

Comparative Analysis of the Secondary School History Textbooks of the V4 Countries – an Overview of Genocides in the History of the 20th Century¹

František Strapek / e-mail: frank.strapek@gmail.com

Department of History, Faculty of Education at Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia

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The study deals with the comparative analysis of the secondary school history textbooks of the V4 countries from the perspective of teaching about the genocides of the 20th century. In the beginning of our work, we introduce the research sample of genocides and discuss the issue of textbooks itself. Thereafter, we characterize the content analysis as one of the fundamental aspects of our work and present the examined textbook sample. Every examined genocide is elaborated separately focusing mainly on the specific elements of each textbook. Regarding the Holocaust and its complexity, we primarily focus on the content-unique aspects embodied in the history textbooks of the V4 countries which represent their individual, life-sustaining experience with this issue.

Key words: *content analysis; history textbook; genocide; the V4 countries*

In a comparative analysis of the secondary school textbooks of the V4 countries,² we primarily focus on the content processing of the studied issue as a historical phenomenon and on the frequency of occurrence of the individual genocidal events taking into account their range processing. As a research sample, which is composed by several genocides of the 20th century, we chose historical events having the character of mass murder and at the same time representing a specific, but also very similar events in the given time horizon. If the concept of “learning from Europe and for Europe”³ is spread to the current European history

¹ This study was written with a support of the Grant of Comenius University no. UK/261/2018 to support the project of young scientists.

² To the countries of Visegrád group (V4) belong the following countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia which are “part of the same civilization based on the same cultural and intellectual values and common roots of religious traditions.” Available at: <<http://www.visegradgroup.eu/v4-110412-2>>.

³ From many of the recommendations of the Council of Europe for the development of history education we choose, for example: strengthening history of the 20th century and the history

education, the same applies for a principle of the application of global education⁴ and globalization in order to positively influence different cultures (multicultural education).⁵ For this reason, we focused not only on the European issues of the Holocaust (1933–1945) and the famine in Ukraine (1932–1933), but also on the events beyond the European continent. Each of these genocides, whether we speak about Armenians in the Ottoman Empire (1915), the Pol Pot's regime in Cambodia (1975–1979) or the tribal conflict in Rwanda (1994), brings into the history teaching something new – characteristic for its uniqueness. The sampling of individual genocides was realized on the basis of the time determination of the topic as well as from the point of view of the diversity of examined genocides with regard to geographical, cultural, religious and racial aspects. In a more detailed analysis, the selected list of individual genocides may be defined as a sample of varied historical events that resemble in a number of certain things – via a selection of population on the ground of nationality (mainly Armenians, Ukrainians, Jews, Tutsis), social class (Armenians, Jews, Tutsis) or religious belief (Armenians, Jews and partially Cambodians). However, at the same time it is the selection which implies three continents, is geographically and racially diverse and last but not least, it represents a wide range of totalitarian regimes that did not hesitate to use violent policy against selected groups of people. Nevertheless, in our analysis, we are not dealing with the uniqueness or possible similarities of these genocides. We primarily focus on their content processing in one of the basic school didactic tools – a textbook.

A pedagogical dictionary describes textbook as a kind of book publication adapted by its content and structure for didactic communication. It has several types from which the most widely used is a school textbook. It works on one hand

of Europe in particular, the need to place European history in a global context, to pay attention to multicultural education, education focused on multiperspectivity or understanding of forces, processes and events which formed Europe and the world in the 20th century. Available on the internet: <<http://www.msmt.cz/vzdelavani/zakladni-vzdelavani/doporuceni-rady-evropy-o-vyuce-dejepisu-v-evrope-21-stoleti>>.

⁴ Global education “enables people to understand the links between their own lives and lives of people from other parts of the world; enhances understanding of economic, cultural, political and environmental influences which affect our lives and it develops our skills, attitudes and values that enable people to co-operate on a change and to take control of one's own life.” Návojský A. – Kríž M. – Zajac L. (2015). *Učíme (sa) v globálnych súvislostiach*. Globálne vzdelávanie vo vyučovaní predmetu dejepis na stredných školách. Bratislava: Človek v ohrození, o. z., p. 1.

⁵ Multicultural education focuses on a development of the abilities to respect the existence of other cultures, to get to know them and to learn to tolerate them. In this sense, it helps to destroy the acquired prejudices and stereotypes while it becomes a basis enabling deeper understanding of a given culture in order to achieve the acceptance of its differences. Kováčiková D. (2000). K otázkam multikultúrnej výchovy a vzdelávania mladej generácie. In *Mládež a spoločnosť*, no. 1., p. 17.

as an element of curriculum, i.e. it presents a part of the planned content of education, and on the other as a didactic tool, i.e. it is an information source for students and teachers. It conducts and stimulates students' learning processes.⁶ Textbook belongs to the so-called summarizing texts whose content is made by the overall and generally agreed knowledge of a particular discipline. School textbooks provide basic information from a wider elaborated scientific discipline. They rarely include detailed and special knowledge. The particularity of school textbook lays also on the fact that it has to be equipped with an apparatus controlling learning and must be adapted to the student's age abilities.⁷ We speak about the complex system composed of verbal, iconographic and graphic texts, including texts serving for control and self-control. In other words, textbook is a multimodal text consisting of various features which are systematized into one whole.⁸

Besides textbooks, there is a number of the other didactic medias used in the history teaching. Textbooks, along with workbooks, history atlases or reading-books, belong to the school didactic texts. Apart from them, we classify audio and multimedia, monuments and various objects (such as memorials, exhibits, models, etc.) to the didactic media as well.⁹ However, in our study we focus specifically on the content analysis of history textbooks designated for secondary schools. To the content characteristics of textbooks, we put the issue of transformation of the scientific and cultural knowledge but also the issue of value orientation, attitudes and cultural patterns that can lead to stereotypes. However, it includes also persuasive aspects of textbooks which represent analyses examining the way how some components of the content of textbooks are presented and if they are interesting and convincing for students.¹⁰ Due to the complexity of issues, we will not deal with the persuasive aspects in our work.

Before we will come to the analysis itself, it is necessary to mention that the research sample consists of 14 secondary school textbooks including 2 Czech, 3 Hungarian, 6 Polish and 3 Slovak textbooks. Due to the demanding availability of the individual foreign sets of textbooks, we tried to make the most extensive selection of examined literature from every country of the V4 group. A criterion of sampling from the time perspective was the year 2001 since our intention was to examine the textbooks already made for teaching and learning in the 21st century. Another aspect of the selection was also a preference of use of the

⁶ Průcha J. – Walterová E. – Mareš J. (2009). *Pedagogický slovník*. Praha: Portál, p. 323.

⁷ Průcha J. (1998). *Učebnice: Teorie a analýzy edukačního média. Příručka pro studenty, učitele, autory učebnic a výzkumné pracovníky*. Brno: Paido, p. 18.

⁸ Beneš Z. (2003). České učebnice po roce 1989. In *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka*. Brno: Vydavatelství MU, p. 282.

⁹ Beneš Z. (2008). Učebnice dějepisu. In Beneš Z. – Gracová B. – Průcha J. a kol., *Sondy a analýzy. Učebnice dějepisu – teorie a multikulturní aspekty edukačního média*. Praha: Tauris, p. 17.

¹⁰ Průcha J. (1998). *Učebnice: Teorie a analýzy edukačního média...*, p. 45.

individual textbooks in the countries which have the so-called free market of textbooks (in our case all except Slovakia). Generally agreed, the problem of textbook production and replacing old sets with the new ones is a very exacting and sometimes lengthy process, influenced by reforms of school system, finance as well as by political-societal demand. For this reason, from the time and practical point of view, we could not have included either all older or newer editions of the selected sets of textbooks.

In the research of individual publications, we proceeded chronologically and applied the same procedure for the genocidal events themselves. For the sake of clarity of content analysis, we decided to present each genocide separately, as it was elaborated in each of the textbooks. In the conclusion, the reader is provided by a brief comparative overview as a result of our findings.

The first historical event, which we decided to analyse, was the genocide of Armenians¹¹ in the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. In the history textbooks, which represent our research sample, this religious-ethnic killing is mentioned only in some of the examined titles. The Czech textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 3. Novověk* written by the group of authors led by P. Čornej in 2001 focuses quite a lot on the World War I but there is no reference to Armenian genocide at all. In the Hungarian textbooks, there is a shift in transformation of scientific knowledge about this event comparing the two most commonly used Hungarian history textbooks *Történelem IV. (2005)* by M. Száray and J. Kaposi and *Történelem 11. (2016)* by P. Borhegyi and R. Paksa. In the first mentioned

¹¹ From January to April 1915, the Armenian soldiers serving in the Turkish army were gradually disarmed and secretly liquidated. From the 24th to the 25th of April 1915 more than two thousand Armenians were arrested for “revolt” and then murdered or deported to the Turkish provinces. Subsequently, the deportations and the destruction of Armenians from the seven eastern provinces (vilájets) began. The murdering took place under the guise of deportations, men were separated from women, children and elderly people and immediately slaughtered. The others went to the reception camp in Aleppo (most of the perished on the way there by hunger, diseases and by hands of Turks and Kurds). Thanks to the advance of the Russian troops, at least the part of Armenians from the Van region was saved. In August 1915, the first part of the extermination was completed. The second part of the plan – to exterminate Armenians in the rest of the country – was under way from August 1915 to July 1916. Only the Armenians from Istanbul escaped by hiding at foreign embassies. Further in Smyrna, where they were protected by a German general, and in Lebanon and Palestine. The others were deported to the camps in Aleppo, or more precisely in Syria and Mesopotamia. The two-thirds of Armenians, i.e. 1–1.5 million people, were killed in the Ottoman Empire. More about the Armenian genocide, see e.g.: Dadrian V. (1995). *The History of the Armenian Genocide. Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia o the Caucasus*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 452 p., Adalian R. (2013). *The Armenian Genocide*. In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 117–156. Kaiser H. (2010). *Genocide at the twilight of the Ottoman Empire*. In Bloxham D. – Moses A. D. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford University Press: New York, p. 365–385.

publication, the authors do not write about the fate of Armenians but in the second textbook, students learn about the given issue via the topic Breakdown of the Ottoman Empire. The explanatory text which mainly includes basic information about this event (time determination, number of victims, problem of ethnicity) is complemented by the didactic (working) material such as questions to the text and a map of territories of the former Ottoman Empire.¹² The Polish textbooks comment on the Armenian genocide mainly in the context of the 20th century as a century of crimes. In the textbook *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* (2003) by J. Wróbel it is written in the chapter The End of History? that it was “the first case of genocide of the 20th century”¹³ and this event is put into the supplementary text along with the other well-known genocides of the 20th century, where the authors ponder on the constant “competition” of killing. In another Polish textbook *Historia – Wiek XX*. (2012) by D. Stola, Armenians are mentioned only marginally as a part of the thematic unit entitled The Extermination of Jews, and so on the question of uniqueness of Holocaust, where they are mentioned as the victims of mass crimes.¹⁴ The last among the Polish selection of textbooks, which deals with the issue of the Armenian genocide, is the publication of the group of authors led by P. Galik *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939* (2014), namely in the topic Turkey after the First World War. Similarly to the above-mentioned Hungarian textbook *Történelem 11.*, students are familiarised with the picture of basic information about genocide, however, the authors commemorate these events in connection with the exchange of non-Turkish population (mainly Greeks) from the newly established Republic of Turkey (1923) for the Turks living in the Balkan and which should have prevented the “massacres of the past.”¹⁵ The text is complemented by an apparatus controlling learning, more precisely a map work depicting the territories of the former Ottoman Empire. Armenians are mentioned in the Slovak textbooks only in the older edition of the textbook *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií* (2006) by D. Kodajová and M. Tonková. This issue was eliminated from the new conception where the connection of world and national history took place. Students are reminded of the killing of Armenians in the connection with the southern front of the First World War when the authors states that “the Ottoman Empire used the worldwide conflict in the years 1915–1917 for the upcoming genocide of Armenians living on its territory for several centuries.”¹⁶ Just as in the mentioned Hungarian textbook and the Polish titles, also in here

¹² Borhegyi P. – Paksa R. (2016). *Történelem 11*. Budapest: Oktatáskutató Intézet, p. 115.

¹³ Wróbel J. (2003). *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne Spółka Akcyjna, p. 422.

¹⁴ Stola D. (2015). *Historia – Wiek XX*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, p. 87.

¹⁵ Galik P. (2014). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939*. Warszawa: Nowa Era, p. 382.

¹⁶ Kodajová D. – Tonková M. (2006). *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií*. Bratislava: SPN, p. 17–18.

there is a reference to the number of victims of this massacre. But at the same time, students can read about the fact that acts of violence against Armenians were realized earlier than just during the world war, which is documented in the textbook by a newspaper picture from 1909.

The next examined genocide of the 20th century, we dealt with in our work, is the famine in Ukraine¹⁷ in the years 1932–1933 which is, in the present history education, related to Stalinism and collectivization in the USSR. When we look at the Czech history textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny* (2005) again under the leadership of P. Čornej, we will find out that this issue is incorporated into the topic The Soviet-type totality, where one can find the following words about this event:

“Into the emerging agricultural cooperatives – kolkhozes, peasants had to hand over fields on which they farmed, livestock and agricultural machinery... The peasants, however, did not gladly give up their possessions and they were against violent collectivization. They rather let run wild the fields and slaughter flocks of cattle just not to hand it over to the state. This led to an enormous decline of agricultural production which caused famine. As a result, several million people died, mainly in the “granary of the Soviet Union” – Ukraine.”¹⁸

¹⁷ The famine in Ukraine in the years 1932–1933 became one of the consequences of the practical application of violent collectivization and brutal Stalin policy. It was led by series of measures that the government of the Soviet Union, irrespective of human lives, began to implement on its territory in 1932. In August of that year, the party activists were given the right to confiscate grain in the kolkhozes and in the same month, the so-called shameful law, which determined the death penalty in a case of pilferage of “socialist property,” was passed. After mitigation of conditions, such “anti-state crimes” were punished by 10 years of forced labour in gulags. In order not to leave the kolkhozes and look for food somewhere else, because the law was introduced for peasants in November 1932 forbidding peasants to draw grain till the plan of state food supplies would be accomplished, the so-called internal passport mode was established. The situation became intolerable. In the cases when grain did not remain, peasants ate cats, dogs, mice, bark, leaves or even sewage. People often did not even avoid cannibalism. Despite of this fact, the party activists continued to confiscate bread without taking into account the consequences of famine in villages, in which the population gradually perished. The Soviet archive materials about the terrible results of famine in Ukraine are still largely unavailable. For this reason, it is difficult to find out how many people died between the years 1932 and 1933. However, it is estimated that on the basis of demographic development of the population of the USSR it could have been up to 3–6 million people in Ukraine. For more information, look at, e.g.: Conquest R. (1986). *The Harvest of Sorrow. Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-famine*. New York: Oxford University Press, 411 p., Wheatcroft S. – Davies R. (2004). *The Years of Hunger. Soviet Agriculture, 1931–1933*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 555 p., Mace J. (2013). Soviet Man-Made Famine in Ukraine. In Totten S. – Parson W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 157–189.

¹⁸ Čornej P. (2005). *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny*. Praha: SPN, p. 46.

In this part of the text, the authors expressed the attitude of many peasants who, in this way, helplessly protested against violent removal of their subsistence. In this context, the text of textbook also points to the resettlement of population into Siberia and to gulags which were used by the Soviet regime as a form of pressure/punishment during collectivization. However, a significant information for students is presented by the fact that there was a ban on free movement for peasants meaning they were bound to the place of their residence. From this point of view, the authors associate the famine with the brutal enforcement of collectivization, the victims of which eventually became also the poorest classes of population. The Hungarian textbooks give a similar opinion about that. In the textbook *Történelem IV.*, it is mentioned that the first persecuted were kulaks, but later small peasants were punished, too. The authors also draw attention to the paradox of the whole situation when “millions of people were dying of hunger (Ukraine between the years 1929–1930) while grain was being exported so that the state could get to the foreign currencies.”¹⁹ From the didactic point of view, a characteristic picture material is used for this issue, represented by a photograph of starving children (working with the students’ emotional side). The Polish textbook *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* in the chapter Totalitarianism, the Stalin version deals with the famine also from the statistical point of view when it brings a comparison of the number of victims persecuted by the regime as well as those who died of hunger with the losses which the USSR suffered during the Second World War. The authors state that it is roughly something between 8 and 12 million dead which represents 8–9% of the population at that time.²⁰ By the text of this topic, students are encouraged to think about the successes of Stalin’s industrialization which was achieved at the expense of suppressing human rights and by the loss of human lives. In the next Polish textbook *Historia – Podrecznik klasa II. (2008)* by J. Czubyty and D. Stola, the famine is again connected with collectivization and apart from already mentioned information, the authors also work with a concept of propaganda when they speak about it in connection with the newly established kolkhozes, which were glorified by the regime but they “did not have either tractors or machinery, there was often lack of grain for sowing and the agricultural production on their fields was far lower than before collectivization.”²¹ The content-enriched view of this genocide is brought by the textbook *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX. (2011)* by S. Roszak and J. Klaczek where it is, besides the basic facts, written that: “In the years 1932–1933 the southern regions of the USSR, including Ukraine, were affected by the catastrophe of crop failure. In spite of the very difficult situation, Stalin decided to continue

¹⁹ Száray M. – Kaposi J. (2005). *Történelem IV.* Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, p. 64.

²⁰ Wróbel J.: *Odnaleźć przeszłość...*, p. 181.

²¹ Czubyty J. – Stola D. (2008). *Historia – Podrecznik klasa II.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, p. 295.

with the exporting of grain on the same level and increased mandatory deliveries for the state.”²² This statement relates more closely to the policy of Stalinism than to collectivization itself. The authors even mention the phenomenon of cannibalism which appeared due to the great hunger. The textbook presents also the legal attitude of some states to the issue when students read at the end of the text that: “At the beginning of the 21th century, the parliaments of 26 states, including Poland, recognized hunger in the USSR for the act of genocide against the Ukrainian nation.”²³ From the selection of Polish textbooks, we may also mention *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939* which deals with the famine in the subchapter Stalin’s state. In the main interpretative text as well as in the all examined Polish textbooks, the famine is being named as “The Great Hunger” but here it is clearly defined as “artificially caused” (or man-made) and for the first time, thousands of Poles are included in the number of its victims reminding students of the issue of national diversity of Ukraine, or more precisely the USSR. In the textbook, the so-called decree of 5 spikelets is written about which “prefigured the death penalty or 5–10 years in labour camp for those who wanted to protect grain, stole a small part of kolkhoz’s harvest.”²⁴ There is also information about cannibalism and students are informed about the reason why the peasants could have not travelled to the areas where there was still enough food as well: “...the government issued the so-called passports – the duty to have an identity document. The residents of the areas affected by the famine were not be given passports and for their arbitrary departure, they were threatened to travel to labour camp.”²⁵ This kind of description of scientific findings in the textbook supports cognitive processes when explaining historical phenomena which may primarily seem illogical for students (a traditional question of student: And why did they not go away when they had nothing to eat?). The Slovak textbooks, the older *Dejepis – svetové dejiny. Pre 3. ročník gymnázií* and the newer edition *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl* (2015) by R. Letz, M. Tonková and A. Bocková describe the given issue very similarly. However, in the older set, there are, in connection with the violent collectivization, namely mentioned besides Ukraine also the regions of the Volga river, Moscow, the Caucasus and Crimea. The authors state in the text that there were sent “the penal expeditions of army and the security authorities” which took “all the harvest from peasants when they did not comply with mandatory deliveries.”²⁶ Thus, students are informed not only where these state interventions occurred but also who did it and for what reason. The newer textbook gives only the torso of information about this genocidal event, but the

²² Roszak S. – Klaczkow J. (2011). *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX*. Warszawa: Nowa Era, p. 39.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁴ Galik P. (2014). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939*, p. 377.

²⁵ Galik P. (2014). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Lata 1815–1939*, p. 377.

²⁶ Kodajová D. – Tonková M. (2006). *Dejepis – svetové dejiny*, p. 44.

interpretative text is complemented by the didactic component and besides the visual material it offers (similarly as in the older version) a work with the archival source describing the situation in Ukraine at the time of famine.

The issue of the genocide, which was committed by the Nazis and their allies, is nowadays broadly popular and depicted in various scientific, popular-educational and art literature as well.²⁷ In history textbooks, the topic of the Holocaust holds an important place not only from the perspective of the specific process of this genocide but also for its philosophical-historical message. Because of the difficulty and complexity of the Holocaust as the issue itself and of its processing in materials, we decided to focus in our work primarily on the different and content-unique aspects of the examined textbooks. At the same time, however, we present a brief overview of the concepts and multi-word terms which represent the content intersection of the given issue and are gained from our examined sample of textbooks. During studying the individual secondary school history textbooks of the V4 countries, we came to the following list of concepts/multi-word terms which are minutely elaborated in them: 1. racism, 2. eugenics, 3. The Nuremberg Laws, 4. Crystal Night, 5. concentration camps, 6. victims (Jews, Slavs, Roma people, mentally/physically ill people, political opponents, Soviet soldiers, antisocial individuals, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses), 7. Aryanization of Jewish property, 8. Jewish badge (Judenstern), 9. ghetto, 10. Master Plan for the East, 11. Einsatzgruppen/SS death squads, 12. "The Final Solution to the Jewish Question", 13. The Wannsee conference, 14. transports, 15. extermination camps, 16. gas chambers, 17. medical experiments, 18. collaboration, 19. help from "the others", 20. "death marches", 21. The Nurnberg trials, 22. Holocaust/Shoah. Each of the examined publications brings broader or narrower processing of the above-mentioned terms. However, their application into the educational material, in our case represented by history textbook, becomes the principal design.

²⁷ We state some of them: Arendt H. (1965). *Eichmann in Jerusalem. A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: The Viking Press, 312 p.; Goldhagen D. (1997). *Hitler's Willing Executioners – Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage, 634 p.; Hancock I. (2004). O Baro Porrajmos – The Romani Holocaust. In Hewitt, W. (ed.), *Defining the Horrific. Readings on Genocide and Holocaust in the 20th Century*. Pearson Education: Upper Saddle River, p. 333–345; Landau R. (2006). *The Nazi Holocaust*. London: I. B. Tauris, 356 p.; Browning R. Ch. (2010). The Nazi Empire. In Bloxham D. – Moses A. D. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. Oxford University Press: New York, p. 407–425.; Barša P. (2011). *Paměť a genocida. Úvahy o politice holocaustu*. Praha: Argo, 283 p.; Snyder T. (2011). *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. London: Vintage Books, 524 p.; Niewyk D. (2013). *The Holocaust – Jews, Gypsies, and the Handicapped*. In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 191–247; Frank A. (2015). *The Diary of a young girl*. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 368 p.; Boyne J. (2018). *The boy in the striped pyjamas*. London : Random House Children's Publishers UK, 256 p.

If we focus on the content-unique passages of the examined textbooks, we find out that it is not only about a standard description of the progress of genocide itself in the context of national history but also about the notice value of specific elements resulting from historical events which are related to the Holocaust in the particular country. Into the Czech textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny* the authors embodied in connection with the Nazi occupation of the Bohemia and Moravia for example an attitude of the German Minister of State K. H. Frank who “asserted the tough and intransigent dealing with the Czechs,” which resulted even into his proposals of “the Final Solution to the Czech Question.”²⁸ It is necessary to realize that for Czech students this information is decisive since the conception proposed by Frank counted on the incorporation of all Czech lands into the Third Reich with the displacement and partial liquidation of the local population (including Jews and Roma people). In this part, the authors work with the phenomenon of national awareness of the Czech statehood and with a formation of students’ anti-fascist attitude. To the more significant events that have the national overlap, we put the assassination of R. Heydrich, who was Deputy Reich Protector and a prominent Nazi, whose death was punished by the burning and physical liquidation of the residents of two Czech villages – Lidice and Ležáky.²⁹ The Hungarian textbook *Történelem 11.* shows the interesting statistics when the authors state that every tenth Jewish victim of the Holocaust was from the former Hungary. At the same time, it is mentioned that Germany legally recognized the Nazi persecution of the Romani community only in the year 1982.³⁰ In addition, students learn from the chapter the Tragedy of Hungarian Jews that due to the preparations of deportations, Hungary was divided into the 6 districts and first of all it began with the Jews from the eastern part of the country because “if the Red Army came closer, its offensive would disrupt the plan of killing Jews.”³¹ This text aims to inform the reader about the Nazi determination to kill Jews and about their so-called “priorities.” In the case of Polish textbooks, we mention in the connection with the Holocaust for example the title *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* where the authors discuss also “the unpleasant” question of the share on the Nazi genocide of ordinary Germans. In a supplementary text entitled *Germans: Searching one’s consciousness*, the information about the Holocaust perception in the German society is presented by the short passages. By quoting a historian, it is written in the textbook: “The fact, that in 1943 the idiom ‘go through the chimney’ got into normal communication, suggests that the society was fully aware of the issue of gas chambers.”³² On the other hand, it is stated in the text that despite some information of which people

²⁸ Čornej P. *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4*, p. 79.

²⁹ The author’s note: The event is also reflected by some textbooks out of the Czech sampling.

³⁰ Borhegyi P. – Paksa R. *Történelem 11.*, p. 238.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

³² Wróbel J. *Odnaleźć przeszłość...*, p. 271.

were provided, it was not possible to create a detailed picture of the situation. The authors continue: “Despite the external circumstances after the year 1945, there was no collective experience with the terrible truth. Germans themselves felt to be the victims of war and the Nazi regime.”³³ In this way, students actually learn to think critically and perceive multiperspectivity in the context of looking at the past. The textbook *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX.* in the chapter *The Third Reich's policy against Poles* deals with the so-called “Sonderaktion Krakau” (Special Action Cracow) during which the Polish professors from the Jagiellonian University were arrested and sent to a concentration camp. Poles and especially the Polish intelligentsia were harshly persecuted by the occupiers, so the authors (not only) of this textbook try to point out such crimes of Nazism as well. The characteristic passage about the sign “Arbeit macht frei” is the only of its kind in our examined sample of textbooks and presents the origin, the nature and the fate of this sign above the gate of the most famous “death camp” – Auschwitz, and in the text, it is also mentioned that the same sign was possible to find in several other concentration camps.³⁴ Another of the Polish textbooks *Historia – Wiek XX.* includes in the connection with the Holocaust a complementary text by which the authors ask the question: “Was the Holocaust unique?” After naming several other well-known genocides, the authors present to students their conclusion that Holocaust had specific characteristics: “from the Nazi ideology emerging intention to kill all Jews, the continental dimension of crime and its reality... a bureaucratic organization of the whole action and the industrial methods of killing.”³⁵ If history at schools should build students’ historical consciousness,³⁶ it cannot be just memorizing facts in the form of dates and names, or isolated information, on the contrary, it is necessary to understand the nature, meaning of particular history events and perceive them in the global context. Also, the authors J. Klaczkow and A. Zielinska in the last Polish textbook from our examined sample *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku* (2015) try to respond to natural curiosity of young people when in the text Jews against the annihilation they write about several uprisings of Jews in the ghettos and camps where they were imprisoned. To the most well-known events belonged “The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising”³⁷ from 1943 which is mentioned in every Polish textbook.³⁸ Concerning

³³ Ibid., p. 271.

³⁴ Roszak S. – Klaczkow J. *Poznać przeszłość...*, p. 217.

³⁵ Stola D. *Historia – Wiek XX.*, p. 87.

³⁶ It is created on the basis of retrieving the past, the difficulty is a possible manipulation with the historical reality. It allows people to be well informed about the world and it is imbedded in everyday life-experience. In Kmeť M. (2017), *História a dejepis. (Vybrané kapitoly z didaktiky dejepisu)*. Banská Bystrica: Belianum, p. 20.

³⁷ Klaczkow J. – Zielinska A. (2015). *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku*. Warszawa: Nowa Era, p. 45.

³⁸ The author’s note: The event is also reflected by some textbooks out of the Polish sampling.

the topic of the Holocaust, from the Slovak textbooks it is possible to mention *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl* where it is written about the decree from the September 9th, 1941 known as the Jewish Code which “based on the German Nuremberg Laws.”³⁹ These laws are then explained to students in more detail. It is not just a matter of linking national and world history, but also a matter of the understanding of political processes and decisions leading to genocide. Another example is the unwillingness of the Slovak government to send more workers to the Third Reich and instead of them the government offered several thousand Slovak Jews with an absurd commitment to “pay Germany for each deported person ‘the settlement fee’ of 500 marks,”⁴⁰ which forces students to think about the logic of deportations and to polemize about the real and proclaimed independence of Slovak politics during the Second World War.

In conclusion, we may state that the topic of the Holocaust is, among all examined genocides, the most elaborated genocide when referring to the apparatus of controlling learning (the so-called non-textual part). Almost in every analysed textbook, there are various visual components situated in the passages about the Holocaust, which are complemented by tasks and control questions (the verbal components). In this case, it is also applied that the work with a written source or visual material often occurs with the apparatus presenting curriculum. In our study, we do not focus on these aspects in more detail, nevertheless in regard to the one of our goals – to examine the extent of processing of the individual genocides, we note that compared to the other genocides, it is a much larger didactic component which significantly helps to fix knowledge about the given issue. Not only in the terms of content, but also from the didactic point of view, the Holocaust as a topic is the most elaborated in the Polish textbooks, which is logical regarding to a regional context and curricular requirements, but it is necessary to state that this phenomenon appears in the Polish textbooks also when processing the other genocidal events.

To the content analysis of the history textbooks, we also included a genocide which historical community as well as writers of textbooks most often classify into the period of decolonization. However, the genocide in Cambodia⁴¹ from the

³⁹ Letz R. – Tonková M. – Bocková A. (2015). *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*. Bratislava: SPN, p. 165.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴¹ In 1970, the pro-American government was established in the country, led by general Lon Nol who had significantly problematic relations with the former king Norodom Sihanouk. During the Vietnam War, the North Vietnamese communist troops entered to Cambodia and they used a significant part of this country as their rear for fighting against the South Vietnam. The Vietnamese subsequently went to the military conflict with the Cambodian army when they managed to besiege the capital city Phnom Penh for several months. Although the government troops were supported by the US, at the same time the border areas of the south-eastern Cambodia were bombed by the US Air Force in the years

second half of 1970s is possible to include in the events associated with the Cold War. For explanation of global relations and political development after the Second World War (not only in Asia), it has its fixed place in history education. The Czech textbook *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4. Nejnovější dějiny* mentions this issue in the subchapter Victory of Communist Regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos where (as the name of the passage implies itself) the authors state how the communist movement was asserted not only in Vietnam, but also in the neighbouring Indochinese countries. In connection with Cambodia and its communist government, the textbook informs about two basic facts which are presented in all textbooks including this topic that we examined – the Khmer Rouge and their leader Pol Pot. However, in the above-mentioned textbook, the explanation of these “concepts” is absented. Instead, there is the explanatory text providing basic information about the regime established in the country and the number of its victims as well. As a fundamental statement may be considered the fact that the Khmer Rouge “realized the accomplished genocide of their nation.”⁴²

1969–1973, in order to destroy the Vietnamese bases in the border area as well as to disrupt supply of the Vietnamese communist troops. It is estimated that up to 100,000 Vietnamese soldiers and Cambodian civilians died during this action. In 1975 Lon Nol's government already controlled just the capital city where many people of the starving country fled to survive. The rest of the country was controlled by the troops of ultra-communist Khmer Rouge. The armed struggle of the Khmer Rouge against the government powers gradually gained support of a large part of the Cambodian population. Thanks to that, they came to power and in April 1975 took the control of the capital Phnom Penh. At that time, their several year's tyranny began, taking the country a few centuries back and killing millions of people. The state was renamed to Democratic Kampuchea. A population of the country was moved to the countryside where it should have participated in the utopian ideas of agrarian communism. The Khmer Rouge closed the state borders and cancelled money. They introduced a general duty of labour for 12 to 16 hours per day. Even a minor offence was punished by death. Prisons were made around the country (e.g. Tuol Sleng in Phnom Penh – now a museum) where the prisoners were cruelly tortured, subsequently executed and buried in the mass graves. Pol Pot, the leader of the Khmer Rouge, kept even the government itself as a secret from his own people. The official head of state was Norodom Sihanouk who was, however, imprisoned by the Khmer Rouge in his palace. The citizens even did not know their state representatives. Out of fear of conspiracy, the purges increasingly appeared to happen in the ranks of the Khmer Rouge. At the end of the Khmer Rouge reign, Pol Pot attacked Vietnam which withstood the attacks and the Vietnamese armies then broke into the Cambodian capital city where they established a pro-Vietnamese government. Look more about this issue in, e.g.: Chandler D. (1991). *The Tragedy of Cambodian History – Politics, War and Revolution since 1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 396 p.; Fawthrop T. – Jarvis H. (2004). *Getting Away with Genocide? Cambodia's Long Struggle against the Khmer Rouge*. London: Pluto Press, 350 p.; Kiernan B. (2013). *The Cambodian Genocide, 1975–1979*. In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*. Routledge: New York, p. 317–353.

⁴² Čornej P. *Dějepis pro gymnázia a SŠ 4.*, p. 158.

Students even learn from the text about the development in Cambodia after the year 1979 when Pol Pot's regime was overthrown by the arrival of Vietnamese army. The following important events from the history of this state are briefly described in the textbook until 1993 when the free elections took place. In this sense, the historical development of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy is depicted on the example of a distant Asian country. The Hungarian textbooks are not endowed with this genocide. A similar attitude was chosen by the authors of the Slovak textbooks when they deal with this issue only in the latest textbook *Dejepis pre 3. ročník gymnázií a stredných škôl*, but also only marginally. Into the topic Complicated Face of Africa, the authors incorporated an information text about "The Year Zero" representing the beginning of the revolution of the Khmer Rouge. In this context, the term "agrarian communism" is presented to students as well.⁴³ Regarding to the Polish textbooks, we may mention several titles which deal with the given issue in the main explanatory text. The textbook *Odnaleźć przeszłość. Od 1815 roku do współczesności* deals with the Pol Pot's regime in the subchapter Marxism in "the Third World" when the authors mention, besides basic information, the fact that the leader of the Khmer Rouge studied in Paris and was inspired by the ideas of "the far-left circles in Europe".⁴⁴ Connecting the national (European) history with the history of the whole world is currently a modern trend in history education because among other things it helps to develop students' historical thinking.⁴⁵ Another of the Polish textbooks *Historia – Wiek XX* in the connection with the genocide in Cambodia writes that "private property, money and industry were liquidated, the population was displaced to the countryside and all the people were forced to slave labour."⁴⁶ Forced transfers of population and state terror became phenomenologically the key aspects of totalitarian regimes. The history teaching of the 21st century is characterized by a shift towards learning through the concepts of the so-called "first and second order,"⁴⁷ which help students to understand historical tendencies and models as well as the specific events. To the first group of the concepts, the so-called "first order," R. Stradling classifies totalitarianism, decolonization, the Cold War etc., so the concepts directly connected with the regime of the Khmer Rouge

⁴³ Letz R. – Tonková M. – Bocková A. *Dejepis...*, p. 203.

⁴⁴ Wróbel J. *Odnaleźć przeszłość...*, p. 390.

⁴⁵ Peter Seixas speaks about the six concepts of "historical thinking" which has, in his view, a clear structure and plainly identifiable features: 1. Establish historical significance, 2. Use primary source evidence, 3. Identify continuity and change, 4. Analyse cause and consequence, 5. Take historical perspectives, 6. Understand the ethical dimension of historical interpretations. See more about historical thinking at: <<http://historicalthinking.ca/historical-thinking-concepts>>.

⁴⁶ Stola D. *Historia – Wiek XX*, p. 175.

⁴⁷ See closer Stradling R. (2003). *Jak učit evropské dějiny 20. století*. Praha: Nakladatelství Rady Evropy, p. 60–65.

as well. The older set of the Polish textbooks *Poznać przeszłość. Wiek XX.* and the newer *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku* are, in the content-context of this topic, almost identical. However, the older version describes the nature of the Pol Pot's regime more specifically stating that it was the case of "the implementation experiments connecting Maoism with the extreme chauvinism."⁴⁸ We work again with the concepts (Maoism, chauvinism) as well as we notice that by using these terms and explaining them via teacher, it helps students to acquire historical events and to understand the nature of historical coherences. If students should understand what kind of regime was established by the Khmer Rouge, they must know basic information about the development of communist movement in Asia and the foreign relations of the former Indochina.

Among the examined genocidal events in the history textbooks of the V4 countries, it represents one of the latest manifestations of mass violence with the character of genocide which happened in the first half of 1990s in East Africa. Despite the shortest time interval of this historical event towards the present, it is possible to "ascertain" to the extensive content-based information only in one of the examined textbooks. The Polish textbook *Zrozumieć przeszłość. Dzieje najnowsze po 1939 roku* deals in the subchapter *Conflicts in Africa* with the tribal conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi which resulted into the genocide.⁴⁹ The issue of the relationship between the Rwandan majority (Hutu) and minority (Tutsi) is

⁴⁸ Roszak S. – Klaczkow J. *Poznać przeszłość...*, p. 280.

⁴⁹ The Rwandan genocide was a mass killing of the Tutsi ethnic group (most of the victims) and the moderate Hutus which was taking place from April to June 1994 in Rwanda. During that time, the Hutu radicals murdered up to one million Rwandan people and 2.5 million were forced to leave their homes. The tension between Hutu and Tutsi was not so big in the past because it was very hard to distinguish between two close ethnic groups. However, the Belgian colonizers introduced the identity cards with the mark of membership in 1933. Moreover, the membership of Tutsis was officially introduced according to physical features and property while supporting Tutsis for holding the higher working posts. Nevertheless, a mutual hostility increased after 1959 when Hutus took power after the anti-colonial coup. The invasion of Rwandan Patriotic Front from neighbouring Uganda in 1990 became a direct prelude to the genocide. The Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana apparently decided to radically solve the long-lasting ethnic conflict. The impulse for mass killing was initiated by the death of president Habyarimana on the April 6, 1994, when his plane was shot down near the capital city Kigali. A few days later, a command to "cut the tall trees" was spread through the radio across the country calling on the militia of the Hutu ethnic group to begin with the liquidation of the Tutsi minority. The symbol of genocide was represented by radio and machete. The fact that a large number of machetes was bought in bulk and then distributed mainly among the Interahamwe troops (meaning: Those who fight together) is a proof of a perfectly arranged preparation of the action. On this occasion, the UN was massively criticized for its inability to prevent the massacres. The international units presented at The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) under the command of the Canadian Lt-Gen Romeo Dallaire were numerically weak and poorly equipped, so they were unable to prevent the massacres. Read more in, e. g.: Mamdani M. (2001). *When Victims*

described in detail and the authors inform students also about the failure of the UN units which “lost control...and retreated from Rwanda,”⁵⁰ or about the participation of priests and nuns in the killing. As we mentioned in the beginning of our work, the content analysis of textbooks aims at the cognition of the transformation of scientific and cultural knowledge into education, more precisely of their application in the educational texts and simultaneously explores how this piece of information form attitudes and perspectives of young people not only to history, but also to present-day actions. Conflicts in Africa continue, Europe is being influenced by them more and more. However, our research shows that for the countries such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia and to some extent also for Poland, the latest history of Africa is still a marginal part of history textbooks. The principle of actualization of history and the orientation of postmodern history teaching based on the functionality of factual account⁵¹ is surely the way to the creation of textbooks containing also modern African history.

The conclusion

On the basis of the stated goal of the project – to comprehensively examine and mutually compare the content aspect of history textbooks designated for secondary schools of the V4 countries from the perspective of the issue of genocides in the history of the 20th century, we managed to create a rather extensive research sample of domestic and foreign history textbooks (14 textbooks in total) which we further analysed. We mainly dealt with the explanatory text, but we partially focused on the material part and non-textual components (exercises, tasks, etc.). We primarily took interest in the content-based processing as well as the extent of occurrence of individual topics dealing with genocides in a particular time frame.

The result of our analysis is based on the fact that the issue of the Holocaust is the largest and the most elaborated topic from the content point of view. It is

Become Killers – Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 364 p.; Jones A. (2004). *Gender and Genocide in Rwanda.* In Jones A. (ed.), *Gendercide and Genocide.* Vanderbilt University Press: Nashville, 336 p.; Caplan G. (2013). *The 1994 Genocide of the Tutsi of Rwanda.* In Totten S. – Parsons W. (eds.), *Centuries of Genocide. Essays and Eyewitness Accounts.* Routledge: New York, p. 447–475.

⁵⁰ Klaczkow J. – Zielinska A. *Zrozumieć przeszłość...*, p. 254.

⁵¹ It puts emphasis on cognition, understanding and grounds for the importance of presented information as well as on the development of abilities to be informed about scientific knowledge, think about it more deeply, make intellectual and practical skills stronger and form one's own system of values. In Bocková A. (2009). *Výučba dejepisu ako pedagogický problém (Pohľad na funkčnosť dejepisného vzdelávania a funkčnosť faktografie).* In *Verbum historiae*, Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, year 1, no. 1, p. 28.

followed by the famine in Ukraine associated with collectivization and displays of Stalinism. The other genocides are mentioned in a far lesser extent, rather in the context of the other historical events. Regarding the genocide of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, it is mainly about the global conflict of the World War I, the Pol Pot's genocidal regime in Cambodia is based on decolonization and the aftermath of the Cold War, and although the tribal conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda comes under decolonization as well, we rather classify it as the issue of modern African conflicts.

If we deal with the research sample of the textbooks itself, the most extensive collection of history textbooks, included in our work, represents the Polish textbooks by which we came across with a significantly higher proportion of the Holocaust processing compared to the other genocides. When we speak about the least mentioned genocide, on the basis of our analysis we state that it is the genocide in Rwanda (represented more significantly only in one of the textbooks). The research of the V4 textbooks also suggests that the genocides located farther away from Europe, but closer to the 21st century from the time perspective, are marginally represented or they do not appear at all. The genocidal events from 1990s in Yugoslavia are the exception but they were not the subject matter of our research. This fact is mainly based on the reason that the V4 countries dedicate less space to the history of Africa and Asia, and on the contrary they focus more on Europe and national history. For this reason, the Holocaust is a historical phenomenon which is the most widely discussed one because it was present in the all V4 countries, and therefore it is possible to speak about the personal historical experience as well.

The examined issue is, in the history textbooks, supplemented with the non-textual materials in a form of various tasks and questions focused on fixation of curriculum or the development of critical thinking. The work with historical sources is significantly represented within the material (working) part of the individual genocides. For most of the genocides, however, this material is absent or more precisely, represented only minimally (illustratively). Regarding the issue of the Holocaust, students may work also with the visual materials (photos, maps, etc.) in some of the textbooks. For the other genocides, the pictures of purely illustrative character are rather applied, and so this can be found in each of the examined history textbooks.

The issue of transformation of scientific and cultural knowledge about history into the basic didactic tool – a textbook, depends not only on the curricular core of history as a school subject and a part of the educational system in the particular country, but also on the ability of authors to adequately provide the basic information about national and world history, which largely influenced human society and their consequences are perceived till now. Such historical events are undoubtedly represented also by the genocides of the 20th century which (showed in our research as well) have their irreplaceable role in the history textbooks of the V4 countries.