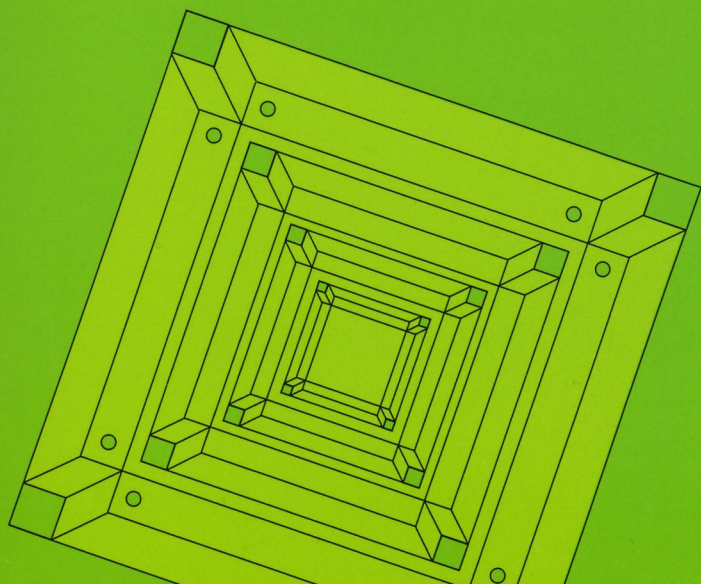


**SCHOOL HISTORY
AND TEXTBOOKS:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN
JAPAN AND SLOVENIA**



VPOGLEDI 7

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ZBIRKA

VPOGLEDI 7

**School History and Textbooks: A Comparative Analysis of History
Textbooks in Japan and Slovenia**

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Introduction

This volume is a product of four workshops by Bilateral Joint Research Projects between Slovenia and Japan, which were held in Ljubljana and Tokyo with the financial support of Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (MHEST) and Japan Society for Promotion of Science (JSPS) from 2010 to 2011. The joint research was given the title “Comparative Analysis of History Textbook in Japan and Slovenia: Structures, Contents and Interpretations”.

Before this joint research, we had organized two international symposia on the similar theme at the University of Tokyo; one is “In Search of a Common Regional History: the Balkans and East Asia in History Textbook”, in November 2005¹, the other is “How to construct regional histories in the Balkans and East Asia: From historiography toward history education”, in November 2007². We discussed the way to describe regional histories and to teach them in the Balkans and East Asia at the two international symposia. We could make sure of the importance of adopting the view of regional history into history education, but also shared the difficulty of the way to teach regional history in classes of each country in the Balkans and East Asia through them. So we may say that this joint research followed as them.

At the time of the joint research, we confirmed that it is essential to compare and analyze the contents of two countries’ history textbooks and curricula from various kinds of view, but we didn’t restrict our joint research to the framework of bilateral study. We set the following four aims. The first one is to compare and analyze the attempts to relativize each national history in Japan with a mind to East Asia and in Slovenia bearing Yugoslavia or the Balkans or Central Europe in mind. The second is to compare the attempts to have dialogues for understanding among historians and history teachers by the initiatives of governmental, non-

1 See; Nobuhiro Shiba (ed.), *In Search of a Common Regional History: the Balkans and East Asia in History Textbook*. Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, 2006

2 See; *European Studies* (The University of Tokyo), Vol. 7, 2008, pp. 134-177.

governmental and international institutions among the Yugoslav Successor States and among Japan, China and Korea. The third is tightening the joint works between historians and history teachers through this joint research project. The fourth is building a bridge between historians and philologists through the textbook research. The first aim is connected with the problems on regional history in East Asia and the Balkans or Central Europe. The second one is related to the problems of reconciliation through history textbooks and the third one shall be associated with the problems about the mutual relationship between historiography and history education. The last one may make a contribution to nationalism studies from the viewpoints of national history and national language.

So, we got history teachers and philologists to participate as the member of our joint project and tried to get a lot of them to take part in the workshops freely. We could not achieve enough all sorts of our purposes through only four workshops, but we could establish a relationship of trust among two countries' researchers in addition to building the foundation of the joint research.

We were not unaware of the method for comparing history textbooks, but we aimed at doing research based on concrete examples. On the way of comparing history textbooks, Falk Pingel, the former Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research insists that it is necessary to construct a new way for discussing and comparing the sensitive historical issues with different understanding in public space as after the end of the Cold War, history textbook revision is carried out on the initiatives of academic circles, international institutions and NGO groups, not those of states or governments. In addition, he discusses whether European model of history textbook revision after World War II could be applied in East Asia or not, insisting on shifting research form from bilateral to multilateral and setting up an academic field of textbook studies³. We also think that it is important to make an academic field of textbook studies consisting of researchers with various disciplines and agree to his proposal. We hope that this volume shall be conducted to make such an academic field.

On behalf of our joint research.

January 2013

Nobuhiro SHIBA

³ See; Falk Pingel, "Old and New Models of Textbook Revision and Their Impact on the East Asia History Debate", *The Journal of Northeast Asia History*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Winter 2010, pp. 5-36; "Mediating Textbook Conflicts", in Gotelind Müller (ed.), *Designing History in East Asia Textbooks*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 245-276.

1.
EDUCATION
SYSTEMS
AND HISTORY
TEACHING

Peter Vodopivec

HISTORY EDUCATION AND HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN SLOVENIA SINCE 1991

“**W**e shouldn’t deceive ourselves: Our image of other nations as well as ourselves is closely linked to the history we were told (and taught) when we were children,” the well-known French historian Marc Ferro pointed out in his book *How History is Told to Children All Over the World*. “In this first presentation of history, which marks us for our whole life and which for each of us is a discovery of the world and the past of societies, are enrooted our ideas...and there remainthe traces of our first questioning, our first emotions indelible...”¹

1 Marc Ferro, *Comment on raconte histoire aux enfants à travers le monde entiers*. Paris: Payot, 1986, p. 7. The book was first published in French in 1981 and already in 1984 translated into English under the title *The Use and Abuse of History, Or: How the Past is Taught to Children*, Rotledge&Kegan Paul, 1984.

Marc Ferro's book encouraged a group of Slovene historians and pedagogues at the end of the 1980s to begin a critical discussion on the history of education in Slovenia and in the then extant Yugoslavia.² In the 1980s, history was one of the least popular subjects among elementary and secondary school students in Slovenia. Overloaded with political facts and abstract quasi-sociological generalizations, 20th century history in particular was a subject laden with indisputable political and ideological messages, intended to secure the legitimacy of communist rule, demonstrate the "brotherhood of the Yugoslav peoples" and glorify the communist resistance during World War II and the development of postwar Yugoslavia towards communism.³ The first critical discussions about history education in Slovenia had already started by the second half of the 1980s, but history curricula and history textbooks could only begin changing in the 1990s, after the fall of Communism and the demise of Yugoslavia.

I

In Slovenia, the remodeling of history teaching and textbooks took place at the beginning of the 1990s, when Slovenia became an independent state, without exciting any particular political or public interest. A debate on school history education was initiated and organized by the Association of Historical Societies, which, as a non-political, civic organization, formed two working teams. These two teams then produced two proposals for new approaches to teaching history in elementary and secondary schools. Due to a lack of institutional support, the debate on the two proposals was so protracted that the final formulation of the curricula was not approved by the competent Expert Council for General Education until 1998.⁴

In their proposals, the authors of the new history curricula followed the example of the draft secondary school curriculum proposed by Professor Bogo Grafenauer of the University of Ljubljana already at the end of the 1970s. In Slovenia and Yugoslavia, the 1970s and 1980s were a period when the Communist authorities, more than ever before, had reshaped school history education into a

2 Milica Bergant, Tatjana Rozman, Peter Vodopivec, "Pouk zgodovine" ["History Teaching"], in *Nova revija* No. 89/90, 1989, pp. 1232-1265.

3 Peter Vodopivec, "Drafting Slovenia's New History Curricula. History Teaching in Central and East European Countries", in: *Beiträge zur Historischen Sozialkunde*, 2, 1996, pp. 18-21.

4 More information in greater detail can be found on this topic in my article: Peter Vodopivec, "The Politics of History Education in Slovenia and Slovene History Textbooks Since 1990", in: Augusta Dimou (ed.), *Transition and the Politics of History Education in South-East Europe*, *Studien des Georg-Eckert-Instituts zur internationalen Bildungsmedien Forschung* Band 124. V&R Unipress 2009, pp. 49-69.

tool of ideological and political indoctrination, due to which the gap between school history and professional historiography was deeper than ever after WWII. The situation being what it was, Professor Grafenauer argued for the coordination of school teaching orientations with academic historiography. He conceived his curriculum proposal as a chronological and thematic review of the basic historical processes, phenomena and institutions which characterize human development, stating that the focus of history teaching should be the most complex possible presentation of human existence in space and time – the historical experience of the Yugoslav and Slovene population being presented within this framework. Professor Grafenauer's curriculum tended in this respect towards a clear outline, without ideological bias, of the social and cultural history of the most important periods of the human past from its beginnings to modern times.⁵ The proposed reorientation of school history from the eventful political surface to deeper cultural, economic and socio-historical aspects focusing more on contrasting historical situations and conditions than on the supposedly perennial (national-ideological) messages and values, was however not acceptable to the communist school politicians, who insisted that one of the most important tasks of teaching history was the transfer of revolutionary, patriotic and “progressive” national traditions and messages to coming generations. Grafenauer's draft of the curriculum was thus rejected, with the controversial argument that it was not sufficiently “Marxist”, nor “national” enough.

The working teams, however, which in the 1990s after the fall of communism and Slovene independence had prepared new curricula for history teaching in Slovenia, took the example of Grafenauer's draft on the one hand, and that of the modern - particularly the French and German - social and cultural historical literature on the other, as well as the materials of the Council of Europe devoted to history education, and proceeded in their work from the following premises:

History teaching should mainly focus on transformations of human society at different times and in diverse forms. Students/pupils should become acquainted with the main trends, institutions, events, situations, ideas and existential problems in all their varieties and durations. Attention should be focused chiefly on Europe as a cultural historical framework, with greater attention paid to national and regional history in primary school. Slovene heritage, history and culture should be given special consideration but, wherever possible, set within a broader European, Central European and South-Eastern European context.

5 Bogo Grafenauer, “Problematika izrade programa istorije kao obaveznog predmeta zajedničke programske osnove usmerenog obrazovanja u reformiranoj školi” ([“Some problems pertaining to the shaping of history curricula in the framework of the common program platform for the reformed, vocationally oriented secondary schools”]), in: *Pouk Zgodovine – Nastava povijesti*, Zagreb, No. 1, 1979, pp. 2-7.

History teaching should inform students on events as well as on historical processes. At both the primary and the secondary school level, teaching should be organized along chronological lines, and gradually change from a more narrative presentation to one more centered on topics and problems. History should certainly not consist of the rote learning of names and dates. Rather, it should help to develop an intuitive grasp of time spans, of phenomena, both changing and enduring.

History teaching will be able to address the many questions transmitted by the collective memory if individual and group experiences are themselves set in a broader spatial and temporal frame. History as a school subject should therefore be freed as far as possible of ideological and nationalistic catchwords and formulae. This does, of course, not amount to a rejection of political history. On the contrary, it calls for its integration into social, cultural, economic and chronological contexts.⁶

On the basis of the above starting guidelines the working teams designed comprehensive curricula for history teaching in elementary and secondary schools (gymnasiums),⁷ both of which were conceived chronologically. At both levels, according to these guidelines, the subject should cover the entire time span from the beginnings of human civilization to the contemporary periods, whereby elementary school education should be more oriented towards events and “everyday life images”, and secondary school education to a thematic presentation of the most important currents and phenomena. At the elementary school level, more time was to be devoted to the national and regional past, and at the secondary school level, to European and World history. In European history, certain topics and particularities of Western, Central and East European history were to be specifically mentioned, while from studying the settlement of the South Slavs in the Balkans in the early Middle Ages onwards, students were also supposed to obtain a basic knowledge of Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Macedonian and Montenegrin history. Similarly, within the frame of the treatment of 20th century Slovene history, there were extensive chapters devoted to the first and to the second Yugoslavia.⁸ At both levels, the curricula stimulated broadening

6 Peter Vodopivec, “Ob predlogu novega programa pouka zgodovine v gimnazijah” [“On the New History Curriculum in Gymnasiums”] in: *Zgodovinski časopis*, 48, No. 2, 1994, pp. 257-258.

7 Until 1999/2000, basic elementary school education in Slovenia was organized in two cycles: the lower encompassed grades one to four, and the upper grades five to eight with subject instruction. History was a compulsory subject from the fifth to the eighth grade. From 1999 to 2000, elementary school education was gradually extended from eight to nine years. Since then, history has been a compulsory subject from the sixth to the ninth grade. In the four higher grades of elementary school in Slovenia, a total of 235 hours are devoted to history; in gymnasium 280 hours are assigned to history over the course of four years.

8 In the original conception of the curricula, the ratio between the topics of Slovene (national) history and world history at the elementary school level was supposed to be 60% national history to 40%

the study focus from political to social, economic and cultural history which, naturally - considering the number of available lessons - was more easily done with the earlier periods than with contemporary history. However, the review of 20th century history was still conceived fairly traditionally since the authors of the curricula presumed that the political and historical events of “recent history” had marked the “contemporary world” to such an extent that they could not be simply summarized if one wanted to present them clearly.

As we could see during our meetings in Ljubljana and Tokyo, the premises/guidelines of the new history curricula proposed by the two working teams in Slovenia in the 1990s were similar in many aspects to the Proposal for the Japanese History Curriculum in Senior High Schools presented at our meeting in Tokyo in December 2010 by Professor Hiroshi Mitani.⁹ Professor Mitani pointed out four principles which in his opinion the subject of history in senior high schools in Japan should be based upon. The first was the integration of national history into world history in primary and secondary school education. The second one was fitting the subject of history into the framework of global history by “stressing the connections of peoples on a global level: not only from the point of view of political and diplomatic, but also non-political relations, such as trade, migrations, the spreading of ideas, cultural influences etc.”. According to the third principle, special attention should be paid to East Asian countries with the aim of giving Japanese students a better and more concrete “understanding of the history of neighboring peoples”. And finally the fourth principle: “Special sections should help the students to understand long term phenomena: religious beliefs and practices, alterations to the environment, gender relations etc.”

Professor Mitani’s proposal limits itself to modern history, but in the same way as the Slovene one from the 1990s, it suggests that history education (on the senior/secondary level) should turn its attention from the eventful political surface to deeper cultural, economic and social historical currents. Let us take a brief look at some of the topics and constructs both proposals suggested teachers should pay particular attention to when dealing with so called Modern history; specifically, the period from the late 18th century onwards. The proposal presented by Professor Mitani began with “a bird’s-eye view of the world at the turn of the 19th century” to show, as is stated, the “initial conditions of each region at the starting point of contemporary globalization” and the Slovene proposal for

European and world history and at the secondary school level (in gymnasium) 40% national history to 60% European and world history, but in the adopted final draft of the curricula these ratio versions were not specifically delineated.

9 Hiroshi Mitani, “A Proposal for the Japanese History Curriculum in Senior High Schools: Integration of the National History into Global History”, (Paper presented at the Meeting of the Japanese/Slovene group of historians in Tokyo on December 17 2010) .

the secondary/high schools began in nearly the same way: with the “known and unknown world at the beginning of the 19th century, with the transition from the old (“ancien régime”) Europe to the post-Napoleonic Europe, with the growing role of the United States and wars of independence in Latin America, and with a brief presentation of the historical map of Asia and Africa.

The second section in the Japanese proposal was dedicated to regional history and to the various regions in Asia in the 19th century, and a similar section in the Slovene one to Central Europe and the Habsburg Monarchy, to the Slovene and South-Slav regions, to international relations in Europe and its crisis areas (Italy, Germany, Poland) as well as to Russia in the East. The third complex of questions, envisioned by the Japanese proposal under the heading of The Acceleration of Globalization by the West focused on British and French relations in the 18th century, the emergence of the United States, the French Revolution, the technological development of transportation and communications and on the beginnings of accelerated industrialization. All these topics were also included in the Slovene curricula proposal and, in the same way as in the Japanese proposal, there was also a special section dedicated to the impact of the economic changes in the West on the changes in other parts of the world; in the Japanese proposal above all to the changes in Asia, and in the Slovene one to the changes in Central and Southeastern Europe. In the Slovene curricula, greater attention was paid to the development of the urban settlements, to the changes of the agrarian landscape, and to the changes of the social structures of different European societies, while the Japanese one dwelt more extensively on the migrations and immigration in the 19th century. There was also a similar approach in both proposals to the topics dealing with the questions of nationalism, European colonial expansion, the economic growth of the USA, the progressive decline of the role of Great Britain in international trade, and European and world instability before WWI.

However, there are also obvious differences in the Japanese and the Slovene curriculum proposals. In the Slovene curriculum proposal, much more attention is still paid to political history than in the Japanese one. Topics like the French and European revolutions of 1848, the national integration movements and the political development of different European countries, are given much more consideration in the Slovene curricula than the political developments in Japan, China and other Asian countries are given in the Japanese one. The Slovene curriculum is also quite Eurocentric and pays relatively little attention to the world outside of Europe, or to Asia and Africa. In the topics dealing with the second half of the 19th century, the crisis of Imperial China and the Chinese Revolution before WWI, the modernization of Japan in the Meiji period and the Japanese-Russian War as well as the progressive decline of the Ottoman Empire

are briefly mentioned, while Africa is presented only in the context of European colonial expansion, which garnered rather salient criticism from Africans living in Slovenia and Slovene anthropologists. In contrast, when dealing with non-Asian history, the Japanese proposal pays attention nearly exclusively to the European West and the USA, giving only a cursory mention of Latin America, Russia, Eastern Europe and North Africa. An important difference between the Slovene and the Japanese curricula proposal is also that in the Slovene curriculum about 40%-50% of the topics are dedicated to national history, as in Slovenia, national history is traditionally integrated into history teaching on both school levels and is thus an integral part of contemporary education in history.

II

The Slovene curricula proposed in the 1990s were outlined in a fair amount of detail for both the elementary and secondary level – not, however with the aim of teachers realizing them in their entirety, but mainly to serve as guidelines for teaching in classes. When preparing his/her annual curriculum, the teacher was to be much more independent than she/he had been in the communist period. Up until the end of the 1980s, a teacher had strictly to follow the curricula, but under the new guidelines, he/she could select topics from the curriculum framework she/he would devote more attention to because of their topicality or because they were of special interest to the students. In this regard, the proposers of the new curricula maintained that a properly trained teacher was a competent judge of his or her profession, capable of independently designing his/her annual curriculum. The authors of the curricula thus also avoided giving a detailed enumeration of didactic and teaching goals for each individual topic, and only briefly defined general study objectives.

The new curricula proposals and their orientations were supported by representatives of the profession, history professors at the University of Ljubljana and the Association of Historical Societies of Slovenia, yet some school teachers were at first not very happy about them. In the 1980s, teachers loved to complain that the strictly programmed curricula hardly left them any freedom; however, the new curricula, which enabled them to plan their lessons more independently and to devote more attention to social, cultural, and everyday life topics, perplexed them. Some teachers therefore found that the new curricula, which did not define in detail the “compulsory” study contents, were “not sufficiently precise”; and others objected to the broadening of the study focus to social, economic and cultural history, since they claimed that there was more than enough political

history which needed to be presented at school. The return to a curriculum that would define more precisely the “study contents” and “study objectives” was also supported by the National Education Institute - the central state institution responsible for the development of education. The curricula prepared by the working teams of the Association of Historical Societies were thus, without their approval, furnished with extensive didactic instructions along the lines of “the student should learn”, “the student should know” and “the student should be able to describe”, which only made the teachers even more perplexed.¹⁰

As a result, in the second half of the 1990s, the working teams which had prepared the new curricula attempted to familiarize teachers with the new study orientations at numerous professional meetings and seminars. Since the school authorities in Slovenia and the National Education Institute as the central state institution whose duty it was to monitor the modernization of the curriculum constantly failed to show any particular interest in introducing changes into the contents in history education, the debate on the modernization of history teaching was promoted by the new curricula authors themselves. In their organization of trainings for teachers, they relied on the recommendations and materials of the Council of Europe intended for history teaching, while some teachers and members of the National Education Institute also actively participated in the programs held by the Council of Europe on history education.

As a result of the increased attention paid to the training of teachers, the number of teachers who rejected the new curricula notably diminished. Simultaneously, history became a popular school subject again, which was evident not only from the growing participation of students at annual competitions in the knowledge of history but also from the fairly large number of secondary school students who chose history as one of the elective subjects in their secondary school graduation exam. However, the graduation exam tests also revealed that the history knowledge of students, even after the introduction of the new curricula, was rather weak. It turned out that although teachers had for the most part successfully abandoned the simplified ideological-political interpretative schemes applied in the time of the Communist regime, a not negligible part of them had instead resorted to a historicistic and one-sided nationally (even nationalistically) colored teaching of the subject. Students continued to encounter numerous details in the study of history, even at the secondary school level, which they were unable to make sense of or place in a broader time-and-space context. They generally had great difficulties with time and space orientation as well as with basic concepts such as feudalism, capitalism, liberalism, absolutism, parliamentarism, religious tolerance and freedom, and citizenship.

10 Vodopivec, “Politics of History Education”, p. 51.

The poor results of history tests in the secondary school graduation exams was further proof to the critics of the new curricula, that they had to be remodeled again in order to define more precisely the topics which the teacher should (more or less compulsorily) cover, while advocates of the new teaching orientations and of greater independence for teachers believed that these results served as an additional argument in favor of more intensive professional training for teachers. However, in the National Education Institute and in other institutions charged with teachers' training, the general pedagogues and didactic experts prevailed, who thought that teachers needed primarily more practical, didactic skills in order to raise the quality of teaching. Subsequently, not much attention was paid to the problems caused by the new subject orientations of history teaching such as the open issues - the most prominent amongst these being the post-communist interpretations of so-called recent history. Although following the fall of Communism, Slovene historiography had fairly steadily challenged the long prevailing communist interpretations of conditions in the Yugoslav and Slovene territories during WWII and of the post-war Yugoslav and Slovene political and social reality, different views of the "recent past" incited sharp public polemics. The authors of the new curricula advised the teachers to rely on the latest findings of historiography in the treatment of the recent, as well as of the more distant past, and to avoid as far as possible subjective (political) judgments. They also recommended that they listen to the students' viewpoints and commentaries, and if through their emotionally and politically colored views they had moved too far from historical facts, to try to point out the differences in the understanding and evaluation of historical processes and events. There was however no precise information about how teachers were to proceed under the new political conditions after 1990 and after the adoption of the new curricula dealing with the essence of teaching history in schools. Analyses performed by the National Education Institute and other institutions again devoted themselves mainly to the pedagogical and didactic aspects of teaching, and were only interested in the contents in terms of formal comparison with other curricula. Under such conditions, the ongoing efforts to create a closer link between history education and education for citizenship also failed. There were no clear recommendations given on how to include the civic related approach into history teaching, how to teach civic related topics and how to reflect upon them in order to make them part of the curriculum, which could substantially contribute to the transformation of the still overly traditional, historicistic and nationalistically oriented teaching of history into an open, citizenship-based school subject.

But in 2004 – some months after Slovenia became a member of the European Union – an important political turn occurred. The government coalition, which

had been led by the Liberal Democratic Party for almost twelve years, lost its majority and the new coalition, led by the Democratic Party, took over the government. The new coalition among other things and rather paradoxically, considering the very recent accession of Slovenia to the European Union, declared that it would pay substantially more attention to Slovene national interests in all areas, including education, than its predecessors had. While the Liberal Democrats, during the twelve years they had held the leading political position in the government, had underestimated the political relevance of history issues and interpretations, the leaders of the Democratic Party instead advocated rather populist, anticommunist views concerning Slovene 20th century history, Slovene and Yugoslav resistance during World War II and the post-communist WWII Slovene and Yugoslav past. The new Minister of Education thus argued that more attention should be paid in history teaching to topics that would fill students with “national pride” and which would have a positive impact on strengthening the Slovene “national identity”. History teaching was in his opinion (particularly concerning the period of WWII and the Yugoslav Communist regime) too “old-fashioned”. After a scrutiny of curricula and textbooks, the critics of history education which accepted such an evaluation mostly limited themselves to the individual enumeration of topics, events and persons with which the students “had to be familiarized”, while claiming in a generalized way that history education and historiography in Slovenia were not completely cleared of “judgments inherited from the Yugoslav and communist period”, and only once, when more attention than heretofore was devoted to national and patriotic educational goals, would they again become what they were supposed to be: basic shapers of the new “patriotic culture”.¹¹

Teachers were naturally not enthusiastic about the repeated transformation of curricula and textbooks, nor did the new school politicians’ requests for an increase in the volume of “national history” and “patriotic contents” and topics enjoy any noticeable support among them. A similar standpoint was taken by the group of teachers, didactic experts and school counselors who prepared a new draft curriculum for history education, but who nonetheless at the same time advocated radical changes in history education - which not only deviated from the study orientations adopted and confirmed in the 1990s, but also from the long-term tradition of history education in Slovenia.

The new draft curriculum, prepared in 2007, thus partly distanced itself from the chronological and introduced a subject-oriented approach, whereby it

11 Milan Zver, “Da ne bi bili tujci v lastni kulturi” [“Not to Be Foreigners in Our Own Culture”], in: *Državljska in domovinska vzgoja*, [Citizenship-Oriented and Patriotic Education]. Slovenska Bistrica: Beja, 2006, pp. 18-21.

divided the topics meant to be treated at school into obligatory and optional.¹² Among the obligatory topics, to which 60% -70% of the available time was supposed to be dedicated, the prevalent topics were those of political history, the development of different forms of government, states and empires, and in matter covering the most recent period, the emergence of modern national movements, democratic political institutions and parliamentarism - while much less attention was paid to economic, social and cultural issues, which were mostly included amongst the optional topics. Teachers were supposed to devote from 30%-40% of the available hours to optional topics, in which they should include the most important social, economic and cultural issues, and in some historical periods also issues pertaining to religion and everyday life. Simultaneously, in each historical period, the obligatory and optional topics were divided into two blocks: general and European history, and Slovene national history. The general and European history block were designed very generally, and mostly from the Western European point of view, and did not stimulate teachers to focus on a more concrete presentation of differences in the development of various parts of Europe and of the world. The new curriculum also did not anticipate a detailed presentation of the history of South-Eastern Europe and of the Southern Slavs. As far as Europe was concerned, the curriculum recommended a more detailed presentation of specific conditions only in relation to some major nations and states, while the South Slav nations were only be dealt with in the context of the first and the second Yugoslavia. Also, it is suggested that the above two topics (the topics on the first and second Yugoslavia) were to be presented from the Slovene point of view. Similarly, the new curriculum no longer anticipated the coverage of topics which would direct teachers to a more extended treatment of the history of both Yugoslavias and Yugoslav communism. Even more: there was (and is) fairly little attention paid to communism, Communist movements and Communist regimes; more specifically it is stated that teachers should treat "communism" within the topic of "Totalitarian systems: Fascism, National Socialism, Bolshevism", and in the presentation of the "communist take-over of power" in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia after WWII.

The new draft curriculum for history education in gymnasiums was supposed to be publicly debated, but there has been almost no debate, since only some teachers and experts have been familiarized with the proposed changes, while the period anticipated for debate was too brief. As a result, mostly advocates of the teaching orientations adopted in the 1990s have responded to the new

12 See: *Program osnovna šola, Zgodovina, učni načrt* [Teaching Program for Elementary School History]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Zavod za šolstvo 2011; *Učni načrt, Gimnazija, Zgodovina* [Teaching Program, History, Gymnasium]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Zavod za šolstvo 2008 (also at: <http://www.mizks.gov.si>).

curriculum with critical objections, and declared that the new curriculum represents a “backward step”, since - by means of its obligatory topics – it limits the teachers’ hard-won independence and brings political topics back to the fore in history teaching, while pushing social, economic and cultural-historical themes into the background. In the proposed changes, they also resented the reduced volume of “Yugoslav history” and the reduced attention to the “recent Yugoslav and Slovene communist past”, while in conceptual terms they reproached the authors that, through partial abandonment of the chronological approach and clearer highlighting of long-term currents of development and processes, they have made it even harder for young people to acquire a clear understanding of the chronological orientation of events. Despite this, the governing school politicians considered that the new draft curriculum for history education in gymnasiums fulfilled their expectations. It is true that it has not substantially increased the volume of national history, but it did contain less Yugoslav history and less history of communism than to date, while some national history topics which stimulated patriotic feelings and stressed the Slovene independence process in 1989-1991 received special attention. The competent Expert Council for General Education approved the new curriculum for history education in 2008, without any particular debate.

Very little research is done on the teaching practices in schools from the point of view of the contents and messages transmitted, but it is more or less obvious that the social, economic and political processes are, in face of the actual political teaching, being pushed into the background again, while the prevailing focus is directed on political, even national political facts and political surface events.¹³

III

Since the beginning of the 1990s and Slovene independence, there are no longer any legal restrictions on the publication of school textbooks in Slovenia. They can be published by state owned or private publishers, although only textbooks approved by a special state educational committee can be used in schools. This committee has again been evaluating textbooks primarily from the viewpoint of their linguistic and didactic suitability and their conformity with the curricula, but its standards were (and are) rather loose, since history

13 It is also clear that at least some of the more ambitious teachers were unhappy that their autonomy was limited again. “Slovene teachers, in comparison to the teachers in Finland, are overburdened with administrative obligations (teaching reports) and far too extensive school curricula”, pointed out the elementary school teacher Alenka Može in Ona, the Supplement of the Ljubljana daily *Delo*. See: Alenka Može, “Finska in Slovenija” [“Finland and Slovenia”], *Ona, ženski magazin Dela*, 6. November, 2012, p. 6-7.

textbooks which undoubtedly lacked the necessary professional qualities, have also been approved as suitable. It has thus been (and still is) possible to choose from among several textbooks for each subject and for each study level, while the final decision about which textbook is to be used is adopted by teachers or by school administrations.

History textbooks published in the 1990s and since 2000 have certainly been more attractive with regard to the graphics and general appearance than their “socialist” predecessors. Their authors - university professors and school teachers - have mostly succeeded in doing away with the simplified and schematic communist terminology and stereotypes. In particular, textbooks dealing with Greek and Roman, Medieval and Early Modern history, have devoted more attention than before to social and cultural history and to everyday life in the past. There has also been more coverage of Western European and non-European history. Nevertheless, authors who have designed school texts in a more dynamic/narrative and less dry/factual way, have been more of an exception rather than the rule, and most of them have not followed the guidelines from the beginning of the 1990s – not even in the didactic sense - since their textbooks have remained over-extensive, overburdened with facts and information, and for the most part have failed to render the historical contents in a way that would be attractive and understandable for young readers. The second “generation” of history textbooks, published from the end of the 1990s onwards, was less comprehensive, but not much less factual. There is even a tendency among some recent elementary school textbook writers to create the shortest possible texts - limited to actual facts and rendered in the form of questions and answers. However, this is in clear contradiction to the recommendations of the guidelines proposed in the 1990s aiming at transforming the then unpopular school subject of history into a narratively conceived, communicative subject which would be friendly to the young.

According to the new curricula in the school textbooks for the first secondary school level dealing with Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern history, general European and non-European topics prevailed, while national (Slovene) history has been presented in special chapters, with more or less modernized emphases. Authors describing conditions in the territory of present-day Slovenia during the time of the Roman Republic and of the Roman Empire thus still write about “Slovene territory under the Romans”, but they present the inhabitants of Early Medieval Carantania, which Slovene historiography had until recently proclaimed as a Slovene state, not as Slovenes but as Western (Alpine) Slavs. It is true that some textbooks mention that the Alpine Slavs were the predecessors of the Slovenes, and that Carantania was an “independent principality” of the

Slovene forebears, but even elementary school textbooks no longer designate the Carantanian Slavs simply as Slovenes. This is in compliance with the orientation of contemporary Slovene historiography, which rejects a one-sided projection of modern national concepts and designations onto periods in which there was still no national identification, which causes considerable difficulties for both the authors of the textbooks as well as the students and the teachers. In the context of early Slav history, somewhat more attention is also devoted to Eastern and South-Eastern Europe and to early medieval political formations in what is now Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian territory. The presentation of the migrations of the Slavs in the Early Middle Ages is, however, limited exclusively to an outline of the settlement of the Slavs in the Eastern Alps, i.e. part of (the present) Slovene territory.¹⁴

In terms of their contents, textbooks for the secondary schools (gymnasiums) dealing with the Middle Ages and early Modern Period history, are conceived similarly to the textbooks dealing with the period of Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages - except that they contain even less military and political history - while the main focus is on Western European social, economic, cultural and religious-ecclesiastical currents and developments. Compared with textbooks used during the time of the socialist Yugoslavia, these new textbooks contain notably less history of the Balkans and of the Southern Slavs (Croats, Serbs, Macedonians and Bulgarians), which are mostly mentioned briefly in synthetic chapters on European and world conditions. Surprisingly, little space is also devoted to the Ottoman Empire and to the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans, while "Turkish invasions of Slovene territory" are portrayed more in detail in the chapters dedicated to (Slovene) national history. In the entire period treated by textbooks for the gymnasium level (this being the period from the 10th to the beginning of the 19th century), Slovene history is presented primarily from the aspect of the administrative, political, ecclesiastical, cultural, social and economic development of the regions inhabited by the Slovene speaking population. Textbook authors designate as "Slovene" the provinces of the Austrian Crown Lands with a Slovene speaking population majority, yet nowhere do they give a clear explanation that the so called "Slovene" provinces were never homogeneously "Slovene" and that they were all that time also at least partly populated by German and Italian speaking populations as well.

It is true that it can be understood from some chapters that for a long period the Slovene speaking people were mostly subjects and peasants, while the nobility and the middle-classes were mainly of German and Italian origin, but the relations among the different population groups speaking different languages and the way

14 See: Stane Berezlak, *Srednji in novi vek, Zgodovina za 2. letnik gimnazij* [*The Middle Ages and the New Ages, History for the Second Grade of Gymnasium*]. Ljubljana: Modrijan, 2002.

these languages were used and what the various language practices represented with regard to the relations among different ethnic groups is not clearly explained. Nor do authors pay any attention to the loyalties of the population prior to the emergence of the modern nations and what bonded the inhabitants of the “Slovene provinces” at that time, although in some of the newest textbooks, the regional and provincial feelings of belonging are mentioned, which competed with the national ones even later in the 19th and 20th century - after the formation of modern national awareness. It is thus obvious that the authors of the textbooks were (and are) trying to consider the viewpoint of professional historiography, in opposition to a generalized national concept of history and interpretations for the pre-national period and even after, but that they were, at the same time, having considerable difficulty in adopting more modern concepts and approaches.

The textbooks also do not pay any particular attention to the processes of the formation of modern nations, to the gradual affirmation of modern national awareness, or to the question of why modern nationalism is such a break with the traditional sentiments of belonging and loyalty.¹⁵ Nations and national movements appear in the textbooks suddenly, without detailed explanations – starting in the outline of the beginning of the Slovene cultural movement at the end of the 18th century - apparently initiating trends towards the introduction of the Slovene language in schools, in literary works and in public. Textbooks for the gymnasium level dealing with the history of the 19th century, contain more detailed presentations of the national movements in Central and Western Europe in the first half of the century and point out that “people speaking the same language, who had the same culture and felt connected through history, wanted to live together in their own states”. However, they do not pay any particular attention either to the mutual, interacting Slav, German and Italian influences or to the cooperation between the educated people of different national origins in the formation of the early national movements, which would make it clear that the formation of the modern national awareness was a rather tolerant, interethnic and transnational cultural process and that the Slovene cultural movement at the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century was also a result of such a transnational Slovene-German-Italian and Slav spiritual and cultural exchange.

15 In the newest edition, published in 2010, the authors of the History Textbook for the Third Grade of Gymnasium simply try to explain “Early Nationalism” with a quotation from Eric Hobsbawm’s book: *Nations and Nationalism*. In the short quotation published in the textbook, it is claimed that “modern nationalism” is a product of growing supra-regional economic and cultural communications, migrations, industrialization, the revolution in communications, and progressive secularization. Its final goal is however supposed to be “the accommodation of modern society to the needs of capitalism”. There is no concrete explanation added to this quotation and also no concrete example demonstrating how these changes influenced the feelings and the relations of different groups of populations. See: Janez Cvirn and Andrej Studen, *Zgodovina 3 [History 3]*. Ljubljana: DZS 2010, p. 56.

Despite the guidelines recommending that textbooks and teachers should pay more attention to social, economic, and cultural conditions in dealing with 19th century history in schools, political and factual history remains prevalent. The great social, economic and cultural changes caused by modern industrialization in Europe and the rest of the world in the 19th century, are presented in chapters encompassing about 15% to 25% of the total amount of text, while the presentation of the economic, social and cultural transformation in the so called "Slovene Provinces" is included in the chapters dealing with Slovene history. In the secondary school textbooks dealing with the 19th century, slightly more than 40% of the text is dedicated to Slovene history, and approximately 10% to the Habsburg Monarchy, while quite a lot of attention is paid to the (Slovene) national issue. The picture of the Habsburg Monarchy presented in the light of national oppositions remains one-sidedly dark, pointing out that their ruling German and Hungarian elites had no (or later in the second half of the 19th century only little) understanding for the national aspirations of the non-German and non-Hungarian nations. The Slovene movement after 1848 is rather uncritically portrayed as a relatively large-scale or mass movement, and mainly from the aspect of Slovene national-political demands, cultural activities, political divisions, and individual cultural and political achievements. The political goal of the Slovene national movement in the second half of the 19th century was the realization of the program adopted in 1848, i.e. the unification of all Slovene populated regions into a single, autonomous administrative and political unit within the Habsburg Monarchy, which it seems also represents a sort of national ideal to the textbook authors. The concepts of nation and national identification even seem to be so self-evident to them that they need no special explanation. The main focus is instead on the political struggles for national and linguistic emancipation through the introduction of the Slovene language into schools and the administration, which was without doubt of great importance for Slovene national development. However, at the same time, the Slovene relations to the German and Italian non-Slovenes living in the same provinces as the majority of the Slovene population, as well as to the nation's neighbors – the German-speaking Austrians, the Italians and the Hungarians – were and are represented only from the aspect of national antagonism and conflict.

Yet these antagonisms and conflicts are again nowhere or only superficially explained. From the textbooks it is obvious that the German and Italian speaking non-Slovenes living in the same Austrian provinces as the majority of the Slovenes were not in favor of, and even opposed to the Slovene national aspirations, but there is no clear explanation of the exact social and political background of this opposition. In one of the newest textbooks, published in 2010, it is only simply

maintained that the ruling nations of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Hungarians and the Germans, claimed certain rights for themselves, which they were not willing to recognize for the non-Hungarians and non-Germans. It is true that all the textbooks also contain extensive chapters dedicated to the most important events of German, Italian or Hungarian history, such as the unification of Germany and Italy, or the Hungarian Revolution in 1848, but their relations to the Slavs - particularly the Slovenes - as well as the opposite: the Slovene attitude towards them, are presented exclusively as antagonistic.

Based on this, we can conclude that the authors of the textbooks did not and still do not even try to pay more attention - although suggested by the guidelines formulated in the 1990s - to the everyday life realities and relations, which were often far less antagonistic, or even friendly; nor do they attempt to deal more extensively with the mutual influences in the political and cultural life of the era and the formation of the national-ideological concepts of the time. They also mostly refrain from or fail to explain in greater detail how it was possible in the given situation that the Slovenes had succeeded in developing in only about a hundred years, i.e. from the end of the 18th to the end of the 19th century, from a rather socially weak, and overwhelmingly illiterate people to a culturally developed and socially structured ethnic group, whose literacy according to the pre-WWI statistics lagged only behind the Germans, Czechs and Italians of the Habsburg Monarchy. The fact that modern nation building is not only a political, but also a social and cultural process, in which, in the Slovene case, the socially open Austrian educational and school system played a very important role, remains nearly completely overlooked. The middle class Slovene educated elites, which became the most important dynamic factor of the Slovene national movement before WWI, were namely formed in the relatively short time span of three generations - from approximately 1840 until 1910 - mainly thanks to the establishment of schools and a solid education system.

In this light, we can point out that the depictions of Slovene history and Slovene nation building since the beginning of the 1990s have changed and been modernized much more when dealing with the earlier historical periods, particularly the Middle ages than in the case of the 19th century and the Slovene national movement before WWI, while the Slovenes' German, Italian and Hungarian co-habitants and neighbors are also still - and much like in the former Yugoslavia - portrayed above all as national adversaries and enemies, who hindered or even threatened Slovene national development. The only Slovene neighbors portrayed in more friendly colors were and are the Croats, although the newest textbooks pay only little attention to the history of Croatia and Slovene-Croatian relations; much less than was paid in the period of Yugoslavia.

All this is also characteristic of the textbooks for the fourth secondary school level, dealing with the 20th century,¹⁶ as the basic structure of the topics and content in these does not substantially differ from the textbooks used in the last decade of socialist Yugoslavia. True, more attention is paid to economic, social, and cultural historical issues, but political and factual history nevertheless strongly prevail. The new textbooks, published after 1990, naturally differ essentially from their socialist predecessors in their interpretations of the two Yugoslav states (the Yugoslav Kingdom and communist Yugoslavia), the Slovene position within the framework of both, the relations among the individual Yugoslav nations, and the history of Communism and of WWII in the Yugoslav and Slovene territories. The portrayal of both Yugoslavias is again rather dark and presented above all in the light of national antagonisms, but the authors of the textbooks also clearly state that Slovenia developed rather quickly and successfully in both of them and that the great majority of the Slovene population and political leaders up until the final crisis in the 1980s were in favor of Slovenia's remaining a part of Yugoslavia, and that the possibility of Slovene independence did not enjoy wide popular support before the late 1980s. One of the weakest points of the Slovene history textbooks is that their authors often use ideas, notions and definitions, as well as present facts and events, without clearly explaining them. This is also true of the most politically controversial and publicly discussed topics, such as the history of Communism, the Communist movements and communist Yugoslavia. There is - in most of the textbooks - subsequently no clear explanation of the communist ideas and goals, nor a more detailed presentation of the political and social systems the Communists were opposed to. What's more, in the case of Yugoslavia, the picture of the Communists and the Communist movement is quite contradictory: in the chapters dealing with the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Slovene and Yugoslav Communists are portrayed as social revolutionaries radically opposing an unjust social, national and political system, while in the chapters dedicated to WWII, they are presented as anti-fascist and the main organizers of the resistance against the German and Italian occupying forces, to be followed by the chapters presenting the post WWII developments, where they are described - without any additional explanation - as the leaders and supporters of an extremely undemocratic, totalitarian system. All this is done in a supposedly "neutral", but in actual fact historicist way, by enumerating facts, and at the same time failing to advance any clear interpretation or evaluation, so that students

16 Božo Repe, *Naša doba, Oris zgodovine 20. stoletja* [Our Age, An Outline of 20th Century History]. Ljubljana: DZS 1995; Božo Repe, *Naša doba, Oris zgodovine 20. stoletja* [Our Age, An Outline of 20th Century History]. Ljubljana: Modrijan 2000. Ervin Dolenc and Aleš Gabrič, *Zgodovina 4* [History 4]. Ljubljana: DZS 2004.

using and reading the textbooks remain confused by the inconsistencies and lack of explanations and assessments.¹⁷

Also, the picture of Slovene relations with the country's neighbors in the history textbooks dealing with the 20th century seems, if possible, even darker than the picture of the first and second Yugoslavia. The focus is again nearly exclusively on the conflicts, although, granted, these are indeed difficult to avoid, as the Austrian/German-Slovene, Italian-Slovene and Hungarian-Slovene relations in the 20th century were far from being friendly. The large Slovene minorities incorporated into Italy and Austria after WWI had only very limited national rights in these two countries in the interwar period, and Italy and Germany (the latter with the participation of many Austrians) did, after all, occupy Slovenia during WWII and impose an oppressive occupying regime upon it. Subsequently, Yugoslavia's relations with both its neighbors were, owing to the long-time unresolved border issues and unfriendly Italian and Austrian minority politics, strained and antagonistic after WWII (especially until the end of the 1970s). Yet there has been - particularly since the mid-1960s - when communist Yugoslavia opened its borders also a lot of diverse and successful cooperation (economic, cultural and individual), which most of the textbooks almost completely fail to mention.

The one-sided focus on the antagonisms and conflicts between Slovenia and its neighbors present in these history textbooks is also in contradiction with the endeavors of the professional historians, who have - particularly in the last two decades - attempted to find some middle ground between the differing views and evaluations of the relations between neighboring countries in the 19th and 20th century, and in 2001 even published a tri-lingual Slovene-Italian-English history report on Slovene-Italian relations in the period from 1880-1956 in a book form.¹⁸ It is also well in opposition to the ambitious European projects of producing bi-national and multinational history text-books, which would tend towards overcoming past conflicts and the diverse history interpretations founded in them.

To conclude: Slovene historians still have much work to do to modernize the country's history textbooks and particularly their presentations of the Slovene national history and Slovene relations with its neighbors. The greatest problem is that there is little interest in Slovenia in the discussion on how history is taught in schools and in what way it is presented in the textbooks; and that, among

17 Peter Vodopivec, "Communism and Communist History in Slovene and Croatian History Textbooks", in: Maria Todorova (ed.), *Remembering Communism, Genres of Representation*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 2010, pp. 335-345.

18 *Slovensko italijanski odnosi 1880-1956. Poročilo slovensko-italijanske zgodovinsko-kulturne komisije. I rapporti italo-sloveni 1880-1956. Relazione della commissione storico-culturale italo-slovena. Slovene-Italian Relations in 1880-1956. Report of the Slovene-Italian Historical Commission*. Ljubljana: Nova revija 2001.

the didactic and general pedagogy experts who unfortunately have a definitive influence on the country's educational politics, there is a much greater interest in the pedagogical and didactic aspects of teaching than in the contents and messages that are transmitted. The main focus of the history textbooks and history teaching is thus still on the political and social surface of events, although some of the newest, most recently published textbooks, also contain special chapters which present accounts of everyday life and social and family relations in the past. The perspective from the bottom up is a sort of a parallel and not an integrative teaching outlook, and above all, not an approach which would help the students to understand more clearly the complex and often contradictory historical, political, social and national reality. In this sense, Slovene history textbooks, as well as Slovene history teaching, are still in a process of transition and there are still no clear recommendations on how to teach young people about the national and the European past in order to help them towards gaining greater insights in their contemplations and their ideas of the present.

Hiroshi Mitani

**CONTROVERSY OVER
HISTORY TEXTBOOKS,
THE PUBLICATION OF
REGIONAL HISTORIES
AND IMPROVEMENT
OF HISTORY
EDUCATION IN JAPAN
AND EAST ASIA**

During the first decade of this century, heated controversies over historical memories emerged in East Asia. At first, the focus was on the memories of Japanese invasion of its neighboring countries during the first half of the 20th century. The Japanese government's approval of a nationalist history textbook in 2001 not only evoked a fierce controversy within Japan but

also brought about harsh criticism of Japan from South Korea and China. Yet, recently we also witnessed a controversy between South Korea and China over their territorial rights to the ancient states Koguryo and Bohai that are situated across the contemporary border between North Korea and China. Today, all East Asian nations are involved in controversies over historical memories confined by nationalist imagination.

These controversies not only evoked political tensions, but also efforts to overcome them. Many historians in these countries became acquainted with each other through numerous meetings on historical dialogue and reconciliation. Without these historical controversies, they would never have been acquainted with each other. Some became friends and developed their interests in histories of neighbors and East Asia. These meetings revealed the discrepancies between the various historical memories as an indicator of what is and is not possible in sharing historical images among the participating East Asian nations. Although historical reconciliation is yet to be achieved, there emerged a sense of living together in East Asia. This is why some historians began to publish regional histories of the East Asia – an initiative in which I was one of the first to participate.

After the harsh controversy in the early 21st century, Japanese historians and history educators began to think of reorganizing their history curricula for middle schools. This was because they believed that the existing history curricula that sever Japanese national history from world history prevent Japanese citizens from developing a global identity as human beings. Also, their purpose was to make education more effective and useful by improving teaching method through asking middle school students fundamental questions in each class instead of urging them to memorize names and incidents listed in history textbooks.

Let me make a brief sketch of recent controversy over history textbooks, publication of regional histories and movement for the improvement of history education in Japan and East Asia. The interpretation below is mainly based on my own experiences and the brief researches I have conducted.¹

1 I am a historian studying 19th century Japanese and East Asian history, specifically such themes as the Meiji Regeneration of Japan, the regional history of East Asia, and comparative studies of nationalism and the public sphere. I am a co-author of two history textbooks for middle schools: one is a junior high school textbook published by the Shimizushoin Publishing House, and the other is a senior high school textbook published by the Yamakawa Publishing House. I have also participated in non-governmental projects on historical dialogues among Japan, South Korea and China.

1. THE CONTROVERSY OVER HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

Today, in 2012, there seems to be little controversy over Japanese history textbooks in East Asia. Yet, it does not mean that this issue has been fully addressed. Through harsh controversies, East Asians learned that it was very difficult to change neighbors' historical understandings, secured supporters in each camp and diverted the arena of debate from hot, political discourses to calmer waters of academic discussions. It is necessary to reflect upon the crux of this history textbook controversy in order to understand the present situation and to prepare for the future.²

a) Japanese Institutions for School Textbooks

To begin with, it would be best to present a brief sketch of Japanese educational institutions; specifically, how textbooks are made, authorized and adopted.³ In the Japanese public educational system, elementary and middle schools are legally required to use the textbooks officially approved by The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (hereafter, the MEXT). Textbooks are produced by private publishers. They organize editorial boards made up of university professors and middle school teachers to decide the contents of their textbooks according to *The Course of Study* set by the MEXT. While *The Course of Study* prescribes the purposes of education and gives an outline of the contents, each editorial board tries to write its own understanding of history by considering up-to-date academic interpretations and civic necessities.

After compiling the drafts, the publishers present their copies to the MEXT for its official approval. There is a review board in the Ministry, consisting of professional historians and experienced educators, that judges if the draft textbooks are of an acceptable quality or not. In doing so, it consults elaborate

2 For the outline of this issue, the following book may be useful for consulting the relevant papers: Hiroshi Mitani (ed.), *The History Textbook Problem*. Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center (三谷博編『歴史教科書問題』日本図書センター), 2007.

3 Elementary and Secondary Education Bureau, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, *An Outline of the Textbook Institution*. Tokyo: Elementary and Secondary Education Bureau (文部科学省初等中等教育局『教科書制度の概要』文部科学省初等中等教育局), 2004. Also available at the website: http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/gaiyou/04060901.htm. For a detailed analysis in English, see my paper in Daqing Yang, Jie Liu, Hiroshi Mitani and Andrew Gordon (eds.), *Toward a History Beyond Borders: Contentious Issues in Sino-Japanese Relations* (Harvard East Asian Monographs). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012. For some experience on the approval procedure, see also Hiroshi Mitani, "Writing History Textbooks in Japan", in Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel C. Sneider (eds.), *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

reports written by ministry investigators. Usually, the board does not approve the draft without demanding revisions. If the demands pertain to factual or typographical errors, they are met immediately by the publisher. However, if the demands are in the area of interpretation, the publisher and the MEXT commence negotiations in order to reach a compromise. If the board considers the revised draft acceptable, it gives its final approval to the textbook. In 2010, among eight history textbooks for junior high schools, seven passed this approval procedure.

After the textbooks are approved, a process of selection begins. There are two systems to select a particular textbook for school use. Private schools and senior high schools choose their own textbooks from a list of approved textbooks, while local school boards, organized into about 570 units, choose textbooks for public elementary and junior high schools. Thus, in the Japanese textbook institution, the official approval process is centralized in the MEXT, while the selection process is decentralized.

b) The Beginning of History Textbook Controversy

The contemporary controversy over Japanese history textbooks began in 1982 when China and South Korea accused the Japanese MEXT of having forced the publishers to change the word 'invasion' into 'advance' in the drafts describing Japanese military campaign on Chinese territory.⁴ In one sense, this was an extension of an ongoing Japanese domestic, harsh controversy over history textbooks. In Japan, there had been a long controversy over history textbooks since the mid-1960s. Professor Saburo IENAGA had filed lawsuits against the MEXT when the ministry had refused to approve his draft textbook. He maintained that the ministry's approval system was illegal because its intervention into textbooks was equivalent to censorship, which was prohibited by Japanese Constitution. His movement became powerful as leftists, not only among academics but also school teachers and publishing industry workers, passionately supported it. Although the courts ruled that the MEXT's approval system to be legal, some of them criticized its individual demand for revision as excessive in the mid-1970s. At first, the MEXT tried to have these rulings overturned by appealing to higher courts. It seemed that the criticism from neighboring countries in 1982 was linked to Japanese domestic movements attacking the MEXT.

On the other hand, there was an influence from world politics, especially in China.⁵ China had re-opened its diplomatic relations with Japan when tensions

4 Op. cit. For details, see Hiroshi Mitani (ed.), *The History Textbook Problem* (三谷博編『歴史教科書問題』).

5 Yoshikazu Shimizu, *Why Chinese government chose anti-Japanese policy?* Tokyo: Bungeishunju (清水美和『中国はなぜ「反日」になったか』文藝春秋社), 2003. Yoshikazu Shimizu, *Chinese*

between China and the Soviet Union heightened in 1972. In order to mend its ties with Japan, the Chinese government made efforts to keep its bitter memories under control and mounted a campaign to persuade the Chinese people that Japan was necessary for the future of China. Chinese diplomatic policy changed yet again in 1982 when Deng Xiaoping embarked upon his bold 'reform and opening' policy by sending many students abroad and by utilizing advanced technology and economic support from Japan, while at the same time beginning a domestic campaign to remind his nation of Japanese invasion in the past, in which he ordered the construction of a memorial museum dedicated to the Nanjing Massacre in order to avoid strong objections against his reforms from the conservatives in the Communist Party of China.⁶ This is the reason why Chinese government could not overlook any indications that Japanese government might conceal its evil past.

c) Responses of Japanese Government

Japanese government responded to the protests quickly.⁷ The Chief Cabinet Secretary of Suzuki Cabinet made a statement that Japan would follow through on the promise to reflect upon its past that it had made to re-establish diplomatic relations with South Korea and China, sincerely listen to the protests from its neighbors, and revise the "Standards for Authorization of School Textbooks" in order to promote mutual understanding and friendship with its neighboring countries. This promise was realized in the same year. The MEXT added the clause: "In dealing with events in the modern and contemporary history of relations with neighboring countries of Asia, appropriate consideration should be given to viewing these events from the standpoint of international understanding and international cooperation."

This policy was followed by the Nakasone Cabinet whereby Nakasone recognized the second Sino-Japanese war as a 'war of invasion' for the first time after WWII and also took other measures to promote further cooperation with Japan's neighbors. Much of this was because Nakasone wished to gain support from Japan's neighboring countries to make Japan a world political power in addition to the economic power it already was. In cooperation with the U.S., he engaged in the world power game to separate China from the Soviet Union, and perceiving that this great game should not be obstructed by the memories of

government is going to abandon anti-Japanese policy. Tokyo: Kodansha (清水美和『中国が「反日」を捨てる日』講談社), 2006.

6 His policy was similar to that of South Korean president Park Chung-hee, who started a big anti-Japan campaign while establishing official relations with Japan in 1965.

7 Same as note 4.

the past, he tried to protect the Chinese leaders from the criticism within the Communist Party of China that they were making an excessive concession with an unforgivable enemy.

Later, in 1989, the Japanese government revised the “Standards for Authorization of School Textbooks”, simplifying the approval procedure and making it more transparent in response to the rulings that had criticized the MEXT’s demands regarding draft textbooks as excessive. Moreover, the MEXT faced a fundamental change in the political setting in 1993 when the first non-LDP cabinet was formed. It became imperative for the MEXT to comply with the stipulation of a transparent legal procedure if it were to remain in power during the future alterations of ruling parties.

Under this condition, the MEXT approved several draft textbooks for senior high schools in 1993 that described the sensitive issue of ‘comfort women.’ However, this move evoked strong backlashes: a big ideological split in the LDP and a new civic movement for seeking an innocent Japanese identity.

d) A Bitter Controversy in 2001⁸

The 50th anniversary of the end of WWII came in 1995. The Murayama Cabinet, based on the coalition of the LDP and the Social Democratic Party, expressed remorse for the Japanese invasion during the war and announced its will to strive for eternal peace on August 15. However, extreme conservatives in the LDP published a history on “The Great Asian War” on the same day. They considered ideology more important than certain interests and had been dissatisfied with the successive cabinet’s policies of apology towards Japan’s neighboring countries.

On the other hand, a group of intellectuals began a civic movement for a righteous historical identity of Japan.⁹ Deeming it improper to have high school students learn about comfort women, they organized the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform to supply a better textbook for junior high school students in 1997. In contrast to the traditional right wing, they appealed to the grass roots and became influential. The Japanese public during the 1990s was in deep distress after a period of long prosperity and welcomed the society’s movement to recover their honor as citizens.

In 2001, the MEXT approved the draft textbook of the Society after having demanded a revision of nearly 200 segments. This decision evoked a bitter

8 Tsuyoshi Hasegawa and Kazuhiko Togo (eds.), *East Asia’s Haunted Present*. West Port, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008.

9 Fujioka Nobukatsu (ed.), *The Vision of Japan the Japanese Society for Textbook Reform Presents to the Public*. Tokyo: Fusosha (藤岡信勝編『新しい歴史教科書を「つくる会」が問う日本のヴィジョン』扶桑社), 2003.

controversy over history textbooks on both national and international level. Traditional leftists criticized the textbook as having not only numerous factual errors but also nationalist tendencies such as: whitewashing the dark side of modern Japan, the colonization of Korea, the invasion of China, the Nanjing Massacre and comfort women. The South Korean and Chinese governments also denounced the MEXT's decision and not only demanded the exclusion of the Society's textbook from adoption for schools, but also revisions of other textbooks. On the other hand, the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform was set on gaining a 10% share of the textbook market and subsequently implemented an unprecedented tactic: making the 'New Textbook' available on the open market to gain public influence in order to place pressure on local educational boards during the adoption process.¹⁰ As the controversy in the media heated up, it seemed at first that they would succeed in attaining their goal. However, it was revealed in August that the adoption rate of the textbook had not even reached 0.04 %. As a result of this development, Japan's neighboring governments also eased off on their denouncements and claims.

This controversy in 2001 changed the framework of historical debate as new people began to participate in the debate in the final stage. In July 2001, professor Makoto IOKIBE, a historian of Japanese diplomacy who had close connections with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and later became the head of the National Defense Academy of Japan, criticized the New Textbook as "intentionally neglecting the failure of the government that opened war against the whole world and that induced young men to suicide attacks; instead, the textbook is designed to deceive junior high students into admiring this government".¹¹ This was the first time a realist's criticism of the *New Textbook* appeared in the media. During the 1990s, not only trade but also mutual visits greatly flourished in East Asia. Business people working on international relations became aware that peace and cooperation in East Asia were indispensable. IOKIBE's article revealed the existence of this latent opinion of realists that accepted the need to face up to the unpleasant aspects of the Japanese past.

After the 2001 controversy, the traditional split between the right and the left, measured by the attitude toward Marxist ideology, began to play a far smaller role in judging the pros and cons of nationalist history. Instead, there emerged the simpler criterion of whether or not one supported international cooperation

10 Japan Society for History Textbook Reform, *The New History Textbook: The Version for Public Sale*. Tokyo: Fusosha (新しい歴史教科書をつくる会『〔市販本〕新しい歴史教科書』扶桑社), 2001.

11 Iokibe Makoto, "Reading the New History Textbook: A Narrow-Minded Approach to History Addressing Only the Decline and Fall of the State" (五百旗頭真「つくる会の『新しい歴史教科書を読む』 国家の存亡だけで歴史を語る貧しさ」), in *Ronza* (『論座』) (Tokyo: The Asahi Shimbun Company), July 2001.

in East Asia. The Japanese media had now opened their doors to the new people who had long been the silent majority during the post-war era.

e) De-Politicization of the Textbook Issue

In 2005, textbooks for junior high students were again sent to local educational boards for selection. This time, a passionate dispute over history textbooks did not occur, although another political issue concerning Yasukuni Shrine gave rise to big protests against Japan in South Korea and China. Chinese youth launched extensive campaigns on the streets of major Chinese cities when they perceived it unforgivable for the Japanese prime minister to have visited Yasukuni Shrine where not only those fallen in war, but also major war criminals of the Tokyo Tribunal were enshrined. This was the most dangerous crisis in Japan-China relations since the recovery of diplomatic relations in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the local educational boards still made calm decisions following the precedence set in 2001 and the selection rate of the New Textbook remained 0.05%. After experiencing this grave crisis and relieved by the outcome, the governments of South Korea and China decided to separate the history issue from future diplomatic relations.¹²

At present there is little dispute within Japan over history textbooks. Both sides have already secured supporters and it has become an established routine to denounce the other side. Little change is also expected in this situation in the near future, unless the governments in East Asia make drastic changes in their policies.

2. EAST ASIAN HISTORICAL DIALOGUE AND THE QUEST FOR REGIONAL HISTORIES

The 2001 debate over the Japanese history textbooks generated various attempts to open dialogues for sharing historical memories in East Asia. At first, numerous movements on the non-governmental level to publish common histories emerged, which brought some results. Later, the Japanese government organized cooperative history research groups with South Korea and China respectively. However, these official, bi-lateral attempts not only fell short of expectations, but also sowed mutual distrust among the historians engaged in them.

¹² Shimizu, *Chinese Government Resolves to Abandon Anti-Japanese Policy* (清水美和『中国が「反日」を捨てる日』).

a) Efforts on the Non-Governmental Level

One of the most famous efforts on the non-governmental level might be the teaching material titled 'A History for the Future' (2005) produced by historians from three countries: China, South Korea and Japan. This book focuses on modern history in East Asia, especially on Japanese aggression against its neighboring peoples.¹³ It was in fact the publication of the 'New Textbook' that provoked these historians to undertake this project, their intent being to make the Japanese younger generation understand their version of modern history in East Asia in order to prevent another aggression from Japan in the future.

This book, however, could not avoid some shortcomings. One is that it concentrates only on the negative aspects of modern Japan. For middle school students in South Korea and China, it is the common knowledge already learnt from their detailed history textbooks. There may be nothing fresh as far as the description of Japan is concerned. Also, for Japanese students, it is not pleasant to read only about the dark side of Japanese history. Another problem is that the book became a collection of national histories in the sections describing the aspects of modern East Asia not pertaining to Japanese aggression. Subsequently, this book as a whole could not overcome nationalist interpretations and failed in presenting a well-integrated regional history of East Asia.

On the other hand, we have a successful cooperative work between Japan and South Korea edited by historians who organized *the Symposia for Creating Common History Textbooks between Japan and Korea*. After having 15 symposia in 10 years from 1997, they finally published a complete history dealing with "The Exchanges between Japan and Korea" in 2007.¹⁴ This book for senior high students is an excellent achievement that succeeds not only in presenting balanced knowledge but also in guiding the readers in both countries to think more from the other side's viewpoint. As for the Prehistoric and Ancient Age, this book is exempted from the anachronism of projecting the idea of modern sovereign states onto the Ancient world. Also, its modern history content is valuable. On the most important topic, Japan's invasion and colonial rule of Korea, this book avoids denouncing Japanese activities hastily but nevertheless guides the readers to think over why the Japanese invaded and committed such acts of cruelty. Moreover, it introduces some notable figures in both countries: a few Japanese

13 Nitchukan Sangoku Kyotsu Rekishi Kyozaï Iinkai, *A History for the Future: A Modern History of Three East Asian Countries*. Tokyo: Koubunken (日中韓3国共通歴史教材委員会『未来を開く歴史 東アジア3国の近現代史』高文研), 2005; 2nd ed., 2006.

14 Rekishi Kyoiku Kenkyu Kai (Japan) and Rekishi Kyokasho Kenkyu Kai (South Korea) (eds.), *A History of the Exchange between Japan and Korea: Common History Teaching Material for Japan and Korea*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten (歴史教育研究会(日本)・歴史教科書研究会(韓国)編『日韓歴史共通教材 日韓交流の歴史』明石書店), 2007.

intellectuals who criticized Japan's colonial rule or adore Korean culture and some Korean intellectuals/statesmen. This is actually a college-level textbook that, for the first time in history, offers the foundations for shared historical memories of Japan and Korea. The editors confess in their postscript that there remained many differences in interpretation. Yet, they still succeeded in overcoming major differences and points where they found themselves at loggerheads, through their enthusiasm, perseverance and sincere will to achieve reconciliation between the Japanese and the South Koreans.

The third attempt was the book "*Contentious Issues in Sino-Japanese Relations*" co-edited by Professors LIU Jie, YANG Daqing and me, published both in Japan and China in 2006.¹⁵ In this project, we selected some crucial historical events and issues that lay between Japan and China although such issues as the Tokyo Tribunal and national compensation were left out. We invited authors from both countries, i.e. more precisely the Japanese and the Chinese abroad, with whom we had frank discussions based on original materials. During the process, the participants who have initially had serious reservations began dispassionate discussions by sharing a modest and critical approach to original materials. Although the symposia revealed many differences between the nationals from the two countries, our understanding of the other party was deepened by understanding the reasons behind the differences. In the process, we all came to comprehend better why the other party presented different interpretations.

Publication of this work in Chinese was especially epoch-making in that it enabled the Chinese people to read the interpretations by Japanese scholars that differ from the Chinese official interpretation. It is our hope that this book will not only provide reliable historical knowledge but also present suggestions and guidelines for future history discussion, that should be conducted beyond borders. With the help of dedicated support by Professor Andrew Gordon of Harvard University, an English version of this book was also published in 2012 and our wish is also to share our knowledge with other people who face similar problems concerning historical reconciliation in the world.

After the international crisis in 2005, I organized a research group to publish a series on East Asian regional history. The intent was to provide the Japanese public with a detailed knowledge of modern East Asia. In my observation, one of the causes of the recent historical controversies was a lack of concrete

15 Jie Liu, Hiroshi Mitani and Daqing Yang (eds.), *Contentious Issues in Sino-Japanese Relations: Toward a History Beyond Borders*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (劉傑・三谷博・楊大慶編『国境を越える歴史認識——日中対話の試み』東京大学出版会), 2006. Its Chinese version is 『超越国境の歴史認識——来自日本学者及海外中国学者的視角』(Beijin: 社会科学文献社, 2006). English version is Yang, Liu, Mitani and Gordon (eds.), *Toward a History Beyond Borders: Contentious Issues in Sino-Japanese Relations*.

knowledge among Japanese adults about what had happened between Japan and its neighbors during the modern era. For the adults who were directly responsible for this controversy, the scanty school textbooks were quite inadequate food for thought on history. As I considered this a rather burning problem, I organized a publishing board consisting only of Japanese East Asian specialists with the exception of a Russian specialist from the USA. The first volume that dealt with the transition from the Early Modern to the Modern Period was published in 2009 under the title of “*A Modern History for Adults: The 19th Century*.”¹⁶ There were ten authors, among whom the late professor Yori-hisa NAMIKI, a China specialist, and Tatsuhiko TSUKIASHI, a Korea specialist, were coeditors.

The first volume consists of four differing chapters; the first covers the history of international relations in East Asia; the second contains brief sketches of domestic conditions of China, Korea, Ryukyu and Japan; the third examines the activities of surrounding countries like Russia, Britain and the United States; and the fourth is an interpretive overview of the East Asian region, including the formation of international public goods. After some discussion, we decided to end this volume with the first Sino-Japanese war in 1894-1895. It was to change the master narrative spread by Japanese history textbooks. Heretofore, Japanese modern history had been described from a pure nationalist viewpoint; Japan was threatened by the West, began thorough reform to protect itself, and this was accomplished by its victory over Russia in 1905. This was true from the standpoint of contemporary materials written by the Japanese. However, it is improper for an understanding of East Asian history as a whole. From a regional history viewpoint, the first Sino-Japanese war was more important, and when Japan turned into an empire with overseas colonies, Korea and China began sincere efforts for modernization. Our aim was to replace the popular Japan-centric view with the regional perspective in order to extend Japanese historical imagination to encompass regional and global levels. We also added comments by 22 specialists in order to provide different understandings of the body of each chapter. Our purpose was to stimulate the readers to think about the possibility of various interpretations.

This volume was welcomed by Japanese adults, especially by high school teachers as having detailed, reliable information. The Korean version of this textbook was also published in 2010 with the dedicated assistance of professor PARK Hun. Our hope is that the Chinese version might also be published in the near future and we are now preparing the second volume on the 20th century in cooperation with professors KAWASHIMA Shin, LIU Jie and NAMIKI Masato.

16 Hiroshi Mitani, Yori-hisa Namiki and Tatsuhiko Tsukiashi (eds.), *A Modern History for Adults: 19th Century*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (三谷博・並木頼寿・月脚達彦編『大人のための近現代史——19世紀編』東京大学出版会), 2009.

b) Efforts on Official Level

After the historical controversy of 2001, the Japanese government launched international history research projects in conjunction with South Korea and China.¹⁷ Two successive committees were organized with South Korea from 2002 to 2005 and 2007 to 2010, and one with China from 2006 to 2010. Although these attempts produced voluminous reports, it is doubtful whether they were successful or not because there was little evidence of expanding shared historical understandings to the public or promoting mutual friendships among the participants.

The first joint research group between Japan and South Korea began in May, 2002 and published its reports both in Japanese and Korean in 2005. The theme of this project was the cooperative research of Japan-Korea historical relations. After Japan rejected the South Korean proposal to conduct direct research on history textbooks, both sides agreed to pay special attention to the similarities and differences in historical interpretations between the two countries. The two governments invited 11 historians from each side to form a joint research committee. The committee covered 19 historical topics in Japan-Korea relations and organized three sub-committees for the research of the Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods. A total of 6 meetings and 45 sub-level meetings were held, and in conclusion, a 4-volume report was published.

The report consisted of numerous individual papers and comments. Although there might have been some useful papers that shed light on the hitherto hidden aspects of Japan-Korean relations as well as the differences in historical understandings between the two nations, the report had little influence in both countries. It was not sold on the market and for the most part ignored by intellectuals.

One of the reasons for this neglect was the reputation among historians it had garnered before its publication. Just after the first meeting, complaints were heard from Japanese members - 9 among 11 of whom were acquaintances of mine - that it was very difficult to reach an agreement with the Korean side on what topics should be addressed, what approaches should be taken, how to run each sub-committee, etc. From the viewpoint of some of the Japanese members, the South Korean side was too nationalistic. The Japanese members wanted to engage in an academic, impassionate dialogue on specific topics and to present their individual understanding. The South Korean side, however, demonstrated a collective, nationalist view, especially in front of the TV cameras, that offended the Japanese side.

17 <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/korea/rekishi/index.html>
http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/china/rekishi_kk.html

Most of the Japanese members were the pioneers of Korean studies after WWII or the independence of Korea from Japanese colonial rule. This means that they had taken the subject of Korean studies as their lifeworks in a time when Japanese society still looked down upon Korea and neglected this field. They had dared to visit South Korea for study purposes when the Korean people still had a strong antipathy towards the Japanese. They were the very people who had taught me the importance of knowing the people who lived next door. Yet their attitude toward South Korea became chilly during this official joint research project. Two of them joined the rightist movements while the majority of them retreated to the realm of pure academic study.

Watching this tragic event, I decided not to join any international history research projects on the official level and to concentrate solely on non-governmental activities. From my own experiences of Japan-China and Japan-South Korea joint research, I found it very effective to engage in non-governmental joint studies. Only when participants on both sides become self-reflective, if not self-critical, can we experience productive, deep communication and develop mutual understanding and respect. It is almost impossible to expect this attitude from the members of official committees because they are inclined to regard themselves as national representatives.

The second committee between Japan and South Korea encountered no more success than the first. This time, Japan agreed to open a sub-committee for textbook studies, but in this case, Japan chose many hardliners hostile to Korea as members, while the Korean side chose less antagonistic people. Although the committee published thick volumes on the websites at the end of 2009, I heard that the atmosphere at the meetings was very chilly and produced little friendship among the participants. I am not sure if the present Japanese government will agree to open the third committee or not, but I believe it will not be able to find a sufficient number of respectable historians among the Japanese willing to participate.

On the other hand, we had the Japan-China joint research committee, that was also far from a success. At first, both sides set a moderate goal. The chair of the Japanese side, Professor Shinichi KITAOKA, announced that they would adopt a so-called 'parallel approach.'¹⁸ It seemed that the Chinese side, led by Professor Bu Pin, had also adopted this attitude 'to agree to disagree.' This was because both governments wanted to shelve the history issue by handing it to historians after the bitter clash of public opinions between Japan and China in 2005.

18 Shinichi Kitaoka, "Japan-China Joint History Research Gets Under Way" (北岡伸一「日中歴史共同研究の出発」), *Gaiko Forum* (『外交フォーラム』) (Tokyo: Toshi Shuppan), no. 226, May 2007. Ditto, "Looking Back on the Japan-China Joint History Research" (北岡伸一「日中歴史共同研究」を振り返る), *Gaiko Forum*, no. 261, April 2010.

I hear this committee went well during its early stages in 2006. It consisted of two sections covering pre-modern and modern history in which the former group was to discuss 7 themes and the latter took up 9 themes including the post-WWII era. However, this joint research committee faced not a few difficulties when it reached the concluding stage in 2008. The Chinese side began to limit the contents of the final report, and demanded the exclusion of the papers on the Post-WWII era when peaceful Japan-China relations were established. A Chinese historian presented a bitter comment on the paper written by a Japanese colleague saying ‘Describing the Japanese pirates from the 14th to 16th century as multi-ethnic groups including Chinese is tantamount to concealing the Japanese continuous ambition to invade China.’¹⁹ By the final stage, the Chinese side demanded that the final reports be published only in the mother tongues of the respective participants, that is, that the papers authored by the Chinese scholars be published in Chinese only and those published by the Japanese would only be published in Japanese.²⁰ This was to prevent ordinary Chinese readers from reading the papers written by the Japanese side.

After these bitter concessions, the Japanese side agreed to place the final reports on the respective websites in January 2010, two years after the initial scheduled date. Although translated versions were finally put up on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in September of the same year with the addition of Japanese scholars’ version of modern history in English,²¹ I hear that this course of events left feelings of deep distrust between the two parties, especially on the Japanese side. Also, it is not certain if the second committee will be organized or not.

c) The Spread of Historical Controversy: from Japan Problem to South Korea-China Dispute

We are now witnessing territorial disputes between South Korea and China over the ancient states of Koguryo and Bohai. In 2002, China began an extensive project called the ‘Northeast Project.’²² This was a national project organized by the Centre for China’s Borderland History and Geography Research under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Its website explained the aim of this project

19 Shōsuke Murai, “Who Were the ‘Japanese Pirates’?: With a Focus on the Korean Peninsula in the 14th and 15th Centuries”, (村井章介「倭寇とはだれか——十四～十五世紀の朝鮮半島を中心に」), *Tohogaku* (『東方学』) (Tokyo: The Toho Gakkai), no. 119, 2010.

20 Kitaoka, “Looking Back on the Japan-China Joint History Research” (北岡伸一「日中歴史共同研究」を振り返る) .

21 http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/china/rekishi_kk.html

22 <http://www.historyfoundation.or.kr/eng/>
<http://bjzx.cass.cn/news/129976.htm>

as follows: “Because the North-Eastern area (comprised of three provinces) is located at the center of North-East Asia, it is situated in an important strategic location. Given this condition, we must carefully monitor any so-called ‘research’ being conducted that distorts historical facts as well as preventing politicians from disseminating erroneous images to the public with the intent of causing political troubles.” This was to keep its borders with numerous ethnic groups within a single body of Chinese territory. The project consisted of various kinds of research on topics such as present societies, international relations and history. Among the history researches, the ancient states such as Koguryo (Goguryeo) and Bohai (Balhae), located on the border of present China and North Korea, were to be regarded as the local governments of the central dynasties of China.

This interpretation sparked outrage amongst the Koreans. The South Korean people understood it at “a project to steal the history of Goguryeo.” After the compilation of the ‘History of Three Kingdoms’ during the 12th century, the Korean people considered Koguryo, a state that ruled Eastern Manchuria and the Northern half of Korean peninsula from the 1st to the 8th century, as one of the three states that later produced an integrated Korea. According to the website of the Northeast Foundation, originally established to protest against China’s ‘Northeast Project,’ the “distortion of the history of Goguryeo was the most sensitive issue to Koreans because they have a deep affection toward Goguryeo. It was the most independent and brave kingdom in Korea’s history, and possessed a vast territory. This is also why Goguryeo is a recurring inspirational dream and fantasy theme to Koreans. Goguryeo is a place of national pride to the Korean people, and subsequently, the Koreans were shocked when China argued that the history of Goguryeo belongs to its own history.”²³

South Korea lodged an official diplomatic protest in 2004 and exchanged with China “an oral agreement in which they agreed that the two countries will not raise political disputes over the history issues but settle them through academic discussions.” The South Korean president met the top leaders of China twice in 2006 to call to China’s attention the need to “take considerate measures to prevent this issue from having a negative impact on Korean-Chinese relations.” The ‘Northeast Project’ itself ended in 2007.

However, South Koreans’ anxiety over the Chinese version of history still has not been calmed. The website says “the conflict with China over the history of Goguryeo has continued as China has not stopped spreading the “Northeast Project-style awareness of history” amongst the public as well as in Chinese academic circles by attaching information guides to every artifact in every museum and setting up information boards in the heritage sites of Goguryeo.

23 Cited from the website in 2010. These sentences have been removed since. (March, 2012).

It has become a history conflict that will take a long time to resolve correctly between the two countries.”²⁴

According to the graduate students from these countries in my class at the University of Tokyo, the Korean people regard historical Kogryō as a self-evident territory of Korea, while the Chinese people regard it as one of the local governments of the ‘central dynasties’ of the Chinese Empire. It is obvious that both the South Koreans and the Chinese are projecting their conceptualizations of modern nation-states onto the ancient world. I know that some historians in South Korea are critical of this tendency and consider it anachronistic. There may also be similar historians in China, even though their numbers would be much smaller. Yet, non-governmental exchanges between the two countries are less influential than those between Japan and its neighbors. The clash of historical memories caused by nationalist interpretations will no doubt also continue in the foreseeable future.

3. IMPROVEMENT OF HISTORY EDUCATION IN JAPAN

The storm of historical controversy during the first decade of this century has recently calmed down as far as Japan is concerned. The textbooks question will no longer be a serious political or diplomatic issue as long as the governments keep paying close attention to the lessons during the first decade of this century.

Under these conditions, another history textbook problem emerged in Japan. Namely, the plan to improve senior high school curricula for ‘history and geography.’ One of the subcommittees in the Science Council of Japan, of which I was a member, publicized a recommendation to the Japanese government for the revision of ‘history and geography’ in August 2011 after two years of enthusiastic discussions.²⁵

a) A Proposal Made by the Science Council of Japan

At first, this subcommittee was organized in order to address to an urgent issue; not a few high schools were found to be neglecting the compulsory subject ‘World History’ in order to be able to assign more hours to other subjects such as English for the university entrance examinations. According to the *Course of Study*, the course of ‘History and Geography’ consists of three subjects: Japanese History, World History and Geography, of which only World History is compulsory. The

24 <http://www.historyfoundation.or.kr/eng/> (March, 2012)

25 <http://www.scj.go.jp/ja/info/kohyo/pdf/kohyo-21-t130-2.pdf>

MEXT could not neglect this violation of its regulations and asked the SCJ to come up with a solution.

Yet, the discussion in our subcommittee took a different course in considering the complete revision of 'History and Geography.' The geographers in the subcommittee insisted on making geography compulsory because they were afraid of the decline in geography education in senior high schools. Upon hearing this, the specialists in Japanese history also began making the same demand for Japanese History. For the educators in high schools, this solution was unacceptable as it was absolutely necessary for them to stop increasing the number of compulsory subjects in their classes. Thus, the committee members were forced to make a compromise; the subject of World History (4 credits) would be altered to become one of the elective subjects and instead, a set of basic Geography and History (2 credits each) were to be created.

The historians in the subcommittee began to write possible drafts for the Basic History curriculum. The first plan was to compress the existing subject of 'World History A' down to half its size. Yet, it was obvious that middle school educators could not teach such a comprehensive history in the limited hours in class available to them (about 72 50-minute school periods at most). Originally, 'World History' aimed at complementing the history taught at the junior high level that focused mainly on Japanese history. Yet, after the junior high history textbooks had added more contents on foreign history, it became necessary to search for other curricula solutions. Subsequently, we provided two alternative plans in our recommendation. One was to focus on modern history in a way that integrated Japanese and world history and the other was to abandon the history of incidents and to make the subject of History a collection of histories on various important subjects.²⁶

b) The Idea of Basic History that Focuses on Modern History

The aims of Basic History with a focus only on modern history are as follows. Although I drafted this proposal, my view has partly changed after the discussion with my fellow Slovenian historians in December 2010 and having faced the disaster of the great earthquake and tsunami on March 11, 2011.

The major aim of the subject of Modern History in my mind is to cope with the Japanese people's amnesia of Japan's modern history with its neighboring peoples. As I explained before, contemporary Japanese people have little knowledge about what their ancestors did during the first half of the 20th century. When the Koreans and Chinese refer to Japan's evil past, ordinary Japanese are woefully

26 Ditto, pp. 35-46.

unprepared to respond, both owing to their lack of knowledge and also due to the topic's inherent psychological obstacles. This does not mean that the present history textbooks lack information on the Japanese invasion and oppression of its neighbors. The problem is that their contents are too frugal to explain why the Japanese did, what they did and how Japan's neighbors suffered as a consequence of these actions. To overcome these defects, it is absolutely necessary to supply readers with a concrete knowledge of modern history with special attention to Japan's relations with its neighbors. The diffusion of such detailed knowledge among the Japanese public will also lessen future conflicts with our neighbors if we are cautious enough to avoid hurting the identity of younger Japanese generations who have not engaged in any kind of war.

However, it is not proper to stress immediate political purposes only when introducing a new course into the secondary school curriculum and there are two other reasons for drawing the attention of the Japanese public to the reform. One is to integrate Japanese history into world history in order to nurture the sense of global citizenship among future Japanese. The traditional division of Japanese history from world history in the senior high school curriculum is harmful because it enhances the Japanese sense of isolation that has been deeply rooted from the early modern period onwards. Because Japan isolated itself from the world from the 17th century to the mid-19th century, it is only possible to present Japan as a part of the world in modern history. The second reason is that it is useful to teach other subjects in the field of social studies, and this applies not only to Japanese History or World History but also to Civics, that contains politics, economics and morals. High school teachers must welcome a detailed knowledge of modern history in order to teach these subjects.

On the other hand, there are defects in the focus on modern history. I expect that human beings will face an age of no economic development in the future. If it comes to this, they will regard the story of development as useless for their lives. It may be better for them to study pre-modern history when human beings experienced various lives in societies that expected no development, from acceptable to unendurable ones. On the other hand, there are some themes that require long-term explanations even for understanding contemporary life. Themes such as the tectonic movements of the earth, the environment, natural resources, infectious diseases, family structures, gender, world religions, etc. I think it is possible to meet this demand if we provide some special chapters explaining the historical backgrounds of modern phenomena.

c) The Principles of the New Plan

After the second workshop of our symposia, I began to think of introducing fundamental change into the possible curriculum for Basic History. The idea was to change its structure from the explanation of consecutive events to the presentation of questions in order to encourage next generations to think about the meanings of historical events rather than to force them to memorize specific items of factual knowledge about the past.

Another problem I faced was caused by the earthquake and tsunami on March 11, 2011. It reminded us Japanese that we are living on an unstable archipelago on the Pacific Rim. If we are to lessen the damage of such catastrophes in the future, we had better learn about the periodical disasters that our ancestors have suffered from. References to similar disasters that have struck foreign peoples in such cases are also useful. The people living on the Pacific Rim as a whole have experienced such large-scale earthquakes as the one in 2011 once a decade, while within Japanese history, such disasters occur once every thousand years. Because of this, I thought it better to increase the volume of chapters that would deal with long term phenomena and consider it crucial for history textbooks for future generations to transmit a basic knowledge of long term phenomena in human history.

Thus, I would like to present a new, possible version of the curriculum for Basic History. The improvements should be made both in the area of contents and the method of teaching.

- 1) To integrate Japanese history into world history. This is to enable future generations to nurture their identity not only as the Japanese but also as good citizen of the world.
- 2) To construct the subject of Basic History within the framework of global history; that is, to stress the connections between various peoples on the global level: by that I mean not only diplomatic relations but also non-political relations such as trade, migration, infectious disease and the spread of ideas, etc.. This means that descriptions of domestic affairs will be limited to a minimum. For example, Britain will be described only in the context of technological innovation, world trade and military campaigns, while the USA will be described as the first large scale nation-state that embodied liberal democracy. Yet, there are exceptions such as the East Asian countries.
- 3) To enable Japan's future generations to acquire a concrete and better understanding of their neighboring peoples: the Koreans, the Chinese, etc. Up until now, the Japanese public has had less historical knowledge of its neighbors than that of Western peoples. The situations in China or Korea are not far from that of Japan. Improving this unfavorable condition of a mutual ignorance of one's neighbors is of great importance.

- 4) To provide a knowledge of long term historical phenomena. It is crucial that future generations, not only in Japan, but also of the whole of human kind, study long term phenomena in order to survive the future crises. Future generations will experience not only periodical disasters but also irreversible ecological conditions, the seeds of that human beings are creating now. Some of these themes might be the history of planet earth, especially of its tectonic movements, the evolution of life, the emergence of Homo Sapiens and their migration to various continents, the global trade of commodities and the spread of infectious diseases, etc.
- 5) To cover one question in four classes over the course of two weeks. This course requires at least 68 periods per year. (Although there are 72 periods officially, 4 days must be allotted for exams or special events). Thus, this course consists of 17 questions. On the first day of the four classes, a teacher presents one historical question or theme and has the students read the textbook to acquire a basic knowledge of the subject. On the second day, the teacher and the students discuss the possibilities of further research for a better understanding. The teacher presents several topics for homework. Students may go to a library, a museum or consult the internet for the relevant information. On the third day, the students present the results of their research according to the topics set by the teacher. The teacher nominates some students to write summaries of their research for the next class. (All students are assigned this role in turn.) On the fourth day, the students read the summaries and engage in more discussions.
- 6) To have the students read certain sections of history books. This will give them precious experience in academic reading and also help them notice the differences in the interpretation of historical phenomena.

d) A Possible Curriculum for Basic History

There are 17 questions for 68 history classes in a year. Tentatively I suggest dividing them into 6 parts.

1. Introduction: The place we live in
2. Basic features of the pre-modern world
3. The acceleration of globalization: The West and the non-West
4. The age of modernization and imperialism
5. The Cold War, de-colonization and economic development
6. Conclusion: The age of interdependence

(1) Introduction (1 period)

- a) Where do we live? : The Pacific Rim – a place of great earthquakes and tsunamis
 - Q. How many people were lost during the East Japan Great Earthquake and Tsunami of 2011?

Q: How many times did great earthquakes of a magnitude over 8 occur in Japanese history?

Q: How many times did great earthquakes of a magnitude over 8 strike the Pacific Rim in these 100 years?

Q: How many times did Mt. Fuji erupt in Japanese history?

(2) Basic features of the pre-modern world (3 times)

a) Where and when did Homo sapiens emerge?

Q: Where and when was Homo sapiens born?

Q: When and how did Homo sapiens migrate to various continents?

Q: What happened to other animals when Homo sapiens scattered across the Globe?

Q: Why are there many languages on the Globe?

b) How were the peoples on the Globe connected during the Pre-Modern Period?

Q: What kind of commodities did distant peoples exchange?

Q: What kind of religions spread to distant regions?

Q: Who conquered the world during the Pre-Modern Period?

c) What kinds of civilizations existed on the Earth during the Early Modern Era?

Q: What kind of civilization were there in East Asia?

Q: What kind of civilizations were there on the rest of the Eurasian continent?

Q: What kind of civilizations were there in Africa and America?

(3) The acceleration of globalization: The West and the non-West (4 times)

a) How did Western people begin sailing to non-Western regions?

Q: Which people in Europe began sailing to non-Western regions in the 16th century and why?

Q: What relationships developed between the Europeans and the non-Europeans?

Q: What exchanges occurred between the Europeans and the non-Europeans?

b) How was science connected to technology in the West?

Q: Enumerate the technologies people used in daily life up until the 18th century.

Q: What was the 'Scientific Revolution' in the 17th century Europe?

Q: Enumerate the technological developments achieved by the application of science in the 19th century.

- c) What kind of polity was introduced after the American and French Revolutions, respectively?
 Q: What was new in the polity Americans introduced at the end of the 18th century?
 Q: What happened to the French polity during the French Revolution?
 Q: What was the influence of the French Revolution on the rest of the world?
- d) How did Asian people meet with the West?
 Q: What happened to the 'Middle Eastern' people after the coming of Westerners?
 Q: What happened to the Indian people after the coming of Westerners?
 Q: How did the Chinese and Korean people meet with Westerners?
- (4) The Age of Modernization and Imperialism (4 times)
- a) How did the Japanese begin modernization?
 Q: What polity, economy and culture were there in Japan just before Perry?
 Q: What were the changes during the Meiji Regeneration?
 Q: How did the Japanese combine the Western civilization with their traditions?
- b) What happened in East Asia after Japan reorganized the relations with the neighbors?
 Q: What happened to the Ryukyu and Ainu peoples after the Meiji Regeneration?
 Q: How did Japan recommence relations with China and Korea?
 Q: What happened to China and Korea after the first Japan-Chinese war?
- c) What happened to the world when Western countries engaged in imperialist rivalries?
 Q: What happened to the South East Asian and African people during the late 19th century?
 Q: What characteristics were new to World War I in comparison with other wars?
 Q: What changes occurred to the European and other countries after the WWI?
- d) What happened to East Asia when Japan began another invasion?
 Q: What were the conditions in Japanese society at the turn of the 1930s?
 Q: Why and how did the Japanese military grasp power?
 Q: What were the responses of China to the Japanese invasion?

(5) The Cold War, de-colonization and economic development (4 times)

- a) What happened to the East Asian people after the collapse of the Japanese Empire?

Q: Why were two Korean countries established after 1945?

Q: What happened to the Mainland China and Taiwan after 1945?

Q: How did the Japanese rebuild their society?

- b) How did the countries all over the world get involved in the rivalry between the socialist and the capitalist regimes?

Q: What were the differences between the capitalist and the socialist regimes?

Q: How did major countries get involved in the 'Cold War'?

Q: What did native peoples in the Western colonies respond to the 'Cold War'?

- c) How did some non-Western countries commence their economic development?

Q: What was the position of Japan in the world during the 1960s?

Q: What happened to South Korea and Taiwan in the spheres of economy, society and polity?

Q: What happened to the oil-producing countries?

- d) What happened to the world after the 'Cold War' ceased?

Q: How did East European people gain their political freedom?

Q: Why did some countries suffer from ethnic conflicts?

Q: Does economic development necessarily lead to political freedom?

(6) Conclusion (1 time)

- a) How are the peoples connected in a world growing increasingly smaller?

Q: Visualize the distribution of population and GDP in the world today.

Q: Illustrate the movement of people, goods and cultures between major countries.

Q: What are the problems accompanying globalization?

CONCLUDING REMARKS: ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I learned much from four workshops on comparative study of history textbooks in Slovenia and Japan. I could now clearly recognize what had happened during and after the historical controversy in East Asia during the first decade of this century. I learned how the Balkan peoples, including the Slovenians, continued to revise their history textbooks. This suggested me a method of how

to meet the need for national history without amplifying the antipathy towards neighboring peoples, despite some inadequacies. I also learned how to organize the structure of a textbook, especially the importance of Qs and As, after listening to the information and remarks by the experienced educators in both regions. I would like to express cordial thanks to all the participants in this joint research who have given me invaluable suggestions on the important task of improving history education for the next generations.

Aleš Gabrič

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM AND THE ROLE OF HISTORY IN SLOVENIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE FIRST YUGOSLAVIA

The education system did not change much from Austrian times in the first two decades of the first Yugoslavia. The authorities in the Slovene part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had much to do at the outset with the Slovenization of the education system and with aligning the functioning and internal structures of the several types of schools with the education systems in the other parts of the country, and therefore did not undertake the task of altering the already existing system comprised of four years of elementary school, followed by the next four years of either higher primary school, lower gymnasium or lower secondary school, (which, in the meantime, had also become a four-year school), and in which it was far easier than before to change from one

school to another. After the emergence of the new state, equal rights to education for both sexes were ensured and the percentage of women enrolling in schools at the secondary and university level began to increase. Another important factor was the founding of the University of Ljubljana in 1919, enabling numerous secondary school graduates to continue their studies at the university level. This effected an increase in the number of secondary school pupils and university students, although the majority of Slovenes still ended their educations upon completion of the compulsory eight years of primary school.

The Slovene nation was on a considerably higher level of cultural development than the rest of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes when it entered the new state, as a result of which the meeting with their new countrymen was not without culture shock. While only a tenth of the population were still illiterate in the Slovene part of the state, almost two fifths of the population in what had been the Hungarian parts of the Monarchy (Croatia and Vojvodina) were illiterate, while only one tenth of the population in the Moslem parts of the state (Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia) was literate. In other words, the same country spanned regions of 90% literacy where the majority of the population had completed eight years of primary school, and regions where just as great a part of the population (90%) was, on the other hand, illiterate.¹

Between the two wars, approximately 90% of all the youth in Slovenia completed the entire compulsory eight years of school. The missing percentage was caused by the remote hilly and mountainous regions and the poorly developed regions on the fringe of the Pannonian Plain. In these regions, the number of pupils who dropped out of the four-year public schools (*ljudska šola*) was also the greatest: sometimes even over a half the generation, while in 1939/40 - the last full school year before the Second World War, approximately 22% of the pupils did not complete the first four classes of primary school. Although the number of drop-outs decreased in the later stages of education, it was still noticeably high. In the same school year, for example, 13% of the pupils did not complete the four higher grades of primary school, while 15% of the girls and boys attending the 51 four-year lower secondary schools did not pass the final exams and in the 14 gymnasiums operating at the time, 12% of the pupils failed at the end of the year.²

The progress made in raising the level of education since the reform of the old Austrian system was evident at the second four-year level (pupils from the age of

1 Ervin Dolenc, *Kulturni boj. Slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918-1929*. [Ervin Dolenc: The Cultural Battle. Slovenian Cultural Policy in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes 1918-1929]. Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1996, p. 361.

2 Data for the last year of the first Yugoslavia taken and calculated according to: *Statistični pregled šolstva in prosvete v Dravski banovini za šolsko leto 1939/40* [Statistical Overview of the Educational System in the Drava province for the School Year of 1939/40]. Ljubljana: Banovinska zaloga šolskih knjig in učil, 1941.

11 to 15) in the rapid development of the lower secondary schools (meščanska šola) in the major towns and larger townships. These schools had three different programs: agriculture, trade and industry, and commerce. The secondary professional schools (strokovna šola), however, still failed to fill the needs of the country's rapid economic development, as the various schools of this type, e.g. for agriculture, home science, health-care, commerce and so forth, in most cases still offered only one or two-year courses and did not provide adequate secondary school education. Of the total amount of secondary professional schools, only three offered a full four-year course. (Two of these were academies of trade and one was a technical secondary school).

Between the two wars, the majority of the population still went no further than the eight compulsory years of primary school. However, the number of young people successfully completing secondary school continued to increase. Only one tenth of the pupils who completed the four-year primary schools went on to study at the schools offering complete courses of secondary school education such as the gymnasiums, teachers' training colleges and a number of the professional schools, and even these did not all get to the end of the schools that they had chosen as the starting points for their future professional lives. The number of pupils attending the Slovene gymnasiums almost trebled, increasing from less than 5,000 in the school year of 1918/19, to over 13,000 just before the Second World War. A similar increase was also recorded in the number of secondary school graduates.

In addition to the more equal position of the sexes ensured by the law, the increase in the number of female secondary school pupils can also be attributed to the Catholic institutions which opened a number of private girls' teachers' training colleges (učiteljišče) and lower secondary schools (meščanska šola). In 1940, almost one third of all the pupils in the grammar schools were female, while female pupils made up over one half of the generation that year in the lower secondary schools and 60% of all pupils in the teachers' training colleges.

The founding of the University of Ljubljana made it possible for secondary school graduates to continue their educations in their own country. We do not know how many Slovenes set out to study at the universities of Slovenia's neighboring countries before WWI, yet there is no doubt that the number of students increased markedly with the founding of the first Slovene university. Until this date, many of the pre-war graduates and holders of higher academic degrees had remained abroad and only a few of them had come home to the regions where there were not enough job vacancies for such highly skilled experts. The founding of the university and the growth of new national cultural institutions, however, attracted many Slovene and foreign experts. Thus, numerous Slovenes

figured amongst the first professors of the university. Until 1918, these experts had lectured at other European universities.

In the first academic year of the University of Ljubljana (1919/20), a little under 1,000 students enrolled in its five faculties and before the Second World War, this number had increased to over 2,000. The number of professors lecturing at the university had also more than doubled during this time. The percentage of female students, which was hardly noticeable during the first few years after the university opened, began increasing more rapidly towards the end of the 1920s, when the first generations of women had completed their grammar school educations - which they were now able to do, owing to the law on equal rights to education. Before the Second World War, every fifth student matriculating at the university was female.³

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE SECOND YUGOSLAVIA

The Communist rule following the Second World War brought in new views on education. The new government promised changes in the education system which would make it easier to change from one type of school to another and to make at least secondary school education more accessible to the young from working-class and farming backgrounds by opening new secondary schools. Yet it was not until the 1950s that a more thorough educational reform took place.

The first steps that could be made at all in a country partly destroyed by war were made very soon after the war ended. In 1945, all the lower secondary schools (*meščanska šola*) were abolished and partly reconfigured into lower gymnasium (*nižja gimnazija*), greatly increasing the number of students who could continue their educations at the higher grammar schools and then later at the university level. During the first school year after the war, in 1945/46, 22 full-course gymnasiums and 43 lower gymnasiums opened their doors. True, some of the grammar schools didn't have all eight grades right from the start, but the missing higher grades were opened within the next few years. Yet in the year 1945 alone, in addition to the re-shaping of the lower secondary schools into lower grammar schools, Slovenia had gained 7 more full-course and 12 lower gymnasiums.⁴

The fact that the first Yugoslavia did not succeed in smoothing out the differences between the various regions of the state is evident from a population

3 The data on university studies are taken from the statistical appendices at the end of this study: *Petdeset let slovenske univerze v Ljubljani 1919-1969* [Fifty Years of the Slovenian University in Ljubljana from 1919 to 1969]. Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, 1969.

4 "O delu Ministrstva za prosveto Narodne vlade Slovenije od osvoboditve" ["On the Work of the Ministry of Education of the National Government of Slovenia Upon Liberation"], in: *Naša prosveta in kultura* [Our Education System and Culture]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za prosveto NVS, 1945, pp. 9-11.

census made in 1948. At the time, 25% of the population in Yugoslavia was still illiterate (15% of these being male and an entire 34% of these female - a discrepancy due to a great extent to the Moslem regions). Of the Serbian population, 28% were illiterate, while figures ranged from 24% amongst the Montenegrins, 18% amongst the Croats, 54% of the Muslims, to an entire 74% of the Albanians, while in Slovenia, illiteracy had dwindled down to 2% of the entire population.⁵ Slovenia was well ahead of the other republics also according to other statistical indicators, such as the percentage of students amongst the entire population, the percentage of the budget that went towards education and culture, and the educational structure of the population.⁶

Every attempt by the Yugoslav government to unify the education system and the culture of the country's several republics brought stagnation to the cultural development of Slovenia alongside any advantage it may have brought for the other republics. This triggered off severe criticism against Yugoslav centralism in the most developed and westernmost republic of Yugoslavia.

Even before the introduction of the educational reform, the Slovene government had begun to open the doors to further education to a greater number of young people by prescribing that the curricula of the second level of the four-year schools (for children aged from 11 to 15), should correspond with those of the lower levels, as well as by introducing new regulations which made it easier to enroll from one school to the other, regardless of type. During the first post-war years, attendance in primary schools skyrocketed to 95% of the youngest generation, which meant that, with the exception of physically or mentally challenged children, the severely ill, and those living in the remotest of regions, almost all the children aged seven and over were now included in the education process. The number of children who, upon conclusion of the four-year primary school, continued studying according to the program of the lower gymnasiums, tripled during the first decade after the war. This program was offered not only by the grammar schools, but also by the so-called "osemletke" i.e. eight-year primary schools, which had separate classes for each grade and no combined lessons.

The effect of reducing the differences in the school programs at the higher four-year level of the eight compulsory years of education could be felt also in the secondary schools, as the network of schools began to expand with the addition of the new full-course gymnasiums and four-year secondary professional schools. Of the latter, for example, there were only three in 1939, while in the school year of

5 *Statistički godišnjak FNRJ 1954 [Statistical Year Book of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia for 1954]*. Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku i evidenciju, p. 60.

6 Data published in: *Školstvo u FNR Jugoslaviji od školske 1945-45 do 1950-51 godine [Education in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia from the School Year of 1945-45 to 1950-51]*. Beograd: Savet za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ, 1952.

1946/47, there were already 14 and by 1950/51, a total of 28. This was a significant increase, even though these schools began decreasing in number as the demand decreased, or as they began to unite with other secondary schools in the same towns to form larger centers for vocational training.⁷ Similar developments can also be observed at the university level, as the five faculties of the university and the single academy existing before the war were joined by new institutes for tertiary education which offered both two and four-year courses. However, as these united and separated several times during the following years, and only achieved a stable configuration after 1960, the data on their numbers do not give an accurate picture of their development. This also greatly increased the number of students who had access to the highest levels of education. After the war, 2,629 students matriculated at the various institutes of tertiary education. Five years later, in 1950, this number had grown to 6,342, and by 1957, the total was 8,063.

The percentage of secondary school students in the generation aged from 15 to 19 and the percentage of students in the generation four years older than the former began to increase already in the beginning of the 1950s. The real turning point, however, was reached after the education reform, which laid the foundations for the new education system, did away with the discrepancies at the second four-year stage of education and by means of increased investment in the construction of schools, did away with the discriminatory differences inherent in the old education system already at the compulsory primary school level.

In the mid-1950s, the authorities in charge of education began making preparations for a thorough reform of the education system. The Committee for the Reform of the Education System which was founded within the Federal Government published a proposal for the new Yugoslav education system in 1957, which included school curricula permeated with the ideology of the ruling Communist party, and which advocated a unified system of education at the eight-year primary school level throughout Yugoslavia, less rigid regulations limiting the opportunities of students from certain schools to enroll in university studies, and which stressed the need to place greater emphasis on increasing the professionalism of the school system in general.⁸

The General Law on Education which brought about fundamental changes in the education system was passed on July 25, 1958 and was modeled on the basic points of the proposals submitted by the Committee for the Reform of the Education System. The new school system introduced great changes on

7 Milojka Virant-Zajšek, "Statistični pregled razvoja šolstva v LR Sloveniji v šolskih letih 1945/46 do 1956/57" ["A Statistical Overview of the Development of the Education System in the People's Republic of Slovenia in the School Years from 1945/46 to 1956/57"], *Prikazi in študije*, III, 1957, No. 7.

8 See more in: Aleš Gabrič, *Šolska reforma 1953-1963* [*The Educational Reform 1953-1962*]. Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2006.

all three levels of education. On the primary level, instead of the previous two four-year periods, the new school system offered only one option for fulfilling the requirement of eight years of mandatory education: the unified eight-year primary school (*osnovna šola*). The reorganization of the school network began already in the school year of 1957/58, even though the new eight-year primary school in Slovenia was legally in effect only after October 1, 1959. The effect the authorities were aiming at in reshaping the school network was to discourage combined lessons as much as possible and to enable as many children as possible in the higher grades of primary school to attend lessons in the various subjects in separate classes. Subsequently, the number of primary schools began to decrease, as the smallest schools were shut down and their pupils given extra lessons in order to qualify them for the more highly developed primary schools situated in the near vicinity. In the school year of 1962/63, soon after the shaping of the new school network, already 91% of all the pupils in grades 5 to 8 of primary school were able to attend separate classes for each subject. Combined classes are still taught today only in some of the remotest mountainous regions and in areas where the population is dwindling at an alarming rate, i.e. in areas where the authorities maintain schools which, under other circumstances, would long since have been closed. In addition to this, soon after the Second World War, attendance at school was almost 100%.

For the higher levels of education, where certain subjects were optional, the educational authorities attempted to shape a system which would be accessible and open to as great a percentage of the country's youth as possible. In addition to the greater compatibility amongst the schools, they sought to achieve this by opening new schools and with them, as many possibilities for enrolment as possible. For girls and boys of poorer social backgrounds, the government made an increasing number of scholarships available. This policy resulted in a rapid increase in the number of students enrolled in the secondary schools and universities - in particular in the technical courses.

On the secondary level, the gymnasium, which the communist ideologists labeled as the schools of the bourgeois elite, at which there was no room for the working-class and farming youth, lost the dominant role they had played until then. Within the new system, the grammar schools became four-year secondary schools, as the lower gymnasiums were abolished, or re-shaped and united with the primary schools. The secondary professional schools enjoyed far more government support, as the new regulations now enabled pupils from these schools to qualify for university studies. In order to achieve formal equality between the gymnasiums and the professional schools, the degree of difficulty of the final examination was lowered considerably, as it was the high degree

of difficulty of the final examinations in the grammar schools which had until then distinguished them from the other secondary level schools. In this way, the gymnasiums and the professional schools were formally placed on an equal level, but in practice, the gymnasiums continued to hold their position in the fore, by means of maintaining better teaching staffs and a more difficult program. The advantages of attending gymnasium soon became evident during the first years of university study, as statistical analyses have shown that students from the grammar schools achieved better results at university than those from the professional schools.

The institutions of tertiary education also saw great changes - partially through the fact that their doors were now open wide to those who had completed professional schools. The old programs, which for the majority of courses were unified four-year programs, were replaced by new ones, which introduced in many areas a two-level course of studies (i.e. with the choice between two years of lower tertiary education or a four-year higher course).

If we were to draw a comparison between the two school systems: the old system, which was partially shaped already in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the new, which was formed at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, we would find that there are noticeable differences between the two. The first offered a broad scope of education only on the level of the eight years of compulsory education and already here created a distinction between the pupils of the higher public schools, the lower secondary schools and the lower grammar schools. The new school system deferred the time of differentiation - i.e. the time at which the pupils had to decide what direction their further education would take - until the age of 15, and by founding new secondary schools, gave the majority of the nation's youth the opportunity of achieving at least a secondary school education. Another of the characteristics of the old system was the high degree of incompatibility amongst the various types of schools, which also reduced their accessibility (depending on the initial course of education decided upon), while the new regulations made it easier for students of most of the secondary schools to enroll in university courses. Yet, in addition to the greater accessibility, this also brought with it a number of difficulties. The university professors, in the first ranks of those who voiced their disapproval, objected strongly to the fact that students who had received poor marks or virtually insufficient background knowledge at their secondary schools in a number of the more demanding subjects taught in university courses, could nonetheless become regular students. As a result of this, they argued, the criteria for tertiary education had been lowered.

Following the reform of primary school education in 1958, the majority of children received a similar basis for their further education. Due to increased

investment in the education system and the construction of new and larger school buildings, the number of schools decreased, while the number of departments and teachers increased. With the decrease in natality amongst the Slovenes and the subsequent decrease in the number of primary school pupils (in 1960/61, for example, these numbered 238,828, while in 1980/81, the number had dropped to 218,310), the number of pupils per class also grew smaller (the school year of 1960/61 recorded an average of 30, while in 1980/81, there were only 25 pupils per class). The higher grades, with only a few exceptions, all had separate classes for the separate subjects taught. In contrast with the previous periods, the majority of children from the 1950s onwards continued their educations and enrolled in secondary schools, leading to a rapid increase in the number of university students, as indicated in the following tables.

The secondary school level saw the greatest increase in the percentage of young people attending the full-course technical and professional schools, while the amount of students registered at the vocational schools, which did not provide a full secondary school education, decreased. In the mid-1950s, over 80% of the pupils who had finished primary school enrolled in secondary school. Over half of these opted for vocational schools, which did not offer a complete secondary school education. Twenty years later, already over 90% of the same statistical group of pupils enrolled in secondary schools, whereby the percentage of enrolments in schools offering complete secondary school educations (such as gymnasiums, or four-year technical and professional secondary schools) was already predominant.

The number of students increased strongly and suddenly at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s with the founding of more institutes of tertiary education offering two-year courses. This rapid increase, however, was an ongoing phenomenon which had already begun immediately after the Second World War. This was made possible by the number of new university level institutions and the greater number of enrolments at the old schools, as well as by the realization that without education, one cannot progress in the modern world.

NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE YUGOSLAV PERIOD CURRICULA

Just like in the Austrian schools, the teaching of history in the first Yugoslavia began in the second year of gymnasiums and other secondary schools. The role of history in the school system did not change. History had been (and remained) the most important social science subject, and the methodological guidelines also remained the same. The educational principle – the strengthening of patriotic or statehood sentiments – was also left unaltered. However, the topical sections,

especially in the field of national history, were thoroughly overhauled. The reason for this is clear. In the 20th century, the concept of the “national” in the Slovenian schools saw many radical turning points in accordance with the changes of state contexts and authorities. After World War I, the Austrian patriotism had to give way to the new Yugoslav patriotism. In accordance with the ideology of the new Yugoslav authorities, this involved the theory of a single Yugoslav nation, which supposedly consisted of three tribes: the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenians.

The curricula in the field of social sciences and humanities were supposed to be based on emphasizing the concord between these “tribes” in the past, and the unified Yugoslav state had to be presented as the crown achievement of these efforts.⁹ The unitarian principle of a single Yugoslav nation was integrated into numerous demands of the curricula. In terms of the quantity of teaching hours, history was in fourth place (behind the native language, mathematics and first foreign language). The main focus of the teaching contents was political history, and a significant amount of time was allocated to the history of the Southern Slavic lands and countries. The teaching topics were dictated by the glorification of these lands and the stress on the subordination to foreign rulers in the past. Among the ideological emphases, the goal that history should contribute to the strengthening of the Yugoslav ideology and unity of the Yugoslav nation was the most important by far. Ultimately, the national history was supposed to underline the importance of the Yugoslav unification after World War I, which had to be evaluated as the greatest achievement of the development of the Southern Slavs. In the methodological guidelines, the architects of the programs stressed that the national education should not be chauvinistic, stating that “the national education of our schoolchildren should be Yugoslav”, and special attention should be paid to the “moments that strengthen our national and state unity”.¹⁰ The importance of the state’s stability was also reflected in the demand that in the course of history education the students should “reach the conclusion that the interests of individuals and groups are inseparable from the interests of the whole, that the state is superior to individuals and family, as well as to any groups and strata”.¹¹

Thus history retained the role of steering the nation’s patriotic feelings, only that these feelings were now oriented towards the value system of the new state and new forms of state patriotism. Topically, the scope of the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) state was replaced by the Yugoslav state, but both – formerly the Austrian and now the Yugoslav – had to be presented in the most unified (centralist) manner possible.

9 *Programi i metodska uputstva za rad u srednji školama* [Programmes and Methodological Guidelines for Secondary School Work]. Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1936.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

Just as the role of history in the school process had not changed significantly after the political turning point at the end of World War I, it also remained more or less the same after the communist takeover of power after World War II - it was simply adapted to the new political circumstances. History kept its role as the central social science subject, which even strengthened as far as the syllabus was concerned, since it was allocated a few teaching hours already in the first year of the gymnasiums. The new essential role of school history was already obvious from the first provisional post-war history curriculum of 1945. All students had to familiarize themselves with the history of the first Yugoslavia, its dissolution, then with the partisan movement; and this introductory part was supposed to conclude with the topics of the “accomplishments of the liberation struggle” and the “establishment of the people’s authority and the organization of the state”.¹² Only then would the first-year students proceed with the introduction to history, Prehistory and Antiquity.

Thus the vital importance of the liberation struggle for the prosperity of the Yugoslav nations as well as the implied incompetence of the politicians in the first Yugoslavia and unsuitability of their policy responsible for the defeat and capitulation in 1941, were already emphasized in the first post-war curriculum. This approach remained characteristic of the history curricula throughout the period of the communist authorities. The emphasis on the most recent history, described in accordance with the ideology of the communist authorities, was also obvious in the final exams at the gymnasiums. At the so-called Matura Examination, history remained, just like before the war, an obligatory subject in the oral part of the exam. It was compulsory that one of the three questions to be answered by the candidates would involve the period of the national liberation struggle.¹³

A more detailed outline of the contents that remained in use for a considerable length of time was prescribed by the curriculum drawn up in 1948.¹⁴ Through the educational course in history, the students were meant to develop a “conscious and active love of everything progressive and humane, as well as hatred towards everything reactionary and inhumane”. The students were supposed to become the defenders of the new homeland and get to know the “correct understanding of the legitimacy of the historical path leading our country to the victory of

12 *Začasni učni načrt na gimnazijah in klasičnih gimnazijah Slovenije za šolsko leto 1945-46* [Provisional Curriculum at Slovenian Gymnasiums and Classical Gymnasiums for the School Year 1945-46]. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1945, pp. 10-11.

13 *Objave Ministrstva za prosveto Ljudske republike Slovenije* [Gazette of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Slovenia], II, No. 2, 14 March 1947, pp. 24-26.

14 *Učni načrt za gimnazije, nižje gimnazije in višje razrede sedemletk* [Curriculum for Gymnasiums, Lower Gymnasiums and the Senior Years of the Seven-Year Schools]. Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za prosveto LR Slovenije, 1948.

socialism, as well as the legitimacy of the historical path leading humanity to its final goal – communism, a society of infinite progress and humaneness.”¹⁵ Thus, for the first time, the encouragement of hatred towards those who thought differently was set out side by side in the curriculum with the promotion of patriotic feelings, respect and love. The traditional division into Antiquity, the Middle Ages and Modern Times started giving way to the terminology and topics based on the ideology of the communist authorities. In the context of Antiquity, greater emphasis was placed on topics concerning the slave society; the Middle Ages increasingly became the period of feudalism, inequality of the social strata and peasant uprisings; while in the time after the industrial revolution, the organization of the working class and the International Workers’ Organization became more and more important. World War I became a kind of a prelude to the October Socialist Revolution. An increasing number of hours was to be dedicated to the history of the Soviet Union, and the teaching of history was to conclude with a massive corpus of hours dealing with the national liberation struggle of the Yugoslav nations, culminating in the post-war establishment of the new authority in the form of the “people’s democracy”.¹⁶ After the dispute between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and in the time when Yugoslavia opened towards the West, the narrowest ideological demands may have disappeared from the curricula, but the basic tendencies and the essential ideological postulates did not change.

In the new school system – after the school reform of 1958 – the teaching of history began in the sixth grade of primary school. This meant that the old arrangement was reinstated, since this was the same age group as the former second year of gymnasium. Thus the role of history in compulsory education did not change, while its importance in secondary education was to be altered more significantly. In the materials for the composition of the syllabus and curriculum – which gymnasiums were expected to take into account in the planning of their schoolwork – history was placed in the (unusually) important second place, immediately after the Slovenian language. However, according to the initial proposal, it was to be taught for three years only, and in the fourth grade sociology was supposed to replace it completely. Yet, according to this arrangement, history would be allocated more hours in the first three years (4 per week, which makes 12 altogether), which kept it in fourth place among all the subjects taught (behind the Slovenian language, mathematics and the first foreign language).¹⁷ Besides the usual tasks of school history, the teaching of the history of other South Slavic nations was also underlined, while the modeling of the

15 Ibid., p. 70.

16 Ibid., p. 114.

17 *Gimnazija : gradivo za sestavo predmetnika in učnega načrta [Gymnasium: Materials for the Composition of the Syllabus and Curriculum]*. Ljubljana: Zavod za napredek šolstva, 1962, p. 30.

subject on the ideological patterns of the ruling authorities was obvious from the demands that “students should develop the realization of the historical urgency and justification of revolutionary phenomena at certain levels of the development of society” and that “students should be molded into conscious fighters and architects of socialism, and they should develop the will for the decisive defense of the working people’s rights as well as the rights of their socialist homeland”.¹⁸

The terminology of the curricula and guidelines in the period of communist rule specified what should be described with positive and negative connotations far more precisely than before. Many topics in the socialist schools of the Yugoslav type involved revolutions and revolutionary movements, with a positive emphasis, of course, while the reactions to such phenomena were rejected in advance and depicted negatively. In the teaching of 20th century history the October Revolution gained a position of vital importance. Lenin was a good leader, while Stalin was stigmatized due to his purges. The main emphasis was to be placed on World War II and the national liberation struggle of the Yugoslav nations. With the transition and development of socialist relations in Yugoslavia, history practically ended. The last recorded chapter was on “The Crisis of Capitalism and Struggle for Socialism after World War II”¹⁹, which, in accordance with the guideline of stressing the necessity of revolution being the methodological approach to teaching, was also meant to strengthen the conviction about the future victory of socialism in the world.

Through the educational course in sociology, the students would familiarize themselves in greater detail with the contemporary world or the world after World War II, and after the more theoretical introductory chapters, they should finally explore “socialism as a global process” and the “social system and Yugoslav system of government”.²⁰

After the final renewal of the gymnasiums in the middle of the 1960s, history was then taught in all four years of the gymnasium, but with fewer hours per week. However, in the syllabus it still retained its role as the central social science and humanist subject. Initially it lost its importance for the final exam – the Matura Examination. However, the new rules on the Matura Examination for gymnasiums cast history (albeit for a short time) in such an important role as it would never have before or after at this final stage of secondary school education. The oral exam in the “contemporary history of the Yugoslav nations (the National Liberation War and the post-war development in the socio-political system of the Social Federal Republic of Yugoslavia” became one of the three obligatory

18 Ibid., p. 49.

19 Ibid., p. 70.

20 Ibid., pp. 78-80.

subjects at the Matura Exam. Here the professors asked questions about the subjects of history and sociology, but as is already obvious from the title, history was limited to the middle of the 20th century.²¹ In accordance with the principles established immediately after World War II, the emphasis was on presenting a dark image of the first Yugoslavia, the glory of the national liberation struggle and a bright outlook on the second Yugoslavia. The students could not find out anything about the dark sides of the communist takeover of power, and these topics became taboo. The economically prosperous capitalist Western countries of the 1950s and 1960s were “officially” in a crisis.

With the example of a 1967 textbook for the fourth grade history in gymnasiums we can demonstrate how the teaching of history was supposed to glorify the communist authorities.²² Its “protagonist” and most important character was the Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito. He was already mentioned in the period between both world wars, but, despite the actual importance of the workers’ parties, the greatest attention was paid to the Communist Party. The return of Josip Broz Tito to his homeland and his appointment as Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in July 1937 was especially underlined. In general, communists are focused on far more than necessary in the material covering the interwar period. Everything suggests that the new Communist Party leadership, with Tito at its helm, had been ready to undertake the national liberation struggle. The communists and Tito, of course, then ensured the ultimate victory in this struggle. In the time after 1945, Tito is almost cast into a fatherly role, since the state is understood as ‘our achievement’ – ‘what we have all fought for together’. The author narrates in the first person plural, so that, for example, the textbook does not state that the Monarchy was abolished; instead it states that “we have abolished the Monarchy”.²³ Tito personalized the state completely, and this was due to the will of the people, which is already indicated in the description of his election: “We elected Tito as the President of the Republic.”²⁴ Thus, Tito is presented as an illustrious leader, chosen by the people; a man who led Yugoslavia to astounding successes. The agrarian reform, nationalizations, the constitution, the abolishment of the monarchy – everything had undoubtedly positive and “revolutionary” implications for the people of Yugoslavia.

The role of Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as well as its successor, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, is then only magnified in the following decades, reaching the highest level of adoration felt for the great leader

21 *Uradni list Socialistične republike Slovenije* [Official Gazette of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia], XXVI, No. 43, 29 December 1969, pp. 583-587.

22 Metod Mikuž, *Zgodovina za četrti razred gimnazij* [History for the Fourth Year of Gymnasium]. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, 1967.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 168.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

in the decade following Tito's death. In the textbook by the authors Branko Božič, Tomaž Weber and Janko Prunk, initially published in 1978 and reprinted several times,²⁵ Tito is already mentioned as early as in the interwar period. While the most important Yugoslav politicians of that time are only referred to a few times and the activities of the most important political parties are not described in any detail, Tito's life is explored thoroughly, and the activities of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are described in dedicated chapters. The events taking place in Yugoslavia during World War II are characterized by the linear and visionary nature of the policy pursued by Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The takeover of power after the war becomes self-evident, supported by the claim that Tito "has become one of the most visible politicians of the modern world, a symbol of the independent socialist Yugoslavia and all the progressive forces around the world fighting for the equality of all nations, peoples and states, peace, the end of the arms race between the major powers, as well as for the continued existence and development of mankind".²⁶

The takeover of power is depicted from the viewpoint of the "Party historiography", without any references to the post-war executions, breaches of the Tito – Šubašić Agreement, and so on. Also for the time after the war, the terminology used in the textbook is evidently under the influence of the terminology used by the ruling communists, struggling against the "anti-socialist forces and forces opposing self-management", with this section referring to congresses and sessions of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and concluding panegyrically by commenting on the 1974 Constitution as follows: "The new system of delegates presents great possibilities for the further growth and strengthening of the socialist democracy as well as the strengthening of independence and self-management."²⁷

Many generations were educated in accordance with such a one-sided treatment of the 20th century. As a result, the pupils and students heard a lot about the 20th century, but did not understand it very well and acquired an exceedingly distorted image of it. The 1995 survey carried out by the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana also contained a question on which of the Slovenian political parties was the strongest and most influential in the interwar period. As much as 35.5 % of the respondents believed this was the Communist Party, 27.7 % chose the Catholic Slovenian People's Party, 8.6 % opted for the Liberal Party, while 4.7 % of the respondents claimed it was the Socialist Party.²⁸ Based on these results we can conclude that the Communist Party, which was in fact insignificant before World

25 Branko Božič, Tomaž Weber, Janko Prunk, *Zgodovina 2 [History 2]*. Ljubljana : Državna založba Slovenije, 1978.

26 Ibid., p. 121.

27 Ibid., p. 132.

28 Niko Toš (et al.), *Razumevanje preteklosti: podatkovna knjiga: 1. del [Understanding the Past: Information Book: Part 1]*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, p. 45.

War II, was believed to be the most important interwar-period political party by the majority of Slovenians. This conviction can definitely also be ascribed to the one-sided depictions of the recent past in the school textbooks.

In the time of the democratization of Slovenia at the turn of the 1980s, the de-ideologization of education, especially in the humanities and social science subjects, became one of the most essential demands of the intellectual opposition. The criticism of the subordination of education to the ideology of the ruling communists was summed up by a speaker at the congress of the Slovenian Democratic Union (which brought together respected intellectuals – all advocates of democracy), who stated that, for example, “In the textbooks for the final three grades of primary school, Tito and Marx appear as positive personalities as often as 180 times. Prešeren, on the other hand, is mentioned just 28 times. In the secondary school textbooks, the aforementioned personalities become even more popular, as we come across them approximately 700 times, while Trubar is merely mentioned occasionally.”²⁹

CHANGING INTERPRETATIONS/REPRESENTATIONS OF SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS IN SLOVENIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

In the 20th century, textbooks with a classic chronological overview of history prevailed in the wider European space. With regard to the contents, the contemporary history topics in the textbooks of various European countries were distributed in a similar way: World War I, including the political and economic developments leading up to it; the most important topics of the interwar period included the October Revolution and the development of the Soviet Union, the Versailles map of the world, the emergence of fascism (and Nazism) and their comparison to communism, the Great Depression; World War II often took up an extensive part of the textbooks and received much attention; while the topics of the post-war period focused on the Cold War, the relations between the superpowers and their blocs, decolonization, and economic development leading to the consumer society. Towards the end of the century, the integration of Europe in the second half of the 20th century gained increasing importance in the European textbooks. Cultural, social or more specific economic issues were less important and here the differences between the textbooks were greater than with regard to the “classic” chapters.

29 Alenka Potočnik-Lauko, “Nov čas – nova šola” [“New Times – New School”], in: *Slovenska demokratična zveza: Programski dokumenti; Statut* [Slovenian Democratic Union: Programme Documents; Statute]. Ljubljana: Slovenska demokratična zveza, 1991, p. 58.

However, we will not be as interested in the subject matter or *what* to teach, but how the outlook on the question of *how* to teach has changed. Throughout the 20th century, history was still taught by means of frontal teaching with the basic aim that during the history courses the students (pupils) should receive the widest possible overview of the past (especially political) events. The active role in the school setting was reserved for the teachers, while the students/pupils remained passive receivers of the communicated knowledge.

It is not a new realization that the accumulation of information does not ensure long-term results and that a significant percentage of events, names, processes and phenomena that the students (pupils) learn about are forgotten in mere weeks, while the majority of it all is forgotten in a few years. The debates about how to change the teaching of history in the classrooms and change the outlook on the importance of history education in schools gained momentum towards the end of the 20th century. The standpoint that the classic frontal chronologically-based history teaching should be replaced by the combined chronological and substantive approach gradually asserted itself. In this approach, memorizing the information is not that important, since today data can be found quickly by means of the modern technologies. More attention is paid to the analysis of the historical sources and the realization that different historians may judge the same sources in different ways, and that various sources and testimonies of the same event exist, outlining the same thing (phenomenon, person, event) in very dissimilar ways. The analysis, comparison and synthesis of processes gained importance as pedagogical elements. Thus, in the envisioned pedagogical-methodological approach, the students are no longer simple recipients of information. They transform into active participants who can form opinions on the communicated materials. By using a larger number of sources they are “forced” to undertake the analysis of various viewpoints of the same event, process or phenomenon, compare where this variety of standpoints stems from, ask themselves which sources could be more objective and which involve a more subjective outlook of the author, and attempt to identify irrefutable facts in this variety of opinions while judging what has caused these deviations, differences or different interpretations.

Another important novelty is a more extensive integration of “non-political” history in education: paying more attention to the phenomena/processes that form over a lengthy period of time and do not have such strictly defined turning points as political history. These are especially the topics from the fields of economics and social and cultural history, facilitating a comprehension of the multidimensional nature of historical developments by the students/pupils and the realization that the processes take place simultaneously, encouraging,

hindering or merely superficially influencing each other. While, for example, in modern times in Europe the regimes, dynasties and revolutions replaced each other, the process of industrialization developed over a considerably longer period of time and the changes in the political systems (regardless of the obstacles and encouragement) could either stop it or hasten it significantly. For example, changing family roles are characteristic of the 20th century, notably the role of women in society, but this process can hardly be placed in the aforementioned context of the traditional chronological teaching of history.

The third important new feature in the teaching of history I would like to emphasize is the relationship between the past and the present. In the traditional frontal way of teaching and during the enumeration of irrefutable facts/events/phenomena the students/pupils had to learn history because of the past itself, because of the wish to expand knowledge. In a time when access to such information is already made possible by mobile phones with the ability to connect to more and more widely accessible databases, this task has lost a significant part of its importance and function. An increasing emphasis is placed on the pursuit of answers to the question of why the world today is as it is, what are the causes and processes that have created today's conflicts and led to various levels of the economic, social and cultural development in the various states/regions of the world, why certain initiatives or ideas can be adopted with enthusiasm in certain places, indifference in others, and meet with passionate rejection in another part of the world. Without a familiarity with the causes, different sources, standpoints and interpretations and their analyses and comparison, such goals can hardly be realized. However, the new methodical approaches can have longer-term results. By familiarizing them with the past, the young are encouraged to judge the past critically, and consequently also to compare it to the present and think critically about the world today.

A greater emphasis on the topical approach in the teaching of history also calls for a different approach to the preparation and writing of textbooks. These textbooks no longer simply communicate the irrefutable facts and the only correct interpretations of past events. The sources - which do not merely supplement the topics and shed more light on them - thus represent an integral part of the topics, and by placing the students in a more active role, are increasingly significant in these textbooks. They should illustrate topics from a variety of viewpoints. Thus an individual event should enable the students to familiarize themselves with a variety of causes and consequences of events/phenomena/processes. The case study, in this way, allows for changes in the methodology of the teaching of historiography (increased activity on the part of the students), comparison with similar developments in other temporal or spatial contexts, and comparison of

the specific (case study) and the general (the integration of the study into a wider context).

This methodology of history teaching, which has been gaining increasing importance in the European schools, is also reflected in the history textbooks in Slovenia over the last two decades. I intend to demonstrate this through the representations of two traumatic events from 20th century history. The first example is taken from Slovenian national history. In Slovenia, the second example falls under the category of history of the world, while in Japan it is seen as national history. The first – Slovenian – topic is the post-war killing of the occupiers' collaborators and civilians, carried out by the new communist authorities, while the Japanese topic is the use of nuclear weapons to end the war.

Both events had long-term consequences for the awareness of both nations, the difference being, of course, that Hiroshima influenced the whole world. Both events were a kind of a taboo. In Slovenia it was forbidden to write and discuss the executions of the Home Guard members and civilians after the end of the war almost until the end of the communist regime. Only after the transition into democracy was it possible to undertake the first more extensive research into this crime. In the countries victorious in World War II, among them also Yugoslavia, it was not very desirable to question the sense of the use of nuclear weapons, either. The information that the use of A-bombs put an end to the war and forced Japan to surrender supposedly sufficed. Other dilemmas had to give way to this indisputable truth.

The introduction of the new methodological approaches in Western Europe began towards the end of the 20th century and was gradual. However, in Slovenia a clear and sharp turning point is discernible, caused also in school historiography by the democratization of Slovenia after the fall of the communist regime. Admittedly, the ideas of the modernization of the curricula are somewhat older, but during the rule of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia/Slovenia these changes were not yet visible in the official school regulations and textbooks, confirmed by the state authorities.

As a starting point and in order to carry out a comparison later, let us look at how the aforementioned topics were dealt with in the textbooks for the final year of the general secondary schools (gymnasiums) in the communist regime. Following the extensive school reform, the first more widely conceived history textbook for the fourth year of gymnasiums in Slovenia was issued in 1967.³⁰ It was designed in the style of the prevailing methodology of history teaching, meaning that the chapters were ordered chronologically, and the interpretation used originated in the standpoints of the post-war Yugoslav authorities, not

30 Mikuž, *Zgodovina za četrti razred gimnazij*.

allowing for different interpretations of the events and processes in the 20th century. The chapters did not even conclude with questions, which was otherwise the usual practice in the textbooks for all other years of gymnasiums in use at the same time. The purpose of such questions was simply to check what the students had learned, but they did not encourage the students' critical reflection on the material covered. Naturally, in the history textbook for the fourth year of gymnasiums of 1967, the traumatic Slovenian topic is omitted, since it was not supposed to be mentioned. The Japanese topic is only referred to with a (not very well-chosen) photo and a caption "Consequences of the Hiroshima bombing"³¹, while the event is not mentioned, let alone focused on in the text.

The same approach is also evident from the history textbook in use in the final decade of the communist rule in Slovenia. The post-war executions in Slovenia were still ignored, while the use of the A-bomb was noted in a paragraph in the conclusion of the outline of World War II. The authors implied that nuclear weapons were used because "in the Far East, Japanese fanaticism still endangered the lives of thousands of Allied soldiers". In the otherwise short note, more is said about the characteristics of the bomb, but its consequences are outlined in a short sentence: "In mere moments, 150,000 people were killed."³² The onset of the Atomic Age is once again not focused on, and the feeling that such a text communicated to the students was that this was simply a war in which the aggressors stopped at nothing and they had to be forced to capitulate by any means necessary.

Thus for the textbooks until 1990, it holds that the students/pupils were placed in a passive role as the recipients of the unquestionably valid information that was communicated. The interpretations followed the ideological outlines of the ruling League of Communists, which was obvious from the avoidance of all the taboos, in the concrete example: the omission of the retaliation of the then new authorities against those they deemed their opponents. The methodological approach still remained traditional as well, since it did not encourage critical thought in the students and their familiarization with the multitude of possible interpretations, which was evident from the meager information provided on the onset of the Atomic Age.

As a starting point for the comparison and to establish the goal of what kind of textbooks and manner of presenting history in schools we should strive for, let us take a look at one of the British series of textbooks focusing on World War II.³³ As an example, let us examine the chapter focusing on the end of the war in the Far East and the reasons for the use of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. Apart

31 Ibid., p. 153.

32 Božič, Weber, Prunk, *Zgodovina 2*, p. 97.

33 Christopher Cukpin and Paul Szusckiewicz, *The Era of the Second World War*. London: Collins Educational, 1993.

from the basic text, five other sources are published: two pictures, two tables and one written source. Another suggestion of how to activate the students during class and motivate them to familiarize themselves with the potentially different outlooks on the same topic is also provided by the “activity”, which offers various answers to the question of whether it was necessary to use nuclear weapons against Japan or not.³⁴

The first, and in its own way the decisive textbook in Slovenia from the period after the fall of communism, was first published in 1993 and reprinted several times in the next few years due to its topicality and lack of competition. It was written by Janko Prunk and Branimir Nešović.³⁵ The distinctive characteristic of this textbook in comparison with the preceding and subsequent ones was that with as many as 260 pages it was very extensive. It was intended to be used in primary schools, but was decisively too demanding for such an age group, so it was also used in the gymnasiums and at the universities. In comparison with the previous textbooks, significant substantive differences were apparent, since much room in this textbook was dedicated – also due to its exaggerated volume – to topics that had previously been omitted. The chapter about the end of the war in the Pacific battleground was far more extensive than ever before. The battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa were mentioned, and the decision to use nuclear weapons was also explored.

This textbook was followed by others in the second half of the 1990s and in the beginning of this millennium. Two publishers at this time are most prominent in the field of history textbooks, the Modrijan publishing agency and the DZS publishing house.³⁶ In the last two decades, the Slovenian textbooks have changed significantly, following the changes in education in general. These changes are twofold: interpretative and methodological. The process, which has by no means concluded yet, could be divided into several stages.

We can refer to the textbooks from the communist regime as the starting point or the first stage. With regard to these, we have already mentioned that were written under the distinctive influence of the ruling party: the League of Communists. This resulted in the fact that the information contained in these

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

³⁵ Janko Prunk, Branimir Nešović, *20. stoletje: zgodovina za 8. razred osnovne šole* [*The 20th Century: History for the 8th Year of Primary School*]. Ljubljana: DZS, 1994.

³⁶ Božo Repe, *Naša doba: oris zgodovine 20. stoletja: učbenik za 4. razred gimnazije* [*Our Age: An Outline of 20th Century History: Textbook for the 4th Grade of Gymnasium*]. Ljubljana: DZS, 1995; Ervin Dolenc, Aleš Gabrič, Marjan Rode, *Koraki v času: 20. stoletje* [*Steps Through Time: The 20th Century*]. Ljubljana: DZS, 1997; Ervin Dolenc, Aleš Gabrič, Marjan Rode, *20. stoletje: zgodovina za 8. razred osemletke in 9. razred devetletke* [*20th Century: History for the 8th Grade of the Eight-Year Primary School and the 9th Grade of the Nine-Year Primary School*]. Ljubljana: DZS, 2002; Ervin Dolenc, Aleš Gabrič, *Zgodovina 4: učbenik za 4. letnik gimnazije* [*History 4: Textbook for the 4th Year of Gymnasium*]. Ljubljana: DZS, 2002.

textbooks was seen as the one and only truth, and there was no room for different standpoints, viewpoints and interpretations. In the methodical sense, they were very traditional, since they only contained chronologically organized text. Maps and photographs only served to make the subject matter more interesting and did not represent the basis for new analyses or considerations. There was a severe lack of sources that could shed light on the events from different angles, timelines, tables, graphs or other materials integrated into the subject matter.

The changes introduced into the textbooks in the first half of the 1990s could be deemed as the second stage in finding the way to better textbooks and to more student and pupil friendly school history. However, at this time the step forward in the interpretative field was far more notable. Namely, the subject matter finally included what had previously been forbidden topics, involving a larger variety of sources, while the questions encouraged the students to look for answers in various directions. However, the textbooks (especially the aforementioned one from 1993) were filled with an excessive quantity of new teaching contents and were not also upgraded with more active ways of work. Even though their outward appearance was far more attractive than that of the previous textbooks, on the other hand, their unintelligibility and level of difficulty made them unappealing to schoolchildren. While preparing these textbooks, the publishing houses and authors did not take into account the teenagers who were going to use them. Obviously more attention was paid to the urgency of supplying the market with new textbooks as well as filling in what had until then been blanks in historiography and also in school history. Methodologically speaking, the new developments were insufficient, leaving much room for improvement.

The third stage took place when the publishers and authors of the textbooks became aware that these materials were primarily intended for the students and pupils who were to use them. Familiarity with the needs of the students had to be placed side by side with the wish for more extensive subject matter, if not exactly made the primary concern. Only then did the methodology of history gain an increasing role in the preparation of textbooks. This occurred at the turn of the millennium. During their school work, students now had a more active role in the formation of their own viewpoints. By familiarizing themselves with different opinions and interpretations of the same event/process they were encouraged to seek the reasons for the differences between these interpretations and identify what is common and what is different between the explanations. It must be noted that this change did not only take place with regard to history textbooks, but school history in general. Even the history exams at the end of primary school/ the nine-year primary school (the national examination of knowledge) and at the end of the gymnasium (the "matura" final exam) are now designed in such a way

as to include a larger number of sources. In the tasks where the candidates may gain more points, the easiest answers can usually be found in the attached source, while further points call for analysis and comparison. For the “matura” exam in history, the students must also write an independent work in the final year of the gymnasium, largely based on the topic and sources selected by their teachers. Naturally, all these novelties influenced the teaching of history in Slovene schools, where the traditional method of frontal teaching is giving way to more active forms of work carried out by the students/pupils.

The examples from the Slovenian textbooks show that especially the methodological renewal of history textbooks is far from complete. In the last two decades a large step forward has indeed been made, but we should by no means be content with what has already been achieved. The debates about school history in Slovenia still mostly focus on the subject matter, that is, on *what* to teach. It is interesting that certain critics attack school history from the ideological-political standpoints, arguing for their only truth, which is supposedly being overlooked in the schools. At the same time they fail to see that their arguments in favor of the only possible topical foundations and interpretations are, in the methodological sense, at the same level as the textbooks from the communist era, on which most people in principle agree that they should be left behind.

Of the two significant changes in the Slovenian textbooks in the last two decades we can be far more enthusiastic about the first one: the expansion of the subject matter to also include the former forbidden subjects. That does not mean that the disputable topics mentioned in the introduction are focused on equally by all the textbooks – certain authors focus on certain topics, while others pay more attention to the other subjects from the curriculum. In our search for an example which would allow for a more extensive analysis of the attitude of the victorious towards the defeated, the 20th century provides many opportunities for an in-depth analysis. However, the goal has certainly been achieved, since the unwanted or forbidden topics no longer exist.

As far as the second goal – the methodological renewal of textbooks – is concerned, we are much closer to it than a couple of years ago, but much has yet to be done. The current textbooks contain more sources, tables, maps and other materials than those published before 1990. However, these often function as additions rather than the starting point for a more substantial consideration and a means for encouraging greater student involvement. The questions in their various forms (crossroads of opinions; consider; think about it) also provide more encouragement for more detailed analyses and comparisons. However, the combination of a basic text, additional sources and work instructions (in the form of questions or activities) is still not the usual standard in Slovenian textbooks.

When this will finally be the case and it will become the standard way of teaching history, the satisfaction of everyone who has taken part in the Slovenian renewal of school history will be more complete.

Yasuhiko Torigoe

THE CHALLENGES OF JAPANESE HISTORY TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. OUTLINE OF THE JAPANESE SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM AND HISTORY TEACHING

1.1 The Education System and History Teaching in Japan

In this section, I would first like to give an outline of the Japanese secondary education system and history teaching for my foreign colleagues.

Elementary school (6 years) and middle school (3 years) are compulsory education. Middle school and high school (3 years) are secondary education in Japan.

Almost every graduate from middle school enters high school (according to the official statistics in 2012, the rate is 98.3%). Of those who graduate from high school, 56.2% enter university (4 years) or junior college (2 years).

We have “Social Studies” as one of the subjects in middle school, which consists of the fields of Geography, History and Civics.

We have the subject of “Geography & History (地理歴史科)” in high school. Within “Geography & History”, we have “Japanese History A (日本史A)”; “Japanese History B (日本史B)”; “World History A (世界史A)”; and “World History B (世界史B)”; “Geography A (地理A)” and “Geography B (地理B)”. Students must learn “World History A” or “World History B” to graduate from high school.

In addition, they must also learn one of the other four subjects. Students focus on modern history in “Japanese History A” and “World History A”, mainly from the 19th century onwards. They can learn history from ancient times to the present in “Japanese History B” and “World History B”. “Geography A” mainly deals with contemporary global issues, such as climate change, environmental problems and problems of nuclear proliferation. In “Geography B”, students learn topography, systematic geography and how to use maps in addition to the content studied in “Geography A”.

1.2 “The Course of Study”

The Ministry of Education and Science (MEXT) (文部科学省) decides everything that students should learn in secondary education in the “Course of Study (学習指導要領)”.¹ (The MEXT claims that the “Course of Study” has the force of law.) It first set down the “Course of Study” for middle school in 1947 and revised it in 1951, 1955, 1958, 1969, 1977, 1989, 1998, 2003 and 2008. The “Course of Study” for high school was first published in 1947 and revised in 1951, 1956, 1960, 1970, 1978, 1989, 1999, 2003 and 2009. The Ministry will put the latest “Course of Study” into effect from 2012 in middle school and from 2013 in high school.

History textbooks for middle school and high school must be written in accordance with the “Course of Study”. We cannot use the textbooks formally until the MEXT has screened and approved them.

In middle school, students are issued textbooks for free. In high school, students must purchase textbooks. You can purchase each textbook of “Japanese History” and “World History” for 800 Japanese Yen (ca. 7 Euros) because the

1 About the “Course of Study”, see the following web page.

http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/index.htm

Unfortunately, only the Japanese version of “Course of Study” is available at the moment. Even though the “Course of Study” for English, Math and Science for middle school has been translated into English, we don’t have any “Course of Study” for the subjects of Social Studies, World History and Japanese History in English.

Ministry orders textbook publishers to sell textbooks cheaply to make them easy for students to obtain.

But cheap textbooks result in limitations to pages and size. So, many teachers recommend that students buy a historical atlas or source book as supplementary learning materials.

We have history teaching for 6th grade students in elementary school. In elementary school, students learn Japanese history focusing on “important historical figures and important heritage”. Students also learn Japanese history in middle school from ancient times to the present. So, they learn Japanese history three times, if they choose “Japanese History” in high school.

In Japan, textbooks are completely revised in agreement with a new “Course of Study”. Even though the “Course of Study” is usually valid for 10 years, textbooks are partly revised roughly every 3 years.

We have 7 “History” textbooks to choose from for middle school and about 20 “Japanese History” textbooks for high school. We also have about 20 “World History” textbooks to choose from for high school. District School Boards choose textbooks for public middle schools. Teachers of private middle schools and all high schools choose textbooks by themselves.

According to the “Course of Study”, the aims of Social Studies in middle school are as follows:

- Teachers educate students in order that they may become citizens who have:
 - A wide perspective.
 - A deep concern for society.
 - The ability to analyze documents and materials from multiple perspectives.
 - A deep understanding and affection for our land and history.
 - The capacity for living in a globalized society and building a democratic and peaceful nation and society.

In the field of history within middle school social studies, the MEXT sets out four goals as follows.

1. Teachers enable students to:
 - Have concern for historical affairs and understanding of the course of our nation’s history, including the relationship of each era’s characteristics to world history.
 - Think about our nation’s culture and tradition in a broad perspective.
 - Deepen their affection for our nation’s history.
 - Develop their awareness as Japanese nationals.

2. Teachers enable students to:
 - Understand cultural heritage and historical figures who served the development of our nation, society and culture and the improvement of living standards, with relation to the era and the region.
 - Nurture an attitude of respect for such heritage and people.

3. Teachers enable students to:
 - Understand the course of the history of international relations and cultural exchange.
 - Think about how our nation has had deep historical relations with foreign nations politically, economically and culturally.
 - Have an interest in other nations' ways of life and cultures.
 - Develop a spirit of international partnership.

4. By learning local history and concrete historical issues, teachers enable students to:
 - Deepen their interest in history.
 - Develop the ability and attitude that lets them analyze historical issues from multiple perspectives by using various kinds of documents; make fair judgments and express these appropriately.

The general aims of "Geography and History" in high school are as follows.

Teachers enable students to:

- Deepen their understanding and awareness of the course of national and world history and of the regional characteristics of ways of life and cultures in the world.
- Develop the awareness and ability needed as a member of a democratic and peaceful nation and society and to live actively in international society.

The aims of "Japanese History B" are as follows.

Teachers enable students to:

- Analyze synthetically the course of our nation's history in relation to world history.
- Develop the ability to think historically by deepening their awareness of the characteristics of our culture and tradition.
- Develop awareness as Japanese nationals and the ability to live as active Japanese nationals in international society.

The aims of “World History B” are as follows.

Teachers enable students to:

- Understand the course of world history in relation to our nation’s history.
- Develop the ability to think historically by analyzing cultural diversity and features of the modern world in a broad perspective.
- Develop awareness as Japanese nationals and the ability to live as active Japanese nationals in international society.

The Japanese “Course of Study” for History has several characteristics.

First, it does not see students as the main subjects in the educational process, because in every sentence of the “Course of Study”, the MEXT uses the expression “Teachers enable students to ...” (which more literally means ‘teachers cause students to ...’).

Secondly, the “Course of Study” is only interested in diversity in the world outside Japan. It has no interest in diversity in Japan.

Thirdly, students must learn history in order to live actively in international society and to be a member of a democratic and peaceful nation and society. These are particularly distinctive features, I think, because, for example, citizens in the USA NEVER consider history learning to be “for the sake of peace”.

Finally, the “Course of Study” aims to have students become good Japanese. As regards foreigners, it doesn’t show any kind of interest.

By analyzing all history textbooks for middle school and high school, I can find several distinctive features in the textbooks too.

1. Key words in the textbooks are written in bold. Students have to learn key words by heart.
2. We have few questions or tasks in our history textbooks, especially those for high school students.
3. The textbooks contain many graphs, statistics, maps and pictures, but these are only aids for understanding the text. Unlike European textbooks, in Japan these are not considered as objects of analysis in themselves.

2. POST-WAR HISTORY TEACHING IN JAPANESE SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND “JAPANESE HISTORY”, “WORLD HISTORY” AND “EAST ASIAN HISTORY (東アジア史)”

2.1 Changes in History Teaching in Post-War Japan

The overall objectives in the “Course of Study” have been dramatically changed since just after WWII. According to the first “Course of Study” which was put into effect in 1947, integrated learning and issue-focused or problem-solving learning was considered important in the overall objectives of “Social Studies” for junior and high schools.

Why were integrated learning and issue-focused or problem-solving learning considered so important? Because many thought social studies must contribute to establishing a democratic society. Just after WWII, people hoped that we would never cause war again. People thought that war would never occur if we could succeed in abolishing the rule of the emperor and establishing a democratic society. That’s why learning social studies and history were considered important.

As I’ve already mentioned, just after WWII, history learning was considered important for establishing a democratic society. Therefore, the titles of every unit in the “Course of Study” were written in question form because educators thought that students must learn actively. For example, “What is imperialism? Why did it come about? And what kinds of results did it cause?”²

But many teachers criticized this kind of issue-focused learning. Some teachers protested that issue-focused learning took too much time and that as a result, there were many things that students did not learn.

Others argued that in reality, the problems posed were too difficult for students to solve, and therefore, issue-focused or problem-solving learning was not realistic.

In addition, more and more educators criticized issue-focused learning because they insisted that students must memorize a lot of key words and historical knowledge. Japanese economic development in the 1960s and 70s led to increasing numbers of students who could and would like to enter and study at high schools and universities. Subsequently, many students and teachers demanded history teaching that would help them pass the entrance examinations.

2 Ministry of Education (ed.), *Course of Study (proposal)*, published in 1947 for “Western History” in high school (文部省編『高等学校 学習指導要領 西洋史編 (試案) 昭和22年度』). Unit 6 (単元六): 「帝国主義とは何か。それはどんな原因によって形成され、世界史の上でどんな結果を生んだか。」

Thus, history learning in Japanese middle and high schools has gradually changed from issue-focused learning to rote learning.

Meanwhile, changes in the contents of history teaching had a considerable effect on changes in how history was learned. Many professors and teachers thought that history must be learned in a world-wide perspective. Thus, the subject of World History, they argued, should aim to include not only the history of Europe and China, but also the history of South Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Oceania and the American Continent. Even in middle school, students must learn Japanese history in relation to world history. Ironically, this led to an increase in the historical content that students had to learn. This was another reason why so many teachers claimed that they didn't have enough time for issue-focused learning in their classrooms.

In the 1990s we experienced a dramatic change in history teaching. In high school, the subject of Social Studies was divided into "Geography & History" and "Civics". "Geography & History" was considered to be suitable for a globalized society. The MEXT considered history learning for international understanding to be important because of the increasingly prominent position of Japan in global society. For this reason, World History became a compulsory subject.

I think it is very rare around the world for world history rather than national history to be a compulsory subject.

Meanwhile, in middle school, history learning came to focus not on Japanese history in relation to world history, but on Japanese history itself. This change was because all students had to learn world history in high school, and also because of reductions in the historical content that students had to learn in high school.

Even now, rote learning continues in Japanese history classrooms. Strangely enough, no one today recommends rote learning, nor is it recommended in the "Course of Study" either, which instead proposes thinking historically. In this sense, we can say there is a considerable difference between the "Course of Study" and the reality of the way history is learned.

However, we must pay attention to what kinds of references there are in the "Course of Study" about thinking historically. Actually the "Course of Study" says nothing about what thinking historically is, or how to develop it, nor has it ever done so. We can only find guidelines on content, not method, in the "Course of Study".

Therefore, I'm afraid the MEXT might tolerate rote memorization in history learning, in practice.

2.2 “EAST ASIA” IN CURRENT JAPANESE HISTORY TEACHING

2.2-a The Image of “East Asia” in the “Course of Study”

Recently, it is said that history should be taught to overcome nationalism and get multi-perspective. Thus, it is important for us to have a wider perspective in history teaching and to teach Japanese history in the context of East Asia.

That's why we must answer the question: What kind of image do we have of “East Asia” in the “Course of Study”? In the current high school “Course of Study”, which was published in 1999 and was put into force starting from 2003, we find the following description:

“The East Asian World

When educators teach East Asian history, they should refer to climate, ethnic groups, the culture of Chinese characters (Kanji 漢字) and Sino-centric international relations and let student understand features of East Asia including Japan”³

We can conclude from this description that East Asia is the area where Chinese characters (Kanji) were or are used and there are distinctive international relations which are supported by Sino-centrism. So, we have an image of “East Asia” from the political and cultural points of view. There is no description of “East Asia” economically or geographically in the “Course of Study”.

2.2-b The Image of “East Asia” in World History Textbooks

In this section, we will examine the image of “East Asia” in current Japanese high school history textbooks. First, we investigate the World History textbooks, and then the Japanese History textbooks. At this time, we have 11 available “World History A” textbooks and also 11 available “World History B” textbooks. (As I've already mentioned, World History A deals mainly with modern history and World History B deals with history from ancient to modern.) By examining all these textbooks, we will pick up some characteristics of the image.

First of all, I would like to focus on a particular textbook which was published by the publisher Teikoku Shoin.⁴ In the textbook, it is said that Chinese characters (Kanji) have united East Asia by means of a common writing system.

3 Ministry of Education (ed.), *Course of Study*, published in 1999 for “World History A” in high school (文部省 『高等学校学習指導要領 (平成11年3月)』第二章、第二節 地理歴史、第二款 各科目、第一 世界史A) .

4 *World History B*. Tokyo: Teikoku-Shoin (『新詳 世界史B』帝国書院), 2011.

In another textbook which was published by Yamakawa Shuppan, we can find a similar explanation. However, this textbook includes a further explanation and a persuasive description as follows:

“The culture created by Kanji is the base of East Asia. Kanji expresses not only sounds, but also meanings. This is why people were able to communicate with foreigners even though they spoke different languages, if they all used Kanji”⁵

We can also find some other World History textbooks in which the image of East Asia is based on Kanji.

However, Kanji is not the only characteristic of East Asia put forward in the textbooks. Another characteristic is the distinctive international relations in East Asia, which are also referred to in the “Course of Study”. In East Asia, there exists a Sino-centrism the fundamentals of which have been accepted even by the Koreans and the Japanese. According to Sino-centrism, only China has an emperor because only China is sufficiently civilized. On the other hand, in the periphery of East Asia, they have, at best, a king because they are not civilized; so the Emperor of China is the so called “king of kings”. Even in the second half of the 19th century, the Korean king was formally appointed by the Chinese emperor. This characteristic is referred to as part of the image of East Asia in some textbooks.

Can we find other images of “East Asia” in textbooks? If you examine all the textbooks, you can find a few more characteristics as follows:

1. Confucianism.

Confucianism is a system of thought and a kind of religion which was born in Ancient China. In the textbook published by Hitotsubashi Shuppan, it is said that Confucianism is a system of thought in which people must hold a ceremony for the repose of their ancestors, respect older people and obey their parents.⁶

In this textbook, it is also said that Confucianism offered a common value standard in East Asia, where people had different habits and conflicting interests. It is true that Confucianism was widely accepted and even now we have traditional values which are affected by this school of thought.

2. Bureaucracy supported by examinations (Kakyo 科挙) and the centralization of power.

In China, officials were selected by examination from the end of the 6th century onwards. Chinese dynasties maintained the centralization of power. If

5 *World History* (a textbook for World History A). Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha (『世界の歴史』山川出版社), 2011, p. 10.

6 *World History A*. Tokyo: Hitotsubashi-Shuppan (『世界史A』一橋出版), 2008, p. 12.

you compare China with Europe, you are struck by the fact that China has had a centralized government system for a long time. The examination system was put into effect in Korea and Vietnam and many East Asian countries aimed to establish centralized government.

3. A unique legal code (Ritsu-ryou 律令).

China and many East Asian countries adopted a distinctive legal code, called the Ritsu-ryou in Japanese. This legal code consists of criminal law and administrative law. In Japan, from the 7th century on, the emperor and nobles tried to codify laws and govern according to the legal code. Other East Asian countries have also tried to codify their laws many times.

4. Sinified Buddhism (Mahayana Buddhism).

It is true that Buddhism is one of the characteristics of “East Asia”, even though Buddhism was born in India. Buddhism was dramatically changed in China and we in Japan imported Buddhism from China. Even now we use Buddhist scriptures which were translated into Chinese.

5. Certain attitudes such as respecting history and regarding children’s education and learning as important.

In the textbook published by Yamakawa Shuppan,⁷ it is mentioned that people in East Asia have characteristic attitudes such as respecting history, and regarding children’s education and learning as important. It is true that emperors and kings ordered that history books be edited and preserved.

So, we can say that we have much respect for history. In addition, we regard children’s education and learning as important in East Asia because we are much affected by Confucianism and the examination system.

In Confucianism, it is often said that only learning helps people to gain virtue, and learning Confucianism was the best way to success in life, because it helped people pass the examination in which people were judged not by whether they were nobles or not, but by whether they understood Confucianism or not. That is why people in East Asia regard children’s education and learning as important.

Subsequently, it is true that we can find various characteristics of “East Asia” in high school textbooks. But we can conclude from this examination that we also have a lot of images of “East Asia” from the political and cultural perspectives alone. Unfortunately, in this examination we cannot find any economic characteristics in these descriptions.

7 *New World History* (a textbook of World History B). Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha (『新世界史』山川出版社), 2011, p. 65.

As far as geographical perspectives are concerned, many textbooks mention that there is much variety in East Asia and that the region has no geographical unity. In just one textbook, however, we find the following unique description:

“East Asia is an isolated area which is surrounded by deserts in the north, by seas in the east, by jungles in the south, and by mountains in the west”⁸

This is very interesting. If we have a common image of “East Asia” from the geographical perspective, students can easily understand this. However, on the other hand, students may understand East Asia as a fixed area, and as a result, they cannot understand the dynamism through which East Asia becomes enlarged or reduced.

2.2-c The Image of “East Asia” in Japanese History Textbooks

What about the image of “East Asia” in Japanese History textbooks? Unfortunately, we cannot find any description of the characteristics of “East Asia” in Japanese History textbooks.

As I’ve already pointed out, it is true that “East Asia” is used many times in chapter titles, but we can conclude that the term is used without any definition.

Even in the “Course of Study” for Japanese History, nothing is indicated about the characteristics of East Asia. In this sense, we must come to the conclusion that “East Asia” has no clear image in education related to Japanese history. As a result, it is possible that someday the notion of East Asia will vanish from the textbooks for Japanese History entirely.

3 CONSIDERING A SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTBOOK ENTITLED “HISTORY OF RYUKYU AND OKINAWA (『琉球・沖縄史』)”

In this section, I would like to deal with a supplementary history textbook for high school. The theme of the supplementary textbook is the history of Okinawa, which consists of a chain of islands that are part of Japan and extend to the southwest of the main Japanese islands, down to Taiwan. As I’ve already noted, the educational system in Japan is centralized. This means that we have only subjects that are common nationwide, for example “Japanese History” or “World History” in high school. Unlike in the USA or Canada, subjects cannot differ according to region. However, as an exception to the rule, we have some supplementary textbooks concerning regional history for high school.

8 Ibid., p. 66.

I would now like to take a closer look at a supplementary textbook entitled “Ryukyu Okinawa Shi”,⁹ which means “The History of Ryukyu and Okinawa” (Ryukyu is an old name for Okinawa) and discuss the possibilities and challenges surrounding this book, because I think that focusing on such supplementary textbooks could reveal some problems in Japanese history teaching.

This section consists of three parts. First of all, I will briefly introduce the unique characteristics of the history and culture of Okinawa. Secondly, I will present the supplementary textbook entitled “History of Ryukyu and Okinawa”. Finally, I would like to discuss the possibilities and challenges surrounding supplementary textbooks.

3.1 On the History and Culture of Okinawa

The Ryukyu Islands or Okinawan Islands are located in the extreme south-west of Japan. The prefectural capital of Okinawa is Naha, which is about 1,600 km from Tokyo. Actually, Naha is farther away than Seoul, which is 1,150 km from Tokyo. In contrast, from Naha, it is only about 640 km to Taipei and about 850 km to Shanghai.

Even though Okinawa had deep contact with the Japanese mainland, Okinawa experienced a distinctive history until 1872, when it officially became Japanese territory. Before that, as the Ryukyu Kingdom, Okinawa had been formally independent until 1872 and had been considered as one of the satellite states of the Chinese Empire.

Its deep and long-established cultural ties with China made Okinawa’s culture unique within Japan. For example, as far as traditional clothes are concerned, Okinawa’s traditional clothes, called “Ryu-sou (琉装)” are distinctive, with the men wearing characteristic hats and belts, and women’s clothes often featuring bright colors such as red or yellow.

In the field of architecture, Shuri Castle (首里城), which was rebuilt in 1992, is very impressive because many buildings in the castle, including the main palace, are colored red. In contrast, we can seldom find a red painted castle on the Japanese mainland.

And you can also find beautifully curved stone walls in Nakagusuku Castle (中城城), which was World Heritage listed in 2000. On the Japanese mainland, the corners of stone walls are sharp, as at Himeji Castle (姫路城), which is very famous around the world. People in Okinawa are also well known for their unique songs and dances. It is said that everyone in Okinawa likes song

9 Toshiaki Arashiro, *History of Ryukyu and Okinawa*. Itoman (Okinawa): Toyoplan (新城俊昭『琉球・沖縄史』東洋企画), 2001.

and dance. In fact, you can encounter unique dances and songs in many places in Okinawa.

After the Meiji Revolution of 1868, Okinawa also experienced a specific history. Poverty made it necessary for many people in Okinawa to emigrate to Hawaii, the USA, South America and Oceania. In WWII, the US army landed on Okinawa and fought fiercely against the Japanese army. Many Japanese soldiers and civilians in Okinawa were killed. (It is said that 180,000 people were killed and more than half were civilians.) After the war, Okinawa was occupied by the USA until 1972, while the rest of Japan restored its independence in 1952. In addition, Okinawa has played an important role as a major base for the US Navy and Air Force in East Asia. Even now, many large US bases remain in Okinawa, which has been a contentious issue in Japanese domestic and foreign policy.

3.2 On the Supplementary Textbook Entitled “The History of Ryukyu and Okinawa”

Next, I will introduce a supplementary textbook on the history of Okinawa. The title of the supplementary textbook is “A History of Ryukyu and Okinawa for High School Students, revised and enlarged edition” and it was published in 2001 by Toyo-Kikaku publishers. As I’ve already pointed out, “Okinawan History” is not an official subject in Japanese high schools. As a result, this book is produced as a supplementary textbook for “Japanese History”. It is said this book is used in many Okinawan high schools, but unfortunately it is not so popular on the mainland, even among history teachers.

The editor of this book is Mr. Arashiro, who was a high school teacher and retired in March 2011. He has written many books on the history of Okinawa. Examples include: “The History and Culture of Ryukyu and Okinawa for High School Students, revised edition”, “The History of Ryukyu and Okinawa for Middle School Students”, “The Historical Landscape Seen from Okinawa”.¹⁰ Surprisingly, he has written, edited and revised these books almost all by himself, so I must say here that the passion and effort he has put into this work is highly commendable.

Everyone would like to ask Mr. Arashiro the question, “Why would you want to write a textbook on the history of Okinawa?” When I met him with

10 Cf. Toshiaki Arashiro, *History and Culture in Rykyu and Okinawa*, revised ed. Itoman: Toyoplan (新城俊昭『改訂版 高等学校 琉球沖縄の歴史と文化』東洋企画), 2009; Toshiaki Arashiro, *History of Ryukyu and Okinawa for Middle School Students*. Itoman: Toyoplan (新城俊昭『ジュニア版 琉球・沖縄史』東洋企画), 2008; Toshiaki Arashiro, *From the Historical Perspectives of Okinawa*. Itoman: Toyoplan (新城俊昭『沖縄から見える歴史風景』東洋企画), 2010. All these books are published by Toyoplan (東洋企画). <http://www.toyo-plan.co.jp/books/index.html#ryukyu>

my colleagues in Okinawa in 2011 and posed this question to him, this was the answer he gave me:

“When I was a high school student, I had the chance to go to the mainland. Although few people in Okinawa could go to the mainland at that time because of the US occupation, I was able to attend the interscholastic athletic competition which was held in Hiroshima, because I was an athletic champion in Okinawa. Students in Hiroshima were very kind and often asked me ‘We experienced severe damage from the atomic bomb, and we’ve heard Okinawa also experienced serious damage because of the battle against the U.S. Army, so we would like to know about the Battle of Okinawa and the history of Okinawa. Could you tell us the history of Okinawa?’ But I was not able to answer at all, because I had no idea of the history of Okinawa. In my classroom, not the history of Okinawa, but Japanese History was taught. At that moment, I wanted to know the history of Okinawa and had to tell this history for young people in Okinawa. That feeling drives me to write these books.”

It is true that several accounts about Okinawa can be found recently in Japanese History textbooks, but I must say that I feel this is not enough. The problems have not been solved yet.

Mr. Arashiro’s “History of Ryukyu and Okinawa” is of A4 size and comprises about 300 pages. The contents are as follows:

1. The Prehistoric Age: The beginning of Ryukyu/Okinawa’s culture.
2. Ancient Ryukyu: The formation of the Ryukyu Kingdom, Ryukyu in the Great Trade Age of the 15th and 16th centuries.
3. Ryukyu in the Early Modern Period: From Shimazu’s Invasion to the end of the Ryukyu Kingdom.¹¹
4. Okinawa in the Modern Age: From the beginning of modern rule to WWII in Okinawa.
5. Contemporary Okinawa: From the US occupation and the movement for its return to the homeland to Okinawa under Japanese rule.

The contents show that this book deals with the history of Okinawa from the distant past to the present. It makes it easy to understand many things about Okinawa’s history which are not written in textbooks of Japanese History, such as the prosperity of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the 15th Century, Okinawa under Japanese rule in the Meiji period, the many emigrants from Okinawa, the sufferings of Okinawa in WWII and the origin of the U.S. base problems in Okinawa.

¹¹ Shimazu is the family name of a feudal lord who ruled the southern part of Kyushu. They had a powerful impact on the Ryukyu Kingdom until 1872.

3.3 Possibilities and Challenges Related to “History of Ryukyu and Okinawa”

Mr. Arashiro’s “History of Ryukyu and Okinawa” is challenging teaching material and also gives us a different perspective from that provided in Japanese national history. Students in my classroom often say that world history is very difficult because world history consists of many national histories, whereas Japanese history is easy to understand because Japanese history consists of only one history. Of course, this is a misunderstanding, but I think that such misunderstandings are widespread in Japan. In this sense, it would be of value for Mr. Arashiro’s book to be used not only in Okinawa but everywhere in Japan.

In addition, the textbook shows how deeply he understands history and history teaching. He makes efforts to narrate history from multiple perspectives. I’ll give you two examples from the book.

First, in the textbook, people in Okinawa are described not only as victims but also as guilty parties. People in Okinawa are often considered to be victims in WWII, because of the battle against the U.S. forces. But in the section entitled “How Did People in Okinawa Regard Korean Workers?”, the author points out that people in Okinawa discriminated against the Korean workers around them even though (or because) they themselves suffered discrimination from people on the mainland.

The second example is in the section entitled “Was June 23rd the End of the Battle of Okinawa?”. June 23rd is widely known as the day when the Battle of Okinawa ended, so it is a memorial day in Okinawa. But the author is skeptical about this viewpoint because this day was just the day when the Japanese Commander in Chief in Okinawa committed suicide in 1945. In fact, battles continued even after that, so the author gives a different perspective from the official interpretation which considers June 23rd the memorial day. That is why I must conclude that his “History of Ryukyu and Okinawa” has considerable potential to assist in the improvement of history teaching in Japan.

However, I must also say that the book has many challenges to consider as well. To illustrate, I shall point out four problems which the book has.

First, this textbook focuses only on the main island of Okinawa. Okinawa (or Ryukyu) is a long archipelago, and consists of many islands. It is about 1,000 km from the east end to the west end of the Okinawa island chain. From south to north, it is about 400 km. (In comparison, it is about 500 km from Kyoto to Tokyo.) Granted, it is not so easy to write the history of Okinawa, but unfortunately the histories of Miyako Island and Ishigaki Island, which are both located on the western end of the Okinawa chain – very near to Taiwan, are not referred to enough in his book.

Secondly, you can find many words in bold font in the textbook. Subsequently, many students think that even in Okinawan history, many words must be memorized. Because the history of Okinawa is not an official subject, the Ministry of Education in Japan provides no guidelines on how to learn the “History of Okinawa” and a knowledge of the history of Okinawa is not necessary to pass the entrance exams to university. Still, the author has adopted the Japanese traditional style in his history textbooks.

Thirdly, even though there are many columns in the textbook which are very useful for providing multiple perspectives, unfortunately the author answers every question he raises in the columns. In this way, he deprives the students of a chance to hone their thinking skills.

Finally, in this textbook, the history of Okinawa is presented as a part of Japanese History. Thus, as always in Japan, the history of Okinawa is considered as a peripheral history. The history of Okinawa must be written using wider perspectives; that is to say with the perspectives of East Asian history. Only thus will Okinawa regain its central position in history. Regional history is valuable precisely when it provides different perspectives from those given by national history.

Having said this, Mr. Arashiro has already identified some of the problems I’ve pointed out, and has improved his accounts. In the book titled “The History of Ryukyu and Okinawa for Middle School Students”, he has produced a book with color photos and maps. Also, in the revised versions, one can find that the number of words in bold font has decreased. The histories of Miyako and Ishigaki have also been added. In the book entitled “The Historical Landscape Seen from Okinawa”, he stresses the comparative method of historical description, by comparing his description with descriptions in Japanese history textbooks.

Unfortunately some problems have not yet been solved. It would be desirable not to have all the questions in the textbooks answered in advance, and to encourage students to find the answers by themselves instead. The number of words in bold font must also still be reduced. And I find it would be good if the author were to show how the history of Okinawa were to appear if we were to interpret it not in a national perspective but in an East Asian perspective. That is also why real questions must be set in the book, by which I mean questions which are answered by the students themselves. For this purpose, the textbook should also give some resources and pictures and information about how to find further reading material or collect evidence by using the internet.

If no real questions have been posed in the “History of Ryukyu and Okinawa”, it offers only another normative history to memorize in place of national history. If so, fundamental problems have not yet been solved. While the author himself particularly wishes to see such problems tackled and solved, examining his

“History of Ryukyu and Okinawa” shows how difficult it is to solve the problems we face now in Japanese history teaching.

4 CONCLUSION

We consider it very important to understand Japanese history in the context of East Asian history in the courses of “History” for middle schools, and “Japanese History” and “World History” for high schools.

The reasons why we think it is important are as follows:

Firstly, it becomes easy to compare Japanese history with the history of the Korean Peninsula and of China. Thus, we can also easily judge to what extent what we call Japanese historical traditions are unique to Japan or common to other parts of East Asia.

For example, Japanese is written with three types of characters: Kanji (Chinese ideograms), Hiragana, and Katakana (characters mainly used today for foreign loanwords). Hiragana and Katakana were created only in Japan by simplifying Chinese characters. Although Chinese characters were used jointly throughout East Asia in the past, nowadays people in the Korean Peninsula write their language almost entirely using their unique letters, Hangeul, which they invented in the 15th century, and rarely use Chinese characters. In China (except Taiwan and Hong Kong), people use Chinese characters in the simplified forms devised after World War II.

Secondly, we can understand clearly that borders drawn in the modern age are meaningless in the pre-modern age. For example, it is not until the second half of the 19th century that Japanese ruled over the whole island that we now call “Hokkaido”. The Okinawan Islands were a tributary state of China in formal terms until the second half of the 19th century. As we will state later, many people were active in the East China Sea beyond the current national borders, which were drawn in the 19th century.

Finally, places that we now regard as peripheries are such as a result of modern national borders, and were not necessarily peripheral in the past. Indeed, they may even have been core areas, as Okinawa was a major international trade center in the 15th century.

As far as our investigations of textbooks for “History” and “Japanese History” have shown, it became usual in the 1990s to write about Japanese history in the context of East Asian history. In the last 20 years, we have always written textbooks with an awareness of the commercial, cultural and human connections between Japan, the Korean Peninsula and China. At the same time, debates on history

teaching have been going on actively in East Asia, and some books have been published in the 21st century which do deal with the conclusions of these debates on history teaching and which contain common material for history teaching in East Asia. On the other hand, ultra-nationalistic textbooks of “history” have been published as a reaction against such discussions in East Asia (e.g. Fujioka Nobukatsu ed. “New History Textbook” for middle school, and more recently, the “History Textbook for Japanese Nationals”).¹² However, only a few schools have adopted such textbooks.

We still face many challenges in enabling students to learn Japanese history that is free from a national perspective and consists of multi-cultural and multi-traditional views. For example:

1. We must respect the cultural and historical diversity in Japanese history. It is still important how we deal with the History of the Ainu (aboriginal people in the Northern Japanese Islands) and of Okinawa (the Japanese Southwestern Islands) in textbooks. The Ainu and the people on the Okinawan Islands have a unique history and culture. Even though we consider that people in Okinawa have played a very important role in the East Asian world, we do not yet have an appropriate interest in the history of the Ainu, especially the relation between the Ainu and the people in Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands and East Siberia. In addition, we must think how we deal with the histories of the people living in Japan with other cultural traditions, such as the Korean-Japanese or the Koreans living in Japan. And it must also be considered how we deal with the history of Japanese emigrants (especially to Hawaii and the northern & southern Americas).
2. Many educators in Japan consider that memorizing key words is very important in history teaching (or learning), and this is a barrier to respecting the diversity in Japanese history. In the “Japanese History” high school textbooks of the last 20 years, we can rarely find questions or activity corners. By contrast, we can find as many as 3,500 key words which are considered important enough to be learned by heart in high school. That is why almost every student in high school believes that history is a boring subject and only something to be learned by rote. We must learn more from the multi-cultural teaching in the USA, Canada and Australia, the common historical textbook between Germany and France, and common learning materials among the Balkan countries, because currently, every student and many teachers believe

12 Cf. *New History Textbook*, revised ed. Tokyo: Fusosha (『改訂版 新しい歴史教科書』扶桑社), 2005; *New Social Studies for Middle School - New History Textbook*. Tokyo: Jiyusha (『中学社会 新しい歴史教科書』自由社), 2011.

in normative accounts of history and the importance of memorization in history teaching (or learning).

On the other hand, many people may find it strange that I have not spoken at all about entrance exams, even though I deal with history teaching in Japan. It is true that nowadays many students in middle school learn “Social Studies” including History, as a subject for the entrance exams in high school, and history teaching and learning is greatly influenced by entrance exams to universities.

But I don't completely agree with the opinion which states that entrance exams cause problems in Japanese history teaching and learning and there are two reasons why I disagree with this theory.

1. Only a minority of students take “World History” or “Japanese History” as a subject in the university entrance exams. For example, in the national central examination, which was held in January 2012, only about 90,000 students took the “World History” exam and about 160,000 students took the “Japanese History” exam, from among about 520,000 applicants. In other words, less than half the applicants took “Japanese History” and “World History”. In addition, only half of all students learn history as a subject for university entrance exams, considering that the number of all graduates in high school was about 1,010,000 in 2012.
2. It is true that many students in middle school take the social studies examination for high school. However, some middle school students who attend a 6 year secondary school (including Azabu High School), have no high school entrance exam to take. Unfortunately, even in the 6 year secondary schools, students have to suffer the process of memorizing thousands of key words in history learning. That's why I don't think only entrance exams cause challenges in Japanese history teaching. Many teachers consider history learning synonymous with rote memorizing. In the “Course of Study”, you cannot find many references to “thinking historically”. That gives an image of history teaching as memorizing. Which is why I dare not deal with the entrance exams in this article entitled “Challenges of Japanese History Teaching in Secondary Schools”.



2.
**THE NATION,
NATIONAL
HISTORY AND
REGIONAL
HISTORY**

Andrej Bekeš

Revelation through omission:

Treatment of National Language in Japanese History Textbooks and General Works

ABSTRACT

In spite of the great diversity within the dialect continuum stretching from Kagoshima to Aomori, consistent state-endorsed language policies since the later Meiji period were highly successful in the first half of the 20th century in achieving a high degree of homogeneity regarding ethnic and linguistic identity. The successful implementation of a standard language was one of the key factors in the process of the building of Japan as a modern nation-state. The present study deals with the conspicuous absence of an appropriate treatment of the role these policies played, in the high school history textbooks and general readership monographs and with its possible intellectual background regarding the scant attention paid by researchers and textbook writers to the establishment of the Japanese national language and pre-WWII language policies in Japan.

The central hypothesis of the study is that this conspicuous absence stems from the projection of the modern nation-state on the past, resulting in a perception of Japanese polity as a basically homogeneous and unchanged continuum in time and space. In particular, the analysis of texts for the general public by prominent Japanese scholars of the national language has revealed important differences in perception. One group, mainly those preoccupied with the didactics of the national language, tends to view the past in the light of a “homogenized” present. On the other hand, those scholars researching Japanese in the wider context of general linguistics seem to treat national language related issues in a much more critical and theoretically informed way.

1. INTRODUCTION

Occupying about 380,000 sq. km and stretching over about 1,400 km as the crow flies, from Satsuma, Kyushu, in the Southeast to Shimokita, Honshu, in the Northeast, the manifold Japanese dialects that historically populated this area are now dialects in a single polity: Japan, including also Ryukyus and Hokkaido, with a single Japanese ‘national language’ - *kokugo*.

Compared with the South Slavic linguistic continuum, covering an area similar in size and at present split into seven polities, even if we do not take into account Japan’s fragmented ‘Medieval’ history with its wars and changing allegiances, etc., for the Meiji regime, unification of the widely stretched area under one rule and the creation of a modern nation state with a single national language which nowadays permeates every pore of society, was no mean feat. In the words of Gottlieb:¹

Consistent, state-endorsed, and often state-enforced language policies from the second half of the Meiji period onwards, which were aimed at the dissemination of the national language (*kokugo*), though finally failing in colonial territories, achieved their goal in the “inner provinces” (*naichi*) as well as in Hokkaido and Okinawa, contributing in the first half of the 20th century to a high degree of homogeneity regarding linguistic and ethnic identity in Japan...

The processes that led to this accomplishment and their historical, ideological and cultural contexts have only begun receiving closer and systematic attention during the past twenty or so years.²

1 Nanette Gottlieb, “Japan”, in Andrew Simpson (ed.), *Language and National Identity in Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 186-199.

2 cf. Lee Yeonsuk, *Kokugo toiu shiso: kindai Nihon no gengo ninshiki* [*The Ideology of National Language: An Understanding of Language in Modern Japan*]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Publishers, 1996; Shizue

Based on the importance of *kokugo* and the central role it played in the consolidation of the national identity and national unity in Japan during and after the Meiji period, its treatment in the high school history textbooks and in texts for general audiences, such as “serious” general works on *kokugo* and linguistic encyclopedias, seems a topic worthy of examination. This study is an attempt to delve into the issue, and being one of the first, is necessarily incomplete and preliminary.

2. THE PRE-MODERN AND MODERN LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN JAPAN: A BRIEF SKETCH

It is important to stress also, that the Meiji period *kokugo* reform did not happen in a vacuum. There were historical developments that contributed towards the successful spread of a standardized national language over the whole of Japan.

2.1 The Pre-Modern Linguistic Situation

The pre-modern linguistic situation in Japan, prevalent until the end of the Tokugawa period and extending into the early part of the Meiji period is characterized by the following factors:

Diglossia in the Written Language³

Roughly speaking, this pertains to the written literary Chinese (*kanbun* [*kundoku*]) and written literary vernacular (*bungo*). While literacy in these two styles was limited to the elites, since the Kamakura (1185-1333) and Muromachi (1336-1573) periods, literacy in the spoken vernacular had emerged among commoners as well.⁴

Consolidation of Political Power Under the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Relative peace and an accompanying economic prosperity during the first half of the period resulted in a vibrant literacy not only among the city dwellers, but also in the countryside, in the spread of printed media and the development of a new schooling system (*hankō, terakoya*) (1603-1868). With the political center moving east to Edo, a new contact dialect with elements of both eastern and

Osa, *Kindai Nihon to kokka nashonarizumu* [Modern Japan and State Nationalism]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1998; Toshiaki Yasuda, 'Gengo' no kochiku: Ogura Shinpei to shokuminchi chosen [Constructing a Language: Ogura Shinpei and Korea Under Colonial Rule]. Tokyo: Sangensha, 1999; Yoichi Komori, *Nihongo no kindai* [Japanese in the Modern Era]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Publishers, 2000.

3 cf. Takashi Kamei et al. (eds.), *Nihongo no rekishi 6: atarashii kokugo e no ayumi* [The History of the Japanese Language 6: Towards a New National Language]. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1965.

4 cf. Yoshihiko Amino, *Nihonron no shiza: rettō no shakai to kokka* [Aspects of 'Theories of Japan' (Nihonron): The Societies and the State in the Archipelago]. Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1990.

western Japanese dialects formed there and consequently grew in importance, while Kyoto speech retained its prestige.⁵

No Attempt at Language Standardization.

The *bakuhau* political system of the Tokugawa period which split Japan into isolated *han* "feudal" domains and discouraged direct contact among them led to a dialectal fragmentation of the country as described by Gottlieb.⁶

The political structure in place during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868) contributed substantially to the need for placing a standard language high on the linguistic agenda during the following period. In the pre-modern period, Japan was segmented into a large number of local domains, each ruled by a local daimyo who reported to the shogun in Edo (today's Tokyo). Since the domains were relatively tightly sealed off from each other in the interests of the 'divide and rule' principle, and since travel was with very few exceptions forbidden to residents of each, local dialects flourished and little in the way of language (or dialect) contact took place. The de facto standard used throughout Japan by those who travelled during this period was based on the speech of Edo ...

The above situation in the second half of the Edo and early Meiji periods is a typical pre-modern situation, in line with the situation in pre-unification Italy, in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, in Russia etc., during more or less the same period. What makes it different is a relatively high degree of literacy as compared to Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe in the same period.⁷

2.2 The Linguistic Situation during the Meiji Period and Afterwards

In spite of many similarities, there are significant differences between mid-19th century Japan and Central Europe. In contrast with Central Europe, Japan was politically unified. Presumably because of this, language standardization was not perceived as an urgent task in the agenda of modernizing Japan.

Modernizing projects taken up by the Meiji regime were the abolition of the caste system, the abolition of the *han* system, the introduction of a centralized administration, the establishment of compulsory education (*kokumin gakkō*), the implementation of universal military service, the inception of a constitutional

5 Byarke Frellesvig, *A History of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, chapter 13.

6 Gottlieb, Japan, pp. 188-9.

7 Hagen Shulze, *Država in nacija v evropski zgodovini*. Ljubljana: Založba *cf., 2003 (Translation of *Staat un Nation in der europaeischen Geschichte*. Muenchen: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagbuchshandlung, 1994).

monarchy and the spread of modern printed media, colonial expansion, and in the mid-1880s, steps towards the standardization of language.⁸

During this time, influential articles and lectures by Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937), a Tokyo Imperial University academic who was greatly influenced by several years spent studying linguistics in Germany, compared the national language to the country's life blood and exhorted the government to ensure that it was treated with the degree of respect the language of a modern state deserved.... In Ueda's view, this involved improving the language through standardization and modernization, contrary to the views of purists who saw any form of artificially induced language change as an unwarranted attack on standards and tradition. Ueda and the group of students he trained in the methods of Western linguistics were instrumental in lobbying for the establishment in 1902 of the first official body charged with working on language issues, the National Language Research Council. As a result of the work of this body, the dialect of the Yamanote area of Tokyo was announced as the standard language in 1916.⁹

The ruthless enforcement of standard language in public use (including methods such as the use of *hōgen fuda* "dialect placards" as punishment in compulsory education¹⁰) was concomitant with a wish for modernization in the provinces,¹¹ strict government control of teaching contents, the spread of new media which accompanied the economic prosperity following WWI, and total mobilization under ultranationalist regimes preceding and during the years leading to the war in China, SE Asia and the Pacific.¹²

Language thus played a prominent role in the ideological construction of the Japan for which the war was being fought, possibly second only to the Emperor as the symbol of ultranationalist values.¹³

The successful spread of *kokugo* had as a consequence the view that *kokugo* was a homogeneous entity extending territorially over the politically consolidated territory, as well as extending temporally into the past (i.e., the projection of *kokugo* and the modern nation-state backwards in time). Dialects as its obvious varieties were considered to be enriching *kokugo* itself. Therefore it is no wonder

8 cf. Erica Benner, "Japanese national doctrines in international perspective", in Naoko Shimazu (ed.), *Nationalisms in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.

9 Gottlieb, Japan, p. 189.

10 Dialect placards were based on a method imported from the more 'advanced' France, itself in the 19th century in the process of extensively assimilating non-French speaking minorities. (cf. Pontecouteau 2002).

11 cf. Yufuko Ichimiya, "The Relation Between the View on the Language and Educational Ideology in the Early Meiji Period in Japan Through the Discourse of Regionalism", *Acta Linguistica Asiatica*, Vol. 1, 2011, No. 1, pp. 9-22 (<http://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/ala/index>).

12 Frellesvig, *A History of the Japanese Language*; Gottlieb, Japan; Komori, *Nihongo no kindai*.

13 Gottlieb, Japan, p. 192. See also: Nanette Gottlieb, *Kanji Politics: Language Policy and Japanese Script*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1995.

that the great works of classical literature from *Man'yōshū* to *Ugetsu monogatari* were all seen as written in *kokugo*.¹⁴

Parallel with this development, a deep penetration of the Japanese language in the colonies, i.e., Taiwan, Korea, and to a lesser extent Manchukuo, was taking place as well.¹⁵

3. ANALYSIS

3.1 Textbooks

In the period after WWII, high school textbooks, just as all the other primary and secondary level textbooks, are subject to government examination, carried out by the MEXT (short for Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology).¹⁶ Approved textbooks, chosen by 'local self-governing bodies' (*jichitai*) are distributed among the pupils free of charge. Textbooks examined for this study are also in compliance with this scheme.

3.1.1 High School History Textbooks

High school history textbooks are divided into two categories: *Nihonshi B* (Japanese History B) with a comprehensive approach to history from the beginnings to modern times; and *Nihonshi A* (Japanese History A) dealing with Japan from the Meiji Restoration onward. The most widely used are the *Nihonshi B* type textbooks.

As a preliminary step, several *Nihonshi B* (Japanese History B) textbooks, put out by prominent publishers such as Sanseido and Yamakawa, were examined.

First, keywords such as *kokugo* (national language), *nihongo* (Japanese), *genbun itchi* (a written language style based on the modern spoken language or the eponymous movement for the affirmation of this style) and so on, were examined in the indexes of the respective textbooks. Other than the exception of *genbun itchi*, no textbook contained any of the above keywords in the index.

14 Toshiaki Yasuda, *Kokugo to hōgen no aida: gengo kōchiku no seijigaku* [Between the 'National Language' and 'Dialect': The Political Science of Language Construction]. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1999.

For a typical case of a similar projection common in Slovene 'patriotic' history and language circles, Janko Prunk (*A Brief History of Slovenia*. Ljubljana: Založba Grad. 1996) is a good example. Also see Shulze (*Država in nacija v evropski zgodovini*) for Germany's projection onto the Holy Roman Empire (i.e., the 1st Reich).

15 Toshiaki Yasuda, *Shokuminchi no nakano 'kokugogaku': Tokieda Motoki to Keijo Teikokudaigaku o megutte* ['National Language Studies' in the Colony: Tokieda Motoki and the Seoul Imperial University]. Tokyo: Sangensha, 1997; Osa, *Kindai Nihon to kokka nashonarizumu*.

16 <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/taisen/kentei.html> (retrieved Aug. 25, 2010); http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/gaiyou/04060901.htm (retrieved Aug. 25, 2010).

In the text itself, *Nihonshi B*, published by Sanseido, seems to have by far the most references related to national language in the various historical and social contexts from among all the textbooks that were examined. Nonetheless, even in this textbook, the references were brief and often included other information not directly relevant to the issues of language in the same sentence.

3.1.2 The High School *Kokugo* (National Language) Textbooks

In addition to the history textbooks, high school textbooks dealing with *kokugo*, i.e. readers, compilations of literary texts, essays, etc. with commentaries, such as “*Kokugo sōgō*” (general Japanese), and “*Gendai bun*” (modern writing), put out by publishers such as Chikuma Shobo, Tokyo Shoseki, etc., were examined. The concept of these textbooks is to convey to learners the potential richness of variation of expression that is inherent in the Japanese language, presented as *kokugo*. In the case of *gendai bun* textbooks, the topics treated are limited to modern texts. In the case of *kokugo sōgō* textbooks, the whole span from modern to classical texts, including *kanbun* classical Chinese texts read on-the-fly in a Japanese way (i.e. the so called *kanbun kundoku*), is covered. These textbooks are intellectually and aesthetically appealing and typographically well executed. The basic orientation of these textbooks also has the potential to include relevant information on the historical, social and political context of the development and role of the unified (and unifying) national language from the Meiji period on. In spite of this potential, no such attempt was observed in any of the books examined.

Since the general supervisor of the edition for one of the textbooks was Kato Shuichi, one of the most prominent liberal thinking Japanese intellectuals of the post-war period, it can also be surmised that such omissions were not directly related to authors’ and compilers’ ideological biases such as conservative vs. progressive, traditionalist vs. modern, etc., neither were they influenced by the aforementioned process of textbook approval.

3.2 Analysis of the Sanseido’s *Nihonshi B* Textbook

In this section, the textbook that relates most extensively to the national language issue, *Nihonshi B* (Japanese History B) by Aoki Michio et al.¹⁷ published by Sanseido, will be examined in more detail.

The Contents at the beginning of the textbook (pp. iv, v) display chapters such as Chapter 15 ‘The Meiji Restoration and the Modern State’ (*Meiji ishin to kindai kokka*), prime candidates for the description of the so called ‘national

17 Michio Aoki et al., “*Nihon shi B kaiteiban*” [*Japanese History, revised edition*]. Tokyo: Sanseido, 2009.

language issue' (*kokugo mondai*) in Japan. Yet section titles and subheadings do not hint at anything related to language policies at the time. A similar situation can be seen in the index at the end of the textbook. The only explicit reference is to *genbun itchi* (a written style based on the contemporary spoken language). There are no direct references to *kokugo* (the national language) or to *nihongo* (Japanese).

In the main text though, there are several references to the national language and various language policies. I will examine these in the rest of this section.

At the end of Chapter 15, in Section 5, 'Equality of the Four Classes of People and Opening towards Civilization'¹⁸ (*Shimin byōdō to bunmei kaika*), there is, under the subheading 'The Spread of Enlightened Thought and Development in the Sphere of Religion' (*Keimo shisō no fukyū to shūkyō no ugoki*) a short mention of *nihongo* (Japanese) in the context of the publication of newspapers while still under *bakufu* rule:¹⁹

After the opening of the ports, newspapers were published in the residence areas permitted for foreigners [such as]Yokohama, Kobe (Hyogo) etc, and after 1851 (Kaei 4) when Motoki Shōzō succeeded in casting lead printing type, newspapers as well as journals and books in Japanese (=nihongo),²⁰ printed in moving type, began to be published. (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

The text says that in addition to the foreign newspapers that were beginning to be published in the late Edo period, newspapers in Japanese were also published after the moving type for Japanese characters had been invented.

The next mention of *nihongo* is in Chapter 16. 'Formation of the Constitutional System of Meiji' (*Meiji kenpō taisei no seiritsu*), in Section 5. 'Promulgation of the Imperial Constitution' (*Dainippon teikoku kenpō no seitei*) under the heading 'Establishing Regional Self-Rule' (*chihō jichi seido no seibi*) in the context of policies in the newly officially incorporated territories of Hokkaido and the Ryukyus:²¹

In Hokkaido the [Hokkaido] Development Agency *kaitakushi* was abolished and in 1886, the Hokkaido Administration (*Hokkaidō chō*) was established. Vast amounts of land and state-owned factories etc. were sold to the nobility (*kazoku*) and 'businesses with close links to the government' (*seishō*), with prisoners being mobilized for the construction of roads and opening of mines. In addition there was development of virgin lands by colonists, and the Ainu, being robbed of a place where they could live,

18 'Civilization' was synonymous with westernization.

19 Aoki et al., "*Nihon shi B kaiteiban*, p. 244.

20 It is interesting to note that in the *kokugo* type of textbooks, reference to the language in such cases would probably be the much more ideologically loaded *kokugo* (actually Japanese viewed as the national language) and not the more neutral *nihongo* (Japanese) as here.

21 Aoki et al., "*Nihon shi B kaiteiban*, p. 259.

were, under the Hokkaido Former Aboriginal People Protection Law (*Hokkaidō kyū dojin hō*) which was promulgated in 1899 ostensibly to protect them and encourage them to work in agriculture, expelled to 'protected areas' (*hogo chi*) where they were subject to assimilation policies such as being compelled to learn Japanese and forced to change their names to Japanese ones (*nihonshiki no namae*)^{<4>}. In Okinawa there was persistent resentment against the Ryukyu solution (*Ryukyu shobun*). The Prefectural Office, trying to proceed smoothly with prefectural politics, appeased [the powers to be] by choosing the policy of preservation of the original landowning system. But on the Miyako and Yaeyama Islands there was resistance against the uniform head tax introduced since they were under rule by the Satsuma han and against the government's selling off communal land and fishing grounds (*iriaichi*) cheaply to powerful noblemen and merchants ... (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

In the passage above, in one long sentence, colonial policy in Hokkaido towards the indigenous Ainu people, including the promulgation of the Hokkaido Former Aboriginal People Protection Law and as one of its prominent consequences, the forced removal of the Ainu to 'protected territories' and the forced imposition on them of the Japanese language (*nihongo*) and of Japanese names (*nihonshiki no namae*), are mentioned. The text continues with related policies in Okinawa but it does not mention the issue of the language at all, even though it was Ryukyuan, a language related to Japanese but differing to the extent that they were mutually unintelligible, which was the language of the Ryukyu kingdom before the incorporation of Ryukyu into Japan as Okinawa.

From this difference in the treatment of Hokkaido and Okinawa it can be surmised that, to the authors, language policies towards the newly acquired minorities were just a marginal issue in the historical context.

The next mention of *nihongo* occurs in Chapter 17, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars' (*Sangyō kakumei to Nisshin-Nichiro sensō*). In Section 1. 'The Sino-Japanese War' (*Nisshin sensō*) under the heading 'Taiwan and Korea After the Sino-Japanese War' (*Nisshin sensō go no Taiwan to Chōsen*) as cited below, the Japanese language is mentioned in the context of Japanese policies in Taiwan which was ceded to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War:²²

In 1895 in Taiwan, which had become a Japanese territory, there was a strong resistance movement spearheaded by the islanders. Japan sent the army to suppress it. Furthermore, the Taiwan Governor's Office (*Taiwan sōtokufu*) was established with a former marine soldier being sent in as the first governor. The Taiwan islanders were forced to become subjects of Imperial Japan through assimilatory policies such as being forced to

22 Ibid., p. 263.

learn Japanese. In addition, a land ownership registry as well as a tax system were set up, and the construction of roads, railways and ports was undertaken. In 1897, the Bank of Taiwan (*Taiwan ginkō*) was established and the ground was laid for Japanese companies to advance into Taiwan. (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

Here, even though it is short, we have a straightforward description of Japan's language policy orientation in Taiwan. It is interesting to note that later on, too, in the context of the colonial rule of Korea, policies such as the forced introduction of Japanese as the only language in public and education or forced name changes (*sōshi kaimei*) are also mentioned.

The longest passage related to *kokugo*, language policies and education is also in Chapter 17, Section 5. 'Culture in the Meiji Period' (*Meiji no bunka*):²³

Since 1886, elementary school textbooks were subject to government approval (*kenteisei*) and from 1903 onwards they became government-designated (*kokuteisei*). As for the subjects taught, Japanese grammar was being developed, the national language (*kokugo*) was established and the teaching of standard language (*hyōjungo*) began both in Japan proper and in Taiwan, which had become a Japanese colony, and also [songs such as] Chocho (Butterfly) and Hotaru no hikari ('The Light of Fireflies', actually a remake of Auld Lang Syne), based on Western musical scales, were sung in chorus. In 1907 compulsory education was extended from four to six years and the rate of elementary school attendance, which was 50% in the middle of the Meiji period, increased to 95%. (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

In this passage, important developments such as progress on the codification of Japanese grammar, the introduction of *kokugo* as a subject in school textbooks and the teaching of standard Japanese (*hyōjungo*) within Japan proper (which seems to include, according to the authors, the so called *gaichi* external territories such as Okinawa and Hokkaido) as well as in Taiwan, the only colony at that time, are mentioned. While this is the most exhaustive mention in any of the textbooks that were examined, even here it seems that the intent was not so much to explain the far-reaching developments in language-related issues, as to stress the steps made towards modernization. This observation is underlined by the fact that the passage devoted to language policy developments is expressed in the same sentence as the reference to the introduction of Western musical scales and Western singing into the curriculum.

Under the next heading 'The Formation of Modern Literature' (*Kindai bungaku no seiritsu*), immediately after, new developments on the literary scene based on the contemporary spoken language and the *genbun itchi* movement are introduced.²⁴

23 Ibid, pp. 279-280.

24 Ibid., p. 280.

Even after Meiji, works by light fiction (*gesaku*) authors such as Kanagaki Robun (1829-1894), for example *Aguranabe*, were popular, and people continued to enjoy romantic narratives (*yomihon*) and decadent love stories (*ninjōbon*); fiction genres, translations of European literature such as ‘Around the World in Eighty Days’ (*Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* by Jules Verne), and translations of political novels by members of the civil rights movement (*minken undōka*) were also popular.

In 1885, Tsubouchi Shōyō criticized light fiction and political novels and in his work ‘The Essence of a Novel’ (*Shōsetsu shinzui*) stressed the importance for novels to be realistic, that is, to faithfully depict human psychology and mores. Subsequently, in 1882, Futabatei Shimei criticized Tsubouchi, stressing that what was important was realism based in ideology, and wrote the novel *Ukigumo* (Floating Clouds) written in a simple colloquial style, thus establishing the base of the modern novel. Moreover, at about the same time, Yamada Bimyo began the *genbun itchi* (convergence of spoken and written language) movement to make the written style closer to the colloquial language, and in 1885, together with Ozaki Koyo, he established *Ken’yūsha* (The Company of Ink Stone Friends), and in 1888 the first dilettanti literary magazine *Garakuta bunko* (Trash Library) was established. (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

In the cited segment, in the context of more traditional developments, efforts at modernization in literature through the translation of representative works of Western literature (at the time Verne’s *Around the World in Eighty Days* was considered as such) are introduced. The *genbun itchi* movement is introduced more as one of the articles on the list of important Meiji cultural events. Its relation to the pioneering work of Futabatei Shimei is not obvious at all in this context. Such treatment of language policy developments points to the conclusion that, in this context, the authors had no serious intent to show the importance of the chosen language policies of Meiji Japan for the modernization project *per se*, but, on the other hand, used the facts as an illustration of the various modernizing efforts undertaken at the time.

Colonial language policies in Korea are mentioned in Chapter 21. ‘The Pacific War’ (*Taiheiyō sensō*), Section 1. ‘The Beginning of Japanese-American Hostilities and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Zone’ (*Nichibei kaisen to Daitōa kyōeiken*) under the heading ‘The Real Face of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Zone’ (*Daitōa kyōeiken no jitsuzō*) we have:²⁵

Korea, because of the war, was seen as the base for the provision of necessary materials, and the policies of turning people into Japanese

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 330.

imperial subjects (*kōminka seisaku*), such as through forced praying at Shinto shrines and the forced use of Japanese at schools, were thoroughly implemented. In 1939 the change of [Korean] names into Japanese-style names (*sōshi kaimēi*) was enforced and in 1944 the military draft was introduced, which in 1945 was applied to Taiwan as well. Women were organized into female working groups (*teishintai*) to work in military industry factories or were sent to the front as ‘comfort women’ (*ianfu*) together with young women from the Philippines and elsewhere. Japan repressed the people who resisted [such policies], and numerous Koreans and Chinese war prisoners were forced to work in coal mines and elsewhere. The policy of turning people into Japanese imperial subjects was also implemented in Manchuria and [the people there] were mobilized for war purposes or for the exploitation of natural resources <5>. (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

Here again language assimilation policies are mentioned but there are no details as to what was actually happening in the area of language. The same is true of the forced changes of Korean surnames and forenames into Japanese names. All the events are listed as instances of a wider assimilatory policy. Furthermore, a few lines later a similar situation in SE Asia is mentioned:²⁶

On the other hand, in SE Asia, Japan established puppet regimes under military rule, and as in Korea and Taiwan, enforced praying at Shinto shrines and the spread of the Japanese language. Thus, the Japanese army, while taking possession of oil, iron ore, rubber, wood and other strategic materials by force, continued to mobilize the people and forced them to produce rice or other goods. (Translated and underlined by A.B.)

Here again we have a description of the contemporary situation as a list of policy steps: besides plundering natural and human resources, there is also the forced use of the Japanese language and forced obedience to religious rites such as praying at Shinto shrines.

3.3 “Serious” Works for the General Audience

The *Nihonshi B* textbook published by Sanseido is the one that most amply covers the language issue among all the examined textbooks. The passages cited above exhaust the topics covered by all the textbooks analyzed for this study. Examination of the material in Section 3.2 shows that there was some concern with language policy issues during the Meiji period and pre-war Japan. Nonetheless, in spite of the importance of the issue, in the textbooks, this concern does not go

26 Ibid., pp. 331.

beyond introducing such examples as merely illustrations or instances of wider trends.

In order to put the textbook analysis into proper perspective, I further examined two monographs and two encyclopedias. One of the monographs is one of the 7 tomes in a series of monographs on the Japanese language.²⁷ The other is a monograph on the cultural history of language, focusing on Japanese in its cultural and historical context by Sugimoto.²⁸ One of the two encyclopedias is devoted to linguistics in general.²⁹ The other is an encyclopedia explicitly covering various facts pertaining to the Japanese language.³⁰

3.4 Analysis of Works for the General Audience

For the sake of expediency, the following shorthand will be used for the sources analyzed:

Kamei Takashi et al. (Eds.), (1965, /2007/) *Nihongo no rekishi 6* (The History of Japanese 6) → (1);

Sugimoto Tsutomu (1982) *Kotoba no bunkashi* (The Cultural History of Language) → (2);

Kamei Takashi et al. (Eds.), (1996) *Gengogaku daijiten* (The Great [Encyclopedic] Dictionary of Linguistics) → (3)

Kindaichi Haruhiko et al. (1990) *Nihongo hyakka daijiten* (The Great Encyclopedia of the Japanese Language) → (4).

Three issues pertaining to the Japanese language were examined: the nature of the Japanese language and *kokugo*, the treatment of autochthonous minorities in Ryukyu/Okinawa and in Hokkaido, and language policies in Japan's colonies.

3.4.1 The Nature of the Japanese Language and *Kokugo*

Kamei et al. eds. (1965/2007) and Kamei et al. eds. 1996, i.e., sources (1) and (3) present a rather detailed discussion of what constitutes *kokugo*, and make explicit its temporal and spatial characteristics. A characteristic aspect of this discussion is the systematic use of *minzokugo* (ethnic language) instead of *kokugo* (national language) in contexts where it is technically impossible to

27 Takashi Kamei, Toshio Yamada & Tokihiko Ôtô (eds.), *Nihongo no rekishi 6: atarashii kokugo e no ayumi* [History of the Japanese Language vol. 6: Steps Toward the New National Language]. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1965/2007.

28 Tsutomu Sugimoto, *Kotoba no bunkashi: Nihongo no kigen kara gendaigo made* [The Cultural history of Language: From the Origins to Modern Japanese]. Tokyo: Ôfusha, 1982.

29 Kamei Takashi, Rokuro Kōno & Eiichi Chino (eds.), *Gengogaku daijiten 2: Sekai gengo hen* [The Great Dictionary of Linguistics vol. 2: Languages of the World]. Tokyo: Sanseido, 1996.

30 Haruhiko Kindaichi, Takeshi Shibata & Hayashi Ôki (eds.), *Nihongo hyakka daijiten* [The Great Encyclopedia of the Japanese Language]. Tokyo: Taishukan, 1990.

use the latter. What is interesting, is the view that the idea of *kokugo* was in a latent form already present in the thought of *kokugakusha* (national scholars) of the Tokugawa period, in the notion of *mikuni kotoba* (the language of the noble land) referring to the language of Japan as opposed to Chinese. At the same time (1) distinguishes a clear cut difference between *kokugakusha's mikuni kotoba* and the notion of *kokugo*, introduced during the Meiji period. The former has the nuance of preservation of the existing vernacular cultural heritage, as opposed to the perceived encroachment of classical Chinese, while the latter is connected with the modernizing project of developing latent linguistic potentials as a communication medium. Kamei et al. in source (1) also make explicit the difference between *kokugo* (the national language [of Japan]) and *nihongo* (the Japanese language) as two different notions, pointing out the polysemy in the use of *kokugo*: (i) language recognized as one nation's own language; (ii) in particular - Japanese; (iii) Japanese linguistic elements remaining after the removal of Sino-Japanese lexical elements, i.e., proper Japanese elements; (iv) not just as an object of scholarly study, but Japanese as a subject in the school curriculum in the existing educational system. Thus, *kokugo* is inappropriate as a term for the object of scientific linguistic study, which can only be *nihongo* - Japanese. From the point of view of *kokugogaku* (*kokugo* studies), the scientific study of Japanese is relevant only as a means for the advancement of *kokugogaku*, and not as an inherent goal of scientific study in itself.³¹

The description in source (3), it being an encyclopedic dictionary of linguistics, is less explicit because of the limited amount of space, but the relevant text is by the same author, Kamei, following the same lines as (1).³² The overall impression both sources give is that of an impartial, objective approach to the realities concerning the development of the Japanese language.

Source (2), i.e., Sugimoto, being a monograph on the cultural history of language, illustrated with the developments in Japanese, is less extensive in coverage than (1). Here, *kokugo* as a notion is given no explicit treatment, though political implications of *kokugo* education are mentioned from a critical standpoint in several places. Thus there is a critical assessment of *kanji* policies, a critique of the goals the Meiji government had with *kokugo kyōiku* (national language education) at the expense of regional varieties of Japanese, and finally, a critical assessment of the results of Meiji style *kokugo kyōiku*, i.e., the long lasting split between the 'élite' center and the 'coarse' countryside.

The language policies in Meiji are explained in the context of Meiji state policies and goals for the modernization and militarization of Japan.

31 Kamei et al., *Nihongo no rekishi* 6, pp. 197-202.

32 Kamei et al., *Gengogaku daijiten* 2, pp. 1629-32.

Source (4)³³ treats *kokugo* as a given fact. There is no discussion of its historical and ideological properties.³⁴ The Japanese state and its language are presented as an unchanging and unproblematic temporal continuum at least since the first half of the 1st millennium CE.³⁵ Such a view is in clear contradiction with established historical facts and is a clear case of projection of the present state of affairs onto the past. In this context the use of the emotionally and politically loaded term *wagakuni* (our country), not found in the other three sources, is emblematic.³⁶

In our country (*wagakuni*) there was no indigenous system of letters to write the language of one's own country. From the 4th to the 5th century CE, through contact with Chinese characters which were *introduced* together with cultural artefacts from China, writing became known. Since then, using various devices, Chinese characters, i.e., the characters for writing Chinese, came to be used for writing Japanese. (Translated by A. B.)

3.4.2 Autochthonous Minorities - Ryukyu/Okinawa and Ainu

Sources (1) and (3). In source (1) the harsh treatment of Okinawa, including the use of *hōgen fuda* “dialect placards” in relation to teaching the standard language, is mentioned in detail.³⁷ On the other hand, the same source does not mention the cultural and linguistic assimilation of the Ainu.

In source (3) autochthonous minorities are treated under extensive entries devoted to the Ryukyuu/Okinawan language and the Ainu language while under the entry covering the history of the Japanese language, they are not mentioned.

Source (2). The Ainu people and language are mentioned only in the context of the origins and genetic affiliation of Japanese. Ryukyu/Okinawan receives no mention.³⁸

Source (4). The highhanded treatment of the Ainu and Ryukyu/Okinawa people as mere minorities is conspicuous. The issue of preserving minorities' linguistic and cultural identities is presented as too petty for the Japanese state to occupy itself with. In addition, Ryukyu/Okinawan is mentioned as a dialect, even though it is totally unintelligible for people from the Japanese mainland islands and although it had an independent written tradition as a separate literary and colloquial language before the annexation to Japan. The repression of dialects (*hōgen bokumetsu*) is mentioned (without specifics) as an accidental fact which, in

33 Kindaichi et al., *Nihongo hyakka daijiten*, pp. 1227-1242.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 1227.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 1229.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 1229. The emotional load of *wagakuni* can be observed, among others, on blogs, such as Internet source: <http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/success0965/11335415.html> (retrieved April 16, 2011).

37 Kamei et al., *Nihongo no rekishi* 6, pp. 367-8.

38 Sugimoto, *Kotoba no bunkashi*, pp. 282-298.

the less rigid atmosphere after WWII, was “unfortunately” perceived as coercion and the enforcement of *hyōjungo* “standard language”.³⁹

3.4.3 Language Policies in the Colonies

With Korea being directly annexed and prepared for cultural and linguistic assimilation, and Taiwan also being under very close colonial rule, language policies in the pre-war Japanese colonies were closely connected with language policies in *naichi* (mainland Japan). In the light of research done by Osa⁴⁰ and Yasuda⁴¹ among others, on the intrinsic relationship between script reforms in the colonies and the mainland, it is surprising that this issue receives no mention in any of the examined materials.

4. DISCUSSION

Source (1), Kamei et al. (eds.), (1965 /2007) is a work meant for both experts and for the wider public. Similarly, Source (2), Sugimoto is a work more oriented towards the general public and technically not very demanding. On the other hand, Source (3), Kamei et al. (eds.), (1996) being an encyclopedic dictionary of linguistics, is a technical work primarily meant as a reference for fellow linguists.

All three sources, despite some limitations, and regardless of whether they are meant for the general public or for experts, provide a rather objective treatment of relevant issues. They share a common focus: while presenting relevant linguistic facts concerning the development of Japanese, they also introduce a considerable amount of social, cultural and historic contextual information in a polemic mode.

Source (4), Kindaichi et al. (eds.), (1990), being an encyclopedic dictionary of the Japanese language, is basically also intended as a reference work for a more technically demanding audience of experts working on various aspects of Japanese language (from teaching Japanese as the first language to teaching it as a second language and for linguistic and philological research). It presents technical facts while providing less context for their understanding. When the context is given at all, facts from the context tend to be presented in a mechanistic way, not revealing the causal relationship with the linguistic facts. Thus, the entries examined in (4) do not compare well with related parts of the other three works; they seem to be less scientifically rigorous and reflect a more utilitarian approach common in mainstream *kokugogaku*. In (4), a priori identification with

39 Kindaichi et al., *Nihongo hyakka daijiten*, pp. 1228.

40 Osa, *Kindai Nihon to kokka nashonarizumu*.

41 Yasuda, *Shokuminchi no nakano 'kokugogaku'*; Yasuda, *Kokugo to hōgen no aida*; Yasuda 'Gengo' no *kochiku*.

utilitarian goals of promoting the national language may be seen in particular from the treatment of the nature of *kokugo* and the Japanese language. It seems that there is no distinction between the two. This is in stark contrast with the treatment in Kamei et al.,⁴² which gives a clear picture of the loose usage of the term *kokugo*. Also, in Kindaichi's treatment there seems to be an ideologically based temporal and spatial projection of the term backwards in time and to the territory of the modern Japanese state. In addition, the coercive phase of the introduction of standard language (*hyōjungo*), involving deeply divisive issues such as the aforementioned use of *hōgen n fuda* "dialect placards", is presented so as to imply that such practices might have only been a remote possibility. Other authors (i.e., Kamei et al.) treat this issue in a much more critical way.

One thing common to all the materials is the omission of any treatment of language policies in the colonies. This omission may reveal an implicit understanding of priorities, i.e., that the Japanese language is indeed a *kokugo* (national language) whose relevant treatment is necessarily limited to the territory of the nation in question. One further fact supporting this view is also the systematic omission in all four materials of any mention of the language problems of the rather numerous Japanese diaspora in the USA and South America.

5. CONCLUSION

Consistent, state-endorsed and often state-enforced language policies since from approximately the second half of the Meiji period onwards, which, although they finally failed in colonial territories were successful in the "inner provinces" (*naichi*) as well as in Hokkaido and Okinawa, achieved a high degree of homogeneity regarding linguistic and ethnic identity in Japan by the first half of the twentieth century.

As mentioned earlier in Section 3.2, examination of the material taken from the *Nihonshi B* textbook published by Sanseido, shows some concern with language policy issues during Meiji and pre-war Japan. The passages cited above exhaust the topics covered by the textbooks analyzed for this study. Nonetheless, in spite of the importance of the issue, in the textbooks, this concern does not go beyond introducing such examples as merely illustrations or instances of wider trends.

On the other hand, the four general works examined devoted to language issues go into more detail as compared with the textbooks. Yet, in their view of the linguistic processes involving the Japanese language, they do display hints of biases based on the identification of language with the territorial nation-state.

42 Kamei et al., *Nihongo no rekishi* 6, pp. 201-202.

Kindaichi et al.⁴³ clearly emerges as the odd man out with its apparent lack of objective reflection and clearly discernible patriotic fervor seen in the projection of the modern homogenized nation state and its national language image back into times when both the social and political organization as well as the linguistic situation were entirely different from those in a modern nation state.

This “projectionist” view of national language may also be behind the paradoxical perception and omission of important Japanese language related issues in the textbooks.

Such a tendency may seem surprising at a time when the perception of past events, due to distance in time and advances in research, is expected to have become mature. Yet it seems this is not an isolated tendency. As also reflected in perceptions in Kindaichi et al., the research tradition of *kokugo*, i.e. projecting *kokugo* back into history to the linguistic practices of the pre-modern inhabitants of Japan, succeeded, it seems, in transforming *kokugo* into an entity existing beyond time, akin to the air people breathe, but never questioned in its essence.

Indeed, if we view the national language as basically being present since time immemorial and being homogeneously spread all over the national territory, with the dialects, once safely subdued under the standardization being just a charming addition of the local colour, then the radical and profound language reforms being implemented during the later part of the Meiji period, do not appear as such at all. They are just reforms in a long string of language reforms, which after WWII also include periodical adjustments of the kanji to be learned or of the kana orthography. Thus, these reforms, being just one episode in a long series of such changes, in the view of the history textbook authors indeed do not deserve the attention of high school children cramming for the entrance exams, and as such, can be happily omitted. Which is exactly what seems to be the case.

Such a view is reflected not only in history and *kokugo* textbooks which offer no mention of the genesis of Modern Japanese and its importance for the State of Japan, but is also reflected in the parallel development in the sphere of *kokugo* research itself. The so called *Kokugo shi*, histories of *kokugo*, even those written by respected scholars,⁴⁴ skip the socio-political and historical circumstances of the genesis of modern language almost completely. And it is no coincidence, that it is only from the late 1980s or early 1990s onwards that the aforementioned comparatively younger generation of critical *kokugo* scholars, sociologists, literature researchers and historians (Lee, Osa, Yasuda, Komori etc...) have started delving critically and systematically into the ideological, cultural, social, political and historical circumstances of the ‘birth and life’ of Modern Japanese.

43 Kindaichi et al., *Nihongo hyakka daijiten*.

44 Kamei et al. (eds.), *Nihongo no rekishi 6*; Minoru Watanabe, *Nihongo shi yosetsu [The Essential History of Japanese]*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Publishers, 1999.

The marginal view of the '*kokugo mondai*' (national language issue) that we have seen in the analyzed textbook material, is thus a natural consequence of a certain view of society in general and history in particular, where language is perceived as a context and not as one of the essential factors contributing towards developments in society, and at the same time is shaped by those developments. It is hoped that this new perception of the role of language and the advances in the research of Japan's history and society based on this perception, will someday also trickle down to the high school textbook compilers.

This study is just the first step into an enquiry of the treatment of the national language and language policy in general in Japanese high school textbooks. The level of analysis is basically descriptive and no attempts have yet been made to put the findings into theoretical perspective. It is hoped that with a wider amount of relevant material examined it will also be possible to tackle the problem from a more theoretically based approach, ensuring that a more refined picture of the problem may emerge in the future.

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Nobuhiro Shiba

ATTEMPTS TO WRITE REGIONAL HISTORY:

In Search of Reconciliation in East Asia and the Balkans

INTRODUCTION

In the Balkan countries,¹ attempts to reconsider their own history textbooks and history education are going forward from the viewpoint of regional history. For example, the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeastern Europe, a NGO group in Thessaloniki, has published the common alternative history materials shared among eleven Southeast European countries from Slovenia to Cyprus in the form of four common history workbooks. The English version²

1 In this chapter, the Balkans and Southeastern Europe are used with the same meaning.

2 *Teaching Modern Southeast European History: Alternative Educational Materials, Workbook I-IV*. Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2005. Translation in Japanese: *History of the Balkans: Common Educational Materials on the Modern and Contemporary History of the Balkans*. supervisor of translation, Nobuhiro Shiba, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten (柴宜弘監修『バルカンの歴史——バルカン近現代史の共通教材』明石書店), 2013.

of these books was published in 2005 after two and a half years' joint efforts of over 60 historians and history teachers, and many subsequent versions in the participants' own languages have also been published.³ These alternative history workbooks are epoch-making materials which encourage each country to review its own national histories from the standpoint of regional history, although they have not been given any official approval by the respective countries' ministries of education. Attempts to make such alternative history materials, rather than a common history textbook are very interesting for us, keeping in mind the history textbook issues in East Asia.

These attempts are also related to the reconciliation of the Southeast European countries after the Yugoslav wars. As Wolfgang Höpken points out, coming to terms with the past has developed into a global phenomenon and a kind of universal principle since the end of the Cold War, going beyond the German and Japanese cases.⁴ In his article, Höpken tries to identify the conditions and variables which seem to determine the role and capacity of history textbooks to shape the process of reconciliation, with some examples mostly from Central Europe and the Balkans.⁵

The aim of this chapter is at first to show the transnational attempts for reconciliation through history education and textbooks in Europe, especially in the Balkans. After that, keeping reconciliation through history education and textbooks in view, I will introduce how regional history is considered in East Asia as a framework beyond national history and what the regional concept of East Asia is like in comparison with the regional concept of the Balkans.

1. FOUR ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION THROUGH HISTORY EDUCATION IN EUROPE

Four attempts at reconciliation through history education are now making progress in Europe. First, there have been significant efforts for reconciliation through dialogues among historians – an approach which was especially promoted by the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. Typical cases of such an initiative for the reconciliation of historical views in Europe would be the long dialogues that took place between

3 Cf.: Nobuhiro Shiba, "Attempts to Bring about a Reconciliation through History Textbooks: the Case of the Balkan States" (柴宜弘「歴史教育による和解の試み」), *Pacific and American Studies* (『アメリカ太平洋研究』) (The University of Tokyo), Vol. 11, March 2011, pp. 7-17.

4 Wolfgang Höpken, "History Textbooks in Post-war and Post-conflict Societies: Preconditions and Experiences in Comparative Perspective", in Steffi Richter (ed.), *Contested Views of a Common Past*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008, p. 373.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 378-392.

German and Polish historians starting in 1972, where there was an attempt to reconcile each other's differences in historical understanding, as well as between Germany and the Czech Republic, Germany and Israel, and also among the Balkan countries. Obviously, there has also been a great development of dialogues for reconciliation between the German and French historians. This process has resulted in common history textbooks between Germany and France, which have also been translated into Japanese.⁶

Secondly, the Council of Europe also plays a certain role in achieving reconciliation among peoples through history education. It has organized international seminars for the history of Europe and in particular tackled the problems of history education in search of a new image of Europe after the end of the Cold War. This includes a special project under the title of "The Other's Image in History Education" supported by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe, together with UNESCO, has also organized numerous seminars on the Southeast European countries, especially on history education after the Wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thirdly, the activities of EUROCLIO, an Association of European History Teachers, are important. A history teachers' organization from 14 countries was organized in 1992 with the assistance of the Council of Europe for the purpose of supporting the promotion of history education for peace, stabilization, democracy and the encouragement of critical thinking. In 1993, this organization was formally established as EUROCLIO. Since then, it has worked on making materials for history teaching and building a network of history teacher's organizations, playing a central role for building history teacher's organizations in the Yugoslav Successor States, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main office of EUROCLIO is seated in The Hague, and the organization now includes 46 countries and is actively involved in numerous demanding projects.

Finally, I wish to mention an NGO, the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) seated in Thessaloniki, Greece. This NGO has been making ongoing attempts to change history education for the reconciliation of the Balkan countries which were influenced directly or indirectly by the Yugoslav Wars. It is worthy of note that these attempts are not to implement the project at the request of any International framework such as the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe after the end of the Kosovo conflicts in 1999, but aim to build their project on their own initiatives. The Joint History Project,

6 Peter Geiss and Guillaume Le Quintrec (eds.), supervisors of translation: Norihiko Fukui and Takahiro Kondo, *Franco-German Common History Textbook (Contemporary History)*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten (ペーター・ガイス、ギヨーム・ル・カントレック監修、福井憲彦・近藤孝弘監訳『ドイツ・フランス共通歴史教科書(現代史)』明石書店), 2008. Original title: *Histoire/Geschichte: Europa und die Welt seit 1945/ L'Europe et le monde depuis 1945*, 2006.

inaugurated in 1998 by CDRSEE, focused mainly on investigating the possibility of writing and teaching a common history for all Southeast European countries, from Slovenia to Cyprus.⁷ This first voluntary attempt at a citizen's initiative in the Balkan countries began and was conducted by the History Education Committee, whose chair is Prof. Christina Koulouri from Greece. Actually, the History Education Committee includes 17 members consisting of historians and history teachers, representing eleven Southeast European countries.

2. ATTEMPTS FOR RECONCILIATION THROUGH HISTORY EDUCATION IN THE BALKAN COUNTRIES

(1) Attempts by the CDRSEE

The History Education Committee held intensive workshops from 1999 to 2000 on sensitive topics in the history of the Balkans in order to compare the history textbooks and curricula of the Balkan countries. The members of the Committee shared the understanding that the descriptions in the history textbooks were one of the main factors causing their confrontations and conflicts, but that it is possible at the same time to promote reconciliation through the change of the history textbooks.

As is generally known, the modern states in the Balkans after achieving independence from the Ottoman Empire repeatedly came into conflict with each other. This led the Balkans down the road of dividing into sections influenced by the interests of the great powers in Europe. Subsequently, the explanations of the Balkan Wars in the history textbooks are largely different. The chain of Yugoslav conflicts in the 1990s had a great influence not only on relations among the Yugoslav successor states, but also on the relations among all the Balkan countries. How the Yugoslav conflicts were taught in their classrooms constituted a very difficult problem. Especially the Yugoslav successor states generally had ethnocentric history textbooks for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of the new independent states, making the reconsideration of their own history textbooks an urgent task.

In addition to comparing and examining their history textbooks, it is also important to reconsider the history-consciousness and teaching methods of history teachers. The Committee organized workshops from 2000 to 2002 on the topic of the various different history explanations that exist in spite of the

7 The 11 Southeast European Countries include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro (now Serbia, Montenegro), Slovenia and Turkey.

common modern history in the Balkans - such as on the rule over the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire, the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the Second World War - for the purpose of training history teachers. The members of the Committee worked voluntarily as workshop tutors, elaborating on how history teachers from different countries, each of which has a different explanation of these events, could discuss these topics effectively.⁸

After two and a half years of intensive workshops with the participation of historians and history teachers, the Committee resolved to publish a series of thematic books of historical materials from the Balkan countries aimed at helping to achieve a sustainable stability and future reconciliation, and began work on four volumes of history materials for gymnasium students. The virtual anchor of these efforts was Christina Koulouri, who was at once General Coordinator and Series Editor. Considering that the ministry of education generally has great influence in each respective Balkan country and furthermore that there was a common conviction on the impossibility of uniting the history textbooks of 11 countries, the Committee did not attempt to make a common history textbook among them all. Rather, the decision was to strive to publish thematic books of historical materials by which the ethnocentric history textbooks could be relativized in order to urge their own history textbooks to change through this example of a new method of history education.

The following four topics were selected as sensitive themes for the books of history materials: The Ottoman Empire, Nations and States, The Balkan Wars, The Second World War. The four topics belong to periods when the peoples in the Balkans shared their destiny – either living together or in confrontation with each other. Koulouri pointed out that these four topics were most suitable for urging history education to change based on three points. Firstly, Nations and States and The Second World War cannot be taught unless they are put into the context of European history and World history. Secondly, as the thematic historical materials are not classified by country or by nation, it is easy to take a comparative and multi-perspective approach in history teaching, rather than approach the subject matter from an ethnocentric perspective. Thus, two kinds of stereotypes can be eliminated: one is the set of stereotypes that each Balkan peoples hold regarding their neighbors and the other is the stereotype about the Balkans that Western Europe has. Thirdly, the history of the Balkans as a regional history is not conceived

8 Christina Koulouri, "The Common Past of a Divided Region: Teaching Balkan History", in Nobuhiro Shiba (ed.), *In Search of a Common Regional History: The Balkans and East Asia in History Textbooks*. Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, 2006, pp. 11-12. The records of workshops for two terms are the following: Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Teaching the History of Southeastern Europe*. Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2001; Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education*. Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2002.

as a harmonious linear process but as a synthesis of co-existence and conflicts.⁹ It is, I think, very important for the reconciliation of peoples across borders that pupils learn a comparative and multi-perspective approach in their classrooms, as this could create the basis for a common understanding of history.

The editors of each thematic book of historical materials were selected under Koulouri's project leadership and 14 historians worked as contributors from their countries' national archives, libraries and personal collections to collect the materials with the support of the history teachers from the 11 Balkan countries. This cooperation between historians and history teachers resulted in the publication of four volumes of thematic books of historical materials.

(2) Attempts by EUROCLIO

Another attempt to make a teaching book for history was also made among the Yugoslav successor states in addition to the four volumes of thematic books of historical materials from among the 11 Balkan countries. The people who were involved in EUROCLIO activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia published a teaching book entitled *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country, Everyday Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990*.¹⁰ I will briefly explain the background of this teaching book before referring to the contents of the book.

The project began in 2003, when the Danish History Teacher's Association addressed EUROCLIO to launch it with the financial support of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the consideration that the nationalistic history education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia prevented reconciliation in the post-conflict societies. Later, the project was to be supported by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs instead of its Danish counterpart and three projects continued under the wing of the initial project until 2008.

The first project in 2003 entitled "To Promote and Support the Development of a Regional History Education Network in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, and to Identify Ways Ahead for School History, Strengthening Peace, Stability and Democracy", supported by the Stability Pact Program of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, laid the cornerstone for cooperation in the area.

A second Danish funded project in 2004, which is titled "Enhancing Regional

9 Koulouri, "The Common Past of a Divided Region: Teaching Balkan History", p. 16.

10 *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country, Everyday Life in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990: Yugoslavia between East and West*. Belgrade: EUROCLIO, 2008. Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian versions of this book had been published before the English version. See: <http://www.euroclio.eu/new/index.php/resources>.

History Education and Civic Society: A EUROCLIO Stability Pact Project on Common Approaches for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro”, continued the training of local professionals and started the development of educational materials.

In 2005 the Danish support stopped, due to political changes in Denmark. The Dutch Foreign Office then supported the third project, which was titled “History in Action – Planning for the Future: A Regional Approach for the Learning and Teaching of History in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro”.¹¹ This project continued the regional cooperation until 2008, giving a variety of concrete results.

According to the *EUROCLIO Special Report: Five Years of Projects in the Former Yugoslavia*,¹² the overall aim of the three projects was to support the regional development of history and citizenship education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, so that collaborative values, critical awareness and mutual respect, peace, stability and democracy could be promoted.

The projects had three main targets:

1. To enhance the quality of history education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia and make it contribute to reconciliation.
2. To enhance national and international cooperation, communication and networks of history educators in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia.
3. To reinforce civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia by creating sustainable and professional History Teachers’ Associations.

Throughout the projects for enhancing the quality of history education, training seminars for historians and history textbook authors, trainers, and teachers were held. Participation in international activities on the learning and teaching of history was increased. These steps would help to create a growing awareness of the need for innovative history curricula respecting diversity in society. Altogether, a growing group of trainers and teachers would be updated and trained.

For enhancing national and international cooperation, communication and networks, seminars focusing on diversity in society were organized and a core-group of innovative history educators – representing ethnic, religious and linguistic communities in the three countries – was set up. Furthermore, a national and international inclusive network operating on a local, national and international level was to be created and strengthened. All of these matters would set up and fortify relations with national and international authorities related to history education, such as the Council of Europe, OSCE, UNESCO, EU, EUROCLIO, each respective national Ministry of Education and NGO’s.

¹¹ See; [http:// www.euloclio.eu](http://www.euloclio.eu).

¹² See; <http:// www.euloclio.eu>.

To reinforce civil society, professional and active independent History Educators' Associations were created in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The existing Association in Serbia was strengthened and became active. Annual meetings were organized to widen the network involved and to develop short- and mid-term policy papers. Workshops were held to develop skills to make the associations sustainable. Fifty-five younger historians and history teachers from three countries participated in the workshops and seminars for over three years. Their efforts were also directed towards compiling the teaching book for history teachers dealing with the way to teach pupils sensitive post-World War II history topics in Yugoslavia.

The teaching book for history teachers entitled "*Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country - Everyday Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia 1945-1990: Yugoslavia between East and West*" was published in 2007 as the concrete result of these projects. This book includes a number of sensitive topics from the socialist period which have little opportunity to be taught in the classroom through each history textbook.

(3) A Contents Analysis of the Teaching Book

The contents of the book are as follows:

Introduction

Part I Political Life

- Workshop 1 Goran Miloradović, The Hot Spot of the Cold War: Yugoslavia
- Workshop 2 Goran Miloradović, The Beginning or End of Democracy?
- Workshop 3 Denis Detling, Forced Labor Camps Even after the End of the World War
- Workshop 4 Denis Detling, The (non)Freedoms of Religion
- Workshop 5 Bahrudin Beširević, "We are Tito's and Tito is ours"
- Workshop 6 Bahrudin Beširević, We or I?
- Workshop 7 Milija Marjanović, Socialism without a Human Image

Part II The Standard of Living

- Workshop 8 Kiti Jurica Korda, „Daddy, Buy me a Car...”: The Appearance of Consumer Society
- Workshop 9 Kiti Jurica Korda, The Position of Women
- Workshop 10 Darko Benčić, Once Upon a Time in Yugoslavia
- Workshop 11 Vesna Dimitrijević, What Could Apartments Tell Us about People Living There?
- Workshop 12 Marija Naletilić, From Classes Against Illiteracy to Computers
- Workshop 13 Elma Hašimbegović, A Healthy Spirit in a Healthy Body!?

Workshop 14 Zvezdana Petrović, "Those Who Have Dollars Swim in the Sea, and Those Who Haven't, in the Bathtub!"

Part III Mass Culture

Workshop 15 Radina Vučetić, Goodbye East, Hello West!

Workshop 16 Radina Vučetić, Between Support and Rebellion

Workshop 17 Ivan Dukić, 'Bekrija si (You Are a Heavy Drinker)!'; The Village is Yelling...: Life in Village and Town in the SFRY 1945.-1990

Workshop 18 Ivan Dukić, "The New Generation Plays Vaguely": Relations between the Young and the Old Generation

Workshop 19 Darko Karačić, Politics and Sports

Workshop 20 Darko Karačić, The Image of Yugoslavia

This book consists of supplemental materials for history teaching in high schools. Different sources are included and several teaching methods and approaches are proposed. As we can see by the contents of this book, Part I is about political life in the Socialist Yugoslavia, Part II is about the standard of living from an economic point of view, and mass culture is treated in Part III. The most important characteristic of this book is, I think, to encourage pupils to imagine Yugoslavia as a common space and to consider the everyday life of ordinary people in the whole of socialist Yugoslavia, not in each republic. I will examine only the chapters about political life.

In Part I, this book intended to give pupils some materials and discuss the following seven points: 1) The position of Yugoslavia in international relationships at the beginning of the Cold War, 2) Democracy in Yugoslavia after World War II, 3) The expulsion of the Volksdeutscher in Yugoslavia, 4) The position of religion in everyday life in Yugoslavia, 5) Tito's role and the cult of Tito in Yugoslavia, 6) The creation and elements of the socialist slogan, "brotherhood and unity" in Yugoslavia and 7) Three cases of mass uprisings and the reactions of the authorities: the students' demonstrations in 1968, the Croat Spring in 1971, and the crisis in Kosovo in 1981.

Chapter 2 tries to show with a view on international factors how the Communist Party constructed the post-war political system in Yugoslavia after World War II and that the expression "democracy" does not have the same meaning in different circumstances and for different actors. On the one hand, the Communist Party was using the expression "people's democracy", believing that they embodied true democracy as the only political representative of the people. On the other hand, civil politicians were using the term "parliamentary democracy", believing that only a multiparty election system of equal political competitors can give truly legitimate power which will represent all social strata.

It is very important that pupils in these countries could be encouraged to think carefully about the meaning of the Communist Party and democracy through the historical materials in this chapter - just as it is interesting for us to know how the vote was carried out in the first parliamentary elections in November 1945. Small voting balls were used instead of ballots in the election – just like in ancient Greece.

Tito's role and his regime's slogan, "brotherhood and unity" in the Socialist Yugoslavia are treated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Tito was, in effect, at the helm of all important institutions in Yugoslavia since the end of World War II. Such a unification of governing functions in the hands of one man led to the creation of a personality cult. Towns, streets and schools were named after him and his portraits were visibly displayed in all public institutions and the homes of most ordinary people. Tito not only left a remarkable trace on Yugoslavia, he also won the reputation of a distinguished statesman in the international arena. In this chapter, pupils are led to consider whether most common people really enjoyed "Tito's justice" or not. For example, material about the Cazin uprising in May 1950 in the northwestern part of Bosnia bordering on Croatia is included. This joint Serb-Bosnian peasants' uprising was instigated by those who had fought on the Partisan side during the war. The situation in this area was terrible and unbearable for the peasants and the reason for the uprising was that the agrarian purchases conducted by the authorities and their arrogant behavior towards the peasants were more than humiliating. It seems that the Cazin uprising, which has been previously neglected in the history textbooks, is an important event for considering the policy of Tito's regime towards villages and peasants in those days.

Regarding "brotherhood and unity" in Chapter 6, pupils could learn the issue of collectivization; for example, the concept of collective consciousness and the collective character of the state. The Pioneer organization, Youth Labor Action (ORA) and the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) are examples of collective consciousness and mass organization. Massiveness, uniformity, discipline, the glorification of revolution and its legacy and "brotherhood and unity", these were the main characteristics of the collectivism in the period after World War II. An individual's rights and position were subjected to collective ones. What kind of impression do today's pupils in these countries gain by learning about the collectivism beyond ethnicity and region? The most impressive material in this chapter is, I think, an interview with a person from Sarajevo called up for compulsory military service in 1989. He remembers the period doing his military service as follows:

When I got called up for military service in 1989, I felt I was going to do something important, to be a part of something big, something in

common to all. My parents were happy and sad. Happy that their boy had grown to be fit for the army, and sad that they would be separated from him the whole year. There was a saying among the people that he, who was no good for the army, was no good for anything. A decade before that time, any boy who did not serve his compulsory term in the army would hardly find a bride; he would have been considered incapable. At the end of the 80s, the situation had changed somewhat; there were boys who simulated illnesses in order to be exempted, and there were rumors that the army was not ours (common to all of Yugoslavia), but Serb only. I, as most of my friends, did not want to believe that the JNA was not Yugoslav, not our national army.

After a farewell party organized by my parents, to which all my friends and cousins had come, I went to serve my term in Batajnica, a small place near Belgrade. Although the barracks housed a small number of soldiers (just over a hundred), they were from all the republics of Yugoslavia and representative of the all nations and nationalities. There were no Albanians there, however; the word was they were not reliable to serve in this important place (there was a central point of JNA communications there). The Army's policy was to send soldiers out of their home region, so that representatives of different nations in Yugoslavia served together and got to know each other, make friends and realize the propagated spreading of brotherhood and unity. I have a feeling that the Army attempted to subdue the individual interests to serve the collective ones - from the smallest military unit to the largest Yugoslavia and we were taught to sacrifice for the group. In the army, the punishments were mainly collective, as well as the prizes. If someone would do something wrong, the whole group would suffer, sometimes the group would 'take care' of the disobeying individual, who would be given a dose of 'blanketing' (the group puts a blanket over the 'victim' and kicks him well, but he does not see a single dispenser of the punishment - the usual thing in the military).

When I think about that time now, this deleting of your own identity bothers me, but, I have to admit, it did not bother me then. (An interview with Edin R. from Sarajevo).¹³

Pupils might come to know from his interview that the JNA was not only a military force, but also a mass institution for generating a real feeling of "brotherhood and unity" in Yugoslavia. It is very interesting for us to see how pupils in three countries learn of Tito's role and "brotherhood and unity" in the

13 *Ordinary People in an Extraordinary Country*, p. 49.

Socialist Yugoslavia in connection with the recent phenomena of Yugonostalgia or Titostalgia.¹⁴

Chapter 7 offers pupils some materials about three mass uprisings and the reactions of the Yugoslav authorities. In spite of the image the official state propaganda created, presenting Yugoslavia as an ideal example of the unity of nations and party leadership, there was a significant amount of dissatisfaction in Yugoslavia among certain social, national and ethnic groups. The materials show that the student critics addressed issues such as privileges, personal enrichment and unemployment, and the most radical slogan was: 'Down with the red bourgeoisie'. This slogan was expressed during the Belgrade university students' demonstrations in 1968. The aim of the Croat Spring movement was greater political and economic stability for Croatia within Yugoslavia, especially in the field of tourism and the foreign currency regime. Croatian students demonstrated their support by organizing a general strike. Due to the massive support expressed by the citizens in Croatia, the movement was referred to as the Massive Movement, or "Maspok". Regarding these two cases, this chapter presents materials written by the parties concerned, but as to the Kosovo crisis in 1981, the sources are about the reaction of authorities towards the mass demonstrations of Albanians.

Chapter 3 treats an example of the persecution of ethnic Germans which has never been enclosed in the history textbooks before and could give pupils the perception of Yugoslavia as just an assailant. Chapter 4 presents the position of religion in everyday life in Yugoslavia, showing that confirming religion as well as negating it was a part of everyday life even in the socialist Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, this teaching book is very useful for the pupils in the three countries to learn about the Socialist Yugoslavia as a common region in a time when the political reconciliation between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia is making rapid progress. In addition, three points might be raised.

Firstly, this teaching book lacks a chapter on World War II in Yugoslavia – because it is not possible to gain a joint understanding of the Socialist Yugoslavia after World War II without a shared perception of World War II.

Secondly, this teaching book does not include chapters about the constitutional regime in 1974 and the federation system, which are indispensable to learning about the socialist Yugoslavia.

Finally, this teaching book introduces innovative methods for history teaching, for example, oral history and interviews, but it seems that the interviews are limited and insufficient in Chapter 20.

14 Regarding the terms of Yugonostalgia or Titostalgia, See; Mitja Velikonja, *Titostalgia: A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz*. Ljubljana: Peace Institute, 2008.

3. WHAT IS 'REGION'?

These two attempts to make the thematic books of history materials and a cross-border history teaching book are very important, not only for mutual reconciliation, but also for thinking again about the concept of region and regional history; for example, along the lines of a regional concept of East Asia and a history of East Asia for us. Before considering the concept of East Asia, I will refer briefly to the concept of 'region'.

The definition of 'region' is not clear. We can use the term 'regions' not only in the sense of areas of nation state scale, but also beyond nation state scale, as well as on a local level within the nation state (in this case meaning micro-regions). What is the main factor making up 'region'? Bearing nation state scale such as Britain, France and Germany in mind, generally speaking, it may be the unity of homogeneity based on national language.

But 'region' is also formed beyond the nation state scale. We could consider the largest scale like Asia, Europe, America and Africa (these meaning macro-regions) or larger scale like East Asia, Southeastern Asia, Eastern Europe, the Balkans and so on (these being meso-regions or sub-regions). These macro-regions and meso-regions are not homogeneous from the viewpoint of language, religion and ethnicity. Rather, they have each their own diversity. For example, Eastern Europe is extremely variegated in respect of language, religion and ethnicity. Eastern Europe as a meso-region is formed because of its having a kind of unity in relation with Western Europe. So the main factor of unity as a region consists of not only homogeneity, but also heterogeneity if there is a strong interdependent relation with the other regions. The concept of 'region' is made up of homogeneity and diversity.

We cannot treat such a region as a physiographical unchangeable concept when we study it. Because the regions or the states as an object of study each have their own regionality or national character and their characteristics could be historically variable. Furthermore, we cannot research a region as an object of study without considering the international factors surrounding it. As the concept of Eastern Europe is given validity in comparison with the concept of Western Europe, so its comparison and relationship with other regions can become an important way of studying a specific region. And a historical point of view is extremely valid for understanding the relationships among regions.¹⁵

In any case, we should give much attention to the historical variability of the concept of 'regions'. We may say that the reason why we set the concept of 'regions' depends on each researcher's concern. Therefore, I will compare the Balkans with East Asia, as I have an interest in relativizing national histories.

15 Hiroshi Momose, *International Studies*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (百瀬宏『国際関係学』東京大学出版会), 1993, pp. 212-225.

4. THE REGIONAL CONCEPT OF EAST ASIA IN COMPARISON WITH THE CONCEPT OF THE BALKANS

(1) The Case in Japan

The regional concept of the Balkans is mainly considered from the following three points of view when each researcher sets the concept as a meaningful unit of analysis depending on his concern. The first point is the legacy of a common past; to put it concretely, a common legacy produced by the long Ottoman rule. The second is the arena of interaction, that is, several centuries of contacts, conflicts and co-existence. The third is the framework for comparison on the assumption that societies which share common linguistic, religious, political, economic and historical spaces are the best subject for comparative analysis.¹⁶ Moreover, recently researchers interested in a transnational and comparative approach insist on the notion of 'historical region.' For example, a historian in Holm Sundhaussen, Germany, pointed out that the Byzantine-Orthodoxy and the Ottoman-Islamic heritage were the main characteristics of the Balkans, dividing the Balkans from the other regions in Europe.¹⁷

In Japan, the regional concept of East Asia was generalized after World War II, especially in the 1980s when the economy underwent a remarkable development in South-Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. East Asia, consisting of China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam, came to be considered as one cultural area where they shared Chinese script (Kanji), Confucianism and Chinese culture. This is because we started to easily find a lot of arguments demonstrating that the reason for the economic and social development in this region may be ascribed to a cultural unity like the Chinese characters and Confucianism. Especially Confucianism, which had been treated as a negative factor for modernization, was re-evaluated, and the unity of the region as a cultural area rather than the mutual differences within it began to be emphasized.¹⁸

There were various kinds of attempts to examine the developments of Japanese history and its cultural formation in the framework of East Asia in the historians' academic circle in Japan. However, the regional concept of East Asia was hardly applied in Korea and China. We could scarcely understand their view point, considering their history and their culture in the regional concept of East Asia -

16 Diana Mishkova, "Regional versus National?: Legacies and Prospects of the Historiography of Southeastern Europe", *European Studies* (『ヨーロッパ研究』) (The University of Tokyo), Vol. 7, 2008, p. 140.

17 Holm Sundhaussen, "Europa balkanica. Der Balkan als historischer Raum Europas", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 25, 1999, No. 4, pp. 626-653.

18 Lee Sungsi, *Formation of East Asian Culture Area*. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha (李成市『東アジア文化圏の形成』山川出版社), 2000, pp. 1-2.

including South Korea and North Korea. Rather, they harbored a strong distrust and cautiousness towards the regional framework of East Asia. For example in Korea, they had doubts about the difference between the regional framework of the East Asian cultural area and the Japanese Asianism, that is, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity propagated by imperial Japan to justify its aggression toward the Asian countries. Moreover, they felt misgivings about Korean history and Korean culture being lost in the concept of East Asia.¹⁹

In the post-war historians' academic circle in Japan, we can say that considering our own history and culture within the region of East Asia was a new academic attempt to surmount the pre-war self-righteous historiography which had isolated Japanese history. This attempt was deeply connected with the post-war international situations, that is, the circumstances in which large amounts of people and goods were crossing over the border. Yet at the same time, Japanese historiography could not get out of the framework of modern national history and Japanese history and culture is considered under the circumstances of one nation. Lee Sungsi, one of the specialist in Korean history in Japan, pointed out that to consider our own history in the framework of East Asia does not mean the enlargement of the space of Japanese history from Japan into East Asia or emphasizing our international relations and cultural exchanges with our neighboring countries. It means, rather, a relativization of the viewpoint of one nation's history and releasing such a viewpoint.²⁰

(2) The Cases in China and Korea

It seems that Chinese society generally lacks a consciousness for East Asia. Sun Ge, a professor at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, majoring in the history of Japanese political thought, explains the background of this lack in her article.²¹ According to her, Chinese intellectuals who are engaged in the research of international relations often think that it is more important to focus on the dialogues between East and West than to burden oneself with 'narrating about East Asia'. The reason is that China, as a country bordering on East Asia, South Asia, Western Asia and North Asia, is difficult to situate completely within the frame of East Asia.

Sun points out that the East Asia narrative in China is not an outgrowth from its epistemic soil of knowledge, but is rather of a transplanted nature. There are

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 4.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

²¹ Sun Ge, "The Predicament of Compiling Textbooks on the History of East Asia", in Gotelind Müller (ed.), *Designing History in East Asia Textbooks: Identity Politics and Transnational Aspirations*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 9-31.

two kinds of transplanted: firstly, the ideology of modernization for East Asia in Japan and Korea since the reform and opening up in China in 1978 made it possible to become visible and enter into Chinese social discourse. Secondly, the framework of American area studies also plays a role regarding the East Asia narratives in China, because East Asia is treated as an independent region. But the East Asia view that has emerged in China is relatively weak.²²

In view of this general situation in China, she indicates three kinds of East Asia perspectives accepted in China; the Confucian perspective, the perspective of modernization and the perspective of war memory. Firstly, the Confucian perspective can cover the region where Confucianism had an impact. Subsequently, some countries in Southeast Asia such as Vietnam and Singapore should be also included in this perspective besides China, Japan and South Korea. Secondly, the perspective of modernization is actually influenced by Japan and it is a way of thinking examined by Japan after the Meiji Restoration. Thus it might take South Korea as a perspective for the whole Korean peninsula, covering China, Japan and the Korean peninsula only for a short period when the dynamic balance among the countries is maintained. Thirdly, the perspective of war memories is closely related with the traumatic memories of war caused by Japanese invasion and this forms a challenge for East Asia. In such a way, Sun shows that the East Asia perspective has not been of concrete quality in China until now and that the concept of 'East Asia', which was originally so closely fixed to Japanese history, cannot find its place in their spiritual and ideological world, making it difficult to arrive at the goal of genuine reconciliation among the nation states through 'common history school textbooks'.²³

However, she concludes that, as new historical processes are continually emerging, the East Asia perspective will surely contribute new dimensions of thought and resources of thinking, after analyzing China's ambivalence regarding the East Asia perspective.²⁴

Next, I will introduce the recent tendency concerning the regional concept of East Asia in Korea according to the article entitled "East Asia Discourses in Contemporary Korea" by Lee Eun Jeung,²⁵ who teaches the history of political thought in Asia at the Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg. According to her, the public had become aware of the regional concept of East Asia that had been denied up until that time. This was also related to the changing realities. While the government of Kim Young Sam (1993-97) promoted 'internationalization', Korean companies expanded massively into China and the Southeast Asian

22 Ibid., p. 10.

23 Ibid., pp. 14-15.

24 Ibid., p. 27.

25 Lee Eun Jeung, "East Asia Discourses in Contemporary Korea", in Steffi Richter (ed.), *Contested Views of a Common Past*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008, pp. 181-201.

countries. At the same time, a flow of labor from other Asian countries, especially from China and Southeast Asia, set in. The reasons why discourses on East Asia spread widely in Korea are the end of the Cold War and East Asia's economic success on the one hand and the dissemination of the post-structuralist critique of modernity and Eurocentrism on the other hand.²⁶

It is said that there are three broad currents, each with their own journal in Korea. The first is a group centered around the journal *Tradition and Modernity*, which perceives East Asia in the terms of a 'Confucian capitalist society'. This group is supported by conservative intellectuals. The second, a group centered around the journal *Creation and Critique*, considers East Asia as a method. This journal is at the forefront of the progressive camp and the authors of the journal insist that the regional framework of East Asia is a method for overcoming the Western-centered capitalist modernity. The third is the group of the journal *Fantasy* which treats the regional concept of East Asia as a cultural heritage. The predecessor of this journal was a journal for literature, and a specialist in Chinese literature leads the opinion of this group. It seems that, concerned about the internal Orientalisms such as Japanese Asianism, Sinocentrism or self-Orientalism, he does not want to strive for the simple solidarity of East Asia on the basis of its common culture, but sets the regional concept of East Asia as a common ground where these countries accept each other as the 'other' and respect their differences.²⁷ Lee concludes that as the Korean peninsula remains divided after the end of the Cold War, the vigor of the East Asian discourses in Korea can be seen as a method by means of which this division can be conquered.²⁸

5. EAST ASIAN HISTORY AS REGIONAL HISTORY

As we see, the regional concept of East Asia is treated separately in each country because of the differences in historical background, bringing about much discussion on various topics of the of historians' concern. It is clear that there is also much difficulty in compiling East Asian history as regional history, but such attempts have already started. For example, the supplementary teaching material entitled *History that Opens the Future: Modern and Contemporary History of Three East Asian Countries* was published in three languages and in the three countries simultaneously in 2005²⁹ after discussion among Japanese, Chinese and Korean

26 Ibid., pp. 184-185.

27 Ibid., pp. 186-190.

28 Ibid., p. 198.

29 The Committee for Common History Materials Amongst Japan, China and Korea (ed.), *History that Opens the Future: Modern and Contemporary History of Three East Asian Countries* (日本・中国・韓国共同編集『未来を開く歴史——東アジア3国の近現代史』高文研). Tokyo, 2005 (second edition, 2006).

historians and history teachers on their history education. Attempts to approach the countries' shared past from the viewpoint of comparative history had already been made in 1980s by a Japanese group of historians and history teachers, but they could not achieve any results. *History that Opens the Future* is a joint modern and contemporary history of East Asia produced after 20 years' effort. This book has sold over 70,000 copies in Japan, 120,000 in China and 30,000 in Korea against the backdrop of the history textbooks issued in all the three countries.

The publication of this book is an epoch-making event, but there have also been some comments on the limitations of this book in Japan. For example, Prof. Ryuichi Narita, a specialist of modern Japanese history, and Prof. Minoru Iwasaki, a researcher of political thought, have criticized this book on the following three points.³⁰ Firstly, the book is written only by historians from Japan, China and Korea without historians from North Korea, Taiwan, Mongolia, Vietnam and Russia, so that descriptions about these regions are scarcely to be found, even though this book is about the modern and contemporary history of East Asia. Also, almost all historical narratives are given by the unit of nation states. Secondly, the authors of this book mainly write about the Japanese Empire's invasions, possibly imparting the impression that the agent in East Asia that performs negative acts is Japan and the ones who are victimized and carry out resistance are Korea and China. Korea and China are always in reaction to Japan's actions. So it seems that this book is not about the modern and contemporary history of three East Asian countries, but about a history of the Japanese Empire's development and invasion. Thirdly, we can hardly find the view of recent colonialism studies in this book. The discussion of colonial modernity is essential, but such perspectives cannot be found. Thus, the book lacks descriptions about the modernity in Taiwan and Korea from the viewpoint of social history.

They point out the above-mentioned limitations of this book and conclude that in order to avoid or transcend national history, it is imperative to recognize "plurality" - plural "Japan", plural "South Korea", plural "China" relate each other within such "plurality" to a plural East Asia. The 'plurality' insisted upon by them is, I believe, very important, but the authors of the critical article do not exactly show the way of describing regional history from this point of view.

The most fundamental criticism on the book was about the parallel style of descriptions of the history of three countries lacking the regional viewpoint of East Asia. So the editors of this book, the committee for common history materials among Japan, China and Korea has just published a new two- volume

30 Minoru Iwasaki and Ryuichi Narita, "Writing History Textbooks in East Asia: The Possibilities and Pitfalls of 'History that Opens the Future'", in Steffi Richter (ed.), *Contested Views of a Common Past*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2008, pp. 271-283.

book titled by *Modern and Contemporary New History of East Asia*³¹ in September in 2012 after five years' preparing. One book is from the viewpoint of the change of international relations and the other is from the thematic viewpoint of some historical topics, for example, constitution, urbanization, railroad, migration, family and gender, education, media, war and people etc. They stop the previous parallel description of history by three countries and one author among three countries writes one chapter. I think the publishing of these two volumes by such an innovative way of description is a landmark event.

In Japan, the discussions about the following question continue even now: from which framework should we consider the regional history of East Asia and how should this be reflected in the class room? In Korea, on the other hand, the government proclaimed before all the other countries in East Asia in 2006 that East Asian history was to be taught as a required subject in their high schools because of the government policy on the reinforcement of history teaching. Subsequently, their high school students must select either World History or East Asian History as a required subject in addition to Korean History from the 2012 school year onwards. Two kinds of textbooks of East Asian history have been published to date and at the same time the editing work is in progress on a series on East Asian history as the supplementary material for the new subject's general readers. It seems that these publications concretely discuss the connection between East Asian history and Korean history or World history, and the definition of the regional framework of East Asia. The incumbent president, Lee Myung-bak³², however, has a negative position regarding the teaching of East Asian history and the subject's status has since been changed from required to optional, so it seems that East Asian history is less interesting to Korea at the moment.

Hiroshi Miyajima, a specialist of modern Korean history who teaches in Seoul as a professor, wrote a book review in the journal *Creation and Critique* about the newest books in two volumes being published in 2011.³³ In it he states that the books entitled *A History of East Asia for Reading Together* by three authors have raised the level of previous discussions considerably. The authors insist that it is necessary for us to overcome the present situation of history teaching based on the dichotomy of national history and world history. Eurocentrism in world history and one's own centrism in national history have the same roots, state the authors, as both of them consider nation state building according to the Eurocentric

31 The Committee for Common History Materials among Japan, China and Korea (ed.), *Modern and Contemporary New History of East Asia*, two vols. Tokyo: Nippon Hyoron Sha (日本・中国・韓国3国共同編集『新しい東アジアの近代史 上・下』日本評論社), 2012.

32 Ms Park Geun-hye took office as a new president in 2013 February. It is not clear for the moment what is her educational policy like.

33 Hiroshi Miyajima, "A Epoch-Making Result That Marks the Beginning of a New Era in East Asian History: Book Review of *A History of East Asia for Reading Together*", *Creation and Critique* (Japanese edition), Vol. 152, Summer 2011.

model as their final aim. The East Asian nations have received this historical view of civilization - the core concept of Eurocentrism - and consequently they have come to close their eyes to each other and despise each other. They stress that in order to avoid such a contradiction, the East Asian nations' world history and national history need to be rewritten on the basis of other principles; and as the first step to writing the regional history of East Asia, this is very important. I think that the authors' clear statement is very important as a critique against the previous method of writing regional history, that is, the enlargement of a national history into the region of East Asia, although it seems that they don't propose a clear new principle to take the place of the criticized historical view of civilization.

CONCLUSION

Diana Mishkova, a researcher of modern Balkan history in Bulgaria, has voiced a similar opinion. She says that we easily fall into a trap when we consider the Balkans as a 'historical region' and think about regional history from such a viewpoint. The trap is that it is not enough to set up a region in place of a nation and that such an approach is only putting up a delineation of a wider space, as the regional history also reproduces the problems of the national history. She points out the following three considerations: Firstly, in order to avoid this, we should synthesize the Balkans by historical study from the viewpoint of social history and cultural history, since national and regional canons are not an alternative, but can complement each other. Secondly, it is necessary to make historiography cooperate with a lot of fields of the humanities and social sciences in order to bring a regional history of the Balkans with all they have in common and all their diversity into existence. Thirdly, we do not consider the Balkans as a special region, yet we do need to compare them with other regions.³⁴

I think that there might be a widespread consensus that regional history can now play an important role in overcoming nations' own national histories, but we still have much to discuss about the discipline and framework of bringing regional history into being in East Asia and also in the Balkans. Mishkova stresses the importance of social history and cultural history, while Miyajima points out the history of thought. Perhaps attempts to describe various kinds of East Asian histories and histories of the Balkans as regional history are required, while at the same time compiling alternative common historical materials from the point of view of historical teaching is also imperative. And we need to have chances for them to be examined together by the historians and history teachers from each country in East Asia and in the Balkans.

34 Mishkova, *op.cit.*, pp. 142-143.

Shinichi Yamazaki

**CHARACTERISTICS
OF NATIONAL
HISTORY IN HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS OF
THE YUGOSLAV
SUCCESSOR STATES:**

**Territoriality, Minorities,
Yugoslav Experiences**

In this analysis, we present a comparison of history textbooks of the Yugoslav successor states from the viewpoints of territoriality, minorities and common Yugoslav experiences. In all three categories, several joint characteristics as well as several differences clearly emerged.

1. TERRITORIALITY IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

At first, I would like to argue the importance of territoriality in the context of the nation-building process and national history. George White argues in his book *Nationalism and Territory* that a nation is constructed in two contexts, the temporal and the spatial. He emphasizes the importance of territoriality in the nation building process and states that the national territory of a specific nation emerges on the bases of natural resources and cultural landscape. According to White, there are three factors crucial to this process. The first is the sites of important organizations or historical events. Secondly, landscape that was celebrated in national literature or national music. And thirdly, strong aspirations toward specific territories. He also mentions that the importance of national territory isn't of uniform nature among territories, and that there exist core, semi-core and peripheral territories within its context. The subject of his investigation centered on the cases of Hungary, Romania and Serbia. In the case of Serbia White states, the core national territory consists of Serbia proper (Šumadija and the Morava Valley), Montenegro, Vojvodina and Srem, and Old Serbia (Raška and Kosovo). Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia, Northern Albania, Central Banat and the western part of Bulgaria are classified as semi-core territory, and finally, the southwestern part of Bulgaria, Northern Greece, Central and Southern Albania, Croatia-Slavonia and the Pannonian plain are regarded as peripheral.¹

Inspired by his discourse, I would like to discuss territorial elements or territoriality in history textbooks, as a nation's view of its own history can be expected to be embodied in its history textbooks.

A comprehensive and systematic analysis was not possible due to the limited availability of such textbooks at the time of this study. Resultantly, I was unable to make a detailed analysis of the changes through time in the descriptions of history in these textbooks over the last twenty years. Rather, I chose to focus on several topics concerning the territoriality in history textbooks, including a number of common characteristics in their structural aspects. An analysis was made of the primary school and/or high school history textbooks of the former Yugoslav states of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia in the 1990s and 2000s. For Bosnia-Herzegovina, both the textbooks published in Sarajevo as well as the ones of Serbian publication were analyzed. Some of these textbooks were published in the 1990s when the war in the Yugoslav lands was in progress, and others were published in later years.

In all the history textbooks of the former Yugoslav states, general (i.e. world) history and national history are described one after the other. Thus, the general

1 George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

history of a specific period is followed by the national history of the same period. Some textbooks, however, contain an additional, regional element under the heading of South Slavic or Balkan history. This is possibly a legacy of Yugoslavia. The Serbian and Slovene textbooks of the 1990s have this three-layered structure of general, regional and national history. However, in the case of Macedonia, we find the structure of general, Balkan and Macedonian history, but the descriptions they contain are not interlinked – i.e. they are almost completely divided and there is no organic connection. Subsequently, it was interesting to find that the descriptions of the Balkan states (Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria) in the time of the Balkan Wars and that of Macedonia were treated separately. In the textbooks of Croatia published in 2009, the above described three-layered structure had already disappeared. In the Serbian textbooks from 2010, this structure was partially maintained concerning medieval history under headings such as “Serbs and Their Neighbors” or “Serbs and Their Surroundings”, which, in this case, were almost exclusively related to Bosnia or Dubrovnik, respectively.

In Macedonian textbooks, ancient Macedonia is treated as a part of national history also in regard to the territorial aspects. The territory of ancient Macedonia in the textbooks is almost identical with that of the 19th century or today.² One might say that they have a very solid view of their national territory. Nor is Ancient Macedonia treated as a part of Ancient Greece. The relation between the ancient Macedonians and the Slavic peoples is described as follows:

But, the greater part of the ancient Macedonians was assimilated into the great body of the Slavic peoples. Subsequently, the Ancient Macedonians accepted the language of the Slavs, but they brought with them their own culture, customs, the Christian religion, and, first and foremost, the tradition of the name - MACEDONIA and MACEDONIANS.³

The emphasis here is on the historical continuity of the Macedonian nation from ancient times until today. In short: the Ancient Macedonians and Slavic peoples were amalgamated into the Macedonian nation which has existed up until this day.

After the Balkan Wars, Macedonia was divided into three parts, and during the Second World War, it was divided by another border. However, the Macedonian national territory is depicted in the textbooks as being very stable,⁴ and in texts covering events after World War II, not only the creation of the Macedonian

2 See maps. Ѓорѓи Павловски et al., *Историја за I година реформирано гимназиско образование*. Скопје: Просветно дело, 2002, p. 44, 81.

3 Ibid., pp. 101-102.

4 See maps. Ѓорѓи Павловски, et al., *Историја за II година реформирано гимназиско образование*. Скопје: Просветно дело, 2002, p. 79; Блаже Ристовски et al., *Историја за трета година реформирано гимназиско образование*. Скопје: Просветно дело, 2003, p. 107.

state within Yugoslavia, but also the struggle for national liberation in Pirin and Aegean Macedonia is described.

In the Slovene textbooks, the Slovene ethnic boundary (*slovenska narodnostna meja*) after the 15th century is described as a very concrete one. Its creation is explained as follows:

Until the 15th century, the Slovene ethnic boundary moved southwards, after which it became fixed at approximately where it is today. In the 19th century, further change occurred only in Koroška, which experienced an additional loss of Slovene ethnic territory.⁵

We can see this territory in historical maps.⁶ It is interesting that in most of these maps, only the current territory of Slovenia is colored and the map of the current situation of Slovenia no longer includes an ethnic boundary. On the one hand, the southern reach of this “Slovene ethnic boundary” is almost identical with the present-day border, whereas on the other hand, the importance of Kozler’s Map of Slovene lands is mentioned⁷ - which includes the whole of Istria as well as some of the Kvarner Islands.

In Bosnian Muslim descriptions, national territory is not mentioned. Rather, the statehood of Bosnia or the historical continuity of its integrity is underlined.

Serbian textbooks and the textbooks of the Bosnian Serbs are almost identical as regards the aspect of territoriality. Not only Serbia proper, but also Bosnia, Montenegro or the Serbian lands during the time of the Habsburg Monarchy are treated as national territory. Here we can confirm the argument put forward by George White.

In the Croatian Textbooks, Bosnia is treated implicitly as Croatian territory. It is interesting that, in addition to Croatian Slavonia and Dalmatia, it is also often stressed that Istria in its entirety is Croatian national territory.

In some cases, territoriality is used to denote the aspirations of other nations, and to legitimize their right to defend themselves. For example, in the Bosnian and Croatian textbooks, the territorial concept of the Serbian ideologist Stevan Moljević is mentioned.⁸

In every textbook, especially the Macedonian and Slovene ones, the fixed image of national territory is noticeable. I believe this is because the modern concept of national territory in the 19th and 20th century is projected retrospectively into the past, rather than stated as historical fact.

5 Ivan Grobelnik and Ignacij Voje, *Zgodovina 2*. Ljubljana: DZS, 1996(7), p. 32.

6 See maps in *Zgodovinski atlas za osnovno šolo*. Ljubljana: DZS, 1999. See also the map in Grobelnik and Voje, *Zgodovina 2*, p. 33.

7 Janez Cvirn et al., *Novi vek: Zgodovina za 8. razred devetletke*. Ljubljana: DZS, 2001, p. 106.

8 Moljević’s maps in Muhamedo Ganibegović, *Historija za 8. razred osnovne škole*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 2003; Krešimir Erdelja and Igor Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8: udžbenik povijesti za osmi razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009(2), p. 132.

In creating this fixed image of national territory in the past, “medieval kingdoms” play a significant role - and in the case of Macedonia, the concept of an ancient kingdom serves the same purpose. In each case, the medieval state is described as a state which has a direct connection with nationhood. In the Macedonian textbooks, as already mentioned, the continuity of Macedonians is emphasized – also using this approach. It may seem to be nonsense, but this fact also paradoxically gives us an insight; namely, that continuity from the medieval kingdom is not an obvious fact.

As regards the descriptions of Ottoman rule in the Balkans, it is described as conquest and oppressive rule in all the textbooks except those of the Bosnian Moslems. It is also interesting to compare the descriptions in the Croatian and Serbian textbooks regarding Dubrovnik.

In the Croatian textbooks we find the following:

Gradually, the Croats had mixed with a small Romance population, which accepted the Croatian language and customs. By the end of the 15th century, Dubrovnik had become a Croatian city.⁹

But in the Serbian textbooks, not a single mention of Croatia is made. Rather, they state:

Dubrovnik’s hinterland was inhabited by a large Serbian population, and the very inhabitants of Dubrovnik felt that they were “Slavs” and believed that they were native to the region. The land in and around the city was inhabited by Serbian Catholics.¹⁰

Needless to say, the two descriptions are contradictory. Judging by these cases, we can safely say that different meanings are given to territory. So much so as to render its character arbitrary.

Now, I would like to move on to ascertaining the subject of history description. In almost every case, it is the history of the nation, which is thought to exist continuously from the past. It is not the history of the people who lived in the territory of the present-day state. In some cases, most typically in that of Macedonia, description is based on the continuous existence of the nation.

The key elements of the historical continuity of the survival and the development of the Macedonian nation were the Macedonian language and the Macedonian culture, with its history spanning the millennia. Their own culture and tradition, and the Archbishopric of Ohrid with its own eight centuries old church and monasteries functioning as cultural centers have maintained Macedonian national continuity through the

9 Željko Brdal and Martita Madunić, *Tragom prošlosti 6: udžbenik povijesti za šesti razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009(3), p. 116.

10 Radoš Ljušić, *Istorija za sedmi razred osnovne škole*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2009, p. 51.

centuries. In this environment, the process of the birth, development and affirmation of Macedonian cultural-national thought and action began.¹¹

In other cases, like in the Croatian textbooks, the creation of the nation is argued from a European perspective, but the phenomenon is tied to the “national renaissance (*narodni preporod*)”. Thus, the process of nation-building is referred to as the renaissance or rebirth of the existing nation, and not its creation.

Next, I want to argue how national territory is treated in history textbooks. In most cases, the national territory is described as very homogenous territory, and very few texts mention the diversity of the respective nation’s territory, while, when they are present, such descriptions tend to be sporadic, i.e. not comprehensive. In a Slovene textbook, I came across the following description:

Within these ethnic boundaries, covering a territory of approximately 24000 km², the peasant population was, with rare exceptions, almost exclusively Slovene. All that eventually rose to the higher strata of society followed the German mannerisms of these circles in their way of living and in language. The entirety of the clergy originated from the peasant population, but leading positions within the Church were in the hands of noble sons and foreign immigrants.¹²

Here, the German elements are treated as foreign elements, and not native to the “Slovene ethnic territory.”

In both groups of textbooks from Bosnia, namely the Moslem and the Serbian, ethnic or religious diversity is mentioned, but the evaluation of this diversity is very different.

In one Moslem textbook, it is described like this:

For centuries, in the territory of present-day Bosnia-Herzegovina, people of different religious affiliations had lived together. This was also the situation during fourth-century Ottoman rule. People worshipped according to their own religious affiliations, keeping their cultural customs and traditions. On the whole, these different groups respected each other. In this way, the concept of *komšilik* gradually grew in these territories, an attitude which can be understood as respect for the different religions and social customs of all those living together in the same social environment. Such a situation was present also in the 19th century.¹³

On the other hand, a Bosnian Serb textbook from the same period describes the situation as follows:

The status of the *raja* (the peasants or the commoners), especially of the Christians, was continuously undermined. Moslem *agas* and *bejs*

11 Ристовски et al., *Историја за трета година реформирано гимназиско образование*, p. 76.

12 Grobelnik and Voje, *Zgodovina 2*, p. 33.

13 Fahrudin Isaković and Enes Delidija, *Historija za 7. razred osnovne škole*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 2003, p. 132.

endeavoured to make their *spahiluks* into inherited feudal possessions, so called *čitluks*. By means of this demotion to *čitluks*, the legal and economic status of the commoners deteriorated significantly.¹⁴

As you can see, the same period of history has been described completely differently.

Despite some contradictions amongst the textbooks regarding individual issues, we can, however, find many common characteristics in their structural perspective, for example, the fixed concept of national territory, the importance of the medieval or ancient states for the creation of a territorial concept and the homogeneity of national territory, all of which are characteristics of national history.

2. MINORITIES IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

Here I argue how minorities are treated in the textbooks of the former Yugoslav states. The subject of my analysis is the history textbooks in use now; namely, for the school year 2010/2011. These textbooks are quite different from the ones of the 1990s. Not only is the quality of paper better, but also the contents are different. They are colorful, with many pictures and maps, and many pages are devoted not only to political history, but also to social history and cultural history as well.

The former Yugoslavia was a multinational federation in which Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bosnian Moslems and Montenegrins all enjoyed the status of constituent nations. Other groups such as the Albanians and the Hungarians and so forth were treated as national minorities. Both Serbia and Croatia after independence are also multiethnic. According to the newest census, there are about 10% of non-Croats in Croatia, and 17% of non-Serbs in Serbia. A comparison of the census of 1991 and the one ten years later also shows significant demographic changes caused mainly by the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the war following it. One important factor we find is the change in the character of each respective state. Croatia in socialist Yugoslavia was defined as the state of Croats and Serbs as constituent nations, but in 1990, this was changed to the state of Croats and other citizens. Serbs in Croatia had a constituent status not only in Yugoslavia as whole, but also in Croatia, but they lost both in the course of Yugoslavia's disintegration. In the case of Serbia, Albanians, Hungarians, Slovaks and several other nations had constituent status in the two autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, but by the de facto abolition of the autonomy of these

14 Milutin Perović et al., *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*. Srpsko Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2003, p. 118.

two provinces, their constituent status in both provinces was also practically annulled.

In the Serbian textbooks, the subject of history description is almost exclusively the Serbian nation. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Serbia proper, Southern Serbia (or Old Serbia), Montenegro, Southern Hungary (later Vojvodina), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia including Dubrovnik are conceived as national territories. It is interesting to note that, for the regions where Serbs didn't have a majority, there are descriptions on their historical rights to, or on their numerousness in the territory. For example, in the case of Dalmatia one account states:

After these settlements were established, the Serbs constituted one third of the population. In part, this population has maintained Orthodox faith, while a portion of it has accepted the Roman Catholic faith. These were the Serbian Catholics, which are small in number now, since they have been Croatized.¹⁵

And in the case of Croatia:

The Serbian population constituted almost one third of the inhabitants in these territories. The territories of the former Military Border were the most densely populated.¹⁶

And as for Bosnia-Herzegovina:

It (Serbian public opinion) was not reconciled to the fact that Austria-Hungary claimed the right to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina, a province in which the Serbian population constituted the majority at that time.¹⁷

In the Croatian cases, the situation is similar. Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, Istria and Bosnia-Herzegovina are conceived of as being Croatian national territories in Croatian textbooks. One of the descriptions for Istria is as follows:

The rural population of Istria was for the most part Croatian, while some Slovenes inhabited the northwestern parts of Istria. In the coastal cities and inland towns, the population was predominantly Italian. Newly settled Croats were Italianized in the course of time.¹⁸

There is no comprehensive description of minorities in the Serbian textbooks. It can be said that minorities are almost excluded from the historical narrative. When they are mentioned (sporadically), it is in a negative context. For example, for Albanians, there are descriptions like these:

On the 17th century:

¹⁵ Radoš Ljušić, *Istorija za sedmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 50.

¹⁶ Đorđe Đurić and Momčilo Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010, p. 37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁸ Brdal and Madunić, *Tragom prošlosti 6: udžbenik povijesti za šesti razred osnovne škole*, p. 221.

Serbs from the regions of Macedonia, Kosovo and Metohija and Raška led by the Patriarch, crossed the Sava and the Danube and settled in regions of Southern Hungary, extending all the way north to Arad and Szentendre. It is assumed that more than 60,000 souls immigrated. Albanians later settled into these heartlands.¹⁹

And for the latter half of the 19th century:

The violence worsened after the formation of the League of Prizren, created by Albanian feudal lords and landlords with the aim of creating a Greater Albania.²⁰

For the Second World War:

Yugoslavia was not only divided, but nations also pushed each other into fratricidal wars. The Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija carried out acts of terror against the Serbian population, as did the Hungarians and Germans in Vojvodina who killed thousands of Serbs. The Bulgarians in Southern Serbia organized the deportation of the Serbian population from Macedonia.²¹

And for Socialist Yugoslavia:

In Kosovo and Metohija and some cities in Macedonia, demonstrations of Albanians broke out at the end of November 1968. Their demands were for Kosovo to be made a republic, a new constitution, secession, and the unification of all regions where Albanians lived.²²

For the disintegration of Yugoslavia:

The first signs of the destabilization of Yugoslavia appeared in Kosovo. In the spring of 1981, nationalistic and separatist demonstrations broke out in Kosovo. Although they were crushed by the action of police forces, the situation in Kosovo was not stable. Albanian pressure on Serbs, the destruction of property, and murder due to national hatred continued. Along with the economic factors, this strengthened the emigration of Serbs, which, in fact, was ongoing since 1945. Subsequently, the number of Serbs in the complete population of Kosovo and Metohija was reduced to 13.2%.²³

For the conflict in Kosovo:

The daily armed actions of Albanian terrorist groups under the name of the Kosovo Liberation Army, banditry and conflicts with the security forces considerably intensified the situation in Kosovo. Ultimately, the

19 Radoš Ljušić, *Istorija za sedmi razred osnovne škole*, pp. 46-47.

20 Đurić and Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 44.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

Western countries - in particular the USA - also intervened, giving open assistance to the Albanians.²⁴

The Croatian textbooks take a more moderate, or, if you will, sophisticated approach than the Serbian ones. In the Croatian textbooks, there is a section named "National Minorities in Croatia" within the context of the "Nation Building Process" and the "Croatian National Renaissance". Here, the Serbs and Italians are mentioned as minorities.

National minorities in Croatia

A national minority is a group of people in a certain country which does not belong to the majority nation. So, for example, in Germany, Germans are the majority nation, while the populations of Turks (or Croats or members of whatever nations live in Germany) constitute the national minorities.

Among the national minorities in Croatia, the Serbian is the most numerous. Serbs settled within the territory of present-day Croatia in large numbers in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, as part of massive resettlements brought on by the Ottoman Wars. National aspirations and anti-Ottoman battles in the Principality and later Kingdom of Serbia exercised a partial influence on the development of the national consciousness of the Serbs in Croatia, and also equally on the Croatian (Illyrian) national renaissance, which went hand in hand with that of other South Slavic nations. Although supporters of the South Slavic idea (amongst them also Ljudevit Gaj) expected a national unification of the Southern or even all Slavs, this never came about.

In the middle of the 19th Century, a polemic took place between the Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić and the Croatian politician and writer Ante Starčević. To Karadžić's claim that all native speakers of the *što* dialect (subsequently, also a large part of the Croats) were in fact Serbs, Starčević replied by asserting that the Serbs were of uncertain origin, and in fact should be termed Croats.²⁵

Serbs in the Second World War are described as follows in Croatian textbooks:

The center of the Chetnik movement was in Serbia, but Chetnik units were created also among the Serbian population in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (i.e. on the territory of the ISC). In these regions, Chetnik units perpetrated horrific crimes against the civilian population, burning and destroying numerous Croatian and Moslem villages and

²⁴ Ibid., p. 186.

²⁵ Krešimir Erdelja and Igor Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 7: udžbenik povijesti za sedmi razred osnovne škole*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009(3), p. 91.

exterminating their inhabitants. The ethnic cleansing that was carried out against Croats and Moslems was in accordance with the plan to create a "Greater Serbia" that would, among other territories, contain also the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina and large parts of Croatia. To this end, it was deemed necessary to simply exterminate all non-Serbian nations in this territory in order to strengthen Serbian dominance.²⁶

Or, regarding the integration of the "occupied lands" in 1995, the account is as follows:

In response to the appeal of the leadership of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, partly also because of the fear of being confronted with the results of the crimes committed, the majority of the Serb population abandoned the territory and emigrated to Serbia. Their return continues even now. During and after operation "Oluja", a number of the houses of the Serbs who had fled were burned, and several murders of Serb civilians took place. Individuals were accused of the above quoted crimes, and some trials are in progress even now.²⁷

The interesting point is that, for the general definition of the term minority, the example of Turks in Germany is mentioned. The Turks in Germany are ordinarily not classified as an indigenous minority and it is to be feared that such a definition could further the image that minorities are newcomers to their national territory, and therefore not entitled to equal rights.

When we compare the descriptions of each group of textbooks on the same issue, we can find significant difference between them. I have already mentioned the case of Dubrovnik as one of the overlapping points of both national territories. Such differences are numerous, and they exist, particularly in contemporary history. Along with the differences concerning the characteristics of the internal structure of the Kingdom of SCS and Yugoslavia, and regarding the Second World War, the character of the Croatian Spring in 1971 is portrayed significantly differently as follows:

The description in Croatian textbooks, for example, is:

Partial openness to the West left its mark. More and more intellectuals and institutions like Matica Hrvatska participated in political discussions. The Economic and political position of Croatia within the Yugoslav federation was debated.

(...)

Tito initially supported the demands for reform and for more democracy, believing it was in the interest of Yugoslavia. After a while, however, he

²⁶ Erdelja and Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8: udžbenik povijesti za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 132.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

changed his stance - most likely because of the fear for his own position - and resolved to stop the movement.²⁸

While in the Serbian textbooks one finds:

In Croatia in 1971, the MASPOK (massive movement) arose. It emphasized that Croatia was endangered within Yugoslavia and economically exploited by Serbia, and so independence was sought. ... It emphasized that Yugoslavia was a prison for Croatia. Persecution of the Croatian language and the plundering of the Croatian economy were mentioned. Steps were taken by Croatia to establish a National Army and an independent economy and the secession of Croatia and its admission to the UN were sought.

The emergence of Croatian nationalism disturbed the Serbs. After Tito's decisive intervention (in the autumn of 1971), the Croatian leadership was forced to withdraw and resign.²⁹

As we can see, not only the name of the event (the Croatian Spring or *Maspok*), but also its characterization is significantly different.

Regarding the beginning of the war in the 1990s in Croatia, the differences are as follows:

In Serbian textbooks, appearing under the heading of "Civil war", we find:

The formal disintegration of the SFRY started on June 25th 1991, when the Slovene parliament voted for the independence of the Slovene republic based on the results of a nationwide referendum conducted earlier in the republic. On the next day, the Croatian parliament, which previously, on December 25th 1990, had declared a new constitution by which the Serbs in Croatia had lost the status of a constitutive nation, followed suit. The increasing hatred among the nations and the public show of nationalism gave rise to fear and the memory of crimes committed by the Ustashi during the Second World War.³⁰

In the Croatian textbook under the heading of "The War for the Homeland", we find:

Already before the announcement of the referendum, on January 1991, the mostly Serbian population in the region of Knin declared their secession from the Republic of Croatia and created the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina (SAO Krajina). Rebellion had already taken place several months earlier through the placement of barricades (logs) on Croatian roads with the help of the Yugoslav Army (JNA-Yugoslav People's Army). This rebellion

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 217-219.

²⁹ Đurić and Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 182.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 184.

was the result of several factors. Greater Serbian nationalists advocated the idea of creating a Greater Serbia, whose western border would extend from Virovitica, via Karlovac to Karlobag. By that, they hoped to unite all Serbs in one country. The Serbian media and agitators from Serbia had launched a campaign to frighten the Serb population in Croatia into believing that the Republic of Croatia was becoming more and more like the Ustashi ISC, and that it was imperative that they take up arms in order to survive.³¹

Both textbooks lack some important aspects. In the Serbian textbook, the intervention of the Yugoslav Federal Army is not mentioned. There is also no description on the role of the media. In the Croatian textbooks, the description lacks the change in the constitutional status of the Serbs and only the media propaganda launched by the Serbian side is described, as though there was no such propaganda being conducted by the Croatian media.

We also find that descriptions regarding minorities are very rare and sporadic and in some cases, minorities are exploited to justify the rights of the mainstream nation. Some of the contradictions between the Croatian and Serbian textbooks may also be due to such treatment of minorities. This may only be natural, one might argue, since history textbooks are written on the basis of national perspectives on history. However, the problem does not lie in the individual descriptions alone. Rather, it is a problem in the structure of the historical narratives. In the textbooks that I analyzed, it seems that a multiethnic and multicultural character of a nation is, in itself, conceived as a negative factor.

3. YUGOSLAV EXPERIENCES IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

In this section, I analyze how the Yugoslav experiences are described in primary school history textbooks of the Yugoslav successor states. One of the aims in this is that I intend to argue whether common experiences in socialist Yugoslavia can be a connecting factor, rather than a dividing factor in the history textbooks of the successor states and in each national history which is embodied in the textbooks. An analysis was made of the narratives of history textbooks on the experiences held in common by the states and on the values that embodied socialist Yugoslavia.

The target of the analysis was recent primary school history textbooks of seven Yugoslav successor states, namely, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo. In some of these countries, primary education continues for eight years, while in one of them it lasts for nine. In some

31 Erdelja and Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8: udžbenik povijesti za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 233.

of the countries, more than one textbook is in use, in which case, I focused on the representative textbook of each country. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I analyzed three kinds of textbooks: the primary one published in Sarajevo and mainly used by Bosnian Moslem pupils, the primary one published by a Serbian entity, and the primary one published in the western part of Mostar and used by the Bosnian Croats.

In all the textbooks, general (or world) history and national history are described one after another. In some of the textbooks, an additional segment is inserted between these, which is dedicated to regional history. The treatment of Yugoslavia in the historical textbooks varies greatly. In the Croatian and Bosnian textbooks, Yugoslav history is described in the sections of national history which come under headings such as "Croatia in the Second Yugoslavia", or "Bosnia and Herzegovina in Socialism", respectively.³² In the Serbian textbooks, the corresponding chapters bear titles such as "Yugoslavia after World War II", yet although the titles are not nationally colored, Yugoslav history is interpreted in the context of Serbian national history.³³ In the Slovene and Kosovar textbooks, the general situation of Yugoslavia is treated in the general history section, and the situation of Yugoslavia concerned with Slovene or Kosovar history respectively is described in the national history section.³⁴ In the Montenegrin textbook, the period in question is divided into three parts, namely, general history, Yugoslav history and national (Montenegrin) history.³⁵ In the Macedonian textbook, the period is divided into three parts: general history, European or Balkan history and Macedonian history. Yugoslavia is treated in the section for Balkan history as regards general descriptions, and separately in the section for national history too.³⁶

As we can see, there are differences at the point of how to treat Yugoslavia in textbooks. In some cases, Yugoslav history is completely united with the national history or treated as a part of national history. In other cases, Yugoslav history is not incorporated into the national history at all. In the latter cases, Yugoslavia is treated in the sections on general history, to the extent that there is a danger of pupils gaining the impression that their nation was never a part of the Yugoslav federation.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the education system and textbooks are divided between the three predominant nations. The textbooks used by the Serbian and

32 Ibid.; Zijad Šehić et al., *Historija/Istorija/Povijest: udžbenik i čitanka za 8. razred osnovne škole*. Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2009.

33 Đurić and Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*.

34 Jelka Razpotnik and Damjan Snoj, *Raziskujem preteklost 9: učbenik za zgodovino za 9. razred osnovne šole*. Ljubljana: Rokus Klett, 2008(2); Fehmi Rexhepi, *Historia 9*. Prishtinë: Libri shkollor, 2010(4).

35 Slavko Buzanović and Jasmina Đorđević, *Istorija za deveti razred devetogodišnje osnovne škole*. Podgorica: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2009.

36 Владо Велкоски, et al., *Историја за 8 одделение*. Скопје: Просветно дело, 2009(4).

Croatian pupils are almost identical to those of their homelands, Serbia and Croatia, respectively. The textbook used mainly by Bosnian Moslems, however, is a little bit different. It is titled "Historija/Istorija/Povijest" - the Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian word for History. The chapters are written in Latin script and Cyrillic script one after another. The subject of historical description is Bosnia and Herzegovina as a region, but with a significant amount of description on the national history of Bosnian Moslems. Therefore we can conclude that in the case of Bosnia, the textbooks are mutually very contradictory.

In the history textbook used by the Kosovo Albanian pupils, the subject of the national history is Albanians as a whole. Subsequently, in the national history sections, events in Albania are described first, followed by the histories of Kosovo and the other Albanian regions of Yugoslavia. Kosovo is defined as a multinational state, and not an Albanian nation-state according to its Constitution, but, in contrast to the Bosnian Moslem case, such a multinational character of the state is not present in the Albanian history textbooks. Rather, the history of the Kosovo Albanians is presented as a part of Albanian national history as a whole, and lacks descriptions on the topic of the Kosovo Serbs and all other Kosovar minorities. The character of the structure of the Kosovar Albanian textbook in that priority is given to the national history of their homeland, is similar to the textbooks of the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, which describe mainly the history of Serbs in Serbia, or Croats in Croatia, with additional descriptions in each on the respective nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the textbooks of Macedonia and Montenegro, there are specific small sections containing descriptions of the Albanians in their countries. These descriptions are rather independent and not incorporated into any of the other descriptions, but are nonetheless very specific, since in the textbooks of many of the other countries - as described above - the minorities are almost completely ignored.

Another specific point is that, in some cases, special accounts are given of the histories of members of specific nations who live beyond the state border. For example, in the Macedonian textbook, several pages are devoted to the history of the Macedonians in Greece or in Bulgaria, and in the Slovene case, the Slovenes in Austria.

Let us now move on to the analysis of the period from the creation of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia to its disintegration, where several other topics also come to light.

A. The Resistance Movement during WW II and Its Characterization

In some textbooks, several resistance movements are treated and World War II is characterized as a civil war. In the Slovene textbook, along with the Partisans, the Vaška staraža (Village Guard) and the Domobranstvo (Home Guard) are also mentioned. Similarly, in the case of Serbia, the Partisans and the Chetniks, and their mutual conflict are treated. In other textbooks, such as the Macedonian, Bosnian or Montenegrin textbooks, only the Partisans are mentioned – i.e. the Partisan movement is given precedence. This may be so because the Partisan movement and the following establishment of statehood are treated positively in their national history. In the Kosovar textbook, though, the Kosovar Albanian Partisans and pro-Fascist nationalist movement such as the Second League of Prizren are also mentioned.

B. Evaluation of Tito

As regards the leading political figure Tito, special attention is paid to his biography in the textbooks from Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and all three textbooks from Bosnia. The descriptions are along these lines:

The Croatian textbook:

Following the end of WWII, Tito assumed key political positions, and remained at the head of Yugoslavia until his death. Over the 35 years of its existence, the single-party communist system was built on the model of the USSR, but with certain differences.³⁷

The Bosnian textbook:

After the occupation of Yugoslavia, Tito focused on raising a liberation movement and an uprising, and became commander-in-chief of the National Liberation Army. At the Second congress of AVNOJ in Jajce, he was elected Marshal of Yugoslavia, and after the first general elections, he was declared president of the new state.³⁸

The Slovene textbook:

Josip Broz - Tito was a leader of the Yugoslav resistance movement and a national hero. Songs were sung about him and tales of his heroic exploits elaborated upon in a folkloric way. In 1943, he led the Yugoslav Partisans in the two biggest battles of the National Liberation War, the Battles of Neretva and of Sutjeska.³⁹

37 Erdelja and Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8: udžbenik povijesti za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 131.

38 Zijad Šehić et al., *Historija/Istorija/Povijest: udžbenik i čitanka za 8. razred osnovne škole*, p. 171.

39 Razpotnik and Snoj, *Raziskujem preteklost 9: učbenik za zgodovino za 9. razred osnovne šole*, p. 67.

Serbian textbook:

From 1945 to 1948, he followed the Soviet model of society building. After the Yugoslav Communist Party's conflict with Stalin, he turned to the West. He was one of the founders of the Nonalignment Movement. He died in 1980 and is buried in Belgrade in "The House of Flowers".⁴⁰

The Bosnian Serb textbook:

Tito became an eminent international figure ("statesman of the contemporary world") who gave great international reputation to Yugoslavia. Eleven years after his death, Yugoslavia was faced with a series of economic problems and escalating tensions amongst its constituent nations. The conflicts led to Yugoslavia's disintegration in a horrible civil war which engulfed five of its former republics, all of which are now separate countries.⁴¹

The Montenegrin textbook:

During the period of Tito's rule, Yugoslavia enjoyed significant reputation in the world. Yugoslavia was a country of open borders. This contributed to its successful development for several decades.⁴²

As we can see, Tito is mainly treated neutrally or even positively. It is interesting to note that, while the character of the socialist regime is critically described, Tito himself is not criticized.

C. Evaluation of Yugoslav Socialism (Self-Management)

Next, let us see how the system of self-management is characterized in the history textbooks. It is also interesting to mention that self-management socialism is not treated as negatively in its initial phases as in its later days. In some cases, economic development is depicted as being linked with the self-management system.

D. Popular Culture, Especially Popular Music in Yugoslavia

Let us now move on to popular culture, by which we mean the music which was especially popular in socialist Yugoslavia. Popular music was one of the rare cultural fields which seems to have had a more Yugoslav rather than a national basis. In the Serbian textbook, the popular music groups of socialist Yugoslavia

40 Đurić and Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 141.

41 Ranko Pejić et al., *Istorija za 9. razred osnovne škole*. Istočno Sarajevo: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2009, p. 130.

42 Buzanović and Đorđević, *Istorija za deveti razred devetogodišnje osnovne škole*, p. 122.

such as Bijelo dugme, Riblja čorba, Smak, Leb i sol and Parni valjak are mentioned. Two of these groups were from Serbia, while the other three were from Bosnia, Macedonia and Croatia. In the Slovene textbook, among the groups, Mladi levi, Kameleoni, Bele vrane and Helioni are mentioned, all of which are from Slovenia. In the description of the 1980s, Laibach and the cultural movement *Neue Slowenische Kunst* is also mentioned. In the Bosnian Textbook, the Sarajevo-based groups of Indexi, Crvena jabuka and Bijelo dugme are mentioned, while in the Croatian one, groups such as Grupa 220, Bijelo dugme, Azra, Film, Haustor, Paraf, Parni valjak, Prljavo kazalište, Metak and Stidljiva ljubičica are mentioned. All of these, with the exception of the Bosnian Bijelo dugme, are from Croatia. Therefore we can conclude that the popular culture of Yugoslavia is interpreted mainly within the framework of the national discourse.

E. Reason of Disintegration

At last, I we come to the analysis of the descriptions on the cause of the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation. In all the textbooks, the economic crisis of the 1980s is more or less mentioned. However, the evaluation of national tensions differs significantly. While in the textbooks from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Montenegro and Kosovo, the negative role of the nationalist intellectuals in Serbia or the regime of Slobodan Milošević are mentioned, in those from Serbia, the main topics are Albanian nationalism and the decrease of the Serb population in Kosovo.

The Kosovar textbook states:

The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

The death of Tito (May 4th 1980) and the March-April demonstrations of 1981 in Kosovo were the first signs of the beginning of the collapse of the Yugoslav federation. Serbia suppressed every desire of the Albanians and of Kosovo for independence fiercely with the help of federal organs. At the beginning, the other republics of Yugoslavia didn't yet grasp that it was Serbia's aim to create a unitary state, where Serbs would dominate in the name of Yugoslavia. The Serbian political and state leadership was also supported by the Serbian Orthodox Church and Serbian Academy of Science.

Under such circumstances, the relations between the Republic of Serbia on the one side, and the Yugoslav republics, on the other side, worsened more and more. The latter decided to separate from the Federation and declared their independence.⁴³

43 Rexhepi, *Historia* 9, p. 138.

The Slovene textbook:

Yugoslavia: The Bloody Patch in Europe

Yugoslavia was an unusual socialist state and consisted of six nations (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Moslems, Macedonians and Montenegrins) and many other ethnic minorities. The differences between them caused friction, which in many cases (for example between the Croats and the Serbs, and between the Serbs and the Albanians) had its roots in the past. For decades, socialism had attempted to smooth over the differences with the slogan “brotherhood and unity” and in some cases, also by means of violence. In 1980, Tito, the popular state leader who had actually united the separate states of Yugoslavia, died. After his death, the defects of the system surfaced in the form of a bad economic crisis (in 1980, inflation reached a record 2,500%). As a result, labor strikes rocked the state. Towards the end of the 1980s, national tensions increased. The Serbian President Slobodan Milošević demanded that the leading role be given Serbia in Yugoslavia. The republics of Slovenia and Croatia resisted most emphatically against these Serbian tendencies.⁴⁴

The Macedonian textbook:

The Pluralistic and Democratic Processes in Yugoslavia

After the death of Josip Broz Tito (1980), the disintegration of the Yugoslav community of nations began with the emergence of long latent national issues and the long upheld illusion of the functionality of this community came to light.⁴⁵

(...)

The Disintegration of the SFRY

The development of the SFRY in the period from 1950 to 1980 showed great disagreement between the federal units, nations and national minorities it was comprised of. The difficulties in the political and economic relations which had existed in the SFRY, also held the seeds of its disintegration – a process which went on for a long time. These difficulties came to light mostly at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s.⁴⁶

The Serbian textbook:

The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

The First signs of the destabilization of Yugoslavia appeared in Kosovo. In the spring of 1981, nationalistic and separatist demonstrations broke out in what was then the Autonomous Region of Kosovo. Although

44 Razpotnik and Snoj, *Raziskujem preteklost 9: učbenik za zgodovino za 9. razred osnovne šole*, p. 116.

45 Велкоски et al., *Историја за 8 одделение*, p. 132.

46 Ibid., p. 140.

these demonstrations were crushed by the actions of the police force, the situation in Kosovo was not stable. Albanian pressure against the Serbs in this region, the destruction of property and murders sparked by national hatred continued. Together with the economic factors, this strengthened the emigration of Serbs from Kosovo, which had in fact been ongoing since 1945, and led to a situation in which the portion of Serbs in the total population of Kosovo and Metohija was reduced to only 13.2%.⁴⁷

The Croatian textbook:

At the end of the 1980s, communism as a system fell into a crisis throughout Europe, and subsequently also in Yugoslavia. The Slovene leadership sought more autonomy and democratic freedom. The Albanians in Kosovo demanded the status of a republic for Kosovo. The Serbs in Serbia attacked the 1974 Constitution, by which the two autonomous provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina had been established within the territory of Serbia. These two autonomous provinces enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy separate from the republic's authority in Belgrade. Those against the Constitution maintained that the position of Serbia in Yugoslavia was weakened by this autonomy. Serbian intellectuals gathered in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) and in 1986 drafted a Serbian national program – i.e. a document known as the Memorandum of the SANU.

The situation in Yugoslavia was additionally complicated by the emergence of Slobodan Milosevic at the head of the Serbian communists. Milosevic stirred up the dissatisfaction of the Serb nation and appointed himself leader of the Serbs.⁴⁸

The Bosnian textbook:

The center of nationalistic disorder which destroyed Yugoslavia was located in its the federation's leading center, in Serbia. While the Croats and Slovenes rightfully condemned the Serbian bid for dominance, the Serbs regarded themselves as the main victims of difficulties brought about by Tito's regime, and as victims of a "Croat-Slovene" alignment that deprived Serbia of the rights it saw itself as justly striving to ensure for itself within the federation. In fact, as Serbia saw it, Tito's federal constitution which gave member republics sovereignty, deprived Serbia of its leading position in the country and as a result it was no longer a dominant force in the federation, but only one of six republics with equal

47 Đurić and Pavlović, *Istorija za osmi razred osnovne škole*, p. 184.

48 Erdelja and Stojaković, *Tragom prošlosti 8: udžbenik povijesti za osmi razred osnovne škole*, pp. 228-229.

rights. Nor was Serbia the richest of the republics. Serbian politicians adopted the stance that Serbia was the only republic which didn't have complete sovereignty within its territory, owing to the two provinces of Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo in the south keeping their autonomy according to the Federal Constitution, which made them practically free from the control of the Belgrade government. Furthermore, they argued that Serbia, which had borne the brunt of the liberation efforts in World War II and suffered the highest death toll, had been reduced to second class status by this situation. These accusations were far from the truth, yet the repercussions they created were nonetheless devastating.⁴⁹

The Montenegrin textbook:

The Crisis of Yugoslav Society

The political and intellectual elites formed programs in which separate national interests were put forward, and ways of realizing these were proposed. In the autumn of 1986, the program known as the Memorandum of Serb Academy of Sciences and Arts was published. In it, the unification of all Serbs into one single, national state or entity within a centralized Yugoslavia was emphasized as the primary aim of the Serb nation. At the beginning of 1987, the Slovene intellectuals also formed and published their own national program – for the creation of an independent Slovene state. As part of this program, they also supported the introduction of a multiparty system.⁵⁰

As we have shown, the experience of socialist Yugoslavia is mainly interpreted and described in such a way as to be in accordance with each nation's own view of its national history. Such a tendency exists not only within the sphere of political history but also with regard to cultural history. However, some elements which could be termed as being in common to all the historical descriptions also exists in all these descriptions of the history of socialist Yugoslavia. Namely, the anti-fascist movement during World War II is interpreted more or less positively in all the textbooks. Also, the role of popular culture in Yugoslavia could be seen as something held in common by all the nations of the former Yugoslav countries. It seems that all of them listened to the same music, watched the same movies and TV programs and consumed the same goods.

49 Zijad Šehić et al., *Historija/Istorija/Povijest: udžbenik i čitanka za 8. razred osnovne škole*, p. 240.

50 Buzanović and Đorđević, *Istorija za deveti razred devetogodišnje osnovne škole*, p. 128.

4. CONCLUSION

There are some similarities in the primary school history textbooks of the Yugoslav successor states. In every country, the subject is named as "History", and world (or general) history and national history are treated together in one textbook. But the descriptions are not integrated. Rather, in almost all the textbooks, the general history of a certain age is followed by the history of the respective country. In some textbooks, the regional history such as Balkan or European history is inserted between them. The overall structure of the history textbooks is by and large common to all these publications, and in the narrative itself, as the analysis has shown, a significant amount of similarities can also be found. Almost all the textbooks embody an ethnocentric view of their nation's own history. This is evident not only with regard to the territorial perspective, but also in the interpretations of the Yugoslav experience that was common to all the countries of former Yugoslavia. The subject of historical narrative is also each separate nation, whereby the narrative either almost completely ignores minorities, or descriptions about them are at best sporadic. One exception is the textbook used by the Bosnian Moslems which is an amalgam of a Moslem ethnocentric view and an emphasis on the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There are however also some differences. The degree of ethnocentricity is not equal amongst all the textbooks. The descriptions in the Slovene textbooks are more multifaceted than all the others. The Slovene textbooks also devote more pages to social and cultural history, while the Macedonian, Serb or Bosnian textbooks are centered on political history. Some of the Croatian textbooks also share these characteristics.

It seems that the countries which have stabilized politically and socially tend to have a more liberal and multi-aspectual view of history, as is the case for Slovenia, whereas in the countries which are not socially or politically stable and have ethnic tensions, the national narrative seems to be more radical, as for example in Serbia, all three textbooks of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as Macedonia and Kosovo.

There is a tendency to think that a historical education which is not based on ethnocentricity and has a multifaceted view can bring about national reconciliation within a country or between a country and its neighboring nations. There is also a belief that this leads to a more mature civil society. Yet, what we found in the cases of the Yugoslav successor states, was that textbooks without ethnocentric views were available only in the countries which already were stable socially and politically and didn't have ethnic tensions. Maybe, the achievement

of a mature civil society and reconciliation through historical education mutually encourage each other.

In our analyses of the history textbooks, we also recognized the limitations of textbook analysis. Studies of institutional aspects, such as the procedures of the various ministries of education or the publishing houses, the systems of textbook approval, the selection of textbook writers and so on would also have to be made in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture. We can however conclude that the textbooks in the former Yugoslav states are very much affected by political circumstances, especially the sections on the states' contemporary history. Sometimes, history textbooks are objects of political debate, as was the case in Serbia concerning the debate over the additional educational materials for history education between the author Dubravka Stojanović and nationalist historians. It seems to me that history textbooks and history education in general should be more independent from politics. To that aim, the introduction of plural textbooks or so called alternative textbooks would undoubtedly be effective.

As already stated before, the subject of historical narratives in history textbooks is mainly the individual nation that published them, and not the people living there. It may be difficult to make a radical change in this area, but I think that the subject of historical narratives should be the people who are living now and who lived there in the past - including minorities. It should be regarded as a good sign that there are several pages in Macedonian and Montenegrin textbooks on the cultural movements of Albanians in each country. The next step should be the integration of descriptions on this topic into the entire text. The viewpoints of minorities can be a key concept to relativize the strong existence of the nation as the subject of description in history textbooks. And not only present day minorities, such as Serbs in Croatia or Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro, but also minorities in the past, for example, Turks in Serbia or Germans in Slovenia, could be the target of description.

The second point is that the nation building process in the 19th and in some cases, 20th century should be taught. We historians all know that the modern notion of nation was created (or invented) and the nation as such was forged within the modernization processes taking place at this time. But, in the history textbooks of former Yugoslavia, the historical continuity of each nation from the Middle Ages or the Age of Antiquity is more or less emphasized, and the nation building process is ignored or treated as a national revival process. The description of the constructed character of the nation in history textbooks should contribute to relativizing such a fictional continuity of the nation.

The third method that seems to me effective in relativizing national history is the history of local communities, namely the history of the cities or villages where

these nations live. It may be difficult to incorporate such into textbooks, but local history should be an effective means of gaining a deeper and more concrete understanding of the lives of one's ancestors or people who lived there in the past, being, as it is, independent from the myth of national history.

Luka Culiberg

SPEAKING A COMMON LANGUAGE:

On the Unity in the Human Sciences and the Question of School History Curricula*

“At first sight the human sciences – at least to anyone who has played however small a part in their development – are striking; not for their unity, which is difficult to formulate and to promote, but for their longstanding, confirmed, fundamental, indeed almost structural diversity.”

Fernand Braudel

“We know only a single science, the science of history.”

Karl Marx

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1. INTRODUCTION

When I was invited to participate in the workshop on *A Comparative Analysis of Textbooks for History in Japan and Slovenia*, I was at first unsure as to what my contribution could be in this project. Unlike my distinguished colleagues, who were not only professional historians, but some of whom also had first-hand experience in writing high school history textbooks, I have had no professional training in historiography and no experience with history textbooks.

Coming from the field of social theory, I therefore first considered analyzing selected history textbooks from the perspective of their treatment of the ideological notions that constitute modern identities – primarily the notions of *nation* and *language*, and the role of the school as a state institution within the context of the modern nation-state. However, I have come to realize during the course of our workshops and through extremely fruitful debates with other participants that my arguments were often somewhat insufficient and more often than not intuitive rather than based on solid research and theoretical formulation. My interests lie mostly in the epistemology of the humanities, and I have been researching for the last few years (mostly in the case of Japan) the history of academic attitudes towards these concepts, which are primarily framed and reproduced through the scholarly discourse of academic establishments, particularly within such disciplines as historiography, linguistics, sociology, ethnology etc. So, I eventually realized I needed to turn my attention also to the problem of these academic discourses which are being reproduced through the system of modern compulsory education.

In the course of our meetings in Ljubljana and Tokyo over the past two years I first set out to examine a few selected high school history textbooks published in Slovenia since independence in 1991, and to analyze how exactly they approach the question concerning the *history of a nation*, as well as the question of *language*, as one of the main determining factors in the process of constructing national identities. Based on these examples the rest of this paper deals with the question of history as a school subject and the role of school systems in general, as well as with the role of the human and social sciences, where said ideological discourses – spread throughout the education system – are actually being produced.

Approaching the question of history textbooks from this angle made things easier for me because even though most of my colleagues were in fact practicing historians, they nevertheless shared many of my views regarding ideological narratives in historiography. Saying this, however, in no way implies that I would like to minimize the burden of my responsibility for the ideas I propose in this paper. On the contrary, I am sure many of the arguments put forward here will probably still invite disagreement from my colleagues, as was at times the case during our exciting debates. But even though our discussions sometimes got

lively at the expense of agreement, they were still never “a dialogue of the deaf” as debates between historians and social theorists in general have been described by Peter Burke,¹ referring to the essay by Fernand Braudel.²

2. DEFINING THE PROBLEM OF HISTORY

The view that history as a school subject, as well as historiography as an academic discipline, both abound in ideological discourses was, as I have said, to some extent shared by my colleagues participating in the workshop. In fact, one of the objectives of the workshop, as I understood it, was precisely a critical evaluation of these discourses in order to propose reforms to the current school history curricula and education. I have to thank on this occasion dr. Peter Vodopivec who kindly referred me to the proceedings from the 33rd General Meeting of the Association of Historical Societies of Slovenia that took place in Kranj, Slovenia between the 19th and 21st of October 2006, and published under the title *The Mythical and the Stereotypical in Slovene Perception of History* (2008). This was a valuable source of information for me, unaware as I was of the critical voices within the discipline of historiography and history education in Slovenia. In his contribution to the proceedings dr. Vodopivec confirmed my initially only intuitive suspicions about the epistemological struggles within historiography and the difficulties in defining its proper object of research. Under the title *The Vicious Circle of National History* Vodopivec describes the genesis of national historiographies since the mid-19th century in Europe and the gradual development of its methodologies and concepts.³

According to Vodopivec, in 19th century historiography the *nation* appeared as a ‘historical being *par excellence*’, a sort of collective historical hero, and the main task of historians, being supposed to record ‘*what really happened*’, became narrating the history of *the nation*, considered [to be the central subject of historical development].⁴ Historiography thus established itself as an academic

1 “Even today, some historians still regard sociologists as people who state the obvious in a barbarous and abstract jargon, lack any sense of place and time, squeeze individuals without mercy into rigid categories, and, to cap it all, describe these activities as ‘scientific’. Sociologists, for their part, have traditionally viewed historians as amateurish, myopic fact-collectors without system, method or theory, the imprecision of their ‘data base’ matched only by their incapacity to analyze it.” Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (2nd ed.), Cambridge: Polity, 2005, pp. 2-3.

2 Fernand Braudel, “History and Sociology”, in Fernand Braudel, *On History* (S. Matthews, Trans). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980, pp. 64-82.

3 Peter Vodopivec, “Začarani krog nacionalne zgodovine” [“The Vicious Circle of National History”], in Mitja Ferenc, & Branka Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino* [*The Mythical and the Stereotypical in Slovene Perception of History*], Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2008, pp. 49-59.

4 Ibid, p. 50.

discipline within the specific historical context of the changing social realities and the emergence of the new nation-state based identities on a par with other disciplines such as linguistics, ethnology and literary studies as well as the social sciences. In addition, the essential technical procedures and canons of relevance by which historians still operate today were also established at that time.⁵ It is true that in the aftermath of the First World War the *Annales* school founded in France by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre initiated new approaches to historiographical research, and produced many of the famous names of 20th century historiography like Fernand Braudel, Georges Duby or Jacques Le Goff, but there was nevertheless a lot of resistance to its new epistemology, and although French historiography since the establishment of the *Annales* journal had slowly embarked on an important methodological and conceptual reform in the historiographical research before and long after the Second World War, positivist orientations of national historiography inherited from the 19th century have nevertheless remained dominant.⁶

The fact that the phenomena of *nation* and *nation-state* became the central subjects of historical development as well as the central objects of historiographical research which, in the words of Vodopivec, became “a discipline that was supposed to affirm and clarify national characteristics and ancient national and state traditions”,⁷ shows that historiography was, from its outset, an ideological endeavor, in the sense that it did not construct its epistemological framework by producing its scientific object of research through theoretical practice, but, on the contrary, was itself the product of an ideological concept in whose service it played the role of consolidating the unity of the state and of forming as well as perpetuating values and feelings of belonging. Nations were constructing their own histories which, regardless of the accuracy of the past ‘events’ they were based on, were necessarily constructed through the process of ‘inventing tradition’, and the main mechanism of achieving this construction of national identity was historiography.

These ‘myths’ of nations were of course not exclusively the product of national historiographies but, as Vodopivec notes, also of disciplines such as ethnology (national culture), literary studies (national literature) and linguistics (national language), and were co-created and disseminated particularly effectively by literary artists and political activists as well as writers of school textbooks, where ‘national history’ was being didactically and patriotically simplified for school purposes. Typically these myths centered around a few standard *topoi* such as the myth about autochthonous peoples and territories (‘the cradle of the nation’), the myth

5 Willie Thompson, *What Happened to History?* London: Pluto Press, 2000.

6 Vodopivec, “Začarani krog nacionalne zgodovine”, p. 50.

7 Ibid, p. 50.

of the *golden age* of early independence, the myth of a nation's suffering under the oppression of foreigners and enemies, the myth of the chosen nation, etc.⁸

According to Štih,⁹ the task of promoting the idea of one indivisible and unchangeable nation with a homogenous and straightforward image of continuous history justifying the existence of said nation as an eternal concept was thus entrusted to the field of *humanities* in the 19th century – from philosophy to archaeology and ethnography and particularly to historiography. The combination of romantic political philosophy and historiography on one side and comparative linguistics on the other has also given birth to the conception that *language* is an objective criterion which can be used to identify a *nation*.¹⁰

We must therefore first ask ourselves how much historiography has succeeded (or even tried) to theoretically reconsider its own foundations upon which it was built as an ideological discipline serving the nascent idea of *nation* in the process of emerging nation-states in Europe during the 19th century? According to Vodopivec, the ideas about the Slovene nation as a historical collective subject have not been completely renounced even by historians themselves.¹¹ Still, Vodopivec concludes with the remark that Slovene historiography has in the last decades considerably widened its research area and its view on the Slovene past by opening itself to social-historical, anthropological, demographic and cultural-historical topics that were traditionally ignored in historiographical research.¹² That is certainly the case, but the fact remains that no matter how much historiography has tried to redefine the concept of *nation* as its *explicandum*, the latter nevertheless still remains an *explicans* for the discipline of historiography itself, or as Štih puts it, “outside nations and their frameworks we can hardly even conceive of history. European history in our conceptions thus still figures more as a sum of respective national histories than as an integral history or rather as a history that used to be structured in different ways than national histories.”¹³

2.1. Historiography as a ‘Scientific’ Discipline

Historiography is one of the oldest human practices, but as an academic discipline it has appeared relatively late; more precisely, it has appeared at a specific historical moment – along with the birth of *nations* and *nation-states*.

8 Ibid, p. 53.

9 Peter Štih, “Miti in stereotipi v podobi starejše slovenske nacionalne zgodovine” [“Myths and stereotypes pertaining to older Slovene national history”], in Mitja Ferenc, & Branka Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino* [The Mythical and the Stereotypical in Slovene Perception of History], Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2008, pp. 25-47.

10 Ibid, p. 28.

11 Vodopivec, “Začarani krog nacionalne zgodovine”, p. 58.

12 Ibid, p. 59.

13 Štih, “Miti in stereotipi v podobi starejše slovenske nacionalne zgodovine”, p. 29.

Medieval universities generally had four faculties: theology, medicine, law and philosophy. In the 19th century, after the shift of the scientific paradigm that began in the times of Descartes and Galilei was completed, the philosophical faculty divided into two parts¹⁴, where one part covered the so-called 'sciences' and the other the 'humanities'. Based on this separation the modern university was born, with full-time, paid professors "who are grouped together not merely in 'faculties' but in 'departments' or 'chairs' within these faculties, each department asserting that it is the locus of a particular 'discipline.'"¹⁵

The new 'scientific' paradigm also initiated a complete revolution in the *methods* of historical research during the 19th century. This revolution is usually associated with the historian Leopold von Ranke who rose in protest against the 'moralizing history' with his firm insistence that the task of a historian is to only narrate 'how it actually was' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*) – an insistence which faced an incredibly good response from the next generations of German, British and even French historians who have faithfully followed this cult of historical 'facts'.¹⁶ In his famous book *What is History?* Carr writes that this 'fetishism of facts', typical of 19th century historiography, was legitimized by a fetishism of documents. Carr suggested that in spite of the almost religious attitude of historians toward such documents, these documents do not mean anything until the historian studies and explains them.¹⁷ As Munslow put it, 'facts' are literally meaningless in their unprocessed state of a simple evidential statement and *history* is about the process of translating evidence into facts.¹⁸

With the change of *method* also came the change of the *object* of history. The background of Ranke's revolution in historiography was not a simple rejection of the so-called social history that was popular before his time, but the switch in perspective concerning the object of history. His history now focused on *the state*:¹⁹

In the first place, it was in this period that European governments were coming to view history as a means of promoting national unity, as a means of education for citizenship, or, as a less sympathetic observer might have put it, a means of nationa-

14 The final strict division between *philosophy* and *science* only occurred sometime in the late 18th century and as Wallerstein notes, at that time "Immanuel Kant still found it perfectly appropriate to lecture on astronomy and poetry as well as on metaphysics. ... Knowledge was still considered a unitary field." "It was those defending empirical 'science' who insisted upon this divorce. They said that the only route to 'truth' was theorizing based on induction from empirical observations. ... They insisted that metaphysical deduction was speculation and had no 'truth'-value. They thus refused to think of themselves as 'philosophers.'" (Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-System Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004, p. 2.)

15 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

16 Eduard H. Carr, *What is History?* (2nd ed.). Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001 [1961], p. 3.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

18 Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*. London & New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 7.

19 Burke, *History and Social Theory*, p. 5.

list propaganda. In times when the new states of Germany and Italy, and older states such as France and Spain, were still divided by their regional traditions, the teaching of national history in schools and universities encouraged political integration. The kind of history for which governments were prepared to pay was, naturally enough, the history of the state.

The decision behind what was to be the object of historical research was thus not theoretically produced, but ideologically given, or, as Wallerstein notes, the fact that “they were relying on written documents from the past already biased what they could possibly study, since the documents in archives were written largely by persons linked to political structures – diplomats, civil servants, political leaders.” Moreover, through this method historians were also limited regionally; namely, they were studying areas that were covered by these documents. “In practice, historians in the nineteenth century tended therefore to study first of all their own country and secondarily other countries which were considered ‘historical nations,’ which seemed to mean nations with a history that could be documented in archives.”²⁰ Thus the history of nation-states became the story of the past events within the area covered or coveted by the contemporary state. This was of course a completely arbitrary choice, but it was useful for the strengthening of nationalist sentiments and therefore supported by political powers.²¹

The shift was thus made in the understanding of history writing from earlier histories or ‘chronicles’ to the use of the official records of governments. Historians turned their attention to the state archives with new sophisticated techniques for assessing the reliability of the documents, and argued “that their own histories were therefore more objective and more ‘scientific’ than those of their predecessors.”²² As Wallerstein notes, “despite this more ‘scientific’ bent, the new historians did not choose to be located in the faculty of science, but rather in the faculty of humanities. This might seem strange, since these historians were rejecting the philosophers because of their speculative assertions.” They were of course empiricists, so it could have been expected that they would feel sympathy for the natural sciences, however, they were at the same time by and large suspicious of any kind of large-scale generalizations or of formulating hypotheses.²³ Thus historiography inevitably ended up sharing the schizophrenic fate of other social sciences and humanities as victims of the new ‘scientific’ paradigm – searching their own epistemological identity in the never successful pursuit of natural science paradigm.

20 Wallerstein, *World-System Analysis*, p. 5.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

22 Burke, *History and Social Theory*, pp. 5-6.

23 Wallerstein, *World-System Analysis*, p. 5.

But before I proceed with the discussion of the question of school history education and the problems of the epistemology of historiography and of the social sciences and humanities in general, let us take a look at some concrete examples of the textual analysis of history textbooks, published in Slovenia in the late 1990s, focusing on the treatment of the *nation* and *language* as well as other examples of 'objective' historical 'facts' and 'events' as 'they actually happened'. I will take a look at two history textbooks for the 1st and 3rd grade of high schools, published in the late 1990s. The bolds are in the original while the underlined parts are all stressed by me.

3. HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN SLOVENIA

The textbook *History 1: Textbook for the First Year of Gymnasium* opens with a chapter on history titled simply **History** and its first subtitle reads **History as a discipline**.²⁴

Interestingly, before embarking on the long odyssey of *history* itself, the textbook first provides the students with an explanation *about history*. In this metahistorical chapter it begins by explaining that in the past, as well as nowadays, the notions of *history* and *story* often get confused. It then presents two excerpts, first a poem about the battle at Sisak in 1593, followed by an excerpt from the historical narrative of the same battle. The following explanation clarifies how the story of a nobleman from Carniola (part of today's Slovenia), Adam Ravbar, who distinguished himself in the fighting against the Turks at Sisak (today's Croatia), was preserved in the first example in the form of a poem through oral tradition, while in the second example the historian has written only what actually happened and what can be proven with the help of historical sources.²⁵ This is why this second text belongs to historiography as a discipline scientifically researched by historians.

In order to explain to the students *what history is*, the textbook thus more or less quotes *verbatim* what Leopold von Ranke had written back in 1824. It further explains historiographical methodology as follows:

How do we find out what happened in the past?

*A Historian will, like any researcher, try to reconstruct the events and will, naturally, interrogate his "witnesses". Historian's "witnesses" are the historical sources. ... In historical sources historians look for data or historical facts that narrate about the human past.*²⁶

24 Vilma Brodnik, Robert Jernejčič, Zoran Radonjič, Tjaša Urankar-Dornik, *Zgodovina 1: učbenik za prvi letnik gimnazije* [*History 1: Textbook for the First Year of Gymnasium*]. Ljubljana: DZS, 1997, p. 12.

25 Ibid, p. 13.

26 Ibid, p. 16.

The chapter ends with a comment stating that concerning recent events historians can hardly write about them without bias, because they have inevitably formed emotional attitudes towards them; and that history writing can also be influenced by political decisions *in certain countries*.²⁷

3.1. The treatment of nation and language in history textbooks

The textbook *History 1* is in large part dedicated to the Greek and Roman histories, but when it comes to treating the territory of today's Republic of Slovenia, the concept of *the Slovene lands* is applied even in the context of the Age of Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages:

Our Lands in the Roman Period²⁸

The chapter begins with the following subtitle:

Roman occupation of Slovene territory

The textbook of course does not imply that Romans took these lands from Slovenes, but the diction of the titles goes as follows:

- **The administrative division of Slovene lands under the Romans**
- **The Romanization and colonization of Slovene territory**
- **Roman material and spiritual culture in Slovenia**
- **Late Antiquity in Slovenia**

None of the subtitles fails to include the adjective *Slovene* in them.

This shows that the choice of the object of the historical narrative is based on the territorial concept of the modern political entity called the Republic of Slovenia. However, when it comes to the period of Slavic migrations to these territories, all of a sudden the territorial concept is replaced by the linguistic and political one, namely, the narrative introduces a new subject – the 'Slavic people' – and continues with the story of the first known instances of Slavic state formation, the tribal alliance under king Samo and later the Duchy of *Carantania* (*Karantanija*), neither of which were centered in today's Slovene territory. The following pages²⁹ narrate the history of *Carantania*, its characteristics, political organization and so on, without any explicit justification, but sure enough with the implicit supposition that this is somehow connected to the history of Slovenia. The name 'Slovenes' is not mentioned in the main narrative where it strictly talks about the Slavs or the *Carantanians* and about Slavonic languages, with one notable exception when it comes to the question of *language*. When it mentions the *Freising Manuscripts* from the 10th or the beginning of the 11th

27 Ibid, p. 19.

28 Ibid, p. 197.

29 Ibid, p. 246-252.

century, it states that these preserved *Slavonic texts* are the oldest document of missionary activity among the *Slovenes*, and it describes them as texts written in the *Old Slovene language*, used to spread Christian faith among the Carantanians, thus explicitly connecting the Carantanians to the Slovenes.³⁰ This 'slip-up' is not surprising if we keep in mind that it is exactly the idea of linguistic continuity upon which the historical narrative of the Slovene nation is built. Due to the absence of an independent Slovene nation-state until 1991 in most of the cases of Slovene history the phrase *Slovene lands* is thus used instead.

The textbook *History 3: Textbook for the Third Year of Gymnasium*³¹ covers the history of the 19th century up to the First World War, and subsequently deals with the 'golden age' of the rise of nationalism.

For the period of nascent nations and the emergence of national identities the term national rebirth is used, implying that the always existing nations were only *reborn* in that period. (All the bolds are in the original text, the underscores are mine.)

Slovenes in the Pre-March Period:

*The fundamental characteristic of the decades during which the Austrian Empire was not involved in any international armed conflicts was that **the Slovenes have again, after a millennium, lived under a common ruler.***³²

The textbook leaves no doubt as to the 'millenarian' history of the Slovenes, who, until the nineteenth century, were forcefully, or through some other reason, divided among different lands. The perspective of the textbook is teleological, the final desirable (and indeed natural) goal of history being the unification of all Slovenes in a single and independent nation-state. Moreover, the ideological role of *humanists*, I am analyzing in this paper, is explicitly highlighted here exactly in the sense I have postulated it to be, but without the connotation I am inferring from it, of course:

*Therefore the **poets and writers, linguists, ethnologists and historians** were at the same time also **the national initiators.***³³

On the issue of the Illyrian movement – a competing ideology to nationalism trying to unite all the South Slavic peoples into one single nation – the textbook brings forth the following points:

*The idea of Illyrism found a few ardent **supporters among the Slovenes**, who were politically divided, and were subjected, particularly in the north, to strong Germanization.*

30 Ibid, p. 251.

31 Stane Granda & Franc Rozman, *Zgodovina 3: učbenik za tretji letnik gimnazije [History 3: Textbook for the Third Year of Gymnasium]*. Ljubljana: DZS, 1999.

32 Ibid., p. 33.

33 Ibid., p. 33.

*Books intended for the common people were still to be printed in the Slovene language, while higher literature was supposed to be written **in the Illyrian language, an artificial language**, with Slovene and Croatian elements and a common writing system.*

*The acceptance **after 1848** of the Slovene language by the Austrian authorities as the common language of all Slovenes meant more or less **the final defeat of Illyrism**. As a political and linguistic movement Illyrism kept resurging up until the beginning of the twentieth century, but it has never again posed a threat to independent Slovene cultural development.³⁴*

The above examples of Slovene high school history textbooks demonstrate first their explicit adherence to the Rankean belief in the empiricist approach to writing history *as it actually happened*, and second, that following this 'objective' approach they *inevitably* end up narrating a mythological history of the nation. The mantra about the 'objective' history also eliminates the possibility of students questioning not only the factual 'truthfulness' of what is written in the textbook, but also the *selection* of what is and what is not included, why certain 'facts' or documents are selected and others omitted. In other words, the narrative of history *as it actually happened* obscures the fact that there is also meaning to what actually is *not there*, and that we have to be just as conscious about the phenomenon Andrej Bekeš calls the *conspicuous absence*.³⁵ Let us take a look at some examples.

The traditional view of Slovene history, apart from deriving its statehood from the medieval state of Carantania and imagined linguistic continuity, also frames its identity on the centuries-long antagonism between Germanic and Slavic peoples and the centuries-long oppression of the latter by the former. So, how does a history textbook cover the ancient events without any bias and only bringing the 'actual facts' from historical documents:

The Germanic and Slavic Peoples before the Great Migration.

The chapter on the emergence and migration of the Slavic and Germanic peoples is introduced through the ancient documents. First the textbook offers a description of the Germanic peoples taken from Tacitus' *Germania*:

"It is known that Germans don't live in the cities and don't like congested places ..."

"For building they only use raw materials, and don't care much for beauty and aesthetics ..."

³⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

³⁵ Andrej Bekeš, "Conspicuous Absence: National Language in Japanese History Textbooks", in *Inter Faculty*, 2, 2011, pp. 11-25.

“When they don’t wage wars, they are bored. They spend their free time sleeping and eating ...”³⁶

This description is followed by the description of the Slavic peoples:³⁷

“These tribes, the Slavs or the Antes, are not ruled by one person, but *have always lived in a democratic society*; therefore in their community all public affairs, favorable or not, are discussed in public forums...” (Procopius of Caesarea)

Or:

“The Slavic peoples do not treat prisoners the same way as other peoples treat their slaves. They do not keep them indefinitely, but rather give them the following choice: they can return home in exchange for a ransom, or they can become slaves before they set themselves free and become friends.” (Strategikon of Maurice)

A simple analysis like this one clearly demonstrates that it is through the ‘neutral’ and ‘objective’ quotation of *sources* (historical material *par excellence*) that the image of Germans as more barbaric and less civilized than their Slavic counterparts is being promoted in the text.

The nation-state centered narrative as described above is of course in no way a Slovene or even European particularity. For the purpose of this workshop, Andrej Bekeš did a survey of Japanese history textbooks from a similar perspective and with similar results. The narratives about the *Japanese nation* and the *Japanese language* are similarly not being treated historically, but rather as a natural, self-evident premise around which the narrative of Japanese history is constructed, even though, as Amino points out, first of all there can be no talk of ‘Japan’ before the name *Nihon* first appeared somewhere in the 7th century. Besides, the name *Nihon* or *Nippon* was neither a territorial name nor a name of a tribe or of a royal dynasty but a designation for a country from the perspective of the Tang dynasty, and was more or less synonymous with the rule of the *tennō* dynasty at the time.³⁸ Apart from its ambiguous meaning as well as its unclear reading, the name that designated Japan in the seventh or the eighth century also designated something completely different from what we call Japan today.

The situation with the *national language* was again comparable to one in Europe, where language had to be standardized as a device that helped consolidate

³⁶ Brodnik, Jernejčič, Radonjič, Urankar-Dornik, *Zgodovina 1*, p. 204-205.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

³⁸ Yoshihiko Amino, *Nihonron no shiza: Rettō no shakai to kokka [Perspectives of the Theory of Japan: Society and State in the Archipelago]*. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1990, p. 9.

and create the feeling of common identity. As Yasuda argues, the path to the conception of *kokugo* (national language) led more or less in the direction of the two vectors of ‘spoken language community’ and ‘written language community’. The spoken language of course represented the idea of a common linguistic community, but such language did not exist. Spoken languages varied in all respects from regional variations to class variations. There was no single spoken ‘Japanese’. On the other hand, the written language was limited to a small class of literate people, but had no regional variations. And though nobody *spoke* that language, it had its history. By converging these two vectors, the differences of class and region were overcome, and the new spoken language became *kokugo* – a national language shared by all the *nationals* and with its imagined uninterrupted history since at least the poetic compilation of *Manyōshū* in the 9th century.³⁹

In Japan, history textbook production is completely controlled by the government officials at the Ministry of Education, which has one of the most centralized formal systems of control over education, usually resulting in the self-censorship of writers and publishers, who literally follow every word of ‘recommendation’ by the Ministry in order to get their textbooks approved.⁴⁰ Some writers and teachers have taken it upon themselves to fight a battle of windmills with the Ministry in the form of numerous lawsuits, like the notorious Ienaga Saburō, but to little avail. It is the Ministry that is the arbiter of history in Japan.⁴¹ As Bukh has shown, the main subject of controversy in Japan’s history textbooks debate remains the question of Japan’s role before and during the Pacific War, measured in degrees of victimization and victimhood. Bukh argues that “the narrative of Japanese victimhood creates a distinction between the state and the nation and emphasizes the heavy cost of the state’s misadventures and policies for the people of Japan. As such, the victimhood of the Japanese people serves not only as a ‘foundational myth’ of postwar Japan’s pacifist identity but also creates a highly critical view of the state and its militaristic policies.”⁴² Based on this ‘separation myth’ in which the Japanese people (nation) play the role of the victim of the Japanese state, “the Japanese people’s suffering is much more central in the textbooks than are depictions of the pain inflicted by Japan on other nations.”⁴³

39 Toshiaki Yasuda, “*Tagengo shakai*” to *iu gensō* [“Multilingual Society” as an Illusion]. Tokyo: Sangensha, 2011, pp. 79-93.

40 Christopher Barnard, *Language, Ideology, and Japanese History Textbooks*. London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, p. 12.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

42 Alexander Bukh, “Japan’s History Textbooks Revisited”, *Asian Survey* (Academic Journal), 47, vol. 5, 2007, p. 691.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 695.

4. HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

Based on the above discussion and analysis of textbook examples, it can be established that the empiricist, positivist Rankean historiography remains the dominant paradigm in historiography because it is best suited to provide the image of a non-problematic, document based objective historical 'truth'. Modern history textbooks claim to be politically neutral and scientifically objective. I argue, however, that 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' are in fact ideological concepts concealing a deep-rooted structure of a 'scientific' paradigm that is preventing the exercise of a theoretical practice in the field of the humanities.

Naturally, historiography is not the same thing as writing history textbooks. However, if we argue for the difference between the two in the sense of considering the first a theoretical pursuit of knowledge and the other serving a different purpose (for example, consolidating the state by instilling national awareness and educating good citizens) then we are willingly subscribing to the premise that school functions as an ideological state apparatus *par excellence* as Louis Althusser has defined it.⁴⁴ The school system in general and the subject of history in particular represent the primary polygon of ideological manipulation and are therefore prime mechanisms for reproducing a dominant ideology. Therefore, if we are not willing to subscribe (at least openly) to such a conception of school, but profess it to be an institution that promotes 'independent thinking', then we must reform it completely.

4.1 The 'objectivity' of knowledge in historiography

The creation of the modern education system was instrumental in the construction of *nation-states*. The role the textbooks play is the role of education which is in the service of sustaining and reproducing the current ruling ideology.⁴⁵ Education, monopolized by the modern school system, plays the role of integrating the social structure which, in modern perspective, means a sovereign nation-state.

44 Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", in: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: NLB, 1971, pp. 121-173.

45 Ideology as a theoretical concept defines *meaning* by postulating social construction of meaning through discourse. Meaning is therefore never 'neutral', because the social reality is based in power relations, and is never 'fixed', because it is always being renegotiated through power struggles. Ideology can thus be defined as meaning in the sense of a distorted image of the real conditions which construct people's relations. The distortion of the meaning comes from the fact that since meaning is constructed within power relations, ideological meaning is always in the service of justifying the existing power relations.

We have little reason to doubt Althusser's analysis of ideological state apparatuses among which school plays an important role. The role of the educational state apparatus is the reproduction of *knowledge*. However, 'knowledge' is not simply a 'neutral' or 'true' awareness of some ontological 'truth', but is rather a 'view' of the world, i.e. a conception based on power relations that are at work within a particular social formation. As Althusser put it:⁴⁶

The mechanisms which produce this vital result for the capitalist regime are naturally covered up and concealed by a universally reigning ideology of the School, universally reigning because it is one of the essential forms of the ruling bourgeois ideology: an ideology which represents the School as a neutral environment purged of ideology...

Of course school is not the only 'culprit' in this reproduction of 'knowledge' of the ruling ideology. Most of this teaching is done also within the family, in the church, in the army, in textbooks, in films, etc., but no other state apparatus has, as Althusser points out, the obligatory audience of the totality of the children, eight hours a day for five or six days a week.⁴⁷

I will get back to the problem of 'knowledge', but let me return at this point to the question of history. The Rankean concept of historiography that is supposed to be 'non-ideological' and to only narrate things *as they actually happened* had other implications.⁴⁸ It was Hegel's philosophy that grasped the understanding

46 Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", p. 148.

47 Ibid.

48 If 'biased' historiography is constantly pressed to explain and justify its bias, 'objective' historiography on the other hand simply plays the card that what it narrates *has actually happened* and thus avoids the need to explain its supposedly absent bias. As Lord Acton (quoted in the *Introduction* to the revised English translation of Ranke's book) said, Ranke decided "to repress the poet, the patriot, the religious or political partisan, to sustain no cause, to banish himself from his books, to write nothing that could gratify his own feelings, or disclose his own private convictions." (Leopold von Ranke, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations (1494-1514)*. (G. R. translation), London: George Bell & Sons, 1909, p. xii.) This statement perfectly sums up the *credo* of empiricist ideology, namely, once you declare your own *banishment from the books* and *sustain no cause*, you can proceed by writing 'objective' history as Ranke does on the following pages where he discusses the history of Latin and Teutonic nations. This history had produced 'six great nations', three where the Latin element predominated (French, Spanish and Italian) and three where the Teutonic element predominated (German, English and Scandinavian) and though they were almost always at war among themselves, they formed a unity of the spirit and progressive development (Ibid., p. 2): "They successfully resisted the influence of foreign races. Among those nations which besides them had taken part in the migration of peoples, it was chiefly the Arabs, Hungarians, and Slavs who threatened to disturb, if not to destroy them. But the Arabs were averted by the complete incompatibility of their religion; the Hungarians were beaten back within their own borders; and the neighboring Slavs were at last annihilated or subjected." (Ibid., p. 3.) Such is thus a history as it actually happened with the author repressing the patriot in himself and sustaining no cause. Besides, this 'neutrality' should also be understood through the fact that Ranke was "a paid agent of the Prussian government, secretly commissioned in the 1830s to use his growing academic prestige to publish attacks upon radicals and democrats." (Thompson, *What happened to history?*, p. 4.)

that history was not a chapter of accidents “but a developmental process with a powerful, complex and intricate logic to it and one moreover that was driven by struggle and conflict.”⁴⁹ Ranke, on the other hand, had different ideas:⁵⁰

His conception represented a polar opposite to that of Hegel, for behind the rather disingenuous claim to have no philosophy and to be purely concerned with narrative and explanation stood a rigid belief that states and societies were justified by the mere fact of their existence; they represented whatever happened to be right for their time (here Ranke and Hegel were in accord) – but the historian scorned the notion of any process of dialectical development. All eras and all (traditional) institutions were equally valid in the sight of God.

Such a conservative stance carries important political implications, including the endorsement of state institutions and opposition to any kind of reform, which still applies today in countries based on liberal democracy, where the institutions of liberal democratic system (and indeed the capitalist mode of production itself) are not supposed to be questioned or criticized in history textbooks.

What needs to be stressed is that this kind of historiography does not necessarily bear in itself a nationalist agenda in the strict sense of the term. The *nation* is not the ‘villain’ in this story. Rather it is the whole conceptual framework, supported by this specific ‘scientific’ paradigm which can be inhabited by any kind of ideology, that is being questioned here. Ranke himself, in fact, as opposed to historians like Sybel and Treitschke, was not a nationalist in the modern sense of the term, but, according to Thompson, as “a servant of the Prussian Monarchy in the 1830s he was indeed in political opposition to the German nationalism which was at that time one of the monarchy’s principal enemies.”⁵¹ The point is that this kind of ‘objectivity’ bases its explanations on the ideological background provided by the current dominant ideological environment (whatever it is) that it seeks to explain. It is also a fact that, since Ranke, historiography has proliferated far beyond its original political focus to include such areas as economic history, social history, cultural history, etc. However, as Thompson notes, all, “so far as they had any pretensions to be serious or scientific, however, were constrained, whatever else they might disagree about, to subscribe to the basic Rankean methodology.”⁵²

Our focus should therefore turn to the premise of historically objective ‘truth’ and the belief in objective ‘facts’, disinterested historians, and ‘objectivity’ in historiography itself.

49 Thompson, *What happened to history?*, p. 3.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

4.2 The problem of 'truth' and 'knowledge'

Rather than continuing to write history *as it actually happened*, we should – accepting the premise that 'knowledge' and 'truth' are discursive in their nature and firmly related to power structures – instead investigate “how societies interpret, imagine, create, control, regulate and dispose of knowledge, especially through the claims of disciplines to truth, authority and certainty.”⁵³

The production of 'knowledge' as a fundamentally institutional category was one of the main interests of Foucault's work and he approached the question specifically within the field of history as a discipline. His main point, according to Duchêne, was that historical narrative should not be limited to the perspective of a linear succession of events, but should rather consider how historical notions are constituted as institutional objects. Thus madness, for example, does not exist in itself, but is a historical notion and “any description of the history of madness should have the primary aim of explaining how it becomes important within a given institution.”⁵⁴

The point Duchêne makes is that human sciences are possible by a frame of knowledge that they themselves set up by which they create their own discourse of the order of truth. It has also been emphasized by Foucault, for example in his *Histoire de la sexualité*, “that a diversity of places for the production of knowledge exists and that, behind the production of knowledge, the obvious workings of power can be seen. No knowledge can occur without power. Knowledge is the manifest result of power, and power is omnipresent, thus undercutting the idea that power issues are only situated in the sphere of politics.” Basically, says Duchêne, “the knowledge that is produced is never neutral: it is biased. Knowledge is conditioned by a series of interpretations of facts according to constraints and to a particular ideological framework.”⁵⁵

Thompson points out that the “principal targets of Foucault's critique were what may be termed the applied social sciences of the epoch of modernity – medicine, penology, criminology, psychology and psychiatry – and it must be conceded that all of them have murky pasts and have been complicit to greater or lesser degrees with the malign operations of authoritarian power holders.”⁵⁶ According to Thompson, the same point can doubtless be made about historiography.

For example, G. R. Elton is aware of the problem of the concept of 'truth' which arises from the attempt to make history seem a science, comparable in purpose and method to the natural sciences:⁵⁷

53 Munslow, *Deconstructing history*, p. 125.

54 Alexandre Duchêne, *Ideologies Across Nations: The Construction of Linguistic Minorities at the United Nations*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 24-25.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

56 Thompson, *What happened to history?*, p. 151.

57 Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002 [1967], p. 47.

The natural sciences have, it would seem, virtually abandoned the concepts of truth and falsehood; phenomena once regarded as objectively true are now seen to be only a statistical abstraction from random variables, and the accusing finger of the uncertainty principle further insists that, since observation alters a phenomenon, nothing is capable of being studied except after it is changed from the state in which it was meant to have been investigated.

However, in spite of believing that it was the practicing scientists who finally permitted philosophers to release themselves from the notion of 'truth', Elton nevertheless remains deeply within the confines of the ruling paradigm. In his opinion the lost conception of truth has not stopped scientists from continuing their efforts to investigate and understand nature; it has only somehow reduced their positivist pride as the sole possessor of truth. Since, on the other hand, historians have always been inclined to doubt the value, even the possibility, of their studies, he believes that they now require not this new humility, but some return to the assurance of the nineteenth century that the work they are doing deals with reality. Thus, instead of capitalizing on the findings in natural sciences and abandoning the notion of 'truth' altogether, Elton takes the backward course and declares with reaffirmed certainty that "the study of history, then, amounts to a search for the truth."⁵⁸ His misconception, however, stems from the fact that he fails to grasp the difference between a simple past⁵⁹ on one side, and history on the other, which he clearly demonstrates by attacking Carr's distinction between *fact about the past* and *fact of history*: "This is really an extraordinary way of looking at history; worse, it is an extraordinarily arrogant attitude both towards the past and to the place of the historian studying it."⁶⁰ What is extraordinary, in my view, is this naively simplistic understanding of the 'facts':⁶¹

However, the event can be known, and that is all that is required to make it 'a fact of history'. Interpretation, or general acceptance of a thesis, has nothing whatsoever to do with its independent existence. The point matters so much because Mr. Carr, and others who like him think that history is what historians write, not what happened, come dangerously close

58 Ibid., p. 46.

59 As Braudel puts it, at first sight the past seems to consist in a mass of diverse facts (a fire, a railway crash, the price of wheat, a crime, a theatrical production, a flood), "some of which catch the eye, and some of which are dim and repeat themselves indefinitely. ... But this mass does not make up all of reality, all the depth of history on which scientific thought is free to work." (Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences: The Longue Durée", in Fernand Braudel, *On History* (S. Matthews, Trans). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press., 1980, p. 28.)

60 Elton, *The practice of history*, p. 50.

61 Ibid., p. 51.

to suggesting either that it does not much matter what one says because (interpretation being everything) there are always several reasonably convincing interpretations of any given set of events, or that history is altogether unknowable, being merely what happens to be said by a given historian at a given moment.

4.3 The problem of 'scientific' truth

Without reconsidering the problem of 'science' in general we will hardly be able to make any steps forward. Paul Veyne tried to define history within the classical division of, on the one hand, the nomological sciences, which have as their goal to establish laws or types, and on the other, the ideographical sciences, dealing with the individual. We have already seen that making 'an event' or 'an individual' an object of history is problematic in itself, however, describing human sciences and historiography in particular as 'ideographic' is again an attempt to explain their epistemological nature *in relation* to natural sciences that are apparently 'nomological'. The problem is that such explanations are unable to break out of the epistemological box which is framed by the ideology upon which the whole concept of 'science' resides. The 'scientific' premise, stemming from the scholarship of the Renaissance and Enlightenment based on the revolutionary paradigm switch of Galilean physics, paved the path that led to the birth of social sciences – the disciplines that were supposed to study humanity or human societies in a 'scientific' way (as opposed to philosophy and the humanities), and produced a division between the natural sciences and the humanities. In the context of this paradigm the so-called social sciences have appeared, constantly measuring their success next to the so-called natural sciences in their methodology, by either apologizing and hiding behind 'ideographic' explanations, or imitating 'scientific' methods of measuring, calculating etc. But they never break away from the paradigm. The specter of 'scientism' haunts the humanities and social sciences which remain constantly on the defensive.⁶²

It is not absolutely impossible a priori for the historian to imitate the physicist and to extract from a human fact an invariable, which, being abstract, is eternal and will be valid in all future concrete cases, as the law of Galileo is valid for every future fall of a body.

The triumph of the 'scientific' paradigm was thus another reason for the return to political history in the nineteenth century, by forcing historians to

62 Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984, p. 10.

reflect on their own methods which have established historiography as an academic discipline.

Along with the orientation towards the political 'scientific' history also came the rejection of the then emerging discipline of sociology. Thus Wilhelm Dilthey, for example, argued that the sociology of August Comte and Herbert Spencer was pseudo-scientific because it offered causal explanations. He proposed a "distinction between the *sciences*, in which the aim is to explain from outside (*erklären*), and the *humanities*, including history, in which the aim is to understand from within (*verstehen*)."⁶³

Nineteenth and early twentieth century social theory was not necessarily ignorant of history, if we just think of sociological classics like Vilfredo Pareto, Emile Durkheim or Max Weber – authors discussing classical Athens, Sparta and Rome as well as taking examples from the history of Italy in the Middle Ages, or writing books on the trading companies in the Middle Ages and the agrarian history of Ancient Rome.⁶⁴ The point of disagreement was not their lack of knowledge of history, but rather their epistemological differences.

Later on the social sciences indeed started to move away from history and more towards a 'pure' theory on the model of mathematics; the economists and sociologists began collecting data from contemporary society, while social anthropologists discovered the value of 'fieldwork'.⁶⁵ The social sciences thus turned away from the past, basing their social analyses on responses to questionnaires and interviews, making survey research the backbone of sociology, which regarded the past as irrelevant to an understanding of human action in the present.⁶⁶

However, at around the same time social sciences were losing interest in the past, a more theoretically oriented historiography was emerging, most notably with the school that gathered around *Annales*. Thus Fernand Braudel himself was convinced that history and sociology should be particularly close, because the practitioners of both disciplines try to see human experience as a whole.⁶⁷

My point is that such disciplinary division, which was mostly the result of ideological conditions and not of theoretical practice, is therefore counterproductive for any kind of theoretical breakthrough in the field of the humanities. There has surely always existed a certain connection between historians and social theorists during the twentieth century, but what I really argue for is not another sort of interdisciplinary project, but rather the *convergence* of disciplines. It is

63 Burke, *History and social theory*, p. 7.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

67 "I have already written, ... that sociology and history made up one single intellectual adventure, not two different sides of the same cloth but the very stuff of that cloth itself, the entire substance of its yarn." (Braudel, "History and sociology"; p. 69.)

not enough to further divide into evermore specialized sub-disciplines, because the concept of *discipline* itself is anti-theoretical. Terms like 'social history' or 'historical sociology' (along with other terms, such as historical anthropology, economic history, etc.) have come into use, but instead of producing a unified theoretical field, they just further obscure and compartmentalize narrow areas of investigation, not to mention the problem of 'border disputes' that arise from these divisions. Besides, calling historical research that incorporates social theory *historical sociology*, gives the impression that sociology as a discipline is in any way less problematic than historiography, disregarding the ideological nature of sociology itself.

As the famous historian Georges Duby put it, it goes without saying that social history must be grounded in an analysis of material structures.⁶⁸ Instead of fragmenting our field of research into ever smaller sub-disciplines and inventing new terms, such as social history or historical sociology, we should rather unify the field of theoretical pursuit, basing it methodologically on a materialist conception of history. As Peter Burke puts it, we are "living in an age of blurred lines and open intellectual frontiers, an age which is at once exciting and confusing. References to Mikhail Bakhtin, to Pierre Bourdieu, to Fernand Braudel, to Norbert Elias, to Michel Foucault, to Clifford Geertz, can be found in the work of archaeologists, geographers and literary critics, as well as in that of sociologists and historians."⁶⁹ Historiography should not limit itself to simply examining what 'really happened', but should attempt to explain how historical events and situations emerge and are constructed. We should be examining the ways in which knowledge is constructed and trying to see how this knowledge functions within the relations of power. Historiography should not only narrate *what actually happened*, but should aspire to also understand *why* something happened, instead of something else, etc.

If we understand that 'knowledge' and 'truth' are constructed through discourses based in power relations, and that discourses are therefore by their definition material as well as historical, what we should do, in my opinion, is defend and actively promote theoretical historiography based on the material conception of history. After all, the discovery of the system of concepts (and therefore of the *scientific theory*) which opens up to scientific knowledge what can be called the 'Continent of History', is, in the words of Althusser, simply one of the three great scientific discoveries of the whole of human history. Before Marx, says Althusser, two 'continents' of comparable importance had been 'opened up'

68 Georges Duby, "Ideologies in Social History", in J. Le Goff, & P. Nora (eds.), *Constructing the Past* (D. Denby, Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 151.

69 Burke, *History and social theory*, p. 19.

to scientific knowledge: the Continent of Mathematics by the Greeks in the fifth century B.C., and the Continent of Physics by Galileo:⁷⁰

In particular, the specialists who work in the domains of the 'Human Sciences' and of the Social Sciences (a smaller domain), i.e. economists, historians, sociologists, social psychologists, psychologists, historians of art and literature, of religious and other ideologies – and even linguists and psycho-analysts, all these specialists ought to know that they cannot produce truly scientific knowledges in their specializations unless they recognize the indispensability of the theory Marx founded. For it is, in principle, the theory which 'opens up' to scientific knowledge the 'continent' in which they work, in which they have so far only produced a few preliminary knowledges (linguistics, psycho-analysis) or a few elements or rudiments of knowledge (the occasional chapter of history, sociology and economics) or illusions pure and simple, illegitimately called knowledges.

Disregarding *theory* in writing history textbooks (and teaching history in school) leads not to, as has been pointed out time and again in the course of this paper, an objective or 'true' historical narrative, but to a narrative that reproduces dominant ideological conceptions of the epoch. Teaching the following generations history thus becomes an important part of the process by which the officially recognized narratives of the nation are passed on down to succeeding generations, and by which these generations define themselves with reference to the nation state.

The underlying ideology of history textbooks is basically the idea of 'progress' and it is this ideology of progress that comes to drive the historical narrative forward, while at the same time helps to avoid explaining causation, as Loewen has pointed out. The narrative rests upon the teleological understanding of history, inevitably leading up to national unity, the natural result of historical struggles, while the main aim of history education is instilling in students this idea of nation and national identity.⁷¹ Barnard also quotes Anyon's analysis of 17 United States history textbooks, focusing on economic and labor history from the American Civil War to the Second World War. Her findings reveal that "the socialist movement at the turn of the century is either not mentioned, or downplayed or disparaged; and labor history is almost totally ignored, together with class conflict and social struggle, while the story of successful capitalists is used as an object lesson for workers: if you work hard and save money, you

70 Louis Althusser, "Preface to Capital volume one", in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: NLB, 1971, p. 72.

71 Quoted in: Barnard, *Language, Ideology, and Japanese History Textbooks*, p. 18.

too can become rich.”⁷² This ideology of the ‘American Dream’ is a nice example of how ideology functions as an *inverted form* (in the sense of the inverted consciousness of social agents in the capitalist social formation), where the reality of class antagonism and the enormous and ever-growing gap between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’ presents itself through an *inverted form* of ‘haves’ and ‘soon-to-haves’ as one conservative right-wing politician formulated this recently.

5. CONCLUSION

The aim in this paper was to argue and demonstrate that the language of the high school history textbooks within the paradigm of ‘scientific’ and ‘objective’ scholarship presents a naturalized discourse that seems to be the logical and more or less the only way of talking about historical events in question, but when we approach such discourse from the perspective of theoretical historiography, it becomes obvious how these discourses actually arise in a specific historical context, inevitably conditioned by the power relations of the society that produces them and that they are therefore far from being ‘neutral’ or ‘objective’, but instead promote an ideology that is in the service of various group or class interests.

Thus, according to Štih, “the large burden of responsibility for the fact that mythological history still abounds in schools as well as in public space in general lies with historians themselves.”⁷³ No matter how school history has broadened

⁷² Ibid., p. 19.

⁷³ Štih, “Miti in stereotipi v podobi starejše slovenske nacionalne zgodovine”, p. 27.

The lack of an epistemological break that would establish humanities in general and historiography in particular as theoretical practices is clearly observable also in the conference proceedings I have mentioned at the beginning of the paper, which, though being an attempt to overcome the ‘mythical and stereotypical in the Slovene perception of history’ (i.e. a theoretical attempt), nevertheless feature papers which go as far as to completely forget the Rankean ‘as it actually happened’ methodology and rather profess their deeply personal convictions regarding the Yugoslav socialist regime – a divisive issue in contemporary Slovene historiography. For example, the proceedings features on one side interesting contributions by Božo Repe (Božo Repe, “Mit in resničnost komunizma” [“The Myth and the Reality of Communism”], in Ferenc & Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino* [*The Mythical and the Stereotypical in Slovene Perception of History*]. Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2008, pp. 285-301) where he analyses the principal reasons for the re-evaluation of recent history by examining the attitudes towards communism among Slovenes since the end of the First World War, and by Aleš Gabrič who in his paper (Aleš Gabrič, “Opozicija ali nasprotovanje novim oblastem v letu 1945” [“Opposition or Contradiction to the New Government of 1945”], in Ferenc & Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino*, pp. 303-312) examines the stereotypes about the support of and opposition to the new authorities after the war. He interestingly shows that neither of the stereotypical discourses (the first about the Communist government being wholeheartedly supported by the people, which was spread by the Communists after the war, the second stating that it was only the terror of the Communist secret police that extinguished the strong oppositional will of the people, which is being voiced mostly by the right-wing critics since the downfall of the Communist regime) has been substantiated by an analysis of the actual situation.

its treatment of historical material, it nevertheless remains firmly situated within the narrative whose horizon is defined through the concept of the nation. At the congress of historians, mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the opening address was given by the Minister for Education and Sport, dr. Milan Zver, with a short speech titled *Myths and Stereotypes in Classrooms*.⁷⁴

The minister noted as particularly important the energetic involvement of historiography in the process of introducing fresh findings into the school curricula for history, civic education as well as other social science disciplines. He proceeded with the premise that in our fast changing world of the 21st century the answers to the questions of the past are often also guidelines for our lives in the present and in the future, and that historiography with its findings plays an irreplaceable role in aspiring for the strengthening of the values of a democratic society, human rights and freedoms. He defined 'knowledge' as the theoretical and scientific understanding of the world and the society we live in, as opposed to ideological indoctrinations that serve the purpose of state regimes. He left no doubt as to what he meant by stating that:⁷⁵

... in the past centuries, especially in the 19th and the 20th centuries, the historical profession often served the needs of daily politics. By legitimizing the state's affairs and through the nurturing of loyal citizens it has justified

Yet, in spite of such examples of quality historiography, the proceedings introduce papers which in extreme cases do not even attempt to pose as objective historical research, but rather get their message across in the form of emphatic and passionate sermons closely aligned with specific political agendas. Thus Tamara Griesser-Pečar (Tamara Griesser-Pečar, "»Reakcionarna suha veja na živem narodovem telesu ...« (Boris Kidrič). Rdeča legenda o kolaboraciji" ["«A Reactionary Dry Branch on the Living Body of Our Nation ..." (Boris Kidrič). The Red Legend about Collaboration"], in Ferenc & Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino*, pp. 361-369) in many instances stresses exactly the opposite of what has been shown by Repe and Gabrič, even stating that "In Slovenia the Communist Party that took power created the myth of collaboration. An only slightly modified interpretation of historiography, compared to that dictated by the Communist Party, is still being defended by a group of historians to this day." (Ibid., 362). Even more radical, the paper by Jože Dežman (Jože Dežman, "Sistem ohranjanja in razvijanja revolucionarnih izročil - religijski temelj in režimski zgodovinski falzifikat titoizma" ["The system of maintaining and developing revolutionary traditions of the past – the religious basis and the regime's historic falsification of Titoism"], in Ferenc & Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino*, pp. 347-359) abounds with rhetoric not short of biblical, with paragraphs such as "The blood that flooded across Slovenia can be compared to the Great Flood. After this bloody deluge the Party gods, following the Bolshevik recipe, began creating a new world. In the name of brotherhood, unity and equality a caste distinction between the living and the dead has reigned." (Ibid., p. 352), or "We can be grateful to Fate to have so fortunately escaped from the Balkan's cauldron, but on the other hand we can remind ourselves each day at a time, how non-moderately and how infinitely we are scarred by the traumatic marks of the past." (Ibid., p. 359). Discussions about the traumatic scars of our nation, or Griesser-Pečar's quotes about traces of dictatorship being rooted deeply in our subconscious can perhaps be topics of folk psychology, but hardly of serious historiography.

74 Milan Zver, "Miti in stereotipi v učilnicah" ["Myths and stereotypes in classrooms"], in Ferenc & Petkovšek (eds.), *Mitsko in stereotipno v slovenskem pogledu na zgodovino*, pp. 5-7.

75 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

violent wars, brutal conquests, genocides, barbarisms and large-scale and daily violations of human rights and liberties. History textbooks, especially in totalitarian regimes, have strongly influenced the perception of history as an unchangeable and solid system. The school version of history has often been presented as the absolutely accurate and unquestionable image of things past, while only the most glorious moments of respective nations and historical figures of merit were accentuated.

The minister even goes so far as to state that through its careful selectivity historiography has been “promoting nationalistic sentiments, consolidating the feelings of racial, religious and cultural supremacy, prejudices and stereotypes and even hatred and violence toward the others.”⁷⁶

Judging by the above statements, the minister actually stood for a radical reform of the school system that would introduce into school curricula historical research based on theoretical findings, rather than teach a history that is basing its explanations in the current cultural framework rooted in the current social formation. In other words, based on the above statements no doubt was left that he stands for a science, whether human, social or natural, that is not conditioned by the ideological conceptual framework rooted in the current relations of power, but is rather attempting a theoretical breakthrough in understanding human relations and the mechanisms behind them.

The slip from these theoretical aspirations back into the realm of ideology comes a few lines lower, where the minister further specifies the above stated ideas about historical understanding. At this point he declares that history plays an extremely important role in school, because⁷⁷

... in spite of the new sources of knowledge (by that I mean particularly the media and the world wide web) the history curriculum is among those factors that most powerfully construct historical conscience and historical memory. ... After the ground breaking events since 1989 onwards, school history curricula in all European states, and particularly in the states with democratic transitions, are witnessing extensive changes. ... In the school curricula of the European states the ratio of national history is visibly growing. In Slovenia also we are facing a reform of the school curricula and teaching guidelines that should consolidate the history curriculum as one of the most important factors of forming identity, democratic values as well as human rights and freedoms....

76 Ibid., p. 6.

77 Ibid., p. 6, underscores mine.

The 'scientific' history, from the perspective of a modern politician, cannot, after all, but stand for 'the growing ratio of national history' in the service of 'forming the identity, democratic values, as well as human rights and freedoms'. From the point of view of the politics, the '*not being in the service of the politics*' therefore simply stands for 'actively discrediting a certain political and economic system (communism)' by labeling it as *ideological*, while at the same time actively preventing historiography from identifying as ideological another political and economic system (capitalism with liberal democracy), upon which current state legitimation is built, together with its ideological conception of the homogenous monolingual *nation-state*. The insistence on 'scientific' and 'objective' history is thus nothing else but a Rankean legacy of ideological historiography *par excellence*. Although Ranke "strenuously repudiated any idea of writing history in the service of what we would now term contemporary ideology, that is exactly what he was doing himself, in the conviction that a true account 'like it was' would validate the rightfulness of the traditional institutions under examination and, by association, also those prevailing in his own time."⁷⁸

What we should be doing, therefore, is not further divide the humanities and social sciences into ever narrower micro-disciplines, but rather attempt to understand *history* as the common ground upon which we can continue to build the theoretical structure of the human sciences. As Braudel once said, "all the human sciences are interested in one and the same landscape: that of the past, present, and future actions of man."⁷⁹ We should aspire for a science of history that would unite the field of the human sciences, instead of the traditional kind of history, which, to quote Braudel⁸⁰

... dominates our teaching and will continue to dominate it for a long while yet, because of an inertia which still exists though we may rail against it, because of the support of aged scholars, and because of the institutions which open their embracing arms to us when we ourselves cease to be dangerous revolutionaries and become good bourgeois – for there is a terrible bourgeoisie of the intellect.

Since this paper was mostly about history, it is appropriate to end it with the thought of this great historian. Braudel suggested that the wise path in our theoretical pursuit would be for us to lower our usual customs duties altogether.⁸¹

78 Thompson, *What happened to history*, p. 5.

79 Fernand Braudel, "Unity and Diversity in the Human Sciences", in Braudel, *On History* (S. Matthews, Trans., pp. 55-63). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1980, p. 55.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

The free circulation of ideas and techniques would be encouraged by such a move, and though they would certainly be modified in passing from one human science to another, they would also at least begin to sketch out the makings of a common language. One great step would be if certain words might have virtually the same resonance and meaning from one small territory to another.

As for school history, we should at least make the effort and accept the 'risk' of teaching theory instead of 'knowledge', which simply reproduces the relations of power through ideological narratives. Some might say that teaching theory instead of 'knowledge' could be threatening to the existing social order. But we are not voicing similar objections concerning the unpredictability of natural science research, be it in the field of nuclear power or genetic research, all of which are potentially far more threatening to the human existence than the findings of the human sciences that might uncover certain contradictions in our beliefs of who we are, where we come from and how we are entering into our human relations.

Galilei had to renounce his theoretical findings in face of church dogmas and there continues to be strong opposition around the world to Darwin's theory of evolution. Should we not, therefore, insist on history curricula that are based on theoretical historiography, narrating the *longue durée* of the material history of human relations and their historical outcomes, instead of reproducing the 'knowledge' of *l'histoire événementielle* of our nation-states, while silently murmuring to ourselves: *Eppur si muove?*

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Ryoji Momose

NATIONALISM AND HISTORIOGRAPHY IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIA:

Kosovo Issues as a Historical Question

The issues about Kosovo were one of the most crucial topics of discussion in socialist Yugoslavia, especially during the 1980s. Originally, the problem referred to the status of the Kosovo province and of the Albanians who lived there as the ethnic majority. In brief, starting in the beginning of the 1980s, numerous riots occurred, with some occurring even now. After the disintegration against Yugoslavia, the NATO forces carried out a disputable bombardment against Serbia due to the ethnic conflicts in Kosovo in 1999, and the Kosovo regime declared its independence from Serbia in 2008. These topics have greatly attracted the attention of researchers because they provoke discussion in several ways.

In addition, the events which happened in the 1980s also spur the interest of many researchers. For example, Nebojša Vladislavljević published a comprehensive work on the anti bureaucratic revolution. His work is dedicated mainly to the role of the grass-roots movements in Kosovo during the rise of Serbian nationalism,¹ while Julie Mertus focuses on the cognitive gap between the Serbs and Albanians regarding several influential events that occurred in Kosovo during the 1980s, described as incendiary and war-provoking.² Jasna Dragović-Soso, on the other hand, points out the importance of the actions of the dissident intellectuals in Serbia, demonstrating a long tradition of their movements through the Socialist era, tying in this with her commentary on the Kosovo issues.³

The above-mentioned works are all interested in the real or practical events in Kosovo and what happened in Yugoslav and Serb society during the 1980s. The incidents in the 1980s are currently becoming a focal point for a more profound understanding of the Yugoslav civil wars, but a number of topics still remain to be examined, among which the historical consciousness regarding the Kosovo problem could be counted. When the focus is directed to the origins, the historical arguments surrounding Kosovo clearly also become crucial. The Kosovo problem was dealt with by historians and influenced by a clash of historical consciousness, especially when it emerged at the beginning of the 1980s. History played a crucial role as an authorizing idea behind the issues.

From this point of view, this article attempts to show a relationship between the rise of nationalism and the role of historiography in Serbia during the 1980s, focusing on the Kosovo issues.

NATIONALISM AND HISTORY

Nationalism or national identity seems to be one of the common themes of the volumes that were published more than 15 years after the conclusion of the Dayton Agreement in order to reflect back upon the situation of the research on the Yugoslav wars during the 1990s or Yugoslavia in general.⁴ A book edited by Dejan

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- 1 Nebojša Vladislavljević, *Serbia's Antibureaucratic Revolution: Milošević, the Fall of Communism and Nationalist Mobilization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
 - 2 Julie A. Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999.
 - 3 Jasna Dragović-Soso, 'Saviours of the Nation': *Serbia's Intellectual Opposition and the Revival of Nationalism*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
 - 4 For example, Sabrina Ramet, *Thinking about Yugoslavia: Scholarly Debates about the Yugoslav Breakup and the Wars in Bosnia and Kosovo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; Lenard J. Cohen and Jasna Dragović-Soso (eds.), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2008; Charles Ingrao and Thomas A. Emmert (eds.), *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative*.

Djokić and James Ker-Lindsay, which is one of the newest review publications, openly shows concern for this issue. According to them, the volume tries to tackle crucial questions such as the emergence of Yugoslavia, its development and its failure, by addressing the topics to which less attention have been paid so far, again with regard to nationalism. In the introduction to the book, the authors took up the issues of nationalism and national identity as a common theme shared with the authors of almost all chapters of the book. The question of nationalism and national identity was paraphrased in the introduction: “How were the people of Yugoslavia told to see themselves? And how did they actually see themselves?”⁵

A substantial number of works has been written on nationalism, but first of all, a classical volume on the nationalism of Eastern Europe, which was edited by Peter F. Sugar and Ivo John Lederer, is referred to here. In the introduction to the volume, the first version of which was published in 1969, Sugar discusses the characteristics of the nationalism in the region. Citing arguments by George Weill, Sugar points out that an approach to nationalism from the aspect of “historic rights” was common in Eastern Europe and Germany. This approach was intended to revive the “good old days” of a nation, during which significant institutional factors such as constitutions and religion had developed into a part of its integral form. This process was intended to prove that nations had their own creative potential, which had been suppressed by foreign regimes. The nationalists in Eastern Europe claimed that in order to fulfill the potentiality of the nation, the external influences ranging from language to politics had to be eradicated, and the people should be made cognizant of their integrity and past brilliance to make certain they had that potential. By being reminded of the brilliant past and reviving the nation as a symbol for the future, in other words: linking the past and the future at a connecting point - that is creating the nation that was just revived - their century-long backwardness could be overcome. As a result of this assertion of the nationalists, according to Sugar, “xenophobia, historicism, and a forced feeling of superiority emerged as decisive forces in eastern Europe.”⁶

Here, historicism represents only one of the three key elements of nationalism in Eastern Europe. As Sugar argued referring to Weill’s idea, however, the nationalism in Eastern Europe regarded “historic rights” as its fundamental element and was inspired by the past golden ages, which would mean that historicism, or history itself, could trigger the rise of nationalism. In this sense, it could be

West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009; Dejan Djokić and James Ker-Lindsay (eds.), *New Perspectives on Yugoslavia: Key Issues and Controversies*. London and New York: Routledge, 2011.

5 Dejan Djokić and James Ker-Lindsay, “Introduction”, in Djokić and Ker-Lindsay, *New Perspectives on Yugoslavia*, p. 3.

6 Peter F. Sugar, “Introduction”, in Peter F. Sugar and Ivo John Lederer (eds.), *Nationalism in Eastern Europe*, with a new introduction by Peter F. Sugar. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994, pp. 34-35.

rather important to discuss the role of history when examining the nationalism in Eastern Europe. Sugar also comments on the role of history as follows:

... [P]leas and hopes for a future justified by past greatness and services were addressed by all [people]... [T]he eastern Europeans did not think of themselves as simply the men of the future, they were also those of the past, and the place they claimed was theirs by historic right. For this reason, history served not only as the proof of the validity but also as the justification of their claims. *Soon it became a weapon*... Almost every nationality discovered its own "civilizing mission" through historical studies and based certain rights on this activity.⁷ (Emphasizing italics added by the author.)

History was not only merely *a weapon* when the nationalists yearned for their nation - it could be one of the most essential ones for them.

This attention to the relation between history and nationalism seems to be shared with historians after the turn of the century, especially in the field of history education. History teaching might not directly relate to historiography, but it could be somehow influenced by historiography. In fact, history textbooks in the Balkan states have been written or supervised by historians, a number of whom lean towards an ethnocentric historical perspective. As a result of this, the interpretations in the textbooks of the Balkan countries have tended to be in opposition to each other.⁸ While some historians turned their activities towards making nationalistic discourses in the textbooks, other historians began to sense the critical nature of the fact. These historians from the Balkan countries launched a project to publish alternative educational materials for the teaching of history.⁹ Christina Koulouri, the general coordinator of the project, stated that "school history textbooks have been identified as one of the potential causes for intolerance between different nations or ethnic communities and, consequently, as a reason for conflict,"¹⁰ and "the interpretation of the collective past and the

7 Ibid., p. 40.

8 This was examined exhaustively by a four-year project "A Comparative Study of History Textbooks in the Balkan States," by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science. The project was launched by Nobuhiro Shiba, one of the leading experts on Balkan studies in Japan. The author of this text also participated in it. The details of this project can be found in the proceedings of the International Symposium held at the University of Tokyo, 2005.

9 This project received support from the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE) in Thessaloniki. The materials were finally published as a four-volume series. They were originally written in English, then translated into several languages used in the Balkans, also even into Japanese. Almost all texts can be downloaded from the website of the CDRSEE.

10 Christina Koulouri, "History Teaching and Peace Education in Southeast Europe," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 50, No. 1, 2009, p. 55.

content of history, as it is taught in schools, cause heated disputes, not only between neighboring countries but also within the same country.”¹¹ Koulouri also more directly criticizes the ideological use of history and history teaching in the Balkans as a culprit in the formation of negative stereotypes of neighbors and the growth of nationalism, in spite of the fact that similar examples can be discovered in the whole Europe.¹² Her comments show that the historians in Southeastern Europe, at least who have participated in that project, have shared the idea that history could cause both annihilation and reconciliation among nations, and historians could be one of the key elements when considering questions related to nationalism.¹³

Last, but not least, I would like to present an example from my home region, East Asia. The problem of nationalism is also a matter of concern in East Asia, in its encouraging of nationalistic or ethno-centric feelings among peoples in China, South Korea and Japan. The arguments over historical consciousness seem to be one of the most complicated conundrums in East Asia, even though, seen objectively, all problems could be equally difficult to solve. In particular, one of the most controversial themes could be the memories of Japanese Colonialism and wars in East and Southeastern Asia: the number of casualties and atrocities in the Nanking Massacre, the involvement of the Japanese Imperial Army in the recruitment of “Comfort Women”, and so forth. These arguments over modern contemporary history have developed not only among academicians, but have also influenced the general population,¹⁴ which can also cause negative feelings towards the respective neighboring countries and sometimes even provoke large demonstrations. In order to ameliorate this condition, a number of official and grass-root attempts to bridge the gaps between historians from the three countries have been made and although some of them have succeeded, conflicts are still ongoing between them.

11 Koulouri, “General Introduction,” in *Workbook 1, The Ottoman Empire*, Teaching Modern Southeast European History: Alternative Educational Materials, vol. 1, Thessaloniki: CDRSEE, 2009, p. 9.

12 Koulouri, “History Teaching...”, p. 55.

13 In the context of the increase in modern nationalism in Eastern Europe, another key element could be the scholars of letters, such as linguists, poets, writers, and so on. These were also actors in the contemporary case, like the historians.

14 A history textbook with “revisionist” tendencies has been published in Japan since 2001. It was written and supervised by a group of historians and intellectuals whose political colours are conservative, or nationalistic. It was not only approved by the Ministry of Education for use in teaching junior high school students, but was also placed on the market. This was a rare case in Japan, because textbooks are in principle distributed to pupils and students for free by the schools during the years of compulsory education. This textbook also attracted public attention.

THE TRADITION OF SERBIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The origins of Serbian historical studies can be found in the end of the 18th century. From this point onwards, the modern Serbian historical studies were modeled after the then current leading historical studies in Western European countries, like Germany. The characteristics of the Serbian historical studies could be summarized in the following two points: institutional developments and methodological backwardness.

At the dawn of modern Serbian historical studies, it was the teachers at theological schools that played a leading role. Jovan Rajić can be mentioned as the most important figure among them. Rajić authored a four-volume book entitled "The History of the Different Slavic Peoples, Particularly the Bulgarians, Croatians and Serbians", which was published between 1794 and 1795. His work provided the foundation for further historical studies conducted in the first half of the 19th century in Serbia.¹⁵

The historical studies developed in Serbia went in stride with the expansion of the new-born Serbian state. In that period, the Serbian state aimed at gaining its complete independence and the emancipation of its nation. While these goals were made clear by their advocates, a number of "brothers" remained outside the state. The Serbian state was located between the two great empires, Ottoman and Habsburg, with the Serbs divided by their borders. In these circumstances, the Serbian state and Serbian people looked to the historical studies to make a model of a Serbian state as a united nation state.

In Serbia at that time, social disturbances occurred intermittently, so that it was difficult to establish a modern education system or a highly organized bureaucracy. These institutions, though, were decisive for the development of historical studies. However, with support from Serbs in the Habsburg region, the Lyceum was established in Serbia in the first half of the 19th century. As regards history education in the Lyceum, at first only common history was taught, because the "History of the Serbian nation" didn't exist yet. There were also problems in writing and teaching. From 1844 onwards, though, national history was officially taught.

In the second half of the 19th century, the infrastructures necessary for historical education rapidly became organized. First of all, institutions for continually and systematically producing professional historians were founded. An important figure who contributed to this institutional development was Pantelija Srećković, who received a professorship at the Lyceum in 1859 and worked for the Lyceum

15 Мирослав Јовановић, "Историографија и криза," in Мирослав Јовановић и Радивој Радић, *Криза историје: Српска историографија и друштвени изазови краја 20. и почетка 21. века*. Београд: Удружење за друштвену историју, 2009, p. 44.

for over 30 years until his retirement. During his career, the Lyceum was transformed into the *Velika škola* (Higher School) with three faculties in 1863, the Department of History was founded within the Faculty of Philosophy in 1873, and the four-year study system was introduced in the Faculty of Philosophy in 1880. All of these also led to the establishment of historical studies as an academic field. Srećković was also active as a politician and made efforts for the progress of the educational system in Serbia. As part of this, he formed a basic infrastructure which would produce the personnel and media which would later lead to the founding of historical studies in Serbia.

His historical perspective is evaluated as a nationalistic one. He was trained as a theologian in Kiev, meaning he was not a professional historian. Srećković had not had the opportunity to be trained as a historian in Serbia, because the first Serbian higher education facility was founded as late as in 1828 in Kragujevac. What is of note, though, is the attitude of Srećković as a politician toward history. As mentioned above, he was eager to organize the higher education system in Serbia. Nor did he hesitate to utilize history to serve the nation state, regarding history as one of the tools for stimulating the national consciousness of the Serbs. As a result, despite his many efforts in other fields, he is evaluated as having contributed nothing to the methodological development of Serbian historical studies.¹⁶

On the other hand, two prominent figures who largely contributed to the development of Serbian historical studies, especially from the methodological point of view, were Ilarion Ruvarac and Ljubomir Kovačević. They criticized Srećković and his school and advocated historical studies based on the critical interpretation of materials. Disputes arose around the methodology of history between the two schools during the 1880s. In the end, the school of Ruvarac and Kovačević won. The methodological development of Serbian historical studies was realized in a way through these disputes, as when Srećković retired, Kovačević took over his position as Professor of the Department of History. After that, the newest achievements in the field of historical studies began to influence historical teaching in the *Velika škola*. When the *Velika škola* was reorganized into the University of Belgrade, many from the generation which was trained both under the circumstances Srećković had arranged and in institutions of foreign countries such as Germany, Austria, and Russia, returned to Serbia and became professional historians. A learned society was soon to be formed based upon classical historicism.¹⁷

Simultaneously, an Academy was also being established. The Academy originally emerged as an association of teachers in the Lyceum who wanted

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

to standardize the terminology for education. The association made efforts to develop the circumstances necessary for historical research; it began publishing academic journals, introducing a departmental system, and so on. After several changes of name and clashes of opinions within the association, the Royal Serbian Academy of Sciences was established in 1886. The Academy naturally engaged in research activities, as well as the organization of other institutions, academic meetings and extensive projects such as dictionary compilation.

Classical historicism took root in the historical studies in Serbia after the First World War, because it was regarded as excellent for the writing of national history. Around this period, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch issued their "Annales" in France, yet historicism still remained influential in Serbia.

After the Second World War, Serbian historical studies were exposed to pressure from Stalinism. The external pressure made Serbian historians stick to the existing methodology, as it enabled them to be independent from these external political influences. However, at the same time, it also prevented them from fundamentally rethinking their methodology. On the other hand, institutional development also progressed after the Second World War. A Department of History was established at three universities in Serbia: in Belgrade, Novi Sad and Priština. A number of institutions for historical research were also founded under the leadership of the Academy, and at least 15 journals about history were published.

HISTORY AND NATIONALISM IN THE 1980S: KOSOVO ISSUES AS A HISTORICAL QUESTION

After Tito died in 1980, the consequences for historical research were radically changed: roughly speaking, no taboo subjects existed any more. The most symbolical violation of the previous taboos was committed against Tito himself. For example, a book by Vladimir Dedijer divulged several heretofore undisclosed aspects of their late charismatic leader.¹⁸

As private aspects of Tito became one of the focal points after his death, "brand-new" discussions broke out in the 1980s - partly because the mighty leader had passed away, of course, but another reason was the unstable conditions of the state. Yugoslav society was shaken by the financial crises from both inside and outside. This resulted in a change of the existing values, including historical perspectives. Serbian historians began to focus on the following topics: the

¹⁸ See Vladimir Dedijer, *Novi prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita*, 1-2. Beograd: Udruženi izdavači, 1981.

Chetnik movements, pre-communist Yugoslavia, the Serb casualties during the Second World War, and communist repression after 1944.¹⁹ These topics, which were related to the relatively recent past, had been cautiously avoided by and/or kept away from the focus of historical research until then.²⁰ Yet we could say that another trait common to them was that they related to the evaluation or re-description of the Serb national identity.

The Kosovo issues can also be considered in this context – related as they were to the problems in relation to the status of the province and the Albanians who lived there. At the same time, though, they were also related to the historical perception regarding the region. Subsequently, Serb-Albanian relations in Kosovo were re-examined during the 1980s - including the historical rights to the province.

From the Serbian point of view, it was necessary to legitimize their historical and ethnic rights to Kosovo, because the province was inhabited by an Albanian majority. As the historians in modern Serbia did so, the Serb historians during the 1980s also took the Medieval Kingdom as a model, focusing on the ethnic component in the Medieval Era and Islamization and Albanization of the inhabitants under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. In order to further this understanding of Kosovo, the Special Department for Research of Kosovo was established in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1982. This Department was organized mainly by historians, but other specialists also participated in it, such as philologists, linguists, forensic scientists, archaeologists, and so on. They were encouraged to demonstrate a link between the Serbs in medieval Kosovo and the contemporary Serbs through comprehensive inter-disciplinary studies.

Regarding the Albanian side, according to Shukri Rahimi, a Kosovar Albanian historian, contemporary Kosovo historiography started in the 1950s. First, a newer generation of Albanian historians began to be active, obtaining degrees in specializations at the universities in various cities of Yugoslavia. In the meantime, academic historical magazines were published for the first time in this decade. Through these new media, the new generation of historians launched their criticism against the “unscientific and fallacious” views of the Serbian historians.²¹

19 Predrag J. Marković, Miloš Ković and Nataša Milićević, “Developments in Serbian Historiography since 1989”, in Ulf Brunnbauer (ed.), *(Re)Writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, Studies on South East Europe, Vol. 4, Munster: LIT Verlag, 2004, pp. 281-286.

20 In addition, Marković et al. describe that “historic-centered” writings by non-professional historians, like Dedijer’s work, came to attract wider public attention in this decade. This was another characteristic of historical studies at that time. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

21 Shukri Rahimi, “Zhvillimi i historiografisë së kosovës në dy deceniet e fundit (1965-1985)”, in *Çështje të studimeve albanologjike: Materijale nga Simoziumi shkencor i mbajtur në Prishtinë më 20 dhe 21 dhjetor 1985*, II, p. 12.

On the Albanian side, the most important point they based their claims on was a demonstration of continuity between the ancient Illyrians and the medieval Albanians. Like their Serb counterparts, they also launched inter-disciplinary research to prove this continuity. According to the most radical ones among them, the Great Serb Migrations never happened, but Serbs just sporadically and voluntarily left the province instead. In addition, they claimed that the Albanian territory should be expanded to Niš at least, and the decision of the Berlin Congress in 1878 had basically ceded some of their ancestral lands to Serbia. They also insisted on their victimization, especially in the context of the modern era. The arguments from both sides are very typical of nationalist discourses, and quite similar to each other in that both of them attempted to affirm their indigenesness and status as victim.²²

It was Dimitrije Bogdanović who took a leading part in Serbia regarding the formation of historical discourses about Kosovo. He had studied the languages and literature of the Medieval Serbs as jurist or Slavist, but turned his attention to the Kosovo issues from the early 1980s onwards. He was one of the founders of the Special Department for Research on Kosovo. After its founding, he published *Knjiga o Kosovu* (A Book about Kosovo) in 1985, as the *de facto* first complete history of the region. According to his book, the Illyrian theory which the Albanian academic advocated was strictly denied both scientifically and politically. Albanians emerged in the first time during Balkan history when they started to make contact with Serbs,²³ who immigrated into the region between the Sava River and the Dinar mountains in the first half of the 7th century.²⁴ The Serbs and Albanians had coexisted from the beginning of the Middle Ages, but after the Albanian Migration into Serb lands, including Kosovo, violence was committed by Albanians against Serbs, and such a situation has continued until now.²⁵

His book seemed to be widely received by society, as it was reprinted several times after the first publication. While it was highly praised by some contemporary historians and the Serbian Orthodox Church, it provoked arguments even among Serbian historians, some of whom severely criticized his work. In reply, Bogdanović stated in an interview that he was not a professional historian and his book was not a history book, yet his views on Kosovo - stated as an academic authority whose opinions resonated with the discourses of a number

22 Коста Николић, *Прошлост без историје: Полемике у југословенској историографији 1961-1991*. Београд: Институт за савремену историју, 2003, pp. 174-178.

23 Димитрије Богдановић, *Књига о Косову*. Београд: Српска академија науке и уметности, 1986, p. 15.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 111-118.

of ideologues from the Serbian Orthodox Church, supported a stereotype which loomed behind the Kosovo issues. His work may not have been written by a professional historian, but was supported by the public nonetheless.

Other than *Knjiga o Kosovu*, a lot of stories and discourses emerged like so many mushrooms in the second half of the 1980s, but most of them were not categorized as genuine historical researches. Some of them were not even academic one. What was seen in these works was something like “ethnohistory”. This terminology was applied by Anthony D. Smith in his 2003 year work. The term “ethnohistory” doesn’t mean history as a discipline, which was specialized, professionalized, and kept away from any kind of utilization of history to achieve some goals; it means selective and collective memory which has been shared and inherited over several generations by members of a community, instead.²⁶ The media through which “ethnohistory” is distributed among people tend to be located outside the sphere of academic historical research. In recent Serbian context, these media could be found: a commemorating trip tour to Kosovo Polje, historical novels and movies about the Battle of Kosovo, banners flying in soccer stadiums, and so on. Ordinary people could have easier access to these media than to serious historical monographs. It would be proper to say that *Knjiga o Kosovu* was not a book of history. But this could be the very reason why the book was widely exposed to public in Serbia.

CONCLUSION

When dealing with ethnic/national questions in South-Eastern Europe, two types of borders should be considered: one is the “actual border,” and the second is the “ideal border.” The former one loosely existed between peoples, and did not necessarily divide them. The self-identification by these peoples was ambiguous. The latter one was more solid. This border was projected by a small number of people, for example an intellectual elites, who thought that certain peoples “should” be divided or unified by that border. In modern Kosovar history, the “actual border” was replaced by the “ideal border” in the political and armed conflict between the two newly forming nation states of Serbia and Albania. In these conflicts, various kinds of ethnic violence were committed against citizens - regardless of their sense of ethnic belonging. As a result, the “ideal border” has actually functioned more than the “actual” one.

26 Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen People: National Identity, Religion and History*. Tokyo: Aoki Shoten (アントニー・D・スミス (一條都子訳) 『選ばれた民——ナショナル・アイデンティティ、宗教、歴史』青木書店), 2007, pp. 220-221 (Translation of Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen People: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

From the contemporary perspective, more attention should be paid to the process through which the “ideal border” achieves the support of the public. In the Kosovo case, when political and ethnic questions regarding Kosovo came to be shared in the entire Serbian society, academics - including historians - assumed a critical role. Critical in that their authorized status, at least in part, was able to persuade the people into believing that their discourse was correct, whereas in actual fact, their arguments can be criticized as counterproductive. This criticism could be considered proper, but it is also true that such counterproductive opinions were widely supported. When examining contemporary questions in the Balkans, it would be useful to deal with these historical discourses, including their origins and logic, as they have the potential to deeply influence and shape people's thinking and behavior.

**3.
CONCEPTS,
IMAGES AND
HISTORY
TEACHING**

THE
HISTORY
OF
TEACHING

Žarko Lazarević

THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY:

**Some Observations from
Slovenian Textbooks**

INTRODUCTION

This discussion will focus on the idea of progress as a driving force of history in the Slovenian history textbooks from the 20th century. More precisely, we wish to present the long-term approaches and changes in the interpretations of historical processes and phenomena in various social and political contexts during the 20th century. To this end we will analyze history textbooks printed in various periods of the 20th century and used in secondary school education or at the so-called gymnasiums. The first textbook was printed in 1909 and was in use before World War I, in the time of the Habsburg Monarchy.¹ The second textbook was used in

¹ Josip Brinar, *Zgodovina za meščanske šole [History for Bourgeois Schools]*. Ljubljana: Katoliška bukvarna, 1909.

the interwar period and the version we analyzed dates back to 1939.² The third textbook originates in the 1980s³, while the last two are from the transitional period of the 1990s.⁴ The discussion will be divided into four chapters, presenting the interpretations of progress in the following fields: economic development, Slovenian national emancipation, perceptions and constructs of the “other” and “others”, and treatment of the communist social and economic system.

All of these content groups have the idea of progress in common. The authors of the textbooks use progress as a key concept in the interpretation of historical dynamics. This is not surprising, because the foundations that the analyzed history textbooks were based on, especially those after 1945, are clearly identifiable. We are referring to the modernization theory, which essentially presupposes that social progress is a constant process. In the interest of consistency we should first define the forms of modernity itself, and only then proceed with the interpretation of the textbooks’ standpoints and the messages communicated to the students or pupils. The traditional pre-modern society constitutes itself in the economic sense as an agrarian economy with emphasized self-sufficiency (autarky), confinement within narrow local contexts, and lack of interaction or integration into the broader flows. In the social sense, pre-modernity is defined as an aristocratic-monarchic regulation of society where the differentiation takes place on the basis of origin, dividing the society on the basis of family relations in an environment of ideology and the practice of religious culture. The forms of modernity of a society and economy, however, are defined with opposing attributes. Thus, a modern society is based on the following principles: the principles of market or capitalist economy (in Marxist terminology: all-encompassing commercialization or commodification), the principles of democratic political organization of the society, the principle of the division of the society into strata (classes), and the principle of secular culture. Modern societies are complex and more fragmented in terms of lifestyles, education, property, and so on. The complexity of modern societies expresses itself in the formation of various social institutions where private and public life take place. Social fragmentation is the result of the division of labor. In modern societies the increasing number and significance of social (professional) groups based on education is obvious. At the same time, the regulation of the work carried out by these groups is also

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- 2 Bogdan Binter – Vojteh Štrukelj, *Zgodovina Jugoslovanov za četrti razred srednjih šol [History of Yugoslavia for the Fourth Grade of Secondary Schools]*. Ljubljana: Jugoslovansko profesorsko društvo, 1939.
 - 3 Branko Božič - Tomaž Weber - Janko Prunk, *Zgodovina 2 [History 2]*. Ljubljana: DZS, 1978.
 - 4 Ervin Dolenc – Aleš Gabrič, *Zgodovina 4. Učbenik za četrti letnik gimnazije [History 4. Textbook for the 4th Year of Gymnasiums]*. Ljubljana: DZS, 2002; Božo Repe, *Sodobna zgodovina. Zgodovina za 4. letnik gimnazij [Contemporary History. History for the 4th Year of Gymnasiums]*. Ljubljana: Modrijan, 1998.

increased, especially from the viewpoint of educational qualifications, that is, the criteria for entering the labor market. One of the characteristics of modernity is also individualization as the autonomy of individuals in personal and social relations within the complexity of social norms and standards defining behavior in concrete social situations. Secularization as a process of raising the scientific and technological awareness of a society in which religious thinking, practices and institutions are losing their social significance and withdrawing to the private realm, is also important. Clear distinctions between the public and the private take place. Secularization leads to a further and very important integral part of modernity: rationalism, involving decision-making at the level of individuals or the society as a whole on the basis of efficiency, predictability and usefulness. Since modern societies involve a large number of actors (individuals or institutions) and interferences between their actions and interests, they are also societies of conflict and risk.⁵

To begin with, we should underline an important turning point in the teaching of history in Slovenia in the 20th century: the establishment of Yugoslavia. This development is related to the establishment of Yugoslavia as a state in 1918 as well as to its transformation into a communist state after 1945. Thus, 1918 marks the implementation of an ethnocentric model of interpreting and teaching history, while in 1945 the class-oriented approach was introduced. However, the class-oriented approach did not imply that ethnocentrism would be abandoned. Quite the opposite: both approaches merged into an inseparable whole.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Comparative reading attests to an interesting fact; namely, that economy or economic development were not subjects of considerable attention in the textbooks prior to World War II. On the other hand, such contents represent one of the central issues in the textbooks from the second half of the 20th century. The industrial revolution was especially important. The communist period textbooks introduced the concept of economic and social modernization into the classroom. The textbook used in the pre-transitional period presents industrialization as a path towards modernization, both associated with undisputable progress. In accordance with the established scheme from social sciences, less industrialized or unindustrialized countries are defined as un-modern, and economically and socially backward. The evaluation is clear and unambiguous. The logic of

5 Haferkamp, Hans- Smelser, Niel (eds.), *Social Change and Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992; Peter Braham, John Allen, Paul Lewis, Stuart Hall (eds.), *Political and Economic Forms of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity press, 1992.

historical development in the economic or social sense may only pursue the swiftest industrialization possible in the economic sense and the social structures adapted to it. Science is a key activity on the path towards modernization. With its achievements and industrial application it allows for progress in the economic field. Thus, science and its derived technologies become an exceedingly important ingredient of economic modernity, defining – in the context of historical dynamics – the quality of economic development, the growth of the economy, social well-being, the living standard, as well as the lifestyle. In the pre-transitional textbooks, these contents are related to the concept of the Marxist interpretational pattern of social and economic analysis. Economic contents are most prominent in the textbooks from the transitional period, attesting to the onset of a vital turning point. After 1991, with the transformation into a different political and economic system, changes in historical identity also took place. In the substantive and interpretative sense, the communist ideological reductionism vanished from the textbooks. The class-oriented analysis of society gave way to more complex overviews of social relations. The interpretations are mostly balanced, the discourse calm. The scope of economic and social contents became more extensive, and the role of the economic and social sphere gained importance. Nevertheless, we can state that the economic and social contents within the whole curriculum, and consequently also the textbooks, serve primarily as an illustration of general circumstances, not as one of the important foundations for understanding the relations of the social power and status of individuals, population groups, or, at the international level, states or regions. However, in this case also we are dealing with the continued interpretation of economic history within the concepts of economic modernity and industrialization as a key criterion of modernity or un-modernity/pre-modernity.

Such a conceptualization of economic and social progress contributes to a second, clearly identifiable category. If industrialization is the foundation for economic and social progress, then the environments where these processes are most evident in the historical context are in the center of interpretative attention. This is where geographic reductionism takes place. In order to substantiate the prevailing thesis about modernization, the authors limit the presentations of economic contents to those regions of the world where these processes are most evident. Therefore it is not surprising that in the context of the economic-social processes, textbooks are exceedingly Eurocentric or, more precisely, Western Europe-centric. Here the textbooks convey a clear message about values to the students. Modernization, that is, industrialization as a mechanism of modernizing the economy and society, becomes a synonym for the “Westernization” of other societies. Western society is the modern economy or modern society, that is, the

society of progress. Such an approach to interpreting economic and social change has been a constant of the textbooks from the period after World War II onwards.

SLOVENIAN NATIONAL EMANCIPATION

As we have already stated, 1918 was an important turning point in the concept of teaching history. Namely, from the viewpoint of the historical perspective it signifies the introduction of the ethnocentric concept as the basic value in the teaching of history. A more detailed insight into the structure of the 1909 textbook brings the attention to the differences in the concept of national spaces. The analyzed textbook was not written from the viewpoint of Slovenians as an independent entity. Quite the opposite, it was written from the viewpoint of the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole. It is written from the standpoint of social power, meaning that the central role, the main driving force of history and state, is reserved for the emperor. The emperor was cast in the role of protector of every citizen, of a caretaker in charge of the well-being of the citizens, regardless of their ethnic origins. Thus, he was seen as a supranational institution which should ensure unity within the heterogeneous realm of the Habsburg Monarchy.

In such an idealistic and idolized concept there was no room for the reality of the Monarchy. Permanent political conflicts along the lines of national and ethnic divisions were ignored. The author of the textbook, a teacher himself, presents the Habsburg Monarchy as an orderly, stable and harmonic community of various nations. As a reflection of state ideology he clearly emphasizes the standpoint that loyalty to the emperor is at the same time also loyalty to the state and even to God. Significant political differences and gaps between the levels of economic and social development are not mentioned, the author simply overlooks them. He makes the only exception in the case of the year 1848, when the existence of the Monarchy was threatened because of armed uprisings in Italy and Hungary.

The insistence on the concept of harmony prevented the author from presenting society as a complex mechanism of interfering interests of individuals and social groups. His interpretations are deficient, biased, overly simplified and thus also quite reductionist. Yet, having on the one hand overlooked the complex and conflicting ethnic structure of the Habsburg Monarchy, the author was able to introduce other moments in his presentation, not noticeable to this degree in the subsequent textbooks. Within the strictly delimited concept of social harmony he focused on the status of the individual citizen, his political, social, and economic rights. And this is the basic starting point for interpreting the historical progress made.

In the interwar period, the establishment of the Yugoslav state had important consequences, also for the teaching of history. In the Slovenian political rhetoric, Yugoslavia was a Slovenian national state. The evaluation of the past was adapted accordingly, since the interwar period had brought changes to the conceptualization of the state, monarchy, and nation. In accordance with the concept of the tripartite Yugoslav political nation, consisting of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs, the basic emphasis had changed. The emphasis no longer lay on the citizen. The discourse of the community and nation as a whole was at the forefront. The driving force of history was now the nation, in our case the Slovenian nation with its political ambitions, economic and social interests. Thus the long-term historical situations of primarily Slovenians and then also Croats as well as the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro became the greatest concern of the textbooks. Awareness of the Yugoslav diversity in the ethnic and religious sense is reflected in the abandonment of the unitarian narrative. No single narration exists, unlike in the case of the Habsburg Monarchy. Instead, several stories unravel at the same time. Besides the primarily Slovenian historical experience, the author of the 1939 textbook simultaneously recounts an interpretation of the history of Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. As the recounting of various histories is involved, the story also contains a common element: the political efforts of the South Slavic nations to establish the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later renamed Yugoslavia, which function as a common denominator of various histories.

After 1945, in the communist regime, the ethnocentric and Yugoslav concept still prevails. As an interpretative basis, ethnocentrism remains the dominant model of interpreting historical progress in the context of Slovenian national emancipation. However, an additional substantive emphasis appears at this time. The concept of the “unsolved Slovenian national question” asserts itself in the historical discourse and becomes the key point of the Slovenian national ideology. It stems from the political concept of “United Slovenia”, shaped by the Slovenian political elites in the middle of the 19th century, more precisely in 1848, in the year of the European “Spring of Nations”. The concept was based on the never realized unification of all Slovenians in a single administrative unit within the Habsburg Monarchy. The concept of United Slovenia became an issue again in the time between both world wars, when the Slovenian ethnic space was divided into four states – the major part in Yugoslavia, as well as territories in Italy, Austria and Hungary. The expression “undelivered Slovenia” was introduced to refer to the parts of the Slovenian ethnic space in the neighboring countries. During World War II the resistance movement (under the leadership of the Communist Party) revived the concept of a United Slovenia as a motivational impetus of the resistance

against the Italian and German occupation forces, and the liberation struggle was an act of emancipation for the entire Slovenian ethnic community. World War II was supposedly an opportunity for the realization of this concept. After World War II, only the border with Italy was changed, resulting in an annexation of a considerable part of the Slovenian ethnic territory of the Slovenian republic in the context of the Yugoslav state. The borders with Austria and Hungary remained unchanged, and large Slovenian ethnic minorities remained in Italy as well as in Austria and Hungary.⁶ It was this division of the Slovenian nation into four states that defined the concept of the “unsolved Slovenian national question” in the political discourse. The introduction of the new interpretative concept also meant that school history would be presented differently. The new approach also involved a strengthening of the ethnocentric imagery of school history. As an additional criterion of evaluating history, the concept of the Slovenian state was introduced, because the Slovenian state stood in the background of the “unsolved Slovenian national question” concept. At that time this was still within the context of the Yugoslav community. In this concept of evaluating the past, the Slovenian state represents the final emancipation and final solution of the Slovenian national question.

In accordance with the concept of the “unsolved Slovenian national question”, the perception of the Habsburg Monarchy changed radically. This was a time and a state which had prevented the historical progress of Slovenians. Thus Yugoslavia became the only realistic solution to political subordination, economic and social disregard. The establishment of Yugoslavia in the textbook interpretations from the communist and transitional period remains a positive action, a path of progress in the process of Slovenian national emancipation, regardless of the fact that the evaluation of the existence of the Yugoslav state is twofold. On the one hand, the processes of economic and social modernization during its existence are underlined. On the other hand, the emphasis lies on the restrictions of the political sovereignty of Slovenians within the Yugoslav state and the profound Yugoslav crisis in the 1980s, contributing to the formation of the independent Slovenian state. It is this fact which is presented as progress on the path towards Slovenian national emancipation.

6 For detailed information see *Slovenska novejša zgodovina [Slovenian Contemporary History]*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2005, pp. 24-25, 510-565, 758-761, 908-926, 1226-1255.

ON OTHERS

In our case the concept of “the other” is narrow. It is limited and does not relate to the social implications of the concept of the other and otherness. It has to do with other nations with which Slovenians cohabitated or shared borders in the past: the Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Croats and Serbs. Already at this point, attention should be paid to the basic component of Slovenian national ideology apparent in the 20th century textbooks. Slovenians are presented as a passive subject of history, as a small nation, deprived in the political, cultural, economic and social sense. In this context, Slovenian history is imagined as a variety of external and internal conflicts and threats. The implementation of the ethnocentric model after 1918, the outlines of the “unsolved Slovenian national question”, and class-oriented logic after 1945 in the school history repertoire represented an integral part of strengthening this sort of an outlook on the world and history.

After 1918 an additional element was introduced. The textbook published before World War I was based on the idea of internal harmony, and the concept of conflicts was used to interpret international relations. Thus the Habsburg Monarchy and hence also Slovenians were threatened by Germany and Italy due to their unification aspirations, which was in conflict with the Austrian interests. Another threat was represented by the Turkish state due to the slow disintegration of its central authorities, its underdevelopment and lack of culture.

Nor does the narration change with the establishment of Yugoslavia. The list of threats and conflicts is only extended. Primarily this is due to the changed interpretative context. The legitimacy of the Yugoslav state is sought in the past, and the discourse of “Yugoslavism” is established. The interpretation of modern regional history involves a conflicting interaction between the “righteous” efforts for Yugoslavia and the protagonists of preserving the Habsburg Monarchy. Another novelty, contributing to the broadening list of threats, is the inclusion of Serbian and Croatian historical imagery into the Slovenian school history. The principle is identical, only that new names are added to the list of threats. Besides the Slovenian traditional “opponents”, that is the Germans, Italians and Austrians, the list is now also populated by Hungarians, Bulgarians and Albanians in accordance with Croatian and Serbian interpretations. Turkey as the eternal opponent of Christianity and the personification of backwardness in the cultural and economic sense is a special case. However, the textbooks from the period of the communist regime extended the list of conflicting relationships even further. In addition to all the neighboring nations, the list of threats now included – in accordance with the class-oriented logic – the bourgeoisie, the liberal type of

democracy, and the capitalist economic system and its propagators. The circle was thus complete and the model of conflicting relations was filled without and within.

Even though the textbooks from the transitional period did not stray far from the dominant pattern of teaching school history as a series of conflicts and threats between neighbors, certain changes are nevertheless evident. Here we have to do with a phenomenon relativizing the still dominant ethnocentric model of conflicts and threats. For example, the Western countries (the United States, Great Britain, Italy, Austria and Germany) gradually gained a positive reputation after the dispute between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. With the strengthening of the political and economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Western countries, the character of certain "others" changes slightly. The idea of cooperation gradually comes to the forefront instead of fear or danger. The aforementioned Western countries became the most important economic partners. Finally the emphasis is placed on partnership. Thus a long-term overview shows that in the end of the 20th century the authors included the model of cooperation and international partnership instead of confrontation into history textbooks for the first time. This new emphasis is most noticeable in the chapters about the establishment of the Slovenian state, where Germany and Austria are presented as countries firmly supporting the Slovenian efforts for their independent state at the turn of the 1980s. Furthermore, for the most recent period the authors introduced the concept of the "common Slovenian cultural space". This term found its way into the textbooks from the political discourse as a concept of acknowledging the unchangeable European borders, declaratively defined by the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in the second half of the 1970s⁷. This new concept of openness and cooperation replaced the preceding concept of United Slovenia from the 19th century, which had been based on a clear ethnic and territorial distinction from others.

7 The Conference on European Security and Cooperation was organized in an effort to overcome the Cold War ideological polarization in Europe and as a result of the ongoing processes of decreasing tensions. In 1975 the highest representatives of the European countries, the United States of America and Canada met in Helsinki. In the final declaration, they undertook to encourage cooperation and the peaceful resolution of disputes instead of polarization and confrontation. The provision on the inviolability of the territorial integrity of the European countries was exceedingly important. It implied that the borders between European countries were acknowledged as unchangeable, regardless of their historical creation. Human rights were the second important point. The signatory states also undertook to respect human rights and freedoms (freedom of conscience, ideas, thought and religion). For detailed information see Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005, pp. 500-503.

COMMUNISM

The idea of communism is very interesting if we want to illustrate the relativity involved in the definition of progress. In this case we are dealing with two approaches. In the pre-transition textbooks, communism is defined as a very successful way of significantly improving the social and economic situation of the population. By abolishing social injustice the population would supposedly, besides gaining an improved living standard, also gain dignity. The transitional period, constituted as a negation of the communist regime, brought new and different emphases. In the transitional period textbooks, we witness interpretations about communism as an unsuccessful social and economic model, which, in the long run and historically, has not justified its existence neither at the national nor international level. Such evaluations certainly attest to the altered value bases of the authors as well as the society as a whole. The new estimates are based on the standpoint that the liberal type of democracy and market (capitalist!) economy are a state of "historical normalcy".

In the pre-transitional textbooks the definition of communism is clear. It is a process, supposedly representing a natural historical course of human development and progress. Communism is defined as a progressive phenomenon in itself. The school version of history spreads the message that communism as a political movement, and its practice allows small, deprived nations or social classes to emancipate themselves historically. It enables them to correct social injustices within their state borders or at the international level. Communism is presented as the most important phenomenon of the 20th century, changing the world at its roots with its existence. In the case of Yugoslavia/Slovenia (or other Eastern European communist countries) the authors stated that the goals of the communist movement had already been achieved by seizing power after 1945. By strengthening itself in the Eastern European countries its goals had also been reached at the international level. With regard to the character of the communist regime, the authors offer a characteristic duality. On one hand, they emphasize the processes of the political, social and economic emancipation of the lower social strata, that is, the working class (!), while on the other hand they underline the Slovenian national emancipation with their own republic in the context of the Yugoslav state. The definitions carefully follow the political rhetoric of the communist era and interpretation of the past as shaped by the official doctrine of the Communist Party.

In the textbooks printed during the transition, the issue of communism is dealt with in a more balanced and complex manner. Communism is defined as a movement for the reparation of social injustice. However, as the authors

move away from the level of principles, their wording becomes more critical. They distinguish between two periods, two practices of the communist regime in Slovenia (Yugoslavia). The time since the end of World War II until the mid-1960s is defined as a period of a centralized Stalinist Party state, where the dynamics of decision-making were dictated by a few members of the innermost leadership of the Communist Party. In the political sense, the Slovenian (Yugoslav) communism in the first two decades after World War II is defined as an open political and economic dictatorship. However, for the more recent decades the term “ideologically liberalized model of communism” is used due to the completed reforms in this time. When the moment of economic development is introduced into our deliberation, the characteristic dual presentation of communism is obvious again. We notice two types of argumentation. The students should realize that the period of the centrally-planned economy was a time of shortage. Everything was in short supply: democracy, freedom, consumer goods, well-being. The 1960s, famous for being the most liberal time in the period of communism when economic reforms were emphasized, are presented with approval. The reforms are defined as an attempt to introduce certain principles of market (capitalist) economy into the communist economic system. The reforms are also defined as an effort to strengthen the living standard of the population through manifestations of consumerism according to the Western models. This argumentation served the authors as an illustration of the basic dividing line between Slovenia (Yugoslavia) and other Eastern European communist countries. As the main shortcoming of the communist regime in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, the authors underlined the inability to ensure long-term political stability (also due to the “unsolved national question”!) and to create and pursue a suitable economic policy which would ensure a sustainable level of economic growth in the long run.

CONCLUSION

As we argued in the beginning, the Slovenian textbooks are based on the concept of history as a constant progression on the path towards the ultimate goal, the latter of which, naturally, depended on the social context. The analyzed textbooks attest to the practice of reoccurring reinterpretations of school history and the concept of progress within a wider social and economic context. As the social and economic context changed, the interpretations of the past changed as well. The legitimization of the present by reinterpreting the past is indisputable in the analyzed textbooks from the various periods of the 20th century. In this

process we can underline four aspects as important points from the viewpoint of the 20th century as a whole:

The first important point in the concept of teaching history in the 20th century is the establishment of Yugoslavia, since the year 1918 symbolizes the adoption of the ethnocentric model as an interpretative context for the teaching of history. This model was complemented and strengthened by the concept of the “unsolved Slovenian national question” in 1945. The second point determining the contents of the teaching of history after 1945, also important in the long run, is the introduction of a class-oriented approach to interpreting the past. During the transition, the class-oriented approach was abandoned. However, the ethnocentric approach became a constant, since it persisted already in the third social context of the 20th century.

The introduction of conceptual and interpretative foundations, made possible by the ethnocentric approach and the model of the “unsolved Slovenian national question”, also influenced the way history was taught. This is most obvious in the presentation of history as a constant series of opposing interests and conflicts with the neighboring nations. The “others” are regularly presented in the textbooks as a threat to the Slovenian national existence, culture, and future. In time, the circle of those threatening the Slovenian interests became increasingly wider. A gradual revision of this approach can be noted towards the end of the 20th century. The textbooks from that period already emphasize the model of cooperation noticeably, which is a departure from the dominant ethnocentric model of confrontation.

In the communist period, the concept of modernity was widely introduced into the contents of school history. This concept presupposes that history has an ultimate goal. Unindustrialized or poorly industrialized countries were seen as pre-modern or even un-modern, and they also had a status of socially and economically undeveloped and developmentally backward countries. The message and the value system were more than clear. In order to avoid being branded as un-modern and undeveloped in the field of economics and as a society, countries had to become industrialized or at least strive towards urgent industrialization. At the same time, modernity or industrialization is associated with “Westernization”. The Western society is modern society. This becomes a norm for judging the social and economic development of all societies.

In the presentations of communism we witness an interesting twist in the relative concept of progress. There is no doubt in the pre-transitional textbooks. Communism is a successful way of overcoming social and economic differences at the national and international level. According to this interpretation, commu-

nism contributed significantly to the improvement of the living standard and the inclusion of the population into the social and economic processes. Therefore its contribution to overcoming the boundaries of social "injustice" was supposedly of key importance. The transitional period, however, brought a completely opposite emphasis. Due to the denial of political rights and other freedoms of the people as well as because of its economic failure, communism becomes an unsuccessful historical process at the level of individual states as well as at the international level. Such evaluations in the textbooks attest to the altered value bases of the society, where the liberal democratic political model and market (capitalist) economy constitute themselves at the level of permanent historical "normalcy".

Shinichi Ishida

CULTURAL HISTORY IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS:

**An Overview of Descriptions in
Croatia, Serbia, and Japan**

INTRODUCTION

Until quite recently, history textbooks principally dealt with the history of politics and wars, perhaps necessitated by the wish to educate good citizens of modern national states. If need be, the textbook can play its role very well as an instrument for propaganda. Such a tendency can be clearly seen even today, in spite of severe criticism from intellectuals, including historians and educators.

On the other hand, students are apt to consider history as a subject which requires the memorization of useless proper names of historical figures, places and past deeds, etc. This tendency is particularly strong for cultural history, because it often takes the form of listing facts without sufficient explanations. In this paper, the term "cultural history" is used in a broader sense, including the

development of the sciences and arts, and the history of everyday life. In many cases, textbooks describe cultural history by focusing on the nation's tradition and identity. However, some textbooks show it as a kind of common property of humankind, or at least of peoples in a wider region. The latter viewpoint seems more effective for the stabilization of a multi-ethnic (and multicultural) region.

In this paper, descriptions of cultural history in the textbooks of elementary schools in the Yugoslav successor states, especially in Croatia and Serbia, will be analyzed. In the last part, the situation in Japan is shown for comparison.

In compulsory elementary school in Croatia and Serbia, students learn history in chronological order from the fifth grade to the eighth grade. There are four separate volumes of history textbooks. In the other Yugoslav successor states - Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo - in which the duration of elementary school education has been extended from eight years to nine years, students also learn history for four years with four separate volumes of textbooks from the sixth grade to the ninth grade. In any case, the system is completely different from that of Japan, where students learn history only for one or two years and use a single history textbook that contains history from ancient times to the present day.

In the Yugoslav successor states, each history textbook has about 200 pages. In addition, the students in the Yugoslav successor states learn both national history and world history at the same time.

With the "pluralization" of school textbooks in the 1990s and the 2000s, most of the Yugoslav successor states have introduced a school textbook screening system that is similar to the Japanese one. However, the government-designated textbooks are still used in Montenegro. Even in the other Yugoslav successor states, the "plural" textbooks' chapters and sections are almost the same, due to the national curricula and guidelines.

CROATIA

In Croatia, "a general predominance of political history" was obvious in all textbooks under the former curriculum adopted in the 1990s, partly because "the ruling nationalist party in Croatia 1990-2000 regarded political history as the best way to mobilize people during the war and to secure nationalist support also after it had ended."¹ Such a tendency is still seen even in history textbooks under the present curriculum, regulated by the Croatian National Educational

1 Neven Budak, "Post-Socialist Historiography in Croatia since 1990," in Ulf Brunnbauer (ed.), *(Re) Writing History: Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004, p. 160.

Standard (CNES) which was fully introduced in 2006. However, the increase in the percentage of descriptions related to social and cultural history in the new textbooks is obvious.

As mentioned above, there are four separate volumes of history textbooks for the fifth, the sixth, the seventh and the eighth grades of elementary schools in Croatia. According to the national curriculum, the history textbook for the fifth grade should contain the following chapters: (1) What's history, (2) The life of peoples in the prehistoric age, (3) Civilizations with early scripts, (4) The rise of ancient Greece, (5) Athenian democracy, (6) Hellenism, (7) The beginnings of Rome, (8) The Republic and the Empire, (9) The Croatian lands in ancient times, (10) The advent of Christianity, and (11) The migration of nations.²

Because the ancient history means a history of ancient civilizations, the percentage of descriptions related to cultural history is considerably higher here than in the other periods. In the third chapter, there are descriptions of ancient civilizations such as the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian, Indian and Chinese. The textbooks show hieroglyphs, cuneiform script, Phoenician alphabets and Chinese characters and underline the importance of the Code of Hammurabi. They also show the Egyptian pyramids, the Sumerian ziggurats, the Assyrian library and other monuments. In addition, most of the textbooks report the religion or deities of each civilization in detail. The teachings of Zoroaster, Buddha, Confucius, and Jesus are written about in detail, too. Among these ancient civilizations, the textbooks devote only one or two pages to that of the Chinese.

The textbooks for the fifth grade dedicate 25% of the total number of pages to Greek history and 40% to Roman history on average. Thus, too many personal names of Greek and Roman poets, philosophers, scientists, sculptors and historians are mentioned. One textbook has a special chapter on "Greek faith," explaining the names and roles of the deities and Muses.³ The same textbook also has a special chapter on "Roman architecture."

The Croatian textbook (for elementary schools) devotes much more pages to the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations than the "World History" textbooks for high schools in Japan, though the Japanese textbooks list more personal names. For example, the number of personal names related to the cultural history of ancient Greece and Rome in the most popular "World History" textbook for high schools amounts to forty-seven,⁴ whereas the numbers in the Croatian textbooks do not reach thirty.

2 Dijana Vican et al. (eds.), *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu [The Teaching Plan and Program for Elementary School]*. Zagreb: Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa, 2006, pp. 284-285.

3 Tina Matanić et al., *Povijest 5 [History 5]*. Zagreb: Profil, 2006, pp. 156-161.

4 Tsugitaka Sato et al., *World History, revised edition*. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha (『詳説世界史改訂版』山川出版社), 2011, pp. 44-57.

Actually, the Croatian textbooks try to connect their local (not national) history with the Greek and Roman civilizations. Thus, there are sections such as “the colonies of the Greeks on the eastern shore of the Adriatic” and “the Roman provinces in today’s Croatian territory” in the textbooks. A lot of pictures of cultural heritage and archaeological remains such as the amphitheater (arena) in Pula and Diocletian’s Palace in Split are also depicted in these sections.

According to the national curriculum, the history textbook for the sixth grade should contain the following chapters: (1) Europe and the Mediterranean after the migration of nations, (2) Feudal society, (3) The rise of medieval Croatia, (4) Europe and the Islamic World, (5) The ascent of medieval Europe, (6) Croatia under the Arpads and the Angevins, (7) Humanism and the Renaissance, (8) The great geographical discovery, (9) The Ottoman Empire in relation to Croatia and Europe, (10) The Reformation and the Catholic Renewal, (11) Europe in the Baroque period, and (12) Croatia in the early modern period.⁵ Thus, it covers the period from the Middle Ages to early modern times. Each ethnic group in Europe formed a kind of nation or kingdom in this period, so the ratio of national history in the textbooks is high.

The ratio of descriptions related to medieval culture does not reach such a high percentage. The students learn the importance of the church for cultural developments, the foundation of universities, the Arabian influence on the natural sciences, the Romanesque and the Gothic as styles of art and architecture, etc. One textbook emphasizes the emergence of literary works in native languages such as *The Song of Roland* and *The Poem of the Cid*, and the popularity of the love poems of the troubadours.⁶ Generally speaking, the Croatian textbooks do not deal with the history of the other South Slav lands or peoples in the Middle Ages, with the exception of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One textbook even has a heading titled “Medieval Bosnian Culture.”⁷

As for early modern times, the textbooks have two chapters related to cultural history: “Humanism and the Renaissance” and “Europe in the Baroque period.” All the textbooks emphasize the effects of the Copernican heliocentric theory and the role of Gutenberg’s printing press. They introduce famous Italian humanists and artists alongside their Croatian counterparts. Following the description of Dante, Petrarch, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo, several Croats such as Marko Marulić, Marin Držić and Juraj Dalmatinac are mentioned. One textbook devotes sixteen pages to “Humanism and the Renaissance” with detailed background explanations.⁸

5 Vican et al. (eds.), *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, pp. 286-287.

6 Ante Birin et al., *Povijest 6 [History 6]*. Zagreb: Alfa, 2007, p. 83.

7 Neven Budak et al., *Povijest 6 [History 6]*. Zagreb: Profil, 2007, p. 114.

8 Željko Brdal et al., *Tragom prošlosti 6 [Traces of the Past 6]*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007, pp. 128-143.

All textbooks place stress on the characteristics of the Baroque in the 17th century due to the national curriculum. A similar tendency is seen in the Slovenian textbooks, probably because the Baroque is associated with the Roman Catholic Church, which has a dominant position both in Croatia and in Slovenia.

In addition, most of them explain the development of natural science after Galileo and Newton, and the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment as well. One textbook also mentions the development of literature in the native (Croatian) language after the Reformation and the Catholic Renewal.⁹ The textbook also shows the establishment of the University of Zagreb and other institutions of higher education. All the Croatian textbooks mention great men from today's Croatian territory in this period; Ivan Gundulić as the author of *Osman*, Ruđer Bošković as "one of the greatest mathematicians and physicians in the World," and Ivan Lučić as "a father of Croatian historiography." Surprisingly, all the textbooks hardly mention other European writers and artists in the same period.

In Croatia, the students learn modern history from the mid-18th century to the First World War in the seventh grade. The national curriculum regulates the contents of the history textbook for the seventh grade as follows: (1) The world and Croatia at the beginning of the modern era, (2) The formation of modern society: science, technology and the Industrial Revolution, (3) Europe from the French Revolution to the Congress of Vienna, (4) The Croatian National Revival and the emergence of modern nations in Europe, (5) The Revolution of 1848 in Europe and Croatia, (6) Society, culture and the change in everyday life in the first half of the 19th century, (7) Europe at the zenith of its power: the emergence of the first modern states, (8) Croatia under the Habsburg rule in the latter half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, (9) The world in the era of European domination in the 19th century, (10) Society, culture and the change of everyday life in the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and (11) The World Crisis and the First World War.¹⁰

One textbook for the seventh grade devotes eighteen pages to the second chapter, and sixteen pages to the tenth chapter.¹¹ It also provides several special sections related to cultural history, such as "Research and the arts" in the first chapter, "Cultural activities of the National Revivalists" in the fourth chapter, and "Political ideas" in the fifth chapter. In regard to the Croatian National Revival, a lot of cultural institutions are depicted. In particular, the textbook illustrates the "reading rooms" in detail, because they are regarded as footholds of the National Revivalists. A huge number of names related to cultural history, such as famous

9 Budak et al., *Povijest* 6, p. 209.

10 Vican et al. (eds.), *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, pp. 287-289.

11 Krešimir Erdelja et al., *Tragom prošlosti 7 [Traces of the Past 7]*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007, pp. 28-45, 178-193.

inventors, scientists, writers, composers and painters can be seen in the textbook. However, they are exclusively of European (including Croatian) or U.S. origin.

The difference of the contents in each textbook is noteworthy, too. Particularly they put stress on different points. In connection with Romanticism, one textbook underlines that it was “a general cultural movement” which took over from Classicism in the first half of the 19th century; and it gives many names of writers and composers who are counted among the Romanticists.¹² Other textbooks refer to Romanticism in contraposition to Classicism.¹³ In regard to the National Revival in Dalmatia and Istria, one textbook explains the multi-ethnic character of these regions.¹⁴ In contrast, another textbook focuses mainly on the development of the Croatian national consciousness in these regions and describes the Italian inhabitants in Istria as its opponents.¹⁵ In any case, all the textbooks deal with the cultural history of Europe and the U.S. exclusively. This can be seen as evidence of the traditional Eurocentric view of history.

The Croatian history textbooks for the eighth grade contain eleven chapters as follows: (1) The Versailles System, (2) The democratic process between the two World Wars, (3) The totalitarian regime between the two World Wars, (4) Croatia in the first Yugoslavia, (5) Science and culture in the first half of the 20th century in the world and in Croatia, (6) The Second World War, (7) The world in the era of the Cold War and the fall of the communist system, (8) The process of decolonization of the world, (9) Croatia in the second Yugoslavia, (10) The origin and development of the independent Croatian state, and (11) Croatia and the world on the threshold of the third millennium.¹⁶

In one textbook, there are sections such as “The development of technology,” “Scientific discoveries and achievements,” “Arts” and “Films” in the fifth chapter.¹⁷ In addition, it has sections such as “The development of technology and its influence on everyday life,” “Scientific discoveries and achievements,” “Postmodernism,” and “Popular music” in the eleventh chapter.¹⁸ Similar to the textbook for the seventh grade, names of scientists, writers, composers and painters, including Croats are given in excess, especially lots of names of famous movie stars and musicians, including several Croatian rock groups who are also listed in the textbook. This textbook devotes about 30 pages to cultural history, but the ratio of Croatian culture to the whole is not high.

12 Stjepan Bekavac et al., *Povijest 7 [History 7]*. Zagreb: Alfa, 2009, pp. 100-105.

13 Damir Agičić, *Povijest 7 [History 7]*. Zagreb: Profil, 2007, pp. 74-75; Damir Agičić et al., *Povijest 7 [History 7]*. Zagreb: Profil, 2007, pp. 90-91.

14 Erdelja et al., *Tragom prošlosti 7*, p. 88.

15 Bekavac et al., *Povijest 7*, pp. 139-141.

16 Vican et al. (eds.), *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*, pp. 289-291.

17 Krešimir Erdelja et al., *Tragom prošlosti 8 [Traces of the Past 8]*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007, pp. 96-111.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 245-251, 255-259.

Another textbook devotes more pages to Croatian culture, including the development of science, education, the arts, literature, movies, the mass-media and sports.¹⁹ It has an unusual section on “Cultural life and the media in the Independent State of Croatia.”²⁰ It seems that the textbook endeavors to validate the cultural affairs of that puppet state to some extent. Another textbook also has the heading “The economic situation and culture in the Independent State of Croatia,” but it only explains that four volumes of the *Croatian Encyclopedia* were published and the first Croatian feature-length film *Lisinski* was made at the time of the Independent State of Croatia.²¹ Due to the national curriculum, all textbooks tend to concentrate on the cultural circumstances in Croatia, ignoring those in other parts of Yugoslavia. One textbook features a table of the illiteracy rate of each province throughout Yugoslavia according to the census in 1931 with a brief commentary.²²

All the textbooks mention nothing about the cultural trends outside of Europe and the USA. The one exception is a humanoid robot “ASIMO” constructed by a Japanese corporation Honda, which is shown in the last chapter.²³ Interestingly, one textbook has special essays such as “the incidents in the Far East: China and Japan” and “China and Japan after the war” as optional contents.²⁴ However, social and cultural circumstances in these countries are not mentioned at all, except the so-called “Cultural Revolution” in China.

Throughout the four volumes of history textbooks for elementary schools in Croatia, the cultural trends outside of Europe and the USA are seldom taken into consideration. As mentioned above, a traditional Eurocentric view of history is seen here. Then again, the Croatian textbooks reveal a strong sense of the belonging of the Croatian nation to the Mediterranean and Central Europe. Notwithstanding a common past in Yugoslavia, the Croatian textbooks tend to ignore the cultural history of neighboring peoples, including the Serbs and the Slovenes. This is completely different from the textbook in the 1980s, which gave much more explanations of their social and cultural developments before and after the unification of Yugoslavia.

19 Stjepan Bekavac et al., *Povijest 8 [History 8]*. Zagreb: Alfa, 2008, pp. 82-85, 230-233.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

21 Vesna Đurić, *Povijest 8 [History 8]*, Zagreb: Profil, 2007, p. 91.

22 Snježana Koren, *Povijest 8 [History 8]*. Zagreb: Profil, 2007, pp. 81-82.

23 Erdelja et al., *Tragom prošlosti 8*, p. 251.

24 Koren, *Povijest 8*, pp. 21, 160.

SERBIA

Serbia was “among the last countries in its region to still have a state monopoly over the publication of history textbooks,” thus “the present holders of power have assigned an important role in the creation of the Serbian state to the teaching of history in public schools.”²⁵ The entry of non-governmental publishers into the market of history textbooks was permitted at last in the late 2000s, but it seems that the system of textbooks is still unsettled.

Generally, the percentage of descriptions of cultural history in the Serbian history textbooks is lower than in those of the other Yugoslav successor states, with one exception: the history textbook for the fifth grade. The standard textbook published by the state-owned Institute for Textbooks contains the following chapters: (1) What’s history?, (2) Prehistory, (3) The ancient East (Orient), (4) Ancient Greece, (5) Hellenism, and (6) Ancient Rome.²⁶ It has sections such as “The culture of peoples of the ancient East,” “Religion and art in ancient Greece,” “The literature and sciences of ancient Greece,” and “The culture of ancient Rome.” In the chapter of “The ancient East,” there are detailed descriptions of the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt; however, it fully ignores those of India and China. Even in the supplementary Historical Atlas, only maps of the area around the Mediterranean with Mesopotamia are shown.²⁷

In Serbia, there is a special textbook titled *Diaries from the Past* for the fifth grade, which deals with everyday life in ancient times. However, the world outside the Mediterranean is beneath its notice in the textbook as well.²⁸ Subsequently, it is remarkable that one of the new history textbooks for the fifth grade in 2011 dedicates two pages to ancient India and China.²⁹ On the other hand, another textbook only shows a picture of the Great Wall of China with a brief commentary.³⁰

In comparison with Croatia, the percentage of descriptions of ‘the ancient East’ is extremely low (less than 10%). The textbooks show the prehistoric ruins of Lepenski Vir and Vinča in Serbia, together with Stonehenge in England. However, they do not emphasize the connection between the Greek and Roman civilizations and their local history. The standard textbook has a short section of

25 Dubravka Stojanović, “Slow Burning: History Textbooks in Serbia, 1993-2008”, in Augusta Dimou (ed.), *“Transition” and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009, p. 142.

26 Danijela Stefanović et al., *Istorija 5 [History 5]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007, p. 3.

27 Danijela Stefanović et al., *Istorijski atlas 5 [Historical Atlas 5]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2007.

28 Mako Šuica, *Dnevnici iz prošlosti [Diaries from the Past]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008.

29 Aleksandar Đukanović, *Mozaik prošlosti 5 [Mosaic of the Past 5]*. Beograd: BIGZ školstvo, 2011, pp. 34-35.

30 Branka Bečanović, *Istorija 5 [History 5]*. Beograd: Klett, 2007, p. 74.

“The Central and Northern Balkans under Roman rule,” showing the foundations of cities such as Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), Singidunum (Belgrade), and Nais (Niš).³¹ The names of the historical figures in the textbooks are the same as the ones in the Croatian textbooks.

The history textbook for the sixth grade in Serbia deals only with the Middle Ages. Thus it has the most detailed description of this period among the Yugoslav successor states. The standard textbook contains the following chapters: (1) Introduction, (2) Europe and the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages, (3) The Serbs and their surroundings in the early Middle Ages, (4) Europe in the late Middle Ages, (5) The Serbian people and their neighbors in the late Middle Ages, and (6) The Serbian lands and their surroundings in the era of the Ottoman conquests.³² The percentage of national and regional history is very high (about 60 %). It has sections on “The early culture of the South Slavs,” “The medieval culture of Europe”, and “The medieval culture of the Serbs.”

The Serbian students learn the importance of the church for cultural developments and the foundation of universities as well as the Croatian students. As for the style of art and architecture, it shows not only the Romanesque and the Gothic but also the Byzantine style to a considerable extent. Contrary to Croatia, the textbook also deals with other South Slav lands or peoples in this period. It shows the establishment of independent states such as Carantania (Slovenia), Croatia, Bulgaria, Dioclea (Montenegro), Raška (Serbia) and Bosnia. There are detailed descriptions of Dubrovnik and Bosnia. It also illustrates the common cultural heritage of these lands with some examples such as the churches of Zadar (Croatia), Kotor (Montenegro), Novi Pazar (Serbia) and Ohrid (Macedonia) which were built under the strong influence of Byzantium. All three textbooks contain excessive numbers of pictures of Orthodox churches, monasteries and medieval fortresses in and outside Serbia. On the other hand, they take no account of the world outside Europe, except some sections on “The Islamic world.”³³

In Serbia, the students learn the modern history up until 1878 in the seventh grade, and then they learn about the history after 1878 to the present time in the eighth grade. The percentage of descriptions pertaining to cultural history is very low in both textbooks.

As an exception, the Institute for Textbooks publishes two kinds of history textbooks for the seventh grade. One textbook by Ljušić contains the following chapters: (1) Europe discovers the world and itself, (2) The Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, (3) The Serbs in Turkey, Austria and Venice, (4) Bourgeois revolutions, (5)

31 Stefanović et al., *Istorija 5*, p. 65.

32 Rade Mihaljčić, *Istorija 6 [History 6]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008, p. 3.

33 Ibid., pp. 26-29; Đorđe Bubalo et al., *Istorija 6 [History 6]*. Beograd: Klett, 2010, pp. 54-56; Marko Šuica et al., *Istorija 6 [History 6]*. Beograd: Freska, 2010, pp. 42-45.

Europe in the 19th century (until 1878), (6) The monarchies of failed reforms and the Serbs, (7) The Serbian Revolution, (8) The Principality of Serbia, (9) Montenegro, and (10) The world, Europe and Serbia.³⁴ The other textbook by Bataković contains the following chapters: (1) Europe from the end of the 15th century to the end of the 18th century, (2) The Serbian people under foreign rule from the 14th century to the 18th century, (3) Europe and the world from the end of the 18th century to the 1870s, (4) Serbia and Montenegro: The modern Serbian states, and (5) The Serbian people under foreign rule from the end of the 18th century to the 1870s.³⁵

Of these two textbooks, the latter devotes more pages to cultural history. For example, the former devotes only one page to the section of “Humanism and the Renaissance,” but the latter contains eight pages on the same topic. In the same way, the former has no section dedicated to the Industrial Revolution or to the Age of Enlightenment, whereas the latter gives these topics independent sections, each counting three pages. Contrary to the Croatian textbooks, both textbooks pay little attention to the characteristics of the Baroque period, though the latter has a special column on “Baroque and Classicism.” The latter also devotes one page to the description of Romanticism, mentioning many writers, painters and composers in Europe in the first half of the 19th century. “The National Revival” of each nation in the Habsburg Empire and its leaders, including Vuk Karadžić (of Serbia) and Ljudevit Gaj (of Croatia), are also mentioned.

As for the Serbian national culture, the textbook by Bataković mentions the cultural and educational conditions of the Serbs under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, and the autonomous Serbian and Montenegrin principalities until the second half of the 19th century, and stresses the importance of the Serbian Orthodox Church with its monasteries for the Serbs in this period. All the textbooks, including three other new ones which contain less descriptions of cultural history in general,³⁶ mention the establishment of important cultural and educational institutions in Serbia, such as the society *Matica Srpska*, the Society of Serbian Letters (today’s Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), the National Library, the National Museum and the National Theatre. The development of the modern school system, including the founding of the University of Belgrade, is also described in all the textbooks.

The standard textbook for the eighth grade contains the following chapters: (1) Europe and the world in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, (2) Independent Serbia and Montenegro, the Serbs under

34 Radoš Ljušić, *Istorija 7 [History 7]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2009, p. 3.

35 Dušan Bataković, *Istorija za sedmi razred osnovne škole [History for the seventh grade of elementary school]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2009, pp. 4-6.

36 Goran Dujković, *Mosaik prošlosti 7 [Mosaic of the Past 7]*. Beograd: BIGZ školstvo, 2010; Radoš Ljušić, *Istorija 7 [History 7]*. Beograd: Freska, 2010; Branka Bečanović et al., *Istorija 7 [History 7]*. Beograd: Klett, 2011.

Austro-Hungarian and Turkish rule, (3) The First World War - the Great War, (4) Serbia and Montenegro in the First World War, (5) The world and Europe during the First and Second World Wars, (6) The Yugoslav Kingdom 1918-1941, (7) The Second World War, (8) Yugoslavia in the Second World War, (9) The world after the Second World War, and (10) Yugoslavia after the Second World War.³⁷ The percentage of descriptions related to cultural history in this textbook is still very low, as in the former edition.³⁸

In the first chapter, the textbook explains “the progress of industry and transport,” “ideologies and social movements,” and “the progress of science and culture” in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. In the fifth chapter, it mentions the progress of science, technology, culture and society in Europe and the USA in the first half of the 20th century. In these chapters, many names of famous scientists, writers and artists appear without sufficient commentaries. In the ninth chapter, there is a heading titled “Modernization and cultural transformations” in the world after the Second World War. It contains brief biographies of Pablo Picasso, Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley and Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali). Including all the other textbooks for the eighth grade, nothing is written on cultural history outside of Europe and the USA, just as in all Croatian textbooks.

On the other hand, all the textbooks explain the cultural and educational circumstances in the Principalities or Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro before the First World War, and in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the interwar period. One textbook has a section on “the South Slav peoples” before the First World War, but it contains only a history of the Serbs abroad, including that of Montenegro; the textbook clearly implies that “the inhabitants of Montenegro were Serbs.”³⁹

For the description of cultural history after the founding of Yugoslavia, two textbooks use the expression of “the Yugoslav cultural area.”⁴⁰ All the textbooks mention that Yugoslavia was one of the worst countries in Europe with regard to its rate of literacy, adding that the situation was improved to some extent by the establishment of new elementary schools and the increase in the number of teaching staff. Also, in the last chapter, which deals with the Socialist Yugoslavia, all the textbooks mention the “mass culture” or “popular culture” such as rock and pop music and movies. One textbook devotes four pages to the section on “the Society of the Socialist Yugoslavia,” carefully explaining the migration of the populations, education and the sciences, the media of mass communication, the arts and culture, and popular culture and sports.⁴¹

37 Đorđe Đurić et al., *Istorija 8 [History 8]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2010, p. 3.

38 Suzana Rajić et al., *Istorija 8 [History 8]*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, 2005.

39 Radoš Ljušić et al., *Istorija 8 [History 8]*. Beograd: Freska, 2010, p. 58.

40 Ibid., p. 140; Zoran Pavlović et al., *Mozaik prošlosti 8 [Mosaic of the Past 8]*. Beograd: BIGZ školstvo, 2011, p. 93.

41 Predrag Bajagić et al., *Istorija 8 [History 8]*. Beograd: Klett, 2010, pp. 189-192.

Thus, the history textbooks in Serbia generally take notice of the cultural and social history during the period of Yugoslavia from the viewpoint of a common Yugoslav cultural area, paying attention not only to Serbia but also to other regions (republics) in Yugoslavia. In this sense, Nikola Tesla, Ivan Meštrović and Ivo Andrić are included both in the Croatian and the Serbian textbooks, although their backgrounds are explained from the viewpoint of each respective state.

JAPAN

After the Second World War, the education system in Japan was rebuilt following the American model. According to this system, nine years of schooling are considered compulsory. Students usually attend elementary school for six years and junior high school for three years. History is taught only for one or two years (a minimum of 105 hours) as a part of the subject of “Social Studies” in junior high school. The contents are regulated by the Course of Study – a set of governmental teaching guidelines. The students in public schools use only one textbook which the authorities of each educational district select from among several kinds of textbooks. It covers history from ancient times to the present day; which means that the amount of information is much smaller than that contained in the Croatian and Serbian textbooks. Students must learn about “World History” and “Japanese History” in detail in high school. One of the basic problems we encounter is that history textbooks for junior high school pay little attention to foreign history. In addition, history education in high schools tends to attach greater importance to “Japanese History” and the textbooks tend to present historical viewpoints based on a sense of “national isolation.”⁴²

According to the Course of Study, the contents of a history textbook should be: (1) The currents of history and local history, (2) Japan in ancient times, (3) Japan in medieval times, (4) Japan in early modern times, and (5) Japan and the world in modern times. For instance, the most popular textbook has chapters in conformity with it on: (1) The currents of history, (2) Japan in ancient times, (3) Japan in medieval times, (4) Japan in early modern times, (5) The opening and the course of modern Japan, (6) The two World Wars and Japan, and (7) Contemporary Japan and the world.⁴³ In fact, more than 80% of the average textbook deals with Japanese history.⁴⁴

42 Shingo Minamizuka, *Is “World History” Unnecessary?* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (南塚信吾『世界史なんていらない?』岩波書店), 2007, p. 40.

43 Gomi Fumihiko et al., *New Social Studies: History, new edition*. Tokyo: Teikoku Shoin (『新編新しい社会 歴史』帝国書院), 2007, p. 5.

44 Hisao Suzuki, *Let’s Regain “World History”* (鈴木久男『世界史を取り戻そう』). Tokyo: The Middle East within Asia, Booklet Series No. 1, p. 5.

The percentage of descriptions related to cultural history in Japanese history textbooks is relatively high. The above-mentioned textbook has many sections which bear “culture” or “civilization” in their titles, although most of the terms are specific to Japan, derived from era or place names (e.g. *Momoyama* culture, *Genroku* culture, *Kasei* culture). There are detailed descriptions of everyday life including food, clothing and shelter in each era, too. According to an index of other textbooks, 36% of the historical figures they contain are categorized as “people who contributed to cultural development.”⁴⁵ Among them, there are many Buddhist priests, along with writers, painters, and scientists. Literary works from the *Kojiki*, a collection of myths concerning the origins of Japan, as well as modern Japanese novels are also listed.

On the other hand, only four foreigners are connected with “culture” or “civilization; Confucius, Jesus, Muhammad, and Jianzhen (or Ganjin, a naturalized Japanese priest from China). In addition, some foreigners are classified as “people who had a great influence on Japanese or world history”, including Sakyamuni and Luther.

The ancient civilizations, except that of China, hardly appear in Japanese history textbooks. As mentioned above, the only historical figures appearing in ancient times are Sakyamuni, Confucius, and Jesus. The civilizations of Greece and Rome, as well as of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India are explained only briefly. The strong influence of Chinese civilization on Japanese society including the introduction of Chinese characters and Buddhism in the 6th century is mentioned. As for medieval history, other than that of Japan, the textbooks only deal with China, Korea, and Mongolia - focusing on their political and economic relationships with Japan.

There are relatively detailed descriptions of “the Age of Discovery,” because Japan had a direct connection with Europe for the first time in this period. All the textbooks include a little about the Reformation. The Renaissance is either less mentioned or fully ignored.

In the textbooks, there are no descriptions related to the cultural history of Europe since the Industrial Revolution, which is briefly mentioned. Almost all writers, artists, and scientists in modern times listed in the textbooks are Japanese. Generally, they do not deal with cultural history after the Second World War at all, even in the case of Japan. In one textbook, there is a special section “Culture in the Shōwa Period (1926-89).”⁴⁶ However, it merely gives a limited explanation of

45 Hideo Kuroda et al., *Social Studies: History for Junior High School. The History of Japan and the World*. Tokyo: Teikoku Shoin (『社会科 中学生の歴史 日本の歩みと世界の動き』帝国書院), 2009, pp. IV-V.

46 Nobukatsu Fujioka et al., *Social Studies for Junior High School: The New History Textbook, new edition*. Tokyo: Jiyusha (『中学社会 新編新しい歴史教科書』自由社), 2010, pp. 222-223.

Japanese Nobel-Prize winners, Japanese literature, Japanese movies and cartoons, and changes of Japanese lifestyle during this period, and no observations on foreign (worldwide) culture are to be found.

CONCLUSION

This paper tries to present an outline of the characteristics of history textbooks in Croatia, Serbia, and Japan, focusing on descriptions related to cultural history. In these countries, textbooks are frequently revised, so it is difficult to evaluate them synchronously. For example, the new history textbooks have been partly introduced since 2012 in Japan. Detailed descriptions of cultural history and everyday life in Croatian textbooks might change the image of textbooks in the 1990s that concentrated on politics and military affairs. A sense of belonging to Europe as a common cultural area is clearly seen. In the case of Serbia, the percentage of descriptions related to cultural history is still low. Nevertheless, there are excessive enumerations of 'facts' in these textbooks. Such a tendency is even more conspicuously noticeable in the case of Japan. In addition, the Japanese textbooks only explain the historical events abroad as supplementary subject matter that can be omitted.

This narrow-minded national history must be revised by introducing "World History" or the history of a wider region such as East Asia, in which a common cultural heritage can be seen clearly. It is our wish that the problems of descriptions related to cultural history in textbooks will be resolved by continuous investigation and international academic cooperation.

Dubravka Stojanović

NEWS FROM THE PAST.

**Survey of the Historical
Awareness of Serbia's Citizens**

Is Serbia living in the past or the present? Are the actions of its political elite and voters motivated by real life or perceptions of the “glorious past”? Is it a typical representative of the “Eastern model of nations”, created and sustained by a blend of the awareness of history, culture and language, the main ingredients of that type of national identity? Are the olden “golden ages” a source, a refuge, or the goal? Do such societies really produce “more history than they can digest” or are they putting off confrontation with the problems of today and their constructive resolution by producing such a myth about themselves? Is this a phenomenon comparable to the “Peter Pan syndrome” at the individual level; is Serbian society refusing to grow up because it feels that everything is safer, warmer, more certain in childhood, i.e. in history?

History seems to be all around us. For numerous historic and present-day reasons, the past is very much present in Serbia's public discourse; it serves as the ultimate political argument, and is the motive for and justification of many actions.

The power of epic poetry lay at the foundations of the upbringing of generations, raised on the myth of the heroic past; history was not only their *magistra vitae* but their commander as well. The eight wars waged between 1875 and 1995 created Serbia's history, yet further mystified its importance as well.¹ It was precisely this prehistory that prompted the communist leadership to write its own "history" when it came to power, a history aimed at overcoming and obliterating the conflicts that had imbued the past of the Yugoslav peoples.² Moreover, communist Yugoslavia based its founding myth on its own interpretation of World War II, and the partisan epopee and history, from the one in the movies to the one in the textbooks, was an object of continuous use and abuse.

Historical awareness is one of the major factors constituting a society's value system.³ Ideas and perceptions of "how we have fared in history" help create the corpus of our perceptions of "ourselves" and "others", the corpus that affects the construction of our judgments of the present and our decisions. History can serve as a good alibi. The public perception of history is the context in which present-day events are inevitably placed. Public perceptions of the past are formed and changed depending on the present-day needs, and each generation writes the history it needs.⁴ In dramatic times, "history", that is, the perception of it, undergoes dramatic transformations itself. It changes beyond recognition. Interpretations, even the very "historical facts" can change completely.⁵ Some can be "forgotten", and new ones "discovered". These adjustments may require "fine-tuning" as well as "major overhauls".

Serbia has seen two waves of "major overhauls", as well as several intermediate phases of "fine-tuning", on the history site in the past two decades. The first wave of changes in the perceptions of history occurred in the late 1980s, when Slobodan Milošević came to power and the previous communist ideological paradigm was replaced by a nationalist one. And yet again, the ideology that led to it was closely linked to manipulations of history. The Yugoslav peoples had to be envenomed against each other to create a psychological basis for war and the drawing of new ethnic borders.⁶ The best basis for fabricating conflicts was again found in history. This operation involved highlighting historic content that presented the history of the Yugoslav peoples as continuous discord and

1 Ljubodrag Dimić, Miroslav Jovanović, Dubravka Stojanović, *Srbija 1804-2004 : tri viđenja ili poziv na dijalog*. Beograd: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2005, pp. 1-7.

2 Đorđe Stanković, Ljubodrag Dimić, *Istoriografija pod nadzorom : prilozi istorije historiografije, I-II*. Beograd: Službeni list SRJ, 1996.

3 Antoni D. Smit, *Nacionalni identitet*. Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 1998.

4 Lisjen Fevr, *Borba za istoriju*. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 2002, p. 157.

5 Christina Koulouri (ed.), *Clio in the Balkans: the Politics of History Education*. Thessaloniki : Center for democracy and reconciliation in Southeast Europe, 2002.

6 Vesna Pešić, Ružica Rosandić (eds.), *Ratništvo, patriotizam, patrijarhalnost*. Beograd: Centar za antiratnu akciju, 1994.

suppressing the times testifying to their accord. History thus assumed the role of a vanguard as in the mid-eighties. Changes of the past aimed at effecting changes of the present. Violence against the past aimed at sparking violence in the present. We can therefore conclude that history was the first victim of the wars for the Yugoslav heritage, even before they broke out.

The Serbian nation as a collective being was put forward as the main hero of history. Exposed to onslaughts of history, its destiny was fatalistic and preordained.⁷ The newly-created history aimed to prove that Serbs had always been on the right side, that they had never waged wars of conquest, that they were the historical winners and that they had never done any harm to their neighbors.⁸ This perception was necessary not only to create instantaneous national pride, but to vilify the others as much as possible as well.

The perception of the other is usually there to improve our perceptions of ourselves, but, simultaneously, we need our ideal self-perceptions to additionally humiliate the other.⁹ This relationship is requisite for any kind of war propaganda, particularly when the prior positive perception of the new enemy needs to be changed overnight. History is always the first to fall victim at such times.¹⁰ Negative events had to be singled out from its foundation and the positive ones suppressed, a history of conflict had to be created to explain the new war in the offing. All historical eras were used. From prehistory, where the roots were found, to the recent eras that were able to evoke and create memories of us as historical victims. Victimization and creation of a perception of oneself as a historical victim whom the neighbors “stabbed in the back when we were down for no reason” are particularly important in such situations. That is how the paranoid perception of being under threat, a very useful propaganda tool, is created,¹¹ the perception that foments anxiety and fear and encourages aggressiveness. This is how strong stereotypes of nearly all the neighboring nations, with the exception of the friendly Greeks and Romanians, were created or revived in a short period of time.¹² As the war in Yugoslavia grew more and more complicated, the stereotypes started spreading to the rest of the world, in particular the leading

7 Ivan Čolović, *Bordel ratnika*. Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 1993, p. 67.

8 Dubravka Stojanović, “Udžbenici istorije kao ogledalo vremena” in: Pešić, Rosandić (eds.), *Ratništvo, patriotizam, patrijarhalnost*, p. 78.

9 Cvetan Todorov, *Mi i drugi : francuska misao o ljudskoj raznolikosti*. Beograd, 1994.

10 On Abuses of History: Radivoj Radić, *Srbi pre Adama i posle njega : istorija jedne zloupotrebe : slovo protiv “novoromantičara”*. Beograd: Stubovi culture, 2003; Miroslav Jovanović, Radivoj Radić, *Kriza istorije : srpska historiografija i društveni izazovi kraja 20. i početka 21. veka*. Beograd : Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, 2009.

11 Jovan Bajford, *Teorija zavere : Srbija protiv novo svetskog poretka*. Beograd : Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, 2006.

12 Olivera Milosavljević, *U tradiciji nacionalzma ili stereotipi srpskih intelektualaca o nama i drugima*. Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2002.

Western powers. Specific events, primarily the air strikes, played a major role in consolidating these prejudices and, as of the late 1980s, led to the emergence of an autistic perception of the present and the past, which further isolated and threatened a Serbia already under international sanctions. The question arose whether that “outer wall” of isolation was taller and stronger than the one Serbia had erected around itself by its blown-up historical awareness.

A new turn in the present and the past was made in 2000, when Slobodan Milošević's reign was ousted. The new authorities were of the view that their face-off with the previous regime involved doing away with its historic ancestors as well; so they forced a new showdown with history, now in the WWII décor.¹³ For a complete victory against the communist predecessors, the new authorities had to beat their historical fathers, Tito's partisans, and establish their mainstay in the enemy camp during that civil war, to reaffirm their own authenticity and distinctness. Draža Mihajlović and his Chetniks had to become the new “historical fathers” of the new democratic order. The perception of the past was abused yet again, and the public was further disoriented.

On top of that, the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s themselves became history over time.¹⁴ But not much headway has been made in interpreting them from the time they were waged until today, i.e. in the past twenty years. The post-2000 Serbian authorities also failed to raise the essential issues that would have helped their citizens understand the events in the recent past and create a clear distance from the ideologies and programs that had led Serbia into the wars which had nearly resulted in its self-destruction. The perception of those wars has thus also remained vague, although its effects are very much alive and still directly affect the everyday lives of Serbia's citizens. This is why the perception of the wars in the 1990s is a burning issue of both Serbia's present and Serbia's future.

All this has led to frequent analyses of history and its abuse by the Serbian public. Most of these analyses have focused on the discourse or actions of the representatives of the elite, on the dominant concept, cultural model or value system offered society. What remains beyond the grasp of these analyses is the reception of the offered concepts, how the public hears, accepts and processes the sent messages. If it is true that the elite is offering an “older and more glorious” past in lieu of the gloomy present, the question arises whether society is accepting the elite's offer to live in the past? Do the elite and society share the phantasm about the “better past”, are both of them willing to use that anesthetic? And if they are, what does society know about history, what is its perception of it? If it does

13 Dubravka Stojanović, *Ulje na vodi : ogledi iz istorije sadašnjosti*. Beograd : Pešćanik, 2010, pp. 123-156.

14 Tihomir Cipek (ed.), *Kultura sjećanja. Povjesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*. Zagreb, 2011.

know history, what premises is that knowledge based on, or, if it does not know it, are there limits to manipulation?

The Belgrade Centre for Human Rights in 2010 implemented a project aimed at establishing the degree of knowledge of history in Serbia's society. The results of the survey of a representative sample of citizens were published in the book *News from the Past. Knowledge, Lack of Knowledge, Use and Abuse of History*.¹⁵ The analysis was based upon replies to a questionnaire comprising 120 questions demonstrating what the citizens of Serbia think about specific historic events, what they learned in school and had forgotten in the meantime, which prejudices and stereotypes predominate in their understanding of the past, the past of their own nation and that of the neighboring nations. The survey was conducted on a representative sample of 1,086 respondents and the results we arrived at can be considered to represent the opinion of Serbia's citizens.

The project authors and research team departed from the particular weight and importance attached to history in the former Yugoslavia. This was an opportunity to delve into what usually remains beyond the grasp of the standard methodologies focusing on the activity of one side – the creator of historical myths – but not on the receivers, the consumers, the citizens exposed to the “irradiation” of historical truths. The News from the Past project enabled us to gain insight into that other side of the discourse, how the citizens perceive the past, themselves and others in it. We did not test their knowledge of the past, but, rather, endeavored to identify their prejudices, their beliefs and convictions, their pattern of thinking in which they incorporate the information they receive every day. It is on the basis of these perceptions that they make judgments of present-day events, assess and measure them and, ultimately, cast their ballots. This awareness of the past is thus of key importance to life in the present, for it provides the coordinates and an evaluation system. This is why the results of this survey are particularly relevant to the current establishment and should serve as important indicators of the state of mind in Serbia. Furthermore, the survey results will hopefully alert the authorities to the harm that can be done by invoking the past as arguments in creating the present and demonstrate that historical content must be handled with much care because nonchalant enterprises fuel the existing confusion in society, disorient the citizens and further undermine the never strongly established value system in society.

Apart from identifying the prejudices and stereotypes about the past, the project also aimed at determining what the citizens think about their own history and how well they know it, precisely because it is so present in public discourse,

15 Dubravka Stojanović, Radina Vučetić, Sanja Petrović-Todosijević, Olga Manojlović-Pintar, Radmila Radić, *Novosti iz prošlosti. Znanje, neznanje, upotreba i zloupotreba istorije*. Beograd, 2011.

because so many politicians invoke it when they take crucial policy decisions, because both Serbia's domestic policy and, even more so, its foreign policy is based upon it. This survey was not a history knowledge test. We are under no illusion that citizens anywhere in the world know historical facts. The responses we offered them aimed at giving us an idea of their orientational, not their precise knowledge. We wanted to establish how the citizens oriented themselves in broad strokes, not in fine detail. We were not interested in the degree of their ignorance, but in the type of their ignorance. We aimed at establishing the content of their ignorance, its origins, the layers of prejudice that have covered the knowledge they acquired in school, the sources from which they learned history. We were aware that history is lied about in public and we wanted to establish how it is lied about. That lie was the main topic of our research.

The overall survey results lead to the conclusion that the mistakes the respondents made can be grouped in five categories constituting layers of knowledge: political conformism, mythical thinking, ethnocentrism and narcissism, stereotypes and experiential knowledge.

CONFORMIST "KNOWLEDGE"

Political conformism as a source of historical consciousness is more about forgetting than about remembering. This layer of "knowledge" has been the consequence of deleting the historical facts learnt in school, under the influence of the everyday media propaganda in Serbia over the past two decades. That means that the way in which citizens remember and perceive history largely depends on the "flavor of the day", the clear or less clear message of the authorities, or, more precisely, the current official interpretation of history. Given that these interpretations have undergone radical changes in the recent years, we were eager to establish which of them have persisted, what the citizens were the most receptive to, how they ranked and "processed" the relayed "guidelines" in their minds. Such memory is adjusted to the wishes of the authorities and ensures one the comfortable position Olga Manojlović-Pintar talks about, "the sweet oblivion"¹⁶ offering release from mental exertion and enabling blissful indifference. This politically "correct" memory is important to the citizens, because it addresses their present-day problems and absolves them from responsibility. They are calm because they think what the authorities want them to think, they do not stand out, they do not enter into the risk of autonomous thinking. Of course,

16 Olga Manojlović-Pintar, "Rat i nemir – O viđenjima socijalistike Jugoslavije, Drugog svetskog rata u kome je nastala i ratova u kojima se raspala", in: *Novosti iz prošlosti*, p. 83-107.

the other layers of knowledge to be analyzed in this text also fall within political conformism, but they are elaborated in different groups because of their specific features.

The respondents' answers to the questions on WWII and the wars in the 1990s may serve as the best indicators of the effects of political conformism. The survey results showed that most of the incorrect answers were given to these questions, i.e. that these topics were "forgotten" to the greatest extent. This can easily be explained precisely by the fact that these events are both extremely sensitive and the closest in time, wherefore the personal memories of the respondents or the memories of their recent ancestors are still fresh. For instance, one third of the respondents have forgotten what happened on May 9, 1945 and why Victory Day is commemorated, although it had been pompously celebrated for decades, with military parades marching through the heart of Belgrade. Only 21% of the respondents knew the date when Belgrade was liberated in WWII, although it had for decades been the most important city holiday and many schools, streets and the leading city award for scientific and artistic achievements bore its name.

The greatest conformist perplexity arose when the respondents were asked about collaboration during WWII, given the pandemonium in their historical consciousness created by the messages sent out by the authorities, particularly after 2000. Forty-one per cent of the respondents said that Chetniks were anti-fascists, while 47% said they had collaborated with the occupiers, which vividly demonstrates the split historical consciousness and the major divisions in Serbian society. Answers to the question about Milan Nedić, Serbia's Prime Minister during Nazi occupation, were particularly interesting as well. This is how the citizens found their way through the maze of controversial messages relayed by the authorities, which have frequently absolved Nedić: one third (36%) said he had collaborated with the occupiers, one third justified his actions (14% think he was a pragmatic politician, 10% think he was the victim of communist terror and 6% qualified him as the savior of the nation), while one third decided they knew nothing about him. This division into three nearly equal groups best testifies to the confusion and uncertainty among Serbia's citizens when it comes to their perceptions of fascism and anti-fascism and WWII on the whole. Even more conspicuous is the "ignorance" the respondents demonstrated with respect to the wars in the 1990s; it corroborates how relevant a factor conformism is in the creation of opinions on history. The citizens are not prepared to exert efforts and draw conclusions, they are "fulfilling the wishes" of the authorities and opting for the "right answer" on the fly.

MYTHICAL “KNOWLEDGE”

A set of questions was aimed at uncovering the mythical layers affecting the creation of knowledge about the past. The belief in the greatness of one's nation and the territory that belonged to it in history and in its antiquity stood out as the two key categories. For instance, 63% of the citizens believe that Thessaloniki and Belgrade were part of Tsar Dušan's empire in the mid-14th century, while 45% think that Dubrovnik was within the borders of the Serbian state at some point in history. These historically incorrect perceptions of the greatness of one's own nation are equally spread across all age groups, showing that they are not just the consequence of political propaganda in the recent years, but a widespread belief in one's own greatness. The fact that gives rise to greatest concern is that the percentage of those who believe that Dubrovnik was a Serbian city (55%) is the highest among the respondents with the highest education levels, while only 37% of the respondents who had only completed elementary school accepted that myth.

Questions regarding the antiquity of the nation yielded similar results. The perception of the antiquity of one's own nation arose as the strongest component of historical consciousness and national arrogance. Such consciousness is best nourished by the idea of the historic lag of all others, particularly the neighboring peoples, and the non-acceptance of the fact that others may have had a past just as long and as successful as your own. The answers to the question on how long Serbs have lived in the Balkans are illustrative. If we add up the answers that they have always lived there, that they were the indigenous inhabitants (39%) and the answers that they arrived before the Croats (29%), we arrive at the sum of 68% of respondents, who believe that the Serbs have a considerable advantage over the neighboring, rival nation, while only 22% accept the fact that the two nations came to the Balkans together. Although they studied the migrations of South Slavs several times in school, the citizens suppressed that knowledge, opting to believe in the myth of themselves as the “most ancient nation”, which rules out the possibility that the nation perceived as our historic enemy can be our historical peer.

This thesis is also corroborated by the answers to the question of whether the Croats had a state in the Middle Ages; as many as 62% of the respondents had readily forgotten what they had learned in school and said that they did not. We were even more surprised by the answers to the question about when Montenegro first gained its independence. Only 19% of the respondents accepted the fact they had learned in school, namely that Montenegro became an independent state at the same time as Serbia, at the 1878 Berlin Congress. An amazingly large percentage, 40%, said it

was created in 2006, when it left the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. That was one of the most shocking things we learned as we conducted the survey, because it testifies to a deep unawareness of the history of other, neighboring nations, and simultaneously of the strong mythical consciousness that “others” can only be much “younger” than us. This may be a consequence of the poor relations with Montenegro at present, a sort of disdain, but this astounding result demonstrates that not even all the public holidays celebrated by the recent common state, not even all those photographs of Njegoš and stories about the valiant battles the two nations had fought together, have left a more permanent impression.

The perception of the Turks and “Turkish yoke” plays an extremely important role in the matrix of mythical thinking. The period of Ottoman rule holds a special place in the history of all Balkan countries. It is the borderline, the historical watershed serving as the imaginary line between good and evil, the mythical boundary between us and them, the hateful, eternal enemy. Turks are the historic buzzword that explains everything; they are our mental border between the old and new eras. The *News from the Past* survey corroborated these views as well. Forty-eight per cent of all answers to the question about the most significant event in Serbia's history had to do with the arrival or withdrawal of the Turks. Most came from the youngest age group, which indicates that this myth has recently been revived at full force by various sources of cognition.

The respondents' answers to the question on how they would describe the period of Ottoman rule are particularly indicative when assessing the power of mythical thinking. As many as 76% of the respondents qualified it as a centuries-long Turkish yoke, while only 23% were willing to accept the moderate, rational answer that, like all other empires, the Ottoman Empire had its periods of rise and fall. What is particularly interesting is that this question yielded the fewest “Don't Know” answers of all 120 questions, only 1%. This testifies to the power of the myth about the Turks, that the citizens think they know everything about that period, that they are sure and have no dilemmas about it. This is the only question on which the respondents reached a general consensus: both the men and the women, both those with elementary and college education, both those in central Serbia and Vojvodina agree on one thing – a yoke is a yoke and the other offered, rational and correct answer cannot be true.

The survey results testifying to the power of the mythical level of historical consciousness confute the stereotyped notion that only less educated citizens are susceptible to historical myths. Quite the contrary. They corroborate the thesis that the need for mythical thinking is stronger than the knowledge acquired in school. They also demonstrate that the educated elite is simultaneously the producer and the consumer of myths.

ETHNOCENTRIC AND NARCISSISTIC “KNOWLEDGE”

The *News from the Past* survey results allowed us to demonstrate how the combination of the cultural model, education system and nationalist ideology created a specific ethnocentric and narcissistic perception of the world. To begin with, this is clearly illustrated by the fact that 21% respondents listed Serb scientist Nikola Tesla as the most important figure in world history. Second place on the list also went to “our man” – but totally unexpectedly to Josip Broz Tito (10%). A foreigner – Adolf Hitler – took third place (8%), ranking above the much less popular Jesus Christ, who won 5% of the votes and came in fourth. The fact that the respondents listed national historic figures among the greatest men in world history clearly demonstrates that they perceive the rest of the world as less important, that their own nation, its heroes and greatness are the first to come to their minds.

The respondents’ answers to questions on the events Serbs participated in together with other nations also provide an interesting illustration of the existing ethnocentrism. Replies to the questions on who is to be credited the most for the creation of the common Yugoslav state are a typical example. Most of the respondents, 48%, opted for various answers testifying to the strong historical consciousness that Yugoslavia was created by Serbs or their political representatives; the Croats won 2% and the Slovenes only 1% of the votes.

Along with the pronounced perception of one’s own importance, this layer of historical thinking is rife with belief in one’s own positive role in history; 70% of the citizens are convinced that Serbs only waged liberation wars, while 51% think that Serbia won all the wars it ever fought. Furthermore, as many as 40% of the respondents believe that Serbia’s literacy rate was higher than that of the other nations which joined Yugoslavia in 1918, which demonstrates that the citizens perceive their country as the best one even when that obviously could not have been the case.

STEREOTYPED “KNOWLEDGE”

The stereotyped way of thinking has added a special layer to knowledge and perceptions of history. This particularly pertains to the negative stereotypes formed about the nations Serbs were in direct or indirect conflict with over the past two decades. These recent hostilities altered the historically positive perceptions of some nations and they were replaced by nations lauded by the propaganda in the 1990s, as the answers to the question “Who broke through the Salonika Front?” best illustrate. As many as 42% of the respondents omitted the

then Serb allies, the French and the British, with whom Serbia had not had good relations in the recent past, and brought in its contemporary allies: the Russians (11%) and the Greeks (16%), while, true to the spirit of ethnocentrism, 16% credited only the Serbs for the breakthrough of the Salonika Front.

Even more striking are the results we obtained from the answers to the question: "Who perished in Jasenovac?". Only 14% said Croats, too, were victims of that concentration camp, while 85% opted for various combinations comprising Serbs, Jews and Roma. Like the Salonika Front example, this one also demonstrates that the nations with which we do not boast good relations now, are not seen or perceived as our potential allies or fellow sufferers, which again demonstrates that the present-day criteria and needs are much stronger than any knowledge acquired in school. These examples also indicate that the knowledge gained in school is superficial and easily withdraws in the face of stereotypes created to serve the current political needs, which opens ample room for manipulation, abuse and propaganda that employs the simplest signals.

EXPERIENTIAL "KNOWLEDGE"

The *News from the Past* survey revealed another interesting level of historical consciousness, something we can call experiential knowledge, what the citizens remember, their recollections running counter to the "flavor of the day" and thus, to the otherwise strongly developed conformism. The citizens' views on the Yugoslav state are the best illustration of such experiential knowledge. Not one topic has been more exposed to attack and negative stereotypes than Yugoslavia since the first inter-ethnic clashes broke out in the mid-1980s. Everything was directed at fully discrediting Yugoslavia, particularly its last, communist period from the wars in the 1990s and the war crimes committed in them, during the war crimes trials in The Hague, to the genocide lawsuits the states initiated against each other before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. Nevertheless, the citizens' memories of that period of their history are positive and their assessments of it are extremely affirmative. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents said they were sorry Yugoslavia had fallen apart. This answer is logical given that as many as 82% of the respondents said that life had been better in Yugoslavia than today and only 5% said that it had been worse. The reasons for such assessments can be found in the explanations the respondents gave: 40% said that Yugoslavia had secured its citizens a better and easier life, peace and the chance to travel, while 17% said it had signified accord, understanding and equality. Their views are definitely the consequence of the fact that Yugoslavia was succeeded by a period of terrifying wars and misery. What is, however, relevant

is the finding that in their qualifications of Yugoslavia, more precisely, of the lives they had led in it, the respondents did not jump on the bandwagon of standard political opportunism. On the contrary, they strongly resisted the powerful anti-Yugoslavism and anti-communism that have dominated the public discourse for over 20 years now, demonstrating that, in addition to the analyzed layers, there is also an experiential layer that protects memory from the deposits of ideology.

The question about where Serbs got most of their knowledge of history was important for our deliberation of the levels at which historical consciousness is formed and the factors affecting its creation. As many as 76% of the respondents said that they had learned their history in school. But their answers to specific, elementary school level questions showed they do not possess school knowledge of history. Firstly, their replies showed that their knowledge was extremely weak; most of them would have failed a history test. More relevant is the conclusion we arrived at: that their perceptions of history were the least influenced by the knowledge they had acquired in school, which was deeply buried under various layers of information they had been swamped with during the various political and historic situations they'd lived through. Their ignorance, therefore, is not a commonplace, benign ignorance that would lead us to conclude that these citizens are simply ill-educated. What is at issue here is what Olga Manojlović Pintar called refusal of knowledge and false stupidity, what Sanja Petrović-Todosijević calls "engaged ignorance".¹⁷ What is at issue is the conscious decision to find comfort in ignorance, allowing for the denial of reality and, as a result, exacerbating confrontation with the past and the present.

The News from the Past survey has shown that history is an important ingredient of the coordinate system of thought in Serbia. Although the respondents initially said that they were not very interested in history and that they did not know much about it, their replies showed that their way of thinking was dominated by the perceptions publicly "fuelled" for over two decades now and that the targeted consumers embraced the system of myths and stereotypes more than successfully. The primary purpose of the survey was not to establish the degree of their knowledge of the past, or lack of it, but to demonstrate the strength of the prejudices and misconceptions about "our place" in the present and the past. True, the low level of knowledge we ascertained is a relevant finding since, apart from the high percentage of those that had circled the incorrect answers, we found in replies to nearly all the questions a very worrying percentage of respondents (around 30%) who had opted for 'Don't Know'. This 30 so percent of the citizens, who did not even try to reply to the questions, who were so unsure of their knowledge that they did not even try to guess which of the

17 Sanja Petrović-Todosijević, "Nacionalno vreme - Okvir za samopercepciju građana Republike Srbije", in: *News from the Past*, pp. 61-83.

offered replies was the correct one, are susceptible to all forms of manipulation and propaganda. Such a high percentage leads to the conclusion that the situation is very dangerous, because it can easily lead to a majority support of attractive and risky political adventures.

But, as noted, the real objective of the survey was to grasp the matrix of thought of the respondents and delve through the closely-knit multi-layered fabric of misconceptions determining their behavior, reasoning and decisions. The fact that most prejudices were voiced by the youngest respondents, the ones aged between 18 and 29, gives rise to the greatest amount of concern. This generation was born after 1981. They were starting school at the time Milošević came to power and spent their school years in crises, wars, hatred and fear, unable to travel and broaden their horizons, all of which left a lasting and irreversible imprint on them. Another worrying fact is that not even the respondents with the highest level of education proved much more resistant to stereotypes than those with less education. The results show that they are even more susceptible to mythical thinking on many issues than the respondents with the least education, which may be taken as proof of the thesis on the middle class as the key champion and disseminator of national awareness, which, as Ernst Renan noted¹⁸, rests on the misunderstanding of history.

The results showing that Central Serbia "was in the lead" in stereotypical thinking over Belgrade and Vojvodina did not come as much of a surprise, but a comparison of the replies provided by voters of different parties did. First of all, we found very slight, almost negligible differences among the voters of most parties, i.e. the voters of the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), the Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS) and the Democratic Party (DS) think very similarly. This analysis of the voters corroborates the views of party analysts who claim that there are not enough distinctions between the programs of these parties and that the Serbian political stage has turned into a monolith. We were particularly surprised by the fact that the replies of DS voters, who should be closer to the center, were very similar to, or even more radical than those of the right party voters of rightist parties, which indicates that the convergence of the Serbian political spectrum has not taken place in the center, but right of it. Only the replies of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) voters significantly differed from all others. Their replies to all the questions were totally different, displaying a much greater openness, a lesser influence of stereotypes and a greater impact of knowledge on their assessments.

Education experts now face a dilemma: has the overall environment resulted in the domination of political orientations preventing knowledge from prevailing

18 Ernst Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* Paris: Sorbonne, 1882.

over misconceptions, or has inadequate education facilitated the prevalence of the mythical over the rational? There is no doubt that the type of education offered by our school system is inappropriate, because the processes and key issues remain invisible underneath the piles of amassed facts learned by heart. This is best corroborated by the survey results proving that the level of knowledge of even the best educated respondents is very low. With such a poorly educated population, the political elite has no trouble changing paradigms, changing views overnight, and imposing any propaganda as the view of the majority. Propaganda and stereotypic messages would encounter stronger obstacles if historical situations were elaborated from various perspectives in school, if historical events were thought about and if there were critical thinking. The entire environment of values needs to change as well, in order to incorporate in the new system more reliable knowledge and developed critical and analytical thinking, which ought to be the fundamental objectives of the new education model. Only then would it be possible to effect an in-depth transformation of society and the “others” would not only serve to facilitate the achievement of a national monolith and collectivism more easily and successfully, but to facilitate comparisons, cooperation and the creation of sustainable stability as well.

Riko Shiba

BETWEEN JAPAN AND RUSSIA:

The Balkans in Meiji-Japan's Newspapers

INTRODUCTION

How ordinary people imagine other countries? What factors affect their views on other peoples? In Japan in the Meiji period (1868-1912), newspapers as well as school textbooks had a great impact on the world view of the Japanese people. This article focuses on the Japanese views of the Balkans reflected in newspapers of the Meiji period.¹

Modern Japanese newspapers, which had been established near the end of the Tokugawa period² in the middle of the 19th century, reported on the contemporary

1 This paper is mostly based on the following article written by the author: Riko Shiba, "Images of the Balkans in the Japanese Media of the Meiji Period," *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* XVIII, sv. 3, 2011 (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 7-16.

2 Tokugawa is the family name of Japan's military rulers (*shogun*) between 1600 and 1868. This era is called the Tokugawa period or the Edo period.

situation in the Balkan Peninsula to the Japanese public throughout the Meiji period. This new media played a very important role at that point, because foreign news had now become readily available to the Japanese people who until then had had no means of finding out such news under a seclusion policy of the Tokugawa rulers for more than 200 years from the 17th century to the middle of 19th. The Tokugawa Shogunate maintained very limited contacts with the neighboring countries of China, Korea, and the Kingdom of Ryukyu, but broke off relations with Europeans except the Dutch. Besides, since 1635 the Japanese people were prohibited from going abroad. The Dutch brought annual reports to the Tokugawa government on the contemporary situation overseas. However, those secret reports, monopolized by the Tokugawa officials, were not available to the Japanese commoners.

This paper seeks to explore the cause for reporting on the Balkans which had quite limited contact with Japan throughout the Meiji period. It mainly deals with the *Tokyo Nichinichi* (『東京日日』), the *Yomiuri* (『読売』), and the *Asahi* (『朝日』) circulated in Tokyo, the capital of Japan, and its neighboring area.³ In the 1890s, newspapers became more and more popular. I would like to present how the Japanese commoners could imagine the Balkans on the basis of the *Niroku Shinpo* (『二六新報』), one of the most popular “Yellow papers” established in this period.

JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS IN THE EARLY MEIJI PERIOD

The Meiji Restoration in 1868 was not only a restoration of power from the Tokugawa Shogunate to the Imperial Court, but also the start of a series of reforms which transformed Japan into a modern centralized nation-state. At the beginning of the 1870s, the new government moved rapidly to implement centralizing reforms. In August 1871, feudal domains were abolished and new prefectures were created. In the next month, a national Office of Education was established and within a year the National School System Law was promulgated. The law obliged every child, male and female, to go to primary school for 4 years. Following the establishment of an Office of the Army and an Office of the Navy in February 1872, the government took steps to conscript young men for military service, with the issuance of the Conscription Law in January 1873.

Together with the major political, military and social reforms, the government adopted a policy of “civilization and enlightenment” which encouraged the stu-

3 The *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* was founded in 1872, the *Yomiuri* in 1874. The *Tokyo Asahi* began as *Jiyu no Tomoshihi* in 1884 and purchased by the *Osaka Asahi* in 1888. These newspapers are precursors of current major papers: *Mainichi*, *Yomiuri* and *Asahi*.

dy of Western civilization and culture. Particularly government officials took strong interest in newspapers as a tool for educating and enlightening Japanese commoners. As early as the 1870s a number of newspapers were published through the encouragement and support of the government. Even reading places were established in many parts of the country.

At the dawn of the modern Japanese press, there were two types of papers, the *oshimbun* and *koshimbun*. They were quite different both in style and in content. The *oshimbun*, which literally means "big paper", were elitist and political. The greater part of their pages was dedicated to editorials on political issues or news reports about governmental and foreign affairs. On the other hand, the *koshimbun*, which means "small paper", were rather vulgar and entertainment-oriented. Both the *oshimbun* and *koshimbun* were written in three scripts, *kanji* (Chinese character), *hiragana* and *katakana*, but the *koshimbun* included *furigana* written on the right side of the *kanji* content, which showed the less-educated people how to pronounce the *kanji*. From the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s, the *oshimbun* and *koshimbun* came to be close and ultimately had no differences.

In spite of those endeavors of the government and press companies to popularize newspapers, the number of subscribers was not so large at the beginning. According to Reiko Tsuchiya, in 1876, it could be estimated that 11 percent of the literate in Tokyo Prefecture consisted of readers of the *oshimbun* and 23 percent of the *koshimbun*.⁴

IMAGES OF THE BALKANS IN JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS IN THE 1870S AND THE 1880S

How did these newspapers in the early Meiji describe the contemporary situation in the Balkan Peninsula? In fact, Japan hardly had any diplomatic relations with the Balkans throughout the Meiji period, because the Balkan Peninsula still remained under the rule of the empires surrounding it. In 1829 the Serbs gained autonomy from the Ottoman Empire; however, they had no close relations with Japan throughout the nineteenth century. In 1878, Serbia, Montenegro and Romania were recognized as independent states, but these political changes hardly encouraged their contacts with Japan.⁵ Nevertheless, the lack of contacts

4 Tsuchiya, Reiko, *The Origin of Popular Newspapers: A Study of Koshimbun in Meiji-Japan*. Kyoto: Sekaishisoshia (土屋礼子『大衆紙の源流——明治期小新聞の研究』世界思想社), 2002, p. 56.

5 In March 1882, just after Serbia was recognized as an independent state by the treaty of Berlin in 1878, the first king of Serbia, Milan I. Obrenović, sent a letter informing the Emperor of Japan of the independence of Serbia and of his coronation. On September in the same year, the Emperor of Japan sent a note of congratulation to Milan I. Serbia regards this exchange of letters as the establishment of diplomatic relations between Serbia and Japan. See: The Embassy of the Republic of Serbia in Japan,

did not mean a lack of interest in contemporary Balkan affairs. We can find in Meiji-Japan's newspapers more articles concerning the Balkan nations than on the Czechs, Slovaks or Hungarians under the rule of the Habsburg Empire which had established formal diplomatic relations with Japan in 1869.

The first newspaper which reported on the situation in the Balkan Peninsula may be the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*,⁶ a pro-governmental prestigious newspaper circulated in Tokyo and its surrounding area. An article about the uprisings in Bosnia-Herzegovina appeared in the paper on October 3, 1875, about two months after the outbreak of the Bosnian uprising. After the outbreak of the Bulgarian uprising of April 1876, the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* carried follow-up reports almost every day from October to December 1876. From the second half of 1876 through 1877, we can find a lot of articles about these incidents. It is very interesting that "Eastern Europe" and "the East" were used as a synonym for "the Balkans" in these articles.⁷

Why did the Japanese journalists notice the Balkan situation? Just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, the editor in chief, Kan'ichi Kubota wrote: "Japan, threatened by Western Powers, is quite similar to the Ottoman Empire, so Japan should carefully observe this Eastern Question."⁸ According to Kubota, the Ottoman Empire resembled China, because both of them were "seriously ill patients." In his eyes, the Balkan nations, which often troubled the Ottomans by uprisings and revolutions, might be "a bother" to the Empire. From this point of view, he even argued in favor of maintaining the status quo in the Balkan Peninsula.⁹ We should remember that early circulations were not very large in this period. As James Huffman pointed out, Japan's leading papers were minuscule in contrast to the New York and London papers, whose circulations ranged above 150 thousand.¹⁰ In 1875 only *Yomiuri* had a circulation of more than ten thousand, so the images of the Balkans presented through the newspapers were shared only by a limited number of readers.

In many cases, Kubota saw the Balkan situation "from above", but an article on May 7, 1877 described the Serbs as brave soldiers fighting against the Turks

Serbia and Japan: An Outline of the History of Serbo-Japanese Relations (『セルビアと日本——両国関係史概観』), 2011, pp. 4-10. (Hereafter: The Embassy of the Republic of Serbia in Japan, *Serbia and Japan...*)

6 The *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, founded in 1872, had readers mainly among the well-educated people such as government and local officials, teachers and wealthy merchants. It is the precursor of one of the current major papers: the *Mainichi*.

7 Different from the present day, this "Eastern Europe" or "the East" did not include Polish, Czech, Slovak or Hungarian regions.

8 *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, January 11, 1877.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Huffman, James L., *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, p. 64.

in order to support their neighbors, the Montenegrins, and compared them with the ex-Samurai's opposition against the modernization policy of the Meiji Government. It may reflect the contemporary situation in Japan that the new force had replaced the old one.

In the 1880s, as well as in the 1870s, the greater part of the articles described the situation in this region known as the Eastern Question from a similar viewpoint as the Western powers. In 1885, when Eastern Rumelia merged with Bulgaria despite the objections of the European powers, the Japanese press bitterly criticized it as a stupid move.¹¹ This was mainly because the Japanese journalists had no information sources of their own and had to depend on Western newspapers.¹² It should be added that since 1870 the British Reuters agency exclusively provided foreign news to newspapers all over Asia including Japan, because in 1859 it had signed agreements with the French Havas and the German Wolff, forming a cartel designating exclusive reporting zone. As a result, Japanese newspapers had to "buy" foreign news from Reuters. On the other hand, the Balkan Peninsula was incorporated in the exclusive reporting zone of Wolff. It was inevitable that Japanese newspapers came to view the situation in the Balkan Peninsula from the similar viewpoint of European Powers. In 1892 the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* began to send its own correspondents to Berlin and in 1904 to such major European cities as London, Paris, and Vienna, but never to the Balkan Peninsula.

RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND JAPANESE VIEWS ON THE BALKANS

Another factor which influenced the Japanese perception of the Balkans was Russia and its relation with Japan. Russia is the only country which bordered on Japan, but the two countries had no official relations until the mid-19th century except sporadic and fortuitous contacts. In 1855 Japan established diplomatic relations with Russia by concluding a treaty of amity and commerce. However, the Treaty of Saint Petersburg (1875) which forced Japan to give up its claims to Sakhalin strongly disappointed the Japanese people.¹³ Ironically, by the establishment of an official relationship, the Japanese came to regard their neighbor as the most dangerous enemy who threatened the independence of

11 For example see *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* on November 17, 1885.

12 The main information sources for the Japanese journalists in this period were several newspapers in English which were published in foreign settlements in Japan, namely the Japan Mail, the Japan Herald, the Japan Gazette, and so on. Their main information sources were European and American newspapers.

13 The treaty of 1855 had defined the border between Japan and Russia, but had left the status of Sakhalin open. This island had been inhabited both by Japanese and Russians.

their country and as the most powerful rival who could be an obstacle for Japan's expansion as a great power in East Asia.

This image of Russia turned Japanese eyes on the Balkans which were situated on the opposite side of the Russian Empire. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, the Japanese Army sent an officer to the battlefield on the riverside of the Danube to observe the battle. Maybe this officer, Lieutenant Colonel Seigo Yamazawa, was one of the Japanese who visited the Balkan Peninsula in the early Meiji Period. The *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* on August 2, 1877, which reported this trip by Yamazawa, also referred to the fact that a secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Russia had gone to see the battle between the Serbs and the Ottomans in the previous year.¹⁴

In the last decade of the 19th century, Japan shifted from a marginal position to a dominant place in East Asia. Japan won colonial control over Taiwan by the victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and also sought hegemony in Korea, which was recognized as an independent state by the Shimonoseki Treaty of 1895. As the Koreans turned to Russia for help, Russia came to rival Japan over Korea. Besides, the Russians challenged the Japanese position in Manchuria as well by seizing the Liaodong Peninsula in 1898. In 1900 both Japan and Russia sent troops to China to join the multinational force that put down the Boxer Rebellion. After the suppression of the rebellion, however, the Russians left behind thousands of troops in Manchuria. In 1902 Japan concluded an alliance with Britain to secure its special interests in Korea.

Under such circumstances, the Japanese press came to see the Balkans from a more geopolitical point of view. We can find many articles which compared the situation of the Korean Peninsula to that of the Balkan Peninsula. The leading article in the *Yomiuri* on February 12, 1894 says, "Britain and Russia are the two greatest world powers, having antagonized each other over Central Asia, the Balkan Peninsula and now over the Korean Peninsula, so it should not be put off as no concern of ours." Such a geopolitical viewpoint became dominant in the Japanese press in the first decade of the 20th century.¹⁵

It is worthy of note that the Japanese Army paid special attention to Montenegro in this period. In February 1890, Lieutenant Colonel Yasumasa Fukushima, who had been staying in Berlin as a military attaché of the Japanese Embassy, visited Kotor and Cetinje in Montenegro.¹⁶ On May 2, 1894, one of the popular

14 A year later, the *Yomiuri* also carried an article that Yamazawa had reported to the Emperor about his participation in the Russo-Turkish War. See *Yomiuri* on 3 December 1878. The *Yomiuri* was one of the oldest *koshimbun* read mainly among wealthy merchants in the beginning, but gradually gained popularity among intellectuals such as teachers and students.

15 See "Situation in the Balkan Peninsula," *Asahi* on January 14, 1904.

16 Fukushima might also have visited Serbia in the same year. See: The Embassy of the Republic of Serbia in Japan, *Serbia and Japan...*, p. 13.

newspapers, the *Niroku Shinpo*,¹⁷ reported a lecture given by Fukushima on April 29 about this trip. Fukushima described Montenegro as “the strongest state in Europe” and presented the reasons why this small country could survive surrounded by the European powers. This article may have exerted an influence on the readers to some extent, because Fukushima was well-known all over the country for his seventeen-month, Berlin-to-Vladivostok horseback ride between February 1892 and June 1893. However, it should be said that such a favorable view was an exception.

IMAGES OF THE BALKANS IN POPULAR NEWSPAPERS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE MEIJI PERIOD: IN THE CASE OF THE *NIROKU SHINPO*

In the 1890s, newspapers became increasingly popular among the ordinary Japanese people. One of the reasons for this could have been the growing popular literacy in Meiji Japan. In the Tokugawa period, literacy had spread beyond the limited circles of the political and clerical elite to a broader population - partially because of the vast expansion of small local and private schools called *tenarai* or *terakoya*. Therefore, it is supposed that at the beginning of Meiji a good part of the Japanese had obtained basic literacy. Richard Rubinger showed the persistence of total illiteracy among male conscripts well into the twentieth century in Japan, based on Ministry of Education and Ministry of Army data.¹⁸ He also pointed out that there were wide regional differences and significant gaps between males and females. Nevertheless, around 1904 the rate of illiteracy had decreased dramatically.¹⁹ The rapidly increasing rate of the children who received schooling obviously contributed to it. Just after the promulgation of the National School System Law in 1873, the rate was very low, but 10 years later it exceeded 50% and in 1907 reached 98%.

As mentioned above, in the early Meiji period, the government often initiated the establishment of newspapers, but in the 1890s it was very characteristic that ambitious individuals would create a group of independent newspapers. These papers attempted to provide news for commoners at a low price. The *Niroku Shinpo*, established by Teisuke Akiyama in June 1893, was a so-called yellow paper and had its main readers among workers and the lower class of city inhabitants.

17 The *Niroku Shinpo* was one of the yellow papers established in 1893. It became the most popular paper in 1903, with a circulation of more than 140 thousand. See chapter 4.

18 Rubinger, Richard, *Popular Literacy in Early Modern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007, p. 194.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

Generally in the Japanese public in this period, Russia was considered as the most dangerous enemy or the most serious threat to Japan, although Russian culture had gained a high popularity among the Japanese people, particularly literary works by Lev Tolstoy and Ivan Turgenev. Certainly, views on the Balkans in the *Niroku Shinpo* was similar to other newspapers to some extent. The Korean Peninsula was often compared to the Balkan Peninsula. A review of the contemporary international relations on January 5, 1902 described the Pan-Slavic movement by Russia in favorable terms to justify the annexation of Korea to Japan. In a review on January 8, Austria was also compared to “China in the West” and the Ottoman Empire including the Balkans called as “Korea in the West”. But the article described the Austrian Emperor in a positive sense and mentioned that the vast multi-ethnic empire could survive thanks to the Emperor Franz Joseph.

The *Niroku Shinpo*, like many other newspapers, also depended mainly on news and reports provided by Western newspapers and news agencies. What distinguished it from other papers was its attitude toward Russia. Most of other newspapers asserted the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty in 1902, but as Yoshitaka Katayama points out, the *Niroku Shinpo* criticized the alliance against Russia and even advocated adopting a pro-Russian policy.²⁰ From 1902 through 1903 Balkan affairs were often featured on leading articles in this newspaper. The leading article on 27 November 1902 pointed out the reason why Japan should not antagonize Russia. Namely, Russia was devoted to the Macedonian Question and more interested in the Near East²¹ than the Far East.

It may be noteworthy that the *Niroku Shinpo* clearly distinguished the Russian state from the Russian people. In other words, it strongly criticized the Czar and czarism, but sympathized with the Russian commoners. In addition, it paid special attention to such non-Russian nationalities as the Poles, the Finns, the Jews, and their revolutionary movement against the Empire. Particularly, during the Russo-Japanese War, the *Niroku Shinpo* very often reported on the situation in Poland at this point. We can find the similar logic in the leading article on January 6, 1903; It would be favorable that Balkan nations struggled against the Ottoman Empire for independence, because disturbances in the Balkan Peninsula meant peace in the Far East.

Such an editorial policy of the *Niroku Shinpo* was considered as too much pro-Russian and used as a pretense to drive Akiyama out of public life, because Akiyama served as a member of the Diet and bitterly criticized the government

20 Katayama, Yoshitaka, *The Russo-Japanese War and Newspapers: How They Reported on Japan in the World*. Tokyo: Kodansha (片山慶隆『日露戦争と新聞—「世界の中の日本」をどう論じたか』講談社), pp. 34-36.

21 In this article “the Near East” was in the same meaning as “the Balkans”.

policy. In 1903, just before the Russo-Japanese War, he was even suspected of being a Russian spy. This spy affair had a very bad influence on his newspaper. Before the affair, the *Niroku Shinpo* had had a circulation of more than 140 thousand, which was the largest circulation of any of the daily newspapers in that year, but after that, its circulation went down to 60 thousand and it could never recover all its lost readership again.

CONCLUSION

In the Meiji period, Japan hardly had any diplomatic relations with the Balkan countries. It was the very limited number of people who visited there. For the ordinary Japanese people, the Balkan Peninsula was just an imagined world.

Modern Japanese newspapers, which had been established in the middle of the 19th century, reported on the contemporary situation in the Balkan Peninsula to the Japanese public throughout the Meiji period. We can find surprisingly large number of articles about this "imagined world". However, this new media had a serious problem; Japanese newspapers had no information sources of their own and had to depend on Western newspapers or news agencies, especially the British Reuters. In 1890s Japanese newspaper companies began to send its own correspondents to such major European cities as London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna, but never to the Balkan Peninsula.

This fact gave special features to Japanese views on the Balkans. Articles from Meiji Japan's newspapers often described the Balkans in negative terms. This is mainly because Japanese journalists came to see the Balkans through the eyes of Europeans. Japan's relations with its neighboring countries, especially with Russia, also deeply affected Japanese perception on the Balkans. The empire was the biggest object of interest for Japan throughout the Meiji period. This image of Russia turned Japanese eyes on the Balkans which were situated on the opposite side of the Russian Empire. The Korean Peninsula was often compared with the Balkan Peninsula. Such viewpoints which had deeply taken root among the Japanese people in the Meiji period still remain today.



Snježana Koren

HISTORY TEACHING IN CROATIA (1990-2012)

The period of intensive political changes during and after the break-up of Yugoslavia (as a part of wider changes in Europe caused by the collapse of communist regimes) had a strong impact on history teaching in Croatia. The first multiparty elections in Croatia after the Second World War were held in April and May 1990. The former League of Communists of Croatia, then re-named the Party of Democratic Changes (and now called the Social Democratic Party, hereafter: SDP), lost power. The elections were won by the right-nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, hereafter: HDZ), which also won subsequent parliamentary elections in 1992 and 1995, which enabled it to maintain the monopoly in decision making about all relevant issues of societal life, including (history) education.¹

1 Snježana Koren, Branislava Baranović, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia? Transition, Intervention, and History Education Politics (1990-2008)", in Augusta Dimou (ed.), *"Transition" and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009, pp. 91-140.

In these political circumstances, educational issues were primarily treated as political ones and education underwent changes that were significantly influenced by the dominant ideology of ethnic nationalism. As a part of the so-called “national subjects”,² history education and textbooks were among the areas where this political influence was the most perceptible. History teaching was charged with the task of supporting the process of nation and state building and fostering of the Croatian national identity. The importance attached to history also found its reflection in the increased number of hours per week dedicated to history teaching: in the school year 1991/1992, additional school periods were devoted to history in the fifth grade of elementary school, and it became an obligatory subject in all four grades of the gymnasium, in the first two grades of the four-year vocational schools, as well as in the first grade of the three-year vocational schools. There were also significant interventions in the contents of history education. These were first conducted on the textbooks, and only later on the curricula. Their introduction was facilitated by the existence of only one textbook per grade as well as by retaining the highly centralized educational system regulated by the Ministry of Education.³

The so-called “de-ideologization” was characteristic for the first changes in history teaching conducted in curricula and textbooks inherited from the socialist period at the beginning of the school year 1991/1992. This term was used to denote the process of removing from historical narratives the interpretations inspired by the Marxist view of history, as well as other ideological layers of the Yugoslav Communist regime (such as overemphasizing the history and the values of the so-called “National Liberation Struggle”, the cult of Tito, the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the ideology of “brotherhood and unity” etc.). But, in the end, this process mostly amounted to exactly the opposite: the replacing of one ideology with another⁴ - a development which will be discussed later in the text. However, the structure of the textbooks dealing with the earlier historical periods (separate chapters on general history, Croatian history and the history of the other Yugoslav peoples, each allocated cca. 30 percent of the textbooks) and the Yugoslav framework were both still kept intact. Mayor changes,

2 This term has been in use at least since the end of the 19th century, referring to subjects that are supposed to convey specific cultural and political traditions of the nation (such as language, history, geography, and music).

3 The ministry in charge of education has changed its name and its field of activities several times since 1990. It used to be referred to as the *Ministry of Education and Culture*, the *Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports*, the *Ministry of Education and Sports*, and, since 2004, the *Ministry of Science, Education and Sports*. Hereinafter in the text, it is referred to as the Ministry of Education.

4 Wolfgang Höpken, “History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-) Integration”, in Wolfgang Höpken (ed.), *Öl ins Feuer? – Oil on Fire? Schulbücher, ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa. Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-East Europe. Studien zur internationalen Schulbuchforschung, Band 89*, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996, pp. 163-192.

however, were already introduced in the textbooks dealing with 20th century history where the same group of authors that had written the previous textbook from the late 1980s offered a new book. In the new textbook from 1991, the number of pages and lessons dedicated to the history of the “workers’ movement” and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were significantly reduced and replaced with lessons on the history of the bourgeois political parties. The role of the Croatian Peasant Party in dealing with the Croatian national question in the interwar period was emphasized.⁵

However, it was the topic of World War II in Yugoslavia that underwent the biggest modifications. The 1941-1945 war, which in Yugoslavia was called “The National Liberation Struggle” (*Narodnooslobodilačka borba*, hereafter: NOB), was a topic of particular significance in the history curricula and textbooks of communist Yugoslavia. With its emphasis on the “common struggle of all Yugoslav nations against the occupying forces and collaborators” (as the phrase goes) and the unity of the NOB and the socialist revolution, it was meant to provide the basis of legitimacy for the Yugoslav Communist regime.⁶ Textbooks in the 1980s still paid an extensive amount of attention to the NOB – about 40% of the curricula and textbooks were dedicated to it - and the textbook narrative was marked by belligerent terminology and emotionally charged language. In the 1991 textbook (which was, by the way, written by the same group of authors as the previous textbook from the late 1980s⁷), the number of lessons was drastically reduced (from 14 to 6), the liberation struggle was no longer equalized with the socialist revolution, while the phrase about the “brotherhood and unity forged in the common struggle of all Yugoslav peoples against fascism” (common in that period) was replaced with statements about the “heavy civil war” caused by “political, social and religious differences”.⁸

The war in Croatia (1991-1995) radicalized this orientation, while the proclamation of independence (1991-1992) created new circumstances, where supp-

5 Snježana Koren, “Slike nacionalne povijesti u hrvatskim udžbenicima uoči i nakon raspada Jugoslavije”, *Historijski zbornik*, LX, 2007, pp. 247-294.

6 On the other hand, different interpretations of the NOB among the political and intellectual elites of the six Yugoslav republics (about the role of each of the Yugoslav nations during the war and their merits in the creation of the second Yugoslavia), which found their reflections in the respective history textbooks (i.e. each republic produced its own textbooks), also served in certain periods as an indicator of a deeper inter-ethnic breach, especially in Croatian-Serbian relations. Snježana Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945-1960): Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012; Eadem, “Udžbenik iz 1971. i udžbenici o 1971: udžbenički narativi i politike povijesti 1971-2011, in Tvrtko Jakovina (ed.), *Hrvatsko proljeće: 40 godina poslije*. Zagreb: Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, Fakultet političkih znanosti u Zagrebu, Pravni fakultet u Zagrebu, 2012, pp. 309-332.

7 R. Lovrenčić, I. Jelić, R. Vukadinović, D. Bilandžić, *Čovjek u svom vremenu 4: udžbenik povijesti za VIII. razred osnovne škole*, I. izdanje. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991.

8 Koren, „Slike povijesti“, pp. 258-274.

orting the process of nation and state building was given priority over a necessary pedagogical reform of history education. This was especially characteristic for changes conducted in the school year of 1992/93, when new or thoroughly revised textbooks were published (without changing the curricula!). Their publishing was preceded by the first big textbook affair in spring 1992, when history textbooks became the matter of debates in the Croatian Parliament, amongst the parliamentary Committee for Education, Science, Culture and Sport and the politically controlled press. Some of the existing textbooks came under strong political attack by some members of Parliament (from the HDZ) because of their “pro-Yugoslav content”. The Ministry of Education and the Minister himself were accused for the “failure of cleaning the textbooks of everything that is not in the service of the Croatian state”. As a result, the Minister resigned, some textbooks were withdrawn and part of the history program suspended, under the official explanation that they were “obsessed with Yugoslavia” and “imbued with the Yugoslav unitarian spirit and based on Marxist-materialistic ideology and class consciousness” (April 1992). At the beginning of June, the new Deputy Minister of Education (at the same time, also a highly ranking official of the HDZ, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee for Education and future president of the Croatian Parliament), submitted his report on the history textbooks in which he strongly criticized some of them, especially those dealing with the 19th and 20th century. However, he also offered his interpretations of certain events (for example, of the First and the Second World War) which subsequently found their way into some of the new history textbooks published in the school year of 1992/93 (!). In the following years, the textbook content was additionally controlled by establishing the office of the Ministry’s Special Consultant for History Textbooks who had a final say in the textbook approval procedure over the next five years.⁹

“Singling out Croatian history from the Yugoslav context” became the motto of the changes conducted in the new generation of history textbooks produced in the school year of 1992/93 (or “de-Yugoslavization” and “renationalization” as referred to by W. Höpken in his comparative analysis of post-Yugoslav textbooks in the first half of the 1990s¹⁰). These new textbooks firmly promoted the ideology of Croatian statehood – in their narrative, the continuity of the Croatian state from the Middle Ages to the present day was (over)emphasized, and the whole of Croatian history was mostly presented as a struggle to create an independent national state. National history was now predominantly understood as the history of Croats (as the majority ethnic group), and not only those living in Croatia, but also in the neighboring countries, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ethnic

9 Ibid, pp. 261-271.

10 Höpken, “History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-)Integration”, pp. 163-192.

minorities were mostly not seen as an integral part of the national narrative and their contribution to the national history was largely ignored. Where textbooks once emphasized similar historical experiences and the common historical destiny of the South Slavic people – which was still characteristic of the textbooks in the late 1980s – they now built the national identity on stressing differences between, and a separation from, the former compatriots. A further consequence was the reduction of the content matter dedicated to the history of the latter, which was either completely omitted (e.g. the Macedonians), or significantly reduced. The only exception was the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina which retained the same amount of volume as before, but was mostly included in the units on Croatian history. This strong ethnocentric approach advocated by the 1992 textbooks was finally sanctioned by the 1995 curriculum which set the ratio between world and national history at 40:60% respectively, and prescribed that “we study our historical relations with the world in both past and present times from the standpoint of national history”.¹¹

Although the topics that were subjected to intervention (i.e., re-interpretation) ranged from the Middle Ages to the most current events, it was the history of the two Yugoslav states, and especially the topic of the Second World War in Yugoslavia, that underwent the most dramatic modifications. In the 1990s, the HDZ leadership, together with President Franjo Tuđman (1990-1999), promoted the idea of “national reconciliation” among the former war adversaries (the Partisans and the Ustasha) and their descendants, based on the synthesis of state-building elements from the different political and ideological options originating from the Second World War as the basic precondition for the creation of the independent Croatian state. In accordance with this orientation, the new textbooks offered a significant change of content and perspective. The whole Yugoslav experience was evaluated negatively and, through a biased selection of negative examples, the Yugoslav episode was stripped of any positive historical memory. Probably the most contested part was the way the history of the Second World War and the National Liberation Struggle were dealt with. The manner in which this entire question was treated gave a strong impetus for historical revisionism regarding the NDH and the Ustasha movement - in politics, as well as in public discourse. In the new interpretative paradigm, every Croatian state in the past, including the pro-Fascist Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna država Hrvatska*, hereafter: NDH) during the Second World War, was presented as a positive historical fact. Ustasha atrocities against Serbs, Jews and Romanies were marginalized, while those committed by the Chetniks and Partisans against

11 *Okvirni nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Republici Hrvatskoj (izmjene i dopune)*, Glasnik Ministarstva prosvjete i športa Republike Hrvatske, posebno izdanje, br. 1, Zagreb, 1.8.1995.

the Croats were given priority. At the same time, textbooks paid considerable attention to the “Croatian Antifascist Movement”, which was, however, separated from the rest of the Yugoslav context and primarily placed in the context of creating the Croatian state within the Yugoslav federation. Among the historians, a small group actively supported the authorities in their shaping of a new historical memory about World War II; some of whom had a strong impact on history teaching because they were actively engaged in the creation of new textbooks and curricula.¹²

Thus, the war in Croatia (1991-1995) contributed to the radicalization of narratives and forestalled necessary discussions about the methodology and aims of history teaching, as well as of the basic underlying values promoted through history education. In such circumstances, history textbook authors continued to adhere to the “official” version of history controlled through detailed and prescriptive history curricula and the textbook approval procedure. The pedagogy of history teaching constantly received less attention than the content of the history curriculum. There was also a great deal of continuity in the methodological approaches and in the way the purpose of history teaching was perceived with the history teaching and textbooks from the Communist period. Consequently, the calls for changes in history education which intensified after 1995, and which offered a different understanding of what history education is all about, have, to a great extent, meant coping with both the heritage of the Communist period, as well as that of the first half of the 1990s.¹³

In the second half of the 1990s, there were two distinctive directions that reflected the different interests and pressures affecting and shaping history teaching. On the one hand, educational authorities endeavored to consolidate history education exactly on those foundations which were laid in the first half of the 1990s. The ethno-national paradigm that had been built since the beginning of the 1990s was given its most rigid expression in the history curricula from the mid-1990s and in some textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, especially those dealing with 20th century history. The history curricula for primary and secondary schools introduced in 1995 (with some minimal changes

12 Koren, Baranović, “What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?”, pp. 118-119; Snježana Koren, “Nastava povijesti između historije i pamćenja: hrvatski udžbenici povijesti o 1945”, in Sulejman Bosto, Tihomir Cipek (eds.), *Kultura sjećanja 1945: povijesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*. Zagreb: Disput, 2009, pp. 241-245.

13 Koren, Baranović, “What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?”, pp. 99-101.

in 1997 and 1999) were written single-handedly by the ministry's special consultant for history textbooks, which effectively meant that one and the same person had almost complete and simultaneous control over the creation of the history curricula and textbook approbation. However, probably the most peculiar aspect of the 1995 curricula was the way in which they were pieced together from titles and subtitles of textbooks published after 1992. Thus they reproduced the structure and ideological presumptions of these textbooks, which consequently was reflected in both the textbooks and the classroom approaches in the following years. It is worth noting that the secondary school curricula developed in the mid-1990s are still in force.¹⁴

On the other hand, one of the main factors of change in the second half of the 1990s was the introduction of textbook pluralism, i.e. the emergence of the system of multiple textbooks per grade. This was introduced for the first time in the school year of 1996/1997.¹⁵ Eventually, these new textbooks, although still written on the basis of the same curricula and mostly traditional in their methodological approach, gradually offered improvements in design, more moderate language, and in many cases, a more complex, leveled, and balanced presentation. The emergence of alternative textbooks did not, however, immediately bring about the diminishing of state control over textbook production. For another couple of years, the Ministry of Education kept the process of textbook approval and production in its hands and continued to use the office of special consultant as a means of overturning the decisions of textbook selection committees. It is also important to note that during the 1990s only two authors were allowed to publish textbooks on 20th century history for primary schools and the different types of secondary schools. In the secondary schools, some of the most controversial and most criticized textbooks were used for 20th century history¹⁶ and the first textbook which to a certain extent stepped out of the existing paradigm was approved only in 1999,¹⁷ whereas in primary schools, it was not until 2000 that parallel textbooks were approved.

Simultaneously, the debates which opened in the second half of the 1990s started to question the existing paradigm and the politics of history education. Some Croatian historians and journalists, as well as several international experts, repeatedly raised several issues: the critique of the history curricula, the procedure

14 Ibid.

15 For example: Damir Agičić, "Kako do europske nastave povijesti" ["Which Way to a European History Education"] in *Hrvatska revija*, 4, 1998 and "Udžbenici bez ideologije i demagogije" ["Textbooks Without Ideology and Demagogy"] in *Večernji list*, 20.9.1998.

16 In the 4th grade of gymnasium, two textbooks were used in parallel; those of Ivan Vujčić and Ivo Perić. Different textbooks of Ivan Vujčić were also used in vocational schools and that of I. Perić, as the only textbook without alternative, in primary schools (*Povijest 8*. Zagreb: Alfa 1998).

17 This was a textbook for the 4th grade of gymnasium: *Povijest 4*. Zagreb: Profil 1999.

of textbook selection, and the contents of the history textbooks, especially those dealing with 20th century history. Journalists primarily focused on textbook content and problematic aspects in some textbooks, especially those dealing with the 20th century. Historians – mostly from the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb – viewed the impact of the government on history teaching as predominantly negative, but their opinions were largely ignored by the educational authorities. The historians repeatedly pointed to the curriculum as the main problem and the cause of the inferior quality of the textbooks and criticized the Ministry of Education for the nontransparent procedure of textbook selection.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the introduction of multiple textbooks was greeted with mixed feelings. Among the Croatian historians there were many who believed that it is the state who must determine from which textbook students will learn. Furthermore, the prevailing attitude among historians and educationalists in the field of history teaching at the time was that it was not up to textbooks to debate historiographical problems and different interpretations. Discussions were still largely focused on the content of history education and only rarely was there any criticism from the pedagogical and methodological point of view.¹⁹

Finally, there were certain influences in that period which came from abroad. Representatives from the Ministry of Education, and some academics who were involved in writing history textbooks, regularly attended seminars and conferences organized by the Council of Europe or UNESCO. Analyses of Croatian textbooks from abroad were also of certain importance.²⁰ Direct intervention was mostly connected with the role of the international community in introducing the moratorium on teaching contemporary history in the Danube Basin region (Podunavlje). When Croatia regained control over most of its territory in 1995, only the eastern-most part – Podunavlje (the Danube region) – remained under the control of the local Serbs. In November 1995, with the assistance of the international community, the Erdut Agreement was signed between the Croatian government and the local Serbs, placing Podunavlje temporarily under the jurisdiction of the UN Transitional Administration - until 1998, when Croatia regained full sovereignty over its entire territory. In 1997, a letter of agreement was signed as an annex to the Erdut Agreement, which ensured the educational rights of the Serbian minority. The agreement included the implementation of a five-year embargo (“the moratorium”) – from school year 1997/98 to 2002/2003 – on teaching contemporary Croatian history in classes of Serbian pupils. Since

18 See, for example, “Između mitologije i povijesne istine. Kakvi su nam udžbenici?” [Between Mythology and the Historical Truth. What Kind of Textbooks Do We Have?], in *Vijenac*, 5.11.1998.

19 Koren, Baranović, “What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?”, pp. 135-140.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Podunavlje is one of the Croatian regions that were mostly affected by the war, the intent of the moratorium was to avoid situations where history education might be used as a means of separation and the promotion of intolerance, and subsequently contribute to new cycles of violence.²¹

The political changes in January 2000 (the electoral defeat of the HDZ and the coming to power of the coalition government led by the Social Democrats) had given impulses to new governmental initiatives for the reform of history teaching. These political changes, moreover, re-ignited public debates on the school history textbooks from the 1990s, which was a part of the wider debates about the heritage of the Tuđman period, especially about its problematic aspects. These debates were prompted when the Ministry of Education established in April 2000 – three months after the elections – the Commission for the Evaluation of History Textbooks Inherited from the 1990s.²² Its members were partly historians, mostly from the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, and partly history teachers. Although the head of the Commission insisted in his public appearances on the apolitical nature of the Commission and described its task as merely the evaluation of the quality of the existing texts (which was obviously due to political attacks),²³ the Commission's work was designated a "textbook revision" in public, and the Commission's activities were opposed by various groups and individuals, most vehemently by those who had participated in defining history education in the 1990s.

In its cautious report of June 2000, the Commission negatively evaluated some textbooks from the 1990s and proposed, as a temporary measure, the thorough rewriting of the most problematic ones. The Commission also recommended – as a more permanent solution – the creation of new history curricula during the following year, and the subsequent creation of new textbooks. It also suggested seminars with the participation of international experts for the authors of curricula and textbooks, as well as study trips abroad. However, the demands for history teaching that stimulated students' critical-thinking and analytical skills – which had been expressed by certain historians, history educators and history textbook authors since the mid-1990s – did not find their way into the

21 Ibid., pp. 124–126.

22 Debates regarding the history textbook commission in 2000–2001 were also analyzed by Brigitte Le Normand "The Present Reflected in the Past: Debates Over History Education in Croatia, 1996–2000", in: *Working paper*. History Department, UCLA, 2003.

23 See, for example, the article "Nije riječ o reviziji udžbenika" ["It's not about the textbook revision"] written by the chair of the Commission in *Vjesnik*, 12.5.2000.

Commission's report. Thus, the Commission's conclusions in that respect lagged behind what was already present in the educational discourse.²⁴

Ultimately, almost none of these moderate requests were implemented; as the Commission emphasized in its second report in January 2001, most publishers ignored these recommendations, and the Ministry of Education took no further steps after the report had been submitted. During the mandate of the coalition government, the history curricula were not changed, nor were any of the textbooks that the Commission had denoted as the most problematic withdrawn (although the approbation for some of these textbooks was annulled after they had obtained less than 10 percent of the market share for three years, a process enabled by provisions of the new Law on Textbooks from 2001). The ministry's reluctance to deal with these issues was clearly due to the other political problems the coalition government had to deal with and any actions that could additionally charge the already tense political atmosphere were avoided. Thus, in the second part of the mandate of the coalition government, the reform of history education lost its momentum.²⁵

Additionally, the Commission's work and other described activities incited a debate (in newspapers as well as at round tables) on which interpretations of World War II in history textbooks played an important role. The Croatian history textbooks from the 1990s had frequently been criticized inside and outside of Croatia because of the ambivalent way they dealt with the problematic aspects of Croatia's past during the Second World War.²⁶ As a result of these debates and critiques, most textbooks that have been published since 2000 have abandoned the interpretative paradigms from the 1990s (or at least their most controversial aspects), although in some of them there are still underlying assumptions which to a certain extent reflect those paradigms. Over the following years, disputes on interpretations of the Second World War continued, and other actors took part in the debate as well. Among them were some veterans from World War II organizations, yet although the latter rightly warned about the way this topic was dealt with in the 1990s textbooks, the interpretations they offered mostly did not go beyond the old paradigms from the Communist period. On the other side

24 Koren, Baranović, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?", pp. 108-111.

25 Ibid.

26 See for example Höpken, "History Education and Yugoslav (Dis-) Integration"; Ivo, Goldstein. "Povijesni izolacionizam" ["Historical isolationism"], in *Vijestnik*, November 5, 1998, p. 25.

of the spectrum, there were those (some politicians, journalists, historians) who have emphasized the Communist aspect of the Partisan movement, as well as the Partisan atrocities committed during and especially at the end of the Second World War, and downplayed its character as a resistance movement. The disputes that have occasionally erupted, usually in times of commemorations of events from the Second World War (in which those that took place in Jasenovac and Bleiburg have a special role), show that this topic still has the potential to create ideological conflicts in Croatian society. Finally, the simultaneous existence of textbooks inherited from the 1990s and their successors, and the new ones that mostly accepted a critical position towards the Ustasha regime, means that textbook narratives after 2000 have continuously reflected the clash of interpretations and the divided memory about the Second World War that exists in Croatian society.

On the other hand, the intensified international activities (i.e. seminars on history teaching in cooperation with the Council of Europe and Euroclio, Croatia becoming a member of the International Task Force for Teaching about the Holocaust etc.) of the Ministry of Education signified the end of the isolationist trends that were characteristic of the late 1990s. Furthermore, the Ministry continued with a more liberal policy of textbook approval: commissions appointed by the Ministry in that period used evaluation criteria that gradually facilitated a detachment from the rigid framework imposed by the 1995 curricula. Already the new generation of textbooks that appeared in the spring of 2000 was directed towards didactical innovations and some of the textbooks started to systematically incorporate multiple perspectives and focus on promoting students' critical thinking. However, the system of parallel textbooks has constantly been contested by those who perceive the deconstruction of the traditional ethnocentric narrative as a danger to Croatian national identity.²⁷

Although there was no reversion to the positions from the 1990s after the HDZ returned to power (2004), its educational politics in the field of history teaching generally remained ambivalent – either for pragmatic or ideological reasons. One of the first initiatives of the new authorities was aimed at changing the procedure of textbook approval and eventually reducing the number of textbooks. This has resulted in the adoption of the new Law on Textbooks (2006) which has limited the number of parallel textbooks to three per grade and has

27 Koren, Baranović, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?", pp. 105-118.

increased the possibilities of state intervention and political interference – as was the case with some history textbooks during the 2007 textbook approval procedure. Although textbooks have generally become more attractive in appearance and challenging in their didactical dimension (narratives are reduced in favor of illustrations, sources, and questions for students), there are significant differences among textbooks in their methodological approach, which point to very different understandings of the purpose of history education. Some textbooks systematically incorporate different perspectives on the level of both textbook narrative and non-narrative materials (sources, illustrations), using the latter to encourage students' independent and critical thinking. Some (or most), however, use sources almost exclusively to support or illustrate the author's narrative; while in others, sources are even equipped with the author's commentary and/or instructions for their "appropriate" interpretation. Needless to say, these approaches are mainly characteristic of the topics of national history considered too important to be left unguarded.²⁸

There is a similar ambiguity in the latest curricula development, with the introduction of the new history curriculum for the higher grades of primary schools in 2006. The new program shows some progress in comparison to the previous (1995) one and has brought about moderate didactical and content innovations. Although political history remains dominant, the curriculum has put more emphasis on the previously neglected fields of history (cultural history, gender history etc.), which has found its reflection in the new generation of textbooks published in 2007. Among the goals of history teaching there is multiperspectivity, multiculturalism, working with sources, teaching about interpretations, the development of critical thinking, etc, which represents a significant departure from the previous value-oriented and ethnocentric curriculum. However, there are several occasions which reveal that it is much easier to define these goals than to implement them coherently throughout the curriculum components, let alone in teaching practice. For example, although the curriculum is less prescriptive than the previous one and provides teachers with more freedom when shaping their individual syllabi, it remains overloaded with content, which significantly reduces the use of the active methods of teaching that are emphasized as one of the new curriculum's most important components. Furthermore, although "preparing students to live in a multiethnic and multicultural society" is defined as one of history education's important goals, very little effort has been made to place added emphasis on the content that was already neglected in the previous curriculum, such as the history of ethnic minorities or regional history.²⁹

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 113-117.

29 *Ibid.*

In conclusion, the appearance of multiple textbooks since the mid-1990s, didactical innovations focused on the development of critical thinking, modest improvements in history curricula and increased public discussions about controversial issues in the teaching of contemporary history have signaled advances towards a different understanding of its purpose in the education of young generations. However, the results of these educational processes in history education in Croatia have remained ambivalent and the general direction is still unclear.

Since 2004, another issue has been in the focal point of debates about the content of history education: the 1991-1995 war, which in Croatia is called the "Homeland War". Narratives about this recent war entered the history textbooks almost immediately: the 1992 textbook already included highly emotional descriptions of the conflict, and the topic was subsequently included in the 1995 history curricula. The textbook narrative was very much attuned to the official memory and did not change much during the 1990s. However, the term the *Homeland War*, which today is widely accepted in textbooks, historiography, political documents, and public discourse, appeared in textbooks for the first time in 1999; until then, textbooks mostly used terms such as *the war of the Great Serbian forces against Croatia* or *the Great Serbian aggression against Croatia*.³⁰

In the years following the end of the conflict, the war has acquired an important place in the Croatian collective memory: it has been portrayed as one of the key events in Croatian history, the victory of the Croatian defenders over the Serbian aggressors which ensured the very existence of today's independent Croatian state. Especially after 2000, increasingly greater significance is attached to the Homeland War in political discourse: for many, it is no longer the synthesis of state-building elements of different ideologies originating from World War II, but the "values and virtues of the Homeland War", that provide the foundation for today's Croatia.³¹

There are several examples that demonstrate how politically and ideologically important this topic has become. During the recent constitutional changes in 2010, the 1991-1995 war was added to the list of key events in Croatian history from the Middle Ages to the present day. In 2001, the Croatian government passed a resolution to initiate scientific research on the Homeland War at the

30 Ibid., pp. 122-124.

31 Ibid., p. 123.

Croatian Institute for History, and in 2004 it founded the Croatian Memorial-Documentation Center of the Homeland War. The Croatian parliament issued several declarations attempting to provide an official interpretation and to define the character of the war, the most important among these being the Declaration on the Homeland War (2000) and the Declaration on Operation Storm (2006). Numerous war veterans' associations have been created, and several public holidays and memorial days which commemorate war events have been introduced. The most important among them is the 5th of August, *Victory and Thanksgiving Day* (1996, 2001), which since 2008 has also been celebrated as *Croatian Defenders' Day*.³² There are also other memorial days which are associated with commemorating war events: the *Day of Remembrance of the Sacrifice of Vukovar in 1991* (November 18th, since 1999), the *Day of Remembrance of the Genocide in Srebrenica* (July 11th, since 2009) and the *Day of Remembrance of the Detainees of Enemy Camps*, (August 14th, since 2010).

However, since the war ended, some other questions that burden the war's memory have come into focus. Among these are: a split memory about the war, the issue of the war crimes, and different evaluations of war events (reflecting not only differences of opinions between Croats and Serbs, but also within each of these groups) have mostly influenced the textbook debates that intensified after 2000. The independent media and NGOs, in particular, have raised public debate on war crimes committed by both Serbs and Croats and have played an important role in truth-seeking initiatives and Croatia's coming to terms with the recent past. Additional impetus for these debates has come from the prosecution of war crimes, especially after the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia in The Hague brought charges against some of Croatia's senior army officers. Attempts to raise these questions have met with strong resistance, especially among those (politicians, war veterans' associations) who regard it as their duty to protect what they refer to as the "dignity of the Homeland War".

In the field of history teaching, two parallel processes have taken place during the last decade, both very much determined by contemporary political debates and controversies. Some textbooks published after 2000 cautiously began to offer narratives that went beyond the simplified descriptions of war events

32 On that date in 1995, the Croatian Army captured the town of Knin during Operation Storm, which brought an end to the Republic of Serbian Krajina, a self-proclaimed Serb entity in Croatia; simultaneously, it resulted in an exodus of the indigenous Serb population from that area. In the last few years it has become one of the key public holidays which primarily celebrates Croatia's military victory in the imposed war. However, this commemoration is burdened by the unresolved question of the Serbian refugees, and thus every year it provokes opposing reactions, both in Croatia and in its neighboring countries. Nevertheless, the official memory of the war has remained a one-sided and single-perspective one, and the experiences of the Serbian refugees are mostly excluded from the speeches of state officials, which mainly recount the victories and sufferings of their own side.

characteristic of the 1990s. At the same time, there were increasing demands by some war veterans' associations and some politicians to dedicate more space in curricula and textbooks to this topic. However, this issue really came into public focus only after 2003, when the Ministry of Education had to deal with the end of the moratorium on teaching recent history in Podunavlje. With the moratorium's five-year expiration date approaching, the Ministry of Education organized several meetings and consultations with teachers, experts on intercultural education, and political parties from the region. A decision was reached to end the moratorium, but none of the existing history textbooks was acceptable to the representatives of the regional Serbian community.³³

In January 2003, the Ministry of Education appointed a commission comprised of historians, experts on intercultural education, representatives of the Serbian community and several Ministry officials. The Commission decided to fill the gap in contemporary history materials with a supplement to the existing textbooks that would serve as a temporal solution until new textbooks were developed. The issue was also an important one politically, as the Ministry of Education had made a commitment to the international community to develop the supplement by the end of 2003, when the moratorium would end. After two failed attempts at creating the supplement in 2003, and the change of government at the beginning of 2004, which temporarily brought the work on the supplement to a halt, the Commission assigned the job to another team of authors at the end of 2004. The text – entitled *Supplement to the Textbooks on Current Croatian History* – was eventually finished in April 2005 and accepted by the Commission. It was decided at that point that the Supplement should serve as additional material not only for pupils in Podunavlje, but for those everywhere in Croatia. The Ministry then decided to have the text additionally reviewed by various institutions and individuals (among them, the History department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, the Croatian Institute for History, and some members of the Textbook Approbation Commission). This resulted in quite a divided response, with some reviews evaluating the text positively, and others negatively.³⁴

In July 2005, in the charged atmosphere of war crime trials and the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of Operation Storm, negative reviews of the supplement suddenly appeared in some media (daily newspapers and TV networks). The Supplement came under sharp attack by a number of right-wing politicians, journalists from the right-wing media, and various war veterans' associations, as well as some historians (mostly from the Croatian Institute for

33 Koren, Baranović, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?", pp. 123-125.

34 Ibid., pp. 125-127.

History). The attempts to introduce different perspectives to the teaching of recent conflicts and to address crimes committed by both Serbian and Croatian forces were condemned as education “without any value guidelines”, a “distortion of the historical truth about the Serb aggression”, a “relativization of the Serbian responsibility for the war” and an attempt “to show Croats as equally guilty for the war as the Serbs”. The Supplement was also condemned because of its “neutral terminology” and its avoidance of the term *the Homeland War*. Negative publicity eventually resulted in the ministry’s decision in August 2005 to give up the project. The debate, however, continued for some time even after the Ministry had given up on the book. More than 80 articles were published in different newspapers and journals, ranging from heavy criticism to praise. Two round tables were organized (2007, 2008), and two books were published as a result of the debate.³⁵

Furthermore, as echoes from the debate about the supplement still reverberated, numerous changes were made to the new history curriculum for compulsory education, which was at the time under construction (2005-2006). It turned out that the topic of the recent war underwent the greatest modifications: new details were added, making it the most extensive topic in the new curriculum. For example, students were expected to describe in detail the course of the war, to describe the most important military operations of the Croatian army, to “name distinguished Croatian defenders”, and to “precisely define who was the aggressor and who was the victim”.³⁶ Students were also expected to describe crimes against civilians in the war, but only those crimes in which Croats and Bosnian Muslims were victims are mentioned (Dubrovnik, Vukovar, Srebrenica). At the same time, this topic was whitewashed of any events that could interfere with the official memory of the war: for example, the sentence from the original curriculum proposal which mentioned the exodus of the Serbian population after Operation Storm was removed in the final version (2006). Similarly, Croatia’s role in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is not mentioned.³⁷ Thus, this case makes it evident that the intention of the curriculum authors is to offer not only certain content,

35 The first one – *Jedna povijest, više historija. Dodatak udžbenicima s kronikom objavljivanja* [*One past, Many Histories*]. Zagreb: Documenta, 2007 – offers the perspective of the authors of the Supplement. This book contains the Supplement, newspaper clips, essays written by the authors of the Supplement and the president of the Ministry’s Commission and some documents. The other – Robert Skenderović, Mario Jareb, Mato Artuković, *Multiperspektivnost ili relativiziranje? Dodatak udžbenicima za najnoviju povijest i istina o Domovinskom ratu* [*Multiperspectivity or Relativisation: the Supplement to Textbooks and the Truth About the Homeland War*]. Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2008 – offers the perspective of the critics: this book contains several essays by historians who wrote negative reviews of the Supplement, as well as their reviews.

36 *Nastavni plan i program za osnovnu školu*. Zagreb: Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa, 2006, p. 291.

37 *Ibid.*

but also a certain clear and unequivocal evaluation of recent events: the content of this curricular topic serves as a memento of patriotic values and a catalogue of events through which “the Homeland War” should be remembered.

Another cycle of debates on teaching about the war started in the spring of 2007, when some of the new textbooks written according to these new curricula nevertheless offered interpretations of the recent war that differed somewhat from those in the curriculum, including some strategies and approaches very similar to those in the Supplement two years previously. The 2007 debate was not as high-profiled as the 2005 one and it was mostly conducted with the same arguments. The Ministry of Education eventually accepted all textbooks after some minor changes: the passage of time since the war’s end and a more favorable political context have proven to be crucial factors for teaching about recent conflicts.³⁸ However, reactions to both the Supplement and the 2007 history textbooks have clearly illustrated the political importance still attached to history education, and have also revealed different and competing conceptions of the purpose of school history and its potential role in the formation of pupils’ identity. This debate also encouraged the Ministry of Education to start organizing (beginning in 2008) annual seminars for history teachers on the *Homeland War*: in-service training of history teachers has proven to be another important strategy the Ministry has at its disposal to promote an official version of history.

Teaching about recent wars has proven to be a difficult task because it involves strong emotions and invokes traumatic memories. On the most general level is the question of how to teach about wars, especially those that are considered to be starting points for the emergence of a new state. Reactions to these cases have also revealed the political importance still attached to history education, as well as the different and competing conceptions of the purpose of school history and its potential role in the formation of pupils’ identity. Recent events have also indicated that the government has not given up its intention of intervening in history textbook narratives, but they have also shown that Croatian society has become open enough that the ministry can no longer so easily keep its monopoly on interpretations, nor promote only the official memory of the war.

38 Koren, Baranović, “What Kind of History Education Do We Have after Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?”, pp. 126-128.

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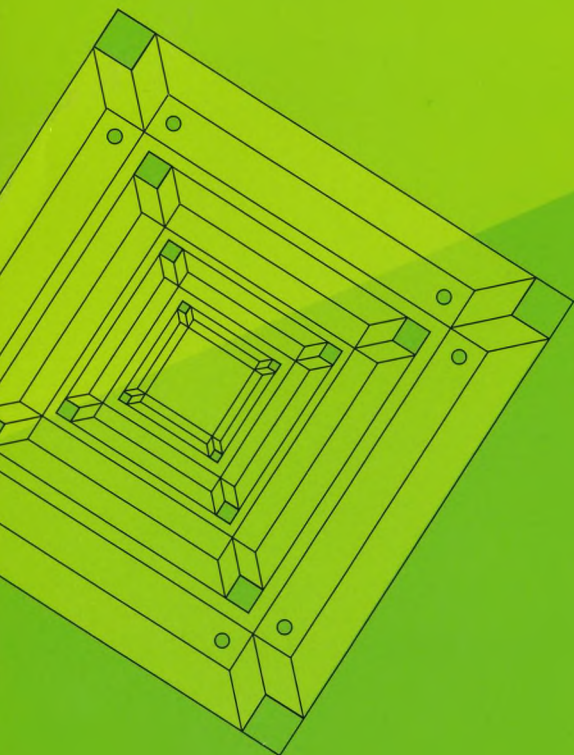
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