

**TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN: NARRATIVES OF THE  
HABSBURG PAST IN THE CROATIAN AND HUNGARIAN  
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS  
(1990 – 2000)**

By

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## **Abstract**

The thesis investigates that how important the role of history textbooks in shaping the views about the national history and how the current political situation has an impact on it. Through the analysis of the narratives on the period between 1867 and 1914 in the Croatian and Hungarian elementary school textbooks, the thesis aim is to highlight the role of it in memory politics. The thesis focuses on the period between 1990 and 2000, because memory politics and therefore history textbooks have a more significant role in shaping the view about history in a period of major political transition and in the years following it. Croatia and Hungary had a long historical co-existence, and this makes the comparison of the two nations' memory politics regarding the history textbook is an exceptional example that how a given period of this coexistence is preserved in the national memory and how it is used in politics.

The thesis analyzes the differences between the Croatian and Hungarian narratives, as well as the role of memory politics in multiple levels for the better understanding the importance of the relationship between history textbooks and politics. The three chapters of the text concentrates on various aspects from the political impact to the structural and historical developments of institutions and other factors which are all have an impact on how history is preserved in the national collective memory.

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# Introduction

## Topic

This thesis discusses the problems connected to differences in national narratives regarding the shared Habsburg historical experiences in Croatian and Hungarian textbooks of the 1990s. The main aim of this research is to highlight how differently a historical period can be presented and preserved in the collective memory of two nations. The main sources for showing these differences and discussing the problems of the phenomenon are elementary school history textbooks from a period when both Croatia and Hungary went through a major change of political system, and the (re)developing of national historical narratives was a key legitimizing tool and important identity question as well. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, both Croatia and Hungary were in a situation where they had to (re)define their place and role in the new international and national framework, which evolved after the end of the Cold War in the 1990s.

The comparison of these two nations is a perfect case to analyze the representations of the same period in national memory because Croatia and Hungary have shared a long common historical experience, dating back more than eight hundred years. The differentiation in the narratives of this coexistence is caused by the fact that this common history was disrupted a century ago, with the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This discontinuity makes an analysis of the differences possible. The comparison of Croatia and Hungary is a unique case because not many culturally different nations have experienced such a prolonged coexistence. Altogether, these factors make this case ideal to detect how differently a given period can be imprinted and preserved in national collective memories.

However, this topic is too vast, and it is almost impossible to analyze all the problems of national memories about the same period within the framework of a thesis, which is why the focus is instead on the narratives of elementary school history textbooks from the 1990s. Textbooks are perfect sources for the research of politics of memory and/or history, because these are platforms within the education system where the numerous political agencies and agents—mainly the ruling parties, government, and so forth—can impact and shape a younger generation’s thinking about the nation, political agendas, and history itself.<sup>1</sup>

My hypothesis is that the education system—and within it, history education—is one of the most influential fields of (memory) politics to shape the thinking of the nation’s society about the state’s own history and influence the worldview of the masses, and not just in the cases of contested historical events. Its reformation under new political systems is a crucial political task. Within education, the teaching of history is one of the most influential factors in the creation of ideas. The ways in which teachers and textbooks interpret the events of the past and how students learn about them can define their individual thinking about the world and their nation.

To find and analyze the basic elements and the essence of this relationship, I will focus on the cases of Hungary and Croatia right after a crucial change in political system at the beginning of the 1990s. Both Hungary and Croatia experienced the effects of a communist regime dating back almost half a century, which caused some milder and more radical changes in both cases. I am going to analyze how the textbooks written during this transitional period judged and represented the Habsburg past. The two states’ common historical experience under the Habsburg Empire changed and developed the course of both

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<sup>1</sup>Snježana Koren and Branislava Baranović, “What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?,” in ›*Transition and the Politics of History Education in Southeastern Europe* (V&R unipress, n.d.), 91–94.



nations' history throughout the centuries and left a number of traces in it, some of which still influence historical memory today. I am going to narrow down the research scope to the nineteenth century, and mainly to the second half of it, because that was the period when in both cases the (re)birth of national consciousness arose. Although both Hungary and Croatia had a diverse relationship with the Habsburgs and had a differing location and importance within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, they had various encounters during this period. The two nations' relationship to the ruling power and to each other was intense during the second half of the nineteenth century, following the Compromise of 1867 until the outbreak of the First World War. The Habsburg past is important in both cases in different ways, making this case highly worthwhile for comparison.

### **Theoretical framework**

History textbooks are considered as a political tool, which has a major and crucial function within the education system in the formation and redesigning of national memory and a tool for shaping the ideas of the younger generation. Moreover, textbooks also have an impact on the development of national identity: in some particular cases, the individual and collective identity are both affected. These are the reasons why this research requires an interdisciplinary approach between political science and history.

The multiple layers of the topic, as well as the comparison of the Croatian and Hungarian cases, necessitates a well-established theoretical framework. In this regard, the analysis of the textbooks as products of the education system, which is used as a tool for controlling views about national history and the past by a given state, the most suitable theoretical framework is that of memory studies and within this vast framework, the field of memory politics (or politics of memory/history). It provides a theoretical framework which allows for the investigation of national narratives, both as political discourses which are

impacted by history and also as a form of national memory. Memory is an interdisciplinary approach, with a methodology consisting of elements from both political science and history. The focus of memory politics or politics of memory (along with politics of history) is the role of political agents—for example, governments—in shaping, forming, and controlling the national collective memory and identity.<sup>2</sup>

Memory studies is an academic field which has been an influential area of research in both the social sciences and history, although its peak period was during the “memory boom” of the 1970s until the 1990s. Nevertheless, research on individual and collective memory is still popular. The fundamental element of memory studies is “collective memory.” The basic concept and theory on it, having the most immense impact to historians, was formulated by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Halbwachs is still claimed to be the father of the field, and his concept is the starting point of almost every other concept of memory that has appeared in the post-war period across different branches of human sciences. The main idea of Halbwachs’ concept is that the process of memories and the act of remembering is only possible within a given societal structure. This structure can be any kind of social form, environment, and groups, like family, social class, church, and nation. This basic idea was later developed by sociologists, anthropologists, and historians (among others). There is not enough space to look into the long and complex historiography of memory studies here, so I will only introduce the three most basic or relevant theories and theoreticians in the historiography.

The French historian Pierre Nora first reinterpreted the ideas of Halbwachs in the 1980s. In his study *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*,<sup>3</sup> Nora agrees with

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<sup>2</sup>Laura Nasrallah, “The Politics of Memory,” *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* Vol. 33, no. No. 2. (2005).

<sup>3</sup>Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* No. 26., no. Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 7–24.

Halbwachs that remembering is only possible in a social context. However, Nora's main argument is that history and memory became the opposite of each other, chiefly in the post-Second World War period. For Nora history is a created organization of past events, and it is the reason for the disappearance of real memory. Because of this process, memory spaces or lieux de mémoire are the physical spaces where these lost real memories can be crystallized. They are important for various social groups, primarily for the nations.<sup>4</sup>

The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur agrees with Nora, stating in his work *Memory, History, Forgetting*<sup>5</sup> that in modern times memory has been abused, and he emphasizes that history is either the antidote or the handicap of memory.<sup>6</sup> The importance of Ricoeur's concept is that he emphasizes the role of recalling memories and forgetting because there are multiple cases when certain historical events, individuals, or progressions are omitted from the national memory.

Memory politics is a particular field within memory studies. As mentioned above, to answer the questions of how the different political agents control, use, or exploit collective memory, both political and historical knowledge and approaches are needed. This field also has a vast literature; accordingly, I will only introduce the two most relevant works. The first is the collection of essays *Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration*,<sup>7</sup> edited by Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik. The studies in this book analyze how the politics of memory was used, or is still in use, in various states over the twenty years since the fall of the Iron Curtain, mainly focusing on the commemorations of 1989. The authors of the volume argue that 1989 was an extremely important historical

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<sup>4</sup>Nora.

<sup>5</sup>Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 5. print (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>6</sup>Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 56–86.

<sup>7</sup>Michael H. Bernhard and Jan Kubik, eds., *TwentyYearsafterCommunism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014).

turning point which had a major impact on the politics of memory in the Central European states. The other work to mention is *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* by Andreas Huyssen.<sup>8</sup> Huyssen argues in this book that today, the boundaries of past and present are not as sharp as they were before, partially thanks to modern technologies like film or photography.<sup>9</sup> According to Huyssen, “for about two centuries, history in the West was quite successful in its project to anchor the ever more transitory present of modernity and the nation in a multifaceted but strong narrative of historical time.”<sup>10</sup>

## Methodology

Although textbooks serve as significant information carriers and providers of national narratives of a given period, as well as having been analyzed for decades as primary sources in their own right, there nevertheless remains no clear and consensus-based methodology of their analysis. However, there are some important methodological theories about it, but they are not the basis of all research and they are not generally accepted and used. According to Estonian researcher Jaan Mikk, three types of textbook evaluations exist: respondent opinions, experimental investigation, and analysis of textbooks.<sup>11</sup> I consider the final one of these three as the most relevant approach for my research, because it is more objective than the others while also offering the most freedom. Analysis of textbook focuses on the data gathering of textbook characteristics. The evaluation of the textbooks is based on fixed rules.<sup>12</sup>

However, the situation is complex, and choosing the best methodology for the research is not easy. One of the reasons for this is that the analysis of textbooks is widespread

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<sup>8</sup>Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003).

<sup>9</sup>Huyssen, 1.

<sup>10</sup>Huyssen, 1–2.

<sup>11</sup>László Kojanitz, “Tankönyvanalízisek,” *Iskolakultúra* 9 (2005): 135.

<sup>12</sup>Jaan Mikk, *Textbook: Research and Writing*, Baltische Studien Zur Erziehungs- Und Sozialwissenschaft, Bd. 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), 77.

in various and dissimilar scientific fields, from mathematics<sup>13</sup> to sociology,<sup>14</sup> from political science to pedagogy.<sup>15</sup> After looking at diverse studies of textbooks about various topics in different national contexts, it can be seen that in the field of history the most widely researched topics through textbook analysis are of an individual state's textbooks in a particular well-defined period. In most cases, the researchers try to analyze and show the role played by history textbooks in the creation and forming of the students' national identities, and to find the official consensus and attitude towards a defined topic, period, problem, historical event, or change. In the case of Croatia and Hungary, textbook analysis is more widespread in Croatia than in Hungary.

### Literature review

There is an innumerable amount of academic works, essays, and articles about memory politics, the political transitions in Croatia and Hungary, textbook analysis more generally, and the history of the period between 1867 and 1918. It is therefore impossible to engage with all of this research. Accordingly, I have instead tried to use some of the most relevant literature.

Regarding memory politics and the politics of history, numerous academic works and articles were published, many discussing the problems of the post-1989 situation of the states formerly behind the Iron Curtain. Sabrina P. Ramet's work *Whose Democracy? Nationalism, Religion and the Doctrine of Collective Rights in Post-1989 Eastern Europe*<sup>16</sup> is an important

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<sup>13</sup>Lisa O'Keeffe, "A Framework for Textbook Analysis," *International Review of Contemporary Learning Research* 1 (2013): 1–13.

<sup>14</sup> Asan Baleghizadeh, Amir Hossein, and Shaban Rahimi, "Evaluation of an ESP Textbook for the Students of Sociology.," *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 2, no. 5 (2011): 1009–14.

<sup>15</sup> It has a huge amount and variety of studies, for example, Vasilis Koulaidis and Anna Tsatsaroni, "A Pedagogical Analysis of Science Textbooks: How Can We Proceed?," *Research in Science Education* 26, no. 1 (1996): 55–71.

<sup>16</sup>Sabrina P. Ramet, *Whose Democracy? Nationalism, Religion, and the Doctrine of Collective Rights in Post-1989 Eastern Europe* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997).

overview of the post-1989 situation in Central and Eastern Europe focusing on the problems of rights, legitimacy, and political succession (called the “Holy Trinity” by Ramet<sup>17</sup>). Even though the problems that the authors deal with had already been discussed in numerous other academic works, the focus of the essays in this volume is different and specific. The framework is still nationalism, but with a focus on specific cases within it. The most relevant chapter from the book is “Eastern Europe’s Painful Transition”<sup>18</sup> where Ramet argues that the Central and Eastern European countries had to face problems after the political transitions for which they were not well-prepared.

Another collection of essays edited by Sabrina P. Ramet, *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*,<sup>19</sup> deals with the newly-established political system and the problems it faced through analyses of various states from the region. This work contains two essays which are related to the research topic. The chapter by András Bozóki and Eszter Simon addresses the political history of Hungary following political transition,<sup>20</sup> while Ramet herself looks at the politics of Croatia during this period in the study “Croatia since 1990”.<sup>21</sup>

In his essay “History in the first Parliament: The Politics of Memory in Hungary 1990–1994,”<sup>22</sup> Heino Nyssönen discusses the major debates, issues and problematic topics that appeared in the Hungarian political field during the first years of political transition. His main argument is that “at an identity level the past has been more political, than the

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<sup>17</sup>Ramet. Page 15.

<sup>18</sup>Sabrina P. Ramet, “Eastern Europe’s Painful Transition,” in *Whose Democracy? Nationalism, Religion, and the Doctrine of Collective Rights in Post-1989 Eastern Europe* (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997), 39–59.

<sup>19</sup>Sabrina P. Ramet, ed., *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>20</sup>András Bozóki and Eszter Simon, “Hungary since 1989,” in *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*, 2010, 205–32.

<sup>21</sup>Sabrina P. Ramet, “Croatia since 1990,” in *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 258–85.

<sup>22</sup>Heino Nyssönen, “History in the First Parliament: The Politics of Memory in Hungary 1990-1994,” *Hungarologische Beiträge*, no. 14 (2002): 163–89.

future.”<sup>23</sup> Politicized history became an important element in defining who “we” are, and what the “other” is. In the essay, Nyysönen shows the problems of politicizing history using various examples, from the legacy of 1956, to the reburial of Miklós Horthy, to the decisions on national holidays. This essay, despite its obvious weaknesses—it is more like a list of problems—is an important base for understanding how the Hungarian political actors connected to the past, which also affected the narratives in the history textbooks.

In his book *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*,<sup>24</sup> Stevo Đurašković compares the various factors of the politics of memory in Croatia and Slovakia, focusing on diverse aspects of politics, society, and culture. This work is an important point of reference for this thesis for two reasons. On the one hand, it serves as an excellent example of how to compare two different political systems’ memory politics. On the other hand, the sections about Croatia all contain crucial pieces of information about nation-building concepts, the role of national history, and memory in politics. Furthermore, Đurašković abundantly analyzes the political thoughts and discourses of Franjo Tuđman, who was the president and an exceptionally important political figure in Croatia throughout the 1990s, exactly in the time span of my research.

There are numerous academic works written about the change of regime in Hungary, so here I just mention two works, which form the basis of the literature about this segment. The comprehensive work about the political transition in Hungary, *Volt egyszer egy rendszerváltás* [Once upon a time there was a transition]<sup>25</sup> by the Hungarian historian Ignác Romsics, shows the complex elements and events of the transition, clearly explaining the

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<sup>23</sup>Nyysönen, 164.

<sup>24</sup>Stevo Đurašković and Magdalena Najbar-Agičić, *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2016).

<sup>25</sup>Ignác Romsics and Imre Prohászka, *Volt Egyszer Egy Rendszerváltás*, Rubicon-Könyvek (Budapest: Rubicon-Ház, 2003).

sometimes barely understandable circumstances. Accordingly, this work became foundational to the understanding of the period. The photos of Hungarian photographer Imre Prohászka make it easier and more interesting to understand the topic. For a better understanding of the political system which was established after the changes in 1989, I chose to read not only works by historians, but also those from political scientists. The book of essays *A magyar politikai rendszer – negyedszázad után* [The Hungarian political system—after a quarter of a century],<sup>26</sup> edited by András Körösi, is a political science and law university textbook which analyzes the post-1989 political system of Hungary, focusing on the major institutions, political parties, and so forth. This book was useful for broadening the horizons of my research and conceptualizing the topic as a primarily political one.

The historiography of the Austro-Hungarian dualist state between 1867 and 1918 has a vast literature, so much like the other topics there was a need to be selective. For a more general overview and easier understanding of the national perspective of the period, I chose two kinds of literature from different authors. The first is Mónika Kozári's work *A dualista rendszer (1867–1918)* [The Dualist System (1867–1918)].<sup>27</sup> It is a comprehensive work discussing the most important elements of the Dualist state. The author clearly states that her goal was to summarize the crucial political elements of the period, not to provide new insights or perspectives about them. It is more like a handbook, especially useful when some basic information is needed. The other book is *Magyarország a 19. században* [Hungary during the Nineteenth Century], edited by András Gergely.<sup>28</sup> This volume is a fundamental monograph of the Hungarian historiography. The conference "*A királyhűség jól bevált*

<sup>26</sup> *A Magyar Politikai Rendszer--: Negyedszázad Után* (Budapest: Osiris-MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont Politikatudományi Intézet, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> Mónika Kozári, *A Dualista Rendszer: 1867-1918*, Modern Magyar Politikai Rendszerek (Budapest: Pannonica, 2005).

<sup>28</sup> András Gergely, ed., *Magyarország története a 19. században*, Osiris tankönyvek (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2005).



*útján...*” *Rendi és nemzeti kötődések szimbolikus változásai 1867 és 1918 között* [“The Loyal Way of Good Practice...: Symbolic Changes in Rank and National Bonding Between 1867 and 1918.”]<sup>29</sup> and its accompanying conference volume deals with the specific problems of ties across diverse societal levels. The lectures focused on some aspects of the relationship and attitudes towards the nation, the dynasty, and Franz Joseph. Not every study in the book is connected to the research topic; however, three of them were useful and broadened my view regarding the subject. András Cieger, in his study “Nemzeti identitás és állampolgári lojalitás a dualizmus kori Magyarországon” [National Identity and Citizen Loyalty during the Dualist Period in Hungary]<sup>30</sup> focuses on the problems of national ties, attachment to local affairs, and personal relationships of the period, observing how these changed the perception of the nation, and the later perception of the dualistic system as well.

The bilingual book *A horvát–magyar együttélés fordulópontjai: Intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra* [Turning Points in the Coexistence of Croats and Hungarians: Institutions, Society, Economy, Culture]<sup>31</sup> contains studies both in Croatian and Hungarian. This book of essays is a vast collection about the most important topics, questions, and debates regarding the long period of the common history of Croatia and Hungary. The studies attempt to highlight the most important common historical experiences, including both positive and negative episodes. The studies which cover the time period of my research helped further my understanding of the diverse narratives contained in the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks.

<sup>29</sup>Norbert Glässer and András Zima, *“A királyhűség jól bevált útján...”*: *Rendi és nemzeti kötődések szimbolikus változásai 1867 és 1918 között*, 2016.

<sup>30</sup>András Cieger, “Nemzeti Identitás És Állampolgári Lojalitás a Dualizmus Kori Magyarországon,” in *“A Királyhűség Jól Bevált Útján...” Rendi És Nemzeti Kötődések Szimbolikus Változásai 1867 És 1918 Között*, 2016.

<sup>31</sup>Dénes Sokcsevits and Pál Fodor, eds., *A horvát–magyar együttélés fordulópontjai: Intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra*, Magyar Történelmi Emlékek. Értekezések (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet : bHorvát Történettudományi Intézet, 2015).

In Croatian historiography, Snježana Koren is considered to be one of the most influential experts of the history of the Croatian education system and history textbooks. As a history teacher and textbook writer she has published numerous studies, articles about the changes, problems within the education system itself, and also about the history textbooks and their role in education and politics. One of the most important writing from Koren is the study “What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?”<sup>32</sup> which she co-wrote with Branislava Baranović. In this study they discuss the historical and political background of the Croatian education system from 1990 until 2008, and give a detailed review about all the political and structural problems of the Croatian education system in the analyzed period. Also, the study *Regional History in Textbooks. The Croatian Case*<sup>33</sup> emphasize the inner regional problems of Croatia which are all discussed in history and geography textbooks, too. This study is important, because one of the differences between the Croatian and Hungarian case is that in the Croatian textbooks the history and problems of the Croatian region – mainly Dalmatia and Istria – is an important element, while in Hungary the local history of regions are not part of the national history, and it is really rare when it appears in textbooks.

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<sup>32</sup>Koren and Baranovic, “What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?”

<sup>33</sup>Snježana Koren, “Regional History in Textbooks. The Croatian Case.,” *European Studies. Center for German And European Studies and Graduate School of Arts and Sciences*. 5 (.): 29–42.

## Chapter 1–Political Background, Education System and the Connection of History Textbooks and Historiography

This chapter focuses on the political background of the 1990s, the situation of the Croatian and Hungarian education system and history textbook of the period along with the relationship between the history textbooks and historiography.

### Chapter 1.1. Transition in Croatia and Politics in the 1990s

The political transition in Croatia during the early 1990s was more complex, dramatic and difficult than in Hungary. The fact that Croatia was in war between 1991 and 1995 influenced and made more difficult the already started democratization processes.<sup>34</sup> The history of the war of the nineties and along with it the history of the political system change, its definition and problematization in Croatia is complicated, entangled and huge enough to be a topic of a whole book or series of book, that is why here, only an extract of it is possible. However, some basic facts are needed to know to understand the political and historical background of the 1990s, the period when the analyzed textbooks were written. Therefore, this subchapter is a straightforward, simplified introduction of the history of the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the democratic transition in Croatia, together with the short introduction of Croatia's participation in the war of the nineties.

The development into a stable and independent democracy was also hardened in Croatia, because of multiple internal and external reasons and circumstances. As Sabrina P. Ramet emphasizes the war of the nineties impacted the country's life in various levels including the disruption of the already existed trade relations, and destroying of the infrastructure as well as the drop of the tourism with eighty percent by the end of 1991. The

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<sup>34</sup>Koren and Baranovic, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?," 94.

war between 1991 and 1995 caused the immigration of 400.000 Croatian, and in 1991, the country lost the thirty percent of its territory, just to name a few consequences of the war, just to name a few direct consequences.<sup>35</sup>

In May 1990 Franjo Tuđman and his political party, the Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, HDZ) won the parliamentary elections along with the following two elections in 1992 and 1995.<sup>36</sup> The political discourses of the Party and mainly Franjo Tuđman's ideas influenced the internal and external political life and relationships. Tuđman remained the president of Croatia until his death on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1999. According to Stevo Đurašković as well as Koren and Baranović the main political ideology of the period was ethnic nationalism.<sup>37</sup> The main goal of Tuđman in the whole time during his presidency was to create and maintain a homogenous Croatia. The impact of his ideologies had an impact in the education system, and on the history textbooks as well.

## **Chapter 1.2. Hungarian transition – political situation in the 1990s**

The political transition in the case of both Croatia and Hungary at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s caused major changes in the political sphere, social and cultural life and these developments still have an impact on today's society in both countries. In this chapter, the discussion of the events of these transitions will be limited and narrowed down to the most important facts and events, because the history of the system change in Hungary, and also the transition of Croatia from a member of the Yugoslav state to an independent country are both extremely entangled and complicated cases, which were already

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<sup>35</sup>Ramet, *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*, 261.

<sup>36</sup>Koren and Baranović, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?," 94.

<sup>37</sup>Koren and Baranovic, 92–93.

Đurašković and Najbar-Agičić, *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*, 69.

discussed in various ways and forms by Croatian and Hungarian historians and others, too. The story of the transitional period in Croatia is especially complicated and difficult, because of the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia and Croatia's participation in the war of the nineties. That is also why the focus will be only on the most relevant aspects and events of the two political transitions which are crucial for the better understanding of the research topic.

In Hungary, the transition from a one-party dictatorship into a parliamentary democracy was the result of years' long developments and a consequence of international and internal changes, reasons. The System Change was a process which occurred in 1989 – 1990, and caused major changes in the political life and framework of Hungary, and also greatly transformed the Hungarian society and social conditions, too.

After the Second World War, from 1948 Hungary became the part of the Soviet sphere, and for forty years operated under strong political, the economic influence of the Soviet Union. The communist regimes of the Stalinist Mátyás Rákosi (1948 – 1956) and the more moderate János Kádár (1956 – 1989) governed almost every aspect of politics, culture and everyday life for forty years. Here, there is not enough space to deeply analyze the history of both regimes, however, it is important to note that in 1989 the socialist system collapsed and was replaced by a new, democratic one.

The post-1989 period is also crucial regarding the analysis of the history textbooks from the 1990s, because the modifications of the education system itself had an enormous impact on the structural levels and practical methods, which were both determining the way and modes how history has been represented in the textbooks, and how the newly developed doctrines of the post-1989 politics of memory transformed the contents the emphasis of the national history and the way the teachers taught them.

The prelude of the change had already started decades before. The realization of it was caused by diverse global political changes and economic reasons, along with important

internal developments and crises. As stated by Ignác Romsics in his book *Volt Egyszer egy Rendszerváltás* the four main reasons why the change had happened were the shift within the American foreign politics, the economic crises and the social discomfort in Hungary, the active efforts and ambitions of the opposition movements, and at last the “Gorbachev factor”<sup>38</sup>

The compendium of the changes in 1989 and 1990 is shortly that, back in 1985 as a political reaction to the concurrent political and economic crises, members and groups of the opposition lead by writers related to the “populist” cultural tradition (folk writers in Hungarian népi írók) had a meeting in Monor, a Hungarian town from twenty-five kilometers to the southeast from Budapest. However, this first attempt was not so successful, but have symbolically started the process of the system change.<sup>39</sup> Many political meetings, events followed in the next couple of years, however the transition itself occurred in 1989. The symbolical and political change happened when on 23<sup>rd</sup> of October 1989, Mátyás Szűrös<sup>40</sup> declared the democracy in the Parliament.<sup>41</sup> Next year, in 1990, the right wing party Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum, MDF) won the first election and the first government formed in the same year. József Antall became the prime minister of Hungary and he was in office until his death on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1993. In the next political election in 1994, the left wing party the Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt, MSZP), the prime minister was Gyula Horn. Four years later the Hungarian Civic Alliance (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége, FIDESZ) won, and in 1998 Viktor Orbán became the prime minister of Hungary for the first time. From the results of the three political

<sup>38</sup>Ignác Romsics, “A Gorbacsov-Faktor,” in *Volt Egyszer Egy Rendszerváltás* (Budapest: Rubicon-Ház, 2003), 37–43.[The Gorbachev factor]

<sup>39</sup>Ignác Romsics and Imre Prohászka, *Volt Egyszer Egy Rendszerváltás*, Rubicon-Könyvek (Budapest: Rubicon-Ház, 2003), 47–48.

<sup>40</sup>Hungarian politician, famous for this action. He was the temporary President of Hungary between 23<sup>rd</sup> of October and May 1990.

Biography of Mátyás Szűrös on the website of the Parliament

<https://www.parlament.hu/kepviselo/élet/s015.htm>(accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>41</sup>Romsics and Prohászka, *Volt Egyszer Egy Rendszerváltás*, 2003, 185–86.

elections in Hungary it is clear, that after the political transition the political life was lively, and the balance of power changed a lot.

### **Chapter 1.3. Croatian and Hungarian Public Education and History Teaching in the 1990s**

The Croatian education system established after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the formation of independent Croatia in 1991 underwent gradual change without a radical overhaul, much like the Hungarian case. According to Teo Matković, the problems of the education system were twofold. On the one hand, the major problem regarding public education was the slow pace of change. On the other hand, most of the problems existed because the education system was traditionally of a highly politicized and centralized nature.<sup>42</sup>

According to various reports—for example, from the China-CCE Institute—attempts at modernizing the system had some positive impact since 1991; however, the implementation of fundamental change was not successful, and according to international experts, the system itself could not be considered a modern one by European standards.<sup>43</sup> The monopoly of the Ministry of Education over the field is influencing its role in politics, making it harder to implement the necessary reforms. According to Snježana Koren, education is traditionally not only politicized, but also highly centralized in Croatia.<sup>44</sup> The

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<sup>42</sup> Teo Matković, "Working Paper. Recent Developments in the Education System and School-to-Work Transitions in Croatia" (Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung, 2010), 6, <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publications/wp/wp-138.pdf>. (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>43</sup> Viktoria Čaržavec, "Croatia Social Briefing: Reform in Croatia's Educational System- 'School for Life'" (China-CCE Institute, 2018) <https://china-cee.eu/2018/10/08/croatia-social-briefing-reform-in-croatias-educational-system-school-for-life/>.

<sup>44</sup> Koren and Baranovic, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?," 95.

bureaucracy is also one of the key reasons why almost every major reform attempt has failed, while modernization and development have yet to succeed.<sup>45</sup>

It is important to take into consideration that the developments of the Croatian education system were and are deeply interwoven with the political and social changes that the country went through in the early 1990s after the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia. The years of war, the surfacing of long-suppressed national tensions, and the nationalist ideologies of the first government and ruling party (the Croatian Democratic Union, or HDZ, led by the first president Franjo Tuđman) are all major players that defined the system of the educational sphere in the 1990s.<sup>46</sup>

Children start their education in Croatia at the age of six or seven. The elementary school is the only level where participation and education are mandatory, and completion of this level is compulsory. The elementary school has two structural sublevels. History, natural sciences, and other special courses are taught in three upper grades (from the fifth to eighth). The teaching of history starts in fifth grade, at the age of ten or eleven.<sup>47</sup> The history curricula are chronological, starting with the Prehistoric Era and Antiquity; the national and universal history of the nineteenth century enters into the curricula at the seventh grade. Topics related to the Habsburg Empire are exclusively taught from a national perspective. The most significant change in the history curricula is perceptible at the elementary-school level. Until

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<sup>45</sup> Paul Bradbury, "Croatian Education in Crisis: A Primary School Teacher Speaks," *Total Croatia News*, June 19, 2019  
<https://www.total-croatia-news.com/item/12546-croatian-education-in-crisis-a-primary-school-teacher-speaks>.  
 (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>46</sup> Koren and Baranović, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?," 94–95.  
 Matković, "Working Paper. Recent Developments in the Education System and School-to-Work Transitions in Croatia," 7–8.

<sup>47</sup> Ladislav Bogner, "Country Reports on Education Croatia: Problems and Perspectives in the Development of Schooling in Croatia" (Education and Media in Southeast Europe: Country Reports, 2000), [https://web.archive.org/web/20070911032008/http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/country\\_reports/Education\\_Croatia.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20070911032008/http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/country_reports/Education_Croatia.htm). (accessed June 8, 2019)



the end of the 1980s, the focus was more on global history, and only forty per cent of the curricula addressed the history of the South Slavic nations. This ratio was inverted in the early 1990s, and lessons concerning national history went on to account for sixty percent of the curricula, while forty percent of it deals with world history, usually keeping in mind the national perspective.<sup>48</sup>

Hungarian public education went through extensive, though slow-paced, alterations in the post-1989 period. Between 1990 and 1999 there were seven enactments of educational laws, and around one hundred and fifty governmental edicts were implemented only regarding public education. Throughout the 1990s the main focus was on stopping the process of over-decentralization, which continued in the first part of the decade due to earlier structural changes in public education. The first major legal activity that impacted public education was the 1990 modification to the Education Act of 1985. The major alteration concerned the sanctioning of open private and religious schools and the private maintaining of them. With this change, schooling ceased to be a state monopoly.<sup>49</sup> However, the most significant change during the 1990s regarding education was the implementation of Act No. LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education (which remains the Act in power, although it has been modified multiple times).<sup>50</sup>

The structural framework of the Hungarian education system is very similar to the Croatian one, and public education is no exception to it. Like Croatian students, Hungarian children start elementary school at the age of six, or sometimes slightly earlier. The sub-structural levels of the elementary schools are identical to their Croatian counterparts because the first four grades are where children learn basic skills like writing, reading, and computing,

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<sup>48</sup> Koren and Baranovic, "What Kind of History Education Do We Have After Eighteen Years of Democracy in Croatia?" 98 – 99.

<sup>49</sup> Elemér Kelemen, "A Rendszerváltás És Az Iskola," *Iskolakultúra* 6–7 (2003): 83–84.

<sup>50</sup> Kelemen, 83.

while the teaching of social and natural science classes runs from grade five until grade eight. History as an independent subject is taught from the fifth grade, starting with the Prehistoric period and Antiquity. The "long nineteenth century" and within it, the time of Dualism is taught in seventh grade, just like in Croatia.

In 2006, a research group from the Textbooks Research Institute carried out a large-scale comparative analysis focusing on changes to the curricula in the textbooks for elementary students over a thirty-year period from the 1970s until the mid-2000s. From the short version of their report "A tankönyvek változásai az 1970-es évektől napjainkig" [The Changes of the Textbooks from the 1970s until Today],<sup>51</sup> published in 2007, the most important findings are presented. The Ministry of Education commissioned the Institute to do a deep analysis to detect the bigger problems and also to examine the positive changes that occurred throughout the span of thirty years, from the 1970s until the time of publication. The researchers analyzed textbooks for seven different subjects, including History, along with Literature, Linguistics, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Ecology textbooks for elementary students. The researchers analyzed the differences within various aspects: topics and their changes, quantitative changes, changes in the language difficulty level, didactical changes, changes of the figures, pictures, changes of the questions and tasks.

The most positive change that occurred in the thirty-year span was the massive decrease in ideological references: for instance, the Marxist-Leninist discourse disappeared from the Literature and History textbooks. The authors of the textbooks followed the changes and developments within various scientific fields, and because of this, the contents of the textbooks improved. However, the authors also found themselves in the trap of putting too

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<sup>51</sup> Ágnes Fischerné Dárdai and László Kojanitz, "A Tankönyvek Változásai Az 1970-Es Évektől Napjainkig," *Új Pedagógiai Szemle* 57., no. 1. (2007): 56–69.  
<http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00035/00110/2007-01-ta-Tobbek-Tankonyvek.html> (There is no page numbers, that is why the page numbers missing from the other references) (accessed June 8, 2019)

many new scientific results into the textbooks, producing curricula which were much more unnecessarily extensive. Despite that, didactical changes were slower and more uneven; there were some positive changes regarding the involvement of the children in classes and connecting the topics to problems of everyday life (especially in the case of the natural sciences).<sup>52</sup>

The existing gaps and problems of the textbooks came from the fact that they still contained only one narrative, and the elaboration (or at least mention) of multiple perspectives and other narratives were rare or nonexistent. The other major problem was that encouraging students to think independently was still not the role of textbooks and education. These facts are especially problematic regarding the teaching of history. The researchers highlighted as a negative attribute the fact that the history textbooks were still content- and teacher-oriented, rather than forcing students to think freely about a topic. They also mentioned another problem specific to history textbooks: the contents were still predominantly political history-oriented, even though there were more and more lessons about culture and lifestyle.<sup>53</sup>

Since 1990 there has been an ongoing and opposite change in the national education systems of Croatia and Hungary. In the Hungarian case, the education system as a whole was significantly decentralized at the beginning of the 1990s, which was caused the political decisions starting from the 1960s, which was an extension of the Kádár-era policies. Due to the various political decisions made during the last decades of the Kádár system, the maintenance and governance of elementary schools became the responsibility of the local authorities. However, it was also strictly regulated and remained under the control of the Party, a practice which the new democratic system inherited. As mentioned earlier, the

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<sup>52</sup>Fischerné Dárdai and Kojanitz.

<sup>53</sup> Fischerné Dárdai and Kojanitz.

various Act modifications and enactments regarding public education were implemented mainly against this practice. By the late 2000s, the education system had become much more centralized, which can be seen in the change of the textbook selection system: the teachers now had to choose from a list of textbooks which was permitted by the Ministry of Education.<sup>54</sup> Croatia went through a contrary process. As noted above, the Croatian education system was highly centralized: however, due to some modifications, it has subsequently been decentralized somewhat. The process of textbook selection is the opposite of the Hungarian one. During the 1990s, there was no free choice of textbooks, but from the 2000s on, alternative textbooks were published, and the freedom of the teachers to choose their students' textbook was also allowed.<sup>55</sup>

#### **Chapter 1.4. History Textbooks and Historiography**

The relationship between history textbooks and national historiography is not always clear. The scale of professional historiography's impact on the history textbook is hard to measure. However, there are some researches on this topic. Anna Dévényi and Zoltán Gözsy argue in their study "A történelemtankönyvek elemzése. Szempontok a tankönyv, mint történeti forrás vizsgálatához [The Analysis of Textbooks. Standpoints for the Analysis of Textbook as a Historical Source] that textbooks are products of long historical development which have the traces of various ideas, cultural strategies and stereotypes and also claim that the analysis of textbooks need critical research.<sup>56</sup> Zoltán Gözsy in his another study "A magyarságkép a közép-európai tankönyvekben a 20. században" [View of Hungarian in the Central European Textbooks from the Twentieth Century] that the relationship between

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<sup>54</sup> Fischerné Dárdai and Kojanitz.

<sup>55</sup> Fischerné Dárdai and Kojanitz.

<sup>56</sup> Anna Dévényi and Zoltán Gözsy, "A Történelemtankönyvek Elemzése. A Történelemtankönyvek Elemzése Szempontok a Tankönyv, Mint Történeti Forrás," *Fons : Forráskutatás És Történeti Segédtudományok*, 20, no. 2 (2013): 191.

history curricula and textbooks and historiography is entangled, because the results of historiography got implemented into the curricula and through it to the textbooks in a complicated process and this process often takes decades to be complete. Gözsy also defines history textbooks as the most important manifestation of historical stereotypes. He states that it is extremely difficult to detect all the roots of the narratives in the textbooks.<sup>57</sup>

In the case of the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks, the situation is the same. It is hard to tell, and a deeper analysis is needed to confirm that the elements of the narratives where were created or formed.

However, there is a difference between the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks regarding the profession of the authors, which might be a marker of historiography's impact on the textbooks. All the analyzed Hungarian textbook from the 1990s was written by elementary school or high school history teachers. Géza Závodszy was a professor at the Faculty of Education and Psychology of Eötvös Loránd University and taught history for thirty years.<sup>58</sup> Mátyás Helméczy was a history teacher in a small Hungarian town, Dunaharaszti for decades<sup>59</sup> and Péter Bihari is a history teacher at the Budapesti Fazekas Mihály Gyakorló Általános Iskola és Gimnázium [Mihály Fazekas Elementary School and Gymnasium Budapest]<sup>60</sup> and the he is also Doctor of History.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Zoltán Gözsy, "A Magyarságkép a Közép-Európai Tankönyvekben a 20. Században.," *Történelemtanítás Online Történelemdidaktikai Folyóirat* II, no. 3 (2011), : <http://www.folyoirat.tortenelemtanitas.hu/2011/10/gozsy-zoltan-a-magyarsagkep-a-kozep-europaitankonyvekben-a-20-szazadban-02-03-08/>. (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>58</sup> Biography on the website of Napút online.

[http://www.napkut.hu/naput\\_2008/2008\\_10/125.htm](http://www.napkut.hu/naput_2008/2008_10/125.htm) (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>59</sup>Elhunyt Doktor Helméczy Mátyás. [Doctor Mátyás Helméczy Passed Away.]

On the website of Dunaharaszti

<http://www.dunaharaszti.hu/cikk/20130528-elhunyt-dr-helmeczy-matyas> (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>60</sup>On the website of the school

<https://fazekas.hu/index.php/munkatarsaink/> (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>61</sup>Középiskola és Világháború. Interjú Bihari Péterrel [High School and World War. Interview with Péter Bihari] on the website of Újkor

<http://ujkor.hu/content/kozepiskola-es-vilaghaboru-interju-bihari-peterrel> (accessed June 8, 2019)

In contrast, all the author of the analyzed Croatian textbooks are or were history professors at university in Zagreb. Filip Potrebeca worked at Department of History, Faculty of humanities and social sciences, University of Zagreb [Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu]<sup>62</sup> Dragutin Pavličević was also a university professor<sup>63</sup> Damir Agičić is currently teaching history at the University of Zagreb.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>In Memoriam Filip Potrebeca (1933.-2003.) Najbolji Povjesničar Požeštine [In memory of Filip Potrebeca (1933.-2003-). Best Historian of Požega]

<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/pov/pov2/files/biografije/inmempotrebeca.html> (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>63</sup>Pavličević, Dragutin. On the website of enciklopedija.hr

<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=47146> (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>64</sup> dr. sc. Agičić, Damir, redoviti profesor. On the website of Odsjek za Povijest

<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/pov/pov2/biografija.php?id=1> (accessed June 8, 2019)

## Chapter 2 – Differences of the Croatian and Hungarian Textbook Narratives

This chapter focuses on the differences between the Croatian and Hungarian history textbook narratives on specific events, individuals, and developments. After the introduction of the analyzed textbooks, the chapter will focus on specific themes and problems of the textbooks, and for this, the chapter is divided into four thematic parts. The first part will discuss the textbooks' various technical and methodological differences and similarities. Every textbook has illustrations, statistical charts, and other visual effects to emphasize and support the information in the text, and there are some differences and similarities in this regard between the Croatian and the Hungarian textbooks. The second part discusses various examples of the differences in analysis of historical events, and topics in general. The last two parts of the chapter focus on two separate specific problems. The third part analyzes the question of national inclusion and exclusion, looking at how the textbooks define the members of the nation, and what "nation" itself means in this context. Finally, the fourth part discusses the specific problem of modernization and the opposing approaches to it in the Croatian and Hungarian cases, asking whether modernization is a marker of national greatness or a form of oppression and exploitation. The main aim of this chapter is to show how different depictions of the same period and its events are in the Croatian and Hungarian history textbooks, even regarding a (seemingly) uncontested and peripheral part of national memory. Furthermore, it also proves that textbooks are able to shape and influence the picture of a given period.

The analysis in this section has multiple layers and analytical points to allow a deeper examination and for the multidirectional verification of the gained pieces of information. The main goal was to find and detect all the major differences between the Croatian and the

Hungarian textbooks. The two main focal points of the analysis were the spatial horizons and the thematic analysis. On the spatial level, the focus was on the main differences between the two nation-states' narratives and the analysis is targeted to examine the main trends of it.

## Chapter 2.1. Analyzed Croatian and Hungarian Textbooks

For the analysis of narratives on the period of Dualism, I examined four Hungarian and four Croatian seventh-grade elementary school history textbooks. In the Hungarian case, I used the textbooks written by Mátyás Helméczy, whose textbook entered its eighteenth edition in 1999. The version of the textbook from 1992 is the first revised edition; however, the total revision of the textbook happened one year later, with the next revision occurring in 1996. I analyzed the textbooks published in 1991 *Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek 7* [History and Civic Knowledge for the Elementary School Seventh Grade]<sup>65</sup> and the 1994 edition which title is *Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára* [History for the Elementary School Seventh Grade]<sup>66</sup> The elementary school textbook *Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára* [History for the Elementary School Seventh Grade]<sup>67</sup> written by Géza Závodszy—who also wrote textbooks for secondary schools—was first published in 1993. The last edition during the analyzed time period was the eighth edition from 1999, which contains identical content to the first one, and I used this version here. The fourth researched textbook is Péter Bihari's *A 19. század története fiataloknak 1775 – 1918. Tankönyv 7. osztály* [The History of the Nineteenth Century for Youngsters 1775 – 1918. Textbook for Grade 7]<sup>68</sup> which was first published in 1999, making it the most recent

<sup>65</sup>Mátyás Helméczy, ed., *Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek 7*, 10. kiadás (Budapest: Tankönyv, 1991).

<sup>66</sup>Mátyás Helméczy, ed., *Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára*, ed. 13. (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyv, 1994).

<sup>67</sup>Géza Závodszy, ed., *Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára*, 9. k (Budapest: Korona K, 1999).

<sup>68</sup>Péter Bihari, ed., *19. század története fiataloknak 1775 – 1918. Tankönyv 7. osztály* (Budapest: Holnap K, 2000).



textbook from the group analyzed; I analyzed the version published in 2000, which has the same content as the first edition.

Regarding the Croatian textbooks, I analyzed the third edition of *Povijest VII za 7. razred osnovne škole* [History for the Seventh Grade of Elementary School]<sup>69</sup> written by Dragutin Pavličević and Filip Potrebica. This edition was published in 1994. The second textbook *Povijest za VII. razred osnovne škole* [History for VII. Grade of Elementary School] as written by Damir Agičić and was first published in 1996.<sup>70</sup> The third history textbook that I used also has the same title as the two others, and it was also written by Damir Agičić, however, it was first published in 1998 by a different publisher.<sup>71</sup> The fourth textbook *Povijest VII za 7. razred osnovne škole* [History for the Seventh Grade of Elementary School] is the two versions of the textbook *Čovjek u svom vremenu* [Man and his Time].<sup>72</sup>

## Chapter 2.2. Practical Pieces of Information and the Usage of Illustrations in the Textbooks

As I previously stated in the introduction—during the elaboration of the used methodology—although the analysis of textbooks is becoming more and more widespread in diverse scientific fields, it does not yet have a clear methodology, based on consensus. That is why I formed my own structural and analytical system, taking into account the ideas

<sup>69</sup>Dragutin Pavličević and Filip Potrebica, *Povijest VII Za 7. Razred Osnovne Škole*, 3rd ed. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994).

<sup>70</sup>Damir Agičić, ed., *Povijest za VII. razred osnovne škole*, 1., *Povijest 7* (Zagreb: Alfa, 1996).

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Damir Agičić, ed., *Povijest za VII. razred osnovne škole*, 1. izd, *Povijest 7* (Zagreb: Profil, 1998).

<sup>72</sup>Dragutin Pavličević et al., *Čovjek u svom vremenu* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1989).

and methods of various experts and scholars. I mentioned also in the aforementioned methodological section that the bases for these system introduced by Jaan Mikk.

During the analysis, I paid attention to balance. By balance, I mean that I made sure to carefully analyze the same number of textbooks from both sides, and also that the date of publication must be within 1990 and 2002. However, in two cases—one Croatian and one Hungarian—I found older versions of the same textbooks, which were published before the change of political system, and these two cases were perfect for examining the major and minor changes within the same textbook just a few years apart, albeit in ideologically-opposing times. The Hungarian textbook is written by Mátyás Helméczy, and the very first edition was published in 1983 and the newest version of this textbook was within the analyzed period is 1998. The Croatian textbook *Čovjek u svom vremenu*<sup>73</sup> was first published back in 1985 and it was written by various Croatian history professors. In both cases, the textbooks were corrected and revised numerous times.

### **Chapter 2.3. Usage of Illustrations in the Textbooks**

All the analyzed textbooks used various types of illustrations for better representing the ideas they contained, and to make more understandable the given topic or problem. Pictures, drawings, and caricatures are widespread in the textbooks. In some cases, these illustrations give a style and atmosphere to the textbook. Photographs of famous buildings, persons and paintings have another purpose: they help to situate the studied epoch, event or historical figure.

The textbook authors are also fond of using charts, graphs, diagrams or any other kind of statistical representation to make more easily comprehensible the sometimes-complicated

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<sup>73</sup>Pavličević et al.

information regarding political system changes, economic variants, and demographic changes. In the case of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, almost every textbook—regardless of whether it is Croatian or Hungarian—use these types of illustration to show the basic elements of the particular system that was established by the agreement.

Regarding pictures, I analyzed them from multiple categories and aspects. I focused mainly on how many historical figures are shown in the textbooks, and which individuals appear in all of the textbooks or in the majority of them. Moreover, I also paid attention to the accompanying text about the figures: its location on the page, how it introduces the person, and which of his or her qualities, actions, and attributes are highlighted. In other cases, the majority of the pictures are about famous and important buildings, cities, pictures showing everyday life, political movements, actions, and so forth. I also considered why it was significant to include a picture of them. Another category of pictures are the caricatures. Every textbook contains at least two caricatures from the period of 1867–1914: in some cases there is a task connected with it, where the students must analyze and explain the meaning of the given caricature.

In the analyzed Croatian textbooks, there was at least one picture of figures from the period of 1867 - 1914 in general, and it is true for the chapters which are discussing the period of 1867–1914. Most of the pictures are of famous and significant politicians, writers, priests, and national figures. On average, between sixteen and seventeen pictures can be found about individuals in the Croatian textbooks. The fewest pictures are in the two editions of the textbook *Man and His Time*<sup>9</sup> from 1989 and 1990, in which there were only twelve pictures of Croatian historical figures. There are two main reasons why these textbooks contained fewer pictures: first, they still have the old structure, which was used before the political transition; and second, alongside Croatian history, the history of the other five

Yugoslav countries was also discussed, therefore the Croatian one was just a segment of them.

In contrast with the significant number of pictures and photos about important historical figures in the Croatian textbook, the analyzed Hungarian ones do not contain a significant number of them. Moreover, two of the textbooks only had three photos from the period, all of which portrayed famous and/or important Hungarian politicians and individuals. In the textbook *Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára* by Géza Závodszky, two photos appear on page 174, both connected to Lajos Kossuth. One depicts the catafalque of Kossuth, and the other is a picture of his funeral procession.<sup>74</sup> In the book's third picture, the students can see a portrait of István Tisza around 1910.<sup>75</sup>

## Chapter 2.4. Different Narratives of the Events, and Individuals

According to Klára Jednyikné, who analyzed the narratives of the Hungarians in both Croatian elementary and high school textbooks, the overall picture about the Hungarians is neither especially friendly nor particularly antagonistic in Croatian history textbooks. This is despite the fact that there were some periods—for example, the time of the Dualism—when the relationship between the two nations was poor, intense, and inferior.<sup>12</sup> Typically in the Croatian case, in the textbooks for the seventh grade, the Hungarians as a nation or some important Hungarian individual are only referenced when they have vital importance for the understanding of the national history. In the other case, the Hungarian textbook mentions the

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<sup>74</sup>Závodszky, *Történelem*, 174.

<sup>75</sup>Závodszky, 193.

Croatian nation only in the case of the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise; otherwise, there are no remarks at all about them.

The overall narratives of the epoch and its historical events, figures, and characteristics have more differences than similarities between the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks. The absolutely contrary depictions, however, are minimal. The most general tendency is that in most of the cases the Croatian textbooks mention, or even highlight, the role of a historical event or a politician's action as an exceptionally vital and history-changing episode or act which had a crucial impact in the country's history and the formation of national identity. Despite that, the all the Hungarian textbooks analyze the political history of the period in length, there are no mentions at all about some of the events which are highlighted in the Croatian cases in the Hungarian history textbooks. In most cases, the depictions of the period of 1867–1918 are absolutely different in the Croatian and the Hungarian textbooks; however, there are a few exceptions. Moreover, the main trend is that the Hungarian textbooks omit most of the events which are important regarding the Croatian national history.

The main difference between the narratives of the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks is in their judgment of the period itself. In the Hungarian case, the whole period from 1867 until the dissolution of the established Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is a time of internal fighting and debate between the political parties. All the textbooks deeply analyze the political life of the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, and all agree that the clash of the views arises from whether the political actor in question was more in favor of the 1848–1849 heritage or accepts the necessity of the Compromise of 1867. Géza Závodszy and Péter Bihari deal with the political problems the most; the latter has an independent chapter which deals with the “48ers” and the “68ers,” and he argues that this opposition was present

throughout the period.<sup>76</sup> In the older edition of Mátyás Helméczy's textbook, there is minimal mention of the political life during the Monarchy, and he totally omits any discussion of the political changes before the First World War.

Regarding the Croatian case, the main narrative on the period is the struggle against the imperial ambitions of the Austrians and particularly the Hungarians, and the political effort to gain the same rights and win the unity of Croatia. The biggest problem in the period for the Croats was that due to the Compromise of 1867, the Croatian territories became parts of both Austria and Hungary: Dalmatia and Istria were under Austrian rule, while Vojna Krajina and Slavonia were under Hungarian rule. In the Croatian case regional problems are important, and the political and cultural life of both Dalmatia and Istria, along with the history of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Vojvodina (or South Hungary), are analyzed and have important space in the textbooks.

In the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks, the narratives of the period rarely contain the same kind of depiction about a historical event or figure. In most cases, the Hungarian textbooks entirely neglect to mention events which have crucial importance in the Croatian case, and because of that in some particular cases, important pieces of information are missing and entirely omitted from the Hungarian perspective. The overlooked concepts, individuals, and events all bear essential pieces of information about the national narratives and emphasize the arbitrary and selective nature of it. In most of the cases, the depictions about the period of 1867–1918 are totally different in the Croatian and the Hungarian textbooks: however, there are some events which are relatively similarly depicted. One of these events is the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, though some differences can be observed in this case too.

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Bihari, *19. század története fiataloknak*, 134.

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 is the starting point of the period known as Dualism in both the Croatian and Hungarian historiography, and which lasted until the dissolution of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918. Both the Compromise itself and the new state form which was established by this agreement changed the history and political development of both nations. In the Hungarian textbooks this period is still analyzed from the perspective of 1848–1849. Accordingly, it is judged either as a compromise and betrayal of the political achievements and independence that was gained from the Revolution and War of Independence in 1848–1849, or as imperfect, but the only possible solution for both Austrian and Hungarian stabilization. In the Croatian case, the situation is slightly different: it is portrayed as a new system which ended absolutism. These have been the two leading narratives since 1867. As a consequence of this debate, seeking neutrality in this question is not easy, and it can be seen in the textbooks that every writer draws up lists of the pros and cons of the dualist system. In contrast, the Croatian textbooks are relatively neutral towards the Compromise. However, this cannot be said about the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement of 1868, in which the Hungarian party made an agreement with the Croatian nation and settled the situations which had been left unsolved since the Revolution and Independence War of 1848–1849.<sup>13</sup>

In both Croatian and Hungarian elementary textbooks, the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 is represented as a solution to cease and solve the decades-long struggle and toxic relationship within the Habsburg Empire. The problems after the breakdown of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence made economic development and general everyday life more difficult for both sides. For Austria, the maintenance of the Bach system and the wars produced severe financial difficulties. The Hungarian noblemen found it hard to get loans from the banks, which explains why the

passive resistance became more weaker.<sup>14</sup> Every textbook agrees that the Compromise was also a solution to economic problems for both parties.

In the Croatian case the narratives and descriptions about the Compromise of 1867 are quite similar in all textbooks, and in most of the cases they adopt a neutral position concerning the Compromise. In almost all the textbooks, the analysis of the topic is located within the chapter about Croatian history in the second half of the nineteenth century and is followed by discussion of the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868). This shows that the birth of the new political system is crucial in Croatian national memory, and also that it caused major changes in the internal and external political fields.

The subchapter in which the Compromise is discussed may vary; however, it is always embedded into the national history and connected to the national discourses. It is placed between the topics of the Croatian Sabor—the Parliament or diet—in 1861, and it is almost always a direct prelude to the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement. In all cases the reasons why the Austrians had to compromise with the Hungarian party are derived from international conflicts, mostly the defeat against the Prussians in 1866. Some textbooks also mention that because of this defeat Austria was excluded from German Unity, another reason why the Habsburgs started to focus on the Southeastern parts of their empire. All of the textbooks emphasize the dualist nature of the new system.

The shortest description can be found in the Potrebica textbook; however, this is the only one which highlights the most important geographical and political terms and names. In the case of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the following terms were highlighted in a fifteen-line paragraph: dual monarchy (dvojni monarhiju), dualist system (dualistički sustav), Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Austro-Ugarska Monarhija), along with parliament and government (sabor i vladu). In the case of two textbooks, which were both written by



Damir Agičić, the text is exactly the same. However, the questions raised in these parts, as well as the illustrations, are different. In the earlier textbook *Povijest za VII. razred osnovne škole*<sup>77</sup> the text is followed by a picture of the coronation of Franz Joseph as the king of Hungary in Pest in 1867. The discussion of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise is included in the chapter about the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement, and it is discussed directly after that. In another Agičić textbook published in 1998, two years later than the above-mentioned one, instead of the picture of the Hungarian Coronation, four diagrams show the ratios between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Empire. The four factors are territory (51–49% for Austria), population (60–40% to Austria), industrial development (85–15% to Austria) and finally the share in the common budget (70–30% for Austria). The oldest textbook from 1989, and this textbook's edited versions, is the most negative example from all the textbooks. Here, the emphasis is on the Compromise being made at the expense of the other nationalities.<sup>78</sup>

Count Károly Khuen-Héderváry, or in Croatian, Dragutin Khuen-Hedervary, and his political career is the best example from the period to show the discrepancies, differences, and blind spots between the Croatian and Hungarian narratives and descriptions of a political character and a politician's historical role. Count Khuen-Héderváry, the ban (local ruler) of Croatia from 1883 to 1903, was already a controversial figure in his time in Croatia. He is traditionally portrayed in the Croatian historiography as a politician who worked against the Croatian nation, and features in the national memory as an ultimately negative character, whose main aim was the Magyarization of the Croatian nation. However, neither in Hungarian historiography, nor in the national memory, does he have an important role: he is one of the less remembered politicians of the Dualistic period, and he is not mentioned at all in the

<sup>77</sup> Agičić, *Povijest za VII. razred osnovne škole*, 1996, 69.

<sup>78</sup> Pavličević et al., *Čovjek u svom vremenu*, 121–22.

textbooks. In Croatia he is remembered for his anti-Croatian politics, as a man who did everything to prevent national plenitude in Croatia, and also to prevent the establishment of total Croatian national unity; a man who did everything in favor of the Austrian Court and tried his best to realize the assimilation and Magyarization of the Croatian nation. This negative view of him has been remained to the present. As László Heka states in his essay about him, this negative judgment of him is still the only narrative, which Croatian historiography, along with history education—particularly the history textbooks—continues to perpetuate. In the Hungarian case, he simply does not appear in the national pantheon, even though he was Hungary's prime minister twice, and also he held the titles of minister of foreign affairs, minister of internal affairs, and minister without portfolio, who was responsible for Croatian, Slavonian and Dalmatian affairs.

Croatia, and the Croats as a nation, are hardly mentioned in the Hungarian textbooks. In the majority of cases, the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement is the only instance when Croatia is noticed. It is not therefore a surprise that the Rijeka Resolution, along with the Zadar Resolution, is only mentioned and discussed in the Croatian textbook. This is why these cases are excellent examples of how two documents and movements are depicted as important acts, as crucial moments and documents in the development of national identity, which are completely uninteresting in the other case. These cases are all the more compelling and interesting if we consider the fact that both resolutions were against Hungarian rule.

## **Chapter 2.5. Developing Infrastructure and Economic Prosperity: Markers of National Greatness or Forms of Oppression?**

The second half of the nineteenth century was the time of the second industrial revolution, which had a simultaneous impact in Croatia and Hungary. However, the

discourses about technical, industrial, and infrastructural developments are different in Croatian and Hungarian textbooks. In the Hungarian case, the whole period of Dualism is remembered as one of the most economically prosperous periods during its history, and this is also the narrative that the textbooks highlight. For example, in the textbook *Történelem az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára*, Géza Závodszy states that the time of the Dualism was the most economically prosperous period for Hungary in modern history.<sup>79</sup> However, in the case of Croatia, the narratives about and the attitudes towards modernization and industrial developments are more skeptical, perhaps anti-modernist, and highlight that all modernization processes were implemented and carried out by the Austrian or Hungarian government, investors, and so forth.

In the Hungarian textbooks, there are at least two chapters which deal with the improvements of the economic sectors alone, from heavy industry through agriculture to the transport industry. All the textbooks highlight that the new political system, which was established after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, provided a secure atmosphere for private investments, safe conditions for founding banks, for foreign capital flow, and for improving the infrastructure. In the Croatian textbooks, the economic history is unimportant compared to the societal changes and problems, or the questions of national rights. Through the analysis of these two different approaches towards modernization, important differences can be detected in the Croatian and Hungarian narratives. Furthermore, this can also prove that modernization can be regarded as a positive development as well as a platform for exploitation.

From the textbooks, it becomes clear that the primary indicator, and at the same time prerequisite of progression, is the establishment of modern railway networks. In all the

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<sup>79</sup>Závodszy, *Történelem*, 177.

Hungarian textbooks, the railway and the construction of its network contains a narrative of national greatness, pride and prosperity. All of them also highlight that the Hungarian railway system was considered to be modern at that time in a European context. The textbooks further highlight that this improvement was a rapid one, which they illustrate with maps. In the history textbook *A 19. század története fiataloknak 1775 – 1918. Tankönyv 7. osztály* [The History of the Nineteenth Century for Youngsters 1775 – 1918. Textbook for Grade 7] there is a map that shows the railway networks in 1866, in 1887, and in 1913.<sup>80</sup> Regarding the railway system, every Hungarian textbook notes that the railway became a state monopoly.<sup>20</sup> The role of Gábor Baross, who was the Minister of Transport between 1886 and 1889, is always emphasized in the textbook, which corresponds with the fact that he is remembered in Hungarian national memory as the “Iron Minister” because of his significant part in the improvement and development of the railway. In *A 19. század története fiataloknak 1775 – 1918. Tankönyv 7. osztály*, a caricature appears which portrays Gábor Baross as a cowboy, catching the private railway companies with a lasso; this also represents his importance in the extension of the railway network.<sup>81</sup>

By contrast, in the case of the Croatian textbooks, the railway is primarily not a marker of modernity; rather, it is a form of foreign domination and exploitation—in this case, by both Austria and Hungary, though Hungary did so more spectacularly. In the textbooks the building of the railway is something from which Croatia derived no benefit; furthermore, it is depicted as something against Croatian economic interests. This narrative is the main one, and there are more places in the textbooks where the authors clearly state that Hungarians and the Hungarian government utilized Croatian resources for their own benefit. The railway system is always depicted in a negative way, as something that was never Croatian at the

<sup>80</sup>Bihari, *19. század története fiataloknak*, 137.

<sup>81</sup>Bihari, 139.

time. In the history textbook *Povijest za VII.razred osnovne škole* there is a statement that the first railway line through Zagreb was built in 1862, when the Austrians built their own line between Vienna and Trieste. The railway line between Budapest and Rijeka, which was built in 1873, was the first line which connected Zagreb with the Adriatic Sea. This text stresses that in both cases the railways were built primarily for the development of Austro-Hungarian industry and trade, and that Croatian and other resources were simply exploited.<sup>82</sup> The attitude towards the railway does not change during the discussion of the economic situation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In both of his textbooks, Damir Agičić emphasizes that the railway still served to improve and benefit the Hungarian industry, highlighting the fact that all the railway lines went to Budapest.<sup>83</sup>

The two narratives—that of Hungarian national greatness and that of Croatian exploitation—are present in the discussions of other economic fields. In the Hungarian textbooks, the development of agriculture and agricultural industry is an important improvement of the time. According to Géza Závodszy, the 1880s was the period when the industrial revolution reached Hungary.

All the Hungarian textbooks emphasize in varying detail the role of the Revolution and Independence War of 1848–1849 as a starting point of capitalism in Hungary. Géza Závodszy argues that the Revolution established a new form of governance, after which the state provided all the preconditions for modernization and capitalism. The first steps towards its unfolding has been already started during absolutism, he notes, and the new

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<sup>82</sup>Pavličević and Potrebica, *Povijest VII Za 7. Razred Osnovne Škole*, 123.

<sup>83</sup>Agičić, *Povijest za VII.razred osnovne škole*, 1996, 79.

political framework which was established by the Compromise of 1867 again created the perfect ground for economic development and capitalism.<sup>84</sup>

## Chapter 2.6. Nation and Nationality in the Croatian and Hungarian Textbooks

One of the most important problems of the period concerned the questions of nation and nationality. The way in which the Croatian and the Hungarian political elite and also the textbooks define who belongs to which ethnic category is a key element of the national memory and, by extension, the political discourses about it. Also, as was mentioned earlier, the second half of the nineteenth century was a time of nationalism and national awakening, and this phenomenon also had an impact on the Croatian and Hungarian politics of the period. The textbooks, as carriers of the national memory, can give a clear vision about who was considered as part of the nation and who was not; moreover, they offer an insight about how the nation was defined and what it meant in practice. In both cases, these were crucial identity problems that were especially prominent between 1867 and 1914, and are reflected in the history textbooks.

The concept of nation has been one of the central problems in historiography since the nineteenth century. The French academic Ernest Renan had already asked the question “What is a nation?”<sup>85</sup> in his speech in 1882. In the speech, Renan describes the nation as a soul, a spiritual principle, which has two elements: one from the past and the other from the present. The past is the chain of memories, while the present is the free will of the group to be part of the nation.<sup>86</sup> Since this speech, multiple academics have formulated their own concepts of the nation. After the Second World War and particularly in the 1970s and 1980s, the problem

<sup>84</sup>Závodszy, *Történelem*, 177.

<sup>85</sup>Ernest Renan, “What Is a Nation?”, *The Text of a Conference Delivered at the Sorbonne on March 11th, 1882*, in Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-Ce Qu'une Nation?* (Paris: Presses-Pocket, 1992), [http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What\\_is\\_a\\_Nation.pdf](http://ucparis.fr/files/9313/6549/9943/What_is_a_Nation.pdf). (Translated by Ethan Rundell)

<sup>86</sup>Renan.

was popular and many theoreticians tried to figure out what the nation is. In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson described the nation as an entity which was created by social and psychological principles, not something material or a natural phenomenon. The adjective “imagined” refers to the nation being something which can only be imagined.<sup>87</sup> According to Rogers Brubaker nation is more of a practical category and contingent event, rather than a substance or entity.<sup>88</sup> Anthony D. Smith throughout his academic career analyzed the concepts of nation and nationalism.<sup>89</sup> Smith argues in his book *National Identity* that nation is ““a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.””<sup>90</sup>

The problem of nation, nationality, and the minority was crucial both in Hungary and Croatia; however, it was more accentuated in the Croatian textbooks. The reason is that this whole era was a decades-long struggle for the Croatian nation’s independence and political recognition, a period (especially from the 1880s) when tensions became more aggressive and out of control. The Croatian textbooks extensively highlight that the Magyarization policy of the Hungarian Government became more and more aggressive and that the actions of the governments did not respect the rights of the ethnicities and broke Law XLIV of 1868, “On the Equality of Nationality Rights and the Language of Local Administration.””<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London New York: Verso, 2016).

<sup>88</sup> “Rethinking nationhood: nation as institutionalized form, practical category, contingent event” by Rogers Brubaker.

[https://www.oei.fu-berlin.de/en/research/nation-building/intern/art\\_month/08\\_03\\_brubaker/vlada\\_brubaker.pdf](https://www.oei.fu-berlin.de/en/research/nation-building/intern/art_month/08_03_brubaker/vlada_brubaker.pdf) (accessed June 8, 2019)

<sup>89</sup>Montserrat Guibernau, “Anthony D. Smith on Nations and National Identity: A Critical Assessment,” *Nations and Nationalism* 10, no. 1/2 (2004): 125–41.

<sup>90</sup>Guibernau, 127.

Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Ethnonationalism in Comparative Perspective (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 14.

<sup>91</sup> Hungarian text of the Law

In the Hungarian case, the Hungarian nation was understood more as a political entity than an ethnic one. The aforementioned Law XLIV of 1868 about the rights of nationalities is the best example of this. All Hungarian textbooks emphasized that this law was a comparatively modern one and that the Hungarian political elite thought that the ethnic problems would be solved through the enactment of this law. However, all the textbook authors highlight that in practice this was not the case, and that the gained rights were not enough for the nationalities. The reason why it was insufficient is that while it gave the right to use other languages in various spaces and occasions, it did not confer equal political rights to those held by the Hungarians.<sup>92</sup>

The question of nation is also appears in the case of the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement. The textbooks do not mention the Croatian nation after the settlement, so it seems like the Hungarian party after the settlement regarded that there is no problem in this question, and that the Croats got enough rights. However, from the Croatian textbooks the opposite of this is the master narrative, and the whole period is about the struggle against the Magyarization politics, chiefly from the 1880s and in the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>93</sup>

There is one more difference between the Croatian and Hungarian case regarding the concept of nation. In both languages there is two words for nation. In Hungarian the word *nemzet* and *nép* can both mean nation, however the first is more close to political nation, while *nép* is more close to the concept of people, as a notion of group of people. In Croatian the case is similar. The word *nacija* means nation, while *narod* means people. In the

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<https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=86800044.TV&targetdate=&printTitle=1868.+%C3%A9vi+XLIV.+t%C3%B6rv%C3%A9ny%C3%A9nyicikk&referer=1000ev>

<sup>92</sup>Helméczy, *Történelem és állampolgári ismeretek*, 1994, 151–52.

<sup>93</sup>Helméczy, 152.



Hungarian textbooks the authors use *nemzet*, nation more, while in the Croatian textbooks they always use *narod*, and not the word for nation.

## Chapter 3 – Impact of Memory Politics in the History Textbooks

The political, economic, and social changes that occurred after 1989 questioned and challenged the discourses on national history, memory, and the representations of it in the field of politics. This chapter will show that the Croatian and Hungarian political discourses of the 1990s had an impact in the textbooks and in the narratives about the dualistic period. In the Croatian case, the political changes of the early 1990s left extreme impacts and determined the post-socialist history of the young independent nation-state. Furthermore, this change also assisted in fueling the already existing, but artificially suppressed national tensions.<sup>94</sup> In the Hungarian case, the situation is completely different. The transition itself from the socialist political framework into a democratic political system was a much smoother process than in Croatia. However, in the first decade (and also today) national history was quite an intensive part of the political discourse and became a tool for political parties to justify their actions or needs. In his book *Az antalli pillanat* [The Antallian Moment]<sup>95</sup> Zoltán Gábor Szűcs analyzed this problem as a form of political language when analyzing the role of national history in political discourses during the Antall government of 1989–1993. Moreover, the reinforcement that historically, politically, and culturally Hungary was always part of Central Europe and had direct connections with Western civilization has been already an identity question since before the change of regime in 1989.

### Chapter 3.1. Politics of Memory in Croatia and in the Croatian Textbooks

In the Croatian case, the definite national political discourse of the period originated from President Franjo Tuđman. Stevo Đurašković, in his work *The Politics of History in*

<sup>94</sup> Paul Lendvai és Lis Parcell, „Yugoslavia without Yugoslavs: The Roots of the Crisis”, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* Vol. 67, No. 2 (1991): 251–61.

<sup>95</sup> Zoltán Gábor Szűcs, *The Antall Moment: The Role of National History in the Hungarian Political Discourse 1989-1993.*, PosztmodernPolitológiák (Budapest: L’ Harmattan, 2010).

*Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*, argues that for Tuđman the development of the main ideas was a decades-long process, beginning in the 1950s. Đurašković deeply analyzes this process in the mentioned work, though there is no room here to do a similarly deep analysis. Instead, the main concepts will be analyzed, focusing on whether they played an important role in the changing of elementary textbook narratives regarding the research topic.

Đurašković divided the Tuđmanian discourses into three clusters of concepts: the nature of the history of humankind; the relationship between the national and the international; and the program for gaining independent statehood.<sup>96</sup> From the beginning of the 1990s, at the time of his presidency, these concepts became part of his core political discourse after decades of crystallization. During the 1990s he then had the opportunity to put these concepts into practice and govern Croatia according to these ideas. All three clusters of concepts influenced the textbooks in the 1990s, and some elements can be even found in the case of the representation of Croatian history in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

According to Franjo Tuđman, the nature of history is that it is “an inevitable continuance of interethnic violence over dominance and territory.”<sup>97</sup> Tuđman’s other concept, which was first developed in his book *Velike ideje i mali narodi* [Great Ideas and Small Nations]<sup>98</sup>, is that this explanation of history is even truer in the case of small nations, because these countries are always in between the Western and Eastern spheres of interest, and the danger of both capitalist and socialist exploitation is always present. The combination of these two ideas is in the narratives of the textbooks. In all the analyzed Croatian history textbooks, the claim is that the Austrians and—predominantly—the Hungarian nation

<sup>96</sup>Đurašković and Najbar-Agičić, *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*, 65.

<sup>97</sup>Stevo Đurašković, “Nation-Building in Franjo Tuđman’s Political Writings,” *Politička Misao*, 58-79, 5 (2014): 68–69.

<sup>98</sup>Franjo Tuđman and Dubravko Horvatić, *Izabrana Djela Franje Tuđmana. 1: Velike Ideje i Mali Narodi* (Zagreb: Nakl. Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1990).

exploited the Croatian nation. That is the case in the representation of modernizing developments—especially the railway—as a form of imperial exploitation by the Hungarians. While I have already spoken about this issue in the previous chapter, I feel that it is important to refer to it here.

The concept of relations between the national and the international is about Tudman's claim that all the supranational ideas—for example Yugoslavism, socialism, pan-Slavism, and so on—are idealistic ideologies and in practice they always serve as the legitimizing tools for imperialism.<sup>99</sup> That is why it is essential to focus on only national affairs and national building processes, because only these allow a way out of this situation. This idea is also observable in the textbooks. The main change that occurred from the early 1990s is the disappearance of the Yugoslav framework from the textbooks.<sup>100</sup> The textbooks published before 1991 discussed the political and cultural history of all the Yugoslav member states. The most visible difference between the 1989 edition of *Čovjek u svom vremenu*<sup>101</sup> and the 1991 edition of this textbook, *Čovjek u svom vremenu. Udžbenik Povijesti Za VII. Razred Osnovne Škole* [Man and his Time. History Textbook for the Seventh Grade]<sup>102</sup> is that the entire division of the textbook lessons according to the member states disappeared and only Croatian national history is discussed, along with the Bosnian case, which is also analyzed from the Croatian perspective. The history of the Slovenes, Macedonians, and principally the Serbians are entirely omitted. In the other textbooks, the discussion of the other ex-Yugoslav states' history was also taken out of the national context and put into the international one.

<sup>99</sup>Đurašković and Najbar-Agičić, *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*, 65.

<sup>100</sup>Đurašković and Najbar-Agičić, 176.

Further information in *History Educating in the Republic of Croatia and its Misuse*. (in Croatian: *Nastava povijesti u Republici Hrvatskoj i njezin zlouporaba*.) Magdalena Najbar-Agičić and Damir Agičić, "The Use and Misuse of History Teaching in 1990s Croatia." in *Democratic Transition in Croatia: Value Transformation, Education, and Media*. Eugenia & Hugh M. Stewart '26 Series (Texas A&M University Press, 2007).

<sup>101</sup>Pavličević et al., *Čovjek u svom vremenu*.

<sup>102</sup>Filip Potrebica, Rene Lovrenčić, and Vjekoslav Brešić, *Čovjek u Svom Vremenu 3. [Udžbenik Povijesti Za VII. Razred Osnovne Škole]*, 6th ed. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991).

The idea of Yugoslavism and the political coalition with the Serbian elite is part of the analysis of political history, but is analyzed and highlighted from the Croatian perspective.

### **Chapter 3.2. Politics of Memory in Hungary and in the Hungarian Textbook Narratives**

In Hungary the reinterpretation of the recent past was the central element of memory politics in the 1990s, starting from right after the political transition in 1989. Henio Nyysönen in his study “History in the first Parliament: The Politics of Memory in Hungary 1990-1994” argues that in the early period of the 1990s the focus was on the rehabilitation of the national past, which was a crucial political and identity political task. The political field was overloaded with symbolical actions connected to history.<sup>103</sup> The reburial of Prime Minister Imre Nagy, the declaration of democracy on 23<sup>rd</sup> of October, exactly on the anniversary of the Revolution of 1956 all symbolically rehabilitated the Revolution of 1956.<sup>104, 105</sup> In the 1990s national history became a key question in politics and as Nyysönen highlights that the politicians “dealt with difficult political questions of morality, justice and identity; and therefore they were intimately connected to the very nature of nationalism as well.”<sup>106</sup>

The other significant element of the Hungarian memory politics was the Revolution and Independence War of 1848 – 1849. 1848 – 1849 became again the significant part and myth of the Hungarian national past and memory.<sup>107</sup> Every Hungarian textbook regard this historical event as a prelude and root of the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the textbook *Történelem az Általános Iskola 7. osztálya számára* the chapter “Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia megalakulása. Önkényuralom és Kiegyezés [The Birth of the Austro-

<sup>103</sup>Nyysönen, “History in the First Parliament: The Politics of Memory in Hungary 1990-1994,” 163–64.

<sup>104</sup>Nyysönen, 163.

<sup>105</sup>Nyysönen, 172.

<sup>106</sup>Nyysönen, 164.

<sup>107</sup>Nyysönen, 169–70.

Hungarian Empire. Absolutism and Compromise] <sup>108</sup> starts with the retaliation of the Revolution and the representation of Haynau's actions against the rebellion Hungarians, as well as with the story of the 13 martyrs of Arad.<sup>109</sup> Only after that the Austro-Hungarian Compromise is investigated.

Nyyssönen also argues that in the case of Hungary “is that at an identity level the past has been more political than the future”<sup>110</sup> highlighting the role of national history in reestablish the Hungarian national identity. This is why the process of which historical events should be celebrated as national holidays was a long running and emotionally overheated.<sup>111</sup> After a long parliamentary debate the three national holidays became 15<sup>th</sup> of March, because of the revolution in Pest in 1848, 20<sup>th</sup> of August as the national holiday of state foundation and the first Hungarian king, Saint Stephen the First, and the third national holiday became the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October as the remembrance day to the Revolution of 1956

### **Chapter 3.3. East-West Dichotomy, Central Europe and Balkans in Historiography, Memory Politics and Textbook Narratives**

Croatia's place within Europe and European/world politics was also one of the key political questions and identity problems in the political field throughout Tuđman's presidency.<sup>112</sup> The belonging to Western culture was a crucial identity question, which was explained by religion. The main argument for this was that through Roman Catholicism, Croatia was, and is, part of Western civilization, in contrast with the Orthodox culture. This discourse was not only pro-Western, it was also the main argument for highlighting the

<sup>108</sup> Závodszky, *Történelem*, 142–46.

Picture of all the martyrs. Závodszky, 143.

<sup>109</sup> Závodszky Page 142 – 143

<sup>110</sup> Nyyssönen, “History in the First Parliament: The Politics of Memory in Hungary 1990-1994,” 164.

<sup>111</sup> Nyyssönen, 172.

<sup>112</sup> Maple Razsa and Nicole Lindstrom, „Balkan is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman's Croatia”, *East European Politics and Societies* Vol. 18, No. 4 (2004): 628–50.

differentiation from the Serbian nation and culture and also from the Balkan framework.<sup>113</sup> In the analyzed textbooks this concept is most visible in the discussion of national cultural history. The emphasis on the Bishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, and his co-worker Franjo Rački as the main protagonists in the development and flourishing of Croatian culture and science in the second half of the nineteenth century, also highlights the role of the Church in the national history. All four analyzed textbooks mention Strossmayer as the influential leader of the National Party and Rački also as an important figure.<sup>114</sup> The role of religious leaders in culture and politics. The concept which argues that Croatia's thousand-year-long historical task was to achieve independent statehood and to be a sovereign nation is one of the crucial ones in Tuđman's political discourses.<sup>115</sup> It also appears in the Croatian textbooks, and the whole period is narrated as a struggle against the Hungarian government, and a fight for unity.

The combination of Nicole Razsa's and Nicole Lindstrom's findings expanded in their study "Balkan is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman's Croatia"<sup>116</sup> and Stevo Đurašković's analysis of Tuđman's main political concepts in the subchapter "Franjo Tuđman's National-Political Thought" from his work *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*<sup>117</sup> shows the reason why Tuđman was so persistent to differentiate Croatia from Serbia to justify Croatian independence. Moreover, for this he positioned the country in Central Europe and the Western cultural sphere instead of enhancing its Balkan roots and identity. Although Tuđman did everything for the recognition of Croatia by Western powers as part of their civilization, the negative opinions about Croatia from the

<sup>113</sup> Stevo Đurašković, "Nation-Building in Franjo Tuđman's Political Writings.," *Croatian Political Science Review*, Vol. 51, no. No. 5 (2014): 58–60.

<sup>114</sup> Agičić, *Povijest za VII. razred osnovne škole*, 1996, 108–9.

<sup>115</sup> Đurašković and Najbar-Agičić, *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s*, 65.

<sup>116</sup> Razsa and Lindstrom, "Balkan Is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman's Croatia."

<sup>117</sup> Stevo Đurašković, "Franjo Tuđman's National-Political Thought.," in *The Politics of History in Croatia and Slovakia in the 1990s* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2016).

mid-1990s—which were mainly because of the war with Bosnia-Herzegovina—did not change during Tuđman's presidency, and all the attempts to change them were disregarded by the West. However, it is important to mention that Tuđman's attachment to the Western circle was the outcome of a thirty-year-long development rooted in Tuđman's personal desire for Croatia breaking free from Yugoslavia, and gaining back its independence. Interestingly, after the achievement of independence the same man and the same discourse were also responsible for the Western powers' changing of opinion about the nation.

The problems concerning well-debated concepts like “Europe,” “Central Europe,” “East Central Europe” and the “Balkans,” their developments in the post-socialist political environment, and the changing of their meanings since the nineteenth century, are determinative elements for historians dealing with the post-1989 memory politics in Croatia and Hungary, too. The clarification and localization of these terms in the field of historiography is also an important task to better understand the interpretations of the common Habsburg experiences in Hungarian and Croatian history in textbooks from the 1990s.

Before analyzing how the concepts of “Central Europe” and “Balkan” are used (or not) in the textbooks, some theoretical questions must be answered to better understanding the whole problem and debate. Regarding both Croatia and Hungary, the belonging to Western civilization, as well as the question of their place within the European framework, was and still is a crucial political problem. Moreover, it had and still has utter importance in internal political affairs and external relationships.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> This is one of the Razsa's and Lindstrom's main arguments in the study *'Balkan is Beautiful'*. Maple Razsa és Nicole Lindstrom, „Balkan is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman's Croatia”, *East European Politics and Societies* Ed. 18, no. 4 (2004): 628–650.



Questions like this have been already asked by historians throughout the nineteenth century, and these debates became vital during the Cold War, after the division of the world into two poles. The questions of belonging within the constructed or imagined geographical and geopolitical spheres became important identity problems as well in the second half of the twentieth century, and the debates about the East-West dichotomy have already started in the field of history, and other scientific and cultural fields such as art.<sup>119</sup>

Within the Central European and/or East Central European historiography, one of the most influential essays about the East-West dichotomy in Europe is Jenő Szűcs's study "The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An Outline," which discusses the basic concept of the three historical regions of Europe (West, East and Central).<sup>120</sup> This study has retained weight in Hungarian historiography since 1983. According to Szűcs, the formulation of these three regions are a consequence of centuries-long historical development, which had already begun around the final days of the Roman Empire.<sup>121</sup> Szűcs elaborates more of the Hungarian case, and his main purpose is to prove that there is a region between Western Europe and Eastern Europe, which had a long historical development and separate cultural tradition. However, this essay does not give a detailed insight into Croatia's location: the Balkans is only mentioned once throughout the text, and Croatia only twice.<sup>122</sup>

The analysis of geopolitical belonging in the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks from the 1990s can show how important or clear-cut this question was, and whether there was any need to highlight it. Regarding the Hungarian political discourses of the 1990s case, the main

<sup>119</sup> For example Polish art historian Piotr Piotrowski

Piotr Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta: Art and the Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe, 1945-1989*, tr. Anna Brzyski First published in paperback (London: Reaktion Books, 2011).

<sup>120</sup> Jenő Szűcs, „The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An outline”, *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* Vol. 29, No. 2/4 (1983): 131–84.

<sup>121</sup> Szűcs.

<sup>122</sup> Balkan: Szűcs, 178–79.

About Croatia: Szűcs, 156., Szűcs, 160.

focus was on whether Hungary is part of a Central Europe or Eastern Europe. The question was especially important in foreign affairs. According to Géza Jeszenszky – who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1990 and 1994 – the foreign political affairs of Hungary in the 1990s, was determined by the thought of Visegrad cooperation and that the Euro-Atlantic integration is the key to reconnect with the West, together with the other Central-European nations, mainly with Poland. Géza Jeszenszky elaborates this idea in his article “A visegrádi gondolat és az euro-atlanti integráció” [The Visegrad Idea and the Euro-Atlantic Integration].<sup>123</sup> As a politician emphasizes the importance that Hungary as a Central-European nation has to connect to the Western civilization to be able to break the ties with the East. From the view of Jeszenszky it is clear that the question of geopolitical belonging was crucial during the 1990s.

The discussion about the meaning and place of the Balkans is not a new phenomenon, and the theories about it in the post-1989 environment is the continuation of this century-long debate. Milica Bakić-Hayden in her study “Nesting Orientalism: The Case of Former Yugoslavia” developed the theory of “nesting orientalism” which was influenced by Edward Said’s extremely influential theory of *Orientalism*.<sup>124</sup> In his book on the topic, Said argues that the *East* is not a place, but merely a projection of the *West*.<sup>125</sup> Bakić-Hayden in her study argues that orientalism can be observable within the ex-Yugoslav space, and furthermore that it has multiple levels there. She claims that the newly formed independent nation-states of Yugoslavia all tried to differentiate themselves from the other states from the region. In the field of politics one of the neighboring countries (usually the eastern one) was portrayed and represented as the “Balkan,” the more underdeveloped, uncivilized, uncultured, barbarian,

<sup>123</sup>Géza Jeszenszky, “The Visegrad Thought and the Euro-Atlantic Integration,” *Magyar Szemle* VII., no. 7–8 (August 1998).

<sup>124</sup>Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

<sup>125</sup>Razsa and Lindstrom, “Balkan Is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman’s Croatia,” 632.

and violent one. With this process, governments and politicians could support the legitimacy of the nation's existence and reinforce its independent status.<sup>126</sup>

The other important theory about the Balkans is *Balkanism*, a concept developed by Bulgarian historian, Maria Todorova.<sup>127</sup> Todorova argues that the Balkans belong to Europe. She highlights the importance that the Balkans had, that the region has a concrete historical existence and is not only an imagined projection of the Western culture, and argues that this region was first “discovered” by the West in the late eighteenth century, influenced by the French Enlightenment. After the Balkan Wars and the First World War the region became important in politics, culture, and society, and after the fall of socialism in Europe the process of Balkanization began and the term started to be used with pejorative overtones.<sup>128</sup>

However, the situation is not that simple. Balkan was not always equivalent to violence, and it was not always a pejorative qualifier of a geographical (?) region. In the formerly mentioned study about the Balkans, Diana Mishkova points out that during the interwar period, Balkan was “rehabilitated” and became an important symbol of the region, as an old form of common historical development which created diverse cultures: however, the unity can be found in this diversity. Through this example, Mishkova shows that this negative meaning of the term was not true, and it is determined by the historical context.<sup>129</sup>

In the analyzed part of the textbooks there is not so many mentions either Central Europe or Balkan. In the Hungarian case, when the national history is analyzed there is almost no mention of Central Europe, however it may appear in the international topics. The

<sup>126</sup> Milica Bakic-Hayden, „Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia”, *Slavic Review* Vol. 54, No. 4 (1995).

<sup>127</sup> Mariia Nikolaeva Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Updated ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>128</sup> Razsa and Lindstrom, “Balkan Is Beautiful: Balkanism in the Political Discourse of Tuđman’s Croatia,” 631–32.

<sup>129</sup> Diana Mishkova, “Balkans / Southeastern Europe,” in *European Regions and Boundaries. A Conceptual History* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 150–51.

Balkan also not really mentioned in the textbooks, and none of the four analyzed textbooks mentions regarding the Hungarian history within the Austro-Hungarian Empire neither about the occupation of Bosnia in 1878 and neither the occupation of Bosnia Herzegovina in 1908, despite that Austro-Hungarian army participated in both actions.

In the Croatian case, Balkan is mentioned more, and both the occupation and annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is discussed in the textbooks. However, none of the textbooks put Croatia into the Balkan framework. Central-Europe appears minimally, too. Therefore, the case with the concepts of Central-Europe and the Balkan is that it was a significant problem in the fields of politics and also in historiography, however it was not so important in the case of the period of 1867 and 1914.

In conclusion, the elements and ideas of the memory politics in both cases have traces in the elementary school textbooks and the narratives of the analyzed period, however for various reasons and in different amounts. In both Hungary and Croatia history plays a crucial role in shaping the collective memory of the nation, and even in the case of peripheral topics it has an impact in the textbooks narratives.

## Conclusion

This thesis investigates the differences between the Croatian and Hungarian elementary school history textbook narratives. The analysis of the period of 1867 – 1914 proves that the narratives about a given historical period are important markers of how memory politics affects the representation of history, even in cases when the period itself is not a central element of the national memory. The comparison of the Croatian and the Hungarian cases also demonstrates that the narratives about the same historical period can differ greatly and therefore, the presentation of history is relative. This is especially true in

periods of significant political transitions. This is why the thesis focused on the analysis of the Croatian and Hungarian textbooks from the 1990s and shows the major differences. Moreover, this work has an importance in showing how two neighbor states' national memory vary about common historical experiences and the narratives towards the same events, and in the future might focus on the analysis that how this influence the relationship of the two.

Through the three chapters which analyzes the various aspects of the differences – from structural ones to political – between the Croatian and Hungarian cases all tends to validate that this phenomenon is a complicated case, and it was caused by numerous reasons. The contrasts within the historical progress after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and additionally after 1989 are all reason how political development has an impact in the evolution of national memory.

The opposite depictions of various events and developments – for example the narrative about modernization in the Hungarian textbooks as a form of national greatness, which was in the same time a form of oppression in Croatia – shows that the representation and understand of history how different in the national level. The trend that the Hungarian textbooks omit various historical events, which are highlighted in the Croatian textbooks – for example the Zagreb Resolution (1905) – presents that the prioritizing of historical events. The differences between the way how the Croatian and Hungarian politics used or misused given historical periods or events demonstrates as well that this research has a relevance and there is a need to investigate this problem for the better understanding how the using of history for achieving political aims can have an impact on the national memory.

Moreover, the thesis highlights the importance of textbooks as primary sources for indicating how memory politics and the political attitude towards the past and its place within

the collective memory works. The analysis of history textbooks is an important task and method, which can broaden the picture about the relationship of politics and history education. The textbooks are still powerful tools in influencing the thinking about the national history, this is why there is a need for future researches. This thesis only focuses on the period of 1990 – 2000, however, the role of history textbooks are still one of the most important tools in education to achieve and mediate the ideas of the always concurrent political system. Therefore, this thesis might serve as the beginning of a future research, which continues to analyze the problems regarding the Croatian and Hungarian narratives about the common past.

Ultimately, the thesis presents that the understanding of history is how dependent on politics, and therefore how important in shaping the thinking of the masses about history and the nation's role in it. Therefore, the thesis contributes to show that this is why some historical events and its representations are two sides of the same coin.

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