



*'If we focus only on Moldovan history,
there will not be any history. Moldova is too unimportant'.*

(Quotation of a Moldovan historian)

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INTRODUCTION

History has provided Europe and therefore also Moldova with a wide range of more serious and dangerous controversial and sensitive issues: wars, questionable behaviour by politicians, deportations, slavery, lax moral attitudes, bombardments of innocent people, imperialism, ethnic cleansing, Shoah, collaboration with occupying forces, religious intolerance, refugees and war crimes. Issues, which are interpreted in quite contrasting ways by different people, nations and countries. These issues still play an important role in the everyday life of many. This history does not belong to the past; it is everyday reality.

A major characteristic for the learning and teaching of history in Moldova, the Balkans, Europe and beyond is the distinct focus on national history. Within the national history, the perspective of the national majority group is dominant. There is little place for other ethnic, linguistic and religious communities and also gender history does not play a significant role. And even if history educators broaden their national focus, their international perspective is mostly coloured by national priorities.

In Moldova, as in many, mostly Eastern European, countries the courses for school history are divided into a course on national and one on European or world history. The national history course is often considered the most important. School history presents *national mirrors of pride and pain*, in which pupils are made aware firstly of national sufferings and secondly of credits to national pride. The damage done to others and the mere fact that others can even have been victims of their own country or the national majority group, are issues which hardly feature in history curricula or textbooks. And what happened to *others* and is not part of *our past* does also not concern us at all, and is therefore excluded.

The clear dominance of national history in school history means that Moldovan pupils are, like others in Europe, made aware of an interesting selection of national issues. As a result, they leave school with a biased picture of the past. They carry this representation of the past into their future life and in their turn pass it on to later generations. In such a way historical myths, biased and other incorrect representations of the past have long lives.

The learning and teaching of history is politics

Writing new curricula for history is a highly political and sensitive issue in societies all over the world. In many countries we find rather political aims for the learning and teaching of history such as raising awareness for national heritage, creating patriots and lawful, critical and/or democratic citizens, and developing national identity. And when history education is discussed, media and politicians always focus on the lack of knowledge of pupils (and the general public) of national heroes, events or data. Neither the media nor politicians question the long-term negative effects of such a national approach in history education nor do they question the educational needs of young people. Such questions do not serve short-term political interests.

Background of the visit.

Since 1991, Moldova is an independent State. However many inhabitants have doubts about this status and would have preferred to be united with another state, possibly Romania. This confusion about the status of the Moldovan State is reflected in the learning and teaching of history. The course on national history, which had to be designed after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, was not written as the history of the territory but as the history of the Romanian nation, although some 40% of the population belonged to non-Romanian speaking communities.

This choice has been already contested several times. The Moldovan government decided in 2002 at trying to change the name of the national course in the history of Moldova, and to implement this course as soon as possible into school history. Many Moldovan/Romanian speaking inhabitants disagreed with this decision and went, in March into the streets to protest against this decision. More radical elements even set up a camp of tents opposite the parliament with the aim of staying there until the government had fallen.

EUROCLIO knows how politically loaded history can be. However in the last 10 years school history had never created such an explosive situation. Therefore, it looked like an important opportunity to hold an inquiry in April 2002, into the origins of these problems and to try to formulate possible ways out and forward. This report is a reflection of this undertaking.

In late April, the demonstrations were stopped after a compromise was reached through moderation by the Council of Europe. The name for the national course for school history should, for the time being, remain unchanged.

Aims of the mission and procedure to compose the report.

Before we left for Moldova and Transdnistria we formulated the aims for this report. We aimed to:

1. Clarify and identify problems related to textbooks, curriculum and the learning and teaching of history in Moldova and Transdnistria.
2. Present alternative approaches and solutions for history education in Moldova and Transdnistria.
3. Formulate recommendations and suggestions for follow-up activities
4. Identify appropriate persons and institutions for possible follow-up activities

In order to accomplish this task we made a list of questions, which were based on the agreed *Recommendation, on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)*, adopted in 2001 by the Committee of Ministers at the Council of Europe. Although the ideas behind these questions are more complicated, basically they go back to the following six questions:

1. *What are the aims for school history in Moldova/Transdnistria in the twenty-first century?*
2. *What, as a consequence, should be taught in school history in Moldova/Transdnistria?*
3. *Why is this choice made?*
4. *How would you like to implement these ideas*
5. *What has been done until now?*
6. *What should and can be done in the near future?*

We designed the questions in order to avoid long prepared statements from our partners. Although people sometimes felt interrogated, most of them were very helpful and followed our proposed procedure as it showed that we were really interested in the problems. The answers were used to develop further arguments and thinking. We aimed especially at feedback supplying them and us with opportunities for the future. From each meeting we made separate reports, and these reports were the basis for this report.

MOLDOVA

History Curriculum after 1991

In 1992 Moldova developed its first independent history curriculum for school history. The curriculum development group for history made an attempt to offer an integrated course, simply called history. Such an integrated course means no specific differentiation between national and world history and is practice in most Western European countries. However, Moldovan historians, media and politicians representing the whole political spectrum protested against this idea and the outcome was a separate curriculum for national history, called *the history of the Romanians* and a curriculum on general (world) history.

Transdnistria

After its 'independence', Transdnistria continued using the traditional standards for history education of the Russian Federation. This means the same basic teaching plan and the same number of hours. Pupils and students have general (world) history and *history of the Fatherland*, which means the history of Russia, the USSR and independent Transdnistria. The language of instruction is Ukrainian, Russian and Moldovan (Romanian) and depending on the ethnicity of the school there can be special focus on Romanian, Ukrainian or Russian history. The curriculum for world history is similar in all schools.

Different concepts for national history

In the debates about the concept for national history in Moldova, four concepts are used: The history of the Romanians; the history of the Moldovans (Greater Moldavia, including territories in Romania and Ukraine); the history of Moldova as a national and multi-ethnic state and Moldova as part of the Russian and Soviet Empire. Academic historians adhere to the different points of view, depending on their political points of view or linguistic and /or ethnic background and if they live in Moldova or Transdnistria.

PRESENT SITUATION

A problematic situation

Moldova offers in school history not the history of the State but the history of the Romanian people as the course on national history. This approach has led to debates between several political and linguistic and /or ethnic groups. Since 1995, there have been two attempts to change this Romanian orientation in history education. The last attempt was carried out by the present Government and led to the political crisis of spring 2002.

Most Moldovan/Romanian speakers in the country consider the history of Moldova as a part of the history of Romanians. A history of Moldova (or the territory of Moldova) would not be interesting enough. Many of them consider Moldova as *an incident of history*. They share the opinion that other ethnic or linguistic communities were happy with the history of the Romanians as national history until the Communist Government proposed changing the curriculum and introducing Russian as a second language and the history of Moldova as national history. As a result of this proposal nationalist, Romanian speakers held an ongoing 24 hour demonstrations since February in the centre of Chisinau.

Deputy Prime Minister Cristea's Curriculum Commission

In order to calm the situation down the Moldovan Parliament decided, in February 2002 to form a commission. Vice-Prime Minister Cristea was appointed head of this commission, which received a vague, multi-interpretable and unstructured task. It should *analyse the*

elaboration of the concept of the history of Moldova. The results of the commission should be acceptable for right and left. This commission should include representatives of the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Education and the NGO for National Culture.

In April, little was done. The commission members were not installed and, therefore, the commission had not started its work. All academic specialists and history educators whom we met claimed they had not yet been consulted on their expertise or participation and also feared that this commission might have not enough independence.

Despite all, the minister was still incredibly optimistic. Although the commission had not started its work in mid-April, the minister envisages that before 1 September, the beginning of the new school year, the commission should have reached a clear outcome. And that it would be possible to adopt before that time the curriculum and the textbooks for the 8th and 9th grade, which are presently under development.

The Deputy Prime Minister envisaged that the starting date might be directly after the visit of representatives of the Moldovan government to the Council of Europe in mid April. As the result of this meeting there was not a direct need to change the name and the content of the course on national history, so there was no reason to put so much haste to set up the committee. The Committee met in July for the first time.

National identity

We were suppressed and we want to be free; the concepts of history divide us from our ancestors and they make us different from what we know we are, are just a few quotations from the talks with our partners. One person even claimed that there was no other European country where the nation had to live divided in different countries. (After some discussion the person agreed that this might be a false perception.) However, it is obvious that national identity is a key issue in Moldova and that the proposals on Russian language and Moldovan history of the present Government are considered by the Romanian/Moldovan speakers as an attempt to a (new) denationalisation. Often, language and identity were considered the same but also tradition, upbringing and heritage were seen as key elements in defining identity.

The non-Romanian orientated Moldovan academics pointed out that identity greatly depends on self-identification. They gave examples how Moldovans were changed into Romanians and vice versa as a result of propaganda, pressure and other influences. One advocate of the history of Moldova even stated that there is a danger that the Moldovan identity might disappear and that Moldova will cease to exist as an independent state in 10 years time, which would be a loss for the cultural diversity of Europe.

We noticed that national identity in Moldova is a burning issue with little space for distancing or critical reflection. *National identity is an obsession of older people, the younger generation is far less interested in this problem,* was another signal we heard. But looking at the demonstrations and thinking about the impact of what is told at home and in school, we wondered how far others shared this statement.

Discourse on history of the Romanians or the history of Moldova

History has its laws; the space inhabited by Romanians is the starting point; the Thracians are the base of the nation: from antiquity to 1812 there is one continuous history, only disrupted by the Russian occupation, these are some quotations of opinions about (national) history which we heard during our mission. Many historians considered the aim of Soviet history as to alienate Moldovans from Romanians, and the idea to introduce the history of Moldova, as a repetition of that approach. The common opinion was that this approach should not happen again and, therefore, schools in Moldova should teach the history of the Romanian people. Academics were convinced that only one people, the Romanians, had lived here since Antiquity. *This is the only scientific truth, so this should be treated in school,* it was declared. To our questions, how the non-Romanian speaking were placed, we received the answer that

this history of the Romanians was in practice a multi-ethnic history, as the relations of the Romanians with other peoples are included. And even more, we should consider that Romanians were the victims of history and the other ethnic, religious and linguistic communities the perpetrators. We understood from this argument that the minority communities have little right to be represented in school history.

Most of the Moldovan/Romanian speaking historians and history educators consider the history of Moldova a false concept as it means dealing with only one province of Romania. This would be a very narrow and insignificant interpretation. However, if we were to teach the history of Moldova, we were told during our meetings, this history would mean that we would teach a Greater Moldavia national history. This history should include territory in Ukraine and Romania. To narrow the history of Moldova even further to the history of the territory of the present Moldovan state is applying both a Stalinist concept and a recent political construction. Moldova, in the eyes of these partners, should be considered as *an incident of history*. The present Moldova should only be seen as a historical phenomenon in the development of the Romanians. It is a temporary reality as a result of the collapse of the USSR. The final unification with the Romanians is considered as a slow but objective and legitimate process.

The disturbing fact that historians in this region only look at history from an ethnic perspective, was also confirmed when the Moldovan/Romanian and Slavonic speaking historians and history educators pointed out that in the Moldovan and Transdnistria schools, minority communities have the right to study their own history and teach their own national identity. Therefore, there should not be any reason for concern. That a majority group also should have knowledge and understanding about the other communities in society had not entered into the discourse about national history in Moldova.

Many Moldovan/Romanian speaking historians and history educators were convinced that, until recently, all historians and history educators representing linguistic and /or ethnic groups minority groups accepted the concept of Romanians history as national history for Moldova, *as it was the historical truth*. We question if representatives of the other linguistic, religious or ethnic communities have not often been silenced by the rather uncompromising tone of the debates.

History of Transdnistria

The ministry, historians and history educators from Transdnistria consider Transdnistria traditionally as a border area where different cultures, civilisations and powers met. There was always contact and clash between different cultures: Slavonic, Balkan, Roman and Ottoman. Since two centuries Transdnistria was included in Russia/Soviet Union and is therefore oriented towards Slavonic history, and therefore scientific relations with Moscow are nurtured.

History education includes, according to the academics of this region, the history of neighbouring states and nations and the different ethnic groups in Transdnistria. They considered Transdnistria as an example of peaceful cohabitation of different ethnic groups in the Russian Empire. We have not been able to judge any evidence and to find out whether this statement is true or false. However, it was remarkable to notice, that the 70 kilometres, which separate Moldova's capital Chisinau from Transdnistria's capital Tiraspol, give way for a totally different interpretation of the local/national history.

Academic historians

The **Department of History in the Academy of Science**, the **State and Pedagogical Universities** and the **Association of Historians** are all strongly in favour of the *history of the Romanians*. These historians consider Moldova not as a historical concept and only want to see the Moldovan state as a part or stage in Romanian history. The history of the Romanians

is considered as an objective reflection of science. There was a general complaint that during the Soviet period, historians were not allowed to study Romanian history as national history. The academic historians stated that they were satisfied with the present situation in history education and textbooks in Moldova. This attitude cannot come as a real surprise as the academic historians are responsible for the history curricula and the textbooks.

On the whole, it came out that the most of the academic historians are not prepared to discuss a possible change of the national school history course, the history of Romanians into the history of the independent Moldovan territory as they consider this change as politically motivated. The academic historians we spoke to were very concerned about recent anti-democratic tendencies such as censorship and limitation of speech, as they found that their access to (state) Radio, TV, and other media was blocked. However, through Cleo, a regular publication, they had been able to express their thoughts and spread their opinions in a wider audience.

Another opinion was heard from the academic historians united in the **Association for the History of Moldova**. These academic historians presented in February 2002 an alternative curriculum of the history of the Moldovan state as a discussion paper. It has a chronological approach, drawing a red line from the Medieval Moldovan principality to the present Moldova. It is a dense curriculum, full of detailed facts and political history. As a school curriculum it is incomplete as it is completely lacking elements as history of everyday life, women's or gender history, and the history of different minority communities. (We noticed that the history of the Shoah is not mentioned.)

They propose adapting their curriculum proposals after debate, and then even to organise a referendum on the issue. Only after approval of such a national Moldovan history curriculum, it should be slowly and gradually be implemented in school history.

During our visit, we were concerned about the uncompromising tone of many talks. An open exchange of points of view looks rarely possible. The claim to represent the only truth makes any discussion impossible.

Aims for the learning and teaching of history.

Our partners were often surprised that we started our talks with the question *what are the aims for the learning and teaching of history in Moldova and Transdnistria*. It came out that this issue had not been discussed. However, most partners reflected in depth on the question. For some, history was not a subject, which needed any new aims, school history should supply pupils with *knowledge of the past*, to understand the present and predict the future. If we asked what that meant in practice, it came down to a detailed study of facts of the history of humankind and of states, in close relation with the study of literature and art.

However, we also received the other traditional answer, *we have to create Romanian, Moldovan and Transdnistrian patriots, loyal to the home- or fatherland*. In order to reach this aim, pupils need to be aware of their past and origin through knowledge of ancestors, costumes and traditions. In this way, school history is used as an instrument to create a good attitude and love towards the state. The *consolidation of the state* was considered by several of our partners as of vital importance for the future of this area. However, we cannot really match the present practice on national history in Moldova with this idea of consolidation of the state. Posing questions about this issue, we were made aware that school history in Moldova would not be considered to consolidate the Moldovan state but the Romanian state. When asking questions about this issue, we were made aware that school history in Moldova was not considered to consolidate the Moldovan but the Romanian state.

Those who favour the history of the Republic of Moldova argued along the same lines of state consolidation. School history should, according to this group, focus on the history of the Moldovan state, including all its inhabitants and should build respect for all linguistic or ethnic communities.

Closely connected to the above-mentioned approach is the belief in both Moldova and Transdnistria that *moral and civil education is the focal point of national history*. One of our partners feared that separation of an individual from his or her nation would create an 'internationalist person'. Although such outcome did not seem such a bad idea to us, it was certainly not considered a desirable option for the speaker. After all, it is a traditional communist objective.

Learning from the past also came out as a popular aim. However, such history should not be an instrument for political education, as it was for example during the USSR. That instrumentalisation was a clear falsification. *Historical objectivity* should be the main task for history education. History could only be based on the truth and should provide a realistic image of past and present. School history should be free of myths and ideology. It should stick to the facts, strive for objectivity and not create heroes of a supra-human nature.

When we wondered what historical truth meant and wondered whether not all history was based on an interpretation of (historical) facts, we received little feedback from our partners. Academic historians never mentioned the concept of interpretation during our talks. It is certainly not considered a basic concept for the subject, as it is for many in the Western world. In our talks with history educators, schoolteachers, curriculum developers, teacher (in-service) trainers, pedagogues and experts in the learning and teaching of history, more methodological and innovative aims were mentioned. Pupils should *develop empathy about what happened in the past*. Here also, some skills were mentioned such as *developing critical thinking and working with different perspectives and opinions, through active methods of teaching*.

The educators as well as the politicians we met did not only mention modern, but also quite political, objectives, History education, in their opinion, should *create good citizens with tolerance towards their neighbours*. It should favour pluriformity and democratic approaches through accepting different opinions. It should create active citizens who fight against xenophobia and hate. The problem is, as always, that these aims are rarely followed by any practical policy and implementation strategies.

The idea that there could be considerable differences between the aims for academic and school history was far from what we heard from most of the people we met. In modern history curricula, an important function of the subject is *to help young people know and understand the world in which they live and the forces, movements and events which have shaped that world*. Or to give the answer to the question: *How have we got to where we are now?* Many educators also feel that the way they answer this question has repercussions for the future of a younger generation. By presenting this past, they also consider such questions as *what do my pupils need to know from the past to live in the future and what message will be meaningful for a person living in the 21st century?* Looking at the expressed aims for the learning and teaching of history in Moldova and Transdnistria, it was clear that such aims did not play an important role.

History curriculum

At the end of the Soviet Union, the new civilisation concept for history education became fashionable. It was considered to be a humanistic approach, in comparison with the former communist emphasis on political and economic history. Academicians in most 'post' communist countries adhere to this civilisation concept, which is considered as the break with the previous communist approach to history and history teaching.

The new 1999 curriculum is still based on this concept and also has pedagogical objectives. However, as in most European countries, academic historians in Moldova have little interest in educational objectives; they want to focus on (new) content. All history educators complained that, in the process of curriculum development, there had been too little communication between academic historians and history educators. In the creation as well as in the implementation process of the curriculum, teachers were and are hardly involved at all.

As a result, the curriculum is overloaded with facts, which are considered important by professors. The curriculum hardly takes into account the needs and abilities of young pupils and students.

The history curriculum in Moldova, as well as in Transdnistria, states for each lesson the contents, which has to be taught. School and local authorities control this rather inflexible history syllabus.

Each pupil/student follows two hours of history per week from the 5th to the 12th form. Exactly 50% of the curriculum is devoted to world history, the remaining 50% to national history. In Moldova, national history is understood as *the history of the Romanians*, Transdnistria calls it the *history of the fatherland*, of which 2/3 is devoted to Russian History and 1/3 to Transdnistrian history. Except for the Moldovan/Romanian speaking schools, the history of Romanians is not taught in Transdnistria.

Both entities have chosen a concentric approach, which means from the 5th to the 9th form: ancient history till modern history on, what they describe as, a minimal level of knowledge. From the 10th to the 12th form, this course is repeated in (even more) detail.

In Moldova, the curriculum requirements officially offers 20-30 % free space for schools and teachers, to teach topics they consider appropriate. However it is questionable if this space really exists, considering the already overloaded history syllabus.

In the Ukrainian language school in Chisinau, we observed as result of this so-called free space, a course in world history, Russian history, Ukrainian history and the history of the Romanians, all in 3 lessons per week. Two lessons devoted to the national history curriculum of Moldova and one lesson devoted to Ukrainian history. And even with such abundance of time - British and Dutch history teachers can only dream about such a luxurious amount of time allocated for history in the curriculum- teachers complained that it was not enough to cover all the curriculum requirements.

The history educators stated that they want to be included in future curriculum development, as the present curriculum does not match the needs of young people.

Textbooks

Textbooks in Moldova are only allowed in schools after approval of by an assessment committee. It is a public committee; the names of the members of this committee are mentioned in the school textbook. Authors are not allowed to judge their own textbooks.

Moldova received a substantial loan from the World Bank in the late 1990s. This World Bank loan acted as a catalyst for innovation of the Moldovan curriculum and textbooks. These books were published after a competition between (teams of) mostly academic textbook authors. For the fifth form, some authors tried again to make the concept of integrated history accepted and to introduce a less content and more activities based approach. However, this approach was not acceptable and the book was not approved in 1999.

The textbooks published after 1999 have much improved design, compared with the ones, which appeared in 1994. To a certain extent, the new books have taken into account new approaches and include sometimes controversial, written and pictorial source materials. They also start to offer tasks and activities. However, as university professors write most of the textbooks, the historical content is dominant and its perception is not very different from the 'old' books.

The 'World Bank Books' have national as well as world history titles. They will be available in April 2002 for forms 5 and 6 and 10-11 and 12. Teachers demonstrate a growing interest in innovative materials, which focus not any longer only on the amount of text but also on the development of competencies. Also in Moldova they see a (slow) shift of emphasis from what students should know to what they should be able to do. The book for form 6 has, in particular, included more of these ideas.

The present pupil and student generation seems to be interested in following the new objectives. Feedback from the tests in the end of form 11 shows that methods used in history textbooks also helped students to understand other texts.

Many teachers complain that the curriculum has been implemented before the textbooks were available in the Moldovan/Romanian language. The development of textbooks in the Russian language is even further behind. As a result, the pupils depend on the extra work and materials of the teachers. Most of these materials will, due to lack of money for photocopies, never be distributed among the pupils. Therefore, pupils have to make (many) notes, which of course lead to all sorts of confusion. In such a situation, one can wonder about the quality of the school subject history in Moldova.

The teachers considered the new schoolbooks, especially for groups 5-7, too difficult. Far too much content is given and some teachers told us that, especially in Russian schools, interest in history is decreasing.

We noticed that neither the World Bank nor the Local Authorities have invited history education specialists from abroad to give their support or advice during the development of the textbooks. In our opinion such a broader perspective would have had a beneficial impact on the discussion and the production of the new school history textbooks.

Transdnistria

Transdnistria uses Russian textbooks for world history. Some additional materials, also from Russia, are available. We did not widely discuss this issue. At the moment there are many Russian school textbooks on the market. Their quality varies largely and also the level of innovative approaches. We did not see any of the books in use, and in order, to analyse the materials, which are used in Transdnistria, we would need a EUROCLIO or Georg Eckert Institute network (textbook) specialist from Russia.

The two large volumes on History of Transdnistria, published in 2000 and 2001, were seen as the basis for the school textbooks for the programme adopted in 1999. Our partners informed us that school history book(s) on History of Moldova/Transdnistria are foreseen for October 2002. They are written by the local (academic) historians, and would include the history of Russians, Ukrainians and Moldovans. Our partners promised that multiculturalism of the country would be one of the key issues in the textbooks. We have no evidence if this statement is true or false. An earlier *History of Moldova*, which was available in two languages, was used as one of the points of reference. Textbook I will be applicable to the curriculum for forms 6-9. Textbook II will be applicable to the curriculum for forms 10-11

Overload

History is a wonderful subject, but there is too much of it! A text, which is quoted by many history educators, everywhere in Europe. Moldova and Transdnistria have a traditional approach to the learning and teaching of history and have a history curriculum with a wide variety of events, facts, names and data. The introduction of educational objectives has brought even more pressure on the curriculum. Acquiring skills requires introducing sources, assignments and activities and it is this sort of teaching and learning that takes much more time in the classroom than the traditional approach. It is impossible, within unchanged parameters of allotted time for history lessons in school curricula, to maintain the same amount of content.

Selection is the key word for history curriculum development, however for every historian the choice about what to leave out is very painful and difficult and the choice is often related to individual and political preferences and special fields of research. The discussion what to select is a never-ending story among historians and history educators. The new Moldovan curriculum is a perfect example of this problem and is consequently very difficult to accomplish.

Overload is a big problem. In our talks, all history educators complained, as they had not been involved in the development of the curricula, little discussion had been possible with the academic historians about why so many facts should be learned. All facts mentioned in the syllabus and textbooks were considered important for school education without much questioning how relevant these facts are for pupils in schools. As a result, the curricula in Moldova and Transdnistria contain many rather boring and mostly political, data.

This curriculum overload leads inevitably to the overload of facts in the Moldovan textbooks. There is not enough time to teach all, and as a result, teachers report day after day to the students without any possibility of finding out if these young people are able to digest or understand their lessons.

Examinations

In many Central and Eastern European countries, university entry examinations, and not national or school examinations, determine what a student should know when entering university. These University Entry Examinations impose in all these countries an overload of facts on the curricula and textbooks and are also a severe hindrance in the innovation in school (history) education.

In both Moldova and Transdnistria, we were informed that also here university examinations dictate the school history. All the educators we met, wanted to train their students for further studies in Kiviv, Moscow, Chisinau and Bucharest, and therefore wanted to be sure that they fulfil all possible requirements for each of these institutes. As a result, teachers overload the students even more; they are aware how much the students have to know in order to fulfil the university examination programmes.

Lack of international contacts

In general, there was too little awareness about the latest approaches to the learning and teaching of history including active teaching methods and teaching skills. Some of our partners were aware of the theoretical backgrounds and of jargon, which goes with it, but had few possibilities for practical implementation of their ideas. Many reasons for this situation are already described in this report. However, the lack of exchange in experience with history educators from abroad can also be considered as an important reason for the slow development of educational innovation in Moldova and Transdnistria.

In 1992, Romanians supported the first development of new concepts in the learning and teaching of history in Moldova. However, at that time, the approaches of the Romanian curriculum had developed along the same line as in present day Moldova: not teaching the history of the territory or country but the nation. Recently, the Romanian curriculum has been considerably innovated and has undergone important changes, which offer good opportunities for co-operation. However, the lack of financial resources have made such contacts restricted. And, of course, the Romanian example is only one among the many interesting examples available in Europe.

And, on the whole, there have been far too few opportunities in Moldova and Transdnistria, for sharing experiences with other history educators in Europe due to restricted finances, lack of foreign (English) language skills, communication tools as fax machines and e-mail and few foreign embassies to which to apply for visas. The national authorities have also done not enough to stimulate people to attend activities organised by international organisations or NGOs or to go abroad.

This situation lead to almost total isolation among Moldovan historians and history educators. As a result, little was known about the developments in other European countries. Only the French system, as a result of the series of Council of Europe seminars in the late 90s, is well known and has been used as a guarantee for a *European Standard*. However, history education in Europe is very varied in its approaches and a European Standardisation does not

exist. But the Council of Europe document *Recommendation, Rec (2001) 15 on history teaching in the twenty-first-century*, signed by the Committee of European Ministers the Council of Europe, could act as such. This document represents an innovative approach towards history education in Europe and is helpful discussing and monitoring the learning and teaching of history in each country in Europe, and therefore also in Moldova and in Transdnistria.

Moldova has been ignored by European donor organisations willing to finance on history. A proposed OSCE project in 2000 obtained too little financial support to make a good start with the project. Also EUROCLIO has not been able to raise any substantial money for activities in Moldova. Only the Georg Eckert Institute in Brunswick, Germany, has been able to provide some study grants for textbook authors. The Council of Europe has been able to do most and organised a series of seminars from 1997 to 1999.

Only recently is Moldova accepted within the Stability Pact as a country eligible for financing. However, Stability Pact projects require at least three regional partners. The most natural partner, Romania, will probably be not very well received by the present political leadership. For the learning and teaching of history, such Stability Pact projects for three countries, would, as Ukraine, Transdnistria and Russia are not eligible for financing within the Pact, not be very realistic. As far as we can judge, unilateral projects on issues related to the learning and teaching of history for Moldova/Transdnistria will be far more beneficial.

In Transdnistria we heard complaints that this region was even more isolated and excluded from projects.

Role of the Council of Europe

The Council of Europe has organised five teacher-training seminars in the late 90s. Four of them were Francophone; the last one was in English. These seminars were highly appreciated, almost all our partners referred to them. Also some people had had the opportunity to participate in different regional meetings and seminars organised by the Council of Europe, sometimes in co-operation with EUROCLIO

As positive outcomes we heard, that they had had the opportunity to meet experts from abroad and that they had encouraged them to move forwards. We noticed that this was certainly the case with history educators who participated in Council of Europe events.

Our partners had strong beliefs in the capacities of the Council of Europe. Deputy Prime Minister Cristea expressed a special wish for experts from the Council of Europe/EUROCLIO to monitor and assist his curriculum commission. For him, Council of Europe seminars on curriculum development would be helpful tools.

We distributed the Council of Europe *Handbook on the Learning and Teaching of Twentieth Century History* and the *Recommendation on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)* in French and English, among all our partners, in the hope that some of them would start to review their work in the light of these texts.

We found out that The Council of Europe Information and Documentation Centre in Chisinau had translated some important documents on history and civic education in Moldovan/Romanian. However, as it has problems, disseminating the materials, especially via Ministry of Education, little reached the target groups. The different Ministers did not adequately reacted to its requests to provide the necessary means to disseminate the materials among history educators and schools. It came out that a direct link with the Advisor for History in the Ministry was absent and that therefore many good materials were unknown. It was also questionable, when looking through the impressive mailing list of the Centre, whether the materials on history, which were disseminated, reached the right people, especially in the schools.

OSCE project proposal

During our visit to Transnistria the OSCE project proposal *Working Groups on History Textbooks, Promoting Tolerance, Non-Discrimination and Confidence Building through Removal of Stereotypes and Enemy Images from History Education* was mentioned several times as a positive example. In Moldova proper, the project was less well known than in Transnistria, where the historians were disappointed about the failure of this OSCE Project in 2000.

WAYS AHEAD ACCORDING TO THE PARTNERS

At the end of each talk, we asked our partners to propose or reflect on possibilities for the future. The following possibilities and ideas were reflected upon:

- The proposed Curriculum Commission headed by Deputy Prime Minister Cristea;
- Publication of alternative textbooks;
- Improvement of dissemination of materials;
- Innovative teacher (in-service) training;
- Strengthening international relations;
- Textbook on European history;
- Reviving the OSCE project proposal;
- An integrated history course;
- Setting up a network of history educators, preferably as a History Educators Association;
- A textbook on the History of the Territory of Moldova in the 20th Century.

The proposed Curriculum Commission headed by Deputy Prime Minister Cristea.

Both Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy Minister of Education believed that a curriculum committee would be the solution for the crisis on history education. This Commission should decide on the basic curriculum for Moldovan history and common terminology. This compromise should be the guideline for a new history curriculum and for new history textbooks. Both the Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy Minister of Education believed that such a committee could work fast, but others, as they had little believe in the work of the committee, wanted at least a minimum of one year to come up with proposals.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Deputy Minister of Education want to include representatives of the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Education, politicians of different political parties, historians with different points of view, including representatives of minority groups, journalists and the NGO for National Culture. In most of our talks, the partners agreed that members of the committee should also include history teachers.

Both politicians were willing to work along the Council of Europe *Recommendation, on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)* guidelines, and were interested in monitoring expert(s) from the Council of Europe and EUROCLIO. They would also welcome a Council of Europe seminar on curriculum development in the autumn of 2002.

If ever such committee is formed, it should be allowed a minimum of at least one year to formulate its proposals. However, we believe that more time is needed. In the meantime, some experimental history educators' group(s) could perhaps develop some workable ideas about the implications of such a change. We recommend that such process should be monitored by experienced history education specialists from abroad, along the lines of the Council of Europe *Recommendation, on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)*.

We also recommended Council of Europe/EUROCLIO seminars about curriculum development, with carefully selected experts on history curriculum development. In these seminars, history educators and historians from Moldova and Transdnistria could share and discuss their own experiences and examples of good practice from abroad.

Publication of alternative textbooks

Several partners mentioned the possibility for a wider selection of alternative textbooks. Such books could offer different orientations, would provide choice for teachers and pupils and could lead to discussions. As far as we could judge, there is a small textbook choice for form 10-12, however, we had no opportunity to compare all books, as books were difficult to obtain.

We consider this proposal interesting. Since 1989, the variety of history textbooks has grown considerably in the former Communist countries. The past one *state* publishing house textbook is replaced in many countries by a (limited) choice. This beginning of a *free* textbook market is a positive development

However, with the present curriculum in Moldova, we do not see much space for manoeuvring. The present national course on the history of the Romanians and the world history course, with their hour-to-hour description about what to teach, does not leave much room for alternatives, only perhaps slightly at the interpretative level. And as that level is mostly related to political viewpoints, one can wonder how helpful such a change would be. Only a much less descriptive curriculum would offer real alternative approaches.

Strengthening international relations

Both our partners and we were concerned about the isolated position of Moldova, and especially of its historians and history educators. We all realised that Moldova has almost been excluded from the common European talks about the learning and teaching of history. Also the participation in Council of Europe events has been limited and EUROCLIO has never been able to welcome history educators from Moldova in spite of available resources.

All partners were eager to change this situation, and willing to meet specialists from abroad. All stressed the need of strengthening the exchange of experiences with others in Europe. It was obvious that the historians and history educators from Transdnistria were even more isolated and interested to meet others.

The Council of Europe, EUROCLIO and the Georg Eckert Institute already offer restricted opportunities for such exchanges and more people from Moldova should be informed and stimulated to participate in these courses and activities. However, we all agreed that more money should be available for international exchange.

As another handicap for international exchange, we noticed rather limited language skills. Many of our partners had little knowledge or at least little practice in foreign languages, especially English. We regretted that almost all our communication depended on the interpreter. We consider the assistance of, for instance, Cultural Institutes such as the British Council, important for solving the international isolation of Moldovan historians and history educators.

EUROCLIO offers both to history educators from Moldova proper and Transdnistria the opportunity to participate as observer in the next seminar in October 2002 of the EUROCLIO *New Times, New History* project in Ukraine.

Improvement of dissemination of information and materials

The dissemination of appropriate materials within Moldova/Transdnistria and from abroad has been very limited. The information about Council of Europe and EUROCLIO activities were not widely distributed among history educators. There were few links between key persons and history educators in general in the country. As a result most information never

reached the targeted groups and, even if materials reached its aim, it is doubtful if these materials were implemented at a classroom level.

We discussed possibilities for improvement of the dissemination of materials and also discussed which materials would be helpful for school education in Moldova. The Council of Europe Handbook on Teaching 20th century history in Europe written by Dr Robert Stradling is already available in Romanian and in Russian translation.

Setting up a network of history educators, preferably as a History Educators' Association

One of the side effects of our visit was that people became even more aware of the poor internal and external communication and at least some people became linked, who had not been before. Hopefully, these new contacts will improve the communication between actors in the field of history education, as we noticed a positive attitude, - after our trip already some action was taken- to set up a history educators' network/association. A Moldovan history teachers network should include all different ethnic, linguistic and religious communities in the society and focus on new and young teachers as well as teachers, who have worked for a long time. The association should offer activities such as teacher (in-service) training and sharing best practice workshops.

Such an Association should be assisted in obtaining a legal status and, as soon as possible, apply for EUROCLIO membership.

Innovative teacher (in-service) training

The educators we met all asked for more seminars on innovative methods on learning and teaching. Some educators involved in the innovation of teaching approaches have already started in-service teacher training. However, a History Educators Association would reinforce this process.

Textbook on European history

Educators also expressed the wish for a common textbook on European history, which would be applicable in all European schools. Such ideas are not new and one of them even materialised in the early 90s. However, as education and certainly history education is a national responsibility, an idea like this is not very realistic and even not very attractive. However a common approach to the learning and teaching of history, as stated in the Council of Europe Recommendation is something, which should be striven for. Regional resource materials such as developed in the EUROCLIO Stability Pact Project for Albania, Bulgaria and Macedonia *Understanding a Shared Past, Learning for the Future* could also be an attractive example.

Reviving of the OSCE project proposal

Some academics felt that, although the start of the project had not been very promising, it would be good to see if there could not be a possibility to pursue its ideas. We know that the *Georg Eckert Institute* and the *Joint History Project*, which both operate with projects in the framework of the Stability Pact, have a wide experience with textbooks and academic teaching comparisons and would, therefore, be natural partners for a revived OSCE project.

A textbook/teacher resource book on the History of the territory of Moldova in the 20th Century

The approach to compare (history) textbooks is commonly used and it is a successful way to find out in what way they hinder positive attitudes, common understanding and cooperation. To work for the future, EUROCLIO always tries to find ways forward and offer materials,

which enhance implementation of new approaches. Therefore, we asked our partners to think about an innovative textbook/teacher resource book on 20th Century history of the territory of Moldova, along the lines of several EUROCLIO projects.

We noticed a positive attitude towards such a book, which would move away from the traditional political and economic approach and focus on the history of everyday life. Such a book should include maps, source materials, tasks and activities and approaches to learning and teaching. The book should be developed by educators/experts from Moldova and Transdnistria in close cooperation with active experts from the EUROCLIO network, including observers from the neighbouring countries Romania, Ukraine and Russia.

An integrated history course

We also asked our partners to reflect on an *integrated course on history*, which *includes local, national, regional, European and global perspectives* as a possible way out of the crisis on the learning and teaching of history. Several other Central and Eastern European countries have already followed the model of the integrated history course. In our opinion, school history should be called history. In such way, we would avoid the changing the name of the national course into the history of Moldova, as it has too many political implications. But by naming it history, we also remove the term of the questionable national history course as the history of the Romanians.

The idea of an integrated approach was not rejected; people felt that an integrated course for history would be acceptable. Only, most of them considered this an approach for the (far) future but not for the present situation. At least all agreed that there should be a transition period to be able to adapt the curriculum, textbooks and teachers.

CONCLUSIONS

1. History is closely related to personal and national identity, sense of belonging and political convictions. Changing historical interpretations through rational approaches is, therefore, difficult and complicated.
2. The recent solution of the political crisis on history education in Moldova can only be considered as a temporary way out. The roots of the problems, which have arisen, are related to the general rejection of the Romanian-speaking majority to recognise Moldova as a multicultural society.
3. The present approach to the learning and teaching of history in Moldova is directly related to this problem as it reflects a nationalistic attitude not respecting the histories of all ethnic and religious communities in Moldova. This approach will continue to cause problems as it prevents mutual understanding and integration between different population groups. If responsible people in Moldova are not able to come forward with more unbiased basic ideas of how to reflect this multicultural society in the school subject history, sooner or later the earlier problems will return to the surface.
4. The lack of coherence about the status of the Moldovan State is perfectly reflected in the confusion about the understanding of the concept of national history.
5. Fast problem solving for the background of the political crisis around history education is impossible. Only combined and balanced actions on different levels, such as curriculum development, textbook writing, innovation of methodological and

teaching approaches and improvement of professional qualifications will offer a sustainable outcome.

6. The history curricula are usually political affairs, and therefore often misused for political aims and objectives. In Moldova and Transdnistria politicians and historians should realise that such behaviour does not serve the interest of good history education as it is formulated in The Council of Europe *Recommendation on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)*.
7. History educators in Moldova and Transdnistria have so far not been able to formulate independent and coherent ideas about the aims and objectives of their subject. As a result, the learning and teaching of history is dependent on the non-educational agendas of politicians, media, academic historians and others. At present most of the aims formulated for history education are related to political priorities of different political or pressure groups.
8. We always deplore the decision to make a distinction between national and general (world) history within the national school curriculum. This goes especially for Moldova since the name of this national history course is unfortunately named the history of the Romanians.
9. Minority groups neither feature in the present curriculum and textbooks nor in the proposed curriculum of the Association for the History of Moldova. In the textbooks, references to minority groups are minimal, not even one page per book. We could not find any reference to the Holocaust.
10. It is unfortunate that the wish to introduce a Moldovan orientation into school history is related to the Soviet past. It, therefore, has little chance to be accepted by the majority of the Moldovan specialists on history. Further attempts to implement this concept will only fuel more outcries in the media and among the public.
11. We did not notice much methodological innovation in the academic approaches of historians in Moldova and Trans Dnistria. As a result the university entrance examinations are not in tune with modern educational requirements and form an impregnable obstacle for educational change.
12. We were surprised that open debates between academic historians in Moldova were blocked by reservations about the professional qualifications of the opponents. Academic historians from Trans Dnistria have given at least a verbal sign that they are willing to explore further debate.
13. Academic historians in Moldova and Trans Dnistria determine the school subject history through their exclusive rights on curriculum development, textbook writing and define the university entrance examinations. As a result, school history is focused too much on the content of the subject and far too little attention is paid to the learning and teaching of competencies, attitudes and ways of learning.
14. The dominant emphasis in school history in Moldova and Trans Dnistria on subject content has resulted in curricula and teaching materials overloaded with, mostly political, data. In school education there is no room for human factors, different points

of view and activities, which enhance the development of critical thinking skills and internalising of democratic skills and values.

15. The international community has neglected Moldova. It has almost been excluded from the international platforms and donor schemes. Therefore, Moldovan history educators have been too isolated and unable to discuss burning issues in a wider audience and perspective.
16. The authorities in Moldova and Transdnistria have contributed to this situation as they failed to promote the participation of a wider range of history educators in international events.
17. The Council of Europe has been the most active international actor in the field of history education and has, therefore, acquired great moral authority among politicians, historians and history educators in Moldova. We deplored the fact that its work was misunderstood and was used to justify the present curriculum and textbook contents.
18. The World Bank loan has certainly stimulated the creativity of publishers and textbook authors. The new textbooks are better designed and offer a greater variety of materials and activities. However, we deplore that the World Bank has been too little aware that history education is an extremely sensitive political subject. A systematic debate about the basic principles and subject matter of such textbooks and a monitoring of the development process would have been very desirable.
19. We noticed a positive attitude among history educators in Moldova and Transdnistria to discuss and develop alternative approaches to the learning and teaching of history. Regrettably Moldova lacks a history educator's network, which could reinforce these seeds of change, which are sprouting among history educators.
20. Innovative approaches to the learning and teaching of history are slowly filtering through, and welcomed by, most history educators. However, implementation is virtually impossible due to the traditionalist approaches of the academic historians, lack of resources and space in the curriculum.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. History curriculum

1.1 The compromise to maintain the history of the Romanians as the curriculum on national history for school history can only be a temporary solution. We advise further debates on history under the auspices of international actors such as the UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the EU, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research and EUROCLIO, the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations as soon as possible.

1.2 The Council of Europe *Recommendation, on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)* should function as the basic document for further development of the learning and teaching of history in Moldova.

1.3 As a first step we recommend ending the distinction within the school subject history between national and general (world) history and name the school subject straightforwardly history. This integrated course on history should include local, national, regional, European and global perspectives. In such a way further discussions about changing the name of the national course on history could be avoided and such a decision would also remove the contentious name of the present national history course.

1.4 A future history curriculum should be a manageable and include the different population groups of the region. Such a curriculum should be challenging and interesting for pupils and take into account their abilities and age groups.

1.5 The Curriculum Committee should be given clear guidelines about its tasks, composition, working procedures and timelines.

2. Publication of alternative textbooks

2.1 In the future, a wider selection of alternative textbooks should be available. Such books would offer different orientations and provide choice for teachers and pupils and would stimulate debate. At the same time, the present curriculum in Moldova should be less descriptive in order to stimulate learning and allow for greater flexibility.

3. University entrance examinations

3.1 The current University Entrance Examinations should be replaced by new independent and a consistent national assessment system designed to open the way for educational change and innovation. We recommend contact with countries in Central and Eastern Europe, which have already implemented this change, such as Estonia, Latvia and Poland as well as contacts with other European countries. Experts from these countries could assist this process of change.

4. Improvement of dissemination of information and materials

4.1 The dissemination of appropriate materials within Moldova should be improved. A better national and international communication infrastructure on the learning and teaching of

history should be set up, preferably including more and making better use of modern information and communication technology.

4.2 The culture of individual ownership on useful and advantageous information should be abolished.

4.3 Already available materials should be better implemented into school practice and teacher (in-service) training.

5. Setting up a network of history educators, preferably as a History Educators' Association

5.1 The communication between actors in the field of history education should be improved and we recommend setting up a history educators' network/association. Such a Moldavan History Teachers' Association should include all ethnic and religious communities and focus on new and young teachers as well as teachers who have worked for a long time.

5.2 Such an Association should be assisted by the Moldovan authorities in obtaining as quickly as possible its legal status.

5.3 Such an Association should become a member of EUROCLIO.

5.4 A history educators association should offer activities such as teacher (in-service) training and sharing best practice workshops to implement innovative approaches to the learning and teaching of history. The educators in Moldova (including Transdnistria) clearly stated that they need such seminars.

6. Reviving the OSCE project proposal

6.1 We recommend researching how the initial ideas of the OSCE project *Working Groups on History Textbooks, Promoting Tolerance, Non-Discrimination and Confidence Building through Removal of Stereotypes and Enemy Images from History Education*, could be included as a project within the framework of the Stability Pact projects on history and history education. The *Georg Eckert Institute* and the *Joint History Project* have a wide experience with textbooks and academic teaching comparisons and could therefore be natural partners for such a project.

7. A textbook/teacher resource book on history of Moldova in the 20th century

7.1 We would like to recommend producing and implementing a practical and innovative school textbook or teacher resource book on 20th Century history about the territory of Moldova, along the lines of several EUROCLIO projects. Such a book should move away from the traditional concentration on political and economic history and focus on the history of everyday life. It should work along the lines of problem-orientated key-questions and offer a multiperspective representation of the recent past.

7.2 The group working to produce such materials could develop into the nucleus of an innovative core-group on the learning and teaching of history. During such a project they could, with the help of EUROCLIO and other international actors, amplify their audience and work on acceptance of their ideas by the academic world, the media and politicians.

7.3 This school textbook or teacher resource book could act as a tool for future teacher (in-service) training and its authors should act as the agents for change. This book could also serve as an instrument to convince authorities and academics that innovative textbooks are possible and even desirable.

7.4 The process should be carried out and monitored by history educators from across Moldova (including Transdnistria), with expert observers from the region and specialist trainers from the EUROCLIO network.

8. Strengthening international relations

8.1 It is vital to strengthen the exchange of experiences of Moldovan and Transdnistrian historians and history educators with colleagues in other parts of Europe. The Council of Europe, EUROCLIO and the Georg Eckert Institute already provided some opportunities for such exchanges, however far more people from Moldova should be informed and stimulated to participate in these courses and activities.

8.2 It would be beneficial to improve the contacts of the history educators in Moldova with the present generation of innovative history educators from abroad, with special attention on expertise from countries from Central and Eastern Europe such as Ukraine, Russia and Romania.

8.3 If international organisations, such as the World Bank, sponsor projects on history education, it would be advisable to invite representatives of the international history teaching community to discuss principles and monitor the process.

8.4 We recommend intensifying contacts with cultural institutions such as the British Council for assistance solving the international isolation of Moldovan historians and history educators. They might support improving the limited foreign language skills of the present generation of historians and history educators.

8.5 The Information and Documentation Centre of the Council of Europe should find some creative ways to disseminate its publications on history and civic education to the appropriate people.

8.6 The Council of Europe Handbook on Teaching 20th Century History in Europe written by Dr Robert Stradling should be widely available, preferably in English, French, Romanian and Russian.

8.7 The inclusion of Moldova in international donor schemes should be further strengthened. More funding should be specifically allocated for history education.

9. Transformation on three levels

9.1 Moldova (including Transdnistria) could benefit from changes in approaches to history and history teaching on three levels: Governmental, University and Educational.

9.2 The Council of Europe, in cooperation with UNESCO, the EU and individual governments and experts, is the appropriate organisation to assist the Moldovan authorities.

9.3 Universities from abroad should act as agents of change and support the Institutes for Higher Education in Moldova (including Transdnistria). They should relate their work to the EU process on international recognition of academic qualifications.

9.4 EUROCLIO, and other specialist organisations are interested in assisting the history educators such as curriculum developers, textbook authors, assessment experts, teacher (in-service) trainers and schoolteachers on their road to innovative history education.

9.5 The transformation process can only be successful if supplementary funding is guaranteed for history and history education in Moldova (including Transdnistria).

APPENDIX 1

Questions discussed with the different partners in Moldova

These questions are based on agreed documents on the learning and teaching of history, signed in 2001 by all ministers of education or their representatives of the Member States of the Council of Europe

7. *What are the aims for school history in Moldova in the twenty-first century?*
8. *What as a consequence should school history be taught in Moldova?*
9. *Why did you make this choice?*
10. *How would you like to implement these ideas*
11. *What has been done until now?*
12. *What should and can be done in the next future?*

Important aims for the learning and teaching of history in Europe in the twenty-first century

- We teach history in order to strengthen trusting and tolerant relations within and between states and to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century

1. *The aims for school history in Moldova in the twenty-first century?*

- How could *History teaching in Moldova* play a vital place in the training of responsible and active citizens and in the developing of respect for all kinds of differences, based on an understanding of national identity and on principles of tolerance;

2. *What as a consequence should school history be taught in Moldova?*

- How could *History teaching in Moldova* play a vital role in the promotion of fundamental values, such as tolerance, mutual understanding, human rights and democracy;
- *How can history teaching in Moldova* eliminate prejudice and stereotypes, through the highlighting in history syllabuses of positive mutual influences between different countries, religions and schools of thought over the period of Europe's historical development;
- *How does history teaching in Moldova* enable European citizens to enhance their own individual and collective identity through knowledge of their common historical heritage in its local, regional, national, European and global dimensions;

3. *Why did you make this choice?*

- *Should history teaching in Moldova* show continuing historical relationships between local, regional, national and European levels;
- *Does history teaching in Moldova* study the controversial issues through the taking into account of the different facts, opinions and viewpoints, as well as through a search for the truth?
- How could *history teaching in Moldova* play a decisive factor in reconciliation, recognition, understanding and mutual trust between peoples;

4. *How would you like to implement these ideas?*
- *How can history teaching in Moldova* not be an instrument of ideological manipulation, of propaganda or used for the promotion of intolerant and ultra-nationalistic, xenophobic or racist ideas?
 - *How could history teaching in Moldova* make it possible to develop in pupils the intellectual ability to analyse and interpret information critically and responsibly, through dialogue, through the search for historical evidence and through open debate based on multiperspectivity, especially on controversial and sensitive issues?
 - *Should history teaching in Moldova* develop students' critical faculties, ability to think for themselves, objectivity and resistance to being manipulated?
 - *Should history teaching in Moldova* develop curiosity and the spirit of enquiry, in particular through the use of discovery methods in the study of heritage, an area which brings out intercultural influences.

Learning methods

What has been done until now?

- Your institution/organisation
- OSCE
- EUROCLIO
- Council of Europe
- European Union
- Other (international) organisations.

Textbook and additional teaching materials

Do textbooks set up the conditions necessary for teachers to:

- in the selection process, help their pupils to assess the reliability of information sources and information for themselves;
- introduce classroom procedures which encourage critical analysis, which acknowledge a multiplicity of standpoints and which adopt a transcultural approach to the interpretation of facts;
- help their pupils to develop skills such as critical analysis and analogical reasoning.

The Use of sources

The widest variety of sources of teaching material should be used to communicate historical facts and present them to be learnt about through a critical and analytical approach, more particularly:

- Are archives open to the public to provide access to authentic documents?

B Personal research

Pupils should be encouraged to carry out personal research, according to their level and circumstances, thus fostering their curiosity and initiative in terms of information collection and their ability to distil the main facts.

C Group research

Groups of pupils, classes and schools should be encouraged to engage in research projects or active learning, so as to create conditions for dialogue and for the open and tolerant comparison of opinions.

D Cross-disciplinary and multidisciplinary approach

The learning of history should at all times make use of the educational potential of a cross-disciplinary and multidisciplinary approach, forging links with the other subjects on the curriculum as a whole, including literature, geography, social sciences, philosophy and the arts and sciences.

E The international, trans-frontier approach

Depending on the circumstances, encouragement should be given to the implementation of international, trans-frontier projects, based upon the study of a common theme, comparative approaches or the performance of a common task by several schools in different countries, with advantage being taken *inter alia* of the new possibilities opened up by information technology and of the establishment of school links and exchanges.

Initial and in-service training for history teachers

- Does initial and in-service training for history teachers enable and encourage history teachers to work with complex, process-oriented and reflective methods of history teaching;
- Does initial and in-service training for history make teachers aware of the use of teaching techniques which, going beyond, but taking account of factual information, are intended to enable pupils to interpret and analyse historical facts and their influence on the present, in different contexts, for example, social, geographical, economic contexts, etc.;
- Does initial and in-service training for history create opportunities for exchanges, so that teachers may become aware of the great variety of learning situations involving the new roles concerned;
- Does initial and in-service training for history support the setting up of discussion groups to look at the profession's difficulties, hesitations and doubts about these new methods of teaching;

What should and can be done in the next future?

- Role your institution/organisation
- Role OSCE
- Role EUROCLIO
- Role Council of Europe
- Role European Union
- Role other (international) organisations

APPENDIX 2

Names and Positions EUROCLIO assessment visit to Moldova		
	Name	Position
1	Babilunga, Nicolai V.	Head of Department of Transdnestrian History, T.G. Shevchenko University of Transdnestria
2	Beniuc, Valentin	Chairman of the Association for the History of Moldova
3	Berlinski, Elena	History Teacher, Liceul Teoretic Gaudeamus
4	Blagodatskih, Irina M.	Head of Political sciences Department, T.G. Shevchenko University of Transdnestria
5	Bobenco, Oleg	Vice Minister of Education of the Republic of Moldova
6	Bomeshko, Boris G.	Lecturer in history, T.G. Shevchenko University of Transdnestria
7	Cerbusca, Pavel	Vice principle, Liceul Teoretic Gaudeamus
8	Chernush, Irina	History Teacher, Kotsiubinski Highschool, Ukrainian language school
9	Chicus, Nicolae	Dean of the History Faculty of the State Pedagogical University of Moldova
10	Ciorici, Angela	History Teacher, Liceul Teoretic Gaudeamus
11	Ciumac, Galina	History Teacher, Liceul Teoretic Gaudeamus
12	Cocarla, Pavel	Chief of the Universal History Department, State University of Moldova
13	Cristea, Valerian	Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Moldova
14	Dergachiov, Valentin A.	Director of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, Academy of Sciences of Moldova
15	Doibani, Tatiana	History Teacher, Liceul Teoretic Gaudeamus
16	Dragnev, Demir	Director of the History Institute, Academy of Sciences of Moldova
17	Eremia, Ion	Head of the History of the Romanians, State University of Moldova
18	Esanu, Andrei	Member of the History Institute, Academy of Sciences of Moldova
19	Gaidarzhi, Georgi H.	Vice-Rector, T.G. Shevchenko University of Transdnestria
20	Gavrilita, Galina	Specialist on Social Sciences, Ministry of Education of the Republic of Moldova
21	Gello, Valentina A.	First Deputy Minister of Education of the Transdnestrian Moldovan Republic
22	Haheu, Valentina	Head of Social Sciences and Humanities Laboratory, Institute of Pedagogics and Psychology
23	Hanne, Gottfried	Human Dimension Officer, OSCE mission in the Republic of Moldova
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30	Moustyatse, Sergiu	Chairman of the National Association of Young Historians of Moldova, History Lecturer on the State Pedagogic University
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32	Pasiecnic, Ion	Head of the Department of Social Relations, Government of the Republic of Moldova
33	Petrencu, Anatol	Professor in History , State University of the Republic of Moldova, Chairman of the Association of Historians of Moldova
34	Pulbere, Alexander I.	Vice-Rector, T.G. Shevchenko University of Transdnistria
35	Skaletskoi, Olga	Deputy Head of the History Department, T.G. Shevchenko University of Transdnistria
36	Snegureac, Lilia	Director of the Information office of the Council of Europe
37	Varta, Ion	Scientific coordinator of the History Institute, Academy of Sciences of Moldova
38	Vazian, Tatiana	History Teacher, Kotsiubinski Highschool, Ukrainian language school
39	Viser, Boris	Lecturer of the History Faculty of the State Pedagogical University of Moldova
40	Zanoci, Aurel	Lecturer, History Faculty, State University of Moldova
41	Zelenciuc, Valentin	Member of the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, Academy of Sciences of Moldova

APPENDIX 3

List of Textbooks

The textbooks listed below were collected during the visit to Moldova. They were examined as far as the selection of topics, the overall perspective of the authors and the teaching and learning approaches applied.

Form 4

- *History of the Romanians*, G. Gonta, N. Petrovski, V. Haheu, P. Cerbusca, (Chisinau, 1999) Russian version.

Form 5

- *General History*, P. Cerbusca, V. Haheu, Gh. Gonta, N. Petrovski, (Chisinau, 1999). Not approved by the Ministry of Education
- *General History and History of the Romanians*, P. Cerbusca, V. Haheu, Gh. Gonta, N. Petrovski, P. Parasca, (Chisinau, 2000)

Form 6

- *General (world) History and History of the Romanians (Middle Ages)*
Demir Dragnev, Gheorghe Gonta, Pavel Concirla, Emil Dragnev, (Chisinau, 2001) A Russian version of this book is published in 2000.

Form 10

- *History of the Romanians (Antiquity and Middle Ages)*
Demir Dragnev and Gheorghe Postica, (Chisinau, 2002)
- *General (world) History (Antiquity and Middle Ages)*
Emil Dragnev, Virgil Paslariuc and Corneliu Popovici

Form 11

- *History of the Romanians, Modern History (1650-1918)*
Nicolae Chicus, Nicolae Ciubotaru Gheorghe Gonta, Ion Negrei, Maia Dobzeu, and Galina Gravrilita, (Chisinau, 2002)

Form 12

- *History of the Romanians, Contemporary period 1925-1998*
Nicolae Enciu (Chisinau, 2001)

Appendix 4

EXEMPLAR KEY-QUESTIONS

For a responsible and balanced history curriculum for Moldova

The key-questions listed below give an example how one could start thinking about the construction of a responsible and balanced history curriculum for Moldova. They are the result of a quick brainstorm session of EUROCLIO staff members and not of a careful development process. As a result this list is not exhaustive nor completely balanced. But it gives a clear advise in what direction to work and which approach to use.

State and Nation

1. Which states, empires and other political entities governed the present territory of Moldova during the centuries, and what was the political status of the present Moldovan territory in these entities?
2. Was the position of Moldova comparable to other territories governed by these empires?
3. What was the role of local people in the government of the Moldovan territory and in the government of the empires?
4. What were the consequences for Moldova being a border area between different states and empires for centuries: the Ottoman Empire, Russia/Soviet-Union, Rumania? Compare these consequences with the situations in neighbouring countries.
5. How did the present state of Moldova come into existence?

Different groups in society

6. Which different peoples, ethnic and religious groups live on the present territory of Moldova and what is their history of development and migration?
7. Which groups left the Moldovan territory during history and for what reasons?

Identity

8. What different interpretations do exist about the identity of Moldova and the Moldovans?
9. What are the historical backgrounds of these different interpretations? When did the different interpretations come into existence, how did they develop and who is supporting them?
10. How did these different interpretations influence the development of politics and society in Moldova from the end of the Ottoman rule till now?

Multi-cultural society and ethnic conflict

11. How did co-habitation of Russian-speaking, Rumanian speaking and other groups in society develop?
12. What are the origins of the tensions between Rumanian speaking and Russian speaking groups in Moldova and the seperation of Transdnistria?
13. How did the conflict develop?
14. Do different perceptions towards this conflict exist on both sides? If yes, how can they be explained? On what arguments or emotions are they based?

History of everyday life

15. What did the economical and social life of ordinary people like farmers, merchants, lower officials, women and children look like during the centuries on the territory of present Moldova?
16. In how far was their life influenced or changed by the different regimes?

17. What was the role and influence of church and religion for the everyday life of people on the present territory of Moldova?
18. When, how and in how far did urbanisation and industrialisation take place on the present territory of Moldova?
19. How did urbanisation and industrialisation influence the life of ordinary people, for example in the differences between town and countryside, changes in social mobility, and changing roles of men, women and family
20. How did the educational system develop through the centuries?
21. What was the role of education for social relations in society, for example in changing the position of women in society, creating social mobility and creating political engagement?

Communist period

22. What were the influences of the communist ideology and practice on political life, on economy, on property and on social relations on the present territory of Moldova?
23. What are the differences and similarities for the life of ordinary people between the Socialist Soviet Republic of Moldova, other parts of the Soviet Union and Rumania under the Ceaucescu regime?
24. What were positive and what were negative aspects of the Soviet regime, compared with the present situation in the everyday life of different people in Moldova?