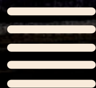
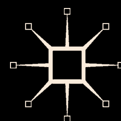


PALGRAVE STUDIES IN EDUCATIONAL MEDIA

Textbooks and War

Historical and Multinational Perspectives

Edited by
Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs



Palgrave Studies in Educational Media

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There is no education without some form of media. Much contemporary writing on media and education examines best practices or individual learning processes, is fired by techno-optimism or techno-pessimism about young people's use of technology, or focuses exclusively on digital media. Relatively few studies attend—empirically or conceptually—to the embeddedness of educational media in contemporary cultural, social and political processes. The **Palgrave Studies in Educational Media** series aims to explore textbooks and other educational media as sites of cultural contestation and socio-political forces. Drawing on local and global perspectives, and attending to the digital, non-digital and post-digital, the series explores how these media are entangled with broader continuities and changes in today's society, with how media and media practices play a role in shaping identifications, subjectivations, inclusions and exclusions, economies and global political projects. Including single authored and edited volumes, it offers a dedicated space which brings together research from across the academic disciplines. The series provides a valuable and accessible resource for researchers, students, teachers, teacher trainers, textbook authors and educational media designers interested in critical and contextualising approaches to the media used in education.

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Textbooks and War

Historical and Multinational Perspectives

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Foreword

There is no education without some form of media. The field of educational media is a growing area of interest in education, as educational policy papers on the "digital agenda," the rapid expansion of media sections in national and international educational research associations, and the range of academic books on media in education show. Educational media are crucial to producing knowledge and shaping educational practices. Conflicts over the contents of textbooks and curricula, widely discussed in the daily news, illustrate how many different stakeholders are invested in sharing their particular understandings of our (shared) past, the current society and potential imagined futures with the younger generation. Policymakers, politicians and activists regard educational media as important tools which not only foster young people's media skills and world knowledge, but which also shape which ways of living are considered desirable or even legible. Textbooks and other educational media are deeply embedded in the sociopolitical contexts in which they are developed and used. Given this context, alongside the emerging interest in digital technology in education, this book series takes stock of current research on educational media by focusing on three issues:

First, today's vibrant and dynamic research and scholarship on technology stem from a broad range of disciplines, including sociology, history, cultural studies, media studies and education, and also information, computer and cognitive science. Traditionally, this research has drawn on textbooks and other educational media in order to engage with specific disciplinary questions, such as device-specific reading speed or social inclusion/exclusion. Studies on educational media are only beginning to be consolidated into the kind of inter- or transdisciplinary field which can build and develop on insights generated and exchanged across disciplinary boundaries.

Second, the majority of work in this field is focused on best practices, individual learning processes, or concerns over the risks involved when young people use technology. There are still relatively few studies which attend—empirically or conceptually—to the embeddedness of educational media in contemporary cultural, social and political processes, and to the historicity of the media used in education. If we see educational media as a highly contested and thus crucially important cultural site, then we need more studies which consider media in their contexts, and which take a carefully critical or generative approach to societal concerns.

Third, current work emerging in this field focuses almost exclusively on computers and other digital technologies. Yet looking at today's educational practices, it is clear that (i) they are by no means predominantly digital, and simultaneously (ii) "post-digital" practices abound in which the digital is no longer seen as new or innovative, but is integrated with other materials in daily teaching and learning. The potentials and risks of digital education emit a fascination for politicians, journalists and others concerned with the future of education, and are undoubtedly important to consider. Empirical observations of education around the globe, however, demonstrate the reach and visibility of other media (textbooks, blackboards, LEGO™, etc.), as well as the post-digital blending of digital and non-digital media in contemporary educational settings.

The series *Palgrave Studies in Educational Media* aims to address these three issues in an integrated manner. It offers a dedicated space which brings together research from across the academic disciplines,

encouraging dialogue within the emerging space of educational media studies. It will showcase both empirical and theoretical work on educational media which understands these media as a site of cultural contestation and sociopolitical force. The focus lies primarily on schools, across the school subjects. The series is interested in both local and global perspectives, in order to explore how educational media are entangled with broader debates about continuity and change in today's society, about classroom practices, inclusions and exclusions, identifications, subjectivations, economies and global political projects.

We are delighted to present this third book in the series, which specifically addresses the historiographical interest in the sociopolitical contexts in which textbooks of the past have been written and produced. It has long been established within educational media research that history textbooks play a key role in shaping the next generation's understanding of past events and concepts of "friend" and "foe" that schoolchildren of today may apply to the world of tomorrow. From a historiographical perspective, textbooks can serve as the "autobiographies" of a nation-state (Wolfgang Jacobmeyer), documenting for future historians the version of history deemed desirable for the classroom of the time in the light of the sociopolitical context in which the textbook was produced. The value of past textbooks as historical sources constitutes the point of departure for this edited volume, compiled by Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs, analyzed through the prism of war. Due to their monumental nature, depictions of wars in textbooks, particularly in countries where textbooks are subject to government authorization, can be especially illustrative of the message that a particular government seeks to inculcate in the next generation, or in the molding of a national identity. This book therefore reflects specifically on the role played by textbooks in the relationship between war and education from a historical and multinational perspective. One chapter is dedicated to a contemporary conflict surrounding the textbooks themselves, emphasizing that textbooks not only forge future generations' (mis)understanding of a past war, or even serve to perpetuate violence, but in many cases themselves constitute the bone of contention.

The twelve original contributions of this book, by leading and emerging historians, examine how past conflicts are presented, reinforced or

effaced in textbooks from a comparative and multinational perspective. Each chapter addresses different wars in different parts of the world, each placed within its specific national and sociopolitical context. As a whole, the book explores how both textbook production (who decides what knowledge finds its way into textbooks, how and why?) and also textbook use (in the classroom, at home, with or without direct influence from teachers) can play a part in these processes. Overall, this book thus contributes novel and transversal perspectives on the entangled and highly political contexts in which educational media emerge.

Braunschweig, Germany Felicitas Macgilchrist
June 2018

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1

Introduction: Historical and Multinational Perspectives on Textbooks and Wars

Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs

Educational media research has known since its very beginnings that history textbooks play a key role in shaping depictions of past events and concepts of "friends" and "enemies." This is particularly true when it comes to portrayals of war. As this book will show, civil and international wars often constitute turning points in a nation's history, bringing forth heroes, iconic leaders, victory, defeat and, in their wake, dictatorships, new "friends" or "foes", or sometimes a cultural *tabula rasa*. Due to their important role in national histories, depictions of wars in textbooks can be especially illustrative of the message that a particular authority wishes to convey to its younger citizens, particularly in educational media subject to government authorization.[1]

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However, not always and not everywhere have textbooks been the conveyors of an official view of history. Whereas the genre of national history textbooks appeared in the nineteenth century in the service of the emerging nation-states needing a unified tale of their past, at first textbooks tended to be less controlled by governments and more dependent on the will of publishers, authors, and diverse national and international variables. Later, during the interwar period, a number of international governmental and non-governmental efforts were conducted in Europe to design textbooks that represented friendlier views of past conflicts between nations. In the twentieth century, the writing of history textbooks was informed by a difficult relationship with academic historiography, further exacerbated by the demands of certain political regimes, with varied degrees of independence from those realms. Nowadays textbooks have a different status in classrooms throughout the world; they are vested with a manifold sociocultural significance and are subject to contrasting processes of production and selection. All these diverse factors have affected the ways in which past wars and conflicts have been represented in textbooks and the manner in which these representations have changed over time. This book aims to reflect precisely on the complexity of such representations from a historical and multinational perspective. Most chapters address the portrayals of different wars in textbooks from different parts of the world, examining the specific national and sociopolitical context; some chapters also examine the ways in which war and conflict have affected how textbooks are produced. Some chapters analyze the treatment of one war in binational contexts (Mexico–USA, China–Japan, Vietnam–USA), whereas others examine one civil war within one country in particular. Some focus on textbooks of a particular point in time; others examine the evolution of textbooks over several decades. The resulting compilation provides a colorful picture of the varied and changing roles that wars and conflicts have played in the stories of nations condensed within textbooks.

In the following we provide an overview of recent research on the topic of wars and textbooks, both in terms of present and historical

textbook analysis. Then we describe the contents of this book and discuss the ways in which it contributes to the field of comparative textbook research.

1 Wars and Textbooks: An Overview

The portrayal of wars in textbooks has been the focus of both textbook-specific studies and works in which textbooks are analyzed among various sources referred to in the so-called "history wars" (Liakos 2008); that is, politicized controversies in the public representation of the past of a given society. Most of the literature tends to focus on a few specific conflicts, such as the two World Wars, the Middle East conflict, Greco-Turkish troubled historical relations, the wars between Japan, China and Korea, the Balkan wars, and the Cold War. Whereas the majority of studies refer to textbooks in the present or in the recent past, a few have also examined the topic in textbooks from different historical periods.

An overview of recent history textbook controversies in East Asia, in which the representation of past wars plays a distinctive role, is the compilation *Designing History in East Asian Textbooks: Identity Politics and Transnational Aspirations* (Müller 2011), which includes studies from China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. Of all the issues on history textbooks in that region, the controversy over Japanese state-approved school textbooks that ran from 1982 to 2001 has been one of those most debated. At the heart of the controversy was the marginalization of Japan's war crimes and colonial invasions during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War (1931–1945) in these textbooks, which further exacerbated tensions between Japan and its neighbors China and Korea, regions Japan had formerly occupied. Among the numerous writings on this textbook controversy, Yoshiko Nozaki's book (2008) deserves particular attention. She examines the textbook controversy of the 1980s and 1990s, referring to the disputed official narratives on the war since 1945, and at the same time discusses the legal action taken by the author Ienaga Saburo, whose history textbook was censored. Nozaki demonstrates the difficulties surrounding the revision of textbook depictions of the war and the resistance it provokes, as well

as the significance of interpretations of conflict for national constructions of identity. Other studies have taken a multinational approach toward recent textbooks in several countries of the region. The volume edited by Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel Sneider, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia* (2011), shows how the "divided memories" continuously taught about the Pacific War continue to permeate the memory cultures of Korea, Japan and China. With an agenda of reconciliation, the editors advocate common master narratives and seek to establish a selective historical memory in those three countries. Referring to the Franco-German case, Shin summarizes:

> Previous experiences have taught us that successful reconciliation via history education requires a particular political environment, one that is lacking in Northeast Asia today. It would thus be more fruitful to recognize and understand how each society has developed its own distinctive memory of the past and how that memory has affected its national identity and relations with others'. (Shin 2011, 4)

In a similar reconciliatory vein, the book edited by Michael Lewis, *"History Wars" and Reconciliation in Japan and Korea* (2016), in which textbooks are among many aspects considered, refers to the civil society movements that oppose conservative historical revisionist turns promoted by governments.

Two volumes of the Georg Eckert Institute's former[2] series *Studies in International Textbook Research* (*Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung*) comprehensively investigate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict using a bilateral approach. Ruth Firer and Sami Adwan (2004) published the findings of their long-term research on Israeli and Palestinian social studies and history textbooks, in which they made detailed reference to the specific national differences in the respective education systems and in the conditions dictating the production and use of textbooks. Second, a volume edited by Falk Pingel (2003) addresses Palestinian and Israeli curricula and investigates the implementation of curricula in the classroom. Nurit Peled-Elhanan's (2012) detailed observations of the image of Palestinians in Israeli textbooks and the associated anti-Palestinian propaganda follow in a similar vein.

Adwan et al. (2016) have further examined the struggle over narratives of the conflict in recent Israeli and Palestinian textbooks; while these textbooks do not typically demonize "the other," the historical narratives of each side remain mutually contradictory, which suggests that young people in these countries are socialized toward the continuation of conflict rather than mutual acceptance and peace.

The role history textbooks play in Greco-Turkish tensions has also been investigated in some depth. Bilateral studies of textbooks from both countries (Millas 1991; Hirschon 2016) have shown how the representation of conflicts and wars over centuries serves to reinforce myths of national identities with a defensive attitude against "the other." Furthermore, studies on Cypriot history textbooks (Papadakis 2008; Vural and Özuyanık 2008; Samani and Ayhan 2017) also examine the contrasting narratives of Turkish and Greek-Cypriot textbooks on foundational episodes of the island's history such as the Ottoman conquest in 1571 and the war around the Turkish invasion of Cyprus (1963–1974).

The portrayal of the two world wars in textbooks has been subject to several studies, the first receiving comparatively less attention than the second. Two works stand out as compilations of representations of the First World War in history textbooks from various countries in Africa, America, Asia, and Europe: a special issue of *Historiens et Geographes* (Tison 2000) and another of *Internationale Schulbuchforschung: Zeitschrift des Georg-Eckert-Instituts für Internationale Schulbuchforschung* (Bendick and Riemenschneider 2000). The representation of the First World War in recent textbooks of fifteen African countries has been studied by Bentrovato (2015). Particularly innovative in her study is the finding that portrayals of the war include efforts to reclaim and re-center local historical agency, experiences, and views. From a didactic perspective, in *Schulbuch und Erster Weltkrieg*, Christophe and Schwedes (2015) analyze how a number of history textbooks from Belgium, Germany, Ireland, and England over the past four decades treat the subject of the First World War. They examine the extent to which textbooks address the perspectival nature of the perception of events, their relationship to the present, and render explicit the position of the historian.

The treatment of the Second World War in textbooks has also been the subject of a number of comparative, multinational studies. Nicholls (2006) compared the representation of WWII in a sample of secondary-school textbooks from England, Japan, Sweden, Italy, and the United States. Nicholls considers not only how the perspectives on the war adopted by the textbooks relate to the political agendas of their countries but also how students engage with the textbooks, concluding that, in general, students are not encouraged to critically and meaningfully engage with a variety of perspectives on the war. The study by Keith Crawford and Stuart Foster *War, Nation, Memory* (2007), a key volume for any analysis of the Second World War in contemporary history textbooks, also provides a truly multinational perspective on the topic, from countries involved in the war in Europe, Asia, and America. Crawford and Foster identify that the Second World War occupies a prominent position in classroom teaching in most of the countries considered. They argue that the one-sided interpretations of war frequently depicted in textbooks shape the collective and "official" memory of a nation, and endow a national identity that decisively influences actions in the present. Other relevant studies of the Second World War include that of Klymenko (2013) on current Russian and Ukrainian textbooks, in which the author discusses the centrality of the war in the construction of national identity in post-Soviet countries.

Representations of the Cold War in textbooks have also been analyzed, most recently in the volumes *Remembering and Recounting the Cold War* (2017) edited by Markus Furrer and Peter Gautschi, and *Der Kalte Krieg im Schulbuch* (2017) edited by Flucke et al. While the latter focuses primarily on German textbooks and the image of divided Germany in the textbooks of European countries, Furrer and Gautschi's book stands out due to its international approach with contributions—not all of them on textbooks—on Eastern and Western Europe as well as Turkey. This volume raises the question as to whether it is possible to speak of a "commonly shared history" among those countries.

A number of studies have focused on the representation of the past and recent Balkan wars in textbooks of the region (Torsti 2007; Hoepken 1998). Hoepken argues that the historical memory typical of Balkan societies is rather war-centered due to a culturally informed

understanding of time that does not distinguish between present and past historical periods, thus keeping the memory of wars very much alive. A further factor is the historical truth that almost all Balkan nation-states emerged as the immediate product of wars, be it the wars that dissolved the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century or the more recent wars that led to the fragmentation of Yugoslavia. Thus, "remembering the war in this part of Europe has always meant remembering the emergence of one's own nation." Hoepken shows how this kind of memory plays out in textbooks in the present.

Unlike studies on the textbook representations of specific wars, some works have chosen a global approach, examining various wars as they are treated in different countries. Marc Ferro's classic *Comment on raconte l'histoire aux enfants à travers le monde entier* (1981) (translated into English as *The Use and Abuse of History: Or, How the Past Is Taught to Children*, 1984, 1994, 2003) is the most important precedent of a global view of representations of history in textbooks. Deeply erudite, the book examines the popular representation of history in past and present textbooks, literature, film, and other sources in several countries of Africa, East and Central Asia, Eastern and Western Europe, and the United States. Ferro illustrates "the identity of each national history," whereby external and internal wars play a decisive role, questioning "the traditional conception of a 'universal history'" (Ferro 2003, 3). In the 1992 French edition (translated into English in 1994), a comparative chapter was added on representations of the Second World War throughout the second half of the twentieth century in Britain, East and West Germany, France, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Spain.

Also from a comparative standpoint, the book edited by Mark Baildon et al., *Controversial History Education in Asian Contexts* (2014), brings together papers on the depictions of different wars in textbooks across the entire Asian region and in various contexts, from the Nanjing Massacre to the atomic bombs. Taylor and Guyver (2012) offer another comparative approach with global aspirations in *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives.* Prominent conflicts addressed in the book are, again, the Sino-Japanese War, the Pacific War, and the Second World War as portrayed in several countries, as well as representations of the Falklands War in British and Argentine textbooks.

In Latin America, some studies have examined the role of history textbooks in periods of transition from the latest dictatorship to democracy, especially in Brazil and Argentina. Some chapters in Kaufmann (2012) focus on representations of internal conflict but also examine the textbook publishing industry during dictatorship and in transitions to democracy. These works show the changes in memory politics from an early, post-conflict view of reconciliation—the consideration that the military junta and guerrilla were equal partners of a conflict, committing equally violent deeds—to a human rights-oriented view: the acknowledgment that the military junta had a systematic plan for the extermination of their civilian enemies.

The three volumes of the series *(Re)Constructing Memory*, edited by James H. Williams, include some contributions that analyze representations of war and conflict in present or recent-past history and social studies textbooks. In *School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation*, (Williams 2014) includes chapters on the imagination of the nation in post-conflict societies such as Guatemala and Cambodia, on representations of the Six-Day War in Israeli textbooks, and of the Second World War in a US and Canadian textbook comparison. These studies show how the depiction of war in textbooks constitutes part of a national narrative and serves to legitimize the present state. In *Textbooks, Identity, Nation, and State* (Williams and Bokhorst-Heng 2016), which focuses on how textbooks show or efface the composition of multi-ethnic societies, various chapters touch on internal conflict without concentrating on war as such. War is, however, at the center of the third volume of the series, *Education, Identity and Conflict* (Bellino and Williams 2017), which includes studies on the portrayal of the nation in societies living in unresolved conflict, on textbook depictions of external and internal wars, and on curricula for peace education in post-conflict societies. Most of the chapters, which encompass cases in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, are based on analyses of textbooks currently in use.

Whereas several of these comparative works tend to analyze the role that representations of war play in the formation of national identities, others have the explicit aim of providing insights into reconciliation efforts in post-conflict societies. Peace education attempts have led to textbook revisions aiming to rectify the distorted, conflict-bolstering

images of "Us" and "the Other." Particularly noteworthy is the research conducted by Falk Pingel (2008, 2010), who wrote the first edition of the *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* in 1999, which was republished in 2010 in a revised and updated version. The compilation by Elizabeth A. Cole (2007) gives practical examples of such reconciliation efforts in history teaching, including textbooks, in the cases of Germany, Japan, Canada, Northern Ireland, Spain, Guatemala, Russia, Korea, India, and Pakistan. And the volume edited by Korostelina and Lässig, *History Education and Post-conflict Reconciliation* (2013), focuses particularly on debates surrounding the establishment of joint textbook projects. The collection of essays, *History Can Bite* (2016), edited by Bentrovato et al., also has a strong focus on textbook revision and reconciliation efforts. This volume includes several case studies from Africa, a region otherwise somewhat overlooked in the analysis and presentation of war and violent conflict in textbooks. The book shows that the teaching of history can exacerbate conflict and confrontation as well as contributing to reconciliation between opposing and antagonistic viewpoints. Again with a clear focus on the African context, the book *Konsolidierung des Friedens durch Bildung? Der Beitrag von Bildungspolitik und Friedenspädagogik am Beispiel von Eritrea* [Peace consolidation through education? The contribution made by education policy and peace education in the case of Eritrea] by Andeselassie Hamednaka (2012) presents an empirical study on the depiction of conflict in African textbooks, centered on questions relating to approaches from peace education.

Although representations of wars in contemporary textbooks are not scarce, considerably fewer works examine this topic from a historical perspective. While several master's dissertations and doctoral theses all over the world have examined the history of textbooks, few of them have been published. Of the works mentioned above, some include one or two historical chapters. Ferro's classic book does have a historical approach, examining how representations of the different national identities in textbooks and other sources have evolved over time, especially in the past two centuries.

A number of works on the history of history textbooks in the USA have analyzed diachronically the representation of the civil war and

the country's participation in the world wars as part of the story of the nation; these works show that textbooks have tended to marginalize American involvement in international wars after 1945, with the exception of the Vietnam war (FitzGerald 1980; Moreau 2003). In his history of geography and history textbooks in Britain and the USA, Mardsen (2001) devotes one chapter to the representation of several wars in these textbooks from the end of the nineteenth to the end of the twentieth century. He shows how the treatment of wars evolved from promoting nationalism to the modern notion of education for peace.

The representation of specific wars has also been analyzed in history textbooks over time. The Spanish Civil War, which still shapes divisions in present-day Spanish society, has frequently been chosen as a subject for this type of analysis. Christian Roith (2015) provides an overview of the literature that has analyzed the representation of this war in textbooks issued during the long Franco dictatorship (1938–1975). Rafael Valls's *Historia y memoria escolar* (2009) examines transformations in the representation of the same war in secondary-school history textbooks in relation to changes in political regime: the Francoist period (1938–1975), the transition period (1975–1982), the 1980s, the 1990s, and the first decade of the twenty-first century. This characterization of textbooks has been revised by other works, including the chapter in this volume by Mariano González Delgado and Manuel Ferraz Lorenzo, which ascertains continuities in the representation of the war rather than fundamental differences across political periods.

Textbook narratives on the conflict in the Middle East have been examined from a historical perspective by Elie Podeh in his book *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in Israeli History Textbooks, 1948–2000* (2002). Here, Podeh identifies differences in the representations of the history of the conflict in three different phases of textbook writing corresponding to three periods of Israeli history: "childhood" (1920–1967), "adolescence" (1967 to the mid-1980s), and "adulthood" (mid-1980s onwards). His aim is to find implicit and explicit bias, forms of prejudice, and historical inaccuracies and omissions in the representations of the Jewish and Arab past and their conflicts which, although changing, were present in all three periods.

Finally, it is worth mentioning Arsen Đurović and Eva Matthes' *Freund- und Feindbilder in Schulbüchern* [Concepts of Friends and Enemies in Textbooks] (2010), a compilation of historical representations of wars in textbooks from a comparative point of view. The volume provides an overview of this topic in several chapters on German books from the time of National Socialism and from the German Democratic Republic, as well as in Serbian textbooks from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The book also includes contributions on the representation of friends and enemies in historical textbooks from Brazil, Korea, Sudan, Finland, Norway, Spain, Armenia, and Palestine. Whereas not all chapters examine specific wars and conflicts, they all agree that the "enemy" is a concept that serves to unite the population of a given place and time against a certain threat which may or may not be real. The book suggests that, while thinking in terms of concepts of "friend" and "foe" is almost inevitable in humankind, textbooks can play a role in humanizing the concept of the enemy and thus contribute to conflict resolution.

2 Textbooks and War: Multinational and Historical Perspectives

Against the backdrop of the current literature, this book examines the relationship between textbooks and war from a comparative and historical point of view. The chapters focus on a number of aspects of the complex relationship between textbooks and war in different contexts and epochs. This book asks how textbooks have represented war, how conflict has been ingrained in their production and has affected their use, and whether they have contributed to the exacerbation of conflict or to peace and reconciliation. As we have shown, studies published in the English language have focused mostly on representations of a handful of wars. This volume, however, seeks to provide a more comprehensive analysis via its multinational approach. It includes studies on Belgian independence from the Netherlands, the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, the First

World War and the Second World War as seen in textbooks from different countries, the Spanish Civil War, and the Vietnam War. It also includes studies on textbooks and guerrillas in Colombia throughout the nineteenth century, and on multilateral efforts towards textbook production for the promotion of peace during the interwar period. Whereas most literature on wars and current textbooks tends to concentrate on the role that wars play in the construction of national identity, often defining the "Other" or the "enemy" against "Us," the treatment of this subject historically shows that wars have played different roles and that their representation has changed over time, not always corresponding to changes in political regime.

In methodological terms, the variety of the chapters testifies to the richness in scope and depth attained via the historical approach to textbooks. While some analyze the representation of wars in the textbooks of a single country over a period of several decades, others compare the depiction of a single war in textbooks from different national contexts (Mexico and the USA, China and Japan, Vietnam and the USA, European and African countries) at a given point in time. While some authors compare textbooks with those from different countries or different periods, others analyze them with regard to changes in curricula, academic historiography, changes in political regime, or models of citizen education. And whereas most authors admit that there is a relationship between political context and textbook content, many of them take into account the ways in which a conflict-laden international arena has influenced the production of textbooks, or how the textbook format itself has constrained the representation of wars in them. Above all, all authors, including those considering textbooks published in the recent past, examine textbooks within their historical conditions of production and use.

In his study on Belgian textbooks for national history or the initially so-called "history of the fatherland," published and used between 1910 and 1960, *Jan Van Wiele* analyzes the representation and interpretation of the conflictual events that followed the Belgian declaration of independence from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1830 and the installation of the government of King Leopold I in 1831. By comparing the textbooks' content with Belgian historiographical sources

from the examined period, Van Wiele ascertains with reference to Marc Ferro that past events are most often portrayed from a nationalistically inspired "therapeutic" and "militant" perspective which leaves no room for neglect or failure. Van Wiele identifies a series of techniques used by Belgian textbook authors to legitimate defeat and to soften its humiliating consequences. He concludes that most textbooks thus dramatically simplify, generalize, and reduce Belgian historiography in order "to educate students to become proud and patriotic citizens."

The formation of an armed citizen in nineteenth-century Colombia is central to *Jorge Conde Calderón's* and *Luis Alarcón Meneses'* investigation. Their study is mainly based on military instruction manuals and treatises for guerilla warfare, but also includes memoires, chronicles, press articles, and correspondence. For the authors, these documents are not only resources but also themselves historical objects and ideological and cultural artefacts that give insights into the imaginary, mentality, and social practices of an epoch. Conde and Alarcón concentrate on the period of a radical liberalism in Colombia, the federal regime that lasted from 1857–1886. During that time, distinctions between school education, political, military, and civic practices were extremely vague. Accordingly, Conde and Alarcón argue how the manuals and treatises examined promoted civic and patriotic republican virtues to transform individuals into citizens willing to defend the installed regime.

Eugenia Roldán Vera focuses on representations of the US-Mexican War (1846–1848) in both nineteenth-century US and Mexican history textbooks written during the five decades after the war. Aiming to highlight the evolution of rather different representations in the textbooks despite their having started from similar positions in the 1850s, the analysis draws, from a comparative and diachronic perspective, on a sample of fourteen textbooks, shared equally between the two countries. Roldán Vera shows that, over time, the war was removed from its framework and historicity to serve different historical narratives, thus prevailing in one country's historical imagination while gradually disappearing from the other's. However, by referring to Ranajit Guha's distinction of primary, secondary, and tertiary discourses on history, Roldán Vera suggests that textbook writing is affected not only by distance from the time of the event and by nationalisms as such but also by

their consequent insertion into different national narratives. Indeed, she ascertains, presentations of the war differ increasingly dramatically with the passing of time since the event itself.

Limin Bai deals with the representation of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 in Japanese and Chinese textbooks as well as with its effects on the contents of Chinese school education in the decade following the war. Comparing the two countries' textbooks, she finds that the narration of the Sino-Japanese War differs greatly, particularly on a linguistic level, in style, tone, and language, but also in the portrayal of the events leading up to the war. Nonetheless, Bai argues that the war was exploited to encourage a spirit of nationalism in both countries. While, as she points out, the main focus of Japanese textbooks tended to be the enhancement of patriotism and loyalty to the emperor, Chinese textbooks highlighted the contradictory roles of Japan as both an enemy and yet also a model for becoming an imperial power withstanding the powers of the west. The analysis demonstrates, however, that by adopting the Japanese blueprint of Confucianism and patriotism as it was established during the Meiji Restoration, Chinese scholar-reformers and textbook writers such as Liang Qichao not only absorbed western ideas but also overlooked the dissimilarities of Japanese interculturalized and native Chinese Confucianism undermining their goals.

Aiming to highlight the changes in teaching objectives in Greek history education within the framework of shifting socio-political circumstances, *Efstratios Vacharoglou* focuses his investigation on the portrayal and teaching of the First World War. With a content-analysis approach, he draws on history textbooks as well as curricula published by the Greek Ministry of Education from 1960 to 2010. While initially and for the most part the subject of history in general and the First World War in particular were used for ideological purposes and for the promotion of national identity and patriotic spirit, Vacharoglou shows that different educational attempts slowly emerged with the fall of the dictatorial regime in 1974. From the 1980s on, attention was paid particularly to the development of the student's historical consciousness and critical thinking skills as well as, in recent years, to the awareness of the idea of "otherness." Vacharoglou thus demonstrates a shift in history education from the intention of strengthening the national spirit of

students through the description of war to the depiction of nationalism as a cause of the First World War and its devastating consequences.

Rose Fine-Meyer also centers her interest on the teaching of the First World War. Her study examines the themes, frameworks, and narratives used in history textbooks from Ontario in the years 1921–2001. A total of sixteen textbooks, one from each decade, are analyzed to prove the hypothesis of a master-narrative of the war and the normalization of a problematic understanding of Canada's participation in it. Fine-Meyer confirms that textbooks are useful formats with which to reinforce a narrative and to construct and disseminate a collective memory of war. With this in mind, she unveils a rather one-dimensional representation of the war with little regard for diverse perspectives or counter-narratives despite advanced approaches in historiography and academic scholarship on the subject. Ontario textbooks mainly glorify Canada's war efforts, its people's heroism and sacrifice, and emphasize the war's impact on the strengthening of Canada as an independent and united nation, thereby supporting a national consciousness. Nonetheless, Fine-Meyer observes a shift in the discussion of pedagogical strategies engaging more strongly in multivocality and critical thinking from the 1990s onwards, but sees them still suppressed by rules of regional textbook production.

Representations of the First World War are also the subject of the chapter by *Denise Bentrovato* and *Imke Rath* on European and African textbooks. Analyzing an impressive sample of 93 textbooks published since the 1990s, they discern the dynamics of knowledge and power at play in the narrative and discourses specifically about the participation of the African colonies in this war. Among other things, they show the diverging trends to obscure (in European textbooks) or highlight (in African textbooks) the role of African countries in the war as an episode in the history of colonialism and imperialism. However, they also show how textbooks from both continents tend to provide a unilateral, little nuanced account of that participation and of the complexity of the relationship between the African colonies and their masters. Altogether, the chapter gives an interesting overview of the ways in which textbooks in post-colonial contexts operate as political battlefields and as sites on which the politics of national memory and international recognition are implemented.

The interest of *Rita Hofstetter* and *Xavier Riondet* lies in the notion of warmongering through textbooks in the 1920s and 1930s and the opposing attempts by post-war pacifist movements and international institutions to ensure a pacifist internationalist message in these media. The authors therefore focus on the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), which considered textbooks a powerful tool of influence. They discuss three phases of involvement with history textbooks during the interwar period on the part of the ICIC and its executive body, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC), and further investigate the complex relations, interactions, and intersections between various actors in the field of textbook revision of the time. Hofstetter and Riondet describe how, by fostering exchange and collaboration with and among national commissions and international associations of historians and teachers, the work of the ICIC and the IIIC rose from initially symbolic and tentative to an active and acknowledged mission that ultimately served to institutionalize norms and values before being impeded by the Second World War.

In their study on Spanish social science textbooks published between 1978 and 1998, *Mariano González Delgado* and *Manuel Ferraz Lorenzo* analyze how the Spanish Civil War is represented, portrayed, and explained in relation to sociopolitical events such as the establishment of the Second Republic and the Franco dictatorship. Noting that textbooks are significant sources for the study of values, ideas, and knowledge as transmitted to pupils, the authors' objective is to highlight the explicit messages conveyed in these media. They observe that, despite a series of improvements in historical, didactic, and thematic aspects, there has been no comprehensive change in textbook content over the outlined period of two decades. The textbooks continuously use repetitive arguments on the origins of the war inherited from Franco's dictatorship, adopting a "voluntary forgetfulness" and emphasizing a joint Republican and Nationalist responsibility, meant to serve a new Spanish identity of national and democratic unity. González Delgado and Ferraz Lorenzo conclude that the textbooks fail to examine the historical causes of the Spanish Civil War by uncritically reproducing "propagandistic" explanations, regardless of the contradictions inherent within them.

Dorena Caroli's study engages with the representation of a number of wars within the framework of Soviet ideology and the Second World War. Caroli investigates not only Soviet history textbooks from 1940 to 1950, but also Stalin's speech of July 3, 1941, an article by the influential textbook writer Anna Michailovna Pankratova, and a collection of satirical poems by Kukryniksy and Samuil Marshak, both from 1942. The study thus aims to further Marc Ferro's research on the use and abuse of Marxist history and to highlight how history textbooks became a major tool for patriotic education in the Soviet Union. Caroli demonstrates how young people were indoctrinated with the imperative of the official Marxist-Leninist vision of history, supporting rather Stalinist narratives of "Great Victory," of sacrifice and heroism, of great leaders, of the "New Soviet Man," of Germany as the ultimate enemy and constant barbaric imperialist invader, and calling for mobilization and vengeance. For this purpose, past wars were related to both the present and the ongoing war. It is only with the death of Stalin (1953) and the beginning of de-Stalinization that Caroli notes a change in textbook content, including the previously abandoned reports of witnesses, thereby providing a counter-narrative on the non-heroic cruelty of war.

Questioning the claim for "truth" as well as black-and-white tales of perpetrators and victims, *Sylwia Bobryk* analyzes the narratives of the Second World War in Polish history textbooks after 1985. She shows not only how those narratives developed, but illuminates how this transformation occurred and why, stressing the importance of the founding of the Polish Solidarity Trade Union in 1980, the political changes of 1989, and crucial debates of the 2000s. Bobryk's primary observation concerns the fading of the master-narratives of the unique victimhood, innocence, and heroism of the Polish nation, which had neglected Polish anti-Semitism and complicity in the murder of Polish Jews as well as the Polish-Soviet "friendship." Nonetheless, in more recent textbooks she finds attempts on the part of the nationalist-conservative political camp to oppose the direction in which textbooks were moving. The study demonstrates how the textbook narratives are an outcome of contestation among different political and societal groups and their understandings of the past, thus illuminating how narratives of the Second World War are never fixed but constantly in a process of transformation, depending on their political and societal contexts.

Tran Thi Vinh, Ha Hai Hoang, and *Tran Duc Tuan* examine how the causes and effects of the Vietnam War, as well as the reasons for the U.S. involvement, are presented in current U.S. and Vietnamese history textbooks. They thus aim to show to what extent the perception and interpretation of war events may vary depending on the national and political context. This objective seems even more promising given the fact that the Vietnam War is one of the most controversially discussed conflicts to date. While both Vietnamese and U.S. textbooks consider the U.S. involvement as an act within the framework of the Cold War, Vietnamese textbooks are written rather patriotically, shaping national identity by portraying the U.S. as a force with imperialist colonial ambitions that was to be withstood. Furthermore, Vietnamese textbooks tend to focus on aspects such as bravery and the victories achieved by Vietnam during the war. The U.S. textbooks, however, stress the suffering and sacrifice of the U.S. soldiers, discuss the shift in U.S. perceptions of the war, and how it altered the U.S. view on foreign policy.

Taken together, the contributions to this volume show not only that the representation of any given conflict has changed over time, but also that the treatment of wars in textbooks has served many different purposes. While it is undeniable that war episodes play a crucial role in the promotion of nationalism, in history textbooks this role can take on different forms. Wars can be part of the "therapeutic" or the "militant" function of the story of a nation, as Van Wiele, paraphrasing Ferro, reminds us. Wars can certainly inflame patriotism, power self-awareness and historical "exceptionalism" of the victors, as the American and Japanese textbooks analyzed here show. Wars can also elevate the patriotic spirit of the citizens, regardless of whether they are on the winning side, as the Mexican, Japanese, Greek, Soviet, and Vietnamese textbooks illustrate. In addition, teaching how to make war can also turn people into loyal citizens, as the Colombian textbooks studied here suggest.

Furthermore, wars can emphasize an idea of "victimhood," as Mexican, Polish, and even U.S. textbooks (on the Vietnam War) indicate. In post-colonial contexts, participation in wars can serve to highlight either the domination of the master country forcing the victimized colony to take part, or positive values such as cooperation and loyalty from the subjugated to the colonial power. However, a war can also leave

significant lessons for the people of the country that lost: the construction of the winning party as a model to follow, as in Chinese textbooks in the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War, or the call for societal unity, as demonstrated by the Mexican textbooks studied here. The representation of past wars can also serve to reinforce a present, ongoing war with a current enemy, as the Soviet books from the mid-twentieth century illustrate. Moreover, while civil wars can also serve to call for unity in a society, their representation may also serve to obscure the unresolved wounds in a society that has not carried out an internal process of justice and reconciliation, as the chapter on Spanish textbooks indicates.

The effacement of a given war from history textbooks is also significant when a society wishes to portray itself as the product of peaceful expansionism and growth rather than of invasions of a neighboring country, as in the case of the U.S. textbooks. The representation of wars in textbooks may change over time with political shifts, as the chapters on Poland, the Soviet Union, and Greece indicate; yet often there are significant continuities in that representation regardless of political change, as the textbooks from Spain and Canada suggest. And, as multilateral attempts to produce peace-oriented textbooks in the interwar period show, nationalism has not been the single driving force in the representation of wars. Finally, the chapters clearly illustrate that the notion that wars in textbooks can be instrumentalized to enforce critical or multiple perspectives of a single event and an idea of otherness is a very recent trend and that this has hardly been the tendency in textbooks over the past two centuries.

As this overview of the treatment of wars in textbooks from a historical and multinational perspective suggests, over time textbooks have not been the mere conveyors of the views of a political regime, nor have they been reduced to a simplified version of academic historiography. History textbooks, both past and present, clearly have different dynamics and—as compared to other public media—to follow a logic of their own format and genre. However, war and conflict are an inherent part of historical narratives all over the world. The comparative analysis of history textbooks helps us to understand in which ways nations define themselves, constantly constructing and reconstructing their identities, with regard to their own societies as well as to other nations.

This negotiation process within and between nations often results in public disputes over shaping national identities and securing the legitimization of political power or "history wars" (Liakos 2008). In this context, history textbooks play a decisive part and serve as barometers of the way in which nations come to terms with their past—and with their present.

Note

1. The editors sincerely thank Lucy Valsamidis for her assistance during the manuscript preparation process.
2. As of volume 122 (2009), the series has been continued under the title *Eckert: The Book Series* (*Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe*).

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2

The Representation of War and Peace Under the Government of King Leopold I (1831–65) in Belgian Textbooks for National History for Secondary Education (1910–60)

Jan Van Wiele

1 Introduction

In his *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson describes a nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 1991, 6), that has a need for ideological affirmation and legitimation if it is not to lose its performative power.[1] Taking this as a point of departure, I want to analize in this study how the authors of Belgian textbooks for national history between 1910 and 1960 from a Belgian unitarian nationalist and patriotic perspective affirmed their representation of the war which the young Belgian nation had waged war to safeguard its independence during the reign of Leopold I, its first king (1831–65).[2] Using the sensitizing concepts that Marc Ferro employs in his *Comment en raconte l'Histoire aux enfants*, I will investigate the extent to which Belgian textbook authors, consciously or otherwise, wrote history from a nationalist "therapeutic"

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and "militant" perspective to educate students to become proud and patriotic citizens (see, e.g., Ferro 1981, 8–11). Applied to this case, the "therapeutic" use of history means the manipulation of history to treat the political and cultural injuries suffered by the nation in war (46–47, 67–69ff.). The "militant" use of history is understood as the use of history to defend the political and cultural identity, unity and sovereignty of the nation (153–54, 161–76). Following the approach of Ferro, I will assess the degree to which history and nationalist imagination are combined in the textbooks by comparing the textbooks' narratives with the corresponding treatment in Belgian academic historiography (cf. 181–207).[3] In so doing, I will try to identify the textbooks' nationalistically motivated omissions from and adjustments to the historiography.[4]

2 Methodology

This study focuses on Belgian textbooks about national history, also initially called the history of the fatherland, written in Dutch and French and published between 1910 and 1960. There are several reasons for this choice of source material. In this period, history education was intended to promote love for the fatherland and a sense of citizenship (see, e.g., De Baets 1989, 326–30, 334–37; Catteeuw 1999, 9; Muys 2004; Sollie 1986, 37–39, 120–21). In the 1949 and 1954 curricula for history education, for example, it was stated that "it is the objective of history education to provide the pupil with the necessary knowledge in order to make him an adequately developed human being … fostering a sense of citizenship and love for the fatherland, more specifically by the acquiring of a certain critical mindset" (cf. Muys 2004; unless otherwise stated, all translations my own). As such, national history textbooks played an especially important role in citizenship education. Until 1960, citizenship education was the focal point of this type of textbook, even more so than other history textbooks. The point of departure was the idea of the proud and militant Belgian nation defending itself against foreign aggressors for centuries before it was able to acquire the status of an independent state (e.g., Leclère 1937, 7–9). Following the example of the romantic historical narratives of the nineteenth century,

history textbooks focused on political and military history revolving around prominent figures and events (see Sollie 1986, 37–39, 120–21). Although this approach persisted and dominated until 1960, a minor trend manifested itself after the Second World War: following the emergence of *nouvelle histoire* in Europe, albeit very slowly in the beginning, political history gave some room to a more broadly conceived history of civilization, with more attention given to economic and social history.[5]

The choice to make textbooks about Belgian history, or the history of the fatherland, the main source material for this study determines the chronological limits of our research. 1960 is the endpoint because this is the time when the originally explicit connection between citizenship and nationalist history education became much less prominent. The source material dating from 1830 to 1960 is too extensive—and, seen from other paedagogical perspectives, too diverse—to be investigated in a satisfactory manner within the scope of a single chapter. Taking 1910 as the start date provides sufficient scope to incorporate textbooks with a romantic historiographical approach into the study. The large time span covered will allow this study to track possible signs of a transition from political and military history to a more broadly conceived history of civilization, which began to appear in general educational historiography in Belgium after the Second World War.

Something must be said about the structure and organization of secondary history education in Belgium during the period under investigation. Secondary education was provided by the Catholic Church, with a large number of private schools, and by the Belgian state, with a much smaller number of schools (e.g., D'hoker 2003, 39–40, 48–49, 56–57). At that time, secondary education was organized for students between the ages of eleven and nineteen.[6] The Belgian state managed colleges (*athenea*, later also *lycea* for girls) (Descamps and Vancoppenolle 2011, 20–24), teacher-training colleges (*rijksnormaalscholen*) and schools providing the first two to three years of secondary education only (*rijksmiddelbare scholen* or *écoles moyennes*). The Catholic Church organized institutions equivalent to each of these. Textbooks for the "fourth grade" of primary education, for twelve- to fourteen-year-olds, are not included in our source material. This is because this grade, initiated in Belgium after the introduction of general compulsory education in

1914, was not regarded as secondary education in the strict sense, or even as the gateway to this education, but as a separate kind of final education (e.g., De Clerck et al. 1984, 35–38; D'hoker 2003, 55–56). This is why textbooks for this fourth grade are not included in our source material. The same goes for the textbooks for technical and vocational education (for eleven- to nineteen-year-olds), which were on the rise in this period. This was also regarded as a separate path outside of secondary education, with very different objectives and a different approach and structure (e.g., Depaepe 1998, 116–17; D'hoker 2003, 58, 62–67).

It should be noted that secondary schools that offered a full programme (such as the *athenea*, with six to seven years of school) structured their history education in one of two ways, by implementing a single or a double education cycle (*cyclus/cycle*). In state secondary education the double course was mandatory, while Catholic schools had a choice between the two courses. The Catholic schools too, however, had to conform as much as possible to the curricula drawn up by the state (De Baets 1989, 334–37). In the double course of education, the first was a period of two or three school years in which general history from antiquity to modern times was covered, along with an overview of Belgian national history (alternatively, this overview was given parallel to "general history"). Then, in the second course, a period of medieval or modern history was investigated in more detail in each school year (the period between 1492 and 1798 was covered in the fifth year, for example), so that students were given a concise and complete overview of history in chronological order. In the final year, the focus was on the most recent period and a thorough study of Belgian history. In the single course of education, general history was studied year after year in chronological order from antiquity to modern times. (In general, during the first year only antiquity was studied, during the second year the history of Rome, and so on.) In the final year, undivided attention was given to Belgian history (Muys 2004).

A sample of textbooks was selected to ensure that each of these kinds of history education was represented, resulting in a corpus of eleven. Four of these were commonly used textbooks intended primarily for state education (Vander Linden 1922; Baekens et al. 1950;

Gysels and Van den Eynde 1955) and seven were, in principle, intended for Catholic schools (Mercelis 1922; Kurth 1924, 1934; Leclère 1931, 1937; Poukens 1942; Dierickx 1955).[7] Of these textbooks, three (Mercelis 1922; Kurth 1924, 1934) could be used in both upper and lower secondary education. Two of the textbooks were mainly intended for the graduating class of secondary education (Dierickx 1955; Gysels and Van den Eynde 1955) and the six remaining for the first two to three years of secondary education (Vander Linden 1922; Poukens 1942; Baekens et al. 1950; Gysels et al. 1953; Leclère 1931, 1937).

3 The Ten Days' Campaign

3.1 The View of Belgian Historiography: Disastrous Defeat for Belgium

The two main historiographers of Belgian national history between 1910 and 1960 for the period of the Ten Days' Campaign and its political consequences during the reign of Leopold I were Louis de Lichtervelde and his epigone Carlo Bronne,[8] whose works are frequently quoted by the textbook authors. De Lichtervelde's and Bronne's accounts of this particular episode in Belgian national history in the main concur, and can be summarized as follows. On August 2, 1831, shortly after the Belgian declaration of independence from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (October 4, 1830), and after his accession to the throne (July 21, 1831), Leopold I was faced with an attack by the Netherlands. Under the direction of the princes William and Frederic, sons of the Dutch king, William I, an army not more than forty thousand strong crossed the northern border of Belgium and achieved a series of rather easy victories: the towns of Turnhout and Diest were occupied, thus opening the way to Brussels (e.g., de Lichtervelde 1929, 51). According to de Lichtervelde and Bronne, this attack certainly did not come unexpectedly; however, the provisional Belgian government, still savouring victory after the almost complete expulsion of Dutch

troops from the new Belgian territory, had miscalculated by assuming the Netherlands would continue to observe the truce the Great Powers of Prussia, France, Britain, Austria and Russia had imposed while the separation of the two countries was negotiated. The Dutch King William I, however, did not want to accept the loss of the Belgian provinces and proclaimed that he would resist the impositions of the Great Powers. After failing to undo the split between North and South by diplomatic means, he prepared for military action (38). A few Belgian officers had reported alarming movements of Dutch troops near the northern border as early as July 10 (31–37). They also informed the provisional Belgian government of the belligerent tone the Dutch newspapers were taking (37–90).

The Belgian historians de Lichtervelde and Bronne are united in their claim that the provisional Belgian government and especially Amédée de Failly, the Minister of War, neglected all these warnings and failed to carry out necessary defensive works (e.g., de Lichtervelde 1929, 39; Bronne 1947, 67ff.). The Belgian troops were too few in number and spread thinly through the country. The Flemish legion of about 3700 soldiers was scattered between the North Sea and the Scheldt. The Luxembourg army, four thousand strong, was located at the other end of the country. The army of the Scheldt, under the command of General Michiel de Tiecken de Terhove and of some sixteen thousand men, laid siege to the citadel in Antwerp with the Dutch general David Chassé and his eight thousand troops inside. The Meuse army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of General Nicolas Daine, was also stationed far from the northern border of Belgium.[9] Moreover, the organization of these troops itself left much to be desired. The armies were largely staffed by inexperienced recruits (e.g., de Lichtervelde 1929, 46) and led by barely competent officers,[10] many of whom were involved in Orangist conspiracies aiming at a return to the union with the Netherlands (38, 43, 58). Belgium did not even possess a unified command which could coordinate the actions of its troops (51).

Bronne and de Lichtervelde also point out the important role of King Leopold in the defence of Belgium. After the resignation of de Failly on August 3, Leopold took command of a hastily organized military force and, on the advice of his minister of foreign affairs, Joseph Lebeau (e.g.,

de Lichtervelde 1929, 47), requested military assistance from Britain and France. Leopold hoped to repel the invaders with the combined Meuse and Scheldt armies, but this hope was in vain: the army of the Meuse, under the command of General Nicolas Daine, was defeated by Dutch troops at Hasselt on August 8, and the army of the Scheldt suffered the same fate in Louvain on August 12. In the meantime, only France had responded to Leopold's request for intervention. On August 12, the French field marshal Etienne Maurice Gérard arrived in Wavre with fifty thousand men and managed to prevent Dutch troops from occupying Brussels.

Typical of the critical attitude of the Belgian historians is that they do not hesitate to mention tensions between Leopold I and his government, pointing out that Leopold had accepted France's offer of military assistance without having obtained prior consent from the Belgian parliament, as stipulated in Article 121 of the constitution. This stated that no foreign troops could undertake service with the state or occupy or cross the territory except by law. Leopold's action led to great political upheaval in Belgium, since it looked like an authoritarian transgression of the powers the constitution had granted him.

3.2 The Textbooks' View: Turning the Defeat into Victory

When the narrative in the Belgian national history textbooks is compared with the historiography, differences immediately become apparent. Most of the textbook authors, regardless of the level of education or educational network and throughout the whole period under investigation, demonstrate a "therapeutic" and "militant" use of history to stir up national pride among learners (Vander Linden 1922, 245–46; Mercelis 1922, 258–63; Kurth 1924, 194–201; 1934, 208–15; Leclère 1931, 170–74; 1937, 193–96; Baekens et al. 1950; Gysels and Van den Eynde 1955, 705). Unlike the historiographers, the textbook authors tend to slide over this humiliating campaign quickly and to tilt the balance as much as possible in Belgium's favour. Different techniques are used. Although most of these textbook authors openly admit the

defeat of Belgium in this campaign, they underscore how unexpected the attack was and the newly drafted army's lack of training. Little or nothing is said of individual battles, so the precarious situation of the troops is nowhere represented in full. One of the later textbooks (Gysels et al. 1953) does not say anything at all about the vulnerability of the Belgian army and the defeats it incurred, stating only that William I declared war on Belgium in 1831 and that the French prevented the occupation of Brussels and forced William I into an armistice, thus turning the defeat in a kind of a victory for Belgium (465). Nowhere is the possibility that the French intervention might have been caused by the Belgian government's tactical failures and poor preparations confirmed or alluded to in this or the other textbooks. The textbooks also fail to report the numerical strength of the two armies, so that the reader cannot grasp that the Belgian army would have been close in size to the Dutch if it had been united as King Leopold had wished. A partial exception to this rule is Leclère, who in his 1937 edition clearly gives the numerical strength of the army of the Prince of Orange as forty thousand. In doing so, however, he omits to mention the numerical strength of the Belgian army, so the same effect is achieved (Leclère 1937, 195).

Despite the textbooks' nationalist approach to the Ten Days' Campaign, after 1940 there is nevertheless a trend towards a version that corresponds to the historiography. This appears to apply throughout the different systems and levels in both Catholic and state education. For instance, the textbook by Gysels and Van Den Eynde no longer claims that the Dutch attack came as a total surprise (1955, 705). Two textbooks, Poukens (1942) and Dierickx (1955), go a step further by no longer justifying the defeat by claiming the Dutch attack was sudden and by blaming the National Congress for failing to organize the Belgian army properly. Both estimate the numerical strength of the Dutch army accurately: Dierickx at thirty-seven thousand (1955, 183), Poukens at thirty-six thousand (1942, 240). The authors no longer beat around the bush when telling us about the actual events of the battles (cf. Baekens et al. 1950, 134). Dierickx, for example, writes of the two most important manoeuvres during the Ten Days' Campaign: "[The Prince of Orange] first marched against the

Meuse army under the command of Daine and defeated it in Hasselt on August 8; then he turned on the Scheldt army under the command of King Leopold himself, and defeated this as well in Louvain on August 12" (1955, 183). Poukens also definitively ends the myth that the Dutch invasion was unexpected by reporting that as early as July 12, three weeks before the attack, William I had answered the Belgians' acceptance of the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles with a declaration of war (1942, 240).

It is remarkable that Leopold I is not referred to more in the textbooks. His role in the battles, attempts to organize the Belgian defence and call for France's military assistance are either simply not mentioned in the textbooks or restricted to the appeal to France. Only Mercelis, author of one of the oldest textbooks for Catholic schools (1922), suggests that the role of Leopold I was praiseworthy, mentioning that "fortunately, Leopold managed to obstruct the road to the capital" (1922, 260ff.). The marginalization of the role of Leopold I may be due to the gradual transition in Belgian and other European historiography from a focus on great figures to a more structural approach with a greater emphasis on economic and societal history. Alternatively, Leopold may be sidelined because from a nationalist perspective it is not flattering to admit that the young Belgian nation had to be rescued by a king who had only just arrived from abroad and acceded to the throne.

4 Political Consequences of the Defeat: The Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles

4.1 The View of the Historiography: Severe Consequences of the Defeat for Belgium

The historians de Lichtervelde (1929, 64ff.) and Bronne (1947, 83–84) clearly state that the defeat in the Ten Days' Campaign had severe consequences for Belgium. The Great Powers Prussia, Austria, Britain and Russia had now witnessed the vulnerability of the young kingdom. They concluded that Belgium could not be counted on to provide

a buffer against France and they therefore decided to strengthen the Netherlands once again. Thus they replaced the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles, imposed on Belgium as a condition of independence, with the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles, which was more favourable to the Netherlands.[11] The Treaty of the Eighteen Articles implied that Belgium could claim those regions of the former United Kingdom of the Netherlands that had been allocated to the Batavian Republic after 1790. This was true of Maastricht and Limburg, except for the city of Venlo and fifty-three villages of the Generality countries, Zealand Flanders, Northern-Brabant and Overmaze. Besides, Belgium could claim a number of enclaves which reached as far as the heart of the Northern Provinces and had belonged to German princes until 1800. By means of territorial exchange, Limburg could stay with Belgium. The status of Luxembourg required further negotiation (Bronne 1947, 63). But now the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles stipulated that Maastricht and the province of Limburg east of the Meuse would be ceded to the Netherlands and only the Wallonian part of the province of Luxembourg left to Belgium. Zealand Flanders, as well as both banks of the Scheldt estuary, would remain the property of the Netherlands (Bronne 1947, 85). In exchange for this, Belgium was granted independence once again.

Despite fierce argument between the advocates of the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles, who saw accepting it as the only guarantee of Belgian independence, and its opponents, who adopted an aggressive attitude towards William I and the Great Powers, the Belgian government accepted the new peace treaty on November 1, 1831 without an overwhelming majority in parliament (de Lichtervelde 1929, 93–94).[12] On November 15 Belgium signed the treaty in London. William I, however, did not give up hope of annexing parts of Belgium, thanks to his military successes in the Ten Days' Campaign, and refused to sign the treaty. Since there did not seem to be any way to persuade William I to negotiate, Leopold I appealed by way of his ministers to the British and the French to honour their guarantees of Belgian independence. Britain and France declared themselves willing to intervene militarily if William I did not voluntarily order his troops to withdraw from the Antwerp fortress. After William's refusal, the French and British fleets

blockaded Dutch harbours and a French army, again under the command of Field Marshal Gérard, entered the country to lay siege to the Antwerp citadel. The Belgian army was forbidden from taking part in these military actions unless the regular Dutch army invaded Belgium. On December 23, 1831, after more than a month's siege, the Dutch general Chassé surrendered.

Since William I continued to refuse to sign the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles after withdrawing from Antwerp, the Great Powers attempted to force a compromise. On May 21, 1833, negotiations between the Netherlands, France and Britain led to the conclusion of an agreement which was a little more favourable to Belgium: as long as the Netherlands refused to sign the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles, Belgium was to retain Luxembourg and Limburg. A final peace was not reached until 1839. Because of resistance in his own country to the heavy financial burden the war brought, William I made it clear in March 1838 that he would sign the treaty. The conflict between the belligerent and the moderate parties in Belgium flared up again: the more belligerent hoped that by actually possessing Maastricht, Limburg east of the Meuse and German Luxembourg they could confirm these gains in a treaty in the course of time. The Great Powers, however, assumed a threatening attitude towards Belgium after William I agreed to sign the treaty. Leopold I and his government tried to negotiate with them in order to recover the territories, but their efforts proved vain. Amid great political turmoil, both chambers of the parliament approved the acquisition of the new territories with clear majorities. One month later, however, on April 19, 1839, the final texts of the treaty were signed. Maastricht, Limburg east of the Meuse and German Luxembourg were separated from Belgium once and for all.

4.2 The Textbooks' View: A Guarantee of Independence

If we compare the textbooks with the historiography, it is noticeable that the textbook authors all attempt to present the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles in such a way as to avoid hurting Belgian national

pride and patriotic feelings by interpreting the facts "therapeutically" in favor of Belgium as far as possible.

Some textbooks only mention the positive content of the treaty. Gysels and Van den Eynde, for instance, only report that this treaty ensured the neutrality of Belgium (1955, 706). The reader thus learns nothing about the negative consequences of the treaty for Belgium. Alternatively, only a few of the negative consequences of the treaty are reported, so the reader cannot become fully aware of the real impact and severity of the treaty. So Vander Linden writes: "With the Twenty-Four Articles the Conference of London decided to apportion to [William I] the eastern part of Luxembourg and a part of Limburg equal to the part of Luxembourg which was left to Belgium" (1922, 245). In his account, the author omits to mention Zealand Flanders and other territorial losses for Belgium. Finally, all eleven textbooks favourably interpret the facts by emphasizing that accepting the treaty was inevitable in order to stay independent, that the Belgians were unwilling to approve it and that they resisted heroically for as long as possible. There is only a difference of literary style between the textbooks before and after 1940. With the exception of Vander Linden (1922, 244–46), the textbook authors from the period between 1910 and 1940 reveal themselves to be belated adherents of the romantic narrators so typical of European historiography in the nineteenth century (Kurth 1924, 196; 1934, 210; Leclère 1931, 173; 1937, 196; Mercelis 1922, 263; cf. De Schryver 1990, 299–313). This is most conspicuous with Mercelis, one of the earliest authors, who reports the sessions of the Belgian parliament in the style of epic drama:

> All the sessions, in particular the last one, were very turbulent. "How shall I depict the grievous dismay of the meeting?" a historian says, "when M. Bekaert, delegate from Courtrai, votes on the necessary separation with a broken heart, and then drops dead as if overwhelmed by grief? How shall I show the general mood, when Mr. Gendebien, delegate from Luxembourg, upon hearing his name during the vote, shouts: 'No, no, 380,000 times no! For the 380,000 Belgians you sacrifice to your fear! How can I depict the tears when, right after the vote, they hear that fierce patriot offer his resignation and watch him leave the room in

> tears?'—100 members participated in the vote: 58 voted for the treaty, 42 against. The senate also approved it with 31 votes to 14. The painful sacrifice had been made, yet it was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of our young independence." (1922, 263)

The authors of textbooks after 1940 also try to soften the humiliating consequences of the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles for Belgium by presenting its acceptance as inevitable for Belgian independence and by stressing the fierce resistance of the Belgians. But they replace the epic-dramatic style with more neutral and less stilted language. Dierickx reports on the acceptance of the final peace treaty as follows:

> Rather unexpectedly, William I declared on March 14, 1838 that he accepted the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles. But now fierce resistance arose in Belgium. Until then, the representatives of Limburg east of the Meuse and of the German-speaking part of Luxembourg, with a population of 180,000 souls, had taken their seats in our rooms. Leopold I had armed these regions, had even suggested purchasing them with real gold. All in vain. As Prussia, Austria and Russia now supported the Netherlands, and France wanted to remain neutral, Belgium had to give in. With a small majority of 58 to 41 votes the Chamber of Representatives approved the treaty. On April 19, 1839 the Definitive Treaty of London was signed by the five Great Powers as underwriters on the one hand and by Belgium on the other. That day *our independence and our neutrality were confirmed definitively*. (1955, 183, emphasis in original)

The textbooks by Poukens (1942, 240) and Baekens et al. (1950, 135–36) are similar.

Another technique that the textbook authors use to legitimate the actions of the Belgian nation is also worth mentioning. Most of the textbook authors (Catholic or otherwise and regardless of the level of education), especially those before 1935, do not stress the connection between Belgian defeat in the Ten Days' Campaign and the humiliating peace treaty. Kurth (1924, 195; 1934, 209), after his account of the Ten Days' Campaign, writes of the treaty: "At last the relationship of our country with the Netherlands was settled in the Treaty of the

Twenty-Four Articles, which was signed in London by the European powers". Mercelis's first lines also avoid any connection: "As William refused to accept the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles, the Conference drew up the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles" (1922, 262). The same goes for some of the later textbooks, which say "the Conference of London settled the issue of the border between the Netherlands and Belgium" (Gysels et al. 1953, 465) and "the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles (October 14, 1831) altered the previous conditions" (Gysels and Van den Eynde 1955, 706). By failing to relate the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles to the defeat in the Ten Days' Campaign, these textbook authors present the reason that the treaty was so unfavourable as the attitude of William I, not the failure of the Belgian government and army.

Only four of the eleven textbooks link the Belgian defeat and the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles. Leclère still proceeds carefully when he rather euphemistically argues that the Conference of London "believed" it had to alter the previous treaty after the Ten Days' Campaign (1937, 195). And Vander Linden admits with some hesitation that after the Ten Days' Campaign William I had the power to have the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles revised (1922, 245–46). In this respect, Dierickx once again adheres most to the historiography, reporting these events without disguising the facts (1955, 183): "On October 14, 1831 the last and irrevocable Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles was completed: Belgium had proven itself too weak and too dependent on France; now the Great Powers wanted to make the Netherlands stronger both financially and militarily". Less harsh is Poucken's (1942, 240) wording, but he casts no doubt on the strict relation between the two events, saying that "the Belgian defeat had as its consequence the alteration of the Treaty of the Eighteen Articles".

5 Conclusion

Based on the above survey, some conclusions can be drawn. The dominant finding is that in this case the textbook authors, in line with their objective to educate in patriotism and citizenship, contributed to the

design and the legitimacy of an "imaginary" Belgian national identity among students. This identity was based on the idea of the unity and courage of the Belgian people and nation, viewed as a "political community", "inherently limited" (by its historical frontiers with surrounding nations) and "sovereign", that successfully and heroically defended itself against the foreign aggressor King William I, who threatened the nation's independence and territorial unity in the Ten Days' Campaign (cf. Anderson 1991, 6). Although blatant falsehoods are not present in the textbooks, this still results, to follow Ferro (see above, Introduction), in a "therapeutic" and "militant" reading of academic Belgian historiography which, by omissions and other reductions (such as simplification, generalization and misleading ordering), filters out of the historiography whatever does not contribute to the student's patriotic education. So the defeat is transformed as much as possible into a victory, with the positive consequences for Belgium especially highlighted. This was the dominant and persistent approach for the whole period under investigation (1910–60), applied consistently throughout the Catholic and state education systems, at all education levels and in both the single and double course of education. This strong concurrence between Catholic and state education is not surprising in view of the fact that the Catholic education system had to conform as much as possible to the educational objectives developed by the Belgian state, in order to receive its limited share of state funding (e.g., D'hoker 2003, 6, 54, 70–78; Muys 2004).

Despite these dominant constants, there was nevertheless a minor trend that began to manifest itself after 1940. In the Catholic Belgian history textbooks intended mainly for the graduating class of secondary education, a trend towards following academic Belgian historiography can be detected: the link between the humiliating defeat of the Belgians during the Ten Days' Campaign and the Treaty of the Twenty-Four Articles, which was much less beneficial for Belgium, was no longer glossed over. As we have seen, this tendency can probably be explained as an early manifestation of a less patriotic approach to history education in Belgium since the late fifties, which resulted in the severing of the ties between patriotism and history education in Belgium with the introduction of new school curricula from 1960.

Finally, a more general point can be made about the relationship between the textbooks and the historiography. All the textbooks under investigation turned out to be nothing more or less than patriotic paraphrases or, to borrow a phrase from education historian Piet Fontaine, "cast-offs" of the Belgian academic historiography of the same period (1980, 14–15). In this light, Belgian national history textbooks can be regarded as Belgian national history "writ small" (Van Wiele 2011, 244–47). This underscores, from a purely methodological point of view, the importance of Depaepe and Simon's plea for textbook research to be contextualized in a cultural history of education, so that textbooks can be analyzed and interpreted in relation to their historical and literary context and previously under-researched determinants of education can be investigated (2003, 65–78; 2009, 31–34). By systematically interpreting national history textbooks in the light of the underlying historiography, I have demonstrated the crucial importance of historiography in detecting the nationalist "therapeutic" and "militant" use of history in textbooks in Belgium, and have uncovered one of the "large structures" of the "grammar of schooling" that shaped national history education at the secondary level in Belgian schools between 1910 and 1960. A follow-up study is needed to determine whether this structure continues in textbooks after 1960 and, if so, how and why this occurs.

Notes

1. The term "imagined" is, however, ambivalent and open to varying interpretations. I agree with Anderson that the character of a nation and its correspondent ideology are not necessarily imagined in the sense that they rely on unfounded fabrications and statements. For Anderson, Gellner's view that "nationalism … invents nations where they do not exist" is problematic since "invention" is all too easily associated with the production of falsehoods (Anderson 1991, 6ff.). I would argue with Anderson that true elements also have a part to play in the construction of nationalism. The imaginary character of nationalist ideology rather lies in a selective reading and interpretation of history intended to promote a feeling of ethnic solidarity based on socio-cultural markers, such as common language, beliefs, religion,

political systems, territory, etc. This interpretation does not exclude the possibility that fact and fiction may be mixed in nationalist historical narratives. See Flacke (1998), for Belgium, Morelli (1995), Tollebeek (1998, 328–52).

2. In order to collect the source material, I had recourse to the available textbooks on Belgian national history in the special collections of textbooks in the libraries for teacher education at the Université catholique de Louvain and Ghent University. All textbooks in their various editions were consulted which in one way or another gave coherent reports of Belgian history under the reign of King Leopold I, more specifically about the Ten Days' Campaign and its political and social consequences. This resulted in a definitive corpus of eleven textbooks. This sample is likely to be representative, although caution is always advised since not all of the textbooks in these collections have yet been catalogued and made accessible to the public.
3. An important methodological remark here is that this Belgian historiography may also have been influenced by implicit and perhaps even explicit nationalist tendencies. Since no separate study of this question is yet available, it falls outside the limited scope of this study.
4. Throughout his study Ferro also uses such concepts as "purification", "simplification", "transfiguration", "changes of perspective", "reduction" and "construction" as categories in his analysis of didactic materials (see, e.g., Ferro 1981, 43–44, 188–89, 283–86ff.). These terms were highly instructive when identifying ideological motives in this study.
5. See for a very good introduction to this shift in historiography De Schryver (1990, 299–313). Another excellent survey from different perspectives of this evolution in Western European historiography can be found in the contributions by Tollebeek, Vries, Boterman, Dorsman, Beliën, Lorenz, Jansz and Blaas, collected in Beliën and van Setten (1991). For the sake of comparison, Verschaffel (1987) should also be consulted, where the legitimization of Belgian and Flemish identity in romantic book illustrations is investigated.
6. Until 1924 the programme of the "classical humanities" (*klassieke humaniora*) consisted of seven consecutive years of study; after 1924, this was reduced to only six years. See, e.g., D'hoker (2003, 58), Descamps and Vancoppenolle (2011, 25).
7. Sometimes, with the approval of Catholic authorities, it was permitted to use history textbooks intended for secondary education organized

by the government in the corresponding classes in Catholic secondary education. This was true of Gysels and Van den Eynde (1955, 4).

8. Besides Bronne and de Lichtervelde, there were also other important historians in this period who dealt with the history of Belgium since its independence, such as Henri Pirenne (see, e.g., Pirenne 1932). However, because these historiographers do not focus as much as the others on the figure of King Leopold and because their accounts of the Ten Days' Campaign do not differ from Bronne and de Lichtervelde, I did not incorporate these authors into my overview. Of course, Belgian historiography since 1960 ameliorated the historical record on this topic with further investigation, but a comparison of the textbooks with more recent writings would run the risk of anachronism. I refer only to some important more recent works on the early history of Belgium for the sake of comparison: Luyckx and Platel (1985), Stengers (1992), Witte (1983, 315–45), Witte et al. (1997).
9. For the position and the numerical strength of the Belgian troops, see, e.g., de Lichtervelde (1929, 44–45).
10. Many of the Belgian army officers had obtained their ranks from the temporary government for their patriotic merits, without having undergone the requisite training. See de Lichtervelde (1929, 57–58).
11. France and Britain supported the content of the treaty. Prussia, Austria and Russia, however, did this on condition of a more favourable declaration for the Netherlands. See, e.g., Bronne (1947, 95).
12. See for the content of these debates, e.g., de Lichtervelde (1929, 93–94).

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3

"When the Guns Thundered, All Citizens Became Soldiers, and Every Breast Breathed War": Education of the Armed Citizen in XIX Century Colombia

Luis Alarcón Meneses and Jorge Conde Calderón

1 The Manual as a Source and Object of Investigation

The documentary resources on which this work is based mainly include manuals, memoires, chronicles, press articles, and correspondence. But because of the nature of the subject studied, it was particularly useful to consider the use of manuals, a category that includes texts for the training of soldiers and guerrillas, when analyzing questions such as the training of armed citizens in nineteenth-century Colombia. In addition to being considered an apparatus of knowledge and power (Palacio Mejía and Ramírez Franco 1998, 218), this kind of heuristic material was also accepted as a cultural artefact resulting from the nineteenth-century social and historical context. Consequently, we looked at these texts not only as documents offering information but also as

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cultural products demonstrating the imaginaries and various kinds of representations present in the educational spaces and times where they were used to propagate a modernized republican ideology that was to be the basis on which citizens were trained.

Some of the military instruction manuals and treatises on which this investigation is based show the virtues of the republic as well as the reasons why it should be defended by men whom these materials sought to transform into armed citizens, eager to learn not only morality, etiquette, and the values of civilized society but also the art of war, so that they could play their role as real republican soldiers ready to give their lives for their fatherland.

Treatises and instruction manuals for guerrilla warfare, treated without differentiation in this paper, were analyzed in terms of their twofold character, i.e., as both sources and objects of study (Borre Johnsen 1996, 74). This made it possible to examine their discourses and representations concerning the republic and the citizen, while at the same time treating them as the focus of our historical interest inasmuch as they constituted basic elements of the educational practice and culture whose purpose was to move forward in the training of citizens and nation-building during a century characterized by constant civil wars. In fact, here we are not only using manuals as a valid source for the study of educational processes related to the training of armed citizens, but also as a focus of analysis and investigation, just as the new cultural historiography has done in the case of books. In this sense, the project from which this paper arose is based on the recognition of manuals as source material for the investigation of the history of education and culture while at the same time recognizing the historicity of textbooks inasmuch as they offer an account of educational processes throughout the nineteenth century (Alarcón 2012, 207–41).

From a methodological and heuristic point of view, the importance we give to military training manuals and treatises as historical objects means more than simply taking them as educational aids or teaching tools. They have also become ideological and cultural artefacts (Choppin 2000, 112–17). Therefore, their study affords us a window onto the mentality of an epoch, its social practices, and the teaching methods used for military instruction and the training of citizens,

as well as facilitating our knowledge and analysis of the culture of war that prevailed in nineteenth-century Colombia.[1]

2 Colombia in the Nineteenth Century

The emergence and consolidation of the nation-state in nineteenth-century Colombia involved the broadening of two of the state's responsibilities toward this end, the training of citizens and the creation of the nation. Both undergirded the new principle of the legitimacy of the political order based on national sovereignty and political representation. The exercise of this sovereignty as a universal principle required the correct use of reason and the training of citizens in republican virtues. As public education spread enlightenment, citizenship would gradually expand. This process underwent twists and turns in the nineteenth century in response to internal dynamics and the international context, intensified, in the century's second half, by the ideas associated with Romanticism, socialism (in all its variants) and liberalism of a new type, trends forged in the heat of the 1848 revolutionary events in France.

In Colombia, notions such as the nation, citizenship, education and or public instruction, and the republic, among others, were reinvented and adapted to the country's social reality by political currents representing differing projects for state construction that had arisen during the process of the country's independence. One moment, in 1857–1886, corresponded to a secular, radical liberalism; another, 1886–1889, to the so-called Conservative Regeneration based on Ultramontanist Catholicism. The research underlying this paper concentrated on the former, which Colombian historians call the federal period or regime that lasted for 29 years. Sovereignty was granted to each of the country's states, allowing them to have their own constitutional regime, civil legislation, justice system, budget management and autonomous territorial organization (Sierra Meija 2006). This meant, as the 1863 federal constitution put it, that the states enjoyed sovereignty and therefore were not subordinated to the central government. Consequently, that government was obliged to take a neutral position, at least formally, in regard to a state's internal political decisions and

any conflict that might break out within or between states. The federal regime was based on a liberal constitution that consecrated individual freedoms such as private property, free movement, and freedom of opinion and of the press. At the same time, it also protected the inviolability of private homes, the unrestricted right to work, citizens' right to free education, and freedom of conscience and religion.

Nevertheless, the liberal governments of the federal period found themselves in a highly traditional country, a society marked by the very powerful influence of the Church, which always strongly opposed the changes these governments sought to carry out during these years. They were also faced with a dispersed and mainly rural population. The low levels of school attendance meant the majority were illiterate and had little civic education. Furthermore, they tended to lead unstable lives due to exploitation suffered at the hands of the big landowners, who constituted, in practice, the real political power because of the weakness of the state, which had little or no presence in much of the country. This was the context in which liberal governments had to operate when, starting in 1870, they began to implement an educational reform known as the Organic Decree on Public Instruction (DOIP), convinced that education had to play an important role in training the citizenry and in the process of the country's modernization. This necessarily meant that the majority of the population had to be infused with republican values so as to construct a social base for the liberal political project and draw broad sections of the people into the new dynamics of the capitalist market. For these radical liberals, this process required the strengthening of the secular state and the launching of a democratic educational policy, with free, obligatory education free of religious interference, run according to modern pedagogical principles and provided with the necessary financial resources.

But the educational reform promoted by the radical governments prompted a reaction by the conservatives and the Church, who considered it a threat to the status quo and the control they had historically exercised over society and politics throughout a century characterized by the strong presence and influence of the Church in national life. In practice, all this limited the construction of a secular state during that period. Consequently, the society itself remained mostly unsecular, as,

of course, did public education, which faced various obstacles in training Colombian citizens to embody a greater freedom of thought and identify with the basic principles of modernity.

3 From Militiamen and Guerrillas to Armed Citizens

Among intercepted papers written by rebels in Cauca during the war of 1862, a letter from a soldier named Carlos to his sister Carmen proves particularly illustrative. He starts by saying he was fighting in such an isolated area that he could not be sure she would ever receive his missive. What is most revealing in the letter is his explanation for finding himself marching further and further south: "because of a political question with Ecuador", putting that in context with the following: "Some people believe, Carmen, that this disagreement with Ecuador arose only because of the reasons I told you, that some *pastusos* [a pejorative term for natives of the Colombian border city of Pasto] went into some of their villages, but I fear that this is simply a pretext on Flóres' part to commence hostilities, while the real reason might be, perhaps, a coalition with Mosquera to revive Colombia. These old ambitions to bring back the old Colombia may involve us in a horrendous war" (*Documentos curiosos escojidos* 1862).

Several elements become apparent from this soldier's statement. First of all, despite the official explanations given soldiers, civil guards, militia members and guerrillas concerning the unfolding of events, some of them expressed their own opinions about the real reasons for this war. Second, they are familiar with the recent history of the republic of Colombia, which historiography calls Gran Colombia (a name used today for the state that from 1819 to 1831 included the territories of present-day Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Panama, northern Peru, western Guyana and northwest Brazil). Lastly, for them the horrendous character of this war arose out of the ambitions of these old generals who had organized Colombia as it was configured following the War of Independence against Spain. That war was the first and main school in

which were trained the soldiers who later took part in the civil wars on a national level and local armed conflicts that wracked nineteenth-century Colombia. Similarly, the experience of that war and those that followed determined the training of an armed citizenry "useful to the fatherland" on which obedience to military regulations, orders and instructions was based (Osorio 1988, 1990, 120). The aim was to instil military discipline. This helps explain the multiplication of editions of treatises on guerrilla warfare and army training manuals.

This chapter is chiefly concerned with the training of an armed citizenry based on an analysis of those treatises and manuals. Most of them are actually transcriptions of similar texts written by European military men. In some editions, the person taking credit as the author, in fact the editor, added notes or commentaries seeking to adapt some military tactics and strategies to Colombian reality (Conde and Alarcón 2014, 17–37). In general these treatises and manuals were based on texts on *la petite guerre* translated into Spanish in the second half of the eighteenth century. *La petite guerre* was what the French called the war they fought against Austria in 1742–1743. In that conflict, irregular troops made up mainly of countrymen and peasants armed with work tools defeated one of the most powerful armies of the time. Actually, the use of guerrillas in European war goes back to the early days of that century (Giménez López 2005, 543–600).

These experiences attracted attention and study by French essayists like Armand François de la Croix. His brief book, *Traité de la petite guerre pour les compagnies franches* (1752), was later supplemented by a study written by Captain Thomas Auguste Le Roy de Grandmaison, *La Petite Guerre: ou Traité du service des troupes légéres en campagne* (1756), which was to inspire similar efforts all over Europe. Grandmaison's text and the aspiration to perfect "the art of war" influenced a Spanish captain, who translated and published it under the title *La Guerrilla o Tratado del servicio de las tropas ligeras* (1780).[2] Due to this translation being "adorned" with a few further thoughts and notes, it was not long before the word guerrilla replaced the original term *petite guerre* or "little war." After that, editions of treatises on guerrilla warfare proliferated in the Spanish-speaking world, particularly one by Felipe de San Juan that came out in numerous expanded versions. His text was reprinted

several times during the War of Independence, and was considered the most complete manual for the instruction of armed citizens. Several editions were reprinted or reedited by active-duty officers. On other occasions its promotion and distribution was ordered by a particular army unit, such as the Sixth Light Brigade stationed in Cartagena, which also published a list of the regulations to be obeyed by soldiers from private to master sergeant and of commands by higher-ranking officers (*Ordenanzas del Ejército*, 1832).[3] The multiplication of editions of this treatise was closely related to the new role being played by guerrillas, militias and the National Guard, all of which had been incorporated into the Army of Liberation. Since soldiers were considered a basic part of the *people*, all citizens were enrolled into the Colombian army. This is why the titles of subsequent editions emphasized the book's purpose as a manual for the armed citizenry (*Instrucción de guerrilla*, 1832).

Some editions of these treatises retained the form of questions and answers following a brief introduction indicating the sections into which the book was divided. The majority began with the question, "What is meant by the term guerrilla formation?" Reply: "Guerrilla formation means the separation or methodical dispersion of a body of troops, whether to fight in rough terrain where no other formation is possible, hide or cover the manoeuvres of large bodies of troops, serve as the vanguard for columns, flank marches, or, finally, for reconnaissance" (*Instrucción de guerrilla*, 1832, 1). These manuals rarely broke with this catechistic structure. One that did was published by the coronel Remigio Márquez, who dedicated it to "the brave defenders of Colombia" (*Tratado de Guerrilla*, 1821). The book is a brief and condensed summary (barely 31 pages) of the treatise by Felipe de San Juan, which, Márquez said, came into his hands "at the time of the terrible loss of Cartagena" in 1815. He and other defenders of that city's stronghold fled to Jamaica in the face of its imminent occupation by the Spanish army of reconquest led by General Pablo Morillo.

Márquez's political and military career was perilous. In 1820 he returned from exile in Jamaica and wrote a letter to Vice President Santander listing the positions he had held during the First Republic, and asking to be brought back into military service with the rank of Lieutenant Coronel and put in charge of enrolment at Mompós, just as

he had been before the last sovereign congress of the united provinces of Nueva Granada, as Colombia was called during that period. In this letter he also described the "horrors" and "misery" endured during his escape from Cartagena to Jamaica in 1815, which, nevertheless, he emphasized, did not succeed in bringing about "the degradation of prostituting my opinion by accepting a pardon." Finally, he thanked Santander for the financial aid he had received to cover "some loans incurred" in Jamaica, "without which I would not have been able to leave that island to serve the republic" (Cortázar 1964–1970, 224–25).[4] The following year he printed the treatise, arguing, in the publisher's preface, that the course of the war and advantages of Colombia's geography—"the necessities" of this "kind of war" and the fact that "the greater part of our lands are mountainous or otherwise rough terrain"—compelled its dissemination. Then he paraphrased, in clear and simple language, the instructions for training guerrillas. He detailed how the troops were to be lined up in rows two or three deep and how, while marching, to prepare for battle, relieve a guerrilla wing, fire from fixed positions, how to break an encirclement, employ fire when advancing or retreating, how commands are given, and elucidated the use of trumpets.

Many of the instructions published and reprinted in wartime had an effect on the fighting techniques employed by militias, guerrillas and light troops, and even the National Guard whose task was the defence of urban areas. Officers' reports and accounts of the organized and resolute withdrawal of guerrillas at the end of battles or in the midst of battle provide enough information to give an overall idea of the impact on this military instruction on armed citizens. Other elements contributing to their more effective training were the reading aloud of commands and regulations, proclamations and on-site visits by generals and members of the Army General Staff.

4 Manuals and Treatises in the Training of the Armed Citizenry

This manual and others of its kind circulating during that era agreed on the tactical importance of guerrilla warfare as "a flexible or fortuitous combat practice that makes use of irregular armed groups organized

into commandos or mobile units to launch rapid, surprise attacks in their own territory against enemy forces that are usually part of the regular army" (Amézcua Luna 2011, 133–78). Military manuals, along with school textbooks, education and military instruction, represented one of the paths to the production not only of republican sentiments but also the training of a citizenry prepared to take up arms to defend the victories achieved by the republic and liberalism. Thus these manuals sought to shape not only the minds and consciousness of children and youth but also to generate a combative spirit. This goal was also influenced by the idea of perfectibility through education, a notion taken up and popularized by Pestalozzi, who believed that individuals could be moulded from infancy onward to modify their tastes, values and customs. Nineteenth-century Colombian liberals considered this task the foundation of the educational system.

Consequently, from these publications citizens were to learn the necessary moral codes and distinctive values of the new republican regime so that they would take responsibility for its defence, as laid out in an 1842 regulation: "When it comes to defending the state there is nothing comparable to military force… The militia is the shield of civil society, protecting its interests and avenging offenses against the republic. It is under its protection that other arts are freely and peacefully practiced, agriculture flourishes and commerce expands" (*Guía del Instructor*, 1861). Similarly, military manuals, along with military regulations and orders, make it possible to reconstruct the representations of the republic and citizenship present in the political discourse of the time, since these texts sought not only to provide officers and recruits with the knowledge necessary to wage irregular warfare but also to promote civic and patriotic virtues among the armed citizenship. They tried to consolidate a republican imaginary traditionally spread by the schools but simultaneously implemented in the barracks and battalions. The objective was to inject discipline into learning by inculcating the moral principles meant to forge the profile of men transformed into armed citizens. Military manuals contributed to this process. Their purpose was not only to teach war tactics but also to socialize the ideological content, identities and inclusion of the individual into a nation and a citizenry (Arteaga 2009, 301–20). Accordingly, some manuals meant for military training in the new Latin American republics emphasized that

"since a soldier is a man, if one seeks to inculcate in him the religion of duty not by means of ignominious punishments that are improper for civilization but by attracting him through reasoning worthy of the spirit of our century, it will be much easier to make him into a lethal defender of the sovereign freedom of his homeland" (Mixco 1888, 6).

These publications share with the military training manuals that circulated in Latin America during the nineteenth century a discourse encouraging love of the fatherland understood as a civic or political virtue going beyond an affinity for the cultural, ethnic and religious identity of a people, more related to a love for a shared freedom and the institutions of the republican order on which it rests. "Love of the fatherland is the moral force that turns raw soldiers into brave and invincible warriors" (Mixco 1888). Nevertheless, the predominant factor was a bellicose climate that a contemporary described in the following terms: "*When the guns thundered, all citizens became soldiers, and every breast breathed war*. In the universal movement of that sacrilegious and fratricidal war through the space of two long years, not a sound was heard in the republic except for those made by the people of New Grenada as they killed one another" (Eusebio Caro 1873, 89, our italics).

5 Wartime Education

It should be noted that during the nineteenth century the organization of the republican regime took place in the context of a series of civil wars "fought between armies and guerrilla units whose soldiers and fighters were for the most part poor labourers and lower-class urban workers whose participation was sometimes voluntary and sometimes not" (Carlos Jurado 2004, 673). They had to be trained in military tactics, patriotic virtues, and the principles of good citizenship. Consequently, the distinctions between these elements, political practices, and the social role of education were fuzzy, as evidenced during the war of 1876, also known as the war of the schools, sparked by the educational reform introduced by the radical liberals at the beginning of that decade.

This war contributed to a situation in which issues of education became a factor in provoking clashes between different social and political sectors, since control over individuals or efforts to shape them became a bone of contention between forces seeking to impose their political and religious principles (Clark 2007, 32–61). Thus education, or the perception of education in the eyes of the political actors in that period, ended up becoming a factor in partisan alignments because schools were seen as ideal spaces for the training of the armed citizen and the construction of the nation. Education also became an area of confrontation between two distinct powers, each of which claimed sovereignty, the Church and the liberal state, which were in turn instrumentalized in various ways by social subjects whose efforts to control education involved moral, religious and civic issues. The discourses and actions thus unleashed generated armed conflicts such as the previously mentioned one in 1876, in which some armies marched behind religious banners.

In 1864 Cerbeleón Pinzón published a catechism that contributed to a propitious climate for such situations. His *Catecismo Republicano* sought to help train soldiers, i.e., citizens in arms, individuals linked to the militias, National Guard, or rural guerrilla formations. It was also meant for learned citizens, represented by student youth who also needed to learn, protect, and spread the basics of civic education and republican order. The text combined a martial discourse and civil ideas as symbolized by the republic, whose existence, Pinzón argued, required its defence by an armed citizenry able to "give their lives, if necessary, to defend its territorial integrity, independence and honour" (Pinzón 1865, 28). This catechism meant for use in the schools run by the Colombian Guard presented a double discourse including both civic education and instruction for war. This was the common denominator during a period when war was often called upon to defend the gains of the established political regime, a reason also often invoked to justify any mass uprising "with right on its side in defence of our independence, our freedom and our rights" (Pinzón 1865, 24). In general, these manuals emphasized "the need to maintain a standing army indispensable to order" for which "it is necessary that the members who make it up are ready to fulfil its aims, not only by devoting themselves to the loyal

fulfilment of their commitments to the fatherland, but also seeking to deeply educate themselves in the military profession and the rules of the art of war" (Barriga 1860, 3). This text reveals a concern for training patriotic citizens for war, a very common practice in nineteenth-century Colombia that would continue, with slight variations, during the first half of the twentieth, to the point of becoming an element in the generation of political identities in the country (Carlos Jurado 2014, 185–210).

Furthermore, the state of war favored reading practices associated with martial themes and disciplined learning, since the reading and memorization of regulations was obligatory. In his memoirs, José María Espinosa, who ended his military career as an army master sergeant, recounted the following regarding the events of 2 October 1812 during a battle between federalists and centralists in Ventaquemada. When the latter were retreating, in order to spur on his troops and infuse them with courage, General Antonio Nariño "came up to me to take the flag from me, but I resisted giving it to him, because I knew, from the military regulations read to me every night in the barracks when I began my service, that the standard bearer should never give up the flag, not even to the army commanding general himself, and that only in the most unfortunate situation could he hand it over to a sergeant or corporal" (María Espinoza 1936, 33–34). The use of a method emphasizing the repetition of commands, orders and regulations was considered the most appropriate way to train the armed citizen. The introduction to the *Guía del instructor para la enseñanza del soldado, en 30 días* (Instructor's Guide for Training Soldiers in 30 Days) listed, under the heading "General Observations on Method", the following most important and basic elements in teaching soldiers: "Get rid of theoretical dissertations, demonstrate the use of arms, break down actions into as many distinct movements as possible, and practice each movement until students can execute it perfectly." This cited guidebook was an official edition published in 1861 after multiple reprints in which "none of the 1831 regulations were changed" (*Guía del Instructor* 1861, 9).

Repetition was the method used to train soldiers in military values, transforming them into individuals whose only purpose was to comply with orders from their superiors and inculcating discipline as the

military's highest virtue. Regarding the latter, an 1842 manual pointed out, "A cowardly and undisciplined crowed cannot push back a hardened enemy. The purpose of bravery and discipline is public happiness, and the reward is national admiration. A military man who lacks these virtues is good for nothing, he earns the opprobrium of his comrades and brings shame onto the unit in which he serves. *Discipline is the soul of armies*. Without it, soldiers become a pack of wretches more dangerous to the state than its declared enemies" (*Recopilación de las ordenanzas* 1842, 8, our italics).

This unambiguously signals that the training of a citizen in arms has both a military and civil character. Consequently, there is an emphasis on republican values as well as on discipline. The fulfilment of this duty was considered incumbent on all civilized individuals, who were to obey these norms and practice them to the letter in spaces such as schools, barracks, and the home, since a good citizen "should know and respect the republican laws and defend his fatherland." The republican project such as it was, intended to be carried out throughout most of the nineteenth century, sought above all to strengthen the republican system as the guarantee of freedom. Therefore it was necessary to "civilize the people" through the educational system so that they would recognize, valorize, and understand the legitimacy and powers of the new political regime. This system has to be served and obeyed; in other words, citizens had to observe its principles with no further discussion, which might seem like a contradiction but was clearly the political intention (Roldán Vera 1999, 297–331).

6 Republic and Education

This relationship between the republic and education would be present throughout the nineteenth century in Colombia and Latin America as a whole. In that sense, the starting point was the idea that the republican government had to exercise complete power over education (Rosales 2000, 117). In fact, unlike despotic governments that installed and maintained themselves in power by instilling fear in the population, the main source of legitimacy of the political order in the republics was

the virtue of their citizens. This precondition became the only alternative that could make freedom possible. In other words, the nineteenth-century republic was the expression of a conception of democracy in which the citizens were simultaneously its basis of support and its maximum expression.

This relationship between education and the republic, as other historians have pointed out, was conceived as a space that had to strive to achieve both civic excellence and love for the fatherland. This combination also had to characterize soldiers, who were to carefully respect social etiquette, such as carefully washing themselves, neatly combing their hair and dressing as cleanly as possible every day. Shoes, belt buckles, and buttons had to be shined and clothing completely clean, with socks pulled up and "bow tie neatly tied; overcoat, jacket and vest without stains, tears or shoddy repairs; locks of hair cut short; helmet in place; so that their behaviour and martial air reflect their good training and careful attitude" (Rosales 2000, 4). In this sense, authors like Maurizio Virolli believe that the construction of the republic went hand in hand with the encouragement of patriotism. According to this author, in order to survive and prosper political liberty needed civic virtue, i.e., citizens capable of committing themselves to the common good, and the right to defend common freedoms and rights (Virolli 1997, 26). Further, he defines civic or political virtue as love for the fatherland, understood not just as one's connection with the cultural, ethnic and religious unity of a people, but as love for common freedom and the institutions on which that freedom is based. In fact, the love that the educational system in Latin America sought to inculcate was particular in scope, a love for the common freedom of a particular people based on institutions with a particular history with particular significance for that people, both inspired by and supporting a specific way of life and culture.

Virolli proposes that we consider this history as one in which esteem for a fatherland and love for the republic have been constructed in considering freedom or unity as an end in itself. Therefore the young Latin American republics of the nineteenth century sought to instil love for a given set of institutions and establish cultural, ethnic and religious homogeneity. To this end they valued education, both in the schools

and in civic public rituals, and various publications whose goal was to train citizens as defenders of the new republican regime. That is why they emphasized, and still do, the existence of a common culture and a shared memory, the history of the fatherland.[5] According to a head of public education in that era, it was "urgently necessary to teach the youth about the history of our fatherland, teach them to love those who fought for our freedom" (*Informe del Director*, 1874, 4).

Privileging education as the best way to consolidate a homogenous republic was the goal of many liberals, one of whom declared, "There is a cancer eating away at this republic, and that is the people's ignorance. Thus it is necessary to pull the people out of their abject moral prostration by making them feel the power of education. In republics the people govern themselves, which demands that the people be virtuous, intelligent and educated. A republic whose people are barbarians is a republic in name only, not in essence. There is an imperious necessity for republican institutions unshadowed by religious sect and dogma; achieving this is injecting the antidote of life into the veins of the republic" (*El Adelanto de Santa Marta*, 1874, 11).

For these political and social actors it was fundamentally necessary to institutionalize school spaces and patriotic celebrations that would continue the process of teaching and learning to train armed citizens endowed with a modern ideology focused on the individual, reason, progress and the republic. For most of them, the term republic would be increasingly present in the process of constitutional normativity that took place in Colombia during the nineteenth century. In addition to serving as an indicator of the role and importance of this expression in the political vocabulary and imaginary of Colombians, an analysis of its use allows us to measure the degree of popularity the term achieved in publications of that time, including manuals for the training of the armed citizen among textual typologies comprised of manuals on etiquette and good manners, republican morals and citizenship, collections of moral maxims, compendiums on civic education, history and geography textbooks, republican catechisms, and similar manuals on politics, history, geography, citizenship, etc. Each of them was turned into an instrument for civic education in an effort to construct a new social imaginary, one that had already begun to emerge in the first decades

of the nineteenth century during the process of independence. Despite their limitations, the country's schools provided a space to break with the old ties of traditional communities and forge new ones based on the rationality of written culture. For nineteenth-century educational institutions, including military schools, these textbooks were an effective tool to build a new social order in which individuals, turned into armed citizens, could adopt a rational and civilized behaviour in both private spaces and their public life (Serrano 2008, 340).

These textbook typologies became strategies to drive the project for the nation's construction, which necessarily implied the existence of a citizenry that recognized the power of writing and arms erected in a space of law and authority as a foundational power generating a new institutional order. Thus the writing of manuals and other books of precepts played an important role throughout Latin America during the nineteenth century because they met the need to organize and institutionalize the new mechanisms of civilization and make the dream of modernization a reality. The word, Beatriz González wrote, filled the vacuums; it would help construct the state, invent borders, designate geographies to be occupied, and shape citizens, transforming them into new social subjects, protagonists of the modernizing project (González Stephan 1995, 432–50).

In our analysis of these publications, especially those used to train citizen warriors, our starting point is that this kind of manual constitutes a representation of the diverse discursive practices generated in order to discipline the behaviour of those who made up militias and guerrilla units. In addition to teaching them military tactics, these texts inculcated ideas about the republic, nation, fatherland, citizenship, the citizen, and the people.

7 Shaping the Armed Citizen to Defend the Fatherland

In this way, the texts used for military instruction were part of the shaping mechanisms whose role was to transform individuals into citizens prepared to defend the republic. To this end they demonstrated the

benefits of the republic, the reasons for its defence, the transcendence of the nation and men, now transformed into armed citizens, and the need to understand that “military honour does not consist simply in performing one’s duties in the barracks, campaigns and battle, but also in never allowing oneself to be used to defend or support any project, plan, plot or endeavour that would destroy or tend to damage or dilute in any way the principles and forms that characterize the republic” (*Alocución de Santos Gutiérrez* 1967). Like military instruction manuals, this kind of proclamation taught militia members to respect, recognize and valorize the importance of defending republican society and comply with the regulations governing the behaviour of members of the military, because good laws and their rigorous observance were considered “the strongest support for national happiness.” This was considered an “indisputable truth, but it is also indisputable that force is necessary to ensure obedience to those laws. Nothing is as necessary for the defence of the state as military strength” (*Alocución de Santos Gutiérrez*, 1967, 6).

The discourse present in such texts manifests the universe of values of the society that generates them. They are also a reflection of the cultural context in which they are produced and begin to occupy a space in the memory of its inhabitants. Inscribed in each of these military manuals, compendiums, catechisms and military proclamations are republican stereotypes, ideologies and images, faithful vestiges and reflections of the spirit of a time characterized by changes and transformations, and continuations and continuities as well. In this sense, a study of the republican representations and imaginaries in these texts will find a viable alternative in the conceptual and methodological postulates suggested by Roger Chartier. He holds that books, like all texts, are a representation of the world in which they are written and the culture that appropriates them, or, in other words, the cognitions of their authors and users. Thus such representations, in terms of their formal structures, metaphors and simulacra and not just their content, also convey a meaning that ends up being perceived as a semantic agreement among the subjects of a particular group in which the texts circulate (Chartier 1996). Consequently, we understand the military instruction manuals analyzed here as representations of the republican universe in which they were inscribed and appropriated.

Thus, throughout the nineteenth century in Colombia, the republican regime was the object of representations of various kinds directly related to a concern for consolidating the national project as well as the political, military and cultural circumstances and political realities of the era. The republic, understood as fatherland, nation, territory or sovereign space, was an essential part of the discourse of nineteenth-century political, social and military actors. They argued for the importance of a republican army comprised of thinking men who voluntarily accepted the contingencies of battle and the hardships of a military campaign firmly determined to contribute to the triumph of a principle, the eternal glory for which they had abandoned their homes, interests, and families. The republic was a constant in the military references emphasizing the sacrifices that should be made for its sake by the armed citizens to whom its defence was delegated, above their personal interests and family ties, as explained in a military guidebook: "Love for the Fatherland, my son, is the most noble and generous sentiment; it leads us to love it more than we love ourselves, because a true citizen is always ready to sacrifice his interests, his blood and even his life" (Puing 1821, 22). The aim was to prepare citizens in the art of war, a process in which writings such as proclamations, guidebooks, instructions and manuals played an important role as generators of a military culture in a society such as Colombia, and Latin America in general, whose members were for the most part illiterate. Nevertheless, this was not an obstacle for some, who learned to read by practicing reading aloud. In fact, in the region and especially in spaces where people came together and socialized such as the militias and other military organizations, it was common practice for an individual who had mastered "the art of reading" to read aloud to others, not only the main news items in the press, especially those related to military and political matters, but especially texts describing the military tactics that armed citizens should learn (Chartier 1995, 2005, 89–95).

Consequently, throughout the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, the practice of reading aloud made it possible to familiarize individuals, including those who were illiterate (Guerra 1992, 288–318), with the republican imaginaries and particularly terms such as citizenry, nation, fatherland, liberty and equality. These same

themes were addressed in manuals for training soldiers and guerrillas. The reading aloud of both commands and orders was part of military routine. Men, from privates to the highest-ranking officers, repeated them daily so that they became part of their language. Training was divided into lessons that had to be memorized (*Resumen de las voces*, n.d.). This was indispensable for the maintenance of discipline and order in battle. Equally indispensable was the ability to distinguish between various military ranks, use weapons, assume battle formations, fall into and break ranks, all while strictly obeying commands. These were very useful “practical lessons” that trained great soldiers, officers and “worthy gentlemen like D’Elúyar, Macedonio Castro, the Girardots (Pedro and Atanasio), Hermógenes Maza and others” (María Espinosa 1936, 30).

8 Between the Warrior Ethos and Military Glory

The training of the armed citizen was fundamental in inculcating this *warrior ethos* whose importance was twofold. The first dimension was the teaching of duties and “the constant and uniform practice that always exists in permanent organizations, and not in others, and the simplification and perfection of the system so that men gradually acquire the training and perfection that will one day allow them to become an outstanding General Staff officer and ultimately a trusted general distinguished for his knowledge” (*Observaciones a la ley orgánica* 1833). The second was to inspire them with a warrior ethos and an aspiration for military glory.

What, for these men who fought the wars of the nineteenth century, was this military glory so constantly discussed? This glory was the object of a strict state and social control, since if used well, it could serve as “a highly effective incentive” in civil wars, but if out of control, or used toward perverse ends, it could also have terrible negative consequences (Rabinovich 2009).[6] It was the spiritual nourishment necessary to persist in combat until the shedding of the last drop of blood, the enemy’s

and one's own. This nourishment was provided by proclamations such as "Ardour for the glory of the fatherland makes everything possible."[7] In this way military leaders became specialists in proclamations full of epic prose and phrases conveying their yearning for freedom. An 1820 proclamation addressed to the armed citizens asked them to "exterminate the handful of tyrants and drive them out of our capital; strive and learn to become liberators of your fatherland; the gates of honour and glory are open; hasten and unite in the service of the forces under my command. The prize awaits you for your heroic efforts, courage and persistence for your freedom." To fill them with the spirit of greater courage, warrior daring and total commitment, the author of the proclamation offers to "gladly shed my blood so that Colombia may live and its enemies die" (*Fondo Ortega Ricaurte*, n.d., 768–69).

On some occasions military leaders issued proclamations meant to inspire a warrior ethos from locations far removed from the battlefield. For example, General Pedro Alcántara Herrán sought to stimulate this spirit using printing presses located far from the United States of Colombia in whose fields the War of 1862 was being fought. The general sent his soldiers a message in this spirit: "There is no one so invalid that they cannot do something for their fatherland if they desire to do so; serving one's fatherland is serving oneself. Renounce, once and for all, the terrible speculation on neutrality, indecision and cooperation with the good in words only while in deeds, if only with your indifference, you effectively serve evil. In politics and war, as in commerce, the economy consists in the timeliness and sufficiency of the sacrifices. Therefore on the battlefield nothing is more human and economic than dispatch by bayonet" (*Documentos curiosos escojidos*, 1862, 22–23). General Alcántara was writing in New York, in another United States.

The distance between New York where General Alcántara was exiled and the fields of Colombia where the war was taking place made it easy for him to feign a certain political or military generosity. He appeared as a selfless man who wanted nothing more than to offer his services to the fatherland, maintain order and obey the law. He also indicated the main reason for waging war: "We do not wage war to exact vengeance on anyone, but simply to re-establish peace, order and the rule of law in the Republic" (*Documentos curiosos escojidos* 1862, 27). The generosity

of the general and all those "ambitious old men" contrasts sharply with the finger pointing at the end of the letter written by the soldier cited at the beginning of this paper. He concludes by asking his sister, "Now, dear Carmen, what do you say about these events and the implications they will have on our internal war, and above all the immense risk to the Cauca Valley because of our separation?" In the next line he answers his own question: "Although some people are satisfied with the return of the Antioquians, believing that this will be enough so that they do not invade the Cauca Valley, I am not, because I know that the Antioquians are purely *Antioquians*" (*Documentos curiosos escojidos*, 1862, 17).

Although his soldier had been trained as a citizen armed for war and ready to obey orders, his was a voice authorized to reflect on the realities and political, economic and regional interests underlying the conflict. In the end, he shared with other soldiers the inclement climate, rain, unhealthy conditions, hunger when rations, almost always short because of the scarcity of food, ran out, separation from his family, epidemics, and the commands of his superiors whose orders had to be carried out with rigorous discipline as laid out in the manual and military regulations.

Translated from Spanish by Leo Stephen Torgoff

Notes

1. Texts belong to a given space and time, and cannot be studied in isolation and decontextualized from the historic moment of which they are a part. To do so would border on anachronism, to be avoided by historians of education and culture. There is also the risk of falling into an immediatist and ahistorical vision, which has been the case with some education specialists who, with regard to textbooks, restrict themselves to noting the pedagogical methods or precepts they demonstrate and their curricular content, ignoring the fact that the manual they are analysing is the product of a particular social group and era from which it cannot be abstracted. Its complexity, characteristics, content and transformations are the product of the specific conditions and circumstances that, despite their sometimes apparent homogeneity, render them different for each social group and era.

2. *La guerrilla, ó, Tratado de servicio de las tropas ligeras en campaña. Escrito en francés por el señor Grandmaison*. Translated from French by D. ___, Capitán y Comandante de las Compañías Provinciales de Valencia (Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, 1780), 1a, 9520.
3. *Ordenanzas del Ejército. Obligaciones desde el soldado hasta el sargento mayor inclusive. Con las Órdenes Generales para oficiales y leyes penales* (Cartagena de Colombia: José Casanova, 1832), BNC, Fondo Pineda 123(3); *Instrucción de Guerrilla por el Sr. D. Felipe de San Juan*, compiled and extended by Lieutenant Colonel D. Alfonso Balderrábano, Sergeant Major of the Light Infantry Regiment Doyle Shooters, and by D. Juan Bautista de Maortua, Lieutenant of the same, with later revisions by the latter, 3rd ed. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1823), reprinted by the Officers' Corps of the 6th Light Brigade (Cartagena: José Casanova, 1832), BNC, Fondo Pineda 123(2). For other editions, such that of 1819, consult the BNC, Fondo Pineda 123(6); the Chilean edition of 1823, BNC, Miscelánea JAS 103(3). Other editions of this typical guerrilla manual appeared throughout the nineteenth century, such as in 1841 (BNC, Miscelánea JAS 60(7)), and an1860 edition, BNC, Fondo Pineda 688(8).
4. Roberto Cortázar, ed., "Remigio Márquez al señor vicepresidente Francisco de Paula Santander, Santa Marta, abril 18 de 1821," *Correspondencia dirigida al general Santander* (Bogotá, Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1964–1970), vol. 7, no. 2373, 224–25.
5. One study of the role played in history by the construction of national identity is Carolyn Boyd's *Historia Patria* (Barcelona: Pomares Corredor, 2000).
6. Alejandro M. Rabinovich, "La gloria, esa plaga de nuestra pobre América del Sud," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* (2 February 2009), http://nuevomundo.revues.org/index56444.html, accessed June 12, 2018.
7. Luis Horacio López Domínguez, ed., op. cit., 97.

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4

The US-Mexican War (1846–48) in School Textbooks: Mexico and the United States in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

Eugenia Roldán Vera

1 Introduction

Between 1846 and 1847 Mexico and the United States fought a war that brought dramatic consequences for both countries. For Mexico, defeat led to the loss of more than half its territory, to an internal political crisis and to the beginnings of a strong national consciousness. As a result of victory in the war, the United States became a much larger country and obtained an undisputed position of power within the Western hemisphere. At the same time, however, winning the war created an imbalance between the number of slavery- and agriculture-based states in the South and industrial states in the North. This disparity would play an important part in the outbreak of the Civil War (1861–65).

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Despite the importance of this event for both nations, the war has not been given equal scholarly attention, featuring far less in US than in Mexican historiography. While the so-called American invasion remains an open wound in Mexican public consciousness—it is still very present in current Mexican history textbooks—American historical imagination has largely forgotten the US-Mexican War and has relegated it to a minor place in present-day history textbooks. Nevertheless, the war featured prominently in nineteenth-century textbooks in both countries.

This chapter compares representations of the US-Mexican War in a sample of nineteenth-century US and Mexican history schoolbooks written during the five decades that followed the event. I will demonstrate how differently those representations evolved between the late 1840s and the 1890s, arguing that even if early descriptions of the war were rather similar in both countries, with time the war narratives of the two countries varied considerably and new elements were introduced. I will suggest some explanations for those variations, which will also enable us to understand why the war prevailed in the historical imagination of one country and almost disappeared from the historical imagination of the other.

For this chapter, I have analyzed a sample of fourteen textbooks, seven from Mexico and seven from the United States, some for elementary, others for secondary level (see list of textbooks referenced). These books were often used for both levels and were also read by adults outside of school. To gain a diachronic view of representations of the war, I have selected books from all decades, especially those that were re-edited several times and thus can be considered widely used. My methodology consisted of comparing various aspects of the representation of the US-Mexican War: causes, sequences of events, responsibilities, heroism and reasons for victory and defeat. I have also considered the place that the narrative of the war occupies within the entire history of each nation.

In my diachronic analysis of these textbooks, assuming that facts become historical events only by means of their insertion into a historical narrative (White 2008), I will argue that the time between the occurrence of events and their narration affected the ways in which those events were observed and the manner in which relations between

events in the past, present and future were established. This consideration is particularly relevant for the analysis of school materials from a time when textbooks, in the absence of specialized and comprehensive academic histories that could be used as a base, were actively constructing the teleological story of their nations.

In the next two sections, I will briefly discuss the peculiarities of nineteenth-century national history textbooks and their relationship with historical scholarship in their own time; this is relevant for the ensuing comparison of the evolving representations of the war in textbooks from the two countries. Throughout this comparison, I will demonstrate how rewriting the representation of the US-Mexican War contributed to the introduction and reinforcement of asymmetric power relations between the two countries while at the same time playing into the construction of each national identity. In the final section, I will advance some historiographical explanations as to why those representations evolved in such different ways over time.

2 National Histories and National History Textbooks in Nineteenth-Century Mexico and the United States

In Mexico and the United States, the first primary and secondary school national history textbooks were published in the 1840s and 1850s. However, after the end of the Civil War, the United States made national history from primary school level mandatory in 1865 (Kraus and Joyce 1985) and Mexico followed after the Liberal army's victory over the French invasion and the Conservative party in 1867 (Roldán Vera 1996). As in most of the Western world, national history as a school subject was created to serve the consolidation of nation states (Carretero 2007). Nevertheless, the first national history textbooks, despite covering a new curricular demand, were not based on prescriptive, detailed syllabus guidelines. Thus, their authors were relatively free to organize and interpret their subject matter. Moreover, these first textbooks were not merely simplified, standardized accounts of scholarly

national history books, for those scholarly, comprehensive national stories from foundation to the present did not yet exist. In both the United States and Mexico, national history textbooks predated national academic histories. George Bancroft's monumental *History of the United States*, which first appeared in 1834, went only as far as 1789 (and only in its last volume, published in 1878). George Tucker's 1856 *History of the United States, from Their Colonization to the End of the Twenty-Sixth Congress*, of 1841 (4 vols.) was the earliest extended account to address recent events, closely followed by Richard Hildreth's six-volume *History of the United States* (1849–52), though neither of them included the period of the US-Mexican War. With the 1880s and 1890s' increase in scholarly work based on critically assessed documentary sources, and with the foundation of history professorships in universities and the creation of professional associations of historians, a large number of specialized historical monographs and histories of the different states of the Union came into existence. The next comprehensive history of the country did not appear until the six volumes of Edward Channing's *History of the United States* were published between 1905 and 1926, while an abridged version, for school use, was published in 1908.

In Mexico, comprehensive scholarly national histories also appeared after the first national history textbooks, yet by the end of the nineteenth century Mexico had produced many more of these academic works than the United States. In 1862 Francisco Carbajal Espinosa published *Historia de México, desde los primeros tiempos de que hay noticia hasta mediados del siglo XIX* (2 vols.), but his account only reached as far as the end of the Spanish conquest. In the 1870s and 1880s, along with the recovery of sources and the publication of the first richly documented, erudite accounts of individual periods, comprehensive histories were produced, including Ignacio Álvarez's *Estudios sobre la historia general de México* in six volumes (1875–77) and Niceto de Zamacois' *Historia de México* in eighteen volumes (1876–82). Interestingly, between 1880 and 1884 the US-based History Company, led by Hubert Bancroft, published a *History of Mexico* in forty-one volumes. Although concerted appeals for a national, comprehensive history from the Liberal viewpoint began in 1867, they did not bear fruit until 1884–89 with the publication of the monumental and

luxuriously printed *Mexico a través de los siglos* (4 vols.), coordinated by Vicente Riva Palacio. This publication was later followed by the positivist *México: su evolución social* (3 vols.), which was highly attuned to Porfirio Díaz's regime and was published between 1900 and 1902 under the direction of Justo Sierra.

This overview indicates that nineteenth-century national history textbooks were among the first works to give an intelligible and teleological account of both countries as unified nations with future directions in relation to other countries. In presenting a succession of events from an extended period and integrating these events into an intelligible story of the nation, history textbooks made intended and unintended connections between occurrences in the past, present and future: they offered causal relations, contextual explanations, conclusions and—often—moral and political lessons. This is evident in their representations of the US-Mexican War.

3 The US-Mexican War in Nineteenth-Century Historiography

The US-Mexican War of 1846–48 (known in Mexico as "the US Invasion") broke out when the United States annexed Texas (1845–46). The province of Texas had separated from Mexico in 1836, after a war that Mexico lost; the US acknowledged its independence, but Mexico, which still considered it part of its territory, did not. This annexation was taken by Mexico as an act of war, but for the United States Texas's agreement to the annexation was a sovereign act by a sovereign country. After a series of threats were exchanged, war between Mexico and the United States broke out in 1846. Following a series of bloody battles on two fronts, one in the north of Mexico and the other on the Gulf coast—the Americans led by the generals Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, the Mexicans by General Antonio López de Santa Anna—the American army advanced through the territory until it seized Mexico City and Mexico accepted defeat. In the ensuing peace treaties signed by both nations, Mexico gave the United States the territories that

are now the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, most of Arizona and Colorado, and parts of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas and Wyoming (that is, for Mexico, the former territories of California, New Mexico and Texas, and parts of its own states of Tamaulipas, Chihuahua and Sonora). With this, Mexico lost more than half the territory it had possessed as an independent country since it had gained independence from Spain in 1821.

During the war, countless books about the conflict were published in the United States. Most of them were accounts written by soldiers and war correspondents, and almost none were based on documentary sources or attempted to consider the Mexican side. These works were paralleled by numerous literary war narratives published in the form of novelettes, dime novel series, crime gazettes and paper stories (Rodriguez 2010). Influenced by William Prescott's widely read *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843), these first accounts used romance and heroic drama to place Hernán Cortés's conquest of the Aztecs on the same level as Winfield Scott's American conquest of the "degenerated" race of Mexicans—degenerated because they were the descendants of the degenerated Spanish empire (Johannsen 1986, 241–69). Most of these works were closer to romanticized chronicles than to historical accounts looking for order or logic to the war itself. As *The American Review* said of these works in a book review of June 1848, although accounts written with the perspective of time may provide correct "statistics" (even if "the spirit is wanting"), those written closer in time to the events may be a better expression of "the spirit of the people, the deep emotion underlying all" (653).

In narratives written shortly after the end of the war, which were based on more substantial research of primary sources and often written by teachers or history professors, a somewhat contradictory view developed in which the United States became involved in the war because of its ambitions for power, but it was the last foreign war that Americans should participate in and its outcome was readily celebrated (Johannsen 1986, 263–69). Although the Civil War virtually erased the Mexican war from public discussion and no specific works on it were published in the following decades, the US-Mexican War resurfaced in the more academic historiographical accounts of the 1880s and

1890s. For example, in Hubert Bancroft's *History of Mexico, 1824–1861* (1880–84) and in James Ford Rhodes' *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (1893), responsibility for the war was placed on the ambitions of the pro-slavery and land-hungry American Southerners who happened to be in power at the time. By the early twentieth century, the war was subject to both defence and criticism in American historiography: for the critics, the United States had deviated from its principles and values by entering a war out of aggression; the defenders, like Charles H. Owen (*The Justice of the Mexican War*, 1908) and Justin H. Smith (*The War with Mexico*, 1919), supported the idealized self-portrait of the United States as a nation unlike any other, incapable of the sin of territorial aggression that was common in the Old World. Discomfort around the US role in the war and questions as to whether it was to blame for an act of aggression that brought great benefit have, according to several scholars, contributed to making this war "forgotten" by historians (Benjamin and Velasco Márquez 1997).

On the other side of the border, the first accounts of the war were likewise published during or shortly after the war by eyewitnesses and participants. Carlos María de Bustamante's *El nuevo Bernal Díaz del Castillo, o sea historia de la invasión de los anglo-americanos en México* (1847) was a subjective war chronicle that narrated events from 1845 on. In 1848 a number of statesmen, writers and journalists who had fought in the war or worked in the Mexican government compiled *Apuntes para la historia de la guerra entre México y los Estados Unidos*, a series of eyewitness accounts that sought coherence and some degree of objectivity. These first accounts were not focused so much on finding someone to blame for the outbreak and result of the war as a whole, but on describing how it began and developed. The first history of the war based on documentary sources from both countries, not published until 1883, was José María Roa Bárcena's *Recuerdos de la invasión norteamericana (1846–1848) por un joven de entonces*. This account was followed by other scholarly histories by Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari (1885, a chapter in *México a través de los siglos*), Eduardo Paz's *La invasión norteamericana en 1846; ensayo de historia patria-militar* (1889) and Emilio del Castillo Negrete's *Invasión de los norteamericanos en México* (1890). These accounts tried to do justice to the Mexican army, whose role

had been effaced by the negative outcome of the war for the Mexicans. The monumental *Mexico a través de los siglos* (1884–89) and *México: su evolución social* (1900–02) dedicated many pages to passionate narratives of the war and blamed it on the Americans' territorial ambitions. By the turn of the century, the publication of compilations of documents about the war by Genaro García, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso and Alberto María Carreño—which began to reveal the complexity of the war and the responsibility of all sides—overtook publication of narratives of the war (Vázquez 1999).

As suggested in this brief overview of the historiography of the war in the decades that followed it, there was no authoritative account upon which textbooks could base their narratives: authors had to construct their own versions. Some textbooks reflected the trends and discussions that were going on in academic historiography at the time, but only partially. As I will demonstrate, these books responded to a different logic, a logic sometimes termed "school history" (Carretero 2007) or, rather, the logic of the nineteenth-century national history textbook.

4 The Representation of the War in US History Textbooks

To understand how this war was represented in US textbooks and how that changed over time, it is important to consider the ways in which the history of the United States was portrayed with respect to other parts of the world. In the 1840s and 1850s, before national history was made compulsory in primary schools, US history textbooks were never only about US history. They included long sections on the ancient history of the entire continent before the European conquest and even details of the history of Mexico after independence. For example, Marcius Willson's *History of the United States* (1847) had the following subtitle: *Comprising Historical Sketches of the Indian Tribes; a Description of American Antiquities, with an Inquiry into Their Origin and the Origin of the Indian Tribes; with Appendices showing Its Connection with European History; History of the Present British Provinces; History of*

Mexico; and History of Texas, Brought Down to the Time of Its Admission into the American Union. Published during the years of the US-Mexican War, with a long chapter on Mexico and a chapter on the history of Texas, Willson's book certainly meant to provide an explanation for the onset of the war. As Willson stated in the introduction, "The design of the following work is to present the histories of all those countries of North America that are now of sufficient political importance to demand the attention of the scholar and awaken the interest of the general reader" (Willson 1847, iii). Yet the attention given to the history of Mexico went far beyond the events of the war—significantly, the war was narrated in a chapter on the history of Mexico as a whole.

Similarly, Goodrich's *Pictorial History of the United States, with Notices of Other Portions of America* (1852) began with a section on the geography and history of the entire continent, with emphasis on the common origin of American tribes and especially on Columbus's discoveries. Once again, at the end of three hundred pages on US history, a few short chapters (fifteen pages in total) told the history of Mexico, Guatemala, Texas and "South America". Earlier, Goodrich had published a *Pictorial History of America* (1844, 1851, 1853)—"America" meaning the entire American continent—"embracing both the Northern and Southern portions". Although that text already included long sections on the history of the United States, the evolution in the focus of Goodrich's textbooks suggests that indeed the national history of the United States was a development of a previous school history that focused not on the nation but on the Western hemisphere.

Most US textbooks of this period had a map of the "Western continent" at the beginning. In these early books, the representation of the United States within the American continent resonated with the ideas of the so-called Monroe Doctrine, that is, President James Monroe's 1823 statement that defined America as a continent of independent nations, where European powers should no longer intervene ("America for the Americans"). This, however, was not yet an expression of the idea of a Manifest Destiny: the Americans' alleged God-given role to expand and colonize the continent.

By the 1870s and 1880s US history textbooks lost that continental dimension. Their titles reflected US affairs only—*First Lessons in*

our Country's History: Bringing Out Its Salient Points (1874), or *A First Book in American History, with Special Reference to the Lives and Deeds of Great Americans* (1889)—and separate chapters on the history of Mexico (or any other Latin American country) were no longer included. Considering this trend, it is not surprising that in textbooks of the 1840s and 1850s the Mexican War occupies a substantially larger number of pages than in textbooks of the decades that followed. In these textbooks, the war is an important event that happened during the presidency of James Polk, the alleged cause of the confrontation is the US annexation of Texas and the conflict is narrated as a series of battles described in some detail.

In earlier textbooks (Willson 1847; Lossing 1854; Goodrich 1852), the war is depicted as a war between nations which are, so to speak, equivalent: both have their own history and both are sovereign, republican states, even if Mexico is portrayed as the weaker of the two. For example, Willson wrote in 1847, when the war was still in progress:

> As Americans, we feel a deep and absorbing interest in all those countries of the New World which have broken the chains of European vassalage, and established independent governments of their own …. Although Mexico was settled nearly a century before the United States, yet the latter had gone through all the discouragements and trials of their colonial existence, steadily progressing in general knowledge and in the growth of liberal principles, had outgrown their vassalage, and firmly established their independence, while Mexico was still groping in spiritual and intellectual darkness, without being fully aware of her enslaved condition. (Willson 1847, 617–18)

That "intellectual darkness" is the result of a process of colonization and independence that was different from what took place in the United States, of which Mexicans are not completely "aware"—and therefore not guilty. They are, in any case, countries that can be compared.

While Willson is cautious when attributing responsibility for the war itself, textbooks from as early as 1850 began to blame Mexico for starting the war. Mexico's "aggression" and "hostile movements" in response to the annexation of Texas led Americans to react:

> The hostility of the Mexicans, which had been displayed for years in petty insults and injuries to American citizens, was now openly and fiercely avowed. Strong forces were said to be gathering for the invasion of Texas. Under these circumstances, the US government felt justified in assuming that the boundary claimed by Texas was correct …. The US government proposed to fix on a line by negotiation, but Mexico scornfully refused all overtures. (Quackenbos 1857, 424)

Another cause of the war was that the Mexican authorities, "impoverished by civil war", did not hesitate to replenish the country's treasury by "plundering American US vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, or by confiscating the property of American merchants within its borders" (Lossing 1854, 298). Lossing endorses President Polk's statement that "war existed by the act of Mexico" (301). His textbook does not have a chapter on Mexico and the war is told as part of US history—as a passage in the chapter entitled "Polk's administration".

Textbooks of the 1850s devote a significant number of pages to describing the war, with detailed narratives of battles, generals' strategies and heroic acts. In these accounts, there is no suggestion that winning the war would be inevitable for the American army; although the story is told in such way as to emphasize the heroism of the inferior numbers of American soldiers, the battles are described as if they had been fought between equal parties who had the same chance of winning. Lossing described the battle of Buena Vista as follows:

> The Americans fell back [February 21] to Buena Vista, within eleven miles of Saltillo, and there, in a narrow defile in the mountains, encamped in battle order. At about noon the next day … the Mexican army approached within two miles of them; and Santa Anna, assuring Taylor that he was surrounded by twenty thousand troops, and could not escape, ordered him to surrender within an hour. Taylor politely refused the request, and both armies prepared for battle. There was some skirmishing during the afternoon; and early the following morning … a terrible conflict commenced. It was desperate and bloody, and continued until sunset. Several times the overwhelming numbers of the Mexicans appeared about to crush the little band of Americans; and finally Santa Anna made a desperate assault upon the American center, commanded

> by Taylor in person. It stood like a rock against a billow, and by the assistance of the artillery of Bragg, Washington and Sherman, the martial wave was rolled back, the Mexicans fled in confusion, and the Americans were masters of the bloody field. (Lossing 1854, 303–4)

The textbooks of the 1850s were also the first to refer to Mexico using pejorative adjectives. For Lossing (1854), Mexico is "an unjust and injurious neighbor"; by contrast, American soldiers are brave, ordered and civilized. The Mexican defeat in the port of Veracruz is described by Quackenbos as "another victory against tremendous odds" which "reflected glory on the American arms"; however, "No injury to the person or property of private citizens was allowed. The harbors were opened to the commerce of all nations" (Quackenbos 1857, 432–34). Nevertheless, Mexican soldiers are never described as cowards.

Some textbooks of this decade begin to show signs of an asymmetric depiction of the United States and Mexico. Goodrich, for example, does not hesitate to call Mexico a "distracted state": although it was already independent from Spain and other powers, "internal convulsions" and the "struggles of rival leaders" prevent the author from considering it "in a settled state" (Goodrich 1852, 342). This depiction of Mexico as a politically inferior country enables Goodrich to prepare his readers for the terms of the peace treaty that followed the end of the war:

> Negotiations for peace being commenced, a treaty was finally ratified. One of the conditions of this transferred to the United States a large tract of territory, extending from the western boundary of Texas to the Pacific, and including New Mexico and the northern portion of California. (Goodrich 1852, 336)

The expression "transfer" of territory would have sounded like a euphemism even in the United States, where political disagreement at the time had arisen over whether democracies should be entitled to grow by means of war with their neighbours. In a way, portraying Mexico in a "distracted" or "unsettled" state was a way of justifying the American seizure of land from another country. This initiated the effacement of Mexico as an equal partner or interlocutor of the United States and helped explain the continental dominance of the latter.

After the Civil War, not only did the US-Mexican War cease to be a major topic in US historiography—as previously discussed—but textbooks of the 1870s became increasingly national in outlook. They no longer had chapters on the history of Mexico and devoted few pages to the events of the war. In Swinton's book (1874), the Mexican War occupies a three-page section of the chapter "Growth of our Country"; by contrast, the War of Secession is given thirty pages. Its "causes" are explained in simple terms:

> First, the Mexicans, were very angry because Texas had joined the Union, committed many outrages on the Texans; this stirred up a very hostile spirit. Secondly, the Southern States were jealous of Mexico, because slave-holding had been abolished by its government, in obedience to the Pope of Rome; and Mexico was likely to afford an easy place of refuge to fugitive slaves. The third reason was that ever since Texas had separated from Mexico the Mexican government had been disputing about what was the right boundary between its territory and Texas. (Swinton 1874, 152–53)

Despite the brevity of his account, Swinton's textbook allocates space to narrating the war as a succession of battles. His language is simple and highly emotional, probably because the book is meant for schoolchildren. However, emotion is attributed not only to the "angry" Mexicans but also to the Southern states, which were "jealous" that Mexico offered a refuge to fugitive slaves. At the same time, the victory over Mexico emerges as a reason for the exaltation of the United States as the best nation in the world in all respects:

> To the future progress of our country there seems to be no limit. Our vast resources give to every one a fair chance of success in life. Under the Constitution we have the best government in the world …. Though we must not think that we have no faults as a nation, it may fairly be claimed that no people are more upright, prosperous, and happy than the Americans. (Swinton 1874, 199)

This already feeds a sense of historical exceptionalism: the United States is presented as a country following a different path than the rest of the

world. The counterpart of American exceptionalism is the representation of Mexico as a country so unstable and its population so ignorant that war was the only way the United States could deal with it. As Eggerston (1888) put it:

> There has always been a difference of opinion in the United States about the Mexican War. Even at the present time opinions are divided as to whether it might not have been wisely avoided …. No doubt, the ignorance and prejudice prevailing in Mexico at that time, and the frequent overthrow of one government and the setting up of another, made it difficult to treat with that country without war. (Eggleston 1888, 286)

By the 1880s, the Mexican war is represented as evidence for the inevitability of the United States becoming a more significant and powerful country. Eggleston (1888) narrates the victory in Buena Vista as if it had been preordained by the succession of previous victories:

> By this time the war had shown the immense superiority of the American troops, the most of whom were volunteers …. The Americans of that time were brave and enterprising, and a little too fond of military glory. They fought with great boldness and steadiness, and their early victories made them expect success. (280)

In a version of Eggleston's textbook for younger children (1889), the US-Mexican War appears as a very short episode of the chapter entitled "How the United States Became Larger", which is meant to be reinforced by an "Object-Lesson in Historic Geography". After reading a brief description of how the United States became larger, students had to cut and paste the "seven additions to the United States" on a bird's eye map: Louisiana, Oregon, Florida, Texas, two "Additions from Mexico" and Alaska (Eggleston 1889, 196). In this book the war is described in three short paragraphs and the history of Mexico is summarized in one sentence: "Mexico, which was at first a Spanish colony, rebelled against Spain, and secured its independence. One of the States of the Mexican Republic was Texas" (194).

By the end of the 1880s, the war with Mexico lost importance and Mexico ceased to be considered an equivalent nation to the United

States. The war was no longer an event that had happened during Polk's administration; it belonged to the greater history of how the United States grew big, successful and exceptional. What we see in the development of the representation of the US-Mexican War in the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States is a transition from what Jaime Rodriguez, based on the study of American popular literature on the war, calls a "chivalric narrative" between equal nations, to a "frontier narrative", in which one nation is inferior to the other, and finally to a narrative that exalts American exceptionalism. As a result, Mexico was effaced as an agent of history from US narratives (Rodriguez 2010). At the same time, by detaching the United States from its role in everyday events and by underlining its exceptionalism among the nations of the world, textbooks deprived the United States of its own historicity and placed it somewhere above time. By this deprivation of historicity I do not only mean that the historical actuality of persons and events (as opposed to myths) from the past was undermined; as in fact this happens in almost every national history textbook. I also mean that concepts such as nations and their practices and values are not represented as the outcome of historical processes and developments but as the manifestation of innate qualities or preordained destiny.

5 The Representation of the War in Mexican History Textbooks

The portrayal of the war in Mexican textbooks also changed over the years, but in a different way. In the 1850s, early Mexican history textbooks, like their American counterparts, place the history of Mexico within the American continent. One of the first national history textbooks written in Mexico for higher education and the public in general, *Compendio de historia de Megico, desde los tiempos primitivos hasta la muerte de Agustín de Iturbide en 1824* (1852), had a first chapter on the "History of the Americas". Although it focused only on the Spanish discoveries and conquests, such details are no longer present in later Mexican textbooks. From the 1860s onwards, all history was exclusively Mexican. As of 1867, when the last foreign invasion of the century

(1862–67), by Napoleon III, was defeated and the Liberal party won an indisputable and lasting victory over the Conservatives, textbooks took on an increasingly nationalist tone, in tune with efforts to unify the nation in economic and political terms.

In contrast with American textbooks, the war remains an important topic in all textbooks throughout the second half of the nineteenth century: many detailed pages are dedicated to the war. In general, the war is described as a painful event, and the United States is always blamed for starting it by annexing Texas. This is how Roa Bárcena's textbook of 1862 refers to the outbreak of the war:

> The neighbouring state took on the role of aggressor and brought us a war with the barely dissimulated purpose of ensuring its conquest of Texas and acquiring the part of the territory that, as well as Texas, was eventually surrendered to it. (Roa Bárcena 1862, 257; unless otherwise specified, translations my own)

The explanation given for Mexico's defeat was rather consistent throughout the period—the Mexicans' lack of unity. For Arróniz (1858), defeat was due "to so many mistakes, inconsistencies and revolutions, but in no way to a lack of courage in Mexican soldiers" (185). Payno (1870), a textbook author who fought in the war, attributes defeat to the civil division and unrest of the Mexicans:

> While in the capital and in some states, social order was constantly disturbed by military uprisings …, the Americans were sending forces and squadrons to the most important points of the republic. The republic, with scarce resources and torn by civil war, faced each enemy front with little success. (180)

Later textbook authors also blame the outcome of the war on General Antonio López de Santa Anna's poor leadership:

> Santa Anna was unable to bring order and, in spite of the courage of the Mexicans … twelve thousand Yankees took over Mexico City and we

> had to make peace with them, giving them Texas, California and New Mexico, that is, an immense territory. (Sierra 1894a, 414)

Despite acknowledging lack of unity and poor leadership, textbooks throughout these five decades praised soldiers' courage and heroism in adverse circumstances, and the Mexican army's few moments of glory were exalted. In the final battles around Mexico City, "acts of courage were numerous among officers; troops followed their officers' example; but there was no ammunition, no plan, no leadership: Santa Anna changed his orders at every turn" (Sierra 1894b, 366). Payno stressed the "resistance" and "heroism" of the National Guard, composed largely of "well-off people from good social positions", in the final battles around Mexico City—which "were heroic even if Mexico lost" (Payno 1870, 184).

By the 1890s, a period in which history textbooks attempted to create a conciliatory view of the Mexican past and move beyond century-long disputes between Liberals and Conservatives, textbooks sought to draw lessons about national unity for the present out of that negative episode:

> Disagreements between different factions prevented the implementation of a decent administration and generated the ill-fated political practices that contradicted the Nation's true interests. That was the cause of the disaster in the American War, and of the loss of a great part of our territory …. Those are the lessons history taught us, which should not be forgotten by the men whose hearts beat to the drum of true patriotism. (García Cubas 1890, 185)

Although reasons for defeat were interpreted in many ways, all textbook authors of this period narrated the war as a succession of highly contingent historical events, that could practically have been won by either side. Authors describe how each battle developed, who was leading, what the military strategies of each side were and who won and why. Arróniz described the war of 1858 as "a long chain of victories inflicted over our army", a metaphor that suggests that if some of the battles had

not been won by the Americans the "chain" would have broken and the outcome could have been different. He highlights the contingency of defeat and attributes it both to bad Mexican military strategy and civil unrest at the time of the war.

None of the textbook authors saw the defeat in the war as preordained by some historical, cultural or racial inferiority of the Mexicans. Consider this description of the battle of Molino del Rey, one of the last battles before Mexico City was taken, written by Guillermo Prieto in 1886:

> Repelled, shattered and almost defeated, the enemy was chased by our forces; but help came and they turned back towards our men, inflicting horrible carnage on them: then the heroic General Echegaray, gathering some of the brave men of the 3rd battalion, launched himself onto enemy lines, got hold of their artillery and reestablished his troops' morale with magic energy. Until the enemy started a new effort and defeat was complete. (370)

The war was fought by equivalent (yet not equal) forces and its outcome was not determined by the predestined superiority of the Americans, but by contingent reasons. As the same author put it:

> Although both armies were equally courageous, Americans showed more unity in their actions, a more intelligent leadership and perfect discipline, which led to the precision and violence of their movements and to abundant resources in terms of weapons, ammunition, provisions and care for the wounded, etc. This comparison is essential to forming an exact and impartial judgement. (362)

Certainly, insistence on the contingent nature of events gives Mexican authors a way to cope with defeat in a war that, in their view, could have been won. But this narrative also addresses the war through a framework of historical facts, so it remains embedded in historicity. This perspective contrasts with the exceptionalism and thus lack of historicity of the way that American textbook authors narrate the war to represent their nation's unique superiority.

In the 1880s and 1890s, however, there is a shift in textbook narrative that tends to extract the war from the framework of historical events and processes and ends up also depriving the United States of its historicity. Textbooks of those decades begin to introduce terms and adjectives that are emotionally laden to describe the war, something unseen in previous years. Justo Sierra describes the annexation of Texas by the United States as “an atrocious abuse” (*abuso atroz*) (Sierra 1894a, 413), while Prieto calls it a “scandalous robbery” (*robo escandaloso*) (Prieto 1886, 360). Prieto describes the Americans as “ambitious”, “greedy” and “perfidious” in their expansion towards new land:

> The prosperous development of the American Union encouraged the ambition to possess greater extensions of land; which they achieved by acquiring Florida, Louisiana and Oregon with little effort. The rich and fertile province of Texas tickled the greediness of the North Americans; the government made itself a vessel of those desires and proposed to Spain first, and then Mexico, the purchase of that territory. When this was rejected, the USA turned to a more perfidious political strategy. (359)

The same author concludes his narrative of the war: “The rich territory acquired by the United States does not clean the stain of wickedness this invasion made on the pages of their history” (Prieto 1886, 375). This explanation of the war as the result of the wickedness, greed, ambition and perfidy of the Americans, which eventually became dominant in the popular understanding of the war in Mexico during the twentieth century, is another kind of overarching interpretation of historical events that undermines the role of events and processes in the war. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was an increasing tendency in school history teaching to insist that the past should be taught in ways that moved children’s emotions. Combined with the increasingly nationalist purpose and content of history textbooks, this resulted in a very powerful trend, which would gain in dominance throughout the twentieth century: to set the history of the Mexican nation against all other nations, presenting it as a unique country invaded several times by ambitious foreign powers, and to deprive Mexico of its own agency in its historical development.

6 Final Remarks: Writing and Rewriting the Past in Textbooks

So far I have shown that the narrative of the US-Mexican War, although similar in Mexican and US textbooks of the 1850s, progressively took different directions in the two countries. Moreover, that narrative became increasingly detached from a framework of historical events that accounted for the war's development and outcome in textbooks written in both countries between the 1850s and the 1890s. In the United States, this took the form of the replacement of the narrative of a war between equal nations with a narrative of American exceptionalism, where the war became an episode in the country's growth. In Mexico, although the story of the war remained anchored in historical contingency, the introduction of emotions and value judgments into the account in the last part of the century also ended up removing the war from its historicity.

Why did the accounts evolve in such a way as to deprive the war of its historicity in both countries, and why did they take such different directions? Although it would be easy—and correct—to respond to this question broadly in terms of how nationalisms developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, I want to offer an explanation on a different level. This explanation has to do with the specificities of historical writing: the distance in time between the occurrence of events and the writing about them plays a decisive role in the kind of history that is produced. Inspired by Ranajit Guha's (1983) distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary historical discourses according to the "measure of the distance from the event to which it refers", intended audience and function, I will suggest that textbook writing is also affected by that distance.

Using the example of how a popular uprising in India would be accounted for, Guha distinguishes between three types of discourse: primary discourses are those first-hand documents, usually created for administrative purposes and including letters, telegrams and edicts, which refer to the event—and describe it as a "rebellion". Secondary discourses are the accounts made on the basis of those primary discourses

by officials for colonial authorities, who insert the account into a certain logic: in this case, the logic of political control and Britain's civilizing mission. Finally, tertiary discourses are proper historiographical accounts written later by professional historians from all sides of the political spectrum, which look for causal explanations of the rebellion and set it in a broad interpretative framework of the trajectory and ultimate destiny of the British Empire (for better or for worse).

Although Guha is aiming to show that the experience of the people—the subaltern—in the rebellion is never considered nor explained "in its own terms" by those who write about it in any of the three types of discourse, he is referring to a larger epistemological problem for the observation of the past in general. Writing about the past necessarily entails distortion, since the experience of past agents is incorporated into and shaped by the writer's ulterior experience, conditioned by the present and culture of the writer/historian. This distortion is proportional to the distance that exists between the time of the event and the time of the historical account. So, instead of adding "perspective"—which is only understandable as an element of teleological accounts—distance effaces the experience and consciousness of the people that history is attempting to describe.

If we view textbooks as historical discourses, the distance in time between the historian and the event narrated is an important factor even though the function and the audience of the textbooks do not vary as they would in Guha's three discourses model. Some textbooks may be written by contemporary witnesses of and participants in the events—such as Payno, who fought in the US-Mexican War—but most of them could be loosely considered secondary or tertiary discourses. In any case, the writers' distance from the time of the events and their position in a different social and cultural context, together with their need to tell the story of the nation in a way appropriate to the textbook genre, influenced the ways in which the history of the war was told. The further textbooks were removed from the event, the more they distanced themselves from the experience of the war and the more prone to causal explanations and thus ideological interpretations they became. As the power of the two countries became asymmetrical—as a result, in part, of the outcome of the war itself—this gap in time opened up a space

for these historical interpretations: on the one hand, the effacement of Mexico as an agent of history in US historical discourse, and on the other the deprivation of the historical agency of the United States in Mexican historical discourse about the war.

History textbooks are about writing and rewriting the past. Although textbooks nowadays are based on a number of authoritative scholarly sources and clear guidelines from education authorities, they still retain the nationalist logic and concerns of "school history" of the nineteenth century. For this reason, as I have argued here, it is important to examine how the first history textbooks were produced and to pay attention to the specific dynamics of history writing.

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5

The Impact of the 1894–95 Sino-Japanese War on Japanese and Chinese Textbooks: A Comparative Analysis

Limin Bai

1 Introduction

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 was one of the key events in the history of both Japan and China. Through an examination of the depictions of the war in Japanese and Chinese textbooks in the decade following the war (1897–1907), this study aims to demonstrate how the war was exploited as an educational instrument to stimulate a spirit of nationalism in both countries.

Textbook research is an emerging field in recent China scholarship. Many old textbooks have been collected and reprinted, and scholars have begun to examine textbooks from the past in all subject areas and from various perspectives (see Wu 2008, 52). Recent publications in the subject area include Shi Ou and his research team's series of studies of Chinese textbooks of the past century (Shi and Wu 2009; Shi et al. 2012; Shi 2013, 2015). In Chinese scholarship, the 1890s are

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considered the emergent period of modern Chinese textbook development. During this period the survival of China was a major theme for textbooks in the subjects of language, history, human geography and self-cultivation (similar to ethics education today). The Sino-Japanese War was regarded as a critical turning point in modern Chinese history which, in the writings of late Qing reformers and in textbook curricula, was translated into calls for reforms.

In Japan a comprehensive series of studies on Japanese textbooks was published in the 1960s. The series included reprints of textbooks of the past century with detailed bibliographical information and scholarly analyses (Kaigo and Naka 1961–67). The studies of Meiji textbooks show how education in Japan changed during the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912) (Kaigo and Naka 1969). Many late Qing reformers, both officials and scholars, attributed the achievement of Meiji Japan to its successful fusion of Confucianism and practical learning from the West. In their opinion, Meiji Japan was an ideal model for China. This view was prevalent among many official- and scholar-reformers of the time. It is against this background that this study evaluates the narratives of the 1895 Sino-Japanese War in Japanese and Chinese textbooks.

Methodologically, this study adopts a comparative approach. First, it investigates how the war was depicted in Chinese and Japanese textbooks through a textual comparison. Based on the findings of this comparison, the study then analyzes the effects of the Sino-Japanese War on the content of textbooks and textbook writing practice. Between 1890 and 1905 at least forty publishing houses were established in China in response to the demand for new textbooks; most of these publishers were non-governmental. In the wake of the 1900 Boxer Rebellion, the Qing government was forced to carry out reforms. As a result, the textbook market flourished. The textbook series published by Shanghai Commercial Press in 1903 was regarded as China's first modern textbook series intended for the modern school system (Wang 2008, 21; Reed 2004). In this study a Chinese history textbook for elementary school, first published by Shanghai Commercial Press in 1903, is selected to compare with the *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* (Japanese Reader for Regular Elementary School). The *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* was chosen for

the comparison because it was also published in 1903 and designed for elementary schooling. Most importantly, both textbooks contain lessons on the Sino-Japanese War. The textual comparison will demonstrate that the narratives of the war in the textbooks of the two countries differed in language, tone and focus. There was also an enormous disparity between the Japanese and Chinese accounts of the events that led to the war. This will illustrate how textbooks were used as effective agents through which to promote a certain version of the war and thus to construct historical memory for educational and ideological purposes.

The educational and ideological use of textbooks in China has been noted by scholars in the West, who have examined the role of textbooks in the transformation of Chinese society, citizenship education and the formation of the modern nation. Studies have covered the late Qing (see Judge 2001, 1–40) and republican periods (Culp 2001, 2007; for a recent study of both periods, see Zarrow 2015), with some focusing on history education in particular (Zarrow 2007, 21–54; Hon 2007, 79–107; Ching 2007, 55–78). Such works have shown how textbook production reflected the sociopolitical changes of the time and demonstrated how textbooks played a pivotal role in the development of a modern school system and curriculum, exerting considerable influence on the construction of a new knowledge framework, the training of citizens to meet the needs of a transformed China and the reshaping of society and politics. Against this background, this study goes on to analyze Chinese textbooks produced between 1897 and 1907 to elucidate how Chinese reformers and textbook writers employed this disastrous war to address China's crisis and to advocate for the use of the Japanese model in the implementation of China's reforms. In this process, Confucianism functioned as the intellectual framework which provided the foundation for China's adoption of the Japanese model and its subsequent absorption of Western ideas via Japanese sources. From this perspective, this study will argue that although Meiji Japanese and late Qing Chinese narratives of the war differed significantly, compilers in both countries employed textbooks as tools with which to create their versions of the war in order to convey official ideology and build patriotic nationalism.

2 Background and Timeline of the 1894–95 Sino-Japanese War

Historically, Korea had long been a tributary state to Chinese empires. The rise of Meiji Japan forced China to surrender its exclusive influence over Korea in 1885 when the Tianjin Convention (*Tianjin tiaoyue*) was signed between China and Japan, following the 1884 Gapsin Coup. The coup was initiated by a group of pro-Japanese Korean reformers, who were attempting to eliminate social distinctions and modernize Korea through the implementation of reforms. The Qing government sent Yuan Shikai (1859–1916) to suppress the coup. Yuan's success, however, heightened tensions between Qing China and Meiji Japan. Consequently, Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) and Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) negotiated the Tianjin Convention, by which both Japan and China agreed to withdraw their troops from Korea and to refrain from sending troops to Korea without giving prior notice to the other side. The outcome of this treaty was that Qing China had to share its sphere of influence with Japan. This was recorded in Chinese history textbooks for elementary education. The following lesson, entitled *Chaoxian xin jiu dang zheng* (The struggle between the conservative party and the reformist group in Korea), is from a 1903 edition of *Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* (*Chinese History Textbook*) for senior primary schools. After explaining how in 1884 the "young and energetic" reformists tried and failed to assassinate a member of the Korean Queen Min's clique and then tried to detain the king and queen with the help of Takezoe Shinichiro, the Japanese minister to Korea, the textbook describes what happened next:

> Takezoe and his Japanese soldiers occupied the palace. The Min clique then appealed to the Qing government for help. Yuan Shikai led his troops to Korea, suppressed the coup and restored the government of King Gojong. Takezoe and the Japanese army retreated to Jinsen; the pro-Japanese faction failed to achieve its objective. The Japanese government sent its foreign minister Inouye Kaoru to Korea asking for compensation. In 1885 Itō Hirobumi conferred with Li Hongzhang in Tianjin [and they agreed] that both countries withdraw their troops from Korea. It was also agreed that in the event of any disturbance requiring

> the dispatch of troops to Korea, each nation must inform the other of its intention in advance. This agreement was the Treaty of Tianjin. (*Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* 1903, 2:17; unless otherwise noted, all translations my own. Cf. Li 1956, 132–33; Seth 2010, 238–39)

The treaty proved ineffective: the Qing government appointed Yuan Shikai as Resident General in Korea, while Meiji Japan continued to covet Korea (Akagi 1979; Auslin 2004; Beasley 1987; Paine 2003). In 1894 the first Sino-Japanese War broke out.

In 1894 the Donghak Peasant Revolution broke out in Korea. The frightened Korean royal family asked the Qing government to help suppress the rebellion. As a result of this request, the Qing government dispatched 2700 soldiers to Korea. This military action angered Japan, which accused China of violating the Tianjin Convention and sent a military force of eight thousand to occupy the Royal Palace in Pyongyang. By helping the pro-Japanese faction form a new government, Japan obtained the right to expel the Chinese troops while shipping more troops to Korea. The Qing government was furious and rejected this new government as illegitimate. The Battle of Fengdao, or Asan, on July 25, 1894, marked the beginning of the war, although officially war was declared on August 1. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895. China ceded Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to Japan and was required to pay Japan two hundred million silver Kuping taels (about two hundred forty million troy ounces) (Table 1).

Table 1 Timeline of the Sino-Japanese War, August 1, 1894–April 17, 1895

Dates	Battles
July 25, 1894	The Battle of Fengdao or Asan—the first naval battle
July 29, 1894	The Battle of Seonghwan—the first major land battle
15 September 1894	The Battle of Pyongyang
17 September 1894	The Battle of the Yalu River
24 October 1894	The Battle of Jiuliancheng—invasion of Manchuria
21 November 1894	The Battle of Lüshunkou (Port Arthur)
Fall of Weihaiwei	The Battle of Weihaiwei (20 January–12 February 1895)
23 March 1895	Japanese forces attacked the Pescadores Islands
17 April 1895	The Treaty of Shimonoseki signed

3 A Comparison of the Narratives of the War

The two textbooks selected for the comparison both detail the major battles that marked the three stages of this nine-month war: the Battle of the Yalu River (Korea), the Battle of Port Arthur (China's Liaodong Peninsula) and the Battle of Weihaiwei (China's Shandong peninsula). The comparison of the lessons in the two textbooks will demonstrate any disparities in the narratives of the course of the war. A further analysis will reveal differences in language, style and focus between the Chinese and Japanese textbooks.

3.1 The Course of the War

The Japanese narrative blames the Qing government for the war:

> Of all the countries in the world both Korea and Qing China are the closest neighbours to our country. Our country had been in a harmonious relationship with these two nations. However, in 1894 (Meiji 27) the [Donghak] Rebellion took place in Korea and the Qing government broke the agreement with our country and sent the Qing army to Korea, assisting the Korean government without informing Japan. The Qing even opened fire on our fleet near Feng Island [or Pungdo], provoking the war with Imperial Japan! (*Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 1903, 6:73–74)

In this lesson the Japanese author accuses the Chinese government of violating the Tianjin Convention and indicates that the Qing navy triggered the war by firing at the Japanese fleet.

The Chinese textbook states:

> In 1894 the Donghak Rebellion broke out in Korea. [The Korean king] asked Yuan Shikai, China's commissioner of commerce and the resident official in Korea, to suppress the rebellion. The Qing court dispatched its troops to Korea. Japan immediately followed suit and sent its force to sail directly to Seoul. [As a result] the Donghak disappeared, and China asked Japan to withdraw its troops from Korea simultaneously with the Chinese forces. However, the Japanese refused China's request by proposing

> that both nations come to an agreement on how to reform Korea. The Qing government rejected this suggestion. At that time Yuan Shikai was recalled to Beijing. The Japanese forces then forced the Korean king to accept their reform plan. Still, the war between the two nations had not broken out at this point. However the Japanese suddenly attacked China's warships at Asan Bay, and fired upon the Chinese troop transport ships *Kowshing* and *Tsao-kiang* at Pungdo [Feng Island). (*Zhongguo lishi jiaoke-shu* 1903, 2:17a–b)

This Chinese lesson counters the points made by the Japanese, in that it states that the Chinese sent the troops to Korea at the request of the king of Korea to suppress the rebels; that Japan refused to withdraw its military forces from Korea after the Donghak Rebellion was suppressed; that the Japanese forced the king of Korea to accept the reform plan; and that the Japanese attacked the Chinese warships at Asan Bay and fired on the Chinese troop transport ship. The key issue is who first opened fire. Both Japan and China accused the other party of starting the war. Unfortunately to date there is no decisive evidence to resolve this historical dispute.

3.2 The Tone of the Narratives

This Japanese lesson depicts the Battle of the Yalu River, or the Yellow Sea, of September 17, 1894:

> Soldiers were all confident and energetic, shouting: "Once we see the enemy we'll immediately attack them and won't let them escape! We'll hit them as hard as we can until they are all sunk!" At that moment twelve navy cruisers of the Qing came into our sights, with the *Dingyuan* and *Zhenyuan* leading the way. Once they saw us they became so scared that they fired at us from a considerable distance. We, in contrast, calmly sailed towards the enemy, and aimed at them when they were within range. As soon as we heard the order "fire!" we fired at the enemy's warships in unison. Of course the enemy fought back. Once the battle started one could only hear the loud roaring of guns on the Yellow Sea, as loud as a million thunderclaps occurring at once, shaking the sky and sea. One could see nothing but the smoke that completely covered the

> entire sea. The battle continued for five hours. In the end our Imperial navy sank three and destroyed four warships of the Qing. The Qing navy was defeated and retreated hurriedly. Our heroic naval fleet then left the Yellow Sea triumphantly. This is the Battle of the Yellow Sea, a glorified legacy in our history. (*Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 1903, 5:53–55)

The lesson clearly emphasizes the triumphant Japanese victory. In comparison, the description of the Chinese textbook is less emotional and focuses on the sequence of battles:

> The Qing court was furious and declared war on Japan, dispatching troops led by Generals Zuo Baogui (1837–94) and Wei Rugui, who attempted to help defend Pyongyang. However, the Qing army was defeated by the assault launched by the Japanese troops, which seized the city. As a result, the Qing forces withdrew from Korea. In the Battle of the Yalu River [or the Yellow Sea], China was again defeated by the Japanese and lost several warships. The Japanese forces then crossed the Yellow Sea, pushing north toward Manchuria. In order to defend the crossing of the Yalu River, Generals Wu Dacheng (1835–1902) and Song Qing (1820–1902) were sent to lead the Chinese soldiers fighting the Japanese troops. However, the Chinese forces were defeated and China lost control of the Liaodong peninsula after Lüshun (Port Arthur), Niuzhuang and Weihaiwei successively fell into the hands of the Japanese. The Qing government appointed Li Hongzhang as Plenipotentiary Minister, who travelled to Japan to negotiate for peace with Itō Hirobumi. Russia, France, Germany and Britain all sent envoys to mediate between the two nations. The Treaty of Shimonoseki was finally signed, and consequently China had to pay Japan an indemnity of two hundred million taels, and cede Taiwan to Japan. (*Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* 1903, 2:17a–b)

Instead of giving the battles in chronological order, the Japanese lessons are structured to legitimize the entry of the Japanese military forces into Korea first:

> [Prior to the Battle of Fengdao (Pungdo)] our navy almost defeated the Korean army, but then the Qing government forces intervened in the

> battle, which forced us to send a large military contingent to Korea and declare war on the Qing.
>
> The Imperial Japanese Army was commissioned by [the new] Korean government, which begged us: "Please help us expel the Qing army!" It was because of the commission that we first defeated the Qing army in Seonghwan, and then trounced them in the Battle of Pyongyang. After the Pyongyang battle, our Japanese forces advanced north to the Yalu River. The Battle of the Yalu River, as described in an earlier lesson, took place on the second day of the Battle of Pyongyang. The Qing navy was defeated in the battle and subsequently retreated to Weihaiwei. (*Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 1903, 6:73–77)

This is Lesson 18 in volume 6 of *Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* (Japanese Reader for Regular Elementary School) which covers the first stage of the war. It should be noted that the "Korean government" here is the pro-Japanese government set up after the Japanese military forces seized the Royal Palace. The writer outlines a Japanese version of the historical context of the war, aiming to justify Japanese military action in Korea. A lesson on the Battle of the Yalu River, however, is included in the fifth volume of the same series.

The next lesson in the same volume contains an account of the second and third stages of the war:

> Meanwhile, our Japanese government sent forces to attack the city of Lushunkou (Port Arthur) of the Qing. Port Arthur used to be known as a position that was "easy to defend and hard to attack". However, it only took our Japanese army one day to seize this hard-to-attack city. From then on the morale of the Qing army declined rapidly and became so weak that it no longer posed a threat to our Japanese forces. After seizing Port Arthur effortlessly, our navy decided that this was the time to advance our victory, so joined the Japanese Army to destroy the Qing fleet, which had retreated to Weihaiwei after its defeat at the Battle of the Yalu River. In Weihaiwei we destroyed the Qing forts and sank their warships; wherever we went the Qing soldiers surrendered. Our Imperial Army also continued to advance on the capital city of Qing China—Beijing. By then the Qing government was so scared that its envoy was sent to beg us: "please let us make peace!" With its plea the Qing

> government offered Imperial Japan a financial indemnity and ceded a large island called Taiwan. Based on such offers Imperial Japan thus forgave Qing China and endorsed the peace treaty. (*Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 1903, 6:77–80)

The last part of the lesson relates this war to the role Japan played in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, highlighting the significance of the Sino-Japanese War in the history of Japan: it marked the rise of Japan as an international power.

> Because the Japan-Qing China war started in 1894 (Meiji 27) and ended in 1895 (Meiji 28), we named it the War of Meiji 27–28. After this war, in 1900, a great rebellion broke out in northern China, which was recorded as the "rebellion of Qing China in Meiji 33". Japan, along with the army of other Western powers, suppressed the rebellion in Qing China. It has been acknowledged that Japan made the greatest contribution to the suppression of the Qing rebellion with her most strictly disciplined army. Japan gained a reputation as one of the international powers after the 1894–95 war with Qing China and its performance in the suppression of the Chinese rebellion in 1900. (*Jinjō shōgaku tokuhon* 1903, 6:80)

In comparison, Chinese textbooks, especially history textbooks, produced between 1897 and 1907 all narrated the Boxer Rebellion in great detail after the lessons on the first Sino-Japanese War. The final lessons in these textbooks all provided an account of the outcome of this movement: the suppression of the uprising by the forces of the Eight-Nation Alliance and the return of the Qing Imperial Court to Beijing.

It is possible to distinguish differences in language, style and focus between the narratives of the Chinese and Japanese textbooks. The Japanese lessons contain detailed descriptions of the battles, and a triumphal tone is used to depict Japanese soldiers as heroes who brought glory to their nation. The Japanese military forces are praised in order to highlight the fact that their efforts in the war with Qing China and later in the war against the Boxers provided the foundation for Japan to rise as the dominant power in Asia. The Chinese lessons instead focus on the historical context of the war and its aftermath, listing the battles of

the war itself sequentially. The narrative emphasizes China's defeat and the humiliations China suffered as a result. The detailed accounts of the Boxer Rebellion and its consequences further highlight China's crisis by revealing its helplessness in the face of the international powers. Such narrative differences will be discussed further in the following sections.

4 Aftermath of the War: Reflection and Reaction

Defeat in the Sino-Japanese War was a wake-up call for China. Scholar-reformers such as Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao (1873–1929) used it to persuade the young Guangxu Emperor (1871–1908) to initiate reforms. As a rising leader in this reform movement, Liang Qichao argued that countries from Peter the Great's Russia to Prussia had been transformed through reform (Liang 1936). Meiji Japan, however, was his most powerful evidence.

Liang argued that China and Japan had previously shared a position of humiliation, but emphasized that Japan quickly transformed and became one of the international powers by implementing reforms. He pointed out that before the Meiji Restoration, when Japan was under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1868), Japan had been forced to sign infamous "unequal treaties" with the United States (1854), Russia (1855) and Germany (1861), and as a result the country was almost destroyed. It was the emperor Meiji who changed the fate of Japan. After thirty years of reform, Japan was transformed from a small, weak country into a strong nation with military power. Liang then catalogued Japanese aggression towards China after its rise: in 1879, the Meiji government annexed the Ryukyu islands, and then it began to covet Taiwan (Liang 1936, 1:3). China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, Liang argued, was the result of Japan's reform and transformation. Liang then delivered a powerful conclusion:

> Being defeated itself is not a big disaster. The real disaster is that a country, when defeated, still does not act to strengthen itself. (1:8)

At that time Liang's understanding of Japan originated from his teacher Kang Youwei, who had presented his own work on the reform of Meiji Japan, *Riben bianzheng kao* (An examination of the political changes under the Meiji emperor), to the Guangxu Emperor prior to the 1898 Reform. Kang also compiled a *Catalogue of Japanese Books* (*Riben shumuzhi*), based on his daughter's translations of Japanese books that he had purchased (Shen 2003, 51–68). To the Chinese people, acknowledgement of Japanese superiority was more painful and humiliating than defeat by Western powers. However, defeat in the Sino-Japanese War forced the Chinese people to face this reality. Liang used this situation to create more anxiety over the fate of China and thus create a powerful call for reform. He also warned that if China still did not act quickly following its defeat by Japan, China would be colonized like India, Poland, Vietnam, Burma and Korea (Liang 1936, 1:2).

Along with the Japanese case, Russia and Germany were also used as examples by Liang Qichao to support his argument that China could become as strong as these three countries if reform measures were implemented immediately. Liang expounded on the Russian case by focusing on Peter the Great, who travelled to other countries to study new technology and then implemented reforms on his return. The reforms changed the fate of the country, turning a weak Russia into a strong and powerful nation and extending its territory by thousands of miles (Liang 1936, 1:2–3).

In the case of Germany Liang briefly mentioned how Prussia was defeated by the French in the French Revolutionary Wars and the wars of Napoleon, and became a virtual dependency of France. At this low ebb, Prussia started social and economic reform, and laid the groundwork for a universal education system. These reform measures helped modernize Prussia and its army. Then in the Franco-German War (1870–71), the French were defeated by the Prussians. This victory over the French signalled the rise of Prussian militarism and imperialism. But in the eyes of Liang Qichao, this was an exemplary case of how a country could rise from its defeated status and eventually gain supremacy (Liang 1936, 1:3).

Liang also compared the Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722) and the Yongzheng Emperor (1678–1735) to Peter the Great, Germany's

Wilhelm I (1797–1888) and Meiji Japan's Mutsuhito (1852–1912). These five emperors, in Liang's opinion, were great leaders of reform through whom their countries became united, strong and prosperous. He also used cases from Qing history, such as the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion and the Tongzhi Restoration, to induce the Guangxu Emperor to change China's course through reform (Liang 1936, 1:5).

The introduction of social Darwinism in China also helped Liang Qichao to use the Japanese example, in particular in his advocacy for reform. Liang asserted that changes were inevitable, but there was a crucial difference between self-reform (*zibian*) and forced change (*daibian*). Japan, a successful example of *zibian*, soon rose from its weak status to become the most powerful country in Asia, because it implemented reforms based on its own initiatives. Countries that did not take the initiative to change were forced to change by foreign encroachment, as in the colonization of India by Great Britain and the partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia and Austria. These cases enabled Liang to relate the issue of reform to the serious matters of saving China (*baoguo*), the Chinese race (*baozhong*) and Chinese faith (*baojiao*). If China did not act quickly, Liang warned, Chinese people would meet the same fate as the Jewish people or African slaves (Liang 1936, 1:8).

In the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War, Liang's fears seemed to be confirmed as Germany, Russia, France and Britain all demanded a piece of China as a reward for their roles as mediators between China and Japan. This is also recorded in the Chinese textbooks:

> In 1897 Western powers such as Russia and France demanded compensation for mediating between China and Japan. Meanwhile, in Zhangjia Village of Juye County, Shandong Province, two German missionaries were killed. The German Empire used the incident as a pretext to seize Jiaozhouwan, expelling Chinese officials and soldiers. Not long after the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed, Russia demanded that Port Arthur and Dairen be rented to her for twenty-five years. The British were rivals of Russia, so they immediately followed suit by demanding the same lease term for Weihaiwei. France then demanded Guangzhouwan and Germany demanded Jaozhouwan. (*Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* 1903, 2:17b)

Other textbooks of this period suggested that the survival of the Chinese was threatened by the "white race"(*baizhongren*). For example, the following passage is from the *Mengxue duben quanshu* (Textbook for elementary education):

> Asia is the largest of five continents. Its southeast is surrounded by sea, its north is connected with the Arctic Ocean and its west is bordered by Europe. Asia was the earliest established continent, with the oldest civilization of the five continents. In the last hundred years, Russia became powerful in the north, Britain became competitive in the south and other powers, such as Germany and France, also cast their greedy eyes on Asia. The power of the white race has gradually extended to the continent of East Asia. What a precarious situation the Asian continent is in! (Yu et al. 1902, 3:19a–b)

Late Qing textbooks also indicated that the powerful white race was aggressive towards Asia and China. In lesson 33 of the same textbook, the author comments:

> Europe is the smallest of five continents; its east is bordered by Asia, its south is connected with Africa, its west is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean. There are nineteen countries in this continent, and the powerful countries are Russia, Britain, France and Germany. The peoples in these countries are persistent with determination and dedication, and they became competitive with the development of new knowledge. This is why Europeans became the only powerful race in the world. (Yu et al. 1902, 3:22b–23a)

The *Mengxue duben quanshu* (Textbook for elementary education) was created by Yu Fu (1866–1930), Ding Baoshu (1865–1936) and other staff of the Wuxi Sandeng School, which Yu established in 1898. They were not government officials but scholar-reformers who devoted themselves to the development of a new type of education during the 1898 Reform Movement. When the school was first established, there were no appropriate textbooks available, so the teaching staff created one lesson each day. In 1902 Yu Fu founded his own commercial publishing house, Shanghai Wenmin shuju, and printed the lessons they produced

between 1898 and 1902 in seven volumes (Zhou 1934, 134; see also Wu and Weng 1934, 1–2; Ding 1935, 8, 11). This was one of the earliest sets of literacy textbooks compiled in China in this period. As this discussion reveals, these textbooks echoed Liang Qichao's argument that China was under threat from the rise of the European powers, and in so doing endorsed his idea that there was a close link between reform and the survival of China, the Chinese race and Chinese faith. Many textbook writers of the time also echoed Liang Qichao's view, emphasizing loyalty to the emperor as an essential ingredient of patriotism. They supported the Japanese version of patriotism, where the emperor would be the facilitator of reform measures, and to support the emperor was to support one's own country.

5 Patriotism and Education: Modelling Chinese on Japanese Textbooks

While late Qing reformers such as Liang Qichao used the Meiji Japanese model to inspire the Qing government to initiate reform, Chinese educators noticed that the spirit of nationalism permeated Japanese elementary textbooks in the subjects of language, history, geography and ethics. This was then taken as a key principle in their compilation of Chinese textbooks. The *Mengxue duben quanshu*states clearly that it will follow the Japanese example:

> Japanese textbooks eulogied the virtues and achievements of Emperor Jimmu and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), who unified Japan and is also known for his invasion of Korea. The aim of these Japanese textbooks was to instil patriotism in the minds of children. This textbook, by following the example of Japanese textbooks, contains the history of the Qing, with a line from the establishment of the Qing Dynasty to the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, and then to the Tongzhi Restoration. When students read this textbook they will feel grateful for blessings and protections from the emperor, and gather all their courage [to do whatever they can] for their beloved country. (Yu et al. 1902, preface to vol. 3)

A similar acknowledgement of Japanese influence can be found in the *Mengxue chuji shūshin shu* (*Junior Primer for Moral Education*), which was intended for the first three years of schooling. Jiang Fu (1866–1931), the author of this set of textbooks, was one of the partners of Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940), both in scholarship and in the introduction of Japan's modern education system into China. Luo Zhenyu was a politician, philologist and antiquarian, and essentially a Qing loyalist, who first visited Japan in 1901 to study the Japanese educational system (see Yang and Whitfield 2012). In his preface, Jiang stated that while his set of textbooks followed the format of Japanese textbooks for moral education, the content was based on good deeds and wise advice from Chinese history and well-known contemporaries; there were also some stories of foreigners (Fu 1901, 1a).

In following the Japanese blueprint for teaching ethics and patriotism, Chinese textbook writers did not take into account the fact that native Chinese Confucianism and Japanised Confucianism differed significantly. Influenced by the *Kokugaku* movement, Japanese Confucianism was open to "the formation of national social rituals … that amalgamated Shinto and Confucianism" (Kurozumi 2002, 382). *Kokugaku* Shinto also contributed to the formation of the notion that Japan's imperial dynasty was everlasting, as articulated in the Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo*). Chinese reformers of the time believed that the achievements of the Meiji Restoration were the result of successfully preserving Confucianism while also accommodating and developing Western learning. They did not realize that Meiji Confucianism developed on the basis of changes already made by thinkers of the Tokugawa period (Kurozumi 2002, 383).

This Japanized Confucian tradition became one of the key components of Meiji education. In the early Meiji period the government focused on Western technology and practical skills, which became central to school curricula. However, Western political theories, such as Samuel Smiles's *Self-help* and J.S. Mill's *On Liberty*, as well as the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, were also translated into Japanese. These Western political ideas became important as sources of the People's Rights Movement in the 1870s. Many scholars and former students of Chinese learning were involved in this movement, and

they found an echo of the ideal of primitive Confucianism in Western political ideas (Irokawa 1974, 190–201). This may explain why four-times Japanese Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) blamed Confucianism for social discontent and political destabilization. In his view, education for ordinary people only needed to focus on practical knowledge, so politics could be left to the elite. Motoda Nagazane (1818–91), advisor to the Meiji emperor, however, disagreed with Itō's view and called for the establishment of "a national doctrine" embracing Confucianism and the "Shinto tradition of the emperors since antiquity", on which the national essence (*kokutai*) was built. Education was then to be used as the tool to implant this *kokutai* (Kurozumi 2002, 386–88).

Motoda wanted to promote his idea through both general education and higher education, but Japan, in order to build a modern nation, needed western political systems and knowledge, which were lacking in the integrated version of Confucianism and Shinto. Further, western sciences and practical learning in the early Meiji period prevailed and became the key component in the curriculum of high schools. This Motoda-designed nation could therefore only be promoted and diffused through general education at the elementary level (Kurozumi 2002, 388–89). This then required a change of emphasis in general education, and the relationship between Confucian ethics and practical learning was vividly illustrated in an analogy: ethics education, with the virtues of *zhong* (loyalty) and *xiao* (filial piety) at its core, was the roots of a tree and practical skills and knowledge were its leaves and branches (Kaigo and Naka 1969, 69). As such, in the revised education law of 1880, *shūshin* (ethics) took precedence over all other subjects. In 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo*) incorporated this idea into general education, placing the stress on cultivating virtues, especially loyalty and filial piety.

The Imperial Rescript was the work of Inoue Kowashi (1843–95), Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922) and Motoda Nagazane. It was based on militaristic nationalism, Confucian virtues, and the modern values of constitutional government, utilitarianism and practical learning (Pittau 1974, 181). In this model, Confucian ethics were the foundation of education. The Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety

were integrated into one, so that the entire nation was a family and all Japanese people were children of the emperor. As such all the children were required by the emperor to fulfil their duties to the nation. This notion was at the centre of Japanese nationalism (Chen 2003, 399–437; see also Chen 2004, 219–23). Chinese reformers conducting an official study tour of Japan from 1895 onward noticed the change in Japanese textbooks. In 1907 Liu Tingchen (1867–1932) wrote to the Qing emperor to say that Japanese textbooks promoted the cultivation of morality, good behaviour, loyalty to one's sovereign and love of country. He was particularly impressed that Japanese officials from the Ministry of Education repeatedly stated that without a moral component education would be like a tree with leaves and branches but no roots (*Qing Guangxu chao zhongri jiaoshe shiliao* 1963, 2:1342).

Chinese elites like Liu Tingchen adopted the ideals of Japanized Confucianism; perhaps they thought that this would allow them to access Western knowledge while ensuring the continuity of Confucian tradition. In Chinese Confucianism, however, the combination of loyalty to the emperor and filial piety towards one's parents sometimes presented a dilemma, as sacrificing one's life for the emperor meant that the individual could not fulfil his filial duty to his own parents. This dilemma did not exist in Japanese Confucianism because of differences in the Japanese conception of the household (*i.e.*) and its relationship to the state. The Japanese *i.e.* was "not a lineage or household, but a corporate structure encompassing nonrelated retainers as well as those linked by blood". In other words, *i.e.* was "the house as a component of the larger social order" (Nakai 2002, 261). However, in Chinese Confucianism individual households (*jia*) and the state (*guo*) were two different entities which were related but never merged as one. The Japanese *i.e.* system allowed Tokugawa-era Confucians to replace the abstract concept *tian* (Heaven) with superiors, the emperor, or Amatsukami (god or *kami* residing in the Plain of High Heaven). In the second half of the Tokugawa period, *i.e.* and state were combined as *kokka* (*guojia* in Chinese). The ethic of loyalty toward superiors was then transferred to the emperor as head of the family (Kurozumi 2002, 379–80; see also Chen 2003).

In the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War, it appears that neither scholar-reformers like Liang Qichao nor textbook writers showed awareness of these conceptual differences, as in their depictions Japan was both a gateway to the sciences and technology of the West and a successful example of the preservation of Confucianism. It was in this context that Confucianism formed a common ground for the Chinese to imitate the pattern of the Meiji reforms in this period.

6 Concluding Discussion

In Meiji Japan textbooks were employed to convey official ideology and to build nationalism. Triumph in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 was used to enhance patriotism and loyalty to the emperor and the empire. Accounts of the war in Chinese textbooks, on the other hand, centred on China's humiliation and the weakness of the Qing Empire in contrast to the prosperity of Japan. Chinese writers used defeat to address the national crisis and to push for political reforms. Defeat by Japan was a much greater humiliation than defeat by the West. From this perspective, defeat served as a wake-up call to the Chinese people. Paradoxically, China's humiliation at the hands of the Japanese fuelled China's interest in Meiji Japan, and the Japanese educational model in particular. In 1896, thirteen Chinese students journeyed to Japan in order to discover the secrets to Japan's success. This marked the beginning of the study-in-Japan movement (Chen 1992, 162; Sanetō 1970/1982). China's humiliation also served to fuel a sense of patriotism. Loyalty to the Qing emperor and urgent calls for reform were integral to the formation of an early form of Chinese nationalism. As such, Japan was presented both as a model for China to follow and as a mighty enemy. Lesson 2 in the *Mengxue duben quanshu* exemplifies the contradiction:

> Wishing our country be impregnable,
> transcend Europe, America and Japan.
> Both the army and navy be flourishing and blazing,

> making the Qing dragon flag be shining in the world.
> Imperialists are currently expanding their world,
> we cannot wait and then feel sad when the nation is fallen.
> India has been colonized, and Poland has lost its sovereignty too.
> But look at our empire, it is like a sleeping lion
> that will rise and roar loudly to shake the world. (Yu et al. 1902, 3:1b)

This text is in the form of children's poetry, designed to be suitable for children to read, chant and remember; like the Japanese lessons on the Sino-Japanese War, it was designed to promote nationalism. The Japanese belief that nationalism and patriotism should permeate textbooks on language, geography and history, as well as moral education, became the guiding light of the late Qing textbook compilers. Yu Fu and the other staff at the Wuxi Sandeng School said in a preface to one of their textbooks that all these subjects were actually relevant to each other: language was the tool and vehicle of study, and history could teach students the glory of China's past and awaken in them a patriotic fervour to wipe away the humiliations imposed on China by the imperialist forces of the West and Japan. Geography was also a critical subject because it could inspire students to love their country, and to understand the relationship between China and the world. By teaching students geography, the lofty aspiration of strengthening China and protecting the Chinese people would be instilled into their minds (Yu et al. 1902, preface to vol. 3).

Confucianism was used as a cultural conduit between the two nations, enabling Chinese reformers to import Japanese models of nationalism and loyalty to the emperor. Further, the terms *zhongjun* (*chūkun* in Japanese), *ai'guo* (*aikoku*), *guomin* (*kokumin*) and *guojia* were all directly copied from Japanese into Chinese textbooks and the writings of the intellectuals of the time. However, it seems that both scholar-reformers like Liang Qichao and late Qing textbook writers overlooked the fact that Japanese Confucianism had been amalgamated with Shinto. As a result, the late Qing imitation of the Japanese model failed to help China accomplish what Japan had achieved. On the other hand, however, China did not develop the blood-and-iron nationalism of the Japanese kind.

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6

The Teaching of the First World War Through History Textbooks for Secondary Education in Greece (1960–2010): Aims and Priorities

Efstratios Vacharoglou

1 Introduction

The teaching of history is an important area of research in modern education. The circulation of a large number of journals relevant to teaching history in schools demonstrates the interest in this field and contributes to the exploration of different aspects of this topic. Further, the teaching of history in Greek schools, particularly in secondary education and from the 1920s onwards, has been the focal point of fierce controversy. Examination of the controversies around history textbooks in Greece reveals, at times, aspects of ideological rigidity in modern Greek society and the educational community. A school textbook, especially a history school textbook, can become a point of contention in an often turbulent public debate involving deep-seated ideological convictions. Socio-economic and political developments at the local or international level can affect the interpretation of historical events.

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The principal aim of this study is to investigate the way in which the events of the First World War (Adams 1990; Andreou 2008; Ferguson 1999; Howard 2002; MacDonald 1988; Martin 1994; Miller et al. 1985) were recorded in history textbooks in Greece. The present study focuses on the history textbooks and curricula of the 1960–2010 period because it was then that emphasis was placed on the teaching of the First World War and Greece's participation in it.

The main issues analyzed in the textbooks are: (a) the political and economic situation in Europe at the time, (b) the causes and motivations of the war, (c) responsibility for the war, (d) the alliances, (e) the actions of the alliances, (f) the new countries which were established by the treaties of the First World War, (g) the role of Greece in the First World War, (h) the war reparations and, lastly, (i) the League of Nations (its aims and actions). The specific learning objectives focus on the students becoming able (a) to understand the causes of the First World War, (b) to learn the rival sides, the key stages and the outcome of the war, (c) to learn that the prime minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos, and King Constantine disagreed about the involvement of Greece in the First World War, (d) to understand the political, ideological and social context of the dispute between them, (e) to find out about the initially involuntary engagement of Greece in the First World War and the escalation of the Venizelos–Constantine dispute, (f) to learn about the National Schism and its effects on the Greek political reality of the time, (g) to understand the factors that determined the post-war decisions of the winners of the First World War, (h) to learn the main terms of the peace treaty, (i) to study the post-war political map of Europe, as was dictated by the terms of the peace treaty and, lastly, (j) to learn about the creation of the League of Nations.

This study will examine descriptions of the events of the First World War in order to identify different cultural perspectives in the textbooks of the various time periods, thus seeking to replace subjective assessment with qualitative analysis. This analysis will reveal how learning objectives changed alongside the socio-political circumstances in Greece. Terms such as "national," "nationalism" and "multiculturalism" are interpreted according to the circumstances of the country in each historical period. It will become clear that in every period the subject of

history was used to instil national identity and to socialize students in accordance with the demands of the dominant ideology.

2 History as a Subject in the Greek Education System: A Brief Overview

The way in which twentieth-century history in general and European history in particular are covered in curricula has changed significantly in most secondary schools in Europe and Greece in the recent past. In the 1950s, the majority of history curricula ended in 1914 or in 1917 with the Russian Revolution. From the 1970s onward, most history curricula in Western Europe covered the First World War, the key events and developments of the interwar period, the Second World War, post-war reconstruction and the beginning of the Cold War. The balance between teaching earlier history and modern history shifted, though Ancient Greek history remains important in Greek schools. Furthermore, today in some countries almost half of the history curriculum for secondary education focuses on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Stradling 2001).

Another parameter set forth by scholars is that the history taught in schools emerged from the national historiography of the second half of the nineteenth century, and as such was intended to function as a mechanism of national edification, political socialization and social conformity. Today, history education tends to be more autonomous, disassociated from nationalist ideologies and moving towards becoming a distinct field of knowledge within the discipline of history that examines historical events from the perspective of the dialectical relationship between the national and the global (Kokkinos 1998, 313). In Greek schools, the subject of history has primarily been used, since its introduction into secondary education, to establish and promote national identity and homogeneity, validate the historical continuity of the nation, and promote national causes (Mavroskoufis 1997, 19–20). Although Greece has not been the only country to use history in this way, the process of creation of national identity through the teaching

of history became particularly pronounced in Greece due to the significance of the “uninterrupted continuity of Hellenism” in Greek political culture (Kokkinos 1998, 20–21; unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own). The origins of this phenomenon can be traced back to, among other distinctly Greek social and political structures, the strictly centralist education system, which facilitates political intervention, and the influence of the Church (Mavroskoufis 1997, 20–21). Since the subject of history has been used for political education, the inscription of national identity and the political socialization of students in accordance with prescriptions of the dominant ideology, it has acquired instructive, national and moralizing functions, which it retains to a significant extent to this day. Scholars maintain that the recording of history should be characterized by neutrality and impartiality—to the extent of course that the historian accepts these terms and depending on how he or she interprets them (Mavroskoufis 2006). This means that the historian must maintain an equal distance from all sides of a historical event, taking each primary source into account. In this context, this study offers an analysis of the content of curricula and textbooks on the First World War and contributes to an examination of their aims, while taking into account the sociopolitical conditions in Greece during the periods in which they were written.

3 Curricula and the Teaching of the First World War

3.1 The Participation of Greece in the First World War

A brief survey of Greece’s role in the First World War will be useful. Greece’s official entry into the war was delayed until 1917, partly due to military and economic fatigue after the Balkan Wars (1912–14), and particularly because of the rift between democratically elected Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos and King Constantine over whether the country should support the Allied Powers against Turkey and Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers. In Greece as elsewhere, the war

weakened and undermined institutions and values such as parliamentary democracy, liberal ideals and the free economy, and introduced or intensified state intervention in the economy and military intervention in politics. It also accelerated the dissolution of the multinational Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. In Greece, the euphoria of the successes in the Balkan Wars was succeeded by the brutality of the First World War, the National Schism and the uprooting of the Greeks of Asia Minor and Pontus in the Asia Minor Catastrophe of 1922. The settlement of the refugees on mainland Greece radically changed the traditional form of the country.

School textbooks have viewed these issues from different perspectives depending on the country's political situation at the time. However, the primary aim of the authors of school textbooks between 1960 and 2010 has been to highlight the national spirit of the Greek people in facing the challenges of their time, at least until the 1980s, when new history textbooks attempted to strike a balance between discussing internal conflicts and creating a strong national spirit and focusing on broader European issues (Skoulatos 1982, 1984). Textbook authors have also sought to help students understand the negative consequences of the war for Greece, Europe and the world.

Textbooks treat the history of the First World War in line with the objectives set out in the curricula published by the Ministry of Education, which specify the desired changes in the behaviour of students at the end of each year or tier of education. The commonly accepted purpose of the study of history is to acquire knowledge of the past in order to comprehend the present and plan for the future. This means that students must develop historical consciousness and historical thinking (Mavroskoufis 2006, 76–77). Historical thinking is defined as the understanding of historical events and the association of causes and effects, while historical consciousness relates to the comprehension of human behaviour in specific situations and the safeguarding of the preconditions for responsible behaviour in the present and future. By developing historical thinking and historical consciousness, students can acquire more than an awareness that the events of contemporary history are directly connected to their lives. Consequently, historical thinking

and consciousness contribute to the broader purpose of education, the preparation of conscientious citizens (Andreou 2008, 392–93).

3.2 The First World War Through Curricula and Syllabuses (1960–78)

An examination of history curricula for secondary education through the decrees of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs reveals that the first reference to the events of the First World War in a textbook was in 1962. This consisted of a simple description of the main participants and conflicts, as well as Greece's participation in the war (Lazarou 1962). Lazarou highlighted that although initially the political powers of the country favoured neutrality, unfortunately events led it to become actively involved (Lazarou 1962, 216–34). A more substantial reference to the First World War can be found in the curriculum for the third year of *gymnasium* education, published in the *Efimeris tis Kyverniseos* (Official Government Gazette) on May 16, 1966 (FEKA'110, Royal Decree 424). In this curriculum the subject of history is mentioned as one element of the thematic units taught to students. The First World War and the interwar period are given as topics. The textbook produced for this curriculum discusses the causes and phases of the war, the political stance of Greece, the reasons that the old map of the continent changed, and the founding of the League of Nations (Lazarou 1966).

Three years later, on November 10, 1969, the government published a decree on the timetables and curricula of the subjects of secondary education (FEK A'225A, Royal Decree 723). The First World War was to be taught in the third year of the six-year *gymnasium*. The history textbook for this curriculum (Matarasis 1969) discusses the reasons that the states of Europe became involved in the war, the development of the war and the effects of the war. The participation of the United States is also discussed, along with the Treaty of Versailles and the creation and purpose of the League of Nations. After setting out this broad framework, the textbook focuses more narrowly on Greece's role in the war. This includes discussion of the debate over whether the country should

participate in the war and on which side, the Treaty of Sèvres, which was beneficial for Greece, and the eventual Treaty of Lausanne, which was considered disgraceful. The textbook diverges from the curriculum in including discussion of whether Greece should have participated in the war or not, stimulating the students' critical thinking rather than simply recording events.

The 1969 decree, published during the politically turbulent Dictatorship of the Colonels (1967–74), designates history as one of the main subjects of secondary education. The Ministry of Education states that studying history develops the students' historical thinking, allowing them to understand and interpret historical events. Students should be able to process their historical knowledge through critical analysis and though their own individual perspective, and in so doing develop their intellectual abilities and achieve an almost personal experience of history. Moreover, through studying the history of Greece students learn about the past of the nation through the ages, which allows them to experience the struggles, adventures, dangers, heroism, sacrifices and achievements of their ancestors. This knowledge, according to the Ministry of Education, makes the students feel mentally and spiritually connected to their nation and develops their national spirit and political awareness, making them conscientious citizens who love and respect their country. Lastly, teaching students about historical events helps them to understand their past, enabling them to adapt smoothly to their social, political and cultural environment. As such, the Ministry of Education regards the purpose of the subject of history as primarily moralizing and instructive. At this point, we must note that the aforementioned curriculum was written, published and became a Government directive during a politically turbulent time for the country (Dictatorship of the Colonels, led by Georgios Papadopoulos, 1967–1974).

On September 20, 1977 the Ministry of Education published a new curriculum for the first and second years of the *gymnasium* (FEK A'270,831). This curriculum discusses the purpose of each subject. The broad objectives of the study of history were that students should understand that both Greek and world civilization are the products of collective human effort, struggle and sacrifice; that humankind

owes much to the past and is responsible for constructing the present and planning the future; that historical events are interconnected and form sequences of causes (human needs, motives and ideas) and effects (human actions and reactions); and that the various manifestations of the culture of each society and era reflect different expressions of their thoughts and beliefs. The specific objectives, meanwhile, were that students should be introduced to the sources of history; acquire knowledge of the Greek tradition, the issues of contemporary Hellenism and the long history of Greek culture; objectively consider political systems and gain familiarity with democratic life and political organization; and develop genuine Greek patriotic spirit.

The curriculum for the third year of the *gymnasium* and the evening *gymnasium* was published on May 10, 1978 (FEK A'79, Presidential Decree 373). The subject of history was to be taught for two hours each week; the aim was to allow students, some of whom might not have another opportunity to be taught contemporary history, to learn about the events of recent history and the problems, goals and expectations of the modern world, with a particular focus on Europe and, especially, Greece. For the period 1914–19, students were to be taught about the causes of the war; the war and, in brief, its different fronts; the hardships endured by soldiers and civilians; the role of Greece; the Russian Revolution and the collapse of the Eastern Front; the collapse of Germany and its allies; the treaties of 1919–20 and the League of Nations. Furthermore, Greece was to be studied from 1915 to 1922, with topics on the friction between Prime Minister Venizelos and King Constantine; the removal of the lawfully elected prime minister by the king; the Provisional Government of National Defence formed by Venizelos in Thessaloniki; Greece at war; Greece's territorial gains in the Treaty of Sèvres; the reinstatement of the king; and the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1919–22). The events of the First World War are described in the accompanying textbook (Koulikourdi 1978). Compared to earlier textbooks, this one includes more visual material for the students, such as photographs and maps. The author follows the events set out in the curriculum, while also underscoring in the introductory note that the disparity between the industrial development of the different states of Europe led to the First World War, which changed

the shape of the world, shook European dominance, caused about 8,700,000 deaths and destroyed the youth of Europe. The textbook analizes the causes, trigger and events of the war, but places particular emphasis on helping students become aware of the devastating consequences of the war—not just for Greece and Europe, but for the entire world. It is this that distinguishes this textbook from earlier ones and evinces the influence of the Pedagogy of Peace movement developed in the 1960s and 1970s (Koulikourdi 1978, 296–306). The textbook also diverges from its predecessors from before the fall of the dictatorial regime in that its portrayal of the participation of Greeks in European events is less overtly nationalist. It is also worth noting that this was the first time that the task of writing a history textbook for this period was assigned to a woman, although no reference is made to the role of women in the First World War.

3.3 The First World War Through Curricula and Syllabuses (1979–2010)

The next curriculum to address the First World War was the curriculum for the third year of the *lyceum* of general education, published in the Government Gazette on October 23, 1979 (FEK A'240, Presidential Decree 826). The only guideline given was that the causes and effects of the war should be briefly presented to the students. The accompanying textbook (Skoulatos 1982) followed the guidance of the curriculum precisely. This was followed on October 7, 1985 by a curriculum for the *lyceum* of general education (FEK A'17, Presidential Decree 479). In this curriculum, the units of each subject were presented in brief and the teaching objective and purpose of each subject discussed. The history curriculum included the period from 1828 to the second half of the twentieth century titled "The struggle of the Greek people for political independence." The Ministry of Education stated that the purpose of teaching history in *lyceum* schools was to develop the students' historical consciousness and judgement. Through the study of the past, students could acquire a better understanding of humanity, thus becoming better able to comprehend and

interpret events taking place in the present. They would understand that history is the collective work of humanity and that responsibility for this work is both collective and individual, to the degree that each individual contributes consciously and freely to the common effort. Further, students would come to understand the specificity of their own society, and to develop critical thinking skills, which would allow them to evaluate historical events of any period. Textbooks of this period discuss the events of the First World War by highlighting the causes and events in Europe, then describing Greece's participation in separate sections. The consequences of the war for the people of Europe, the gains of Greece in the treaties and the creation of the League of Nations are recorded. The curriculum is followed and events are related in a rectilinear sequence from causes and trigger to events and consequences (Skoulatos 1982; Koliopoulos et al. 2006).

In recent years, and particularly since new history textbooks have been distributed to students in the third year of *gymnasium* (Louvi and Xifaras 2007a), the broad aims of the subject of history have changed. Firstly, the development of critical historical thinking can be realised if students are familiarized with the theories and methods of historians at the level of individualized perception in a continuous and systematic manner. Secondly, the development of social, political, cultural and ecological consciousness as acquired through history, comparing past and present situations, is referred to as historical consciousness. Through the study of the past and an understanding of the individual, familial, local, national and global situations in its inter-relationships, we interpret the present and, depending on the degree of awareness and the potential of the present, we plan the future. In other words, the more historical consciousness develops, the more students become conscientious and active citizens.

Thirdly, students also learn about Greek cultural identity. They find out more about their country through the historical events that have taken place there or in areas that relate to it. Without a strong sense of identity, young people are viewed as susceptible to forces which can alienate them and render them subservient to a cause. On the other hand, cultural identity should not become an obstacle inhibiting the progress of a country. Both individuals and entire societies have been

left behind and consequently lost their momentum or have even been destroyed because they ignored the need for change.

Lastly, students learn to understand and respect different cultural identities, becoming aware of the idea of otherness. Terms such as "other" and "otherness" are not found in the curricula of earlier textbooks. They are the new terms introduced to the new curriculum for *gymnasium* and, specifically, the subject of history. Since societies today, including Greek society, are described as multicultural, understanding the "other" is now considered essential and one of the ways this can be achieved is through the subject of history. The textbook highlights the negative consequences that result from a lack of understanding when encountering difference, such as exclusion and religious wars. On the basis of past experiences and respect for difference, the friction arising from the coexistence of different identities can be interpreted and addressed. As such, the curriculum states that "students will be capable of realizing that, ultimately, it is worth studying the past not because 'history can teach us', as was claimed in the past, but because knowledge and contemplation of history gradually make us true citizens—people, that is, armed with substantiated knowledge about all that is taking place around us" (Louvi and Xifaras 2007b, 14).

The First World War and the Russian Revolution are discussed in the seventh chapter of the new history textbook, which is divided into four sections. The first is entitled, "The causes, the beginning and the fronts of the First World War." According to the curriculum and the teacher's handbook, the specific aims of this section are that "the students' understanding of the causes of the First World War should be pursued" and "the students should learn the opposing sides, the main phases and the outcome of the war" (Louvi and Xifaras 2007b, 788). The causes are recorded as follows:

a. The clash between the powerful countries which played a central role in the First World War had, in reality, begun many years earlier in the form of a relentless economic war. The main goal of the countries that participated in this economic war—mainly Britain, France and Germany—was to prevail in a region by achieving economic control over it. A good example of this is that when Germany attempted to

infiltrate Morocco's economy, which belonged to the French sphere of influence, France and Germany found themselves on the brink of war (Moroccan crises of 1905–6 and 1911).

b. Nationalism, as a feeling of love towards one's country and simultaneously as a feeling of hatred towards anything that could hurt it, had already begun to develop in Europe from the nineteenth century. In the beginning of the twentieth century, this emotion seemed to have become pervasive on the European continent: many people in European societies believed that recourse to war was necessary on any occasion that the interests of the nation were believed to be at risk.
c. The spirit of militarism, which was particularly pronounced in Germany where there was already a powerful militaristic Prussian tradition, glorified anything related to organization, order, discipline and subordination. A central parameter of militarism was the conviction that the primary means of effective resolution of disputes with foreign countries was armed conflict. This position, in turn, justified the militarization of both society and the economy: in order for them, that is, to be able to support a possible military operation of the state. (Louvi and Xifaras 2007a, 88)

It is worth noting that while in other periods the account of the war is intended to strengthen national spirit and love for Greece, in this period nationalism is considered one of the main causes of the First World War

The second section is entitled, "Greece in the First World War: the National Schism." Students are intended to learn about the disagreement between Prime Minister Venizelos and King Constantine over whether or not Greece should be involved in the First World War; the political, ideological and social background of the Venizelos-Constantine disagreement; the initially involuntary involvement of Greece in the First World War and the escalation of the dispute between Venizelos and Constantine; and the National Schism and its effects. The third section discusses the Russian Revolution and the significance of the establishment of the first socialist state (Louvi and Xifaras 2007a, 92). The fourth section deals with the end of the First World War and postwar arrangements. The aim is that the students should understand the factors that determined the postwar decisions of the winners; the

main terms of the peace treaties; the postwar map of Europe; and the founding of the League of Nations (Louvi and Xifaras 2007a, 94). The economic and political relationships between the countries of Europe are elucidated: reference is made to the countries with the strongest economic influence and to the main ports through which trade was conducted. Furthermore, through the Russian Revolution, students are introduced to the preconditions for the creation of a new— at the time—economic model: the socialist model. This textbook thus offers an analysis of the causes of the First World War, focusing on the economic factors that contributed to the war and the economic models created after its end.

4 Conclusions

The subject of history in Greek secondary schools has since its introduction primarily been intended to instil national identity and promote national causes. As such, teaching of the First World War between 1960 and 2010 has tended to focus on events that took place in Greece, the reasons for Greece's participation in the war and the consequences of the war for Greece.

In the curricula of study up to 2003 the national historical perspective was privileged: precedence was given to the supposedly superior Greek civilization and world history was discussed selectively, with national history used as a benchmark. But whereas previous curricula ignored the cultural multiplicity of contemporary Greek society and were indifferent to the shift in the contemporary worldview from the national to the global, in the most recent curriculum efforts are made to understand and respect different cultural identities and to understand the "other." In Greece's contemporary multicultural reality, and particularly in this time of economic crisis, it is imperative to analyze the causes of the First World War in schools, and especially the economic factors that contributed to the war. This analysis will help students grasp political events taking place today and their connection with economic issues in Greece and worldwide, and, more broadly speaking, to understand the effect of economic issues on world history. Armed with an

understanding of the different facets of history and the ability to reflect on this knowledge, we may hope to become citizens with informed opinions and to avoid such events in Europe in the future.

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7

A "Matter of the Whites"? Contemporary Textbook Portrayals of Former African Colonies in WWI

Denise Bentrovato and Imke Rath

1 Introduction

Today's world is one much shaped by globalization and migration, and one permeated with ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity which has increasingly come to characterize our societies as a result of transnational dynamics. With diversity having time and again emerged as both a challenge and an asset within societies, knowledge of "the other" has been widely considered crucial for intercommunal and international understanding (Bergmann 2016, 38–39; Stradling 2003, 11). Such knowledge has proved particularly important against the backdrop of histories of conflict fought either within or across communities, the memories and impact of which often outlive those directly affected.

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The school, as a prominent institution for the socialization of citizens, has increasingly assumed a pivotal role in nurturing knowledge of "the other". One of its commonly recognised tasks today is to prepare young people to appreciate and navigate the plurality of often contested identities, experiences, memories and views which students may encounter especially in divided post-war as well as post-colonial contexts.

Such societal preoccupations and educational responses to them have been accompanied by the concomitant emergence of a distinct scholarly concern for portrayals of a collective "self" and "other", and their historical and contemporary relations and interactions, including conflict, in educational media. History textbooks, as sources typically serving as conveyors of dominant, government-authorized narratives and discourses circulating in a given society at a particular point in time (Apple 1993; Apple et al. 1991), have been at the centre of numerous studies. A solid and expanding body of research has thus emerged which draws attention to the ways in which these powerful school media have portrayed identity groups and (conflictual) intergroup relations, and the role such portrayals—through their particular representations, interpretations, emphases and omissions—(may) have played in either contributing to or hindering societal and international understanding (e.g. Alayan et al. 2012; Bentrovato 2017; Bentrovato et al. 2016; Korostelina and Lässig 2013; Müller-Saini 2011). In investigating such discourses and their implications, this scholarship has demonstrated how, time and again, history textbooks have been part and parcel of "memory wars", functioning as battlefields for differing views and agendas, and as mirrors of (a)symmetrical power relations, as well as primary sites of the politics of memory and recognition (e.g. Cajani et al. forthcoming). In post-conflict and post-colonial contexts around the world, textbooks have been battlegrounds of the struggle by non-dominant groups for equal rights and recognition. Where effective, these endeavours have led to the reconsideration and reframing of mainstream narratives to acknowledge the voices and experiences of marginalized groups, including their historical ordeals, struggles, achievements and contributions.

Embedded in the growing literature on textbooks and "memory wars", this chapter sets out to examine such practices through a case

study of contemporary European and African textbook representations of World War One (WWI), a defining international political crisis of unprecedented global scope and destruction which fundamentally reshaped international relations and affected millions of lives around the world. WWI, being a watershed event in world history that is taught across the globe, represents a prominent example of a historical conflict of worldwide significance, discourses around which can offer critical insights into the interplay of knowledge and power visible in inherently political practices of cultural representation in post-colonial societies. Educational discourses around it can further illuminate the role of such practices in either perpetuating or challenging relations of power and domination in today’s increasingly globalized world (Foucault 1972).

This chapter will therefore examine textbook representations of the role of the colonies in WWI, particularly in Africa, against the backdrop of the continent’s pivotal yet largely unacknowledged involvement in this global war. As has been increasingly highlighted in historiographical research (e.g. Killingray 1998; Michels 2009; Page 1987; Paice 2007; Samson 2013; Schneider 2010; Strachan 2004), WWI did not spare Africa and in fact significantly marked the continent’s historical trajectory and its people’s lives and memories. The war reached the colonies very soon after its outbreak in Europe in 1914 and lasted, in East Africa, as long as until November 1918. Across Africa, numerous battles were fought by Britain, France, Belgium and their colonial armies against German troops, while thousands were recruited, often forcedly, throughout the continent, most notably by France, to fight or support the war effort on the European front. Approximately two million Africans are believed to have actively participated in WWI as soldiers or carriers in both Europe and Africa, while more than 200,000 are reported to have died or to have been killed in action. Many more perished of famine and disease, this war consequently taking a heavy toll on African societies and economies.

Methodologically, this chapter will compare perspectives presented in selected European and African school textbooks on the place of Africa within the history of WWI in order to discern the knowledge, narratives and discourses that appear to dominate the teaching of this global war across the two continents. It thereby seeks to ascertain the extent to

which their representations echo the growing interest within academic circles in the experiences and agency of formerly colonized peoples during this war. In doing so, it will assess, notably through the lenses of critical and postcolonial theory, the possibilities and limitations these educational media currently present to international understanding rather than serving to instil and perpetuate prejudice and marginalisation through biased historical representations.

This chapter aims to augment the existing literature on textbooks and war by making a specific scholarly contribution to a largely Eurocentric body of textbook research on WWI (e.g. Bendick 2003; Bode 2015; Cochet 2006; Kuhn and Ziegler 2014; Müller and Wagner 2010; Socolow 1993; Spiridon 2016). It also more broadly complements closely related scholarship on colonialism and images of Africa (e.g. Cole 2008; Grindel 2012; Kemme 2004; Marmer and Sow 2015; Poenicke 1995, 2003, 2008; Zagumny and Richey 2012). Located within this literature, this study is conceived of as a much-needed response to the paucity of textbook studies examining perspectives from former African colonies (Bentrovato 2015) and an addition to existing analyses of the portrayal of a range of aspects of WWI in European textbooks, which, with few exceptions (Christophe and Schwedes 2016; Schneider 2010), have typically lacked a global perspective while being at times comparative in nature.

2 Data and Methods

This study draws on the analysis of 93 textbooks produced since 1990 from both formerly colonizing and formerly colonized countries.[1] This constitutes the largest and most varied sample of contemporary African and European textbooks used to date to qualitatively analyze depictions of WWI in educational media. The sample from Africa includes 33 history and social studies textbooks from 15 countries which are either former British, French, German, Belgian, Portuguese and Italian colonies, or which were never formally colonized by European powers. These textbooks were produced in accordance with national curricula, either by local or international publishers, for both primary and secondary

level. The sample from Europe comprises 60 history textbooks for secondary level from the six above-mentioned European countries which formerly held colonies in Africa.[1]

In analyzing these textbook contents, we have focused on investigating the perspectives and inherent emphases and omissions presented in textual and visual material in relation to the circumstances and effects of Africa's involvement in WWI. Starting from the premise that the history of WWI is entangled and interconnected, the analysis seeks to identify long-marginalized African perspectives on this historical event, and the particular focus and nuance seemingly dominating across European and African textbooks in this respect. In recognition of Africa's legitimate place in this history and its representation, this study ultimately reflects on issues of power, and processes of empowerment and disempowerment, involved in cultural representations of the "self" and "the other" and their interconnections.

3 Textbook Representations of Africa in WWI

3.1 Circumstances of Africa's Involvement in WWI

The analysis of the circumstances of Africa's involvement in WWI as depicted in European and African textbooks reveals both different degrees of attention to this matter as well as discursive communalities in emphasis and interpretation. European textbooks show only few references to this aspect. For the most part, the colonies in Africa are treated as objects of competition between European powers and crucial stakes both before and during WWI. Within the context of colonial rivalries, some authors make reference to violent conflicts on African soil as part of a description of the antecedents to WWI. They mention, for instance, the Moroccan crises between France and Germany (*GCSE Modern World History* 2001, 10), the Sudanese crisis between Great Britain and France (*Geschichte - Geschehen 3*, 2005, 217) and the Anglo-Boer Wars (*Racines du Future*, 2000, 188).[3] One German textbook further visualizes such dynamics by illustrating the so-called scramble for

Africa with a world map also showing areas of imperial crisis that characterised the pre-war period, both in Africa and elsewhere in the world, as is partly outlined in the accompanying subtext (see Fig. 1). The text itself however does not explicitly discuss the crises which appear encircled in red on this worldmap; it instead limits itself to summarizing the outcomes of the Berlin Conference that "marked the apex of the 'Scramble for Africa'".

The analysis also found some national trends in explanations of the events leading to the war and Africa's place therein. Belgian textbooks, for instance, typically summarize colonial rivalries in North Africa as one of the triggers of the war (*Racines du Future*, 2000, 188; *Nieuwste Tijd*, 1985, 60). Italian textbooks, for their part, point to European prospects of colonial expansion as an important impetus for engaging in the war, emphasizing the promise made by the Allied forces to grant Italy a share of German colonial territories as compensation for

Fig. 1 Colonial partition and areas of crisis in the pre-war period (Source *Geschichte - Geschehen, Oberstufe Gesamtband*, 2012, 314)

its participation in WWI (*Tempi & Temi della Storia*, 2013, 63; *Eventi e Scenari*, 2012, 85; *Capire la Storia*, 2011, 77; *Incontro con la Storia*, 2010, 107). Two Portuguese textbooks rather stress the colonial interest in defending and holding territorial possessions in Africa as they describe the German attacks against Portuguese colonies as the reason for Portugal's entry into WWI (*Cadernos de História*, 2011, 34; *Viva a História*, 2008, 21). As evidenced by such references, Eurocentric perspectives dominate textbook accounts of the war's outbreak. The involvement of other parts of the world in a conflict that started as a European war only appears relevant where it overlaps with European interests. This choice is possibly dictated by the didactic complexities involved in dealing with the causes of the war within Europe alone as well as a concern for space and for "overloading" students with alternative perspectives.

African textbooks, while more attentive to the place of Africa in the history of WWI, provide similar explanations. They typically describe Africa's involvement in WWI in terms of an inevitable extension of an originally foreign war, which some label as a "purely European affair" (*Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 176) and "a matter of the whites" (*Histoire 3è*, 1995, 66; *Histoire Géographie, 3è*, 1999, 46). African textbooks often portray Africa as an appendix to Europe and Africans as colonial subjects with little choice but to join the fighting on the side of their colonial masters. One Cameroonian textbook, for instance, argues that

> the war broke out in Europe and did not concern the people of Cameroon in any direct way. Fighting started in Cameroon mainly because the territory was a colony of Germany, an enemy to Britain and France. (*Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 49)

In such accounts, Africa is also depicted as a commodity and a trophy for European powers in the context of their rivalries. Among the strategic reasons for Africa's involvement mentioned in the textbook is the Allies' intention to capture and exploit German colonies (ibid. 49) and to use the conquered lands as possible bargaining chips with which to recover European territories occupied by the adversaries (ibid. 176).

3.2 The Nature of Africa's Involvement in WWI

The comparative study found more variation in relation to the nature of Africa's involvement in WWI across European and African textbooks. The analysis identified five different ways in which European textbooks portray this involvement, two being primarily passive and three primarily active. The first category of these portrayals, referring to a passive form of Africa's participation in the war, relates to references to the involvement of European colonies in the war, both in Africa and elsewhere, as an illustration of the global dimension of WWI. This dimension is strongly present in French textbooks (*Histoire, 1re L, ES, S*, 2007, 196; *Histoire: 1re L-ES-S*, 2007, 200; *Histoire 1re, série L-ES*, 2003, 208; *Histoire 1re*, *L-ES*, 2003, 192, 210). The centrality of the colonies is less evident in their German counterparts, which instead typically emphasize that the war developed into a global event especially following the entry of the USA as a non-European power (*Geschichte Plus, Berlin, Klassen 9/10*, 2007, 50; *Das waren Zeiten 3, C*, 2004, 177; *Geschichte Erleben 4*, 2003, 91). One British textbook similarly explains the global designation of the conflict:

> The war that began in July-August 1914 was not a world war. For a long time the conflict was known as the "European War" or even the "Great War". The phrase "World War" became common later, when the entry of the USA turned it into a genuinely global conflict. (*Causes and Consequences of the First World War*, 2003, 32)

Such representations, which implicitly neglect the involvement of Africa in the war, starkly contrast with a statement found in one German textbook, whose authors exceptionally affirm that the conflict assumed a global dimension as early as August 1914, "when Great Britain decided to attack German colonies in Africa and Asia" (*Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule, Jahrgangsstufe 8*, 1997, 132). Similarly, a Belgian textbook mentions the occurrence of "grave conflicts in the colonies, such as in South-West Africa", as a manifestation of the geographical expansion of the war (*Racines du Future*, 2000, 191).

The second passive category of portrayals of Africa's involvement in WWI found in European textbooks involves the visual representation of the colonies as allies of the Entente through the use of (world) maps. One Belgian textbook indicates the involuntary nature of the colonies' alliances in the authored text. Its authors echo the argument made in the Cameroonian textbook mentioned earlier as they state that the colonies, not explicitly African, automatically entered WWI as a consequence of their motherlands being at war (*Passages*, 2009, 213). Also echoing the Cameroonian textbook, a French textbook stresses the extraneous stakes of the colonies' embroilment in a war "that did not concern them directly" (*Histoire 1re*, *L-ES*, 2003, 194).

The three remaining categories of textbook portrayals of Africa's involvement in WWI in European textbooks address descriptions of active forms of engagement in the war. These are primarily limited to the European warfront. European textbooks falling into the third representational category make reference to African soldiers having fought in Europe. They do so by mentioning these soldiers in the authored text, by showing them as numbers in statistical tables or by presenting postcards, photographs or other visual depictions of these combatants, some of them detailing in the accompanying captions how many were mobilized in the war or killed in action.

Across the European sample, French textbooks appear comparatively more attentive to the experiences of colonial soldiers, one particular textbook dedicating a distinct subchapter to the mobilization of the colonies, thereby indicating the soldiers' nationalities and the numbers of war victims (*Histoire: 1re L, ES, S.*, 2007, 222). In referring to these troops, another French textbook exceptionally addresses the issue of compulsory military service (*Histoire 1re*, *L-ES*, 2003, 111), thus presenting one of the few examples in European textbooks where the idea of force is conveyed in representations of the recruitment of Africans in the war. Conveying a local perspective, yet another textbook adds the dimension of persuasion, further characterizing mobilization practices in the colonies. It quotes a Senegalese politician explaining how the French recruited many young Africans by appealing to their honour and promising white people's respect in return for military assistance (*Histoire, 1re*, 2007, 229). In this context, French authors explain the term *tirailleurs*

sénegalais, which was applied to all black soldiers from African colonies fighting in a certain military corps, regardless of whether they came from Senegal or other African countries (*Histoire 1re, S*, 2003, 87; *Histoire 1re*, *L-ES*, 2003, 190; *Histoire 1re, L, ES, S*, 2011, 226). Some authors refer to the good reputation of these soldiers as valiant combatants, while also mentioning the prejudice they faced (*Histoire 1re, L, ES, S*, 2011, 226; *Histoire, 1re*, 2007, 229). In almost all examples, only soldiers enrolled in the French and British colonial armies are presented; a notable exception is a German textbook which presents a photograph showing the training of African Askari soldiers fighting in German East Africa on the side of Germany (*Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule, Jahrgangsstufe 8*, 1997, 133).

In addition to the involvement of Africans in combatant roles, several European textbooks mention the contribution of African workers to the war industry and their material support of warfare (*Geschichte - Geschehen, Oberstufe Gesamtband*, 2012, 335; *Histoire 1re L, ES, S*, 2007, 222; *Histoire, Première ES/L/S*, 2003, 182). These portrayals fall into our fourth category. Several French books show propaganda posters and texts depicting the colonies as warehouses of economic and human capital (*Histoire*, *1re*, 2007, 228; *Histoire 1re série L-ES*, 2003, 209; *Histoire 1re*, *L-ES*, 2003, 116). In a similar vein, one Italian textbook emphasizes that the nations who won the war were those who had made the "best use of colonial resources" (*Scoprire la Storia*, 2010, 99). In such cases, these depictions oscillate between showing the colonies as either active or passive, yet pivotal, places from where Europeans could draw the means they needed for the war.

Only few European textbooks include portrayals of active warfare in Africa; these constitute the fifth category identified in this study. While some refer to battles between European powers in their colonies in general (*Histoire 1re*, *L-ES*, 2003, 194; *Histoire 1re*, *L-ES-S*, 2011, 100; *Zeitreise 3*, 2006, 56; *Viva a História*, 2008, 20), others mention specific conflicts in Africa or show them in a map, sometimes in conjunction with selected war activities in other parts of the world (*Racines du Future*, 2000, 191; *'N Kijk op Nu & Toen 5*, 1983, 130; *Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule, Jahrgangsstufe 8*, 1997, 132–33; *Viva a História*, 2008, 21, 25; *Histoire: 1re L-ES-S*, 2007, 194; *Histoire*

1res, ES/L, S, 2007, 189; *Histoire: 1re, L, ES, S*, 2011, 63; *Histoire 1re, série L-ES*, 2003, 208; *Histoire 1re, L-ES*, 2003, 192–93). A French textbook, for instance, presents a world map with the dates of the capitulation of the German colonies (*Histoire: 1res, L/ES/S*, 2011, 75), while a Portuguese book devotes an entire subchapter to the attack of German troops from East Africa on the Portuguese territory in Mozambique in 1914 (*Cadernos de História*, 2011, 34). One German textbook includes a short paragraph giving a succinct, though partial, representation of war fronts in the colonial territories. Referring to military campaigns in German colonies in Africa and Asia, the book underscores that "[b] eside British and French soldiers, troops from India, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Japan participated in the fights", whereas "indigenous people served as carriers and helpers" (*Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule, Jahrgangsstufe 8*, 1997, 132–33). This narrative, which is remarkably contradicted by the visual portrayal of Askari soldiers in the same textbook mentioned above, thereby erroneously reduces the contribution of the colonized to a marginal role on their home front. The predominant silence on the explicit pivotal participation of (black) Africans in the war efforts on their own continent is also notable in a British textbook. Speaking of "hard-fought campaigns" in Africa, its author explains that "[b]y November 1918, British imperial troops had overrun German East Africa" whilst "South African forces took German South-West Africa (1914–1915), an Anglo-Nigerian army occupied Cameroon (1915–1916) and an Anglo-French army took Togo in 1914", eventually leading to a situation whereby "[i]n effect, Germany had now disappeared from Africa as a colonial power" (*Causes and Consequences of the First World War*, 2003, 35).

In African textbooks, descriptions of how Africa was involved in WWI also vary, with depictions of active involvement, however, generally prevailing over more passive portrayals. The latter include representations of the continent as a battleground of WWI, via illustrations of main frontlines and battles on the continent and maps of Africa distinguishing neutral countries, the colonies of the Allies and German territories, and only occasionally showing troop movements (e.g. *Histoire 3è*, 1995, 66–67; *Histoire Géographie, 3è*, 1999, 47). Further descriptions depict Africa as a crucial reserve from which Europeans

drew or, in more active terms, as a provider of human and material resources needed to support the European war effort. As such, Africa and Africans are often presented as either willing or unwilling agents, and as both valiant and victimized participants, in WWI. This distinction is reflected in the different nuances used in African textbooks to recount the entry of African colonies into the war. These range from accounts inferring a voluntary decision to participate, to accounts more strongly emphasizing and critically exposing the exploitative, opportunistic and forceful nature of the deployment of Africans in the war. An example of less critical accounts which stress African agency while obscuring African submission to European force can be found in a textbook from Tanzania which states that people in the colonies had "joined" the war to "support" and "protect" the colonial masters (*African History from 19th c. to 21st c. A.D.*, 2008, 87, 91). A more critical tone, which instead highlights African subjection to European exploitation, is noticeable in an Ethiopian textbook underscoring that "[c]olonial powers used Africa's resources and Africans to support their war efforts" (*History. Student Textbook, Grade 10*, 2005, 118). A denunciatory tone is also apparent in one Rwandan textbook unambiguously stating that "[b]oth sides forced Africans to fight for them" (*Primary Social Studies. Pupil's Book* 6, 2006, 51). One Ivorian textbook as well as another widely used in Francophone Africa both go as far as to speak of "a veritable manhunt" to describe the nature of recruitment in some areas in Africa and further underlying the forced exaction of raw material and food requisition imposed on the continent (*Histoire 3è*, 1995, 66; *Histoire Géographie, 3è*, 1999, 46).

Despite these different nuances, African textbooks generally highlight the varied nature and important extent of the African active and valiant contribution to the European war efforts. In contrast to the more passive nuances found across European textbooks, African textbooks stress the material contribution made by Africans in providing resources, and refer to the hundreds of thousands of Africans who "fought alongside their colonial masters" both on African and European soil (*Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 177). They recognize Africans as having widely served as soldiers as well as in auxiliary roles, such as as "carriers of heavy war loads" (*The History of Rwanda*, 2010, 74),

guides and interpreters (*Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 51). Stressing the important, if subordinate, role of Africans in the war, one Congolese textbook points out that, in Africa, "[t]he so-called French, Belgian and British troops, when lined up, consisted of African recruits, except for the officers" (*Histoire Classes Terminales*, n.d., 165–66). As for African participation in the war efforts in Europe, the Ivorian and Francophone textbooks mentioned above emphasize how "[e]verywhere their courage and loyalty drew the admiration of their officers" (*Histoire 3è*, 1995, 66; *Histoire Géographie, 3è*, 1999, 46). This comment is echoed in *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools* (2006), which stresses that "Europeans' respect for Africans increased after seeing the bravery with which the Africans fought in the war" (178). Occasionally however, the textbooks also mention the concern in Europe at the time that waging war in the colonies and employing African troops might compromise the perceived authority of white people. According to the Rwandan teacher guide *The History of Rwanda* (2010), such reservations were based on a European wish "not […] to expose the faults and weaknesses of the white man to the Black people" and to ensure that "[a]t all costs the Black people […] should never be given an opportunity to defeat or kill white people" for the sake of "the future of colonial Africa" (74–75).

While generally stressing the agency of Africans, textbooks from different African countries vary in their emphasis of the specific role and position of their own people in the war. The analysis discerned at least four different narratives in this regard. Textbook narratives in the first category emphasize African loyalty towards the colonial metropole during WWI, often reporting stories of bravery and heroic sacrifice in fulfilling their military duties. Tanzanian and Rwandan textbooks, for example, refer to the collaboration of their respective countries with the "colonial masters", "defending the Germans" (*History for Primary Schools, Standard* 6, 2009, 2–3), and doing "all that was possible to help [them]" (*New Junior Secondary. History Book 2*, n.d., 79). Congolese textbooks exalt the role of their soldiers in support of the Allies, celebrating Congolese successes "in opposing the invaders but also in helping the British in the East, where it gains the victory of Tabora […and in] help[ing] France in Cameroon […where it] participates in

the taking of Yaoundé" (*Histoire 6ᵉ Primaire. Le Congo (rd) en Afrique et dans le Monde*, 2004, 129; also in *Histoire Classes Terminales*, n.d., 165). Similarly, South African textbooks highlight the mass voluntary participation of South Africans in the war, further reporting two iconic events that, in 1915, tragically marked the country's participation in WWI and evidenced the sacrifice and bravery of both white and black South Africans who lost their lives while serving overseas. They mention the valour and victory of (white) South Africans at the costly Battle of Delville Wood on the Somme, and the bravery of hundreds of (black) South Africans in non-fighting roles "as they faced death" following the sinking of their troopship SS Mendi in the English Channel (*Oxford Successful Social Sciences. Grade 8*, 2010, 160–61; *Oxford - Op Soek na Sosiale Wetenskappe. Graad 8*, 2008, 165–66).

Starkly contrasting these narratives of loyal support, the texts in our second category focus on cases of local resistance, desertion and betrayal of the colonial administration during WWI. One Namibian textbook, for instance, mentions how the Herero, a community which a few years earlier had been victim of genocide, had "deserted their German employers […] to help the South Africans" (*Discover History. Grade 9*, 2011, 66). Similarly, a textbook from Mozambique focuses on two iconic and unprecedented instances of patriotic anti-colonial resistance sparked by the increased exploitation and abuse that followed Portugal's involvement in WWI, namely the Barue rebellion and the strike in Lourenço Marques (*História 10ª Clase*, 2002, 20–23).

While the two categories of textbook narratives mentioned above emphasize unity in the struggle either in support of or against the colonial rulers during WWI, a third category refers to internal divisions among the colony's peoples, with different groups either supporting or betraying their colonial masters. *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools* (2006), for instance, highlights that Cameroonians had "found themselves fighting either for the Germans or for the Allies", resulting in a situation whereby "during battles, indigenes were killing indigenes on the enemy side" (5). South African textbooks also nuance their narratives of national and racial unity in the war by briefly drawing attention to the opposition among some white Afrikaans-speakers to the idea of supporting the former foe Britain by whom the Afrikaners, or Boers,

had been bitterly defeated a few years earlier (*Social Sciences Today, Grade 8*, 2008, 176; *Oxford Successful Social Sciences*, 2010, 159; *Oxford - Op Soek na Sosiale Wetenskappe*, *Graad 8*, 2008, 164).

The fourth, and final, category of textbook narratives emphasizes regional divisions and conflict having emerged across the continent. They stress how Africans were forced to fight against each other during WWI, thus affecting relationships between neighbouring African countries at the time. A Tanzanian textbook, for instance, explains that "[t]he British, French and Belgian colonies were fighting against the German colonies", and that the German colony of Tanganyika, specifically, "had to fight against Kenya and Uganda that were under the British rule" (*African History*, 2008, 92, 87).

3.3 Consequences of the War and Its End for Africa

The majority of the European textbooks analyzed in this study fail to address the consequences of WWI for Africa. The consequences of the war for Europe, on the other hand, seem to be considered far more important. As the previous section has indicated, some European textbooks limit themselves to mentioning the number of the victims from French and British colonies, mostly through charts mentioning in footnotes that colonial troops were also among the dead and injured. No textbook refers to the victims fighting for the German colonizers. Even the German textbook mentioned above, which shows the African Askari fighters, only implicitly refers to African victims by suggesting that "especially in German East Africa the fight was long and involved heavy losses" (*Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule, Jahrgangsstufe 8*, 1997, 133).

The Treaty of Versailles is a central topic through which European textbooks address the consequences of WWI. This is generally dealt with as a European issue, however, whereby the loss of German colonies appears rather as a consequence for Europe than for the respective African territories. Textbook narratives of the peace treaty and its consequences for colonial rule in Africa show different emphases across the European sample. One German textbook associates the end of WWI with the beginning of decolonization as the German colonies

came under the mandate of the League of Nations (*Geschichte für die Wirtschaftsschule, Jahrgangsstufe 8*, 1997, 112–13). A British textbook, on the other hand, interprets the mandate as effective control of the lost German territories by France and Britain (*GCSE Modern World History*, 2001, 86). Several European textbooks indeed convey the impact of preceding military campaigns in Africa on Europe by stressing, in the words of a Belgian textbook, that the war developed "favourably for the Allies" as they managed to conquer all German colonies in Africa (*Van Verlichting tot Wereldoorlog*, 1993, 197). Another Belgian textbook explains that the German attack on Belgian colonial troops had resulted in the latter conquering German East Africa and taking control of Tanzania (*Histoire du Temps Présent*, 2007, 9). Similarly, a British textbook stresses Germany's "loss of all land in Africa" to the benefit of the Allies following the attack on German colonies by Britain and France and Germany's defeat (*The First World War 1,* 1988, 83).

While one German textbook mentions the rising demand for self-determination in the colonies after WWI (*Geschichte - Geschehen, Oberstufe Gesamtband*, 2012, 335), it is the French textbooks in particular which explain the consequences of this global war in terms of the weakening of European power in Africa. They point to the increasing resistance to European domination and the rise of national awareness that eventually supported emancipatory projects (*Histoire 1^re^, L-ES*, 2003, 116–17, 120; *Histoire, 1^re^*, 2007, 83). One of these French textbooks makes explicit reference to both the hopes of African soldiers when they were recruited and the fall of the myth of superior, invincible white people when these soldiers returned to their countries after the war (*Histoire, 1^re^*, 2007, 100, 229).

In stark contrast to the European examples, African textbooks often draw attention to the pervasive socio-economic and political consequences of WWI for Africa and its people. The textbooks frequently highlight the great human and material cost of a war that had been imposed on the continent, although only few estimates of African casualties are provided. The Congolese textbook *Histoire Classes Terminales* (n. d.), for instance, emphasizes that the victory of the Allies "was won at the price of enormous suffering endured by the African people" (165–66). These accounts report that many Africans had been killed

or injured. *The History of Rwanda* (2010) further adds that many had also been displaced due to "fear of missiles and […] the obligation and burden of carrying war materials" (75). Other textbooks highlight the widespread and often strategic destruction of homes, schools, hospitals, farms, mines, roads and railways to prevent their use by enemies (*MacMillan History for Southern Africa. Namibia Edition*, 2012, 105). They also mention the disruption of and decrease in food production caused both by deliberate destruction and by forced and massive military recruitment of Africa's active population, including young farmers (*African History*, 2008, 93; *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 52, 177–78). According to several textbooks, such war-related disruption resulted in a deadly famine as well as the increased price of basic necessities, which compounded the suffering of Africans caused by WWI (*The History of Rwanda*, 2010, 75; *A New History of Sierra Leone*, 1990, 168). To make things worse, as added by the Tanzanian textbook *African History* (2008), WWI also resulted in a more "intensive exploitation of the African people […] to overcome war losses" in Europe, and to rebuild its economy, notably through increased land dispossession aimed at producing cash crops for European markets and at resettling white soldiers (93). Several textbooks, however, also recognize the economic benefits deriving from the war, including the development of local industries, such as the coal industry (*Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 177; *História da 9ª Clase*, 2014, 43).

African textbooks also describe some of the political consequences of WWI for the continent, such as the redistribution and de facto recolonisation of African territories ratified in the Treaty of Versailles and frequently illustrated through brief outlines in the narrative or in maps. In contrast to European textbooks, several African books underscore the undemocratic and arrogant nature of this action. A Namibian text, for example, highlights that "[t]he indigenous African people of these colonies were never asked their opinion" and that "it was insulting to say that they were not ready for independence" (*Discover History Grade 9*, 2011, 67). Others, such as the textbook *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools* (2006, 177), emphasize the resulting territorial losses and separation of communities caused by the new partition.

Most of the African textbooks analyzed here stress that the Allies' victory and the end of German colonial rule in Africa had not resulted in the change in governance that had been hoped for by the African people and that, in fact, "[c]olonies of the defeated nations […] were seized and administered like colonies by the victorious powers under the cover of the mandate of the League of Nations" (*Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 288). Many textbooks from former German colonies, such as Cameroon, Rwanda, Namibia and Tanzania, emphasize the new rulers' failure to fulfil their obligation towards the League of Nations mandate and commonly underscore a general dissatisfaction in the colonies with a continuation or even a worsening of the previous state of affairs under German rule (e.g. *Ordinary Level History for Cameroon Schools*, 2006, 288; *History for Primary Schools*, *Standard 6*, 2009, 4). Referring to Belgium as Rwanda's "Trustee", one Rwandan textbook, for instance, comments that "Trustees were supposed to rule their territories for the benefit of the local people. They were also supposed to be preparing the territory for independence. The Belgians did neither of these two things" (*Primary Social Studies, Pupil's Book* 6, 2006, 46). Similarly, one Namibian textbook affirms that South Africa, which administered Namibia on behalf of Britain after WWI, in fact "continued the oppression and exploitation that the Germans had introduced and added new exploitative measures" (*Understanding History in Context. Grade 9*, 2007, 47). Not dissimilarly, textbooks from countries that had fought on the side of the Allies, such as Côte d'Ivoire, DR Congo and Sierra Leone, highlight the trampled hopes for a "softened" colonial regime and for "a greater say in the management of their own affairs", which Africans were expecting in return for their loyal support and sacrifice (*Histoire 3è*, 1995, 66, 68; *Histoire Géographie, 3è*, 1999, 46; also in *História da 9ª Clase*, 2014, 40; *Histoire 6è Primaire*, 2004, 130–31; *Histoire Classes Terminales*, n.d., 168).

Finally, African textbooks also widely highlight the impact of the war experience on the growth of African nationalism and the struggle against colonial rule. They often portray WWI as a major turning point in African history on account of its having destabilized colonialism as well as awakened a "spirit of self-realisation" among Africans after their war experience of courageous combat (*Ordinary Level History*

for Cameroon Schools, 2006, 179). African textbooks describe WWI as a war that crushed "the myth of th[e] invincibility" of the white man (*Histoire 3è*, 1995, 68; *Histoire Géographie, 3è*, 1999, 46; also in *MacMillan History for Southern Africa*, 2012, 3). An Angolan text hints at the simultaneous dismantling of another myth—that of European moral superiority—by arguing that the war had further laid bare the "inhuman character of the so-called civilized" (*História da 9a Clase*, 2014, 41).

4 Discussion of the Findings: European and African Textbooks Compared

The comparative analysis of the place of Africa in lessons on WWI in European and African textbooks allows us to assess and make sense of the extent to which historically dominant Eurocentric perspectives have ceded to postcolonial perspectives in history education. The analysis has mapped a heterogeneous landscape of cultural representations of this prominent conflict in world history, discerning several national and transnational patterns in the space and points of emphasis afforded to textbook portrayals of Africa in this war. This chapter has thereby uncovered a number of similarities in the depicted dimensions relating to Africa's involvement in WWI as well as striking differences in the extent to which these dimensions are presented.

One trend emerging from the comparative analysis relates to the representations of the context and circumstances of Africa's involvement in WWI. While African textbooks typically introduce the interpretation of this war as an imperial conflict which also marked the beginnings of decolonization and the end of empire, European textbooks show only limited attempts to help students locate and understand Africa's involvement in WWI within the context of imperialism and a longstanding history of colonial subjugation. In some countries, such as France, the failure to link chapters on colonialism, which often deal with Africa, to the topic of WWI is exacerbated by the chronological structure of textbooks, which places colonialism much earlier than WWI and is

indicative of a widespread incapacity of textbooks to forge connections across thematic demarcations. Even where these themes are combined, however, as is the case in German textbooks, direct links between WWI and colonialism in Africa remain elusive. A related trend is found in the disinclination of European textbooks to link pre-WWI conflicts in Africa to WWI activities on this continent as part of their discussions of the causes and circumstances of Africa's involvement in this global war.

Another trend emerging from the analysis relates to the large exclusion of African experiences and perspectives in descriptions of the course of the conflict in European textbooks. This silence is a manifestation of a tendency among European textbooks to only partially explain the term "World War" by reducing the war's global dimension to the involvement of world powers beyond Europe, notably the United States. Many European textbooks provide details on war strategies, war fronts, the expansion of the war and the recruitment of soldiers without necessarily acknowledging the role the colonies and colonized peoples played in the events. African textbooks, conversely, give voice to the variety of combatant and non-combatant roles in which the colonial subjects served, hence providing recognition of the participation and contribution of African colonial troops within both textual and visual representations of military campaigns and battles, both in Europe and in colonial territories.

A further trend identified in this study relates to the predominantly mono-dimensional nature of the given explanations for African participation in the war. Most textbooks fail to present a complex picture of African agency as manifest in the different responses and motivations of highly heterogeneous African societies vis-à-vis recruitment into the war. As the analysis of diverse African textbooks has shown, explanations of African participation include not only the forceful imposition by the colonial powers, with textbooks across the board generally presenting African countries and peoples in a passive context, as being involved in this conflict because of their colonial status. They also include references to the voluntary participation of colonized peoples motivated by loyalty towards the metropole, desire for economic gain and/or hope for recognition. African textbooks demonstrate further opportunities for integrating different nuances of African involvement

and participation in this war, including stories of bravery, sacrifice and enormous suffering and loss, as well as of loyalty and cooperation, betrayal and resistance, and of internal unity or divisions in the response by colonial societies to European recruitment. In addition, African textbooks show efforts to include perspectives that are able to convey not only the global reach, but also the worldwide consequences of a war which extended beyond Europe. They do so by depicting Africans as active historical agents in a ravaging and exploitative war that both greatly involved and affected Africa, and which consequently marked a watershed in African history, initiating processes of both continuity and change in Africa's post-war relations to Europe. Only a minority of European textbooks show similar efforts towards incorporating African perspectives. A notable case reported in the analysis is a French textbook which, in a separate chapter, discusses the relationship between France and its colonies during WWI, the number of soldiers and workers as well as the amount of raw materials extracted from the colonies, the role of local authorities and intermediaries in supporting the recruitment of African soldiers by appealing to their honour, the hopes of these soldiers for more dignity and equality, the prejudice they faced from their French comrades, and the fading of Africans' infused beliefs in white superiority and invincibility as a result of WWI (*Histoire, 1re*, 2007, 229).[4]

What the European and African textbook samples appear to have in common, however, is a general lack of attempts to facilitate complex, pluralistic and nuanced understandings of the role of the colonies in WWI. The analysis uncovers their overall limited efforts to nurture a diversified knowledge of the actors engaged on different fronts and in different capacities, of the complex constellation of the colonies' responses and their interrelations with the colonial masters, as well as of the war's varied effects and ramifications, including the colonies' persisting subjugation as well as growing self-realization. The rather simplistic approach of the textbooks to the study of WWI largely derives from their reliance on still predominantly national analytical frameworks, which are unlikely to encourage a multi-layered understanding of this historical conflict and of its local and global scope, impact, significance and implications. In this respect, this study identified a general

lack of micro-historical African perspectives conveying everyday experiences and local manifestations and ramifications of this global conflict. It also found a lack of global and transnational perspectives allowing the critical exploration of similarities and differences of experiences among and between (former) colonizers and the colonized through historical comparison while also considering these relationships through an analysis of wartime cross-border movements, contacts, and reciprocal perceptions and influences. Furthermore, the study has pointed to limited opportunities to scrutinize intercultural relations, notably by exposing the racism and prejudice that prevailed in western discourse about the colonial "other" and which largely marked African wartime experiences.

5 Conclusion

Interpreted through a critical theory and postcolonial lens, the transnational analysis of textbook representations of Africa in WWI presented in this study has revealed dynamics of knowledge and power at play via the representational discourses in contemporary European and African educational media. In this respect, the analysis points to a discursive gulf between the two continents, with textbooks either reproducing or contesting dominant, and historically hegemonic, Eurocentric discourses, which have long justified and supported unequal power relations and hierarchies between "the West and the rest" (Ferguson 2011). It has uncovered such dynamics by exposing varying cultural practices of empowerment and disempowerment expressed in textbook discourses through the (mis)recognition and (mis)attribution of voice and agency.

On the one hand, Europe has long claimed to be, and acted as, the authoritative producer of knowledge about both itself and what postcolonial theorists have widely referred to as the "subaltern other" (Spivak 1988). The cultural practices Europe seems to be pursuing do not break with this tradition by empowering "cultural others" in granting them opportunities for self-expression and self-representation. While the study has found variation in the degree to which African experiences are included in European textbooks, it illustrates a tendency among European textbook authors to privilege European experiences and

perspectives while overlooking Africa as both a significant theatre of war and a pivotal contributor to the war efforts. The analysis thus exposes the persisting Eurocentric bias inherent in the dominant European textbook representations of WWI, and in what remains unsaid and silenced. More specifically, it has exposed underlying dominant discourses on the colonizer and the colonized which evidence the predominance of European epistemology and related representational practices that at best side-line the voices, experiences, memories, knowledge and worldviews of the formerly oppressed. The findings display evidence of the formerly colonized appearing as marginalized actors, largely stripped of voice and agency, within a Eurocentric grand-narrative which thus appears to be sustaining distorted images of the (formerly) colonized as silent and passive. The noted predominant lack of engagement with African perspectives, also a manifestation of the slow adaptation of textbooks to emerging historiographical discourses, testifies to the still elusive ramifications of struggles for recognition in relation to this war in European education systems. The limited presence of such voices in textbooks may be a reflection of the marginalization of minority and diasporic groups, predominantly coming from former colonies, within institutions involved in knowledge production in multicultural Europe. More generally, the disinclination of mainstream textbooks to include the points of view of the formerly colonized can be interpreted as a cultural legacy of colonialism, which both reflects and perpetuates understandings of unequal power relations through the reproduction of discursive constructions of the world into "centre" and marginal(ized) "periphery", and of asymmetries in recognition of this war as a global experience that touched upon the lives of millions in a multitude of ways. We therefore argue that the implications of inherently selective processes of textbook writing in relation to WWI in Europe encompass the sustaining of cultural practices of what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) has called "epistemic violence". This refers to the continued suppression or marginalization of non-western perspectives as subaltern voices, which, by extension, is likely to result in the possible alienation of certain communities in Europe's increasingly diverse societies.

African textbooks, on the other hand, in this respect more in line with emergent scholarship, show exemplary attempts to incorporate

the voices of Africans into representations of the latter as both greatly affected by and active historical agents of Europe's Great War as opposed to mere footnotes. In so doing, the coverage of WWI in African textbooks evinces a move towards contesting and subverting the historical "cultural hegemony" (Gramsci 1985, 2011) of Eurocentric perspectives through de-centring and re-centring historical narratives. The analysis has pointed to emerging counter-discourses in African textbooks, which show a concern for acknowledging, engaging and increasingly asserting and foregrounding the perspectives and voices of the formerly colonized. In comparison to mainstream European textbooks, the African sample presents alternative emphases, meanings and explanations of the history of WWI as viewed from the vantage point of the formerly colonized, now elevated to a self-asserted role of equally legitimate producers of knowledge. Such discourses are evidence of attempts by the formerly colonised to reclaim historical and epistemic agency, and thus ownership over their destiny. They need to be understood as part of a broader "project to dismantle the cultural and epistemological heritage of Eurocentrism" (Powell 2003, 152), which has been central to an emancipatory, nationalist politics in post-colonial Africa and related endeavours undertaken by the formerly colonized towards asserting their distinct identities.

Ultimately, this study points to the significance of critical introspection and further dialogue on the role of present-day educational media as means through which individuals and groups may be able or unable to assert their voices and gain representation within society and the larger community of nations in today's post-colonial, multicultural and globalized world. Its significance today inevitably extends beyond academia. With a wealth of new literature having emerged on WWI on the occasion of its centennial, scholarship can encourage and guide the debate on how schools should address the history of this war. For teaching this war may not only challenge bias and single perspectives but also harbours the danger of reinforcing these at a time of increasing intolerance and bigotry in the face of perceived threats resulting from processes of globalization and migration. While ostensibly ambitious in light of legitimate concerns for space constraints and content overload, the integration of multiple and global perspectives can be considered

both justifiable and desirable if one of the purposes of education today is to orient younger generations towards a more inclusive, democratic perspective in an intimately connected, yet divided, world.

Notes

1. The sample exceptionally also includes a few textbooks from the 1980s. Examples are a Belgian textbook published in 1983, selected due to the availability of a very small number of Belgian textbooks in the Dutch language, and two British textbooks published in 1987, sampled because they exclusively deal with WWI in and outside Britain.
2. The African sample, encompassing textbooks from Angola, Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and South Africa, includes between one and four books from each of the above-listed countries, depending on different degrees of availability of and access to textbooks dealing with WWI. The European sample includes 19 German, 11 French, 1 Franco-German, 7 British, 9 Belgian, 8 Italian and 5 Portuguese textbooks. Note that all textbook quotations in this chapter, where necessary, were translated by its authors.
3. The first Moroccan crisis took place between 1905 and 1906 as Germany and France competed for this North African territory; the second was in 1911. After the Germans threatened France with naval force, it was decided in a conference that France would take control over Morocco while Germany was granted land in central Africa as compensation. The Sudanese crisis of 1898 was resolved through a contract between the two powers defining the border between the British Sudan and French Equatorial Africa; this peaceful solution is regarded as the basis for the later alliance between the two empires. The Second Anglo-Boer War referred to in the textbooks was fought between Great Britain and the two Boer Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State between 1899 and 1902 and resulted in the annexation of these territories by the British Empire.
4. Another example of presenting the perspective of the colonized when teaching WWI was found in a German textbook which gives the word to Senegalese writer Cheikh Hamidou Kane (1961) to convey the view

that opting for a war alliance with France had not spared the Senegalese from being divided, colonised and conscripted into the army (*Geschichte - Geschehen 3*, 2005, 222).

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8

In the "Spirit of Courage and Sacrifice": Shaping Collective Memories in School History Textbooks in Ontario, Canada (1921–2001)

Rose Fine-Meyer

1 Introduction

The centenary of the First World War has given rise to a wide range of events, public commemorations, museum exhibits and new educational resources. The Canadian War Museum responded with a three-year programme of exhibitions, talks and events (Canadian War Museum 2016). The global response to remembering the "Great War" is also the product of new scholarship and a renewed interest in the events of the war. Margaret MacMillan's *The War That Ended Peace: The Road to 1914* (2013) and Charles Emmerson's *1913: The World Before the Great War* (2013), along with exhibitions and events across the globe, provide new insight into a war in which millions were wounded and died. The First World War has been accorded enormous significance in Canadian history, largely because of the ways in which the entire citizenry mobilized for the war effort. 690,000 Canadian men enlisted, 424,000 went

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overseas and sixty-eight thousand died, at a time when the population was less than eight million (Canadian War Museum 2016). Renewed interest in the war is the product of a number of pan-Canadian initiatives, many funded by the federal government (Canadian War Museum 2016). Scholars, educational publishers, and private and public institutions have also responded to the centenary with the release of a range of documentaries, resources and books designed specifically to educate the Canadian people. Government-funded education organizations such as Canada's History Society and Historica have produced a range of resources for use in schools that provide new perspectives, images and narratives to supplement history textbooks (*Canada's History* 2016; *Historica Canada* 2016).

However, notwithstanding the development of new supplementary materials, educators continue to rely on history textbooks, especially as they neatly chronicle the events of the war and support established pedagogical strategies. This paper examines the framework, themes and dominant narratives used in Ontario history textbooks to gain insight into the ways in which teachers and students came to accept, and indeed normalize, a particular understanding of Canada's participation in the First World War. This study asks how the events of the First World War have been captured in provincially approved textbooks and how this narrative has changed over time. It provides an overview of Ontario history textbooks, with a view to questioning the master-narrative. An examination of the chapters on the war in a sample of twenty approved Ontario history textbooks, at least one for each decade, reveals that they share a common framework of a united national identity and a collective understanding of the war that is both significant in educational terms and currently inadequate as a form of critical historical analysis. This study considers Ontario Ministry of Education documents and government-approved textbooks held at the Ontario Historical Education Collections (OHEC) at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto in order to articulate the ways in which the war was officially portrayed over time. What it finds is that the Ontario history textbooks' treatments of the First World War provide a uniform and one-dimensional representation of the war that does not reflect the diverse perspectives and counter-narratives of the

nature and meaning of the war provided by historians. The chapters on the war also reflect traditional themes that limit opportunities for students to confront different interpretive frameworks and evidence.

2 Textbooks in the Classroom

Whether digitally accessed or paper-based, textbooks in Canada play a central role in history education. They provide a convenient all-in-one teaching resource, available to all students in public schools. Williams puts it, "Textbooks provide official knowledge a society wants its children to acquire—facts, figures, dates, seminal events" (2014, vii). Teachers appreciate the condensed summaries provided by textbooks, as they address the expectations of the provincial curriculum and support familiar pedagogical strategies (Clark 2011, 1–32). From the point of view of curriculum developers, textbooks provide an authorized space in which to satisfy the requirements of key stakeholders such as governments and publishers. However, publishers face challenges in Canada in adapting each text to address differences in provincial curricula. Clark notes that "[p]rovincial autonomy over education has been a significant hurdle for publishers because of the fragmentation which it has caused in a textbook market, which is not large to begin with" (2013, 18). Clearly not all materials can be incorporated into textbooks, so choices have to be made reflecting "political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power" and power struggles over what Michael Apple calls "legitimate knowledge" (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991, 3). Despite these challenges, textbooks provide a format to promote state citizenship.

The Ontario government has an approval process for textbooks that includes a review of all narratives and images. The textbooks are listed in the *Trillium List*, or before 2002 in *Circular 14* (Ontario Ministry of Education 2006). However, textbooks on the list have often remained outdated in terms of advances in historiography and academic scholarship. This is the result of state objectives requiring that textbooks follow curriculum expectations tied to ideals of good citizenship (Sears 2011, 344–65). Historian Ken Osborne argues that Canadian history

was portrayed in textbooks "as the authoritative story of what happened in the past….in the belief that this would promote patriotism and national pride" (Osborne 2011, 57). And textbook studies on war provide unique opportunities to confirm regional state narratives of service, citizenship and patriotism. As such, school textbooks can reinforce particular narratives, and, like war monuments and plaques, provide an important framework for the construction and dissemination of a collective memory of war.

3 History of Textbooks and Their Use in Canadian Classrooms

The history of education in Canada has been shaped by nation-building narratives, within Euro-Canadian frameworks, focused on the growth of the nation and encompassing the way in which institutions and formal structures evolved. Canada, founded in 1867 as a bilingual state, recognized in its constitution its colonial British and French history. English and French Canada maintained separate education systems; Anglo-British values and beliefs defined the educational experience in English Canada. Canadian education reformers of the nineteenth century, and historians of the first half of the twentieth century, helped shape the master narratives. Historians Harold Innis, Arthur Lower, Donald Creighton and A. L. Burt, and educators John Strachan and Egerton Ryerson, played major roles (e.g., Innis 1930; Burt 1937; Osborne, 2011).[1] As a result, Canada's ten provinces and three territories each have ministries of education that establish regional curricula and texts. School promoters in the nineteenth century embraced scientific progressivism and advocated for publicly funded schools that would address the needs of an emerging industrial society.[2] However, as Paul Axelrod argues, "while encouraging 'progress', society's middle-class leaders sought ways of protecting themselves from its most unpalatable consequences and schools were seen as instruments of both order and stability" (1999, 42).

By the 1920s schools were streamed, but textbooks remained fairly consistent. "[T]he regular studies of the day" changed little as most

schools maintained traditional academic programmes (Stamp 1982, 117).[3] History textbooks in English Canada valued British narratives that celebrated the achievements of commerce and statehood (Conrad 2011, 41). Osborne notes that history was taught as "the authoritative story of what happened in the past… in the belief that this would promote patriotism and national pride" (2011, 57).[4] Regional differences shaped curricular focus, and with a lack of a federal influence, history education across Canada spurred public and academic debates about what and how history should be taught in schools.

Debates throughout the 1970s and 1980s challenged the historical canon by arguing for the inclusion of diverse narratives, including those of gender, race and class (Sandwell 2012, 51–77). Current debates have focused on new directions in the field, and have leaked into history teaching. As Clark puts it, "If history is contentious, history in schools is a battleground" (2011, 3). Academic debates over the practice of history teaching have focused on the ways in which teachers and course materials engage students in the historical process. Global debate has centered on the methods used and the professional and academic background of the teacher (Stearns et al. 2000), while Canadian scholarship, explored by Penney Clark, Ken Osborne, Stéphane Lévesque and Ruth Sandwell, most recently in the edited collection *New Possibilities for the Past* (Clark 2011), has examined content and pedagogy.[5] Clark identifies three issues in Canadian debate: "inadequate or inaccurate representations of the past in authorized textbooks; the stature and place of history as a school subject; and, its purpose and pedagogy" (2011, 3).

With regard to the First World War, textbooks in English Canada focused on links to "empire" (*The School Journal* 1912–1913). For the first hundred years (1867–1967), schools in English Canada began each day with the Lord's Prayer and songs about the Union Jack, and celebrated Empire Day.[6] The First World War enhanced previous efforts to direct Canadian children to support Britain and its empire. Textbooks embraced the narrative that, when the war broke out, Canadians were eager to prove their devotion to their country and Britain. Duncan McArthur's *History of Canada* claimed that "[t]he declaration of war found the Canadian people united in defence of the motherland" (1927, 464). Textbooks often represented Canada uniformly as part of

what one 1960 textbook called a "Britannic Alliance", introducing the war with the words "Canada went to war in 1914 because of her loyalty to the British Empire and her confidence in British statesmen. There is no other reason" (Hodgetts 1960, 148).[7] The official textbook narratives seem to reflect an overtly nationalist and state-sanctioned view of Canada.

Although changing demographics in Canada, along with the influence of scholarship by social historians during the 1970s and 1980s, expanded textbook narratives to include broader historical examinations with brief mentions of the experiences of women, minorities and the working class, there was limited opportunity for students to deconstruct the definitions provided by state narratives (Ontario Interministerial Textbook Committee 1972, 8–12).[8] Debate in the 1990s and into the 2000s shifted the focus to pedagogical strategies (Stearns et al. 2000; Davies 2011). Studies in Canada by Peter Seixas demonstrated that most students did not know how to think historically, and Jocelyn Létourneau's work suggested that many students have prior "knowledge" that often interferes with their ability to learn history at all (Conrad et al. 2013; Létourneau 2014). A number of scholars have explored alternative ways in which history might be taught, moving away from the chronological and descriptive towards multiple-voiced accounts based on critical thinking. Knowledge mobilization in new projects across Canada has resulted in a range of new history resources (Clark 2011).[9]

Textbook studies in Canada have focused on differences between French and English portrayals of Canadian history (Trudel and Jain 1970), the omission of women's historical experiences (Fine-Meyer 2012; Clark 2005)[10] and class inequalities.[11] Scholarly debates continue over what history should be included in textbooks, with recent work tracing how textbooks have been used as vehicles to achieve citizenship goals (Clark 1998, 45–48; see also Létourneau 2014; Conrad et al. 2013). Despite changes to curricula and pedagogical strategies, textbooks remain, in Ontario and other provinces, the product of a wide range of partners including historians, educators, school boards, corporations and publishers, with input from a variety of public and private stakeholders. The difference between school boards in Ontario and

in countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States is the lack of a national standardized history curriculum or national system of testing. Ontario textbook publishers obtain approval through adherence to provincial curricula only, and reflect a common framework. As Jason Nicholls argues, "Publishers are conservative and take few risks. Innovation and risk-taking have little place in an industry acutely aware of economic and political expediency" (Nicolls 2006, 102). This explains the reluctance of Canadian publishers to venture into controversies over their portrayal of the past.[12]

The focus on shaping a particular narrative about the war began during the war years, as the Ontario Ministry of Education produced texts to help teach the war to students, with diaries of the war, timelines of battles and war events. The treatment of war in Canadian textbooks was celebratory and commemorative, set in the context of similar political, military and industrial narratives of sacrifice, service and glory. The First World War is presented as having had a positive effect on the Canadian people, providing evidence of heroism, strength and a united front for the war effort, which, textbook authors argue, resulted in a more independent nation. Textbooks avoid major critiques of military actions, deconstruction of state propaganda instruments and links between the home front and overseas combat. There is limited discussion of issues of race, gender or class. Maintaining the status quo helps ensure that textbooks will obtain state approval.

4 Canada and the First World War: Background

At the outbreak of the war, Canada had a population of slightly less than eight million. The Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) grew in the course of the war to 630,000 of whom 424,589 served in Europe. Sixty-one thousand Canadians were killed during the war, and more than 172,000 were wounded, which was a significant contribution for a foreign war (Library and Archives Canada 2016; Canada's War Museum 2016). The First World War has been accorded enormous significance

in Canadian history because of the impact it is widely held to have had on the country and the ways in which the entire citizenry mobilized for the war effort. While there is broad agreement about many aspects of the war, there is little agreement on its overall impact on Canadian society.[13] However, historians are in broad agreement about some core events in the war, and even their interpretations of their meanings and significance. It is generally accepted that the war divided communities and families, affected economic and social status, and led to the imposition of government controls.[14] Canadians faced restrictions on travel and work, were forced to ration a wide range of goods, and were placed in factories and farms to produce supplies for the war. Many were deeply affected by the loss or injury of loved ones and friends (Luciuk 2006).

The first part of the war focused on mobilization and training. The Canadian government responded to the outbreak of the war through massive war industry production. The "pre-war federal budget of $185 million had quadrupled by its wartime peak" (Canadian War Museum 2016). By the year 1917, Canadian industries saw exports of over a billion dollars. All history textbooks acknowledge this and declare that the war was "a boom" for the Canadian economy, with all sectors of the economy affected: agriculture, manufacturing, forestry and mining (Statistics Canada 1916–17). As Craig Heron remarks, "wars … are never merely military campaigns", and this was very clear in the First World War (1998, 34). Desmond Morton notes that the Imperial Munitions Board became the "biggest business Canada had ever seen", with "over six hundred factories employing a quarter of a million workers, including over forty thousand women" (Morton 1981, 58). "Each day they made two million dollars in business. Cargo ships, aeroplanes, chemicals, explosives, millions of artillery shells … and a multiple million dollar production of food. The government encouraged famers to grow to their maximum" (Morton 1981, 57). Despite the profitable business side of the war, the centrality of the military and industrial complex to the war finds a limited voice in Ontario textbooks, which devote more space to battle narratives and citizen volunteerism.

Patriotism during the war was instrumentalized to sell goods, to control behavior and to encourage sacrifice. After the war, this remained a

focus of textbooks, which acknowledged the "keen" Canadian response to the conflict. Home front narratives of sacrifice and support were developed during the war in school lunch and after-school programs, such as the Home Guards, Girls' Cadets, Boys' Cadet Corps, Junior Red Cross Clubs and community fundraising (Morton 2004). Jonathan Vance (2000) examines how art, music and literature were framed to commemorate World War One as a "just war", suggesting that governments and citizens needed to inject meaning into the massive losses and arguing that the war left Canadian people with a feeling of emptiness that was filled with public displays of sacrifice. Vance's study explores the post-war construction of a mythic version of the events of the war. He notes that it "existed to fashion a usable past out of the Great War" (Vance 2000, 9). Cecilia Morgan agrees, arguing that the war was depicted by the state as "a noble and dignified endeavour" (Morgan 2016, 83). Postwar monuments "tended to portray the war and those who fought in it as embodying a glorious triumph of manhood, not a deplorable loss" (Morgan 2017, 165).

Textbooks also focused on Canadian unity with examples of service and sacrifice, noting the "splendid war record" of Canada's "fighting force" and the "excellent service" of the many agencies which ministered to the diverse needs of the military. McArthur states "So keen was the conflict that it became necessary to bend every effort of the nation to the support of the fighting forces" (1927, 464). The focus on service and duty was enhanced by state publications, beginning with reports published during the war. The Ontario Department of Education acknowledged the role of teachers in the war. The 1915 report claimed, "Ontario has exhibited one of the highest forms of patriotism …. The place of the teacher as a true servant and minister of the state is well exemplified at a time of this kind" (Ontario Minister of Education 1916 and 1919). The postwar report of 1919 reaffirmed this position: "The schools of Ontario came through the ordeal successfully … we must attribute the fortunate position of the province … and to the loyalty and devotion of the teaching body" (Ontario Minister of Education 1920).

Not all Canadians had fond memories of the war, however, and a study by Kirk Savage (2009) argues that many did not accept public

narratives. French Canadians, First Nations peoples, immigrants and Canadian women experienced the horrors of war but found little to commemorate their sacrifices. Brock Millman's study (2016) explores how the Canadian government managed dissent during wartime through the War Measures Act (1914), to achieve its goals by "state orchestrated repression" (Millman 2016, 12). Vance argues that the memory of the war, as propagated by the Canadian government, "was unable to capture fully" those communities not considered "comrades of British stock" (2000, 258). The myth of the war did, however, have an important national purpose: to provide a basis for a national consciousness that would take Canadians into their future, despite its inherent falseness. This gives some insight into the phenomena of service and sacrifice so prevalent in public commemorative projects and in school history textbooks. Duncan McArthur's *History of Canada* (1927, 474) speaks of the "heroic achievements of the war"; A. B. Hodgetts's *Decisive Decades* (1960, 222) argues "nothing should be allowed ever to detract from the courage and stoic endurance of the soldiers"; and Cruxton and Wilson's *Spotlight Canada* (2000, 126) states that "Canada emerged from the war a more independent nation." Such narratives help to shape pride in the nation.

5 Textbook Themes

Textbooks analyzed in this study consistently reproduced the same war-related themes: the causes of the war; war on the land, in the air and at sea; the Eastern Front; the Western Front; and the home front. Chapters on combat are consistently separated from home front chapters—war work in Canada is confined to support status, and accounts of combat acts of heroism leave students with a general overview that avoids the complexities and gravity of the war.

5.1 Causes of the War

Ontario textbooks argue in the opening pages of their war chapters that the origin of the war was caused by the "great powers of Europe

[who] were ranged in rival camps” (Wallace 1930, 322) and Germany’s industrial expansion and ambitions for power, which were a threat to the British people (Grant 1922, 358; Brown 1953, 273). Most textbooks condense the causes of the outbreak of the war into a few categories that suggest the war’s inevitability. Textbooks, published after 1980, focus predominantly on three primary “causes” of the war—militarism, industrialism and nationalism—with little deviation (Cruxton and Wilson 1980; Eaton and Newman 1994, 134–35). The limitation of these categories is clear, as they reduce a complex and agonizing decision to enter a world war into three terms that can be memorized and placed into blank spaces on course tests. However, they are also broad generalizations. A direct line is drawn from the causes to the outbreak of war: “people were ready to start wars to promote the interests of their motherland” (Cruxton and Wilson 1980, 57) and “[i]ncreasingly European countries had come to trust in military might as an answer to resolving conflicts” (Don Quinlan et al. 2006, 15). Although this may be a reflection of the nature of history textbook writing itself—to present the past in a linear depiction of cause and effect—the focus on war as a part of nation building denies a broader discussion. Debates on the causes of or responsibility for the war have been the subject of much scholarship over the years. Historian Margaret MacMillan (2013) suggests that globalization of markets, developments in technology and feelings of nationhood do not necessarily lead to global war, arguing that the accepted causes of the First World War need to be reconsidered and claiming that “Europe’s steps could have gone in other directions” (631). Charles Emmerson agrees, arguing that “[e]xactly when war became inevitable—much earlier or much later, if ever—is an open question” (2013, xi).[15] Yet textbooks suggest the world was poised for global war. Keith Barton argues that students need opportunities to consider the complexities of the past, and to counter oversimplified understandings of war (Barton and Levstik 2004, 54–64).

Subtitles such as “War clouds in Europe” or “The steps to war” suggest a one-directional path to its outbreak. Textbooks depict nations falling into the war as if by chance, in a kind of innocence. One textbook suggested that “the leading nations of Europe, with but little warning, found themselves involved in war” (Wallace 1930, 314).

Narratives suggest the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo was a spark. Brown states, "One answer is very simple. In a field of explosives one small explosion can set off a train of others which can spread like a flash until the whole field blows up" (1953, 270). Significantly, this suggests that, like a series of dominoes, events leading up to the war were virtually impossible to stop. Chafe and Lower begin their chapter on the war with the subtitle, "The European shadow", and suggest the world was unprepared by noting, "Into the quiet of 1914, suddenly like a volcano bursting up through the placid surface, came the news of the outbreak of war in Europe. The average Canadian was quite unprepared for the situation" (1948, 415). Textbooks argue that the Balkans region was the "powder keg" of Europe with tensions and conflicts ready to explode at any time (Richards and Cruickshank 1963, 347). In a chapter entitled "On the altar of Mars", the authors of one textbook begin, "The road to war had reached the point of no return" (Hodgetts 1960, 155). These are misleading suggestions: that wars act on their own, and that the role of political and military leaders is one of compliance. McArthur notes the "best efforts of those few statesmen who wished to prevent war," yet adds, "they proved incapable of holding it in check" (1927, 460). Some textbooks assign blame more directly. One textbook states, "Colonial rivalries (Africa), trade jealousy (S. America), and hostile alliances and ambitions and conflicts in the Balkans" caused the outbreak of war (Richards and Cruickshank 1963, 125). Others note "secret treaties" focused on the "arms race" (Cruxton and Wilson 1980, 110). The Balkans, however, remain a central cause of the war as a "trouble spot full of bitterness and rivalries", along with the European powers, who were "divided into two armed camps", whereupon trouble in one "camp" quickly drew in the others (Brown 1953, 271).

5.2 The Separation of Home Front and Battle Chapters

The textbook chapters on combat focus on narratives of artillery, in trenches and on the field, and often contain stories of heroism. Chapters map out plans of decisive battles, military and naval

strategies, and new machine technology, using the descriptive language of war—"advancing allies, fierce fighting, gunboats bristling, swung into action, spitting fire, grim defenders, 'artillery barrage', and trenches flowing with blood and mud" (Wrong 1921, 349; Lower and Chafe 1948, 421; Hodgetts 1960, 165; Eaton and Newman, 145; Fielding and Evans 2000, 74). Different sections treat areas including trench warfare, the war at sea, the war in the air, Canadians at war and battles (the Somme, Vimy, Ypres and Passchendaele). Most textbooks provide a small glimmer into the horrors of war through trench descriptions. For example, one notes that "when their [the soldiers'] daily turn in the firing line was ended, the numbered men sloshed back through the half frozen mud and water of the connecting trenches to their dreary dugouts or to the dripping cellar of a shattered building" (Hodgetts 1960, 166). By the 1980s content is treated in separate chapters rather than under subheadings as more materials become available and publishers come under pressure to include them. Chapter titles, however, follow earlier subheadings. A 1980s textbook contains separate chapters on the Western Front, technology, the home front and the peace settlement (Cruxton and Wilson 1980). Battles are treated in chronological order, with a focus on the Canadian divisions. Soldiers were "tested" on the front line, demonstrating courage and endurance, facing "machine-gun fire" (Chafe and Lower, 420), or demonstrating "gallantry and determination" (Wallace, 326). Textbooks link battle heroism with international recognition. Postwar textbooks noted that Canada's war effort earned the country "international respect" (McArthur 1927; Wallace 1930). One textbook quoted Lloyd George remarking that "whenever the Germans found the Canadian corps coming into the line, they prepared for the worst'" and noting their placement in the "bloodiest battles where the casualties are the highest" due to their fighting quality and as a justification for significant losses (Cook and McNaught 1963, 413). Textbooks argue that the Canadian army, although small in numbers, "had a fierce reputation." There are notable silences, however, on military resisters or abuses by leaders.

Home front chapters are distinct from chapters on combat and focus on the ways in which the country mobilized to provide support for the

war: on farms, with an increase in food production; in factories, with the production of military arms; and in homes and communities, with goods sent overseas to support the war effort. Given limited space and the priority to cover the battles, war work is only touched upon. There is little examination of the complexity of global imports and exports to support the war. The textbooks carefully avoid drawing any direct relation between the production of war and the execution of war. The home front chapters contain brief references to supply factories, food production and the work of women. The majority of textbooks support the view that the declaration of war "found the Canadian people united" (McArthur 1927, 464; Lower and Chafe, 418; Cruxton and Wilson 1980, 62). This is supported by narratives and images. Most textbooks point out that "every available factory in Canada" was converted into a munitions plant and thousands were sent to work in the factories or on farms for food production (McArthur 1927, 464). A 1948 textbook informed readers that "[f]ood supplies were directed to the war effort and were conserved through a system of rationing" (Brown, 271). During the war, volunteer and community acts of food preservation were promoted in state propaganda as a reflection of patriotism. Government and private campaigns to mobilize support for the war saw large numbers of volunteers knitting socks and packaging parcels to be sent overseas, an image often found in texts (Staton 2006, 35). An Ontario Department of Education report acknowledged the essential role of fundraising during the war; as a "philanthropic and patriotic task" (OME 1919, 5) and textbooks recognize the tremendous work of volunteers. McArthur's textbook notes under the subheading "Charitable work" that "much splendid effort was directed towards the relief of suffering caused by the war" (1927, 465), noting that the Patriotic Fund and the Canadian Red Cross raised millions to assist those in need. Textbooks give limited or no recognition to the central role of women in leading fundraising for the war, except to note "the noble war efforts of women" who "gave every service except that of taking part in actual fighting" (Wrong 1927, 606). During the war, "victory gardening" or "war gardening" was endorsed by the government through the media as "a patriotic form of wholesome leisure" (Mosby 2015, 104). One textbook subtitle, "The Empire's Contribution to

Victory", portrays Canada as filling in supply gaps for the war: "The war affected the life of everyone. It was a total war. From school children to old people, each person had something to do" (Brown 1953, 276).

The wartime government made food production a major focus in the integration of Canada into the war effort. The War Measures Act gave the government control over what farmers grew, how much, and where the food was shipped (Djebabla 2014). Textbooks provide limited recognition of agricultural output except in general terms, noting the "unlimited opportunities for Canadian agriculture" and the "sensational gains" in meat and dairy products. A 1946 textbook argued "From the beginning it appeared that one of Canada's greatest contributions would be the production of food" and "food will win the war" became a slogan of the war (Brown, 412). Cruxton and Wilson wrote, "Canadians were sending large amounts of food to feed the fighting forces as well as the civilian populations of other Allied countries" (1980, 81). Farmers, their families, and the hundreds of war workers, both paid and unpaid, living on farms or housed in camps or hostels, aided in agricultural exports (Barnett 1985).[16] Urban women and children worked in the food industries in manufacturing, canning and foodstuff production. Their work is largely ignored in textbooks, yet without food the war would have stopped. The Wrong 1927 textbook acknowledged, "Farm women worked long hours in the fields," as they were needed to replace male farm workers fighting overseas (606). The War Measures Act gave the government unusual powers over the lives of Canadians. Canadians were encouraged to embrace conservation and sacrifice. Historian Ian Mosby argues that the private home front became very public in the campaigns to mobilize support for the war, arguing that "private acts of food conservation and thrift were important components of the war effort", and played a part in wartime patriotic campaigns directed at fundraising, farming, home defence and the production of foodstuffs (2015, 99). In her work on the "farmettes", Margaret Kechnie (2003) notes that women on the farms were making less than $4 a week and expected to pay for room and board. The conditions were extremely difficult (see also Staton 2006). Rationing, a major part of state directives, is only briefly explored in textbooks. A 1960 textbook is typical in

summarizing, "the government limited the quantity [of goods] a person could buy" (Cruxton and Wilson, 254).

Mobilizing entire countries to engage in war and moving massive numbers of people with the right equipment, food, weapons, and supplies took detailed planning and execution. Although textbooks do not provide enough evidence of this, they do recognize the importance of the production of munitions and factory work by focusing on statistics. Employing 350,000 men and women in munitions factories for the war led, noted one textbook, to "a wartime boom of unprecedented proportions" (Hodgetts 1960, 202). This textbook provides the greatest insight, noting, "Industries in Canada were humming with activity—mining, manufacturing, farming, cordite-gin cotton, TNT, acetone, nitric acid—800,000 shells produced a month" (1960, 606). A 2000 textbook stated, "By 1918, 300,000 Canadians were employed in Canada in [manufacturing] factories, and one-third of the shells fired by the armies of the British Empire were made in Canada" (Cruxton and Wilson 2000, 113). This textbook also included a number of charts including one that examines "Canada's economic growth, 1913–1919", looking at trade exports and imports throughout the war years (2000, 127).

Although home front chapters focus on war work, they limit any discussion of how state funds were spent. The Canadian government spent almost three billion dollars during the war, with funds raised by bond sales, loans and taxes, leaving Canadians with a tremendous national debt and income and sales taxes (Heron and Siemiatycki 1998, 24).[17] Industrialists made huge profits with war contracts which had limited effect on workers' wages. There is, however, little discussion of this aspect of the war, except briefly: "war work abuses, business corruption and profiteering" are noted in one text (Hodgetts 1960, 207). Herstein's 1970 textbook contains quotes from R. E. Waters, president of the Trades and Labour Council in 1917, and Canadian industrialist Joseph Flavelle defending profits made in manufacturing munitions during the war. These quotes are placed throughout the chapters to provide support for class discussions. This reflects the influence of social history, as new terms such as "workingmen" and "labor" are included for the first time.[18] Labor historians provided narratives of how

workers were deeply affected by the war, which led to the emergence of broader discussions in some history textbooks: Herstein acknowledges that “Canadian workingmen played an important role in Canada’s war effort” (1970, 232). Curiously, there are fewer working-class narratives in post-1990s textbooks, as a more diverse range of experiences are explored: narratives of Black and Asian Canadians and Indigenous soldiers are added.

One exception to the marginalization of war work is a supplement text published in 1980 by historian Desmond Morton entitled *Working People*, which was used in schools and which contained a chapter on the perspectives of war workers. Morton pointed out that “[i]n pre-1914 Europe, socialists and labor leaders talked seriously of calling a general strike to prevent the impending world conflict” (Morton 1980, 96). This is a narrative not present in most textbooks—the notion that workers might have the power to prevent a war, that they were more than cogs in state actions and that war work resistance had serious consequences. Morton’s text also explored wartime contracts and the “great divide” between industrialists, government and laborers (1980, 112).[19] The narrative of a nation united on the home front and the battlefield, however, is more central to the majority of history textbooks, with limited or no reference made to worker resistance. And despite the central role of production in maintaining the war, textbooks deflect attention from this with battle summaries and narratives of national unity that do little to teach the realities of the military complex.

5.3 The “Role” of Women

The majority of textbooks only briefly touch on women’s historical experiences during the war. Most texts recognize women’s munitions factory work and their role as nurses or nursing aids. Women are consistently placed in the home front chapters. McArthur’s 1927 textbook acknowledges women’s work, stating that “[t]housands of women helped in this most important task” and “[i]t was the first war in which women had been enlisted in the armed services, in such organizations as the Women’s Auxiliary” (464). A later textbook argued that “[t]he

women of Canada, because of their part in the war effort, intensified their drive for political, economic and social equality", adding, "When there was a shortage of workers, women were employed in the factories where they worked side by side with the men" and "there was hardly an industry in which women were not engaged" (Herstein 1970, 233, 324). The women's movement and changes to government polices related to gender equity in curricula altered textbooks so that by the 1980s there were some changes, with "women's roles" receiving a full paragraph. By the 1990s textbooks provide an entire page or two devoted to women, acknowledging the role of women in factories and including images. Eaton and Newman note, "Women in Canada and abroad shouldered their fair share of war work" (1994, 155). Although the textbooks of the 1990s include additional reference to women's war experiences, they remain in separate sections. Textbooks that include more than a single sentence, however, unite women's experiences into a single voice, implicitly assuming that women's experiences were similar to each other. In Canada, some women were sent to internment camps for having ethnic affiliations with the enemy, others worked long hours on farms and in factories, others took care of extended families, and still others maintained humanitarian work with organizations such as the Red Cross. These women would have had widely different personal experiences. Their placement as a unified voice supports the textbook war narratives of a united nation, but again provides students with a single understanding of the varied perspectives on the war (Glassford and Shaw 2012).

Overall, counter-narratives are generally missing from textbooks: labor representatives across the country, peace activists, Indigenous peoples, religious groups and farmers, as well as women's organizations, all argued against the war. The absence of these perspectives results in a lost opportunity for students to explore different voices. Students are aware from textbook discussions of the divisions between English and French Canada over the issue of conscription. French Canadians in Quebec were not enthusiastic. Their leaders questioned Canadian participation: Henri Bourassa, a prominent member of the Legislative Assembly of Québec, argued in parliament that "[i]t is the work of maniacs who glorify a horrible butchery in which people slaughter each

other without knowing why" (Hodgetts 1960, 211; see also Keelan 2015, 51–65). But other groups were opposed as well: religious groups such as the Doukhobors, Hutterites, Quakers and Mennonites had come to Canada on the promise that they would not have to join the military, and farmers across the country were united in opposition. Only a limited number of textbooks explore opposition to the war. Even when their voices are present, they are dimly lit in what Osborne calls "a wash of patriotism and national pride" (2011, 107). Fielding's 2000 textbook demonstrates the limited reference, noting, "opposition to the war was often portrayed as unpatriotic, even treasonous" (60). Opposition came from French Canadians, peace activists and from women's rights leaders, some whom Fielding adds, "wrote books condemning the militarism of the male-dominated government and all forms of war" (61). Pacifists such as J. S. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister, and Agnes Macphail, a social advocate and politician, pressed the government for peace (Campbell et al. 2015). After the war, members of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom undertook a survey of history textbooks in Canada to assess support for militarism. They hoped to remove its glorification (see McLean 2013; McKay and Swift 2013, 109 and 70–75; Morton 2004). These stories do not appear in textbooks. Although the quantity of content and diversity of images change through the decades, the overall organization and classification do not. This is important because it means that despite widespread scholarship on the history of the war, Ontario textbooks have maintained a structure that presents the war within particular divisions and as such have retained a common framework for the teaching of war.

5.4 War Brought Greater Independence

Finally, all textbooks end the First World War chapters with Canada emerging from the horrors of war to independence. Again, there is a united national narrative. Moir and Saunders's 1970 textbook states that "Canada had every reason to be proud of her war effort, and she emerged from the 'ordeal by fire' with a heightened awareness of her

capabilities. Canadian nationalism had been born in the midst of the slaughter of the First World War" (380). This is a widely held perspective in Canadian history textbooks: the war caused unheard-of death and destruction, but was an experience that allowed Canadians to develop a unified national identity. The League of Nations is presented as an organization "to prevent future wars." Textbooks suggest that as a result of Canada's having "shed so much blood significant changes in status were inevitable" (Lower and Chafe 1948, 427). Canada was invited to send representatives to the Peace Conference in Paris. The change in international status was used to justify the war effort. Brown's 1946 textbook argued that "[t]he peace settlement and League of Nations gave Canada a 'new positon of autonomy and responsibility'" (439). The 1953 textbook stated that by the end of the war "it was clear that a great change had taken place and that a British Commonwealth of free nations had come into existence" (270). The same textbook includes a cartoon showing "Johnny Beaver" (a symbol of Canada) holding a suitcase at the door of the Peace Conference in 1918, stating "'I belong here too!'" (Brown 1953, 293).[20] A later textbook noted that Canada was "now to play a bigger role in world affairs" as it was a "more important country than it had been in 1914" (Kirbyson 1983, 82). Another textbook maintains this position: "By the end of the war, Canada had gained a new sense of nationhood and international recognition" (Cruxton and Wilson 1980, 123). What emerges from the textbooks is a citizenry in strong support of the war, the root of which lay in Canada's deep ties to Britain, and the idea of war as a catalyst for nationhood and international status.

6 Conclusion

What the themes of these textbooks reflect is a rather one-dimensional representation of the war that does not reflect the diverse perspectives and counter-narratives of the nature and meaning or significance of the First World War as a whole. As noted, the experiences of women, of working-class Canadians and of those who opposed the war receive little or no attention. This uniform representation is politically suspect, as it

supports a nationalist historical canon and advances a singular view of Canada, one that limits the inclusion of Canada's diverse population. It is also culturally suspect, in that it leaves out many of the voices of Canada's diverse population who were involved in the war and its aftermath. Multiple perspectives that are included are placed outside the established framework. This uniform representation is pedagogically limiting as it prevents students from entering into a critical examination of the past that supports different interpretive frameworks based on current scholarship in the field. Inquiry-based pedagogy, now supported by the new Ontario history curriculum and inspired by the research of cognitive scientists and history educators, requires that educators provide more opportunities for students to engage in critical thinking about the past. Although new textbooks incorporate a larger number of images, charts and narratives, the First World War chapter in each maintains the established framework. For example, the current textbook *Creating Canada* continues to reflect traditional divisions: the same three causes of the war, a section on women's roles and an examination of war technology and battles (Hoogeveen et al. 2014). The difference in the past decade is an emphasis on critical thinking and the presentation of a wider range of documents with which to explore diverse perspectives.

Today, supplementary online resource materials play an important role in expanding textbook content. However, textbooks continue to provide a core tool for teachers and students. What is evident from this study is that textbooks in Ontario have remained fairly consistent: maintaining the separation between combat and war work, avoiding counter-narratives, and avoiding the destructive impact of the war on the environment, both immediate and over generations, and on the short- and long-term lives of citizens. Textbooks ignore the role of the global military-industrial complex in shaping national and international perspectives as well as in supporting commemorations of war. The omission of women's historical agency, in their portrayal as fulfilling the duties of good citizens and good mothers in supportive roles and as benefiting from war participation, persists.

As in other nations, history education in Canada is anchored in the concept of national identity and commitment to a shared community.

But there are dangers to single national narratives, especially in the study of war. In *Warrior Nation*, McKay and Swift have exposed the “toxic rebranding of our country” and the public focus on and celebration of military achievements propagated by the former Conservative government (2013, 196). This means bringing in the voices of those who opposed the war, or were forced to participate: the marginalized voices of women, immigrants, Indigenous peoples, the working class and minorities, and those whose lives were deeply altered by the war, both in combat and at home. New Canadian web-based programs designed to engage students directly with historical case studies such as *The Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History* (2016) and *The Virtual Historian* (2016) provide new opportunities to question traditional frameworks and narratives. In developing additional ways to enable students to think critically about Canada’s participation in the First World War and to reconfigure the message that war is inevitable, for just causes, and worthy of celebration, these changes may lead to additional considerations regarding the role of war commemoration.

This study argues that, despite decades of changes in history scholarship on the war, only limited change to the framing of the war can be observed in history textbooks. This is important because teachers in Ontario use the textbooks as a foundation for organizing course studies. And while historians have explored the role of war commemoration in society generally, and historians of education have explored the links between citizenship, nationalism and textbooks, my research suggests that textbooks may provide a link between public education and public memory—adding to discussions about history education in schools, nationalism and ideas of citizenship in contemporary Canada (Pratt 1984; Sandwell 2006).

Historical narratives are powerful tools, placing the past into labelled constructs that reflect dominant national interpretations of the past. Such interpretations contain strong memories and inspire identities that are in turn *themselves* the architects of future discourse. Susan Crane writes that “history is not only the pasts that happened … it is also what is written or produced about those pasts, both then and now” (1997, 1372–85). As Vance argues, the “strong patriotic and assimilationist” myth of the war, propagated by the Canadian government after the war

was created to secure the rule of the existing leadership. The period, however, saw significant social and political unrest across the country and the official memory of the war, with its assumption of a singular nationalist and patriotic culture, proved difficult to maintain (2000, 265; see also Morgan 2016). Ironically, the memory of the war, as a unifying force for nation building, has commanded a central position in history textbooks for close to one hundred years, shaping the consciousness of Canada’s youth. The place of textbooks in history classrooms will now be put to the test, as the revised history curriculum in Ontario (2013) requires that students use inquiry-based research to analyze diverse evidence: a task that will require textbooks to step away from a uniform and one-dimensional representation of the First World War.

Notes

1. See Conrad for an exploration of how academic historians shifted their focus from Canada’s links to British imperialism to North American relations and the “geographic, demographic and economic forces underlying continental ties” (2011, 41). This focus on Canadian nation-building gave rise to the “Frontier thesis” and “Laurentian thesis” of historians H. Innis, A. Lower and D. Creighton. See also Osborne (2011, 55–81).
2. In her 1977 study, Alison Prentice employed the phrase “school promoters” to refer to key nineteenth century educational reformers in English Canada such as Egerton Ryerson and John Strachan. See Prentice (1977).
3. Stamp adds, “The 1920s provided no differently than earlier periods; despite alarming drop-out rates.” See also Tomkins (2008).
4. Osborne adds that “[c]urricula and textbooks portrayed Canada as a work in progress whose continuing development depended on the commitment of historically informed citizens.”
5. Sandwell asks, “Whose history counts? What people, events and issues get to be included in history classrooms? And who decides these things?” See also Clark (2011), Létourneau (2004), Morton (2011).
6. Empire Day centred on the spectacle of children singing and reciting speeches and poetry (Morgan 2016, 159).

7. See also Brown (1953, 274), who echoes Wilfred Laurier's famous 1910 parliamentary pronouncement that "[w]hen Britain is at war, Canada is at war. There is no distinction."
8. The recommendations stated that the Ontario government intended to see the "spirit of the Human Rights Code expressed in school textbooks of the province." Many parents felt that course materials did not reflect changing demographics; therefore the committee recommended that textbooks include names that better represented "our multicultural society and people with various economic and racial backgrounds."
9. Clark discusses the new movement in history education that includes the Benchmark Project (Seixas) and the History Education Network (thenhier.ca). See also Sandwell (2006).
10. A project funded by the Ontario government in 1987 surveyed Ministry-approved textbooks and found that none of the textbooks met gender equity policies.
11. A study by Ken Osborne concluded that textbooks had little or nothing to say about working people, instead focusing on Canada's political and constitutional development.
12. A precedent was set in 1920 with the decision by the province of British Columbia to ban a new Canadian history textbook written by W. L. Grant, a well-respected Canadian historian and First World War veteran. See Humphries (1968–69).
13. The Canadian military historians considered here are Desmond Morton, Tim Cook, Terry Copp, Jack Granatstein and Margaret MacMillan.
14. Citizens from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, labelled "alien enemies" in Canada, were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in government work camps. In the years 1914 to 1920 there were more than twenty camps and fifty-six "receiving stations" that held 8,579 prisoners, including women and children.
15. Emmerson is suggesting that events of the 1880s and 1890s were not so distant to those living in 1913 as the fall of communism and the Tiananmen Square protests are to us today (Emmerson, xiii).
16. According to Barnett, two thirds of food consumed in the British Isles came from abroad.
17. By 1918 overall living costs in Canada had jumped 50% over the 1916 level. An Order in Council of September 1918 stifled labor radicalism, especially in immigrant areas, and allowed for widespread arrests. Internment continued for a year after the armistice.

18. The series Canadian Social History (University of Toronto Press), first volume was published in 1968.
19. "[W]ar proved an embittering experience for Canadian workers and for their union leaders" (Morton 1980, 101).
20. The Statute of Westminster of 1931 stated that the laws of Britain should not apply to Canada.

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9

International Institutions, Pacifism and the Attack on Warmongering Textbooks

Rita Hofstetter and Xavier Riondet

Abbreviations

FIAI	Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Instituteurs
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICHS	International Committee on Historical Sciences
ICIC	International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation
IIIC	International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation
SNI	Syndicat National des Instituteurs
LN	League of Nations
NC	National Commission

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1 Introduction

“International understanding”, “global consciousness”, “international education” and “intellectual cooperation” served as watchwords for a wide variety of pacifist movements and academic and pedagogical associations that sought to mobilize minds to remake world peace after the First World War. Teachers and intellectuals from diverse backgrounds were the protagonists in this pacifistic crusade: publications, conferences and calls to action proliferated. At the heart of this campaign was the use of non-violent means and collective negotiation to declare war on war, particularly by ensuring that textbooks disseminated a pacifist internationalist message. Based largely on the League of Nations’ (LN) archives, as well as those of its technical agencies, especially the International Commission on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), the International Institute on Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) and the International Bureau of Education (IBE), our study focuses on the intellectual cooperation’s work in the 1920s and 1930s.[1]

Though cooperation among intellectuals did not begin at the LN, the network of organizations set up to promote intellectual cooperation—a complex matrix of institutions, committees, networks and individuals—substantially contributed to the institutionalization of the international in the interwar period and was a laboratory for global cultural cooperation (Rasmussen 2001; Renoliet 1995, 13–27). We distinguish the idea of intellectual cooperation and the development of a network of institutions (like ICIC, IIIC or BIE) and associations in the LN context. In order to analyze intellectual cooperation as a mechanism that linked international and national institutions and associations, following Fuchs (2007), we believe it is important to begin by clearly mapping out the aims of intellectual cooperation and its use in interactions between institutions.[2] The ICIC was created in 1922 to strengthen ties among intellectuals, endowing them with a mission to consolidate the peace movement and foster a spirit of internationalism. It functioned as a consultative commission. To ensure the application of its work on the ground, in 1926 a French-led initiative resulted in the creation of an executive body, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

(IIIC).[3] National Commissions for Intellectual Cooperation (NCs) were established to serve as intermediaries and facilitators between intellectual bodies, states,[4] and various organizations and associations (military, academic, professional, and so on).

From the start, the institutions set up for intellectual cooperation exhibited an interest in textbooks because they represented powerful tools of influence, capable of shaping values. History textbooks were deemed particularly important, as some disseminated the nationalist ideologies that were believed to be partially responsible for the sort of warmongering that had provoked conflicts and wars between nations. Research conducted by other organizations, notably professional associations and the IBE (Hofstetter 2015), had already cleared a path for this kind of work. The ICIC, followed by the IIIC, used preexisting studies as a guide, adopting and exploiting them while progressively imposing themselves as authorities in the field. Resistance and controversies, however, disrupted ambitions to institutionalize global intellectual cooperation and build a universal political consciousness. This study will demonstrate this through a discussion of three phases in the eventful history of these institutions' involvement with history textbooks: an initial series of symbolic and tentative gestures at the inception of the intellectual cooperation movement (1925–29); international cooperation and the IIIC's more resolute action on textbooks between 1930 and 1933; and, finally, changes in the IIIC's role as historians highlighted similar questions and placed them on the agenda at international congresses.

Although other studies have touched on aspects of our topic (Bechet 2008; Droit 2007; Fuchs 2007; Giuntella 2003; Goodman 2010; Kolasa 1962; Petricioli and Cherubini 2007; Pham-Thi-Tu 1962; Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon 2010; Siegel 2004; Verga 2007), our analysis is original in its attempt to reconnect different historiographical fields[5] in an effort to describe the complex relations between international institutions, decision-making bodies (commissions, committees, subcommittees), spaces of debate (congresses, journals), specific social groups (educators, historians) and National Commissions invested in the process of textbook revision. By employing the conceptual and methodological tools of the "transnational turn" (notably Iriye 2013;

Haupt 2011; Middell 2000) and studies on the interwar era (Clavin 2011; Guieu 2009, 2010; Gorman 2012; Hofstetter and Droux 2014, 2015; Laqua 2011; Stelzel 2015; Sluga 2013), we have attempted to offer a new analysis of how agents of intellectual cooperation selected and shared responsibility for projects, taking into account the development and interaction of both individuals and networks.

Our approach to mapping out the activities of organizations for intellectual cooperation and their intersections with other actors is based on the following methodological choices. We examine "arterial" communications in order to explore the political and diplomatic structures that constrained (or sometimes furthered) the efforts of the organizations for intellectual cooperation. At the same time, we pay close attention to "capillary" communications that permit us to trace the practices and strategies actually employed to combat nationalist and belligerent tendencies in educational materials.[6] To accomplish this, we have attempted to bring different types of archive materials, including official documents and personal notes, into dialogue. This article is part of a larger collective project that seeks to sketch out the economy of relations that linked a constellation of institutions in the orbit of the League of Nations, including the International Bureau of Education, the International Federation of Teachers' Associations, the International Labour Organization, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the World Federation of Education Associations, the International Committee of Historical Sciences and the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations. Their alliances, confrontations and schisms reveal behind-the-scenes negotiations that effected change on a global scale in the interwar period. This text constitutes a preamble to our larger study, which aims to explore the efforts at play within this broad relational web and to discern the invisible hand that regulated developments in national contexts.[7] This research will allow us to situate the IIIC and ICIC's efforts in the debate between neo-realists and functionalists on the importance of international institutions: the former argue that above all these networks regulated relations between states, while the latter posit that these relations led to the construction of genuine forms of internationalism (Kott 2011a, 10–11).

2 Initial Work Towards Intellectual Cooperation: Symbolic and Tentative

2.1 The Casarès Resolution: An Inoffensive Protocol to Protect National Sensitivities

Early attempts to make sense of the role of tendencies towards warmongering in the catastrophic events of the early twentieth century invoked the part historians and scientists had played.[8] At the end of the Great War, chauvinistic teachers and schoolbooks were often blamed for having indoctrinated "several generations of soldiers that left for the front" (Bechet 2008, 49). Discussions of history instruction and textbooks quickly animated these debates. The peace settlement, especially the Treaty of Versailles, did not produce the same feelings among the victors as among the vanquished (Krapoth 2004) and textbooks continued to run the risk of being instrumentalized. While the League of Nations sought quickly to spark a movement for international collaboration in response to the events of the war, it was not the only organization that promoted peace, pacifism and an international spirit among young people. In particular, educators at all levels of instruction and experts from different countries seized on old questions about textbooks that had become more urgent in the interwar context.

From its inception in 1922, the ICIC displayed an interest in textbooks. More specifically, in the context of this study, the ICIC endeavored to unify—or commandeer—the efforts of other organizations. To accomplish this, in 1923 it laid out a project for an international textbook that included a broad universal history. This ambitious goal—long debated among numerous bodies outside the ICIC—never materialized. For purportedly academic reasons, though certainly also for political ones, the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS) opposed the effort in 1929, sounding the project's death knell.

In the wake of an early exchange of communications,[9] the ICIC adopted the Casarès Resolution, named for its author Julio Casarès (1877–1964). A philologist and the Spanish delegate to the League of Nations, Casarès thought that intellectual cooperation should be used

to further international collaboration in order to prevent any possibility of war. He believed that the ICIC had to engage decisively on the political level in support of peace, so that "national instruction might be purged of false judgments and errors that had crept in, masking or altering the true physiognomy of other peoples, endowing them with traits that made them unrecognizable, even odious" (Casarès 1925). The adopted Casarès Resolution was more subtle, creating an inoffensive protocol: should a national commission believe a foreign text intended for school instruction contained problematic passages about its country (i.e., contrary to mutual agreement and understanding), it was to send a request to that state's national committee. To propose modifications, it noted the passage in question and offered a justification of concerns and criticisms (Casarès 1925). As this procedure was framed, requests for corrections were limited to established facts about the country's geography or civilization. In no case could they address subjective moral, political or religious concerns. Thus, having emerged as an organization closely tied to the League of Nations and overcome the objections of certain states, the ICIC had taken a first step.[10] Careful not to bog governments down in bureaucracy, it relied on a mild protocol, using appeal to national commissions without direct intervention at the state level.

2.2 Out of Range: The Pacification of History Textbooks

At the end of the 1920s, the Casarès Procedure remained underutilized.[11] Little known, it was occasionally overlooked in relevant bulletins.[12] Though the IIIC engaged in other projects,[13] it nonetheless collected texts and commentaries from a variety of groups (teachers, journalists, etc.) that indicated a genuine societal demand for textbook revisions. For example, following a congress in Brussels in March 1927, the IIIC and his deputy director Alfred Zimmern (1879–1957) received a copy of Dr. Heinrich Kanner's (1864–1930) *Comment la paix est venue parmi les hommes depuis les tribunes jusqu'à la Société Des Nations. Du nouveau, puisé dans les vieux livres d'histoire*, advocating for

the promotion of a new academic discipline, namely a history of peace and pacifism since the origins of humanity.

Beyond textbooks, the role of education in the organizations for intellectual cooperation remained precarious. Concerns were generally raised at expert subcommittees,[14] which served as intermediaries between the national commissions, the ICIC and the IIIC. Educational affairs remained squarely within the national purview, and initially the ICIC had no section explicitly dedicated to education. The LN, however, had a mandate to instruct youth in the pacifist and internationalist principles it promoted. It was consequently through the Subcommittee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth about the LN and its Principles that intellectual cooperation undertook its first real incursion onto the terrain of education. In an amendment proposed to the subcommittee on July 2, 1927 noting that education and instruction must serve to institutionalize the dictum "cooperation must be the rule", Zimmern articulated an education-related goal (C.I.C.I./E.J./29, box 520, ICIC Archives).

Following this, there were increasing efforts to promote consciousness-raising through student exchanges, travel grants for international relations courses, summer classes, the distribution of lesson plans to instructors, and so on, as a report to the subcommittee revealed in 1927 (ICIC./E.J.21, box 520, ICIC Archives). A range of additions to curricula meant to promote international understanding, such as the insertion of specific passages on the LN in textbooks, were also made, as a note of June 1930 from the Japanese member of the subcommittee indicates (C.I.C.I./E.J./44, box 521, ICIC Archives). These preliminary efforts did little to ease the tensions surrounding education. Governments resisted, and other institutions had already staked out a place in the field and expected their expertise to be valued, especially the international pedagogical associations and the IBE. In this context, a more thoroughgoing internationalist revision of textbooks remained in limbo, as the subcommittee's modified recommendations of June 18, 1929 reveal:

> It seems impossible, for the moment, to go in an international direction, beyond the Casarès proposition adopted by the Intellectual Commission. But it is desirable that, in each country, nationals endeavor to remove

incitements of hate toward foreigners from their textbooks. (C.I.C.I./E.J./24, box 520, ICIC Archives)

In fact, resistance was felt within the network of intellectual cooperation: numerous countries and states were hostile to any form of interference in their educational policy. The international fight against nationalist and belligerent tendencies in schoolbooks had immediately come up against a form of pedagogical nationalism: every nation believed that the education of its citizens was its own responsibility.

In the specialized milieu of historians, the foundation of the International Committee on Historical Sciences (ICHS) in Geneva on May 14, 1926 was an important step. Though several international congresses for historians already existed, the ICHS gave them continuity and institutionalized their structure in an effort to ground networks and reinforce their impact (Blänsdorf 2010; Erdmann 2005). However, these already tenuous collaborations quickly faced a number of challenges due to shifting Franco–German and German–Polish relations. Diplomacy, tensions between states, the rise of nationalisms, the emergence of fascisms and dissension among historians halted the spread of ICHS's work and the creation of international synergy among networks of historians.

3 The IIIC's Bilateral Efforts in the 1930s: Reconciling National Concerns with International Dialogue

3.1 Textbooks—An Issue Deemed Fundamental for Peace Among Peoples—And a Reorganization of the IIIC

During the 1930s, education gradually came to the fore in efforts towards intellectual cooperation.[15] In 1929 the Kellogg-Briand Pact[16] came into effect, outlawing war but without creating effective deterrents. This initiative symbolized a will to disarm and to condemn any

war already in the making. It also revealed the ineffectiveness of an appeal to principles without the power to enforce or entice. After a few successful mediations, the LN remained an impotent observer as conflicts and wars multiplied during the 1930s.

In 1930, textbook revisions became a “fundamental” issue for the Subcommittee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth about the LN and its Principles.[17] Military disarmament was linked to moral demobilization. One indication of this change was a new resolution that charged the IIIC with conducting an international study of schoolbooks to ascertain whether they conformed to a spirit of international cooperation (C.I.C.I./E.J.47, box 521, ICIC Archives, I.II.3, IIIC Archives, and IIIC, 1932, V). In 1931, the League officially incorporated the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation. However, the Assembly cut the budget for both the League’s Secretariat and the ICIC. Paradoxically, the confluence of these events permitted the IIIC to develop several educational projects. The IIIC’s new management and new place in the Organization for Intellectual Cooperation,[18] as well as the unstable international situation, allowed it to use discussions concerning schoolbooks to embed itself in several networks. This was a discreet change, as it largely concerned the Secretariat in charge of textbooks, but it effectively established the IIIC’s presence in a number of exchanges and data-collection projects.

As a result, the IIIC was charged with revising textbooks and sought to exercise its influence. Meanwhile, to overcome their own limitations, individuals and groups interested in schoolbooks solicited aid from this institution of meagre means. This relational matrix, in which each actor had its own needs and made use of the others’, influenced the evolution of textbook revisions.[19]

3.2 From a Negative to a Positive Approach

Margaret Rothbarth (1887–1951) took charge of the IIIC’s report on textbooks. A delegation from the Subcommittee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth about the League of Nations and its Principles discussed her findings in Geneva on July 3, 1931. This masterful summary

of the state of the field raised a more general issue beyond revising textbooks: it questioned the aims and content of history instruction (IIIC 1932).[20] Henri Bonnet (1888–1978), the new director of the IIIC, was present, indicating the importance ascribed to this discussion. The debate centered on the definition of procedures and the authority of the actors involved in textbook revisions, including teachers[21]—the primacy of their work was recognized, for example, by Georges Lapierre (1886–1945), adjunct secretary of the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* (National Teachers' Union, SNI) and the International Federation of Teachers' Associations—and historians.[22] While conceding that "teachers' opinions carried a great deal of weight with editors", Bonnet took a position that appealed to historians, especially the ICHS. Wilhelm Schellberg (1880–1937), ministerial counsel to the Prussian Ministry of Public Instruction, highlighted two themes of the debate: a "practical consideration", that is, removing errors from schoolbooks, and a "theoretical consideration", reflection on the guiding principles underpinning history textbooks (*Minutes of the First Session*, 3 July, box 524, ICIC Archives). A convergence gradually emerged between the national commissions, the committees and these groups.

The report was sent in February 1932 to a committee of experts made up of seven people[23]: Gustave Glotz (president), Otto Brandt, Ernst Bjerke, Julio Casarès, Bruno Vignola, Jean Piaget and Eileen Power. The committee also considered a preliminary note sent to Bonnet on January 21 by the psychologist Jean Piaget, director of the IBE, which surveyed the range of possibilities for the revision of textbooks and confirmed their feasibility. Piaget asserted above all that the spirit of international understanding grew out of critical inquiry, based on impartiality and objectivity. These debates raised several issues: museums and documentation centers had to be included in such discussions. Additionally, to augment the information in its initial report and keep it up to date, the IIIC had to continue documenting official texts on schoolbooks and government policies and to make national authorities aware of its findings. And the committee hoped eventually to accomplish more: "one [suggestion], made by Mr. Piaget, concerned the scientific study of textbooks' psychological impact on children, another sought to create a collection of the schoolbooks states most frequently used". Piaget drew on

the IBE's expertise, attempting to enlist national teachers' unions to conduct a survey that would serve as the basis for an academic study. For his part, in a letter to Bonnet of January 18 Vignola asserted the need to respect governments' sovereignty and to work towards earning their trust (*Rapport de la réunion du Comité d'experts réuni à l'Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle,* 1932, I.II.3, IIIC Archives).

The importance of the Casarès Resolution was recognized, and an expansion of the process it had begun was envisioned. While history textbooks remained the focal point, geographies, histories of civilization and literary anthologies were now within its purview. Characteristic of the expert committee's resolutions was an effort to reinterpret war as it appeared in textbooks from an academic and pacifistic perspective. As such, a positive approach—approval of good textbooks—was favored—over censorship of problematic passages. The results of the study were published in French in 1932 under the title *La Révision des Manuels Scolaires contenant des passages nuisibles à la compréhension mutuelle des peuples*. The text had two main components: an assessment of governmental and non-governmental actions and an account of institutional and legislative issues in their national contexts. In 1933, a second, expanded edition appeared in English, *School Textbook Revision and International Understanding*. One new chapter dealt with "[t]extbooks for use in more than one country". Another chapter, "List of Textbooks", referenced surveys of officially approved schoolbooks from seventeen countries. Part of the IIIC's work now centered on gathering and cataloguing authorized textbooks (the IBE already possessed large collections of this sort). It also brought together experts on the national committees for intellectual cooperation and circulated lists of the best schoolbooks available. Consequently, the question of textbook revision took on a new status—an activist issue gradually became an academic one.

3.3 An Emergent Problem: Academic Objectivity

Two types of activity characterized this new line of inquiry: the creation of national subcommittees and their collection and analysis of textbooks. This constituted the realization of projects set out by the

network of institutions for intellectual cooperation and the Casarès protocol. The new data would permit national specificities to be accounted for, potentially representing a first step towards concerted action on a transnational, possibly global, scale. In the end, this might lead to understanding of the issues at stake and even harmonization and standardization of textbooks.

It was in this context that the crucial questions of academic objectivity and consensus emerged. The ICIC asked the IIIC to work with national committees and associations on a study of primary and secondary history textbooks and determine if they met the standards of objectivity. The project, however, seems to have reached an impasse: though consensus more or less existed in favor of objective instruction, facts continued to be disputed. The Casarès Resolution appears to have facilitated the correction of small errors and approximations, but profound disagreement about facts and events caused conflicts. What was to be done in this second case?

4 Complicating Issues and Strategies

4.1 The IIIC Positions Itself as a Mediator Between Different Communities

As the creation of a body dedicated uniquely to textbooks was impossible, and perhaps even undesirable, the IIIC maintained contact with groups working on textbooks, striving to remain a rallying point and to follow ongoing debates and initiatives closely. The IIIC endeavored to position itself as a legitimate interlocutor among historians and their associations. At the International Congress on Moral Education held in Paris in 1930, Michel Lhéritier, professor at Ecole de Hautes Etudes Sociales and general secretary of International Committee of Historical Sciences, suggested organizing a special international congress on history instruction that would engage the different points of view of historians, pedagogues, philosophers, friends of the League of Nations and so on. This project took shape a few months later.

Lhéritier and, at Claparède's urging, Rafael Altamira contacted Bonnet on October 27, 1931 (I.II.5, IIIC Archives). Thanks to Bonnet's participation, the planning meeting for the First International Conference for History Instruction took place in the IIIC's offices at the Palais Royal in Paris on February 1, 1932. The same year, the IIIC was invited to the International Conference on History Instruction (June 30–July 2) at The Hague, and in 1934 to the Second International Conference on History Instruction in Basel.[24] This partnership reinforced the IIIC's status as an umbrella organization: it began to house other associations at the Palais Royal in Paris, such as the International Federation of Teachers' Associations, better known in France as the Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Instituteurs (FIAI) and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, and to host events put together by diverse collaborations.[25]

Moreover, at the 1932 FIAI congress in Luxembourg, teachers involved with the FIAI[26] raised the issue of history instruction from an international perspective (B.IV.31, IIIC Archives). During the planning meeting for the conference, Lapierre summarized the challenges teachers faced when practising this type of instruction: presenting accurate education, selecting the central themes of courses and adapting narratives to suit children's needs (Conférence 1932; see also Lapierre 1932). In reality, however, it was the "present state of the historical sciences" that was most in question.[27] For the French pedagogue and historian Jules Isaac (1877–1963), a dedicated international institution would help reorient misguided, nationalist and aggressive historical instruction, "returning it to the correct path".[28] However, short on the necessary human, material and financial resources, the institutions for intellectual cooperation had to depart from this utopian idea.[29] Alongside the reorganization of the national commissions for intellectual cooperation, the IIIC closely followed community-led initiatives under Rothbarth's shrewd supervision and endeavored to support these initiatives. It did so through networking, publicity and the dissemination of materials that not only promoted the emergence of new projects and methodologies, but also the production of knowledge and the reconceptualization of didactic objects.

4.2 Historians Are Invited to "Consider the Small-Mindedness of the National Perspective"

The first problem was that many historians and educators remained skeptical about the LN's initial actions—a judgement that threw the ICIC and IIIC's activities into question. A former high school history teacher in Paris, Jules Isaac was an important textbook author during the period (Amalvi 2001, 149–51). In an interview of March 1933, he asserted that "official resolutions have no effect: history is governed by educators and historians". Many historians shared this sentiment, whether out of nationalism or concern for maintaining national autonomy on these issues (*La bataille autour de l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Isaac Papers). Apart from this, Isaac severely criticized the tenor of discussions between historians and educators—in particular, the internationalism of historians, as represented by the ICHS (*La bataille autour de l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Isaac Papers).

The second problem was that historians needed a space for collaboration. Isaac recognized that "it is difficult for historians to agree with one another". He saw one way around this problem as the creation of spaces for discussion, beginning with the *Conference Bulletin*, that would "foster international collaboration among historians and educators, and vocal critiques of nationalist positions". This would allow them "to consider the small-mindedness of the national perspective" (*La bataille autour de l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Isaac Papers). For Isaac, the goal was to "create a spiritual climate in which peace might possibly reign". However, the Second International Conference on History Education in 1934 was the scene of an attempt to destabilize such efforts: the German delegation distributed a tract criticizing French textbook authors (Riondet 2015, 174–76). Discontinued after two issues, the *Bulletin*, edited by Isaac and Lapierre, was a casualty of the conference. In short, the IIIC found itself confronted by two organizational challenges: encouraging national commissions for intellectual cooperation to work with historians and rendering collaboration among historians possible.

4.3 Experts at Work: Competitive Exchanges and Nationalist Biases

Like others, Rothbarth worked for the IIIC on several fronts. She developed a rubric for "the teaching of history" (I.II.6, IIIC Archives). It picked up, in 1934, where the journal *Coopération Intellectuelle* had left off, keeping Isaac's vision alive in another format. In this forum, Rothbarth called on historians to collaborate, facilitate the circulation of information and make the sorts of interactions that allowed networks to organize for collective work possible.

Evolving resolutions on textbooks gradually led to a reorganization of the national committees for intellectual cooperation. Their work now centered on studying schoolbooks and bringing pressure to bear on editors when corrections were needed. This allowed the French historian Isaac, as a "specialized expert" (*Feuille d'information de la Commission Française de Coopération intellectuelle* 19, February 1935, Isaac Papers) to gain greater access to the French National Commission[30] and the Paedagogical Museum,[31] where various collections of textbooks were housed.[32] At the other national commissions for intellectual cooperation, the expert committees also went to work. At first glance, all seemed to go well and relations were cordial, as the Italian National Commission's letter to its French counterpart of July 31, 1935 attests:

> The committee expresses, henceforth, its gratitude to the French National Commission for its amicable work graciously persuading authors and editors. Its authority will undoubtedly lead to promising results concerning the texts in question; [the committee] likewise declares that it would be extremely pleased to do the same for flagged Italian texts, which the French National Commission might eventually present to it. (I.II.1, IIIC Archives)

Minor points of contention were nevertheless commented on in the following fifty pages. Though French chauvinism was raised as an issue, a more consistent theme was the revalorization of Italy's culture, great men and influence. Regarding Malet-Isaac's textbooks, the Italian National Committee noted in July 1935 that the University of Bologna

was the oldest in Europe, not the University of Paris; it clarified that "Louis XI, before César Borgia, was no more scrupulous in getting rid of his enemies"; and for the invention of the telephone it listed alongside Bell and Grey the name of an Italian, Antonio Meucci, who had received a patent for the device.[33] In this case, the revision of textbooks took the form of friendly competition between nations.

The revision of textbooks came up against obstacles, including disinformation[34] and the emergence of National Socialism. On July 24, 1935, the French National Commission copied the IIIC in on a report about collections of French and German schoolbooks. It used this occasion to publicize particular passages from German history textbooks, offering the following conclusion:

1. Without any need to attack France directly, all of these texts demonstrate a national psychology and philosophy of history completely opposed to our own;
2. Textbooks and supplementary materials—generally presented in a skilled and artful manner—have been conceived as documentary and historic tools that serve as proof of the Hitlerian doctrine, particularly, the theses of *Mein Kampf*;
3. They do not shy away from displaying the most overt hostility and contempt when it comes to the international community in Geneva and its expertise … (I.II.1, IIIC Archives).

The IIIC collected, moreover, other reports, including one that concluded that "[t]his is no longer history, but the lowest sort of journalism" (Ruyssen *Observations sur deux manuels usités dans les écoles allemandes*, I.II.1, IIIC Archives).

4.4 Procedural Codification, Recommendations and Resistance

From 1933 on, the idea of encouraging the publication of textbooks written in the spirit of international rapprochement gained currency. Several official and semi-official procedures were formulated. In a

resolution of July 1934, the ICIC invited the IIIC to create a bilateral test-project intended to institute a procedure that would lessen, if not remove, divergent interpretations of historical events in textbooks used in the schools of the two countries concerned. As a letter of Rothbarth to Isaac of April 5, 1935 attests (I.II.9, IIIC Archives), she worked out a first draft of the project that aimed to use ambassadors as intermediaries to create an accord between the two governments. Such an agreement would complicate the Casarès Resolution and require the codification of new procedures, including the regular examination of textbooks and the reporting of new research on the other country's history. Additionally, recommendations for teachers needed to be published that would outline how to incorporate the history of the other nation and highlight traits that promote understanding and cooperation. Joint committees of history instructors also had to be created.[35] Finally, the relationship would no longer be between commissions but governments, thereby complicating the network. The IIIC's project soon faced setbacks, criticisms and calls for revision.

Concurrently, French and German history professors had undertaken a joint effort to revise textbooks in 1935.[36] This project safeguarded the autonomy of historical work, but lacked official backing. Rothbarth closely supervised these activities. This complicated effort (Kaspi 2002; Riondet 2015) resulted in an accord that was, at best, a qualified success: Isaac certainly saw it this way.[37] The joint project had to contend with a plurality of sources for and interpretations of extraordinarily contentious issues, such as war guilt in relation to Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles.[38] Here, the history of battles, wars, great men and events constituted the historiographical frame of reference, but underlying epistemological issues began to emerge.[39] Furthermore, imperialistic tendencies lurked beneath some of the schemes for revision.[40] As the international climate continued to deteriorate,[41] the ICIC's *Declaration on History Instruction* represented an important moment for textbook revision. This was opened to state signatories on October 2, 1937. Its first clause showcases its singularity:

> It will be useful to draw the attention of the competent authorities and textbook authors in each country toward an opportunity: a) to assure

> the largest place possible to the history of other nations; b) to make felt through the teaching of universal history sentiments that will promote the interdependence of nations. (I.II.9, IIIC Archives)

The project's scope was quite large, no longer limited to a European audience or the circle of LN members.[42] While this proposal entailed the creation of specialized commissions,[43] what stood out was the will to standardize and globalize. Responses varied: approbation, agreement in principle, expressions of reservation, refusals. Nonetheless, the declaration was duly entered into record.[44] Paradoxically, the international dynamics of war and peace created an opportunity to define new historiographical objectives: the co-writing of national histories and the compilation of an international history. It was, however, too late, as the Second World War soon interrupted the process.

5 Conclusion

How to make war on nationalist and belligerent textbooks and how to carry out this combat under the banner of pacifism? One of the particularities of the IIIC's action in the network of organizations for intellectual cooperation was without a doubt its tendency to favor circulatory processes—the circulation of values, but also people and objects, through meetings and exchanges—in order to build consensus. In the debate between neo-realists and functionalists (Kott 2011a) on the status of international organizations, our study situates the activities of the institutions for intellectual cooperation on textbooks as a form of regulation that simultaneously created spaces for the development of internationalism through complex relations between states.[45] As we trace out complex structural[46] or short-term[47] relations in this matrix, it is useful to bear certain theoretical and methodological issues in mind.

Clearly a simple international law would have sufficed to transform education on the national level. A legalistic approach, however, raised three issues: the need for a higher executive authority, recognized as such, judicial compatibility at the national level, and a want of material and human resources.[48] Neither the League of Nations nor the ICIC

was conceived of as a coercive institution. The goal, moreover, was not to sidestep states, but to ameliorate relations between them. Thus, debate over textbook revision emphasized the promotion and endorsement of certain practices and the establishment of collectively agreed norms.[49] Consequently, when we consider the impact of international relationships on national frameworks,[50] it is important to avoid reducing these institutions' activities to the simple creation of a network that never managed to push through international legislation or create uniform regulations.[51] Obviously, in terms of the content of textbooks, the results were far from spectacular. The Casarès Protocol was seldom used in the years following its adoption and the national commissions for intellectual cooperation often only dealt with requests concerning details. However, the negotiations, confrontations, discussions and mediations themselves can be considered part of the complex process of institutionalizing norms and developing cooperative strategies.[52]

The manner in which the apparatus of the ICIC, the IIIC (and the committees connected to them) maneuvered to focus on educational issues might seem like a strategy intended to compensate for the LN's lack of executive force. To understand this system, in which complicated power relations played a central role, it is important to consider the reorganization of the national commissions for intellectual cooperation and the IIIC. At first glance, the IIIC, which attempted to enhance understanding between states and improve national education systems, enjoyed a relative degree of liberty within the network of intellectual cooperation.[53] However, it was caught between the activities of non-governmental actors, popular demands and, above all, limited resources. Though the IIIC struggled to house its affiliate societies, it found creative means of interacting with non-governmental actors (teachers, historians, militants, educators, civilians). It coordinated—and sometimes appropriated—their efforts to defeat opposition and push things along. Through its support of extra-governmental actors, the IIIC even occasionally exercised influence over governments.

The road to consensus had twists and turns. The war on nationalist and belligerent textbooks initially centered on three goals: consciousness-raising, purging problematic passages and endorsing good books. During this first stage we can examine the complex, sometimes

competitive, relations among international institutions and associations that predated the intellectual cooperation in the context of the LN and ICIC. Soon, however, the scope of the attack widened. No longer was it a question of purging and endorsing, but of writing history and editing textbooks. We argue that a general discussion about textbooks as pedagogical objects rapidly grew into a debate about the production of knowledge. The issue became one of discipline rather than pedagogy. Of course, at this stage a new obstacle emerged: nationalist sentiments, particularly among the historians.[54] As Hobsbawm reminds us, "history is … the raw material for nationalist, ethnicist, and fundamentalist ideologies" (2008, 29).[55] Power dynamics and violent debates characterized spaces of textbook revision and discussions about history teaching. As Isaac's remark of March 1933 attests, history instruction is "a battle that is not bloody, but bitter, and it is often closely linked to political fights" (*La bataille autour de l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Isaac Papers). This underscores another contribution of our work: we view the history of education and pacifism in terms of struggles and confrontations that shaped both overt actions and behind-the-scenes maneuvering.[56]

Certainly, attempts at dialogue and conciliation are discernible, especially within the framework of the ICIC, the IIIC and the committees. Yet many key historical events were so recent that objective analysis was difficult. Moreover, tools, sources, methods and epistemologies were not always consistent with the development of an international spirit. Wilsonian internationalism and pacifism led to what we might call "the emergence of international society in the 1920s" (Gorman 2012). It provoked and accelerated an epistemological reevaluation of the historical sciences. The political and diplomatic context, however, made it difficult to reach the consensus necessary to pass from one paradigm of historical inquiry to another.[57]

These discussions and efforts, marked by a will to denationalize history in favour of a transnational approach, remain surprisingly relevant today. The road was characterized by what we now call kinetic phenomena, circulatory processes and cultural transfers, as we increasingly look beyond institutional history and discover rational methodologies (intersecting fields, objects and scales), behind-the-scenes controversies, failed projects and the strategic power of overlooked actors. No doubt,

making war on nationalist and belligerent textbooks led to conflicts and struggles in addition to public debates and exchanges, involving anonymous actors and forgotten Figs.[58] Rothbarth of the IIIC[59] and a number of others in networks concerned with these issues seldom receive credit, though the appearance of Franco–German textbooks after 1945 might constitute an extension of their story. History's winding path is strewn with vanquished adversaries, but also with forgotten contributors.

Translated by Alex Tipei

Notes

1. Inaugurated in 2013, our research lies at the intersection of two projects funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) *Figures of Knowledge Production and the Construction of New Disciplinary Fields: The Scenes of Knowledge* (Sinergia CRSII1–147688) and *Die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion schulischen Wissens—Zur Transformation des schulischen Wissenskorpus und dessen bildungspolitischer Konstruktionsprinzipien seit 1830* (Sinergia CRSII1–141826).
2. The network comprised multiple interrelated and shifting bodies. Structurally, this network was particularly complicated because non-governmental organizations that included state representatives and worked in the shadow of states relied upon cooperation. As such, even though NCs were non-governmental, they sometimes acted on behalf of state interests. National and international political realities also shaped intellectual cooperation, as Italy and Germany's status transfers clearly demonstrate. For more on this subject, see comments by Renoliet (1999) and Dumont (2014) on institutions.
3. Although the IIIC was a specialized organization linked to the League, it maintained a level of legal and financial autonomy, especially as it benefited from French backing and was based in Paris.
4. Renoliet (1999) underlines the relative autonomy of the National Commissions for Intellectual Cooperation (NCs). Though government officials participated, the NCs were non-governmental. The League of Nations, and thus the nations themselves, confirmed the NCs' membership. The internal composition of the NCs was complex. In 1938,

the French NC included a bureau, a steering committee, a general secretary and a series of subcommittees (for radio broadcasting, intellectual property rights, translations, the teaching of peace and educational statistics). It is interesting to note that there were also representative members, participating on behalf of ministries, associations, public establishments and so on, in addition to individual members (IIIC Archives, A.III.8).

5. The history of the League of Nations, pacifism, international relations, intellectual cooperation, historical pedagogy, textbooks, pedagogical activism, women's history, and so on.
6. Here we refer to Malcolm Vick's distinction between "arterial communication" and "capillary communication" (cited in Middleton 2013, 9).
7. The larger study was launched by Équipe de recherche en Histoire Sociale de l'Éducation (the Social History Research Team on Education, or ERHISE), see Hofstetter and Droux (2016–2020). This program aims, through historical inquiry, to shed light on the mechanisms that constitute "international education", identify their global architecture and map out their networks, and to examine the overarching goals of the agents and agencies who endowed education with a universalist mission.
8. Here we refer to Pirenne's comments during the Fifth International Congress on the Historical Science in 1923: "throughout the course of the war, the belligerents requisitioned two sciences in particular: history and chemistry. One provided bombs and gases; the other pretexts, justifications and excuses" (cited in Verga 2007, 523).
9. Here we refer to a letter written by Professor Robert A. Millikan (1868–1953) in response to objections formulated by Gonzague de Reynold (1880–1970) and to an initial study by Julien Luchaire (1876–1962) (Casarès 1925, I.II.1, IIIC Archives).
10. Casarès's resolution included the remark that "[i]n the context of so many calls, increasingly urgent and from every side, I think the moment has come to attempt a first step toward solving the problem. However, it must be admitted—and I do so with regret—that, in the present circumstances, it would be premature to want to tackle instruction in any domain, and especially in history, from an international perspective and that we have to give up trying to impose or even recommend the adoption of this or that textbook to states. We have to give them the freedom to organize their national instruction as they see fit" (I.II.1, IIIC Archives).

11. Only three requests were recorded, including one from the Spanish NC; Julio Casarès was a member.
12. In October 1928, the IIIC contacted Pierre Renouvin (1893–1974) regarding the journal *L'Esprit international*. The journal had neglected to mention the Casarès Procedure among measures undertaken concerning schoolbooks (I.II.1, IIIC Archives).
13. The IIIC was the administrative intermediary between national committees. It circulated information about the Casarès Procedure, reaching out to individuals and journals.
14. Members of the ICIC, IIIC, NCs, and other institutions and their subcommittees sent programmes and non-governmental project requests up the chain of command, from the IIIC and the NCs to the ICIC. The ICIC decreed and voted on resolutions, and its subcommittees sent its recommendations and instructions down the ladder to other institutions.
15. "Another subject of great interest, often raised at the Assembly, was youth instruction on the LN and its goals. It seems to us that this should, in the future, become a central concern" (*Coopération Intellectuelle* 4, 1931).
16. The pact, signed by seventy-three countries, condemned the use of warfare to regulate international conflict. In cases of military aggression, however, no sanctions were stipulated.
17. In a July report during a reunion of the Subcommittee of Experts on Children's and Youth Instruction on the LN and its Goals, Casarès stated that "[t]he subcommittee believes that the moment has perhaps come to take a step forward. We imagine that this will be the realization of a study made by several countries on the state of schoolbooks, allowing for the degree to which they further the spirit of international cooperation to be established, taking into account previous work on the subject or work undertaken by certain associations, like the Carnegie Foundation, the International Committee of Historical Sciences, various international teachers' associations, etc." (C.I.C.I./E.J.47, box 521, ICIC Archives, 9).
18. The IIIC's first director, Julien Luchaire, was criticized for using the institution to further French interests (Renoliet 1999, 59).
19. At the time, the creation of an independent body that would analyze textbooks and inventory academic questions and have the right, authority and power to change content was inconceivable. Consequently,

overlapping formal and informal relations allowed for the organization and circulation of data and the promotion of findings considered legitimate.

20. "… the discussion always comes back to the question of whether or not the glorification of conquests, the history of warfare should be removed from instruction, if we need to renounce narrating any war, and limit ourselves to the history of civilization" (IIIC 1932, 12).
21. In fact, teachers had already contributed to textbook revisions. For example, between 1926 and 1928 French instructors from the Syndicat National des Instituteurs (SNI) retired more than twenty history textbooks that did coincide with pacifist values.
22. Jules Destrée (1863–1936) defended the first position, Giuseppe Gallavresi (1879–1937), professor of history at the University of Milan, the second. Because of the makeup of the expert committee, it ended up supporting the second position.
23. Though he no longer belonged to the subcommittee of experts, Julio Casarès was invited to participate. The Italian NC announced that the minister of education had chosen Bruno Vignola, the principal inspector of secondary education in Italy, for the committee. The International Federation of Teachers' Associations pushed to place one of its members on the committee, and, while Louis Dumas appealed to the adjunct director of the IIIC to recommend Georges Lapierre's appointment, in the end the Swedish Ernst Bjerke, vice president of Sverges, Folkollärförbund a Swedish association from Göteborg, was invited. Gustave Glotz, professor at the Sorbonne and president of the International Committee of Historical Sciences' Subcommittee on the Teaching of History, represented France to an extent. The German Otto Brandt, professor at the University of Erlangen and secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences' Subcommittee on the Teaching of History, the Swiss Jean Piaget, director of the IBE in Geneva, and the British Eileen Power, professor of economic history at the University of London, completed the committee.
24. Each time, Rothbarth took Bonnet's place and created new contacts.
25. This proximity undoubtedly made certain informal interactions possible.

26. The FIAI brought together teachers from more than twenty countries.
27. Peter Petersen-Jens, *Theses Studied in Preparation for the Planning Meeting of the First International Congress on the Teaching of History*, n.d., I.II.6, IIIC Archives.
28. *Projet de création d'un organisme international permanent de pédagogie historique*, n. d., Isaac Papers. Isaac's proposal was cited at the planning meeting in 1932.
29. Nevertheless, formal and informal work carried out by the IIIC and related organizations appears to correspond to the framework Isaac laid out during the planning meeting of 1932 (Conférence internationale pour l'enseignement de l'histoire, 52–53).
30. The French NC simultaneously developed relations with the Liaison Committee for Major Associations for Peace through Education as well as the French Federation of Associations for the LN.
31. On pedagogical museums, see Matasci (especially 2015, 55–74).
32. The French NC allocated 2000 francs to the National Centre for Paedagogical Documentation to acquire foreign textbooks. The Plenary Commission of the NC accepted (with Lévy-Bruhl, Bardoux, Grunebaum-Ballin, Isaac and Lapierre's support) Célestin Bouglé's proposal to acquire foreign textbooks for study (*Feuille d'information de la Commission Française de Coopération intellectuelle 19*, February 1935, Isaac Papers).
33. Other details might have been cited as examples: the Italians' role in the First World War, the Italian nationality (as opposed to French) of the mathematician Lagrande, and so on.
34. In a letter to Rothbarth of July 8, 1935, Prudhommeaux commented: "There are falsifiers who want to poison relations, already sufficiently tense, between our two countries, and, unfortunately, newspapers in Strasbourg and in Paris are allying themselves with these wrongdoers" (I.II.2, IIIC Archives). On propaganda offensives and the question of Franco–German relations, see Krapoth (2004).
35. "During our last meeting, the Commission reviewed the proposal of Mr. Émile Borel, President of the Institute of France. It suggested charging the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation with the creation of a test-project for bilateral agreement. This model accord would give interested governments the responsibility heretofore taken on by the National Commissions and to engage, with one another, in a precise manner" (*Cooperation Intellectuelle* 1935, 47–48, 547). This procedure

seems to have been inspired by an accord between Argentina and Brazil (*Bulletin* 1934, 34–35, 644) and another between the governments in attendance at the Seventh International Conference of American States (*Bulletin* 47–48, 598).

36. The French delegation was represented by Georges Morizet, president of the Associate of History Professors, Paul Mantoux, professor of the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers*, Georges Pagès et Pierre Renouvin, professors at University of Paris, Jules Isaac and Etienne Weill-Raynald, professors in secondary level instruction, and Georges Lapierre, representing primary level instruction.
37. In a letter to Isaac of June 10, 1936, Rothbarth said, “I can imagine your disappointment, as I know how much you worked on this and to what extent this issue touches your heart” (I.II.6, IIIC Archives).
38. Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles—signed on June 28, 1919 to establish the peace and announce the creation of a League of Nations—placed sole responsibility for the war on Germany and imposed sanctions on the country. Krapoth (2004) has shown how some German textbooks endeavored to assert that the war was not triggered by Germany, but by its rivals.
39. Can there be two readings of the same fact? Are there objective, natural facts? What of heterogeneous sources, different languages and the other’s point of view?
40. It would be interesting to examine the intricacies of the demands of the National Commissions such as the Italian NC’s interaction with the Spanish NC on the question of Christopher Columbus’s (Italian) nationality and the Italian-ness of the great explorers, in the light of Italy’s annexation of Ethiopia in 1936. See the letter from the Italian NC to the Spanish NC of January 18, 1936 (I.II.1, IIIC Archives).
41. With the Italian annexation of Ethiopia (1936), the beginnings of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the Anschluss (1938), and so on.
42. The declaration was open to be signed by all members of the LN or by any non-member state to whom the project of the declaration had been communicated (Clause 4, I.II.9, IIIC Archives).
43. Its goal was to create a committee of teachers that included history professors, operating within a predetermined framework (Clause 3, I.II.9, IIIC Archives).
44. “The present declaration will be entered into record by the Secretary General of the LN and entered into effect on the date when it has received two signatures” (Clause 5, I.II.9, IIIC Archives).

45. "Even when nation-states need international organizations to (co)exist, these [organizations] are nonetheless constructed *out of* nations, and not *against* them, and are led by individuals and groups who mobilize national resources and national public opinion" (Kott 2011b, 70).
46. Exchange between institutions took place at different levels (ICIC, NCs, committees of experts, delegations, and so on) and, moreover, the practices of this "intellectual" network did not prevent the participation of state agents (such as inspectors-general, ministers). Further, this matrix was not really a counter-weight to national governments, but a space for confrontation and negotiation on their fringes.
47. That is, local political contexts and international conflicts could complicate exchanges and debates at any moment.
48. Here we have to bear in mind the differences between practices, norms, and laws. Laws sanction changes in day-to-day attitudes and practices and eventually allow for the homogenization of different national legal codes.
49. It is precisely this quest for consensus and consent that historical scholarship needs to describe and analyze.
50. Saunier (2004) raises this question.
51. Analyzing the distance from the creation of a network to the enactment of legislation or regulations helps us to answer theoretical questions about the institutionalization of norms.
52. At the end of the Second World War, national commissions again functioned as a starting point and reference for UNESCO's textbooks and for certain bilateral and multilateral accords between nations (Giuntella 2003, 189).
53. While conceived of as an executive body, it only gained executive strength as the Organization of Intellectual Cooperation.
54. In many ways, historians can be considered "political actors" (Hobsbawm 2008, 30).
55. We note that this quotation has the peculiarity of being somewhat atemporal and often relevant: it raises bigger questions about ideology and historical inquiry.
56. Here we refer to Michel Foucault's formulation "... pacifism for what peace? *Pacifism* in relation to what peace or *in relation to what war* hidden by the decreed peace?" (Foucault 2001, 1357; see also Riondet 2015, 179).
57. French secondary instruction bore the imprint of Charles Seignobos (1854–1942). The Malet-Isaac textbook dominated the French publishing scene during the interwar period. It is unsurprising that Isaac was

a principal figure in discussions on textbook revisions and that these textbooks exhibited an "approach to history inherited from Lavisse, extremely Francocentric, constructed around the nation-state using a strictly factualist method—that of the history of battles that gave France its grandeur" (Delacroix et al. 2007, 474). If, however, this tendency could eclipse (or resist) the emergence of new historiographical approaches that arose during the same period, notably the *Annales* School, it was unquestionably because the debates on Article 231 had potential political and diplomatic consequences and made a historiography centered on wars and events necessary. This analysis gives us a rational explanation for the survival of a paradigm that was already highly criticized at the time, for example by Lucien Febvre (1878–1956).

58. Many actors died before the beginning of the First World War. Others lost their lives during the conflict.
59. She defined herself as "the IIIC specialist on the issue of textbooks" in a letter to Comte d'Ormesson (I.II.1, IIIC Archives. Different women in this network have been mentioned in various studies, above all Hallsten-Kallia (Goodman 2010) and Rothbarth (Lemke 2012).

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10

The School Uses of History: The Tangled Portrayal of the Spanish Civil War in History Textbooks (1970–98)

Mariano González Delgado and Manuel Ferraz Lorenzo

1 Introduction: War, Identity and Textbooks

In recent years, research concerned with the analysis of textbooks has increased considerably (Foster 2011; Fuchs 2011). In Spain, there have been notable initiatives such as the MANES Project (Puelles Benítez and Tiana Ferrer 2003; Somoza 2006; Valls Montés 1999, 2007a; Beas 2013; Ossenbach 2014). At an international level, consolidated proposals for research have also been made, including by the Georg Eckert Institute (Radkau 2000; Fuchs 2011), and studies carried out by independent researchers (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; Johnsen 1996; Foster 2011, 9–14). Textbooks are, without doubt, a key source for the analysis of curriculum content and, above all, of the kind of knowledge transmitted to pupils over different periods.

Historians of Spanish education have paid particular attention to the portrayal of the Spanish Civil War in Baccalaureate textbooks (Álvarez

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Osés et al. 2000; Boyd 2006; Valls Montés 2007a, b; Marina Carranza 2012). The importance of this period in twentieth-century Spanish history has certainly not gone unnoticed in the majority of school textbooks. The main reason for this is that the Spanish Civil War formed the transition between two key historical periods, the Second Republic and Franco's dictatorship, which "has meant that it is also one of the most sensitive subjects to be dealt with in history textbooks" (Valls Montés 2007b, 155). In fact, the one-sided view that textbooks have offered for a long time on this topic has led various eminent historians to complain about their historical inaccuracies (Casanova 2014; Bel Martínez and Colomer Rubio 2017).

The need to carry out research into history textbooks has been more than justified: they are not neutral objects, as many of their explanations are not exclusively oriented towards "true history" or "real history" (Foster 2011, 5). School textbooks have been influenced by a variety of power relations, meaning that the selection or omission of content is not just the result of academic considerations (Foster 2005).[1] Textbooks contain values, ideas and knowledge influenced by different social elements; the intention is that their content will be absorbed and legitimized by the students who use them. As a result, the selection of textbook content is an intensely political activity in which tension, controversy and heated debate often arise over the definition of "which knowledge is the most valuable" (Foster 2011, 5).

However, it is not just the will to untangle ideological messages transmitted about the Spanish Civil War per se that has led researchers to focus on this topic. Traditionally, the teaching of history in schools has suffered constant political intervention, as this subject is one of the most effective ways to reinforce certain narratives about a nation and its identity (Montgomery 2005; Janmaat 2006; Terra 2014; Williams and Bokhorst-Heng 2016). In the historical content of school textbooks, concepts are defined that can determine the kind of nation a country is, the relationships produced among its citizens and what the core identity is that unites everyone (Boyd 2000; Ferraz Lorenzo 1996).

For this reason, the primary objective of this chapter is to analyze the explicit messages about the Civil War that a sample of social science textbooks[2] presented to their readers from the transition to democracy

(the Transition) until after the introduction of the Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (LOGSE, or the Organic Law of the General Organization of the Education System) in 1990. The novel feature of this paper is that it presents research based on study of the actual textbooks used in *Educación General Básica* (EGB, or General Basic Education, for six- to fourteen-year-olds) under the General Education Law (*Ley General de Educación*, 1970) and in compulsory secondary education for twelve to sixteen year-olds under the LOGSE law.

As Boyd has indicated, insofar as in modern societies schools have become one of the main institutions to reproduce political socialization and the memory of the nation, school textbooks have been subjected to a number of interventions that allow us to observe their complex and tangled development (2006, 80). Numerous scholars have noted that, given the social function of teaching, school textbooks, and above all those of history and literature, are oriented towards showing "norms of civic behavior" (Boyd 2006, 80; unless otherwise specified, all translations ours. See also Foster 1999, 2005; Crawford and Foster 2007; Aamotsbakken 2010; Troch 2012; Darr 2012). In fact, school textbooks attempt to transmit a combination of symbols, narratives and historical perspectives to legitimize certain demands of politics and national identity. Consequently, nation-states have attempted to control the content of history curricula. In building their education systems, governments have implemented study plans and programmes, official questionnaires and textbook regulations with the aim of trying to control what is taught in classrooms (Boyd 2000; Carreras Ares and Forcadell 2003; Ortiz de Orruño 1998; Groves 2014).

In fact, not without reason, Marsden wrote that history and geography textbooks are oriented by "propaganda" (2000, 31), more than by history in its true sense. In different periods, these textbooks reflect specific views or "poisoned" perspectives at the service of particular ideologies (29) due to the need to try to build a national identity through them. In some cases, these textbooks even present a clearly conflictive nature in the way they present historical disputes between nations for the control of territories or over international politics.[3]

This does not, however, mean that textbooks mechanically reflect the thinking of a government at a particular time. Textbooks are not exclusively developed through political intervention or the influence of dominant ideas. Rather, they express the complex influences of society itself and its ideas about politics, culture and citizenship. They are subject to constant change and continuities: a considerable variety of factors can influence their production, but they can also remain unchanged over time when dealing with certain themes, or introduce explanations that could surprise readers at home and abroad (Issitt 2004; Foster 1999).

The aim of this chapter is to attempt to explain why social science textbooks during the period 1970–90 represented the Spanish Civil War the way they did.[4] The first part of the chapter outlines the background to this period, to act as a guide and a basis for our findings. These general considerations on the complexity and contradictions of textbooks are then used to help us draw conclusions on the portrayal of the Civil War in Spanish textbooks. The ten textbooks analyzed in this study were published by Santillana, Anaya and SM between 1978 and 1998 (see list below). They were chosen because they have been the most widely used in the Spanish context: these three publishers account for 83% of total textbook sales in Spain (González and Montero 2013, 95). The textbooks were selected according to the following criteria: they were designed for the subject of social sciences in Basic Secondary Education; they all devoted a topic or section to the Spanish Civil War; and they were used at different levels in Spanish public and private schools.

This study employs content analysis of the sample of textbooks. Previous studies of the presentation of war in textbooks have been taken into account (Álvarez Osés et al. 2000; Marsden 2000; Nicholls and Foster 2005; Foster and Nicholls 2005; Boyd 2006; Valls Montés 2007a, b), as well as methodological considerations developed in studies in the field of the history of education (Steedman 2001; McCulloch 2004) and in textbook research (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991; Johnsen 1996; Foster and Crawford 2006). First, we analyze the textbooks through close reading, identifying the main arguments selected to explain the Civil War. Second, we undertake a comparative analysis to examine any similarities and differences in their presentation of the Civil War.

2 "Confusion and Disorder" Versus Social Modernization: The Civil War in Basic Secondary Education (1970–90)

As studies of the presentation of the Civil War in Baccalaureate textbooks have indicated, during the dictatorship of Franco explanations of the conflict served the interests of the regime (Álvarez Osés et al. 2000; Boyd 2006; Valls Montés 2007a, b; Marina Carranza 2012). In this period, there were hardly "any changes" (Valls Montés 2007a, 157) in topics, didactics or historiography. Only from the 1970s onwards did textbooks begin to show some "subtle but real differences" (Boyd 2006, 89) in their representations of the conflict. It was during the Transition that textbooks started to modify their explanations of the origins of the war. As theoretical and methodological approaches changed, textbooks began to get rid of triumphalist justifications of Franco's dictatorship and move away from the "traditional model" of historiography on which they were based (Álvarez Osés et al. 2000, 129). The 1978 constitution opened up society, providing a more flexible framework for the development of textbooks and allowing them to be updated in various ways.

Secondary school textbooks were subject to a range of modifications. Narratives developed about the Civil War in the early years of the Transition attempted to move away from characterizations of the war as the "War of Liberation", "War of Salvation" or "National Crusade" (Valls Montés 2007a, 157). Nevertheless, secondary school textbooks of the end of the 1970s continued to include triumphalist comments about the *sublevados* (the military rebels)[5] in their discussions of the Second Republic and the origins of the Civil War (Ramos et al. 1978). Generalized perspectives on the war feature repeatedly. This is due not just to ministerial censorship but to a certain degree of self-censorship, the result of "agreement between Spanish political and cultural elites" (Boyd 2006, 91). Portrayals of the Civil War still contain messages inherited from Franco's dictatorship. The Second Republic is described as an uncertain period of conflict, full of political extremes. The origin of the Civil War is attributed to "the situation of constant anarchy and

social subversion in which the country was submerged between 1931 and 1936" (Pérez 1979, 207), the lack of understanding "between the extreme right and left wing" (Ramos et al. 1978, 316), and "the social tensions that had built up during the Second Republic" (Monedo et al. 1978, 139).

In addition, some emphasis is given to other explanations of a structural character for the origins of the conflict. "[T]he impact of the Great Depression" is mentioned (Pérez 1979, 207) as well as the "Catalan separatist movement", "the separation of Church and State" and "[m]ilitary [r]eform" (Martínez et al. 1989, 120). However, these kinds of explanations about the republic lasted quite openly: all the textbooks, in one way or another, offer a critical view of Republican policies. Ideas about the origins of the war tend to be linked to views spread during Franco's dictatorship, for example that the "Popular Front took power on the wave of a Marxist revolution" (Pérez 1979, 203) or that the Republic was mainly characterized by its "anticlericalism" (Equipo Aula 3, 1984, 174). Generalizations are also made about "setting fire to churches and convents in various Spanish cities" (Ramos et al. 1984, 128).

Other explanations given for the war were also intended to misrepresent the Second Republic. The failure of the republic is often explained as a consequence of the conflicts between different political groups:

> [T]he UGT (General Workers' Union), increasingly radical, and the CNT (National Workers' Union) did not let up on their demands or strikes aimed at the Government … communist activists, socialists, anarchists and falangists died daily from bloody duels. (Caja et al. 1979, 137)

The Republican government is also criticized, with claims that there were indications that "government by the latter [Juan Negrín] was marked by its close collaboration with Moscow, thus establishing a communist dictatorship in the final days of the War" (Pérez 1979, 213–14; see also Caja et al. 1979, 145; Ramos et al. 1984, 133).

The causes of the Civil War are subject to a series of constant contradictions in different textbooks. The textbooks vary between providing a sociohistorical explanation of the conflict: "the crisis of 1929" or "a conflict between social classes" (Monedo et al. 1978, 127) and arguing

that it was a result of "escalating violence", "disorder" and "extreme politics and policies" (Equipo Aula 3, 1984, 175) among different political groups. This variety suggests debate at publishers over whether to reflect modern historiography and report new arguments about the causes of the conflict, or to maintain a static model in which events were determined by the supposed innate extremism of the republic or the traditions of conflict in the working classes. In any case, explanations for the war in secondary textbooks tend to disregard sociohistorical subtleties and instead adduce the constant tension that was a consequence of Republican radicalism. Social events were interpreted through moralizing analyzes that tended to excuse responsibility for historical events: owing to the "confusion and disorder" it was "logical" and "was described as unavoidable: the tragedy of a Civil War between Spaniards" (Caja et al. 1979, 138).

This does not mean that textbooks took a negative view of the republic in all cases. Nor does it mean that Franco's regime was openly defended. The need to build a new identity of political and national unity during the Transition meant that textbooks were torn between legitimizing a memory inherited from Francoism of the supposed excesses of the republic and supporting the new democratic processes that were beginning to be built. In fact, the arguments given indicate that the failure of Spain to modernize was both the result of "the concentration of political and military power of the [Republican] government of Largo Caballero and Negrín", as well as "a similar concentration of power in the person of General Franco" (Monedo et al. 1978, 139).

On some occasions, school textbooks also highlight positive aspects of Republican social policies, in particular those that were least radical and converged most with aims of the Transition period. For example, textbooks indicate how Republican governments improved "labor laws, salaries and social security of workers" (Martínez et al. 1989, 121) and even "established national curricula and made social and economic improvements for teachers" (Pérez 1979, 207).

Thus, textbooks characterized the origins of the Civil War in this way because they felt the need to support the political pact made during the Transition. According to these textbooks, the Civil War was rooted in

left- and right-wing extremism that had led to the failure of peaceful coexistence among Spanish people: their objective was to look for joint responsibility. The political "disorder" of the 1930s first led to military intervention and then to the Civil War. The representations of the war in textbooks of this period, then, were intended to respond to what was needed at the time. This need was to find a political and social consensus during Spain's transition to democracy that could stimulate the country's modernization, an aim that successive Republican governments had not achieved. This explains something of the contradictory character of the textbooks' treatment of this topic. There was a desire to delegitimize Marxism, communism and the social protests or conflicts of the republic along the lines of the historical arguments of Franco's regime, but also to implement a new social regime based on a political, cultural and economic modernization.

For this reason, the textbooks' representations of the Civil War tend to be dominated by explanations that clearly try to avoid any value judgments: the narratives focus exclusively on military events and issues. The aim was to keep silent about events that despite seeming distant were still controversial and the object of political struggle during the Transition, as they are even today. Except for the few cases in which textbooks describe the situation behind the battle fronts, it is rarely mentioned that "in Nationalist areas, Republican laws were revoked and political parties and trade unions were prohibited" or that "the principles of corporatism and a revolution involving a national union with Fascist characteristics were implemented" (Martínez et al. 1989, 127). In general, the textbooks display a "voluntary forgetfulness" in an attempt to legitimize "the shared commitment to a new Spanish identity that is compatible with the central political values of tolerance, coexistence and democracy" and with the "balance of power during the Transition, in favor of the right" (Boyd 2006, 92). The victory of the Nationalists tends to be attributed to "the unity of command … of Franco's Spain that contrasted with the disunity that predominated in Republican Spain" (Caja et al. 1979, 144).

It is true that all the textbooks show some degree of increasing openness to contemporary historiography in their explanations about the Civil War. For example, unlike textbooks of the Franco period, they

speak about international "assistance" but in no case do they judge whether that assistance was decisive in the final outcome of the conflict. It is simply mentioned that "from the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, Nationalists had the support and assistance of Germany and Italy" and that "Russia helped the Popular Front Government by sending material by air and organized training in Europe and other countries of the International Brigades" (Ramos et al. 1978, 327, 330). Political prudence surrounds the explanations given to students: controversial issues appear in non-critical tones, or are omitted altogether. This voluntary forgetfulness can also be seen in textbooks produced after the introduction of the LOGSE.

3 Historiographical Overhaul Versus the Search for Political Consensus: The Civil War in Compulsory Secondary School (ESO) Textbooks Since 1990

The introduction of the Organic Law of General Secondary Education (LOGSE) in 1990 led to an important overhaul of social science textbooks. As Boyd has remarked, "judging them in terms of content, presentation and pedagogy, their quality is very high" (2006, 96; see also Valls Montés 2007a, 160). The most popular publishers usually consider the latest research on the Civil War. The data of the textbooks of this period are up to date and they present a wide range of visual content including photographs, tables and maps. Furthermore, they have all reorganized the structure of this topic, no longer basing their content exclusively on a chronological description of the battles. The war is viewed as part of the wider social framework of the interwar period and linked to the Second Republic and Franco's dictatorship. The difficulties that existed both in the international context of the 1930s and the specific Spanish political context are the threads that run through textbook explanations. These books respond to a historical model that tries to evaluate this period critically and analyze it in terms of social processes. In fact, there is clear evidence of an effort to improve historical and causal explanations.

In addition, and as a result of the LOGSE framework, a proportion of the curriculum is now developed by Spain's Autonomous Regions. Thus, textbooks have introduced themes related to territorial history. The rapid advance during the Transition of territorial historiography, together with the regional ambitions of local politicians, led to an intensive reorganization of the history curriculum. All the textbooks analyzed for this period make an effort to assess the "Civil War in the Canary Islands" (Tusell et al. 1995, 246). They include, for example, the problems related to the "[p]olitical dispute with mainland Spain" and the "struggle for regional hegemony" (Tusell et al. 1995, 247), or the "brutal repression" that the Canary Islands suffered at the beginning of the war (Prats et al. 1998, 258).

By familiarizing students with this new regional information, textbook publishers have made the study of the Civil War much more historiographically detailed. Moreover, there is no hesitation in indicating that the coup was carried out by a group with a clear "dictatorial" character close to "Fascism and the extreme right" (Prats et al. 1998, 260). Treatment of the conflict is more factual than judgmental. More attention is given to the development of issues such as events behind the battle fronts in these textbooks. Several highlight that during the war "a key part of Spain's economic structure was destroyed; the population suffered greatly; there were numerous refugees on both sides and large numbers of Spaniards, among whom were many intellectuals and artists, fled Spain for fear of the repression of Franco's regime" (Prats et al. 1998, 256). Despite these examples, in general there is still a cautious silence in these textbooks. Most prefer to calculate the human costs of the war overall to avoid any polemical interpretations. Implicitly, the explanation that the war was a collective tragedy for which the blame is equally shared is reinforced.

Something similar can be observed in the textbooks' treatment of the foreign aid received by both sides during the conflict. This subject is described as an "open debate" in which historians cannot decide whether "the aid that Franco received from abroad was decisive or not in leading to the defeat of the Republicans in the War" (Santacana and Zaragoza 1998, 190). Textbooks display data from different studies on this question: the numerical tables on military equipment and

arms received by both sides clearly show how important these were. Consequently, some books end up recognizing that though "the aid to each side may have been comparable, at certain times when it was received, it was more decisive and benefited the military uprising more" (Tusell et al. 1995, 252).

However, the textbooks' continuity in their explanations of the origin of the conflict is also worth noting. For a long time, Spanish EGB (Basic General Education) textbooks continued to offer explanations that were not based on confirmed facts. The origin of the Civil War was often again given as the result of "the division between the Spanish right and left, which became wider and more radicalized" (Prats et al. 1998, 254). On this view, the war was a consequence of "the political life that was dominated by radicalism and confrontation between the conservative right and the revolutionary left: violence and intransigence had taken over the society" (Prats et al. 1998, 256). The intention of these explanations is again to highlight shared responsibility for the war and implicitly undermine political extremism in order to try to legitimize democracy based on consensus and political pacts. At the same time as trying to delegitimize Franco's regime owing to its "dictatorial" position, they also attempt to distance readers from the more widely-known policies of the Republic, citing "serious public disorder and the illegal occupation of land combined with government passivity" (Tusell et al. 1995, 241). The attempt to establish a democratic regime during the Transition and the use of the Civil War as a building block for a new national identity gave rise to explanations of the origins of the war based on equal responsibility for its occurrence.

Explanations of the Civil War often focus on representing the need to build a "central position" that was "unfeasible" in the 1930s (Tusell et al. 1995, 240). The idea that is implicitly proposed is to avoid repeating past errors. The textbooks analyzed suggest that the democratic model built during the Transition should not adopt either identity, Republican or dictatorial. Both are seen as extreme political standpoints, despite the legality and democratic legitimacy of the Republican government. Neither is considered an appropriate historical period on which to build a model for peace to overcome the still deeply-rooted "two Spains". As Marsden has commented, in many cases schoolbooks

have a contradictory and propagandistic nature. In the end, they use explanations of military events to build political identities. Viewing knowledge through the lens of the search for peace and the need to accept shared responsibility is necessarily a "propandistic position" influenced by political positions at a particular historical moment (2000, 45–47). Although textbooks from the 1990s onward offer more detailed and balanced coverage of the Civil War, their representations of the war still contain conflicting and contradictory elements in the interests of the construction of identity around historical facts. Clearly, the search for a shared identity and a peaceful future has affected the representation, selection and explanation of different topics in school textbooks.

4 Why Is the Civil War Used in This Way in Textbooks? A Possible Explanation

Previous studies that have analyzed the portrayal of the Civil War in school textbooks have identified specific explanations for the views expressed. The continuities and changes observed in textbook content may well be due to the subject having been and still being a "conflictive problem" from a political perspective (Álvarez Osés et al. 2000, 135). On the one hand, the political environment of the Transition made it "necessary to reconstruct the official memory of the Civil War" (Boyd 2006, 88). From then on, the position that the war was a "crusade" to save Spain from communism, which was widespread during Franco's regime, mutated considerably as the view that it was a collective tragedy was constructed. The search for reconciliation and social peace and the construction of democracy led to the establishment of a framework through which the origin and development of the conflict could be explained (Angulo et al. 2016). Along these lines, the republic and its government began to be seen in terms of a historical process in which left- and right-wing political extremism metaphorically broke or hijacked the modernization process and democracy. The official record of the war was thus adjusted to meet the need to create a new

socialization of the political community and the citizen that would lead to social harmony and build a new national identity for a still-conflicted Spain.

However, the development of this new identity was not exempt from other political influences. Once the democratic period was established, there was still ample margin for government authorities to mediate the memories of the war and the history curriculum. A series of "conditional influences" on the school system led to partial modification of the content taught. One reason why explanations for the war tend to be contradictory, with omissions and changes, is that political groups have made attempts to influence the content of textbooks and curricula through legislation. The *Decreto sobre las Humanidades* (humanities decree) of October 1996 proposed by Spain's Partido Popular was a clear attempt at modifying the historical content taught in schools and introducing a different version once again. The curriculum project of "La vuelta a la básico" (Back to Basics) was also accused on various occasions of promoting a kind of traditional history, based on memorizing facts; certainly it was a step back in historiographical terms (Ortiz de Orruño 1998). Great historical figures were brought back at the expense of historical data and a focus on social processes (Valls Montés 2004). As such, governments and legislation can influence textbook development. Although, as Ball has argued, this kind of interference operates from outside the community of history experts, it can be still be embraced by some teachers in schools (1988, 18). However, such controversy is not exclusive to Spain. In other European countries (Foster 2005), a dynamic relationship between education and society can also be observed. This can help us understand how textbooks are developed and why different topics are explained in the way they are.

Other factors, outside the political arena, can also help us understand why history in schools is used in a particular way. The selection of content is not exclusively determined by the construction of a political identity. Textbooks are also mediated by historiographical debate. It is true that the portrayal of the Civil War improved substantially during the years under study. The introduction of perspectives such as those of the *Annales* School or Marxist historiography led to notable changes in the organization of material and in explanations of the conflict. That

said, insofar as the Civil War has been subject to "a lack of agreement among those who have written about the conflict" in the historiographical arena (Pérez Ledesma 2006, 101), a complex view of the war has also developed in the school subject of history. Although textbooks introduced innovative topics, they also retained conservative explanations. As such, a variety of explanations for the war have arisen, depending on the shifting ideological positions of the publishing sector. In contrast to the broad consensus found on other topics, such as the "European dimension" and the development of this identity (Valls Montés 2007a, 173), the topic of the Civil War has been marked by historiographical, political, social and cultural turmoil and contradictions.

Along these lines, the nature of the Spanish publishing sector can also help explain why textbooks maintain this analysis of the Civil War. Textbook publishers could frequently have included important historiographical innovations. However, editors tend to avoid such innovations for fear of a reduction in sales because of the controversy these may entail and the complexity of implementing new approaches in the processes of learning and studying. Foster (1999) has highlighted an aspect of this phenomenon of particular interest. In an analysis of the portrayal of ethnic groups in history textbooks in schools in the United States, he found clear evidence of continuity in their content. The textbooks' portrayal of ethnic minorities was partial and decontextualized. The reason for this continuity, he argued, was the peculiar nature of the textbook publishing sector in the United States. The aim of publishing houses is to reach the largest audience possible to improve their revenue. This means that the content they produce is shaped by a centralist, uniform view of ethnic relations (Foster 1999, 273, 274). This may explain why the Spanish publishing sector has only incorporated limited innovations in the inclusion of new historiography that could contradict the construction of a national identity. The conflicts over control of curricula between central government and the autonomous regions can also be viewed in these terms. The publishers' concerns for sales may have delayed the incorporation of territorial history, as well as other specific information about topics.

This discussion demonstrates that the development of textbooks is determined by multiple factors. In some historical periods, the

most influential factors are often political ones (Stoddard et al. 2011; Baranovic 2001); in others, textbooks are influenced by research or by the academic concerns of teachers (Prytz 2012). The portrayal of the Civil War in textbooks, as we have seen, is mediated both by political concerns of the past and present and by debates over history in the academic arena. The development of this topic is characterized by the influence of social, economic and institutional factors that can make it vary even within the same textbook. In this sense, textbooks cannot be considered to present univocal visions of the past. Because of the interconnection of these multiple relationships with other social factors, textbook narratives can be internally inconsistent, with conflicting positions recorded and little ideological cohesion.

5 Conclusions

The Spanish Civil War and related social processes such as the Second Republic and Franco's dictatorship have been subject to a series of continuities and changes in their representations in secondary school textbooks. On the whole, a series of historiographical, didactic and thematic modifications was an evolving feature of EGB and ESO textbooks from the end of the 1970s until the beginning of 1998. Many of the explanations for the war given during Franco's regime were eliminated. However, major continuities remained in pejorative explanations of the end of the Second Republic and the beginning of the Civil War. Textbooks openly criticize both the Second Republic and the dictatorship for hampering the development of peaceful democratic coexistence, and in so doing seek to construct a national identity for the transition to democracy. Instead of looking for the causes of the war using explanations from modern historiography, school textbooks repeatedly cite the supposed political extremism of the republic, as well as its violence and daily intransigence, as explanations of the origins of the war. In addition, other factors relating to struggles over identity between the central government and the autonomous regions, the lack of cohesion in Spanish historiography about the Civil War, and the economic needs

of the publishing industry have also helped maintain certain continuities in explanations of this topic in textbooks.

In conclusion, the development of the portrayal of the Civil War has been influenced by the need to promote a transition towards democracy. In this way, the representation of the conflict in textbooks has been "poisoned" (Marsden 2000). As such, this chapter has attempted to highlight that the social construction of school textbooks is often the result of multi-causal influences; it is important that the variables that may have influenced the portrayal of historical topics in textbooks be determined for each specific case. In short, textbooks are, without doubt, complex phenomena that reflect how school subjects, curriculum policy and even education policy itself have been influenced over time.

Notes

1. Academic knowledge is not constructed in isolation from social pressures. Fields of knowledge are influenced by multiple groups that try to modify and indicate what is necessary to know and what is not. However, the development of textbooks shows patterns that are slightly different from the development of academic fields. On the debate on the construction of academic knowledge and its relative limits of autonomy, it is worth consulting Martín Criado (2008). For school subjects and textbooks, the works of Issitt (2004) and González Delgado (2014) are very useful.
2. Social science textbooks are chosen for this analysis because of the change in school subjects in the final period of Franco's dictatorship. The educational reform that took place in 1970 (*Ley General de Educación*) changed the way curricular knowledge was organized in compulsory education. For the first time in Spain, school subjects were organized by subject areas; history was integrated into the area of social sciences. This change was related, in part, to the new ideas emerging in the 1960s and 1970s about the need to create globalized curricula. UNESCO recommendations for the implementation of the General Education Law made these ideas increasingly influential in Spain (González Delgado and Groves 2016). During the Transition, these ideas coalesced and were

eventually embodied in the 1990 Education Law. Further information on this issue can be consulted in Valls Montés (2007a) or Luis Gómez and Romero Morante (2006).

3. The Georg Eckert Institute in Germany, for example, has attempted to modify the way textbooks represent neighboring states or topics such as war and peace. On various occasions, researchers from this institute have spoken out against the specific nationalist view that German textbooks took of French society and French of German. See Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon (2010), Bromley et al. (2011), Fuchs (2011) and Foster (2011).
4. There are several reasons why this historical period has been chosen for study. First, textbook analysis in Spain, and especially analysis of social science textbooks in compulsory education, has focused little on this historical period. Second, the Transition was a social, cultural and political transformation that generated, among other things, a new school culture. However, attempts to develop different views on the teaching of historical knowledge in schools still met with resistance. Third, during the Transition period there was also a complete transformation of the publishing industry. The 1970s saw the birth of new publishing houses that were not attached to the ideas of the dictatorship. Nevertheless, it will become clear that the publishing industry was also affected by socio-political and historiographical conditions that limited or redirected some intentions to break with established ideas.
5. *Sublevados* is the term generally used in Spanish historiography to refer to the military and political organizations that instigated the coup against the Second Republic in July 1936 and subsequently fought against the Republican forces in the Civil War.

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11

The Representation of Wars in History Textbooks for Secondary Schools in the Soviet Union (1940–50)

Dorena Caroli

1 Introduction: Stories of Wars and Class Struggles for the New Soviet Generations

After the 1917 revolution, the new Soviet state needed to shape the "new man"—the collective worker instrumental in the building of communist society. The study of history was therefore meant not only to instil national consciousness through understanding of the main events and individuals that helped forge the Russian nation (Amacher 2013, 329–40), but also to provide a political education to explain what had led the proletariat from exploitation to hegemonic status as the star of the October Revolution (Tchernychev 2005, 31). This was a unique triumph for the working class in contemporary history and an example for other countries, thanks to the transnational circulation of models of communist culture in the interwar years (Studer 2015).[1]

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In the presentation of the story of a regime which wrote and taught its own history after coming to power in an armed revolution, the role of history textbooks was crucial: they disseminated an official, Marxist, vision of history in schools until the fall of communism. Nevertheless, the content of such textbooks underwent considerable evolution along the lines of changes in communist ideology and historical fact. The ideologization of historical fact led to several stages of textbook revision, as Marc Ferro argues in his analysis of history teaching in different countries (1992, 147–51; 2003, 163–72). Yet textbook revisions also reflect the process of the Sovietization of the school: reforms were meant to safeguard the education of Soviet society in order to promote the cultural, economic and political rise of the proletarian masses (Fitzpatrick 1979).

The process of school textbook publishing in the Soviet Union was particularly complex compared to that of other countries. It was entrusted to professional historians whose goal was not only to transmit their specialized knowledge but to present a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of historical events, setting out the natural continuous conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the Bolsheviks and the enemies of the Revolution, which were hidden by the promise of equality in a classless society. The mediation of historical fact in textbooks, in fact, resulted in a manipulation of the past intended to indoctrinate the younger generation, and aided by iconography that reflected the symbolism of the leaders and the cult of personality (Caroli 2017).

The story told by these school textbooks, as Ferro points out, is the history of Russian Marxists who wrote and created their own history:

> [T]hey held sole power after October 1917, and so counted as true prophets who had been right all along … The Party, as incarnation of the working class and the historical process, had taken power only because its analysis had been right: its power was knowledge; it could only be infallible; and reality was to conform to this diagnosis … It therefore mattered to keep an eye on what historians were doing, especially in questions of the Party's own history, for the Party was both the incarnation and the source of history. (2003, 165)

Taking as its starting point Ferro's book, which dedicates particular attention to the representation of the Second World War in history textbooks, mainly of the 1970s and 1980s (2003, 191–202), this chapter examines the representation of wars, especially the Second World War, in the school textbook *Istoriia SSSR. Uchebnik dlia srednei shkoly* (A history of the USSR: the secondary school textbook, Pankratova et al. 1940), issued in three volumes for use in the eighth, ninth and tenth years of secondary school (for fifteen- to seventeen-year-old students and revised in 1945–46). However, from the methodological point of view, this chapter will not be limited to a comparative content analysis of the two editions of the textbook. Instead, it will discuss the accounts of war and conflicts through different types of sources, in order to analyze the development of the canons of the description of the Second World War and the conflicts that remained almost constant until the collapse of communism.

To use Ferro's term, Soviet historians indeed "used and abused" history, exploiting key Marxist events of the second half of the 1920s:

> At the Sixth Conference of Comintern in 1927, it had been argued that the colonial and semi-colonial countries lacked the bases for socialism …. But once Hitler turned out to be the chief threat to the USSR, the Soviet Union sought to show that its interests were similar to those of other countries threatened by the Nazis, and played the role of protector of small peoples. The semi-colonial theory, which showed Russia liberating herself from foreign capital, once more became a convenient way of demonstrating that the Soviet Union was by nature an ally of nations threatened by German super-imperialism …. (Ferro 2003, 172)

The international political changes that made it necessary to revise the historical interpretation underlying the regime in history textbooks accelerated in the late 1920s and 1930s. There was a continuous process of production and revision of new textbooks after 1917, and for the years 1932–39 this process is documented by a rich collection of archival documents that allows us to identify authors and ideological debates, to reconstruct editorial aims, and to examine censorship (Kudriashov 2008). However, one of the most interesting processes of revision took

place between the late 1930s and 1950. In this period, the imperative was to create an official representation of history, cherry-picked especially for children, so that they could receive a Marxist historical education in accordance with the principles of dialectical materialism and the class struggles that led to an international economic stand-off between imperialism and socialism. Studies of the strategic operations of the Second World War, starting from the work of Ivanov, Israelian and Boltin (Ferro 2003, 191–201), have not investigated the period between the 1930s and the immediate postwar period in any depth (Lyons 1978; Lazunova 1999, 42–70; Caroli 2009, 251–78). Furthermore, as Ferro points out, scholars—himself included—have primarily devoted themselves to the representation of history in late communist and post-communist textbooks (Kaplan 2005, 247–71; Silova et al. 2014, 103–29; Klymenko 2013, 1–18), and in textbooks used in European countries, which have been studied as examples of how teaching methods were updated (Pingel 2000, 61–72; 2009, 11; Fuchs 2014, 67–69).

The purpose of this article is therefore to reconstruct some less-investigated aspects of the way in which wars were represented in the school textbook *Istoriia SSSR* (1940), written by a group of historians under the direction of the well-known Anna M. Pankratova (1897–1957) and published by the regime, how wars were described in the war years, and how this depiction changed in the edition of the textbook revised after the Second World War (1945–46; English translation 1948).

The first section of this chapter offers an introductory analysis of the revision of Russian history conducted after the October Revolution by Marxist historian Mikhail Prokrovskii, and of school textbooks published by the regime for primary and secondary schools between 1934 and 1940. The revision of textbooks, under the direct control of Stalin, culminated in the publication in 1940 of *Istoriia SSSR*. This came in the wake of the 1933–34 school reform which responded to the political desire to transform schooling into an "an agent of modernization": "the Stalinist school [sought] … a highly centralized and uniform system that made virtues of order, discipline and authority" (Holmes 2005, 56–101).

Following on from this, and given the fact that the content of this textbook did not yet cover events after the late 1930s, in particular the

Second World War, the second part of this chapter will examine how wars of the past became a source of patriotic education for the present war. Various sources, such as the speech Stalin made on July 3, 1941, articles on history education by Pankratova and the collection of satirical poems *Urok istorii* (The history lesson) (Kukryniksy et al. 1942), which presented children with an image of the monstrous German war machine, are used to show how stories of the wars had a twofold function. On the one hand they were tales of heroism and patriotism drawn from the glorious Russian past; but they were also tales of contempt and revenge aimed at beating an enemy that was to be defeated at any cost—even death.

The third section of this chapter deals with the narrative of wars, in particular the "Great Patriotic War", in the revised and updated *Istoriia SSSR*. Published in the postwar period, it places particular emphasis on the strategic and military role of Stalin and the Red Army in its depiction of the Great Patriotic War. The focus is on the role of the infallible leader Stalin, the participation of the masses and the barbaric invaders. It falls silent, however, on various other aspects of the war, not least the staggering number of civilian casualties—around twenty-seven million. In fact, this textbook "abuses" history by falsifying the consequences of the Second World War (Bonwetsch 1997, 185–207; Oganovskaia 2011, 264–86), including the Red Army's military strategies, the cruel actions committed by the Red Army and security forces during the final campaign in Eastern Europe in 1944 and 1945, and the Holocaust (Stites 1995, 1–8; Merridale 2005; Bernard 2013; Budnitski and Novikova 2014; Voisin 2015).

In the narration of war there are winners and losers, a representation of the enemy and the testimonies of survivors. After the war ended, victory strengthened both the Stalinist ideological vision and Stalin's personality cult, leading to the removal of survivors' memories from school teaching. The official representation of the Great Patriotic War hinged on Stalin's cult of personality, which dominated teachers' lessons and, as archival materials confirm, subjected the teaching of history to constant ideological control.

The main hypothesis that emerges from the study of history textbooks, rather than other sources on the war, is that they were a major

tool for political education. They had to convey a vision of history with a clear Marxist-Leninist stamp. However, this political education was transformed into patriotic education during and after the Second World War. The representation of the war had to correspond to the canons of official ideology, which proposed a Soviet man ready to sacrifice himself for the socialist motherland, which was seen as superior to the capitalist countries. The revision of textbooks was followed by statements addressed to teachers on the teaching of patriotic education for the new generation. Archival documents stored by the Ministry of Education show that history teaching was inspected to ensure that it provided a patriotic education following the official story. A secondary purpose was, as Stalin's cult of personality required a monolithic view of the war, to construct a single collective memory. Patriotic education—continuities in which a recent study has traced from the 1980s until the turn of the twenty-first century (Tsyrlina-Spady and Lovorn 2016, 41–57)—was an ideological construct born of totalitarian pedagogy which aimed to indoctrinate the younger generation. They had to be taught that "ritual sacrifice" would save the fatherland from Nazism (Clark 1981, 177–88). After the war, this ethics of sacrifice allowed the connection between history and subjective recollection to be renewed, preserving a pedagogy of war that consisted of tales of hatred and revenge against the Germans.

2 Recounting the History of Wars with Textbooks for Secondary School (1940–42)

"Why do we need to know about the past? What does what happened 10, 100, 1000, 10,000 years ago matter? Is it not better to know what is happening now, what has happened to us and on which our lives depend? We study the past to understand precisely what is happening now" (Pokrovskii 1934, 5; unless otherwise stated, all translations my own). Thus begins the first Marxist work on history published after the 1917 October Revolution, *Russkaia istoriia v samom szhatom*

ocherke (Russian history in a very brief compendium): it was written by the scholar Mikhail Pokrovskii (1868–1932), Deputy Commissar for Enlightenment and principal agent of the first revision of history (Fitzpatrick 1970), and first published in 1923.[2] It was a textbook only for party schools; for this reason, and because revolutionary teachers were still in the minority, most pupils acquired no more than a faint echo of it (Asher 1972, 49–63). In fact, from the October Revolution until the mid-1930s, history was explained to children during school lessons but was not a school subject in its own right. Rather, and thanks to new revolutionary reform, history was considered a kind of accompaniment to curricular social science subjects on nature, labor and society; its aim was to explain the significance of historical materialism in the development of social structures. The revolutionary school adopted the methods of the American "active school", structuring learning and teaching without the use of traditional textbooks (Holmes 1991, 36–43).

Naturally, the war and its traces were explained as the result of bourgeois governments' imperialist policies, in accordance with Lenin's teachings. Pokrovskii, whose textbook was discredited in 1928, considered economic causes the basis of historical changes and national conflicts. Using sociological models to explain feudal, bourgeois and capitalist economic regimes, he argued that changes occurred due to particular laws (*opredelennye zakony*):

> At the basis of all human activity and history are material needs. Therefore the explanation of history too, we suggest, is called historical materialism. This vision of history was created for the first time by the class that first experienced the solidarity to be found in the common interest of all workers, and which is leading the present revolution. A materialist understanding of history—that is his proletarian vision. Once, when education was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that is, in the hands of the class that owns the means of production—factories, industries, railways, land and the rest—in a word, that lives by exploiting the other, the story was explained differently. (Pokrovskii 1934, 9)

This interpretation of history was that of a revolutionary state that had rebelled victoriously against its exploiters. But a crucial turning point

in the ideology of history teaching in the Soviet Union came when it was decreed that Pokrovskii's Marxist conception was to be abandoned. This occurred in the early 1930s, in particular after Stalin's letter *O nekotorykh voprosakh istorii bolshevizma* (On some issues concerning the history of Bolshevism) was published in the journal *Proletarskaia Revolutsiia* (no. 113, 1931), instigating a wave of purges against historians (Kudriashov 2008, 7). This was not only due to Stalin's deterministic economic interpretation of history, which made it impossible to justify the economic reform policies of the first Five-Year Plan, his cult as the leader of the people, and his conception of the Russian state. It also accounted for relations between the Bolsheviks and German social democrats before the First World War. Increasingly, history had to take into consideration "the new emphasis on Soviet patriotism in response to the tense situation created by Hitler's rise to power" and incorporate it into the Marxist-Leninist view (Asher 1972, 53–54). The great political changes underway in Germany probably lay at the heart of attempts at textbook revision throughout Europe during the 1930s (Fuchs 2010, 1–12).

At the same time, the political and economic changes that occurred in the Soviet Union with the start of economic planning reforms entailed a return to a traditional type of school. In accordance with Stalin's ideology, school subjects and set texts, including history textbooks, were reintroduced. In particular, on May 16, 1934, the teaching of history and of the constitution regained the status of autonomous school subjects on the basis of the law *O prepodavanii grazhdanskoi istorii v shkolakh SSSR* (On the teaching of Russian history in the schools of the Soviet Union, Bushchik 1961, 259–60). Criticizing the abstraction of historical schemata, this set out a return to the chronological presentation of fact with the study of major historical figures. This second revision of textbooks published under the direct control of Stalin was finished at the end of the decade (Bushchik 1961, 259; Strazhev 1957, 71; Agmon 1999, 13–21).

Stalin charged a number of historians with the compilation of new textbooks. Several directives were produced, such as the *Zamechaniia po povodu konspekta uchebnika po istorii SSSR* (Remarks on the outlines of textbooks on the history of the USSR), drawn up by I. V. Stalin, A. A.

Zhdanov and S. M. Kirov in 1934 (Bushchik 1961, 263) and *Kratkij kurs istorii Kommunisticheskoi Partii [VKP (B)]* (The short history of the Communist Party of Russia [VKP (B)]), written in 1938 under the direction and with the direct participation of Stalin himself, to whom the fourth chapter, on dialectical materialism, is attributed.[3]

Among the authors of the first Marxist textbooks that adhered to the tenets of the "Remarks" were Andrei Vasilievich Shestakov (1877–1941), who prepared the textbook for the third and fourth years of primary school, and Anna Michailovna Pankratova (1897–1957), in charge of the textbook for the eighth to tenth years[4]: she was a leading labor historian and academic administrator as well as a former student of Pokrovskii's, and took on the daunting task of revising Pokrovskii's school of thought (Zelnik 2005, 12–14; Asher 1972, 56; Savel'ev 2012).

Pankratova prepared *Istoriia SSSR* in collaboration with K. V. Bazilevich, S. V. Bakhrushin and A. V. Fokht at the History Institute of the Academy of Science. The compilation process was very complex, lasting from 1934 to 1940. Pankratova and Fokht emphasized that the textbook approached particularly complex topics such as the role of the revolution in Tsarist imperialist policy and the educational role of the great leaders of the past and present, showing the influence of Stalin's "Remarks".

Textbooks of this period included treatments of the Tsarist policy of annexation and colonization carried out between the reigns of Ivan IV and Nicholas II, describing the national liberation movement of the peoples of Tsarist Russia around the turn of the twentieth century "as a result of the formation of a number of nations in consequence of the growth of capitalism in the periphery of Tsarist Russia". The textbooks then presented the main Bolshevik programmes on the national question, underlining that "only the Bolsheviks and the Russian workers whom they guided have always fought for the complete equality of all Russian people" (Pankratova and Fokht 1940, 119). They also set out the educational role of the great leaders of the past and present. In order to foster patriotic sentiment, they described the heroic actions of the great leaders of the thirteenth to the nineteenth century Alexander Nevskii, Dmitry Donskoi, M. Kuzma Minin, D. Pozharskii,

A. V. Suvorov and M. I. Kutuzov, and of “the great proletarian leaders Lenin, Stalin and their comrades in arms.” In particular, in the ninth year teachers had to outline Lenin’s teachings on just and unjust wars, while in the tenth year the textbooks explained how the great October Revolution and the history of the socialist state of workers and peasants marked the beginning of the world proletarian revolution (Pankratova 1942, 148–51; Bushchik 1961, 328).

Pankratova’s textbook covered the period from prehistory to the Constitution of Stalin in 1936 until the prewar period (1940). The first volume, for the eighth year, covered the history of primitive dwellings on Soviet territory until the end of the reign of Alexei Mikhailovich in the seventeenth century. The second volume, for the ninth year, was devoted to the history of the Russian state from the reign of Peter the Great until the end of the nineteenth century. The third volume, for the tenth year, dealt with twentieth century Russian history between 1905 and 1940 (Pankratova et al. 1940).

The three volumes of the textbook compiled under Pankratova’s direction presented the history of Russia in chronological order, both in relation to the history of European countries and to the history of non-Russian populations inside the Soviet Union, in order to form a strong national identity carved from a knowledge of Russia’s heroic past. They illustrated the contrast between different revolutions and were based on a supranational, pan-state consciousness. This consciousness would persist for several decades, partly due to the cultural patriotism formed in the Second World War, which had a considerable impact on the teaching of history in the Soviet Union.

On the basis of Marxist-Leninist interpretation, the authors particularly stressed socioeconomic and political history, the class struggle, foreign policy, military history, and problems of culture. The idea of the origin of the state and its initial development, evolution and class characteristics was central to the Marxist conception of history, but also to the educational function that history was to attribute to the start of the war.

Pankratova’s treatment of the formation of the Russian state involved an analysis of its origins and national identity. Any relationship with the Nordic race, considered superior by German historians (ibid.; Gies

1992), was denied. Although it is common knowledge that the ancient Russian State owes its origins to the presence of Normans in Kiev, the authors denied all Norman influence in the development of the Russian state. Instead, they linked the etymology of the ancient word *Rus*' with the name of one of the Slavic tribes who lived in the south of the Slavic territory. The Russian state was founded in the tenth century with the formation of Russian tribal principalities, whose centers were the cities, the places of residence of the princes and their guards (*druzhiny*) (Pankratova et al. 1940, 1:31–46). This representation of the indigenous origin of the Russian state—denying any role to Variags of Norman origin who merged with the tribes of southern Russia—had a necessary function in promoting a Russian nationalism which painted the people as guardian of their territory against enemy invasion (Franklin and Shepard 1996; Krasnova 2000, 142).

The account of the origin of the state also explained the mass participation of the Russian people in its defence. The Napoleonic campaign provoked resistance that Napoleon had not met elsewhere in Europe:

> Mikhail Illarionovich Kutuzov, a man of great courage, was Suvorov's favorite pupil and one of Russia's most talented soldiers. … In all his battles Kutuzov displayed exceptionally able and resourceful leadership, personal bravery and remarkable stratagem. Like his teacher Suvorov, Kutuzov[5] hated Martinetism and Draconian discipline. He loved the Russian soldier, of whose valor and heroism he had a very high opinion …. The people's war in Russia, which inflicted heavy losses on Napoleon's army, incensed the conqueror, who had never met that kind of opposition anywhere in Europe…. The War of 1812 was a righteous war, a patriotic war and, as such, occupies a place of great importance in Russian history. It was a war that asserted the national independence of Russia and of the Russian people. The heroism of the soldiers, the operations of the guerrillas and the peasants, and the unity of the entire Russian people in fighting the foreign invaders, all helped Russia to defeat Napoleon, one of the most powerful conquerors in history (Pankratova et al. 1940, 1948, 2:114–17, 126).

With the start of the Second World War, the description of economic factors in the representation of Russian history was played down in

favor of strongly patriotic tones, and invocation of the expression "popular insurrection" (*narodnoe opolchenie*) used during the Napoleon campaign became progressively more frequent. In fact, although Russia had already recently experienced the Russo–Japanese war (1904–05) and the First World War, the connection between the present war and the war against Napoleon seemed the closest (Bushchik 1961, 331–32).

In dealing with the Russo–Japanese war, *Istoriia SSSR* taught that Russian Tsarism came into conflict with Japanese imperialism in Manchuria because of "the struggle for the command of the Pacific and for the partition of China and Korea, the territory which had not yet been seized by imperialists …" (Pankratova et al. 1940, 3:24–31). The war ended with the fall of Port Arthur and the defeat of the Russian army, which had been ill-prepared since the very start of the war. The end of the war was interpreted in Marxist terms as cultivating favorable ground for the October Revolution: it was "an imperialist war, caused by the collision of conflicts in the imperialist countries on the battlefield for the subdivision of Japan" (25). The First World War, also considered imperialist, was seen as the result of the betrayal of the Second International: "The parties of the Second International, who have betrayed internationalism and socialism, helped the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses" (113). This war was also called unjust also by Lenin, who incited the masses to revolutionary struggle. During the Great War, the Bolsheviks played an important role in the army and in the fleet, creating illegal organizations in military units (114–15, 121). *Istoriia SSSR* presented the Bolsheviks as heroes who had sacrificed themselves for the cause of the revolution. In these descriptions riots and violence were swept under the carpet in the name of socialism.

3 Recounting an Unusual War Against Germans to Schoolchildren

After the Wehrmacht invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, *Istoriia SSSR* could obviously be used only for earlier historical periods, because it contained nothing on recent events. For this reason,

this section employs analysis of Stalin's speech, Pankratova's articles and a collection of satirical poems for children about the war against Nazism to offer a glimpse of the emergence of a canonical version of the Second World War that was imposed during the war and afterwards. The elements of this representation were the cult of the leader, popular and heroic participation, the superiority of the Soviet power proceeding from its socialist regime, and the racist Nazi war that led to acts of barbarism and became a symbol of the destruction of civilization.

During the war years the parallels between past wars against Germans and the present one were the main focus of war pedagogy, which was marked by an ideological opposition to what was considered the Nazi falsification of history. From Stalin's speech on July 3, 1941 on, ideologically-oriented patriotic education progressively escalated from a call for popular mobilization, courage and self-sacrifice to a call for human sacrifice on the front line and vengeance against the atrocities committed by German occupying forces.

In this speech, immediately following the German invasion, Stalin called for the people to rise up against the enemy in defence of the country. The war against Germany was not to be considered "an ordinary war" (Stalin 1941). Addressing the population, Stalin said that there were no invincible armies, justifying the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression Pact, signed with "these tyrants and cannibals like Hitler and Ribbentrop". He said that, "Our soldiers fought heroically against the enemy, well-armed with tanks and aircraft. The Red Army and Red Navy, overcoming many difficulties, are fighting with great self-sacrifice on every inch of the territory of the Soviet soil …", and continued, "the enemy is cruel and implacable", declaring that it was determined to seize the land, grain, and oil acquired through hard work, and also

> to restore the rule of the landlords, to restore Tsarism, to destroy the national culture and the national existence of the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to turn them into the slaves of German princes and barons … It is necessary that the Soviet people understand this and stop being flippant, that they mobilize and

> reorganize all their work in a new military fashion which will give the enemy no quarter … [All will have to fight] till the last drop of blood has been spilled for our towns and villages …. (Stalin 1941)

Stalin's speech concluded by recalling Churchill's and Roosevelt's statements that the Soviet Union must be helped, demonstrating that there was a united front against "the threats of subjugation of Hitler's fascist armies" (Stalin 1941). The sentiments of this speech were echoed almost immediately in the order *O merakh po uluchsheniiu kachestva obucheniia v shkole* (On measures to improve the quality of learning in schools) (July 21) that stressed that the function of history education was moral and patriotic education, establishing that it was necessary "to educate a courageous generation, who would have all the knowledge required to defend its Fatherland", "to educate keen Soviet patriots ready to exchange books for guns to defend their Fatherland, to educate heroic combatants fighting for the honour, freedom and independence of their Fatherland", and "to teach people about the heroic actions of our ancestors and of our contemporaries …" (Bushchik 1961, 316–17).

With this purpose in mind, during the war years school programmes and textbooks were aimed at teaching pupils the role of the Russian people in world history and Russian patriotism. War became a story in relation to the present, but also a real cataclysm experienced by the population, including children (Caroli 2011, 269–77). The teacher's role in explaining past wars in relation to the ongoing war became crucial. The War of 1812 against Napoleon was to be viewed as a popular war, a "war of national liberation", because unlike the current one it took place on Russian territory (Bushchik 1961, 331). Similarly, the teacher had to describe the "Defence of Sevastopol" during the Crimean War (1853–56), comparing the heroism of the Russian soldiers with that of the soldiers of the Red Army. Even the First World War offered teachers a chance to recount the Soviet people's struggle for independence: they were to explain "[t]he expulsion of the German occupiers from the areas of the Baltic, from Belarus, Ukraine, and the Crimea in 1918, the thwarting of three attacks of the Entente [Cordiale] in 1918–1920, the heroic defence of Tsaricyno in 1918–1919 and of Stalingrad in 1942–43, the courage and heroism of our masses, led by the Communist Party in the period of the Great Patriotic War" (332).

In an article published in the *Istoricheskii zhurnal* (Historical journal), Pankratova herself, faithfully echoing Stalin's words, insisted that the country was conducting "a war for the liberation of the homeland." She continued by stating that "we want to liberate the Soviet land from German-fascist scoundrels (*mersavtsy*)" (Pankratova 1942, 145). She also argued that the pedagogy of Soviet patriotism and the belief in a final victory were "the central task of the Soviet teacher," who had also to unmask the "falsifications" of Nazism: "replacing the representation of history as a struggle of classes with [Hitler's] portrayal [of history] as a struggle of races, the Fascist falsifiers of history strive to present the whole historical process as a process of worldwide diffusion of the 'Nordic' German race … predisposed by nature itself for dominance over other races and peoples. The goal of Hitler's 'historical science' is to 'prove' that fascist Germany has 'the right' to acquire any space in Europe and around the world on the basis that the superior German race 'has fertilized' the entire world with their high culture" (145).

To this end, history teachers had to structure their teaching so that the fascist falsification of history was rebutted by objective historical facts. Such teaching was intended to educate the patriotic spirit and instil conviction in the final victory of the Soviet people, who had shown their "best capabilities in warfare" over the centuries: "The heroism and selflessness with which the Red Army and the Red Navy fight on all fronts, engaging the entire Russian people in the rearguard, do not arise by chance. These qualities are the result of a long historic struggle of the peoples of the Soviet Union for their freedom and independence" (Pankratova 1942, 147).

Pankratova also alluded to a series of heroic episodes in which other leaders had distinguished themselves, and later become symbolic figures in the Russian patriotic imagination:

> The war that you are fighting is a war of liberation, a just war. Let us be inspired in this war by the heroism of our great ancestors—Alexander Nevskii, Dmitry Donskoi, Kuzma Minin, Dmitry Pozharskii, Aleksandr Suvorov, Mikhail Kutuzov! Let us be enlightened by Lenin's victorious flag! (Pankratova 1942, 147)[6]

Of all the topics on the history of the people's liberation wars, it was necessary to choose those that dealt with the struggle of the Russian people against the Germans:

> … in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, and in particular in the heroic episode of the Battle of the Frozen Lake (*Ledovoe poboishche*), the hero of the Battle of the Neva, Prince J. Alexander Nevskii, distinguished himself for his strategic abilities as one of the foremost Russian leaders. (Pankratova 1942, 147)[7]

Indeed, she continued, in his ardent appeal to the Red Army and the entire Soviet people at the parade of the Red Army on November 7, 1941, Comrade Stalin had named Alexander Nevskii first in a list of names that could serve as an example of "high courage and heroism" (147).

While Pankratova described how schoolchildren were to be taught about the glorious past, children's authors presented the war as a school of life in which the best qualities of patriotism and self-sacrifice were to be deployed. This is very well known to scholars (Kucherenko 2011, 75–106); other aspects of war pedagogy, including the representation of the enemy and its threats, from which it was necessary to defend the country, have also been analyzed (Rykhlin 2000, 815–29; Vorein 2010, 43–54). Among the lesser-known texts is *Urok istorii* (The history lesson), a 1942 collection of satirical poems against Nazism, the Nazi leaders and allies in the occupied countries, written by famous children's writer Samuil Marshak and illustrated by Kukryniksy (the pseudonym of three caricaturists M. V. Kupriianov, Porfirii Krylov and Nikolai Sokolov), a well-known Soviet war propaganda artist. In a 1938 article published in the *Istoricheskii zhurnal*, V. Labunskii had discussed the use of artwork in the history lesson, drawing attention to the educational value of certain collections of drawings and images—including a drawing by Kukryniksy themselves captioned "Who we shot down: The Kolchak White Army commander"—to explain the civil war, which could serve as a means of stimulating "concreteness and interest" during history lessons (115–21; Alperovich 1965, 28–33). *Urok istorii*, then, probably compensated for a lack of illustrated textbooks.

Urok istorii presents a monstrous war machine with cannibals—Hitler and his officials—enslaving Europe. Everything in nature is deformed, not only the image reflected in the mirror or appearing in the shadows. Rhyming poems tell of an unjust war driven by the idea of racial superiority and based on conquest and plunder. On the front cover, the authors invoke well-known heroes to tell their young readers, “For the homeland, we fight hard, hit desperately, we who are the children of Suvorov and grandchildren of Chapaev” (Kukryniksy et al. 1942, 5). In the poem “Urok istorii. Razgovor Gitlera s pokojnym Kajzerom Vil’gel’mom” (The history lesson: Hitler’s conversation with the deceased Kaiser Wilhelm), the Kaiser predicts the end of Nazism:

> – “Nobody will beat me!” –
> Exclaimed Hitler boldly.
> – “Oh, no, my friend, you will be defeated”,
> answered the Kaiser in a low voice.
> – “In Russia I will introduce slavery,
> the end will come for the Soviets.”
> – “Ah in nineteen eighteen
> I dreamed that too.”
> – “I’ll Germanize all the Union,
> and Britain and the United States” …
> – “Lie with me, friend, in my grave!” –
> said the dead man in a serious tone.” (Kukryniksy et al. 1942, 11)

In the poem “Junyi Frits ili ekzamen na attestat zrelosti” (Young Fric, or examination for the certificate of savagery), the authors describe how Germans educate the new generation:

> Young Fric, the apple of his mother’s eye,
> came to class to take an exam.
>
> They asked him:
> – “Why do fascists have a nose?”
>
> Fric answers immediately:
> – “to smell betrayal

and report them all in black and white
that is why fascists have a nose" ….

The science master asks:
– "Why does the fascist have legs?"
– "To march down the road,
left, right, one, two."
– "Why does he have a head?"

– "To wear a steel helmet
or a gas mask,
not to think about anything."
(*The Führer thinks for him!*).

The teacher praises Fric:
– "This one will do.
We can turn this young man
into a rogue [*podlec*]!"

Happy mother, proud father
Fric was accepted into the Gestapo. (Kukryniksy et al. 1942, 16)

Finally, in the poem "Miasostavki" (Supply of meat to the State):

Berlin requires a lot of meat in the meat grinder.
– "Hey!"—it shouts—to Antonescu,
"give me some more Romanians!"

– "Fuhrer, look! They are in the basket,
but there aren't many …"
– "What are you munching on, Mussolini!
Give me yours!"

– "Where are your boys, Pavelich?
To me, now!"

Day and night a terrible dish
is simmering in the cauldron. (Kukryniksy et al. 1942, 40)

All these poems incited a strong feeling of hatred and revenge for a racist war in their representation of the enemy: just like the conflicts arising from the bourgeoisie, the war was unjust because it represented a threat to civilization. Military operations were followed by radio broadcasts and propaganda calling for the people to fight against the invaders "till the last drop of blood [had] been spilled" (Stalin 1940; see Maier 2011). Atrocities were stamped on the consciousness and in the memory of children, producing indelible trauma (Caroli 2012, 201–39). Although it was important for history teaching to teach about the impact of a war that had lasted longer than necessary, in practice, teachers had to convey an ideological representation of the war, in accordance with totalitarian pedagogy.

4 The Revision of *Istoriia SSSR* (1945–48): "The Great Russia United Forever, Unshakeable Union of Free Republics …"

The end of the war was dominated by a pedagogy of patriotism, characterized by Stalin's cult of personality and also by the progressive cult of the "great patriotic war". In spite of the enormous human loss, this was important both for the Soviet people's feeling of national identity and for the revival of the communist project in the postwar period (Fürst 2006, 1–19; Fitzpatrick 2006, 269–81).

Between 1945 and 1948 a first attempt was made to revise *Istoriia SSSR*. Many modifications were made, especially to the third volume for the tenth year, which covered the period from 1905 to the Second World War. In 1946 the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, created in 1943, was conducting a review of textbooks (Pankratova et al. 1946) in relation to so-called *ideinoe-politicheskoe vospitanie* (ideal and political education), catering especially for teachers who had interpreted the teaching of Soviet history in the tenth year as patriotic education. Teachers had to abide by the official interpretation of the history of the motherland (*Rodina*), in line with the history of the Communist Party (Bushchik 1961, 346–51).

It can be assumed that the spread of these textbooks was limited in outlying schools after the war. In their absence, the history of the war was taught from official accounts, many teachers having participated in the defence of their country. Just as official sources emphasize "ideal and political education", based on Stalin's cult of personality and infallibility, archival documents for the postwar years 1945–50 demonstrate that teachers were constantly monitored in their teaching practices, which were more akin to indoctrination activities than the transmission of historical knowledge, in particular by the central authorities and by the Ministry of Education, which replaced the People's Commissariat of Education in 1946.

During the All-Russian Education Conference (August 5–6, 1945), the Minister of Education of the Republic of Russia, Vladimir P. Potemkin (1874–1946), said that teachers had improved the study of history from the point of view of chronology and the knowledge of major historical events, and that in general the approach to the teaching of history had had a positive effect (*Stenogramma* 1946, 22–23):

> The Great Patriotic War has shown that our school has achieved its main educational task, preparing hundreds of thousands of people, who have dedicated themselves with self-sacrifice to the Lenin-Stalin undertaking, who ardently love their homeland. Zoya Kosmodemianskaia, Liza Chezhkina, Aleksandr Matrosov,[8] and many other students of the Soviet school drew their names in blood on the pages of history and strengthened the right of our school to be called the school that educates Patriots. (35)

Nevertheless, after the final exams of the tenth year in 1946, it emerged that students had not assimilated the chronological order of events, and were unsure of the role of political leaders. To improve the acquisition of historical knowledge in education, an article entitled "Za vysokii ideinii uroven v prepodavanii istorii" (For a high ideal level in history teaching), published in the journal *Prepodavanie istorii v shkole* (Teaching history in the school), suggested that "students had to understand that the victory of socialism was an inevitable result of the progressive development of 'human society'" and that "our system" is "a better organization of society than any other non-Soviet social system" (1946, 10).

Recalling the beginning of the national anthem of the Soviet Union, "Gimn Sovietskogo Soiuza," the lines "Soiuz nerushimyi svobodnykh respublik / Splotila naveki Velikaia Rus" (The great Russia united forever / unshakeable union of free Republics), written on December 14, 1943, teachers had to explain that "[t]he Soviet armed forces won; our communist ideology won. The most important aspect of the 10th year course was to show the historical role of the great Bolshevik Party—organizer and guide of our victories—and of its founders and brilliant guides of the Russian people—Lenin and Stalin" (*Za vysokii ideinii* 10–11). The war had formed a kind of new Soviet man with the traits that had now manifested themselves:

> lofty ideals, a deep commitment to the socialist fatherland, humanity, vigor, boldness, an indomitable effort to overcome every obstacle in the fight for the great undertaking of communism. Show that heroism in our country is not a unique phenomenon but a mass. (10–11)

The article concluded with the need to use literature and original documents during history lessons for the ideal and moral education of the youth: "literature is not only a means to illustrate the history lesson. The history of literature in a reduced and condensed form is an integral part of cultural history lessons" (*Za vysokii ideinii*, 14). It is likely that this tendency to urge new teaching methodologies went hand in hand with some historians' attempts to create spaces dedicated to memories of war for history teaching in primary schools (Bushchik 1961, 349–51; Caroli 2009, 265–72).

In 1947, the historian A. I. Strazhev developed the concept of socialist patriotic education, stressing that it was different from that of bourgeois society:

> The characteristic of Soviet patriotism is the fusion of the interests of each person with the interests of the entire Soviet people. The Soviet man is free from the previous split between love of country, feeding an attachment to place of birth and home, the language and culture of their country, and of the same natural hatred for the class of exploiters. (Strazhev 1957, 5)

A report on "ideal and political education" in Moscow schools in 1948 found that "many teachers in the examined schools were showing a high level of ideal education with schoolchildren both in lessons and outside school …. However, a number of teachers have not yet dedicated enough attention to the issues of education of schoolchildren in the spirit of Soviet patriotism" (*Materialy o sostoianii* 1948, 1–2). This indicates that some teachers were not keen to approach history through the schemata of Marxist interpretation, but the majority generally strove to inculcate the official vision of history. The report found that the official approach was adopted with students in the tenth year, and particularly at school no. 175 in the district of Sverdlovsk:

> … in this school, pupils of the higher classes study the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In this way, the teacher encouraged 10th-year students to quote from the classics of Marxism-Leninism when answering questions posed by the teacher …. Students in these lessons were led to a comprehension of Leninist-Stalinist teaching with the chance of socialism succeeding in one country, which can easily be positioned at the base of the party's general line toward socialist industrialization …. Students came to realize that the building of socialism is a conscious process, directed and oriented by the Bolshevik Party and its brilliant founders and guides V. I. Lenin and I. V. Stalin in the difficult conditions of the fight with enemies both foreign and domestic. (*Materialy o sostoianii* 1948, 12–13)

At school no. 204 in Leont'ev district, when asked about the Second World War,

> in their answers [students] often repeated the content of the July 3rd, 1941 speech of Comrade Stalin on the radio and demonstrated a deep understanding of the causes and character of the war, the roads to victory over the enemy, that Comrade Stalin showed our people with brilliant perspicacity … This teacher's two lessons on the Great Patriotic War were infused with Soviet patriotism and aroused in the students a sense of pride in our people, who in the days of sudden and perfidious attack by the fully mobilized army of Hitler's Germany maintained the force to inflict hammer-blows on the enemy. (*Materialy o sostoianii* 1948, 15)

Teachers generally acknowledged the educational significance of studying Lenin and Stalin's biographies. This was probably an effect of the persistent cult of personality as well as ideological control over teachers, who feared the purges that had occurred in 1936, since terror continued to be a means of social control, even during the war (Ewing 2002; Hagenloh 2009). It was perhaps also due to the lack of official textbooks which they could use to teach about the war.

In 1948 *Istoriia SSSR* was translated into English, indicating a political will to recount the Soviet war from the perspective of the "country of victory" not only to Soviet children but at a transnational level (Pankratova et al. 1948, vol. 3). A section on the Second World War entitled "The fight for peace amidst the conditions of the Second World War"—in the original Russian version, by contrast, "The great national war against fascist invaders"—described Hitler's plans against Russia as follows:

> The Hitlerites particularly hated the Slavonic peoples, and primarily the great Russian people, who had fought the German aggressors more than once in the course of their history. The Hitlerites intended, after they had achieved victory in the World War, to drive a large section of the Slavs out of Europe beyond the Urals and totally annihilate the other section.
>
> The Hitlerites dreamed of utilizing the immense resources of the Land of Soviets—oil, coal and food—for the purpose of carrying out their further plans of conquest. Hitler counted on defeating the Soviet Union in a short space of time and then on utilizing all his forces for the purpose of subjugating the rest of the world. (396)

Stalin himself had made a speech on the outbreak of war that was meant not just to "remove the danger that was hovering over our country, but also to help all the peoples of Europe who were groaning under the yoke of German fascism" (397).

The narrative continued with the different phases of the war and described the "Collapse of the Fascists' Plan for a Blitzkrieg" thanks to the "stubborn fighting" of the Soviet army, which was a "powerful fighting force", and "Stalin's tactics of active defence": "the Soviet Army stubbornly held at bay the mighty onslaught of Hitler's hordes.

Hitler's army sustained immense losses". It described the "[d]efeat of the Germans near Moscow" and, finally, the Battle of Stalingrad (398):

> Stalingrad staunchly and bravely repelled the vicious onslaughts of the enemy.… Everybody was aware that the outcome of the battle of Stalingrad would determine the fate of our motherland. The heroic defence of the city enabled the Supreme Command of the Soviet Army to muster reserves and to draw up and put into operation a plan for the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad.… The victory of Stalingrad brought about a radical turn in the whole course of the Great Patriotic War. (403–4)

After the description of the military operations and battles that led to the end of the war and the liberation of the peoples of Europe, the textbook highlights the heroic struggle of the Soviet partisans and the heroic effort of the people in the rearguard, arguing that

> [t]he Great Patriotic War revealed the mighty strength of Soviet patriotism, which is linked with the entire glorious past of the peoples of our country. The splendid qualities and fighting traditions of the Soviet people found expression in the mass heroism which they displayed at the front and in the rear in defending the honors, freedom and independence of their Soviet Motherland … The victory of the Soviet armed forces was also ensured by the Soviet military arts and the wise strategy of Stalin [, who] trained splendid generals of a new type such as Zhukov, Kovev, Vasilyevsky, Tolbukhin, Govorov, Vatutin, Antonov and others. (420–21)

The emphasis on Stalin's role as "the organizer and inspirer of its liberating struggle", "the leader of the peoples, the greatest of strategists and generals", and on the war heroes, reflected the role of the cult of Stalin in the emergence of a myth of the war that was particularly persistent in the West during the Cold War (421).

A project developed by the Russian Academy of Education on the teaching of history for the year 1949/50 confirmed this approach. The war was to be taught about in terms of Soviet patriotism and of a consistent historical interpretation: "The most important task for the teacher of history in the USSR is the education of the Soviet

citizen-patriot, armed with an understanding of the laws of social development, able to fight actively and consciously for the great enterprise of Lenin and Stalin, socialism and communism" (Akademiia Pedagogicheskich Nauk 1949, 4). This project could be seen as the first step of a new trend, in that there was a new focus on the study of economic facts and multinational history, without overshadowing the role of the main historical leaders: "the role of personality in history must be shown to schoolchildren in close relation to the issues of the role of the popular masses in history". However, "the study of the biographies and the activity of Lenin and Stalin had a particularly instructive and educational function" (6). In order to give greater attention to contemporary history, in July 1950 the Russian College of the Ministry of Education decided to reduce the volume of all history textbooks significantly (Bushchik 1961, 351–52; Tchernychev 2005, 34–35).

After the war, attempts to renew the teaching of history from the point of view of witnesses were thwarted in the name of preserving the official story and the "Cult of Victory". The history textbooks were subjected to a proper revision only after the death of Stalin in 1953, and more specifically after 1954, when other forms of study of the Great Patriotic War were introduced, not only in school history lessons but in school history clubs intended to help schoolchildren learn about the local territory (Sokolov 1955, 93–94). The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in 1956 marked a major shift with the document "On overcoming the personality cult and its consequences", which represented the starting point for the revision of Soviet historiography in general and history textbooks in particular (Bushchik 1961, 368–69).

5 Conclusion

In an attempt to further Marc Ferro's comparative research on the use and abuse of history, with particular reference to Marxist history in the Soviet Union (Ferro 2003, 164–77), this chapter has analyzed the production of the first Marxist history textbooks for secondary schools from the October Revolution to the war, demonstrating the importance of history in the patriotic education of schoolchildren from the eighth

to tenth years. The textbook *Istoriia SSSR*, which was used until 1962, proved to be a powerful means of education for the indoctrination of new generations. This study has tried to combine the analysis of textbooks and of other sources to investigate the narrative strategies used for the war from 1940 to the postwar period. This makes it possible to grasp the evolution of ideology and the development of canons that persisted until the fall of communism and beyond. During the war itself and until 1948, it was possible to speak of the war only from the official perspective of patriotism, the main Soviet educational value.

With the start of de-Stalinization after 1953, the war began to be narrated not only from the official point of view but also from the point of view of witnesses. As Ferro argued, in Russia "collective memory and official history … confront each other in a real test of force which shows, probably better than in the work of historians themselves, the problems which are posed by history" (Ferro 2003, x–xi). The celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 1965 allowed the recovery of war veterans' and former partisans' memories, completing the historical picture of the war (Edele 2008, 21–38).

Belarussian writer Tatiana Alexievich lecture "On the Battle Lost", delivered on acceptance of her Nobel Prize for Literature (2015), may be seen to represent the culmination of the appreciation of memory by Soviet writers of the last decades of the twentieth century (see Tumarkin 1995, 197). In the lecture, she describes the war as the loss of loved persons, of love and feelings, of lost arms and legs, of blood spilled, so that people speak of the war as lost and not of a "Great Victory": "I lived in a country where dying was taught us from childhood. We were taught death. We are told that human beings exist in order to give everything they have, to burn out, to sacrifice themselves. We were taught to love people with weapons …" (Alexievich 2015). Her narrative concerns the lives of ordinary people disrupted by war and humanitarian tragedies that, like wars, have caused suffering, pain and physical impairment before and after the fall of the regime. The stories about the war that she heard during her childhood were the story of a family, a story that official representation denied for a long time in the name of a "Great victory", of a human sacrifice made in the name of socialism

and communism. Aleksievich's work seeks to unite history and memory: only history will tell whether she has contributed to the end of one myth or the beginning of others.

Notes

1. This chapter is written in honour of Marc Ferro and his teachings. From 1992 to 1997, Marc Ferro was the supervisor of my Ph.D. at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris (published as Caroli 2004).
2. M. N. Pokrovskii (1868–1932) was a historian and disciple of Vasilii O. Kliuchevskii (1841–1911). He joined the Bolsheviks in 1905 and after the revolution was Deputy Commissar for Enlightenment from 1918 to 1932. From 1929 he was Director of the Institute of History and was elected to the Soviet Academy of Sciences.
3. Sergei M. Kirov (1886–1934), a revolutionary Bolshevik and Russian politician, became head of the party organization in Leningrad. He was murdered on December 1, 1934, beginning a series of Stalin's purges against old Bolsheviks. After Kirov's murder, Andrei A. Zhdanov (1896–1948) became the All-Union Communist Party (B) leader in Leningrad. From 1938 to 1947, Zhdanov was Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. In 1947, he organized Cominform, designed to coordinate Communist parties all over Europe.
4. A. M. Pankratova was born and educated in Odessa. During the Civil War (1918–1920) she joined the Communist Party and carried out political activities in Ukraine. In 1925 she graduated in history at the Institute of the Red Professors (Krasnaia Professura). She studied the history of the labor movement and of diplomacy. She was a member of the Academy of Science of Belarus from 1940 and of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences from 1944. She was also professor at the State Institute of History (Moscow) and at the Academy of Social Science of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party. In 1952 she was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. In 1953 she became editor-in-chief of the review *Voprosy istorii* (History issues).
5. A. V. Suvorov (1729–1800) fought against the Prussians in the Seven Years' War (1756–63) and was considered among the greatest modern strategists. M. I. Kutuzov (1745–1813), a pupil of Suvorov, is known for

leading the army in 1812 in the victorious war against the French army of Napoleon Bonaparte.

6. Dmitri Donskoi (1350–1389) was the Grand Prince of the Moscow Principality (1362–1389) that marked the end of Mongol domination. Kuzma Minin was a merchant from Nizhnii Novgorod; with Prince Dmitri Pozharskii he became a national hero for his role in the defence of the country against the invasion of Poland at the beginning of the seventeenth century.
7. A. Nevskii (1220–1263) defended the northwest of Russia from the Swedish and the Germans. He defeated the Swedish Army in the famous Battle of the Neva (1240).
8. Zoya Kosmodemianskaia, Liza Chezhkina and Aleksandr Matrosov were well-known young Soviet heroes.

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12

Searching for "The Truth"? Narratives of the Second World War in Polish History Textbooks (1989–2015)

Sylwia Bobryk

1 Introduction

The Second World War was a traumatic experience for Polish citizens. The Second Polish Republic (1918–39) was invaded and occupied by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. As a result of the war six million citizens of the Republic—Poles, Jews, Belarussians and Ukrainians—perished. It is impossible to record every crime that was committed in the course of the war in this part of Europe. It is even more difficult to define who was strictly a perpetrator, victim, witness, bystander or hero. Is a resistance fighter a hero for fighting against the occupiers? Or is he a perpetrator for shooting and killing? Or perhaps a victim of the era into which he was born?

While individual experience suggests that nothing in war is purely bad or good, in the process of myth-making European postwar political

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and intellectual elites created black-and-white tales of what had happened in the war. To restore peace and stability, they forgot about domestic collaborators and criminals, advanced a belief that their communities were mostly victims and heroes, and told their citizens that their suffering had been the work of Nazi Germans (Judt 1992; Berger 2010). In Western Europe, only since the 1980s have there been sustained attempts, such as the *Historikerstreit* in West Germany, to come to terms with the past, recognize responsibility for Nazi crimes, especially the Holocaust, and learn to live with the consciousness of having been "perpetrators."

In Eastern Europe, too, the focus of remembrance has been on victimhood. For example, the Polish Communist Party created a story about the unique victimhood, innocence and heroism of the Polish nation in the war (Wawrzyniak 2015). The murder of three million Polish Jews was not singled out but became lost in the overarching master narrative of the suffering of the entire nation. Anti-Semitism and crimes inflicted by ethnic Poles on their Jewish neighbours were forgotten, while the myth of the heroic rescue of Jews by Catholic Poles developed from the 1960s on (Steinlauf 1997).

The opening of past wounds was delayed by the communist system and its control of the public sphere, propaganda and promotion of a single official story about the past. Yet, from the 1980s on, the Polish Communist Party had lost full control of collective memory (Peters 2016). Around ten million people, including many historians and history teachers, joined the Solidarity trade union in 1980 and 1981. They not only advocated political and economic change, but also demanded changes in the collective memory of the war and the postwar period. Especially important to them was the revision of teaching programmes and history textbooks (NSZZ 'Solidarność' Krajowa Rada Sekcji Oświaty i Wychowania 1981). In 1981, due to strikes and demonstrations, the communist government had to agree to Solidarity's demands. History programmes and textbooks were updated. The reading of Polish–Soviet and postwar history was modified. As the Communist Party imposed martial law and made Solidarity illegal, however, less was done than Solidarity had demanded. For example, for the first time since the war a primary school textbook (Szcześniak 1984) mentioned

the 1940 Katyń massacre of about twenty-two thousand Polish army officers—but the author did not dare to specify that the NKVD (the Soviet secret police) had committed the crime.

The process of changing collective memory culminated in 1989. Following the Round Table Agreement, the first semi-free democratic elections and the closing of *Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk* (principal censorship office for press, publications, and shows), new narratives about the past now emerged in the public sphere. The master narrative on the so-called Polish–Soviet friendship and the liberation of Poland by the Red Army faded and was replaced by new, often anti-Soviet, readings of the past. But in the newly found polyphony of narratives only selected stories could find their way into textbooks.

So far, our understanding of the transformation of the narrative of the Second World War as enshrined in history textbooks published since 1989 has been fragmented. Several studies have been undertaken to analyze single events of the war. Especially popular have been analyzes of the representation of the Katyń massacre (Drozdowski 2000; Glimos-Nadgórska 2010; Zawistowski 2010; Roguski 2013); the Holocaust (*Zagłada*) and the Jedwabne massacre of 1941 (Cała 1997; Jagielski 1997; Szuchta 1997; Tomaszewski et al. 1997; Węgrzynek 1997; Żbikowski 1997; Necio 1999; Kubis 2004; Rębisz 2004; Węgrzynek 2006; Węgrzynek 2012; Ambrosewicz-Jacobs 2012; Ambrosewicz-Jacobs and Buettner 2014; Ambrosewicz-Jacobs and Szuchta 2014); the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 (Drozdowski 2002); and postwar expulsions of Germans from Poland (Nasalska 2001, 2007). Yet these studies generally fail to grasp the transformation of the wider narrative of the war.

The only attempt at a systematic analysis of narratives of the Second World War has been undertaken by Magdalena Gross, who concludes that "educating youth about WWII in Poland focuses on reclaiming Polishness (*Polskość*) rather than on teaching universal understanding of citizenship" (Gross 2010, 213). Yet Gross analyzes only seven textbooks from the period between 1977 and 2006. She fails to bring out contestation over the production of textbooks and the transformation of the narrative after 1989; nor does she provide the context of the domestic and transnational processes of negotiation and transformation

of collective memory that influenced textbook narratives in post-communist Europe.

This chapter attempts to shed light on post-1989 constructions of the past in textbooks. By analyzing textbooks introduced by key education reforms, this chapter will, first of all, illuminate how textbook narratives of the Second World War have changed and how the images of heroes, perpetrators, victims, witnesses and bystanders have transformed. Do textbooks present the Polish nation as united or fragmented? Do they admit that there were also Polish perpetrators? Second, this study will contextualize these narratives within the politics of history and transnational debates about the past. In so doing, it will show how various stakeholders—politicians and their parties, publishers, historical associations and academic historians—and their networks competed for their stories about the war to be told to pupils.

2 Opening Pandora's Box in Post-1989 Textbooks: Polish Heroes and Victims

Changes to textbooks never take place as fast as politicians wish. This is due to the simple fact that textbooks take time to be developed and to be phased in for school use. This is perhaps a positive feature if we consider that textbooks are "weapons of mass instruction" that can be used to foster nationalistic feelings (Ingrao 2009). But in Poland in 1989 the introduction of entirely new textbooks was impossible for several other reasons too. First of all, the education system was heavily underfinanced (Komitet Ekspertów do Spraw Edukacji Narodowej 1989). Secondly, the Soviet Union was still standing, continuing to exercise influence across the Eastern Bloc, making it difficult for textbook authors to write from a factual, critical standpoint about the Polish–Soviet past Finally, in line with the contractual nature of the transition, the Solidarity government followed the so-called thick line (*gruba linia*) policy, dividing the past from the present and viewing economic and administrative reforms as more urgent than seeking the truth and justice for the communist past (Koczanowicz 1997, 263; Sakwa 1999, 75).

Since schools still needed textbooks, those that already existed were revised. Updated editions of the history textbooks for primary schools (Szcześniak 1989) and secondary schools (Siergiejczyk 1991) were produced. Both were printed by the then state-owned *Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne*, or *WSiP* (school and educational publishing houses), which had a monopoly on textbook production. Textbooks were no longer provided for schools by the state and parents had to purchase them for their children. As a result, and due to the economic situation, schools often relied on old editions of textbooks. One teacher recalled that in the early 1990s, at a school that had decided to use old editions of textbooks, he asked pupils to cross out paragraphs and pull out pages that were no longer considered correct or appropriate: "that was the revolution" (Stanisław Roszak, interview, September 16, 2014; unless otherwise specified, all translations my own).

But the thick line policy was short-lived. As the Soviet Union began to disintegrate, dealing with the past became a prominent element of Polish politics (Traba 2000; Nijakowski 2008). The new political elites began building symbols for the new state amounting to a clear rejection of communism (Andrychowicz-Skrzeba 2014, 129), and "history burdened Polish–Russian relations" (Rotfeld and Torkunow 2010, 11). Incidents which were not discussed openly in communist Poland, such as the Katyń massacre, the murder of 21,892 officers of the Polish Army and other Polish citizens by the Soviet NKVD (Snyder 2016, 122), for which Stalin blamed the Germans, resurfaced. As the new Russian elites did not accept responsibility for the crimes of the Soviet Union and offered no apologies, the Polish government pursued the strategy of "fighting for real history and curtailing any efforts to falsify history" in bilateral relations (Domaradzki 2008, 40–41). Interestingly, although Solidarity called for the decentralization of the education system in the 1980s, the Solidarity and post-Solidarity governments (1989–93) continued to authorize textbooks for use. This allowed them to exercise pressure on textbook narratives. They could also develop new narratives to advance their story about the past by occupying key positions at non-state institutions such as publishing houses.

With this in mind, how did textbook narratives of the Second World War transform in the early 1990s? The first striking change is that the

old textbook for secondary schools revised in 1991 no longer discusses the entry of the Soviet Union into Poland in 1939, but rather "the aggression of the Soviet Union" (Siergiejczyk 1991, 24). Likewise, it no longer refers to "territories joined with the Soviet Union" but to "Soviet occupation" (Siergiejczyk 1986, 158; 1991, 129). In this way it signifies that the politics of the Soviet and Nazi occupiers and their crimes against the Polish nation were comparable.

New textbooks, which soon began to appear under the direction of the new Solidarity elites, also employed this new master narrative. Authors such as Andrzej Pankowicz (1990) underline that the truth about the massacre was hidden by the Soviet Union for many years and note that "the case of Polish officers, victims of Stalinism—imprisoned in Kozelsk, Starobelsk and Ostashkov—to this day has not received satisfactory explanation" (Pankowicz 1990). Textbooks published later, when the Soviet Union no longer existed, present an even more negative view of Polish–Soviet relations during the war and afterwards. They present Katyń as one of numerous crimes committed by the Soviets, such as deportations, indoctrination, theft and the destruction of Polish culture, and go as far as to argue that the Soviet occupation was worse than that of Nazi Germany (Glubiński 1992, 258; Radziwiłł and Roszkowski 1993, 300).

3 Polyphonic Post-1999 Textbooks: Polish Bystanders to the Holocaust

Until 1999 most textbooks did not single out the Holocaust, but instead focused on the martyrdom of Catholic Poles. They talked about *Zagłada* of Jews, which is a Polish term for genocide, and which can be used to refer to both Polish and Jewish experience. In the earliest post-communist textbook editions (Szcześniak 1989; Pankowicz 1990; Siergiejczyk 1991) we can identify three common themes. First, the mass murder of Poles and Jews by Germans (also called Hitlerites, executioners and torturers), but without clarification of how the experience of the two differed, that is, that Poles were kept as political prisoners

while Jews were destined for extermination; second, the Polish rescue of Jews despite the Nazi death penalty for doing so; and third, Jewish resistance against the occupier. Interestingly, while textbooks portray Poles as a united nation of heroes with very few *szmalcownicy* (people who threatened Jews in hiding to extract money or valuables from them), who were sought out and executed by the Polish underground state, Jews are presented as a fragmented community of heroes, and some as traitors who cooperated with the occupier.

Counter-narratives gradually appeared. The first was written by Anna Radziwiłł and Wojciech Roszkowski, both Solidarity members (Radziwiłł and Roszkowski 1993). Their textbook questions the myth of the Polish rescue of Jews and signals that the Nazi treatment of Poles and Jews differed. They are the first textbook authors to mention Polish bystanders:

> It is very difficult to assess objectively the attitude of Polish society towards the Jewish tragedy. On the one hand, there were cases of blackmailing and reporting of Jews to Germans—called *szmalcownictwo*—and a large part of the Polish nation was indifferent towards the unprecedented murder of the Jewish population. On the other hand, anti–Semitism, prevalent in some circles before the war, often gave way to compassion, and even assistance when people were confronted with the extermination of Jews. (Radziwiłł and Roszkowski 1993, 322)

Throughout the 1990s, however, textbooks treated the Holocaust fragmentarily and often did not dedicate separate sections to the experience of Polish Jews, which led to their marginalization in the narratives.

But the narrative template for the Second World War was meaningfully revised again in textbooks introduced with the structural reform of education initiated in 1999. The curriculum made teaching about the Holocaust mandatory (Minister Edukacji Narodowej 1999, 26) and all textbooks had to dedicate a section to it (Jastrzębska and Żurawski 2001; Małkowski and Rześniowiecki 2001; Mędrzecki and Szuchta 2001; Przybysz et al. 2001; Sobaś and Szymanowski 2001; Szcześniak 2001; Tomalska 2001; Tusiewicz 2001; Wendt 2001; Wojciechowski 2001; Chmiel et al. 2002; Ćwikła 2002; Starczewska et al. 2003).

There were, however, still striking differences in the way textbooks contextualized the Holocaust and the meanings they ascribed to it.

The wider context in which textbooks were produced helps to explain variations. In 2001 the biggest, longest-lasting and most important debate over memory took place in Poland. It was initiated by a book by American historian of Polish origin Jan Tomasz Gross, published in 2000 in Polish as *Sąsiedzi. Historia Zagłady Żydowskiego Miasteczka* and in 2001 in English as *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. He described how Poles killed 1600 Jews—a number later contested by an official study carried out by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej) (Ignatiew 2003). Although debates about Polish co-responsibility for what happened to Jews and about Polish anti-Semitism took place in the 1980s and 1990s (Lipski 1981; Steinlauf 1997, 103–5; Bikont and Kruczkowska 1999; Wóycicka and Kowalski 1999; Michlic 2002, 5), this time, as the book was published in the United States and was available in English and then translated into German, French, Italian and Hebrew, the debate had a transnational character. In Israel intellectuals expressed fears of a worsening of Polish–Jewish relations; in Germany, which saw itself as responsible for the Holocaust, they wondered if and how they should respond. In other countries publicists expressed concerns over the problem of anti-Semitism in Poland (Michlic 2002, 9).

The impact of the book and the significance of the debate was enhanced by the fact that at the time Poland was preparing for membership of the European Union and was willing to join the emerging Western European community of memory emphasizing the singularity of the Holocaust. The Polish government participated in relevant agreements, conferences, and projects on history teaching and, crucially, in 2000 Polish president Aleksander Kwaśniewski, of the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance, signed the Stockholm Declaration, committing Poland to commemorate, research and teach about the Holocaust (Nałęcz 2006). During the debate the president called for a critical approach to history, and on the sixtieth anniversary of the events at Jedwabne he officially apologized for the crime (Wolentarska-Ochman 2006, 152). In his apology he offered "words of grief and bitterness", "not only because that

is what simple human decency requires” but because “it is us who needs them [the words] most” (Kwaśniewski 2003, 132).

The book and its transnational reception shook the narrative of Polish heroism, victimhood and innocence and raised questions about Poles being not only victims but perpetrators in the Second World War and, most controversially, the Holocaust. The debate offered politicians, publicists and historians an opportunity to articulate their different opinions on the Polish past and to voice concerns over the politics of history and memory in post-communist Poland (Wolentarska-Ochman 2003, 172; Wiślicz 2010, 45). On the one hand, the debate mobilized an extraordinary number of supporters of the revision of the traditional master narrative. Many well-known individuals and publicists supported Gross in breaking taboos about Polish crimes (Bikont 2001; Szuchta and Trojański 2003; Michlic 2006).

But, on the other hand, many perceived the interpretation of the events at Jedwabne and its commemoration as anti-Polish propaganda. Their aim was to defend the traditional master narrative and the Polish nation’s reputation in the world (Janowski 2012, 85). Conservative historians and publicists, such as Tomasz Merta, Zdzisław Krasnodębski, Andrzej Nowak, Jarosław Gowin and Marek A. Cichocki, argued that the state had no history policy and that it should be developed (Gowin 2000; Korzeniewski 2008; Nijakowski 2008). The term used, *polityka historyczna*, literally means “politics of history”; in this context, however, it refers to “a history policy” (Stobiecki 2013). Historians calling themselves “seekers of the destroyed community” argued that in the first fifteen years after the fall of communism Poland’s policy of history had treated the past as “dangerous ballast” (Merta 2005, 77). They proposed to develop a Polish history policy, and to incorporate Polish memory of heroism and victimhood into the European foundational myth (Krasnodębski 2005). They were supported by nationalist-conservative and populist parties such as the League of Polish Families, the Self-Defence party and, later, the Law and Justice party, who used the debate to express their concerns over the rule of the Democratic Left Alliance (Wolentarska-Ochman 2003).

The new textbooks prepared from 1999 on and published in 2002, appeared at a time when political and intellectual elites and wider

society were increasingly divided over understanding of the Second World War and Polish–Jewish relations. An analysis of the thirteen textbooks then introduced reveals considerable polyphony in their interpretations. Two of the thirteen do not echo the Jedwabne debate and maintain the old narrative of the exterminations of Poles and Jews, in which Jews are marginalized and the heroic rescue of Jews by Poles is emphasized. These were both written by authors who began their career in textbook publishing in the 1980s (Szcześniak 2001; Chmiel et al. 2002). Szcześniak's textbook was authorized by the ministry and reprinted despite being criticized for antisemitism (Tomaszewski 1995; Bikont and Kruczkowska 1999; Wóycicka and Kowalski 1999).

The other eleven textbooks approach the topic of Polish–Jewish relations in the war critically and show that the Polish nation was fragmented in its responses to the Holocaust (Jastrzębska and Żurawski 2001; Małkowski and Rześniowiecki 2001; Mędrzecki and Szuchta 2001; Tomalska 2001; Tusiewicz 2001; Wendt 2001; Wojciechowski 2001; Ćwikła 2002; Starczewska et al. 2003). The most important change was that textbooks admitted that Poles were not only victims, heroes and rescuers of Jews, but that Catholic Poles were in most cases bystanders who feared the Nazi death penalty for helping Jews and who passively watched their neighbors being exterminated. One of the textbooks, for example, states that an "attitude of indifference towards *Zagłada*" was dominant (Mędrzecki and Szuchta 2001, 245).

Moreover, these eleven textbooks acknowledge that many Poles actually benefited from Nazi anti-Jewish policies. They mention that many Polish nationalists and anti-Semites approved of the Holocaust and even reported Jews in hiding to the Nazi occupiers. Yet none of the textbooks acknowledged a degree of Polish participation in the Holocaust. Only two textbooks directly mention the Jedwabne massacre (Małkowski and Rześniowiecki 2001, 202; Starczewska et al. 2003, 41). They admit that a group of Poles took part in the pogrom of Jedwabne Jews. But they underline that the murder happened at a time when the region was under Nazi administration and that Jedwabne cannot be seen as representative of what happened during the war. Surprisingly, the textbooks do not give details of the victims of the massacre and do not draw on

the fact that they were long-term neighbors, fellow citizens and members of the community. The Jews of Jedwabne remain strangers.

Not surprisingly, the majority of textbooks, eight of the thirteen, not only respond to the domestic debate but also echo larger European debates about the Holocaust and remembering the war. Unlike the majority of earlier textbooks, they present the Holocaust as a European, not Polish, phenomenon. They emphasize that the Nazis aimed to exterminate all Jews in all European countries, list death and concentration camps inside and outside Poland, and underline that the camps were established by Nazi Germany. By saying that the Holocaust was a Europe-wide experience, which resulted in the killing of three million Polish Jews, textbooks allow their Polish readers to enter a European community of trauma memory (Małkowski and Rześniowiecki 2001; Mędrzecki and Szuchta 2001; Przybysz et al. 2001; Sobaś and Szymanowski 2001; Tomalska 2001; Wendt 2001; Ćwikła 2002; Starczewska et al. 2003).

Nonetheless, the fact that the eight textbooks follow the remembrance paths of other European countries and acknowledge the singularity of the Holocaust does not mean that they see Polish war experience as ordinary. On the contrary, textbooks insist that Poles too have a special status as unique victims and unique heroes. They emphasize that the first victims of Auschwitz were Poles, not Jews, conveniently forgetting about Soviet prisoners of war who constructed the camp and were its first victims. Moreover, they highlight that the Nazis treated Western and Eastern Europe differently, reminding the reader that the Nazis had long-term plans to use Slavs as slave labor. They also emphasize Western European collaboration with the Nazis, often giving the example of Vichy France, and underline that there were no collaborators in occupied Poland, where well-organized resistance networks developed. They stress that Poles received the highest number of Yad Vashems's awards to the "Righteous Among the Nations" for saving Jews. Finally, they underline the fact that Poland had two occupiers: Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union (Małkowski and Rześniowiecki 2001; Mędrzecki and Szuchta 2001; Przybysz et al. 2001; Sobaś and Szymanowski 2001; Tomalska 2001; Wendt 2001; Ćwikła 2002; Starczewska et al. 2003).

4 Post-2009 Textbooks: Polish Perpetrators

With the 2009 reform of the history curriculum, the polyphony of history textbooks decreased. Narratives of the fragmented Polish nation of victims, heroes and bystanders were further consolidated. All textbooks mention the Jedwabne massacre, and Stanisław Zając goes further than earlier textbooks in claiming Polish responsibility when he states that there were "cases of Poles participating in the murder of the Jewish population. The most horrific murders were committed in two Podlasie-region towns: Jedwabne and Radziwiłłów. In the beginning of July 1941 (shortly after the German army entered), Poles burned alive several hundred Jews" (Zając 2012, 122–23).

The canon of historical events to which separate sections are dedicated also changed in post-2009 textbooks. As before, these textbooks contain sub-chapters on the Nazi and Soviet invasions of Poland in September 1939, the exile of the Polish government, the progress of the war in Europe and the world, the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, the victory of the Allies, and the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam in 1945. But, interestingly, these textbooks begin to assign importance to the theme of postwar migration, including what they term *wysiedlenie* (displacement) of Germans.

The earlier textbooks had mostly ignored what happened to German civilians after the war. While they noted that Germans fled from the offensive of the Red Army, they ignored the fate of those who stayed in territories that the Allies granted to Poland after the war and did not give details of how "displacements" were organized. They treated migration as a formality that accompanied the de facto establishment of the border in the context of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. But the border changes and mass migration were not only paragraphs in international treaties but real-life events that affected ordinary people and were marked by fear, hatred, revenge, panic and pain. It was not uncommon for Polish civilians to seek justice for the crimes committed by the Nazis themselves (Douglas 2012, 94–95). Public persecution of Nazi officers became a form of postwar entertainment (Zaremba 2012, 561; Grzebałkowska 2015, 471). Nor were the displacements organized

by police and troops, ordered by the new Polish government even before they were agreed by the Allies, "orderly and humane" (Douglas 2012). German refugees often arrived in a state of extreme malnutrition and destitution. As it was impossible to organize travel for all Germans at once, the authorities created temporary camps often using former Nazi concentration camps (Douglas 2012, 136–37). In such camps the Polish authorities also accommodated Ukrainians, Lemkos, Poles who signed the Nazi *Volksliste* during the war and other groups that they perceived as a threat to the establishment of communism in Poland. Historians estimate that 260 camps were established between 1945 and 1950 and that between sixty and one hundred thousand people died in them (Łuszczyna 2017, 13).

The post-2009 textbooks show more sympathy for the experience of Germans at the end of the war. Two of the eight use pictures to show the terrible conditions in which Polish authorities carried out the expulsions (Brzozowski and Szczepański 2012, 164; Zając 2012, 114). Another informs the reader that "thousands of people died, especially during the flight in the icy winter of 1945" and that, as a result of decisions made in Potsdam, "Polish authorities displaced a further three-and-a-half million Germans" (Stola 2012, 147–48). Finally, one textbook, produced by a team of authors from Zielona Góra and published in Gdynia, border cities which historically had been part of the German empire, commits an entire section to the topic of "the Potsdam Peace Conference and final decisions about Poland's borders" (Burda et al. 2012, 198–222). It is the only one that mentions that the Polish authorities and army organized expulsions before Potsdam, that civilians prepared "wild expulsions," and that camps for Germans were organized in Poland, giving the examples of Świętochłowice and Łambinowice (Burda et al. 2012, 222). Even this textbook, however, does not make it clear who the perpetrators were: exclusively passive forms are used.

The new textbook narratives reflect the politics of history under the government of the liberal-conservative Civic Platform party between 2007 and 2015. Civic Platform promoted "a much more polished, urbane and civilized image" of national history, and advocated more open and European historical narratives (Andrychowicz-Skrzeba 2014, 151). It initiated reconciliation and dialogue with Germany

on historical matters; these were not easy as, around the time of the Jedwabne debate, President of the German Federation of Expellees (Bund der Vertriebenen) Erika Steinbach had announced plans to build a Centre Against Expulsions in Berlin to document and memorialize the expulsions of Germans (Traba 2014, 134–36). When the transnational debate over expulsions reached its peak in 2007, the Civic Platform government welcomed a moderate proposal from historian Paweł Machcewicz. Machcewicz suggested building the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk to commemorate "forced displacements" alongside other crimes committed in Europe in the war (Machcewicz 2012, 45–47). The German government adopted a similar position. It established the federal foundation Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation (Stiftung Flucht, Vertreibung, Versöhnung) to commemorate not only German but European memories of expulsions and displacements in the twentieth century. In addition, Erika Steinbach was not appointed a member of the foundation board (Kift 2009; Stiftung Flucht Vertreibung Versöhnung, n.d.). But the most profound development in this area was that the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs signed an agreement for a joint Polish–German textbook project in 2008. The first two parts of the textbook have now been published (Brückmann et al. 2016).

Furthermore, analysis of the network of individuals and institutions involved in the production of textbooks for the 2009 reform (Bobryk 2017) shows that history teaching at the time was trapped in a conflict between the pro-European liberal-conservative Civic Platform and the Eurosceptic nationalist-conservative Law and Justice party. Following the reform of 2009, the Ministry of Education authorized only textbooks on the Second World War for upper-secondary schools that presented modern and moderate narratives of the past and promoted civic patriotism, while opposing the ethnonationalist narratives of Polish martyrdom and victimhood advocated by the Law and Justice party (Bobryk 2017). As a result of this larger political conflict between Civic Platform and Law and Justice, only individuals aligned with Civic Platform developed textbooks that were authorized by the ministry for use in schools. The alternative network, associated with the Law and Justice party and represented by the Institute of National Remembrance

(Instytut Pamięci Narodowej), developed its own supplementary materials and books for teaching about the Second World War. These were not authorized for use by the ministry. The most significant among them was the book *From Independence to Independence: History of Poland 1919–1989* (Od niepodległości do niepodległości. Historia Polski 1918–1989), first published by the Institute of National Remembrance in 2010 and republished in subsequent years. In 2015 it was already available as an online book.

The textbooks authorized by the ministry were monitored more closely and their narrative thrust contested much more than before. Conservative historians, including Andrzej Nowak, a history professor at the Jagiellonian University, as well as Małgorzata Żaryn, criticized the textbooks severely (Kruczek and Żaryn 2012; Nowak 2013). Almost all textbooks received critical reviews in the nationalist-conservative press (Domagała 2012; Krajowa Sekcja Oświaty i Wychowania Solidarność 2012; Mielniczuk 2012; Jarmuż 2015). The textbook by Brzozowski and Szczepański (2012) was criticized especially harshly and even led to meetings of the Education Committee of the Parliament (Komisja Edukacji Nauki i Młodzieży, 12 July 2012, 17 July 2012). Małgorzata Żaryn, the main critic of this textbook, deplored its representation of the Second World War, especially the lack of information about Poles rescuing Jews. She emphasized that “it [was] difficult to find [in the textbook] the historical canon allowing us … to create a panorama of our history … not to mention patriotic education and respect for Polish tradition and identity” (Kruczek and Żaryn 2012).

5 Conclusions

This chapter has analyzed the post-1989 transformation of textbook narratives of the Second World War in Poland, revealing how the communist narrative of Polish victims and heroes shifted to include Polish bystanders and Polish criminals. But the most challenging category for the textbooks to embed was that of Polish perpetrators. Although textbooks produced after the 2009 reform finally mention Polish perpetrators of atrocities against Jews, they still fail to mention Polish

perpetrators of crimes against Germans, and the majority of them do not even mention what happened to Germans in the territories that became Polish after the war. Moreover, it is surprising that the post-communist textbooks do not make more of the category of witnesses or explore how the war generation coped with trauma and emotions such as anger and fear. They do not account for those who saw ghettos, concentration camps and death camps and had to bear witness after the war. As a result of this incomplete picture, textbooks fail to show the full complexity of the war and its consequences for Europe.

This chapter has also demonstrated how textbook narratives of the Second World War transformed within domestic and European contexts of the politics of history and the contestation of memory. It has argued that, after 1989, Solidarity used textbooks to tell their story about the past; that after 1999, as a result of memory debates and the Polish government's agenda to join the Western community of remembrance, polyphony among textbooks increased; and finally that, after 2009, textbook production became trapped in a history war, and the Civic Platform government authorized textbooks that embedded only their understanding of history. These findings show that textbooks can be used as a magnifying glass to observe domestic and European processes of memory contestation.

Finally, as this chapter has pointed out, textbook narratives are in constant flux, and further changes can be expected. The nationalist-conservative Law and Justice government (2015–) are phasing in a new history curriculum from September 2017 (Minister Edukacji Narodowej 2017). How textbook narratives about the Second World War will transform is yet to be seen, but the content of this curriculum and the Law and Justice party's politics of history to date suggest that it is unlikely that they will allow the category of Polish perpetrators to gain emphasis in textbooks.

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13

The Vietnam War (1954–75) in History Textbooks: A View from Two Sides

Tran Thi Vinh, Ha Hai Hoang and Tran Duc Tuan

1 Introduction

The history of Vietnam is a history of wars—a series of struggles against foreign invaders. In thousands of years of Vietnamese history, peace has rarely lasted for more than two hundred consecutive years. The Vietnam War (1954–75) has been seen as an asymmetric war in which one of the most powerful nations in the world made the maximum military effort to defeat a nationalist revolutionary movement in a small and poor peasant country. The war had a profound impact on both countries involved. It was not only the most devastating war in the history of Vietnam, but also the most controversial and least successful war fought by the United States, and cause of the so-called Vietnam Syndrome in US politics.

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Younger generations in both Vietnam and the United States, born and raised after 1975, mostly approach the Vietnam War through history books, especially textbooks that they have studied and read at school. However, being a deeply complicated historical issue, the Vietnam War has been interpreted in multiple ways. The question thus arises of how current history textbooks produced in the United States and Vietnam present the Vietnam War. In this chapter, we offer a comparative analysis of approaches to understanding the war based on the history textbooks used in schools in the United States and Vietnam. Such a critical comparative approach helps to better understand how people in different countries perceive and interpret historical events.

2 The Vietnam War in the Vietnamese History Textbook

Since their invention two centuries ago, history textbooks have been used to further the objectives of teaching history: these have often been to form a sense of national identity and foster nationalism (Apple 2004, 59). They are organized around "the story of a nation or a people, and curriculum guides explicitly stipulate the building of national identity as a primary goal of the history curriculum" (Sneider 2013, 37). As such, history textbooks aim to contribute to a distinctly patriotic history education. History textbooks officially used in Vietnam are clearly written to this end. As in other East Asian countries (Crawford 2006, 49–68; Nicholls 2006, 89–112; Ogawa and Field 2006, 43–60; Lin et al. 2009, 222–23; Sneider 2013, 35–54), Vietnamese history textbooks have been used to shape national identity and educate young students in patriotism and nationalism. The history of the US–Vietnam War is not only taught in history but also in literature lessons. Nevertheless, history textbooks remain the most powerful means of providing young people with an understanding of their own history and cultural values. This is because "one of the primary missions of history, perhaps more than any other subject in the school curriculum, is to offer unprecedented opportunities for students to cultivate

a sense of national identity, heritage, and common values" (Lin et al. 2009, 222).

Further, the goal of shaping national identity is especially strongly articulated in countries where the government is directly involved in the writing, production and approval of history textbooks (Duus cited in Sneider 2013, 37). Vietnamese history textbooks are a case in point. In Vietnam, the government manages the curricula for classes and textbooks. The Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) releases the national curriculum for history and oversees the writing of textbooks; as such, every school uses the same curriculum. Before textbooks are published, their content also needs to be approved and authorized by MOET. Until recently, only the Vietnam Education Publishing House was authorized to compile, print and distribute textbooks. Only one state-approved set of textbooks was used for the entire nation. Vietnamese history textbooks underwent significant revisions after the launch of the 1986 Renovation (*Doi moi*), which brought about comprehensive socioeconomic reforms. Following government decree 14/2001TC-TTg on the Renovation of the Vietnamese General Education Curriculum, MOET organized the design of a new curriculum and the writing of new textbooks for all school subjects between 2002 and 2008. After this national project was completed in early 2008, the new textbooks for all school subjects were put into use across the whole general educational system of Vietnam; in the case of history, one set of revised textbooks has been introduced and used around the country so far.

In Vietnam, the Vietnam War is taught in grades nine (secondary school) and twelve (high school). Our study focuses on how the war is discussed in the high school textbook[1] because high school students explore the topic on a deeper level than their younger counterparts. This textbook was written by a group of professional historians and educationalists (Lien et al. 2008). Teachers at high schools rely primarily on the textbook for instruction, information, homework and other classroom activities. In this section, the high school textbook is examined in two ways. First, we explore the presentation of the topic of the US–Vietnam War through an analysis of the textbook's coverage and format. Chapter titles, subheadings and the total number of pages devoted to

the war are considered. Second, we analyze the content of the textbook to examine how issues relating to the war are discussed, focusing on the controversial areas of the causes of the war, US involvement, key events and the results of the war.

The Vietnamese history textbook provides students with a detailed account of the war, tells tales of battlefield heroism and stresses the military failures of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam. It is written mostly in a narrative form, and focuses on transmitting facts. The textbook's message is clear, if largely implicit: the war in Vietnam was a product of American imperialism and the Cold War. In history textbooks, this war is considered a struggle against American invasion; the Resistance War against American imperialism (*cuộc Kháng chiến chống Mỹ*), fought for national independence, integrity and unification. The textbook presents the aim of the actions of the United States and France as the same: domination of Vietnam. In doing so, the textbook transmits another core message: the Vietnamese had no choice but to take up arms in liberation and defence of their country.

2.1 Coverage of the Topic of the Vietnam War in the Vietnamese History Textbook

The Vietnam War occupies much of the content of the high school history textbook: forty-two of 139 pages are dedicated to it. It divides the wartime era into three sections based mostly on Vietnamese reactions to the military strategies of the United States in Vietnam. The first deals with "Socialist building in North Vietnam [and] the struggle against American imperialism and the Saigon government in South Vietnam (1954–65)". The second is entitled "Vietnamese struggle against American aggression. Fighting and manufacturing in North Vietnam (1965–73)", while the third is a treatment of "[t]he socioeconomic revision and development of North Vietnam [and] the liberation of the whole of South Vietnam (1973–75)". Twenty-seven photographs and three maps not only illustrate and concretize how the war played out, but also add interest, clarity and excitement. These visual tools are considered another source of knowledge to facilitate student learning

besides text. For example, the images of 66, 67 and 68 are associated with the difficult and important historical concepts of "strategic hamlets", the "long-hair" army and "helicopter tactics", helping students better picture and understand the main US military strategies used in South Vietnam and the struggles of the Vietnamese (Lien et al. 2008, 169–71).

2.2 Causes of the Vietnam War

The textbook provides some background information on how Vietnam was divided and the war began. The US–Vietnam War started as a result of the US strategy of containment during the Cold War, which aimed to prevent the spread of communism throughout the world. As such, the "domino theory" is seen as a central pillar of the origins of the war. The textbook also discusses at some length the ideas that the war was part of American global strategy and that the United States's involvement in Vietnam represented a colonial expansion. The central concept here is that the United States was "replacing the French" (Lien et al. 2008, 139, 158): according to this view, the French–Vietnam War and the US–Vietnam War were related, and the United States was continuing the imperialists' colonial ambitions. It claims that the United States and the US-backed South Vietnam government violated the 1954 Geneva Agreement that had provisionally divided Vietnam into northern and southern zones by not participating in the general election for the whole of Vietnam, both North and South, in 1956. The textbook emphasizes that the anti-communist government of South Vietnam and the United States had broken the Geneva Accords by conspiring to undermine a free national election, thereby rendering the partition of Vietnam permanently:

> Right after the Geneva Agreement on Indochina was concluded in 1954, the US replaced French colonialists, built up the government of Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam, executed the scheme to divide Vietnam and turned South Vietnam into a new type of colony and a military base in Indochina and southeast Asia. (Lien et al. 2008, 158; unless otherwise specified, all translations by the authors.)

The textbook argues that the United States's increasing involvement and replacement of France in South Vietnam, intended to divide Vietnam permanently, forced the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in the North to use a last resort—violence. In the hope of reuniting Vietnam and forcing the United States to withdraw, the North Vietnamese government launched "armed struggle" and a "people's war" in the South:

> Because of the conspiracy of the United States and the Ngo Dinh Diem government, my country is temporarily divided into two parts under two different sociopolitical regimes … North Vietnam continued to carry out the tasks of the Vietnamese People's Democratic National Revolution and other tasks of the transition towards Socialism. South Vietnam implemented the tasks of the Vietnamese People's Democratic National Revolution [and] struggled against US imperialist aggression and its lackey … (Lien et al. 2008, 157)

2.3 United States Involvement

The Vietnamese history textbook mentions that in 1949, Americans officially joined the French war in Vietnam and Indochina by offering the French military and economic aid (Lien et al. 2008, 136, 139). The textbook makes clear that the United States became more involved in Vietnam after the Geneva Conference of 1954. After the Second World War, anti-communist ideology was popularized and became entrenched in the United States. With its fear of communism, the United States practiced an anti-Soviet policy called containment to hamper the extension of the Soviet Union's influence outside its borders. Americans worried that North Vietnamese military action might be a communist expansion backed by the Soviet Union, and intervened mainly for this reason. The United States thus decided to establish and "nourish" a "puppet government" called the Republic of Vietnam as a buffer against communist expansion in Southeast Asia after the 1954 Geneva Agreement (Lien et al. 2008, 158). The textbook provides students with a detailed account of American neocolonialism in the South. It claims the American strategy was always to use "Vietnamese to fight against Vietnamese" (Lien et al. 2008, 169, 180). To this end,

the United States gave a large amount of aid to the puppet government under Ngo Dinh Diem in an attempt to divide Vietnam (Lien et al. 2008, 158, 168–69). The textbook highlights that the US and South Vietnamese governments used large quantities of troops and weapons to fight against the North Vietnamese army, and thus perpetuated the division of Vietnam. In doing so, this textbook claims that the war in Vietnam was a product of the United States's imperial expansion:

> The US proposed the Staley-Taylor plan, which aimed to pacify South Vietnam in 18 months. To carry out this programme, the United States increased military aid to the Diem government, sent military advisors to South Vietnam, increased Saigon army forces, herded the people into "strategic hamlets", provided modern war equipment [and] applied prevalently new military strategies such as "helicopter tactics" [and] "armoured personnel carrier tactics". (Lien et al. 2008, 169)

The Vietnamese textbook makes it clear that the United States invaded Vietnam by giving aid and military advisors to the government of South Vietnam. The explanation of how the United States became involved in the war implies that the weakened South Vietnam solicited US military assistance when facing North Vietnam's attacks.

2.4 Progress of the War

The ways in which historical events are sequenced, codified and arranged can affect the shaping and definition of historical memory. Narratives of wars are structured around key facts or sequences of milestones. The Vietnamese textbook presents the war within standard Marxist-Leninist ideology as part of the global struggle against imperialism, fought for national unification and independence. The textbook makes it clear that successive US governments introduced and extended the military strategies of "Special Warfare" (1961–65), "Limited War" (1965–68) and "Vietnamization" (1969–73) in both North and South Vietnam, intended to end the spread of communism in southeast Asia. Besides this, the textbook offers a very detailed account of US bombing

campaigns intended to destroy North Vietnam. Several pages are dedicated to the negotiations of the Paris Peace Accords that ended the war in 1973 (Lien et al. 2008, 186–87). This agreement is considered an important victory that forced the United States to recognize the fundamental rights of the Vietnamese and to withdraw all troops and advisors. Under the terms of the settlement, the United States agreed to withdraw its remaining troops within sixty days in exchange for an immediate ceasefire, the return of American prisoners of war and other measures.

However, according to the textbook, the United States was hoping to prolong the war in Vietnam with an aim to "destroy peace and prevent national reconciliation" (Lien et al. 2008, 190). To illustrate this, the textbook argues that although the Paris Peace Accords ending the American presence in the war were signed on January 27, 1973, the United States continued to support the South Vietnamese government with the aim of partitioning Vietnam and violating the agreement. After 1973, in addition to US troop withdrawals and efforts to prepare and modernize the South Vietnamese army, Nixon's Vietnamization strategy also featured programs designed to strengthen the South Vietnamese government and expand its political bases in rural areas. He offered US assistance to help South Vietnamese officials implement military plans to make incursions on and pacify areas already managed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (Lien et al. 2008, 190–91).

As Hein and Selden (2000) suggest, school history textbooks are central to the transmission of national values in most societies in that they present an "official" story that highlights narratives that shape contemporary patriotism (cited in Lin et al. 2009, 222). History textbooks in Vietnam tend to present their country's pasts in such a way as to promote nationalist ideologies and patriotic education. This textbook points out that the North Vietnamese army succeeded in attacking the combined US and South Vietnam troops, then increasingly occupied important positions in the South. While North Vietnam was preparing for an attack against South Vietnam, the US-backed South Vietnamese government was undergoing political instability due to insurgencies and conflicts between numerous political groups. It also pays particular

attention to how the North Vietnamese army fought bravely against the US and South Vietnamese army. However, the textbook focuses on US rather than Vietnamese casualties:

> In 4 dry months (from January 1966), 104,000 enemy forces, including 42,000 American forces and 3,500 Allied forces, were disabled [and] 1,430 aircrafts were shot down. (Lien et al. 2008, 175)

On the other hand, the authors also try to give more objective evaluations of the developments of the war. For example, in considering the 1968 Tet Offensive, although the authors claim that it was a turning point and the natural progression of the strategy to win the war, they also state that the North Vietnamese army suffered many casualties:

> The 1968 Tet Offensive was a sudden death blow surprising our enemy. But, because enemy forces were still dense (more than half a million US and allied forces and almost one million Saigon army forces) [and] military bases were strong in urban areas, they quickly reorganized and counter–attacked our forces in both rural and urban areas. So, in the 2nd and 3rd phases, our forces encountered many difficulties and suffered losses. (Lien et al. 2008, 177)

2.5 Results of the War

The Vietnamese history textbook devotes several passages to the North Vietnamese victory against the "American imperialist" in 1975 and its meaning (Lien et al. 2008, 197). It explains that, with the help of the Soviet Union and other communist nations, North Vietnam succeeded in reunifying with the South and gaining independence for the whole of Vietnam. The authors end the chapter on the war with a paragraph stressing its important role in the world revolutionary movement and the national liberation movement in North and South Vietnam. In doing so, they seek to build a sense of national pride around this small country's Resistance War, thereby constructing patriotic sentiments and esteem for the values of independence and freedom in the postwar Vietnamese generation.

3 The Vietnam War in US History Textbooks

The Vietnam War has been an important theme in US history textbooks. Even though the war ended forty years ago, the debate over it has continued to this day. Researchers continue to give different perspectives on the war in Vietnam, but there is one historical fact that is not in dispute: this war has been the heaviest defeat suffered by the United States in the postwar period. This raises the question of how Americans explain the Vietnam War to younger generations in history textbooks, and approach topics such as the root of US involvement in Vietnam and how the Vietnam War had a lasting effect on the United States. This section focuses on analyzing the treatment of these issues in high school history textbooks in the United States, with a particular focus on *The Americans: Reconstruction through the 20th Century* (Danzer et al. 2002). While only one state-approved set of textbooks is allowed for use across all high schools in Vietnam, many textbooks printed by different publishing houses are used according to the demands of educational institutions in the United States. The main reason for the selection of this textbook is its popularity in secondary schools in the United States, especially in the west, where many people of Vietnamese origin live in such areas as Orange County, San José, California, and Houston, Texas.

3.1 US Involvement in Vietnam

In this textbook, the Vietnam War is dealt with in Chapter 22, entitled "The Vietnam War Years" (722–58). The chapter includes the following sections: "Moving Toward Conflict"; "US Involvement and Escalation: A Nation Divided"; "1968: A Tumultuous Year"; and "The End of the War and Its Legacy".

The textbook states that the United States became involved in Vietnam in 1950, during the First Indochina War. The textbook then explains the roots of American involvement in Vietnam: seeking to strengthen its ties with the French and to help fight the spread of communism, the United States provided the French with massive amounts

of economic and military support. In 1950, the United States entered the struggle. That year, President Truman sent nearly fifteen million USD of economic aid to France. Over the next four years the United States paid for much of France's war, pumping nearly 2.6 billion USD into the effort. Ironically, during the Second World War, the United States had forged an alliance with Ho Chi Minh, supplying him with aid to resist the Japanese (Danzer et al. 2002, 725). On the question of why the US government sent aid to France, the textbook explains that the Americans saw a dual benefit: maintaining an ally against the growing Soviet presence in Europe, and helping to stop another Asian country from turning into a communist state. Although Ho Chi Minh promoted his cause as seeking independence for his nation, the United States saw their one-time ally as a communist aggressor.

Anti-communist policy was also implemented by Truman's successor. Upon entering the White House in 1953, President Eisenhower continued the policy of supplying aid to the French war effort in Indochina. By this time, the United States had settled for a stalemate with communism on the Korean peninsula, which only stiffened its resolve to halt the spread of communism elsewhere. During a conference in 1954, Eisenhower explained the "domino theory", likening the countries on the brink of communism to a row of dominoes, waiting to fall one after another. The textbook authors quote Eisenhower: "You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly" (Danzer et al. 2002, 725). After the fall of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the French surrendered and began to withdraw from Vietnam. The Geneva Accords temporarily divided Vietnam along the seventeenth parallel: the communists and their leader Ho Chi Minh controlled North Vietnam from the capital Hanoi, while the anti-Communist nationalists controlled South Vietnam from the port city of Saigon (present-day Ho Chi Minh City). In the wake of France's retreat, the United States took a more active role in countering the spread of communism in Vietnam. Wading deeper into the country's affairs, the administrations of President Eisenhower and then of President Kennedy provided economic and military aid to South Vietnam's non-communist regime.

The textbook authors point out that President Kennedy had increased financial aid to Diem's teetering regime and sent thousands of military advisers to help train South Vietnamese troops in their battle against the National Liberation Front (NLF). By the end of 1963, almost 16,000 US military personnel were in South Vietnam. Shortly before his death, Kennedy had announced his intention to withdraw US forces from South Vietnam. "In the final analysis, it's their war", he declared. Whether Kennedy would in fact have withdrawn from Vietnam remains a matter of speculation. However, President Johnson escalated the nation's role in Vietnam and eventually began what would become the United States's longest war. To Johnson, a communist takeover of South Vietnam would have been disastrous. As a Democrat, Johnson was particularly sensitive to being perceived as "soft" on communism: fellow democrat Harry Truman had been president when China fell to the Communist Party in 1948, leading to charges by some Republicans that the Democrats had "lost" China. In addition, many of Senator Joseph McCarthy's charges of communist infiltration had been directed against Democrats. The textbook authors explain that, for these political reasons, Johnson wanted to avoid being accused of "losing" Vietnam to the Communists. Johnson is quoted as saying, "If I let the Communists take over South Vietnam, then … my nation would be seen as an appeaser, and we would find it impossible to accomplish anything … anywhere on the entire globe". By June 1965, more than 50,000 US soldiers were battling the Viet Cong. The Vietnam War had become Americanized (Danzer et al. 2002, 727–28).

By comparison, in an earlier textbook on world history (Goff et al. 1983), the authors also said that the United States regarded events in Indochina as an outbreak of aggression planned in Moscow and Beijing, and, according to the domino theory, as a threat to all anti-communist nations in southeast Asia. American leaders concluded that the containment principle, in particular the Truman Doctrine of sending military aid advisors, should be applied to Vietnam (332). This textbook points out that on August 7, 1964, the Tonkin Gulf Resolution was authorized by the US Congress allowing the president to "'take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States in order to prevent further aggression'". Johnson had concluded that

containment through sending military supplies and advisors had failed, but, unwilling to pull out and admit defeat, he resolved to use the "blank check" offered by the Tonkin Gulf Resolution to send US combat troops to Vietnam. After his election to a second term in November 1964, Johnson ordered retaliatory bombing raids on North Vietnam. In 1965, draft calls sharply increased, especially after a Viet Cong raid on the US base at Pleiku. As a result, 185,000 marines and soldiers were sent to Vietnam. In 1965, the United States launched operation "Rolling Thunder", a full-scale aerial bombardment of North Vietnam (Goff et al. 1983, 334–35).

3.2 The Lasting Effect of the Vietnam War on the United States

The textbook authors stress that the Vietnam War was the longest war and the worst defeat in US history. Furthermore, the Vietnam War exacted a terrible price from its participants. In all, fifty-eight thousand Americans were killed and some 365,000 were wounded. North and South Vietnamese deaths exceeded 1.5 million. In the United States, a nation attempted to come to grips with an unsuccessful war. In the end, the conflict in Vietnam left many Americans with a more cautious outlook on foreign affairs and a more cynical attitude toward their government. While families welcomed home their sons and daughters, the nation as a whole extended a cold hand to its returning Vietnam veterans. There were no brass bands, no victory parades, no cheering crowds. Instead, many veterans faced indifference or even hostility from Americans still torn and bitter about the war. The authors of the 2002 textbook point out that about 15% of the 3.3 million soldiers who served developed delayed stress syndrome (Danzer et al. 2002, 751–52). These veterans had recurring nightmares about their war experiences. Many suffered from severe headaches and memory lapses. Some veterans became highly apathetic, while others began abusing drugs or alcohol. Several thousand even committed suicide.

The textbook authors also indicate negative impacts of the Vietnam War on the economy and society of the United States. As the number

of US troops in Vietnam began to mount, the war became more costly. As a result, the nation's economy began to suffer. The inflation rate, which had remained at 2% through most of the early 1960s, had nearly tripled by 1969. President Johnson had determined to pay for both the war and his Great Society programs. However, the cost of financing the Vietnam War became too great. In August 1967, Johnson asked for a tax increase to fund the war and to keep inflation in check. Congressional conservatives agreed, but only after demanding and receiving a six billion USD reduction in funding for Great Society programs. Vietnam was slowly claiming an early casualty: Johnson's grand vision of domestic reform.

At the same time, the textbook authors point out that the war divided the nation. From 1965 to 1967, the antiwar movement intensified. By 1967, Americans increasingly found themselves divided into two camps: those who strongly opposed the war and believed the United States should withdraw were known as doves, while those who felt just as strongly that America should unleash a greater show of military force to end the war were the hawks (Danzer et al. 2002, 739). By 1967, a majority of Americans still supported the war. However, cracks were beginning to show. The media, mainly television, helped heighten the nation's concern about the war. Vietnam was America's first "living-room war", in which footage of combat appeared nightly on the news in millions of homes. And what people saw on their television screens seemed to contradict the optimistic picture of the war that the Johnson administration was painting.

The 2002 textbook says that aftershocks from the Tet Offensive reverberated throughout the United States, from living rooms to newsrooms to the White House. Despite the years of antiwar protests, a poll taken just before the Tet Offensive showed that only 28% of Americans called themselves doves, while 56% claimed to be hawks. After Tet, both sides reached 40%. The mainstream media, which had reported the war in a skeptical but generally balanced way, now openly criticized the war. The textbook quotes one of the nation's most respected journalists, Walter Cronkite, telling his viewers that it now seemed "'more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam [was] to end in a stalemate'". In a matter of weeks, the Tet Offensive had changed millions of minds

about the war. In a public opinion poll taken at the end of February 1968, nearly 60% of the American public disapproved of the president's handling of the war. Minds were also changing at the White House. To fill the defence secretary position left vacant by Robert McNamara's resignation, Johnson picked Clark Clifford, a trusted friend and supporter of his Vietnam policy. However, after settling in and studying the situation, Clifford concluded that the war was unwinnable. "We seem to have a sinkhole", Clifford said. "We put in more—they match it. I see more and more fighting with more and more casualties on the United States side and no end in sight to the action" (Danzer et al. 2002, 742).

The textbook indicates that violence and protest gripped the nation. During the first six months of 1968, almost forty thousand students on more than a hundred campuses took part in 221 major demonstrations. While many of the demonstrations continued to target US involvement in the Vietnam War—which at its peak involved 536,000 American military personnel—students also clashed with university officials over campus and social issues. A massive student protest at Columbia University in New York City held the nation's attention for a week in April. There, students protesting against the university's community policies took over several buildings. Police eventually restored order and arrested nearly nine hundred protesters. The chaos and violence of 1968 culminated in Chicago. Thousands of antiwar demonstrators converged on the city to protest at the Democratic National Convention in August of that year. The convention, which featured a bloody riot between protesters and police, fractured the Democratic Party and thus helped a nearly forgotten Republican win the White House.

The textbook describes how disorder of a different kind reigned inside the convention hall, where delegates bitterly debated an antiwar plank in the party platform. When word of the riot filtered into the hall, delegates angrily shouted at Daley, who returned their shouts with equal vigor. The whole world was indeed watching—on their televisions. The image of Democrats, both inside and outside the convention hall, as a party of disorder became etched in the mind of millions of Americans. One person who benefitted from this turmoil was Republican presidential candidate Richard Nixon (Danzer et al. 2002, 744–45).

By winning the presidency, Richard Nixon inherited the quagmire in Vietnam. He would eventually end America's involvement in Vietnam, but not before his war policies created even more domestic protests and uproar. The textbook authors explained that in order to win support for his war policies, Nixon appealed to what he called the silent majority—moderate, mainstream Americans who quietly supported the president's strategy. To be sure, many average Americans did support the president. However, the events of the war continued to divide the country, in particular the 1969 My Lai massacre, and the military invasion of Cambodia and protests at Kent State University in 1970. In a sign that the United States still remained sharply divided about the war, the country hotly debated the campus shootings at Kent State University. Polls indicated that many Americans supported the National Guard; respondents claimed that the students "got what they were asking for". The weeks following the campus turmoil brought new attention to a group known as "hardhats", construction workers and other blue-collar Americans who supported the government's war policies (Danzer et al. 2002, 748–49).

Further, the textbook authors discuss the long-term effects of the Vietnam War on the United States. Even after the Vietnam War ended, it remained a subject of great controversy. Many hawks continued to insist that the war could have been won if the United States had employed more military power. They also blamed the antiwar movement at home for destroying American morale. Doves countered that the North Vietnamese had displayed incredible resilience and that an increase in US military force would have resulted only in a continued stalemate. In addition, doves argued that an unrestrained war against North Vietnam might have prompted a military reaction from China or the Soviet Union.

The textbook also indicates that the war resulted in several major US policy changes. First, the government abolished the draft, which had stirred so much antiwar sentiment. The country also took steps to curb the president's powers to make war. In November 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act, which stipulates that the president must inform Congress within forty-eight hours if US forces are sent into a hostile area without a declaration of war. In addition, the troops may

remain there no longer than ninety days unless Congress approves the president's actions or declares war.

In a broader sense, the Vietnam War significantly altered the United States's view on foreign policy. In what has been labelled Vietnam Syndrome, Americans now pause and consider possible risks to their own interests before deciding whether to intervene in the affairs of other nations.

Finally, the war contributed to an overall cynicism in Americans about their government and political leaders that persists today. Americans grew suspicious of a government that could provide misleading information, as the Johnson administration had, or conceal so many of its activities, as the Nixon administration had. Coupled with the Watergate scandal of the mid-1970s, the war diminished the optimism and faith in government that Americans felt during the Eisenhower and Kennedy years (Danzer et al. 2002, 753).

4 Conclusion

This study shows that comparing history textbooks from different countries creates a good opportunity to explore the complexity and multiplicity of historical interpretation. Textbooks in both countries essentially share the view that US involvement in Vietnam was intended to prevent the spread of communism in southeast Asia. To this end, the US government gave South Vietnam's anti-communist regime a large amount of economic and military aid to confront the Soviet-backed North Vietnamese government. Our analysis of the content of high school history textbooks also finds that the Vietnamese textbook focuses on the country's enduring and brave struggle against the US invasion and US casualties and military failures. It provides detailed narratives of periods of the war and describes major combats and Vietnam's victories based on official data sources. According to the authors, the aggressive war caused by the United States was a tragedy that challenged freedom as well as peace, and retarded Vietnam's socioeconomic development. As such, this textbook makes an effort to implement the primary objective of patriotic education, and it identifies mechanisms that account

for this glorification of Vietnam. Our analysis of US textbooks, on the other hand, shows that authors do not focus on great battles or the military potential of each of the belligerents. They also give short shrift to atrocities committed by the United States in Vietnam and Vietnamese casualties. Instead, authors use various sources to help students understand US soldiers' suffering and sacrifice, as well as the effects of war on the people and history of the United States. They cite various voices of individual soldiers on the Vietnam War, emphasizing the wartime experiences of US soldiers rather than presenting impersonal accounts of battles and geopolitical goals. These personal views on the war reflect the range of emotions many veterans felt about their service in Vietnam: the war left a deep and lasting impression on many Americans, from veterans to regular citizens who did not even serve in the army. In referring to the protests against the Vietnam War within America, textbooks also highlight the role of American youth in organizing these movements in the 1960s. In this way, textbook authors seek to enable young people to acknowledge the comprehensive impacts of America's longest war, and to weigh up possible risks to their national interest before deciding whether to intervene in the affairs of other nations.

Note

1. Since 2006, Vietnamese students can select one of three educational programs at high school level, including the natural science program, social science program, and (standard) basic program without specialization in any subjects. Advanced knowledge of history was included in a new textbook for students selecting the social science program. In this study, we focus on history textbooks (grade 12) published in 2008, and used in two other programs because most students select the basic program.

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