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WE AND OUR NEIGHBOURS: WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT EACH OTHER. HISTORY TEACHING AND TEXTBOOKS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AND ROMANIA

Abstract

The aim of this work is to evaluate the post-socialist history taught in secondary schools, giving particular attention to the content of the history textbooks in two neighbouring countries. So, the main research question is *what do we know about each other from history classes and textbooks from the Republic of Moldova and Romania?* The issue of treating each other in history textbooks in different historical periods in Moldova and Romania is analyzed in a comparative perspective in two different parts. The paper ends with conclusions and some recommendations addressed to the Governments of both countries that could be useful in building an open and durable partnership on history teaching.

Keywords: 'We', Others, Neighbours, History teaching, Textbooks, Moldova, Romania.

Introduction

In most countries history is considered a fundamental discipline for promoting intellectual development and creating cultural and social identity.¹ It is true that history helps us develop critical skills, understand historical dimensions of the present and see differences and similarities between cultures, ethnicities and civilizations. Nevertheless, today history as a science and as school discipline is very much politicized. In Western and Central Europe the issue of *depolitization* of school subjects has always found a considerable resonance. Numerous studies have been published on this topic, providing comparisons between different countries

and historical periods. In Eastern Europe the culture of *depolitization* of school subjects, in particular 'History', has not evolved so much. On the contrary, every 'differently' oriented government of the Republic of Moldova or Romania has had different approaches in what concerns the structure and organization of this school subject. Both countries inherited from the communist era the tendency for glorification. The process of rewriting history and school textbooks had been dominated during the soviet era by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, interpretation and invention of historical facts. History was used to accuse, to defame, to mobilize or to justify; it was repeatedly used as a mobilization resource in the political struggle to control the masses.

The collapse of the totalitarian regimes at the end of 1980s and of the USSR in 1991 provoked a lot of changes in all former socialist countries and Soviet republics, which became independent states. The educational reform was one of the democratic changes that took place. With the help of different international organizations (World Bank, Council of Europe, OSCE, etc.) a process of fundamental educational reforms has begun, including history as a school discipline. The formation of the democratic societies took place at a highway speed. The intensity of the political, economic and social reforms had direct impact on the educational restructuring. After the events from 1991 most of the Soviet citizens, who became post-Soviet ones, underwent a kind of a cultural shock that provoked an identity crisis. Some of them are refusing to accept these changes until today. After two decades of democratic transformations many questions regarding their efficiency were raised:

Sources

History teaching and textbook production is now influenced by various factors, not only conventional ones, such as educational policies, educational ideas, academic knowledge, editorial exercise, production quality and costs but also increasing teachers', parents', pupils' expectations, media pressure and public requirements of what kind of history should be taught in schools. The main research sources for my project were the school history curricula and textbooks from Moldova and Romania approved and published in the last 20 years. Most of textbooks give the impression of neutral teaching, but it is not true, they are more or less influenced and used as ideological tools for legitimizing the political

order.² This situation is more visible in the countries where the state controls the education and where the government decides what to be included in or excluded from the curricula and textbooks. So, the research and evaluation of school curricula and textbooks is more than welcome as it aims to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the textbooks, and to eliminate “negative” features (errors, distortions, prejudices, clichés, etc.).³ This is why textbook analysis ought to become an integral part of the reform and development of educational systems.

Methodology

A variety of methods regarding textbook analysis are used in practice; a combined approach is frequently used, which ensures a higher level of objectivity of the results. Textbook analysis should include all the components of a textbook; not only its textual side, since the didactic, pictorial, graphical and technical aspects of textbooks represent a whole, a message the textbook communicates to students and teachers.⁴ The quality of a textbook depends to a large extent on the political and socio-economic realities in a specific country. The quality of textbooks also depends on a number of factors which are part of the development, selection, approval and recommendation of a textbook to be used, disseminated, analysed, etc.⁵ Thus, the quality of a textbook is dependent on the quality and attitude of the people involved in the process. So, during my research two main methods were used – quantitative and qualitative. The quantity methods include data collection on curriculum and textbooks contents (how many changes in the school curricula; how many books) or (how often is presented each country in other neighbouring history textbook, “We” and “Others”, etc.). The qualitative methods provided the analysis of the development of transformation process of history curricula, textbooks writing, textbook content (descriptive parts, pictures, maps, documents), etc. based on a list of criteria,⁶ for example – how the concepts of “hostile”,⁷ “neighbour”, “alien”, etc. are presented or how controversial issues (unsolved political problems: borders, minority rights, wars, ethnogenesis, statehood, etc.) are treated. Other important method which was used during my research is the interviews with teachers, inspectors from Public Administration, from the Ministry of Education, textbook authors, editors, etc.

REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

The Education in Moldova nowadays is divided in two: one is national, according to the Republic of Moldova legal framework, and the other is in Transnistria, under the separatist regime's rules. The educational system in the Republic of Moldova is based on three main stages: elementary school (1-4 grades, 6/7 - 10/11 ages), secondary school/gymnasium (5-9 grades, 11/12-15/16 ages) and high school/lyceum (10-12 grades, 16/17-19/20 ages). The first two stages are compulsory (elementary and secondary school, 1-9 grades).

Following the collapse of USSR, history education in Moldova has been characterised by permanent public debates, including street protests (1995, 2002, 2006).⁸ 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 *History of the USSR* and *History of the MSSR* courses with *World History* and *History of the Romanians*. But, the accession to power of the Agrarian Party in 1994 resuscitated the discussion around language and history. The Agrarians' promotion of the "Moldovenism" policy led to increased tensions inside the country and a change in the Constitution, declaring the Moldovan (as opposed to Romanian) language as the official language of Moldova. During this period, the political debate around the school subjects of Romanian language and history became extremely intense. In March 1995, the Government of the Republic of Moldova made the decision to exclude the *History of the Romanians* course from schools. This provoked huge street demonstrations that lasted for two months. After long negotiations, the president issued a decree that established a moratorium on this issue. The *World History* and *History of the Romanians* disciplines were reinstated into the national curriculum. Later, the Government of the Republic of Moldova approved national curricula for the two subjects of history and the corresponding school textbooks. After the general elections of February 2001, the Communist Party came to power, reigniting the debate around history education between historians and the government and bringing this issue again into public view. The communist government has been trying hard to change the name and content of the *History of the Romanians* course into *History of Moldova*; after new street demonstrations (January-February 2002) and seminars (in September 2002 and February and October 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 national and world history in a single discipline, reappeared. The idea of a course of integrated history is not new in Moldova: in 1994, a textbook of (integrated) ancient history was published for the 5th grade which was full with conceptual, scientific, and methodological errors and triggered severe criticism in academic circles, schools, and mass media. Even though the Ministry of Education distributed this textbook, it remained practically unused because it was largely plagiarized from other history textbooks and because the topic of ancient national history, in the context of ancient world history was allotted only a few pages.

Therefore, many historians from Moldova were sceptical about the resurrection of an integrated history textbook and viewed this as an attempt by the Communist Party to continue the tradition of Soviet historiography concerning the Moldovan nation and language – an effort to further develop the fabricated identity of the Moldovan state and nation as separate from the Romanian one. The new administration's policy included both internal and external measures to promote a Moldovan identity. As a result, the relations between Moldova and Romania chilled between 2001 and 2004 and the Chișinău government refused to sign agreements of cultural cooperation and ignored scholarships offered by Romania to Moldovan children and students. Internally, the focus of this campaign was the opposition towards the *History of the Romanians* course, using arguments such as “this is the history of another country”, that teaching it “undermines Moldova's statehood”, that “our children don't study enough of the history of their native communities”, etc.⁹ With these arguments, the communist authorities tried to gain support from various international governmental and non-governmental organizations in order to justify changes to the history curricula and textbooks.

Civil society, in general, and the academic community, in particular, have opposed political involvement in history education. Therefore, at the Congress of the Historians of Moldova, held on July 1 2001 in Chișinău, university professors, schoolteachers of history, scientists, intellectuals, and students from various universities protested against the communist government's attempt to replace the *History of the Romanians* course. The Congress adopted the declaration *For the Defence of National Dignity, Cessation of Romanophobia and Vilification of the History of the Romanians*. The participants at the Congress also asked the leadership of Moldova to stop their campaign against the course of *History of the Romanians* and stop exercising political pressure on historians. In this

way, the intellectual community of Moldova tried to defend the legitimacy of its Romanian history and identity. In November 2001, the leadership of the Historians' Association of Moldova published also a declaration condemning the pressure from central authorities to introduce a course on the *History of Moldova*. They drew the public's attention to the fact that such actions were pursued with the only aim to use history for the promotion of the ideological interests of the Communist Party of Moldova.

In another controversial decision in the late 2001, the communist government reintroduced Russian language as a compulsory school subject, to be taught starting from the second grade. This triggered major protests by parents, teachers, pupils, and the public. During this period of rallies in downtown Chişinău, a small group of people demanded the president of Moldova to introduce without delay the *History of Moldova* course as, according to them, the *History of the Romanians* contributed to the "destruction of the Republic of Moldova".¹⁰ Under these circumstances, on February 1, 2002, the Historians' Association of Moldova addressed a memorandum to the authorities in which historians and scholars expressed their concern about what they referred to as attempts to institute a dictatorial regime and resume

the old practices of indoctrinating the population with false and distorted ideas regarding the past of the Romanian people, and especially regarding Romanians living in Bessarabia as a component part of the Romanian nation.

The authors of the memorandum asked Moldovan authorities to respect and to promote the scientific truth when dealing with issues of national language, literature, and history, and stop the Romanophobia campaign and the vilification of Romanian language and history. The memorandum echoed the opinion of the participants at the Congress of the Historians of Moldova held on July 1, 2001.¹¹

Despite the mass protests from the main square in Chişinău on February 12, 2002, the Minister of Education fully endorsed a resolution on the introduction of the *History of Moldova* as a subject matter in schools, high schools, universities and post-graduate institutions as of September 1, 2002. On February 15, this resolution was approved at a governmental meeting. This decision provoked even stronger protests by teachers, students, and other social and professional groups. The Prime Minister, Vasile Tarlev, considered the adoption of those decisions to be his personal

responsibility because “most of the independent states have their own histories”. For a “smooth” implementation of this course, a decision was taken to develop a textbook on the *History of Moldova*. This was an initiative of President Voronin, who in 2001 appointed Vladimir Țaranov, one of the champions of “Moldovenism”, as editor of the textbook.

As a result of street protests and criticism from the academic community, on February 22, 2002, the Government of the Republic of Moldova approved a resolution *On steps to improve the study of history*, which revoked the decision of February 15, 2002 concerning the implementation of the *History of Moldova* as a discipline to be taught in educational institutions of Moldova. This resolution, however, also authorized the Vice Prime Minister Valerian Cristea to create a state commission for the development of the concept of the *History of Moldova*. It represented a clear sign of the communists’ decision indicating at their will to force the *History of the Romanians* out of schools, they had not given it up although the protests delayed the immediate implementation of the project.

On March 20, 2002, the Scientific Council of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova adopted a decision *On the teaching and study of the History of the Romanians in the educational and academic systems of Moldova*. On March 26, 2002, the Academy of Sciences of Moldova voted to preserve the *History of the Romanians* course in schools.

In agreement with other academic institutions, the Historians’ Association of Moldova continued expressing support for the preservation of the *History of the Romanians* and *World History* courses in schools and other educational institutions of the country. The historians of this organization pointed out repeatedly that Moldova’s national history was undergoing essential changes, which were fully justified in a period in which the historical discourse was evolving, and that it was totally against the professional ethics of historians to harness those changes for purposes dictated by politics.

In the wake of visits paid by European experts, and as a reaction to the rallies in Chișinău, on April 24, 2002, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the Resolution 1280 (2002) *On the functioning of democratic institutions in the Republic of Moldova*, which provided an extension of the existing moratorium on the reforms concerning the study and status of the Russian language, as well as the changes in the history curricula.

On September 26, 2002, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted the Resolution 1303 (2002), whereby the Assembly

expressed its satisfaction with the fact that Moldovan authorities had maintained the moratorium on the reforms concerning the study of Russian, its status, and changes to the history curricula. The moratorium, according to the Resolution, permitted the preservation of stability in the country. However, Russian language has been a mandatory discipline in Moldovan schools starting with the 5th grade, and new textbooks for history have been elaborated.

In 2002, the Government of the Republic of Moldova launched a competition for the best concept of history teaching for Moldova and, through Moldovan embassies, asked European countries to provide suggestions for reforming the teaching of history in Moldova. In February 2003, the Moldovan government collected 42 concepts and transmitted them to the Secretariat of the Council of Europe. Out of the 42, the Committee of Experts selected just five; these were approved by the Council of Europe's delegation, which also suggested that these five concepts should be further developed into possibly one or two concepts which would be acceptable to all the parties involved. In February 2003, the Ministry of Education of Moldova sent a set of Moldovan history textbooks to the Secretariat of the Council Europe, via the Permanent Representation of Moldova. The Secretariat was asked to see whether the German Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Analysis could evaluate them. The Council of Europe decided to provide the necessary support to the Georg Eckert Institute to carry out an evaluation of existing history school textbooks and also to invite the authors of Moldovan textbook and curriculum outlines to the Institute to discuss the analysis and make recommendations. During 2003, the Council of Europe supported the foundation of the Teacher's Training Centre and became a member of its board. The Council of Europe agreed with the Moldovan government that the Centre will be a non-governmental entity but that members of the Board can be members of the government (e.g. Mrs. V. Haheu and V. Cristea, who in fact opposed the Moldovan law on NGOs and the principles of activity of NGOs).

In April 2003, the 2nd Congress of Historians of the Republic of Moldova condemned the interference of the Communist Government in the field of history education and endorsed the existing concept of teaching the *History of the Romanians* and *World History* courses "as a scientific foundation for the education of young generations". The participants also called on all history teachers from the Republic of Moldova to support them in their attempts to educate cultured citizens, making them aware

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

During 2002-2003, the Council of Europe and the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO) were actively involved in the development of a new history education concept for Moldova. Representatives of these international organizations have often visited Moldova to support and participate in training seminars. Through their presence at such meetings, they managed to introduce a multilateral and objective approach regarding history education in Moldova. During the meeting of the Council of Europe's experts with the president of the Republic, V. Voronin, which was held in Chișinău on February 18, 2003, the president said that "the government had decided to renounce at its initial plan to change the name of the course on national history to the *History of Moldova* and proceed instead with an integrated course for history".¹² According to Voronin's statement "only a depoliticised history can reveal the historical truth". The new history curriculum should be based on the principles laid down in the Council of Europe's *Recommendation, on history teaching in the twenty-first-century (Rec (2001) 15)* and should reflect the multicultural composition of Moldovan society. He emphasized that such an approach to the teaching of history would also be helpful in the integration process of Moldova into Europe. During the meeting, Ms. Cardwel Alison, representative of the Council of Europe, said that

both the experts and President Vladimir Voronin have agreed on the necessity to have a single course of history that would include all of the materials and would reflect the multiple cultures in Moldova. We must do what has been done in other European countries.

The support shown by these organizations for the *Integrated History* course provoked disagreement among Moldovan historians, who stated that this change contrasts with the current educational realities of the country. Some foreign experts responded by insisting on a single course of history, branding local historians who were pleading for the preservation of the two courses of history, the *History of the Romanians* and *World History*, as Romanian nationalists.

The discussions that took place in Germany at the Georg-Eckert Institute during 2003-2006 between historians from Moldova and other countries led to the identification of some elements of the national history

curriculum and textbooks that needed to be improved. However, there were no suggestions to replace the textbooks. Participants of a seminar held in Braunschweig on June 25-29, 2003, mentioned that the intention to replace history curricula and textbooks in Moldova would constitute a revitalization of “the Stalinist concept of the creation of the nation, language, and history of Moldovans as different from Romanians”,¹³ which contradicts the Council of Europe’s Recommendation 15 (2001).

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education started an experiment whereby a new course, titled *Integrated History*, was introduced on September 1, 2003, in 50 schools across the country. Neither the method by which schools had been selected nor the list of schools chosen was made public. According to the Ministry of Education, the number of schools involved in the experiment increased to 150 in the 2004-2005 school year; in the 2005-2006 school year, the number increased to 400. Thus, this “secret” experiment with a course of integrated history revealed the political opposition of the communist government to the *History of the Romanians* course. The lack of a concept, strategy, and transparency in the realization of the experiment, as well as the selection of the textbook for this course by the Ministry of Education, reveals the political nature of the decision to implement the *Integrated History* course. The communist authorities have distorted the concept of an integrated history by adjusting it to their political ideology. During 2002 and 2003, some Moldovan officials declared that the teaching of the *History of the Romanians* creates barriers for the integration of Moldova into the EU and the resolution of the conflict with Transnistria. This experiment and these declarations provoked new tensions in Moldovan society.¹⁴

In July 2004, the Minister of Education, Mr. V. Beniuc, declared that new textbook authors were nominated in April 2004 by the Ministry and that the textbooks would be ready for the beginning of the upcoming school year (September 1, 2004).¹⁵ In 2004, the Ministry of Education indeed announced a competition for writing new history textbooks, but most historians and publishing houses refused to participate in this process as they considered it to be both undemocratic and unscientific. Thus, Minister V. Beniuc simply selected the people he wanted to lead the textbook writing project. It is difficult to assert that this was a real democratic and transparent process.

In 2005, the Ministry of Education excluded final exams in the subjects 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 exam. These changes once again provoked a public outcry. Leaders of professional associations (A. Petrencu and L. Stavinschi) asserted that history teachers' associations did not support this decision and viewed it as a political interference by the communist government in history education. This position was supported by the participants at the 3rd Congress of Historians of Moldova, which was held on November 5, 2005 in Chișinău.

On November 30, 2005, President Voronin convoked a meeting with members of the government and parliament and discussed the problem of implementing an *Integrated History* course based on the Council of Europe's recommendations. Voronin mentioned that the introduction of this course is part of Moldova's efforts to raise national educational standards to European standards. He also said that new textbooks should have better quality and price, and that the commercial factor should be excluded from the process of evaluation, editing, and distribution of books to schools.

Table 1. Actual structure of the history education in Moldova

No.	Secondary school		Lyceum	
1.	5 th grade	Antiquity	10 th grade	Antiquity and Middle Ages
2.	6 th grade	Middle Ages	11 th grade	Modernity
3.	7 th grade	Modern period, part I	12 th grade	Contemporary
4.	8 th grade	Modern period, part II		
5.	9 th grade	Contemporary period		

On July 27, 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 September 1, 2006, the Ministry of Education introduced new curricula for history education in all secondary schools with one course titled *History*,¹⁶ excluding the two previously taught courses on *History of the Romanians* and *World History* from the curricula. 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 teachers, professional organizations, and NGOs. Opponents pointed out multiple mistakes in the content of the new books. Many national

newspapers published articles complaining about the quality of the new textbooks. The most criticized textbooks were for the 9th and 12th grade, which contained numerous pictures of and comments from communist government leaders.

In this very difficult situation, President Voronin convened another meeting on September 29, 2006, with some of the best known historians from the Republic of Moldova. He said that for the first time, he was getting involved in the discussions of teaching integrated history in Moldovan schools.

During this meeting, Voronin said:

educating through history is our first step in the process to attend the general-human values, accepted by the European Union. The introduction of the integrated course of history in our educational institutions is just a small step in the process of integrating our country into Europe – a very important step.

Voronin also mentioned, that

a school is not a polygon for battles and exercises of scholars. The teacher's chair cannot be a political tribune. During the last 15 years, the Republic of Moldova has been a subject of international law, and our country is not a Gubernia or province of some others states; it has its own contemporary state symbols with multi-century old traditions, culture, and history.¹⁷

The President's declaration about political involvement in history research and teaching is contradictory, because the Communist Government promoted exactly the opposite thing. Most historians who participated at this meeting criticized the new history textbooks, and at the end of the discussion, President Voronin asked them to correct all the mistakes from these textbooks as urgently as possible. He also suggested that a group of experts under the Institute of History and Law of the Academy of Sciences should develop the second edition of integrated history textbooks, and he invited all interested institutions and organizations to participate in the editing process. Hence, after this meeting, in November 2006, a 35-member commission for scientific expertise of history textbooks was created at the Academy of Sciences of Moldova.

Since the decision by the Ministry of Education to introduce a new curriculum and new textbooks on integrated history in Moldova, we have seen a new wave of activism in Moldovan society against this decision. There were hundreds of declarations in local mass media from diverse institutions and groups of people (political parties, professional organizations, mass media organizations, group of teachers and parents, parliamentary debates, etc.) criticizing the new curriculum.

On December 22, 2006, after two months of evaluating the content of these new history textbooks, a state commission approved the evaluation report. But at the final meeting, only 19 of the 35 members participated, and just 8 of them voted for the final decision. Most historians left the meeting because they thought that while many of the reviews (cca. 40) criticized the new textbooks, the leaders of the commission tried to push for a positive decision, which finally prevailed. Chiril Stratievski, chair of the commission, declared that the final decision had been approved by a vote of the majority of the members of the commission. The commission admitted that the textbooks contained various mistakes (conceptual, linguistic, factual, and technical) which should be removed during the course of the following two years. The commission held the Ministry of Education responsible for these mistakes but recommended that teachers use the textbooks while being critical of the controversial issues. The Ministry of Education was to elaborate and distribute appendices to these books (as *errata*) in all of the schools.

V. Țvircun, Moldova's Minister of Education, declared that the introduction of a new curriculum and the publication of new textbooks were accomplished based on the recommendations of the Georg Eckert Institute for Textbook Analysis in Braunschweig, Germany. This, however, was untrue. As mentioned earlier, the Government asked the Council of Europe and the Georg Eckert Institute to offer these authors their expertise in textbook research. The Georg Eckert Institute stressed that its role in the process of textbook development was to help improve the didactic quality of the work and support the textbook authors in their efforts towards an integrated approach to the teaching and learning of history.

The Georg Eckert Institute's press release from December 15, 2006, mentions that

the Georg Eckert Institute has no mandate to approve textbooks neither in the German nor in the international context.¹⁸ The Georg Eckert Institute's role is that of a consultant body. Thus, its expertise does not substitute

the comprehensive internal process of review and approval of textbooks. The Georg Eckert Institute has supported the Moldovan Government in its undertaking to improve history teaching and textbook writing, yet the Georg Eckert Institute has *not approved* the textbooks and their content.

The German Institute's experts reviewed the manuscripts of the new textbooks and stated that "none of the manuscripts fully reached the goals set by the Moldovan curriculum. Some were still far from meeting the new methodological standards at all". The experts recommended "a serious reworking of all of these books" and did not suggest that they should be published in the form they were submitted for review. Additionally, the Georg Eckert Institute was

not of the opinion that the new textbooks should exclusively replace the previous ones. On the contrary, given the shortcomings of the new textbooks, use of the previous textbooks in addition to the new ones seems to be a beneficial approach.

Table 11. History teaching in the Republic of Moldova since 2006

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

* first figure shows the hours designated for World History and the next figure for History of Romanians (1995-2006); ** - Lyceum (section of humanities); *** - Lyceum (section of sciences)

As a result of the double general elections in 2009, the new democratic parties (Alliance for European Integration) came to power and established 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*.¹⁹

This decision did not satisfy some historians, who asked the Ministry to reinstate the two history courses taught in Moldovan schools until 2006 – *History of the Romanians* and *World History*. After long debates and a new commission, established in March 2012, the Ministry of Education decided to maintain one course, but with different title, which is changed from *History* to the *History of the Romanians and World History*. This decision provoked new debates and a new controversy, prompting some politicians and NGOs leaders to quit the Ministry of Education due to what they perceived to be an antipatriotic decision.

In the majority of West European countries, history education goes beyond the national framework, and the trend is now moving towards teaching a common European history. Moldova has not embraced this approach yet. Now, the Republic of Moldova has an opportunity to start teaching its own history again, to get rid of the remnants of the false version of history that was promoted during Soviet times, and to develop a comprehensive, accurate history curriculum that incorporates both regional and European elements. More importantly, as the community of historians of Moldova stated, the process of creating a single history course for Moldovan schools should evolve naturally and be based on democratic principles and supported by public debate. So, as we can see from Moldovan last decades experience history teaching is an expression of the current ideological crisis in most of the former soviet republics where the weak state of school history education reflects a crisis in academic history. J. Seim, the Norwegian researcher is pointing very the situation in Moldova concerned history – Moldova: a young state - where is the history?²⁰ In the divided societies, such as it is Republic of Moldova, history curriculum is a conflict issue and is danger to be an open teacher, in special in history in the conflict regions. But, by teaching conflicts is possible to build a non-violent World.

Nowadays, history is a compulsory discipline since 4th grade and continues until end of the secondary and high school. So, during following pages we will analyse the situation of treating neighbours in Moldovan history textbooks.

Primary school, 4th grade

The first history textbook for 4th grade was more focused on national history, it includes more themes on patriotic issues from the Ancient until today.²¹ As part of History of Romanians, the textbook contents obviously

themes directly linked with history of Romania. The textbook from 2006 differs from the previous one, because was it was written according another curriculum, which is more focused on the history of Republic of Moldova. Some episodes are linked with History of Romania but not so much as it was before. The neighbours of the Republic of Moldova could be observed on the maps of Europe from p. 24, 69 and 71.²² A similar situation can be found in the complementary materials for the 4th grade.²³

5th grade

The 5th grade history textbooks published by Lumina publishing house in 2000 includes prehistory and Antiquity: the first part is focused on World History while the second part on national history.²⁴ Prehistory and Antiquity include quite well the knowledge about actual territories of Romania and Moldova. Greek colonization and contacts with the barbarian is treated from a larger perspective. In some cases the textbooks presents more facts on regions which are now parts of Romania than territories of the Republic of Moldova. The eastern neighbours are presented in the context of migrations only: Sarmathians, Germanics, Huns, Avars, Slavs, Bulgarians.²⁵ Generally, this textbook is considered very complicated for the 5th grade.

The alternative textbook for the 5th grade is more accessible than that mentioned above, but the issue concerning neighbouring territories and people account similar problems.²⁶ The authors of the textbooks recognised that the theme of the life in Ancient time is better presented in the 5th grade textbook than in the 4th grade textbook.²⁷ G. Gonta and N. Petrovski mentioned in 2000 that:

V Respublike Moldova prozivajut rjedom s moldavanami i ljudi drugih nacional'nostej. Oni sostavljajut 35% naselenija: ruskie, ukraincy, gagauzy, bolgary i dr. Vot pocemu osoboe znacenie imeet oznakomlenie ucenikov s povsednevoj zizn'ju predstavitelj vsech nacional'nosej Respubliki Moldova.²⁸

6th grade

The Middle Age for 6th grade was presented in the textbooks before 2006 in two separated courses: World History and History of Romanians, after 2006 – in one integrated course. The textbook published by Știința

publishing house contains various information about neighbouring territories from Middle Age, such as Western and Southern Slavs, Kievan Rus', Mongols etc.²⁹ In the second part among themes of Medieval Moldova are treated events and facts from Medieval Valachia, Transylvania, but nothing is mentioned about relations between Moldova and Eastern regions. We can see on some maps that Moldova bordered with Lithuania during Ștefan cel Mare's rule, later with Poland and Crimean Khanate, but no more details about historical context of these realities.³⁰ The textbook published according the integrated history curricula from 2006 contains 12 chapters focused on Middle Ages.³¹ The quality of this textbook was debated by various scholars, but it includes various themes on neighbours: Hungary, Kievan Rus', Valachia.

7th grade

One of the best written history textbook from the Republic of Moldova is the work done by Știința publishing house in 2002.³² The first part is entirely dedicated to the Modern World History, including a theme on Russian Empire during 19th c. The second part contains themes from the national history, combining different aspects of the Modern history of Moldova, Valachia, Transylvania, Banat, Oltenia, Bukovina, Dobrogea and Transnistria. It is quite well presented the situation of Bessarabia and Transnistria after annexation by the Russian Empire ("autonomy", colonization, economy, society, culture, etc.).³³ The 1848 Revolution in Moldova is reflected in a comparative perspective with the similar events from Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat: this is a good example of a balanced treatment of such events.³⁴

The integrated history textbook for the 7th grade debates the Modern History period (1640-1850). The authors tried to integrate the history of principality of Moldova into the European context, but this purpose was not always achieved. Sometimes, the authors try to highlight Moldova but not always successfully, for example, "Economy in the Northern Moldova after its annexation by Habsburg Empire" or "Culture in Moldova between Prut and Dniester (Bessarabia) and Moldovan territories from the left side of the Dniester" during 18th and 19th c. In that period the mentioned territories were part of the Austrian-Hungarian and Russian Empires and it would have been better to mentioned the real administrative names used at that time.³⁵

8th grade

The textbooks published in 2002 and 2003 for the Modern World History (1850-1918) treat different aspects of the history of Europe, USA, Asia and Africa.³⁶ Considering the fact that for the 8th grade there is a separate course on national history (History of Romanians), nothing is mentioned about Romania or Bessarabia in this textbook.³⁷ Therefore, the national history textbooks discuss many common aspects of Moldova as part of Modern Romania, and Bessarabia as part of the Russian Empire.

The integrated history textbook published in 2006 includes only one theme on Romanian Modern History. The history of Bessarabia is presented from different perspectives (agrarian reforms, social-economic development, ethnic minorities, liberal reforms, social-political life, education and science, architecture, etc.), but it is written in the traditions of the Soviet historiography.

9th grade

The World History textbook published by Știința publishing house argues three main periods: the World during 1918-1945, post-war period, and the European contemporary construction.³⁸ If the Romania is briefly described on p. 89 as result of the collapse of the totalitarian regimes. The national history (History of Romanians) textbook includes many aspects of history of Romania and Moldavian SSR during the 20th c., a chapter is dedicated to Transnistrian region in the period 1918-1940. The last chapter is dedicated to independent Moldova, but nothing is mentioned about the relations with Romania. The problem of the separatist region Transnistria is presented only as part of the Russian-Moldovan war from 1992.

The integrated history textbook written by the team of S. Năzaria has been highly criticized³⁹ because of its Soviet historiography style and was removed by the Ministry of Education from schools in 2009. Romania is viewed as one of the causes that provoked the Transnistrian conflict. Completely different is the textbook signed by I. Cașu *et al.*, where the World and National history are treated in two separated parts.⁴⁰ The history of Bessarabia is treated as part of Great Romania, and history of Moldavian SSR as part of USSR. The first part ends with a chapter regarding the Romanians from abroad Romania and from the Republic of Moldova.⁴¹

High School (Lyceum) 10th grade

The Ancient World and Medieval History textbook for the 10th grade treats the Eastern and South-Eastern European regions very poor, Russia is shortly presented in two sections only: Formation of Kievan Rus' and Centralization of Russia.⁴² The national ancient and medieval history (History of Romania) is treated in two separate textbooks published by Prut International and Civitas publishing houses.⁴³ Both textbooks are done according to the 1999 school curriculum and have a similar structure. Antiquity is presented from Romanian narrative and includes mostly the Carpathian-Danube regions, not so much is mentioned about other neighbouring territories. The Slavs are mentioned in the context of migrations and their contribution to the Romanian ethno genesis. The same situation is found in the Middle Ages chapters, where we discover information about Transylvania, Valachia, Moldova, Bulgaria, Dobrogea, the Ottoman Empire, Poland, but very little about Hungary and Russia. The Great Lithuanian Ducat is mentioned just on the maps.⁴⁴ There is an exception represented by a case study on "Cossacks campaigns in Moldova during the second half of the 16th c." and the syntheses lecture "The settlements of Moldovans on the left side Dniester during Middle Ages". The narrative from these themes is different: the Cossacks are treated as invaders and Moldovans as the victims of different foreign powers.⁴⁵ In the context of the culture and art theme from the end of the textbook is mentioned the well-known Kievan Metropolitan of Moldovan origin, Petru Movila.⁴⁶

The integrated history textbook for the 10th grade includes various aspects of Ancient and Medieval Age.⁴⁷ Getae-Dacians are presented shortly in a large perspective including the Carpathian-Danube regions. The Greek colonies are only accounted but not discussed as a large phenomenon. The Christianity and Romanization is treated from a wrong perspective and does not link it with the territories between rivers Prut and Dniester. Migrations in the Carpathian-Danubian space mention expressly the Sarmathians, Carps, Goths who arrived in these territories. Moldova is discussed among other medieval entities of Valachia and Transylvania, but nothing is mentioned about medieval Russia. A special these is dedicated to other ethnicities living in medieval Moldova.

11th grade

During the last two decades in the Republic of Moldova were published five history textbooks for the 11th grade. Two of them are for National

History (History of Romanians),⁴⁸ two for World History⁴⁹ and one for the integrated course⁵⁰. All of them are debating the Modern History. The Modern World History debates diverse problems which refer to the Western Europe and the USA: economy, social life, every day life, revolutions, nation formation, genesis of democracy, colonial system, international relations and culture. The Eastern and South-Eastern Europe is practically absent. Exceptions are two short themes on “Oriental Problem” and “Black Sea – a zone of confrontations”.⁵¹ The National History textbooks are treating many common modern Romanian history facts and phenomena from the middle of the 17th and beginning of the 20th c. A separate chapter is dedicated to Bessarabia as part of Russian Empire (1812-1917) and Transylvania as part of the Austro-Hungarian. Civitas’s textbook is presenting this issue along with Transnistria. Poland and Tatars are mentioned as the Eastern neighbours just on the maps. Russia is often present in the textbook as an important player in the 18th – 19th cc. European history as very interested in the Black Sea and Balkan regions. The problem of Bessarabia is treated from the perspective of the Russian occupation/annexation policy. The 1918 Unification of Great Romania is view from the perspective of the national movements from Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania. It is shortly presented the reaction and attitude of Soviet Russia regarding these movements.⁵²

The integrated version of Modern History textbook for the 11th grade is the best results of this project, however it has been criticized by the Communist Government.⁵³ The authors are trying to undertake a balanced problematic analysis of similar questions, by integrating the national history in World History. Bessarabia as a Russian Gubernia and Romanian Principalities/Romania are described separately, practically in each chapter among other Modern European states and USA. Unfortunately, but Russian Empire is not discussed separately.

12th grade

The 12th grade students are learning the history of the 20th- beginning of 21st cc. The textbook *History of Romanians* published by Prut International publishing House the first time in 2002 and republished several times afterwards is trying to present a balanced national history from Moldovan and Romanian perspectives.⁵⁴ First five chapters are dedicated to history of Great Romania during inter-war period: new geopolitical frame; political life, economy, international relations; education, science and culture. During the first 50 pages, Eastern neighbours and USSR are

present on the political maps and only on p. 51 is described the fact that USSR did not recognize the 1918 Unification of Romania and on p. 53 the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. However, the synthesis lecture of the 4th chapter is dedicated to "The problem of Bessarabia and Romanian-Soviet relations".⁵⁵ Chapter 6 is focused on the political and social-economic situation in Transnistria (1924-1940) as part of USSR. Chapter 7 debates the situation of Romania during WW II, while the Holocaust is mentioned in only one sentence.⁵⁶ Recently, additional teaching materials have been published by the International Centre of Training and Professional Development of the Jews Centre from Chişinău, which includes a book, CD, map and few pictures in high resolution.⁵⁷ At the beginning of chapter 7 is mentioned the problem lost territories: occupation by USSR of Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and Herţa region, Transylvania by Hungary and Southern part of Dobrogea by Bulgaria. The following three chapters (8-10) are dedicated to communist regimes in Moldavian SSR and Romania. The last two chapters debate the situation of Romania after 1989 and development of the Republic of Moldova as an independent country. The theme "Relations with neighbours" presents Romania as the main partner of Moldova. Very few words are spoken about the partnership between Romania and Ukraine and about three-lateral cross-border projects (Romania-Ukraine-Moldova). Two articles from the bilateral agreement are an appendix to this theme.⁵⁸ The theme of the Moldovan foreign policy is dedicated in its half to the Transnistrian conflict while the relations with the neighbours are briefly mentioned in two sentences.⁵⁹

The textbook concerned World History written by a historian from Moldova and another one from Romania focuses more on European and Global problems, some information about Romania and Moldova could be found in a few themes, such as "Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" or "European Assembly of the Council of Europe".

The integrated course of history published by the team of S. Nazaria was highly criticized and withdrawn by the Ministry of Education from schools in 2009.⁶⁰ The authors tried to highlight the statehood and the importance of the Republic of Moldova. Romania is viewed as an aggressor country and USSR as a liberator in the context of WW II.

An alternative textbook to the above mentioned one was elaborated by N. Enciu, it combines national and World history.⁶¹ The textbook is too big (360 p.), it is full of texts, and very hard to work with. But, in comparison with Nazaria's textbook, this pays more attention to history of Romania, includes Bessarabia as part of this country during the interwar

period, WWII, the socialist period and post-totalitarian development. N. Enciu debates the problems of Moldavian ASSR as part of USSR and then Moldavian SSR. In what concerns the present neighbours of the Republic of Moldova, Romania is mentioned a couple of times.

So, we can clearly see in the history textbooks from the Republic of Moldova that the history of Romania is presented very well in this textbook, while that of Ukraine is mentioned occasionally, only in a general context.

Romania

Since 1989 the educational system in Romania is in the process of continuous reformation.⁶² It is based on the national legal framework, such as the Constitution (1991), Education Law (1995-2011), and the new law on National Education in force since January 2011. The earliest changes of the educational system were concerned with eliminating the ideological influences from school programs and textbooks. A comprehensive reform in education started in 1993-1994. These transformations were made with the support of the World Bank, Council of Europe and European Union. Between 1992 and 1997 an “interim” curriculum was developed, which was a basis for future development of the National curricula and textbooks. The World Bank offered Romanian Government’s an important loan for educational reforms. So, during 1996-2002 were developed the new curriculum for all grades (1-12).⁶³ The National Curriculum was developed through consultation of organizations, including experts from teacher’s organizations, universities, etc. Nowadays, History and Civics as teaching topics are a part of “Man and Society” curricular thematic area. History as independent discipline is compulsory course between 10 and 18 years (4-12 grades).

Before 1989 history teaching and textbook publishing in Romania as in other socialist countries had been controlled by the Central Committee of Communist Party and was just a single textbook for each grade. At the beginning of 1970’ the History was excluded from the school program, but in 1976 after the Congress of Socialist Culture and Education reintroduced the history as an important ideological and propagandistic tool of the Romanian Communist Party. The content of the textbooks were influenced by communist ideology and strong nationalistic view on history.⁶⁴

After December 1989 in Romania started the debates around the title of the national history: History of Romania (Istoria României) or History of Romanians (Istoria Românilor), which has a political and historical

background. During the socialist time it was used the title of History of Romania, but before World War II it had the title History of Romanians. The idea was to include in the course of history all Romanians, including from lost territories (Bessarabia and Bukovina) or from Diasporas.⁶⁵ Most of the teachers, historians and politicians supported this idea and it was included in the Education Law in 1995, which has direct impact in preparing the new national curriculum in 1995-1996 (applied since 1997).⁶⁶ So, history teaching in Romania was under the process of educational transformations and since 1989 the educational plans (1990, 1995 1998, 1999 și 2001, 2003 2005)⁶⁷ and history programs (1991, 1993 și 1995-2001, 2003-2006) have changed a couple of times.⁶⁸

During the first decade of Romanian democracy the re-writing process of the history textbooks have passed too. After December 1989 the Ministry of Education introduced in school reprinted without any changes the history textbook written by P.P Panaitescu in 1940s. But this book was practically not used by teachers and later, after few months, it was accepted to use the old textbook published in late 1980s avoiding the parts affected by communist ideology.⁶⁹ The textbooks for World history were just revised, expelling ideological elements and republished. The new history textbooks were written and published just in 1996-1997 as result of the WB and Romanian Government project.⁷⁰ Printing of the new history textbooks began in 1992-1993 with textbooks for high school for grade 11th and 12th and continued after 1995 with alternative textbooks published with Word Bank support. The textbooks for 11 and 12 grades present the national history (Istoria românilor) from prehistoric times to 1989.⁷¹ The intentions of the authors and authorities were to give a primary didactical support for school teachers and the results as M. Murgescu mentioned “were long and rather boring narratives, the textbooks of this generation, besides methodological shortcomings, contain plenty of factual errors and are nationally biased”.⁷²

The new textbooks have designed as a *replique* to the old ones, in terms of quality of paper, printing and content. But with support of World Bank the textbook became more attractive in terms of format, quality of the paper and colour printing, etc. During 1995-2001 among Education Reform Project in Romania, the textbooks were co-funded by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development and the Government of Romania. This project had two main components:

- I. Raising quality of basic and secondary education and
- II. Improving education financing and monitoring.

In fact, the first component was dedicated to the curriculum and textbook development. It contains five elements:

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

The total costs of the project was 47,1 million USD, and 64% of the total budget were for textbooks (28 mil. USD). The main contribution was through IBRD loan and 19,1 million USD was the Romanian Government contribution. The project planned to cover textbooks for all 12 grades, but according to the new policy of WB it supported only the textbooks for compulsory education 1-8 grades. The aim and objectives of the textbook component were following:

- a. to improve the quality of textbooks for all pupils in compulsory grades 1-8 and grades 9-12 (the high-school sector);
- b. to provide teachers with a real choice of books to match theory teaching style and theory students needs;
- c. to stimulate the growth of a professional and dynamic publishing industry;
- d. to introduce to a free market in textbook supply.

One title for each subject at each grade was published with support of the Ministry of Education and then distributed in schools. The state textbook publishing house "Editura Didactică și Pedagogică" had a priority in publishing textbooks.⁷³ The implementation of the project was according to the established steps; each year the Ministry of Education would invite publishers to submit sample textbooks for all subjects for two grades: in 1995 for grades 2 and 5, in 1996 for grades 3 and 6, in 1997 for grades 4 and 7, etc. By the end of the project cca. 210 titles had been published and distributed in the schools, a total number of the books published by the project was over 20 million books at the cost of about 35 million USD, or 1,75 USD per copy.⁷⁴ So, after such investment in the Romanian Educational System some scholars are asking whether it was a modernization or pseudo-modernisation?⁷⁵

The first history textbook was for 4th grade in 1996-1997, which represented a booklet on national history. But the 5th grade history textbook published in 1998 became a model for other grades. What is clear is that the new generation of the history textbooks in Romania for gymnasium appeared according to the new curriculum programmes in 1994-1995 and then for high schools in 1997-1998, which are much better than

old textbooks. Another positive aspect was beginning of the alternative textbooks authorization by state body. The National Commission for Schoolbook Approval has to select according quality criteria 3 history textbook for each grade for gymnasium level, and an unlimited number of textbooks for high school.⁷⁶

During Minister Andrei Marga the questions on history teaching and publishing new textbooks were urged by renewal of the history program for the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th grades and to prepare new textbooks for high school (8th – 12th grades).⁷⁷ The World History for high school grades was enlarged from 2 to 3 years and History of Romanians was reduced from 2 to 1 year. According to new curricula the history of Romanians for 12th grade should provide a thematic vision focused on the mains aspects of national history. The authors of the curricula considered that pupils studied enough national history during gymnasium grade and it is not necessary to repeat this course in high school. From this reason they established a new structure of history teaching in Romania.⁷⁸ In August-September 1999 the National Commission for the Schoolbook Approval-CNAM approved 6 textbooks for the 9th grade, 5 textbooks for the 10th grade, 1 textbook for the 11th grade and 5 textbooks for the 12th grade.⁷⁹ So, in 1999 were published the new textbooks for the entire high school based on new curricula. The textbook offers were selected in 1st stage by the Commission on 8 factors of the technical quality:

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

For each factor was allocated points ranking 5, 10 and 15. The maximum score that may be awarded a textbooks offer was 65, but to qualify for the 2nd stage every offer must receive a minimum 40% of the total points under each of 8 factors and 45 points of all (69%) for its technical quality.

In the same year (1999) occurred the so-called “textbook scandal” or “schoolbook war” around one history textbook for 12th grade published by Sigma publishing house by the team of young historians from Cluj Napoca.⁸⁰ The textbook signed by Sorin Mitu, Lucia Copoeru, Ovidiu

Pecican, Virgiliu Tarau, Liviu Tirau, *Istoria Romanilor, Manual pentru clasa a XII-a*, București, Sigma, 1999, offers other view of some sensitive historical problems on issues of national history (identity, ethnicity etc.). Authors used the titles, which were not accepted by some historians and politicians, such as the “invention” of the modern nation, Ethnogenesis: how the Romanians imagine the origins of their people, etc. The scandal began in the Romanian Senate on October 5th, 1999 and involved political, historical and mass media communities in about 1,5 month of debates/battle. Politicians and parliamentarians from both chambers of Romanian Parliament had two special meetings of the united education committees, which led a motion against the government demanding the revision of the history curricula and the withdrawal of incriminated textbook. The motion had to be discussed in the plenum of the Chamber Deputies, and was rejected by vote on November 15th, 1999.⁸¹ Sergiu Nicolaescu, well know film producer, at that time was a member of the Romanian Senate and he said “This textbook should be burnt in a public square!”.⁸²

The historians were divided in those who supported the authors of the textbook and vote for freedom of opinions in writing history and those who criticized the authors, school curricula and Ministry of Education. The group of people, who was against this textbook, considered that it was an attack on Romanian national identity. They said that authors reduced the ancient and medieval history and too much focused on Modern and contemporary history of Romanians. The school teachers were in particular against the new curricula, because it cut teaching hours and gave a new vision on history teaching. The critics were concentrated on the content of new history curricula for high school where the authors reduced considerably the subjects on national history.

In mass media the subject of history teaching and textbooks was a main issue for couple of weeks. Most of them were against Minister A. Marga and alternative textbooks.⁸³ Sigma publishing house after this scandal revised its textbook for 12th grade and mentioned 29 names of university professor who contributed by different recommendations or debates. Finally, the book was uncomfortable for the public. The authors were forced to come back to the old tradition of presenting history in textbooks. They changed the discussed titles, “invention of the modern nation” became “The Modern Nation”, was introduced a new lesson “Crusade Politics of the Romanian Rulers: Mircea the Old, Alexandru the Good, Iancu of Hunedoara, Vlad the Empaler, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave”. On cover they paced he portraits of Al.I. Cuza and King Ferdinand as symbols of Romanian unification, etc.⁸⁴

Similar work has been done by other group of authors coordinated by I. Scurtu.⁸⁵ In the new edition of the textbook they inserted the new topic on “The Romanians in Europe”, but rest of the book is in old style presenting such issues as “Romanians are one of the most ancient peoples in Europe”, “the Romanians are born Christians”, etc. So, we could see that part of Romanian society is very much affected by ideas of “glorious and heroic past of the nation” and the history textbook should contain exactly these issues, because excluding them is treated as diminishing national values. But, after these debates, history and textbooks changes, the issue of identity remains very sensitive in Romanian society.⁸⁶ These conflicts and debates in Romanian society show us how difficult is to find the balance between national, European and World history. This was probably one of the reasons for revising the article 4 of Law of Education (no. 84/1995) in 1999 where was written “schooling guarantees the cultivation of love towards the country, towards the historic past and the tradition of the Romanian people”.⁸⁷ After these textbooks scandal, three alternative history textbooks for 8th grade were published without any public reaction or critics. We consider that in a period of writing new curricula and textbooks, debating the content, etc. the responsibility of textbook authors is more important than ever before.

In July 2001, the Romanian Ministry of Education restrained the free-market for textbooks for high school up to 3 (before it was unlimited). This decision provoked another round of debates among the publishers and teachers.⁸⁸

During 2001- 2006 were approved new Educational Plans:

No.	Grade	No. Hours/week	Perspectives	In force since
1	IV	1	1	2006-2007
2	V-VII VIII	1-2 2	2	2001-2002
3	IX X	1/2 1/3	1/2 1/3	2004-2005
4	XI	1/3	1/3	2001-2002
5	XII	2/3	2/3	2001-2002

The discipline programs have been done according to the new curricula principles, including in history field (flexibility, efficiency, coherent, etc.). Integration of national history and world history in one common course was also under debate in the Romanian society. Initially, the idea to include Romanian history in world history was not supported by Romanian cultural and political media. This initiative was treated as an assault against the “sacred” value of the national past.⁸⁹ Because the idea of “Romanian history and language represent the most important support of identity” and still now part of Romanians consider that through history of Romanians they have to be educate the national identity.

Now, in Romania history is taught from the last year of the primary school (4th grade) and continues until last year of the high school (12th grade). During the Communist times the history was taught in two main subjects: Romanian History and World History. The national history was studied in 4th grade and then as other course from 8th to 10th grades. The World History was studied in the secondary school in 5th-7th grades and then again in high schools as “Basic Problems of World History” during 11th and 12th grades. After transformations of the educational system in Romania in the early 1990s the compulsory school became to be from 1st to 8th grades and not up to 10th grades as it was before. The Romanian Ministry of Education moved the History of Romanians to 7th and 6th grades and World History was compresses to the 5th and 6th grades. In the high school level the World History was taught during 9th and 10th grades and Romanian History in 11th and 12th grades.⁹⁰

According to the new curricula, in the secondary school the part of world history was enlarged to the 7th grade, and Romanian History compressed to the 8th grade. For high school level was also introduced a new scheme of World History focused on European history, including some topics on national history for 9th and 10th grades. The History of Romanians as a separate course focused on 19th - 20th cc. was concentrated in 12th grade. During these structural changes happened and conceptual ones. Hence, the presentation of history according to traditional chronology (AD 476, 1492/1642, 1917/1918) was shifted to more general limits (AD 1000 and 1800)⁹¹.

Structure of history teaching in Romania since 2000⁹²

No.	Type of school	Grade	Course title	Type of history	Historical period	H/ week
1.	Primary	4 th (10 years)	History of Romanians	Local/ National History	All periods	1
2.	Gymnasium	5 th (11 years)	History	European/ World History	History from the earliest times to AD 1000	1
No.	Type of school	Grade	Course title	Type of history	Historical period	H/ week
3.	Gymnasium	6 th (12 years)	History	European/ World History	History from AD 1000 to the French Revolution	1-2
4.	Gymnasium	7 th (13 years)	History	European/ World History	History in the 19 th –20 th c.	1-2
5.	Gymnasium	8 th (14 years)	History of Romanians	National history	All periods	1-2
6.	High School	9 th (15 years)	History	History of European Civilization	European and Romanian history from the beginnings of the European Civilization to the 16 th c.	1-2
7.	High School	10 th (16 years)	History	European/ World History	16 th c. - 1900	1-2
8.	High School	11 th (17 years)	History	European/ World History	19 th – 20 th c.	1-2
9.	High School	12 th (18 years)	History of Romanians	National history	All periods	1-2

Today the ethnic minorities are not just a political question, but an educational one also.⁹³ The new curricula introduced some specific subjects on history of the ethnic groups living in Romania. It is very important that the national curricula states that each minority group should be provided with basic knowledge on their own history and culture. Students from minority ethnic groups have an hour per week in the 6th and 7th grades devoted to their own history and culture. The Ministry of Education approved and recommended the programs and textbooks for optional course such as *History of European integration* (2000); *History and Traditions of Roma* (2003); *History of Jews. Holocaust* (2004, 2005); *Memory of Holocaust* (2005); *History and traditions of German minority* (2005); *Contemporary migrations 20-21 cc.* (2006), etc. Many textbooks were published according to this program.⁹⁴ One optional textbook is dedicated to the *History of Communism in Romania*, which is very well done and is helping teachers and students to understand better this political regime and impact on Romanian society.⁹⁵

In the following pages we will make a short analysis of neighbours' presentation in the history textbook starting with 4th grade and finishing with 12th grade. All textbooks are elaborated according to the National Curricula and school programs and are approved by National Council for Textbooks Approval of the Ministry of Education.

Primary school, 4th grade

The textbooks published before 2005 according to the old program were focused more on national issues, as the Ukrainian textbooks, often being noticed the affirmation "We as Romanians", etc.⁹⁶ But, after 2005, the situation changed for better. One of the history textbooks for 4th grade is printed by Humanitas publishing house, according the 2005 analytic program.⁹⁷ The textbook contains the official anthem of Romania *Deșteaptă-te române!* The 2nd chapter *Popoare de ieri și de azi* (People from yesterday and today) contains files about neighbours, such as "Bulgarians – our southern neighbours", "Hungarians – our western neighbours".⁹⁸ The theme is followed by files "Other neighbours of Romanians – Serbs, Russians and their history".⁹⁹ However, the Ukrainians are absent from this scheme. Similar situation is found in the textbook published by Vasile Dinu and Paul Didiță, which in general is very difficult for pupils from 4th grade.¹⁰⁰ The Republic of Moldova is shown just on some maps, as it is in the textbook published by Corint or Ana publishing houses.¹⁰¹ Last

two textbooks content theme on “Neighbours and community”, but it is treated very general, from the local point of view, and nothing is mentioned about actual neighbours of Romania as a country.

Secondary school, 5th grade

The textbook for 5th grade present in general the history from the earliest times to AD 1000 and practically mentions nothing about neighbour regions. A similar situation is found in all textbooks published by ALL, Teora, etc. publishing houses.¹⁰² Just in theme about Thracians is briefly mentioned that they lived in North until Bug River (actual territory of Ukraine).¹⁰³ At the end of textbook, in context of 1st Millennium AD, are presented Slavs as population leaved in Eastern and Central Europe who migrated in 7th c. in Balkan Peninsula. From the table reflecting Slavic World could be seen the Russians, Belarusian and Ukrainian as part of Eastern Slavs, but for pupils from 5th grade I think this is very confused information.

6th grade

The 6th grade history textbooks discus integrated version of Medieval and Modern History. The textbook edited by ALL Education publishing house in 2000 presents in a few themes the history of Romanian Medieval and Modern states (Valachia and Moldova).¹⁰⁴ In what concerns Eastern Europe, only at the end of the textbook are analysed the new powers: Russia and Austria during 18th c.¹⁰⁵ and the impact of the Russian-Turkish war (1806-1812) for Romanian countries.¹⁰⁶ The textbook debates more issues on culture, town development, everyday life, gender, etc., but not so much about eastern neighbours. Another textbook published by ALL Educational publishing house has a similar content as the previous one and focuses more on Western Europe.¹⁰⁷ The Medieval and Modern history of the states from Central and Eastern Europe is shown in a separate theme where are shortly presented Bulgaria, Serbia, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Russia.¹⁰⁸ The Russian-Turkish war (1806-1812) is presented in only a few lines, with the mention that as result of Bucharest Peace Treaty the territory between Prut and Dniester (Bessarabia), as “old Romanian territory”, came under foreign administration.¹⁰⁹

7th grade

In the 7th grade, the pupils study the Modern and Contemporary periods. The textbook published by Corint publishing house is very colourful; sometimes the pictures are too small and not very clear.¹¹⁰ Most of themes are focused on Western European and USA history, with a brief presentation of some aspects of Romanian history, such as “Regulamentele organice”, Al.I. Cuza reforms, etc. At the end of theme regarding WWI is shown the everyday life during the war, which is very interesting.¹¹¹ During the second part, the authors present the history of 20th c. (totalitarian regimes, international relations, WWII, post-war period, etc.). The Bessarabian question is discussed shortly in context of the German-Soviet Pact.¹¹² The Republic of Moldova as independent countries, after the collapse of USSR, are mentioned only in a table from p. 111, where we can see the area and population of the newly independent states. The recent textbook published by Humanitas publishing house dedicated to the Modern and Contemporary World History is much better designed with a good balance between texts and pictures.¹¹³ Treating the neighbours remains problematic, because nothing is mentioned about actual eastern independent countries: the Republic of Moldova and Ukraine. For example, Bessarabia first appears on map from p. 41 and Ukraine on map from p. 79.

8th grade

In most of the cases the maps from the textbook coordinated by Al. Vulpe shows actual borders of Romania and nothing about neighbours.¹¹⁴ Just on p. 27 we can see a map on migrations from a larger perspective (2nd – 8th cc.). In the next pages, the authors describe the Hungarians settlement in Pannonia, colonization of Székelys and Saxes in Transylvania.¹¹⁵ A similar situation is attested in the textbook published by Humanitas, where some themes stress more about geography than history.¹¹⁶ The main ideas are focused on national issues, like *Spațiul românesc văzut de istorici* (Romanian space seen by historians).¹¹⁷ The textbook printed by Teora publishing house in 2000 and reprinted in 2006 is concerned with History of Romanians since prehistoric time until the end of 20th c.¹¹⁸ Cucuteni-Trypillia culture is said to be spread on a large area, including territories of few contemporary states: Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine.¹¹⁹ The Greek colonization is treated in a very modest way

with mentions of Greek towns of Histria, Tomis and Callatis.¹²⁰ In the theme *Locals and Foreigners from confrontation to leaving together* is shortly discussed the issue concerning the relationships with Slavs.¹²¹ The relations of Moldova with Russia during Middle Age is briefly mentioned when talking about D. Cantemir and Piter I Luck agreement form 1711.¹²² In the Russian-Austrian-Turkish wars is analysed the impact of these confrontations on Valachia and Moldova, and the occupation of Bessarabia in 1812.¹²³ Bessarabia is also discussed in context of unification of Romania in 1918¹²⁴ and then in context of its occupation by USSR in 1940.¹²⁵ Nothing is mentioned in these textbooks about Ukrainians as eastern neighbours.

9th grade

The 9th grade textbook signed by S. Brezeanu discusses a very large period of history from Antiquity until 17th c.¹²⁶ In context of indoeuropenization on the map from p. 10 is present the Ukrainian language as part of the Slavic World and on the page before it is a picture of a Scythian vase discovered in Crimea. The following information about Eastern Europe can be seen on p. 77 where Slavs are briefly mentioned as part of the migrations, but the map "Romanian space during migration period" from p. 86 represents just territory of contemporary Romania and nothing is mentioned about neighbouring regions that underwent the same big process. The formation of the Medieval Romanian states, institutions and culture are about Valachia and Moldova, but the map from p. 120 has very poor quality and it is practically impossible to work with it. So, the medieval period is more focused on Western Europe, few information about Arabs, Ottomans, and nothing about Eastern Europe. Russia appeared on the map "Confessions in Europe at the end of 16th c." from p. 177.

10th grade

The 10th grade history textbooks are concerned with the Modern and Contemporary periods. The textbook from the Didactic and Pedagogic publishing house is well done, but it is based on the edition dedicated to the complementary year.¹²⁷ The question of treating neighbouring people and territories remains to be revised. Bessarabia is mentioned on map from p. 32 and nothing is mentioned about its annexation by the Russian Empire

and the impact on the population of this region. Russia is presented in context of multinational countries among Austro-Hungarian.¹²⁸ For the first time, we find a theme dedicated to Holocaust in general, and Holocaust in Romania in particular, including about victims from Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transnistria.¹²⁹ No mentions is found about the Republic of Moldova in the chapters dedicated to the end of the 20th and beginning of 21st cc. Another textbook edited by Niculescu publishing house includes most of themes as the previous one and accounts the same problems, because they are both elaborated basing on the school program.¹³⁰ But, here we can see more information about 19th c. Moldova, some personalities (A.M. Kogălniceanu, Al.I. Ciza); Bukovina and Bessarabia; Banat and Transylvania are presented shortly as Romanian provinces on p. 60. Both textbooks are discussing the 1918 Unification of Romania, but little information about the situation of the incorporated provinces in the inter-war period and the reaction of Soviet Russia to the unification. The Holocaust is discussed shortly, but well pointed on p. 107. The Republic of Moldova appears in context of USSR collapse on p. 123.

11th grade

Sigma's textbook is elaborated according the 2006 analytical program and is about history of 20th c.¹³¹ It is better designed, has a good colour printed quality, the distribution of texts and pictures is well balanced, etc. In 1st part "Europe and the World in the 20th c.", the Eastern Europe is present mostly of a few maps as part of USSR, Ukrainian language is shown in the map "Linguistic groups in Modern Europe". Bessarabia appears three times: on p. 6, 11 and 27, but no information about its inter-war period. The theme "European Unity and Diversity" is very well pointed, but contains very general information. The textbook is much better elaborated than other textbooks from many perspectives, it contains different historical aspects (private and public life, development of economical and political ideas, Romanian diasporas, technological development, freedom, political regimes, resistance and dissidents, cooperation and conflict, religious diversity, etc.), but it should pay more attention to neighbours of Romania. The Republic of Moldova, as important Eastern neighbours are mentioned only on the map from p. 85. Similar problems are accounted in the textbook for the complementary year signed by V. Băluțoiu.¹³² The textbook published by the team coordinated by prof. I. Scurtu focuses, as the previous textbooks, on five main directions: people

and historic spaces; people, society and the world of ideas; state and politics; international relations; religion and religious life, most of the information is presented from Romanian perspective and perspective of Romanian History.¹³³ This textbook is very general and simple for 11th grade high school students. Concerning neighbours, the authors show in brief the question of Romanians along borders and Romanians over “Seas and states”, but nothing about those countries in which they live.¹³⁴ In the theme “Romania and regional conflicts during 20th c.”, no words are spoken about USSR occupation of Bessarabia and Bukovina in 1940 and Transnistrian military conflict from 1992, when Romania supported the Republic of Moldova.¹³⁵ Another textbook published by Humanitas publishing house in 2011 is much better organised and designed as the previous ones.¹³⁶ For the first time in the Romanian history textbooks we can see a paragraph entitled “Romania and its neighbours”, very short and general. The main idea of this paragraph is that Romania signed partnership agreements with all neighbours, but no more details about these relations.¹³⁷ A few ideas are mentioned about the Republic of Moldova at point “Geopolitical changes after 1989”, where is said that Romania has new Eastern neighbours after the collapse of the USSR. The Republic of Moldova is presented as a second Romanian state and that it has special relations with Romania, despite Transnistria protest against it.

12th grade

The textbook published by ALL Educational publishing house entitled History depicts the History of Romania as part of European History from Antiquity until 20th c.¹³⁸ Moldova is presented as a medieval Romanian state, and then as part of Modern Romania. A special theme is dedicated to the Romanians from abroad from a national perspective: Romanians from Transylvania (1849-1914); Romanians from Bukovina (1775-1914); Romanians from Bessarabia (1812-1914),¹³⁹ and then the process of Unification of Romania from 1918.¹⁴⁰ In context of the last theme “Options in the foreign policy of Romania after 1989” are mentioned the agreements between Romania and Hungary, Romania and Ukraine, with an appendix of articles from these official documents a historical sources.¹⁴¹

The textbook signed by Nicoleta Dumitrescu et al. was published the first time in 2000 according to the 1999 curricula changes and it was reprinted in 2004¹⁴². In 2005 this textbook was the most used by high-school teachers.¹⁴³ Another textbook for 12th grade was elaborated

under the coordination of prof. Z. Petre in 2008. It contains similar chapters as the previous mentioned textbook, because it is entirely based on the school program, but the content is more problematic and includes many interesting case studies.¹⁴⁴ During the 2nd chapter is presented the issue of Romanians from abroad, ethnic and confessional diversity in Modern Romania, national minorities in Romania in the 20th c., Romania and the Holocaust, but nothing about actual Eastern neighbours: Republic of Moldova and Ukraine.¹⁴⁵

Romanian history textbooks are encouraging two sets of attitudes: national and pro-European/Western, ignoring the historical links of Romania with South-eastern and Eastern Europe. Hence, the Romanian history textbooks are more focused on Western European History than near neighbour regions. The neighbour countries appear in brief in the textbooks, they are better presented on maps.¹⁴⁶ It is not possible to write history that satisfies everyone especially where manipulation of ethnic identities is set as tradition during political crisis,¹⁴⁷ but the historians, in virtue of their profession, have to pursue the professional mission to produce an objective account of the historical facts.¹⁴⁸

Recently, Romania established a new system of evaluation, including history as an independent discipline, history teachers and pupils from secondary and high schools,¹⁴⁹ which will probably make a real contribution to improving history teaching and textbook elaboration.

Conclusions

Political changes at the end of the last century in Eastern European countries have a direct influence on the development of education in these states. After two decades of democratic transformation in all socialist and soviet countries, students can discover much more information in their history textbooks that was forbidden during totalitarian regimes. Example of such topics could be Stalin's Terror, collectivization, deportations, the effect of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, etc.

The process of transformation from Marxists-Lenin's ideology to the pluralist democracy is long and difficult in both countries. Romania did more steps in reforming education, including history teaching. This reality is probably directly linked with accession of Romania to EU. As long as Moldovan society remains in a state of ideological crisis and therefore

sensitive to history as it is in other post-soviet countries, history education will continue to provide fractured understanding of the past.

The Ukrainian national history textbooks devoted a lot of space to the national heroes. In some textbooks we found galleries of national heroes and leaders. Presenting such kind of pictures in the history textbooks is one of the most powerful identity construction tools.

In the last two decades historiography became more open and diverse both countries, and for solving all problems without prejudices and stereotypes there is a need to work more closely with each other. The relationship between national and European/World history remains until today a very much debated topic in our societies. In Romania, already a full-member of EU, this question is not solved entirely. The principles of tolerance and respect of "others" should be common not just for history but also for literature, geography, foreign languages, etc.

A considerable number of events in the 20th century influence the modern society and this period should be very carefully presented in the history textbooks. Hence, the History of 20th century is very important in the process of training critical thinking, tolerance and democratic citizenship. Pupils should be helped to find roots, preconditions, inter-connections of the events, for better understanding of modern historical processes which have a basis in 20th century.

The textbooks edited in both countries are used local textbooks produced by state and private publishing houses. Most textbooks are curriculum-based and are developed according the guidelines issued by Ministries of Education. Through their textbook publishing policy the Ministry of Education controls the content and quality of textbooks. It is difficult to describe and to have an ideal textbook,¹⁵⁰ but textbook writers should try to do better textbooks taking into account the actual needs and opportunities. Nonetheless there are certain circumstances, conditions and characteristics that influence the development and quality of textbooks. In most cases the quality of textbooks depends on general political, social and economic situation from each country. T. Hunt in his report on textbook development in Romania, Macedonia, Sri Lanka, Azerbaijan and China observed exactly that for a successful outcome we should have simultaneously three main broad areas:

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

The history curricula and textbooks in both countries have progressed, but we still encounter a lot of problems. Among them, are following general aspects:

- improving the design of textbooks and including more colour pictures and maps makes the books more attractive but the text is not always understood;

- the content of curricula and history textbooks places too much emphasis on national aspects at the detriment of international, regional and local dimensions of history;

- reflection of the history of wars and violence instead of giving more space to periods of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and cultural exchange, of mutual enrichment between different groups as well as between nations;¹⁵¹

- neglecting the regional history, cultural and historical links with neighbour countries;

- existing problems on history teaching and ethnic identity, as well as relationship between "We" and "Others".

There are some historical personalities from one country that make links with the history of another country, but they are not so well presented in the history textbooks in Moldova, and Romania. A good example of this approach is explored in the Georgian textbooks (eg. Antim Ivoreanul and his role in Georgian-Romanian relations, David Guramishvili and his role in Ukrainian-Georgian relations, etc.).¹⁵²

So, for improving the situation in the field of history teaching, presenting and treating each other in history textbook the Governments of Moldova and Romania have to do a lot of things, some of them are described in the following.

Finally, it cannot be expected a quick solution in history teaching in each country separately. This is a long process of partnership linked with principles of democracy and tolerance which should be open and continuously sustained. Governments have to initiate dialogs on fundamental principles, in order to facilitate educational policy development and provide assistance in areas of greatest need; assist in the development of national publishing industries, support textbook research, disseminate and exchange information, etc.

NOTES

- 1 BENNETT 1999, 8.
- 2 APPLE 1991, 10.
- 3 FRITZSCHE 1992.
- 4 SLATER 1992, 14.
- 5 WEINREICH 1995, 134.
- 6 Some details about research methods and criteria are discussed in my work MUSTEAȚĂ 2006a.
- 7 See more details about notion “hostile” in KOSELLECK 2009, 232-242.
- 8 See the detailed analysis of the debates around history teaching in the Republic of Moldova in MUSTEAȚĂ 2010a.
- 9 *La baza statalității trebuie să se afle adevărata istorie a Republicii Moldova*. In: Moldova Suverană, nr. 26-26, 19 februarie 2003, p. 1.
- 10 Hotărârea Guvernului Republicii Moldova (nr. 180) cu privire la implementarea „Istoriei Moldovei” ca disciplină de predare în instituțiile de învățământ. In: Monitorul Oficial al Republicii Moldova, nr. 27-28, 18 februarie 2002, art. 252.
- 11 *Apelul Congresului Istoricilor din Republica Moldova „Pentru apărarea demnității naționale, pentru stoparea campaniei de românofobie și denigrare a Istoriei Românilor (1 iulie 2003)”*. In: În apărarea istoriei și demnității naționale, Chișinău, 2003, p. 33-35.
- 12 <http://www.prezident.md/search.php?id=902&lang=rom> (accessed 21.06.2008). Tatiana Roșca, Viorica Bivol, *Integrarea Republicii Moldova în Europa – prin educația istorică*. In: Moldova Suverană, nr. 206 (20154), 13 noiembrie 2002, pp. 1, 3.
- 13 Wim van Meurs, *History Textbooks in Moldova*, Expert Report, Braunschweig 26-27 June 2003, p. 5.
- 14 In Transnistria, schools continue using the standards of the Russian Federation for history education (use of the same teaching program, with the same number of hours and history textbooks). The school program includes two courses, World history and History of the Fatherland, which referred to the history of Russia, the USSR, and Transnistria.
- 15 In 2006, the new Minister of Education, Mr. V. Țvircun said that these authors had participated in a competition and had been selected through a legitimate selection process; however, this was a false statement.
- 16 DOBZEU/GAVRILIȚĂ/NAGNIBEDA-TVERDOHLEB/GAIBU 2007.
- 17 *Voronin cere returnarea manualelor de istorie integrate*. In: Gazeta liberă, Nr. 34 (75), 5 octombrie 2006, <http://gazeta.md/75-3.php> (accessed 24.06.2008).
- 18 Georg-Eckert-Institut für Internationale Schulbuchforschung, Press Release “The Moldova Project and the Controversies about the New History Textbooks in the Republic of Moldova”, December 15, 2006.

- 19 CERBUȘCĂ/DOBZEU 2010.LUNGU/GAVRILIȚĂ/NAGNIBEDA-TVERDOHLEB/DOBZEU/BALAN/
NEGREI/BİRLĂDEANU/IACONI 2011.
- 20 SEIM 2005.
- 21 CERBUȘCĂ/GONȚA/HAHEU/PETROVSCHI 1999.
- 22 GAVRILIȚĂ/DOBZEU/HAHEU/NAGNIBEDA-TVERDOHLEB/VEVERIȚĂ 2006.
- 23 NEGRU 2005; CERBUȘCĂ 2007.
- 24 NICULIȚĂ/POTLOG/ARNĂUT 2000.
- 25 *Ibidem*, p. 210-213.
- 26 GONȚA/PARASCA/CERBUȘCĂ/HAHEU/PETROVSCHI 2000.
- 27 GONȚA/PETROVSCHI 2000, p. 150.
- 28 *Ibidem*, p. 153.
- 29 DRAGNEV/GONȚA/COCİRLĂ/DRAGNEV 2001.
- 30 *Ibidem*, p. 174, 188, 193, 202, 206, 210, 214.
- 31 POPOVICI/POPOVICI 2006.
- 32 DRAGNEV/DRACHNEBERG/OJOG/DRAGNEV/GONȚA/VARTA 2002.
- 33 *Ibidem*, p. 168-179, 200-203.
- 34 *Ibidem*, 180-182.
- 35 CERTAN/MOISEEV/VEVERIȚĂ 2006, p. 40-41 and p. 196-197.
- 36 OJOG/TURLIUC 2002; DRACHNEBERG/CERTAN/COZMA/CERBUȘCĂ 2003.
- 37 CHICUȘ/DANU/DRAGNEV/NEGREI 2003; VARTA/ȘAROV 2003.
- 38 PETRENCU/DOBZEU 2004.
- 39 NAZARIA/ROMAN/SPRİNCEANĂ/BARBUS/ALBU-MACHEDON/DUMBRAVĂ 2006.
- 40 CAȘU/PALADE/ȘAROV 2009.
- 41 *Ibidem*, p. 106.
- 42 BERCIU-DRAGHICESCU/OFRIM/PREDA 2007, p. 121, 127-128.
- 43 PARASCA/NEGREI/GONȚA/GAVRILIȚĂ/DOBZEU 2007; DRAGNEV/POSTICĂ 2011.
- 44 PARASCA u. a. 2007, p. 53, 71, 75.
- 45 DRAGNEV/POSTICĂ 2011, p. 151 and p. 181-182.
- 46 *Ibidem*, p. 192.
- 47 POPOVICI/POPOVICI 2008.
- 48 CHICUȘ/CIUBOTARU/GONȚA/NEGREI/DOBZEU/GAVRILIȚĂ 2006; VARTA/DRAGNEV 2001.
- 49 COJESCU/MAMINA/DRACHNEBERG 2007; VARTA/VARTA 2007.
- 50 CHICUȘ/ȘAROV/OJOG/CERBUȘCĂ/PĂSLARIUC/DOBZEU/NAGNIBEDA-TVERDOHLEB 2007.
- 51 COJESCU u. a. 2007, p. 122-126 and 146. VARTA/VARTA 2007, p. 154-158.
- 52 CHICUȘ u. a. 2006, 162-163.
- 53 CHICUȘ u. a. 2007.
- 54 SCURTU/ȘIȘCANU/CURCULESCU/DINCĂ/SOARE 2007
- 55 *Ibidem*, p. 60-61.
- 56 *Ibidem*, p. 108.
- 57 KARGER 2012.
- 58 *Ibidem*, p. 179, 183.
- 59 *Ibidem*, 198-200.

- 60 NAZARIA/ROMAN/SPRÎNCEANĂ/ALBU-MACHEDON/DUMBRAVĂ/BARBUS 2006.
- 61 ENCIU 2008. This textbook is based on previous edition *History of Romanians*:
62 ENCIU 2002.
- 63 See more about reformation of the educational system in Romania in BIRZEA
1994; KOLAR 1997; KOLAR 2003; STEFANESCU 2005; GEORGESCU/PALADE 2003, etc.
- 64 For more details on educational system see: *Reviews of National Policies
for Education. South Eastern Europe. FYROM, Moldova, Montenegro,
Romania, Serbia*. Vol. 2. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
Development-OECD, 2003, pp. 267-334; GEORGESCU/PALADE 2003.
- 65 For more details see OLOGEANU 1997.
- 66 In the first textbooks of History of Romanians the authors did not include the
information regarding Romanians around the World. Nothing is mentioned
about Romanians from Bessarabia, Bukovina, Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan,
etc. See for example the following textbook: MANEA/PASCU/TEODORESCU 1992.
MURGESCU 2002, 279-280.
- 67 MURGESCU 1999b, 112; MURGESCU 2001a, 230.
- 68 The Educational Plan (Plan de învățământ) is a complex educational tool
elaborated by the Institute of Educational Sciences, inspectors from the
Ministry of Education and working group. The plan contains 7 curricular areas,
including study programs, textbooks, guides, methodological supports, etc.
- 69 Discipline programs are elaborated by working groups under National
Commission, independent experts, university professors, experts from the
National Curriculum Council and Institute of Educational Sciences.
- 70 MURGESCU 1999a, 65-66; MURGESCU 2001b, 22-23; MURGESCU/GHEORGHE/CALTIA
2001.
- 71 CĂPIȚĂ/CĂPIȚĂ 2001, 233.
- 72 MANEA u. a. 1992; MANEA/PASCU/TEODORESCU 1993.
- 73 MURGESCU 1999a, 66; MURGESCU 2001b, 23; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
- 74 HUNT 2006, 213.
- 75 HUNT 2006, 213.
- 76 See: ROTH 2005.
- 77 MURGESCU 1999a, 66; MURGESCU 2001b, 23; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
- 78 MURGESCU 1999a, 66; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
- 79 MURGESCU 2001b, 23.
- 80 MURGESCU 2001b, 23.
- 81 MURGESCU 1999b, 113; HEINEN 2000, 92-104.
- 82 MURGESCU 2001b, 23; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
- 83 SZAKÁCS 2007, 23. See more about S. Nicolaescu involvement in history
textbook scandal in October, 1999: HEINEN 2000.
- 84 See a few articles from main newspapers of that time: Adevărul, 6.10.1999;
16.10.1999; Cotidianul, 22.10.1999; România Literară, Dilema, Revista 22,
etc. ȚURCANU 1999; MURGESCU 2001b, 24; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
- 85 MURGESCU 2001b, 24; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.

- 85 SCURTU/CURCULESCU/DINCA 2000.
 86 SZAKÁCS 2007, 24.
 87 Law of Education (no. 84/1995) modified and republished in Monitorul
 Official of Romania no. 606, part I, December 10, 1999.
 88 MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
 89 MURGESCU 2001b, 22; MURGESCU u. a. 2001, 3.
 90 MURGESCU 1999a, 65; MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
 91 MURGESCU 1999a, 65; MURGESCU u. a. 2001
 92 The table was developed on data from articles published by M. Murgescu
 and information offered by M. Manea. MURGESCU 2001b, 22; MURGESCU u.
 a. 2001.
 93 KOLAR 1997; KOLAR 2003; MIHAYLOVA 2006.
 94 IONESCU/DUMITRESCU/FOCȘENEANU 2001; PETCUȚ/GRIGORE/SANDU 2003. BAIER/
 BOTTESCH/NOWAK/WIECKEN/ZIEGLER 2005; PETRESCU 2005, 2007; GRIGORE/PETCUȚ/
 SANDU 2005; GRIGORE u. a. 2005; BĂLUȚOIU 2009; BĂLUȚOIU 2010, etc.
 95 STAMATESCU 2008; STAMATESCU/GROSESCU/DOBRINCU/MURARU/PLEȘA/ANDREESCU
 2009.
 96 GRIGORE/BERCIU-DRAGHICESCU/CRISEA 1999; BUREC/LAZAR/TEODORESCU 1997;
 OCHESCU/OANE 2003; MIHĂELESCU/PIȚILĂ 2003.
 97 The analytical program approved by Order of Ministry of Education and
 Research no. 3919 from 20 April 2005.
 98 OANE/OCHESCU 2008, p. 34-35 (Dosar thematic Bulgarii – vecinii noștri de
 la sud de Dunăre/ Ungurii – vecini de la apus).
 99 *Ibidem*, p. 36 (Dosar tematic *Alți vecini ai românilor – sârbi/rușii și istoria lor*).
 100 DINU/DIDIȚĂ 2006.
 101 PETRE/BERCEA/SELEVET/STĂNESCU/TACHE 2006, p. 85. PENEȘ/TRONCOTĂ 2006, p. 24, 86.
 102 BALUTOIU/VLAD 1997; CAPIȚA/PETRE/DVORSKI/GROSU/CAPIȚA 1997; GRIGORIȚĂ/OANE
 1997, 2003, etc.
 103 BALUTOIU/VLAD 1997, 74.
 104 BURLEAC/LAZĂR/TEODORESCU 2000.
 105 BURLEAC u. a. 2000, p. 150-152.
 106 BURLEAC u. a. 2000, p. 187-188 (Occupation of Bessarabia).
 107 BALUTOIU/VLAD 2005.
 108 *Ibidem*, p. 61-63 and p. 128-129.
 109 *Ibidem*, p. 187.
 110 CONSTANTINIU/COJESCU/MAMINA 2008.
 111 *Ibidem*, p. 62.
 112 *Ibidem*, p. 77.
 113 OANE/OCHESCU 2011.
 114 VULPE/PĂUN/BĂJENARU/GROSU 2000, p. 9, 10, 21, 144.
 115 *Ibidem*, p. 32-33.
 116 OANE/OCHESCU 2003, see the theme *Mediul și oamenii* (Environment and people).

- 117 *Ibidem*, p. 14.
118 LAZĂR/LUPU 2006.
119 *Ibidem*, p. 19, 21.
120 *Ibidem*, p. 23.
121 *Ibidem*, p. 42.
122 *Ibidem*, p. 85.
123 *Ibidem*, p. 113.
124 *Ibidem*, p. 139.
125 *Ibidem*, 172-173.
126 BREZEANU 2004.
127 BĂLUȚOIU 2011; BĂLUȚOIU 2005.
128 *Ibidem*, p. 50.
129 *Ibidem*, p. 113-116.
130 STAN/VORNICU 2011.
131 BUDICI/STĂNESCU/ȚIGĂU 2006.
132 BĂLUȚOIU 2005.
133 SCURTU/CURCULESCU/DINCA/SOARE 2006.
134 SCURTU u. a. 2006 *Ibidem*, p. 56-57.
135 *Ibidem*, 111-114.
136 OANE/STRAT 2011.
137 *Ibidem*, p. 92.
138 BOZGAN/LAZĂR/STAMATESCU/TEODORESCU 1999.
139 *Ibidem*, p. 59-61.
140 *Ibidem*, p. 89-96.
141 *Ibidem*, p. 166.
142 DUMITRESCU/MANEA/NITA/PASCU/TRABDAFIR/TRANDAFIR 2000, 2004.
143 SZAKÁCS 2007, 26.
144 PETRE/CĂPIȚĂ/STĂNESCU/LUNG/LIVDĂ-CADESCHI/CIUPALĂ/ȚURCANU/VLAD/ANDREESCU 2008.
145 *Ibidem*, p. 48-55.
146 MURGESCU u. a. 2001.
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