

About Us and Our Neighbours: History Textbooks in the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine



**GEORG ECKERT
INSTITUT**
Leibniz-Institut für internationale
Schulbuchforschung

EDU|MERES

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Sergiu Musteață

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Sergiu Musteață

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Introduction

In most countries, history is considered a fundamental discipline for the promotion of intellectual development and the creation of cultural, social and national identity. History also contributes to the development of those skills and competencies which prepare students for active citizenship of a democratic society.¹ It is true that history helps us develop critical skills, understand historical dimensions of the present and see similarities and differences between cultures, ethnicities and civilisations. Nevertheless, history as a social science and as a school discipline is also highly politicised; we recall the Orwellian dictum “Who controls the past, [...] controls the future: who controls the present controls the past”.²

In Western and Central Europe the issue of the *depoliticisation* of school subjects has always found considerable resonance. Numerous studies have been published on this topic, providing comparisons between various countries and historical periods. In Eastern Europe, the culture of depoliticisation of education, and of “history” in particular, has not evolved substantially. To take three examples – those around which our analysis will revolve –, the various governments of the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, and Romania, while they have taken divergent approaches to the structure and organisation of school history, have all inherited from the communist period the tendency to glorify their nation’s past. During the Soviet era, the process of writing history and school textbooks had been dominated by Marxist-Leninist ideology and entailed the interpretation and indeed invention of historical facts. History was used to accuse, to defame or to justify; it was repeatedly employed as a tool of mobilisation in the political struggle to control the masses.³

The collapse of totalitarian regimes created opportunities for these countries to build democratic societies and to revitalise and rewrite national histories, the process of which K. Jenkins has addressed in his book⁴ Most of the transformations which have taken

¹ S. Bennett, “Seminar on History Curricula for Secondary Schools in the Black Sea Countries”, Constanța, Romania, 6-8 May 1999; Report by Susan Bennett. Council of Europe, Activities for the Development and Consolidation of Democratic Stability (Adacs), Decs/Edu/Hist (99) 59, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1999, 8; J.G. Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine. Educational Policy and the Response of the Russian-Speaking Population*, Nederlandse Geographische Studies/Netherlands Geographical Studies, Utrecht: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2000, 85.

² G. Orwell, *Nineteen-Eighty-Four*; Harmondsworth, 1984, 34.

³ N. Whittier Heer, *Politics and History in Soviet Union*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1971.

⁴ K. Jenkins, *Refiguring History. New Thoughts on an Old Discipline*, London/New York: Routledge, 2003.

place in these societies were initially influenced by national movements and in some cases provoked new conflicts between ethnic groups. Ethnicity creates borders; by contrast, today's Europe generally strives to open borders rather than to erect new ones.⁵

The development of post-socialist/post-Soviet countries has been understood as a metamorphosis from authoritarianism to democracy. In the course of the last two decades, studies on this transition became part of an area called "transitology", which B. Kapustin considers a new political paradigm.⁶ The majority of work on this issue has focused on the process of moving from a socialist/totalitarian ideology to a Western/democratic ideology, a transition directly linked with various and manifold political, economic, social, and cultural changes, including reforms to education systems.⁷ Officially, the process of transition from post-socialist to Western standards could be considered complete in those countries which have joined the EU. However, the transformation process is in fact still on-going, as most of these countries are faced with problematic socialist and Soviet legacies. Some post-Soviet countries might be considered to be "lost in transition".⁸ Textbooks have been described as the "main victims of these changes, so that we can say without exaggeration that the new specimens have little to do with those of the previous period."⁹

The discourse of "the Other" and the relationship between "us" and "the Other" or "ourselves" and "Others", between "natives" and "foreigners", and between neighbours has long been a topic of discussion.¹⁰ The treatment of these relationships in school

⁵ F. Pingel, "Easing tensions through textbook research and textbook comparison: what measures can be taken in the Balkan region?", in *Disarming History. International Conference on Combating Stereotypes and Prejudice in History Textbooks of South-East Europe*. Visby, Gotland (Sweden), 23-25 September 1999, Stockholm: 1999, 45. On the integration of other ethnicities in the national education system in Moldova, see Luminița Drumea, "Die Nationalen und Sprachlichen Probleme des Bildungswesens der Republik Moldau", in Peter Bachmaier (ed.), *Nationalstaat oder Multikulturelle Gesellschaft? Die Minderheitenpolitik in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa im Bereich des Bildungswesens 1945-2002*, Frankfurt am Main Peter Lang, 2003.

⁶ B. Kapustin, "The End of `Transitology`?", in *POLIS: The Journal of Political Studies*, no. 4, online (2001), last access 23 October 2012.

⁷ I. Silova, "Varieties of Educational Transformation: The Post-Socialist States of Central/Southeastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union," in Robert Cowen and Andreas M. Kazamias (eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education*, London, New York: Springer, 2009, 297-300.

⁸ Ibid., 311; J.-M. DeWaele and C. Zgureanu-Guragata, "La Moldavie: Un Cas Exempleire des Difficultés de la transition post-soviétique?", in *Transitions: Ex-Revue des Pays de L'est* 45, no. 2 (2006), 11-16.

⁹ Wl. Berelowitch, "Les manuels d'histoire dans la Russie d'aujourd'hui: entre les vérités plurielles et le nouveau mensonge national", published 27 March 2003, <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2003-03-27-berelowitch-fr.html> (last access 7 January 2016).

¹⁰ See, for example, the activities of the Soviet-USA commissions on textbook analysis in the period 1978-1988. H. Mehlinger, *School Textbooks: Weapons for the Cold War*, Schools and Society in Tsarist and Soviet Russia: Selected Papers from the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East

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textbooks requires active discussion due to the significant political changes which took place after the collapse of the totalitarian regimes of Europe.¹¹ The concepts of “us” and “the Other” are treated differently; in most cases, the “we” is understood as holding the dominant position, as the majority, as a heroic group, or, in some situations, as victims of the “Other”. The “Other”, meanwhile, is presented as a state, as a powerful group or army, as an ethnic, religious or cultural grouping.

It is crucial in these new democratic circumstances for citizens to learn about one another and to cultivate tolerance and understanding among various cultural, religious, social and political communities. Education has the potential to reduce prejudice, stereotypes and violence and counter racism, xenophobia and nationalist attitudes. The “image of the ‘other’ or of the neighbour as formed through the school textbook contributes to the evolution of the self-image and of the national consciousness of a people, determining to a great extent the relations and the quality of coexistence and cooperation among peoples and, especially, among neighbouring peoples.”¹² In other words, education in general, and textbooks in particular, may help younger generations – specifically in regions with divided memories of a shared past - to understand that all are

European Studies, Harrogate, 1990, Palgrave Macmillan, 1993; B. Eklof, "Proekt po recenzirovaniju amerikanskih i sovetskih učebnikov (1978-1988)", in S.G. Leont'eva and K.A. Maslinskij (eds.), *Učebnyj tekst v sovetsoj škole. Sbornik statej*, Sankt-Peterburg, Moskva: Institut Logiki, kognitologii i razvitiya ličnosti, 2008, 343-348.

¹¹ D.W. Robinson (ed.), *As Others See Us: International views of American History. Sponsored by the American Historical Association*, Boston: Mifflin, 1969; M. Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History. Or how the past is taught to children*, London/New York: Routledge, 2003; P.D. Xochellis and F.L. Toloudi (eds.), *The Image of the "Other." Neighbour in the School Textbooks of the Balkan Countries. Proceedings of the International Conference, Thessaloniki, 16-18 October 1998*, Athens: Tipothito George Dardanos, 2001; St. Ihrig, "The Construction of the “Other” in Moldovan History Textbooks”, in Tatiana Stoianova (ed.), *Educația multiculturală ca mijloc de management al diversității și de integrare în societatea polietică*, Chișinău: 2005, 168-174; L.O. Mogensen, "Learning to Be of Culture or Learning to Increase Participation?", in G. Titley and A. Lentin (eds.), *The Politics of Diversity in Europe*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2008, 155-166; J. Veselý (ed.), *Contemporary History Textbooks in the South Caucasus*, Prague: Association for International Affairs, 2008; N. Yakovenko, "The Image of Self – the Image of the Other in School History Textbooks”, in Natalia Yakovenko (ed.), *School History through the Eyes of Scholars-Historians (the Materials of the Working Meeting on Monitoring the School Textbooks in History of Ukraine*, Kyiv: Olena Teliha Publishing House, 2008; A. Vogrinčić and M. Čepič, "Foreigner and Foreignness in Textbook Literature," *Eckert. Analysen* 3 (2009), (last access 7 January 2016); L. Neyzi and H. Kharatyan-Araqelyan, *Speaking to One Another: Personal Memories of the Past in Armenia and Turkey*, Bonn: DVV International, 2010, M. Zoljan and T. Zakarjan, "My - narod nebol'šoj, no. Obraz sebja, obraz drugogo i obraz vruga v škol'nyh učebnikach po istorii Armenii”, in B. Sidikov (ed.), *Mnogolikovaja Klio: Boi za istoriji na postsovetkom prostranstve*, Braunschweig: Logos Verlag, 2010, 53-74; S. Alayan, A. Rohde, and S. Dhoub (eds.), *The Politics of Education Reform in the Middle East. Self and Other in Textbooks and Curricula*, New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012; R. Radžabov, S. Grigorjan, V. Kolbai (eds.), *Perekrestnyj analiz škol'nyh učebnikov stran Južnogo Kavkaza*, Yerevan: Edit Print, 2012.

¹² Xochellis and Toloudi, *The Image of the “Other”*, 13-14.

different, but all have the same rights and all are equal.

Research Questions

The collapse of totalitarian regimes at the end of the 1980s and of the USSR in 1991 gave rise to numerous changes in all the formerly socialist countries and Soviet republics which then became independent states and embarked upon the process of justifying their statehood and independence. Education reform is one among a number of democratic changes. With the help of various international organisations, including the World Bank, the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the EU, a process of fundamental educational reforms began, including the reform of history as a school discipline. The formation of democratic societies took place very rapidly; the intensity of the political, economic and social reforms that were carried out had a direct impact on educational reform. After the events of 1991, most of the Soviet citizens who suddenly found themselves post-Soviet citizens underwent a form of cultural shock that gave rise to an identity crisis. Some of them have refused to accept these changes to this day. Historians have played an important role in the emancipated movement giving impetus to democratic change. However, after two decades of democratic transformations, many questions regarding their effectiveness have begun to be raised. As K. Jenkins has observed, “academic history remains in business, albeit limping somewhat.”¹³ Meanwhile, politicians are still using and abusing history in order to justify their decisions. This situation has a direct impact on history education and textbooks.

How well were governments prepared for democratic transformations?

In most cases, they were not prepared at all, and most of the relevant decisions were taken “on the fly”. In hindsight, we can see that many errors were committed by former governments during the construction of new, democratic states. The most contentious decisions involved political discourses regarding new identities, political crises, and statehood. The political and economic situation in these states caused crises in public expenditure on education. All such countries saw the creation of new education systems based on the values of the new society, new education legislation, competency-based curricula and rewritten textbooks. As part of this process, in many cases governments

¹³ Jenkins, *Refiguring History*, 7.

attempted to use textbooks, particularly history and social studies textbooks, for the purpose of advancing state ideology.¹⁴

In history education, old curricula and textbooks based on Marxist-Leninist theory were replaced with modern curricula and textbooks. All post-totalitarian countries underwent a process of recovering and rediscovering national history, incorporating it into school curricula and into new ways of teaching history. The establishment of a competitive textbook market was a new and difficult issue for all such countries and inspired social and political debate. In most cases, curricula and textbooks reflect the current political, social and ideological situation in each country, as well as the attitude of the society to its own past and its relations with minority groups and neighbours.

The principal research question pursued by this work is as follows: *How do the Republic of Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine present one another in their history curricula and textbooks? How do the history textbooks of each of these three countries present the relationship between majorities and minorities?*

Why these three countries? After the 1989 revolutions and the collapse of the USSR in 1991, each country followed its own route of development into an independent, democratic, and open society. From this perspective, we cannot speak of these countries as constituting a homogeneous area. Nevertheless, post-totalitarian and post-socialist countries in general, and post-Soviet countries in particular, have many shared features and peculiarities. One particular aspect on which we will be focusing is relationships with neighbouring countries, which share a number of values and problems, and which have been influenced through the centuries by various empires, states, and cultures, including the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Hungarians, Ottomans, Russians and Austro-Hungarians. The Republic of Moldova was not an independent country before 1991; during the Middle Ages this territory was part of Medieval Moldova, and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, various regions became parts of Romania, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, and then the Soviet Union and Ukraine. Today the political situation in each country is different: Romania has been a member of the EU since 2007, while Moldova and Ukraine are EU aspirants which have recently signed an EU Association Agreement.

¹⁴ V. Kalmus, "What Do Pupils and Textbooks Do with Each Other?: Methodological Problems of Research on Socialization through Educational Media", in *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 36, no. 4 (2004), 469.

The concept of history teaching which held sway in the Soviet republics was established during the 1930s in accordance with a resolution of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party known as “On teaching the history of the Homeland in USSR schools”.¹⁵ This resolution was based on the comments made by Stalin, Kirov and Zdanov on the composition of the school history textbook “The History of the USSR from Ancient Days to Our Time”. History was taught continuously from school years 5 to 10 via two principal courses, “History of the USSR” and “World History”. Later, during the 1960s, each Soviet republic introduced a course on local and national history. In Moldova, this course was called “History of the Moldavian SSR” and was divided into two main parts, one for years 7 and 8 and one for years 9 and 10. The same structure underpinned the course “History of the Ukrainian SSR” in Ukraine. In all Soviet republics, the concept of history taught was based not on the history of a people or a region, but on a “common Soviet past”.¹⁶ So, as we can see, the Soviet identity and history was dominant but existed in parallel with local identities. However, during the totalitarian period, most historians from all these countries were very much influenced by political considerations, a situation directly reflected in history textbooks.

Further, all three countries are mostly Orthodox, and the Church played an important role for centuries, a role whose influence did not disappear with the imposition of state atheism in the Soviet era. It would thus be a mistake to treat the history taught in these countries as being limited solely by their contemporary borders.

Historiography

J. Issitt has observed that the word “textbook” today frequently evokes a negative response¹⁷ due to the circumstance that, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, school textbooks became “... the ideal field for the construction and reproduction of images of the national ‘We’ and the national ‘Other’, the latter usually selected from

¹⁵ The turning point in the reforms to Soviet schools was after the seventeenth Bolshevik Party Congress in January of 1934. For more on the education system in the USSR, see D. Johnson (ed.), *Politics, Modernisation and Educational Reform in Russia: From Past to Present*, Oxford Studies in Comparative Education, Oxford: 2010; S. Musteață and P. Negură, “Îndoctrinare, sovietizare și rusificare prin învățământ în RSSM”, in S. Musteață and I. Cașu (eds.), *Fără termen de prescripție. Aspecte ale investigațiilor crimelor comunismului în Europa*, Chișinău: Cartier, 2011, 646-675.

¹⁶ J. Šapoval, “Eigene Überzeugung oder Import von Außen? Krieg und Frieden mit der sozialistischen Vergangenheit in den aktuellen Schulbüchern der Ukraine”, in I. Keghel and R. Maier (eds.), *Auf den Kehrichthaufen der Geschichte? Der Umgang mit der sozialistischen Vergangenheit*, Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999, 151.

¹⁷ J. Issitt, “Reflections on the Study of Textbooks”, in *History of Education* 33, no. 6 (2004), 683.

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among the neighbouring peoples.”¹⁸ In recent decades, UNESCO and the Council of Europe have urged the nations of the world to encourage cooperation in textbook development with an eye to contemporary realities in order to ensure that educational media take a multidimensional, transparent and research-based approach to the cultural past.¹⁹ International textbook revision initiatives have given rise to a new research field termed *textbook research* or *analysis*.²⁰ The main purpose of many analysis projects is to identify a textbook’s strengths and weaknesses and to eliminate “negative” features such as errors, distortions, prejudices and clichés²¹, a task which illustrates the desirability of textbook analysis becoming an integral part of the reform and development of education systems. Today, research into history curricula and textbooks represents an important component of research on school-based education in numerous countries in Europe, which have seen the publication of a considerable number of contributions to the investigation of problems such as the dogmatism of school subjects or the instilling into pupils of social or ethnic intolerance.²² Research in this direction, however, is far from advanced in the countries behind the former “Iron Curtain”²³. Some general works have been written in recent decades about educational reforms in post-socialist countries, history curricula, and textbook changes, with each country considered separately; these

¹⁸ P.D. Xochellis et al., “The Image of the ‘Other’ in the School History Textbooks of the Balkan Countries”, in Xochellis and Toloudi (eds.), *The Image of the “Other”*, 44.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1: UNESCO contributions; Appendix 2: Council of Europe contributions.

²⁰ G.P. Altbach, “Textbooks: The International Dimension”, in M. Apple and L.K. Christian-Smith (eds.), *The Politics of the Textbook*, London: 1991; B. Schimdt, *Internationale Schulbuchforschung – Aufgaben, Probleme, Beispiele*, Münster: GRIN Verlag, 2008.

²¹ K.P. Fritzsche, “Prejudice and Underlying Assumptions”, in H. Bourdillon (ed.), *History and Social Studies: Methodologies of Textbook Analysis, Report of the Educational Research Workshop Held in Braunschweig (Germany) 11-14 September 1990*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1992, 52-59.

²² Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History*; P. Novick, *That Noble Dream. The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession*, University of Chicago: Cambridge University Press, 1988; E. Børre Johnsen, *Textbooks in the Kaleidoscope. A Critical Survey of Literature and Research on Educational Texts*, Scadinavian University Press, 1993; W. Höpken, *Öl ins Feuer? Oil on Fire? Schulbücher, Ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa (Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe)*, Hanover, 1996; E. Kotte, “Not to Have Ideologies but to Be One”. *Die Grundungsgeschichte der USA in Amerikanischen Schulgeschichtsbüchern aus den Jahren 1968 bis 1985*, Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhangung, 1997; C.J. Marsh, *Planning, Management and Ideology, Key Concepts for Understanding the Curriculum* vol. 2, The Falmer Press, 1997; Neyzi and Kharatyan-Araqelyan, *Speakeing to One Another*.

²³ T. Hunt, “Five Case Histories of Textbook Development (Romania, Macedonia, Sri Lanka, Azerbaijan, China)”, in C. Braskavsky and K. Halil (eds.), *Textbooks and Quality Learning for All: Some Lessons Learned from International Experiences*, Geneva: SRO-KUNDIG, 2006, 195-270; K. Eimermacher and G. Bordjugova (eds.), *Nacional’nye istorii v sovetskom i postsovetskikh gosudarstvach*, Moskva: 1999.

include my own work on the quality of history education and textbooks in Moldova, the findings of which have been published on several occasions.²⁴

Transition from a totalitarian ideology to a democratic society and an open market economy is a long and difficult process. Post-socialist countries are very often compared from a range of perspectives (political, social, economic or educational). Moldova has been compared with many countries which have seen similar problems, such as Belarus,²⁵ Ukraine, and Albania²⁶. There has been little work analysing bilateral relations from the points of view of Moldova and Romania²⁷ or Ukraine and Moldova. I. Katchanovski has attempted an analysis from the Soviet era to the present day, in which he focuses primarily on political change in both countries over the two decades prior to its publication, including aspects of separatism.²⁸ In another work, Katchanovski refers briefly to some content of history textbooks but does not provide details of how current history textbooks present historical events.²⁹ His description of the perception of the Republic of Moldova in Romania is based on sociological analysis and is not directly linked with history education. However, the work stresses important aspects of the relationship between Moldova and Romania, including identity problems, nationalism, the image of a Moldovan/Bessarabian in Romanian society and stereotypes more generally.³⁰ E. Baidaus, in the context of reviewing M. Hruševski's reprinted works, provides

²⁴ For more details of academic works on history teaching and textbooks in Moldova, Ukraine and Romania, see Appendices 3-5.

²⁵ P. Abbott, "Cultural Trauma and Social Quality in Post-Soviet Moldova and Belarus", in *East European Politics and Societies* 21, no. 2 (2007), 219-258.

²⁶ M. P. Gardinier and E. Worden, "The Semblance of Progress Amidst the Absence of Change: Educating for an Imagined Europe in Moldova and Albania", in I. Silova (ed.), *Post-Socialism Is Not Dead: (Re)Reading the Global in Comparative Education*, Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2010, 183-212.

²⁷ S. Musteață (ed.), *Republica Moldova și România – un deceniu de relații complexe, Materialele Dezbaterilor Naționale*, Chișinău.: Pontos, 2002. C. Ghinea et al. (eds.), *Republica Moldova în conștiința publică românească*, București: 2011; S. Guga, "Comunitatea basarabenilor din România", in S. Guga and Ș. Toader (eds.), *Străinii din România. Descrieri, analize și dialoguri pe tema imigrației*, București: Blocul Național Sindical, 2011, 59-68.

²⁸ I. Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries: Regional Political Divisions and Cultures in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Moldova*, Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2006. See also reviews of this book by St. Ihrig, "Review of I. Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries – Regional Political Divisions and Culture in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Moldova*", in *CEU Political Science Journal* 2, no. 2 (2007), 215-218, and by M. Dyszok, "Book review: I. Katchanovski, *Cleft Countries: Regional Political Divisions and Cultures in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Moldova*: Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2006, 286 pp.", in *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 33-34 (2008-2009), 548-549.

²⁹ I. Katchanovski, "Small Nations but Great Differences: Political Orientations and Cultures of the Crimean Tatars and the Gagauz", in *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 6 (2005), 891.

³⁰ C. Ghinea et al., *Republica Moldova în conștiința publică românească*, București, 2011; R. Haynes, "Moldovan Identity: From Interwar Bessarabia to Post-Soviet Moldova", in *Revista de istorie* 2 (2005), 151-168.

a general discussion of the history of Romanian-Ukrainian relations.³¹

Comparative education has a long tradition in Europe, and is currently, in the context of EU integration and globalisation processes, becoming more attractive to a number of scholars.³² In this context, history education and textbooks in European countries have also become part of comparative research projects. The last two decades have seen numerous research projects investigating history education and teaching in post-totalitarian countries. The most active institution in this field is the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, one of whose projects was the three-year study (1997-2000) “History and Civics Textbooks of the Non-Russian CIS-States - The Tension between National Self-Assertion and International Orientation”, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.³³ Ukraine was the major project partner. The aim of the research was to realise a comparative analysis of textbook development in the project's partner countries after the collapse of communism and to promote democratic and innovative approaches in textbook composition. The first Ukrainian textbook conference was held in December 1998, on the theme “The Individual and Society - Controversial Questions and their Presentation in History and Civics Textbooks”, and was attended by some forty Ukrainian and eight German historians, as well as experts from Switzerland, Belarus, and Moldova. In April 1999 four Ukrainian scholars and textbook authors attended a workshop on “Nation Building and the Popularity of the Idea of the National State after World War Two” at the Georg Eckert Institute, while another project focused on analysing textbooks from Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan.³⁴

Another interesting project, “Should We Be Afraid of Our Neighbours? The Majority and Minorities in Recent School History Textbooks in Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary”, was coordinated by Center Education 2000+, Bucharest, from 2003 to 2004. The

³¹ E. Baidaus, “Relațiile româno-ucrainene în istoria Ucrainei-Rusi. Considerente istoriografice (I)”, in *Revista istorică XXI*, no. 1-2 (2010), 167-182; E. Baidaus, “Relațiile româno-ucrainene în istoria Ucrainei-Rusi. Considerente Istoriografice (II)”, in *Revista istorică XXI*, no. 3-4 (2010), 331-356.

³² W. Mitter, “Comparative Education in Europe”, in R. Cowen and A.M. Kazamias (eds.), *International Handbook of Comparative Education*, London, New York: Springer, 2009, 96-98.

³³ M. Telus, “Zum Ertrag des Projekts “Die Geschichts- und Sozialkundebücher der GUS-Staaten im Spannungsfeld von Nationaler Selbstvergewisserung und Internationaler Orientierung”, in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research 23* (2001), 103-127.

³⁴ M. Telus, “Zur wissenschaftlichen Attraktivität der Internationalen Schulbucharbeit Erfahrungen aus der Zusammenarbeit mit der Ukraine, Belarus, Moldau, Georgien, Aserbaidschan Und Usbekistan”, in Ursula A.J. Becher and Rainer Riemenschneider (eds.), *Internationale Verständigung. 25 Jahre Georg-Eckert Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung in Braunschweig*, Hanover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2000, 274-287.

aim of the project was to promote mutual understanding and inter-ethnic dialogue between majorities and minorities, and to undertake a profound examination of the image of the “other” in history textbooks in relationship with the complexities of ethnic realities in the three countries, including important characters and events, in order to help the history teachers involved to share with their students the values of democracy, tolerance, and mutual understanding. The project originally brought together teachers and scholars from Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and, in its second stage, scholars from the Republic of Moldova. In the course of several international meetings, participants discussed the relationship between majorities and minorities (ethnic, religious, and cultural groups) in history textbooks. They concluded that minorities and their past continue to represent a sensitive issue for teachers, with textbook authors still focusing primarily on a narrative presentation of the minorities’ role in the histories of the countries involved in the project. The participants agreed that teachers and textbook authors should not approach the history of majorities and minorities separately. The project concluded with the issue of a book, website, and CD featuring photographs and maps relating to the history of the peoples and states analysed by the project. The authors consider this project to represent a “... contribution to historical reconciliation in an area where for a long time political and ethnic tensions and conflicts dominated everyday life”.³⁵

In 2010, historians from Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, the USA, and the UK participated in a round table entitled “The School of Tolerance. History Science in Multicultural Societies: Results and Perspectives for Ukraine” and held in Kiev, which discussed various shared issues concerning historical research and teaching in multicultural societies. In the round-table proceedings, G. Janmaat presented an interesting analysis of the case of Russia and Russians in two generations of Ukrainian history textbooks; his general observation that: “states with nationalizing programs usually portray ethnic others in a negative light in their history textbooks” is valid for most of the post-totalitarian countries.³⁶

The findings of these projects are of great importance for increased understanding of

³⁵ M. Manea (ed.), *We and Our Neighbours: The Majority and the Minorities in the Recent History Textbooks in Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. With the Case Study: Republic of Moldova*, București: Educația 2000+. Editura Humanitas Educațional, 2004, 6.

³⁶ G.V. Kas'janov (ed.), *Istorična osvita v polikul'turnomu suspil'stvi: vikliki ta perspektivi dlja Ukraïni. Materiali mižnarodnogo kruglogo stolu, Kiïv, 14 lipnja 2010 r.*, Kiïv: Institut istoriï Ukraïni NAN Ukraïni, 2011, 70-94.

the situation of history education in our countries and for facilitating the sharing of best practices. To date, however, no work has been done comparing history curricula, textbooks, and teaching in Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine as neighbouring countries with many common historical and cultural roots.

Sources

While curricula and textbooks in all disciplines carry some relevance to the matter of “ourselves and others” or “relations with our neighbours”, historical sources might be considered to be connected most closely and directly with such questions. History teaching and textbook production are subject to a wide range of influences and pressures, which have always included educational policies and ideas, academic knowledge, editorial exigencies, production quality, and costs, and which have more recently been joined by increasing expectations on the part of teachers, pupils and parents, media pressure, and public views on the kind of history that could or should be taught in schools.

Most textbooks give the initial impression of being pure academic exercises, yet they are nevertheless influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by the political order in each case and even used on occasion as ideological instruments for its legitimation.³⁷ This situation is more visible in those countries in which the state controls education and the government decides what is to be included in or excluded from curricula and textbooks. This is one of the reasons for the importance of research into and evaluation of school curricula and textbooks as a discipline, as it has the potential to identify textbooks’ weaknesses and make suggestions for their improvement.³⁸ The principal research sources for my project were those school history curricula and textbooks from Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine which have been approved and published in the last twenty years. For this work, I have analysed over one hundred history textbooks for years 4 to 12 from all three countries.

Methodology

Textbook analysis should include all the components of a textbook, not only the text, as such elements as images, diagrams and layout are part of the message that the textbook

³⁷ M.W. Apple, *The Politics of the Textbooks*, New York: Routledge, 1991, 10.

³⁸ Fritzsche, *Prejudice and Underlying Assumptions*, 52-59.

communicates to students and teachers.³⁹ The quality of a textbook depends to a great extent on the political and socio-economic realities in a specific country, as well as on the process of development, selection, approval, and recommendation of textbooks⁴⁰ and on the attitudes of the people involved in this process.

My research made use of a variety of methods of textbook analysis, frequently employing a combined approach in order to ensure a higher level of objectivity in the findings and blending qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The quantitative methods I used included data collection on laws, rules, curricula, and the content of textbooks as well as statistical analysis of these data. In this context, I discuss my questions based on deduction, attempting to establish how many changes there have been in the school curricula of the countries in question, how many books were published, or how often each country is presented in their neighbouring countries' history textbooks. I used qualitative methods to search for meaning, to understand and interpret various historical facts, events, actions, and phenomena as they appeared in the textbooks and curricula. These methods permit us to analyse the development and transformation of history curricula, textbook writing and textbook content, such as descriptions, pictures, maps and documents, based on a list of criteria⁴¹ including, for example, the presentation of the concepts of "hostile"⁴², "neighbour", "alien", nation and minority, or the discussion of controversial issues such as unresolved political problems, borders, minority rights, wars, ethnic genesis and statehood. Another important method used during my research was interviews with teachers, inspectors from public administration bodies and ministries of education, textbook authors, editors and other actors in the field.⁴³

³⁹ J. Slater, "Report", in H. Bourdillon (ed.), *History and Social Studies-Methodologies of Textbook Analysis*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1992, 14; M.B. Miles and A.M. Hubman, *Qualitative Data Analysis. An Expanded Source Book*, Thousand Oaks, 1994; F. Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, Paris: UNESCO, 1999; J. Mikk, *Textbook: Research and Writing*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000; G.A. Valverde et al., *According to the Book. Using Timss to Investigate the Translation of Policy into Practice through the World of Textbooks*, Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002.

⁴⁰ T. Weinreich, "The Educational Textmarket: Qualities and Quantities", in *Text and Quality*, Oslo: 1995, 134. I. Ivić, A. Pešikan, S. Antić (eds.), *Textbook Quality. A Guide to Textbook Standards*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2013. E. Fuchs, I. Niehasu, A. Stoletzki, *Das Schulbuch in der Forschung. Analysen und Empfehlungen für die Bildungspraxis*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014.

⁴¹ Some details of research methods and criteria are discussed in my work S. Musteață, *Cum să elaborăm și analizăm manualele școlare*, Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2006.

⁴² On the notion of the "hostile", see R. Koselleck, *Conceptele și istoriile lor. Semantica și pragmatica limbajului social-politic*, București: Art, 2009, 232-242.

⁴³ Some examples of Moldavian textbook analysis are as follows: S. Musteață, "Curriculumul Național și Manualele de Istorie din Republica Moldova: Realizări și Perspective. Studiu De Caz: Ciclul Liceal Istoria Românilor (Clasele X – XII)", in *Didactica Pro. Revista de Teorie și Practică Educațională* 13,

This book is thus focused on two main objectives: first, to generate improved understanding of the state of the discipline of history in these countries via discussion of reforms to and debates around history curricula in each country, and second, to shed light on the ways in which history textbooks in each of the three countries represent the other two and their peoples.

no. 3, iunie (2002), 65-69; S. Musteață, "Carol I în manualele de istorie din Republica Moldova. Studiu de caz manualele pentru clasa a VIII-a", in Gh. Cliveti, A.-B. Ceobanu and I. Nistor (eds.), *Cultură, politică și societate în timpul domniei lui Carol I. 130 de ani de la proclamarea Regatului României*, Iași: Editura Universității, 2011, 321-338.

I Republic of Moldova

“Moldova: a young state - where is the history?”⁴⁴

Geographically located in the south-east of Europe, the Republic of Moldova, traditionally known as Bessarabia, occupies most of the territory between the river Dniester and the Prut as well as a small area on the left side of the Dniester, in its middle and inferior course. In the west, it is bordered by Romania, in the north, east, and south by Ukraine. Its territory longitudinally measures 350 km and latitudinally 150 km, thus an area of 33,800 square kilometers.

On the basis of the Constitution adopted on 29 July 1994, the Republic of Moldova is an independent, sovereign, and indivisible state. The Constitution proclaims the neutrality of the state and declares inadmissible the basing of foreign troops on its territory. The constitutional modifications of summer 2000 legalised the governmental form as a parliamentary republic. Previously, from September 1990 until July 1994, it had been a presidential republic. The political system from 29 July 1994 to July 2000 was semi-presidential and semi-parliamentary.

In 1997 the National Council for Curriculum and Evaluation was established, going on to become an important educational policy-making body responsible for designing curriculum policy documents, deciding on implementation, and verifying the quality of the curriculum process as a whole. The national curriculum has been described by the OECD as “one of the best educational policy documents in the South-Eastern Europe region as it aims at assuring a complex and coherent vision of the whole system”.⁴⁵ During the 1990s the school curriculum in Moldova had been developed with the support of the World Bank. The history curriculum, developed by a team of researchers, university professors, and school teachers and coordinated by specialists from the Ministry of Education, was an integral part of this process. After long discussions, including street protests in 1995, history education in Moldova at that time was divided into two disciplines: National History/History of Romanians (*istoria românilor*) and World History (*istoria universală*). In accordance with the temporary school curriculum established in 1995, some publishing houses and historians published experimental textbooks of Na-

⁴⁴ J. Seim, “Moldova: En ung Stat - Hvor er Historien? (Moldova: A Young State - Where is the History?)”, in *Nordisk Ost-Forum (Norsk Utenrikspolitisk Institut)* 19, no. 1 (2005), 85-99.

⁴⁵ *Reviews of National Policies for Education. South Eastern Europe. FYROM, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia*. Vol. 2. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development-OECD, 2003, 132-133. What is less clear, however, is why the Moldovan communist government does not support this document, or at least some of its basic prerequisites.

tional History for years 5 to 9 and World History for years 6 to 9. Upper secondary level (year 10 onwards) was not part of this process, remaining without textbooks until 2001. Textbooks for all primary and lower secondary education were published in both Romanian and Russian under the auspices of the Government of Moldova with a World Bank educational loan.

I.1 History Curricula, Textbook Reforms, and Public Debates

Education in the Republic of Moldova is currently divided into two sub-systems: one is a national educational system and the other is organised in Transnistria under the separatist regime's rules. The educational system in the Republic of Moldova is based on three principal stages: primary school (years 1 to 4, six/seven - ten/eleven years of age), lower secondary school (years 5 to 9, 11/12-15/16 years of age) and upper secondary school (years 10 to 12, 16/17-19/20 years of age). The first two stages are compulsory.⁴⁶

Following the collapse of the USSR, history education in Moldova has perennially been the subject of public debate, including street protests (in 1995, 2002, and 2006).⁴⁷ The Moldovan emancipated movement of 1989-1991 culminated in the declaration of Moldova's independence, the transition to the Latin alphabet, and, in specific relation to history education, the replacement of the *History of the USSR* and *History of the MSSR* courses with *World History* and *History of the Romanians*. The accession to power of the Agrarian Party in 1994 reignited discussion around language and history. The Agrarians' promotion of a policy of "Moldovanism" led to increased tensions within the country and a change in the Constitution, declaring the Moldovan (as opposed to the Romanian) language as the official language of Moldova. During this period, political debate on the school subjects of Romanian language and history became extremely in-

⁴⁶ The Moldovan educational system is discussed in more detail in the following works: N. Odobescu, "Moldawien", in H. Döbert, et al. (eds.), *Die Schulbuchsysteme Europas*, Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2002, 318-327; RNPE, "Romania", in E. Burgeat (ed.), *Reviews of National Policies for Education. South Eastern Europe. FYROM, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia*, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2004, 265-337; N. Odobescu, "Moldova", in W. Hörner, et al. (eds.), *The Education Systems of Europe*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2007, 520-540; S. Musteață, "Education Reform in the Republic of Moldova: Qua Vadis?", in *Buletinul Universității Petrol-Gaze din Ploiești, seria Științe Socio-Umane și Juridice* LX, no. 1 (2008), 91-104; R. Hanneschländer, "Republik Moldau (Moldawien)", in H. Döbert et al. (eds.), *Die Bildungssysteme Europas, Grundlagen der Schulpädagogik*, Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren GmbH, 2010, 476-486.

⁴⁷ See the detailed analysis of the debates around history teaching in the Republic of Moldova in S. Musteață, *Educația istorică între discursul politic și identitar în Republica Moldova*, Chișinău: Editura Pontos, 2010.

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tense. At the same time, as part of a general education reform supported by the World Bank, history education entered a phase of curriculum reform. In March 1995, the government of the Republic of Moldova made the decision to remove the *History of the Romanians* course from schools, a move which occasioned large street demonstrations that lasted for two months. After long negotiations, the president issued a decree that placed a moratorium on this issue. The *World History* and *History of the Romanians* courses were reinstated into the national curriculum. Subsequently, the government of the Republic of Moldova approved national curricula for the two subjects and for the corresponding school textbooks (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).

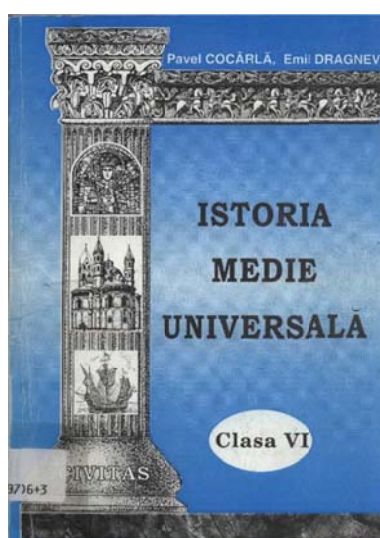


Fig. 1

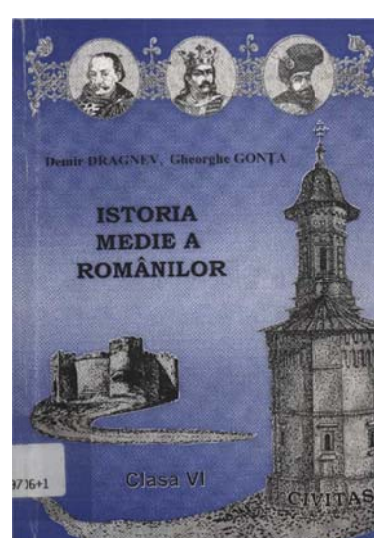


Fig. 2

Following the February 2001 general elections, the Communist Party came to power, reviving the debate on history education between historians and the government and bringing this issue once again into public consciousness. The Communist government tried hard to change the name and content of the *History of the Romanians* course into *History of Moldova*; after new street demonstrations (January-February 2002) and seminars organised by the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Council of Europe (in September 2002 and February and October 2003), the idea of an *Integrated History* course, which would include a balanced representation of national and world history in a single programme of teaching, reappeared. The notion of a course offering an integrated history is not new in Moldova; in 1994, a textbook of (integrated) ancient history was published for year 5, but it contained a large number of conceptual, academic and methodological errors and received severe criticism in academic circles, schools, and the mass media. Even though the Ministry of Education distributed this textbook, it had

a very limited career in use, first, because it was largely plagiarised from other history textbooks, and second, because only a few of its pages were dedicated to the topic of ancient national history, in the context of ancient world history.

Many historians from Moldova were therefore sceptical towards the resurrection of an integrated history textbook and viewed the plan as an attempt by the Communist Party to continue in the tradition of Soviet historiography concerning the Moldovan nation and language, an effort, in other words, to further develop the manipulated identity of the Moldovan state and nation as separate from the Romanian one. D. Herve characterised this process as being located “between originality of invention and exhumation of past practices”.⁴⁸ The new administration’s policy included both internal and external measures for the promotion of a Moldovan identity. As a result, relations between Moldova and Romania cooled between 2001 and 2004, and the Chișinău government refused to sign agreements for cultural cooperation and ignored Romanian scholarships offered to Moldovan children and students. Internally, the focus of this campaign was opposition to the *History of the Romanians* course, using arguments such as “this is the history of another country”, that teaching it “undermines Moldova’s statehood”, and that “our children don’t study enough of the history of their native communities”.⁴⁹ These were the arguments by which the Communist authorities tried to gain legitimising support from various international governmental and non-governmental organisations for changes to history curricula and textbooks.

Civil society in general and the academic community in particular have opposed political involvement in historical education. Therefore, at the Congress of the Historians of Moldova held on 1 July 2001 in Chișinău, university professors, school history teachers, academics, intellectuals and students from various universities protested against the Communist government’s attempt to replace the *History of the Romanians* course. The Congress adopted a declaration, *For the Defense of National Dignity, Cessation of Romanian-phobia and Falsification of the History of the Romanians*. The participants in the Congress also asked the leadership of Moldova to abandon their campaign against the *History of the Romanians* course and stop exercising political pressure

⁴⁸ H. Dupouy, “Entre invention originale et exhumation des pratiques du passé: les nouvelles élites dans les campagnes de la République de Moldavie”, in *Transitions: Ex-Revue des Pays de l’Est* 45, no. 2 (2006), 43-89.

⁴⁹ *La baza stătalității trebuie să se afle adevărata istorie a Republicii Moldova*, In „Moldova Suverană”, nr. 26-26, 19 februarie 2003, 1.

on historians. In this way, the intellectual community of Moldova tried to defend the legitimacy of the Romanian history and identity with which it identified. In November 2001, the leadership of the Historians' Association of Moldova published a declaration condemning pressure from the central authorities to introduce a *History of Moldova* course and drawing public attention to the fact that such actions were pursued in order to use history for the promotion of the ideological interests of the Communist Party of Moldova.

In another controversial decision taken in late 2001, the Communist government re-introduced the Russian language as a compulsory school subject, to be taught starting from year 2. This triggered major protests by parents, teachers, pupils and the public. During this period of rallies in downtown Chișinău, a small group of people demanded that the president of Moldova introduce the *History of Moldova* course without delay, as, in their view, the *History of the Romanians* contributed to the “destruction of the Republic of Moldova”.⁵⁰ Under these circumstances, on 1 February 2002, the Historians' Association of Moldova addressed a memorandum to the authorities in which historians and scholars expressed their concern about what they referred to as attempts to institute a dictatorial regime and resume “the old practices of indoctrinating the population with false and distorted ideas regarding the past of the Romanian people, and especially regarding Romanians living in Bessarabia as a component part of the Romanian nation.” The authors of the memorandum asked that the Moldovan authorities respect and promote accuracy and objectivity when dealing with issues of national language, literature, and history, and halt the “Romanian-phobic” campaign and opposition to Romanian language and history. The memorandum echoed the opinion of the participants in the Congress of the Historians of Moldova held on 1 July 2001.⁵¹

On 12 February 2002, despite mass protests in the main square of Chișinău, the Minister of Education fully endorsed a resolution regarding the introduction of the *History of Moldova* as a subject in schools, universities and postgraduate institutions as of 1 September 2002. On 15 February 2002, the resolution was approved at a governmental meeting. This decision provoked renewed and reinvigorated protests from teachers,

⁵⁰ Hotărârea Guvernului Republicii Moldova (nr. 180) cu privire la implementarea “Istoriei Moldovei” ca disciplină de predare în instituțiile de învățământ, in Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova, nr. 27-28, 18 februarie 2002, art. 252.

⁵¹ Apelul Congresului Istoricilor din Republica Moldova “Pentru apărarea demnității naționale, pentru stoparea campaniei de românofobie și denigrare a Istoriei Românilor (1 iulie 2003),” in *În apărarea istoriei și demnității naționale*, Chișinău: Asociația Istoricilor din Republica Moldova, 2003, 33-35.

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students, and other social and professional groups. The Prime Minister, Vasile Tarlev, considered the adoption of those decisions to be his personal responsibility, because “most of the independent states have their own histories”. For the “smooth” implementation of this course, a decision was taken to develop a textbook on the *History of Moldova*. This was on the initiative of President Voronin, who in 2001 had appointed Vladimir Țaranov, one of the champions of “Moldovanism”, as the editor of the textbook.

As a result of street protests and criticism from the academic community, the government of the Republic of Moldova approved a resolution on 22 February 2002 entitled *On Steps to Improve the Study of History*, which revoked the 15 February 2002 decision concerning the implementation of the *History of Moldova* as a discipline to be taught in educational institutions in Moldova. This resolution, however, also authorised the Vice Prime Minister, Valerian Cristea, to create a state commission for the development of a concept for the *History of Moldova*. It represented a clear sign of the Communist Party’s resolve to force *History of the Romanians* out of schools, although the protests had delayed the immediate realisation of the project.

Academia viewed matters differently. On 20 March 2002, the Scientific Council of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova adopted a decision entitled *On the Teaching and Study of the History of the Romanians in the Educational and Academic Systems of Moldova*; subsequently, on 26 March 2002, the Academy of the Sciences of Moldova voted to preserve *History of the Romanians* in schools. In agreement with other academic institutions, the Historians’ Association of Moldova continued to express support for the retention of the *History of the Romanians* and *World History* courses in schools and other educational institutions. The historians belonging to this organisation pointed out repeatedly that Moldova’s national history was undergoing fundamental changes, that the inclusion of these changes in the teaching of history was fully justified in a period in which the historical discourse was evolving, and that it was totally against the professional ethics of historians to harness those changes for purposes dictated by politics.

On 24 April 2002, in the wake of visits by European experts and as a reaction to the rallies in Chișinău, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Resolution 1280 (2002), *On the Functioning of Democratic Institutions in the Republic of Moldova*, which provided for an extension of the existing moratorium on reforms concerning the study and status of the Russian language as well as the changes in the histo-

ry curricula. On 26 September 2002, the Parliamentary Assembly further adopted Resolution 1303 (2002), in which it expressed its satisfaction with the fact that the Moldovan authorities had maintained the moratorium, which, according to the Resolution, permitted the preservation of stability in the country. However, in the meantime (2002-2006), the Russian language had become a mandatory discipline in Moldovan schools from year 5 onwards, and new textbooks for history had been produced.

Also in 2002, the government of the Republic of Moldova launched a competition for the best concept of historical education for Moldova and, through Moldovan embassies, asked European countries to provide suggestions for the reformation of history education in the country. In February 2003, the Moldovan government collected the forty-two concepts that had been submitted and passed them to the Secretariat of the Council of Europe. Out of the forty-two, a committee of experts selected five; the Council of Europe's delegation approved these and suggested that they should be further developed into possibly one or two concepts which would be acceptable to all parties involved. At the same time, the Moldovan Ministry of Education sent a set of Moldovan history textbooks to the Secretariat of the Council of Europe via the Moldovan Permanent Representation, requesting that the Secretariat ask the German Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research to evaluate them. The Council of Europe decided to provide the support necessary for the Georg Eckert Institute to carry out the evaluation and invite the authors of Moldovan textbooks and curriculum outlines to the Institute to discuss the analysis and make recommendations. During 2003, the Council of Europe supported the foundation in the Republic of Moldova of the Teachers' Training Centre and became a member of its board. The Council and the Moldovan government decided that the Centre would be a non-governmental entity but that members of the Board (which included Valentina Haheu and Valerian Cristea, who in fact opposed the Moldovan law on NGOs and the related principles of NGO activity) could not be members of the government.

In April 2003, the Second Congress of Historians of the Republic of Moldova condemned the interference of the Communist government in the field of history education and endorsed the existing model encapsulated by the *History of the Romanians* and *World History* courses "as a scientific foundation for the education of young generations". The participants also called on all history teachers from the Republic of Moldova to support them in their attempts to educate cultivated citizens, making them aware of

their historical identity and their place in contemporary world society as well as their profound European roots.

In 2002-2003, the Council of Europe and the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO) were actively involved in the development of a new method of history education for Moldova. Representatives of these international organisations often visited Moldova to support and participate in training seminars, and in so doing were able to introduce a multilateral and objective approach to history education in Moldova. During a meeting between the Council of Europe's experts and the president of the Republic, V. Voronin, which was held in Chișinău on 18 February 2003, the President said that the government "had decided to renounce its initial plan to change the name of the course on national history to *History of Moldova* and to proceed instead with an integrated course for history."⁵² According to Voronin's statement, "only a depoliticised history can reveal the historical truth".⁵³ His view was that the new history curriculum should be based on the principles laid down in the Council of Europe's *Recommendation on Historical Education in the Twenty-First Century (Rec (2001) 15)* and reflect the multicultural composition of Moldovan society. He emphasised that this approach to history education would also be helpful in the process of integrating Moldova into Europe. During the meeting, Alison Cardwel, a representative of the Council of Europe, said that "both the experts and President Vladimir Voronin have agreed on the necessity to have a single course for school history that would include all of the materials and would reflect the multiple cultures in Moldova. We must do what has been done in other European countries."⁵⁴ The support shown by these organisations for the *Integrated History* course led to disagreement among Moldovan historians, who took the view that this change would conflict with the current educational realities of the country. Some foreign experts responded by insisting on a single history course for schools, branding local historians who had spoken out in support of the preservation of the two courses *History of the Romanians* and *World History* as nationalists.

The discussions that took place in Germany at the Georg Eckert Institute in the period 2003 to 2006 between historians from Moldova and those from other countries led to

⁵² <http://www.prezident.md/search.php?id=902&lang=rom> (last access 21 June 2008). T. Roșca, V. Bivol, *Integrarea Republicii Moldova în Europa – prin educația istorică*, In *Moldova Suverană*, nr. 206 (20154), 13 noiembrie 2002, 1, 3.

⁵³ <http://www.prezident.md/search.php?id=902&lang=rom> (last access 21 June 2008).

⁵⁴ <http://www.prezident.md/search.php?id=902&lang=rom> (last access 21 June 2008).

the identification of a need for improvement in relation to some elements of the national history curriculum and textbooks. However, no proposals were made to replace the textbooks. The participants in a seminar held in Braunschweig from 25 to 29 June 2003 asserted that any attempt to replace history curricula and textbooks in Moldova would constitute a revitalisation of “the Stalinist concept of the creation of the nation, language, and history of Moldovans as different from Romanians”,⁵⁵ which would contradict the Council of Europe’s Recommendation 15 (2001).

Meanwhile, at the start of the 2003/4 academic year, the Ministry of Education introduced on an experimental basis a new curricular course, entitled *Integrated History*, in 50 schools across the country. Neither the list of schools chosen for the experiment nor the method by which they had been selected was made public. According to the Ministry of Education, the number of schools involved in the experiment increased to 150 in the 2004/5 academic year and to 400 in 2005/6. This “secret” experiment with an integrated history curriculum might be considered to be indicative of the Communist government’s political opposition to the *History of the Romanians* course. The lack of an evident concept, strategy, or any transparency in the development and implementation of the experiment and in the selection of the textbook for this course by the Ministry of Education, points to the political nature of the decision to implement the *Integrated History* course. During 2002 and 2003, some Moldovan officials, including President Voronin, declared that the teaching of the *History of the Romanians* created barriers for the integration of Moldova into the EU and impeded the resolution of the conflict with Transnistria. The experiment and these declarations resulted in new tensions in Moldovan society. In Transnistria, schools continue to use the standards of the Russian Federation for history education (using the same programme of teaching, with the same number of hours and history textbooks). The curriculum there thus encompasses two courses, *World History* and *History of the Fatherland*, which refers to the history of Russia, the USSR, and Transnistria. Another course is dedicated to local history, “Istoria rodnogo kraja” (Fig. 3, Fig. 4, Fig. 5).⁵⁶

⁵⁵ W.v. Meurs, *History Textbooks in Moldova*, Expert Report, Braunschweig 26-27 June 2003, 5; St. Ihrig, “Moldovan Nightmares or “Historiographic Deadlock at Birth. History, Identity and History Teaching in the Republic of Moldova (1991-2008)”, in A. Dimou (ed.), *‘Transition’ and the Politics of History Education in Southeast Europe*, Eckert. Die Schriftenreihe, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009, 387.

⁵⁶ There are more details on history teaching in the separatist region in S. Musteață, “Predarea istoriei în școlile din regiunea separatistă nistreană”, in A. Galben and Gh. Postică (eds.), *Probleme actuale de istorie națională. Studii în onoarea profesorului Pavel Parasca*, Chișinău: ULIM, 2009, 335-345.

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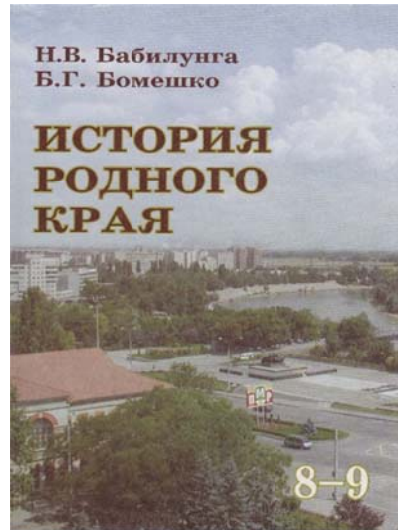
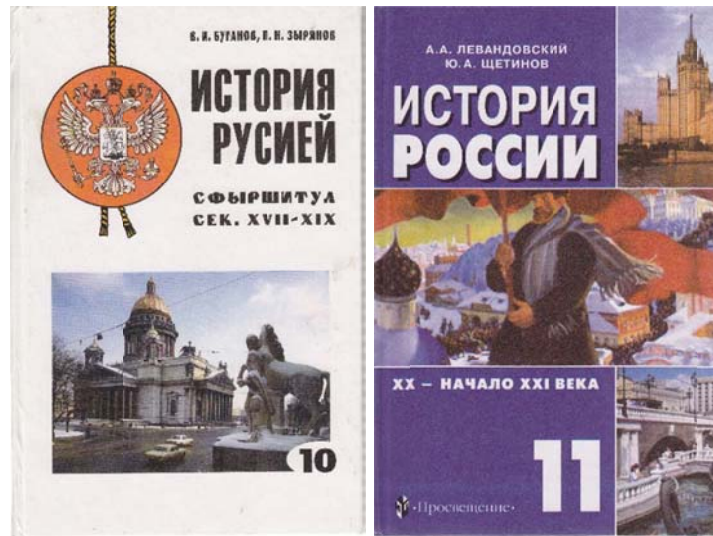


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

In July 2004, the Minister of Education, V. Beniuc, declared that new textbook authors had been nominated in April 2004 by the Ministry and that new history textbooks would be ready for the beginning of the upcoming school year.⁵⁷ The Ministry of Education had indeed announced a competition for the writing of new history textbooks, but most historians and publishing houses had refused to participate in this process, as they considered it to be both undemocratic and unacademic. Thus the Minister had simply selected the people he wanted to lead the textbook writing project. It is difficult to assert that this was a truly democratic and transparent process.

In 2005, the Ministry of Education excluded final examinations in the subjects of *History of the Romanians* and *World History* from the official list of exams for Moldo-

⁵⁷ In 2006, the Minister of Education, V. Țvircun, said that these authors had participated in a competition and had been selected through a legitimate selection process; this, however, appears to have been untrue.

van upper secondary schools. The Ministry proposed that upper secondary schools conduct an exam in geography instead and that other schools could offer an optional exam in history. These changes once again led to a public outcry. Leaders of history teachers' professional associations (A. Petrencu and L. Stavinschi) asserted that the associations did not support this decision and viewed it as political interference in history education. This position was supported by those attending the Third Congress of Historians of Moldova, which was held on 5 November 2005 in Chișinău.

On 30 November 2005, President Voronin asked for a meeting with members of the government and Parliament to discuss the problem of implementing an *Integrated History* course based on the Council of Europe's recommendations. Voronin asserted that the introduction of this course was part of Moldova's efforts to raise its national educational standards to European levels. He also said that new textbooks should demonstrate higher quality and lower prices and that business consideration should be excluded from the process of evaluating and editing textbooks and distributing them to schools.

Table 1. Structure of history education in Moldova

| No. | Secondary school | | Upper secondary school | |
|-----|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| | 1. | Year 5 | Antiquity | Year 10 |
| 2. | Year 6 | Middle Ages | Year 11 | Modernity |
| 3. | Year 7 | Modern period, part I | Year 12 | Contemporary period |
| 4. | Year 8 | Modern period, part II | | |
| 5. | Year 9 | Contemporary period | | |

On 27 July 2006, the Ministry of Education approved the decision to introduce the *Integrated History* course and textbooks into pre-university education, starting that September. Hence, as of 1 September 2006, new curricula for historical education were introduced in all secondary schools, with one course entitled *History*⁵⁸ replacing the two previously taught courses *History of the Romanians* and *World History*. Further, the Ministry of Education distributed new history textbooks in all schools and ordered schools to stop using other textbooks. This situation again generated opposition from teachers, professional organisations and NGOs. Opponents of the new curriculum pointed out multiple errors in the content of the new books, and many national newspapers

⁵⁸ M. Dobzeu et al. (eds.), *Ghid de implementare a curriculumului modernizat în învățământul liceal*, Chișinău: Știința, 2007; Ihrig, *Moldovan Nightmares*, 384.

published articles critical of their quality. The year 9 and 12 textbooks received the most severe criticism due to their containing numerous pictures of and quotations from Communist government leaders.

In the midst of this very difficult situation, President Voronin convened another meeting, on 29 September 2006, with some of the best-known historians from the Republic of Moldova. At this meeting, he stated that “educating through history is our first step in the process of attending to the general human values accepted by the European Union. The introduction of the integrated course of school history into our educational institutions is just a small step in the process of integrating our country into Europe - a very important step.” Voronin continued: “A school is not an arena for battles and the exercises of scholars. The teacher’s chair cannot be the seat of a political tribune. For the last 15 years, the Republic of Moldova has been subject to international law, and our country is not a Gubernia or province of another’s state; it has its own contemporary state symbols with centuries-old traditions, culture, and history.”⁵⁹

The President’s declaration regarding political involvement in historical research and teaching is contradictory because the Communist government promoted exactly the opposite. Most historians who participated in this meeting criticised the new history textbooks, and at the end of the discussion, President Voronin asked them to correct all the errors found in these textbooks as quickly as possible. He also suggested that a group of experts from the Institute of History and Law of the Academy of Sciences should develop the second edition of the integrated history textbooks, and invited all interested institutions and organisations to participate in the editing process. Hence, in November 2006, a 35-member commission to exercise scientific expertise on history textbooks was created at the Academy of Sciences of Moldova.

A new wave of activism arose in Moldovan society against the Ministry of Education’s decision to introduce a new curriculum and new textbooks on integrated history in Moldova. The mass media carried hundreds of declarations criticising the new curriculum from diverse institutions and groups, including political parties, professional organisations, mass media organisations and teacher and parent associations, and critical statements were made in parliamentary debates.

⁵⁹ Voronin cere rețușarea manualelor de istorie integrate, in *Gazeta liberă*, Nr. 34 (75), 5 octombrie 2006, <http://gazeta.md/75-3.php> (last access 24 June 2008).

On 22 December 2006, after two months evaluating the content of these new history textbooks, a state commission approved the evaluation report. However, the final meeting of the commission was attended by only 19 of the 35 members, with just 8 of these voting for the final decision. Most historians belonging to the commission boycotted the meeting, being of the view that, while many of the almost 40 reviews of the textbooks that had been submitted criticised them, the leaders of the commission were nevertheless pushing for a positive decision. Indeed, such a decision was the outcome of the thus depleted concluding meeting. Chiril Stratievski, chair of the commission, declared that the final decision had been approved by a vote of the majority of the members of the commission. The commission admitted that the textbooks contained various conceptual, linguistic, factual, and technical errors which required removal within the following two years. The commission held the Ministry of Education responsible for these errors but still recommended that teachers use the textbooks while being critical of the controversial points. The Ministry of Education was to distribute appendices to these books (as *errata*) to all schools.

V. Țvircun, Moldova's Minister of Education, declared that the introduction of a new curriculum and the publication of new textbooks had been accomplished as recommended by the Georg Eckert Institute for Textbook Research in Braunschweig, Germany. This, however, was untrue. As mentioned earlier, the government had asked the Council of Europe and the Georg Eckert Institute to offer the authors their expertise in textbook research. The Georg Eckert Institute stressed that its role in the process of textbook development was to help improve the educational quality of the work and support textbook authors in their efforts to move towards an integrated approach to the teaching and learning of history. In a press release issued on 15 December 2006, the Institute stated that it "has no mandate to approve textbooks, neither in the German nor in the international context".⁶⁰ The Georg Eckert Institute's role is that of a consultant body; its expertise, therefore, does not act as a substitute for the comprehensive internal process of review and approval of textbooks. The Institute has supported the Moldovan Government in its undertaking to improve history teaching and textbook writing, yet it did not *approve* the textbooks and their content. The Institute's experts reviewed the manuscripts of the new textbooks and stated that "none of the manuscripts fully reached

⁶⁰ Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung, Press Release "The Moldova Project and the Controversies about the New History Textbooks in the Republic of Moldova", 15 December 2006.

the goals set by the Moldovan curriculum. Some were still far from meeting the new methodological standards at all.”⁶¹ The experts recommended “a serious reworking of all of these books”, and did not suggest that they should be published in the form in which they had been submitted for review. Additionally, the Institute was “not of the opinion that the new textbooks should exclusively replace the previous ones. On the contrary, given the shortcomings of the new textbooks, use of the previous textbooks in addition to the new ones seems to be a beneficial approach.”⁶² S. Ihrig considered that “The new textbooks do not offer a more multiperspective approach; indeed they exhibit few of the concepts conveyed in the training workshops run by the Georg Eckert Institute and the Council of Europe.”⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ihrig, *Moldovan Nightmares*, 390.

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Table 2. History teaching in the Republic of Moldova since 2006

| Educational level | School year | Age | Content | Discipline | Hours/week | | Total periods/year | | | |
|------------------------|-------------|-------|------------------------------|------------|------------|------|--------------------|----|------------|----|
| | | | | | | | before 2006 | | after 2006 | |
| Primary | 4 | 10-11 | History | | 1 | | 34 | | 34 | |
| Secondary | 5 | 12-13 | Prehistory. Antiquity | History | 2 | | 46 + 22* | | 68 | |
| | 6 | 13-14 | Middle Ages | History | 2 | | 36 + 32 | | 68 | |
| | 7 | 14-15 | Modernity, part I | History | 2 | | 38 + 30 | | 68 | |
| | 8 | 15-16 | Modernity, part II | History | 2 | | 36 + 32 | | 68 | |
| | 9 | 16-17 | Contemporary | History | 2 | | 36 + 32 | | 68 | |
| Upper secondary school | 10 | 17-18 | Antiquity and Middle Ages | History | 3** | 2*** | 102 | 68 | 102 | 68 |
| | 11 | 18-19 | Modern period | History | 3 | 2 | 102 | 68 | 102 | 68 |
| | 12 | 19-20 | Contemporary period | | 3 | 2 | 102 | 68 | 102 | 68 |

* The first figure shows the hours designated as being reserved for World History, the second those for History of Romanians (1995-2006); ** - Upper secondary school (humanist profile); *** - Upper secondary school (Social sciences profile)

After the double general elections held in 2009, the new democratic parties (the Alliance for European Integration), in coming to power, established the integration of the Republic of Moldova into the European Union as their government's central objective. The public debate over history education in Moldova continued. In 2010, the Ministry of Education approved a new, modernised curriculum for a single subject called *History*.⁶⁴ This decision did not satisfy some historians, who asked the Ministry to reinstate the two history courses taught in Moldovan schools until 2006, *History of the Romanians* and *World History*. After long debates and the establishment of a new commission in March 2012, the Ministry of Education decided to maintain one course, but with a different title, which was changed from *History* to *History of the Romanians and World History*. This decision generated new debates and renewed controversy in Moldovan society.

In the majority of Western European countries, history education extends beyond the national context, and the trend is now moving towards teaching a common European history. Moldova has not yet embraced this approach. It now has an opportunity to start

⁶⁴ P. Cerbușcă and M. Dobzeu (eds.), *Istorie. Ghid de implementare a curriculumului modernizat pentru treapta liceală*, Chișinău: Cartier, 2010; C. Lungu et al. (eds.), *Istorie. Ghid de implementare a curriculumului modernizat pentru treapta primară și gimnazială*, Chișinău: Lyceum, 2011.

teaching its own history again, to overcome the remnants of the false version of history promoted during the Soviet era, and to develop a comprehensive, accurate history curriculum that incorporates both regional and European elements. More importantly, as the community of historians of Moldova has stated, the process of creating a single history course for Moldovan schools needs ideally to evolve naturally and be both based on democratic principles and supported by public debate.

The Moldovan experience over the last several decades is demonstrative of the fact that history education is an expression of the current ideological crisis in most of the former Soviet republics, where the weak state of history education additionally reflects a crisis in academic history. The Norwegian researcher J. Seim highlights this situation in his article “Moldova: A Young State - Where is the History?”⁶⁵ In divided societies, such as the Republic of Moldova, the history curriculum is a controversial issue and it can be dangerous to be an open-minded teacher, particularly when teaching history which touches on regions at the centre of conflict. However, teaching about conflict can help make it possible to build a non-violent world.

I. 2 Analysis of Textbooks

In Moldova, history is a compulsory discipline beginning in year 4 and continuing until the end of secondary school. There are five publishing houses producing textbooks. For secondary schools, the Ministry of Education approves and funds just one history textbook for each school year. For upper secondary level, the Ministry of Education approves two textbooks for each school year (10-12) but does not contribute towards editing or printing costs. During the period of Communist government (2001-2009), the Ministry funded one textbook for each year at upper secondary level, as was the practice for lower secondary schools. This practice continues to this day. The following section will analyse the ways in which Moldovan history textbooks depict and represent Moldova’s neighbours, specifically Romania and Ukraine.

Primary School: year 4

The first national curriculum for Moldovan primary schools was approved in 1997 and implemented in the years that followed. Since 2010 another, modernised curriculum

⁶⁵ Seim, Moldova: En Ung Stat - Hvor er Historien?, 85-99.

based on a common European framework of competencies has been in effect. Both curricula included history as a separate topic for year 4, including the 2012 changes of the name of the history discipline.⁶⁶

The first history textbook issued for year 4 after the end of the Soviet era was predominantly focused on national history, including a large number of topics revolving around patriotic issues from the ancient world to the present (Fig. 6, Fig. 7).⁶⁷

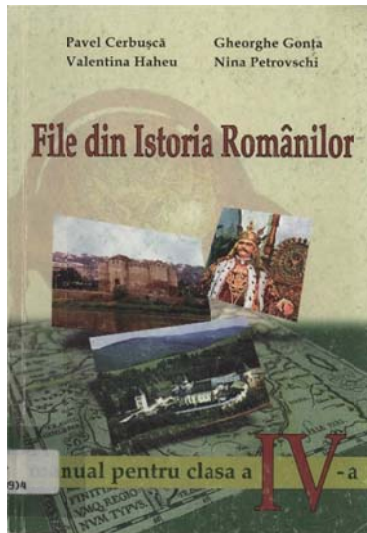


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

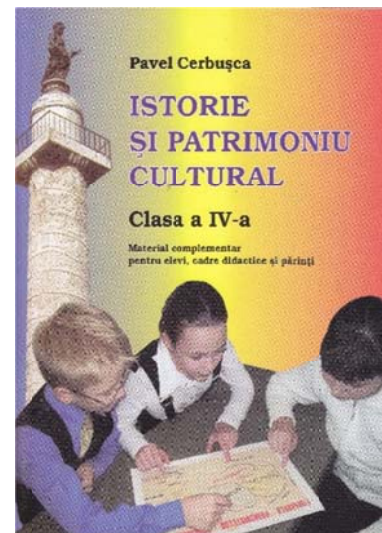


Fig. 6

As part of *History of Romanians*, the textbook obviously contains themes directly linked with the history of Romania; Ukraine is mentioned twice, in a general context on page 112. The 2006 textbook differs from the previous one because it was written according to another curriculum, which is more focused on the history of the Republic of Moldova. Some episodes it contains are linked to the history of Romanians, but not as closely as previously. The neighbours of the Republic of Moldova are illustrated on the maps of Europe on pages 24, 69, and 71.⁶⁸ The complementary materials for year 4 are similar (Fig. 8).⁶⁹ An example of such a relatively cursory mention might be found in the recent teacher's guide for year 4 history classes written by P. Cerbușcă, which states

⁶⁶ P. Cerbușcă, *Istoria rumyn i vseobščaja istorija. Učebnik dlja 4 klassa*, Chișinău: Știința, 2012; P. Cerbușcă, *Istoria românilor și universală. Caiet pentru clasa a IV-a*, Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2012; P. Cerbușcă, *Istoria românilor și universală. Ghidul învățătorului. Clasa a 4-a*, Chișinău: Știința, 2012; P. Cerbușcă, *Istoria rumyn i vseobščaja istorija. Posobie dlja učitelej. 4 klass*, Chișinău: Știința, 2012.

⁶⁷ P. Cerbușcă et al., *File din istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*, Chișinău: Știința-Cartier, 1999.

⁶⁸ G. Gavriiliță et al., *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*, Chișinău: Univers Pedagogic, 2006.

⁶⁹ E. Negru, *Istoria românilor. Material complementar pentru clasa a IV-a*, Chișinău: Epigraf, 2005; P. Cerbușcă, *Istorie și patrimoniu cultural. Clasa a IV-a, Material complementar Pentru elevi, cadre didactice și părinți*, Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2007.

that “the Moldovan and Romanian medieval states gained independence at about the same time, during the first half of the fourteenth century, after a long series of conflicts with their neighbours”, but does not mention which conflicts and fails to specify the historical context of these events. The text fails to provide a great deal of clarity because, from the maps presented in the textbooks and pupil workbooks, the contemporary neighbours of Moldova are Romania and Ukraine, while on the map showing the medieval situation the neighbours of Walachia (Muntenia) and Moldova are shown to be Transylvania and the Tatars.⁷⁰

Year 5

The year 5 history textbook published by the Lumina publishing house in 2000 includes prehistory and antiquity; the first part is focused on world history, while the second part concentrates on national history (Fig. 9).⁷¹ The prehistory and antiquity sections include knowledge about the current territories of Romania and Moldova and in some cases Ukraine as well (an example is the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture). Episodes of Greek colonisation and contact with barbarians are treated from a broader perspective. In some cases, the textbooks present more facts about regions which are now part of Romania than about the territories of the Republic of Moldova. The country’s eastern neighbours are presented only in the context of migrations, including those of the Sarmathians, Germanics, Huns, Avars, Slavs, and Bulgarians.⁷² Generally, this textbook is considered to be pitched at a very complex level for year 5 students. A similar situation is found in Croatian history textbooks, where “authors often simply carry their articles published in scientific journals or parts of their books into textbooks.”⁷³ The difference is that in Croatia these textbooks are for upper secondary level.



Fig. 9

⁷⁰ Cerbușcă, *Istoria românilor și universală. Ghidul învățătorului*, 61. Cerbușcă, *Istoria românilor și universală. Caiet*, 21; Cerbușcă, *Istoria rumyn i vseobščaja istorija*, 12, 27, 43, 68, 72-74.

⁷¹ I. Niculiță, VI. Potlog, and T. Arnăut, *Istorie. Epoca străveche și antică. Manual pentru clasa a V-a*, Chișinău: Editura Lumina, 2000.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 210-213.

⁷³ J. Krišto, “The Image of the Other/Neighbour in Croatian History Textbooks for Highschools, in Xochellis and Toloudi (eds.), *The Image of the “Other.”* 126.

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The alternative textbook for year 5 is more accessible than those mentioned above, but its presentation of neighbouring territories and people raises similar problems (Fig. 10).⁷⁴ The authors of the alternative textbooks have recognised that the theme of life in ancient times is better presented in the year 5 textbook than in the year 4 textbook, where the topic of daily life is missed out.⁷⁵ G. Gonta and N. Petrovski remarked in 2000 that: “In the Republic of Moldova, there live representatives of other nationalities beside the Moldovans. They make up 35% of the population: Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauzians, Bulgarians, and others. That is why familiarisation of pupils with the everyday lives of these people is of particular importance in the Republic of Moldova.”⁷⁶

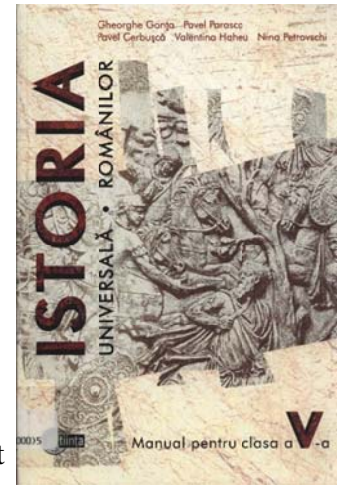


Fig. 10

Year 6

The Middle Ages appeared in year 6 textbooks in two separate courses before 2006, *World History* and *History of the Romanians*, and after 2006 in one integrated course

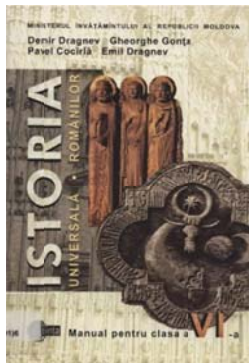


Fig. 11

(Fig. 11). The textbook for this course, published by the Știința publishing house, contained various pieces of information about neighbouring territories in the Middle Ages, such as the Western and Southern Slavs, Kievan Russia and the Mongols.⁷⁷ In the second part of this textbook, among themes relating to medieval Moldova, events from and facts about medieval Walachia and Transylvania are addressed,

but there is no mention given to relations between Moldova and its eastern neighbours. We can see on some maps that Moldova bordered Lithuania during Stephen the Great's rule, and later shared a

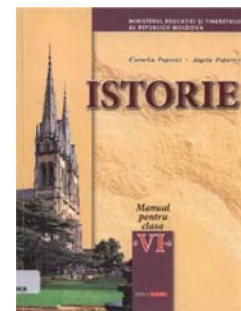


Fig. 12

⁷⁴ Gh. Gonta et al., *Istoria universală. Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a V-a*, Chișinău: Știința, 2000.

⁷⁵ Gh. Gonta and N. Petrovski, “Problemy povsednevoj zizni v novych ucebnykh Respubliki Moldova”, in P. Sadoycki and M. Telus (eds.), *Gistoryja stozhennasci i pravyy calaveka*, Minsk: Technalogija, 2000, 150.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁷⁷ D. Dragnev et al., *Istoria medievală unversală, a românilor*, Chișinău: Știința, 2001.

border with Poland and the Crimean Khanate, but are given no further details about the historical context of these facts.⁷⁸ The textbook produced in accordance with the integrated history curriculum of 2006 contains twelve chapters focusing on the Middle Ages (Fig. 12).⁷⁹ The quality of this textbook was subject to debate by various scholars, but it included various themes relating to Moldova's neighbours: Hungary, Kievan Russia, and Walachia.

Year 7

From my point of view, one of the best-written history textbooks from the Republic of Moldova is the year-7 work issued by the Știința publishing

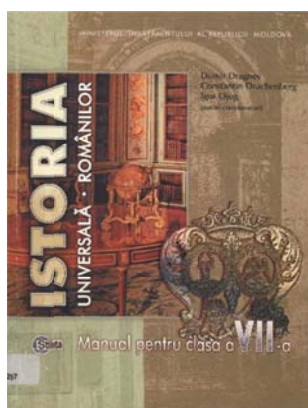


Fig. 13

house in 2002 (Fig. 13).⁸⁰ The first part is entirely dedicated to modern world history, including a topic on the Russian Empire during the nineteenth century. The second part contains topics from national history, combining different aspects of the modern history of Moldova, Walachia, Transylvania, Banat, Oltenia,

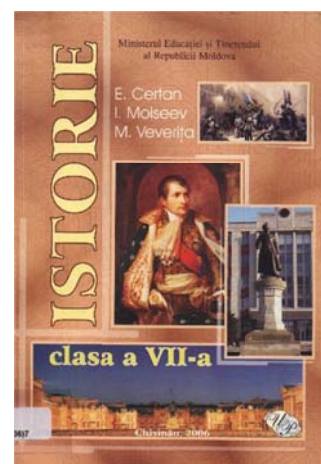


Fig. 14

Bukovina, Dobruja and Transnistria. It presents the situation of Bessarabia and Transnistria after annexation by the Russian Empire in a reasonably thorough and balanced manner, addressing issues such as “autonomy”, colonisation, the economy, society, and culture.⁸¹ The 1848 Revolution in Moldova is discussed from a comparative perspective, alongside the similar events in Transylvania, Bukovina, and Banat; this is a good example of a balanced treatment of such events.⁸²

The integrated history textbook for year 7 covers modern history (1640-1850) (Fig. 14). The authors have attempted in this textbook, not always entirely successfully, to integrate the history of the principality of Moldova into the European context. Attempts to highlight Moldova, such as the sections on “The Economy in Northern Moldova after

⁷⁸ Ibid., 174, 188, 193, 202, 206, 210, 214.

⁷⁹ C. Popovici and A. Popovici, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VI-a*, Chișinău: Editura Lumina, 2006.

⁸⁰ D. Dragnev et al., *Istoria universală. istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a VII-a*, Chișinău: Știința, 2002.

⁸¹ Ibid., 168-179, 200-203.

⁸² Ibid., 180-182.

its annexation by the Habsburg Empire” or “Culture in Moldova between the Prut and Dniester (Bessarabia) and Moldovan Territories on the Left Bank of the Dniester” during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are not always convincing. In this period the territories referred to were part of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, and it would have been better to mention the actual administrative names used during that time.⁸³

Year 8

The textbooks published in 2002 and 2003 for *Modern World History* (1850-1918) treat various aspects of the history of Europe, the USA, Asia and Africa (Fig. 15, Fig. 16).⁸⁴

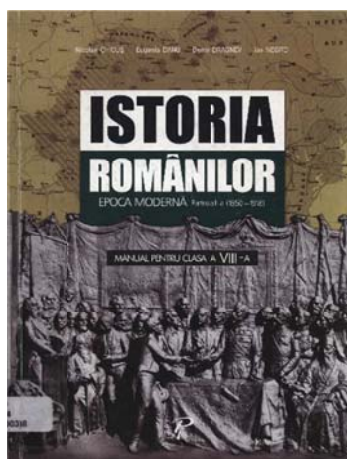


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

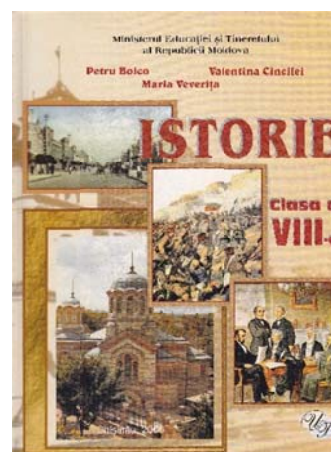


Fig. 17

In view of the fact that year 8 students follow a separate course on national history (*History of Romanians*), nothing is mentioned in this textbook about Romania or Bessarabia.⁸⁵ The national history textbooks discuss many common aspects of Moldova as part of modern Romania, as well as Bessarabia as part of the Russian Empire.

The integrated history textbook published in 2006 includes only one topic relating to the modern history of Romania (Fig. 17). The history of Bessarabia is presented from a variety of perspectives (agrarian reforms, socio-economic development, ethnic minorities, liberal reforms, social and political life, education and science, architecture), but

⁸³ E. Certan, I. Moiseev, and M. Veveriță. *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VII-a*, Chișinău: Univers Pedagogic, 2006, 40-41 and 196-197.

⁸⁴ I. Ojog and C. Turliuc. *Istoria universală. Epoca modernă 1850-1918. Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, Chișinău: Reclama-Cartdidact, 2002; C. Drachneberg et al., *Istoria universală. Epoca modernă. Partea a II-a (1850-1918)*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2003.

⁸⁵ N. Chicuș et al., *Istoria românilor. Epoca modernă. Partea a II-a (1850-1918). Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional 2003; I. Varta and I. Șarov, *Istoria românilor. Epoca modernă (1850-1918). Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, Chișinău: Cartdidact-Reclama, 2003.

has been written in the tradition of Soviet historiography, which entails interpretations such as the view that the Russian Empire liberated Bessarabia.

Year 9

The year 9 world history textbook published by Știința focuses on three main periods: the world between 1918 and 1945; the post-war period; and the construction of contemporary Europe (Fig. 18, Fig. 19).⁸⁶



Fig. 18

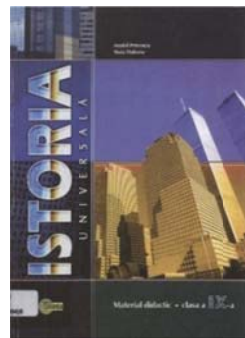


Fig. 19

Whereas Romania is briefly described on page 89 in the context of the collapse of its totalitarian regime, Ukraine is only mentioned on a map, on page 92. The national history (*History of Romanians*) textbook includes many aspects of the history of Romania and the Moldavian SSR during the twentieth century, with a chapter

dedicated to the Transnistrian region in the period 1918-1940. The last chapter revolves around an independent Moldova, but there is no discussion of its relationships with its neighbours, Ukraine and Romania. The problem of the separatist region of Transnistria is presented only in a subsidiary discussion to the Russian-Moldovan war of 1992.



Fig. 20

The integrated history textbook for year 9, written by a team led by S. Nazaria, was strongly criticised⁸⁷ for its “Soviet-type” historiographical style and was removed from schools by the Ministry of Education in 2009 (Fig. 20). In this textbook, Romania is viewed as one of the causes of the Transnistrian conflict and Ukraine is not mentioned.

The textbook under the authorship of I. Cașu et al., in which world and national history are treated in two separate parts, is completely different in this regard.⁸⁸ The history of Bessarabia is treated as part of Greater Romania, and the history of the Moldavian SSR as part of the USSR. The first part ends with a chapter on Romanians from outside

⁸⁶ A. Petrencu and M. Dobzeu, *Istoria universală. Epoca contemporană. Material didactic pentru clasa a IX-a*, Chișinău: Știința, 2004.

⁸⁷ S. Nazaria et al., *Istorie. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a IX-a*, Chișinău: Universul, 2006.

⁸⁸ I. Cașu, Gh. Palade, and I. Șarov, *Istorie. Epoca contemporană. Istoria românilor. Istoria Românilor. Manual pentru clasa a IX-a*, Chișinău: Cartdidact-Civitas, 2009.

Romania and from the Republic of Moldova, including Romanians from Ukraine. However, there is no mention of Ukraine specifically as a neighbouring country of Romania and Moldova.⁸⁹

Upper secondary school: year 10

The Ancient World and Medieval History textbook for year 10 treats the Eastern and South-Eastern European regions in a very general manner, while Russia is presented only in two short sections: *The Formation of Kievan Russia* and *The Centralisation of Russia*.⁹⁰ The national elements of ancient and medieval history (*History of Romania*) are treated in two separate textbooks, published by the Prut International and Civitas publishing houses (Fig. 21, Fig. 22).⁹¹



Fig. 21

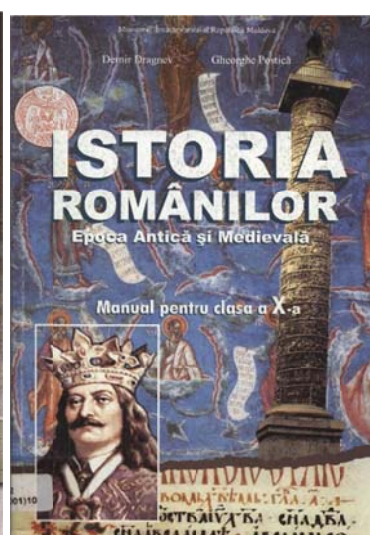


Fig. 22

⁸⁹ Ibid., 106.

⁹⁰ A. Berciu-Draghicescu, Al. Ofirim, and M. Preda, *Istoria universală. Epoca antică și cea medievală. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2007, 121, 127-128.

⁹¹ P. Parasca et al., *Istoria românilor: Epoca antică și cea medievală. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2007; D. Dragnev and Gh. Postică, *Istoria românilor: Epoca antică și medievală. Manual pentru cl. a X-a de liceu*, Chișinău: Civitas, 2011.

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Both textbooks are structured in accordance with the 1999 school curriculum and resemble each other strongly. Antiquity is presented from the Romanian perspective and includes mostly the Carpathian-Danube regions; there is little mention of other, neighbouring territories. The Slavs are mentioned in the context of migrations and their contribution to the ethnic genesis of the Romanians. There is a similar situation in the chapters on the Middle Ages, where one finds information about Transylvania, Walachia, Moldova, Bulgaria, Dobruja, the Ottoman Empire, and Poland, but very little

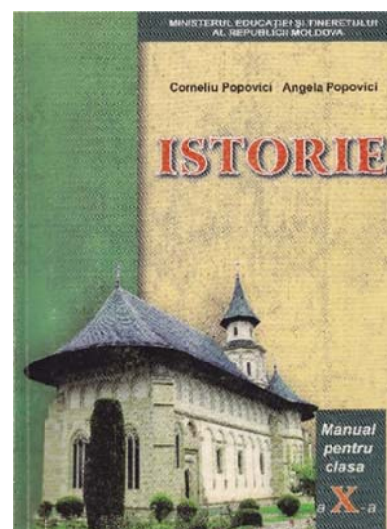


Fig. 23

about Hungary or Russia. The Great Lithuanian Duchy is found only on maps.⁹² There are exceptions, represented by a case study on “Cossack Campaigns in Moldova during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century” and the summary text “The settlements of Moldovans on the Left Bank of the Dniester during the Middle Ages”. In the narrative of these sections, the Cossacks are treated as invaders and Moldovans as the victims of various foreign powers.⁹³ The well-known Kievan Metropolitan of Moldovan origin, Petru Movila, is mentioned in the Culture and Art section at the end of the textbook.⁹⁴

The integrated history textbook for year 10 includes various aspects of ancient and medieval history (Fig. 23).⁹⁵ Getae-Dacians are presented briefly in a large overview including the Carpathian-Danube regions. The Greek colonies are acknowledged but not discussed as a significant phenomenon. Christianity and Romanisation are treated according to old theories and not linked to the territories between the rivers Prut and Dniester. The treatment of migrations in the Carpathian-Danubian space expressly mentions the Sarmathians, Carps, and Goths, who immigrated to these territories. Moldova is discussed among other medieval entities in Walachia and Transylvania, but no mention is made of medieval Russia. A special section is dedicated to other ethnicities living in medieval Moldova.

⁹² P. Parasca et al., *Istoria românilor*, 53, 71, 75.

⁹³ Dragnev and Postică, *Istoria românilor*, 151 and 181-182.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁹⁵ C. Popovici and A. Popovici, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, Chișinău: Editura Lumina 2008.

Year 11

During the last two decades, five history textbooks for year 11 have been published in the Republic of Moldova. Two of them are about national history (*History of Romanians*),⁹⁶ two are for *World History*⁹⁷ and one is for the integrated course (Fig. 24, Fig. 25).⁹⁸

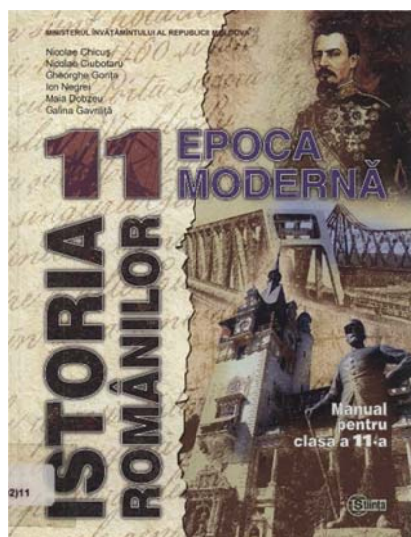


Fig. 24

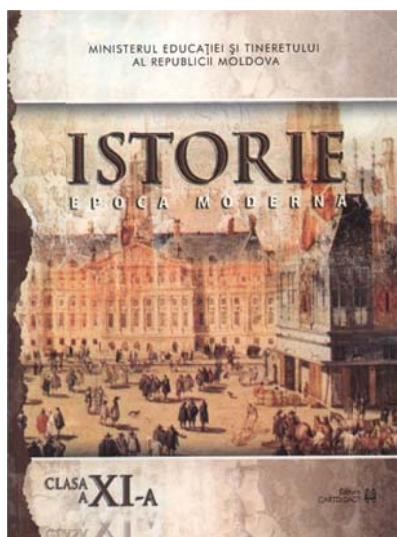


Fig. 25

All of them refer to the modern period. These histories of the modern world debate diverse problems in reference to Western Europe and the US: the economy, social life, everyday life, revolutions, the formation of nations and the genesis of democracy, colonial systems, international relations, and culture. Eastern and South-Eastern Europe are practically absent. Two exceptions are short sections on “The Eastern Question” and “The Black Sea – a Zone of Confrontations”.⁹⁹ The national history textbooks address many common modern facts and phenomena relating to Romanian history from the mid-seventeenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. A separate chapter is dedicated to Bessarabia as part of the Russian Empire (1812-1917) and Transylvania as part of the Austro-Hungarian. The textbook published by Civitas presents this issue along with that of Transnistria. Poland and the Tatars are mentioned as eastern neighbours solely on the maps. Russia is often present in the Civitas textbook as an important play-

⁹⁶ N. Chicuș et al., *Istoria românilor: Epoca modernă. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2006; I. Varta and D. Dragnev, *Istoria românilor. Epoca modernă. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a de liceu*, Chișinău: Civitas, 2001.

⁹⁷ N.-M. Cojescu, Al. Mamina, and C. Drachneberg, *Istoria universală. Epoca modernă. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2007; I. Varta and T. Varta, *Istoria universală. Epoca modernă. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, Chișinău: Civitas, 2007.

⁹⁸ N. Chicuș, I. Șarov, I. Ojog, P. Cerbușcă, V. Pâslariuc, M. Dobzeu, and T. Nagnibeda-Tverdohleb, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2007.

⁹⁹ Cojescu et al., *Istoria universală*, 122-126 and 146. Varta and Varta, *Istoria universală*, 154-158.

er in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the Prut International textbook, the problem of Bessarabia is treated from the perspective of the Russian occupation/annexation policy, and the 1918 unification of Romania is viewed from the perspective of the national movements of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transylvania. This book briefly presents the attitude of Soviet Russia to these movements and its response to them.¹⁰⁰

The integrated version of the modern history textbook for year 11 is, in my view, the best result of the project of establishing an integrated history course in schools; it has, however, been criticised by Moldova's Communist government.¹⁰¹ Its authors have attempted to undertake a balanced problem-based analysis of historical questions by integrating national history into world history. Bessarabia as a Russian Gubernia and the Romanian Principalities/Romania are described separately in each chapter, among other modern European states and the US. Unfortunately, the Russian Empire is not discussed separately.

Year 12

Year 12 students study the history of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries. The textbook *History of Romanians*, published by Prut International Publishing House for the first time in 2002 and republished several times thereafter, represents an attempt to present a balanced national history from the Moldovan and Romanian perspectives (Fig. 26, Fig. 27).¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ N. Chicuș et al., *Istoria românilor, Epoca modernă. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2006, 162-163.

¹⁰¹ N. Chicuș et al., *Istorie. Manual Pentru Clasa a XI-a*, Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2007.

¹⁰² I. Scurtu et al., *Istorie contemporană. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2007.

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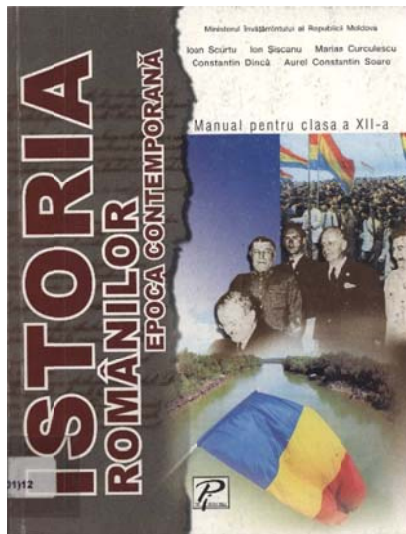


Fig. 26

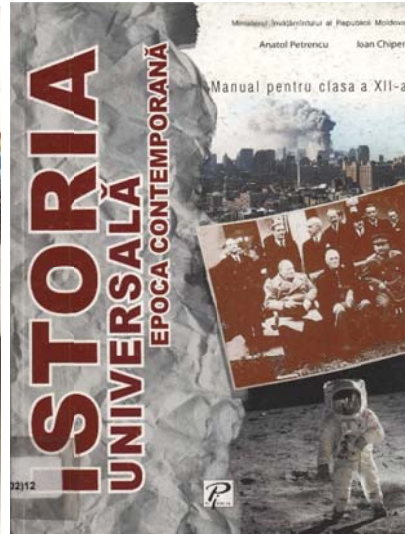


Fig. 27

The first five chapters are dedicated to a history of Romania during the inter-war period, covering the new geopolitical framework, political life, the economy, international relations, and education, science, and culture. During the first 50 pages, Moldova's eastern neighbours and the USSR are shown on political maps; it is not until page 51 that the textbook acknowledges the fact that the USSR did not recognise the 1918 unification of Romania, and the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact does not receive a mention until page 53. However, the summary lesson in the book's fourth chapter is dedicated to "The Problem of Bessarabia and Romanian-Soviet relations".¹⁰³ Chapter Six is focused on the political and socio-economic situation in Transnistria (1924-1940) as a part of the USSR. Chapter Seven debates Romania's experiences during Second World War, with the Holocaust mentioned in only one sentence.¹⁰⁴ Clearly, this represents a very poor presentation of the Holocaust; recently, and evidently in response to this situation, additional teaching materials, including a book, CD, map, and selected high-resolution images, have been published by the International Centre of Training and Professional Development of the Jews from Chișinău.¹⁰⁵

At the beginning of Chapter Seven, the problem of lost territories is addressed through topics encompassing the occupation by the USSR of Bessarabia, the Northern Bukovina and the Herța region, of Transylvania by Hungary, and of the Southern part of the Dobruja by Bulgaria. The following three chapters (Eight to Ten) are dedicated to

¹⁰³ Ibid., 60-61.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 108.

¹⁰⁵ G. Karger (ed.), *Uroki Holokosta i vospitanie tolerantnosti. Metodicheskie posobie dlja učitelej gimnazij i liceev*, Chișinău: 2012.

the Communist regimes in Moldavian SSR and Romania. The book's final two chapters debate the situation of Romania after 1989 and the development of the Republic of Moldova as an independent country. A theme entitled "Relationships with Neighbours" presents Romania as the principal partner of Moldova, but Ukraine is briefly mentioned as a new neighbour. Very few words are dedicated to the partnership between Romania and Ukraine and to trilateral cross-border projects (Romania-Ukraine-Moldova). Two articles from the Romanian-Ukrainian agreement are added as an appendix to this section.¹⁰⁶ The section on Moldovan foreign policy revolves mostly around the Transnistrian conflict, while relations with Moldova's neighbours are briefly mentioned in two sentences.¹⁰⁷

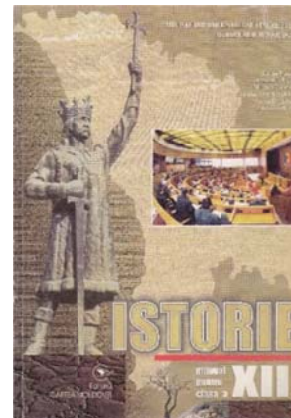


Fig. 28

The year 12 textbook on world history, written by a historian from Moldova and another from Romania, focuses more on European and global problems. Some information on Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine is to be found in particular sections, such as "The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" or "The European Assembly of the Council of Europe".



Fig. 29

The integrated history course published by S. Nazaria and his team was strongly criticised and subsequently withdrawn from schools by the Ministry of Education in 2009 (Fig. 28).¹⁰⁸ The authors of this textbook had attempted to highlight the statehood and importance of the Republic of Moldova. Romania is viewed as an aggressor country and the USSR as a liberator in the context of the Second World War. Ukraine is referred to only in the topic section "The Holocaust in the Territories of Moldova and Ukraine", but there is no mention of it being Moldova's eastern neighbour.

An alternative textbook to this book, prepared by N. Enciu, combines national and world history (Fig. 29).¹⁰⁹ I consider this very long, notably text-heavy textbook (360

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 179, 183.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 198-200.

¹⁰⁸ S. Nazaria et al., *Istorie. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, Chișinău: Cartea Moldovei, 2006.

¹⁰⁹ N. Enciu, *Istorie. Epoca contemporană. Clasa a XII-a. Materiale didactice la istoria universală și a*

pages) to be difficult for teachers to work with. However, this textbook pays more attention than Nazaria's to the history of Romania and includes Bessarabia as part of Romania during the inter-war period, the Second World War, the socialist era, and the period of post-totalitarian development. Enciu engages with the problems of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as part of the USSR and then the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. As far as the present neighbours of the Republic of Moldova are concerned, Romania is mentioned several times, but Ukraine is absent from the text, including from the section where Transnistrian separatism and military conflict are discussed.

We can thus clearly see that history textbooks from the Republic of Moldova present the history of Romania in detail, while Ukraine is mentioned occasionally and only in a general context.

I.3 Conclusions on the Situation in Moldova

Issues of language and history in Moldova have been part of the public discourse since the time of *perestroika* and the rise of the national movement. The Soviet authorities had essentially invented a Moldovan language and nation in order to distinguish them from the Romanian language and nation.¹¹⁰ The population of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic was subject to communist indoctrination aimed at replacing their Romanian identity with another, newly-created one. "Moldovanism" became a policy promoted for decades by the central authorities. Since the late 1980s, the national movement in Moldova has been structured around ideas of returning to Romanian national cultural values, but most initiatives have been treated as Romanian-nationalist by leftist political parties and ethnic minorities arguing that these ideas were opposed to Moldovan statehood and patriotism. On the other hand, left-wing parties have supported another type of nationalism, neo-Moldovanism, which advocates the building of a Moldovan nation. During the 25 years of its independence thus far, Moldova has had to confront and examine its identity, history and statehood. Questions of language and history

românilor, Chișinău: Civitas, 2008. This textbook is based on a previous edition, *Istoria românilor. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, Chișinău: Civitas, 2002.

¹¹⁰ The Moldovan language and nation were initially an invention introduced by Stalinist propaganda in order to justify the military intervention in and annexation of Bessarabia to the USSR in 1940. The intention to name the language spoken by the majority of the population as "Moldovan" had a political aim. Today, however, the subject taught in schools in Moldova is called Romanian language (not Moldovan), despite the fact that the Constitution refers to the state language of Moldova as the "Moldovan language".

have remained issues of political importance, aggravating tensions in Moldovan society. In the context of the socio-political, economic and cultural changes which took place at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, the Republic of Moldova is laying the foundation of a state based on democratic principles. The main problem experienced by this political entity in its attempt to assert itself since its declaration of independence and up to the present day has been the problem of national identity — a matter closely linked to the history and the language of the majority population as well as to the attitude of the country's ethnic minorities towards the state. The problem of identity still remains central to this context; some people see themselves as Romanians and thus support the teaching of Romanian history and the Romanian language, while others consider themselves Moldovans and embrace the idea of a Moldovan language and a Moldovan history. For more than two decades, the Republic of Moldova has been in search of its national identity, a search over which its society has been and remains divided.

The problem of how to depict the “Other” and one's neighbours in history textbooks likewise remains an open question, as we can see from our analysis. In most of the textbooks we have examined, the information on the “Other” is very general and vague. More information is given regarding Romania and the Romanians because of a common past, but events or facts referring to, or acknowledgements of, Ukraine are presented very generally.

II Romania

II.1 History Curricula, Textbook Reforms and Public Debates

Any transition from a totalitarian to a democratic society is marked by a frequently difficult process involving all spheres of life. One of the most sensitive areas of transition is education in general and history education in particular. Romania is no exception, with its transition proving to be a complicated matter extending over a long period. Reforms in education have led to important changes in Romanian society during the last 25 years. Some of them have contributed to the quality of and teaching methods for one of the most important school disciplines, history, which is of particular significance to the formation and affirmation of citizens' identities.

Since 1989, the education system in Romania has been undergoing a process of continuous reform.¹¹¹ The system is based on the national legal framework established by, among other pieces of legislation, the Constitution (1991), the Laws of Education (1995-2011), and the new Law on National Education, in force since January 2011. The earliest changes to the education system after the end of Romania's totalitarian regime aimed at eliminating ideological influences from school curricula and textbooks. Comprehensive education reform began in 1993-1994, supported by the World Bank, the Council of Europe and the European Union. Between 1992 and 1997, the National Curriculum Framework was developed; it formed the basis for the various subject curricula, which were created for all stages of primary and secondary education between 1996 and 2002, and for textbooks.¹¹² The National Curriculum was developed through consultation with local and international experts, NGOs, teachers' professional bodies, trade

¹¹¹ For more on the reform of the education system in Romania, see C. Birzea, *Educational Policies of the Countries in Transition*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Press, 1994; O. Kolar, *Rumänien und seine nationalen Minderheiten 1918 bis Heute*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: 1997; O. Kolar, "Das Bildungswesen der Nationalen Minderheiten in Rumänien", in P. Bachmaier (ed.), *Nationalstaat oder multikulturelle Gesellschaft? Die Minderheitenpolitik in Mittel-, Ost- und Südosteuropa im Bereich des Bildungswesens 1945-2002*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003, 201-222; P. Stefanescu, "Ethnicity and Educational Policies in Romania", in N. Genov (ed.), *Ethnicity and Educational Policies in South Eastern Europe*, Gesellschaftliche Transformationen, Münster: Lit Verlag Münster, 2005, 154-171; D. Georgescu and E. Palade, "Reshaping Education for an Open Society in Romania 1990-2000: Case Studies in Large-Scale Education Reform", in *Country Studies. Education Reform and Management Publication Series II*, no. 3 (2003).

¹¹² For more general details on the education system, see *Reviews of National Policies for Education. South Eastern Europe. FYROM, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia*. Vol. 2. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development-OECD, 2003, 267-334; D. Georgescu and E. Palade, "Reshaping Education for an Open Society in Romania 1990-2000: Case Studies in Large-Scale Education Reform", in *Country Studies. Education Reform and Management Publication Series II*, no. 3 (2003).

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unions, universities, parents, and students' organisations. At present, history and civics are a part of the "Man and Society" thematic area in the curriculum. History as an independent discipline is a compulsory course for those between 10 and 18 years of age (years 4-12).

Before 1989, historical education and textbook publishing in Romania, as in other socialist countries, had been controlled by the Communist Party and there was only one textbook for each school year. While at the beginning of the 1970s history had a relatively lesser place in school curricula, in 1976, after the Congress of Socialist Culture and Education, history became an important ideological and propagandistic instrument to the Romanian Communist Party. The content of the textbooks was largely influenced by communist ideology and strongly nationalistic views of history.¹¹³

After December 1989 a long debate began in Romania regarding how history as a school subject should be entitled: should it be *History of Romania (Istoria României)* or *History of the Romanians (Istoria Românilor)*? The question has a significant political and historical background. During the Communist period, the title was *History of Romania*, but before the Second World War it had been *History of the Romanians*, the idea of which had been to include all Romanians. But, in the first textbooks for *History of the Romanians* published in 1992, the authors did not include information on Romanians around the world, with no mention of Romanians from Bessarabia, Bukovina, Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, or other Romanian Diasporas.¹¹⁴ Most teachers, historians, and politicians supported the idea of including all Romanians, which was duly enshrined in the Education Law of 1995, which had a direct impact on the preparation of the new national curriculum in 1995 and 1996 (introduced in 1997).¹¹⁵

¹¹³ For more details, see R. Ologeanu, "Révolution et Évolution: analyse du discours des manuels roumains d'Histoire d'avant et d'après 1989." Université Paul Valéry, 1997; Manea (ed.), *We and Our Neighbours*, 14-15.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, the following textbook: M. Manea, A. Pascu, and B. Teodorescu, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă la Revoluția din 1821. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1992. M.-L. Murgescu, "Fatherland" and "Nation" for Schoolchildren Textbooks and the Concept of Nationhood in Romanian Schools", in I. Vainovski-Mihai (ed.), *Nation and National Ideology. Past, Present and Prospects. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at the New Europe College, Bucharest, April 6-7, 2001*, Bucharest: The Center for the History of the Imaginary and New Europe College, 2002, 279-280.

¹¹⁵ M.-L. Murgescu, "What it takes being Romanian?: Identity, National Memory, and History Schoolbooks in Romania (19th - 20th centuries),", in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 1 (1999), 112; M.-L. Murgescu, "The History of Minorities in the Romanian School System: Curricula and Textbooks in the Late 1990s." In *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research* 23 (2001), 230.

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Since 1989, educational plans (1990, 1995, 1998, 1999 and 2001, 2003-2005)¹¹⁶ and history curricula (1991, 1993 and 1995-2001, 2003-2006) have changed numerous times.¹¹⁷ Education reforms in Romania after 1989 can be divided into five major stages:

1. 1990-1992: first transitional stage; the removal of communist ideology from plans and textbooks
2. 1992-1995: second transitional stage; new plans developed and new textbooks published
3. 1995-1999: development and implementation of new curricula; in 1995 a national curriculum for secondary education was approved and subsequently, in 1999, the upper secondary school curriculum
4. 1999-2000: introduction of the new textbooks; implementation of the project supported by the World Bank for the publication of alternative textbooks for compulsory education
5. 2000-2012: new changes in curricula and in the structure of the education system.¹¹⁸

The process of rewriting history textbooks extended across the first decade of Romanian democracy. After December 1989, the Ministry of Education introduced a reprinted textbook written by P.P. Panaitescu in the 1940s without any changes. The book remained practically unused by teachers; eventually, after some months, the use of the old textbook published in the late 1980s had become generally accepted, with teachers avoiding only those parts affected by communist ideology.¹¹⁹ Textbooks for world history were revised and republished with ideological elements removed. Writing new his-

¹¹⁶ The Educational Plan (*Plan de învățământ*) is a complex educational instrument drawn up by the Institute of Educational Sciences, inspectors from the Ministry of Education and working groups of the National Council for Curriculum. The plan contains 7 curricular areas, including study curricula, textbooks, guides and methodological aids.

¹¹⁷ The curricula for the various school subjects are drawn up by working groups under the National Commission, independent experts, university professors, and experts from the National Council for Curriculum and Institute of Educational Sciences.

¹¹⁸ Manea (ed.), *We and Our Neighbours*, 15.

¹¹⁹ M.-L. Murgescu, "History and History Textbooks in Romanian Schools in the 1990s", in *Disarming History. International Conference on Combating Stereotypes and Prejudice in History Textbooks of South-East Europe. Visby, Gotland (Sweden), 23-25 September 1999*, Stockholm, 1999, 65-66; M.-L. Murgescu, "Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania", in *The Learning and Teaching of History - with a Focus on Textbooks*, Glasgow: 2001, 22-23; M.-L. Murgescu, A. Gheorghe, and S. Caltia, "Romania. Preliminary Rapport, In Project for the Improvement of Balkan History Textbooks. Draft National Reports: Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania, Turkey. International Conference on Balkan History Textbooks, 30 November - 2 December 2001" (2001).

tory textbooks was thus a fundamental task of the reform of history education.¹²⁰ The printing of the new history textbooks began in 1992-1993 with textbooks for years 11 and 12 and continued after 1995 with “alternative” textbooks published with support from the World Bank. The new textbooks were designed to replicate the old ones in terms of the quality of paper, printing and content. The year 11 and 12 textbooks presented national history (*Istoria Românilor*) from prehistoric times to 1989.¹²¹ They consisted, as M. Murgescu noted, of “long and rather boring narratives, the textbooks of this generation, besides methodological shortcomings, contained plenty of factual errors and were nationally biased.”¹²²

These totally new history textbooks were written and published in 1996-1997 as the product of a joint project by the World Bank and the Romanian government.¹²³ The textbooks became more attractive in terms of format, the quality of the paper, colour printing, and in similar aspects. A new series of textbooks were co-funded by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the government of Romania as part of the Education Reform Project in Romania during the period 1995-2001. This project had two main components:

- I. Raising the quality of basic and secondary education, and
- II. Improving education funding and monitoring.

The first component centred on curriculum and textbook development. It encompassed five elements:

- a. curriculum development;
- b. teacher training;
- c. assessment and examinations;
- d. professional standards and teacher assessment;
- e. textbooks.

The total cost of the project was 47.1 million USD, with 64% of the total budget reserved for textbooks (28 million USD). The principal part of the funds was raised

¹²⁰ L. Capiță and C. Capiță, “Dimensions of European History in Romanian History Textbooks”, in Xochellis and Toloudi (eds.), *The Image of the “Other.”* 233.

¹²¹ M. Manea, Șt. Pascu, and B. Teodorescu, *Istoria romanilor din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă la Revoluția din 1821. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1992; M. Manea, Șt. Pascu, and B. Teodorescu, *Istoria romanilor din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă la revoluția din 1821. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1993.

¹²² Murgescu, *History and History Textbooks in Romanian Schools*, 66; Murgescu, *Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania*, 23; Murgescu et al., *Romania. Preliminary Rapport*.

¹²³ Capiță and Capiță, *Dimensions of European History in Romanian History Textbooks*, 233.

through an IBRD loan, and the Romanian government's contribution amounted to 19.1 million USD. The project had planned to cover textbooks for all 12 school years, but, in accordance with the loan agreement concluded between the government of Romania and the World Bank, it in fact funded only the textbooks for compulsory education, i.e. years 1-8. The objectives of the project's textbook component were as follows:

- a. to improve the quality of textbooks for all pupils in compulsory education (years 1-8) as well as for upper secondary level (years 9 to 12);
- b. to provide teachers with a real choice of books to complement educational theories regarding teaching style and students' needs;
- c. to stimulate the growth of a professional and dynamic publishing industry;
- d. to introduce a free market for textbooks.

One title for each subject and each year group was published with the support of the Ministry of Education and distributed to schools. The state textbook publishing house Editura Didactică și Pedagogică had priority in publishing textbooks.¹²⁴ Each year, the Ministry of Education would invite publishers to submit sample textbooks for all subjects for two specific year groups; in 1995, the call was for years 2 and 5, in 1996 for years 3 and 6, in 1997 for years 4 and 7, and so on. By the project's conclusion, around 210 titles had been published and distributed to schools and the total number of books published was over 20 million, at a cost of about 35 million USD, or 1.75 USD per copy.¹²⁵ While this represents a significant level of investment in the Romanian education system, some scholars began to ask whether it was, in fact, genuine modernisation or simply "pseudo-modernisation".¹²⁶

The first three history textbooks for year 4, revolving around national history, were published in 1996. In the same year, other history textbooks appeared for years 5, 6, 7 and 8. The year 5 history textbook published in 1998 became a model for the other levels. In 1999, six textbooks were published for year 9, seven for year 10, six for year 11 and five for year 12.¹²⁷ We may state with confidence that in particular the new generation of history textbooks in Romania for upper secondary school, which appeared according to the new curricula developed in 1994-1995 and further textbooks subsequent-

¹²⁴ Hunt, *Five Case Histories of Textbook Development*, 213.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 213.

¹²⁶ A. Roth, "Modernisierung, Pseudomodernisierung und Gegenmodernisierung in Rumänien", in Z. Manfeldová, V. Sparschich, and A. Wenninger (eds.), *Patterns of Europeanisation in Central and Eastern Europe, Beiträge Zur Osteuropaforschung* (Hamburg: Krämer, 2005), 239-255.

¹²⁷ Manea (ed.), *We and Our Neighbours*, 15.

ly in 1997-1998, were of considerably higher quality than the old textbooks. Another positive aspect of the reforms which took place at this time was the beginning of the authorisation of alternative textbooks by a state body. The Textbook Approval Board was charged with selecting, based on quality and financial criteria, three history textbooks for each year for primary and lower secondary levels and an unlimited number of textbooks for the upper secondary stage.¹²⁸

During the tenure of Andrei Marga as Minister of Education, the matter of history education and new textbook publication came to the fore due to the renewal of the history curriculum for years 4-7 and the need to prepare new textbooks for years 8-12.¹²⁹ The world history course was extended from two to three years for upper secondary level, while *History of the Romanians* was reduced from two years to one. The purpose of *History of the Romanians* as set out in the new curriculum is to provide a complete picture of national history in year 12. The authors of the curriculum felt that pupils studied enough national history during lower secondary school and that it was thus unnecessary to repeat the full course in upper secondary.¹³⁰ From August to September of 1999, the Textbook Approval Board CNAM approved six textbooks for year 9, five textbooks for year 10, one textbook for year 11 and five textbooks for year 12.¹³¹ By 1999, the new textbooks for all upper secondary year groups, based on the new curriculum, had been published. The textbook proposals were selected in the first instance by the Commission by weighing eight factors of textbook quality:

- a. curriculum coverage;
- b. quality of content;
- c. language level;
- d. educational approach;
- e. quality of presentation and design;
- f. illustrations;
- g. originality; and
- h. quality of printing materials.

Five, ten, or fifteen points were allocated for each factor. The maximum score that

¹²⁸ Murgescu, *History and History Textbooks in Romanian Schools*, 66; Murgescu, *Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania*, 23; Murgescu et al., *Romania. Preliminary Rapport*.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ M.-L. Murgescu, "Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania", in *EUROCLIO Bulletin* 14 (2001), 23.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

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could be awarded to a proposed textbook was 65, but in order to be listed for the second stage a textbook proposal needed to receive a minimum of 40% of the total possible points for each of the eight factors individually and 45 points overall (69%).

The same year, 1999, saw what became known as the “textbook scandal” or “schoolbook war”, sparked by a year 12 history textbook published by the Sigma publishing house and developed by a team of young historians from Cluj-Napoca.¹³² The textbook, written by Sorin Mitu, Lucia Copoeru, Ovidiu Pecican, Virgiliu Tarau and Liviu Tirau, was entitled *Istoria Romanilor, Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, and offered an alternative view of some sensitive historical issues, particularly matters relating to national history, identity, ethnicity and similar topics. The authors used titles and headings invoking ideas that were not accepted by many historians and politicians, such as the “invention” of the modern nation, ethnic genesis, and ideas on how the Romanians imagine the origins of their people, which some considered to be incendiary. The scandal erupted in the Romanian Senate on 5 October 1999 and marked the beginning of six weeks of heated debate among the political, historian and media communities. Politicians and parliamentarians from both chambers of the Romanian Parliament held two special meetings of the joint Education Commission, which led to the proposal of a motion, ultimately rejected by the Chamber of Deputies, against the government, demanding the revision of the history curriculum and the withdrawal of the controversial textbook.¹³³ Sergiu Nicolaescu, a well-known film producer who was at that time a member of the Romanian Senate, commented: “This textbook should be burnt in a public square!”¹³⁴

Historians were divided between those who supported the authors of the textbook and called for freedom of opinion in writing history and those who criticised the au-

¹³² Murgescu, *What it takes being Romanian?*, 113; A. Heinen, “Auf den Schwingen Draculas nach Europa?: Die öffentliche Debatte um neue Schulbücher als Indikator der Transformationskrise der rumänischen Geschichtskultur”, in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas* 2 (2000), 92-104.

¹³³ Murgescu, *Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania*, 23; Murgescu et al., *Romania. Preliminary Rapport*; D. Pavel, “The Textbook Scandal and Rewriting History in Romania. Letter from Bucharest”, in *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 2001, 181-182; G. Marin, *Apprendre l’Histoire à l’école communiste. Mémoire et crise identitaire à travers les manuels scolaires roumains*, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2013, 18-20, 165-191.

¹³⁴ S. Szakács, “Now and Then: National Identity Construction in Romanian History: A Comparative Study of Communist and Post-Communist School Textbooks”, in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research* 29 (2007), 23. For more details on S. Nicolaescu’s involvement in the history textbook scandal of October 1999, see Heinen, *Auf den Schwingen Draculas nach Europa?*, 91-104.

thors, the school curricula, and the Ministry of Education. The group opposed to the textbook considered it an attack on Romanian national identity, condemning the reduction in space it allocated to ancient and medieval history and its in their view excessive focus on modern and contemporary Romanian history. Teachers in particular were opposed to the new curriculum because it reduced the amount of time allocated to the various periods of history and introduced a new vision of history education. One principal focus of criticism was the new history curriculum for upper secondary schools, with its considerably reduced scope of topics relating to national history.

The subject of history education and the history textbooks it uses dominated the mass media for several weeks because the alternative history textbook had “stirred up the political scene”; some journalists termed this textbook a “crime committed by the Ministry of Education”.¹³⁵ Most of the media was opposed to the minister Andrei Marga’s stance and the alternative textbook.¹³⁶ The Sigma publishing house, after this scandal, revised its year 12 textbook and mentioned in the new edition the names of 29 university professors who had contributed various recommendations or points of debate to the textbook. The book was also a difficult issue for the general public. Its authors were eventually forced to return to a more traditional, Romanian-centred way of presenting history in textbooks. They changed the controversial titles: “The Invention of the Modern Nation” became “The Modern Nation”, and the revised book included a new lesson, “Crusade Politics of the Romanian Rulers: Mircea the Old, Alexandru the Good, Iancu of Hunedoara, Vlad the Impaler, Stephen the Great, and Michael the Brave” and its cover featured portraits of Al. I. Cuza and King Ferdinand as symbols of Romanian unification.¹³⁷

Similar work has been done by another group of authors coordinated by I. Scurtu.¹³⁸ In the new edition of Scurtu’s textbook, the authors inserted a new topic entitled “The

¹³⁵ “Un manuel d’histoire agite la scène politique”, in *Bucarest Matin*, 1999; „Manualul de istorie antinațională – crimă cu premeditare a Ministerului Educației Naționale”, in *Adevărul*, 8 octombrie 1999.

¹³⁶ A selection of media responses: *Adevărul*, 6.10.1999; 8.10.1999; 16.10.1999; *Cotidianul*, 22.10.1999; *România Literară*, *Dilema*, *Revista 22*, etc. F. Țurcanu, “Domnul Popescu, Cristian Tudor Și Istoria”, in *Revista 22* 10 (41), no. 12-18 octombrie (1999), 1; Murgescu, *Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania*, 24; Murgescu et al., *Romania. Preliminary Rapport. Marin, Apprendre l’Histoire à l’école*, 177-178.

¹³⁷ Murgescu, *Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania*, 24; Murgescu et al., *Romania. Preliminary Rapport*.

¹³⁸ I. Scurtu, M. Curculescu, and C. Dinca, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, București, 1999, București: Petrion, 2000.

Romanians in Europe”; however, the rest of the book is in the traditional style, making statements such as “Romanians are one of the most ancient peoples in Europe” and “the Romanians are born Christians”. These circumstances evidence the fact that a part of Romanian society is very much influenced by ideas of a “glorious and heroic national past” and has felt that history textbooks should reflect these ideas, with their exclusion viewed as an affront to national values. In the wake of these debates and changes to textbooks, the issue of identity remains very sensitive in Romanian society.¹³⁹ These conflicts and debates show us how difficult transition processes can be and how conservative part of Romanian society is. At the same time, it is difficult for scholars to find a balance between national, European and world history. This was probably one of the reasons for the 1999 revision of Article Four of the Romanian Law on Education (no. 84/1995) to assert that “school guarantees the cultivation of love towards one’s country, towards the historic past, and towards the traditions of the Romanian people”.¹⁴⁰ After the “textbook scandal”, three alternative history textbooks for year 8 were published without any public reaction or criticism.

In July of 2001, the Romanian Ministry of Education restricted the hitherto quantitatively unlimited market for approved textbooks for upper secondary school to three, a decision giving rise to yet another round of debates among publishers and teachers.¹⁴¹

Table. 3. History teaching in Romania according to Educational Plans approved between 2001 and 2006

| No. | Year | No. of hours/week | Future changes | In force since |
|-----|----------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2006-2007 |
| 2 | 5-7 8 | 1-2 2 | 2 | 2001-2002 |
| 3 | 9 10 | 1/2 1/3 | 1/2 1/3 | 2004-2005 |
| 4 | 11 | 1/3 | 1/3 | 2001-2002 |
| 5 | 12 | 2/3 | 2/3 | 2001-2002 |

The history curricula were developed by the Ministry of Education according to the new principles guiding its work, such as flexibility, efficiency, and coherence, during the education reform of 1995-2001. In this context, the integration of national history and world history into one common course was another issue which saw considerable debate in Romanian society. Initially, the push to include Romanian history in world

¹³⁹ Szakács, *Now and Then: National Identity Construction in Romanian History*, 24.

¹⁴⁰ Law on Education (no. 84/1995), modified and republished in Official Gazette (Monitorul Oficial) of Romania no. 606, part I, December 10, 1999.

¹⁴¹ Murgescu et al., Romania. Preliminary Rapport.

history was not supported by the Romanian cultural and political media; the initiative was treated as an assault on the “sacred” status of the national past.¹⁴² This response was underpinned by the idea that Romanian history and the Romanian language represent the most important pillars of a Romanian identity, and some Romanians still believe that teaching an “appropriate” version of Romanian history is necessary for the inculcation into pupils of Romanian national identity.

Currently, history as a school subject is taught in Romania from the last year of primary school (year 4) until the final year of upper secondary school (year 12). During the Communist period, school history was divided into two main subjects: *History of Romania* and *World History*. National history was studied in year 4 and then as an additional course from years 8 to 10. *World history* was studied in secondary school, in years 5 to 7, and then again in upper secondary schools as “Basic Problems of World History” during years 11 and 12. After the changes in the Romanian educational system in the early 1990s, compulsory education came to be defined as from year 1 to year 8 rather than continuing until year 10 as previously. The new history curriculum in Romania moved *History of Romanians* to years 7 and 8, while world history was compressed into years 5 and 6. At upper secondary level, world history was taught in years 9 and 10 and *Romanian history* in years 11 and 12.¹⁴³

The stipulations of the new curriculum provided for secondary-school *World History* to be extended to year 7 and *Romanian History* compressed into year 8. For upper secondary level, a revamped *World History* was introduced focusing on European history, including some topics on national history for years 9 and 10. The *History of Romanians* as a separate course focused on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and was moved to year 12. These structural changes occasioned important conceptual shifts; the presentation of history according to the traditional chronology (476, 1492/1642, 1917/1918 AD) moved to a more general framework (1000-1800 AD).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Ibid., 3; Murgescu, Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania, 22.

¹⁴³ Murgescu, History and History Textbooks in Romanian, 65; Murgescu et al., Romania. Preliminary Rapport.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Table 4. Structure of history teaching in Romania since 2000¹⁴⁵

| No. | Type of school | Year (presumed age) | Course title | Type of history | Historical period | Hrs/week |
|-----|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--|--|----------|
| 1. | Primary | 4 (10 years) | History of Romanians | Local/National /World history | General history | 1 |
| 2. | Secondary | 5 (11 years) | History | European/World history | History from the earliest times to 1000 AD | 1 |
| 3. | Secondary | 6 (12 years) | History | European/World history | History from 1000 AD to the French Revolu- tion | 1-2 |
| 4. | Secondary | 7 (13 years) | History | European/World history | History during 1800 – 2000 | 1-2 |
| 5. | Secondary | 8 (14 years) | History of Romanians | National history | All periods | 1-2 |
| 6. | Upper secondary | 9 (15 years) | History | History of Eu- ropean civilisa- tion | European and Romanian history from the begin- ning of European civilisation to 1600 | 1-2 |
| 7. | Upper secondary | 10 (16 years) | History | European/World history | 1500 – 1900 | 1-2 |
| 8. | Upper secondary | 11 (17 years) | History | European/World history | 1800 – 2000 | 1-2 |
| 9. | Upper secondary | 12 (18 years) | History of Romanians | National history | All periods | 1-2 |

History of minorities

Ethnic minorities within societies give rise to educational as well as political issues.¹⁴⁶

The new curricula introduced some specific topics relating to the history of ethnic groups living in Romania. The Romanian national curriculum states that students from each minority group should be provided with a basic knowledge of their own history and culture. Students from minority ethnic groups have one additional period per week in years 6 and 7 devoted to their own history and culture. The Ministry of Education approves and recommends the curricula and textbooks for optional courses, such as *The History of European Integration* (2000); *History and Traditions of the Roma People* (2003); *Jewish History: The Holocaust* (2004, 2005); *History and Traditions of the German Minority* (2005); and *Contemporary Migrations, 20th-21st Centuries* (2006).

¹⁴⁵ The table was developed from data derived from articles published by M. Murgescu and information offered by M. Manea. Murgescu, Identity, History and History Teaching in Romania, 22; Murgescu et al., Romania. Preliminary Rapport.

¹⁴⁶ Kolar, *Rumänien und seine nationalen Minderheiten 1918 bis Heute*, 201-222; A. Mihaylova, “Les Minorités “Réciproques“ en Bulgarie et en Roumanie À l’Époque actuelle: Similitudes et Divergences”, in *Etudes Balkaniques* 42, no. 1 (2006), 9-23.

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Many textbooks have been published for these optional courses.¹⁴⁷ One textbook has been written for the course *History of Communism in Romania*, which is very well structured and helps teachers and students to better understand this political regime and its impact on Romanian society.¹⁴⁸

In 2015 Romania experienced a new wave of public interest in and controversy around history education as a result of the Ministry of Education's intention to prepare a new educational framework for secondary schools. History teachers and the academic community are in favour of increasing the number of teaching hours per week for history and supporting reforms to history education with the aim of enhancing its quality.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ V. Ionescu, N. Dumitrescu, and V. Focșeneanu, *Istoria integrării europene. Manual pentru disciplina opțională "Istoria Integrării Europene" pentru licee și școli profesionale*, Pitești: Carminis, 2001; P. Petcuț, D. Grigore, and M. Sandu, *Istoria și tradițiile rromilor*, București: Ro Media, 2003; H. Baier et al., *Geschichte und Traditionen der Deutschen Minderheit in Rumänien, Lehrbuch für die 6. und 7. Klasse der Schulen mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache*, Mediaș: Central, 2005; F. Petrescu, *Istoria evreilor. Holocaustul. Manual pentru liceu*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, R.A., 2005, 2007; D. Grigore, P. Petcuț, and M. Sandu, *Istoria și tradițiile minorității rromani. Manual pentru clasele a VI-a și a VII-a*, București: Sigma, 2005; V. Băluțoiu, *O istorie pentru românii de la sud de Dunăre. Istoriya za rumune sa južne strane Dunava*, Craiova: ALMA, 2009; V. Băluțoiu, *Istoria românilor din sudul Dunării*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, R.A., 2010.

¹⁴⁸ M. Stamatescu, "Istorie recentă, memorie, nostalgie – argument pentru 'O istorie a comunismului din România'." In *Revista de Pedagogie* 1-8, Istorie și Educație Civică (2008), 75-80; M. Stamatescu et al., *O istorie a comunismului din România. Manual pentru liceu*, București: Polirom, 2009.

¹⁴⁹ Florin Jbanca, "Revolta profesorilor de istorie a plecat de la Neamț: Am ajuns la pragul de jos al demnității naționale." In http://adevarul.ro/locale/piatra-neamt/revolta-profesorilor-istorie-plecat-neamt-am-ajuns-pragul-jos-demnitatii-nationale-1_5693f00937115986c661416a/index.html (last access 13 January 2016). Gelu Iuț, "Marginalizarea Istoriei, perpetuată prin noul plan-cadru." published on 20 January 2016 on <http://www.ziaruldeiasi.ro/stiri/marginalizarea-istoriei-perpetuata-prin-noul-plan-cadru--116750.html> (last access 21 January 2016). Institutul de Științe ale Educației, *Criterii de evaluare a planurilor cadru de învățământ*, <http://www.ise.ro/consultare-publica-propuneri-de-plan-cadru-pentru-clasele-v-viii> (last access 10 January 2016). <http://m.bzi.ro/profesori-din-iasi-semnatori-ai-unui-mesaj-emotionant-pentru-ministerul-educatiei-534576> (last access 8 January 2016). <http://europunkt.ro/2016/01/07/cetateni-demni-sau-angajati-docili-despre-planul-cadru-de-invatamant-pentru-gimnaziu/> (last access 8 January 2016). <http://m.bzi.ro/profesori-din-iasi-semnatori-ai-unui-mesaj-emotionant-pentru-ministerul-educatiei-534576> (last access 8 January 2016). <http://europunkt.ro/2016/01/07/cetateni-demni-sau-angajati-docili-despre-planul-cadru-de-invatamant-pentru-gimnaziu/> (last access 8 January 2016). Mihaela Grancea et al., "Considerații cu privire la statutul Istoriei în noul plan-cadru al învățământului gimnazial din România." published on 19 January 2016, <http://www.contributors.ro/idei-si-solutii/consideratii-cu-privire-la-statutul-istoriei-in-noul-plan-cadru-al-invatamantului-gimnazial-din-romania/> (last acces 21 January 2016). Adrian Cioroianu, "De ce este nevoie de istorie." published on 23 January 2016, http://adevarul.ro/cultura/istorie/de-nevoie-istorie-1_56a3415037115986c6cfd5f9/index.html (last access 23 January 2016).

2 Analysis of Textbooks

In the following pages, I will undertake a short analysis of the presentation of Romania's neighbours in the country's history textbooks, beginning with those for year 4 and ending with those for year 12. All textbooks were developed according to the national curricula and had been officially approved by the National Council for Textbook Approval prior to approval by the Ministry of Education.

Primary school: year 4

The textbooks published before 2005 focused more on national issues, much like the Ukrainian textbooks of the time; one example of this is the frequent affirmation of group identity in the format of statements or headings such as “We as Romanians”. (Fig. 30, Fig. 31).¹⁵⁰

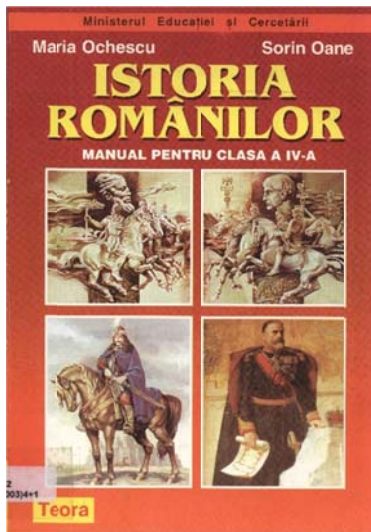


Fig. 30

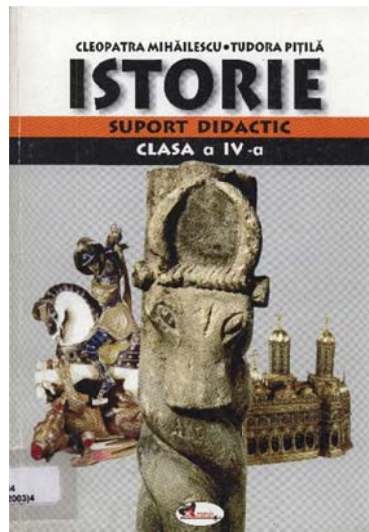


Fig. 31

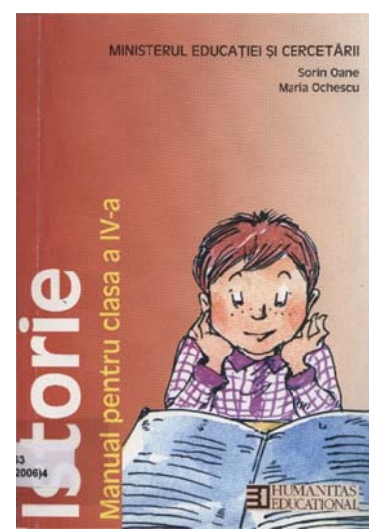


Fig. 32

After 2005, the situation changed, as one might see by the example of a year 4 textbook (Fig. 32) published by Humanitas in accordance with the 2005 curriculum.¹⁵¹ This textbook contains the official anthem of Romania, *Deșteaptă-te române!* The second chapter, *Popoare de ieri și de azi* (People from Yesterday and Today), contains fact files about neighbouring peoples, such as “Bulgarians – Our Southern Neighbours” and

¹⁵⁰ S. Grigore, A. Berciu-Draghicescu, and N. Cristea, *Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*, București: Sigma, 1999; L. Burec, L. Lazar, and B. Teodorescu, *Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*, București: ALL, 1997; M. Ochescu and S. Oane, *Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*, București: Teora, 2003; C. Mihăilescu and T. Pițilă, *Istorie. Suport didactic pentru clasa a IV-a*, București: Aramis Print S.R.L., 2003.

¹⁵¹ The curriculum was approved by Order of Ministry of Education and Research no. 3919, 20 April 2005.

“Hungarians – Our Western Neighbours”.¹⁵² These topics are followed by an additional section, “Other Neighbours of the Romanians – Serbs, Russians, and Their History”.¹⁵³ However, the Ukrainians are absent from this scheme. A similar situation is found in the textbook authored by Vasile Dinu and Paul Didiță, which, generally speaking, is pitched at a very difficult level for year 4 pupils.¹⁵⁴ The Republic of Moldova is only shown on some maps, as is also the case in the textbooks published by the Corint and Ana publishing houses (Fig. 33).¹⁵⁵ Two textbooks for year 4 mentioned above contain a topic, “Neighbours and Community”, which provides a solid treatment of the issue of neighbours from the local point of view.

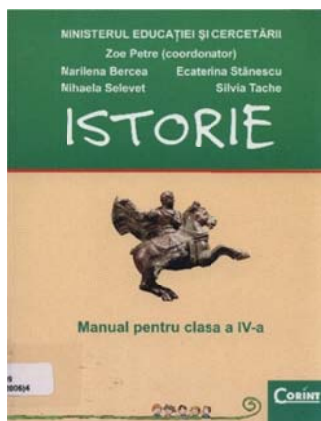


Fig. 33

Secondary school: year 5

The year 5 textbooks present a general overview of the history of mankind from the earliest times to 1000 AD; they mention practically nothing about Romania's neighbours. A similar situation is found in all the other textbooks published by the companies ALL and Teora (Fig. 34).¹⁵⁶ On the topic of the Thracians (an ancient population from the Balkan and Carpathian regions), there is a brief description of them

¹⁵² S. Oane and M. Ochescu, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*, Aprobata Prin Ordinul Ministrului Educației Și Cercetării Nr. 3463, Art. 2 Din 22 Martie 2006, București: Humanitas Educațional, 2008, 34-35 (Dosar tematic Bulgariei – vecinii noștri de la sud de Dunăre/ Ungurii – vecini de la apus).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 36 (Dosar tematic Alți vecini ai românilor – sârbi/ rușii și istoria lor).

¹⁵⁴ V. Dinu and P. Didiță, *Istorie pentru toate manualele alternative, auxiliare pentru clasa a IV-a* (Pitești: Carminis, 2006).

¹⁵⁵ Z. Petre et al., *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*. Aprobata Prin Ordinul Ministrului Educației Și Cercetării Cu Nr. 3463 Din 22 Martie 2006, București: Corint, 2006, 85. M. Peneș and I. Troncotă, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a*. Aprobata Prin Ordinul Ministrului Educației și Cercetării Nr. 3463, Art. 2 Din 22.03.2006, București: Editura Ana, 2006, 24, 86.

¹⁵⁶ V. Balutoiu and C. Vlad, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a V-a*, București: ALL, 1997; L. Capița et al., *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a V-a*, București: ALL, 1997; L. Grigoriță and S. Oane, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a V-a*, București: Teora, 1997, 2003, etc.

as living in the North, bounded by the river Bug (the current territory of Ukraine).¹⁵⁷ At

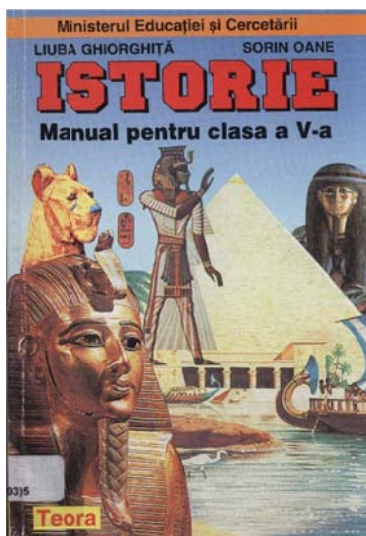


Fig. 34

the end of the textbook, in the context of the first millennium AD, the Slavs are presented as a population which lived in Eastern and Central Europe and migrated to the Balkan Peninsula in the seventh century. In a table on the Slavic world, the Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians are shown as members of Eastern Slavdom, but for year 5 pupils this information has the potential to be highly confusing because of their limited knowledge about this period.

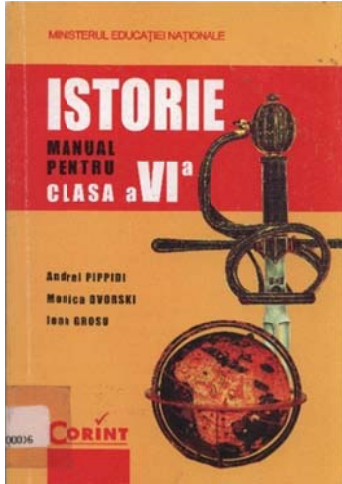
Generally speaking, the era of antiquity is a more attractive field, because it is easier to capture pupils' imagination with it, and it is accordingly quite well presented in all these history curricula and textbooks. What we note in relation to all the textbooks we have studied for this analysis, across all three countries, is that each country finds itself engaged in an attempt to present ancient territories as a motherland and to demonstrate the continuity of its own nation from antiquity to the present, an attempt which manifests in history textbooks in relation to this era as well as to others. We can find similar problems in approaches to antiquity in the Balkan countries, where "the idea of national-cultural homogeneity is propagated to legitimize current territorial claims and military conflicts".¹⁵⁸ In order to achieve a better understanding of the history of antiquity, neighbouring countries such as Moldova, Romania and Ukraine would ideally be able to move beyond ethnocentric and chronological narratives to implement multilateral and intercultural approaches to teaching and learning. Pupils should be enabled to understand that we, i.e. humanity in general and the populations of specific regions in particular, have a common past and that civilisation is a result of a collective effort.

¹⁵⁷ Balutoiu and Vlad, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a V-a*, 74.

¹⁵⁸ S. Vouri, "Antiquity as Source of National Documentation in Balkan History Textbooks (1991-1996)", in Xochellis and Toloudi (eds.), *The Image of the "Other"*. 89; K. Angelopoulos, "Proclaiming Greek National Identity through Dialectic in School Textbooks of the Greek Secondary Education System from 1950 until the Present Day", in Xochellis and Toloudi (eds.), *The Image of the "Other"*. 257.

Year 6

The year 6 history textbooks in our analysis present an integrated version of medieval



and modern history (Fig. 35). The textbook issued by the ALL Education publishing house in 2000 discusses the history of the Romanian medieval and modern states (including Walachia and Moldova) in a handful of topics.¹⁵⁹ Concerning Eastern Europe, a substantial amount of information is given only at the end of the textbook in the context of the European Great Powers, such as Russia and Austria during the eighteenth century¹⁶⁰ and the impact of the Russo-Turkish War (1806-1812) on the Romanian Principalities.¹⁶¹

The textbook discusses issues of culture, urban development, everyday life, gender and other matters, but does not present much information on

Fig. 35

Romania's eastern neighbours. Another textbook published by ALL has similar content, with a focus on Western Europe.¹⁶² The medieval and modern history of Central and Eastern European states is addressed separately, with short presentations of Bulgaria, Serbia, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Russia.¹⁶³ The Russo-Turkish War (1806-1812) is presented in only a few lines, with the observation that, as a result of the Treaty of Bucharest, the territory between the Prut and the Dniester (Bessarabia), an "old Romanian territory", came under foreign administration.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ L. Burleac, L. Lazăr, and B. Teodorescu, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VI-a. Istoria de la formarea popoarelor europene până la constituirea națiunilor moderne*, București: ALL Educational, 2000.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 150-152.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 187-188 (Occupation of Bessarabia).

¹⁶² V. Balutoiu and C. Vlad, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VI-a. Istoria de la formarea popoarelor europene până la constituirea națiunilor moderne*, București: ALL Educational, 2005.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 61-63 and 128-129.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

Year 7

In year 7, pupils study the modern and contemporary periods. The year 7 textbook published by the Corint publishing house is very colourful; however, occasionally the pictures are too small and thus not very clear (Fig. 36).¹⁶⁵ Most of the topics are focused on Western European and US history, with a brief presentation of some aspects of Romanian history, including the “Regulamentele Organice” and Al. I. Cuza’s reforms. The conclusion to the section on the First World War contains considerable detail of everyday life in Romania during the war.¹⁶⁶ In the textbook’s second part, the authors present the history of the twentieth century, including discussion of totalitarian regimes, international relations, the Second World War and the post-war period. The Bessarabian question is discussed briefly in the context of the German-Soviet Pact of 1939.¹⁶⁷ The Republic of Moldova and Ukraine as independent countries following the collapse of the USSR are mentioned only in a table on page 111 detailing the areas and populations of the newly independent states. The recent textbook published by Humanitas and dedicated to modern and contemporary world history is much better designed, with a good balance between text and images (Fig. 37).¹⁶⁸ Nothing is mentioned about the independent countries to the east of Romania, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine. Bessarabia’s sole appearance is on a map on page 41, while Ukraine only features on a map on page 79.

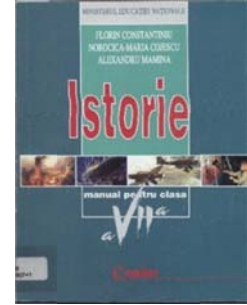


Fig. 36



Fig. 37

¹⁶⁵ F. Constantiniu, N.-M. Cojescu, and A. Mamina, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VII-a*, București: Corint, 2008.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁶⁸ S. Oane and M. Ocheschu, *Istorie universală, modernă și contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a VII-a*, București: Humanitas Educational, 2011.

Year 8

In most cases, the maps in the textbook coordinated by Al. Vulpe, *Istoria românilor*, show only the current actual borders of Romania and nothing about its neighbours (Fig. 38).¹⁶⁹ Only on page 27 does one see a map on migrations from a wider perspective (covering the second to eighth centuries). In the pages that follow, the authors describe the Hungarian settlement in Pannonia and the colonisation of Transylvania by Széklers and Saxons.¹⁷⁰ A similar situation is found in the textbook published by Humanitas, where some topics stress geography more than history.¹⁷¹ The main ideas presented in this textbook are focused on national issues; one example might be the section title *Spațiul românesc văzut de istorici* (Romanian Space as Seen by Historians).¹⁷² The textbook issued by the Teora publishing house in 2000 (and reprinted in 2006) is concerned with Romanian history from prehistoric times to the end of the twentieth century (Fig. 39).¹⁷³ The authors stress that the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture (5th-3rd millennium BC) spread throughout a large area, including territories of a few contemporary states, namely Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine.¹⁷⁴ The Greek colonisation is treated very briefly, with some mentions of the Greek towns of Histria, Tomis, and Callatis.¹⁷⁵ On the topic of *Locals and Foreigners from Confrontation to Cohabitation*, the issue of Romanian relationships with the

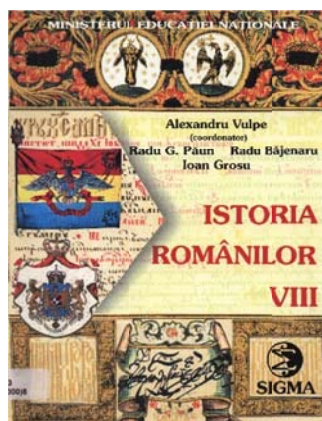


Fig. 38

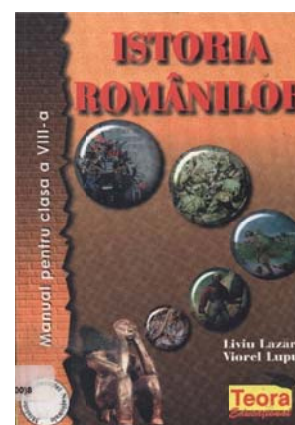


Fig. 39

Slavs is discussed briefly.¹⁷⁶ The relationship between Moldova and Russia during the Middle Ages is briefly mentioned in the course of the discussion regarding D. Cantemir, Peter I, and the Lutk of 1711.¹⁷⁷ Concerning the Russian-Austrian-Turkish wars of the

¹⁶⁹ A. Vulpe et al., *Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, București: Sigma, 2000, 9, 10, 21, 144.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

¹⁷¹ S. Oane and M. Ochescu, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, București: Humanitas Educațional, 2003. See the theme *Mediul și oamenii* (Environment and people).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁷³ L. Lazăr and V. Lupu, *Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, București: Teora, 2006.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 19, 21.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

eighteenth century, the authors analyse the impact of these confrontations on Walachia and Moldova, while also treating the occupation of Bessarabia in 1812.¹⁷⁸ Bessarabia is additionally discussed in the context of the unification of Romania in 1918¹⁷⁹ and then in the context of its occupation by the USSR in 1940.¹⁸⁰ Nothing is mentioned in these textbooks about the Ukrainians as Eastern neighbours to Romania.

Year 9

The year 9 textbook authored by S. Brezeanu discusses a very extensive period of history, from antiquity to the seventeenth century (Fig. 40).¹⁸¹ In

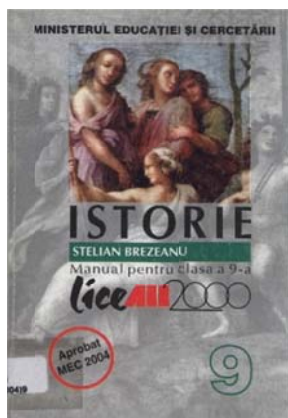


Fig. 40

the context of the process of Indo-Europeanisation, which is presented on a map on page 10, the Ukrainian language is mentioned as part of the Slavic world, and on the previous page there is a picture of a Scythian vase discovered in the Crimea. Some information about Eastern Europe can be found on page 77, where Slavs are briefly mentioned as part of migrations, but the map headed “Romanian Space During the Migration Period” on page 86 only depicts the territory of

contemporary Romania, while there is no mention of neighbouring regions that underwent the same significant process. The formation of the medieval Romanian states of Walachia and Moldova is treated effectively in terms of institutions and culture, but the map on page 120 is poor quality, making it practically impossible to work with. The treatment of the medieval period is thus more focused on Western Europe; there is little about Arabs or Ottomans, and nothing about Eastern Europe. Russia appears on one map, “Religions in Europe at the End of the 16th Century” on page 177.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 113.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 139.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 172-173.

¹⁸¹ S. Brezeanu, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a 9-a, Aprobata de MEC cu ordinul nr. 3886 din 24.05.2004*, București: BIC ALL, 2004.

Year 10

The year 10 history textbooks are concerned with the modern and contemporary periods (Fig. 41). The textbook published by the Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House is

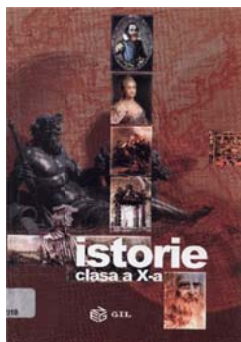


Fig. 41

structured according to the curriculum¹⁸², yet it fails to answer the question of how history teaching should or could approach neighbouring peoples and territories. Bessarabia is shown on a map on page 32, though there is no mention of its annexation by the Russian Empire and the annexation's impact on the population of the region. Russia is presented in the context of multi-cultural countries, together with Austria-Hungary.¹⁸³ For the first time in the Romanian textbooks, we find a topic dedicated to the Holocaust in general and the Holocaust in Romania in particular, including sections about the victims from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria.¹⁸⁴ No mention is found of the Republic of Moldova or Ukraine in the chapters on the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Another textbook, produced by the Niculescu publishing house, includes most of the same topics and suffers from much the same problems because both books are based on the same out-dated history curriculum.¹⁸⁵ However, in this textbook we can find more information about the nineteenth century, on Moldova, some important personalities (A.M. Kogălniceanu, Al. I. Cuza), and Bukovina and Bessarabia. Banat and Transylvania are briefly presented as Romanian provinces on page 60. Both textbooks discuss the unification of Romania in 1918 but give little information on the situation of the new provinces in the inter-war period or the reaction of Soviet Russia to the unification. The Holocaust is discussed briefly on page 107. Nothing is to be found about Ukraine, and the Republic of Moldova appears only in the context of the collapse of the USSR on page 123.

¹⁸² V. Băluțoiu, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, R.A., 2011; V. Băluțoiu, *Istorie. Manual pentru anul de completare, clasa a XI-a*, București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, R.A., 2005.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 113-116.

¹⁸⁵ M. Stan and C. Vornicu, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a X-a*, București: Editura Niculescu, 2011.

Year 11

The year 11 textbook published by Sigma and designed to conform to the 2006 history curriculum is about the history of the twentieth century (Fig. 42).¹⁸⁶ It benefits from high-quality printing and the distribution of text and illustrations is well-balanced. In its opening part, “Europe and the World in the Twentieth Century”, Eastern Europe is present mostly in a few maps as part of the USSR; the Ukrainian language is also shown on the map “Linguistic Groups in Modern Europe”. Bessarabia appears three times, on pages 6, 11, and 27, but with no information about its inter-war history. The topic “European Unity and Diversity” is very generally presented. The textbook is much better developed than other textbooks in many ways: it contains a range of aspects of history, such as private and public life, the development of economic and political ideas, the Romanian diaspora, technological developments, freedom, political regimes, resistance and dissidents, cooperation and conflict, and religious diversity. However, it neglects to pay adequate attention to Romania’s neighbours. Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova, as Romania’s important eastern neighbours, are only mentioned in one map on page 85. Similar problems are found in the textbook developed by V. Băluțoiu.¹⁸⁷ The textbook, edited by a team coordinated by Professor I. Scurtu, focuses, as do those discussed immediately above, on five main themes: people and historical spaces; people, society and the world of ideas; the state and politics; international relations; and religion and religious life. Most of the information it contains is presented from a Romanian perspective and from that of *Romanian history* (Fig. 43).¹⁸⁸ This textbook is very general and simple for year 11 students. Concerning neighbours, the authors touch upon the question of Romanians along Romania’s borders and Romanians across “Seas and States”, but offer nothing about the countries in which they live.¹⁸⁹ In the topic of “Romania and Regional Conflicts during the 20th Century”, there is no discussion of the USSR’s occupation of Bessarabia and Bukovina in 1940 or the 1992 Transnistrian conflict, when Romania supported the Republic of Moldova.¹⁹⁰ Ukraine is also totally absent in these textbooks.

Another textbook for year 11 was published by Humanitas in 2011 (Fig. 44).¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ A. Budici, M. Stănescu, and D. Țigău, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a, Aprobat prin ordinul ministrului educației și culturii nr. 4742 din 21.07.2006*, București: Sigma, 2006.

¹⁸⁷ Băluțoiu, *Istorie. Manual pentru anul de completare, clasa a XI-a*.

¹⁸⁸ I. Scurtu et al., *Istorie. Clasa a XI-a*, București: Editura Economică-Preuniversitaria, 2006.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 111-114.

¹⁹¹ S. Oane and C. Strat, *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a*, București: Humanitas Educational, 2011.

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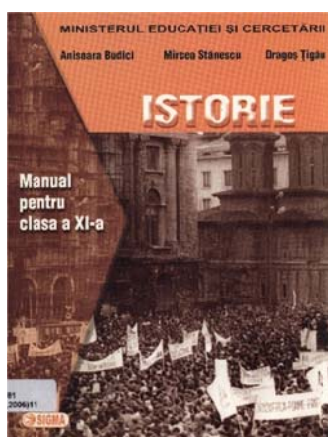


Fig. 42

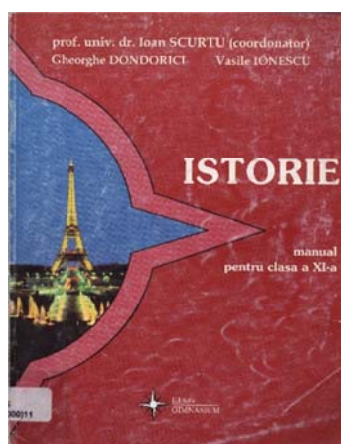


Fig. 43

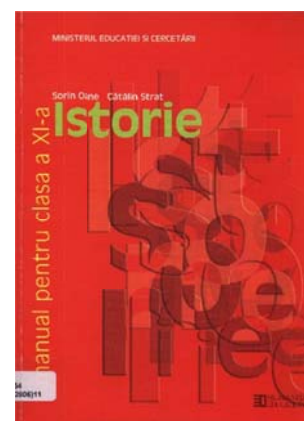


Fig. 44

This textbook is the first in our analysis thus far to contain a section entitled “Romania and its Neighbours”, albeit a very short and general one. The principal idea given in this section is that Romania has signed partnership agreements with all its neighbours; there are, however, no further details given of these relationships.¹⁹² The Republic of Moldova and Ukraine receive mentions in the section addressing “Geopolitical Changes after 1989”, where it is said that Romania received new Eastern neighbours following the collapse of the USSR. The Republic of Moldova is presented as a second Romanian state and as one with a special relationship with Romania. Further, the book explains that the relationship between Romania and Ukraine is difficult because of the issues of Bukovina and the Bystroe Channel and the delimitation of the Black Sea Platform.¹⁹³ In other words, the authors select a few recent points of conflict from these long historical relationships to present to students, thus emphasising, perhaps excessively, difficult aspects of the relationship.

Year 12

A year 12 textbook published by the ALL Educational publishing house and entitled *History* depicts the history of Romania as part of European history from antiquity to the twentieth century.¹⁹⁴ Moldova is presented as a medieval Romanian state, and then as a part of modern Romania. A special topic is dedicated to Romanians from abroad, written from a national perspective; it discusses Romanians from Transylvania (1849-1914), Romanians from Bukovina (1775-1914), Romanians from Bessarabia (1812-1914),¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Ibid., 92.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 93.

¹⁹⁴ O. Bozgan et al., *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, București: ALL Educational, 1999.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 59-61.

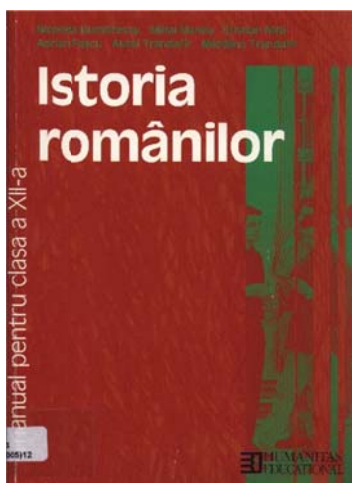


Fig. 45

and finally the process of Romanian unification after 1918.¹⁹⁶ The textbook's final topic, "Options in the Foreign Policy of Romania after 1989", mentions the agreements between Romania and Hungary and Romania and Ukraine, and there is an appendix of articles from these official documents as historical sources.¹⁹⁷

Another textbook authored by Nicoleta Dumitrescu et al. was published for the first time in 2000 and was written according to the 1999 curricula changes; it was reprinted in 2004 (Fig. 45).¹⁹⁸ In 2005 this textbook was in common use by upper secondary school teachers.¹⁹⁹ A further textbook for year 12 was developed under the coordination of Professor Zoe Petre in 2008. It contains chapters similar to those in the Dumitrescu textbook, as it is entirely based on the same history curriculum, but the contents are more diverse; it also includes many interesting case studies.²⁰⁰ Its second chapter presents the issues of Romanians living abroad, ethnic and religious diversity in modern Romania, national minorities in Romania in the twentieth century, and Romania and the problem of the Holocaust, but nothing about Romania's neighbours, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.²⁰¹

II.3 Conclusions on the Situation in Romania

The narrative of the *History of Romanians* as a major national group is part of the textbook discourse - *autochthons vs. aliens*. The recent history curriculum introduced some specific topics revolving around the history of ethnic groups living in Romania, such as "The Condition of the Jews Before and After the Peace Congress of Berlin (1878)" and "The Ethnic Parties in the Parliament of Great Romania", but nothing specific on Romania's neighbours.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 89-96.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 166.

¹⁹⁸ N. Dumitrescu et al., *Istoria românilor. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, București: Humanitas, 2000, 2004.

¹⁹⁹ Szakács, *Now and Then: National Identity Construction in Romanian History*, 26.

²⁰⁰ Z. Petre et al., *Istorie. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, București: Corint, 2008.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 48-55.

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In general, *Romanian history* textbooks encourage two sets of attitudes, national and pro-European/Western.²⁰² They are more focused on western European history than on their eastern and southern neighbours. Romania's neighbours feature more frequently in maps than in text.²⁰³ It is obviously impossible to write a history that satisfies everyone, especially when the manipulation of ethnic identities is effectively established tradition during political crisis,²⁰⁴ but historians have a duty to pursue their professional mission to produce an objective account of the historical facts.²⁰⁵

Recently, Romania established a new system of evaluation which included history as an independent discipline, assessing history teachers and pupils at secondary level,²⁰⁶ which will probably make a contribution to improving history education and the writing of textbooks.

²⁰² Capiță and Capiță, *Dimensions of European History in Romanian History Textbooks*, 236-239.

²⁰³ Murgescu et al., *Romania. Preliminary Rapport*.

²⁰⁴ See the case of Poles and Slovaks from Bukovina during the inter-war period: F. Anghel, "Poloni și slovaci în Bucovina, 1937-1944. Manipularea identității etnice în timpul crizelor politice", in *Revista Istorică* 14, no. 3/4 (2003), 83-92.

²⁰⁵ Nicolae Nicolae's speech at the *Conference on "History textbooks and teaching resources in South East Europe?*, Sinaia, Romania, 6-8 June 2002. Report by Dr. Robert Stradling, DGIV/EDU/HIST (2002), 03, Strasbourg, 2002, 7.

²⁰⁶ D. Dumitrescu et al. (eds.), *Ghid De Evaluare. Disciplina Istorie*, București: Editura ERC PRESS, 2011.

III Ukraine

III.1 The History Curriculum, Textbook Reforms, and Public Debates

The process of changing the education system in general, and history education in particular, commenced in most Soviet republics in the late 1980s, during Gorbachev's "glasnost" and "perestroika" initiatives.²⁰⁷ The liberalisation of cultural life during Gorbachev's rule had a direct impact on historical research and history education. In 1989 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR established a programme for the development of historical research in Ukraine.²⁰⁸ The Academy of Science decided to open up access to all of M.S. Hruševskiši's as well as *History of Ukraine* and to use his works as the fundamental basis for the learning and teaching of the history of Ukraine.²⁰⁹

The collapse of the USSR and Ukraine's independence signalled the beginning of democratic reforms in all spheres of life. All political, economic and social changes had a direct link with education, as Soviet-era ideology and mentalities needed to be replaced with new ones. Since independence, Ukraine has launched new national policies in all areas, including education. The legal framework within which education was legislated for and delivered underwent a transformation, henceforth being formed by the country's constitution, its Law on Education and other laws. These changes in curricula and textbooks have only slowly been implemented in schools. The most important pieces of legislation in the field of education are the Law of Ukraine on Education, adopted in 1991,²¹⁰ and the national programme *Education: Osvita. Ukraïjna XXI st. (Ukraine of the 21st Century)*, adopted in 1992 at the First National Congress of Teachers.²¹¹ The

²⁰⁷ Krylač and S. Kul'cickij, *Die Diskussionen in der Ukraine über die Schulbücher*, 163.

²⁰⁸ S.V. Kul'činskij, "Prohrama rozvytku istoricnyh doslidzen', polipsennja vycennja i propahandy istorij URSR na 1991-2000 rr. jak istoriohraficne javysce" (paper presented at the *Istoricka nauka na porozi XXI stolitja: pidsumky ta perspektyvy. Materialy vseukrajnskoj koneferencij* (m. Charkiv, 15-17 lystopada 1995 r.), Charkiv, 1995, 139.

²⁰⁹ Krylač and S. Kul'cickij, *Die Diskussionen in der Ukraine über die Schulbücher*, 163; see the reviews on recent republication of M. Hruševskiši's works. E. Baidaus, "Mihail Hruševskiši istoria Ucrainei-Rusi," in *Revista istorică XX*, no. 3-4 (2009), 309-324; E. Baidaus, "Relațiile româno-ucrainene în istoria Ucrainei-Rusiei. Considerente Istoriografice (I)," in *Revista istorică XXI*, no. 1-2 (2010), 167-182; E. Baidaus, "Relațiile Româno-Ucraïnene În Istoria Ucrainei-Rusiei. Considerente Istoriografice (II)," in *Revista istorică XXI*, no. 3-4 (2010), 331-536.

²¹⁰ The Law of Ukraine on Education, in *Vidomosi Verkhovnoji Rady*, no. 34, 1991, p. 451-452. The law has undergone several amendments over the last decade.

²¹¹ Derzavna nacionalna programa "Osvita": Ukraina XXI stolitia, zatverdzeno postanovoju Kabinetu Ministriv Ukraïjny vid 3 lystopada 1993 roku, Kiïv: Raiduga, 1994; V. Volovič, "Neue Tendenzen im Bildungssystem der Ukraine", in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research*

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constitution, Ukrainian laws, and Ukrainian society are based on the principles of democracy and the elimination of the practices of the authoritarian Soviet regime. According to the Law on Education in Ukraine, education “is the basis of the intellectual, cultural, spiritual, social, and economic development of the society and the state”, and “is based on the principles of humanism, democracy, national consciousness, and mutual respect between nations and peoples”. Education in Ukraine remains the responsibility of the state and in the hands of the central state bodies, which decide the shape of educational policies. The Ukrainian education system thus remains very much centralised. The Ministry of Education is the main body in charge of the decision-making process for the content of curricula and the production of textbooks.²¹² Concerning the nationalities living in Ukraine, the Law on Citizenship made all those resident in Ukraine at the moment of its official approval (October 1991) citizens of Ukraine and removed from internal passports the space for entering the holder’s nationality. The Law on National Minorities (June 1992), based on the Declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Ukraine (November 1991), “guarantees to all nations and national groups the right to use their mother tongue in all spheres of public life, including education, administration and the reception and dispersal of information”.²¹³ If the laws on national rights in Ukraine appeared very liberal, the reality was different; in post-Soviet Ukraine, one could observe a huge state-led effort to “Ukrainianise” public life. The new Constitution of Ukraine, approved on 1 June 1996, confirmed the status of Ukrainian as the sole state language, but the Constitution guarantees “the free development, use and protection of Russian, and other languages of national minorities of Ukraine”.²¹⁴

In Soviet historiography, Ukraine was a region of Russia and not an individual entity. During the Soviet era, the *History of Ukraine* was taught as part of general history, and it was not until the 1960s that the “History of the Ukrainian SSR” was introduced to the curriculum.²¹⁵ At the end of the 1980s, Ukraine embarked upon the process of re-

20, no. 4 (1998), 426-427; J. Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering. Holocaust and Holodomor in Ukrainian Culture*, Lund: Media Tryck, 2006, 78.

²¹² Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 79, 88.

²¹³ Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 64-65.

²¹⁴ Article 10, p. 9, Constitution of Ukraine, 1996. These issues are treated in more detail in *Ibid.*, 58-84 and 111-116.

²¹⁵ J. Šapoval, “Entwicklung neuer Geschichts- und Sozialkundebücher in der Ukraine: Form und Inhalt”, in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research* 20, no. 4 (1998), 435; Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 87. See the Soviet textbooks for years 7-8 and 9-10: V.H. Sarbei, H.Ya. Serhienko, and V.A. Smolyi, *Istoriija Ukrainskoj SSR*, Kyïv: Radians’ka Škola, 1984; V.H. Sarbei and V.E. Spytskyi, *Istoriija Ukrainskoj SSR*, Kyïv: Radians’ka Škola, 1987.

writing and revising history affected by Soviet ideology. During the 1990s, Ukraine experienced a movement for the attainment of sovereignty and the construction of an independent state and nation. History became a powerful political instrument in the hands of politicians and intellectuals in the process of legitimising the state.²¹⁶ After gaining its independence, Ukraine's strategic priority became the creation of a national historical image. Because Ukraine had never been a nation state before 1991, the "Ukrainian Project" (Ukrainian People's Republic - *Ukrainska Narodnaja Respublika/UNR 1918*)²¹⁷ was paramount – the creation of a new ideology and national history that would legitimise Ukrainian statehood. J. Dietsch correctly observed that independent Ukraine is still very much affected by the past. Kievan Russia, in the present interpretation of Ukrainian historians, represents the first attempt at the construction of a Ukrainian state.²¹⁸ Nation-building in Ukraine is thus part of official education policy at all levels.²¹⁹ After recent events in Ukraine, namely the annexation of Crimea and military conflict in eastern Ukraine, the country's relationship with the past has become an ever more present and pressing issue for Ukrainian society.

Rediscovering and Reinterpreting Ukrainian History

Since 1991, when Ukraine became an independent state, a process of writing and rewriting history has commenced which has had a direct effect on school history curricula and textbooks. One of the first Ukrainian handbooks for teachers and pupils on Ukrainian history was O. Subtel'ny's work²²⁰ translated from English and published in 1991 in Ukrainian.²²¹ Another handbook was published by F.H. Turčenko.²²² These two works

²¹⁶ Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 8-9, 49-50.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

²¹⁸ I. Giric, "Ci superecit' nacional'nij mif istoricbij pradi?", in M. Telus and Ju. Šapoval (eds.), *Ukrajns'ka istoricna didaktika: miznarodnij dialog (fachivci riznich kraijn pro sucasni ukrijns'ki pidručniki z istorij)*, Kyiv: Geneza, 2000, 47-54; J. Gricak, "Jak vikladati istoriju Urajni pislja 1991 roku?", in M. Telus and Ju. Šapoval (eds.), *Ukrajns'ka istoricna didaktika: miznarodnij dialog (fachivci riznich kraijn pro sucasni ukrijns'ki pidručniki z istorij)*, Kyiv: Geneza, 2000, 63-75; V. Ijlge, "Nacional'na istorija na prikladi zobražennja dobi Kyijvs'koï Rusi v ukraïns'kich Pidručnikach z istorij", in Telus and Šapoval (eds.), *Ukrajns'ka istoricna didaktika*, 76-108; M. Karmazina, "Ideij ukrajns'koij derzavnisi kincja XIX - pocatku XX st. ta ijch vidobrazennja v skil'nich pidručnikach", in Telus and Šapoval (eds.), 109-114; P. Gil'kes, "Politika j praktika v ukrajns'kij osviti: miz radjans'kim spadkom ta 'ukrajnizacieju'", in Telus and Šapoval (eds.), *Ukrajns'ka istoricna didaktika*, 134-144; Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 9, 53-54.

²¹⁹ There is more detail on the relationship between education and nation-building in Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine*.

²²⁰ O. Subtel'ny, *Ukraine: a History*, Toronto, Bufalo, London: 1988.

²²¹ O. Subtel'nyj, *Ukrajna: Istorija*, Kyiv 1991.

²²² F. Turčenko, *Novitnja Istorija Ukraïny. 1917-1945, castyna 1*, Kiiv: Heneza, 1994.

also led to the rediscovery of national Ukrainian history among the Ukrainian diaspora. In 1991 was published one of the first experimental textbooks for the higher classes of secondary school to be published.²²³ It was actually the first Ukrainian textbook in which the authors exclusively addressed national history; it was used in schools beginning with the 1991-1992 academic year. The history of Russia became a part of *World History*. The book was published in both Ukrainian and Russian and attained a total print run of 760,000.²²⁴ In 1993-1994, another experimental textbook for upper secondary school classes was published in Ukrainian and Russian; it was based on a concept of history education developed by the Institute of History of the Academy of Science of Ukraine.²²⁵ The book was issued in 500,000 copies for Ukrainian schools and later translated for minority groups into Russian (1994/1995, 300,000 copies), Hungarian and Romanian.²²⁶ An alternative textbook for upper secondary school classes was issued by the Heneza publishing house.²²⁷ The Heneza books were prepared according to the new trends in the study of Ukrainian history and contained more maps, pictures, sources and similar content than had previous textbooks. These textbooks had a print run of about one million copies. The first generation of Ukrainian history textbooks differs from its Soviet counterparts; these textbooks are focused primarily on the history of Ukraine as a state and on power and political movements, which are linked to nation-building. The relationship between “natives” and “foreigners” is treated using terms such as “occupation”, “oppression”, “exploitation” and “struggle”.²²⁸ The new textbooks did not meet expectations and were criticised by some leftist political leaders due to the textbook’s critical attitude to the Soviet period.²²⁹

The official curriculum for history education in Ukrainian schools, approved by the Ministry of Education in 1996, stated that lesson number 42, in year 10, was designed to

²²³ M.V. Koval' et al., *Istoriya Ukraïny*, Kiiŭ: Osvita, 1991.

²²⁴ Krylač and Kul'čickij, *Die Diskussionen in der Ukraine über die Schulbücher*, 164.

²²⁵ S. Kul'čyckij, Ju.A. Kurnosov, and M.V. Koval', *Istoriya Ukraïny. Probnij pidručnyk dlja 10-11 klasiv sredn'oj školy. Častyna 2*, Kiiŭ: Osvita, 1993.

²²⁶ Krylač, Kul'čickij, *Die Diskussionen in der Ukraine über die Schulbücher*, 164.

²²⁷ Turčenko, *Novitnja istorija Ukraïny. 1917-1945*, (in 1995 it was additionally published in Russian); F.G. Turčenko, P.P. Pančenko, and S.M. Tymchenko, *Novitniia istorija Ukraïny. Častyna druha 1945-1995 roki. Pidručnyk dlja 11 klasy serednoi školy*, Kiiŭ: Heneza, 1995.

²²⁸ I. Hyrych and P. Verbytska, "Historical education in Ukraine: The Evolution from Ethnocentrism to the Concept of Multiculturalism in the Textbooks," in *Analele Asociației Naționale a Tinerilor Istorici din Moldova* 9 (2010): 362-363.

²²⁹ See the newspaper of the Socialist Party of Ukraine: E. Krasnikov, "Novejsaja istorija" Ili novejsij obman," *Tovarišč* 38-39(1995); A. Samarin, "Čto vdalbivajut v golovu nasim detjam", in *Tovarišč* 47 (1995), 47.

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cover the “occupation regime and the establishment of the anti-Nazi movement in Ukraine”, which was to be a “basic concept” that all pupils should be familiar with alongside other facts about Second World War.²³⁰ The curriculum declares history to be one of the most important school subjects in Ukrainian education, with the objective, *inter alia*, of “educating pupils in a patriotic spirit so that they cultivate a love for their nation”.²³¹ The history curriculum which was to come into force in 1998 included aspects of educational and social development based on the principles of humanism and democracy: “tolerance, unprejudiced perceptions, and a positive attitude toward other nationalities”.²³² This manner of structuring history education had also been in use in the Soviet era when one course was on USSR history (*Istorija SSSR*), another on world history, and the third on the history of the SSR Ukraine (*Istorija Ukraïnskoj SSR*).

The history curriculum is now divided equally into two compulsory courses, History of Ukraine (*Istorija Ukraïni*) and World History (*Vsesvitnia istorija*), with one optional course available dealing with regional or local history (*Istorija ridnogo kraju*).²³³ Each teacher can decide on the amount of time given to a particular topic and add topics relevant to their region. For example, in Odessa, pupils study Bulgarian history, and in Crimea the history of Tatars.²³⁴ Textbooks from the regions of Poltava, Zaporoz’je, and Kamenc-Podol’sk are focused on their own history from prehistory or, in some instances, solely on events in the twentieth century.²³⁵ The 1998 curriculum focused more on political history than on social, cultural and life issues.²³⁶

The history of the twentieth century was and is a hotly debated topic in all European

²³⁰ Programy dlja sredni zahalnoosvitnoi shkoly. Istorii Ukraïny 5-11 klasy, Vsesvitnia istorii 6-11 klasy, Kiev: Perun, 1996, 56-58; Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 164.

²³¹ Programi dlja seredn'oj zagal'noosvitn'oj školi. Istorija Ukraïni, 5-11 klasy, 9. J.G. Janmaat, "History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian Textbooks", in *History of Education* 35, no. 3 (2006), 361.

²³² Programy dlja zachanoosvinih navčalnih zakladiv: Istorija Ukraïni, Vsesvitnia istorija (nova redakcija) 5-11 klasy, Kiïv: Ministerstvo osvity Ukraïni, 1998, 3-4.

²³³ Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 150.

²³⁴ Bennett, Seminar on History Curricula for Secondary Schools, 25.

²³⁵ O.A. Bilous'ko and O.B. Suprunenko, *Davnja istorija Poltavščini. XX tisjacobittja do n.e. - V stilittja. Pidručnik dlja 6 klasu*, Poltava: Orijana, 2004; I.V. Ribak, *Istorija ridnogo kraju vid najdavnisich casiv do novit'oj dobi. Navnačal'nij posibnik dlja učniv 7-8-9 klasiv*, Kam'janec'-Podil'skij: Abetka-NOVA, 2004; I.V. Ribak, *Istorija ridnogo kraju, novit'oj dobi. navnačal'nij posibnik dlja učniv 10-11 klasiv*, Kam'janec'-Podil'skij: Abetka-NOVA, 2004; O.M. Ignatusa, V.G. Tkačenko, and G.F. Turčenko, *Istorija ridnogo kraju (Zaporiz'ka oblast'): 1914-1939 rr., pidručnik dlja 10 klasu seredn'oj zagal'noosvitn'oj školi*, Zaporizzja: Prem'er, 2003.

²³⁶ A. Davletov, “Nacional-socializm v sovremennyh ukrainskikh i nemeckikh ucebnikach po istorii: kakoe mesto v nich otvedeno pokazu povsednevoj zizni?”, in *Gistoryja stodzennasci i pravj calaveka*, ed. P. Sadoycki and M. Telus, Minsk: Technalogija, 2000, 167.

countries. Over the last decade, the Council of Europe has carried out numerous projects, held many meetings and published many works in this field. In Ukraine, for example, some seminars and training sessions for teachers were held. In June of 1997 a seminar took place in Lviv on “The Initial and In-Service Training of History Teachers in European Countries of Democratic Transition”, which was followed, in October of the same year, by a further seminar in Černivci on “Central and Eastern Europe as a Historical Region: the Problem of Integration in Twentieth-Century World History”. In 1998, the Council of Europe and the Ukrainian authorities organised a seminar in Yalta on “The Reform of Twentieth Century World History Curricula in Secondary Schools, with Special Reference to Controversial and Sensitive Subjects and the Role of Famous Historical Persons”.²³⁷

The debates around the content of the new history textbooks also involved the Ukrainian parliament.²³⁸ In May 1997, the Members of Parliament V. Kuy'ev and E. Krasnjakov wrote to the president of the Ukrainian Parliament, A. Moroz, claiming that the new history textbooks presented a misleading interpretation of historical facts. In this situation, the Ministry of Education had to prepare an expert defence of the content of the textbook by F.G. Turčenko et al. The Institute of History of Ukraine established a commission, whose members were S. Kul'cockij, V. Verstjuk, V. Danilenko and M. Koval' and which eventually supported Kuy'ev and Krasnjakov's view in the statement that “the historical facts should be treated without emotion in textbooks” The authors of the textbook had demonstrated that the old Soviet-Stalinist view of history is incorrect and given a new interpretation of the history of the twentieth century. Parliamentarians did not discover concrete errors in the textbook, and it is likely that their initiative was linked to the nostalgia felt by people who were born and educated in the Soviet era.

Public debate around twentieth-century history saw a resurgence in 2005, when Communist members of Parliament raised questions relating to the role of the USSR in the Second World War. In response to this initiative, a group of well-known historians addressed an open letter to the President of Ukraine and to its parliament, largely

²³⁷ E. Pometun, “Seminar on the Reform of 20th Century History Curricula in Secondary Schools with Special Reference to Controversial and Sensitive Subjects and the Role of Famous Historical Persons.” Yalta, Ukraine, 12-14 May 1998; Report by E. Pometun, [Council of Europe; the Secretary General's New Initiative], Decs/Edu/Hist (98), 58.

²³⁸ See the intervention by S. Dovgan in September 1996, in *Kievskie vedomosi*, 6 September 1996.

criticising the Communist campaign.²³⁹ The discussions around history education in Ukraine have continued following the publication of the new *Concept of the History of Ukraine and World History* in 2009, developed by teachers and politicians including members of the Ukrainian Parliament.²⁴⁰

In the curriculum currently in force in Ukraine, history is a compulsory subject and is on the list of final examinations to be taken in year 11. History is taught as an ordinary course on the history of Ukraine from ancient times to the present for one period per week beginning in year 5. The curriculum states that the course should “prepare pupils for the successful absorption of historical knowledge in later classes, form in children the beginnings of an imagination of the most important pages of the history of the Ukrainian people, raise enthusiasm for Ukraine's past and a desire to learn more about it, and implant in schoolchildren a love of history as a science of past humanity.”²⁴¹ During year 6, pupils proceed to learn world history from ancient times to the fall of the western part of the Roman Empire. Beginning in year 7, students study two parallel courses, on Ukrainian and world history, until year 11.

Ju. Temirov, N. Temorvskaja, and I. Todorov, scholars from Donetsk State University, tried for the first time in 1998 to prepare an integrated course of history in Ukraine for year 10 (covering the period 1914-1945), without much impact or support from their colleagues or Ukrainian schools.²⁴² In the same year, participants in the seminar referred to above on teaching the history of the twentieth century also discussed the idea of an integrated course of world and national history for schools, but it was an idea of which the Ukrainian authorities and historians were not in support.²⁴³

J. Dietsch has observed that in the structure of history education as currently practised in Ukraine, the content of curricula and textbooks echo those of the Soviet era, and that “the Ukrainian Orange Revolution (2004) was linked not just with the political situation in the country but also with trends of what and how [the Ukrainian nation] should

²³⁹ J.G. Janmaat, “The Ethnic ‘Other’ in Ukrainian History Textbooks: The Case of Russia and the Russians”, in Kas'janov (ed.), *Istorična osvita v polikul'turnomu suspil'stvi*, 89.

²⁴⁰ *Koncepcija ta programi vkladannja istorii Ukraïni v školi (proekti): Materialy IV ta V Rabočoi naradi z monitoringu škol'nych pidručnikiv istorii Ukraïni “Koncepcija istoričnoi isviti”/ Uporjadkuvannja ta redakcija N. Jakoveno, L. Vedmid', Sistematozacija perebigu diskusij nad programami L. Vidmid', Kiïv: VD Stilos 2009.*

²⁴¹ *Programy dlja zahanoosvinikh navchalnykh zakladiv. Istoria Ukrainy, Vsevitnia Istoria (nova redaktsiia) 5-11 klasy*, Kiïv: Ministerstvo osvity Ukrainy, 1998, 5.

²⁴² Davletov. *Nacional-socializm v sovremennykh ukrainskikh i nemeckikh ucebnikach po istorii*, 169.

²⁴³ Pometun, *Seminar on the Reform of 20th Century History Curricula*, 17.

be.”²⁴⁴ The curriculum contains the topics required to be taught around the country and stipulates in which class and lesson these are to be taught. Further, as in the Soviet era, school curricula stipulate what is to be included in textbooks and in which chapters. Therefore, while the content of history courses may have changed in Ukraine over the last decade, they have in structural terms remained close to their Soviet antecedents. Since 2004, history teachers are encouraged to stress national pride and patriotism, the struggle of the Ukrainian people against foreign invaders and the establishment of the Ukrainian nation.²⁴⁵ However, one of the most difficult periods has remained the history of the twentieth century.²⁴⁶

For each history course, there is one set of textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, which is the main institution responsible for curriculum content, the approval and production of textbooks. The Ministry of Education, the National Academy of Science of Ukraine and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, along with publishers, run competitions for new textbooks each year.²⁴⁷ Every year the Ministry of Education approves and publishes a list of textbooks recommended for use in each class. Before they can be included in this list, the textbooks are required to go through a process of review, testing, revision, and then recommendation for inclusion. Scholars and experts from various educational and research institutions are included in the process of reviewing history textbooks.

In 2010, the Minister of Education, D. Tabačnik, declared that the new understanding of historical education in Ukraine should be friendlier to Russia. In this context, J. Boldyrev, a Member of Parliament, asserted that, for two decades, the main thrust of historical education in Ukraine had been focused on the view that for 300 years Ukrainians were under Russian domination, and now the Ukrainians understood that this is not true. Continuing, he stated that the new curriculum would thus emphasise that Ukrainians, together with Russians, built the Russian Empire and later the USSR. However, A. German from the Ukrainian Presidential Office was opposed to this Ministry of Education initiative and expressed the view that Ukrainian history does not have to be influenced by Soviet ideology.²⁴⁸ In January of 2015, the Ukrainian Prime Minister, Arseniy

²⁴⁴ Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 64.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 150-151.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁴⁸ I.S. Šiškin, “Fal’sifikacija istorii Velikoj otečestvennoj vojny v učebnikach i process nacional’no-

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Yatsenyuk, spoke in an interview about the Soviet invasion of Ukraine and Germany during the Second World War.²⁴⁹ As we can see, then, the political debate around history education in Ukraine remains very current for Ukrainian society. It would be wise for politicians to exercise care for historical accuracy because speculations on the past tend to create more difficulties than solutions. Ukrainian society, as in other post-Soviet countries, needs a reconciliation process, in which history could play an important role.

Table 5. Structure of History Education in Ukraine²⁵⁰

| No. | Educational level | Year | Discipline | Content |
|-----|-------------------|-------|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Primary | 3 (4) | History | General course |
| 2. | Secondary | 5 | Introduction to history of Ukraine | Medieval period, 19 th – 20 th centuries |
| | | 6 | World History | Antiquity |
| | | 7 | World History | Medieval period |
| | | | History of Ukraine | Medieval period |
| | | 8 | World History | First half of the 16 th - end of the 18 th century |
| | | | History of Ukraine | From the Lublinck Union to the mid-18 th century |
| | | 9 | World History | Second half of the 18 th - beginning of the 20 th century |
| | | | History of Ukraine | The 19 th - beginning of the 20 th century |
| 3. | Upper secondary | 10 | World History | First half of the 20 th Century |
| | | | History of Ukraine | 1914-1939 |
| | | 11 | World History | Since 1939 |
| | | | History of Ukraine | Since 1939 |

gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva na postsovet'skom prostranstve", in T.S. Guzenkova and V.N. Filjanova (eds.), *Vtoraja Mirovaja i Velikaja Otečestvennaja Vojny v učebnikach istorii stran SNG i ES: Problemy, Podchody, Interpretacii (Moskva, 8-9 Aprelja 2010 G.): Materialy Meždunarodnoj Koferecii*, Moskva: Rossijskij institut strategičeskich issledovanij, 2010, 194-195; A. German, "Vsled Za Tojnbi," *Zerkalo nedeli* 13, no. 793 (2010).

²⁴⁹ Stefan Korinth, "Bildungsministerium will den Euromaidan als neuesten Nationalmythos etablieren. Ukraine: Geschichtsunterricht mit Beigeschmack – Teil 2." published on 22 October 2015, <http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/46/46301/1.html> (last access 10 January 2016).

²⁵⁰ The table is compiled in accordance with Programi seredn'oi zagal'noosvit'oi školi z ukraïns'koju movoju navnačannja. *Istorija Ukraïni, 5-11 klasi. Vsesvitnja istorija, 6-11 klasi, 1998*; Programi dlja škil z pogliblenim vivčennjam istorii. *Istorija Ukraïni, 1996*; "Perelik Program, pidručnikiv ta navčal'nič posibnikiv, rekomendovanih Ministerstvom osviti i nauki Ukraïni dlja vikoristannja v zagal'noosvitnič navčal'nič zakladach z ukraïns'koju movoju navčannja u 200/01 navčal'nomu roci". In *Istorija v školach Ukraïni 3/2000*, 4-6.

III.2 Analysis of Textbooks

In order to better understand how Ukraine's neighbours (Moldova and Romania) are presented in Ukrainian history textbooks, I will analyse the situation in textbooks for years 3 to 11.

Primary School: years 3 and 4

History education in Ukrainian schools begins at primary level. For example, students in years 3 and 4 in the Zaporozh'e study history from a local point of view (Fig. 46).²⁵¹ In this textbook, based around a concept of imaginary time travel, pupils learn about subjects spanning prehistory and history (dinosaurs, Ice Age, Varjags, Cossacks, Scythians, Sarmatians, Symbols, industries in Zaporozh'e, new trends – the bridge, the stadium, waterparks). The author of the book focuses their attention mostly on the Cossacks²⁵² as natives of the region, and there is no mention of other ethnic groups or neighbours of Ukraine.²⁵³



Fig. 46

Secondary School: year 5

Year 5 pupils study an introduction to history. One of the most popular textbooks is authored by V. Vlasov and O. Danilevskaja (Fig. 47).²⁵⁴ The authors state in the introduction that their main purpose is to initiate the study of national history in school; therefore, the book's title is *Introduction to the History of Ukraine*. It has 5 chapters: Introduction to History, Knjažeskaja Rus'-Ukraine, Cossacks of Ukraine, Ukraine in the 19th and 20th Centuries, and Contemporary Ukraine. The textbook builds a view of Ukrainian history for students, beginning with Kievan Rus in the ninth century and the first Ukrainian Kingdom of "Korolevstvo" in the twelfth



Fig. 47

²⁵¹ I.Ja. Ščupak, *Istorija Ridnogo Kraju, Pidručnik Dlja 3(4) Klasu Zagal'noosvitnich Navnač' Nich Zakladiv*, Zaporizž'ja: Premér, 2003.

²⁵² Ibid., *Kozac'ki tverdini*, p. 44-49; *Kozac'ke žittja*, p. 50-55; *Kotigoroško (devjat' porogiv kozackich viprobuvan')*, p. 56-57.

²⁵³ There is one instance of reference to Polish aristocrats and clergy as having attempted to impose Catholicism instead of Orthodoxy. Ibid., 43.

²⁵⁴ The first edition of the textbook was published in 1999. Vitalii Vlasov and O. Danilevskaja, *Vvedenie v istoriju Ukrainy, učebnik dlja 5 klassa obščebrazovatel'nych učebnyh zavedenij*, Rekomendovano Ministerstvo, Obrazovanii i Nauki Ukrainy, perevod s ukrainskogo, Kiev: Geneza, 2005.

century while making connections with the contemporary state. Taking a look at all texts, pictures, and maps in the textbook, we can observe the intention of the authors to show an image of “‘us’ as Ukrainians, as Cossacks”.²⁵⁵ Moldova is only represented on the maps in the first three chapters. There is no discussion of the relationship between Cossacks and Moldova during the reigns of Bogdan Chmelnickij and Vasile Lupu, P. Movila and others. Romania is mentioned for the first time on a map on page 177 regarding the Second World War. Contemporary relations between Ukraine, Moldova and Romania are not represented, with the exception of a map on page 197 that shows the administrative and territorial organisation of Ukraine and its western neighbours. The general impression given by this textbook is one of a violent history, involving many battles around building Cossack and Ukrainian statehood. There is some information in chapter 4 regarding culture and science, but most of it focuses on Ukrainian and Cossack heroes, as can be seen in discussions of the struggle for independence in 1708²⁵⁶ and the elimination of the Ukrainian Cossack state.²⁵⁷ When discussing the depiction of the famine of the 1930s in Ukrainian history textbooks, J. G. Janmaat considers Vlasov and Danilevskaja’s textbook to be “more radical in tone” compared with its competitors, because “it makes extensive use of the strong normative terminology so often found in nationalist narrative”.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Examples might be the maps on pages 47, 57, 77, 143 – borders of Kievan Rus’ during knjaz’ Oleg (912), knjaz’ Jaroslav (1054), the power and borders of Galick-Volynsk, the Ukrainian territories under the Lithuanians and Polish states (the borders of the distribution of Ukrainians in the sixteenth century), Ukraine in the nineteenth century (the borders of the distribution of Ukrainians in the nineteenth century) etc.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

²⁵⁸ Janmaat, *History and National Identity Construction*, 364.

Year 6

During year 6 pupils study the history of antiquity. The year 6 textbook authored by K.P. Bunjatjan et al. is well designed, but contains a full 240 pages, which I consider to be too much information for pupils of this age.²⁵⁹ The textbook is divided into six chapters: Anthropogenesis and Darwin, Initial Organisations, The Oldest States (Sumer, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Egypt, India, China), Ancient Greece, The Inhabitants of Ukraine During the 1st Millennium BC, and Ancient Rome. At the end of chapter 3, the authors try to present very generally the subject of the inhabitants of Ukraine during the third and second millennia BC,²⁶⁰ which effectively communicates the situation in the region and compares it with the state of affairs in Asia. The fifth chapter is entirely dedicated to the history of the inhabitants of the region who settled in the territories of contemporary Ukraine beginning in the first millennium AD,²⁶¹ but as it is presented in the textbook, it is cut off from the broader regional context.²⁶²



Fig. 48



Fig. 49

The year 6 textbook written by O. Bandrov's'kij²⁶³ is better organised and presents the topics well (Fig. 48). It contains four chapters: Prehistory, Ancient History (Egypt, Asia Minor, India and China), Ancient Greece, and Rome. Ancient History focuses principally on military events and conflicts, with very little about culture, daily life or religion.²⁶⁴ Concerning the territories of Ukraine's western neighbours, the textbook, published by the Fahrenheit publishing house, briefly mentions the Dacian ruler Decebal on page 227 (Fig. 49).²⁶⁵

²⁵⁹ K.P. Bunjatjan, V.M. Zubar, and C.I. Selic'ka, *Istorija. starovidn'ogo svitu, probnij pidručnik dlja 6 klasu serednich zagal'noosvitnich škil, dopuščeno Ministerstvom Osviti Ukraïni*, Kiïv: Livid', 1997.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 106-109.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 156-175.

²⁶² See, for example, map on page 157.

²⁶³ O. Bandrov's'kij, *Istorija. Starodavn'ogo svitu, Pidručnik dlja 6-go klasu serednich zagal'noosvitnich navčal'nich zakladiv, 2-ge vidannja dooprac'ivane, dopuščeno Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (24 Lipnja 1996 r., Protocol Nr. 10&3-19)*, Kiïv: Geneza, 2001.

²⁶⁴ A good example is the presentation of everyday life in Rome (family, children's education, games etc. See pp. 267-273).

²⁶⁵ S.O. Golovanov and V.O. Dribnicja, *Vsesvitnja istorija, istorija starodavn'ogo svitu, navčal'nij posibnik dlja 6 klasu sa programoju rekomendovanoju Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki*, Kiïv: Farengeit, 2000.

The textbook is full of text, with only a few small, poor-quality pictures, and is therefore very hard to read for year 6 pupils. The topic on Greek colonisation offers no details about the Greek colonies on the western bank of the Black Sea; the author only mentions Tyra, Olbia, Chersonese, and Pantikapeia.²⁶⁶ Another textbook for year 6, written by O.I. Šalaginova and B.B. Šalaginov, briefly discusses the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture, which spread over a large territory stretching up to Slovakia and the Balkan Peninsula.²⁶⁷ Greek colonisation is presented very generally, with only the map on page 139 showing the Greek colonies in the eighth to the fifth centuries BC. It also expressly mentions the enlargement of the Roman Empire in the Lower Danube and the creation of the Roman province of Dacia under Emperor Trajan.²⁶⁸

The textbook authored by I.Ja. Ščupak et al. is better structured from an educational viewpoint than the other year 6 textbooks, but it is almost entirely in black and white, with only a few colour maps, and is also full of text, poor quality pictures, and very general and standard questions for evaluation of learning.²⁶⁹ Regarding common issues relating to the prehistoric era, this textbook makes mention of the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture, spread over the territories of contemporary Ukraine, Moldova, and Romania.²⁷⁰ The question of Greek colonisation is treated generally, as in other textbooks, but map no. 4 shows the situation around the Mediterranean from the eleventh to sixth centuries BC. On map no. 8 we see Rome in the third century BC to the second century AD, including Dacia as part of Rome and other Eastern Carpathian regions under the Sarmatians. The fact that Emperor Trajan had led wars against the Dacians and that his army reached the Carpathian Mountains and organised a new Roman province of Dacia is briefly mentioned on page 248.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 147.

²⁶⁷ O.I. Šalaginova and B.B. Šalaginov, *Istorija starodavn'ogo svitu, pidručnik dlja 6 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navčalnich zakladiv, zatverdženo Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (25 Lipnja 2002 r., Protocol 7/5-19), 3-Te Vidannja, Dopovnene I Pereroblene*, Kiïv: Zodiak-Eko, 2003, 35.

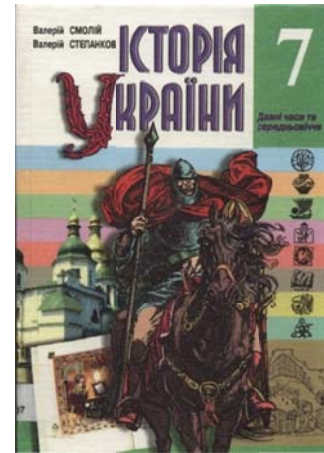
²⁶⁸ Ibid., 224-225.

²⁶⁹ I.Ja. Ščupak, S.A. Golovanov, and E.P. Rešetnikova, *Istorija drevnego mira, 6 klass, učebnoe posobie dlja 6 klasa obščėobrazovatel'nych zavedenij, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Obrazovanii i Nauki Ukrainy (Rešenie Kollegii Nr. 8/3-18 Ot 28.07.99)*, Zaporožė: Premér, 2004.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 34.

Year 7

Year 7 pupils study the history of Ukraine during the medieval period. The textbook written by V. Smolij and V. Stepankov contains eight chapters and begins with the formation of the Ukrainian people; its anthropological type, language, and cultural particularities. It then goes on to address topics relating to the ancient history of Ukraine, the formation and development of Kievan Rus, the development of the Russian Empire, the collapse and dissolution of the Russian state, the development of Russia in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the process of the unification of Ukrainian territories into a national state and the causes of its failure, and the Ukrainian territories under foreign occupation (the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth centuries) (Fig. 50).²⁷¹ Although the map on page 10 and the text on page 41 characterise the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture as being a European culture, the text is presented very much in the old Soviet

**Fig. 50**

style. The problems involved with Ukrainian ethnogenesis are highly sensitive, making the claims advanced by the textbook all the more ambitious: “The Ukrainian people have lived in their own lands since the 4th century, first under the name of Anty, later Rusy, and finally as Ukrainians.”²⁷² Similar problems are found in the presentation of the anthropological portrait of Ukrainians – “антропологичний тип українців” (the anthropological type of a Ukrainian)²⁷³ – and in relation to the Slavic-Ukrainian stage of the periodisation of Ukraine’s ancient history from the second to the beginning of the seventh centuries.²⁷⁴ Moldova is shown as the occupant of the territories of Bukovina and Pokutia beginning in the fourteenth century, as before, from the tenth century, these regions were part of Kievan Rus and then Galicia-Volhynia. „Only in the fourteenth century was Northern Bukovina inhabited by Valachs (Romanians) coming from Maramureș and Transylvania, and this area eventually became part of Hungary.”²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ V. Smolij and V. Stepankov, *Istoriija Ukraïni, davni časti ta seredn'oviččja, probnij pidručnik dlja 7 klasu, dopuščeno Ministerstvom Osviti Ukraïni, Protocol N 16&3-18 Vid 25.11.98*, Kiïv: Osvita, 2001.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 9-10.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 230.

The year 7 textbook published by the regional Prem'er publishing house includes eight chapters focusing on the period between prehistory and the medieval state of Ukraine as part of the Great Lithuanian Duchy (Fig. 51).²⁷⁶ Chapter 1 is dedicated to the prehistory of Ukraine (the chronological borders of the ancient history of Ukraine and its periodisation,²⁷⁷ the settlement of Ukraine's territories by humans).²⁷⁸ The culture of Cucuteni-Tripolie is referred to simply as Trypillia²⁷⁹. The authors present the area of this culture as involving only the upper regions of the river Dniester, with no mention of its distribution in other Carpathian territories. The information on the Greek colonies is very poor, mentioning only Olibia, Chersones and Tyras,²⁸⁰ although it is well known that the Greek colonisation of the Black Sea areas was a long process, and thus it would have been better to present these events as part of a complete process rather than as isolated. Units 2 to 6 are entirely dedicated to the history of Kievan Rus, as the authors try to discuss the detailed formation, development, political establishment and culture of Kievan Rus in 18 sections. The textbook's final two chapters revolve around Galicia-Volhynia and the Ukrainian territories under the rule of foreign states. As in the other textbooks, this one is dominated by military events and campaigns. Controversial issues receive highly tendentious treatment from the textbook's authors. For example, on page 156 they present the inclusion of Bukovina and Pokutia within the state of Moldova, but they also say that these territories had been Slavic from late Antiquity: "The lands of the modern Bukovina have been inhabited since ancient times. On its territory monuments of ancient Slavic archaeological cultures have been discovered."²⁸¹

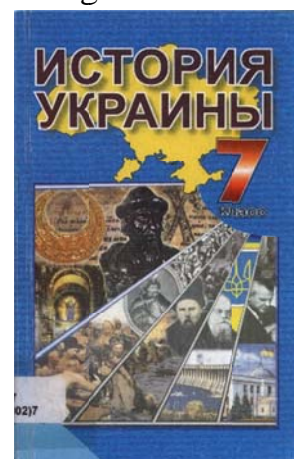


Fig. 51

²⁷⁶ T.V. Ladyčenko, V.V. Sviderskaja, and Ju.Ju. Sviderskij, *Istorija Ukrainy, 7 klass, učebnoe posobie dlja 7 klassa srednej obrazovatel'noj školy, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Obrazovabija Ukrainy*, Zaporož'e: Prem'er, 2002.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

²⁷⁹ The most accepted version in the academic literature is the Cucuteni-Tripolie Culture.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

V. Vlasov is the author of another year 7 history textbook, which uses colour illustrations and offers a much-improved design compared to the



Fig. 52

previous publications (Fig. 52).²⁸² It contains five extensively treated topics: the ancient history of Ukraine; the formation and development of Kievan Rus; Galicia-Volhynia, the successor to Kievan Rus; the political, socio-economic, and cultural development of Kievan Rus and Galicia-Volhynia in the ninth to fourteenth centuries; and the Ukrainian territories under the Lithuanian state and other foreign powers (the second half of the fourteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century).

The same problems regarding the Cucuteni-Tripolie culture are encountered in this textbook as in those discussed above.²⁸³ In the book's second topic pursuant to the second theme, the authors explain the appearance of Kiev, of Kievan Rus, and try to give an answer as to why it was called Rus.²⁸⁴ We are unable to find in this textbook any information on Ukraine's neighbouring territories during antiquity and the Middle Ages, except for that given on the maps. The author only presents the Ukrainian territories under the control of Poland, Moldova, and Moscow at the end,²⁸⁵ but the depiction is, in my view, not satisfactory, as all these countries with common historical roots are presented as having been occupiers in the Ukrainian territories.

The World Medieval History textbooks are generally well structured, with new and interesting subjects included (daily life, economic activities, religion), but most of them are about western European regions and countries and do not discuss the Black Sea region or Ukraine's eastern neighbours.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Vitalii Vlasov, *Istoriia Ukraïni. Pidručnik dlja 7 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navčal'nic zakladiv. Textbook was approved and recommended by Ministry of Education of Ukraine No. 1/11-2831 of 9.07.2003*, Kiiiv: Geneza, 2005.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 243-252.

²⁸⁶ N.G. Podaljak and O.O. Chirna, *Vsesvitnja istorija, istorija serednich vikiv, pidručnik dlja 7 klasu za programoju, rekomendovanoju Minsiterstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni*, Kiiiv: Farengit, 2000; N.G. Podaljak, *Istoriia serednich vikiv, 7 klas, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (List Nr. 1/11-2830 Vid 09.07.2003 R.)*, Kiiiv: Geneza, 2004.

Year 8

History, as taught in year 8, is divided into two main disciplines: *World History* (the first half of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century) and the *History of Ukraine* (from the Lublinck Union to the mid-eighteenth century).

The World History textbook authored by I.M. Birjul'ov was developed according to the curriculum on world history for year 8 and covers the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Fig. 53).²⁸⁷ The textbook is in black and white, with only the titles underlined in black and blue. The book does not contain very many pictures, but most of them are large enough to work with. The text is separated into two columns on each page, which is helpful for reading. The organisational schemes used by the author in each chapter or section help pupils to better understand the topics presented. The end of each thematic area features a glossary of historical terms, a chronology, sources, and tasks for pupils to complete.

The style of presentation for the information in the textbook is similar to that found in the old Soviet textbooks. The activities at the end of the thematic areas are very general and lack interactive methods and tasks. The topics presented in the textbook focus on the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern era and the organisation of capitalist society. The first topic unit is dedicated to geographical discoveries, while the second covers the Reformation in Europe. The third addresses the revolution in Holland during the sixteenth century, while the fourth presents Absolutism and the wars in sixteenth-century France. The fifth



Fig. 53

unit covers England in the sixteenth century (economic development, urbanisation, legal frameworks, the Reformation, the Anglican Church). These units conclude with an evaluation of the transition of Northern and Central Europe from feudalism to capitalism. The sixth unit is mostly about political changes in the Muscovite state during the sixteenth century, and the same subject is developed in the eighth, in which the author discusses the eighteenth century. The seventh topic covers the Thirty Years' War (1618-

²⁸⁷ I.M. Birjul'ov, *Vsesvitnja istorija. Novi casi XVI - kinec' XVIII stolittja, častina perša. Pidručnik dlja 8-go klasu seredn'oi školi, dopusceno Ministerstvom Osviti Ukrijni jak pidručnik dlja uciv 8-ch klasiv serednich zagal'noosvitnich skil zgidno z risennjam Kollegij Ministerstva Osviti Ukraïni vid 28.10.1998 (Protokol No. 14/4-98)*, Kiiv: Geneza, 2000.

1648) and the involvement of European countries in this conflict. At the end of this unit, the author includes an extract on “Ukrainian Cossacks in the Thirty Years’ War”.²⁸⁸ The ninth unit explores the situation of Poland from the sixteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century, but most of the issues raised are connected to economic and military/political changes. Unit ten is dedicated to challenges at the turn of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. The first part focuses on the Ottoman Empire and briefly outlines its economic, social and political structure, the Empire’s wars with European countries, and, in a few lines, the development of Ottoman culture.²⁸⁹ In the context of the Ottoman wars, Moldova and Walachia are mentioned just once (page 101). The second part of the textbook concerns itself with economics, politics, and culture in China, specifically the rule of the Min and Cin Dynasties. The third part addresses the arrival of the Europeans and the cultural development of India. It is not until unit 12 that the textbook deals with culture in Western, Northern and Central Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the Renaissance in Italy and in Northern Europe, European architecture and literature, the development of medicine, mathematics and astronomy). At the conclusion of the unit, there is information on the science and culture of the Muscovite state.²⁹⁰ Unit thirteen is dedicated to the Russian state during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with close focus on the reforms of Peter the First and the wars and creation of the Russian Empire.²⁹¹ In the fourteenth topic unit, the authors come back to the Thirty Years’ War and its impact on the Holy Roman Empire. Further, they discuss in general terms agricultural aspects of some of the German lands and the role of King Frederick the First in the development of the Brandenburg-Prussian state. Information on eighteenth-century German culture is limited to a few lines.²⁹² The same situation is found in relation to the presentation of the Habsburg Empire in the eighteenth century in unit fifteen, with principal emphasis on the Empire’s organisation (its administration, the Counter-Reformation, nationality issues, and the reforms of Maria Theresa). The last topic in this textbook addresses North America in the eighteenth century, commencing with the English colonies, military conflicts, and the War of Independence, and going on to discuss the attainment of independence, the Constitution and

²⁸⁸ Ibid., 79.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 103.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 133-135.

²⁹¹ Ibid., 164.

²⁹² Ibid., 176.

the Bill of Rights. In conclusion, this textbook is primarily concerned with military and political changes in Europe and North America during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, with only general overviews of cultural, scientific, and social developments and nothing about Moldova and Romania as Ukraine's neighbours.

Other world history textbooks for this year group place their main focus on Western Europe and do not devote any content to South-Eastern Europe or to Ukraine's neighbouring regions (Fig. 54).²⁹³ A good example of student tasks – which frequently do not feature in other textbooks – is I. Misina et al.'s textbook. The tasks here are directly addressed to pupils and continually invite them to think and to analyse historical facts and events. In the main text, there are very well-developed repeated features, highlighted sections and inserts such as “Your Opinion”, “Attention: Problem”, “Attention: Idea” and “Let's Think”.²⁹⁴

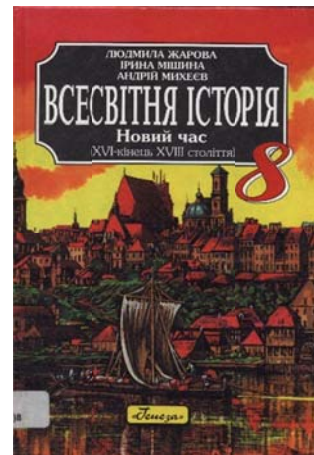


Fig. 54

In 2011, based on the 2007 and 2008 editions of the textbook, another World History textbook for year 8, authored by N.G. Podaljak, was published.²⁹⁵ In the context of world history topics spanning the period from the end of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, the author writes about a number of political events and some cultural issues, including those involving the Muscovite state. However, Moldova is mentioned in this textbook only on a few maps, on pages 75, 95, 187, and 201. On all the maps presenting sixteenth-century Europe, though, the author depicts Ukraine as part of the Lithuanian kingdom.²⁹⁶ Even if the textbook is in colour and is more attractive than previous editions, it remains neglectful of the question of neighbouring countries and their cultures and social history.

²⁹³ L. Žarova, I. Mišina, and A. Micheev, *Vsesvitnja istorija, novij čas (XVI – konec' XVII stolittja), probnij pidručnik, 8 klas, pereklad s rosijskoj 1999*, Kiiv: Geneza, 2001; O. Gisem and O. Martinjuk, *Vsesvitnja istorija, nova istorija (XVI – konec' XVIII st.)*, 8 klas, *Rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti Ukraïni*, Kiiv: ACK, 2000; V.O. Dribnicja and V.O. Križanivs'ka, *Vsesvitnja istorija, nova istorija, pidručnik dlja 8 klasu, dopuščeno Minsiterstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni*, Kiiv: Farengit, 2000.

²⁹⁴ I. Misina, L. Zarova, and A. Michaev, *Vsemirnaja istorija. epocha stanovlenija sovremennoj civilizacii (konec XV - načalo XX vekov), učebnik dlja 8-go klassa*, Kiiv: Geneza, 1994.

²⁹⁵ N.G. Podaljak, *Vsesvitnja Istorija. Novij čas. Konec' XV-XVIII st. Pidručnik dlja 8 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navnačnich yakladiv, 2-ge vidannja*, Kiiv: Geneza, 2011.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 75, 95, 187, 201.

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History of Ukraine, written by V. Vlasov for year 8 includes the period between the Lublinck Union and the mid-eighteenth century (Fig. 55).²⁹⁷ The textbook contains colour pictures and maps (examples are on pp. 7, 13, 20, 55, 60, 62, 150), which, while sometimes too small, are nonetheless generally high-quality. The text is in one column, and on some pages there is too much text (see pp. 6, 24-25, 34-35, 62). There is a disproportionate number of portraits, and most represent men. Most of the pictures are linked to military events and conflicts, with frequent subjects including soldiers, fortresses, battles, and weapons. The idea behind these images is evidently to show the heroism of the Cossacks and the Ukrainian people.²⁹⁸ Hotin fortress is mentioned only as part of the war of 1621 between Poland, the Ottoman Empire, and Moldova, in which the Cossacks were also involved.²⁹⁹ The author appears to be attempting to point to the contribution of the Cossacks to this war and neglects to make any mention of Ukraine's neighbour Moldova. The pupil tasks in relation to this matter also focus on the Cossacks (see page 41: "What part did the Ukrainian Cossacks take in the Hotin War?"). Chapter 3 of the textbook is almost entirely dedicated to Bogdan Hmelnickij and his battles. Military conflicts between Bogdan Hmelnickij and the Moldovan ruler Vasile Lupu, which resulted in the marriage of Hmelnickij's son Timur to Lupu's daughter Ruxanda, are also discussed here.³⁰⁰ Chapter 5, "The Ukrainian Lands at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th Centuries", discusses the Prut campaign of the Russian Tsar Peter I against the Turks in 1711 and his agreement with the Moldovan Prince

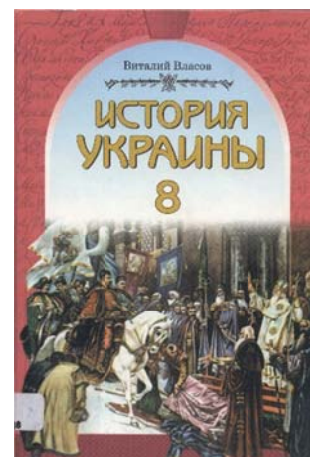


Fig. 55

²⁹⁷ Vitalii Vlasov, *Istoriia Ukrainy. Učebnik dlja 8 klassa obščeeobrazovatel'nykh učebnykh zavedenij*, Kiev: Geneza, 2003.

²⁹⁸ See: p. 5 – unit 1: "Ukrainian lands under the authority of the Rzeczpospolita. Increase of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people"; p. 89 – unit 3: "National liberating war of the Ukrainian people against the Rzeczpospolita in the middle of the 17th c. The Revival of the Ukrainian State. The Ukrainian lands in the 2nd half of the 17th c. Separation of Getmanschina"; p. 183 – unit 5: "The Ukrainian Lands at the end of the 17th – 1st half of the 18th c.").

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 119-122. These pages also feature a picture of Roxanda.

Dmitrie Cantemir.³⁰¹ The culture of the Ukrainians is presented in Chapter 2 (topic unit 2, “The National and Cultural Movement in Ukraine in the Second Half of the 16th – First Half of the 18th Centuries”). Both chapters together cover 51 (34+17) pages, which

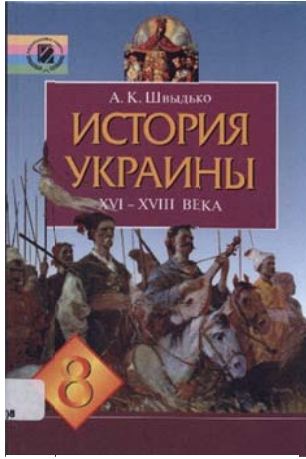


Fig. 56

is one-fifth of the entire book. The rest of the book’s units are about wars, military conflicts, and fighting. There is no mention of cultural connections with neighbouring countries and peoples. There is a very short description of some aspects of culture, albeit relating solely to Cossack culture (an example is on page 234, “*kozac’ke baroko*”). Speaking of Ukrainian culture, the author mentions the significant contribution of the Metropolitan Petro Mogila (Petru Movila), but very little

about his Moldovan origins. The same chapter contains text on the Greek Catholic church; in the task menu, the author attempts to underline the relationship between the Orthodox and Catholic churches and to determine their particularities.³⁰² The general impression is that in this book the author presents the history of the Ukrainians, in which some events which concerned Ukraine’s neighbours are mentioned because they are directly linked with Ukrainian territories or Cossack rulers.

The 2005 edition of V. Vlasov’s textbook does not differ much from the original version; it simply has larger type and pictures.³⁰³ The content of other year 8 *History of Ukraine* textbooks is similar to Vlasov’s work (Fig. 56).³⁰⁴ In 2011, Vlasov published another *History of Ukraine* textbook for year 8, based on his textbook’s 2007 and 2008 versions, which is more colourful and more attractive than his previous works.³⁰⁵ Ukraine’s neighbours are presented largely on maps because the text focuses on “Ukrainian/Cossack society”. The textbook opens with *Ukrainian Territories in the 16th*

³⁰¹ Ibid., 203-204.

³⁰² Ibid., see p. 67 “What were the particularities of the position of the Greek Catholic Church in the 1st half of the XVII c.? And “What attempts were made to achieve mutual understanding between the Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches during the 1st half of the 17th c.? Why were they unsuccessful?”

³⁰³ V. Vlasov, *Istoriya Ukraïni. Pidručnik dlja 8 klasu special'noij zagal'noosvitn'oij školi dlja ditej zi snizenim zorom*, Kïiv: Vidavnicтво “Blagovist”, 2005.

³⁰⁴ A.K. Svyd'ko, *Istoriya Ukrainy: XVI-XVIII veka. Učebnik dlja 8 klassa obščeeobrazovatel'nych učebnyh zavedenij, (rekomentovan Mnisterstvom Obrazovanjia i Nauki Ukrainy, Protokol No. 1/11-2595 Ot 30.07.2002)*, Kïiv: Geneza, 2004; G.K. Svyd'ko, *Istoriya Ukraïni: XVI-XVIII stolittja. Pidručnik dlja 8-go klasu zagal'noosv. Navc. zakl. vid. 2-E, pereobl. ta dopovn*, Kïiv: Geneza, 2003.

³⁰⁵ V.S. Vlasov, *Istoriya Ukraïni. 8 klas. Pidručnik dlja zagal'noosvitnich navnačal'nich zakladiv*, Kïiv: Geneza,, 2011.

Century, and on maps on pages 7 and 19 we see a depiction of neighbouring territories, including medieval Moldova and Walachia.³⁰⁶ However, the author attempts to point out to students the territories settled by Ukrainians in the sixteenth century, including Bukovina. I think this position is too tendentious, as it attempts to create an image of Ukraine with the borders it has today. For example, Bukovina at that time was part of medieval Moldova. This region became part of the Ukrainian SSR solely as a result of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1940. Pupils should be enabled to understand how the area has changed in history and thus how these territories became part of modern Ukraine, a task in which the textbook fails. A similar example is on pages 86-97, where the text discusses the “role of Cossacks in the Hotin war of 1621” and mentions that the Hotin fortress is part of the Cernivcy region today.³⁰⁷ It would be more important to describe the situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in which country the fortress was located, and why this war happened at Hotin. The textbook is dominated by military and political topics, and culture is only very briefly discussed. A description of the role of Petro Mogila tells pupils that he was originally from Moldova.³⁰⁸ Particular attention is given to the time and role of Bogdan Hmelnickij (topic unit 3), with descriptions of his campaigns against Moldova, the agreement with Vasile Lupu, the Moldovan ruler, and the marriage of Roxanda (daughter of Lupu) and Timoš (son of Hmelnickij). Even though the author includes pictures of the Moldovan ruler and his daughter, most of the information in this part of the textbook is dedicated to the military campaigns of the “Ukrainian army”.³⁰⁹ The general impression of this textbook is its overwhelming emphasis on continuous wars for territories, either Ukrainians/Cossacks fighting against others for their territories or attacks by others on Ukrainians, such as the “Rzeczpospolita, Moldova, Walachia, and Transylvania united in anti-Ukrainian Union” or the “Turkish campaign against Ukraine in 1672-1675”.³¹⁰ We might question whether the intent, which becomes apparent in this textbook, to build a national discourse and a history of Ukrainian statehood based primarily on wars and fighting against others is the best way to teach history or to develop tolerance in young citizens.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 7, 19.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 87.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. 97.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 141, 143.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 145, 167.

Year 9

History is taught to year 9 pupils in two separate courses: *World History* (covering the second half of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century) and *History of Ukraine* (the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century).³¹¹ The world history textbook published by the ASK publishing house in 2001 is effectively a history of revolutions, political and social movements.³¹² Romania is mentioned just once, in connection with the recognition of its independence by the Ottoman Empire after the war of

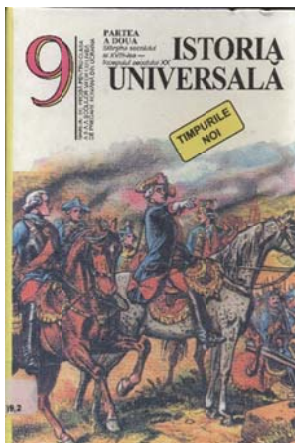


Fig. 57

1877-1878.³¹³ It is a similar story in other textbooks, including those translated into Romanian for Romanian communities in Ukraine (Fig. 57).³¹⁴ In most year 9 textbooks, Romania is discussed in the context of the Russo-Ottoman wars, as are other neighbouring countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro)³¹⁵.

The History of Ukraine, intended for year 9 and authored by V.G. Sarbej (Fig. 58), either gives

Ukraine a central place in each chapter or shows the suffering of Ukraine, featuring such sections as “Ukraine Under the Authority of the Russian and the Austrian Empires”, “Ukraine in the War of the French and Russian Empires”,



Fig. 58

“The Crimean War and Ukraine”, and “Consolidation of the Ukrainian Nation”, without providing any information about other ethnic groups.³¹⁶ Each unit contains a section on

³¹¹ Programi z istoriï Ukraïni dlja 9 klasu, rekomendovano Ministerstvo osviti Ukraïni, protokol Nr. 6/5-18 vid 27.05.98.

³¹² O. Gisem et al., *Vsesvitnja istorija, nova istorija, kinec' XVIII – počatok XX st, 9 klas, 2-ge vidannja perepoblene, rekomednovano Ministerstvom Osviti Ukraïni (List Nr. 1449 Vid 20.11.98)* (Kiïv: ASK, 2001).

³¹³ Ibid., 109.

³¹⁴ S.V. Bilonožko et al, *Istoria universală, partea a doua, timpurile noi, sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea – începutul secolului XX, manual de probă pentru clasa a 9-a a școlii medii cu limba de predare din Ucraina*, Lviv: SVIT, 2001; S.V. Bilonožko et al., *Vsesvitnja istorija, častina druga, kinec' XVIII-počatok XX stolittja, pidručnik dlja 9-go klasu zagal'noosvitbich navčal'nich zakladiv, zatverdženo Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni, 3-te vidannja (protolol No. 8/1-19 Vid 26.08.2001)*, Kiïv: Geneza, 2005; B.M. Gončar and V.O. Dribnicja, *Vsesvitnja istorija, nova istorija, častina druga, kinec' XVIII – počatok XX stolittja, navčal'nij posibnik dlja 9 klasu, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (List Nr. 2/1240 Vid 18.07.2000 r.)*, Kiïv: Farengit, 2000.

³¹⁵ V.S. Belonožko et al., *Novaja istorija, čast' vtoraja, stanovlenie industrial'nogo obščestva (konec XVIII v. – 1914 G.)*, 9 klass, dopuščeno Minsitstvom Obrazovanija Ukrainy kak probnyj učebnik, Zaporož'e: Prosvita, 1998, 191-192.

³¹⁶ V.G. Sarbej, *Istoriya Ukraïni: XIX-počatok XX stolittja. Pidručnik dlja 9-go klasu seređn'oï školi*, Kiïv:

a “Historical Archive” with a large number of documents and tasks. The author recommends a list of literature for further reading or independent work.

A textbook written by F.G. Turčenko and V.M. Moroko was published in several editions, in 2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004, and its quality decreased from edition to edition (Fig. 59).³¹⁷ The textbook is in black and white, with poor-quality pictures and maps, a heavy reliance on text and poor quality and diversity of pupil tasks. The textbook makes no mention of other ethnic or cultural communities, but the Ukrainian aspects of Bukovina and the Transcarpathian regions are very much stressed.³¹⁸ Most of the examples presented in another textbook, by I.A. Koljada, are based on Ukrainian historical figures; the textbook appears to be in essence a biographical work showcasing Ukrainian heroes. The book is full of portraits, as in a gallery, without maps or other kinds of pictures. It is heavy on text and data on Ukraine between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, resembling a political history or a history of the affirmation of Ukrainian statehood. “Other” ethnicities, cultures or religions are not discussed.



Fig. 59

Another textbook for year 9, *History of Ukraine*, written by O. Reent and O. Malij, was published under the imprint of the Geneza publishing house in 2008 and reprinted in 2009.³¹⁹ Like most of the history textbooks that appeared after 2009, the Reent and Malij textbook takes as its primary theme the “formation and consolidation of the Ukrainian nation” and depicts the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries as having played the most important role in this process.³²⁰ The nationalist discourse on Ukraine’s territories is mostly based on contemporary borders with the intention of superimposing them onto eighteenth- and nineteenth-century political realities, as we observe on the map on page 21. This approach essentially asserts that Bukovina and southern Bessarabia are Ukrainian territories and have been for a long time. Even if Bukovina and Bessarabia are mentioned in

Geneza, 1996.

³¹⁷ F.G. Turčenko and V.M. Moroko, *Istorija Ukraïni. Kinec’ XVIII – počatok XX stolittja*, pidručnik dlja 9-go klasu, dopuščeno Ministerstvom Osviti Ukraïni jak pidručnik dlja seredn’oï školi (28.07.1999, Protocol Nr. 8/3-18), Kiïv: Geneza, 2000.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 186-187, 326-327, 398-399.

³¹⁹ O. Reent, O. Malij, *Istorija Ukraïni. Pidručnik dlja 9-go klasu zagal’noosvitnich navčal’nijch zakladiv*, Kiïv: Geneza, 2009.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

some places in the textbook, it is solely in a Ukrainian context; for example, during the second half of the eighteenth century “the Romanian population in Northern Bukovina was just 26% and the Ukrainian amounted to 69%”. Further, the book informs us that because the Austrian administration had facilitated a migration process, Bukovina underwent a process of “Romanianisation”.³²¹ The Russo-French and Russo-Turkish wars are presented in the context of international relations from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, with the statement that, as a result of the Bucharest Peace Treaty of 1812, Russia annexed the territories of Bessarabia and the fortresses of Ackerman, Bender, Ismail, Chilia, and Hotin. However, the textbook’s author attempts, without backing up the assertion using statistics, to argue that the “Northern and Southern parts of Bessarabia were settled predominately by Ukrainians”.³²² The map on page 134 is headed “Western Ukrainian Territories” and shows overlapping between the borders of the Russian Empire and the supposed Ukrainian borders beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century. Ethnic groups are marked by colour, including “Romanians and Moldovans”.³²³

In 2011, the Geneza publishing house issued a new version of S.O. Osmolovskij and T.V. Ladičenko’s year 9 history textbook, based on its 2008 and 2009 editions.³²⁴ The textbook is in colour and has more pictures than its predecessors, but contains nothing about Moldova or Walachia, which are presented mostly on a few maps, though with some errors. For instance, on maps on pages 40, 50 and 75, Bessarabia is shown among the territories occupied by the Russian Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century; however, the territories of Moldova and Walachia are depicted as part of the Ottoman Empire, which is incorrect.³²⁵ In the course of discussing the Congress of Vienna (1815), the textbook briefly states that Russia occupied the territories of Finland and Bessarabia, but there is no discussion of the historical context and impact of these events.³²⁶ Although the textbook is about modern world history, students would gain better understanding of the events it depicts if these were discussed in a regional context and the relationships between neighbouring countries and societies highlighted.

³²¹ Ibid., map, 21, 26-27, 193.

³²² Ibid., 30.

³²³ Ibid., 134.

³²⁴ S.O. Osmolovskij, T.V. Ladičenko, *Vsesvitnja istorija*, Pidručnik dlja 9 klasu zagal’noosvitnich navčal’nijch zakladiv, 2-ge vidannja, Kiiv: Geneza, 2011.

³²⁵ Ibid., 40, 50.

³²⁶ Ibid., 52.

Year 10

The year 10 *World History* textbook authored by V.O. Dribnicjaa and O.S. Rubl'ov contains eight topic units in accordance with the school curriculum: the First World War, the world's international structure after the war, social and political movements, the industrial countries of Europe and America, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, cultural development in the twentieth century, and international relations (Fig. 60).³²⁷



Fig. 60

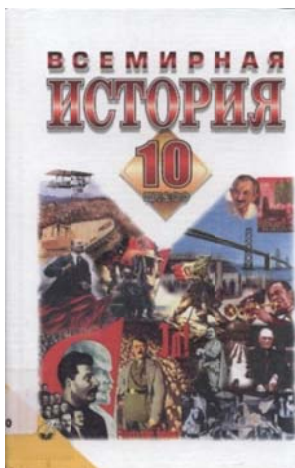


Fig. 61

Information about Ukraine's neighbours is only presented in the book's fifth chapter, where Romania is briefly described as one of the Central and Eastern European countries.³²⁸ A similar situation is found as in the other textbooks.³²⁹ Another textbook, authored by Ja.M. Berdičevskij and T.V. Ladyčenko, runs to 496 pages and is full of text, chronological and economic data and poor-quality pictures (Fig. 61).³³⁰ Romania is mentioned briefly on page 33, where the textbook argues that the Romanian government was under Russian pressure on the South-Western Front and thus entered the war on the Entente's side. On page 491, discussing the impact of the Molotov-Ribbentrop that Romania had to surrender Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the USSR. Pages 252-260 are dedicated to the history of Romania during the inter-

³²⁷ V.O. Dribnicjaa and O.S. Rubl'ov, *Vsesvitnja istorija, novitnja istorija, častina perša 1914-1939, navčal'nij posibnik dlja 10 klasu za programuju rekomendovanoju Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki, Kiïv: Farengit, 2000.*

³²⁸ Ibid., 93-95.

³²⁹ A.P. Davletov et al., *Vsemirnaja istorija, novejšij period 1914-1939 gg, 10 klass, rekomendovano k pečati sovetom istoričeskogo fakul'teta zaporožskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta kak učebnoe posobie (protocol Nr. 6 Ot 31 marta 2000 G.), Zaporož'e: Prosvita, 2000, (Romania, pp. 172-177); P.B. Poljanskij, *Vsesvitnja istorija 1914-1939, pidručnik dlja 10 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navčal'nich zakladiv, dopuščeno Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (List Nr. 1/11-3403 Vid 13.12.2000 r.), Kiïv: Geneza, 2002, (Romania appears on maps on pp. 31, 42, 53 and pp. 178-184); T.V. Ladyčenko, *Vsesvitnja istorija, 10 klas, pidručnik, zatverdženo ministerstvom osviti i nauki Ukraïni (Protokol Nr. 7/5-19 Vid 25.07.2002 R.), Kiïv: ASK, 2004, (On the map on p. 20, relating to military events 1914-1917, we can see Romania and Chisinau in more detail on p. 201-207). On p. 185 of the 2003 edition we find a picture of General I. Antonescu, which was excluded from the 2004 edition.***

³³⁰ Ja.M. Berdičevskij and T.V. Ladyčenko, *Vsemirnaja istorija, 10 klass, učebnoe posobie dlja 10 klasa obščeeobrazovatel'nych učebnych zavedenij, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Obrazovanii i Nauki Ukraïni, Zaporož'e: Prem'er, 2004.*

war period.

Another world history textbook for year 10 was written by P.B. Poljans'kij and published in 2010 (Fig. 62).³³¹ It briefly analyses Austria-Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century, presenting the ethnic situation of Bukovina as part of this entity

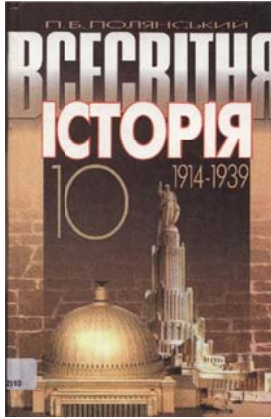


Fig. 62

and stating that the official language in the region was Ukrainian and Romanian. It goes on to observe that there was a tolerant atmosphere between different ethnic groups.³³² More than half of the textbook is dedicated to the First World War; Romania is only mentioned in tables concerning international treaties, such as the Treaty of St. Germain (1919) - in which context the text states that the “Ukrainian part of Bukovina, contrary to the stipulations of the Bukovina Popular Assembly in Chernovtsy about association with the Ukrainian state, was transmitted to Romania” -, on

the map of Europe and in a diagram of reparation quotas after World War I.³³³ A small part of theme 21 is dedicated to Romania during the 1920s. The principal thrust of this information is that Romania, as a result of the First World War, enlarged its territories with Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, including some “areas with non-Romanian inhabitants”. In this context, the book presents a diagram of the distribution of ethnic groups in Romania, with Ukrainians at 3.2%.³³⁴ Most of the countries featured in the textbook are presented only from a political point of view in the context of the First World War. The chapter on culture at the end of the book is very general.

The National History textbooks (History of Ukraine) discuss the same period (1914-1939) as the World History textbooks for year 10. *History of Ukraine*, issued by the ASK publishing house, has six chapters: Ukraine in World War I, The Ukrainian Revolution, Ukraine in the Battle for Independence (1918-1920), The Ukrainian SSR during NEP (1921-1928), The Modernisation of Ukraine (1929-1938), and Western Ukrainian Territories, 1921-1938 (Fig. 63).³³⁵ The work

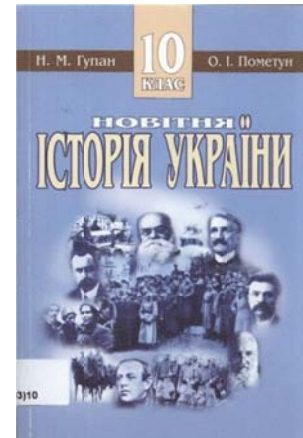


Fig. 63

³³¹ P.B. Poljans'kij, *Vsesvitnja Istorija*. 10 klas, Riven' standartu, akademičnij riven', Kiiv: Geneza, 2010.

³³² *Ibid.*, 32.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 112-115, 121.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 219-222.

³³⁵ N.M. Gupan and O.I. Pometun, *Novitnja istorija Ukraïni, 10 klas, navčal'nij posibnik, rekomendovano*

leaves the impression of a history book concerned with battles and affirmations of Ukrainian independence; it discusses primarily political history and the history of conflicts and contains very little on culture and religion. The textbook is heavy on text and the pupil tasks, pictures and maps it contains are of poor quality. One strong point of the new textbook is that it covers questions of Bolshevik policy and its impacts; however, one could consider that more detail would be useful here. Bessarabia and Romania first appear in the textbook on maps on pages 18, 71, 102, 125, 208 and 280. The textbook's final chapter presents the "occupation of western Ukrainian territories" by Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.³³⁶ Another textbook, authored by N.M. Gupan and O.I. Pometun, shows the geographical distribution of the Ukrainian ethnicity, including those regions which became parts of Ukraine after the Second World War in Bukovina and south of the Prut-Dniestr rivers, on a map on page 11 (The Ukrainian Lands at the Beginning of the 20th Century). In fact, during the inter-war period these territories were part of the Romanian state and had a majority of Romanian inhabitants; Ukrainians became the majority in these territories only during the Soviet era, after colonisation and the so-called Ukrainianisation process. If the authors' intent was to show the real picture of Ukrainian ethnicity and its distribution during the inter-war period, they should have also included some parts of the territory of the present-day Republic of Moldova on the map. The territories of Bessarabia are presented as regions occupied by Romania in 1918 in the map on page 71 (The War of Soviet Russia against the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic)). The Peace of Brest-Litovsk). The authors use the Soviet interpretation of the unification of Bessarabia with Romania in 1918. The book's last chapter, "The Western Ukrainian Lands, 1921-1928", is about political changes and the foundation of Ukrainian nationalist organisations, and includes the topics of "The Ukrainian Lands in Romania" (pp. 292-299) and "The Transfer of Transcarpathia to Czechoslovakia" (pp. 299-304). The texts are highly critical of Romanian and Czechoslovak policy, while the Ukrainians are consistently presented as victims, and the text offers no information about other ethnic groups or the Romanians living in these regions. This textbook, as all the other textbooks, is full of military history and Ukrainians fighting against foreign forces. The tradition of presenting Romania as a country that occupied

Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraini (List Nr. 1/11-2343 Vid 10.06.03), Kiiiv: ASK, 2003.
³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 292-299.

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Ukrainian territories comes from Soviet historiography.³³⁷

A textbook published by Geneza in 2003 has the same structure and content as the previous one but has better typographical quality and colour maps (Fig. 64).³³⁸ Romania and Bessarabia are shown on some maps (pp. 7, 73). Ukraine during 1917-1918 is shown on one map on page 73; there is also a reference to Romania as an occupying country (Romania's occupation of Bessarabia).³³⁹ The maps on pages 89, 105, 138 and 152 show Transnistria's incorporation into Ukraine, but the text makes no mention of how this happened. The textual



Fig. 64

information on page 88 shows Romania as the country that occupied Bessarabia in 1918. Pages 117-121 are dedicated to Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia and Transcarpathia as territories occupied by foreign countries (“The absorption of Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transcarpathia by foreign states”).³⁴⁰ We can see the Moldovan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on the map on page 234. Some information is given about the structure of Ukrainian society (pp. 245-246) and mass repressions (pp. 246-250). On pages 285-289 the Ukrainian territories under Romanian occupation are discussed (The Ukrainian Lands in Romania). In the course of the pages that follow, the authors discuss culture in the “occupied territories”,³⁴¹ claiming that “Romania conducted a brutal liquidation of Ukrainian national education”.³⁴²



Fig. 65

A year 10 textbook written in a similar style was authored by F.G. Turčenko, published initially in Ukrainian, and then translated into Russian (Fig. 65).³⁴³ The book is in black and white, text-heavy, and sparing with pictures

³³⁷ A. Zhukovs'kyi, “Ukrains'ki zemli pid rumuns'koiu okupatsiieiu v chasi druhoi svitovoi viiny: Pivnichna Bukovyna, chastyna Basarabii, i Transnistriia, 1941-1944.” In *Ukrains'kyi istoryk* 24, no. 1/4 (1987).

³³⁸ S.V. Kul'činskij and Ju.I. Šapoval, *Novitnja istorija Ukraïni (1914-1939), pidručnik dlja 10 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navčal'nich zakladiv, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (List Nr. 1/11-2832 Vid 9.07.2003)*, Kiiv: Geneza, 2003.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 117-121.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 295-300.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 297.

³⁴³ F.G. Turčenko, *Novejšaja istorija Ukrainy. Cast' pervaja 1914-1939. 10 klass, rekomendovan*

and maps. The content is divided into six chapters: Ukraine during the First World War (eight sections), The Ukrainian Revolution (1917-1918) (13 sections), Ukraine in the Battle to Remain Independent (1918-1920) (19 sections), The Ukrainian SSR and the NEP (1921-1928) (ten sections), The Soviet Modernisation of Ukraine (1928-1939) (12 paragraphs), and The Western Ukrainian Territories in 1920-1939 (five sections). All these chapters focus on military and political events, though chapter four offers information about education, literature, arts, painting, and religion during the NEP. The last chapter contains topics on Ukrainian territories which were part of Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia in the interwar period (pp. 345-355). The author uses the Soviet historiographical interpretation, especially in relation to the territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina. Section 65, “The Ukrainian Lands in Romania”, discusses the question of Ukrainian territories currently part of Romania, arguing that “before the First World War the Hotin, Akkerman, and Ismail counties of Bessarabia, inhabited by Ukrainians, were a part of Russia and Northern Bukovina was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1918 Romania occupied these territories”.³⁴⁴ V.M. Danilenko et al.’s textbook, published in Zaporozhje, has the same structure and content as Turčenko’s textbook and contains more activities for students, but these, as does the topic on Romania, “The Ukrainian Lands in Romania”, adhere to what we might describe as the Soviet interpretation.³⁴⁵

Another *History of Ukraine* textbook for year 10, written by O. Gisem and O. Martinjuk, was published in 2010.³⁴⁶ The problem with this textbook, as with those we have discussed thus far, is that it makes an attempt to superimpose the borders of today’s Ukraine on the realities of the beginning of the twentieth century, when Ukraine did not exist as a political entity. On the map on page 8, Bessarabia is shown as being part of the so-called “Economic Development of Ukraine at the Beginning of the 20th Century”, which is incorrect. At that time Bessarabia and the other eastern European regions were part of the Russian Empire. The same problem is found on maps and in the

Ministerstvom Obrazovanija i Nauki Ukrainy, perevod s tret’ego ukrainskogo uspravlennoho i dopolnennogo izdanija, Kiev: Geneza, 2004.

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 345.

³⁴⁵ V.M. Danilenko, S.G. Guzenkov, and N.N. Kolodjažnyj, *Istorija Ukrainy, 10 klass, učebnoe posobie dlja 10 klassa srednej obščeeobrazovatel’noj školy, rekomendovano Minsiterstvom Obrazovanii i Nauki Ukrainy (Protokol 1/11-2733 Ot 09.09.2002)*, Zaporozhje: Premér, 2002, 205-211.

³⁴⁶ O.V. Gisem, O.O. Martinjuk. *Istorija Ukraïni*. Riven’ standartu. Pidručnik dlja zagal’noosvitnich navnačal’nich zakladiv, Harkiv: Vidavnictvo RANOK, 2010.

text – “Ukraine during the First World War (1914-1915) and (1916-1917).”³⁴⁷ This approach risks giving a misleading impression to students. In the same context, the authors support the idea that the territory of Bukovina underwent intensive “Romanianisation of the Ukrainians”.³⁴⁸ We should remember at this point that at the beginning of the twentieth century Bukovina was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and was united with Romania until 1918. Most of the maps included in this textbook contain considerable numbers of similar inaccuracies.³⁴⁹ In the context of political changes in Russia in 1917, most of the information given relates to Ukraine, but on the map, on page 109 the Moldovan Popular Republic (1917-1918) is mentioned. The authors, following Soviet practice, argue in relation to a map on page 164 that “Bukovina and Bessarabia were occupied by Romania in 1918”.³⁵⁰ The situation in Bukovina is treated as a Romanian occupation of this territory and a Romanian suppression of Ukrainian protests, as a result of which approximately 4,000 insurgents and 50,000 refugees moved to Ukrainian territories in 1919.³⁵¹ Thus we might observe that the primary view taken by the textbook is of Ukrainians fighting for independency while their neighbours are mostly treated as enemies and occupants.

The work prepared under the auspices of the partnership project between the Ukrainian association of history teachers *Nova Doba* and EURO-CLIO, with the support of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine and the government of the Netherlands, presents a marked contrast to the book we have just discussed (Fig. 66).³⁵² The idea of the textbook is to treat the history of Ukraine as part of world history, or as what has been referred to as integrated history. The textbook is printed in colour and contains a large number of pictures, diagrams, tables and documents. I would have preferred here to see a balanced number of reproductions of posters, cartoons and other historical documents. The textbook focuses on the period 1900-1939 and also places a marked emphasis on

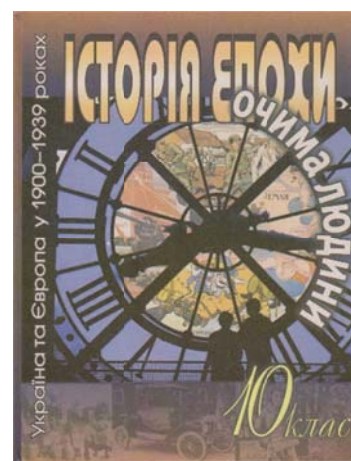


Fig. 66

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 8, 87, 97.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 70.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 109, 135, 151, 176.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 164.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 183-184.

³⁵² Ju. Komarov et al., *Istorija epochi. Očima ljudini, Ukraïna ta Evropa u 1900-1939 rokach, navčal'nij posibnik z istorii Ukraïni ta vsesvitn'oi istorii, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni*, Kiiiv: Geneza, 2004.

military events. Romania and Bessarabia are presented on numerous maps referring to events and periods such as the First World War and Europe 1914-1923.³⁵³ Section 19, “The Ukrainian Lands among the European States”, briefly mentions the integration of Bukovina into Romania on page 98.

Year 11

Due to the existence of two parallel history courses, history teaching in year 11 uses two textbooks, one on contemporary world history and another on the history of Ukraine since 1939. The Fahrenheit publishing house’s world history textbook contains nine topics: The Second World War, The USA and Canada, Western European Countries, The USSR and Newly Independent Countries, The Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, The Countries of Asia and Africa, The Countries of Latin America,

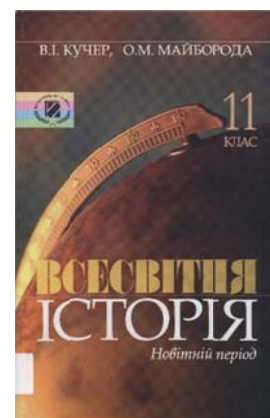


Fig. 67



Fig. 68

The Technical-Scientific Revolution and Cultural Development During the Second Half of the 20th Century, The Role of International Relations, and Development of a New Civilisation (Fig. 67).³⁵⁴ Romania is treated as a European country, with the major part of the discussion referring to Ceaușescu’s regime.³⁵⁵ The Republic of Moldova is mentioned once, on page 166, and again in the attached maps as a part of Europe on pages 318-319 (no.

23). In the textbook issued by the Prosvita publishing house (Fig. 68), Romania and Bessarabia feature on the map on page 36.³⁵⁶ Romania is twice mentioned as being part of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe on pages 196 and 197, and more details are given on pages 239-248.

³⁵³ Ibid., 46, 69, 94-95, 147.

³⁵⁴ S.V. Vidnjans’kij and V.O. Dribnicja, *Vsesvitnja istorija, novitnja istorija, častina druga, navčal’nij posibnik dlja 11 klasu, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki*, Kiïv: Farengait, 2000.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 195-198.

³⁵⁶ A.P. Davletov, V.G. Kosmina, and V.N. Moroko, *Vsemirnaja istorija, novejšij period, 1939 - konec 90-ch godov, 11 klass, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Obrazovanii Ukrainy (rešenie kollegii Nr. 16/2 Ot 12 avgusta 1997 g.)*, Zaporož’e: Prosvita, 2000.

For the first time in a Ukrainian textbook, we find information about the Republic of Moldova, on page 189. In a textbook published by Geneza, Romania appears on page



Fig. 69

21 as being excluded from the Fascist bloc, and there is a second mention on page 132, which refers to the famine of 1946-1947 as one of the factors prompting grain shipments: “At the same time, the Soviet Union, in 1946, sent free of charge 1.7 million tons of grain to Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and France, whose governments included Communists.” Romania is presented separately on pages 216-221 as part of Central and Eastern Europe. The close of the textbook includes an exploration of the end of the Cold War and the new world

order; the authors offer arguments around various aspects of contemporary society, including the resolution of conflicts around the world (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Iraq, Palestine, Israel, the former Yugoslavia), but do not make any reference to the situation on



Fig. 70

Ukraine’s borders. The Republic of Moldova is mentioned only from the perspective of the Transnistrian military conflict.³⁵⁷ Another Geneza textbook (Fig. 69) appears well designed, containing maps in colour and four levels of student questions, but is heavy on text and the images it includes are small.³⁵⁸ The occupation by the Soviet Union of Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is termed “inclusion” into the USSR.³⁵⁹ In other contexts, Romania is mentioned due to Ion Antonescu’s regime,³⁶⁰ and then separately as a European country.³⁶¹ There is some very

general information about the Republic of Moldova.³⁶²

A Prem’er publishing house textbook briefly discusses Bukovina, Bessarabia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the Soviet Union (Fig. 70).³⁶³ The socio-economic and po-

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 180.

³⁵⁸ V.I. Kučer and O.M. Majboroda, *Vsesvitnja istorija. Novitnij period (vid počatku drugoj svitovoj vijni). Pidručnik dlja 11 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navčal'nych zakladiv*. Kiïv: Geneza, 2005 (The Textbook was recommended by Ministry of Education of Ukraine No. 1/11-3248 of 24.07.2001).

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 11-12.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 50.

³⁶¹ Ibid., §5, 230-235.

³⁶² Ibid., 198-199.

³⁶³ Ja.M. Berdičevskij, T.V. Ladyčenko, and I.Ja. Ščupak, *Vsemirnaja istorija, 1939-2004, 11 klass*,

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in the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine*

litical development of Belarus and Moldova as independent countries is given briefly over a few pages.³⁶⁴ In the same context, the recent history of Romania is included.³⁶⁵ The ASK textbook contains a large proportion of text and the paper, pictures, and maps are of poor quality.³⁶⁶ Romania's recent history is described separately,³⁶⁷ but the Republic of Moldova is mentioned in the context of specific events.³⁶⁸

In 2011 new history textbooks were published, including some for year 11. Among these were works developed by I.Ja. Šupak³⁶⁹ and by T.V. Ladičenko and Ju.I. Zabloč'kij (Fig. 71).³⁷⁰ The textbooks for world history are designed and structured similarly to the other year 11 textbooks. The occupation of Northern Bukovina, Bessarabia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia is treated as it was in the Soviet era, as "entry into the USSR" or the "joining of new territories to those of the USSR", or in a similar manner. Concerning the beginning of Second World War, these textbooks' authors treat the Germans as invaders, as in "German-invaded Poland", but the Soviets differently, with the Red Army described merely as "entirely on the territory of Poland".³⁷¹ I.Ja. Šupak presents a degree of multiperspectivity in the observation that "some historians consider the USSR's entry into Second World War as [them having been] German allies. Polish historians treat the Soviet Army's invasion as aggression against Poland. Other historians consider this as the liberation of Ukrainians and Byelorussians." This theme continues with the different slants put on the actions of the Red Army in the headings "Entry of the Red Army into the Territory of Northern Bukovina and Bessara-



Fig. 71

učebnik dlja 11 klasa obščebrazovatel'nych učebnych zavedenij, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Obrazovanija i Nauki Ukrainy (Nr. 1/11-2573 Ot 01.06.2001 g.), Zaporož'e: Prem'er, 2004, 11.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 197-198.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 247-254.

³⁶⁶ T.V. Ladičenko, *Vsesvitnja istorija, 11 klas, pidručnik, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraini (Protokol Nr. 11/4-19 Vid 26.10.04)*, Kiiv: ASK, 2006.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 210-217.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 174; Moldova is mentioned in the title, p. 178 on the Alma Ata Declaration mentions Moldova, and on p. 186 Moldova is shown on a map of countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

³⁶⁹ I.Ja. Šupak, *Vsesvitnja Istorija. Novitnij period (1919-2011 rr.)*, pidručnik dlja 11 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navnačal'nych zakladiv, Zaporožžja: Prem'er, 2011. I.Ja. Šupak, *Vsemirnaja istorija. Novešij period (1939-2011 gg.)*. Učebnik dlja 11 klasa obščebrazovatel'nych učebnych zavedenij, Zaporož'e, 2011.

³⁷⁰ T.V. Ladičenko, Ju.I. Zabloč'kij, *Vsesvitnja Istorija*. Pidručnik dlja 11 klasu zagal'noosvitnich navnačal'nych zakladiv, profil'nij riveni, Kiev: Geneza, 2011.

³⁷¹ T.V. Ladičenko, Ju.I. Zabloč'kij, *Vsesvitnja Istorija*, 18; I.Ja. Šupak, *Vsemirnaja istorija*, 13.

bia” and “The Annexation of Baltic Countries”.³⁷² A quarter of T.V. Ladičenko and Ju.I. Zabloc’kij’s textbook is dedicated to the Second World War, but mostly covers military facts, including gender issues relating to women on the battlefield.³⁷³ Romania, as a neighbour country of Ukraine, is only briefly mentioned in the first half of both textbooks in some text and maps concerning the Second World War; here, Ukraine is depicted as the one-time partner of Germany that in 1944 sided with the western Allies. Moldova appears in T.V. Ladičenko and Ju.I. Zabloc’kij’s textbook for the first time on a map on page 118, “European Countries at the Beginning of the 21st Century”, and in the text on page 168, which details the collapse of the USSR and lists former Soviet republics, including Moldova, which declared their independence at this time.³⁷⁴ Subsection twenty-eight, “The Socio-Economic and Political Organisation of the Baltic Countries, Belarus, and Moldova”, covering 1991-2010, briefly outlines some information on each country. Information about Moldova begins with the affirmation that “The quality of life of the population of the Republic of Moldova collapsed after the end of the Soviet Union and the country divided into two sides, a division initiated by the Republic of Transnistria.” The author leans towards the view that Moldova is to blame for the 1992 military conflict and continues with the fact that in 2005 “97% of the inhabitants of Transnistria voted in the referendum in favour of its independence and entry into the Russian Federation”.³⁷⁵ The same text is to be found in I.Ja. Šupak’s textbook.³⁷⁶ There are some who might consider this presentation of the Republic of Moldova in a Ukrainian history textbook as a neighbouring country of Ukraine according to the official treaties signed between Ukraine and Moldova. Practically speaking, the authors effectively provide students with a small amount of information on a separatist region and nothing about Moldova, likewise nothing about cultural or political relations between Moldova and Ukraine. Romania is discussed on four and a half pages of section 33, with a brief outline of some facts from the period between 1944 and 2010, but most of the information relates to the Ceaușescu period and his death. Traian Basescu is presented as a president in favour of the idea of a union between Moldova and Romania.

³⁷² I.Ja. Šupak, *Vsemirnaja istorija*, 15.

³⁷³ T.V. Ladičenko, Ju.I. Zabloc’kij, *Vsesvitnja Istorija*, 74-76.

³⁷⁴ In I.Ja. Šupak’s textbook, Moldova is mentioned for the first time on page 143 in the context of L.I. Brežnev’s career, “1950 – first secretary of CC Communist Party Moldova”, and a second time on page 152, where it is listed among other former Soviet republics declaring independence.

³⁷⁵ T.V. Ladičenko, Ju.I. Zabloc’kij, *Vsesvitnja Istorija*, 178-179.

³⁷⁶ I.Ja. Šupak, *Vsemirnaja istorija*, 162.

In the context of Romanian-Ukrainian relations, the book points out that Romanians live in Ukraine and the Ukrainian authorities support the teaching and study of their own language and provide textbooks.³⁷⁷ In I.Ja. Šupak’s textbook Romania is briefly touched upon in the sections looking at the situation of European countries during and after the collapse of totalitarian regimes. However, the “development of Ukrainian-Romanian relations” is mentioned in only three sentences, the gist of which revolves around the alleged overshadowing of these relationships by Romania’s territorial pretensions against Ukraine.³⁷⁸

Year 11 students learn about the history of Ukraine since 1939. The Prem’er textbook (Fig. 72) has six chapters: Ukraine During Second World War (1939-1945), The Post-War Period and the Development of Ukraine (1945 – mid-1950s), Ukraine During Destalinisation (1956-1964), Ukraine During the Crisis of the Soviet System (1965-1985), The Collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukrainian Independence, and Independent Ukraine.³⁷⁹



Fig. 72

The first chapter begins with information on Ukrainian territories under four states.³⁸⁰

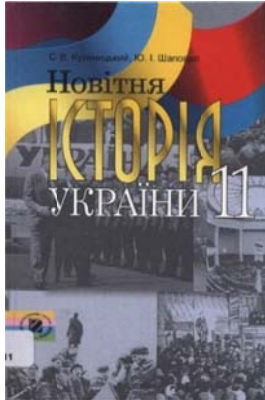


Fig. 73

The first hundred pages are about the history of the Second World War and make extensive use of vocabulary such as “occupation of Ukraine”, “aggression” and “occupying regime”. In this context the “entry of Bessarabia and the North of Bukovina into the USSR” is referred to.³⁸¹ Other parts of the textbook resemble a history of political movements in Ukraine, with no reference to Moldova. The textbook does not contain any maps, which could be a useful tool for discussing and understanding the historic status of these regions, including issues between neighbouring areas.

Another year 11 textbook, published in 2005 (Fig. 73)³⁸², has a similar structure, with black and white print, but colour maps. The textbook starts with the Molotov-

³⁷⁷ T.V. Ladičenko, Ju.I. Zabloc’kij, *Vsesvitnja Istorija*, 203-207.

³⁷⁸ I.Ja. Šupak, *Vsemirnaja istorija*, 143, 187.

³⁷⁹ V.P. Ševčuk et al, *Istorija Ukraïni, 11 klas, navčal’nij posibnik dlja 11 klasu seredn’oi zagal’noosvitn’oi školi, rekomendovano Minsiterstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (Protokol Nr. 8/3-18 Vid 28.07.1999 r.)*, Zaporižžja: Prem’er, 2001.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10-12.

³⁸² S.V. Kul’činskij and Ju.I. Šapoval, *Novitnii istorija Ukraïni (1939-2001), pidručnik dlja 11 klasu zagal’noosvitnich navčal’nich zakladiv, rekomendovano Minsiterstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (List Nr.*

Ribbentrop Pact. On Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, the textbook contains claims that the Red Army entered these territories as a saviour.³⁸³ A methodological guide to the history of Ukraine for year 11, written by L.O. Arnautova in 2001, contains mentions of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Romania as “additional” information. The guide presents issues around twentieth-century history in various ways; where these issues involve Ukraine, the author uses the concept of national interests and treats Ukraine as a victim, but where these issues are discussed regarding Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Romania, she uses what one might describe as the Soviet approach.³⁸⁴ For example, in relation to Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, the book states that “on 28 June 1940 the Army, advised by G. Žukov, crossed the Dniestr and re-established control over Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina” and “on July 20, 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved the decision to include Northern Bukovina and North and South Bessarabia in the Ukrainian SSR”. In other words, the author, without providing an explanation, makes affirmative statements regarding information which appears in total contradiction with the text that follows, discussing deportations, collectivisation, and related matters.³⁸⁵ The Second World War is treated as it was in the Soviet era, as the “Great Patriotic War”. A map on page 14 shows the Moldavian SSR and states that Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia were included in the Ukrainian SSR as of June 1940. The same situation is observed on the map on page 161, in which Ukraine is shown in the years 1945-1965 and the region of Odessa is marked after the incorporation of the Ismail region on 15 July 1954, but there is no explanation of how a Moldovan territory became Ukrainian and no further information on Transnistrian territories “cut off from Ukraine and attached to the newly created Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic in August 1940”. The student tasks are structured similarly; one example is the following: “Using the map, show the territories passed to the Soviet Union in 1939 and 1940.”³⁸⁶ The current geographical situation can be deduced only from the map “Ukraine at the End of the 20th Century”.³⁸⁷ F.G. Turčenko et al.’s textbook (Fig. 74), longer than the others we have analysed here at 382 pages, is structured in six chapters. It contains pri-

1/11-6525 Vid 21.12.2004), Kiïv: Geneza, 2005.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁸⁴ L.O. Arnautova, *Istoriia Ukraïni*, 11 klas. Rozrobki urokiv. Metodični ta didaktični materialy do 140 godin, profil' na škola, Harkiv: Vidavnictvo RANOK, 2011.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-22, 24-25.

³⁸⁶ V.P. Ševčuk et al, *Istoriia Ukraïni, 11 klas*, Zaporizžja: Prem'er, 2001, 14.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 243.

marily text and poor-quality pictures, while the student tasks consist of lists of questions.³⁸⁸ Moldova is conspicuous by its absence from the authors' discussion of Ukraine's foreign policy.³⁸⁹

When speaking of how the history of Ukraine after 1991 should be taught, J. Hrycak notes that "history teaching should not only convey knowledge about the past but also help to legitimise the present and to work out a social strategy for the future".³⁹⁰ These reasons are the motivation for Ukrainian historians to discuss and re-interpret Ukrainian history after the collapse of the USSR. The content of all the textbooks discussed in this section contradicts the Ukrainian school curriculum, which states that pupils are to learn different aspects of history, religion, and the life of their own nation and also develop respect for other ethnicities: "In the process of historical education, students should master the knowledge necessary for the study of the history of the culture, religion, and ways of life of their own people and the ability to respect all other peoples."³⁹¹



Fig. 74

II.3 Conclusions on the Situation in Ukraine

In Ukraine, history as a school discipline remains a part of a centralised system.³⁹² All curricula and textbooks have to be approved and recommended by the Ministry of Education. We can see some changes in Ukrainian history textbooks from the 2000s compared with those from the 1990s, a move "from somewhat stronger ethno-nationalist bias to a somewhat less ethnocentric bias".³⁹³ A general characteristic of Ukrainian history textbooks is a lack of mention of ethnic minorities and a lack of interest in neighbouring countries. Romania and Moldova appear only occasionally and often in

³⁸⁸ F.G. Turčenko, P.P. Pančenko, and S.M. Tymčenko, *Novitnii istorija Ukraïni. Častyna druga 1939-2001 roki. 11 klas. Vidannja četverte, dooprac'ovane j dopovnene, rekomendovano Minsiterstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni (List No. 11/1-2529 Vid 30.07.2002 R.)*, Kiïv: Geneza, 2006.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 356-371.

³⁹⁰ J. Hrycak, "Wie soll man nach 1991 die Geschichte der Ukraine unterrichten? Zum Gedenken an Natalja Teplouchova", in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research* 23 (2001), 22.

³⁹¹ *Programi dlja seredn'oj zagal'noosvitn'oj školi. Istorija Ukraïni, 5-11 klasi*, Kiïv: Perun, 1996.

³⁹² See the chapter "The Implementation of Central Policy" in Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine*.

³⁹³ G.V. Kas'janov, *Istorična osvita v polikul'turnomu suspil'stvi: vikliki ta perspektivi dlja Ukraïni. Materiali mižnarodnogo kruglogo stolu, Kiïv, 14 Lipnja 2010 r.*, Kiïv: Institut istorii Ukraïni NAN Ukraïni, 2011, 27.

terms of military conflicts. No references are made to society, culture, religion or everyday life in the wider region, and there are no mentions of Romanian communities in Ukraine or those of Ukrainian ethnicity living in the territories of contemporary Moldova and Romania. History textbooks for the Romanian community are simply translated from Ukrainian. This situation is found in many countries; another example might be Macedonia, where most textbooks for the Albanian, Turkish and Serbian ethnic groups were simply poorly translated from Macedonian.³⁹⁴

Although more than a hundred ethnic groups live in Ukraine, history textbooks tend to focus on the idea of Ukraine as one country, one nation, with one history. I. Hyrych and P. Verbytska have urged a wider perspective: “We shouldn’t present Ukrainian history as the history of the Ukrainian ethnicity. Based on the postulate of the political nation and on the thesis of the adoption of a ‘foreign’ culture’s achievements on the Ukrainian territory as ‘native’, we need a tolerant story about the fates of the Polish, Russian, Jewish, and other national minorities in Ukraine.”³⁹⁵ A good example of learning about others’ cultures is the Crimean decision, in 2004, to begin teaching an integrated course on “*Kul’tura dobrosusidstva*” (culture of neighbourliness), in which all ethnic groups are presented in a manner based on the values of tolerance and peace.³⁹⁶

Natalia Yakovenko has commented on the image of the “Other” in Ukrainian textbooks which rely on Soviet-style historiographical approaches.³⁹⁷ Maryan Mudryi has likewise observed that Ukrainian history is built on Soviet patterns.³⁹⁸ In this context, J.G. Janmaat considers “the fact that Ukraine has never had a period of sustained independence ‘cruelly’ interrupted by Russian/Soviet ‘occupation’ meant that no justification could be found for an exclusionary policy (i.e. there is no ‘historical injustice’ to be resolved). This makes the choice of an inclusive approach understandable.”³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Hunt, *Five Case Histories of Textbook Development*, 219.

³⁹⁵ Hyrych and Verbytska, *Historical Education in Ukraine*, 366.

³⁹⁶ O. Smirnov, In Kas'janov, *Istorična osvita v polikul'turnomu suspil'stvi: vikliki ta perspektivi dlja Ukraïni. Materiali Mižnarodnogo kruglogo stolu, Kiïv, 14 lipnja 2010 r.*, 44. For more details, see the activities of the Centre for Inter-Cultural Education and Tolerance, <http://www.ciet.org.ua/> (last access 7 January 2016).

³⁹⁷ Yakovenko, *The Image of Self – the Image of the Other in School History Textbooks*.

³⁹⁸ M. Mudryi, “The Topic of ‘Colonial Status’ of Ukraine in History Textbooks”, in N. Yakovenko (ed.), *School History through the Eyes of Scholars-Historians (the Materials of the Working Meeting on Monitoring the School Textbooks in History of Ukraine)*, Kyiv: Olena Teliha Publishing House, 2008, 87. <http://khpg.org.ua/index.php?id=1224505574> (last access 9 July 2012).

³⁹⁹ Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, 84.

A survey of school students conducted by the Nova Doba association in partnership with the Fund of Democratic Initiatives in 2008/2009 found that, “in students’ opinions, the uniting factors of Ukraine as a single nation are the wish to build a better life in the country – cited by 50% of respondents, equal rights for the citizens of Ukraine, a common state language, the patriotic feelings of the citizens, and a common history – 25.3%, and only 20.6% of students feel a sense of belonging to Ukraine, which testifies to the poor formation of their understanding of the political nation. Many students are advocates of a strong power in Ukraine.”⁴⁰⁰ At the same time, most pupils of the same age agreed with “the goal of building a better future together”.⁴⁰¹

In 2008, the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory founded a monitoring commission for Ukrainian history textbooks in order to analyse the development of critical thinking by current history curricula and textbooks. The findings reveal “a paradoxical disparity between the challenges of today and school textbooks”.⁴⁰² P. Verbytska characterises the situation as follows:

The existing majority of history textbooks stresses the ethnocentric vision of history, leaving aside the principles of multiethnicity, multiculturalness and multireligiousness – the priorities of modern school didactics in open societies; reflects Ukrainian society’s unity as an ethnic, linguistic and religious entity; identifies monocultural community with socially lower suppressed strata. These textbooks from a pessimistic understanding of Ukraine, with ideas of a colonial status and an inferiority complex. [...] Ukrainian society is represented in them with suppressed lower strata, motivations of various social groups are not paid attention to. As a result, the commission concluded that modern history textbooks do not correspond either to the modern state of [...] historical science nor to the needs of society or [...] state standards. [...] Modern textbooks do not present the variant of [...] collective identity which would satisfy the needs of the integration and consolidation of [...] Ukrainian society and correspond to [...] modern challenges. Thus, a paradoxical gap in time between the modern challenges and school textbooks needs to be dealt with.⁴⁰³

History textbooks stress an ethnocentric vision of history and are dominated by political and military history.⁴⁰⁴ The major problem with Ukraine’s history textbooks has been described in the following terms: “History textbooks give a mythologized version of the Ukrainian nation’s origin and mix up the notions of ethnicity and nation, repre-

⁴⁰⁰ P. Verbytska, *Civic Upbringing of Student Youth. Modern Aspects of Development*, Kyiv: Geneza, 2009, 227.

⁴⁰¹ Hyrych and Verbytska, *Historical Education in Ukraine*, 359.

⁴⁰² Yakovenko, *The Image of Self – the Image of the Other in School History Textbooks*, 64-81.

⁴⁰³ P. Verbytska, *History teaching in Ukraine*, Msc.

⁴⁰⁴ Hyrych and Verbytska, *Historical Education in Ukraine*, 359.

senting the existence of the nation as a linear, teleological, continuous and uninterrupted process from the pre-historical epoch onward.”⁴⁰⁵

In recent years, the Ukrainian authorities have also been supporting other principles and perspectives in education, including the development of historical thinking and the promotion of the education of “Ukrainian patriots” and “European citizens”; however, this does not appear to take account of the task of school history to teach pupils that they are citizens of their country, of Europe, and of the whole world.⁴⁰⁶

In 2005, I. Katchanovski published a comparative analysis of Tatars and Gagauz, two Turkish minorities from Ukraine and Moldova with numerous historical similarities and differences:

The education system in the Soviet Union prompted a convergence of the political cultures of different ethnic groups. However, in the case of Crimean Tatars, this mechanism of socialisation reinforced their differences from Russians, Ukrainians, and Gagauz. Soviet historical textbooks and literary texts emphasised military conflicts between Crimean Tatars and Ukrainian and Russian Cossacks, slave raids by Crimean Tatars and military help provided by the Russian government to the Gagauz, Bulgarian and other Orthodox Christian people of the Ottoman Empire. The history of Second World War in Soviet textbooks presented Crimean Tatars as Nazi collaborators and ignored the ethnic cleansing of Crimean Tatars by the Soviet government. Soviet mass media and popular culture promoted similar historical images of Crimean Tatars and Gagauz.⁴⁰⁷

History education in Ukraine, particularly where it makes reference to its relationship with its neighbours, is, as we have seen in this analysis, rather under-developed, a situation not helped by the attitude of Ukrainian leaders, which evinces a considerable lack of interest in this field.⁴⁰⁸ Even President V. Yushchenko (2005-2010), who promoted the restoration and preservation of the national memory of the Ukrainian people as state policy, implemented through numerous decrees ordering commemoration of anniversaries of significant historical events and personalities, has on occasion been less than friendly to Ukraine’s neighbours. An example of this attitude relating to Moldo-

⁴⁰⁵ *Statements from the Summary protocol of the meeting on monitoring the school textbooks in history of Ukraine*. [The Materials of the Working Meeting on Monitoring the School Textbooks in History of Ukraine. Compiled and edited by Natalia Yakovenko]. <http://osvita.khpg.org/index.php?id=1224512202> (last access 7 January 2016).

⁴⁰⁶ Orientovne kalendarno-tematiczne planuvannia dlja zahalnoosvikh zakladiv. *Istoriija Ukrainy, vsevitnja istoriia 5-11 klasy*, Lviv: Lvivskiy oblastnyi naykovo-metodychnyi instytut osvity, 1999, 3; Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering*, 151.

⁴⁰⁷ Katchanovski, *Small Nations but Great Differences*.

⁴⁰⁸ “History school textbooks as a factor of youth historical memory forming”. Analytical notes. <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/241/> (last access 16 February 2012).

vans might be his reaction during a meeting in Odessa in 2009 when a participant did not manage to elucidate a local infrastructure project sufficiently and President Yushchenko said “*Nu ty prjam kak moldavanin!*” (You are like a Moldovan!), which indirectly means incompetent.

Under President V. Yanukovich, Ukraine’s policy of historical memory reverted to a Soviet-style discourse. From 2010 onwards, an education reform replaced the previous twelve-year structure with an eleven-year system, which has affected curricula and textbooks. The upper secondary school curriculum of 2010 stipulates one hour a week of history teaching. History textbooks for year 11 have become shorter and shifted to a typically Soviet historiographical scheme. For example, the chapter which had been entitled “Ukraine During Second World War” in this textbook has been renamed “The Great Patriotic War” in a new textbook edition. P. Verbytska has commented: “Our textbooks, especially in history of Ukraine, still contain elements of xenophobia, cultural and ethnic intolerance, and gender chauvinism.”⁴⁰⁹

Beginning in 2011, new approaches to teaching history have been introduced in accordance with the Basic and Secondary Education Standards, which stress the reinforcement of the role of history as the main identity-forming subject in the school curriculum, one which teaches students dignity, human rights and democracy while developing in them a positive attitude towards common European values.⁴¹⁰ In this situation, if there is no consensus in Ukrainian society on a shared historical past, history curricula and textbooks should be rewritten by Ukrainian scholars according to today’s democratic requirements and needs⁴¹¹ and should take care to pay more attention to other minorities living in Ukraine and to Ukraine’s neighbours. *Together in One Land: A Multicultural History of Ukraine*, a new textbook issued by the All-Ukrainian Association of Teachers of History and Social Studies, or “Nova Doba”, is a good example of a textbook that meets these needs.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ *The Conflict of Historical Memory as Reflected in History Teaching*, country report: case of Ukraine, prepared by Polina Verbytska, msc.

⁴¹⁰ The Decree of the Cabinet of Ministry of Ukraine on approval of the State standard of basic and full general secondary education. 23 November 2011. № 1392 Kyiv. Available from: <http://zakon.nau.ua/doc/?uid=1053.24.0> (last access 16 February 2012).

⁴¹¹ V. Verstiuk, In Dmytro Rybakov, *Чому і як треба переписувати історію України (Why and How the History of Ukraine Should be Rewritten)*, 31 January 2011, <http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2011/01/31/20201/> (last access 23 November 2012).

⁴¹² Ju. Komarov et al., *Istorija epochi. Očima ljudini, Ukraïna ta Evropa u 1900-1939 rokach, navčal'nij*

Now more than ever, Ukrainian society needs a peaceful and reconciliatory approach. The promotion of discourses of hatred which seek to identify “enemies” will maintain a “battleground between two versions of Ukrainian history”.⁴¹³ History should be a tool of unity in society. A consensus needs to be formed based on serious historical studies, and Ukraine needs to develop a history education founded on tolerance.⁴¹⁴

posibnik z istorii Ukraïni ta vsesvitn'oi istorii, rekomendovano Ministerstvom Osviti i Nauki Ukraïni, Kiïv: Geneza, 2004.

⁴¹³ Hrycak, Wie soll man nach 1991 die Geschichte der Ukraine unterrichten?, 24.

⁴¹⁴ Stefan, Korinth, “Ohne historische Aufarbeitung bleibt die Ukraine ein Pulverfass”, published 10 February 2015, <http://www.heise.de/tp/artikel/44/44107/1.html> (last acces 10 January 2016).

Conclusions

The political changes that took place in Eastern European countries at the end of the last century have had a direct influence on the development of education in these states. After two decades of democratic transformation in all post-socialist and post-Soviet countries, students' history textbooks now contain much of the information that was censored under totalitarian regimes. Examples of such topics could be Stalin's Terror, collectivisation, famine, deportations and the effect of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. The process of transformation from Marxist-Leninist ideology to pluralist democracy has proved long and difficult in all countries, including Romania, the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.

Of the three, Romania has undertaken the most steps to reform education, including history education, a matter likely directly linked to the country's accession to the EU, but history education remains an important issue for Romanian society. As far as Moldova and Ukraine are concerned, as long as their societies remain in a state of ideological crisis, history education will continue to provide a fractured understanding of the past. The relationship between national and European history remains a closely debated topic in all three societies. Their shared reality, as evidenced by this study, is that all three countries are currently not presenting one another in any meaningful way in their history textbooks at all educational levels. In all three countries, history education and textbooks are dominated by political history and narratives of victimisation. National histories do not pay attention to their neighbours.

Ukrainian national history textbooks devote significant space to national heroes. In some textbooks, we found galleries of national heroes and leaders. The presentation of such images in history textbooks is one of the most powerful tools of identity construction. The references to neighbouring countries included in these textbooks are not significant and mostly relate to wars and conflicts. G. Gonta and N. Petrovski observed in 2000 that Ukrainian textbooks, in particular those for secondary level, contain more facts than information for analysis and interpretation, and that it would be necessary to include more information on the lives of Ukrainians during all historical periods and also about the other ethnic groups living in the territories of Ukraine.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵ Gh. Gonța and N. Petrovski, "Novye Didakticheskie razrabotki v ukrainskikh ucebnikac", in P. Sadoycki and M. Telus (eds.), *Gistoryja stodzennasci i pravy calaveka*, Minsk: Technologija, 2000, 161.

In the last two decades, historiography has become more open and diverse in all three countries; this notwithstanding, there remains a need to work more closely with one another if prejudices and stereotypes are to be eradicated from conflict resolution processes. Going further, we would observe that the principles of tolerance and respect for “others” should be at the heart not only of history but also of literature, geography, foreign languages and other subjects.

The relationship between national and European/world history remains a much-debated topic in our societies into the present. Indeed, even in Romania, already a full member of the EU, this question is not yet entirely resolved. A considerable number of events which took place in the twentieth century continue to influence modern society, which means that this period should be presented very carefully in history textbooks. Twentieth-century history is key to the process of training critical thinking and helping students acquire the values of tolerance and democratic citizenship. Pupils should be helped to find the roots of, preconditions for, and interconnections between these events in order to gain better understanding of the modern historical processes whose roots lie in the twentieth century.

Curriculum development and textbook production in all three countries still remain centralised. Textbooks are produced by state and private publishing houses. Most textbooks are curriculum-based and developed according to the guidelines issued by the Ministries of Education. Through their textbook publishing policy, these ministries control the content and quality of textbooks. It is difficult to describe and to create an ideal textbook⁴¹⁶; nonetheless, there are certain circumstances, conditions and characteristics which have significant influence on the development and quality of textbooks. In most cases, the quality of textbooks is related to the general political, social and economic situation in each country. T. Hunt, in his report on textbook development in Romania, Macedonia, Sri Lanka, Azerbaijan and China, listed the following three main areas in this regard:

- a. funding, policy, and management;
- b. publishing, curriculum design and textbook development;
- c. textbook production and distribution.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁶ J. Rüsen, “Das ideale Schulbuch. Überlegungen zum Leitmedium des Geschichtunterrichts”, in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung/International Textbook Research* 14 (1992), 238.

⁴¹⁷ *Disarming History. International Conference on Combating Stereotypes and Prejudice in History*

History curricula and textbooks in all three countries have progressed, but we still encounter many problems. Among them are the following:

- the content of curricula and history textbooks continues to place too much emphasis on national aspects to the detriment of the world, regional, and local dimensions of history;
- it reflects the history of wars and violence instead of giving more space to periods of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and cultural communication, or of mutual enrichment between various social groups as well as between nations;
- it neglects regional history and cultural and historical links with neighbouring countries;
- as it stands, it causes problems in history education and the development of ethnic identity, as well as the relationship between “Us” and “Others”;
- it leads to or accepts poor textbook design.

There are some historical personalities from one country whose story is connected to the history of another country, but history textbooks in Moldova, Romania and Ukraine tend to fall down in their presentation of these figures. A contrasting example might be found in Georgian textbooks which, for instance, discuss Antim Ivoreanul and his role in Georgian-Romanian relations and David Guramishvili and his role in Ukrainian-Georgian relations.⁴¹⁸ The Georgian National Goals of General Education (2004) and the National Learning Plan for secondary schools (2008-2009) are examples of democratic education in citizenship and history education: a multi-perspective approach which regards history as the interpretation of a process, attempts to overcome traditional national discourses and includes the role of minorities in the history of the country.⁴¹⁹

History textbooks play an important part in the process of collective identity formation, building a relationship with the past and creating an image of the “other”. The content of textbooks determines, in many cases, students' attitudes to their neighbours. Therefore, in order to improve the situation in history education and to develop a tolerant approach to “others” in history textbooks, there is a great need for joint efforts by politicians, professionals and members of civil society in Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. One aim of such efforts might be to achieve one of the objectives established

Textbooks of South-East Europe, 11.

⁴¹⁸ Bennett, Seminar on History Curricula for Secondary Schools, 13-14.

⁴¹⁹ <http://ganatleba.org/index.php?m=102> (last access 7 January 2016).

by the UNESCO International Commission on Education in the 21st Century, “learning to live together by developing an understanding of others and their history, traditions and spiritual values”,⁴²⁰ while also fulfilling the recommendations of the Council of Europe and the European Union on fighting intolerance and stereotypes about others through intercultural learning.⁴²¹

History education has the potential to be an excellent instrument for the reconciliation of divided societies and conflicted regions. Writing a common history is one of the best ways to gain understanding of others and forge a shared world. Past Franco-German, German-Polish, Chinese-Korean-Japanese, and Palestinian-Israeli initiatives have demonstrated that it is possible to find compromises when teaching about a shared past.⁴²² This process is not easy, and in many cases may have to deal with a lack of interest among politicians.⁴²³ However, scholars, teachers, textbook authors and editors, and representatives of civil society should be more active in such discussions and involve politicians step by step in building positive narratives of shared pasts.

In our view, ministries of education in all three countries with which our study has been concerned have to first evaluate the situation and undertake the necessary changes to history curricula, because in most cases publishing houses and textbook authors look mainly to the content of curricula for their cues. Second, they should minimise state

⁴²⁰ *Learning: The Treasure Within*. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century, Paris, 1996, 22.

⁴²¹ Mogensen, Learning to Be of Culture or Learning to Increase Participation, 155.

⁴²² See: <http://www.deufamat.de/> (last access 7 January 2016); G. Le Quintrec and P. Geiss (eds.), *Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt seit 1945*, Stuttgart, Leipzig: Ernst Klett Schulbuchverlage, 2006; D. Henri, G. le Quintrec, and P. Geiss (eds.), *Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt vom Wiener Kongress bis 1945*, Stuttgart, Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag, 2008; R. Bendick et al. (eds.), *Histoire/Geschichte. Europa und die Welt von der Antike bis 1815*, Stuttgart, Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag, 2011; S. Lässig (ed.), *Gemeinsame deutsch-polnische Schulbuchkommission. Schulbuch Geschichte. Ein deutsch-polnisches Projekt – Empfehlungen*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012; G.-W. Shin and D.C. Sneider (eds.), *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia. Divided Memories*, Routledge Contemporary Asia Series, London and New York: Routledge, 2011; S. Adwan and D. Bar-On (eds.), *Prime's Sharing the History Project: Palestinian and Israeli Teachers and Pupils Learning Each Other's Narrative. Part One*, Beit Jallah: Peace Research Institute in the Middle East, 2003; *Learning Each Other's Historical Narrative: Palestinians and Israelis. Part Two*, Beit Jallah: Peace Research Institute in the Middle East, 2006; Karina V. Korostelina, Simone Lässig (eds.), *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation. Reconsidering Joint Textbook Projects*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013; Deutsch-Israelische Schulbuchkommission (ed.), *Deutsch-israelische Schulbuchempfehlungen*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015; Thomas Strobel, *Transnationale Wissenschafts- und Verhandlungskultur. Die Gemeinsame Deutsch-Polnische Schulbuchkommission 1972-1990*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015.

⁴²³ See the case of the Caucasus region: Karina V. Korostelina, “The Tbilisi Initiative – the story of an unpublished textbook”, in Korostelina, Lässig (eds.), *History Education and Post-Conflict Reconciliation*, 192-208; R. Radžabov, S. Grigorjan, V. Kolbai (eds.), *Perekrestnyj analiz škol'nykh učebnikov stran Južnogo Kavkaza*, Yerevan: Edit Print, 2012.

ensorship of textbook writing, which is a remnant of previous totalitarian regimes,⁴²⁴ and seek consensus on international norms and standards for textbooks.⁴²⁵ Publishing houses should become more competitive and consider these issues when forming teams of authors to write textbooks.

We would now like to list some suggestions that might be drawn upon by ministries of education in developing authentic open partnerships and mutual understanding. Ministries could:

- Preserve and foster mechanisms of public consultation on education policy
- develop partnerships between governmental and intergovernmental institutions and include the exchange of curricula and textbooks and other educational materials in bilateral agreements on cultural and educational cooperation
- initiate institutionalised forms of regional cooperation in the field of history education in order to educate a new generation in a better understanding of their neighbours
- develop international cooperation in the field of school curricula and textbooks for the teaching of history, such as bi-, tri- and multilateral textbook revision projects with the participation of national and international experts from UNESCO, the Council of Europe, the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, EUROCLIO, CIVITAS, and others, so as to remove any prejudices or stereotypes they might contain regarding other nations or ethnic groups.
- facilitate and encourage contacts between professional organisations of historians and teachers of history from all three countries in particular, so they can share their experiences, ideas and proposals on history curricula, textbooks, teaching and research
- ensure that history curricula are flexible enough to meet the needs of all, and to help students of all abilities attain their full potential

⁴²⁴ D. Ravitch, *The Language Police. How Pressure Groups Restrict What Students Learn*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

⁴²⁵ *Learning Treasure Within*. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission of Education for the 21st Century, Paris: UNESCO, 1996; *Planning the Development of School Textbooks*. Paris: UNESCO (IIEP), 1995; *Basic Learning Materials Initiative: Final Report*. Paris: UNESCO, 2004; *Textbook Quality Improvement Programme: Final Report*. Paris: UNESCO, 2005; *A Comprehensive Strategy for Textbooks and Learning Materials*. Paris: UNESCO, Education Sector, Division for the Promotion of Quality Education, Section of Education for Peace and Human Rights, 2005; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*.

- promote mutual understanding among all the peoples of their region, which will help them to know one another better and to thus fight prejudice and mutual rejection and to be inclusive rather than exclusive in the process of presenting and describing one another in history textbooks. Younger generations need to be prepared for active participation in the social, economic and political life of their nation and of Europe.
- provide curricula and teacher training which enables innovative and interdisciplinary approaches to history, literature, foreign languages, and other topics
- encourage curriculum planners and textbook authors to be more sensitive to critical approaches, to multiperspectivity, and to the history of everyday life
- ensure that history curricula are flexible, varied, and open
- make clear decisions about the status and content of controversial issues according to scientific research and evidence. This is the only way to prevent political conflicts and antagonism. Political bias should not be reflected in classroom teaching and learning.⁴²⁶
- approach each country's historical context in a more tolerant and self-critical way, guided by history curricula
- foster individual judgement and critical thinking in historical education through, *inter alia*, presenting students with a number of sources open to interpretation and giving access to the perspectives of various actors and different interpretations of history, based on concepts such as “learning to live together by developing an understanding of others and their history, traditions and spiritual values” and “education for pluralism”, outlined in the Report of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (Delors Report “Learning: The Treasure Within”)⁴²⁷ and Recommendation No. 1283 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (1996).
- contribute to the fostering of media competencies among young people through history education, supporting their ability to understand and select information from the various media competing for their attention
- encourage innovation in history education through pilot projects
- attempt to ensure that the history taught to students is balanced in character
- set European history within a global context

⁴²⁶ Reviews of National Policies for Education, 147.

⁴²⁷ *Learning: The Treasure Within*. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission of Education for the 21st Century, Paris: UNESCO, 1996, 22.

- exchange and share knowledge across regions
- present controversial issues from more than one point of view in history textbooks
- incorporate the principles of basic human rights into textbooks, including the peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-discrimination, gender equality and others
- analyse issues relating to migration and minorities, which might prove a good way to improve students' knowledge about neighbouring countries and nationalities
- pay more attention to the process of selecting and presenting controversial and sensitive questions of twentieth-century history, excluding as unacceptable prejudice and predetermined views
- transform the commemoration of days and events that create national antagonism into opportunities to address the need for reconciliation, understanding and cooperation
- support respect for “others” and the principles of objectivity and tolerance in approaching controversial and sensitive topics
- increase the presentation of neighbouring countries' history and cultures in history curricula and in textbooks⁴²⁸
- include in curricula and textbooks topics relating to common cultural heritages and customs, social life, everyday life, economic matters, culinary traditions, etc.
- use new methods and approaches in studying controversial topics
- support efforts to decentralise the textbook sector and to develop alternative systems of textbook development
- include examples of best practices in all aspects of textbook writing and publishing
- optimise procedures for textbook development, production, and evaluation
- transfer control over budgets into teachers' hands regarding what books they can use, as this will increase competition among publishers for textbook quality and potentially drive down costs. This is a system already in place in Romania.
- ensure that textbook authors and editors are not under undue time pressure to complete textbooks, which will improve quality and innovativeness

⁴²⁸ There is an example of brief presentation of neighbouring countries in a textbook on the history of Latvia. The authors of the textbook included at the end of the book, as an appendix, brief fact files on the history of Estonia and Lithuania. Vilnis Purēns, *Dzintra Liepinja. Istorija Latvij. Eksperimentāl'nyj Učebnik*, Riga: RaKa, 2000: History of Estonia, pp. 222-231 and History of Lithuania, pp. 232-241. The textbook was published in 1998 in Latvian and later translated into Russian.

- produce (or co-produce) joint history textbooks or coordinate “parallel history textbooks” and supplementary educational materials (Moldova-Romania, Moldova-Ukraine, Romania-Ukraine, and Moldova-Romania-Ukraine); examples to draw on include the German-Polish and Franco-German textbook projects.
- use history textbooks, among other instruments, to shape understanding of the past and present and to develop new perspectives for the future; they should give space to the development of the multicultural world of today, as outlined in the Report of the World Commission of Culture and Development (Perez de Cuellar Report “Our Creative Diversity”).⁴²⁹
- Further:
textbooks should be written not only by academic historians but also by practitioners (teachers) with direct experience of the realities and needs of schools, with support from academics.
- teams of authors should have all the information they need, prior to commencing work, about rules and requirements and be provided with all necessary documentation. There is also a need for feedback and criticism during the writing process, as well as during evaluation and the use of the textbook in classrooms.
- access to innovative materials and methods through the Internet and supplementary didactic materials should be facilitated.
- care should be taken in selecting pictures and maps for textbooks, as some historical photographs, for example, have highly emotional content and thus impose meaning on events without analysing them. All pictures should be read and interpreted by students under teacher guidance.
- textbooks should be made more attractive to students in terms of illustrations and design.

To sound a final note of caution, we are acutely aware that we cannot expect an overnight solution to the problems of history education in each of our countries of focus separately or in all three as a region. The change we would wish to see will be a long process of partnership on the basis of the principles of democracy and tolerance, which should be open in nature and continuously sustained. Governments need to initiate dialogue on fundamental principles in order to facilitate educational policy development

⁴²⁹ *Disarming History*. International Conference on Combating Stereotypes and Prejudice in History Textbooks of South-East Europe, 11.

and to provide assistance in the areas of greatest need, to aid the development of national publishing industries, to support textbook research and to disseminate and exchange information.

Appendices

Appendix 1. UNESCO contributions (in chronological order)

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H. Vigander, *Mutual Revision of History Textbooks in the Nordic Countries*, Paris: UNESCO, 1950.

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- Against bias and prejudice: the Council of Europe's work on history teaching and history textbooks. Recommendations on history teaching and history textbooks adopted at the Council of Europe's conferences and symposia 1953-83*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1986.
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