



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

E. Roldán Vera (✉)

The Department of Educational Research, Center for Research and Advanced Studies (CINVESTAV), Mexico City, Mexico
e-mail: eroldan@cinvestav.mx

E. Fuchs

Technical University Braunschweig, Brunswick, Germany

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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 former² 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 Vall'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's* investigation. Their study is mainly based on military instruction manuals and treatises for guerilla warfare, but also includes memoirs, 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, *Efsthatios 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, *Sylvia 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

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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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