PERCEPTIONS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR IN THE HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN SLOVENIA

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He who will write history of these days and will refuse all simplification, will have to say that the truth about the Spanish war is divided, as are divided her people. On both sides, cruel things do occur...,” wrote E. Kocbek in the year 1937. In Slovenian history textbooks, the Spanish Civil War has a notable place where pre-World War 2 matters are discussed, since in that time the attitude towards Spain was often directed via tragic opposition between two totalitarisms: communism or fascism. Political Catholicism in Slovenia before World War 2 was notably marked by the discourse of the Republican side favouring Catholic intellectual and poet Edvard Kocbek "Reflections on Spain/Reflexionando sobre España” (in the catholic magazine Dom in svet - Home and World, 1937). In it, he warned about the "tragically divided truth about Spain" and challenged the "bold fascist claim [...] that the civil war in Spain is a religious war. The reasons of the horrible conflict in Spain are, in fact, not religious but social." The attitude towards the war in Spain also affected the connections of various ideological and political groups in Slovenia in the years of war from springtime 1941. In the first years after 1945, the Communist political government in Yugoslavia was fairly reserved towards the so called 'Spanish Fighters' (volunteers - Fighters of International Brigades on the Republican side) - even though some have played an important part in the resistance during World War 2, which was controlled by the Communists. Participation of over 570 Slovenians in International Republican Brigades is thus, e.g., in history textbooks from last decades presented in more detail than before. The memories of the Spanish Civil War are marked in a special way by the name of a cultural centre in the former workers' suburb of the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana (Kulturni dom ‘Španski borci’ - Cultural Centre ‘Spanish Fighters’, since 1981). There, a collection of documents on the Spanish Civil War is kept, which has been digitalized and is available online. Several translations of studies on the Spanish Civil War are available (E. Hemingway; T. Hugh; P. Broué in É. Témime; G. Orwell), while

some memoirs of Slovenians have also been published. Slovenian historians, too, wrote about the Spanish Civil War, as did the authors of the introductions into the translated works on Spain and particularity about the Yugoslav and Slovenian volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. In the year 2010, a four-language collection of texts of the symposium Slovenians in the Spanish Civil War was published (»Slovenians in the Spanish Civil War/Eslovenos en la Guerra Civil Española«).

The history textbooks between school reforms 1958 and the 1980s

The history textbooks were not affected only by the dominating political views and values, as well as the familiarity with the subject, but also by the changing school system and curricula. Only the reform in 1958 established the foundations of a unified 8-year elementary school and 4-year gymnasium and other high schools: the themes of the 20th century were taught to the pupils in the last (eight) grade of the elementary school and in the last (fourth) grade of the gymnasium. The history textbooks were also affected by the high school oriented education after the year 1980 and especially by the transition into a democratic society and an independent country in the beginning of the 1990s, also followed by a renewal of history teaching. Furthermore, the textbooks from the 1990s onwards also changed in form, became more colourful, attractive and the formerly single obligatory primary school textbook was replaced by a wider variety of literature to choose from. Since the eight year elementary school was gradually replaced by the nine year programme in the mid-1990s, the history of the 20th century has been taught in the 9th grade.

The text in history books, which have been used for several decades by the 14 or 15 year old pupils before and after the school reform presented the Spanish Civil War with the then normal vocabulary in the chapter "Fight of the People Against Fascism and Nazism". The textbook “History for IV grade of lower Gymnasium” (1956) was written by three influential Marxist historians (with pedagogic and didactic experience, among them a university teacher of modern history). They presented the «Popular Front» (Spanish: Frente Popular) as a form of operation of the Communist Party in individual countries and briefly,
in 18 lines, described Spain as well: after winning the elections in 1936 "it started to reshape Spain into the homeland of the working people." This was followed by resistance from the Spanish grand bourgeois and a rebellion of General Franco, supported with troops and airplanes by Germany and Italy, while France and England remained neutral with their politics of non-interference. The Republican was supported by anti-fascist International Brigades. The Communist "Parties from all around the world and many other democratic movements" sent volunteers in Brigades, among them there were many Yugoslav ones. There is not much about the war - the famous Guadalajara battle of the spring 1937 is mentioned, "where the fascists suffered a great defeat," the continuation of the war and its end in the springtime of 1939 with the victory of General Franco, "supported by all of the world's Reaction." The textbook also describes the retreat of the International Brigade fighters across the Pyrenees to France, where they had been disarmed and sent to concentration camps, then concludes: "The victorious Spanish Reaction established a horrid fascist terror in Spain". The same text as the book from the year 1956 is contained in the textbook History for the 8th Grade of Elementary School, used at the very least in the 70s of the 20th century. However, the textbook, due to a more modest design, did not contain a photograph of uniformed fighters from "one of the many International Brigades in Spain".12

The history textbook "History for the 4th Grade of Gymnasium" was, in the middle of the 60s of the 20th century, written by the same author M. MIKUŽ, the university teacher of modern history. "The unfortunate civil war in Spain" is placed among the major events of its time. Spain saw a conflict of the army, loyal to the government (Republicans), supported by many volunteers from all sides of the world (Communists and democrats), including those from Yugoslavia, and the "usurpers or Nationalists" on the other side, supported by Italy and Germany. "The fighting in the unfortunate country lasted, with changing fortunes, until the beginning of April in 1939", when the war ended with the victory of Nationalist forces. Among the fighters from the International Brigades - these are also presented with a photo of march a military unit - there "were some Yugoslavs". The Spanish Civil War is then presented by the textbook fairly in detail from an international perspective, including the influence of the Soviet Union, where this was a "period of horrid processes" from August 1936 to the end of 1938.13

The history textbooks for high technical, other high and professional schools (1967, 1970), which wrote about the number of Yugoslav volunteers on the Republican side (only 1200 are mentioned), explained the naming "fifth column" ("fascist Reaction in Madrid"), which is mentioned by the newest textbook as well. After the defeat of the Republicans, half a million of people emigrated abroad, most of

12 GESTRIN, Ferdo; HAINZ, Jože; MIKUŽ, Metod: Zgodovina za IV. razred nižjih gimnazij, [History for 4th class of lower Gymnasiums], Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana, 1956, 161-162; GESTRIN, Ferdo; HAINZ, Jože; MIKUŽ, Metod: Zgodovina za VIII. razred osnovne šole [History for 8th class of Primary School], Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana, 1963, 139.
them to Mexico.\textsuperscript{14} The textbook (1970) describes how the Communist "Parties and many other advanced movements worldwide" supported the government forces, "which fought a defensive war against fascism", with volunteers. When talking about these volunteers, the textbooks sometimes list of 1500 fighters in International Brigades from Yugoslavia,\textsuperscript{15} and at other times (1972) 1300 Yugoslavs.\textsuperscript{16} The text in the book is engagingly written with very clear orientation: the Spanish people fought against "military conspirators" ardently, but the most modern weapons of the fascist countries in 1939 enabled a "victory of the Reaction in a horrid civil war."\textsuperscript{17} An interesting complement to the elementary school textbook was also the Scholastic History readers, which was sometimes used in gymnasium classes as well. There, the memory of a Slovenian participant who fought at the battle of Pouzel de Alarcon in the Spanish Civil War was published.\textsuperscript{18} School classes were additionally complemented by a Note-book (1979), related to the Textbook. This emphasizes the role of the Communist party of Spain, participation of Yugoslavs and the aid to both camps from abroad.\textsuperscript{19}

The main authors of the history textbooks up to the beginning of the 1990s (B. Božič, T. Weber) also prepared the textbook for the 8th grade of elementary school, "History 8", which was published in 1973, and then in 1991, in its 4th, partly revised version. The subject "Resistance Against Fascism - Popular Front Movement" presents "The First Battles of Fascist and Democratic Forces in Spain". Social reforms of the Popular Front government were opposed by "all Spanish reaction, from the Catholic church to the bourgeois." Spain was divided by military conflict into the Republican camp with international volunteers and the Nationalist camp. The text of the school book is followed by revision questions. The Spanish fighters of the International Brigades (volunteers) have become a more notable part of the content of this subject. Along with mentioning "around 1500 Yugoslav volunteers, among whom there were over 500 Slovenians" the history textbook points out their later military role in the very beginnings of the partisan movement in Slovenia in the year 1941 and during the Second World War.\textsuperscript{20}

From 1980, with the school reform, the pupils got new textbooks too. The history of the 20th century was taught with a textbook by three authors “Modern History (History 2)”, which presented the Spanish subject in high detail: when talking about the election victory of the Popular Front in February of 1936, the

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{14} URANKAR, Pavle; ŠUMI, Janez: Zgodovina za srednje tehnške in druge srednje šole [History for technical and other secondary schools], Ljubljana, Dopisna delavska univerza, 1970, 107-108.
\bibitem{15} TITL, Julij: Zgodovina za poklicne šole [History for vocational schools] DZS, Ljubljana, 1970, 83-84.
\bibitem{16} BOŽIČ, Branko; TROJAR, Štefan: Zgodovina za tehnške šole, [History for technical schools], DZS, Ljubljana 1972, 193.
\bibitem{17} BOŽIČ, Branko; TROJAR, Štefan: Zgodovina za tehnške šole, [History for technical schools], DZS, Ljubljana 1972, 193,198; BOŽIČ, Branko; TROJAR, Štefan: Zgodovina za tehnške šole [History for technical schools], DZS, Ljubljana 1980, 184, 188.
\bibitem{18} ZADNIK, Stetka; KRIŽNAR, Ivan: Zgodovinska čitanka za osmi razred … [A Reader in History for 8th class …], DZS, Ljubljana, 1973, 33-35.
\bibitem{19} WEBER, Tomaž: Zgodovina 8: delovni zvezek za 8. razred osnovne šole [History 8: Note-book for 8th class of primary school], DZS, Ljubljana, 1979, 14.
\bibitem{20} BOŽIČ, Branko; WEBER, Tomaž: Zgodovina 8 [History 8] (4th partially revised edition), DZS, Ljubljana 1991, 43-44.
\end{thebibliography}
support of anarchists is mentioned too. The uprising against the legitimate government was "justified by the
generals with the pretence, that they are defending the national values of Spain from socialism, communism
and atheism, which is supported by the government". The textbook puts special emphasis on the fact that the
Republican part of Spain, during the war, also saw a "social, even socialist revolution" take place, with an
important role of the revolutionary socialist and anarchist syndicate boards. This spontaneous socialist
revolution was an "actual variation of the Bolshevik October revolution". Republican forces "suppressed the
revolutionary drive of Spanish working masses" in the spring of 1937, which is presented among the
political errors of the Comintern and the Communist party of Spain. The defeat of Republicans was also
influenced by the division within the Republican side. The subject ends with encouragement to high school
pupils with more than 12 questions.21

In a slightly newer high school textbook of the first two authors (B. Božič, T. Weber, History 2,
1986), this time is presented with special emphasis, but in a more compact manner, with Spain 1936-39 on
two pages. The textbook contains two photos with captions; one features General Franco, and the other the
fighters of the Djuro Djaković Battalion in Spain as an example of 1500 Yugoslav members of the
International Brigades. At the end of the text, the textbook suggests that the student reads the writings from a
"Collection of Historical Sources" on the Spanish Civil War and use the textbooks on it to evaluate the
participation of Yugoslavs.22

Textbooks in the 1990s

In the 1990s, social and political changes affected school as well. There was not a single history
textbook for each grade but, instead, a variety of choices and competition among publishers. This variety
was coupled with a richer form with colour print. Thus, the publishing house DZS prepared an attractive
textbook for the 8th grade of elementary school named “20th Century” (1993). Our subject is, in various
levels of detail, presented on two pages in the chapter "Endangering of World Peace 1931-1939". The
intervention of Soviet Union in the operation of the Popular Front in Spain is mentioned, as well as the
parliamentary victory of the Popular Front and the reforms, the coup and a "bloody civil war", which ended
with the win of the nationalist General Franco. This victory came due to the German and Italian aid (for the
first time in history, systematic bombing of entire cities occurred) and the discipline in the army - these
history textbooks are the first to address the subject, as well as emphasizing the civilian casualties,
participation of women in the war on the Republican side and the Slovenian Josip Križaj, a pilot in the
Republican Army, who was shot down by the Italian pilots in October 1936. The units on the Republican

21 BOŽIČ, Branko; WEBER, Tomaz, PRUNK, Janko: Srednje usmerjeno izobraževanje, Novejša zgodovina –Zgodovina 2
[Directed secondary education, Contemporary history - History 2], DZS, Ljubljana, 1980, 51-63.

22 BOŽIČ, Branko; WEBER, Tomaz: Srednje izobraževanje: skupna vzgojalnoizobražbena osnova: Zgodovina 2 [Secondary
Slovenian eight graders could use from the year 1997 on, the primary school textbook “Our Century”. The Spanish Civil War is described on two illustrated pages under the chapter "On the Path Towards World War 2". Graphically, the subject is equipped with a picture of respite during the fighting in Barcelona (1936) with two armed women in the foreground, the Picasso painting Guernica (1937), depicting the fascist bombardment of the city and a photo of the monument to the victory of General Franco, who remained in power until his death in 1975. The text presents the key elements starting with the coalition of the Popular Front and social reforms and proceeding to the military coup against the Republican government in 1936. When talking about the German and Italian support for the usurpers, a testing of weapons and bombardment of cities stand out, while, in terms of the aid of the Soviet Union, its direct interventions into purely Spanish matters as well as the increase in the power of communists, who "demanded the carrying out of a revolution" are emphasized. There is a mentioning of disagreements within the Republican government, which influenced the defeat of the Republican Army in the spring of 1939. The neutrality of democratic Europe, too, is presented, and the aid to the Republican side provided by 30.000 volunteers in the International Brigades, "among whom about 500 Slovenians." The textbook was also released for students with impaired eyesight and minorities schools.

An alternative history textbook by three authors E. Dolenc, A. Gabrič, M. Rode "Steps in Time: 20th Century" (1997) features a part of Picasso's painting Guernica on its cover. Spain is introduced to the students with the topic "Crisis of Democracy" (after World War I), while more about it is written in the chapter about the 1930s. Students, with the aid of a map of Europe and two illustrations (Guernica, General Franco), follow the Popular Front Movement and developments in Spain, which, after eight years of dictatorship, became a democratic Republic in 1931. The Popular Front, after its victory in 1936, introduced reforms in favour of the working people, which limited industrials, major landowners (including the Church) and the army, which triggered a military uprising. The role of western countries, Soviet Union and a number of members of the International Brigades, including the Slovenian participation, are presented. For Germany and Italy, the Spanish Civil War was a weapon testing polygon, while the bombing of the Basque city Guernica was a large scale massacre of civilian population. The text mentions divisions within the Popular Front, "because the Communists attempted to carry out a revolution along with the defence of the Republic". The textbook emphasizes, that the Spanish Civil War saw a majority of European political parties,

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movements and organisations side with either one or the other of the fighting factions, which is also important for events in Slovenia. Trust in democracy was shaken, while the people were "than ever more divided between two extremes: is the larger danger represented by communism or fascism." The subject is concluded with the victory of General Franco in the springtime of 1939 and the information, that fascism in Spain survived until his death in 1975. During the new terms, the textbook introduces students to the term "fifth column" in the case of the conquering of Madrid as operations that benefit an external enemy.25 A very similar text is used in the gymnasium textbooks of the same two authors.26 High school textbooks27 would deserve a more detailed analysis, but in short, let us mention their approach, which, regarding the curriculum, it is at first similar, then limited to the main emphasises of the Spanish Civil War. This is presented as a part of events before World War 2 and points to the role of intellectuals when discussing the subject of ideological division. The Spanish Civil War is, with some domestic and international emphasises, presented in the historical sources (manuals for teachers and students) "Twentieth Century in Historical Sources, Words and Pictures" (1997)28 and school history atlases, more in detail in the newer ones.

A renewed primary school textbook “Steps in Time 9” (2013) by four authors presents the rise of totalitarianism, including the Spanish Civil War. This is presented in a short text, in a bit over 20 lines with a single photograph (Guernica) and the caption on the 1937 bombardment. However, the text is well thought out, fairly simple and rich in content. The Popular Front is presented in detail (including the anarchists), its victory at the elections, the uprising of the army and help from abroad (among that, the 500 Slovenian volunteers in the International Brigades), as well as the victory of Franco and fascism until 1975. The subject is concluded by the attitude of movements and people in Europe, the question on the dangers of communism or fascism. The glossary by the text also explains the term "anarchism".29

Conclusion

In the analysis of the divisions before World War 2, the subject of the Spanish Civil War found an important place in the history textbooks in Slovenia both before 1990 in the times of Yugoslavia, as well as

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28 WEBER, Tomaz; NOVAK Drago: Dvajseto stoletje v zgodovinskih virih, besedi in sliki - Evropa in svet med obema vojnama 1918-1939. [Twentieth Century in Historical Sources, Words and Images – Europe and World between the two World Wars 1918-1939], DZS, Ljubljana, 1996.

later, in the time of independent Slovenia, when the textbooks describe the topic more broadly and add detail. Firstly, e.g., the varied composition of Popular Front does not mention the anarchists. Only from the 1970s on, the participation of Yugoslavs and especially Slovenes in the International Brigades on the Republican side is emphasized. Presentation of this details in textbooks are results of development of scientific results. Regards contemporary researches are the number of Spanish volunteers from Yugoslavia more than 1920, 574 of these Slovenians.30 The expressions in the history textbooks have changed too, from their early alignment with the general political direction of the Yugoslav state. We can find in some textbooks even in the 1980s very interested presentation of revolution during the Spanish Civil War. The particularly notable element in the textbooks is the evaluation of participation of individual directions in the Popular Front, as well as criticism towards the role of the Communists and Soviet Union. However, even in the 1980s, the texts favour the revolution while, later on, they only show favour to democracy. Cultural personalities who supported the Republican side are presented in this manner too. Along with this, the military roles of Germany and Italy and the bombardment of Guernica are specifically pointed out. The history textbooks towards the end of the 20th century are more varied in form and use more colour, with an increasingly important part in their creation being on the side of teachers as co-authors or reviewers. Content, too, is better adjusted to the age of the pupils. Thereby, learning about democracy is the main purpose of telling stories of totalitarian regimes and various political directions before World War 2.

30 LEŠNIK Avgust: »Nuestros Españoles'. Donesek… »[Contribution…], 89.
Figura 1. Page from the textbook with photo (1956) – Volunteers of the International Brigade fighting for the Republic

so doživeli fašisti velik poraz. Vojna je trajala še vse leto 1938 in se je končala spomladi 1939 z zmago generala Franca, katerega je podprla vsa svetovna reakcija. Boreci internacionih brigad so se umaknili preko Pirinejev v Francijo, kjer so bili razroženi in poslani v koncentracijska taborišča. Zmagovita španska reakcija pa je uvedla v Španiji strahovit fašistični teror.

Boreci ene od številnih mednarodnih brigad v Španiji

Po uničenju ČSR so hitele zahodne demokracije z oblikovanjem smirne revolucije in so obljubile vojno pomoč vsem vzhodnim deželam, vključno Poljski, od katere je Hitler vedno razločanje zahteval vznitev Gdanska in koridora. Drugi poizkus zahodnih demokracij je bil snovanje protifašističnega bloka s pomočjo Sovjetske zveze. Francija in Anglija sta poslali aprila 1939 delegacijo v Moskvo, kjer je prišlo do dolgotrajnih razgovorov. Sovjetska zveza se je odločila braniti baltske države in Poljsko, toda Francija, Anglija in Poljska so bile odločno proti temu, da bi Rdeča armada kdaj koli stopila na ozemlje teh držav.

Iz vseh teh pogajanj in še drugih okoliščin se zelo jasno vidi, da sta hoteli Anglija in Francija zapleli samo Sovjetsko

Fuente: GESTRIN, Ferdo; HAINZ, Jože; MIKUŽ, Metod: Zgodovina za IV. razred nižjih gimnazij [History for 4th class of lower Gimnasiums], MK, Ljubljana, 1956, 162. (All presented textbooks are from the library of Slovenian School Museum / Slovenski šolski muzej, Ljubljana, Slovenia; http://www.ssolski-muzej.si/slo/).
Figura 2. Image of page from textbooks

**Predhod med boji**

*V pouličnih spopadih v Barceloni (1936) so za orozje prijela tudi ženske.*

**Guernica, Pablo Picasso** (1937)

*Slikar je upodobil nasilje in okrutnost fašističnega bombardiranja mesta Guernicie med špansko državljansko vojno.*

**Zmaga generala Franca**

*Franco je s spremno politiko, s katero se je izognil tudi drugi številni vojni, in s preganjanjem branilcev republike obdržal oblasti do smrti leta 1975.*

Se z vojsko in fašističnimi organizacijami in poleti 1936 je del vojske izvedel državni udar proti republiškini vlad. Državni udar je vodil general Francisco Bahamonde Franco, ki je poveljeval španski kolonialni vojski v Maroku. Upornikom so se pridružile tudi nekatere druge enote v Španiji, vojaštvu v Madridu, Barceloni, Valenciji in Malagi pa je ostalo zvesto vlad. Vlada je julija 1936 razdelila oružje delavstvu in drugim državljancem in začela se je državljanska vojna.

V treh letih vojne se je sreča nagibala zdaj na eno, zdaj na drugo stran. Upornikom so pomagali njihovi somišljeniki, Nemci in Italijani ter jih zalagali ne samo z orožjem in operacijami, temveč tudi z vojaštvom. Nemčija in Italija sta špansko državljansko vojno izkoristili za preizkušanje novega orožja in nove vojaške taktike. Evropa je bila priča prvih sistematičnih bombardiranih mest pa tudi celih območij.

**svet med svetovnima vojnama**


Figura 3. Cover page of textbook

Figura 4. 20th Century in Historical Sources, Words and Images – Europe and World between the Two Wars 1918-1939: presentation of Spain with the part of Hemingway's novel For Whom the Bells Tolls

E. Hemingway: Comú zvoni:
El Sordo se bojovao svoj boj na vrhu nekega hriba. Ležal je še sneg, ki jih je pokopal in ko je bil Sordov konj zadet… je začel streljeti s strojnico preko krogvega hriba… po tistih, ki so prihajali po hribu navzgor in jih prislili, da so se razkrojili in si iskali kritja. Ko je zadnji izmed njegovih petih mož dosegel vrh hriba, je zona izgimla iz njegovega hriba in prihranil si je preostale skatle z naboji za pozreje, ko jih bo potreboval. Trige izmed petih mož, ki so dosegli vrh hriba, so bili ranjeni. Sordo je bil ranjen v meča in dvakrat v levo roko. Vrh tega ga je bolela glava in medtem ko je ležal in čakal, da pridejo letala, je mislil na neko Špansko šalo, ki se je glasila: "Smrt boš moral sprejeti kakor da jemlješ aspinit..." Joaquin je rekel: Pasionaria prav, da je bolj umrežiti stoje kakor živeti klete. Še enkrat "mierita" (srnjane), je rekel drugi mož preko ramena, na trebuhi smo, ne na kolenih.


Ravno tedaj so na vrhu hriba zaslišali prvi šam prihajajočih letal. Lezite na hrbot, da boš lahko streljali ranje, je rekels El Sordo. Legel je razaj in meril s strojnic proti letalom, ki so se zakončnoma približevala... Pasionaria prav, boje je umrežite, si je govoril Joaquin, ko se je bojbenje letal približalo. Nato je iznemirila prišel v Zdrava Marija, Gospod je te boj, Sveta Marija mati božja prosi za nas grešnike zdaj in ob naši smrti uri amen.

Potem so mimo njegovih ušes zabunile eksplozije, nato je v sklepenuj stanju zaverneval živž, zemlja se mu je v črnem vezbuhu stresla pod knezini, zavolovala navzgor, del vrha hriba se je vzvdignil v zrak in počasi padel po ljudem, ki so ležali tam. Letala so se še trikrat vmla in bombardirala vrh hriba.