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Can National History Be De-Provincialized? U.S. History Textbook Controversies in the 1940s and 1990s

Permalink

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Journal

Journal of Transnational American Studies, 6(1)

Author

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Publication Date

2015

DOI

10.5070/T861025865

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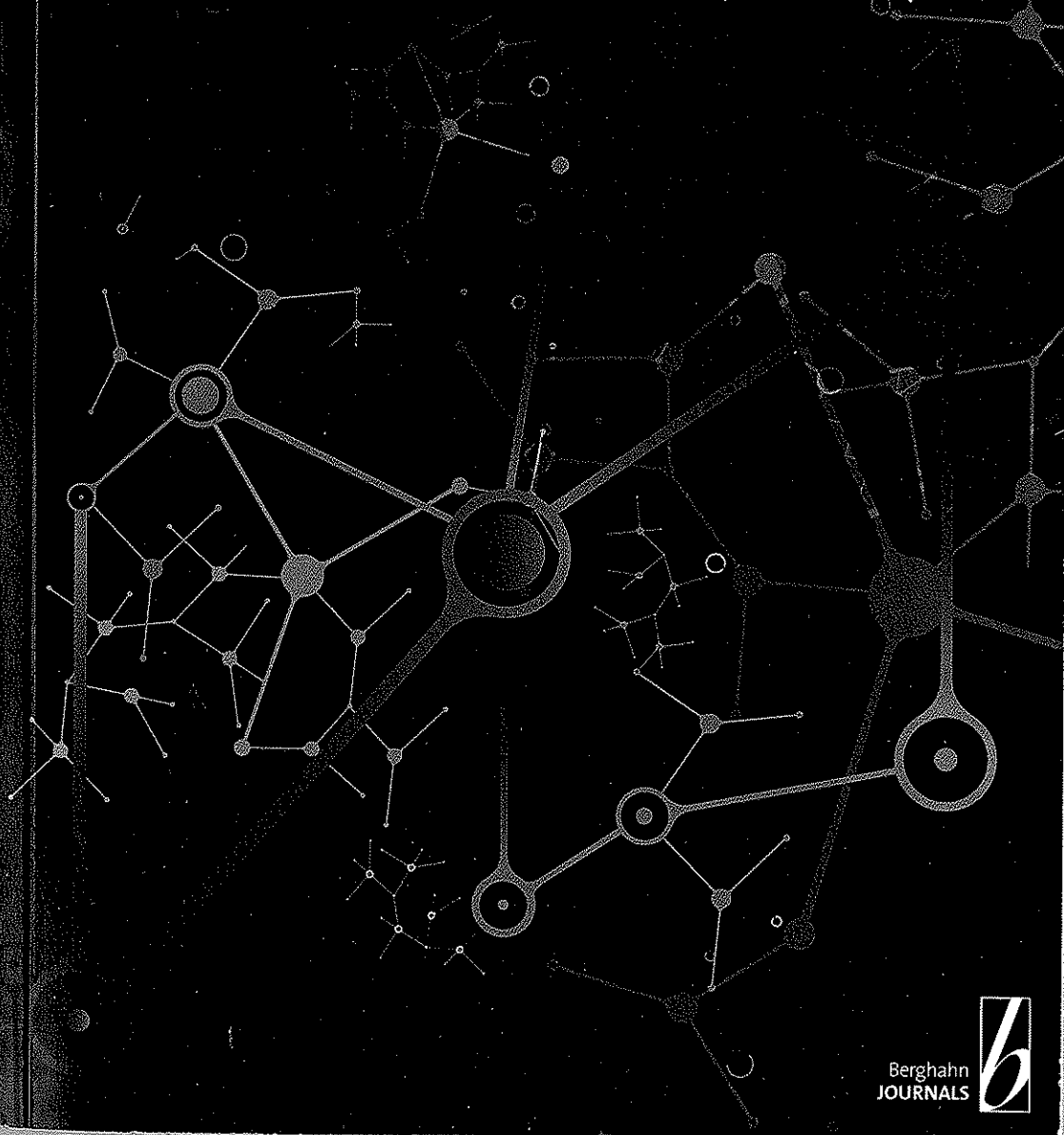
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ISSN 1756-2341

VOLUME 1 · ISSUE 1 · SPRING 2009

CONTEXTS

The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society



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Contexts: The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society explores perceptions of society as constituted and conveyed in processes of learning and educational media. The focus is on various types of texts (e.g., textbooks, museums, memorials, films) and their institutional, political, social, economic, and cultural contexts. The construction of collective memory and conceptions of space, the production of meaning, image formation, forms of representation, and perceptions of the "self" and the "other," as well as processes of identity construction (e.g., ethnic, national, regional, religious, institutional, gender) are of particular interest. Special importance is given to the significance of educational media for social cohesion and conflict. The journal is international and interdisciplinary. It welcomes contributions from the humanities and the social sciences as well as theoretical and methodological studies.

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ISSN 1756-2341 (Print) • ISSN 1756-235X (Online)

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The Institute's interdisciplinary research focuses on international comparative analyses of patterns of perception, representation and knowledge as well as approaches toward literacy in and via textbooks. It explores issues such as images of the "self" and the "other" as well as social inclusion and exclusion achieved via education. Textbooks are of a condensed and canonical character. They define not only "legitimate knowledge" and desirable competencies, but also communicate national and socially preferred and politically negotiated concepts of identity. They are of relevance to academics as well as educationalists and politicians.

Alongside its traditional field of textbook research, the Institute is committed to exploring new research areas, including other educational media and empirical research into the production, accreditation, and use of educational media in general. Informed by its interdisciplinary structure and international networks, the Institute's research aims to place textbooks in their *contexts*.



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Volume 1 • Issue 1 • Spring 2009

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Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)

Simone Lässig

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Professor of Modern History at the University of Braunschweig, Germany

Abstract • This article provides an introduction to the aims, methods, and interdisciplinary approach of this new journal, elucidating the traditions of international textbook research and the function of educational media as illuminating sources for various academic disciplines. Textbooks and curricula in particular, which are not only state-approved but also of a highly condensed and selective nature, are obliged to reduce the complexities of the past, present, and future onto a limited number of pages. Particularly in the humanities, which often deal with concepts of identity and portrayals that may be more open to interpretation, textbooks can become the subjects of controversial debate, especially in relation to societal shifts such as globalization and immigration. In this regard, this journal intends to illuminate the situations in which educational media evolve, including their social, cultural, political, and educational contexts. The emergence of new, particularly digital, educational media marks new modes of knowledge production. *Contexts* invites analyses that reach beyond the printed page and even beyond the institution of the school itself.

Keywords • curricula, educational media research, identity construction, knowledge control, knowledge production, knowledge transfer, mutual perceptions, new media, sociology of education, textbooks, textbook research

Anyone inquiring into the ways and settings in which knowledge is acquired, stored, applied and altered must have an interest in consulting educational media, particularly in textbooks and curricula that are mostly defined and determined by the state. Individual as well as collective knowledge is always a result of a pre-structured societal order and the respective forms produced by various media.¹ Ever since the evolution of the modern school system, textbooks have acted as *privileged* media in this respect. For the state, they have been



normative scaffolding for societies on the other. Focusing on the need for orientation in a globalizing world, I lay out a number of issues that characterize the globalizing process and need to be understood by pupils in order for them to develop a global consciousness and thus the cognitive and the emotional skills to not only understand the new world context, but also to act in it.

Some of the authors have reworked the papers they presented at the conference on "History Textbooks and the Profession: Comparing National Controversies in a Globalizing Age," initiated and organized by Prasenjit Duara and Michael Geyer, held by the History Department at the University of Chicago in May 2007 and graciously agreed that their articles be published in *Contexts*. Others were kind enough to write especially for this first issue of the journal, which aims to broaden the scope of international textbook research and render this interesting and important field of study more accessible.

I thank all who have helped to put together the first issue of *Contexts*, especially Wendy Anne Kopisch, Peter Carrier and Liesel Tarquini, our editors at the Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, as well as Vivian Berghahn at Berghahn Books, who eased the way for publication.



Can National History Be De-Provincialized? U.S. History Textbook Controversies in the 1940s and 1990s

Thomas Bender

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Abstract • This article examines two incidents of textbook controversy in the United States in the course of the last half-century. First, it addresses history's historical relationship to the modern nation-state and nationalism. How does that relationship, and the particular way it is understood, limit the boundaries of history, particularly the contest over whether American history ought to be taught as self-contained and exceptionalist or taught within a larger global context? Second, it addresses the presence of what could be called a historical essentialism or even historical fundamentalism in textbook controversies. The article concludes with an examination of the increasingly political character of the textbook approval and adoption process, as well as the role of publishers and professional historians in the process.

Keywords • censorship, exceptionalist, "history wars," isolationism, privatization, relativism, standards, textbook controversies, United States

Modern historical practice and the professionalization of history have developed in parallel with the rise of the modern nation-state. History was expected to and in fact did play a vital role in forming national subjects and sustaining feelings of national identity. The discipline still thrives on public significance, which is one of the reasons why it occupies a prominent place in the school curriculum. It is a role historians have accepted, either eagerly or passively without much thought. At times, however, conflicts develop between historians and the public over the teaching of U.S. history. While the public tends to view the history curriculum as sustenance for patriotism, the historians see it as a scholarly enterprise, seeking national self-knowledge. While the public often thinks of history (partly a legacy of poor



teaching) as disciplined memorization, historians understand their work as disciplinary scholarship or critical thinking about historical narratives. Finally, the patriotic version of history presents historical development as an unfolding of a seed planted by the founding fathers, while historians see history as a contingent process, the product of many actors and, sometimes, driven by struggle and conflict. The second half of the twentieth century offers two significant and revealing examples of these conflicts between historians and the public. These are explored below, as is the way in which the commercialization of textbook production and the politics of adoption worsen such perhaps inevitable conflicts.

The U.S. and World History in the 1940s

In the midst of World War II, the *New York Times* published a survey of 7,000 college students in thirty-six institutions of higher learning. The results, as always seems to be the case with such surveys, were panic-producing. The *Times* made it a cause; and one of its leading reporters, Benjamin Fine, won a Pulitzer Prize for his series—written from a clear point of view but quite well informed and fair—on the state of U.S. history in the schools. Columbia University historian Allan Nevins was also a major advocate—often on the pages of the *Times*. Without knowledge of U.S. history, Nevins asked, would our soldiers know what they were fighting for? He also insisted that the nation was the proper unit of historical narrative. Particularly in wartime, he explained, “national identity” must be emphasized, and he insisted that such self-understanding was the product of the historical study of national development.¹

Other historians agreed with Nevins on the importance of U.S. history and the need of teaching it better.² But many were concerned by the constraint of a parochial or isolationist historiography. It was a time when many historians were no less “one-worlders” than Wendell Wilkie, whose book, *One World*, was published in 1943, or than Henry Luce, whose famous “American Century” article in *Life* magazine insisted that “our world ... is one world, fundamentally indivisible.”³ Anti-isolationist historians were pressing for world history courses and U.S. history courses that located the latter in its world context.

Two efforts were made to establish worldly guidelines for the teaching of U.S. history in the schools. The first was initiated by the Division of Higher Education in the Federal Security Administration,

which contacted the American Historical Association (AHA) about the possibility of devising a report on “Adjustment of the College Curriculum to Wartime Conditions and Needs.” The AHA established a committee chaired by Professor Bessie L. Pierce of the University of Chicago, and the project was staffed entirely by members of the Chicago Department. They thought that world history was a pertinent curricular response to the circumstances of the world war—the growing power and responsibility of the United States. For that reason, they developed a world history syllabus, but they also developed a syllabus for a more worldly U.S. history course.

In its report the committee argued that “the college survey course in United States history, even when it is ably taught, does not give enough attention to the hemispheric and world setting of our history.” U.S. history, according to the Pierce group, “must be wider in scope than United States history alone.” The proposal was clearly driven by an anti-isolationist politics, a point especially pressed by Walter Johnson, a newly recruited assistant professor. Putting the point negatively, the committee members wrote that the survey course and curriculum generally “should serve as an antidote to our traditional isolationism and provincialism.” More positively, they proposed that it “provide a world-wide frame of reference for our domestic as well as our foreign problems.”⁴ There were other syllabi and even taught courses at the University of North Carolina and Barnard; at the latter Eugene Byrne mounted a course titled, “De-isolationized US History: World History from the American Standpoint, 1500–1942.” There were experiments elsewhere, but the Pierce proposal was the most ambitious, and it was circulated to all American colleges and universities by the Federal Security Administration. But, as we shall see, it was displaced in public discussion by a more nationalist movement for American history—pure, simple, essentialized.

There was another large project that was prompted by the *Times* survey. With funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (now Organization of American Historians), and the National Council on Social Studies collaborated on an examination of history teaching. Challenging the claims of Nevins, the *Times*, and many patriotic groups that not enough U.S. history was taught, they argued instead that enough was taught, but that too much of it was taught poorly. Chaired by Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota, the Special Committee on the Teaching of American History proposed what might be called a critical understanding of history. They rejected

memorization, stressing rather what we might today call analytical skills and historical thinking: The emphasis should be on important events and themes; the development of interpretive and synthesizing skills; the capacity to “distinguish between fact and opinion”; and skills in reading and interpreting maps, charts, and other forms of data presentation. Finally, skills in carrying on a group discussion of historical questions were pressed. They also argued that American history should be so written and taught as to produce in the minds of students a “keen consciousness of the world beyond the United States.” The report pointed out that the United States has never been “isolated.”⁵ Students should be taught U.S. history with a “continuous awareness of the relations between the United States and the rest of the world.”⁶ There was substantial support within the profession for such an approach to U.S. history, including versions of the history of the Americas (following Herbert H. Bolton) and of the Atlantic world.⁷

Nevins, who held to a strongly exceptionalist view of the history of the United States, was sharply critical of anything that would dilute the amount of U.S. history taught or that would blend it into a larger history. While not explicitly anti-cosmopolitan, the position of Nevins and the *Times* undercut the efforts to broaden U.S. history. Their efforts fueled a panic that not enough U.S. history was being taught, or even taught at all. The one-worlder Wilkie, apparently thinking that the crisis was the entire absence of national history in the curriculum, was quoted by the *New York Times* as saying that “it is about time that United States history should be taken up in United States schools.”⁸ Two-thirds of college presidents felt the same way, as did the National Education Association, the National Association of Manufacturers, the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, and the Daughters of the American Revolution. And, of course, the omnipresent and always quotable President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University weighed in on the subject of more American history, for the national story of the United States is a model for the future of the world.⁹

The result of this debate, which played on for months not only in the *Times* but in newspapers across the country, was not de-provincialism but a deeper provincialism, marked by the flowering of American Civilization programs, all embedded in exceptionalist thinking. Many state legislatures and local school boards mandated the history of the United States within this frame. In 1950, Edgar Wesley, who had chaired the committee that had insisted the problem was poor teaching and parochialism, not an insufficient number of courses, declared: “legislative fiat” had “sentenced American boys and girls of

the atomic age to close their eyes to the rest of the world.”¹⁰ It was not that the Pierce and Wesley proposals were challenged directly, but they were simply swamped by a number of influential elites and a nervous public concerned about bolstering national identity (and nationalism) and more than ever committed to notions of American exceptionalism. In these circumstances a cosmopolitan American history seemed irrelevant at best and at worst downright dangerous.¹¹

The Controversy over National History Standards in the 1990s

The controversy over national history standards in the mid-1990s is familiar, at least to Americanists, but it warrants discussion here because it brings together the same points of conflict that were present in the first example. Criticism over the standards was infused with a spirit of fundamentalism; history’s dimensions are fixed and history is built of clear and uncontested facts, not inquiry or interpretation. And, again there was a contest over the proper relation of the United States to the world beyond it. The relation between American history and Western civilization, the world, or global history was again debated.

Nineteen eighty-nine was a remarkably fecund year, and many of the events associated with it are a pertinent context for the story of the National History Standards. If 1989 was a marker for the beginnings of contemporary globalization, it also witnessed a resurgence of nationalism and a figure of the world as a field of international competition. The end of the Cold War also stimulated historical inquiry: historians in the countries of Eastern Europe rushed to recover, write, and rewrite their histories. Revisionism was afoot in France, as the meaning of the French Revolution was transformed, and German historians battled over World War II and by implication German history more broadly. The British government worried about the history curriculum in its schools and undertook a history curriculum project. There was worry in the United States about cultural literacy and historical literacy. A study titled “What Do Our 17 Year-Olds Know” concluded that the answer was not much. A report on the humanities had the provocative title: “A Nation at Risk.” Allan Bloom of the University of Chicago published his bestselling critique of relativism, *The Closing of the American Mind* in 1987, and he was joined by other conservatives expressing their worries about postmodernism, post-structuralism, relativism, and multiculturalism.

The international competition promised by globalization prompted talk about more rigor in education—standards and testing. In 1989, President George Bush addressed the nation's governors, arguing for the establishment of "clear national performance goals [for our schools], goals that will make us internationally competitive."¹² Subsequently, under the leadership of Governor Bill Clinton the National Governors' Association took up the challenge. Among many goals the governors established, one is pertinent to history and the controversy over history. "All students," they proposed, "will be knowledgeable about the diverse cultural heritage of this nation and about the world community."¹³ These were distinctive U.S. concerns for history; nothing like this appears in the contemporaneous British guidelines, and both turned out to be highly controversial, as were charges of "interpretation," which for the critics meant "relativism." With the exception of Sidney Hook, who wrote the most powerful critique of this aspect of Bloom's book, the right lined up with Bloom on the matter of relativism.¹⁴ In fact, using different language some version of what the right called relativism was just what historians had in mind when they talked about their goal of developing "historical thinking," or, sometimes, just "critical thinking," which, among other things, encouraged a recognition of the limits of objectivity and necessarily interpretive character of history that in turn requires a capacity for discrimination in the appraisal of evidence.

In December 1991, the *National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)*, under the leadership of Lynne Cheney, its chair and a prominent conservative critic of postmodernism in humanities scholarship (and also the wife of future Vice President Dick Cheney) along with the Department of Education jointly announced a grant to the Center for History in the Schools at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), co-directed by Charlotte Crabtree, a specialist in social studies education, and Gary Nash, a leading historian of colonial history and the American Revolution on the UCLA faculty. Together they brought into conversation a wide variety of stakeholders: major history, social studies, and education organizations were represented, as were classroom teachers, state and local school officials, parents, curriculum specialists, and leading scholars. The meetings were often contentious, with conservative challenges to the emerging guidelines. The most important of these were Chester Finn and Diane Ravitch, both of whom were authors of important studies and onetime highly ranked officials of the Department of Education in conservative Republican administrations. Both were advocates of standards, but they worried that

the discussions were being dominated by political correctness. Finn and others were also uneasy with world history. They feared it would dilute America's European heritage and diminish the importance of courses on Western civilization. The AHA, by contrast, was adamant that neither European civilization nor the West be privileged in the framing (or naming) of world history. But progress was made. Not long before Lynne Cheney resigned her position as the chair of the NEH upon the election of Bill Clinton, she wrote to Crabtree in praise of the first draft: "What nice work you do! I've been saying lately that the best grant I've ever given is to your standards-setting project."¹⁵

It is not clear why Cheney decided to turn on the project that she had initiated and lauded, but most attribute her shift to politics, mainly Newt Gingrich's leadership of the Republican 1994 election victory that gave them control of the House of Representatives after forty years. He brought a hard right agenda and a confrontational style. Perhaps both Cheney and the other major critic on the right, William Bennett, wanted to secure leadership roles in the resurgent Republican right. She may have learned from Gingrich to "go negative early" and to deploy "minor details to demonize the opposition."¹⁶

It was also a brilliant stroke on her part to open the attack in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal* before the report was released, thus defining the issues and "facts" that would focus debate. She fabricated her presentation of the standards from a clutch of minor details, mostly drawn from the 2,500 suggestions for teachers seeking to develop "critical thinking" rather than from the standards themselves.¹⁷ It was a time of widespread distrust of academics, who were pictured either as raging radicals or scam artists, as described in a flood of "prof-scams" books, and she exploited it. As I have already indicated, there were worries about global competition, claims that multiculturalism was going to pull the nation apart, and fear of relativism. It was high tide in the so-called culture wars that to a significant extent tracked the lines of battle in the history wars.¹⁸ There was also a particular kind of patriotism at issue. Diane Ravitch, a conservative critic, but more fair-minded than Cheney or most of the others, captured this. Instead of a history of the successful, immanent unfolding of democratic rights and economic opportunities over time, she noted that the standards presented, even assumed, a struggle by the excluded, a struggle too often unsuccessful.¹⁹

There was a generational division. When in January 1995, two months after Cheney's blast in the *Wall Street Journal*, the U.S. Senate voted 99–1 in favor of a non-binding resolution condemning the history standards, California Senator Diane Feinstein, one of the more

sophisticated members of the club, declared that when she was a student at Stanford, Thomas Bailey had taught her facts, not interpretations. She was reflecting the way in which history was taught more generally: declarative sentences telling how it was. The concern for historical thinking, for critical analysis was much greater in the standards. In his own fashion, the conservative radio commentator Rush Limbaugh, who proposed that the standards be flushed “down the sewer of multiculturalism,” clarified this matter with a very awkward, even incoherent, sentence: “Now, if you want to get into why what happened, that’s probably valid, too, but why what happened shouldn’t have much of anything to do with what happened.”²⁰

There was another division, also related to generations, but more culpably to what Nash called “the long walk” of historians.²¹ After World War II, academic historians, living in what some historians now call academe’s “golden age,” disengaged from K–12 education.²² The consequence was that teachers in the nation’s schools (to say nothing of parents) were not being brought along as professional history underwent a scholarly revolution greater than any time since the period between 1890 and World War I. The 1960s and 1970s transformed the methods, foci, and boundaries of history, with implications not only for content but also modes of teaching history. Neither parents nor teachers were prepared for the gap that opened up and was exposed during the debates. Making women, Native Americans, and enslaved people actors in history was the shock. Looking at their experience—through their eyes—was novel. But for Cheney and many patriots it seemed to diminish the great figures, not only the Founding Fathers but also the giants of technological innovation and business. These individuals, for her and for most who had read a history textbook before 1960, had made history, had made the United States. (Her most fierce and repeated complaint was that George Washington was not specifically identified as the first president, and that Thomas Edison was not mentioned at all.)²³

The other issue that especially irked Cheney and William Bennett, former Chair of the NEH and Secretary of Education, was the very notion of world history, which diminished European history. While much of the argument of the “humanist right” seems to fit the exceptionalist vision of America, in the end they were as anxious to connect American history to European history as Daniel Rodgers would be—for very different purposes—three years later in his important book, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (1998). Bennett argued that America is unified by the ideals rooted in Western

civilization. European political, philosophical, literary, and aesthetic ideals, he insisted, provide “the glue that binds together our pluralistic nation.”²⁴ Three-quarters of a century after Randolph Bourne, inspired by pragmatism, published “Trans-National America”—an essay widely reprinted and eagerly read by Americanists in the 1980s and 1990s, which elaborated on American history continually in a process of making and remaking itself out of diverse materials—Bennett argued a stem theory of American history, which bears a clear resemblance to the Anglo-Saxonism of the historiography of the 1880s and 1890s that Bourne had explicitly challenged and the profession had long since abandoned. No multiculturalism for Bennett; America still belonged to the northern Europeans, the core of American nationality.²⁵ That is why he attacked Stanford University’s restructuring of its introductory civilization course requirement in a way that ended the exclusive reliance on European texts and leveled the intellectual playing field of humanistic education by bringing European texts and those from around the world into conversation, thus expanding introductory courses on the humanities to embrace the whole human archive.²⁶

The Privatization of Textbooks

There is one more controversy I want to consider. In twenty-two states, most importantly California, Florida, and Texas, the state department of education vets K–12 textbooks and places them on approved lists. In some states, most notably Texas, this process is highly politicized, and the focus is most often on biology and history textbooks, and, more recently, science and geography textbooks that deal with the environment. Because of the size of the Texas market, the adoption process is a high stakes game, full of drama. This concentration on the Texas market, which is worth \$700 million, means that the rest of the country is likely to get the textbooks Texas adopts or books the publisher hoped would be adopted. The process involves public participation, but the public is usually represented at the hearings by highly ideological lobbying groups. One group, called Texans for America, objected to particular illustrations of George Washington in one textbook, arguing that they “lacked his familiar features of kindness and dignity.” Recently, in California, pressure from Sikhs forced the substitution of one image of Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, for another that made him look more modern.²⁷ In the 1950s, Texans for America de-

manded that reference to the song "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands" be removed, claiming that it promoted one-worldism. They also forced a change in a geography textbook that suggested international cooperation. The original statement read, "Today, other countries help us in protecting our land against possible attacks. Radar listening posts." It was changed to, "With radar we can quickly detect the approach of enemy aircraft or missiles."²⁸ In 2002, the conservative Texas Public Policy Association, one of the most active watchdogs, with dozens of volunteer readers, objected to two paragraphs in *Out of Many: A History of the American People*. The problematic paragraphs referred to prostitution in the West. The issue was not fact—whether or not the passage was true. The leader of the group declared "I don't mean that we should sweep things under the rug. But the children should see the hope and the good things about America." The authors—John Farragher, Mari Jo Buhle, Daniel Czitrom, and Susan Armitage—were willing to negotiate some small changes in various places, but they would not remove this passage. The publisher declined to support the scholars. Fearing that a fight would harm the chances of the twenty-seven other books they had submitted for approval in Texas, they withdrew the book.²⁹

These examples point to touchy issues: representation, founders, worldly connections, and a positive view naturalizing the unfolding of American history. The issue of illustrations is a trivial matter, and the question of prostitution is certainly not one of the main themes of American history. But the intimidation and self-censorship it encourages is not trivial or inconsequential. The issue is a process that indeed replaces scholarship with politics in deciding the content and selection of textbooks. Small, highly focused, and energetic groups can change textbooks, and do.

Furthermore, the decisions of what proposed changes to accept or reject are made not on scholarly grounds, but on commercial ones. While government scrutiny or production of textbooks is quite worrisome, privatization of the school history curriculum is equally a problem. We have outsourced our curriculum to textbook publishers who care only for sales and bring market values to the making of textbooks. They demonstrate an impressive flexibility in responding to political and market demands, by producing special content for Texas, California, or Florida.³⁰ J. Frank Dobie, a distinguished Texas folklorist observed before the commercialization of the curriculum got as bad as it has since become, that publishers "are so compliant that most of them would print texts in Hindi if the buyers preferred."³¹ Take note:

the annual expenditure on textbooks in 2002 was \$4.5 billion and probably now approaches \$5 billion.³²

Who stands up for a public interest in scholarship? Where are the historians? Are we part of the public influencing textbook approvals? Should we be? Except for textbook authors—who are sometimes grilled at these hearings—the profession at large, whether that is the AHA or local historians, is rarely in evidence.³³ Now the AHA has perhaps awakened and become concerned. It took a strong stand this year, making a statement challenging the Florida law, signed by Jeb Bush in June 2006, that required that American history "be viewed as factual, not as constructed."³⁴ Such statements are of course welcome, but more is needed. We need historians at those meetings to explain scholarship and defend sound scholarship. Scholars may have to match the presence of those who would put narrow political interest before scholarship and challenge the threat to scholarship and honest education that these lobbies represent.

In the end, however, it is not only about the claims of expertise against cultural politics and commercialism, though it is about that. It is also, more importantly, about why we teach history. If there is a civic role for history—and I think there is—how does one define it? Is it to promote a simple, even chauvinistic patriotism? Or is it to share the best scholarly understandings of our national history to various publics, including schoolchildren? Is it to give pat answers to history, or invite the public into the historian's workshop enough for them to understand the complexities and sometimes challenging findings that critical analysis of the historical record brings forth? History has no responsibility to supply comfort, nor do teachers. Teachers are obliged to bring hard won historical truths to the public and the schools, whether they are comforting or unsettling. And, in fact, most learning, as William James long ago observed, unavoidably unsettles our established beliefs, which we hesitate to lay aside.³⁵ But hard as it sometimes is, that is precisely why we bother to learn.

Notes

1. Allan Nevins, "American History for Americans," *New York Times*, 2 May 1943. Making some of the same points but emphasizing the importance of history, not social studies, see his earlier article, "Why We Should Know Our History," *New York Times*, 18 April 1943. Interestingly, it was the Federal Security Administration which had a higher education divi-

- sion that monitored and kept statistics on the amount of U.S. history being taught in the schools (Ian Tyrrell, *Historians in Public* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005], 139).
2. Here there was a difference between many historians involved and the *Times*/Nevins position. The former wanted history taught better, the latter wanted more of it.
 3. Quoted in Akira Iriye, *Global Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 41.
 4. Quotes from Ian Tyrrell's excellent account, "The Threat of De-Provincializing US History in World War II: Allan Nevins and the *New York Times* to the Rescue," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 48, no. 1 (2003): 42–43. The issue of de-parochializing American history, at least making it part of hemispheric history, was the theme of Herbert H. Bolton's presidential address to the American Historical Association; see his "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review* 38, no. 3 (1933): 448–74.
 5. Quotes from Benjamin Fine, "Education in Review: Findings of the Special Committee on the Teaching of American History," *New York Times*, 26 December 1943.
 6. Benjamin Fine, "Reforms Prepared for History Study," *New York Times*, 13 December 1943. The report also proposed some sequencing of teaching; college should not repeat high school, for instance. They proposed more specialized courses for college.
 7. See Tyrrell, "The Threat of De-Provincializing US History in World War II," 48–50.
 8. *Ibid.*, 51.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. Quoted in Tyrrell, *Historians in Public*, 139.
 11. On the postwar embrace of exceptionalism, see Daniel Rogers, "Exceptionalism," in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imagined Histories: American Historians Interpret the Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 21–40.
 12. The limited conception of education inherent in this framing, which remains the national political framework, is discussed in Thomas Bender, "Bush Misses the Point of Jefferson's Vision," *New York Newsday*, 5 October 1989.
 13. Quotes from Gary Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1997), 149, 150.
 14. Sidney Hook, "The Closing of the American Mind: An Intellectual Best-Seller Revisited," *American Scholar* 58, no. 1 (1989): 123–35.
 15. Nash et al., *History on Trial*, 214.
 16. *Ibid.*, 213.
 17. Linda Symcox, *Whose History? The Struggle for National Standards in the Classrooms* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002), 129.

18. For a very good contemporary analysis, see James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991). Although the book is more subtle, one can say Hunter (rightly, I think) frames the issue between Enlightenment and pre-Enlightenment forms of thinking.
19. Symcox, *Whose History*, 134.
20. Quoted in Nash et al., *History on Trial*, 5–6. Of course, Limbaugh is notably crude, and such language is to be expected. But take note of the extreme language of Senator Slade Gorton, who introduced the Senate resolution condemning the standards: "This set of standards must be stopped, abolished, repudiated, repealed. It must be recalled like a shipload of contaminated food" (Symcox, *Whose History*, 1).
21. Nash et al., *History on Trial*, 36–37, 65, 158. See also Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 3 (2005): 727–51; Thomas Bender, "Reforming the Disciplines," *Daedalus* 131, no. 3 (2002): 59–62.
22. There are important ways in which that "Golden Age" was not golden, but retrospectively, even without nostalgia, they were remarkable years for higher education in the United States. See Thomas Bender, "Politics, Intellect, and the American University, 1945–1995," *Daedalus* 126, no. 1 (1997), 1–38.
23. Of course, he is mentioned many times, but there is no sentence that says directly that he was the first president. The impression produced by her phrasing is that he is not mentioned at all. This is representative of her rhetorical strategy.
24. Nash et al., *History on Trial*, 165.
25. Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America," *Atlantic Monthly* 118 (1916): 86–97.
26. There is a long transcript of a PBS "debate" between Bennett and Donald Kennedy, the president of Stanford University, among others, in "The Discussion About Proposed Changes in the Western Culture Program at Stanford University," *Minerva* 27, nos. 2–3 (1989): 223–411.
27. "Top Ten Most Embarrassing Moments in the History of the Textbook," *Stay Free!* <http://www.stayfreemagazine.org/archives/18/topten.html> (accessed 6 April 2007); Jesse McKinley, "Bowling to Sikhs' Call, California Wants Textbook Change," *New York Times*, 10 March 2007.
28. "Top Ten Most Embarrassing Moments in the History of the Textbook."
29. Alexander Stille, "Textbook Publishers Learn: Avoid Messing with Texas," *New York Times*, 29 June 2002.
30. Bender, "Reforming the Disciplines," 59.
31. Quoted in Nash et al., *History on Trial*, 71.
32. Stille, "Textbook Publishers Learn: Avoid Messing with Texas."
33. See Bender, "Reforming the Disciplines," 62.

34. *AHA Perspectives*, March 2007, 17.
35. William James, *Pragmatism* (Indianapolis: Hackett [1907] 1981), 31.



Visualizing the Former Cold War "Other": Images of Eastern Europe in World Regional Geography Textbooks in the United States

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Abstract • This article discusses contemporary western representations of the former Cold War geopolitical "other," Eastern Europe, conveyed by illustrations in contemporary American world regional geography textbooks. I would like to explore certain geopolitical biases in the pictures' general messages, such as tendencies to highlight the transitional, problematic, and marginal at the expense of the essential and centripetal characteristics and landscapes. Images of Eastern Europe tend to marginalize it from the rest of Europe by minimizing visual references to its physical landscape and its role in European history; overemphasizing local problems connotes the need for the supranational assistance of the expanding European Union. Overall, this article attempts to reveal various Cold War legacies and "marginalizing" tendencies in visual representations of Eastern Europe, thus contributing to the visual and popular cultural turns in geography and geopolitical studies.

Keywords • Cold War, Eastern Europe, post-communist, textbooks, visual representation, world regional geography

Introduction

World regional geography (WRG) remains one of the principal general education courses that students take in North American colleges. Often, this is the only geography course many of them will ever attend. World regional geography courses therefore frequently become a major systematic geographical introduction of American students to the world outside of the United States. Given the relatively low level of geographical literacy of the average American, these courses are a rare opportunity for challenging the often-biased media representations of regions and world affairs. In this light, WRG textbooks

