

**Identity and conflict
International cooperation in history teaching and
history textbook revision**

**Identitás és konfliktus
Nemzetközi együttműködés a történelemtanításban és a
történelemtankönyvek revíziójában**

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Absztrakt

Tanulmányom a tankönyvvizsgálatok kutatási területének legfontosabb csomópontjait vizsgálja meg. A bevezetőben megjelennek az elmúlt évek európai történelemdidaktikai diskurzusának legfontosabb szakmai eseményei és a tudományterület újabb megközelítései, amelyek mindegyikében fontos szerepet játszik a nemzetközi együttműködés. Röviden bemutatom a történelemtanítás és a történelemtankönyvek iránti általános és szakmai érdeklődés okait és a tankönyvek kutatásának origóját. Kitérek a 20. század világháborúival szabdaltnak nemzetközi tankönyvtörténetére, a transznacionális együttműködések típusaira, hatékonyságára, céljaira és eredményeire. Végül bemutatom néhány határon átívelő projekt változó eredményeit és produktumait, kiemelt figyelmet szentelve a mintaadó francia–német tankönyvrevízióknak, a lengyel–német, skandináv, szlovák–magyar, európai nézőpontoknak, illetve a magyar tankönyvkutatásokban ritkán megjelenő ázsiai és afrikai példákra.

A tanulmány konklúziójában kontinens, időtartam, résztvevők jellege, és a funkció alapján összesíték több mint egy tucat együttműködést, amelyeket két kategória, a regionális identitásépítés és a konfliktusrendezés szerint értékelek.

Kulcsszavak: történelemdidaktika, történelemtankönyv, tankönyvkutatás, oktatási rendszer, tankönyvrevízió

Abstract

The study sheds light on several important aspects in the field of textbook research and history didactics. The introduction presents the most significant professional events of the European history didactic discourse in recent years and new approaches to the scientific field, in all of which international cooperation plays an important role. Reasons for the general and professional interest in history teaching and history textbooks and the origin of textbook research are also presented. The history of international textbook revisions, interrupted by the world wars of the 20th century, the types, effectiveness, goals, and results of transnational cooperation are also introduced. Finally, the study details the changing results and products of some cross-border projects, paying special attention to the exemplary French-German textbook revision, the Polish-German, Scandinavian, Slovakian-Hungarian, European perspectives, and Asian and African examples that rarely appear in Hungarian textbook research.

In the conclusion of the study more than a dozen collaborations are summarized based on continent, duration, nature of participants, and function. Among the results two categories are established as the main goals: regional identity building and conflict resolution.

Keywords: history didactics, history textbook, textbook research, education system, textbook revision

1. Introduction

Over the past three years, two highly respected professional communities: the International Society for History Didactics and EuroClio – Association of European History Teachers, have emphasized the controversial and path-seeking nature of the role and goals of history teaching at their international professional events. The three conferences were titled *Why history education? (ISHD)* *What is history for? (EuroClio)* *The Complexity of History (EuroClio)*. The choice of titles for the conferences held in Lucerne, Bologna and Vilnius, respectively, clearly reflect the changing position and responsibility of history teaching.

In the didactic discourse of history, the integration of social sciences are old phenomena, but the emergence of current political-ideological topics is certainly a new development. The American Black Lives Matter movement and the Russian-Ukrainian war have brought the *decolonization of history* and new dimensions of *memory politics* into the focus of professional dialogue. Radical environmental organizations (Fridays for Freedom, Extinction Rebellion) brought issues of the *Anthropocene*, the historical period of mankind, into the academic and public discourse related to the teaching of history.

Recent events and new approaches to history didactics all highlight the important role of international cooperation, for which history teaching provides exciting opportunities.

2. The development and role of textbooks

The spread of writing and physical recording of acquired knowledge are generally considered important milestones in human cultures. Different solutions have been developed for the long-term preservation of accumulated knowledge in different eras and geographical locations. Firstly, we can mention the clay tablets and papyrus of riverside civilizations, next to which animal skins and then the use of paper gradually spread. A qualitative change was the appearance of the first books, which initially did not resemble their counterparts on our shelves today. Following the less practical forms of vulnerable scrolls kept in ornate containers, the first codices appeared in the Roman Empire, which are closer to our current concept of books with their hardwood covers and Latin letters written on parchment. However, the production of books remained extremely expensive until modern times. They were considered a rare treasure. The change was instigated by Johannes Guttenberg of Mainz and the onset of book printing in Europe, which was further developed with Friedrich König and Andreas Bauer's printing machine operated by the power of steam (Mihalik, 1941). The revolutionary reform of printed books, which is difficult to exaggerate, changed many areas of life, including learning. Initially, any book served as a source of learning, a role that was mostly fulfilled by the Bible, and then, with the advent of complex educational systems, the need to publish official textbooks also emerged.

Viliam Kratochvíl regards modern textbooks as "methodological carrier tools" (Vajda, 2018). Countless steps led to the professionalization of textbooks. Their technical background was helped by the development of the printing industry in the 20th century. Multi-column layout, varied text formats, cursive, bold types appeared, and from the 1960s, colour printing and text blocks of varying sizes and layouts appeared, which created new opportunities for textbook writers (Katona, 2022).

2.1. Typology of textbooks

The first Hungarian textbook containing sources was published in 1959 by Mátyás Unger. Following the textbooks of Unger, who possesses both theoretical and practical knowledge in the subject, countless working textbooks (*munkatanykönyv*) have been published aiming to develop historical thinking skills (Gyertyánfy, 2020).

There are several alternative typologies for summarizing textbooks, of which only three are mentioned in this paper. János Karlovitz drew a comprehensive network of evaluation and typology. Karlovitz distinguishes between (1) *traditional*, (2) *task-based* and (3) *programmed textbooks*. Furthermore, he also lists (4) *textbooks of modern technology*.

Katona lists (1) *pedagogical synthesis*, (2) *textbooks based on induction* and (3) *task-based textbooks*. Synthesis for pedagogical purposes is characterized by the classical role of transmitting knowledge and a narrative, the book based on induction focuses on the selected knowledge, sources, and evidence to be processed, while in task-oriented

textbook, the author gives a task related to the essence of history, and raises a problem that needs to be solved by the student (Katona, 2022).

Barnabás Vajda partially complements the above. In summary, (1) *textbooks intended for teaching* are dominated by author's texts, which include (a) *chronology-based history textbooks* focusing on chronology, and (b) *thematic approach history textbooks* in a case-study-like way. In addition to the author's text, the (2) *source-based textbook* also allows the analysis of historical sources and evidence with didactic questions and tasks (a) *separately from the author's text* or (b) *integrated with the text*. Among the (3) *task-focused textbooks*, (a) *working textbooks* containing resources and tasks and (b) *books listing only didactic tasks* and not containing authorial texts are distinguished (Vajda, 2020).

Chart 1. Textbook typologies based on Karlovitz (2001); Katona (2022); Vajda (2018)

János Karlovitz (2001)		András Katona (2022)	Barnabás Vajda (2018)	
traditional textbooks	Descriptive textbook	pedagogical synthesis	Textbooks aimed at teaching	Chronological textbooks
	Information transmitter textbook			Thematic textbooks
	Minimal textbook		Textbooks with sources separated from authorial text	
work-based textbooks	traditional textbooks including work-based elements	task-based textbooks	Source-based textbooks	Textbooks with sources integrated with authorial text
	Textbook series including work-based modules (exercise books)			
	work-based textbooks			
programmed	Textbooks conducting linear programmes	textbooks based on induction		
	Textbooks including possibilities of choices and crossing			

Why has it become important to analyse textbooks and examine the points of view that appear in them? History textbooks draw a temporal and spatial network on which parallel events, characters, concepts, i.e. objects of history appear (Falk, 2010).

This alone does not distinguish them from any books on history. The most important property of textbooks is that they carefully select, systematize, and transform objects of the historical past in order to support processing and understanding of historical knowledge. While bringing our roots closer, they also determine our image and impression of our community and other peoples.

The genre of national history textbooks appeared in the nineteenth century in the service of emerging nation-states who needed an origin story about a common national past. At first, the political leadership had less control over textbooks and was more dependent on the intentions of publishers and authors. Today, textbooks occupy a different status and position in classrooms around the world, having multifaceted sociocultural significance. Based on these, it is of great social importance in what form a conflict situation is created in the textbook, by evaluating what narratives and points of views are presented (Fuchs & Vera, 2018).

This identity-forming effect puts history textbooks in the spotlight of public interest. Elieh Podeh called the textbook the "agent of memory", the mediator of state-approved knowledge, and more critically the "historical supreme court" whose purpose is to select historical knowledge and evidence and choose "correct" interpretations (Podeh & Alayan 2018). Quoting Pierre Nora, György Jakab is critical of the historical approach of history textbooks. He does not necessarily regard textbooks as a simple summary of collective memory, but merely as fulfilment of current educational policy orders (Jakab, 2021). Curriculum and textbooks can also be interpreted as battlegrounds, on which the interaction of multicultural education and national identity arises as an important issue (Kaposi, 2021).

Next to identity questions we have to briefly raise the fundamental professional aspect of history didactics when discussing textbooks as well. The international professional community prescribes high standards for textbook publishers concerning several points of views such as the updated historical content transmitting the latest findings of historical research, short but interesting and informative sources of multiple types (textual, visual, digital, primer, secunder etc.) and tasks developing high-level and critical cognitive thinking skills.

3. Transnational cooperation on textbooks

Widespread scientific interest in history textbooks dates back to the 19th century. In the years following the Napoleonic wars, pacifist criticism of exaggerated, or down-right xenophobic statements and narratives in textbooks first emerged. At the same time, the textbooks of the opposing war parties received the same criticism a century later, during the period of the "Great War", which ended in 1918. After the war, international politics and national professional organisations turned to history textbooks. Among other things, the League of Nations considered textbooks to be an instrument of peace. In 1925, UNESCO's predecessor, the International Committee on Intellectual Co-Operation (ICIC), recommended that all nations begin comparative studies to re-

wise incomplete and biased stereotypical textbook texts by establishing a national coordination office. The Commission developed its own model for inspections and supported the formation and autonomous activities of national professional organisations, but the validity of the documents drawn up varied from country to country (F. Dárdai, 2006).

From the civil side of societies, the French, German and Scandinavian examples are all important historical milestones. The first exemplary activist organization was the French teachers' union, which in 1926 published a long list of textbooks presenting Germany with biased and stereotypical images of enemies. The list was followed by a serious strike and then a retreat from publishers. The German teacher trade union carried out similar activities. By 1935, in cooperation with France, joint textbook analyses were prepared, and a joint package of proposals was formulated for the authors of textbooks, however this cooperation was completely sidelined due to the total dictatorship of National Socialism.

The most systematic cooperation took place among the countries of Scandinavia within the framework of the Föreningen Norden (Northern Associations). The dialogue, which started in 1919 between Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, and Finnish history didactic professionals, established an institutional framework (Falk, 2010). The network of local offices in each partner country led to such a high level of cooperation that the publication of textbooks was preceded by a process of professional consultation and approval involving each of the five nations. In addition to validation, methodological discussions and research were also carried out for the quality reform of textbooks (Falk, 2010).

The period following World War II brought another opportunity for international curriculum revision. After the war, the process of reconciling textbooks was immediately resumed within the framework of UNECSO. Noticably, at the first meeting of the organization, in 1946, the textbook development program supporting international reconciliation was already on the agenda, and in 1947 the first UNESCO seminar was organized. Teachers and experts from many countries around the world were invited to this event, where the participants adopted joint resolutions and recommendations (F. Dárdai, 2006).

In 1949, the Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding was published, which became the first set of evaluation criteria adopted in an international environment and was subsequently followed as well.

In addition to official relations, the personal meeting of experts from nations with tense relations facilitated later cooperation. The Council of Europe also participated in the textbook reconciliation process by organizing symposia, and at the initiative of Germany, a research institute was founded in Braunschweig called Internationales Schulbuchinstitut (International Textbook Institute), which has become certified as the textbook centre of the Council. In the 1970s, the institution adopted the name Georg Eckert, after the historian president of the German UNESCO section, who-

se merits included the organisation of work behind international reconciliation and textbook revision. The institute, which is still operating today, fulfils its decisive role through the institutionalisation of textbook research, its publishing, science organizing and consulting activities.

3.1. Franco-German cooperation

Historiography that transcended national borders has developed as criticism of nationalist historiography. One of its most important claims is that past events were rarely determined by the ethnic-national boundaries established in the 19th century. Transnational historiography, also known as *histoire croisée* referring to interconnection, is usually based on thematic approaches linked to the social sciences rather than national territorial units (Gyáni, 2018). By deconstructing history, the transnational approach leaves the nation-state framework with a kind of physical and metaphorical crossing of boundaries and even embraces larger chronological units (Clavin, 2005). Thus, narrated history does not present the history of a given community and its "different" or "foreign" peoples, minorities, and newcomers, but seeks to synthesize parallel histories.

The German-French bilateral textbook revision cooperation is still the most outstanding example of reconciliation following protracted war conflicts. The textbook reconciliation negotiations took place on the basis of the work of joint committees, which adopted recommendations on controversial points in common history. The professional cooperation between historians and history teachers made it possible to initiate dialogue, thus "textbook diplomacy" successfully contributed to the normalization of political relations between the two nations (F. Dárdai, 2006).

Several decades later, the launch of the joint Franco-German history textbook series can be regarded as an organic continuation of the cooperation (Vajda, 2020). The project, which began in the first years of the new millennium, was originally initiated by the Franco-German Students' Parliament youth organisation and continued with the support of the ministries of education and foreign affairs of the two nations (Gruber, 2006). The textbooks are the result of the collaboration of a group of ten authors from Germany and France. The first book of the three-volume series presenting a complete European and universal history was published in 2006 (Kovács, 2009), which has been criticized several times since then. According to Heike Matzing's scientific conference presentation in Hungary, the book is more related to the French frontal teaching style than to the German didactic ideas, which enforces a wide range of methodologies. According to Matzing, French students and experts are more satisfied with it than their German colleagues (Vajda, 2020).

While teaching German history in preparation for Abitur allows more space for students' activity and reasoning skills, the French model relies primarily on lectures. Andreas Körber, in his study published in GEI, evaluated the textbook in more detail according to Jörn Rüsen's criteria (Rüsen, 1992). The researcher concludes that the

presentation of political history dominates the textbook, the questions closing the chapters are predominantly interpretive, while in the case of controversial historical topics there are few topics that provide an opportunity to confront national positions or historians' differences. He misses the exploitation of the potential of juxtaposing controversial or biased historical viewpoints. On the positive side, he mentions common tasks and methodological text boxes and pages, which he analyses in detail (Körber, 2009).

Ákos Kovács considers it a virtue of the textbook to present *lieux de mémoires*, i.e. common places of remembrance, with the concept derived from Pierre Nora. Places of remembrance include the Mass celebrated in Reims Cathedral with Charles De Gaulle and Konrad Adanauer, or the commemoration in Verdun in the presence of Chancellor Helmuth Kohl and President Francois Mitterrand.

Kovács argues for the possibility of developing a common European identity on several points, and in its formulation the textbook recognizes the limitations of a common European consciousness and "does not even attempt (obviously impossible) to create some kind of common European identity" (Kovács, 2009). He also finds the cooperation mechanism symbolized by joint textbook writing between other European nations questionable, citing the Russian relations between Lithuania and Estonia as an example (Kovács, 2009).

It took the German history didactics a longer period of work, but it also successfully cooperated with Polish colleagues. As a result of a bilateral project including textbook research and consultation, the mixed group of historians and didactic experts published the series "Europa – Unsere Geschichte / Europa – Nasza Historia". The first textbook was completed in 2016, in which the authors present prehistory, antiquity and the Middle Ages from a common German-Polish and partly European perspective. By 2020, three more textbooks had been published, the last of which focusses exclusively on the events of the 20th century.

3.2. Slovak-Hungarian cooperation

Vajda also emphasizes the peculiarity of the Franco-German relationship in connection with the unsuccessful attempt at the Slovak-Hungarian textbook project and mentions ___ aspects. He drew attention to the Franco-German Youth Office, a major awareness-raising international programme that financed the study trips and exchange of 8 million young students until 2008 on the basis of cooperation since 1963. The second is the balance or parity between the actors. In contrast to Slovak-Hungarian relations, both France and Germany, as decisive European historical figures, have similar economic and political weight. Paradoxically, the extent of the conflict between the characters also appears as a difficulty. From one point of view, Franco-German-Polish relations are facilitated by the post-war work of the International Court of Justice at Nuremberg, while the historical issues of Hungarian-Slovak relations are still the

subject of different interpretations, which are also complicated by current politics (Vajda, 2020). However, despite much more difficult and seemingly irresolvable conflicts (Ruth, Sami, & Falk, 2004), the Israeli-Palestinian joint textbook project proved to be successful.

The origin of Slovak-Hungarian cooperation dates back to 1996, when the Society of Slovak History Teachers and the Forum Institute for Research on Minorities initiated the preparation of a compromise textbook. So far, in 2023, the textbook has still not been completed despite the planned publication year of 1998. Numerous formal conference plenaries and workshops were organized on the matter involving historians and history teachers in Hungary and Slovakia, originally led by László Szarka and Štefan Šutaj (Vajda, 2020).

György Jakab mentions among the difficulties the difference between the historiographical approach of historians and history teachers, drawing attention to the fact that while historical sciences have been working with parallel histories and interpretations for a long time, this does not appear in textbooks and in the thinking of a significant number of history teachers (Jakab, 2007). In addition to the difficulties of Slovak-Hungarian cooperation, however, he also drew attention to its advantages. In his view, a common textbook would also provide an opportunity to experience the plural identities of minorities living in the two countries and to develop a Central and Eastern European perspective. Instead of a compromise, ultimately two parallel narratives were planned for the concept of textbooks. Both Jakab and Viliam Kratochvíl mention the comparison of positions appearing on both sides of Slovak-Hungarian disputed history and the understanding of the narratives of the other side among the advantages of the textbook concept (Jakab, Lator, Jr., Kratochvíl, & Vajda, 2011). Kratochvíl emphasises that skills development, and analytical tasks can help interpret perspectives. The authors of the Trianon aspect of the task modules were published in the Hungarian journal *Történelemtanítás* (History Teaching) (Jakab, Lator, Kratochvíl, & Vajda, 2011). The tasks shed light on the criticised depictions and designations of traditionally ethnocentric Hungarian and Slovak historiography (e.g. Highlands/Upper Hungary/Slovakia, Uhorsko/Ma'darsko). Historiographic questions are associated with higher-level thinking and thought-provoking tasks, which hold historical significance ("for Slovak historians it is important that..") causes and consequences ("why did Karinthy choose (...) ? / "What could have been the reason?") debate, argument, evaluation ("Discuss how much you agree with Ignác Romsics's statement"), creative work (design a poster from Trianon in groups), dialogue analysis (press debate between Karol Kalal and Štefan Krčméry). Numerous types of sources appear in the tasks, primarily memoirs of Hungarian and Slovak authors, speeches, articles, historical works, biographies, caricatures, postcards and maps.

Further academic literature on Hungarian history didactics e.g. cooperations and the situation of history education on the other side of the border are regularly listed and updated by András Gyertyánfy and Bálint Fekete (Gyertyánfy & Fekete, 2019).

3.3. European cooperation

The presentation of the historical narratives of a common Europe in secondary school books has a long tradition (Van der Leeuw, 2008). The first initiative appeared in the year of the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which established the political and financial union of Europe. In 1992 a textbook titled *Histoire de l'Europe* was published. It was a co-authored textbook written by 12 European historians. The aim of the authors was to prepare a volume with a common European approach. Robert Strandling, who examined the European picture of the history curricula of the EU Member States, focused primarily on European cultural characteristics (Strandling, 2001, 2003). However, according to Andreas Körber, the 1992 European history textbook cannot be compared to the new generation of German textbooks due to its didactic background (Körber, 2009).

The European dimension of transnational or supranational historiography has gained ground in another genre as well. This organizing principle can be found in the exhibitions of the House of European History since 2017.

After the 90s, another European transnational history textbook project was carried out between 2019-22, which brought innovative solutions. The Erasmus+ project Teaching European History in the 21st century (Teh21) also initiated with the aim of developing and establishing a common European historical narrative. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that it was not launched through multilateral state cooperation or diplomatic relations, but through the application of a self-organizing professional community. In collaboration with seven universities, coordinated by EuroClio and Utrecht University, academic historians have written a textbook on common European history.

One of the project partners is Eötvös Loránd University, so Hungarian experts sit among the editors and authors of the textbook. Judit Klement, professor of Eötvös Loránd University was one of the six co-editors of the volume, and the project lists a total of twenty Hungarian contributors. The book examines the history of Europe from the early modern period to the present, from 1500 to 2022, with a thematic approach. The textbook titled *The European Experience – Multiperspective History of Modern Europe*¹ is available free of charge on the project website (EuroClio, 2023; Hung, 2021).

Its in-depth topics examine countless subfields within six categories: identity, societies, power and citizenship, knowledge, economy, differences, cultural encounters. Based on the concept of transnational historiography, the editors of the book structured each subchapter into three parts. The subchapters consist of an early modern, a modern and a contemporary section written by teams of three authors. Thus, each thematic subchapter examines the history of Europe in three epochs, from the point of view of nine authors organized around a specific concept.

The authors of the volume define the European point of view in many ways. The question of geographical demarcation, social, political and economic dimensions also appear.

¹ <https://www.openbookpublishers.com/books/10.11647/obp.0323> (2023.07.10.)

3.4. Transnational cooperation in history teaching and textbook revision beyond Europe

Replacing the European perspective with a global one, it is worth looking at developments in the field of global history textbook policy in a few words.

Four Asian and one Middle Eastern textbook project are covered by the research, which shed light on various educational policy players.

One of the concerns was criticism of Japanese textbooks. Critics declare that the Japanese textbooks emphasize a nationalist point of view when developing their historical narratives in the 20th century and do not depict the responsibility of the Empire of Japan during World War II. In 2005, serious Korean and Chinese protests were organized against textbooks published by the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, founded in 1997 (Wang, 2009). Named Tsukuru Kai in Japanese, the mission of the association was to publish textbooks that would teach Japanese youth confidence and pride in their own nation. Conversely, other viewpoints are classified as propaganda by the Tsukuru Kai (Hardacre, 2023).

Several international governmental and professional initiatives have been launched with the participation of East and Southeast Asian states, which have achieved important partial results in multicultural and transnational cooperation.

The Divided Memories and Reconciliation Research Project coordinated by the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University investigated the appearance of World War II historical memory in textbooks. The research analysed historical narratives from 19 secondary school textbooks in the participating countries. Surprisingly, differences emerged between the results. Most significantly, the number of war casualties, or the use and importance of the atomic bombs differ from nation to nation (Sekiguchi, 2016).

Following a historical conference organized in China in 2002, the tripartite Japanese-Korean-Chinese textbook development started in Seoul with an international group of 53 authors. In addition to professional historians, high school teachers from Korea and Japan also joined the authorial group. Following a lengthy procedure of 11 project meetings and six joint manuscript reviews, the first trilateral East Asian textbook was published in 2005. The focus of the textbook is to answer a series of central and inquiry questions. Topics include why the three East Asian countries reacted differently to Western pressure in the 19th and 20th centuries, how states modernised and what exactly happened in the military conflict that turned them against each other. The most important goal of the authors of the textbook *The Modern and Contemporary History of Three East Asian Countries* is to portray the three nations as one community (Wang, 2009).

Looking south, ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) also seeks to support regional cooperation, including the historical aspects. In 2012, the organization published a collection of tasks and resources (sourcebook), the important emphasis of which is on acquainting the communities of the member states with each other and

the mutual acceptance of different cultural and historical traditions (ASEAN, 2012). The first of the seven topics in this volume is history and social sciences. The topics of the book include sample lesson plans, thematic questions, and methodological aid. The resources represent a strong multicultural and multiperspective approach. Among other things, they contain ready-made, adaptable country cards and worksheets to compare ASEAN countries or to present a topic (like the reasons for the formation of the alliance). Another exciting topic is the goal of developing a common Southeast Asian identity emerging from the chapter 'Knowing ASEAN'.

The successful textbook revision of Israel and Palestine is a good example of the efforts of the parties that have converged despite the tense armed conflict. The initiatives, started during the controversial Palestinian-Israeli situation, differ from the previously mentioned conflicts. The armed conflict between the two communities has not yet turned from memory into history. In 2002, at the initiative of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), the Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis project was launched with the participation of six Israeli and six Palestinian history and geography teachers, and six international observers. The collaboration led to the publication of a joint textbook and teacher's guide. The groups were led by two university professors, Sami Adwan of Bethlehem University and Dan Bar-On of Ben-Gurion University. The aim of the cooperation was to "disarm" the history teaching of the two countries. As a result of cooperation supporting knowledge of another aspect of the conflict, a joint curriculum and textbook were issued. Reconciliation materials focused on controversial points in history, such as Jewish immigration to Palestine, the Balfour Declaration, Britain's role, the impact of the Holocaust, the Arab-Israeli wars, the Intifada, and a series of peace talks (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East, 2007).

The revision and cooperation facilitation activities of UNESCO and its predecessor (ICIC), as well as the nations of Europe and Asia, following nearly a century of textbook history, have been extremely productive. Cooperation aimed at reconciliation, constructive cooperation, or representing a common future and identity appears in many parts of the world. Another important aspect is that these are not exclusively closed projects, by researching the conflict regions of the world, we can find several ongoing cooperation initiatives.

European cooperation took place with the participation of transnational organisations, national diplomatic, academic, and professional organisations. In Asia, Stanford University's exploratory research from the academic sphere, trilateral Korean-Chinese-Japanese cooperation involving academic and non-governmental social organizations, and the ASEAN volume on Southeast Asia was initiated by a transnational diplomatic corps. The activities of the Japan History Textbook Reform Society, a conservative association, may be labelled as an odd one as its goals are contrary to reconciliation and compromise.

Chart 2. Characteristics of transnational cooperation related to textbooks, own chart

Region	Name of cooperation/initiative	Participants	Period	Type	Function
Northern-Europe	Northern Associations	Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, ICIC	1919-	Trilateral textbook revision and cooperation	<i>regional identity building</i>
	The History of the Baltic Countries	Council of Europe, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	1999	Trilateral cooperation	<i>regional identity building</i>
	New Ways to the past	EuroClio, északnyugati és keleti történelemtanár szervezetek	1998-2000	professional civil curriculum development	<i>regional identity building</i>
Central Europe	French-German textbook revision	France, Germany, ICIC, Franco-German Youth Office, UNESCO	935-1939; 1945-2006	Bilateral textbook revision	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	Polish-German textbook revision	Poland, Germany, UNESCO	1945-2016	Bilateral textbook revision	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	Slovak-Hungarian textbook revision	Association of Slovak History Teachers, Hungary, Forum Institute for Research on Minorities	1996-	Bilateral and civil textbook revision	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	Online Teaching in the Visegrád Region	EuroClio, history teacher organisations from the Visegrad 4: Slovakia (CEDIN), Czech Republic (German School of Prague), Poland (Pilsuczki Institut), Hungary (HHS TD)	2019-	Scientific-civil education project with textbook research and curriculum development	<i>regional identity building</i>

South-Eastern-Asia	<i>Nations and States in Southeast Europe</i>	Centre for Democracy of Reconciliation in South Eastern Europe, historians, local history teachers	-2005	Scientific-civil textbook development project	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	<i>Change and Continuity in Everyday Life in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia 1945-2000</i>	EuroClio, Government of the Netherlands, history teacher organisations in Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia	2000-2003	Professional-civil textbook development project	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	<i>Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country, Every Day Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia Transformation</i>	EuroClio, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian history teacher NGOs	-2007	Professional-civil textbook development project	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	<i>Education Partnership for Advocacy, Capacity-Building and Transformation</i>	EuroClio, history teacher organisations from the Balkans: Montenegro (HIPMONT), Kosovo (SHMHK), Macedonia (ANIM), Serbia (UDI), Albania (ALBNA), Bosnia and Herzegovina (HIP BiH)	2019-	Scientific-civil education project with textbook research and curriculum development	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	<i>Learning History that is not yet History</i>	EuroClio, history teacher NGOs from the Balkan Peninsula: Montenegro (HIPMONT), Kosovo (SHMHK), Macedonia (ANIM), Serbia (UDI), Albania (ALBNA), Bosnia and Herzegovina (HIP BiH), Croatia (HUNP), Slovenia (SHTA)	2016-	Scientific-civil education project with textbook research and curriculum development	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	<i>The Black Sea, A history of Interactions</i>	Council of Europe, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey, Ukraine	-2004	Multilateral curriculum development project	<i>conflict resolution</i>
Pan-European	<i>Histoire de l'Europe</i>	Council of Europe, 12 Member States	-1992	Multilateral textbook project	<i>regional identity building</i>
	<i>Teaching European History in the 21st century</i>	EuroClio, 7 universities: Utrecht, Madrid, Humboldt Berlin, Sheffield, Karlova (Prague), ELTE (Budapest)	2019-22	Scientific-civil textbook project	<i>regional identity building</i>

Asia	Tbilisi Initiative	<i>Council of Europe, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, Turkey</i>	1997-2002	Multilateral curriculum development project	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	Divided Memories and Reconciliation	Standford University Asia-Pacific Research Center, transnational research group	2006-	Scientific-civil education project with textbook research and textbook publishing	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	Chinese-Korean-Japanese textbook revision	Georg Eckert Institute for Textbook Revision, Asia Peace and History Education Network, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2 Chinese universities, 12 Japanese universities, Association of Women's History Studies (Japan), Children and Textbooks Japan 21 Network, 5 S-Korean Universities, National Institute of Korean History	2002-	Trilateral textbook revision and cooperation	<i>conflict resolution</i>
	ASEAN textbook project	Association of Southeast Asian Nations, 10 South-Eastern-Asian countries	-2012	Multilateral curriculum development	<i>regional identity building</i>
Middle East	Palestinian-Israeli textbook revision	Peace Research Institute in the Middle East, Betlehem University, Ben-Gurion University	2002-2007	Bilateral textbook revision	conflict resolution

4. Conclusion

Two models can be identified in the study of transnational history textbooks, which, with some simplification, can be called conflict resolution and regional identity-building types. Among the situations that can be considered conflicts, already cooled, long-historical conflicts, such as the French-German, Polish-German, or Chinese-Japanese-Korean examples of World War II, can be found, as well as ongoing conflicts such as Palestinian-Israeli hostilities or the Sino-Japanese island dispute. In addition, an alternative image is presented by the identity-forming activities of political and economic associations in Europe and Southeast Asia (e.g. the European Union, Northern Associations and ASEAN).

A common feature of the projects is that they were always preceded by thorough preparatory research work. These reconciliation processes, regardless of the results and products or their use, are important milestones in the direction of changing historical thinking. Authors and developers participating in transnational cooperation establish regular dialogue with each other. They get to know each other's posi-

tions, arguments and thinking, they enter a kind of multicultural discourse, which, in addition to its identity-forming effect, may also influence their future activities and the thinking of other members of the given organization, school, university or publishing house.

In many other parts of the world, textbook research and conflict resolution projects supporting peaceful coexistence have been launched. Such as the Indian-Pakistani textbook cooperation coordinated by the international organization Seeds of Peace (Rehman, 2013), or the publication of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region in Africa (Bhirabake, 2021), looking at a new continent, but the scope of this paper does not allow for their detailed representation.

The summary shows that history teaching can play a major role in both social functions, *conflict resolution* and *common identity building*. However, an important question may be what format it should be in, during the 2020s, that could be suitable for effectively conveying this.

At a supranational level, coordination of (member) state curricula, and the formulation of common points in education policy can strengthen these connections. While at a national content regulation level the emphasis on transnational and multi-perspective approaches in core curricula could be increased.

In addition to goal setting and setting the curricular framework, content, course development is also essential. As a result of the digital pedagogical innovations of recent years, the printed, static book format can certainly be replaced by common, adaptable platforms and related complex blended learning courses. Examples in this direction include EuroClio's editable virtual learning environment Historiana and a series of large-scale course development projects featuring broad European expertise that fill it with content (Fodor, 2023).

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