) on the first time line, along with the person's name and place of birth. This serves to illustrate one important source of historical knowledge, namely personal, and participants are asked to spontaneously name other sources, such as books, diaries, monuments, archaeological sites, works of art, cave paintings, archives, museums, schools, universities, the media, stories, letters, etc.

Next, each participant thinks spontaneously of an historical event, which he/she then marks on the first time line. Considering each other's responses, participants often note the abundance of catastrophic or war-related events named. Then, participants are asked to name events which affected their own families, and to note them on the second time line. Finally, participants name and note down events on the third time line which they learned about through the stories of family members, thus through communicative memory. Considering the three time lines together, participants often notice that some events appear many times on the time lines, while others occur rarely, and that there can even be diverse descriptions or memories of one single event.

Turning to small groups, participants tell personal stories evoked by the exercise to each other and consider how their telling of the stories is influenced or effected by various contexts, emotions or social rolls. In a feedback round, those involved are also given the opportunity to comment on the content and effectiveness of their discussions.

It is our experience from these seminars that family histories are more often passed down by women, and that their content and narration is closely tied to social rolls. Women more often tell tragic, sad or comical stories, often involving suffering under war, hunger, or deprivation and what they did to overcome these hardships, whereas men tend to tell more heroic tales. German families did not heavily discuss the past, especially the era of National Socialism, preferring instead to tell of the end of the war and the difficult post-war period. The emotions with which individuals narrate a history are often transmitted to their listeners, especially when close emotional or familial relationships already exists.

Finally, participants in the exercise add their own birthdays to the fourth time line, along with historical events of personal importance to them. They then imagine how they might tell these personal histories to a (fictional) grandchild in the future, and discuss their reflections on the seminar as a whole.

The exercise as described here is complex, yet it serves to bring together various aspects and levels of memory which are of importance to the development of individual and collective historical consciousness. Our historical memory and perspective on the past is mediated by many factors, and in turn influences how we see the present and our own actions and decisions, as well as the history which we wish to pass on to future generations. Not only our own knowledge, but also our institutions, emotions and outlooks play a role in our examination of the politics of history. This exercise provides a structured space in which to illuminate the individual elements of historical knowledge and to enable participants to consciously and responsibly confront their pasts.

### **3) Communicative Memory and Conflict**

There are always two elements to conflicts: the apparent and the unapparent. As with an iceberg, decisive elements of a conflict typically lie below the surface, with aspects such as the self-understandings, values, moral views, needs and fears of conflict parties out of sight. The past and how it is dealt with also plays a central role in many conflict situations. This regards not just what is remembered – the previous events – but also the manner in which they are remembered, and the meanings which are attributed to these events. Relationships between those who still remember the events of the past are to be taken into particular consideration.

Before, during and immediately following armed conflicts, involved parties and actors use history, politics, and cultural memory to legitimize their respective actions. The enduring explosiveness of the subject of historical memory appears even in times of peace, such as in Germany in public and private discussions regarding the era of National Socialism, the Second World War or the evaluation of the GDR past. Consideration of the conflict potential which can arise from history and the manner in which

it is dealt with takes up considerable space in OMNIBUS courses in the Caucasus and in Germany, proving once and again that engagement with history and memory has deep emotional relevancy on many levels. The purpose of this exercise on “Communicative Memory and Conflict” is a critical consideration of the interaction between personal aspects and relationships and communicatively transmitted memory.

In this exercise, participants are then asked to remember and discuss in small groups a situation which they commonly experienced but remember differently, as well as one in which those involved in the first situation remembered what they had experienced. The groups then share their examples with each other and give feedback on the discussions. In feedback sessions, participants discussed the factors which may have influenced their different memories of the situations, such as personal relationships, or emotional connections, as well as barriers which may have blocked memories or their expression.

The exercise should illuminate the fact that a single situation can be remembered in very different ways, and that these divergent memories can create a potential for conflict. Since the exercise relies on the personal memories of participants, it is possible to explore the situations more carefully, especially with regards to personal emotions and perceptions. With a better understanding of personal memory, societal conflicts with foundations in conflicting memories also become easier to understand.

Our seminars have shown over and over again that work with history and memory can bring out many emotions, and since violent conflicts often have strong historical-political components, work with memory is key to conflict resolution. Since respective sides in a conflict typically see their perspectives as absolute truths, exercises such as this one provide the opportunity to recognize the subjective and interpretative aspects of memory. When we direct our attention not to the grand political stage, but rather to the smaller scenes in which the same mechanisms operate, we can overcome resistance and open doors which will also help us to solve future conflicts and develop greater understand for the positions of others.

## Memory, European Identity and the Year 1989

*Prof. Dr. Eckart D. Stratenschulte (Europäische Akademie Berlin)*

*The German version of this report is published in: "Außerschulische Bildung 2/2009",  
<http://www.adb.de/publikationen/zeitschrift-ab.php>*

*English translation by Julia Brooks*

Is there such a thing as a European? Or are we simply dealing with Germans, French, or Poles within Europe? Does Europe create our identity, or is it just a space within which we develop our national identities and simultaneously organize our daily lives?

Poor participation in the European Parliamentary elections raises doubts as to whether people in Europe actually understand themselves to be Europeans. Can "Europe", or in this case, the European Union, exist in the long term as an artificial construct for coping with life's challenges if the people of Europe do not accept it as their own? When we answer these questions in the negative and consequently conclude that Europe or Europeans cannot exist in the long run, must we not draw the conclusion that there is a European identity to be created? Or is identity something that can even be created, like a sanitation policy, and if so, who is responsible for doing so?

These questions may appear superficial at first glance, but they are of considerable importance in practice. The greatest danger threatening the EU is that it lose the acceptance of its citizens. This would cause more than just a blemish on the EU's image. International organizations can exist without the enthusiasm or approval of the citizens of their member states, but this is not true of supranational organizations, which are based upon common solidarity and the surrender of absolute national sovereignty.

Identity is constituted from commonalities which arise, for example, from language, life situation, history, culture or tradition. These commonalities, however, can only create identity when they are perceived and accepted as being shared. Therefore, there have been time and again active attempts to produce identities, as we can observe, for example, in recent years in the former Soviet Central Asian republics. Identity brings people together ("We are we"), but alongside inclusion it also has a powerful exclusionary aspect ("We are who we are, because we are different from the others"). Identity essentially binds people into communities by excluding others – so long as one abandons the construction of the "world citizen", which in any case has no real practical meaning.

This should make it clear that the question of European identity is a particularly difficult one. Indeed, there are countless commonalities between EU peoples on which we could focus, from the currency (Euro) to the single European market and area of freedom, security and justice, to the standardized passports and license plates, but there are also important differences. Twenty three official languages are spoken in the EU, though in reality there are considerably more. Furthermore, the common history which Europe of course shares is often perceived as disjunctive; it is, if nothing else, a history of inter-communal wars. It is likewise not to be maintained that people in Lapland and Sicily, in Portugal or Poland are the same or even look the same. This is partially attributable to events this which did not just change daily realities, but also reached people emotionally and anchored themselves in their memories and feelings. Does 1989 have this quality? Is it the source of common European memory? Could the events of 1989 have the effect of producing a common identity?

The year 1989 has a significant meaning in European history – and in contrast to other pivotal years in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, a positive one. We Germans naturally think predominantly of the fall of the Berlin Wall. This was, however, only one element of the fundamental transformation which Europeans brought to their continent in this year. Throughout Central Eastern Europe, liberation movements claimed victory over antiquated Communist Party dictators. Indeed, the first stones were removed from the wall long before November 9, 1989. The Polish trade union “Solidarnosc” (“Solidarity”) became more and more successful despite the Communist Party, and forced about the partially-democratic elections which took place in June 1989 and allowed Poles for the first time to cast their votes for opposition candidates to the Parliament. In fact, Poland's ruling United Workers' Party would presumably have vanished into thin air had it not stipulated a quota of seats in Parliament in advance. The Party's demise was, however, already set in motion and came to a close quickly thereafter. Change was also initiated in Hungary, where at the start of 1989 the Communist Party abdicated it's claim to power and a multi-party system was born. In September 1989, the People's Republic became the Republic of Hungary.

The Hungarian leadership were also no longer willing to serve as prison guards for the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Hungarians themselves had long enjoyed a relative freedom of travel, and the strict surveillance of the Austrian border took place namely in the interest of the unloved German and Romanian brother parties. In May 1989, Hungary began – literally, since it was a matter of chain link fence - to tear down the Iron Curtain. In June 1989, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and his Austrian colleague, Alois Mock, contributed personally in front of a television audience. Although Hungary continued to not allow GDR citizens to pass into the West, more and more GDR tourists staying in Hungary used their vacations as opportunities to escape. That this happened

surprised no one. Captured GDR citizens were transported back across the border, but they normally did not face any more serious consequences.

In August 1989, the Pan-European Movement – which emerged under the leadership of the eldest son of the last Austrian Emperor, Otto von Habsburg – organized a European picnic in Sopron on the Austro-Hungarian border. In order that the Austrian and Hungarian participants could meet each other, the border was opened for several hours. Hundreds of GDR citizens who were invited to the event by leaflets used the border opening as an opportunity to flee. What happened spontaneously, however, had in actuality been carefully orchestrated by the Pan-European Movement and Hungarian government. Shortly after this mass exodus, Hungary changed its official policy and allowed persons with valid passports to leave the country for whichever destinations they wished, including allowing GDR citizens to travel to Austria.

In Czechoslovakia, the “Velvet Revolution” displaced the country's old rulers. In December, Communist Party head of state Gustáv Husák resigned. A few weeks later, the civil rights activist Václav Havel was named as his successor and Alexander Dubcek, the icon of Prague Spring in 1968, became Speaker of the Czech Federal Parliament. The revolution did not succeed, however, in holding Czechoslovakia together; since 1993 the Czech and Slovak Republics have gone their separate ways.

Transformation also began in the Baltic states, then still Soviet Republics. On August 23, 1989, the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, hundreds of thousands of people formed a “Baltic human chain” which stretch from Tallinn, Estonia to Vilnius, Lithuania. The Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians proclaimed themselves in a declaration to be Europe's last colonies and preached a “Baltic Way” - the way to Europe. In 1990 the three states declared their independence and carried out the “Singing Revolution”, which even a violent Soviet counterrevolution in 1991 could not stop. Change was brewing in Bulgaria as well. On the day after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Party leader Todor Zhirkov fell from power. In early 1990, free elections were also held in Yugoslavia, which had long been lampooned as the 16<sup>th</sup> Soviet Republic due to its particular political closeness to Moscow.

The democratic movements in Central Eastern Europe were made possible not in the least by the reforms which were being implemented in Moscow, the political center of socialist power. Already in 1985, the relatively young Party functionary Mikhail Gorbachev was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He saw clearly that his country was not competitive and devoted his efforts to reform with the buzzword “Perestroika” (reorganization). This could only occur, according to Gorbachev's correct assertion, if members of society also had relevant information at their disposal, thus also necessitating “Glasnost” (openness). In addition, Gorbachev suspended the Brezhnev doctrine, under which the sovereignty of member states in the socialist camp was limited,

effectively ending the right of intervention which the Soviet Union had asserted in 1953 in the GDR, 1956 in Poland and Hungary and in 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Hencefore, according to Gorbachev's confidant Alexander Yakovlev, the "Frank Sinatra Doctrine" would be in effect – a play on the Sinatra song, "I did it my way!".

The new policies of the Soviet leadership did not just arrive in Central Eastern Europe during an ongoing grassroots movement for democracy, but also created an enormous legitimacy problem for the ruling political elite. The grand Soviet Union was suddenly no longer a role model. While it had long held in the GDR that, "To learn from the Soviet Union is to learn to be victorious," SED Politburo member Kurt Hager now snarled that a man must not redecorate his apartment just because his neighbor does so. The highpoint of the legitimacy crisis and simultaneous disclosure of helplessness came in November 1988 when the GDR government blocked the importation of the Soviet magazine, "Sputnik".

In December 1989, the last authoritarian bastion in Central Eastern Europe fell when the Romanian opposition managed to remove the "Conducator" (Leader) Nicolae Ceaușescu. Absurd scenes played out in Bucharest. Ceaușescu wanted to speak to his people, but was booed at by thousands of listeners. At first he failed to understand the demonstration which was occurring before him, and in the end he had to be evacuated by helicopter from the roof of the Party building. A few days later he was condemned to death in an obscure trial and shot along with his wife and co-perpetrator, Elena.

1989 was also the beginning of a downright revolutionary transformation which would change the map of Europe in the long term, as is illustrated by our eastern neighbor. Poland, which itself transformed from People's Republic to Republic, has seven direct neighboring countries, all of which are new since 1989/1991: Lithuania, Belarus and the Ukraine are former parts of the Soviet Union, as was Russia, which borders on Poland in the Kalingrad region, while the Czech Republic and Slovakia were formerly Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany along the western Polish border was formerly the GDR. The East-West conflict dissipated, some of the Warsaw Pact countries joined NATO and today the European Union counts nine former "Eastern Block" states in it's ranks - in addition to Slovenia, which emerged from the collapse of Yugoslavia.

With the dawning of this new era, Europe became the destination; former civil rights activist and later Czechoslovakian and Czech president Vaclav Havel named the transformation of the Central European states a "return to Europe". European identity was adopted in a double sense, before it's foundation would even be laid through the realization of factual similarities. Only Germany went through a different process, which has left traces which can be seen even today in the low European

affinity of East Germans. In Warsaw and Prague people set out towards Europe, yet in Leipzig and Dresden it was towards a united Germany, leaving “Europe” distant to many.

Nonetheless, one must recognize that 1989 was not a year of upheaval for many Europeans. In Great Britain and Belgium, Sweden and Portugal they know of the date and are aware of the fact that it indirectly influenced their own lives (for example, through the expansion of the EU and the flow of subsidies to the new member states), but this historical moment could hardly be productive of a new identity.

Furthermore, the emotional content of 1989 is being increasingly lost. The generation currently leaving our schools and even universities does not consider the events of 1989/91 as mainly a transformation, but rather as the starting point of their lives. They take for granted the chances which arose from this transformation, and unlike older persons even twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, they do not find anything unusual about meeting Polish students in Amsterdam or German students in Sofia. It is not 1989 in itself that is productive of identity for the “89 Generation”, but rather it’s results: the single European market, freedom of movement, the European-wide Bologna Process.

The process of transformation also occurred differently in Russia, a European and not insignificant land. The starting point there was not so much the acquisition of freedom, but rather the loss of meaning that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union. When Vladimir Putin today contends that the breaking up of the Soviet Union was the greatest catastrophe of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, he is received with only stunned disapproval in the West. The 1990s remain in memory as a decade of chaos for Russians, with overburdened Presidents and the brutal accumulation of wealth by a few at the cost of the many.

While we may like to think that the 1989/91 transformation was also beneficial for Russia, Russians are not so convinced. What makes Putin and his President Medvedev so beloved in their own country is their attempt to turn back the wheel of history, thus making 1989/91 forgotten. This is a source of constant tension in relations between Russia and the EU. Such turbulences are politically regrettable, but appear at first glance to be useful for the creation of a European identity, since identity arises namely, as previously noted, through exclusion and not inclusion. A communities' own commonalities first became visible in comparison to others; identity does not answer the question of who belongs to “us”, but rather who does not.

Who are “the others”? Is it enough for Europeans to demarcate themselves from Russia and should we even wish for this politically? There can be no solution to our continent’s diverse problems – from the supply of energy to the conflict in Transnistria – without Russia. At present this is also unfortunately not

possible with Russia, but do we really want to aggravate current conditions through the solidification of anti-Russian markers of identity? Who else are “the others”? Now that George W. Bush has resigned himself to his Texas ranch, the United States of America do not appear to be suited for such a disassociation. Could Islam serve the purpose of distinguishing us from the others, despite the fact that millions of Muslims live in EU and are citizens of its member states? Or are we confusing an entire religion here with a particular fundamentalist interpretation, namely Islamism, and therefore flailing at a caricature?

The year 1989 can serve as a guide to these questions. 1989 was the dawn of freedom and is thereby our criterion for demarcation. Alongside those things which constitute commonalities (geography and common institutions, climate, culture, traditions and markets), there are those that mark our differences: freedom and the lack thereof, respectively. It is on this basis that Europe can surely unite itself, irregardless of how directly individual persons were impacted by the revolutions. Freedom makes the difference. Part and parcel of this freedom is tolerance, which Angela Merkel described as the soul of Europe in her notable address to the European Parliament in 2007.

The challenge for political education is thereby also fixed. By making freedom and tolerance fundamental topics, education further contributes to the creation of a European identity. 1989 can play a role in this and can be classified along with the democratic upheavals and transformations that Europe has lived through since 1789, including the bourgeois revolution in 1848 in Germany and other European countries and the Portuguese Carnation Revolution in 1974. It was not the events of 1989, but rather the integration of these upheavals in the tradition of the European freedom movements which pulls Europe together and makes Spain's overcoming of the Franco dictatorship as well as the dissolution of communist one-party rule in Poland shared European occurrences. Our personal memory of 1989 may help us to understand our hopes and emotions, but it should thus not be the focus of our historical perspective.

# European Memory of "1989" – The Challenge for Civic Education

*Bodo von Borries (University of Hamburg)*

The German version of this report is published in: "Außerschulische Bildung 2/2009",  
<http://www.adb.de/publikationen/zeitschrift-ab.php>

*English translation by Julia Brooks*

First things first: This is not about what I prefer or love, but rather about what is and what may be. Many (luckily) engaged and mission-driven individuals romp about in the field, but there must also be distanced analysts and sober empiricists who can clearly separate the normative ("should") and objective ("it is") and analyze the deep structural settings of identity-related learning. It is not enough to bring up a long series of vaguely operationalized and self-absolutist items. Empirics must at least occasionally present higher claims and reflect on their methods.

For those in didactics, self-limitations on the permissible also come into play. What is – particularly in compulsory and graded school learning processes – legitimate? It is imperative to take the Beutelsbach Consensus seriously, i.e. to follow (see Schiele/Schneider 1977, 178ff.):

- "The prohibition against overwhelming the pupil" (no indoctrination)
- "Treating controversial subjects as controversial" (no mere passing on of the dominant narrative)
- "Giving weight to the personal interests of pupils"(empowerment to participation and self-judgment)
- "Learning methods and skills orientation"

One must not hide his/her own enthusiasm for Europe as the chance for freedom and human rights, though sometimes it must be reined in.

## **The Form and Function of "Places of Memory" and the Suitability of "1989" as a "Common Place of European Memory"**

Previous cultural studies have made it rather clear that history is not recorded as a chronological sequence and narrative (e.g. Nora 1990, Assmann 1997, Flacke 1998, Carcenac-Lecomte 2000, François/Schulze 2001), but rather grouped around "places of memory", even when these symbols often preserve a particular narrative. These "places of memory" are by no means to be understood as

always topographical or even local, but many have instead symbolical or metaphorical character, such as “Christmas”, “Volkswagen” or the “D-Mark”(German Mark) (see François/Schulze 2002). The focus here is then to examine whether “1989” is a suitable “common place of European memory.”

Places of memory arise not in the moment of the relevant events/occurrences, but rather in retrospective in the course of societal discourse on the meanings of history. They are themselves coagulated constructions and by no means scientifically based or free of individual or national interests. In fact, places of memory more nearly reflect power relationships and negotiations under conditions of force. Yet we should not be deceived: states – even dictators – cannot simply decree “places of memory” (certainly not by the issuance of mere guidelines for history education).

When the manifest or latent needs of large population groups are not met, the supply of state force (its power to impose to obedience) simply dries up. The majority of Poles – even the farmers, who before 1772 certainly did not belong to the “Polish nation” as a pure “aristocratic nation” – did not ignore the history lesson of the three conquerors of Poland before 1914. In other words, the official historical myths of the “Three Empires”, Russia, Prussia and Austria have failed; the “Polish National Myth” was until today an incredible success.

Places of memory are carefully cultivated around relatively simple symbolic sites, dates, persons and events. This process of selection does not occur haphazardly, but is rather determined more aesthetically and psychologically than through historical science. For example, the French Revolution did not take place in “1789” and was not decided by or identical to the “Storming of the Bastille”. The national holiday (“July 14”) nonetheless became a success, even if only after some time and with considerable help. The “French Revolution” (even the term is an interpretation!) was much longer and more complex, much more contradictory, much bloodier and much more futile than the symbol indicates (and that can be proven), but such a representation would be poorly suited to a holiday for the entire “nation”.

A second example: “January 27 (1945)” as the worldwide “Holocaust Memorial Day” was downright unfortunately chosen. The liberation of a few thousand deathly ill prisoners in the evacuated Auschwitz concentration camp, which this date represents, is a poorly suited representative of the entire anti-Jewish Genocide. The mass executions in Babi Yar near Kiev as prototype (29-30 September 1941), the beginning of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising as a resistance action (19 April 1943), or even the Wannsee Conference in Berlin as a persecution scheme (20 January 1942) would be without a doubt better symbolic days. Nevertheless, January 27 will presumably establish itself in the process of “universalization” of the Holocaust.

The 9th of November, 1989, marking the “Fall of the Berlin Wall”, would be a weaker proposal for a “common European place of memory” and “common European commemoration day” of 1989. The fact that this day has not yet managed to establish itself, even in Germany, as a “national holiday” is not to be easily forgotten. The specific German character of the date is unmistakable - even apart from the ambivalence of 1848 (execution of the 1848 revolutionary Robert Blum), 1918 (November Revolution), 1923 (failed Hitler putsch), 1938 (“Night of the Broken Glass”), or 1939 (on the eve of Georg Elser's Hitler assassination attempt). As with the French Revolution or the Holocaust, a wide intellectual movement towards universalization of the symbol must first take place and be successful. This is not impossible, but it appears from today's perspective to be neither probable nor desirable.

What is true of these dates is also naturally true for the year as a whole. As with 1848, 1945 or 1968, the symbolic year “1989” witnessed countless historically relevant events and movements in different places and at different times. That for itself does not speak against the year's symbolic value as a “place of memory”, but very different pictures emerge from the perspectives of various groups and countries.

Even if we were to agree on a canonical list (which is surely not possible), the events combine themselves as if in a kaleidoscope whose image transforms greatly with each shaking (i.e. country). The priorities and causalities of 1989, in other words, present themselves rather differently according to the specific nation or region.

#### **"1989"**

Symbolic Date	Land/Region	Event
03.02.	Paraguay	Fall of dictator Stroessner
28.03.	Serbia	Abolition of the autonomy of Kosovo and Voivodina (and beginning of the end of Yugoslavia)
05./04.	Poland	Lifting of the ban on Solidarność and Round Table Talks (first free election 04.06.)
09.04.	Georgia	Massacre in Tiflis
03./04.06.	China	Tienanmen Square massacre
04.06.	Iran	Death of Ayatollah Khomeini
23.09.	The Caucasus/	Declaration of sovereignty by Azerbaijan

	Transcaucasia	
23.10.	Hungary	New Constitution (after the opening of the border with Austria on 11.09.)
09.11.	Germany	Fall of the Berlin Wall
14.12.	Chile	Election of President Alwyn as end of Pinochet dictatorship
25.12.	Romania	Execution of Nicolae Ceaușescu und Elena Ceaușescu (following uprising and putsch)
29.12.	Czech Republic and Slovakia	Velvet Revolution: President Havel

Many, though in no case all of these twelve symbolic dates - which lend themselves well to universalization - are related to Gorbachev's policies of "glasnost and perestroika". Any generally acceptable history from a common European perspective – and there are also other continents with relevance to Europe! - must be relatively complicated and integrate together many moments which, for simpler minds, would be hardly understood and would probably weaken the desired affirmative and identity-building force of the "common places of memory". Furthermore, we generally prefer to hear stories of successes and victories over crashes, defeats or remaining "ambivalences".

A sensible and pan-European history of "1989" must, above all, not begin and end with 1989. It would need to start more around 1985 ("glasnost und perestroika"), if not 1968 ("Prague Spring") or 1980 ("Solidarność"); the zenith would be reached in more like 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet Union (sovereignty of the other 14 member states alongside Russia). Yet it is also impossible to exclude 1992 (the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia), 1990-95 (the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia), 1995 (the expansion of the EU, European decisionmaking) and 1999-2004 (NATO accessions) from the picture. The exact symbolic dates are once again to be taken cum grano salis here. Neoliberalism skeptics would want to or have to include the dates 2008 (world financial crisis) and 2009 (world economic crisis) as well.

How might a pan-European narrative then look? It would have to intertwine a whole series of systemic strands (completely aside from regional differences).

#### **Elements of a pan-European "1989" narrative**

Basic Phenomenon	Main Trend	Counter-trend	Affected
Civil Liberties and Democratization	Fall of Eastern European dictators; emergence of parliamentary democracies	Maintenance of semi-socialist and emergence of semi-fascist dictators; later democracy fatigue in Eastern and Western Europe	Central Eastern, Southeastern and Eastern Europe
Market Economy and Privatization	Collapse of the “real existing (state) socialism” in Europe; victory of “globalized (turbo)capitalism” (admittedly only until 2008)	Exceptions in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova; deviant developments in China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, as well as in Central Asia and Transcaucasia.	Predominantly in Central Eastern, Southeastern and Eastern Europe.
Nationality Conflicts and Civil Wars	Breakup of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Moldova, Georgia, etc., and military and peace-keeping “occupations” in Bosnia, Serbia and Kosovo, respectively.	German (re)unification	All Europeans to very different extents
European Integration instead of East-West Separation	End of the “Iron Curtain” and “Cold War”; expansion of the EU and NATO	Triggering of EU-Crises through “Expansion and Consolidation” (not vice versa); growing Euro-skepticism and EU hostility.	Almost all Europeans

The various parts of Europa were affected very differently by the basic phenomena and counter-trends of “1989”. One sees very clearly at first that the German (re)unification presented an outspoken exception (which also speaks against the 9th of November as a “common place of memory”) to the general trend of nationality conflicts and state disintegration around 1989. Many unpolitical citizens of Western Europe will not have, even after 20 years, noticed or felt existentially involved in much of the emerging civil liberties or market economy in the eastern part of the continent. Even many West Germans have never stepped foot in the former GDR or the new federal states, whereas almost all

East Germans have been in West Germany repeatedly. More empathy or self-sacrifice on behalf of the “new states” in the East is hardly to be expected any differently from the Irish or Portuguese. This structural asymmetry is naturally decisive for the historical-cultural handling of “1989”.

One could add an additional negative factor to the list, namely the urgent structural issues such as the environmental catastrophe which were dangerously relegated to the background by the “implosion of the Soviet bloc” and have been dealt with only passively over the last fifteen years. Similar is true in many respects of the North-South conflict – the asymmetrical world economic order. The abolition of the “socialist camp” (as the “Second World”) has presumably delayed reorganization of global economics. To synthesize a common European narrative would naturally not only be interesting for the eastern part of Europe, but it would be an intellectual, moral and communicative challenge and thus no theme for celebratory commemoration speeches. Maybe this would also be true for twelve year old students in history and civics class.

### **Verifiable differences in European cultures of history**

You are presumably expecting from me the empirical assessment of currently existing “places of memory” and “cultures of history” in different parts of Europe. To provide some more or less reliable information on the subject, however, is not so simple. I personally undertook a comparative study in 1995 with colleagues and friends from numerous countries (“Youth and History 1995”), and almost 32,000 ninth graders (around age 15) in 27 mostly European countries took part, along with their 1,250 teachers. The study is informative, yet there remain numerous methodological problems, and the material is in the meantime highly outdated. The circumstances could have changed massively in last 14 years, but the structures remain interesting.

The question of 1989 appeared then to be too Germany-centered; we therefore produced the question, “What do the changes in Eastern Europe since 1985 make you think of?”

Whether this was wise or not is after the fact no longer such an interesting question. Seven statements (“interpretations”) were presented for classification along a five-point Likert scale – from (1) “strongly disagree” to (3) “neither agree nor disagree” to (5) “strongly agree” (see Borries et al. 1999, 221 and 242). The responses were neutrally assessed, that is to say that the related and positively correlated interpretations of “Victory of the USA in the Cold War” ( $M_{\text{Europa}} = 3.09^1$ ) and “Betrayal of socialist ideals” ( $M_{\text{Europa}} = 2.99$ ) were not both answered negatively or affirmatively.<sup>2</sup> In Germany, the reserve was particularly clear.

---

<sup>1</sup> “ $M_{\text{Europa}}$ ” stands for the mean (average) response of all respondents in the 27 mostly European countries.

Three statements drew – in international application – considerably more agreement, even if only moderately: "Collapse of the USSR" (MEuropa = 3.64), "Nationality Conflicts and Civil Wars" (MEuropa = 3.53) und "Introduction of the Market Economy in Eastern Europe" (MEuropa = 3.49). Above all, if one considers that agreement generally comes easier than disagreement, the remaining statements came out practically neutral: "Democratization of the Soviet Society" (MEuropa = 3.29) and "Freedom for the Member States of the Warsaw Pact" (MEuropa = 3.27). What does this all mean?

The responses did not vary greatly on average from "neither agree nor disagree", in other words, from abstention or "no comment". Even that which lay blatantly before the eyes, such as the wars in the Western Balkans and the Caucasus, the disappearance of the Soviet Union or the expansion of the market economy, did not differ greatly from the mean. Occasionally, terms or concepts which necessitated more detailed knowledge clearly appeared to overwhelm the fifteen year olds. What is the "Warsaw Pact" exactly? What do "market economy" and "socialist ideals" mean? Such questions are better to answer neutrally, thus putting outspokenness or decisiveness out of the question.

One would have thought that families – even if not in all countries – would have spoken extensively with their children about the advantages (and disadvantages) of democracy and market economics, about the new chances of freedom or about the loss of jobs or the threat of civil wars. Although 1,000 Slovenian and 1,000 Croatian (as well as 700 East German) youths participated in the study, this appeared to be hardly the case. Even the most important contemporary historical occurrences which lay only five or ten years in the past, or even persisted, had apparently disappeared behind a gray smoke screen which even "communicative memory" or "cultural tradition" (e.g. directives of the new state powers) could strangely not manage to break through. It evidently takes national directives and textbook productions much longer to take effect in spreading new historical ideologies in everyday school life. Even the reading of current newspapers was not to be counted on from the students. They presumably only commonly recognized that which lay far back in the past as history.

The results also showed only weak differences between the responses of students in participating countries. One could have concluded that the "Collapse of the USSR" would be particularly accentuated in Russia, the Ukraine and Poland, partially with disappointment and partially with excitement. In actuality, however, the five Scandinavian countries, Estonia and Lithuania, as well as Israel, Turkey, Italy and Belgium, placed higher values on this statement. Germany falls, above Slovenia, in the next to last place. The results look similarly erratic for "Betrayal of socialist ideals": the only respondents who could more or less agree with this statement lived along the Mediterranean in Israel and Palestine, Portugal, Spain and Greece. Only Estonia and Lithuania constitute the exception, where socialism never became very popular. The lowest values, and thus a rejection of "betrayal" in

the scaling, came from the German, Croatian and Hungarian respondents.

So why present these more or less disappointing findings? We simply have nothing better (or at least I know of nothing). “1985 et seq.” - which we surveyed as a substitute for “1989” - was in 1995, when I am not mistaken, no passably fixed “place of memory” in the participating countries. The youth simply reflected the vague, blurry positions of their parents and grandparents. Unequivocal decisions by the respective families also shine through in other, by all means related questions. The questions seeking a comparison of the (former) GDR with the (old) FRG were, for example, asked only in Germany; they brought, however, completely different results in the new German states versus in the old. Respondents overwhelmingly preferred their own respective sides; even the children of the “peaceful revolutionaries” of 1989 already completely grasped GDR nostalgia, or “Ostalgie” (see Borries et al. 1999, 348f.).

The fact that fixed “places of memory” exist in Europe with considerable national differences can also be seen from other questions in “Youth and History 1995”, including, for example, on “Adolf Hitler”. Colleagues from other countries decided to overrule my own objections and the German misgivings about asking such “personalized” questions. The structural questions on “National Socialism” appeared much too difficult however, and respondents in all countries knew and were able to judge Hitler. The question therefore appeared as “What do you think of ‘Adolf Hitler’?” (see Borries et al. 1999, 162ff., 186)

In this case, the youth proved themselves to be considerably more outspoken, decisive and prepared to provide information. Two interpretations were clearly rebuffed: “A founder of national unity, order and security” (MEuropa = 2.13) and “A puppet of German industrialists and imperialists” (MEuropa = 2.60). A pro-Nazi trivialization thus appears to no longer be en vogue, but instead (even if less extreme) – and this one could not have previously known – the official Communist Party version.

In contrast, two responses to the “Hitler” question received exceptionally high agreement, namely “A cynical dictator and aggressor who is guilty of genocide” (MEuropa = 4.19) and “The best known representative of totalitarian power and violence” (MEuropa = 4,09). The response “A mentally ill, asocial criminal” (MEuropa = 3.76) was valued with somewhat more muted agreement. It is no surprise than Hitler received outspokenly negative responses. More important is the fact that the theoretical totalitarian variants (presumably not often exactly understood) and the psychological version (“mental illness”) were somewhat less enthusiastically accepted than the clear description of “dictator and genocidaire”.

Three further – consistently positive – interpretations are to be classified as more neutral (“undecided”)

when one considers the general tendency towards affirmation: "A die-hard opponent of cultural mixing and foreign infiltration" (MEuropa = 3.34), "The leading opponent of communism" (MEuropa = 3.40) and "A gifted speaker, organiser and leader" (MEuropa = 3.19). Both of the previously rejected concepts of trivialization, namely ("order") and anticommunism ("puppet") appear here again in a different form and are no longer categorically rejected.

The national differences here are much greater and can be illustrated by the combination of only two items. The situation is in reality much more complicated, as we cannot count on the fact that the questions are understood in the same way in all 27 countries – and 25 different languages. Even if the responses are more or less calculable (and the questions were scrutinized by independent translation and reverse translation), their connotations are never to be completely grasped. Likewise for the multi-faceted combinations of “mentally ill criminal” or “gifted leader”.

In some countries, “mentally ill criminality” is recognized while “gifted leadership” is rejected : as in Iceland, Poland, Greece, Turkey, Spain, Italy, Germany (interestingly only in the West) and Scotland. We should expect this combination (recognition of the negative and rejection of the positive characterization) to arise from a certain naivety of adolescence and to be regular and valid everywhere, yet this is in no sense the case.

In other countries, for example Norway, Sweden, Croatia, Israel(!), Portugal, the Netherlands and France, much more is acknowledged alongside the “self-evident fact” of the “mentally ill criminal” and, to a lesser degree, the “gifted leader” (then without such a capability he would not have been so successful at the time). It is clear that “gifted leader” is here meant more as a descriptor and less – as in the first group of countries – as a moral assessment.

There remains a third group where the – still considerable – assessment of “gifted leader” clearly surpasses the designation as “mentally ill criminal”. Two groups are to be carefully differentiated here; included are Hitler and Nazi sympathizers as well as Palestinians, Arab Israelis and (unfortunately) also Bulgarians – according to the motto that “the enemy of our enemy is our friend.” Among others – and this is even more disturbing – the members of victimized nations, such as Russians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians (or are the later also sympathizers?) express themselves as particularly dramatically Hitler-friendly. These results may be vexing, but one cannot deprive the respondents of their perspective: the fascination with the “strong and irresistible man” appears to outweigh the horror of the “absolutely evil perpetrator” (a high degree of antisemitism was simultaneously to be noted in the affected countries, even in serious public opinion surveys!).

The whole risk, the possibility of a rash transition from state socialism to fascist national systems (e.g. in Belarus and Serbia) can unfortunately not be further discussed here. Another connection is more

decisive here: there are certainly common “places of memory” in the countries of Europe which emerge from the (expanded) “contemporary history”, yet their respective interpretations diverge from each other quite substantially. In such cases, it is presumably more fitting to speak of “separated memories” than “shared memories”. To wish for the possibility of an officially approved – through the EU or the Council of Europe – standard version of history appears unpromising and undesirable democrats.

Further examples could be added. Even such an elementary phenomenon as “industrialization” is interpreted with great variation in different countries (see Borries et al. 1999, 151ff., 180). The reductive interpretation of “the invention of better machines” largely predominates, yet “the improvement of living conditions” is placed well above the “struggle of workers against owners” in many countries (Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, but also Turkey, Israel and Palestine). It is exactly the opposite in many other regions (such as in Scandinavia, Great Britain, South Tyrol, and Greece, but also in Poland, Hungary and Slovenia). Is there more “Marxist class struggle” remaining in the West than the East in 1995?

A fourth example is “colonial history”, which is presumably too complicated for a unitary “place of memory” even within individual countries. One could easily think that different concepts (such as “assistance for progress and development”, “profitable exploitation and environmental depredation”, “bold discoverers and adventurers”, “sacrificial Christian missions”) coexist and conflict. It is exactly these variants which we attempted to operationalize, with partial success (see Borries et al. 1999, 113ff., 129).

Respondents across Europe strongly agreed with “negative” categorizations such as “Exploitation” (MEuropa = 3.68) and “Racism” (MEuropa = 3.65), while more descriptive (and open to projection) variants such as “Adventurer” (MEuropa = 3.60) and “World Empires” (MEuropa = 3.49) received less sympathy. The “positive” interpretations came out – considering the general tendency toward agreement - more neutrally: “assistance for the progress of others” (MEuropa = 3.18) and “Christian Mission” (MEuropa = 3.17). Opinions of colonialism were therefore unpropitious, though not to such an extreme extent as in the case of Hitler.

However, certain individual countries diverged greatly from these mean European responses. In the non-colonial powers of Italy, Norway, Hungary and the Czech Republic, “exploitative system” received particularly high agreement, while “assistance for progress” was rated negatively (with a difference of one to one and a half points on the scale). Deflections from the mean remained rather marginal in the five “classic colonial powers” Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, England and France – and “assistance for progress” reached nearly the same values as “exploitation” (only a fourth of a scale point lower). In two uninvolved states (Ukraine and Turkey), the expression “development assistance” overly predominated. Those are considerably large and interpretable differences.

The situation could have thoroughly changed by 2009. It is however highly unlikely that the differences across Europe have disappeared. The present outlook has likely not arisen from a carefully processed and considered history, but rather the (alleged) perceptions and beliefs of the present strongly color how history is told and authenticated. The current World Financial Crisis could possibly serve, for example, as an impetus to newly negotiate and reinterpret the history of the last 30 years – whether consciously or unconsciously. This will occur differently in the respective countries, however, and admittedly lead to struggles between divergent versions of history.

### **Divergent historical orientations, i.e. contemporary consequences of “1989”**

What can we then do with “1989” in civic education, when – as shown – it is not possible to merely create identity by establishing simple and universally shared symbols? If I see things correctly, we cannot get around cognitive analyses and working through the situation emotionally. It is therefore necessary to critically compare the major interpretative models of the world which arose from “1989”. This can be done here only rather theoretically and with particular caution, we cannot avoid covering certain theories, since they determine the orientation of others.

Why are the – as we shall see, rather antithetical – present analyses and future prognoses since 1989 even mentioned here? When we consider “1989” are we not dealing with history, or rather, the past? We must finally get around that we essentially consider history through the lens of our understanding of the present and expectations of the future. However much we may imagine it to be possible, we cannot therefore ignore the predictive models of researchers, teachers and students.

History is not the past, but rather the relationship between interpretations of the past and our perceptions of the present and expectations of the future. It is likewise not merely a “reconstruction of the past”, but above all a “construction of meaning through the experience of time”; it is not a regular cognitive act, but rather even more a complex mental, political, moral, affective and aesthetic effort. This fact is theoretically hardly any longer controversial, but is taken seriously far too seldom in schools and colleges.

For our case of “1989”, this means that the great financial and world economic crisis since 2008, for example, must soon lead to a major rethinking and rewriting of the history of “1989” – particularly among the former absolute market enthusiasts – (and without negating the aspect of freedom!). So how do the previous models since 1989 look?

### **Expectations of the Future following “1989”**

Catchword	Concept	Hitherto Confirmation/Refutation
"The End of History"	Final victory of democracy/parliamentarianism and free market economy/growth, capitalistic "withering away of the state"	Popular, yet implausible, already refuted
"The Clash of Civilizations"	Conflict West v. Islam, and West v. China (enthusiastically taken up in "fundamentalist" Islam, mutual image of the enemy)	Operative, thus apparently plausible and reputedly confirmed
"Monopolar World"	USA as enduring world hegemon	Realized and failed in the short term
"Imperial Overextension"	Predictable end of US hegemony	Already largely confirmed
"New Power Balance"	Multipolar global system of non-European world powers (China, India, Brazil, etc.), recreation of a traditional pattern of tensions between attempts at hegemony and balancing coalitions	Rather plausible, rudimentarily confirmed
"Europe's Hour"	Renaissance of European prestige and opportunity to effect change (not only as a beneficiary, partner or rival of the USA, but as a teammate on a global level), EU-Attractiveness, Expansion and Consolidation	Normatively desired, only partially empirically confirmed
"The Renaissance of the 'Third Ways'"	New regulation instead of deregulation, return of the social welfare state.	Highly controversial
"Necessary Deferral of Priorities"	"Spacehip Earth" instead of "Resource Wars"	Highly plausible

The two final theories may be most in need of further explanation. Almost no one disputed after 1989 that the "right" side had morally earned its defeat. People could only not agree on whether the victorious side was indeed the morally "right" side or whether it had "earned" its victory. A minority contended that this was by no means the case. One could in fact read much of the subsequent development as "class struggle from above" instead of "irrevocable globalization"; in this case the

continually growing gap between the rich and poor (intra-nationally as well as inter-nationally) would simply be a result of the fact that the economically powerful must no longer – for legitimacy purposes – be considerate of the fact that capitalism could have once again boldly show its true colors (the opposite of an “End of History” is clear). How should things go further? Is the idea of a “Third Way” - even a “Renaissance of Socialism” really dead? “New regulation instead of deregulation” and a “modest recurrence instead of radical decomposition of the social welfare state” may soon appear clearly – and controversially – on the order of business.

The earthquake of “1989” temporarily, though seriously, displaced governments' and citizens top priorities for public action. Thus, for example, the problem of the environment lost much of the political importance that had been previously ascribed to it. It took until 2007 to once again reach the level of consciousness reached in 1985 or 1987 about the pressing risks of climate change and energy shortage, only to be immediately crushed once again by the world economic crisis. More polemically stated, we slept though almost twenty years which could have been used for the ecological redirection on which our survival depends. The fact remains, however, that we possess no alternative to our rather small “Spaceship Earth” for the eight – or soon to be ten – billion people populating the planet. To wage further “resource wars” and continue conventional colonial and hegemonic politics would be self-destructive, since they will more or less cause our common boat to capsize. Our priorities must therefore change fiercely and rapidly again.

These are not predominantly nationally specific interpretations which result from different “cultures of history”, but rather different logically structured “Grand Theses” with different orienting powers and political operating procedures. Difference, contrasts and controversies must be dealt with here on a second level. It is not obvious that a “European” handling of “1989” could overcome these difficulties.

### **Errors and the processing of “burdensome” history**

The fact that there are no shared memories in Europe, but rather – if at all – at best separated memories, should be sufficiently clear. That the political beneficence and medial implementation of a “shared interpretation” is neither easily possible nor even desirable must be more clearly elucidated. Instead, it naturally depends on mutually and patiently listening to each other, practicing understanding the foreign and finally, achieving not just a minimum level of tolerance, but acceptance; “mutual recognition” is more than just “begrudged tolerance”.

Why is this trivial requirement so important and simultaneously so difficult? Even when many do not see it (or want to see it) this way, there were – even in time for the rapidly changing review of 2007/09 – with the complex and contradictory processes 1989/91 not only “winners”, but also “losers”, not only

“beneficiaries”, but also those who were “held back”. One would think that this would not be true for the whole of Central Eastern Europe, but only for individual countries such as Belarus, Moldova, Armenia or Uzbekistan. It surely not to be taken seriously enough, for example, that according to a survey at the end of 2008, Joseph Stalin was once again regarded as the most important and most popular politician in Russia, or that in Austria more than 30% of voters cast their ballots for the “right-wing” (or “neo-fascist”) party. Those are only two – if striking – examples among dozens relating to the recent handling of totalitarianism.

The symbolic year 1989/91 is, whether we like it or not, not only a triumphant success story, but also – if more secondarily – a story of burdensome catastrophe. One must only travel once to Bosnia, or ex-Serbian Kosovo, or even to Moldavian Transnistria or Armenian settled and occupied Nagorno-Karabakh (with their respective histories of refugee movement and displacement). A pan-European pride in freedom and a celebration of victory is out of the question there; it is rather a matter of skeptics and those harboring resentment expressing themselves less loudly than the naïve victors and those who see the situation differently.

Real winners are not always perceived as such, and perceived losers are not always the real losers. Considering that even clever historians (and human rights activists) are not “God Almighty”, it is often difficult to settle on an objective assessment of actual improvements and deteriorations in society. Subjective assessments of others (“perceived” improvements and deteriorations) may be incomprehensible for us – as well as annoyingly forgetful and one sided – yet they are themselves actual mental, social and political realities. We can see this in election results and poor voter participation, for example.

In light of the extraordinary liberating experience of 1989, it may sound provocative when I say that 1989 has, for other people, also – in actuality or as perceived – put a burden on living standards, self-esteem, social prestige and biographies (of “the losers”). In third locations, the experienced relevancy of “1989” has never really arrived. We have to become better at “changes of perspective” and the “understanding the foreign” in the field of history, even when it alienates or aggravates us. I would therefore like to present, in closing, my own rough model of how we can mentally and communicatively deal with “burdensome” or “conflictual” histories (see Borries 2008, 121-137). We must however first consider the common errors which do not lead to “commonality”, but rather to the perpetuation of burdens.

**Types of errors in dealing with “burdensome history” and the failure of “historical reconciliation”**

Integration of Histories	Attempt at common memories;	Preservation of separate memories;
--------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------------------

Direction and Perspective	secured peace without historical reconciliation	↔	threat of wars due to lack of historical reconciliation
Main view through the authorities ("top down" politics of history)	Victors' history and condemnation/forgetting of the losers ("cynicism of power")	↔	Hostile histories in a system of revenge and quid pro quo ("ancestral enmity")
↓	↓	X	↓
Main view through the population ("bottom up" politics of history)	Forgotten hostile histories; disappearance because of irrelevancy ("the priority of survival")	↔	Underground history of the losers and hope for reversal ("the heroism of remembrance")

Examples for the strategies above are so easy to find that a more detailed explanation will be omitted here. More important is that none of these strategies contribute to actual reconciliation, since each ultimately persists in maintaining the "own" perspective and promoting mere self-recognition. The four common errors here can be categorized into two sets of opposites: with the very unequal strengths of some former or current opponents, there are chances for the "obliteration of history" or "ghetto history", while with comparable strengths there is the possibility for "becoming indifferent" or the "fostering of ancestral enmity" – which could possibly end with the common downfall of both sides. Given these common failures, what does a successful handling of history look like?

When two cultures, societies or populations of victors and vanquished or descendant generations of victims and perpetrators grow together over time, their view of the mutual victories and defeats (including their own grief or sense of wrong-doing and that of the other) must be drudgingly tucked within each other, or rather harmonized with each other – as with their languages ("English" grew out of "Norman" and "Anglo-Saxon" and "the cultural identity of Mexicans contains both the history and accent of the Spanish."). That is certainly also true of – previously antagonistic – European neighbors who have entered into a major union (e.g. the E.U., Euro, Schengen Agreement).

Reciprocity and multi-perspectivity are also important to acknowledge that, for instance, "the other side also has a – relative – right" and "the own side also carries a – partial – responsibility". This presupposes the admission that, "it is not possible to go head-first through the wall". So arise evasion and resignation, but also chances for new solutions. One could name this model "Critic as Denial", but also "Allowing for New Beginning." "Past grief only has a purpose when it is succeeded by wisdom. Let us turn to each other – and go further together!"

Phrased somewhat solemnly, this is also a model for “reconciliation over the graves”, “mourning in order to overcome and grow” or the “search for alternatives”. In successful cases, the individual handling of losses (e.g. deaths) and failures (e.g. divorces) proceeds in exactly the same way. Not only “mourning” should be allowed, but also – after a period of conflict – that a new perspective on another and further life can be found. Such a handling would include a rather fixed cycle of “intolerable, but also undecidable conflicts” over a “begrudged and distanced tolerance” for “limited mutual acceptance.” This means more communication with the other side, but also more readiness to admit one's own mistakes (without a guilt-complex or self-resignation) in order that we can also along better with ourselves and others.

In fact, this model advances a moral decision to reject hate and accept cooperation, but it also contains a proper portion of “pragmatism” and “self interest” (“I suspect that I have more important things to do than to engage in these scuffles and sacrifice myself to them.”). There may not yet be many really good examples of this, but the fact that one can neither unequivocally persuade and assimilate nor kill or displace “the others” in a conflict has not been true for that long. It is essential that the process of working through the past includes a learning process, genesis, “liberation” and overcoming, especially when it comes to the tolerance of ambiguity and ambivalence.

### **Mental Strategies for Historical Reconciliation**

	Understanding Histories	Changing Behavior	Handling “the Others”
First Steps (Self-distance)	Avoidance of simplistic “traditional” and “exemplary” figures for the construction of meaning	Abolishment of historical falsifications and tendentious myths of superiority and inferiority	Maintain distance from the (own or foreign) past or forgetting of the past
Middle Steps (Movement)	Change and contrast of perspectives on history and the criteria for selection	Turning to each other and going forward together (in life and historiography)	Search for conditions and chances for a shared future (despite hostile past)
Further Steps (Reciprocity)	Systematic comparison and exchange of historical narratives and orientations	Construction of new, more plausible histories, at least compatible or held partially in common	Development of tolerance, even mutual sympathy and acceptance of “the others” (including their history)

Once again: this model was developed for cases of conflict with clearer victor-vanquished asymmetries and perpetrator-victim relationships. The case of "1989" or "1989/91" appears to me to be pertinent, however. The current motto in Europe of "Turning to each other and going forward together!" is therefore fitting. That means not a unitary history, but instead arduous work toward inquisitive exchange and partial acceptance.

### **Cited Literature**

Assmann, Jan: Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen; München (Beck) 2. ed. 1997.

Angvik, Magne, and Borries, Bodo v. (Eds.): YOUTH and HISTORY. A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes among Adolescents. Volume A: Description, Volume B: Documentation (containing the Database on CD-ROM); Hamburg (edition Körber-Stiftung) 1997.

Borries, Bodo v. (in cooperation with Körber, Andreas, Baeck, Oliver and Kindervater, Angela): Jugend und Geschichte. Ein europäischer Kulturvergleich aus deutscher Sicht; Opladen (Leske & Budrich) 1999 (= Schule und Gesellschaft 21).

Borries, Bodo v.: Historisch Denken Lernen - Welterschließung statt Epochenüberblick. Geschichte als Unterrichtsfach und Bildungsaufgabe; Opladen und Farmington Hills (Barbara Budrich) 2008 (= Studien zur Bildungsgangforschung 21).

Carcenac-Lecomte, Constanze et al.: Steinbruch Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Annäherung an eine deutsche Gedächtnisgeschichte; Frankfurt/M et al. (Peter Lang) 2000.

Flacke, Monika (Ed.): Mythen der Nationen. Ein europäisches Panorama; München/Berlin (Koehler & Amelang) 1998. (Exhibit Catalogue from German Historical Museum, Berlin).

François, Etienne and Schulze, Hagen (Ed.): Deutsche Erinnerungsorte, 3 Bde.; München (Beck) 2001.

Nora, Pierre: Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis; Berlin (Klaus Wagenbach) 1990.

Schiele, Siegfried and Schneider, Herbert (Ed.): Das Konsensproblem in der politischen Bildung;  
Stuttgart (Klett) 1977.

## Teaching the history of Romanian communism in high schools: problems and suggestions

*Andrei Muraru (Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania)*

The communist period, as well as the tumult that followed it, are, even now after 16 years since the collapse of the communist regime, still not very known and understood. A survey developed in 2007 by the Public Opinion barometer of the Open society Foundation showed that Romanians consider communism as a “good idea”. The report concludes that: “the ones that consider themselves as part of the low class and that self-define themselves as losers of post-communist transition had nothing to win not even freedom but lost the safety of tomorrow. For them communism remained a good idea.”

Young people aged between 15 and 24 have very little knowledge about the communist period. The specialists in education stated that the teenagers’ ignorance is due to school curricula and to the deficiency of professional information. The lack of interest that teachers show towards this period and the indifference of the teenagers with regard to this subject show, without a shadow of doubt, the necessity of studying the communist regime, its consequences and its consequent events in high schools. Most of the high school students cannot state a clear and coherent vision about the criminal acts of the communist regime, regardless of whether it concerns the annihilation of the democratic state, the organized genocide, the forced sovietisation, political extermination of elites or repression in culture. Concerning the 1989 revolution and the events that followed it, the teens only have vague ideas about the course of the events, this minimum knowledge being due to family education and not to the education system. Most of the time, the information reduces to contemporary phenomena, events that cannot be chronologically categorized or vague perceptions about certain characters.

The conception of a textbook about the history of communism met the stringent necessity of debate, analysis and knowledge of the political, cultural and social aspects of the communist totalitarian regime. After 16 years since the collapse of dictatorial regime, the ideology, the institutions and the practice of communism are not sufficiently studied in Romania. Moreover, the effects of communism on transition, the continuity of structures, mentalities and communist methods are not known, nor researched or interpreted. In Romania, there aren’t specialized libraries on matters related to communism and post communism; there isn’t a national academic curriculum or a national educational programmes dedicated to this topic.

We should all agree that teaching Communism history is a very demanding and difficult task, a sensitive matter which makes the relationship student-teacher a little more delicate. From the point of

view of acquiring knowledge, the history of Communism – as a topic of study for students – is feeding not only through the textbook or the teachers' approach but also from the family, society, community, and media. Therefore, the analysis of events is influenced by myths, stereotypes and legends that are known inside the community and various circles. The difficulty in approaching recent events also comes from the methods used by teachers in order to make a clearer and easier understanding of the current events: the appeal to present. The multiple interpretations given to current events – amplified by characters or social and political groups (living actors) – sometimes transform the historical controversies in sensitive matters which imply experiences. At a first glance, the questions that the teacher teaching the history of communism asks seem dull, without hidden meanings and answers (e.g. What happened in Romania in 1989? Was there a revolution? Who are the authors of the crimes done by former political police? Were the condemnations of the ones who illegally tried to leave the country just?).

Still, the post totalitarian society is strongly influenced by the "Old regime". Students use the experience they learn about in class to explain themselves the phenomena characteristic to the world they live in, concepts of collective memory, the change of the present view of some past events. Therefore, matters which seem simple gather complex meanings.

High school students are the closest to the employee status than any undergraduate level pupil. Therefore, they always check their hypothesis and reflections in the debates done during history classes and other classes. Their interest for the past, for the history of their society, of their community, manifested in our case, during classes concerning the history of communism, also means the attempt to answer some important questions like: which were the consequences of not respecting human rights or how does the citizen responsibility function in a totalitarian state? Thus, the history teacher makes the students to take a certain attitude with respect to the studied topics.

Maybe to a greater extend than in other studied fields, the students' sensitivity is an important factor during the class of history of communism; still, the teacher must avoid sources of information which could produce powerful emotional reactions (execution films, torture methods and treatment applied to convicts, shocking images). At the same time, the history teacher has the duty to use historical analysis, to place the events in international context (especially European), to use various types of historical sources, to assure a comfortable space for debates, to adopt the role play method. The history teacher has a very difficult task: to help students understand and sustain the different opinions of various actors to the events mirroring the historians' interpretations. The simplification in interpreting events must be avoided. At the same time, the history teacher should make clear an important statement for recent history: students must be informed that historians and their interpretations are influenced by political decisions and by the social context.

Together with interpretation, the analysis of historical sources is a key element in teaching the history of Communism. These should be thoroughly analysed but carefully chosen as they could be difficult to understand by students. The chosen sources should have some compulsory characteristics: to be comparable with other sources; to highlight the knowledge and also the expectations of students; to raise questions and discussions; to have medium difficulty. Here are some important questions to be asked concerning different sources of information (objects, journals/letters, official documents, newspapers/magazines, photos) from or about communism: which was their goal? How were they preserved – was there a direct interest? Were they public or secret in the era?

Teaching the history of Communism in high school implies specific methods both for students and for teachers. The teacher needs to have very good communication abilities and to avoid emotional involvement in sustaining certain topics. Furthermore, he has to help students as much as possible in understanding the institutional framework in which democracy functions (through making a parallel with elements of totalitarian regimes), in conscious involvement in social life, in choosing democratic options. The teacher's role is to teach students useful procedures for day-to-day life: critical and evidence based approach, coherent justification, problem solving, decision making mechanism, evaluating situations from the point of view of the acquired principles.

There are also situations when teachers do not succeed in adapting their speech and the construction of a lesson from various reasons– sometimes out of unawareness other times due to lack of professionalism. Here are some examples: the teacher doesn't confront different points of view; or the teacher too often and without bringing arguments states his point of view; doesn't encourage group work; has a positive/negative attitude towards a figure from the communist regime; doesn't analyse the accuracy and truthfulness of a historic source. But, most of the times, the most frequent mistakes are simplifying the interpretation of events (due to lack of time) and especially the attempt to obtain from students more than they can possibly assimilate.

Many students and also teachers consider the handbook *History of communism in Romania* as a "collection of truth", an instrument for historic knowledge, an idea messenger for the young generation. A history handbook is, in very simple terms, a story; a story that needs to be accessible to students. It reflects, no matter how liberal in the teaching conception and adopted methodology we are, a certain political and cultural orientation of authors. The interpretation of an event, the selection of sources, the formulation of learning activities, all are the result of a choice. If our choice was adequate, time will tell.

## Sources

Mihai Manea, Eugen Palade, Nicoleta Sasu, *Predarea istoriei și educația pentru cetățenie democratică: demersuri didactice inovative [Teaching History and the Education for Democratic Citizenship: Innovative Teaching Methods]*, București, Educația 2000+, 2006;

Vittorio Vidotto, *Ghid pentru studiul istoriei contemporane [Guide book for Studying Contemporary History]*, traducere de Radu Gâdei, București, Bic ALL, 2007

Valentin Băluțoiu, Lucia Copoeru, Aurel Constantin Soare, Ecaterina Stănescu, Constantin Vitanos, *Istoria secolului al XX-lea și educația pentru cetățenie democratică [The History of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the Education for Democratic Citizenship]*, București, Educația 2000+, 2006

Gabriel Bădescu, Mircea Comșa, Dumitru Sandu, Manuela Stănculescu, *Barometrul de opinie publică. Octombrie 2007 [The Public Opinion Barometer. October 2007]*, Fundația Soros România, 2007

## Questions from the audience and answers

1) Financing of the textbook “The History of communism in Romania”?

The Institute is a government agency, but the textbook project received additional financing from the Dutch, American and German embassies. The researchers also worked in cooperation with other organizations specializing in education.

2) Goal of the Textbook?

The goal of the textbook was to get students thinking critically about the history of communism in Romania. The book should show that there was a repressive regime, and emphasize the values of freedom and democracy.

3) Is the book compulsory for students?

Lessons on the history of communism are already compulsory in schools, though not entire courses. The government supports the textbook, but teachers and school can choose whether to use it or not.

4) Next steps? Replication?

The Bulgarians have expressed an interest in the project, and Hungarians and Poles have complimented the work, but felt that it was too early to introduce in their countries.

5) Why not parallel a history of communism with a history of capitalism?

A textbook on communism is more appropriate for Romania, since it reflects the nation's particular history.

6) Experiences from teacher trainings?

Trainers have noticed interesting differences between respective regions of Romania, namely that teachers in some regions are more open to the idea of communism as progress, while others focus on the system of repression.

7) How has the book been received in schools?

So far the textbook has only been used with small groups. There have not been many complaints yet.

8) Dealing with emotions evoked?

Personal emotions and memories are more of an issue with older teachers, but teachers should use the textbook as a teaching tool rather than base lessons solely on their own experiences. Trainers also suggest the use of role playing and debate in the classroom to illuminate the perspectives of others.

## **Interconnecting history Education and Democratic Citizenship Education / Human Rights Education: Good Practices from the United Kingdom / Scotland**

*Tanveer Parneez (Black and Ethnic Minorities Infrastructure in Scotland)*

### **Britain and its Migrant History**

Britain has always been a multicultural society reaching back to Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Viking and Norman settlement. From the 18<sup>th</sup> century on slaves from the Caribbean were forcefully brought to the country; in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Eastern European Jews arrived party fleeing from anti-Jewish pogroms in their home country, followed by German Jews in the 1930's. In the post-second world war decades migrants from the former colonial British Empire and the Commonwealth arrived, followed more recently by refugees, asylum seekers and migrant workers from the Central European countries joining the European Union in 2004. According to the most recent 2001 census the net migration was at 140,000 each year. (Home office statistics 1999-2001).

So what good practice measures did Britain put in place to connect history education with citizenship education in a migration society, and to ensure everyone is treated fairly regardless of race, disability, gender, sexual orientation, religion and belief and age?

### **Good Practices**

The British government has put a number of laws in place to ensure equality and human rights, i.e. the Race Relations Acts from 1976 2000. Local governments have supported the migrant communities by producing welcome packs of information on housing, education, language and employment. There are local community drop-in centres set up for migrants, asylum seekers and refugees where they can come together, access information from different agencies and get support with English language and citizenship classes. The drop-in centres are run by churches, local government agencies, NGOs and other organisations and volunteers in the area, supporting the integration and community cohesion and making people feel welcome.

There are various migrant and refugee fora, a user-led infrastructure which helps to build capacity and tackles social exclusion of migrants and refugee communities. In addition there are supports networks who campaign for migrant rights and organisations and infrastructure bodies who help support and

provide information for their legal status and pave way through various training programmes in to employment. For instance the Fresh Talent Scheme provides and enhances employment skills. In each region where there is a significant influx of migrants, the local communities and organisations have helped to set up many community support groups and networks across the country to ensure their voices are heard and help is at hand. In order to integrate communities, organisations, police, local authorities, housing and other NGOs set up local community cohesion events, where migrants can learn from each other's cultures and learn from the services and organisations that showcase information.

Exhibitions and the History Month are celebrated around the country recognising the contribution of the existing migrant communities made to the British economy from the first generation of migrants to the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of migrants and the new migrant communities. The Media Award is a good example of an award ceremony tool to highlight and promote positive contribution and fair reporting of asylum and migrant communities in Scotland. The celebration doesn't just stop here but with a comedy night where comedians could stand up for refugees rights "It's no Laughing Matter, but it certainly is funny"; and clients tell live stories, in addition, the night is used to fundraise for the work of the charity.

## **The Slovenian case: 1989 and its role for EDC/HRE in adult education**

*Alenka Elena Begant, EIP Slovenia*

### **BACKGROUND SITUATION IN SLOVENIA IN 1989**

When speaking about historical situation in Slovenia in 1989, at that time a federal republic of the former Yugoslavia, we have to start with the fact, that Yugoslavia was never really part of the »Eastern block« and as such never under direct Soviet influence. Although communistic and socialistic, it was independent from Soviet rule since 1948 when Josip Broz Tito restrained from official Soviet policy. As unallied country between East and West Yugoslavia played quite a significant role in global policy in the period of 1948-1978 e.g. through leading position in "Unallied Movement", as a model of brotherhood and unity of different nations and, not to forget, as a quiet partner in global deals with weapons, nuclear technology and information among countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Its last mentioned role will probably be highlighted more by the next generations of historians because the majority of involved key players are still alive or even at power.

The situation in Slovenia was thus different as in other Eastern European countries: people in Slovenia had freedom of travel and study, a high economic standard, well organised welfare with free education, medical and social care, granted jobs, an interesting model of workers self-management in companies and already free private initiatives. Slovenia was the most developed republic in Yugoslavia with the highest GDP (GDP Per Capita in US Dollars for Slovenia in year 2008 is US\$ 28,893. This makes Slovenia No. 30 in world rankings according to GDP Per Capita in year 2008. In 1992, after becoming independent, it was ranked 40.)<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand in 1980's in Slovenia we had faced some severe problems, connected with the crisis of one-party communistic system and loose of global status and "deals" after Tito's death: the bad economical situation in Yugoslavia as a whole which was caused by unsustainable economic policy (central state planning, growing state debt after president Tito's death, channelling 90% of profits and taxes to so called "underdeveloped" regions of Yugoslavia – which were actually all except Croatia and Slovenia, and series of unpopular economic recovery tools as electricity and petrol reductions, deposits for crossing the border etc.).

---

<sup>3</sup> Economy Watch [http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/Slovenia/GDP\\_Per\\_Capita\\_PPP\\_US\\_Dollars/year-2008/](http://www.economywatch.com/economic-statistics/Slovenia/GDP_Per_Capita_PPP_US_Dollars/year-2008/)

The International Social Survey Programme for Slovenia “On Citizenship Opinions on the Role of Government” in 1989<sup>4</sup> showed that people were ready for radical changes in economy and political system, heavily irritated by growing inflation and high income taxes and on the other side for maintaining the social welfare. People strongly felt that they should have more control over the politics, should be given more freedom regarding the freedom of speech and organisation, more space for private initiatives. 48% believed we should not obey existing Yugoslav laws and further 36% that we should not obey some of them, but follow ones conscience and create new laws instead. The majority of residents of Slovenia in 1989 also supported changes of constitution and at that time believed that some loose form of confederacy with the rest of Yugoslavia might be possible, if not total independency.

It is no wonder that in such situation changes were inevitable. Already in 1987 and 1988 the first open calls for state independency were articulated, especially through Slovenian Youth magazine “Mladina”, whose young reporters (today influential politicians and businesspeople) were even imprisoned and brought before military court in Ljubljana while becoming national heroes. The “Slovenian Democratic Alliance (of reason)” was established in 1989 by intellectuals gathered at “Nova revija” and Slovenian Writers’ Society. Its goal was transformation into an independent political party and soon this was done. They were followed by other new parties. Together under the name DEMOS they won the first democratic elections in Slovenia in 1990. This was followed by national referendum and ratification of the new Slovenian constitution in Parliament and finally, after a year of unsuccessful political negotiation with other Yugoslav leaders, with Slovenian independency in 1991.

The European happenings in 1989, especially the spectacular fall of the Berlin Wall, had without doubt a great influence on changes of the general opinion in Slovenia at that time, and also on the independence-gaining processes.

## **STATUS OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA**

Before 1990s there was no education for democracy or human rights present in any form or level of education in Slovenia. There were obligatory school subjects as “Basis of Marxism and Self-government” or “National Defence” present from primary to university level and the basis of them all was celebration of Marxist ideology and obedience to Yugoslav Communist Party.

### **Primary and Secondary Education**

---

<sup>4</sup> ISSP Slovenia, 1989: Role of Government I (ADP IDNo:ISSSPSJ89) <http://www.adp.fdv.uni-lj.si/opisi/issp96/>

After gaining independent a school reform in Slovenia was introduced and with it massive curricular changes. But of course – fast and without needed teachers’ pre or in-service education. The first results were poor. In that time civic society started to organise itself strongly and among the first in the field of EDC/HRE in Slovenia were Amnesty International Slovenia and EIP – School for Peace. Soon they got in contact with UNESCO ASP Net Schools and the first local and national HRE programmes were started. After the year 2000 more support and efforts were given from the state itself, also because Slovenia at that time wanted to join EU. Today there is a special compulsory subject called “Ethics and citizenship education” in 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> grade of compulsory education, but when I browsed its curricula the European events in 1980’s are not mentioned. The same goes for the history lessons in compulsory education: after the Second World War topic the period of living in Yugoslavia is briefly mentioned and followed by a larger chapter on Slovenian independency and Slovenia in EU. The fall of Berlin Wall and related European events are mentioned in one sentence<sup>5</sup>.

### **Post Secondary education – vocational and gymnasiums**

The neo-liberal capitalistic tensions in the last ten years influenced heavily the development of vocational curriculums: subjects as History, Geography or Sociology were largely crossed out or, in exceptions, merged into some forms of “Civic Lessons”. EDC or HRE is not present in any official form, except through extracurricular activities such as European programmes or exchanges or in the work of school student’s parliaments. The result is generations of young people, who have no idea about the history of the world they are living in, are active consumers but passive citizens.

In gymnasiums (students aged 15-19) subjects as History or Sociology still exist. I went through the curricula<sup>6</sup> and found out that they mentioned the 1980s events in Europe including the fall of Berlin Wall with its consequences on forming the new Europe.

### **Adult education**

In official adult education the curricula for “History” and “Ethics and citizenship education”<sup>7</sup> include special recommendation that regarding the age, social, moral or other level of adult participants the

---

<sup>5</sup> Source: <http://www.zrss.si/default.asp?link=predmet&tip=6&pID=34&rID=411>

<sup>6</sup> National Curricula for History in Gymnasiums. UČNI načrt. Zgodovina [Elektronski vir] : gimnazija : splošna gimnazija : obvezni predmet (280 ur) / predmetna komisija Vojko Kunaver ... [et al.]. - Ljubljana : Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport : Zavod RS za šolstvo, 2008  
[http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/media/pdf/un\\_gimnazija/un\\_zgodovina\\_280\\_ur\\_gimn.pdf](http://portal.mss.edus.si/msswww/programi2008/programi/media/pdf/un_gimnazija/un_zgodovina_280_ur_gimn.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Source: [www.zrss.si/doc/OSO\\_drzavljska\\_vzgoja\\_in\\_etika.doc](http://www.zrss.si/doc/OSO_drzavljska_vzgoja_in_etika.doc)

learning of active democracy and democratic procedures should derive from real examples, authentic sources and based on respect to human rights values. Again, the historical focus is on topics such as gaining Slovenian independence, Slovenia as part of EU or being a Slovenian citizen. 1980's events are not mentioned in the curricula.

Other adult education programmes, connected with EDC/HRE and financed by Ministry of Education, are mostly oriented into work with migrants, asylum seekers and/or new residents of Slovenia. Aimed to foster assimilation they concentrate on learning about Slovenia, its constitution, legal instruments and moral and social codes of Slovenians.

### **GENERAL PRESENCE OF HISTORICAL MEMORY ON 1989 EVENTS IN SLOVENIA**

The older generations of Slovenians, who witnessed the events in 1989, still remember well the excitement, thrill and joy connected to events in Europe at that time. For them phrases "Berlin Wall" or "iron curtain" have a specific meaning, connected with memory on hardships and mistakes of the totalitarian communist regimes in Europe in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In my opinion, for the younger generations of Slovenians, born in 80s or later, these words unfortunately have no real meaning or no meaning at all. Born at the end of this era and educated in the consumers' environment of plenty, they were and are not taught (much) in schools about it and mostly associate the Fall of Berlin Wall with some popular culture events (concerts).

As a teacher and HRE activist I am afraid the official educational system in Slovenia is making a huge mistake by not introducing these topics into curricula (the same goes also for other important topics like for example holocaust education) and concentrating mostly on Slovenian process of gaining independence and EU integration.

### **THE ROLE OF 1989 EVENTS IN EDC/HRE FOR ADULTS IN SLOVENIA**

As last I will present work on the field I am most active in – non-formal education for democratic citizenship and human rights for young adults, youth workers and teachers.

As in Slovenia are no official educational programmes regarding mentioned target groups that would concentrate on teaching about, for and through human rights while using HRE methodologies (e.g. participative learning, learning by doing, activism, volunteer work, civil society activism) EIP has

developed a national long term educational programme in expert cooperation with Council of Europe / Directorate of Youth and Sport.

As our main tool we use the Council of Europe's manual COMPASS<sup>8</sup> and since 2004 we have not only translated and published it in Slovenian, but also educated over 40 licensed national trainers who are performing EDC/HRE workshops for young people at schools and in non-formal settings. The programme is co-financed by Council of Europe and Slovenian Ministry of Education.

EDC/HRE topics are very broad and complex – as human life itself. Compass programme so offers workshops on active citizenship, democracy, discrimination and xenophobia, right to quality education, right to living in healthy environment, children's rights, gender equality, globalisation, rights to health and human security, media, poverty, sport and social rights. As debriefing discussion and input on additional information on a subject are integral parts of every of our workshops, our trainers have often an opportunity to discuss historical events, especially recent and those from 20<sup>th</sup> century as causes and/or triggers of related contemporary events or situations. The trainers I have talked with reported the issue of Berlin Wall and European events in the 1980s and 90s to come out quite frequently as young people have no idea about them and usually show interest to learn more.

As there is no pre-service teachers' education on EDC/HRE we are also active in this field. As one of the private in-service education organisations we cooperate with Slovenian Department of Education in expert education of EDC teachers. The situation regarding the fall of communistic regimes in Europe and establishment of new democracies is also reported to be often tackled by participants, with the difference that teachers usually have knowledge and/or personal experience and formed views on the topic. In this case it is interesting to observe, how in the actual global economic crises (in Slovenia accompanied with severe cut-backs in social welfare) the older adults/teachers tend to glorify "old communistic/Yugoslav days of stability and security" completely forgetting about economical and political hardships mentioned in the introductory part of this article.

Part of EIP's mandate is also capacity building in other non-governmental organisations and the result is an increasing number of NGO youth- and adult programmes that include EDC/HRE as one of its components or even a main theme. Of course, this is also due to human rights priorities declared by UN, EU and Council of Europe over and over again in the last ten years and which are also financially supported.

Apart from EIP Slovenia and before mentioned Amnesty International, there are numerous other established NGOs and INGOs in Slovenia that are very active and successful in EDC/HRE with young

---

<sup>8</sup> Official COMPASS website <http://www.eyeb.coe.int/compass/>

adults, especially with vulnerable groups of society. Nevertheless, in such a short time it was not possible for me to find out how much the content of 1989's European events is present in their work. Maybe the fact that internet surfing on key words of our topic did not reveal any results on activities or programmes in Slovenia speaks by itself.

## **CONCLUSION**

I would like to conclude that the fall of Berlin Wall and related European events in 1980s and 1990s had a huge impact on Slovenia. Unfortunately, now 20 years later, I have to admit that they are not as much present in general historical memory or in formal educational system as they should be. The tendency of forgetting them or reducing them to empty word phrases is especially present with younger generations, born in that time or later.

If there had not been consistent efforts of NGOs in the field of non-formal education for democratic citizenship and human rights for young adults, youth workers and teachers over the last ten years the results in Slovenia might even been worse.

My recommendation for this forum would be to appeal to educational ministries and governments to do more so that this important part of human history would not be forgotten.

### *Note on the author:*

*Alenka Elena Begant is a full time teacher, HRE trainer and activist, translator and author of numerous expert papers and manuals on HRE, project director and since 2000 president of NGO EIP Slovenia – School for Peace.*

## Remembering for the future: Gender as a topic of history and remembrance

*Danijela Cenan, Dana Jirous, Inga Luther, Anna Trautwein*

*(OWEN e.V. Mobile Academy for Gender Democracy and Peace Development)*

Our biographies are shaped by history – every person is in her/his diversity a historical person. This becomes visible through biographical work and was the basic assumption of our workshop.

### **Objectives**

Working with a biographical and experiential approach in a group visualizes the diversity and multiple perspectives on the past. This was the first objective of the workshop. The second was to widen the perspective on own remembrance for gender dimensions.

By comparing these levels of remembrance questions were raised:

Who tells and defines history? Where do we get our knowledge about history from? Is *history* actually including *herstory*?

### **Methods**

Learning through dialogue and dialogue through mutual learning is our central educational idea. For us dialogue is the opportunity to meet and learn from each other in a constantly changing world. Therefore we connect with methods of the Brazilian “liberator\_y educator” Paulo Freire aiming to encourage emancipation and dialogue. Just like Freire, we assume that every woman and every man is expert of her/his own life. Everybody has the ability to discover, reflect on, create and change the own living context. Education - in our understanding - is the capability for self-dependent and self-conscious action within a community.

#### **1. The story of my name**

The workshop began with a simple round of introductions. Everybody was asked to tell the story of his/her name. Who gave the name to them and why? We learned why some names were popular or unusual to certain times and countries. In that way the diversity of historical-biographical positioning of the participants’ families are already slightly revealed.

#### **2. Timeline**

For the introduction to the topic of history and remembrance we used different timelines showing different sources of remembrance.

#### *First step*

Together we found out the birth year of the oldest person personally known by someone in the group. This date of birth was written down on a prepared wall paper with two timelines and marked the starting point of our historical knowledge of “told” history.

#### *Second step*

The participants noted on the upper timeline historical events coming to their mind spontaneously. On the lower timeline participants were asked to write down one story from the past (in keywords) that has been told by someone in their family.

#### *Reflection*

Looking at the developing collection of past events, we asked ourselves:

- \* Where did I get the knowledge about these historical events from?
- \* What differences or similarities do we notice between the historical events and the ones that were told in my family?

The collection visualizes different levels of remembrance, for which we offered two describing terms:

1. *Collective memories* (upper timeline): A group of people (can be family, society as well as a working group) share a common knowledge about the past
2. *Communicative memories* (lower timeline): Generations living together (more or less) share a certain pool of individual memories, which are told to each other and both the story as well as the telling have a specific emotional meaning to us.

### **3. Told Stories**

Subsequent to the timeline activity the participants split in small groups of three. Each person now had the chance to share one story about the past, which was told to her/him in the family.

#### *Phase 1*

Sharing: Who told you the story and what is it about?

#### *Phase 2*

We tried to analyse the shared stories by three questions aiming at visualizing gender-dimensions in the told stories: What roles, social conditions, obligations, self-definitions, ideas of masculinity and femininity become visible through the story and the way it was told to you?

#### *Plenary reflection*

Back together participants reflected on the work in their small groups:

How did they feel telling the stories? Could they remember easily or was it hard to recall a story?

Then we focused on the gender aspects that became visible in the shared stories - in the past as well as in the reconstruction of remembrance.

In order to systematize the discovered gender aspects we used Reimann's Gender-Triangle - an analytic instrument for gender dimensions.

#### *Follow up*

The next step that we could not realize during the workshop - due to time constraints - would be to ask:

Which role do I take in the construction of history and remembrance? How this role was influenced by stories told in my family?

### **Evaluation of the workshop**

#### **Benefits**

By engaging in dialogue on own experiences, these experiences can be reflected and become a source of knowledge. Reflection on experiences of someone else can allow us to see things differently and develop a sense of our own and other perceptions of history. The more people learn from each other's settings the more empathy is possible. And this is a crucial step in civil conflict management.

What does that mean in regard of the methodology – in other words which obstacles might appear?

#### **Obstacles**

To enable a dialogue-cognisant perception of each other requires the ability and willingness to listen. Am I able to respond to the participants or trainers? This might be a question of acceptance and power relations within the group which can be based on articulation and language skills, age or career of the group members.

Furthermore a lack of confidence can constrain the process. Telling something meaningful, that often has to do with personal experiences and emotions, can be difficult or might be a risk to be confronted with unexpected outcomes. Developing a confidential atmosphere often takes time.

Additionally, the experiential approach might be considered as unfamiliar or non-professional for it doesn't offer closed concepts and universally valid answers, rather than enable participants to receive another perspective on their own experience.

### **Conclusion**

Working with a concept of pedagogy as an open process, that has no defined outcome but rather the aim of raising new topics and new questions, is often a risk. The above mentioned obstacles motivated us to create over and over again opportunities and space for a dialogue on the basis of equality, mutual listening and confidence to change perspectives. This is the starting point of our endeavour that we understand as a positioning in society.

## **Training:**

### **“Understanding the mechanisms of 89 – a simulation game on regime change for youth and adult education”**

*Marta Kozłowska, Wilhelmina Welsch*

*(Humanity in Action Deutschland e.V. / Fundacja Humanity in Action Polska)*

#### **Foreword**

This simulation is a collaborative work in progress. It was developed and tested by *Humanity in Action Deutschland e.V.* ([www.humanityinaction.org/germany](http://www.humanityinaction.org/germany)) during a seminar on the 1989 regime changes with 15 international students in spring 2009. The experts' support by Simon Raiser and Björn Warkalla (*Planpolitik*, [www.planpolitik.de](http://www.planpolitik.de)) and the guidance and financial support of the German *Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur* ([www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de](http://www.stiftung-aufarbeitung.de)) helped to create a pilot format of the simulation, allowing dissemination and further use in adult education.

The simulation proved to be an excellent educational tool for understanding the political and social dynamics of the 89 regime changes in Europe:

- Through active role play, participants have to immerse into the positions of all relevant groups.
- In the negotiation phase participants experience liberties as well as boundaries of action.
- A simulation focuses on solutions and compromises – like in real-life politics.
- The inclusion of all important stakeholder groups and a minimum duration of 4 hours allows to raise awareness for complexity and uniqueness of the 89 revolutions

In cooperation with *DARE – Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning* ([www.dare-network.de](http://www.dare-network.de)) and the Polish partner organisation *Fundacja Humanity in Action Polska* the simulation was publicly presented at the *Geschichtsforum09 / History forum09* (May 2009 in Berlin) and tested with an audience of 30 European educators.

The results of this second “test run” are documented here. For a full manual of the simulation, containing all information for game facilitators and a complete set of actors cards, please check [www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu), [www.humanityinaction.org/germany](http://www.humanityinaction.org/germany), or contact Georg Pirker at AdB Germany ([pirker@adb.de](mailto:pirker@adb.de)) or Anne Stalfort at Humanity in Action ([a.stalfort@humanityinaction.org](mailto:a.stalfort@humanityinaction.org)).

## **1. Information for simulation game facilitators (abbreviated version!)**

### **1.1 Some basics about simulations as an educational tool:**

*“In a simulation, participants take the roles of the relevant protagonists, having to make a convincing presentation of their positions and aims. Exploring these mechanisms through active role play leads to a more sustained, in-depth understanding of the subject matter – and it’s a lot of fun!*

*Politics is a matter of negotiation. Who gets what? And how much? The aim is to unite conflicting interests and to reach decisions concerning the distribution of money, power, security, autonomy etc. Usually, negotiations consist of tough and lengthy wrangling about what appear to be small steps of progress and minor compromises. Outside observers often find it difficult to understand why negotiations or attempts to settle conflicts succeed or fail. Which concessions have made an agreement possible or which demands have prevented it? Which strategic considerations are the actors led by? What scope are they given within institutional, domestic and other constraints? Which negotiation strategies are successful?*

*Simulating conflicts and negotiations provides a playful way of learning and understanding the political dynamics behind them. This is the exact goal of simulation games. After a negotiation or conflict situation has been chosen, the participants of the game proceed to assume the roles of the different parties and agents relevant to that situation. They have to represent their “character’s” interests convincingly and aim to make them prevail in negotiations. In order to achieve this, they must determine any existing scope for negotiation, use it to their advantage and recognise situations which call for compromise.*

*A simulation will, of course, never perfectly reflect reality. A simulation game is an abstraction which inevitably involves a certain amount of simplification. Our main focus lies with the aim of exposing the main driving forces and mechanisms of political decision making. Also, in a reflection of reality, crucial steps of negotiation are usually reached in an informal fashion. We therefore allow the necessary time frame for this aspect in our simulation games.”*

(Quote from <http://www.planpolitik.de/en/simulationgames.htm>)

### **1.2 Scenario outline**

- The simulation is set in “Allonia”, a fictitious communist country, member of the likewise fictitious Marxist Union, an international coalition of Communist Nations.
- There is a general climate of discontent and economic depression. Demonstrations because of recent food shortages have started and are quickly getting more powerful.

- If the status quo is maintained, the demonstrations threaten to become so massive that revolution will occur. Therefore the simulation participants ( 7 parties / interest groups / other important stakeholders; all in all 16-30 participants) have to take action.
- The goal of the game is *to* find a solution that is acceptable for all the parties to the negotiations – a common statement accepted unanimously is to be reached.
- The common statement should have three sections (= paragraphs / top issues): changes in the state's political system / economic/labour issues / political/civil freedoms.

### **1.3 The Actors**

Each participant is assigned by chance to a stakeholder group and gets an actor card with detailed information on interests and positions. (Example of an actor card see below.)

- A) Representatives of the Marxist Union/Moderators:
- B) Members of The Party:
  - B1) The Party, Hard-Liners
  - B2) The Party, Soft-Liners
- C) Security Service
- D) Social Movements (Peace and Religiously motivated movements)
- E) Trade Unions
- F) Intellectuals – will be given separate role papers, will hardly constitute a group, will be to 'mess up', 'stir', 'meddle', 'confusing others' etc.
  - F1) Diehard communistic ideologist – Prof. Erich Morar
  - F2) Two catholic intellectuals – well educated, journalists, with some previous work at a university – one is a 'pure' one, one is a secret agent
    - F2a) workers' oriented journalist - Kaylene de Mag
    - F2b) the secret agent priest – Falco Zach

#### **Recommended number of participants:**

The party: hard-liners 3 -5; soft-liners 3–5 / Security service: 2 / Peace & Religion Movements 3- 6 / Trade Unions 3- 6 / Intellectuals 3 / Moderators:2  
 Minimum - 18 people, maximum – 30.

#### **1.4 Simulation structure / schedule for game facilitators**

##### **(4 hour game / 6 hour simulation)**

1. Introduction (20 min / 10 min)
2. Reading phase (20 min / 15min)  
*(Consider sending the background info in advance to all the participants)*
3. Developing opinions / planning strategy (30 min / 30min)  
*(Approach each team/participant and make sure they know what to do, what the game is about and what their concrete task is)*
4. Separate talks in the party and opposition milieux (45 min / 30min)
5. Informal talks (all together 40 min / 30min) \*
6. Formal negotiations – 1<sup>st</sup> round (45 min / 30min)  
*(After a short opening it is recommended that groups divide into subcommissions that will work on several variations of statement's paragraphs)*
7. Informal talks – 2<sup>nd</sup> round (40 min / 20min)
8. Formal negotiations – 2<sup>nd</sup> round (60 min / 30min)
9. Debriefing ( 60 min / 45min)

#### **2. Information for the simulation participants (abbreviated version)**

##### **2.1 Scenario:**

Revolution! The word appears to be upon everyone's lips. For the first time in decades, the citizens of Allonia have taken to the streets. On the streets of the Sipa, the capital city, 80,000 demonstrators rallied in the city square and agitated for increased civil and political liberties. In the industrial center of Coslow, laborers protesting oppressive work conditions openly clashed with officers of the once-feared Secretariat for Internal Security (SIS). In the coming days, the demonstrations threaten to become ever bigger, the demands ever greater, and the possibility of revolution, ever more real ...

##### **2.2 Basic information on Allonia:**

- Population: 18 millions, 98% Allonian
- Geography: lowlands 46%, highlands 54% - of which 12% mountains; sea border – 291 km
- Religion: 71% Catholics, 19% atheists, 6% Muslim, 3% other
- Currency: alute (ALU)
- Agriculture: organized in the State Agricultural Farms (SAF)
- Public television: ALTV, 2 programmes, state-controlled

- Capital: Sipa (2,5 million inhabitants)
- Other cities over 1 million inhabitants: Coslow – the biggest industrial center (mining, heavy industry, military production); Chwalieq – port city, shipyard; Gadegard – textile industry

### **2.3 Example of an actor card:**

**Prof. Dr. Erich Morar**

**Diehard communistic ideologist**

You are a professor emeritus at the Sipa University, however you are still active within the academia, publishing books, giving lectures and working at the National Academy of Sciences. Your scientific output is continuously respected and very often cited. You are a popular and widely respected individual, often commenting on current events on the national TV channel, ALTV. You are perceived as the state's best specialist on the communistic doctrine and one of the best worldwide.

You have read all that was written concerning communism and socialism since 19<sup>th</sup> century and you are still a strong believer that the scientific communism is both the best philosophical system and political ideology ever. You know by heart all the Marx's publications, even woken up in the middle of the night you would be able to recite the Communist Manifesto without any single mistake.

You take pride of the fact that you have chosen the communistic path as a teenager already, volunteering at the age of 15 as a member of communistic guerrilla that subsequently, after receiving the Marxist Union help and support, took over the power in the state of Allonia.

Graduating summa cum laude from political science at the Sipa University, you followed to obtain a Ph.D. at the University of Wenberg, the capital city of MU, which was known for its best centre for interdisciplinary studies on communism. Afterwards you came back to Sipa as an assistant professor and after a few years became a full professor. Moreover, for many years already you are a teacher at the National School of Public Governance and most of the top politicians of the state were your students at some point. Therefore the Party members respect you and fear to openly introduce any reform that you might dislike.

You naturally support the Marxist Union and the hardliners within the Party, although you do not spare criticisms, when they introduce politics you find detrimental to the path to the 'ideal' socialistic state. You accept the fact that the current system is only the imperfect 'real socialism', but believe that the politicians could do better with aiming and achieving steps to reach the ideal socialism. You are aware of the tangible situation on the streets, but you do not really get it, why the workers turned out against

the state that was created in their class interest. You are not sure, whether this will lead to a revolution and you are not sure, whether revolution might be a good opportunity for introducing the ideal socialistic system.

You have many influential friends in the Marxist Union and Allonia, as well as in other fraternal communistic states. Your social network is very expanded, although it is mostly among academicians. Your best friend is the former head of SIS, who during his time in office gave you his protection umbrella, so you were never tempted to become an agent. Actually, you were serving the system openly, so in your opinion there has never been a need for you to enroll as an agent.

You have little political sense and are pretty academic. However, you believe that your experience and knowledge entitles you to claim for attention when it comes to the state's governance.

You use the 'communistic' vocabulary – all these *social class, revisionists, proletariat, class conflict, public enemy, exploitation of workers, alienation of work, means of production, bourgeois* etc.

A few days ago some important representatives of the Party asked you for a meeting. The Party is truly concerned about the situation in the state and decided to meet with the social movements to somehow calm the pressure in the nation. They presented to you their ideas, which basically are nothing else than some sort of façade-reforms aiming on cooling down the people, but preserving the system itself. You decided to help them. However, you are willing to somehow use the situation to push the reforms towards the 'ideal' system.

You understand the gravity of the situation and therefore you will rather restrain from criticizing the government openly. Nevertheless, if they want your help and your support, they'd rather stick to the rules of communism!

---

*For regular updates, additions, alterations and other improvements of this of this manual please check: [www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu) or [www.humanityinaction.org/germany](http://www.humanityinaction.org/germany).*

*Are you interested in using the simulation? Please contact us and share your experiences! With your help, we can update and improve the simulation manual constantly. Please contact Anne Stalfort at Humanity in Action ([a.stalfort@humanityinaction.org](mailto:a.stalfort@humanityinaction.org)), or Georg Pirker at AdB Germany ([pirker@adb.de](mailto:pirker@adb.de)).*

**This simulation was made possible by countless contributions of many volunteers – be it outlining the actor's profiles, leading and evaluating workshops, or writing, editing and proofreading texts. Thank you!**

## Conference Flyer

**DARE**  
Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning

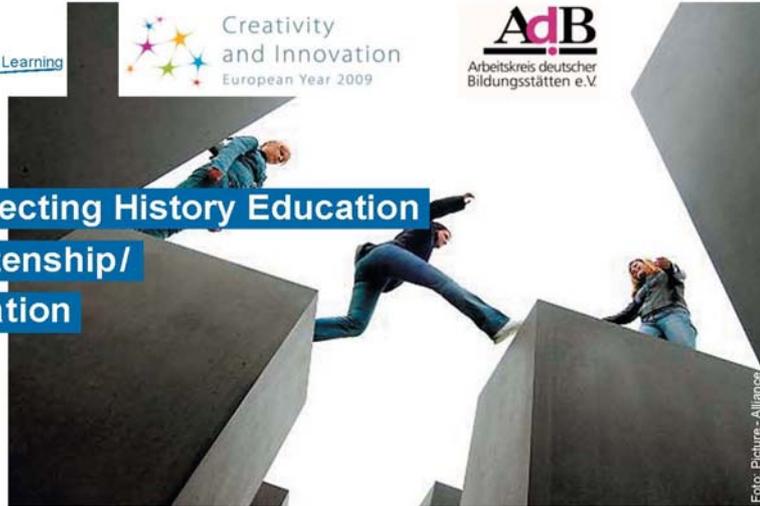
 Creativity  
and Innovation  
European Year 2009

**AdB**  
Arbeitskreis deutscher  
Bildungsstätten e.V.

### Conference:

# “Pathways Interconnecting History Education and Democratic Citizenship/ Human Rights Education in Adult Learning”

Berlin, 28 – 30th May, 2009



Knowledge about mechanisms of adopting recent history has become a cross cutting issue for citizenship education in lifelong learning. People/societies all over Europe live in a multidimensional cluster of their respective history experience. Individual perceptions of everyday-life in connection with war, migration, marginalization, time and place have become a hot topic for concepts of citizenship. In the frame of the “History Forum 09 / Geschichtsforum 09” ([www.geschichtsforum09.de](http://www.geschichtsforum09.de)), AdB and DARE organise a joint conference package interconnecting academia and practice approaches in non-formal education on the issue of the 89 revolution and its role for non-formal civic education in Europe.

**Conference locations are the Alte Feuerwache and the Humboldt University Berlin.**  
See directions at the listed events below.

### Thursday 28th

9:30 – 18:30

DARE project meeting

Location: Alte Feuerwache, Axel- Springer-Str. 40/41, 10969 Berlin-Kreuzberg

### Friday 29th

9:30 – 12:30, 14:00 – 18:30

Location: Alte Feuerwache, Axel- Springer-Str. 40/41, 10969 Berlin-Kreuzberg

The approaches and trainings sessions will give us an overview on innovative methods for the use of history education in EDC/HRE.

Both sessions are moderated by Frank Elbers (HREA), Georg Pirker (AdB) Anne Stalfort (Humanity in Action)

### Session 1: Thematic approaches

Methodologies of using history as a tool for conciliation (across time, across groups) by stressing multiperspectivity, inclusion, critical thinking and comparison. Dagmar Kusa (Euroclio)

“Purposes and difficulties in teaching the history of the Romanian communism in high schools” – theory and practice. Raluca Grosescu (Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania), Sorin Ionescu (University Timisoara), Corina Leca (Friendship Ambassadors)

“The importance of history for human rights and democracy education in the marginal region Králiky within the Euroregion Glacensis”. Alena Kroupova (Charles University Praha)

### Session 2: Trainings

“Remembering for the future: Gender as a topic of history and remembrance – European approaches”. Marina Grasse (OWEN e.V.)

“Understanding the mechanisms of 89 – a simulation game on regime change for youth and adult multipliers”. Marta Kozłowska, Wilhelmina Welsch (Humanity in Action Poland/Germany)

#### Saturday 30th

9:30 - 12:00: Working Group Meetings

Location: Alte Feuerwache, Axel- Springer-Str. 40/41, 10969 Berlin-Kreuzberg

#### 14:00 – 17:30 Final sessions:

##### "1989 as a Source for Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights"

(Saturday session with generous financial support from BpB)

Location: Seminar building of Humboldt-University, Hegelplatz (Dorotheenstr. 24), room 1.401

#### Panel 1 (German)

- 14:00 Dr. Paul Ciupke: Europa bilden – 1989 als Ressource für die politische Jugend- und Erwachsenenbildung
- 14:10 – 14:40 Prof. Dr. Eckart D. Stratenschulte: Erinnerung, Europäische Identität und das Jahr 1989
- 14:40 – 15:00 Prof. Dr. Bodo von Borries: Europäische Erinnerung – Herausforderung für die Politische Bildung
- 15:00 – 15:30 Diskussion, moderated by Ina Bielenberg (AdB)

#### Panel 2 (English)

- 16:00 Education for democratic citizenship, human rights and the communist past in European non formal education: PLACES STRUCTURES BIOGRAPHIES  
Introduction: Georg Pirker (AdB)
- 16:05 – 16:20 "The importance of history for human rights and democracy education in the marginal region Králíky within the Euroregion Glacensis". Alena Kroupova (Charles University Praha)
- 16:20 – 16:35 "Purposes and difficulties in teaching the history of the Romanian communism in high schools".  
Raluca Grosescu (Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes in Romania),  
Corina Leca (Friendship Ambassadors), Sorin Ionescu (University Timisoara)
- 16:45 – 17:00 "Understanding the mechanisms of 89 – a simulation game on regime change for youth and adult multipliers". Simone Müller, Marta Kozłowska (Humanity in Action Germany/Poland)
- 17:00 – 17:15 The Slovenian case: 1989 and its role for EDC/HRE in adult education  
Alena Begant (EIP Slovenia)
- 17:15 – 17:30 Discussion and conclusion: Pathways interconnecting history education and democratic citizenship  
Georg Pirker (AdB), Dagmar Kusa (Euroclio)

#### Saturday evening/Sunday morning

Departure

#### Organisers:

- DARE – Democracy and Human rights in Europe is a Europe-wide network of NGOs and other organisations devoted to raise the profile of Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) and Human Rights Education (HRE), promote transcultural and transnational cooperation, and enhance the quality of education within these fields.
- Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten (The Association of German Educational Organisations - AdB) is a non-governmental, non-profit association which represents more than 200 institutions of civic and political education for young people and adults in Germany.

funded by bpb – Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung



#### For any further information, please contact:

Georg Pirker  
Head of international department  
Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten  
Mühlendamm 3  
10178 Berlin  
Tel.: +49-30-400 401 17  
E-mail: [pirker@adb.de](mailto:pirker@adb.de)

Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning  
EU Project No. 134263-LLP-1-2007-1-DE-GRUNDTVIG-GNW



Lifelong Learning Programme

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This leaflet reflects the views only of the author, and the commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

# MEDIA COVERAGE

**EUROCLIO** - The European Association of History Educators

Professionalise Institutions  
Support History Education

Strengthen Lifelong Learning  
Promote Intercultural Dialogue

**Spotlight**

**"Balanced and Fair History": The new Teaching Pack developed in Bulgaria**  
After three years of hard work within the frame work of the EUROCLIO/Mitra Project "European Dialogue, a Cultural Pathway for the Future: an inclusive and international approach for the learning and teaching of history in Bulgaria", the new Teaching Pack "Balanced and Fair History" is now available. It contains a variety of topics related to diversity in Bulgaria, such as internal and external migrations, multi-cultural towns and Jewish, Roma and Turkish communities living in part or present in Bulgaria...

**History Education News**

Canadian high schools flunking history: Dominion I...  
By Amy Minsky, Canwest News Service  
May be its time for provincial education ministers to start hitting the books. Four

**DARE Conference on "Pathways interconnecting History Education and Democratic Citizenship"**  
MONDAY, 13 APRIL 2009  
Dagmar Kusa will be representing EUROCLIO in the International Conference on "Pathways interconnecting History Education and Democratic Citizenship/Human Rights Education in Adult Learning" on May 29th and 30th in Berlin. The conference is jointly organized by Democracy and Human Rights Education (DARE), the European wide network of NGOs devoted to Human Rights and Democratic Citizenship Education in Europe and AdB, the Association of German Educational Organisations within the History Forum.org / Geschichtsforum.org.

**Upcoming Events**

Jul 1st 09th  
General Events: London: Transnational Perspectives on Democratic Education  
Jul 3rd 09th  
Partner Event: 21st Schools History Board  
Jul 10th 12th  
General Events: National Identity in Europe  
Jul 17th 19th  
Member Event: ICTU Annual Conference July 2009  
Jul 26th 2nd  
General Events: International Institute on Peace Education 2009

**Projects**

HISTORY IN ACTION  
PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE

**info service**  
ADULT EDUCATION

Articles and reports on adult education in Europe

3 latest courses  
5 latest items

**Conference: "Pathways interconnecting history education and Democratic Citizenship Human Rights Education in Adult Learning"**  
DATE: press release: 07.05.2009

Projects - Brief Information (en)

Kategorie:	Brief Information
Herkunftsland des Beitrags:	Germany
Sprache des Beitrags:	English
Themen/Schlüsselwörter:	Subjects / Target groups -> Demokratie/Menschenrechte
Verwandte Links:	www.dare-network.eu
Zugriffe:	578

In the frame of the "History Forum 09 / Geschichtsforum 09" (www.geschichtsforum09.de), the Association of German Educational Organisations (AdB) and the Grundtvig network DARE will organise a joint conference package interconnecting academia and praxis approaches for non-formal education on the issue of the 89 revolution and its role for non-formal civic education in Europe.

Knowledge about mechanisms of adopting recent history becomes a cross cutting issue for citizenship education in lifelong learning. People/societies all over Europe live in a multidimensional cluster of their respective history experience, individual perceptions of everyday-life in connection with war, migration, marginalization, time and place become a hot topic for citizenship.

This conference will take place 29 - 30 May 2009, at AdB (29th May) and at the Humboldt University/Berlin (30th May).

DARE, Democracy and Human Rights Education in Europe, is a Europe-wide network focusing on the twin fields of EDC (Education for Democratic Citizenship) and HRE (Human Rights Education). The network currently consists of 44 member organizations from 28 countries in Europe.

The Association of German Educational Organisations (AdB) was founded in 1959 and is an association made up of approximately 170 continuing education centres throughout Germany with various profiles - youth education centres, adult education centres, academies, Europe centres, educational centres of party-related foundations and international encounter centres. As a whole these independent educational organisations represent a wide spectrum of various training offers as well as organisational structures.

Language selection: English

LOG IN  
Benutzername: \_\_\_\_\_  
Passwort: \_\_\_\_\_ GO! ▶

Search for Articles  
Advanced search GO! ▶

European InfoNet  
Adult Education

Conference "Pathways interconnecting history education and Democratic Citizenship/Human Rights Education in Adult learning"

Berlin, 29-30th May, 2009

Knowledge about mechanisms of adopting recent history becomes a cross cutting issue for citizenship education in lifelong learning. In the frame of the 'History Forum 09 / Geschichtsforum 09' (www.geschichtsforum09.de), AdB and DARE will organise a joint conference package interconnecting academia and praxis approaches for non-formal education on the issue of the 89 revolution and its role for non-formal civic education in Europe.

This seminar will take place 29-30 May 2009 at AdB (29<sup>th</sup> May) as well as in the Humboldt University/Berlin (30<sup>th</sup> May)

AdB - Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten (The Association of German Educational Organisations - AdB) is a non-governmental, non-profit association which represents more than 200 institutions of civic and political education for young people and adults in Germany. As a specialised organisation of political and civic education we foster an exchange of information and experience, training and a joint representation of interests in the area of political and civic education.

DARE - Democracy and Human rights in Europe is a Europe-wide network of NGOs and other organisations devoted to raise the profile of Education for Democratic Citizenship (EDC) and Human Rights Education (HRE), promote transcultural and transnational cooperation, and enhance the quality of education within these fields.

The accommodation is in the Apartment Hotel Zarenhof, Schönhauser Allee 140, 10437 Berlin Prenzlauer Berg. The seminar language is English.

The conference is a part of the Grundtvig funded DARE network: Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult learning.

As we expect also participants from your country, who might apply for Grundtvig individual mobility funds we would like to draw your attention to this seminar.

The preliminary agenda is enclosed.

For any further information, please contact:

Georg Pirker  
Head of international department  
Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten  
Mühlendamm 3, 10178 Berlin  
Tel: +49-30-400 401 17  
E-mail: pirker@adb.de

Yours sincerely,  
Larissa Döring  
Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten e.V. (AdB)  
Mühlendamm 3, 10178 Berlin  
Tel: +49 (030) 400 401 13

Events Singleview - European Year of Creativity and Innovation 2009 - EUROPA - Windows Internet Explorer

http://create2009.europa.eu/calendar\_of\_events/events\_archive/events\_singleview/news/pathways-interconnecting-history-education-and-democratic-citizenship-human-rights

Europa  
Imagine. Create. Innovate.

EUROPA - European Year of Creativity and Innovation 2009 - Calendar of Events - Events archive

Home  
About the Year  
Calendar of Events  
EU Events  
National Events  
Events archive  
Ambassadors  
Partners  
Projects  
Press  
Communication Toolbox

**"Pathways interconnecting history education and Democratic Citizenship/Human Rights Education in Adult learning",**

29.05.09 - 30.05.2009

Organised by the DARE-Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning and Arbeitskreises deutscher Bildungsstätten (AdB).

The theme of the conference is to take stock and exchange best practice of using recent history as a tool for non-formal learning in European EDC/HRE

[www.dare-network.eu/Berlin\\_conference.htm](http://www.dare-network.eu/Berlin_conference.htm)

← back

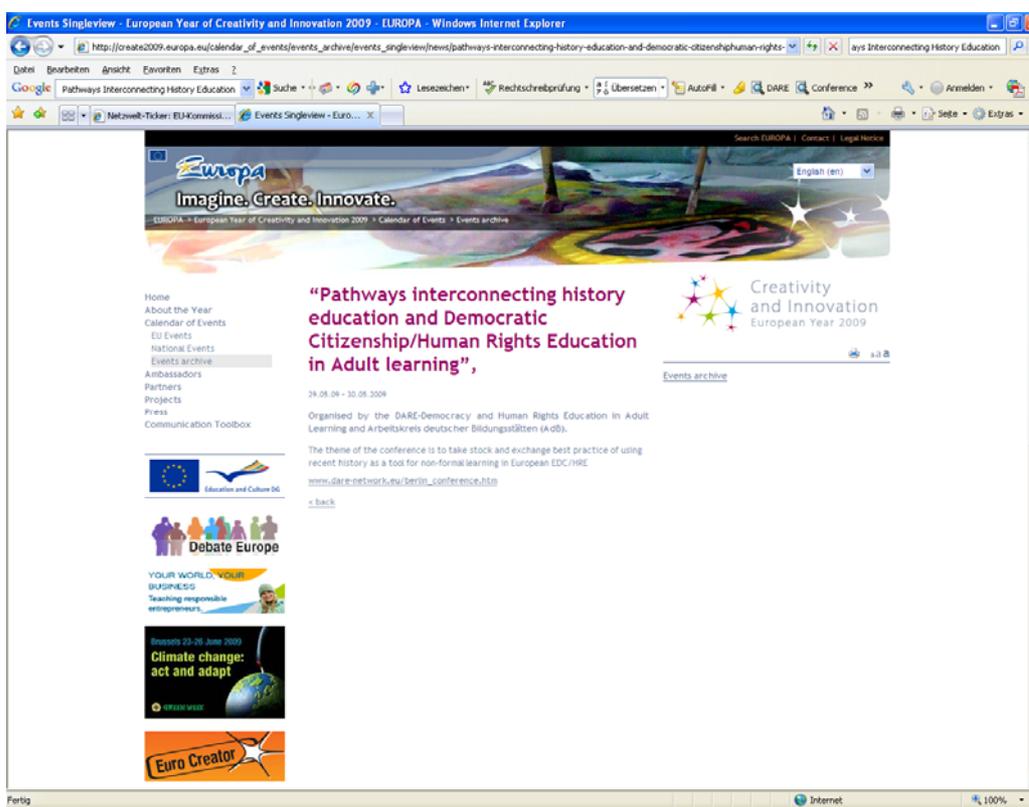
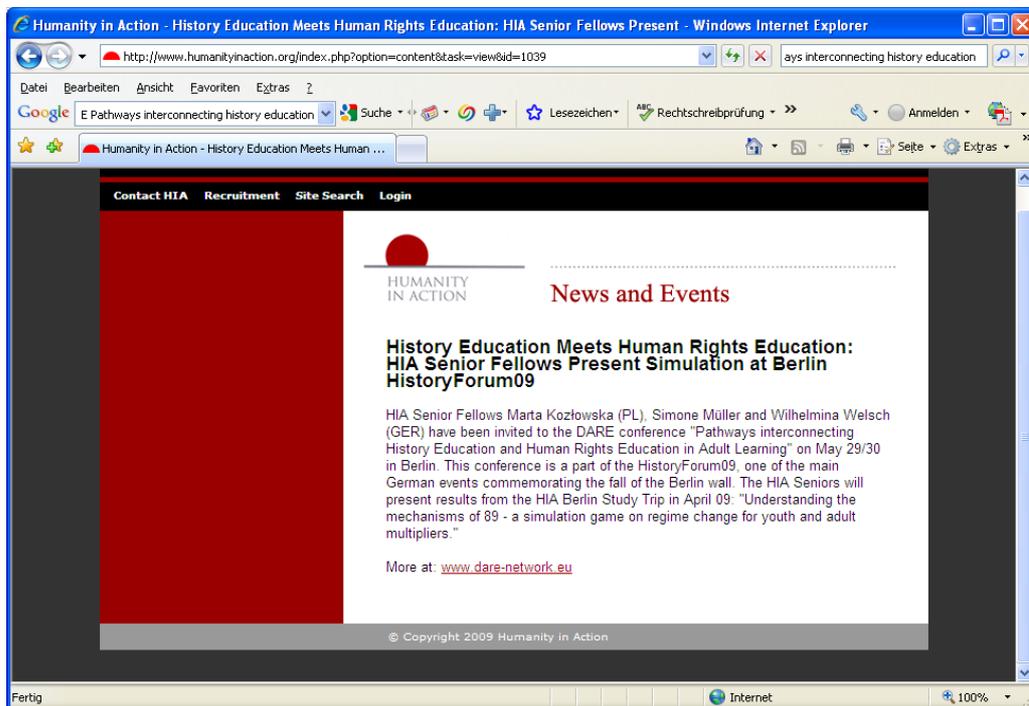
Education and Culture 26

Debate Europe

YOUR WORLD, YOUR BUSINESS  
Teaching responsible entrepreneurship

Breakthrough 23-26 June 2009  
Climate change: act and adapt

Euro Creator



Focus-Migration: Einzelansichten - Windows Internet Explorer

http://www.focus-migration.de/Einzelansichten.1316.0.html?&bx\_wilpubdbb\_pi1%5Barticle%5D=1631&Hash=0

ays interconnecting history education

Google E Pathways interconnecting history education Suche Lesezeichen Rechtschreibprüfung Anmelden

Focus-Migration: Einzelansichten

Weitere Informationen/Ansprechpartner: Lothar G. Kopp (bbp), E-Mail: [kopp@bbp.de](mailto:kopp@bbp.de) oder Prof. Marek Zybura (Willy-Brandt-Zentrum), E-Mail: [zybura@wbz.uni.wroc.pl](mailto:zybura@wbz.uni.wroc.pl), Internet: [www.bpb.de/veranstaltungen](http://www.bpb.de/veranstaltungen)

**Konferenz**  
**Pathways Interconnecting History Education and Citizenship Education in Adult Learning**  
 Termin/Ort: 29./30. Mai 2009 in Berlin  
 Veranstalter: DARE-Netzwerk und Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten (AdB) im Rahmen des „Geschichtsforum 09“ ([www.geschichtsforum09.de](http://www.geschichtsforum09.de))  
 Inhalt: In den europäischen Migrations- und Transformationsgesellschaften nach 1989 stehen Geschichtsunterricht und politische Bildung vor neuen Herausforderungen. Nationale, ethnische und familiäre Narrative tragen ebenso wie zunehmend globalisierte Medien zur Identitätsbildung bei. Expertenvorträge und Praxisworkshops zeigen auf dieser europäischen Konferenz die enge Verbindung von Geschichtsvermittlung und politischer Bildung, insbesondere im Bereich der non-formalen und informellen Erwachsenenbildung.  
 Zielgruppe: haupt- und ehrenamtliche Mitarbeiter europäischer Bildungsorganisationen  
 Teilnahme/Konferenzsprachen: Die Teilnahme ist kostenlos. Konferenzsprachen sind Deutsch und Englisch.  
 Weitere Informationen/Ansprechpartner: Georg Pirker (AdB), E-Mail: [pirker@adb.de](mailto:pirker@adb.de), Internet: [www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu)

**Fachtagung**  
 Fortbildung zur Behandlung des Themas Migration in der Technischen Zusammenarbeit

Internet 100%

grundvig - Windows Internet Explorer

http://www.programmalp.it/box\_contenta.php?id\_crt=775&id\_from=131

Google e pathways interconnecting history education Suche Lesezeichen Rechtschreibprüfung Übersetzen AutoriLL dare pathways Anmelden

grundvig

LLP COMUNITARI ESANCO LEONARDO EUROPEI TRANSVERSALI TEAM MINISTRI

Cos'è Grundvig Grundvig in Italia Contatti Link

L'educazione degli adulti incontra l'Europa

Mobilità Partenariati Progetti multilaterali Reti Misure di accompagnamento

**EVENTI** > **DOMANDE FREQUENTI** >

**GRUNDTVIG Grundvig** Leggi TUTTI >

**Conferenza "Pathways interconnecting history education and Democratic Citizenship"**  
 Il 29 e 30 maggio Berlino ospita una conferenza dedicata agli eventi storici del 1989 ed al loro ruolo nell'educazione non formale degli adulti.

L'educazione alla cittadinanza nei processi di apprendimento permanente passa dalla conoscenza degli eventi che hanno caratterizzato la storia recente. Nel quadro dell' "History Forum 09" ([www.geschichtsforum09.de](http://www.geschichtsforum09.de)), le associazioni AdB e DARE affrontano il tema della Rivoluzione del 1989 e del suo ruolo nell'educazione civica non formale nella conferenza "Pathways interconnecting history education and Democratic Citizenship/Human Rights Education in Adult learning", che si svolgerà a Berlino il 29 e 30 maggio. Il seminario si svolgerà presso la sede le AdB (29 maggio) e l'Università Humbolt (30 maggio) e affronterà la questione attraverso un approccio pratico/teorico dedicato all'educazione non formale.

**AdB**  
 Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten e.V.

**IN EVIDENZA** >

LLP Conferenza Sogna l'Europa: vince la creatività

**IN AZIONE** >

Grundvig INSIDEOUT: Teatro in prigione Scenari del teatro/carcere in Europa

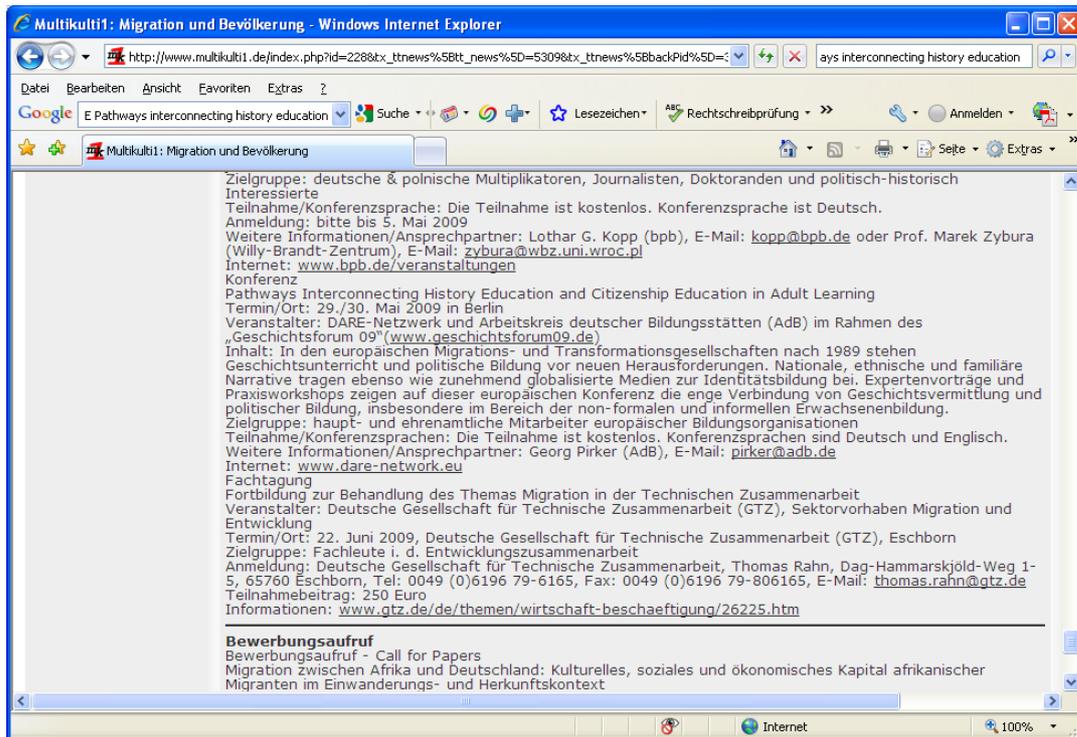
**PUBBLICAZIONI** >

LLP Verso la società della conoscenza: la partecipazione italiana ai programmi europei Socrates e Lifelong Learning Programme dal 2001 al 2007

**STUDIO E ANALISI** >

**DARE**  
 Democracy and Human Rights Education in Europe è una rete europea di organizzazioni non

Internet 100%



## PICTURE GALLERY



**Training:**  
“Understanding the mechanisms of 89 – a simulation game on regime change for youth and adult multipliers”



**Workshop:**  
“Remembering for the future: Gender as a topic of history and remembrance”



**Conference Panel:  
“1989 As a Source For Democratic Citizenship Education And Human Rights Education”**

**More impressions ...**



**DARE BLUE LINE EDITION 2009.**

For more information on the DARE Network please contact:

Georg Pirker  
Arbeitskreis deutscher Bildungsstätten  
Mühlendamm 3, 10178 Berlin, Germany  
pirker@adb.de  
+493040040117

or

- visit DARE's website at [www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu)
- contribute to DARE's blog on EDC/HRE in Europe: [www.dare-network.blogspot.com](http://www.dare-network.blogspot.com)
- subscribe to the e-DARE newsletter

Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning

[www.dare-network.eu](http://www.dare-network.eu)

EU-Project No. 134263-LLP-1-2007-1-DE-GRUNDTVIG-GNW"



Education and Culture DG

**Lifelong Learning Programme**

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission.

This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

# DARE

## Democracy and Human Rights Education in Adult Learning

EU Grundtvig Network Project No. 134263-LLP-1-2007-1-DE-GRUNDTVIG-GNW

### Beneficiary organisation:



Arbeitskreis deutscher  
Bildungsstätten e.V.

Association of German Educational Organisations  
Germany

### Partner organisations:



Centre for Citizenship Education in Schools  
Austria



VORMEN vzw  
EXPERTISECENTRUM  
MENSENRECHTEN- EN  
KINDERRECHTENEDUCATIE  
VLAANDEREN

Flemish organisation for Human Rights Education  
Belgium



Partners Bulgaria Foundation  
Bulgaria



IUC-Europe  
Denmark



Jaan Tõnisson Institute  
Estonia



Sonnenberg-Kreis e.V.  
Internationales Haus Sonnenberg  
Germany



Pharos e.V.  
Germany



Active Citizenship Foundation  
Hungary



Lithuanian Centre for Human Rights  
Lithuania



Centre for Civic Initiatives  
Lithuania



Human Rights Education Associates  
Netherlands



ONG Scuola Strumento di Pace - E.I.P.  
Italy

Centrum Edukacyjne  
Paideia

Paideia Educational Centre  
Poland



Centre for Global Education  
United Kingdom



Black and Ethnic Minorities Infrastructure  
Scotland/UK

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission.

This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.