

# Twentieth Century Leaders in the Moldovan History Textbooks

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## *Abstract*

The main research question of this paper is *How the twentieth century leaders are treated in the History textbooks published within the last decade in the Republic of Moldova?* The textbooks are a reflection of the History curriculum. Therefore, the analysis starts with the discussion of this document and its content concerning leaders and heroes. The main research sources are the History textbooks published in Moldova during the last decade that debate the events of the twentieth century. The paper analyses how the national, European and world leaders are treated in Moldovan textbooks, and how the discourse and the paradigm get changed depending on political regimes. Based on quantitative and qualitative methods, some conclusions have been made about various leaders, such as Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Antonescu or leaders from the Cold War era. At the end, the leaders of independent Moldova are briefly presented too. As a result of this analysis we could see how the leaders are presented in the Moldovan textbooks and could conclude that the policy makers, textbook authors and publishers have to pay more attention to this topic.

**Keywords:** History teaching, Textbooks, the Republic of Moldova, Leaders, the 20<sup>th</sup> century

## **Introduction**

The textbook represents an indispensable element in the process of teaching and education. It corresponds to the basic requirements of this process and is aimed to conduct and facilitate cognitive processes. In contemporary societies the History textbooks are a topic of great interest. History is a part of the humanities and is characterized by all the basic elements of this field. Its originality derives from the reflection of national and patriotic spirit of every nation, people and citizen in this respect. People tend to search for the answers to their essential questions in history: who are we? Where do we come from? What are our origins?

The multiplicity of the approaches to the past is an essential problem of history. A historic event can be presented and perceived differently. Every historic narrative, besides the fact that it has a didactic aim, focusing on information, education and training, also has a psychological, emotional and affective impact. History was previously based mostly on political and military events, which helped the leaders to build states, nations, identities, heroes, etc. or to justify diverse political decisions. The leaders and heroes became part of offi-

cial discourses and were the subject of different historical myths, which were and still are part of historic narratives. The transformations in post-soviet societies during the last decades have shown how sensitive are the questions concerning the past. Therefore, during the transition from a totalitarian to a democratic regime, it is absolutely necessary to pay great attention to the process of history education.

Following the collapse of the USSR, History education in Moldova has been characterised by permanent public debates, including street protests focused on History teaching (1995, 2002, 2006).<sup>1</sup> The national movement (1989-1991) culminated with the declaration of independence of the Republic of Moldova, the transition to the Latin alphabet, and the replacement of *the History of the USSR* and *the History of the MSSR* courses with *World History* and *the History of the Romanians*.

The Education System in Moldova nowadays is divided in two: one is the national system of Education according to the Republic of Moldova's legal framework and the other one is organised in Transnistria, under the separatist regime's rules. In this paper I will discuss only the situation with the History textbooks approved by Moldovan authorities.<sup>2</sup> The educational system in the Republic of Moldova is based on three main stages: elementary school (the first-fourth Grades, six/seven - ten/eleven years old), secondary school/gymnasium (the fifth - ninth grades, 11/12-15/16 years old) and high school/lyceum (the tenth - twelfth grades, 16/17-19/20 years old). The first two stages are compulsory (elementary/primary and secondary school, from the first to the ninth grades). During the 1990s the school curriculum in Moldova has been developed with the support of the World Bank. The History curriculum was a part of this process and it was developed by a team of researchers, university professors and school teachers. The curriculum was coordinated with the specialists from the Ministry of Education. After long discussions, including street protests in 1995, History in Moldova at that time was divided into two disciplines: National History (rom. *istoria românilor*) and World History (rom. *istoria universală*). In 1999, the Ministry of Education approved the History curriculum for high school (the tenth - twelfth grades) and in 2000 the curriculum for secondary school (the fifth -

<sup>1</sup> For more details on the debates around the History teaching in the Republic of Moldova see: S. Musteață, *Educația istorică între discursul politic și identitar în Republica Moldova* (Vol. M 3). Chișinău: Editura Pontos, 2010 and S. Musteață, Why history teaching is so often debated in the Republic of Moldova?. In *ISEEES Newsletters, Spring, 2012*, 12-18.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the History teaching in Transnistria see more details in my paper, S. Musteață, *Pre-darea istoriei în școlile din regiunea separatistă nistreană*. In A. Galben & G. Postică (Eds.), *Probleme actuale de istorie națională. Studii în onoarea profesorului Pavel Parasca*, Chișinău, 2009, pp. 335-345.



ninth grades). With the support of the World Bank they published textbooks for all disciplines for primary and secondary schools.

**Table 1.** Structure of the history education in Moldova

No.	Secondary school / Gymnasium		High School / Lyceum	
1.	The fifth grade	Antiquity	The tenth grade	Antiquity and Middle Ages
2.	The sixth grade	Middle Ages	The eleventh grade	Modernity
3.	The seventh grade	Modern period, part I	The twelfth grade	Contemporary history
4.	The eighth grade	Modern period, part II		
5.	The ninth grade	Contemporary period		

Following the February 2001 general elections, the Communist Party came to power, leading to a debate about history education between the historians and the government and bringing this issue again into the public view. The communist government has been trying hard to change the name and the content of the *History of the Romanians* course into the *History of Moldova*; after renewed street demonstrations (January-February 2002) and seminars (2002 and 2003), organized by the Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Council of Europe, the idea of an *Integrated History* course, which would include a balanced representation of the national and world history in a single discipline, reappeared. Civil society, in general, and the academic community, in particular, were opposed to any political involvement in History Education. In 2005, the Ministry of Education excluded final exams in the fields of *History of the Romanians* and *World History* from the list of exams for Moldovan high schools. The Ministry proposed that high schools conduct an exam in Geography instead and that other schools offer an exam in History as an optional one. These changes once again led to a public outcry. In 2006, the Ministry of Education approved the decision to introduce the *Integrated History* course and textbooks into pre-university education, starting that September. Hence, following the 1<sup>st</sup> September 2006, the Ministry of Education introduced a new curriculum for History in all secondary schools based on a single course titled *History*, excluding the two previously taught courses on *History of the Romanians* and *World History* from the curriculum. Also, the Ministry of Education distributed new History textbooks in all schools and demanded that schools stop using other textbooks. This situation again generated opposition from the

part of teachers, professional organizations, and NGOs. Opponents pointed out multiple mistakes in the content of these new books.

As a result of the double general elections in 2009, the opposition democratic parties (Alliance for European Integration) came to power and proclaimed the integration of the Republic of Moldova into the European Union as their Government's main goal. This, however, did not end the public debate on History education in Moldova. In 2010, the Ministry of Education approved a new, modernised curriculum for a single subject called *History*. This decision did not satisfy some historians who asked the Ministry to reinstate the two History courses taught in Moldovan schools until 2006 – *the History of the Romanians* and *World History*. After long debates and the recommendations of a new commission, established in March 2012, the Ministry of Education decided to maintain one course, but with a different title, which has been changed from *History* to *History of the Romanians and World History*. The 2012 decision requires the following distribution: 40% for World History, 55% for National History and 5% for Local History (within a given region, locality, family, school). This situation remained the same until today – two hours per week of a single discipline called *the History of the Romanians and World History*. One could see how sensitive the subject of History education in the Republic of Moldova is. During the last two decades, the History school Curriculum has been changed four times.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, all those changes have not been always made in a rational and well thought out way. Changing the Curriculum also meant changing the textbook content and the image of the leaders and national heroes.

**Table 2.** History teaching in the Republic of Moldova

Educational level	Grade	Age	Content	Discipline	Hour/Week	Total periods/year	
						before 2006	after 2006
<b>Primary</b>	fourth	10-11	History		1	34	34
<b>Secondary</b>	5th	12-13	Prehistory. Antiquity	History	2	46 + 22*	68
	6th	13-14	Middle Ages	History	2	36 + 32	68
	7th	14-15	Modernity, part I	History	2	38 + 30	68
	8th	15-16	Modernity, part II	History	2	36 + 32	68
	9th	16-17	Contemporary	History	2	36 + 32	68

<sup>3</sup> Musteață, *Educația istorică ...*



Lyceum	10th	17-18	Antiquity and Middle Age	History	3**	2***	102	68	102	68
	11th	18-19	Modern period	History	3	2	102	68	102	68
	12th	19-20	Contemporary period		3	2	102	68	102	68

\* first figure shows the hours designated for the World History and the next figure for the History of Romanians (1995-2006); \*\* – Lyceum (humanist profile); \*\*\* – Lyceum (Real profile)

### Research goal

The main research question of this paper discusses the ways, in which *leaders are treated in the History textbooks published within the last decade in the Republic of Moldova*. The textbook is more than a didactic tool, it represents a fundamental form of modern media. Hence, UNESCO and the Council of Europe have urged the nations of the world during the past decades to encourage cooperation in textbook development with an eye to contemporary realities and ensure a multidimensional and transparent approach to one's cultural past based on scholarly research. The international initiative to revise textbooks has become a new scholarly subject named *textbook research* or *analysis*.<sup>4</sup> The most active institution in this field is the Georg Eckert Institute for the International Textbook Analysis. The main purpose of such projects is to identify a textbook's strengths and weaknesses and to eliminate "negative" features (errors, distortions, prejudices, clichés, etc.).<sup>5</sup> This is why textbook analysis ought to become an integral part of the reform and development of educational systems. Today the research of the History Curriculum and textbooks represents an important part of the research focusing on school didactics in numerous countries in Europe. In the new democratic circumstances, it is very important to learn about each other, and to cultivate tolerance and better understanding between different cultural, religious, social and political communities. Through better education it is possible to diminish prejudices, stereotypes, and violence, racism, xenophobia and nationalist attitudes.

<sup>4</sup> G.P. Altbach, Textbooks: the international dimension. In M. Apple & L. K. Christian-Smith (Eds.), *The politics of the textbook*, London, 1991, pp. 242-258. B. Schmidt, *Internationale Schulbuchforschung - Aufgaben, Probleme, Beispiele*. Münster: GRIN Verlag, 2008.

<sup>5</sup> 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.

## Sources and methodology

The main research sources are the Curriculum and History textbooks used in the Republic of Moldova during the past decade. History is a compulsory discipline since the fourth grade (primary school) and continues until the end of the secondary and high schools. However, in this paper we will discuss five textbooks concerning the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century for secondary school – the 9<sup>th</sup> grade<sup>6</sup> and high school – the 12<sup>th</sup> grade.<sup>7</sup>

A variety of methods regarding textbook analysis is used in practice; a combined approach is frequently used which ensures a higher level of objectivity of the results. Textbook analysis should include all textbook components, not only its textual side, but also relevant pictorial, graphical and technical aspects. Two main methods were used for this research – based on quantitative and qualitative approaches, as they are still widely considered the most appropriate for textbook researches. The quantitative method uses aggregate data and statistical analysis. In this context, questions based on deduction are discussed. I try to find how often some 20<sup>th</sup> century leaders and heroes are presented in the History textbooks. The qualitative methods search for meaning, understanding and interpreting various historical facts, events, actions, phenomena or narratives, pictures, maps, documents, etc. Some details about my research methods and criteria are discussed in my other works on this subject.<sup>8</sup>

## Textbooks Analysis

Every country develops its own narratives of “historical truth” about the Past, in general, and especially about leaders and heroes related to it. From this perspective there are a lot of competing narratives, such as liberation vs. occupation/aggression (liberators vs. Occupiers); victory vs. defeat; winners vs. losers; heroes vs. enemies; glorification vs. justification; resistance vs. betrayals; victims vs. executioners; witnesses vs. participants, etc. How can we approach his-

<sup>6</sup> S. Nazaria, A. Roman, M. Sprinceană, L. Barbus, S. Albu-Machedon, A. Dumbravă, *Istorie. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a IX-a*. Chișinău: Universul, 2006. I. Șarov, I. Cașu, M. Dobzeu, P. Cerbușcă, *Istoria românilor și universală. Manuale pentru clasa a IX-a*. Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2013.

<sup>7</sup> I. Cașu, I. Șarov, V. Pâslariuc, F. Solomon, P. Cerbușcă, *Istoria românilor și universală. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*. Chișinău: Cartier, 2013. A. Petrencu, I. Chiper, *Istoria universală. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*. Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2006. I. Scurtu, I. Șișcanu, M. Curculescu, C. Dincă, A.C. Soare, *Istoria românilor. Epoca contemporană. Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*. Chișinău: Prut Internațional, 2006.

<sup>8</sup> S. Musteață, *Cum să elaborăm și analizăm manualele școlare*. Chișinău: Cartdidact, 2006. S. Musteață, An essay on research approaches and possible consequences of the textbooks research. *Colloquium politicum* 3, 2011.





torical legacies where one historical event is memorialized in different ways? The Republic of Moldova is not an exception from this phenomenon. Thus, the battle for national history continues. The transition from Soviet to the democratic regime was followed by the rewriting of national history. The official history narrative was changed from one government to another; if the left parties were in power, the narrative was more appropriate to the Soviet historiography. But, if the right parties governed the country, then the history narrative was focused on Romanian history. The contradiction between these versions of national history is mostly a question of identity. In this context, one could witness a process of modelling and re-modelling the respective national heroes and anti-heroes. When we speak about a leader, it does not mean that he or she is automatically a hero. The leaders could be represented at various levels – local, regional, national, European and global. Depending on the role and the impact of the leaders, some of them are treated positively, while others are discussed from a negative perspective. The national heroes, depending of course on the political regime, are treated in a positive way. When the political system and ideology change, the heroes and the anti-heroes change, too. Some former heroes become anti-heroes and vice-versa. The re-modelling of heroes is part of political and social change. This phenomenon is characteristic for all history stages, but it is more sensitive, when recent history is discussed. In Moldovan official documents (curricula and programs) and History textbooks the words *leader*, *president*, or *historical personality* are used quite often.

The 2010 and 2012 changes in the History curriculum are based on general competences and on the skills specific for the History discipline for secondary school and high school. They focus on understanding time, space, knowledge and interpretation of various sources, assessing the cause-effect relationships, critical analysis of historical events and facts, impact of the historical events on the respective societies, etc.<sup>9</sup> For each grade, sub-competences are required. Among them, there is the issue of analysing the activity of historical personalities from each period (Antiquity, Middle Ages, Modern and Contemporary periods). Both documents give some content and activities-related suggestions, but the curriculum for secondary school is focused on a chronological presentation, while the high school curriculum focuses on national and global historical problems. Contemporary history is studied in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade and the 12<sup>th</sup> grade.

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<sup>9</sup> N. Chicuș, I. Șarov, N. Petrovschi, T. Tverdohleb-Nagnibeda, I. Eremia, S. Musteață, D. Buga, *Istorie. Curriculum pentru clasele a X-a - a XII-a*. Chișinău: Știința, 2010. N. Chicuș, I. Șarov, N. Petrovschi, T. Tverdohleb-Nagnibeda, I. Eremia, S. Musteață, D. Buga, *Istorie. Curriculum pentru învățământul gimnazial (clasele V-IX)*. Chișinău, 2010.

*Secondary school.* The curriculum for the 9<sup>th</sup> grade includes the rubric of *Historical personalities* and suggests to present the role of leaders in contemporary history by using dictionaries, collections of documents, encyclopaedias, etc.; assuming the role of historic personality and giving some comments or constructing a discourse; debating the cases of stereotypes and prejudices; making a portrait of an efficient leader in the class, school, community and country. History is part of the final secondary school exams and has its own program. Within the curriculum, one specific objective is directly related to historical leaders - to identify the role of historical figures in relation to historical events, based on the interpretation of historical sources.<sup>10</sup> The exam is based on contemporary history and includes a list of leaders from national and world history:

**Table 3.** List of historical personalities for final secondary school exam

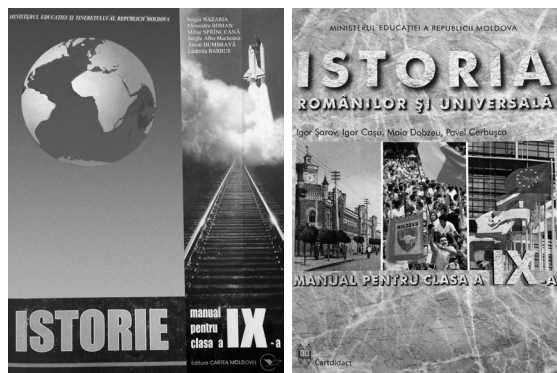
No.	National History	World history
1.	Ion Inculeț	Woodrow Wilson
2.	Pan Halippa	Adolf Hitler
3.	Nicolae Titulescu	Joseph Stalin
4.	Ferdinand I	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
5.	Ion Antonescu	Charles de Gaulle
6.	King Michael	Margaret Thatcher
7.	Mircea Snegur	Mikhail Gorbachev
8.	Maria Cebotari	Albert Einstein
9.	Emil Loteanu	Bill Gates
10.	Maria Bieșu	

The candidates have to describe one of the leaders from this list, which will be included in the final test, or to find the relation between one event/fact and a historical personality. The list of essays includes some historical leaders too, as, e.g., in: “Roosevelt’s New Deal as a model of fighting an economic crisis” or “Remarkable personalities in the culture and science of our country during 1940-2000”. At the same time, in each essay students have to pay attention at least to one leader and to his role in the analysed events.

For a better understanding of the situation concerning leaders we have to analyse the 9<sup>th</sup> grade History textbooks. During the past decade in Moldova a few textbooks have been used. One of these was approved and recommended by the Ministry of Education during 2006-2009, but with reservations and

<sup>10</sup> C. Lungu, I. Șarov, T. Mistreanu, G. Gumen, *Istoria românilor și universală. Programa pentru examene pentru absolvirea gimnaziului*. Chișinău: Ministerul Educației, 2012.





**Fig. 1.** Covers of the 9th grade history textbooks (2006 and 2013 editions)

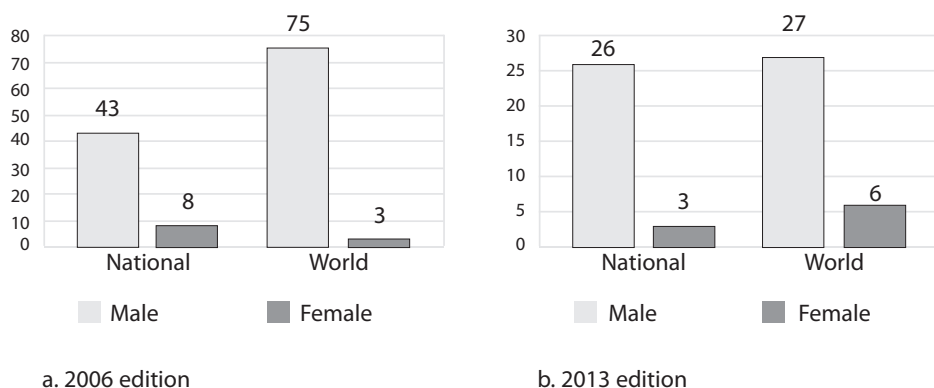
critical remarks, because it was written during the Communist Government and mostly from a Soviet historiographical perspective. Other alternative textbooks were also used during the last several years. Since 2013 we have had a new textbook based on the 2012 History curriculum, which is better evaluated by teachers than the previous one. However, some

critical positions are still expressed. The textbook examines a number of national, European and world leaders. Depending on their role, impact and the concrete circumstances, these leaders are presented from a positive or a negative perspective. Fig. 1.

*Images of leaders in textbooks.* First of all, each image is a human product; secondly, it reflects different historical evidence. How should we treat an image used in a textbook: as complementary information for texts or as a simple illustration? Any image is an important historical source, reflecting some narratives which should be carefully selected and integrated in the context of the debated question. Usually, the main question of the textbooks' authors and editors is how to choose the right and the most representative images. One of the best works on using images as historical evidence belongs to P. Burke, who analysed images from different perspectives: images of the sacred, images of power, images of society, images of events, etc. Usually the photographs and portraits reflect the real situations better than other categories of images. However, we have to select carefully such kinds of images as well, because, as Giovanni Morelli observes: "While photographs may not lie, liars may photograph".<sup>11</sup> In cases of portraits, the subjectivity is more present, including painting and photography, because they depend on political and religious discourses. The "cult of images" is often used in public spaces in order to spread knowledge, build and maintain a political regime, an authoritarian leader, a religion, etc. During the totalitarian regimes, portraits were part of official ideology and propaganda, reflecting the power of leaders. During the democratic regimes, the situation was not very different.

<sup>11</sup> P. Burke, *Eye witnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, London, Reaction Books, 2001, 21.

Both 9<sup>th</sup> grade History textbooks are dominated, in general, by pictures representing males, and especially by male portraits. The 2006 edition contains 129 portraits, of which 78 represent world leaders and 49 national (Moldovan and Romanian) leaders; just three females are depicted at the world level and eight at the national level. In the 2013 textbook edition over 60 portraits are included- 29 national and 33 world leaders are presented; 53 represent male leaders and just nine - female examples (Diagram 1).



**Diagram 1.** Distribution of number of portraits in the 9th grade History textbook

The totalitarian leaders are presented more frequently than others. In both editions, Lenin is mentioned six times in the text and twice in the picture. In the 2003 textbook edition, he is mentioned as a leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, and in the 2013 textbook - as a Bolshevik leader who set up a dictatorial regime.

The subjects of unification of Bessarabia with Romania in 1918 and Bessarabia's annexation by the USSR in 1940 are debated from various points of view, emphasizing the topics of liberation versus occupation. The leaders of this period are presented, of course, from various perspectives. A special situation concerns the local Soviet leaders who supported the Bolshevik plans for the creation of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1924 and took an active part in preparing the Soviet invasion of Romania and the occupation of Bessarabia, as a result of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. In the 2006 textbook Gr. Kotovskii, S. Lazo, I. Iakir are presented as Bolshevik leaders, while M. Frunze is described as one of the leaders of the Soviet state with Moldovan origins.<sup>12</sup> This approach was traditionally used in Soviet historiography and textbooks, when these leaders were presented as heroes. Fig. 2 However, the authors of the 2013 textbook discuss Kotovskii among other during Tsarist Russia who

<sup>12</sup> Nazaria et al., *Istorie. Epoca contemporană...*, 26-28.



Fig. 2. M. Frunze (2006 edition, 9<sup>th</sup> grade, p. 28)

became Bolshevik leaders in Transnistria and founders of the MASSR<sup>13</sup>. The Bessarabian leaders who participated in the unification process of 1918, such as I. Incuț, P. Halippa, C. Stere, are presented as “the most prominent personalities, who contributed to the consolidation of the political system in Bessarabia”.<sup>14</sup> The role of other Romanian political leaders is mentioned, too (T. Ionescu, A. Averescu, I.I.C. Bratianu, I. Maniu). The kings Ferdinand I, Carol II, and Michael I were part of political life of Romania, and the textbooks briefly present their contribution. However, each case is presented depending on the concrete circumstances. For example, it is asserted that Carol II lost his popularity after 1938 as a result of the instauration of personal dictatorship, and in 1940 he left the country. Carol II is accused of granting dictatorial powers to Antonescu, who later brought to power the Iron Guard. Some questions focus on the role of the monarchy in Romania’s political life<sup>15</sup>. Among leaders of the interwar period, both textbooks present the top US (W. Wilson, W. Harding, C. Coolidge, H. Hoover, F. Roosevelt) and European leaders (N. Chamberlain, W. Churchill). N. Titulescu is presented as one of the prominent Romanian diplomats and leaders of the League of Nations. M. Litvinov, a Soviet diplomat, is presented from a similar perspective, as one of the supporters of collective security policy and of the consolidation of relations between the USSR, France and England.<sup>16</sup>

Stalin and Hitler are very often presented both in the main text and in pictures. From a comparative perspective, Stalin is mentioned 19 times and Hitler - 24 times in the 2006 edition, but in the 2013 edition Stalin is mentioned 21 times and Hitler - 20 times (Diagram 1). Both leaders are presented mostly from a negative perspective, being accused of causing millions of victims. Fig. 3 Even though they are debated in the framework of broader themes, like totalitarian regimes, I think there is occasionally an abundance of the names and pictures of these leaders. For example, on page 16 of the 2013 textbook, Lenin

<sup>13</sup> Șarov et al., *Istoria românilor și universală...*, 38.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, 36.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, 33.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, 44.

is mentioned five times, Stalin – three times, and one picture represents both leaders. In the same textbook, Hitler is mentioned 4 times on page 14, Mussolini – 5 times, while two pictures of these leaders are included on page 23. Hitler is mentioned eight times and is on one picture. The same situation is valid for Antonescu as Romanian Leader and Hitler’s ally. He is mentioned eight times and features in one picture at page 64 (2013 textbook). Stalin is presented in both textbooks as a leader who controlled all power in the USSR and established a regime based on terror and dictatorship. Fig. 4 All heads of movements, countries or committees from left-wing or right-wing parties are treated as leaders. There is no difference between the meaning of “positive leader” or “negative leader”. Extremists are presented as leaders, too – C.Z. Codreanu, the Iron Guard leader, B. Mussolini, leader of the Italian fascists, etc. Among totalitarian leaders in both textbooks Mao Zedong, Francisco Franco, I.B. Tito, Fidel Castro, Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, S. Khrushchev, L. Brezhnev, N. Ceaușescu, etc. are included.

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), numele de familie originar este Ulianov. Revoluționar rus care a condus partidul bolșevic. Corpul lui neînsuflețit se află în Mausoleul din Moscova.

Iosif Stalin (1878-1953) a fost un revoluționar și conducător politic sovietic. Stalin a devenit secretar general al PCUS în 1922, consolidându-și pe deplin autoritatea în perioada de represiune cruntă al cărei apogeu a fost atins în 1937-1938.

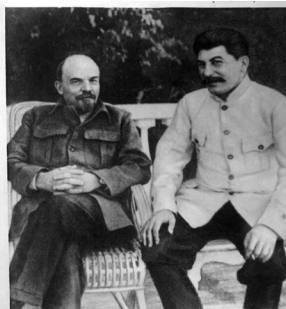


Fig. 3. Lenin and Stalin (2013 edition, 9<sup>th</sup> grade, p. 16)

**Adolf Hitler** (1889-1945), om politic, lider al Partidului Național Socialist al Muncitorilor din Germania. A dus o politică de pregătire și de declanșare a celui de al Doilea Război Mondial. Devenind dictator, a pus în aplicare planul naționalist și rasist de exterminare în masă a altor națiuni.

Consideri că venirea la putere a unei persoane ca Hitler a fost un imperativ al timpului său o întâmplare? Argumentează-ți opinia.

**Benito Mussolini** (1883-1945) a fost conducătorul Italiei între anii 1922 și 1943. A creat un stat fascist, care promova oficial propaganda extremistă și teroarea. Folosindu-și carisma, controlul total al mediei și intimidarea rivalilor politici, a ruinat sistemul democratic de guvernare existent. Intrarea în cel de-al Doilea Război Mondial alături de Germania lui Hitler a făcut din Italia o țintă a atacurilor Aliatilor, ceea ce a dus, în final, la căderea și moartea lui Mussolini.

Explică rolul lui B. Mussolini în instaurarea regimului totalitar în Italia interbelică.

Fig. 4. Hitler and Mussolini (2013 edition, 9<sup>th</sup> grade, p. 14)

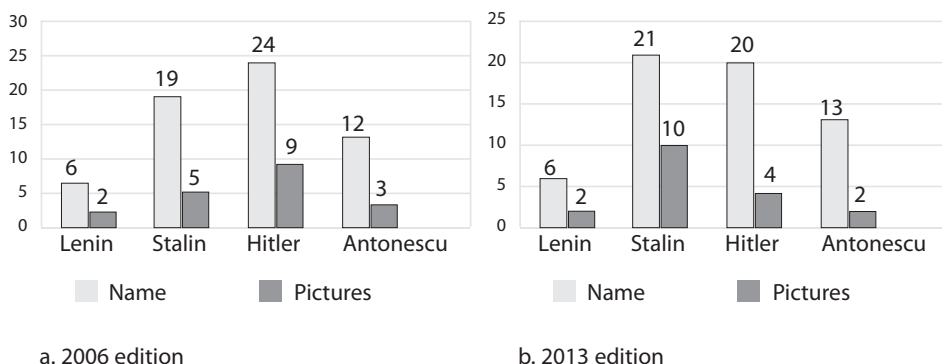


Diagram 2. Statistics of names and pictures of Lenin, Stalin, Hitler and Antonescu used in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade History textbooks



In the 2006 edition, in the context of World War II, the authors are trying to discuss models of heroes by presenting a case of “Heroic deed of sailors from the S-13 submarine in 1945,” featuring the Moldovan A. Marinescu as a member of the team (Nazaria et al., 2006), 149. Moldovan textbooks, in general, are not discussing World War II veterans, but the changing attitudes and historiography in some post-soviet countries are very well pointed out by J.G. Janmaat “... the new historiographies are perceived as an insult because they degrade the status of Soviet army veterans. They used to be portrayed as soldiers who ‘courageously fought to liberate Ukraine from fascist occupation,’ but are now presented as soldiers who ‘contributed to the reinstatement of a foreign and oppressive regime that denied the Ukrainian nation its sacred right to self-determination’.”<sup>17</sup>

In chapters dedicated to culture, some cultural personalities, such as Ch. Chaplin, are briefly described or just mentioned. Chaplin is depicted as “one of the most famous actors, idol of people on all continents”; L. Armstrong is described as a “pioneer of improvisation in jazz and swing style.” Some Romanians scholars - M. Eliade, L. Blaga, C. Noica, C. Brâncuși, N. Iorga, etc – are also included as relevant examples. People with Bessarabian origins are described too – M. Ciobanu, Al. Plămădeală, Al. Boldur, I. Nistor, etc. Unfortunately, the role of culture is still seldom discussed in History textbooks, and in this context cultural leading figures are underestimated.

The leaders from the Cold War era are presented according to the circumstances of the political regimes and the competition between East and West – S. Khrushchev vs. J. Kennedy, L. Brezhnev vs. J. Carter, etc. K. Adenauer is described as a successful leader due to his “economic miracle” of rebuilding Germany. W. Brandt is viewed as an initiator of “Ostpolitik” which led to the opening of relations with Socialist countries. The role of French leaders, Ch. De Gaulle, J.M Le Pen and F. Mitterrand, is shortly presented. For the first time in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade History textbook a woman-leader is presented – M. Thatcher, but in a very general UK political and economic context. One of the last topics from the 2013 textbook is dedicated to the “Role of women in contemporary history.” In this section, several women leaders are presented – Romanian Queen Marie (called mother of wounded for her charitable activity during World War I), M. Thatcher (first woman a prime-minister in Europe and an Iron lady), I. Gandhi (first woman prime-minister in Asia), B. Bhutto (first woman prime-minister in an Islamic country), Mother Teresa (as one of the most active leaders who

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<sup>17</sup> J.G. Janmaat, *Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Ukraine. Educational Policy and the Response of the Russian-Speaking Population*. Utrecht: Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2000, 101.



supported the sick and the poor ), and Marie Curie (one of the best scholars).<sup>18</sup> From the national point of view, in the context of culture, doctor N. Testimianu, opera singer M. Bieșu, actor M. Volontir, filmmaker E. Loteanu, etc., are mentioned and presented as prominent figures.

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej and N. Ceausescu are described as Romanian communist leaders who eliminated rivals and established a totalitarian system. In this context, the Romanian dissident movement and some opposition leaders – P. Goma, D. Cornea, M. Dinescu, A. Blandiana, are mentioned. In the context of the collapse of totalitarian regimes and the USSR, G. Bush, M. Gorbachev, H. Kohl, etc., are mentioned.

The last chapters from the textbooks are dedicated to independent Moldova and, in this general context, to the Moldovan presidents – M. Snegur, P. Lucinschi, V. Voronin, N. Timofti, as well as the two ad interim presidents M. Ghimpu and M. Lupu. However, nothing is said about their contribution. The authors of the 2006 History textbook are trying to highlight the role of two Moldovan presidents. P. Lucinschi is presented on four pictures and Voronin three times, mostly together with other world leaders such as S. Berlusconi, V. Putin, G. Bush. From one point of view, it is good that presidents are not praised too much, but from another point of view we see that Moldova has had weak leaders during the past 25 years.

Thus, the current 9<sup>th</sup> grade History textbook is not based on a discourse privileging leaders and heroes. Most of political and cultural personalities are presented in the context of the larger debated themes, problems and events. Some of them are discussed in too much detail, others much less. It is not easy to find a balanced discourse, even if some general rules are established by the curriculum. The role of history educators in the teaching process is very important, and they could suggest a better selection of leaders or discuss the role of some heroes from a comparative and critical perspective.

*High school.* For the 12<sup>th</sup> grade, the History curriculum suggests the following topics and activities: democratic, totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, World War II, Cold War, International relations, Economy and social life in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. And early 21<sup>st</sup> c., collective identities and nationalisms, culture, global issues, etc. The suggested activities include critical analysis of historical sources, writing essays on the activity of some leaders, presentations concerning the life and activity of historical personalities, debates on controversial issues.<sup>19</sup> The national history curriculum is not suggesting concrete names of the leaders or heroes. However, the authors of History textbooks are selecting the appropriate

<sup>18</sup> Șarov et al., *Istoria românilor și universală...*, 108-109.

<sup>19</sup> Chicuş et al., *Istorie. Curriculum pentru clasele a X-a - a XII-a...*





leaders or heroes to include in the books, according to the Curriculum and to the general content suggestions. I think this is a subjective approach, because each editorial team and publishing house try to present their own view on historical leaders. The Program of History for the final exam (12<sup>th</sup> grade) is more specific and includes a selective list of about 40 national and world leaders:

**Table 4.** List of historical personalities for the final High School exam

No.	National History	World history
	<b>Antiquity</b>	
1.	Burebista	Pericles
2.	Decebal	Trajan
3.	*Deceneu	Alexander the Great
4.		*Constantine the Great
	<b>Middle Ages</b>	
5.	Stephen the Great	*Charlemagne
6.	Vasile Lupu	Christopher Columbus
7.	Michael the Brave	Louis XIV
8.	*Matei Basarab	Mehmet II the Conqueror
9.	<b>Modern period</b>	
10.	*Constantine Mavrocordat	Peter the Great
11.	Dimitrie Cantemir	George Washington
12.	Alexandru Ioan Cuza	Otto von Bismarck
13.	Carol I Hohenzollern Sigmaringen	Napoleon Bonaparte
14.	*Gavriil Banulescu-Bodoni	Queen Victoria
15.		*Alexander II
16.		*Abraham Lincoln
17.	<b>Contemporary period</b>	
18.	Ferdinand I	Charles de Gaulle
19.	*Ion Inuleț	Joseph Stalin
20.	Nicolae Titulescu	*F.D. Roosevelt
21.	*Nicolae Iorga	Winston Churchill
22.	Nicolae Ceaușescu	*Margaret Thatcher
23.	Grigore Vieru	Mikhail Gorbachev

**Note:** Leaders marked with asterisk (\*) are just for candidates from Humanities and Arts high schools.

– Humanities, Arts high schools - 18 leaders from national history and 21 leaders from World history.

– Science, sport, technological high schools - 12 leaders from national history and 14 leaders from World history.

Among various competences and skills, the candidates have to demonstrate special competences on knowledge related to the interpretation and argumentation of the behaviour of historical leaders. At the end of High school,

students should know how to analyse the activity of leaders in the context of historical processes and phenomena. A candidate has to demonstrate at the final exam the following skills: mention events in which a certain leader was involved, explain the role and impact of the leader on historical events, provide a critical analysis of the leader's activity.<sup>20</sup>

The situation concerning presenting leaders in the national and world History textbooks as separate disciplines (2001-2006) is different from the case of the common textbook (2013). Fig. 5. In the 2006 textbooks, the number of portraits of leaders is double in comparison with the 2013 edition – 63 national and 56 world leaders vs. 35 national and 31 world leaders. Among national and world leaders, the number of women is very small. In the 2006 edition, at the national level, just three women are mentioned, while at the world level – two women. In the 2013 edition the situation is somewhat different – at the national level, 6 women are mentioned, and 4 women are included at the world level (Diagram 3).

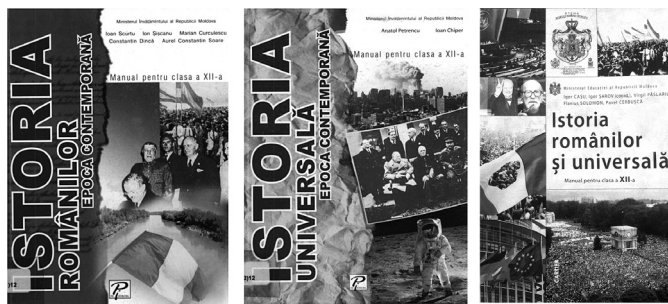


Fig. 5. Covers of the 12<sup>th</sup> grade history textbooks (2006 and 2013 editions)

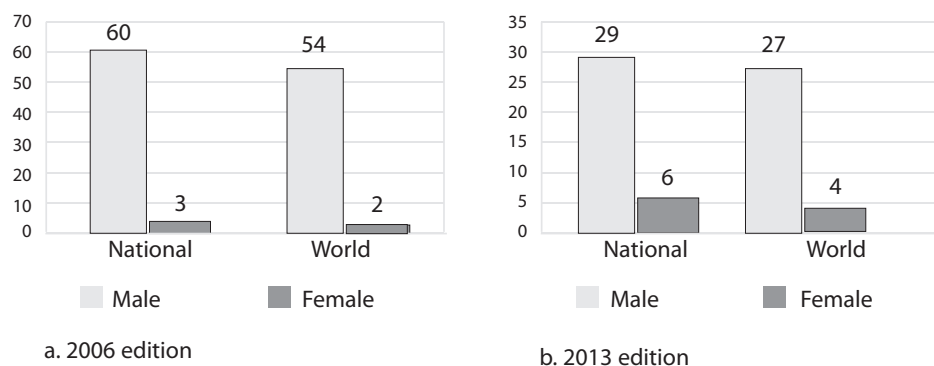


Diagram 3. Distribution of the number of portraits in the 12th grade History textbooks

<sup>20</sup> C. Lungu, D. Dragnev, T. Mistreanu, R. Neaga, T. Țîmbalari, G. Gumen, *Istoria românilor și universală. Programa pentru examenul de bacalaureat, sesiunea de examene 2013*. Chișinău: Ministerul Educației, 2012.



Nicolae Titulescu  
(1882–1941)

Cel mai mare diplomat român din perioada interbelică și unul dintre cei mai iluștri oameni politici ai Europei. S-a remarcat cu deosebire la Societatea Națiunilor, organizație internațională cu sediul la Geneva.

S-a născut la Craiova în 1882; a absolvit Facultatea de Drept din Paris, după care a devenit profesor la Universitatea din Iași (1906), apoi la Universitatea din București (1909). S-a înscris în Partidul Conservator-Democrat condus de Take Ionescu, fiind ales deputat în 1912. În anii 1920–1921 a fost ministru de Finanțe în Guvernul Averescu. A făcut parte din delegația României la Conferința de Pace de la Paris (1919–1920) și a semnat Tratatul de la Trianon (4 iunie 1920). A fost ministru plenipotențiar la Londra și reprezentantul României la Societatea Națiunilor, remarcându-se prin claritatea ideilor și fermitatea pledoariilor sale pentru pace. A îndeplinit funcția de ministru de Externe al României în anii 1927–1928 și 1932–1936.

**Fig. 6.** N. Titulescu (2006 edition, 12<sup>th</sup> grade, *History of Romanians*, p. 55)

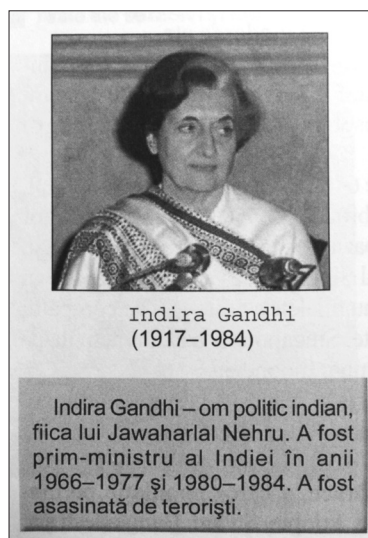
In the 2006 textbooks, the information about national and world leaders is presented in more detail than in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade textbooks. Usually, the picture of a leader is followed by a short information sketch about his/her background, ideas, actions, etc. This style is characteristic for both textbooks and for all leaders (dictators, democrats, etc.). Of course, more space is given to dictatorial leaders like Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Antonescu. Also, this textbook offers information on other world leaders, like Kim Il Sung, Mao Zedong, Salvador Allende, I.B. Tito, etc. An exception in this sense is N. Titulescu, Foreign Minister of Romania during the interwar period (between 1927–1928 and 1932–1936). His portrait appears seven times in the *History of Romanians* textbook and once in the *World History* textbook. In the national *History* textbook a special chapter is dedicated to the leader “Nicolae Titulescu, an outstanding personality of European diplomacy,”<sup>21</sup> and he is viewed as the greatest Romanian diplomat from the interwar period. Fig. 6. Titulescu played an important role in the peace building process during the interwar period, especially as one of the leaders of the League of Nations. He succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations between Romania and the USSR. When he was sacked from his position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in August 1936, Soviet leaders evaluated this situation as a change of Romanian foreign policy and stopped all negotiations with Romania.<sup>22</sup> General Antonescu is largely presented in this textbook as a leader of an authoritarian regime who es-

<sup>21</sup> Scurtu et al., *Istoria românilor. Epoca contemporană...*, 55–59.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, 52.

tablished a military dictatorship and who was one of Hitler's allies.<sup>23</sup> In the context of World War II, military figures are also described, like C.G. Mannerheim, R. Graziani, G.S Patton, B. Montgomery.<sup>24</sup> The Cold War era is described in terms of the competition between two different political and military systems, and not so much in terms of leadership roles. A special section is dedicated to the activity of the UN in solving international conflicts and global problems. The role of some UN leaders, like T. Lie, D. Hammarskjöld, K. Annan is emphasized (Petrencu & Chiper, 2006)119-122. Another interesting topic is dedicated to the collapse of the colonial system and to the role of leaders of national liberation movements, e.g. M.K. Gandhi, K. Nkrumah, L.S. Senghor, J. Kenyatta, P. Lumumba, etc.<sup>25</sup> Fig. 7.

The leaders of Soviet Moldavia are presented in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade textbooks in a more detailed manner than in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade textbooks. I. Bodiul, First Secretary of the CC of the Moldavian Communist Party (1961-1980) is depicted as an initiator of the "Moldavian experiment," with a negative impact on the Moldavian society and economy (Scurtu et al., 2006), 119-122. In this textbook some cases of local resistance are discussed as part of the "Anti-Soviet movement in the MSSR" section. The leaders of these groups (active during the 1950s – P. Lungu, I. Moraru, F. Bodiul and during the 1960s – A. Usatiuc, Gh. Ghimpu) are presented as people who fought against the Communist regime and who supported the idea of re-unification with Romania, as well as human rights and freedoms.<sup>26</sup> In this context, the case of Elizabeth Rizea as a "Symbol of anti-Communist peasant resistance" in Romania is described. She was tortured by the Securitate and condemned to 25 years in prison.<sup>27</sup> This case is presented not from a heroic perspective, but to show how badly people suffered during the Communist regime if they tried to be in opposition. N. Ceausescu, although presented as a totalitarian leader, is very often described as a leader



**Fig. 7.** Gandhi (2006 edition, 12<sup>th</sup> grade, World history, p. 57)

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, 102-114.

<sup>24</sup> Petrencu & Chiper, *Istoria universală. Epoca contemporană...*

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, 132-137.

<sup>26</sup> Scurtu et al., *Istoria românilor. Epoca contemporană...*, 127-132.

<sup>27</sup> Ibidem, 145.



of Romania who established extensive international relations with Western and Asian countries. The collapse of totalitarian regimes is treated as a result of internal crises and national movements in Socialist countries and the USSR republics. The Republic of Moldova, as an independent country, is represented by presidents as political leaders. The exception is Gh. Ghimpu, one of the leaders of the national movement who placed the national flag (tricolour) on the Parliament building in 1990. This case is used in both editions of textbooks.<sup>28</sup> At the end of the 2006 textbook the 1992 military conflict in Transnistria is discussed. This section also touches upon the sentence of the separatist regime against the Ilascu group, which was condemned by Chisinau officials. The textbook authors consider the Ilascu group as patriots who fought against the separatist regime.<sup>29</sup>

Usually, at the end of textbooks there are sections on culture, where we could see some famous leaders presented as “illustrious scholars”, “spiritual leaders”, e.g., A. Einstein, A. Fleming, F. Kafka, S. Dali, the Dalai-Lama, Lady Diana, The Beatles, etc. From the national perspective, the 2006 textbook describes just the contribution of various writers, artists, singers, scholars from the interwar period, such as St. Ciobanu, A. Dicescu, G. Grosu, C. Stere, etc.

The information about leaders in the 2013 edition of the *History of Romanians and World History* textbook, approved and recommended by the Ministry of Education, which is now used in all High Schools from the Republic of Moldova, is poorer in comparison with the 2006 editions. Probably, this situation arose because national and world histories are compressed in one textbook, and the space is very limited. Leaders are mentioned in the general text, and the portraits are followed by very brief information sketches: usually just names, relevant years and a few words on their activity. For example, “I.V. Stalin, V.I. Lenin, M.I. Kalinin – Bolshevik leaders of Soviet Russia” or “F.D. Roosevelt, president of the USA (1933-1945), democratically elected four times).<sup>30</sup> From the national perspective, most leaders are presented “as politicians” from Bessarabia during the interwar period – P. Halippa, I. Inculeț, I. Pelivan C. Stere.<sup>31</sup> The resistance against the Soviet regime is presented in this textbook, too, and its leaders or the people who protested against the Communist regime are viewed from the perspective of the victim, - how much they suffered being deported, condemned to some years of prison etc. In this context, the case of P. Goma, who was of Bessarabian origin, is described, notably how he protested

<sup>28</sup> Ibidem, 190; Cașu et al., *Istoria românilor și universală...*, 90.

<sup>29</sup> Scurtu et al., *Istoria românilor. Epoca contemporană...*, 200.

<sup>30</sup> Cașu et al., *Istoria românilor și universală...*, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem, 26.



A. Președințiile și guvernele Republicii Moldova		B. Președințiile și guvernele României	
Președinția Mircea Snegur (1990–1996)	Guvernul Druc (mai 1990–mai 1991)	Președinția Ion Iliescu (1990–1996)	Guvernul Petre Roman (26 decembrie 1989–28 iunie 1990)
	Guvernul Muravski (mai 1991–iunie 1992)		Guvernul Petre Roman (28 iunie 1990–16 octombrie 1991)
	Guvernul Sangheli-1 (iulie 1992–aprilie 1994)		Guvernul Theodor Stolojan (16 octombrie 1991–18 noiembrie 1992)
	Guvernul Sangheli-2 (aprilie 1994–ianuarie 1997)		Guvernul Nicolae Văcăroiu (20 noiembrie 1992–11 decembrie 1996)
Președinția Petru Lucinschi (1996–2001)	Guvernul Ciubuc-1 (ianuarie 1997–mai 1998)	Președinția Emil Constantinescu (1996–2000)	Guvernul Victor Ciorbea (12 decembrie 1996–17 aprilie 1998)
	Guvernul Ciubuc-2 (mai 1998–februarie 1999)		Guvernul Radu Vasile (17 aprilie 1998–22 decembrie 1999)
	Guvernul Sturza (februarie 1999–noiembrie 1999)		Guvernul Mugur Isărescu (22 decembrie 1999–28 decembrie 2000)
	Guvernul Braghiș (decembrie 1999–aprilie 2001)		Guvernul Adrian Năstase (28 decembrie 2000–28 decembrie 2004)
Președinția Vladimir Voronin (2001–2009)	Guvernul Tarlev-1 (aprilie 2001–aprilie 2005)	Președinția Ion Iliescu (2000–2004)	Guvernul Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu (29 decembrie 2004–22 decembrie 2008)
	Guvernul Tarlev-2 (aprilie 2005–martie 2008)		Guvernul Emil Boc (1) (22 decembrie 2008–23 decembrie 2009)
	Guvernul Greceanii-1 (martie 2008–iunie 2009)		Guvernul Emil Boc (2) (23 decembrie 2009–9 februarie 2012)
Interimat Mihai Ghimpu (2009–2010)	Guvernul Filat-1 (septembrie 2009–decembrie 2010)	Președinția Traian Băsescu (2004–)	Guvernul Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu (9 februarie 2012–27 aprilie 2012)
	Interimat Marian Lupu (2010–2012) Președinția Nicolae Timofti (martie 2012–)		Guvernul Filat-2 (decembrie 2010–martie 2013)
Guvernul Victor Ponta (2) (21 decembrie 2012–)			

Fig. 8. List of presidents of Moldova and Romania (2013 edition, 12<sup>th</sup> grade, p. 95)

against Ceausescu’s regime in Romania. In the same vein, the case of N. Stanescu and “resistance through culture” is invoked.<sup>32</sup> The leadership of the national movement in Moldova is reduced to the generic ‘Popular Front’ and no specific names are mentioned. The post-totalitarian leaders of Romania and Moldova are treated in a general way. I. Iliescu is characterized (in two quotations) as a person without much courage and discipline.<sup>33</sup> M. Snegur, the first president of the Republic of Moldova, is mentioned a few times as president, but nothing is said about his leadership qualities. P. Lucinschi, V. Voronin and N. Timofti, the other presidents, are briefly mentioned, too. Thus, the presentation of leaders in Moldovan History textbooks differs from one textbook to another, both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view. Fig. 8

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 32-36, 58.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, 91.





## Conclusions

As we could see, the leaders from the 9<sup>th</sup> grade and the 12<sup>th</sup> grade History textbooks are not very differently described. Some small differences exist in the textbooks published under the Communist Government, which are not used any longer. However, the discussion of leaders in recent textbooks (2013 edition) does not differ much from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> grade textbook. Most of the names are repeated. In the 9<sup>th</sup> grade textbook, leaders are presented on 62 portraits, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade textbook - in 66 pictures. The proportion between the national and world leaders is balanced, in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade – 29 national vs. and 33 world leaders, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade – 35 national vs. 31 world leaders (Diagram 1 and 2). The main problem for all textbooks is the proportion between male and female leaders, because women are always underrepresented.

The paradigm of discussing leaders has changed during the past decades, and the heroic factor has been minimalised. However, the process is very slow and sometimes subject to a lot of internal and external criticisms. The changes in the History Curriculum and textbooks in post-soviet countries are criticized by some Russian scholars, who consider that all the new histories of the post-soviet countries are mostly falsified and oriented against Russia. If something is written today against the Russian Empire or the USSR, Russians consider that this is against the current Russian state, viewing it as an emergency for national security.<sup>34</sup> In this general context, I think the suggestion by Ju. A. Boldyrev is very timely – “if Russian scholarship was able to disassociate communism and Stalin from Russia, it would be a victory for all...”.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> A.A. Danilov, A.V. Filippov, (Eds.), *Osveščenie obščej istorii Rossii i narodov postsovetskich stran v škol'nykh učebnikach novykh nezavisimyh gosudarstv*. Moskva, 2009, 7-8, 35; T.S. Guzenkova, “Svoja vojna” (Velikaja Otečestvennaja vojna v učebnikach istorii i predstavlenija škol'nikov Rossii, Belorusii, Ukrainy i Pridnestrov'ja). In T. S. Guzenkova & V. N. Filjanova (Eds.), *Vtoraja mirovaja i Velikaja Otečestvennaja vojny v učebnikach istorii stran SNG i ES: problemy, podchody, interpretacii* (Moskva, 8-9 aprilja 2010 g.): *materialy meždunarodnoj konferencii* (pp. 13-25). Moskva: Rossijskij institut strategičeskich issledovanij, 2010, 15-16; I.S. Šiškin, Fal'sifikacija istorii velikoj otečestvennoj vojny v učebnikach i process nacional'no-gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva na postsovetskom prostranstve. In T. S. Guzenkova & V. N. Filjanova (Eds.), *Vtoraja mirovaja i Velikaja Otečestvennaja vojny v učebnikach istorii stran SNG i ES: problemy, podchody, interpretacii* (Moskva, 8-9 aprilja 2010 g.): *materialy meždunarodnoj konferencii* (pp. 190-196). Moskva: Rossijskij institut strategičeskich issledovanij, 2010, 190-196; V.A. Piroženko, Fal'sifikacija istorii vtoroj mirovoj vojny i ideologija etničeskogo nacionalizma v istoričeskom obrazovanii na Ukraine. In T. S. Guzenkova & V. N. Filjanova (Eds.), *Vtoraja mirovaja i Velikaja Otečestvennaja vojny v učebnikach istorii stran SNG i ES: problemy, podchody, interpretacii* (Moskva, 8-9 aprilja 2010 g.): *materialy meždunarodnoj konferencii* (pp. 240-246). Moskva: Rossijskij institut strategičeskich issledovanij, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> J.A. Boldyreev, Političeskie processy i novye tendencii v interpretacii Ukrainskoj istorii. In T. S.

In conclusion, the Curriculum and the textbook production in Moldova still remain centralised. The textbooks are produced by state and private publishing houses. All textbooks are curriculum-based and are developed according to the guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education. Through the textbook publishing policy, the Ministry of Education controls the content and the quality of textbooks.

History textbooks play an important role in the process of history education. The content of textbooks determines, in many cases, students' attitudes to the past and to former and current leaders. In order to improve the situation in History teaching, there is a great need for common efforts by politicians, professionals and civil society in Moldova. Only in this way Moldova might reach one of the objectives established by the UNESCO International Commission on Education for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: "learning to live together by developing and understanding of others and their history, traditions and spiritual values."<sup>36</sup> Moldova should also follow the recommendations of the Council of Europe and the European Union, which aim to fight intolerance and stereotypes about "the others" through intercultural learning.<sup>37</sup>

## Rezumat

**Cuvinte-cheie:** învățământ istoric, manuale, Republica Moldova, lideri politici, secolul al XX-lea

Principala întrebare de cercetare a acestui articol este următoarea: *Cum sunt tratați și interpretați liderii politici din secolul al XX-lea în manualele de istorie publicate în Republica Moldova pe parcursul ultimului deceniu?* Manualele respective reflectă, în mare parte, curriculum-ul școlar la disciplina Istorie. În consecință, analiza începe cu discutarea acestui document și a conținuturilor acestuia în ceea ce privește liderii și eroii. Sursele principale ale cercetării sunt manualele de istorie publicate în Moldova pe parcursul ultimului deceniu, în cuprinsul cărora sunt dezbătute evenimentele secolului al XX-lea. Articolul analizează modul în care sunt tratați liderii politici naționali, europeni și mondiali în manualele de istorie din Moldova, precum și felul în care

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Guzenkova & V. N. Filjanova (Eds.), *Vtoraja mirovaja i Velikaja Otečestvennaja vojny v učebnikach istorii stran SNG i ES: problemy, podchody, interpretacii* (Moskva, 8-9 aprilja 2010 g.): *materialy mezhdunarodnoj konferencii* (pp. 185-189). Moskva: Rossijskij institut strategičeskich issledovanij, 2010, 188.

<sup>36</sup> Learning: The Treasure Within. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century. Paris: UNESCO, 1996, 22.

<sup>37</sup> L.O. Mogensen, Learning to be of culture or learning to increase participation? In G. Tittley & A. Lentin (Eds.), *The politics of diversity in Europe* (pp. 155-166). Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2008, 155.



se modifică discursurile și paradigmele de interpretare, în dependență de regimul politic. Pe baza metodelor de analiză cantitativă și calitativă, au fost formulate anumite concluzii în privința diverșilor lideri politici, precum ar fi, de exemplu, Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Antonescu sau conducători din epoca Războiului Rece. La sfârșitul articolului, sunt prezentați pe scurt și liderii Moldovei independente. Ca urmare a acestei analize, am reușit să vedem, cum sunt prezentați liderii politici în manualele din Republica Moldova și am ajuns la concluzia, că decidenții politici, autorii manualelor și editurile de profil ar trebui să acorde mai multă atenție acestui subiect.