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Changing Histories: Japanese and South African Textbooks in Comparison (1945 – 1995)

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Contents

Preface

The origin of this book goes back to my doctoral thesis and a series of articles derived from it.[1] The teaching of history at schools in South Africa and Japan has attracted ongoing and intense criticism, both domestically and internationally, due to alleged attempts by education bureaucracy and government to conceal the most controversial aspects of their countries' past and to inculcate nationalism, racism and ethnocentrism. As far as the author is aware, this book is the first attempt to systematically compare the ways in which the creators of compulsory history curricula dealt with opposition and critics in the period from ca. 1945 to 1995. It is hoped that this book will contribute to the existing literature of comparative history by drawing lessons that would probably not have emerged from the study of either country by itself.

The period of enquiry is deliberately set at between roughly 1945 and 1995, when both countries were dominated by single-party governments throughout most of the fifty-year period. Updating the information to the present decade would have become a more time-consuming and costly enterprise requiring, *inter alia*, archival trips to both Japan and South Africa. The extra time involved would have impinged on the relevance of this work. However, Japanese and South African history textbook analysis from 1995 onwards will provide fertile inspiration for further research and work.

The book argues that both South African and Japanese history curricula and

1 Ryôta Nishino, "A Comparative Historical Study of Japanese and South African School History Textbooks ca. 1945 – 1995" (PhD diss., University of Western Australia, 2007); "Narrative Strategies of Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identity", *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010): 97 – 112; "The Political Economy of the Textbook in Japan: With Particular Focus on Middle-School History Textbooks, ca. 1945 – 1995", *Internationale Schulbuchforschung (International Textbook Research)*, 30, no. 1 (2008): 487 – 514; "George McCall Theal and South African History Textbooks: Enduring Influence of Settler Historiography in Descriptions of the Fifth 'Frontier War' 1818 – 19", in *Orb and Sceptre: Studies in British Imperialism and its Legacies in Honour of Norman Etherington*, ed. Peter Limb (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2008), 06.01 – 06.15.

textbooks remained largely resistant to change despite pressures for reform. In both nations the education bureaucracy did not overtly express its intentions in the curriculum documents or textbooks. It found other ways to enhance its authority often through subtle measures.

The book surveys the development of educational policies that affected history education and textbooks in both countries. This examination of the historical background identifies various political, economic and educational factors that affected the production of history curricula and textbooks. Demonstrating how the intricate dynamics of these historical events manifested themselves in textbooks forms the core of this book. Within its scope is an analysis of selected themes in textbooks in the compulsory study of history by comparable age groups: Standard 6 in South Africa and middle school (*chûgakkô*) in Japan. A total of eight themes in sixty officially approved Standard 6 South African and middle school Japanese history textbooks have been selected as examples of change and continuity in history education.

Due to limits of space, this work truncates detailed discussions of diverse theoretical foundations and historical themes which might otherwise be accommodated in works with narrower scopes. Those wishing to obtain a deeper understanding of the themes and issues for each nation discussed may be directed to the sources listed in the book's footnotes and bibliography.

Acknowledgements

Several individuals and organisations offered their time and assistance to me during the course of my research, writing and re-writing. I remain grateful to my supervisors. Professor Norman Etherington inspired me to work on comparative history. His unflagging support and superb suggestions have always been constructive. Dr. Sone Sachiko inspired many fruitful and spirited discussions about Japanese history and education, as well as matters of national identity. However, their contribution is beyond reproach.

Many of the primary and secondary sources were collected during my fieldwork in South Africa, Germany, Japan and Australia. The Convocation Award by the University of Western Australia Graduate Association funded my research trip. The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research awarded me a scholarship to conduct research at the institute, and a book award to publish this work.

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Notes on terminology and source materials

Japan and South Africa both present terminological difficulties. Like many Asian societies, Japan introduces people by their surnames first then their given names, although historical figures before the Meiji era are conventionally referred to by their given names. When referring to emperors it is quite rare in the Japanese convention to use their personal names. The reigning emperor is simply called *tennô* (Emperor). Deceased emperors are usually called by the epoch of their reigns. 'Emperor Hirohito' and 'Hirohito', for instance, conform to Western naming conventions rather than the Japanese 'Shôwa Emperor'. In this book I will use the Western conventions for Hirohito, and the Japanese convention for other emperors.

When citing the names of East Asian authors, this book follows the surname-first convention, unless the identities are known as overseas-born or based, or the work is published in the West.

When spelling Japanese words and names in the Roman alphabet, I have followed the Hepburn system. Circumflexes (^) above vowels indicate that the vowels are lengthened – hence *gakkô*, rather than *gakkoo* or *gakkou*. Exceptions are made for words and proper nouns that have entered the English lexicon. Well-known Japanese places such as Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto should be spelt Tôkyô, Ôsaka and Kyôto. However, they appear here without macrons because they are widely recognised in English in that form. When citing works by Japanese authors, I have spelt their names as they appear even if macrons are not added.

Throughout this book, I will refer to the Japanese Ministry of Education as Mombushô. Following restructuring in 2001, Mombushô absorbed the Science and Technology Agency and was renamed Mombukagakushô, abbreviated to MEXT. Its official English name is Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. I will use Mombushô unless I am citing sources emanating from the restructured MEXT.

'Black' South African generally refers to people of African descent who were 'classified' as blacks during apartheid. The term 'non-white' is sometimes used

to denote everyone except white South Africans. However, its negative labelling is objectionable to the author. Throughout this book 'black' denotes those classified during apartheid as 'Bantu' (or 'Africans'), 'Coloured' and 'Indian'. Specific references to each 'category' of people will be indicated when it is necessary.

'Bantu', 'Hottentot' and 'Bushmen' are terms tainted with racist assumptions from the colonial and apartheid eras. However, the word 'Bantu' is used when citing legislation and the names of government bodies featuring the word. Originally 'Bantu' referred to a language group. This book qualifies it as 'the Bantu-speaking people'. 'Hottentot' and 'Bushmen' are equally problematic. 'Khoi' ('Khoikhoi' in plural) is more appropriate than 'Hottentot'. 'Bushman' had a pejorative connotation. The alternative term 'San' came into use in the 1960s. However, it is now understood that 'Bushman' is the translation of the Khoi term carrying the same meaning. Hence, the current usage has returned to 'Bushman', albeit for different reasons.[1] It is important to note that 'Khoi', 'San' and 'Bushman' do not form distinct 'racial' groups, but refer to their modes of living. The Khoikhoi were pastoralists and the Bushmen were hunter-gatherers. This meant that some Khoikhoi became Bushmen, while some Bushmen became Khoi if they changed their means of livelihood. The composite term 'Khoisan' is used when historically appropriate. In archaeological discourse, labels with ethnic connotations have been superseded by neutral terms such as 'herders' and 'hunter-gatherers'.[2]

Similarly, in Japan there have been calls for replacing the name 'Ainu', the indigenous people of northern Japan, with 'Utari' because of the pejorative connotations Ainu has acquired.[3] I use Ainu, not because I endorse the discrimination and negative connotations, but because of historical usage. In all ethnic appellations, the qualification 'so-called' is perhaps a more considered approach.

Educational systems in the two countries adopt different terminology. Before 1996 in South Africa, 'Standard' referred to the year level. The first two years of primary school were known as Sub-Standards A and B, and then pupils proceeded to Standard One. Secondary education was completed in Standard Ten, the twelfth year of schooling. For Japanese schooling I use the terms primary, middle and high schools (*shôgakkô*, *chûgakkô* and *kôtôgakkô* or *kôkô* re-

1 Christopher Saunders and Nicholas Southey, *A Dictionary of South African History* (Cape Town, David Philip: 1998), 148.

2 See, for instance, Martin Hall, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200 – 1860* (Cape Town, David Philip: 1987).

3 The Ainu Kyôkai (the Ainu Association), established in 1930, decided to rename itself the Utari Kyôkai in 1961 to dispel the negative connotations the Japanese had attached to Ainu. Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), 159.

spectively). These divisions total twelve years of schooling. Primary school ends after the sixth year of schooling. Middle school begins in year seven and ends in year nine. High school lasts from years ten to twelve. In South Africa, the word 'curriculum' seems to refer to the whole collection of subject-specific syllabi. The Japanese educational discourse (in English and Japanese) does not make this fine distinction, but 'curriculum' is more frequently used. In South African English, 'pupil' denotes students in primary and secondary schools, and 'students' are those in tertiary education. The alternative term 'learner' is currently replacing 'pupil'. However, for consistency I will use 'students' for both nations, unless alternative words appear in quoted remarks.

The Japanese curriculum is known as *Gakushû shidô yôryô* or translated as 'Course of Studies'. It will be abbreviated into *COS* in the footnotes, but in the main text it will be called the curriculum with the specific subject name preceding it. The curricula up to 1955 were issued in separate volumes for each subject. These will be referred to as, for example, *COS: Social Studies* followed by the years of issue. From the 1958 curriculum onwards, a single volume contained all subjects. Hence I will simply state *COS* followed by the years issued.

Words not widely recognised or accepted in the English lexicon will be italicised. While words such as *volk*, *minzoku* and *kana* will thus be italicised, 'shogun' (it should be pronounced 'shôgun' in Japanese, lengthening the first vowel), 'samurai', 'apartheid' and 'veld' will not.

Introduction

This study investigates how and why South Africa and Japan managed, despite unremitting external and internal criticism, to develop middle-school history textbooks that aimed to inculcate values congenial to the ruling elites and important constituencies over fifty years from 1945 to 1995. It deals with four key areas of history education that affect the textbooks and, by implication, teaching methods: historiographical trends, historical background, textbook industry and production, and curricula. It also addresses the ways in which curriculum design and influential examinations treat the most controversial aspects of national history, namely, Japan's twentieth-century wars and South Africa's institutionalised racism, apartheid. This investigation is important because it undertakes to expose institutional practices that operate beneath and behind the level of publicly trumpeted ideology. By comparing the two quite different nation states, the enquiry aims to move beyond explanations based on local or neighbouring circumstances within East Asia and Southern Africa, or on the nations associated with World War II.

Debates on historical memory and history education have continued to occur and have hit the headlines in both Japan and South Africa. In 2007 there was a public protest in Okinawa against Mombushô (the Ministry of Education) approving a high-school history textbook that was alleged to obscure the state's responsibility in the Battle of Okinawa during the last days of the Pacific War.[1] Since South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the nation has grappled to overcome its uniquely afflicted past to forge a new common identity. This challenge seems almost diametrically opposed to the forces of globalisation that reduce the relevance of the nation state.[2] Moreover, economic expediency seems to have dominated public concern and therefore overwhelmed fears of a decline

1 "Okinawa Slams History Text Rewrite", *The Japan Times*, 23 June 2007, http://search.japantimes.co.jp/cgi-bin/nn20070623a1.html (accessed 7 June 2010).

2 Neville Alexander, *An Ordinary Country: Issues in the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy in South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: The University of Natal Press, 2002).

in school history education.[3] Japan faces a similar challenge of overcoming its neighbours' distrust. On numerous occasions Japanese politicians have made public comments that denied or justified the conduct of the Japanese military during the nation's imperial ventures.[4] Similarly, South Africa's past still affects its domestic as well as international relations. The murder of the white supremacist, Eugune Terre'Blanche, in April 2010 exposed the lingering raw nerves of the fragile 'race relations'.[5]

History and history education are intensely public topics that are not limited to the two nations. During my doctoral studies in Australia, the then Prime Minister John Howard floated the idea of introducing a history curriculum that focused on the 'basic facts' about Australia's past. This immediately raised questions as to the definition of 'fact' and whether history should revert to the mere absorption of them.[6] In the American state of Texas, the recent amendment to its school history curriculum showing a marked shift away from democratic principles towards Christian conservatism has alarmed many education critics. The change in Texas is deemed significant because it is one of the most populous states and thus a large market whose textbook adoption can influence those of other states.[7]

Historical Literature on Textbook Analysis

Analyses critiquing South African and Japanese history textbooks have been conducted by scholars in disciplines ranging from educational studies to linguistics, sociology, social anthropology and history. The textbook analyses reveal similar conclusions that identify textbooks as containing ideological tenets that favoured the ruling regime of the day. Leslie Witz, whose work analyses South African history textbook descriptions of Jan van Riebeeck, the figure described as the 'founder' of (white) South Africa, comments on the special

3 Mark Whittaker, "Textbook Diplomacy, Part 1", Podcast radio programme, London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 27 January 2010. http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/documentaries/2010/01/100127_text_diplomacy.shtml (accessed 9 April 2010).

4 Michelle Rayner, "History under Siege: Battles over the Past: Japan", Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 6 April 2008. http://www.abc.net.au/rn/hindsight/stories/2008/2205819.htm (accessed 19 October 2009)

5 David Smith, "White Supremacist Eugene Terre'Blanche is Hacked to Death after Row with Farmworkers", *The Guardian*, 4 April 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/apr/04/eugene-terreblanche-south-african-white-supremacist (accessed 7 June 2010).

6 Anna Clark, "What Do They Teach Our Children?" in *The History Wars*, new eds. Stuart MacIntyre and Anna Clark (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 171 – 190.

7 Michael Birnbaum, "Texas Board Approves Social Studies Standards that Perceived Liberal Bias", *The Washington Post*, 21 May 2010, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/05/21/AR2010052104365_pf.html (accessed on 25 May 2010).

characteristics of history textbooks as a distinct historiographical genre: 'Textbooks in themselves produce specific forms of historical knowledge that can be located within a unique register where there is a specific context, a distinguishable prosaic pattern, and a social relationship in which structures of authority are mutually reinforcing.'[8] If one considers the context in which history textbooks are written the role of education bureaucracy is critical. Education bureaucracy dominated the curriculum drafting processes and those governing the production and authorisation of textbooks. However, the emphases have varied.

Studies of Japanese history textbooks tend to focus on two issues: the politics of textbook certification and textbook lawsuits, and the textbook descriptions of Japan's imperial wartime atrocities. The lawsuits initiated by the historian and textbook writer, Professor Ienaga Saburô, have attracted much scrutiny.[9] Many existing analyses of Japanese history textbooks, in both English and Japanese, focus on the manifestation and descriptions of Japanese nationalism and the country's imperial past. One detailed work by Christopher Barnard applies the functional grammar method from linguistics to critique high-school history textbooks in current use. The topics under scrutiny are the Rape of Nanking, the attack on Pearl Harbor, and the surrender by Japan and Germany.[10] A collaborative work by twenty-four contributors compares how recent textbook screening rounds approved and disapproved references to Japan's imperial ventures and wars. The authors show that the history textbooks published in the early 2000s have retracted any mention of Japan's wartime atrocities that were included in the 1990s. Resurgent conservatism is discerned not as overt exaltation of or an apology for the Japanese atrocities, but in discursive strategies of attenuation or omission.[11] Miura Shumon and his researchers analyse all sixteen middle-school history and civics texts against the curriculum statements. They take the curriculum for granted and offer little critique. Most judgements favour the texts by the controversial Atarashii Rekishi Kyôkasho o

8 Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 53.

9 George Hicks, *Japan's War Memories: Amnesia or Concealment?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Yoshiko Nozaki and Hiromitsu Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism and Ienaga Saburô's Textbook Lawsuits", in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States,* eds. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000), 96 – 126; and Yoshiko Nozaki, *War Memory, Nationalism and Education in Postwar Japan, 1945 – 2007: The Japanese History Textbook Controversy and Ienaga Saburô's Court Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2008).

10 Christopher Barnard, *Language, Ideology, and Japanese History Textbooks* (London: Routledge, 2003).

11 Takashima Nobuyoshi et al., *Kyôkasho kara kesareru 'sensô'* ['Wars' Disappearing from Textbooks] (Tokyo: Shûkan Kinyôbi, 2004), Section 1.

Tsukurukai group (the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform, hereafter Tsukurukai).[12] John Nelson analyses the same Tsukurukai history text exclusively and in depth. Contrary to Miura's conclusion, Nelson finds the text problematic on three major accounts. Firstly, it extols the superiority of Japanese culture from antiquity onwards. Secondly, the text presents the Japanese nation as having always existed throughout history and with its authority resting with the imperial family. Thirdly, he finds that the text defends Japan's entry into the imperial wars in East Asia as a result of being compelled by European imperialism and as an act of liberation of the European-run colonies in the region.[13] However, fewer studies have been devoted to curriculum analysis than to textbooks.[14] An opportunity therefore seems to have been missed for us to gain an insight into the inner workings of Mombushô. This is because, as the educationist, Michael W. Apple, points out, the curriculum reflects 'what counts as legitimate knowledge [as a] result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender and religious groups'.[15]

South African studies have shed light on the influence of syllabi and assessment of history textbooks. The textbook analyses expose racism and the glorification of the Afrikaners.[16] Marianne Cornevin's study argues that history texts justified white supremacy through erroneous historical arguments.[17] Elizabeth Dean, Paul Hartmann and May Katzen examine forty-one history textbooks ranging from Standards 5 to 10, published in the 1960s. They found pervasive ethnocentrism, respecting the whites and trivialising black people's roles, and using such history as a model for the future.[18] Within South Africa, J.

12 Miura Shumon, ed., *'Rekishi', 'kômin' zen kyôkasho o kenshô suru: Kyôkasho kaizen hakusho* [Examining All 'History' and 'Civics' Textbooks: A White Paper for Textbook Improvement] (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2001).

13 John Nelson, "Tempest in a Textbook: A Report on the New Middle-School History Textbook in Japan", *Critical Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (2002): 129 – 148. The study of the Tsukurukai textbook falls outside the scope of my enquiry, as it ends in 1995 and the text was published in 2001. It is worth noting that in the 2002 adoption the text was only adopted by a small number of schools for disabled students in Tokyo and Ehime prefectures, and by some private schools. Out of the 543 school boards in Japan, 532 rejected it. Ibid., 144.

14 A few works addressing this lacuna are: Peter Cave, "Teaching the History of Empire in Japan and England", *International Journal of Educational Research* 37, no. 6 – 7 (2002): 623 – 641; and Yamazumi Masami's *Gakushû shidô yôryô to kyôkasho* [The Curriculum and Textbook] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989) reveals the binding power of the curriculum upon textbooks.

15 Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1990), 46.

16 For instance, see Owen van den Berg and Peter Buckland, *Beyond the History Syllabus: Constraints and Opportunities* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1983); and Rob Siebörger et al., "Assessing History", in *Inventing Knowledge: Contest in Curriculum Construction*, ed. Nick Taylor (Cape Town: Longman, 1993), 214 – 229.

17 Marianne Cornevin, *Apartheid: Power and Historical Falsification* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980).

18 Elizabeth Dean, Paul Hartmann and May Katzen, *History in Black and White: An Analysis of South African School History Textbooks* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983).

M. Du Preez studied geography and history texts, as well as texts set for the study of English and Afrikaans literature. She identified 'master symbols', the generalised socio-cultural values that favoured the apartheid regime.[19] The education historian, Peter Kallaway, points out that one major drawback of analyses conducted by researchers of liberal persuasion, who tend to decry Afrikaner bias in textbooks, is that they have assumed the objectivity of the liberal school.[20] South African textbook analyses are conducted without comparison to other nations. It is possible that the ethnic and provincial fragmentation of education departments in South Africa might have deterred scholars from international comparison. Textbook analyses seemed to reach their crest in the mid-1980s, but have dissipated since then. Unlike previous studies, my analysis addresses post-apartheid and apartheid textbooks in order to reveal both changes and continuity.

Some recent studies compare Japanese history teaching with practices in other countries. These studies are valuable because they help us to better understand the common and unique features of history education among the countries compared. The edited volume by Laura Hein and Mark Selden offers a tri-national comparison of Germany, the United States and Japan with reference to World War II.[21] Contributors to Edward Vickers and Alisa Jones' edited volume analyse the issues surrounding history education across a range of East Asian states. Vickers notes similarities across East Asian nations, such as the status of official examinations, government control over textbooks and a belief in the need for 'correct' versions of history. The contributors find that different ways of remembering the past and political circumstances have influenced textbooks and history education more than cultural factors.[22] The two volumes make similar observations. Subscribing to the American hegemony during the Cold War years inhibited self-critique of their wartime pasts and internally engendered democratisation.

Japan has also been compared with England. The educationists Martin Booth, Masayuki Satô and Richard Matthews have observed lessons, interviewed teachers and conducted surveys among students.[23] The social anthropologist,

19 J. M. Du Preez, *Africana Afrikaner: Master Symbols in South African School Textbooks* (Pretoria: Librarius, 1982).

20 Peter Kallaway, "Historical Discourses, Racist Mythology and Education in Twentieth-Century South Africa", in *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, ed. J. A. Mangan (London: Routledge, 1993), 199 – 200.

21 Laura Hein and Mark Selden, eds. *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000).

22 Edward Vickers, "Introduction: History, Nationalism and the Politics of Memory", in *History Education in East Asia*, eds. Edward Vickers and Alisa Jones (New York: Routledge, 2005), 7 – 8.

23 Martin Booth, Masayuki Satô and Richard Matthews, "Case Studies of History Teaching in

Peter Cave, analyses curriculum documents, examination papers, observation of classroom teaching, interviews with teachers, and textbooks. Analysing the curriculum of both nations, Cave finds that the Japanese and English curricula and textbooks pay relatively little attention to their imperial pasts. This, he concludes, may not be the result of deliberate attempts to conceal these histories, but reflects modes of assessment, curriculum design, and the concept of history education.[24]

The sociologist Julian Dierkes has devised a highly effective comparative framework which he uses to analyse Japanese and German middle-school textbooks and curricula from 1945 to 1995. He examines the influence and strengths of different institutional players in history education policy-making. In West Germany, the focus of historical narrative shifted from national to socio-economic history. The shift is attributed to the campaigns by teachers. In East Germany, the Socialist Party's school history policy was informed firstly by the Soviet Bloc ideology of internationalism to legitimise its statehood. After Joseph Stalin's death, the Party moved towards nationalist and materialist history in line with other Eastern Bloc nations. In Japan, Mombushô emerged as a dominant player. Dierkes interprets the stability of Japanese history education identified in textbooks as adhering to a chronological and empiricist historiography that excluded controversial historical discussions from the classroom.[25]

These previous works are valuable in that they provide a framework. This study aims to shift the focus to historiographical trends amongst the textbooks, asking which were privileged and which were excluded. It enquires as to how textbook descriptions have changed, if at all, and examines the ideological messages they seemed to convey.

Additional insights can be gained from the South Africa-Japan comparison for three further reasons: Firstly, South African history textbooks merit an international comparison, just as their Japanese counterparts can benefit from a comparison with nations outside the circles of Asia and the Western societies that were most involved in World War II. It is worth embarking on a 'transnational' and 'transcultural' comparative history to surmount the nation state as the unit of enquiry.[26] Secondly, the Japanese analysis will benefit from a sys-

Japanese Junior High Schools and English Comprehensive Secondary Schools", *Compare* 25, no. 3 (1995): 279 – 301.

24 Cave, "Teaching the History of Empire in Japan and England", *International Journal of Educational Research* 37 (2002): 623 – 641.

25 Julian Dierkes, "Teaching Portrayals of the Nation: Postwar History Education in Japan and the Germanys" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003).

26 Philip Ther, "Beyond the Nation: The Relational Basis of a Comparative History of Germany

tematic longitudinal analysis of history curricula and textbook descriptions of historical events that occurred before the twentieth century. Existing controversies usually focus on the twentieth century; yet, as this work will show, it is the least-taught period in Japanese and South African schools. Thirdly, the analysis of the apartheid textbooks undertaken here responds to the South African Ministry of Education's call in 2003 for 'history researchers and scholarly writers to engage in a combined effort to review, revise and rewrite outmoded apartheid-era school history texts'.[27] This investigation hopes to contribute to this cause by revealing the continuity and changes in apartheid and post-apartheid textbooks.

Comparing South Africa and Japan

Although ostensibly very different societies, post-war South Africa and Japan share crucial characteristics besides the burden of having to explain an embarrassing past to a critical world. School history textbooks have often been controversial within particular nation states. Bitter battles, for example, have been fought over American and British history education.[28] However, it is only when a nation's past has been judged and criticised on the international stage that textbooks come under outside scrutiny. Such has been the lot, for example, of post-Nazi Germany, apartheid South Africa and post-war Japan. The post-war division of Germany, the revelation of crimes against humanity and the need for integration within Europe rendered the official denunciation of the Nazi past beneficial for (West) Germany's future in Europe.[29] External criticism tended to concentrate on segregation in South Africa and Japan's war crimes during its colonial or imperial era. Two of Japan's victim states in particular, Korea and China, have continually criticised Japanese history textbooks. Some have claimed that they have cynically exploited anti-Japanese sentiments to foment domestic nationalism.[30] In South Africa, the criticism pointed at how textbooks legitimised white supremacy, denigrated black people, and glorified Afrikaner nationalism. However, both nations managed to build strong regimes capable of

and Europe", *Central European History* 36, no. 1 (2003): 46 and 48; and Jürgen Kocka, "Comparison and Beyond", *History and Theory* 42, no.1 (2003): 42.

27 South African History Project, *Progress Report 2001 – 2003: Incorporating the Report of the History and Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education (Update 2003)*, 4th ed. (Pretoria: Department of Education, 2003), 6.

28 For British and American examples see, for example, Harvey J. Kaye's *The Powers of the Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1991), especially chap. 3.

29 Hein and Selden, "The Lessons of War", 10.

30 Ibid., 43; and Vickers, "Introduction", 8.

insulating their production of history textbooks from effective outside interference. It is these deep processes that are worth exploring. It is also the case that the Japanese textbook industry receives relatively little attention in English language sources, let alone in international comparison.[31] This study hopes to illuminate the forces that kept the fires of racism and nationalism burning in a hostile international environment.

There are four other structural and intellectual similarities that also render South Africa and Japan suitable candidates for comparison: 1) their development into industrialised regional economic powers before World War II, 2) long periods of one-party rule in the post-war era under American hegemony, 3) distinctive racial and ethnic outlooks and policies, and 4) the burden of exceptionalism in each nation.

Firstly, both nations began industrialisation and entered the world economy relatively late compared with their European and North American counterparts. In South Africa, the discovery of diamonds and gold spurred industrialisation from the 1870s onwards. South Africa's industry and economy continued to grow before World War II, aided by the mining sector and government protection of the local economy.[32] In Japan, the Meiji government (1868 – 1912) orchestrated rapid industrialisation, which led to the quest for supremacy in East Asia.[33]

Both nations developed into regional capitalist economic powerhouses under authoritarian regimes, without successful popular revolution or mass democratic institutions. Neither pre-war Japan (prior to Japan's defeat in 1945) nor pre-1994 South Africa granted universal suffrage. Political freedom was severely restricted.[34] Industrial cartelisation assisted economic growth. Japan's *zaibatsu* left an enormous legacy even beyond 1945 (as *keiretsu*) and contributed to what Chalmers Johnson characterises as the capitalist developmentalist state. Likewise, the Afrikaner economic 'rescue' initiative, *Reddingdaadbond*, consolidated the Afrikaner ethnic-based economic growth.[35] The rate of post-war

31 See, for instance, Hicks, *Japan's War Memories*, chap. 6; and Japan Textbook Research Center, *School Textbooks in Japan* (Tokyo: Japan Textbook Research Center, 1991).

32 William G. Martin, "Southern Africa and the World-Economy: Cyclical and Structural Constraints on Transformation", *Review* 10, no. 1 (1986): 108 – 109.

33 Thomas R. Shannon, *An Introduction to the World-System Perspective*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 43.

34 In his influential comparative study, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 1969), Barrington Moore Jr. compared different paths nations took in pursuing modernity as well as the ones taken by Germany and Japan. The United States, Britain and France became capitalist democracies after bourgeois revolutions. China and the Soviet Union ended up as Communist dictatorships after peasant revolutions.

35 Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925 –*

economic growth in South Africa until the end of the 1960s was steady and comparable to other mid-ranking nations.[36] The strength of South Africa's economy could be understood when one considers the formation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference in 1980. It was founded without South Africa and was an attempt to offset its economic clout in the region.[37] The initial post-war economic recovery in Japan was accelerated by the United States opening its domestic market to East Asian exports to counter the Communist influence. Subsequently, Japan became a regional economic powerhouse principally investing in the Asia-Pacific region.[38]

Secondly, both nations had long-serving single-party conservative governments in the post-war era under the American hegemony. Neither government was immune to challenges. In South Africa, the National Party remained in power from 1948 until 1994. However, its legitimacy as a government, elected by a racially exclusive franchise, was challenged by extra-parliamentary opposition such as the African National Congress (ANC) and by far-right parliamentary groups. The apartheid regime faced constant international criticism from the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations and grass-roots groups. These criticisms, together with divestment and sanctions, exacerbated South Africa's pariah status. Meanwhile, the South African government solicited military support from the United States to implement its 'total strategy' against 'total onslaught' in the 1980s. This was predicated on the supposition that South Africa faced Communist-inspired independent southern African states. 'Constructive engagement' enabled South Africa to sponsor guerrilla forces to sabotage the ANC-in-exile and to prolong civil wars in southern Africa.[39]

In Japan, the rule of a single party elected by universal franchise emerged after the first turbulent post-war decade, amid the American-led Occupation and intensified Cold War dynamics. The merger of the Liberal and Democratic Parties into the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in 1955 cemented the conservative hegemony. A decisive moment in entrenching the conservative hegemony came in 1960 with the Japanese government's ratification of the US-Japan Security Treaty, amid mass demonstration against it. Some viewed this

1975 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); and Dan O'Meara, *Volkskapitalisme: Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

36 William Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 172 – 174 and 176 – 179.

37 Martin, "Southern Africa", 100 and 113.

38 Shannon, *World-System Perspective*, 86 – 88; and Satoshi Ikeda, "The History of the Capitalist World-System vs. the History of East-Southeast Asia", *Review* 19, no. 1 (1996): 62 and 71 – 72.

39 Dan O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 – 1994* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996), 272.

renewal as a reconfirmation of Japan's subordinate status to its former occupier and dashed hopes of achieving autonomy and pacifism. Following persistent corruption scandals over the next few decades and the burst of 'the bubble economy', the LDP was unseated from power by an eight-party coalition in 1993. The LDP returned to power in 1994 by forming a coalition with its former archrival, the Japan Socialist Party.

Thirdly, both nations possessed distinctive beliefs about race, ethnicity and culture along their particular national racial and ethnic lines. The crucial commonality is that both sponsored ideologies based on the Germanic concept of *volk*. The difference is in their uses. In South Africa, such concepts helped to further separate people into distinct categories. A mixture of British and European racial and ethnic ideologies formed the basis of South African racial discourse. While the early British racial theorists conceived a hierarchy of races within a vertical ladder of civilisation, the Afrikaner intellectuals drew upon Germanic concepts associated with *volk*. They developed a spectrum of 'races' belonging to different cultural, ethnic and national groups. As Saul Dubow demonstrates, the Afrikaner intellectuals of the 1930s amalgamated the essentialist views of Christian nationalism, race and culture. Invoking the notion of nations and *volk* as a collective umbrella, Afrikaner nationalism assumed a National-Socialist character.[40]

Similarly, pre-war Japanese intellectuals borrowed the German concepts of race and *volk*. *Volk* encapsulated 'people' and 'nation' with culture giving symbolic substance to the Japanese rendition, *minzoku*.[41] Pre-war Japanese *minzoku* nationalism rested on the twin pillars of 'blood and soil' and 'proper place'. The former has German origins. The latter has a Chinese Confucian origin, but its equivalent is found in the Great Chain of Being within the western discourse. These were infused with the perceived power of the putatively inviolable imperial family and developed into the self-proclaimed superiority of 'the leading Yamato *jinshu* (race) or *minzoku'*, that legitimised the accommodation of supposedly inferior peoples throughout Asia under the Japanese banner.[42] In post-war Japan, as Oguma Eiji demonstrates, the wartime *volk*

40 Saul Dubow, "Afrikaner Nationalism, Apartheid and the Conceptualisation of 'Race'", *The Journal of African History* 33, no. 2 (1992): 209, 219 – 221 and 233.

41 Frank Dikötter, "Introduction", in *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan,* ed. Frank Dikötter (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 4; Michael Weiner, "The Invention of Identity: Race and Nation in Pre-war Japan", in *Racial Identities*, ed. Frank Dikötter, 98 – 100; and Kevin M. Doak, "What is a Nation and Who Belongs? National Narratives and the Ethnic Imagination in Twentieth-Century Japan", *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (1997): 283 – 309.

42 John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race, Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 265 – 268; and Kang Sung-Jung, *Nashonarizumu/Nationalism* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001), 83 – 84.

discourse was superseded by a new permutation that re-focussed on mainland Japan. It sought to homogenise the people into a single category (*tanitsu minzoku*), glossing over diversity within Japan's shrunken territory.[43]

Finally, much like the German *Sonderweg* and the American model, both South Africa and Japan are noted for exceptionalism in academic and popular perceptions within their regions. Following the point made by the political scientist, Mahmood Mamdani, Neville Alexander characterises South African exceptionalism as 'the tendency on the part of South Africanists in the academy to view the specifics of South African society as being totally different from the rest of Africa'.[44] Mamdani acknowledges the contribution of materialist scholars to advancing the analyses of economic exploitation that aided South Africa's industrialisation. However, he identifies an analytical shortcoming among liberal scholars in assuming South Africa to be a colonialism of a special kind, which decries racism, promotes non-racialism and identifies the colonisers, but not the style of colonial rule. Mamdani and Alexander find it helpful to explore and to relate the nature of the South African style of rule to that of European control over African colonies. Indeed, successive settler regimes implemented discriminatory policies against the rural majority, which exacerbated the gap between the elite and the impoverished.[45]

Japanese exceptionalism assumes that Japan is neither Asian nor western, because of its uniqueness in cultural, societal and economic realms (*Nihonjinron*). However, the proponents of Japanese exceptionalism often compare Japan with the western nations, neglecting Japan's Asian neighbours. This seems to privilege the western yardstick of modernisation, demonstrating how Japan 'caught up' with the west. It may convey covertly patronising attitudes to Japan by the west and to Asia by Japan.[46] This mentality is reflected in the geography-based division of history practised in Japan. Spurred on by Japan's rise in international standing in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Japanese nationalists reconceptualised Japanese national identity. Japanese scholars exploited the European concepts of the Orient and attempted to create a 'national history' of Japan (*kokushi*) independent from western and Oriental history

43 Oguma Eiji, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*, trans. David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).

44 Alexander, *An Ordinary Country,* 139 – 140.

45 Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 27 – 32.

46 Kotani Hiroyuki, "Hikakushi no hôhô," ["Methods of Comparative History"] in *Iwanami kôza Nihon tsûshi bekkan 1: Rekishi ishiki no genzai* [Iwanami Series Supplementary Volume 1: The Contemporary Historical Consciousness] (hereafter *IKNT*), eds. Asano Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 46. In the early post-war era, the historian Takeuchi Yoshimi articulated opposition to a pro-western bias of modernity. Curtis Anderson Gayle, *Marxist History and Postwar Japanese Nationalism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 58 – 61.

(*seiyôshi* and *tôyôshi*, respectively).[47] Yet it did not altogether disregard the rest of Asia. Asia offered useful explanations for the spiritual and cultural origins of Japan. Moreover, Oriental history gave the Japanese a past that could be used to justify its imperial conquests by its proximity to Asia.[48] East Asia, once revered as the cradle of Japanese civilisation, became a lesson through its alleged failure and the west represented an idealised model of modernity to which Japan should aspire.[49] The framework of national history, as a category distinct from the advanced west and the declining Orient, helped to establish Japan as a distinct political and ethnic category.[50]

Comparative work on Japan and Africa as a whole seems ominously lacking. For example, the cultural anthropologist, Harumi Befu, whose works critically examine the discourse of Japanese national identity (*Nihonjin-ron*), finds:

> I have looked far and wide and found no writing in this genre [of discourse of national identity] comparing Japan with African countries. Africa, of course, has never mattered much to Japan politically or economically, except only recently and only insignificantly in terms of trade and aid. Economically, technologically, socially, and in any other way, Japan sees little to gain or lose from Africa, and hence has no interest in involving Africa in its effort to create its identity.[51]

Befu points to the dearth of attention to and interest in Japan-Africa comparisons. This comparative study aims to address this lacuna and to draw lessons that might not otherwise be learnt had each country been studied independently or compared with western nations.

Mass Education, Memory and History Textbooks

This book positions itself amid multiple disciplines. It is commonly acknowledged that the linkage between shared history, a common language and schooling assists in forging national identities. While nationalism can provide symbols to establish common national identities, it can exclude those outside

47 Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1993), 11 – 12.

48 Ibid., 270 – 271.

49 Tanaka notes that a foremost intellectual of the time, Fukuzawa Yukichi, wrote an essay, *Datsu-a ron* [Dissociation from Asia] in which he warned Japan not to repeat the errors of Asian states and urged Japan to align with western Europe. Ibid., 37 – 38.

50 Kuroda Toshio, "'Kokushi' to rekishigaku: Fuhentekigaku e no tenkan no tameni," ["'National History' and History: For the Change towards a Universal Approach"], *Shisô*, no. 726 (1984): 5 and 7.

51 Harumi Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity* (Melbourne: TransPacific Press, 2001), 6.

the nation or those who do not share the national values.[52] Nationalists tend to view their nationalism as affective and natural, while presenting the nationalism of others as alien and aggressive. Michael Billig perceives nationalism as 'a collective habit of thinking' arising from everyday and mundane practices.[53] Mandatory state-run schooling and the daily practices performed in schools may support Billig's supposition. As the conduit of literacy and national history, the role of mass education is critical in creating Benedict Anderson's axiom of an 'imagined community', which is fostered by 'print capitalism' read by those who share the language.[54] Building on Anderson and Brian Stock, James Wertsch develops the notion of 'textual community', formed and maintained by those who actively read or subconsciously come into contact with seminal historical texts and cultural tools contributing to the essence of a community.[55]

In the context of modernity and nationalism, mass education could be construed as an inoculation against 'cognitive chaos',[56] although its definition raises ontological questions. National historians synthesised various histories into a selected grand narrative for their nation states, which may not always have met academic standards. Yet such narratives can offer a shared history that brings together collective memory and identity.[57] Tentatively, however, it may be said that national histories, identities and memory can be personal or shared, that is, public, and are based on experiences or empathy with past events and figures.[58] Distinct from these, history, in essence, is a scientific and intellectually rigorous examination of the past using evidence placed in an interpretive scheme.[59] This scheme relates to Harvey J. Kaye's definition of perspective, which he says is 'the awareness that the way things are is not the way they have always been nor the

52 Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspective*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 119.

53 Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 9.

54 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), see especially Chaps 3, 4 and 5.

55 James Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 27 – 28 and 62 – 63. Wertsch acknowledges that he borrows the term 'textual community' from Brian Stock whose work was concerned with religious texts. Wertsch, however, focuses on history texts.

56 The phrase is taken from Volker R. Berghahn and Hanna Schissler, "Introduction: History Textbooks and Perceptions of the Past", in *Perceptions of History: International Textbook Research on Britain, Germany and the United States,* eds. Volker R. Berghahn and Hanna Schissler (Oxford: Berg, 1987), 14.

57 Philipp Ther, "Beyond the Nation: The Relational Basis of a Comparative History of Germany and Europe", *Central European History* 36, no. 1 (2003): 65.

58 Maurice Halbachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 48; David Lowenthal, *The Past is Another Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 194 – 195; and Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representation* 26 (1989): 8 – 9.

59 Lowenthal, *Another Country*, 212 – 213.

way they will, or must, necessarily be in the future'.[60] It thus seems simplistic to assume a perfect fit between history and political ideologies to empower ideals and purposes.

It is commonly acknowledged that mass schooling is critical in teaching a shared history and a common language. History taught at state-run compulsory schools tends to possess a national framework and to form the basis of collective memory and identity. Sustaining a collective vision of a nation, the French scholar Ernest Renan suggested '… the essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things'.[61] He reiterated that a national identityrequired not only an act of remembering, but equally of forgetting selected aspects of history that could potentially jeopardise a nation's unity.[62] It would be naive to assume an overwhelming power of collective history and memory to determine the individual identity. The political scientist Ishida Takeshi observes collective memory can, at best, provide individuals with events and figures with which to negotiate their personal memory and identity.[63]

History education and textbooks offer one such intersection for vehicles of national and personal identity formation and negotiation. Educationists, sociologists and historians of education have identified the socio-economic reproductive function of mass education systems. Because of its potential to influence how future society should be, education politics, including curriculum design and textbooks, becomes the focus of struggles between stakeholders of diverse persuasions.[64] This is an area where scholars have called upon and applied Michel Foucault's theory of power/knowledge and Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony to interpretations of the curriculum as officially endorsed knowledge that is neither neutral nor value free.[65] Apple describes the complex milieu of the school textbook as follows:

60 Harvey J. Kaye, *The Powers of the Past: Reflections on the Crises and the Promise of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1991), 154.

61 Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" (lecture delivered at the University of Paris, Sorbonne, 11 March 1882), trans. and annotated by Martin Thom in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), 11.

62 Ibid., 11.

63 Ishida Takeshi, *Kioku to bôkyaku no seijigaku: Dôka seisaku, sensô sekinin, shûgôteki kioku* [The Politics of Memory and Forgetting: Assimilation Policies, War Responsibilities and Collective Memory] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2000), 15 – 16.

64 For example, see Michael W. Apple's works: *Ideology and Curriculum* and *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

65 Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. and trans. with an introduction by Donald F. Bouchard (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), 24 – 25, 213 and 215; and Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 60.

> [T]exts are not simply 'delivery systems' of 'facts'. They are at once the result of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power. And what texts mean and how they are used are fought over by communities with distinctly different commitments and by teachers and students as well.[66]

The textbook deserves enquiry beyond the school environment because it raises questions and offers indications about the issues above, ranging from national or collective identity and mass education to historiography, pedagogy and the political economy of textbook production. The production of textbooks is a crucial factor in determining the characteristics of the textbooks. In Japan and South Africa, textbooks for use at school had to be screened and approved by Ministries of Education. Only those approved were shortlisted for approval by regional education boards. This system seems to favour the governing authorities. The trend is documented by Keith Crawford. He observes that, while the American textbook industry operates on free market principles and is indeed competitive, it is an ideologically contested market. Choice for teachers is narrower in the states where local boards of education adopt textbooks. Furthermore, the adoption of texts in populous states inevitably influences the tenor of the textbooks nationwide.[67]

The Status of the Textbook in South African and Japanese Schools

The textbook is seen as a canon of legitimate knowledge and a principal source of information for students, as well as a backbone of lessons for teachers.[68] The 'intrinsic camp' argues that the authority of the textbook in the classroom rests on linguistic structure and information content. In countries where texts are approved by education departments before schools adopt them, the texts carry the official endorsement of the governing authority. The 'extrinsic camp' posits that textbook authority lies outside the text, but is invoked within the school context. The textbook contents are often mediated by teachers and students.[69]

66 Apple, *Official Knowledge*, 46.

67 Keith Crawford, "The Manufacture of Official Knowledge: The Texas Textbook Adoption Process", *Internationale Schulbuchforschung (International Textbook Research)*, 25 (2003): 12.

68 Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith, "The Politics of the Textbook", in *The Politics of the Textbook*, eds. Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5.

69 Part IV of Suzanne de Castell et al., eds., *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook* (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1989) features essays debating the location of the textual authority. David R. Olson takes the 'intrinsic' approach. Carmen Luke et al. take

This book does not overestimate the role of textbooks, but bears in mind that they may not be the one and only, or even the most significant source of historical narrative amongst several tools of teaching and learning. Although it may be a facile and superficial observation, the way in which post-apartheid South Africa is grappling with the apartheid legacy seems to bear some resemblance to the way the Japanese have or have not faced up to their wartime past. South Africa made only slow progress in the late 1990s as the memories and tensions triggered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were too traumatic and too close to the apartheid era for some to bear. But history has been a prime motor behind many works of literature and films coming out of South Africa for several years now. Similarly, Japanese media such as the *manga* continue to enjoy their popularity, albeit controversial, as alternative vehicles of historical narratives. However, history textbooks still offer relevant benchmarks.

In South Africa and Japan, textbooks have dominated teaching methods. Although research thus far does not cover the whole five decades, it suggests the dominance of rote-learning throughout the period, supported by systems of monitoring the conduct of teachers and students. In apartheid South Africa, teachers at white and private schools enjoyed some autonomy to experiment with innovative teaching methods pioneered in Britain. Black and Coloured schools, however, remained under government-appointed inspectors' surveillance. Teachers were under the surveillance of white inspectors who ensured that classes followed 'work schemes' for each lesson. Those inspectors tended to insist that the teachers teach the facts rather than interpretations.[70] The ethos at many schools reflected the influence of what was known as fundamental pedagogics, which was propagated by Afrikaner educationists and diffused to many African and Coloured schools.[71] It conceived the role of teachers as the sculptor of students' characters and permitted little open-ended student-centred learning.[72] Moreover, the matriculation examination of most examination authorities was dominated by essay and short-answer questions that demanded factual

the 'extrinsic' view. David R. Olson, "On the Language and Authority of Textbooks", 233 – 244; and "Sources of Authority in the Language of the School: A Response to 'Beyond Criticism'", 261 – 262; and Carmen Luke et al., "Beyond Criticism: The Authority of the School Textbook", 245 – 260.

70 Linda Chisholm, "The Democratization of Schools and the Politics of Teachers' Work in South Africa", *Compare* 29, no. 2 (1999): 115; and Cynthia Kros, *Trusting to the Process: Reflections on the Flaws in the Negotiating of the History Curriculum in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.

71 T. A. Viljoen and J. J. Pienaar, *Fundamental Pedagogics* (Durban: Butterworths, 1971), 13; and Penny Enslin, "The Role of *Fundamental Pedagogics* in the Formulation of Educational Policy in South Africa", in *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans,* ed. Peter Kallaway (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), 144.

72 Michael Cross, *Imagery of Identity in South African Education, 1880 – 1990* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1999), 93 and 95; and Enslin, "*Fundamental Pedagogics*", 141.

recall and the mastery of particular historical interpretations told in one or two textbooks.[73] This caused a 'washback effect' leading to rigid teaching styles, even in lower Standards.[74]

In Japan, university and high-school entrance examinations demanded an exhaustive recall of facts. This has led to the pedagogy of 'correct answerism' which students expect teachers to employ.[75] In his observation of history teaching and his study of evaluations in Japan and England, Cave finds that in Japan 'written exercises were almost always confined to copying the teachers' notes from the blackboard, or filling in a handout using information from the textbook'.[76] He also finds that Japanese students are 'almost never required to write essays consisting of extended arguments backed up by evidence. This is hardly surprising, since even entrance examinations for university rarely test this ability'.[77]

Mombushô's view of textbooks was a significant factor in establishing their dominance. Gakkô kyôiku hô (1947) (the School Education Law) stipulated that only the textbooks approved by Mombushô could be used in classes and Mombushô defined the textbook as 'the main teaching material that is systematically organised along the structure of the curriculum'.[78]

In both countries, textbooks used in schools during the period studied were required to conform to the curricula and to go through pre-publication screening by government agencies. To a certain extent, the textbooks can be seen as an instrument of culture and beliefs, and as a contested field between the

73 Van den Berg and Buckland, *Beyond Syllabus*, 32 – 33. The significant exception to this trend was the Joint Matriculation Board (private schools), Natal and the House of Delegates ('Indian'), which administered a small number of students. From the mid-1980s their examinations incorporated open-ended essay questions. Siebörger et al., "Assessing History", 216 – 226.

74 Ibid., "Assessing History", 213; and Van den Berg and Buckland, *Beyond Syllabus*, 25.

75 Takigasaki Keiichi, "Seitô shugi towa nanika" ["What is Correct-Answerism?"], *Rekishigaku kenkyû (Journal of the Historical Science Society)*, no. 601 (1989): 33 – 37; and Suzuki Ryô, "Rekishi kyôiku no genjô to kadai" ["The Current History Education and its Tasks Ahead"], in *IKNT bekkan 1: Rekishi ishiki no genzai* [Iwanami Series Supplementary Volume 1: The Contemporary Historical Consciousness], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 329.

76 Cave, "Teaching Empire", 633.

77 Ibid., 635. Exacerbating this problem is the format of the university entrance examinations which tends to force students into a choice between Japanese and world history. Hicks, *Japan's War Memories*, 108.

78 Horio Teruhisa, *Kyôkasho mondai: Ienaga soshô ni takusu mono* [Textbook Problem: Hopes for Ienaga Lawsuits] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 51; Chûo kyôiku shingikai (Mombushô), "Kyôkasho no arikata ni tsuite (tôshin)" ["The Way Textbooks Should Be (Report)"], dai 27 kai tôshin [The 27th Committee Report], 30 June 1983, paragraph 2, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/12/chuuou/toushin/830601.htm (accessed 22 July 2010).

clashing stakeholders such as, but not limited to, the government, education policy-makers, textbook publishers, authors, and teachers.

Methodological Considerations

This study is a comparative historical investigation. It seeks to narrate and explain the development of South African and Japanese history textbooks over time. Comparative historians and comparative educationists seek to discover the commonalities and differences across subject areas and attempt to re-interpret existing interpretations and raise new questions.[79]

It is to be expected that, as they are re-integrated into the wider world, the history curricula of both nations should reflect global changes. Dierkes' conclusion on post-war Japanese history curricula is that, even as Japan re-entered world politics, Mombushô resisted external pressures to alter curricula in order to preserve the supposedly neutral character of state-run education.[80] Applying the Japanese case to South Africa, it may be posited that an assumption that everything changed after 1994 may be simplistic. Some changes had occurred before 1994 and some entrenched elements of the history syllabus survived despite the end of South Africa's pariah status.

Particular textbooks have been chosen for close examination in order to assess the extent to which textbook descriptions of historical phenomena have changed or remained the same. Attempts will be made to correlate the changes and continuities in the textbooks to the wider political, economic, historiographical and educational trends. Four topics and themes have been selected from each nation to establish parallels between the Japanese and South African samples. This study is expressly confined to government-approved textbooks. The significant exceptions are South African textbooks published immediately after democratisation when publishers commissioned new textbooks in anticipation of a syllabus overhaul. These textbooks are compared to those that continued to be printed after 1994, although not necessarily in a revised form.[81]

This book seeks to contribute to the burgeoning field of international history textbook analysis. Textbook analysis generally employs both quantitative and

79 Chris Lorenz, "Comparative Historiography: Problems and Perspectives", *History and Theory* 38, no. 1 (1999): 25 – 39.

80 Dierkes, "Teaching Portrayals", 339.

81 Towards the end of apartheid publishers took risks, anticipating the new syllabi, and published new textbooks. Rob Siebörger, "The Dynamics of History Textbook Production during South Africa's Educational Transformation", in *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives in School History Textbooks*, eds. Stuart Foster and Keith Crawford (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2006), 232.

qualitative methods. The quantitative method measures the frequency of appearance and the space allocated to keywords or historical events and figures.[82] This investigation emphasises the qualitative method, which, as advocated by the educationist Jean Anyon, aims to reveal the prevailing assumptions and ideologies as well as the less obvious aspects of textbooks, such as the organisation and selection of the contents. It also considers manners of explanation, register, and grammatical constructions.[83] Although certainly relevant, teacher and student responses to textbooks fall outside the scope of this study.

An emergent trend in textbook analysis is to consider linguistic analysis: the ways in which information is conveyed through the complex uses of syntax, semantics and vocabulary.[84] Linguistic analysis is a vital, but should not be isolated from an analysis of historiographical or ideological assumptions. Attention to academic historiography is indispensable as Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon acknowledge: 'a history textbook relies on the historiographical and epistemological frames of academic history.'[85] This study follows this notion of the history textbook, considering it a historical document and a distinct genre that exists in and reflects multiple socio-political, educational and cultural milieux. Put differently, textbook analysis should not be merely about pontificating distortions, omissions or blatant lies presented as history to students. It needs a more sophisticated approach. Those involved in the analysis and critique of history textbooks should be mindful of the historical work produced by the academy. The critique can illuminate implicit and explicit ideologies, ambiguities, paradoxes, historical interpretations that are favoured and understated (or even omitted), as well as linguistic mechanisms. These narrative strategies form a historiography of textbook history.

Limitations to Coverage of Modern History

This study deals with thirty middle-school Japanese and thirty South African Standard 6 textbooks published and approved by the education authorities for school use between 1945 and 1995. In Japan, history is a compulsory subject in

82 Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999), 45.

83 Jean Anyon, "Ideology and the United States History Textbooks", *Harvard Education Review* 49, no. 3 (1979): 363; and Pingel, *Guidebook*, 45 – 47.

84 Eleftyherios Klerides, "Imaging the Textbook: Textbooks as Discourse and Genre", *Journal of Educational Media and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010): 33.

85 Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, "New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies towards a School Historiography", *Journal of Education Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010): 157.

Year 6 of primary school and Years 7 or 8 at middle school.[86] South African Standard 6 is selected as a fair equivalent to the Japanese counterparts. During apartheid, history was compulsory from Standards 1 to 7 in 'white' schools and optional from Standards 8 to 10. But the syllabi were repetitive and emphasised the nineteenth century. Twentieth-century South Africa appeared in Standards 7 and 10. The South African syllabi consisted of 'General' and 'South African' history sections, to be taught in equal proportions. This study concentrates on the textbook descriptions of South African history.

Twentieth-century South African history, perhaps the most topical and potentially controversial period, was taught in Standards 7 and 10. Not all students were exposed to this history unless they chose to go on to Standard 10. My review of relevant literature suggests that there has been constant criticism of the design of South African history syllabi over the decades: the Eurocentric bias; the emphasis on biographical accounts of historical figures; overloading and duplication of the contents across different Standards.[87] This suggests that the South African education bureaucracy maintained firm control over the syllabi during apartheid.

Similar criticism is levelled at Japanese history curriculum design. Critics have pointed out that Japanese history education in primary and middle schools devotes relatively little attention to modern history (the post-Meiji period). The reason why Japan's imperial ventures and wars in the Asia-Pacific region frequently escape in-depth coverage in the classroom is that they are introduced so late in the school year. Christopher Hood points out that students are likely to gain more information about them from debates in the media and even from discussions in other subjects, than through their history lessons.[88] Analyses by Hosoya Toshio and Dierkes reveal that history curricula since 1951 have prescribed a varying number of themes, retained the timeframe of the course. The study of history begins from either the beginning of mankind or the first appearance of human beings on today's Japanese archipelago, to the present.[89]

86 The teaching of history typically takes place in Year 8. However, the curricula have permitted schools to teach geography and history concurrently over two years in Years 7 and 8.

87 Franz E. Auerbach, *The Power of Prejudice in South African Education: An Enquiry into History Textbooks and Syllabuses in the Transvaal High Schools of South Africa* (Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1965); Richard Chernis, "The Past in Service of the Present: A Study of the South African School History Syllabuses and Textbooks, 1839 – 1990" (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 1990); Van den Berg and Buckland, *Beyond the History Syllabus*; A. N. Boyce "The Teaching of History in South Africa's High Schools with Special Reference to Methods of Evaluation and Syllabuses", (MEd thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1966).

88 Cave, "Teaching Empire", 629n14; Hicks, *Japan's War Memories*, 108; and Christopher Hood, *Japanese Education Reform: Nakasone's Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2001), 99 and 195n22.

89 Dierkes, "Teaching Portrayals", 369 – 371; and Hosoya Toshio, "Chûgakkô shakaika kyôiku no henkan to tembô" ["Changes in and Prospect for Middle-School Social Studies Educa-

Elsewhere in the curriculum documents, Mombushô expressed its expectations for the way in which post-war history is handled by teachers. The 1977 curriculum demands that post-war history be taught 'in a simple way to enable students to view the broad outline of Japanese history in the context of world history'.[90] The 1989 curriculum, which was still valid in 1995, reiterates that teachers should 'be mindful to get students to grasp the broad outline of post-World War II world history and the process through which our nation re-started and continued to the present day'.[91] Whether Mombushô demanded teachers' compliance is uncertain. But these statements seem to suggest Mombushô's unease about students gaining a deeper understanding of post-war history.

Selecting and Classifying Textbooks

The fifty-year period covered by this study is divided into five chronological phases corresponding to the periods when a curriculum or a syllabus was in effect. Precise and long-term sales statistics were not available for the South African textbooks. I therefore either chose the textbooks said to have been popularly prescribed, or at random.[92] The textbooks were either originally written in English or translated from Afrikaans into English.[93] For Japan, I chose the textbooks based on the ranking of school adoption: second from the top, middle and bottom within each phase that the textbooks were in use.[94]

While it is difficult to ascribe clear-cut chronological divisions, South African textbooks could be categorised by means of three broad political characteristics: 'high' apartheid (c. 1945 – 71), 'low' apartheid (c. 1972 – 94), and post-apartheid (c. 1990 – 96), which overlaps with the low apartheid period. High apartheid denotes the era in which the nationalist government's commitment to racial

tion"] in *Chûgakkô shin gakushû shidô yôryô no kaisetsu: Shakai hen* [A Commentary on Middle-school Course of Studies: Social Studies], ed. Nomura Shôshichi (Tokyo: 1977, n.p.), 26.

90 Mombushô, *Chûgakkô gakushû shidô yôryô* [Middle-School Course of Studies, COS] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1977), 28.

91 Mombushô, *COS* [1989], 30.

92 The following authors and titles are known to be widely used: A. N. Boyce; F. A. van Jaarsveld; *Timeline*; *History for Today*; among Natal and private schools *History Alive*. Textbooks written by C. de K. Fowler and G. J. J. Smit were known as bestsellers. But they primarily wrote Standards 9 and 10 textbooks which are outside the scope of my enquiry.

93 Before 1994, textbooks had to be published in both Afrikaans and English, the two official languages of South Africa Franz Auerbach has analysed discrepancies and distortions manifested in English and Afrikaans textbooks. *Power of Prejudice*, chap. 1.

94 *Kyôkasho repôto* [Textbook Report] is an annually published report on the state of textbook publication by Shuppan Rôren Kyôkasho Taisaku Iinkai (Committee for Textbook Issues in the Japan Federation of Publishing Workers' Union). It has provided the rankings since 1957. For textbooks before 1957 I have chosen those that were used for three or more years.

domination and segregation was high-spirited and buoyant. Low apartheid denotes the era in which the weaknesses of apartheid began to appear. Textbooks of the period reflected the loosening of racial domination but the imposition of cultural difference and the co-option of Black, Coloured and Indian leaders on the white government's terms. Strictly speaking, 'post-apartheid' should begin in 1994. However, this analysis sets the beginning at 1990 when the movement towards democracy began to accelerate.

I divide Japanese textbooks into two categories. Post-war textbooks are the textbooks published and approved for use until 1957 – 58. Textbooks published thereafter are called reverse course textbooks. 1957 – 58 was a critical watershed in Japan. Precipitated by the toughened screening procedures in 1956, the 1958 curriculum became *de facto* mandatory, after having merely provided 'guidelines' up until that point. Further strictures applied to textbook production after 1963 when all compulsory school textbooks were given to students free of charge.[95] I selected post-war textbooks used for more than three consecutive years.[96] For the purposes of this study, the most recent phase of Japanese textbook samples ends in 1993, although the textbooks approved for use in 1993 were used until the end of the 1996 school year when a new set of textbooks replaced them in 1997. To determine the popularity of the reverse course textbooks, I consulted the rankings of textbook adoption compiled by *Kyôkasho repôto*.[97]

The Selection of Historical Events and Themes[98]

Five criteria were used to select historical themes from South African and Japanese history textbooks. The topics should:

- provide insights into 'textbook historiography';
- have not been previously studied by other scholars; or

95 See below, chap. 1, p. 66.

96 The duration of use was recorded in the catalogue of the textbooks at the library of the National Institute of Educational Research, Tokyo.

97 All translations from the original Japanese textbook into English are mine. The original appears in the footnotes.

98 Although omitted from this book, two articles by this author discuss the analysis of other historical themes. On the textbook descriptions of the Anglo-Xhosa war of 1818 – 19, see, Ryôta Nishino, "George McCall Theal and South African History Textbooks: Enduring Influence of Settler Historiography in Descriptions of the Fifth 'Frontier War' 1818 – 19", in *Orb and Sceptre: Studies in British Imperialism and its Legacies in Honour of Norman Etherington*, ed. Peter Limb (Melbourne, Monash University ePress, 2008), 06.01 – 06.17.
On the descriptions of the origins of the Japanese ethnic origins and the significance of the Heian period culture, see "Narrative Strategies of Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identity", *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010): 97 – 112.

- despite having already been analysed by other scholars, still merit expanded or updated analysis;
- have generated controversies among academic historians; or
- deal with similar issues across the two nations.

The four historical events and themes selected for a study of Standard 6 South African textbooks are:

1. The relationship between the Khoikhoi people and the early Dutch settlers from c. 1652 to 1662;
2. Cultural and racial characterisation of the Khoikhoi, the Bushmen, the Bantu-speaking people and Europeans;
3. Slavery at the Cape; and
4. The origins of the Zulu state-formation in the nineteenth century and the changing images of Piet Retief and his 'treaty' with the Zulu kingdom.

The themes selected for the Japanese middle-school history textbooks are:

1. The Nanboku-chô conflict (1336 – 92);
2. The description and assessment of *sakoku* (national seclusion) and Genroku culture (from the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries);
3. The Ainu response to Japanese colonisation; and
4. The portrayals of female factory workers and industrial action in the late nineteenth century.

Theme 1 for South Africa, Khoi-Dutch relationships, discusses how the beginning of the 'white' national history is told. The Khoi-Dutch relationship, the murder of Piet Retief, and the Ainu-Japanese interaction are all conflicts between settlers and indigenous peoples. Theme 2 for both countries shows how the textbooks portray cultural heritage. Although slavery and wage labour are different (South Africa theme 3; Japan theme 4), the topics concern the issues of exploitation and resistance against the slave owners and employers. Although the Zulu state-formation wars, the conflict between Dingane and Retief and the Nanboku-chô conflict were very different, they had significant influences on the ways in which history is used in the respective nations' historiography and politics. For South Africa it was the Homelands policy and the justification for the white minority rule. For Japan the historiographical controversy around the Nanboku-chô conflict deals with Japan's imperial institutions. The national seclusion of Japan, *sakoku* (Japan theme 2), may be one of the most misunderstood but lingering concepts in Japanese history. Equally misunderstood are the origins of the Zulu state-formation (South Africa theme 4), the lead-up to the murder of Piet Retief and the treaty that he was supposed to have secured

with Dingane. The analysis of these themes will show how textbooks have perpetuated or challenged misunderstandings.

Obtaining apartheid-era syllabus documents, especially from the former 'Bantustan', 'Indian' and 'Coloured' schools, and interviewing textbook publishers constituted two major difficulties. Access to syllabus documents was impeded by the apartheid-era fragmentation of education bureaucracy into eighteen provincially and ethnically separate departments; the misplacement or disposal of documents after the post-apartheid restructuring of government agencies, public archives, tertiary institutions and libraries, and also during the period of transition to the post-apartheid era. Such problems are not uncommon, given that many apartheid-era documents were shredded in the last days of apartheid.[99] Nevertheless, utmost efforts were made to gather as many appropriate syllabus documents and textbooks as possible. There was little difficulty in Japan, as Japanese schools teach a single national curriculum. The National Institute of Education Research in Tokyo stores textbooks and curriculum documents across subjects for all school levels.

This study does not cover Japan's ventures in the Pacific and the Second World War, nor South Africa's 'Anglo-Boer Wars' and apartheid. There are three significant reasons for these omissions. Firstly, these topics have attracted much interest from other scholars from time to time and have been studied in depth. Secondly, as pointed out above, criticism of history education was levelled at the curriculum design that rendered the teaching of recent and more contentious themes of history less accessible, if not impossible. Thirdly, with the relatively scant attention these recent historical events receive it may be more worthwhile to shift attention to earlier periods and analyse their textbook descriptions. Preferred historical interpretations and expressions of national identity may be found in the earlier periods as much as in twentieth-century history.

Structure of the Book

Over the next three chapters, this study will develop the argument that South African and Japanese school history textbooks were more than simply the product of a hegemonic ideology. There was no simple and direct line connecting orders from above with the textbooks. Bureaucracy played an important part, but also the economic imperatives of textbook publishers. Internal critics were by no means absent from the scene. Most importantly, far from focussing

99 Verne Harris, "The Archival Silver: A Perspective on the Construction of Social Memory in Archives and the Transition from Apartheid to Democracy", in *Refiguring the Archive*, eds. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), 138.

attention on what worried the international community (Japan's wartime past and institutionalised racism in South Africa), school textbooks promulgated nationalist messages across a range of chronological periods and themes before the twentieth century.

Chapter One provides the historical background to the politics of history textbooks in both nations, to show that the issues dominating history education and textbooks did not arise overnight. The chapter departs from the simplistic notion that the government and its educational organs enjoyed untrammelled power, manipulating history, truth and education in order to suit their shifting purposes. The chapter explains which aspects of the education systems, including history education, were subjected to criticism, why there was resistance to revision and how governments responded. It traces the development of education policies in a wider political, economic and international context. The American Occupation from 1945 to 1952 aimed to overhaul Japan's militaristic pre-war education. Yet the precipitating geopolitical tensions resulted in a 'reverse course' in occupation policy, which back-pedalled on educational reform and reinstalled a conservative orthodoxy. In South Africa, minority rule continued in the post-war period. In the transition to democracy from about 1988 to 1995, economic pragmatism and the residual influence of the predominantly white education bureaucracy frustrated the progressive leaning lobbyists and educationists.

The chapter also addresses how the education authorities of both nations exercised their authority over curriculum documents and the process of prepublication textbook screening. These are crucial background topics that may profit from separate studies. Yet these policies indicate the trajectories taken by textbook representation of the issues analysed in the subsequent chapters. For instance, the South African syllabi explicitly expressed the aims of history education to develop students' national identities, political orientations and religious awareness. The South African syllabi also expressed 'responsibilities' and 'duties' as 'citizens'. The Japanese curricula obliquely aimed at developing 'awareness' of Japanese identity.

Chapters Two and Three conduct an empirical analysis of history textbooks in South Africa and Japan. The two chapters seek to demonstrate which historiographical interpretations were represented in and excluded from the selected textbooks in both countries. Following the conceptualisation of history textbook historiography suggested by Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon, these chapters will reveal which academic historiographical interpretations have remained salient in textbooks. They will also reveal changes in interpretations and pedagogical orientations, as well as when and how these changes are reflected on the textbooks.

Chapter Four sums up the key findings and provides insights drawn from the

bi-national comparison. Historical interpretations advanced in the textbooks tended to lag behind those offered by academic historians. Although this is plausible in some respects, certain historiographical angles and pedagogical preferences remained unchanged. However, a small number of South African textbooks published since the 1980s show a pedagogical shift in the interpretation and narratives. In Japan, early post-war textbooks reflected the relative freedom accorded to the publishers. However, 'reverse-course' textbooks began to resemble each other and maintained the linear chronological narrative. Later textbooks incorporated new information, but this inclusion did not challenge the dominant pedagogy and chronicle historiography.

In both nations, looking at the changes to and stabilities in textbooks, it may be suggested that overhauling the curriculum, textbooks and pedagogy proved difficult. The overhaul of curriculum design and pedagogical orientation are also pertinent to Japan, where changes to factual information and pedagogical approaches are found in some areas. Reforming the textbook requires a multifaceted approach involving the conceptualisation of history as an academic discipline. It also requires a re-examination of the curriculum, including the pedagogical principles, skills and knowledge that are to be imparted to and developed in students.

Chapter One: Education Policy-making in South Africa and Japan ca. 1945 to 1995

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an outline of seminal events affecting history education and textbooks in both countries. It is not an attempt to revise or to give comprehensive views of history that other authors provide. Yet it is necessary to understand the political, economic and social climate in which education authorities in South Africa and Japan operated and to explain these developments in their historical contexts. This chapter explains why history education has continued to generate much controversy. For most of the fifty years considered in this study, the National Party of South Africa (NP) and Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as well as Mombushô (Japanese Ministry of Education) dominated education policy-making, despite facing pressure from business and lobby groups.

Three caveats for the comparison of educational policy-making in South Africa and Japan need to be stated. Firstly, the educational bureaucracies in both countries survived despite turbulent changes.[1] In South Africa, the Afrikaner-dominated education bureaucracy resisted radical changes in the last days of apartheid. In Japan, the education bureaucracy managed to reassert its authority after the end of the Allied occupation and after containing the leftist opposition, such as Nikkyôso (the Japan Teachers' Union). Secondly, industry's demands for workforce training changed over time and influenced education policies, including history education. As will be shown, the business-government clash seems more pronounced in South Africa than in Japan. Thirdly, various extra-parliamentary lobbies, in addition to industry and business groups, criticised

1 I do not intend to treat the education bureaucracy of each country as a monolith. However, few works offer empirical and analytical insight into the inner workings of the education bureaucracy. Most work for South Africa is descriptive. See the work by Ken Hartshorne and National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). Critical analysis of Mombushô policies has been provided by Christopher Hood, Horio Teruhisa, Marie Roesgaard, Leonard Schoppa and Yamazaki Masato.

education policies and reforms. The two governments and the education authorities handled opposition and critics by restricting their right to criticise, or by making placatory gestures. Criticism was not confined to those of left-wing, liberal or progressive political persuasions. The tension became more complex and intense when right-wing or conservative groups demanded that their historical perspectives be written into school history textbooks.

Recent Public Debates on History Education in South Africa and Japan

During the transition to democracy in South Africa, questions about a future South African identity and the role of history education generated heated debates. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, launched in 1998, aimed at nation-building by hearing testimonies of human rights abuses committed during apartheid. In December 2003, a group of Afrikaners commemorated the Battle of Blood River, testifying their attachment to the old narrative of the Voortrekkers' triumph over the Zulus and their divine mission in South Africa.[2] In March 2004, the Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, called for public hearings on apartheid education with the aim of understanding it better. The ministry also planned to construct a better study environment in the future, especially for adults whose educational opportunities had been disadvantaged by poor quality education in the past.[3]

In Japan, the death of Emperor Hirohito in 1989 and shifts in East Asian geopolitical dynamics reopened the questions about Japan's wartime responsibilities, often compared with Germany's.[4] Neo-conservative and neo-nationalist ideologues reasserted their beliefs about Japanese national identity. Their reinterpretation of history explained away Japan's war record through pseudo-post-modern insistence about the relative nature of historical truth. Japan's relations with China and Korea became strained, as new testimonies of wartime victims elicited no more than a tepid response from the Japanese government. Japanese politicians continue to make gaffes and to visit the Yasukuni Shrine, which commemorates the war dead. In April 2005, Mombushô's approval of a history textbook that allegedly mitigated Japan's wartime past

2 "Blood Feud on the Banks of the River", *The Mail & Guardian*, 19 – 31 December 2003, 3.

3 "Asmal Announces Public Hearings to Probe Legacy of Apartheid-Era Education", *The Cape Times*, 17 March 2004, 5.

4 Sebastian Conrad points out that Ian Buruma's *Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994) tends towards this somewhat essentialist conclusion. Sebastian Conrad, "Entangled Memories: Versions of the Past in Germany and Japan, 1945 – 2001", *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (1999): 85, 67 – 83.

evoked emotional responses and triggered riots in China and Korea. These events exacerbated the already strained relations.[5] In order to understand these recent controversies we need to review the developments of a much earlier period.

South Africa: Afrikanerising Educational Bureaucracy and History Education

Following its electoral victory in 1948, the NP government consolidated the existing segregation policies into apartheid. The most thorough reform was the overhaul of bureaucracy. The government purged disloyal bureaucrats and English-speaking senior bureaucrats.[6] Between 1946 and 1960, the number of Afrikaans-speaking civil servants jumped by 98.5 percent while that of English-speakers dropped by twenty-five percent.[7] Education departments became excessively large and complicated by the end of the 1980s: a total of 420,000 people worked in education departments across South Africa, making up thirty-seven percent of the total civil service.[8] The rapid Afrikanerisation and the growth of education bureaucracy would have a long-lasting impact.

In the aftermath of the second South African War (1899 – 1902), debates over history education in South Africa mainly involved English and Afrikaans speakers. In the 1950s, the English-speaking parliamentarians and teachers' associations accused the Afrikaners of aiming to advance the Afrikaner view through history education. The Afrikaner politicians and teachers' associations felt it was their prerogative to do so. The plea for 'objective' history by the Afrikaner historian, Floors van Jaarsveld, seemed to fall on deaf ears. Die Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging (the Transvaal [Afrikaans-speaking] Teachers' Union) stirred up controversy when it called for separate histories for

5 Numerous authors account for the background and development of the neo-nationalist group, Atarashii Rekishi o Tsukurukai, and its textbook projects. For recent and detailed analyses, see Steffi Richter, "Historical Revisionism in Contemporary Japan", in *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary Asia,* ed. Steffi Richter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 47 – 72; and Sven Saaler, *Politics, Memory and Public Opinion: The History Textbook Controversy and Japanese Society* (Munich: Indicum, 2005), chap. 1, esp. 39 – 59.

6 Dan O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years: The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948 – 1994* (Randburg: Ravan Press, 1996), 60.

7 Ibid., 62.

8 Ken Hartshorne, *Crisis and Challenge: Black Education 1910 – 1990* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 87.

the English-medium and Afrikaans-medium schools.[9] Education for black South Africans was kept to a basic level – dictated by the principle of 'Bantu Education'. The government censured black teachers who were critical of the education policies during apartheid. White teachers were prohibited from publicly commenting on the government's policies.

The government maintained an upper hand over textbook screening and adoption practices. Most of the bureaucratic procedures for textbook screening lacked transparency and accountability. Education departments were not obliged to reveal the personnel involved in these processes. It has nevertheless been claimed that some members of textbook screening committees often served as members of syllabus revision committees and that some members of the screening committees wrote textbooks, although they were expected to leave the room while their works were being discussed.[10] It thus seems plausible that little literature has recorded the changes or noted the stability of the screening system. However, a handful of accounts outline the textbook screening processes. It may be surmised that education departments announced the new syllabus to publishers and set the deadlines for publishers to submit manuscripts. Only the manuscripts satisfying the requirement could go onto approved textbook lists.[11]

The latitude given to local schools in the adoption process varied among departments.[12] Most departments issued 'approved textbook' lists from which schools had to choose. For instance, the number of texts on the list per course per Standard was limited to six at the Department of Education and Training (DET) and three in the Transvaal.[13] Susan Joubert recounts that in one instance forty-five books were submitted for a reader from which only six were chosen.[14] Thus,

9 Richard Chernis, "The Past in Service of the Present: A Study of the South African School History Syllabuses and Textbooks, 1839 – 1990" (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 1990), 299.

10 André Proctor and Mary Monteith, "Textbooks, Corruption and Curricula", in *Publishing for Democratic Education,* eds. Steve Kromberg, Meneesha Govender, Natalie Birrell and Mxolisi Sibanyoni (Johannesburg: The Sached Trust, 1993), 36.

11 Rob Siebörger, "The Dynamics of History Textbook Production during South Africa's Educational Transformation", in *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives in School History Textbooks,* eds. Stuart Foster and Keith Crawford (Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, 2006), 230; and NEPI, *Curriculum: Report of the NEPI Curriculum Research Group* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13.

12 Susan Ruth Joubert, "Publishing in Another South Africa: Problems and Projections" (MPhil diss., University of Stirling, 1990), 12.

13 The Department of Education and Training, established in 1979, administered schooling for African students in the 'white' Republic of South Africa. S. W. H. Engelbrecht, *The School Textbook: A Didactical-Pedagogical Study* (Pretoria: South African Human Sciences Research Council, Institute of Education Research, 1975), 31; and Mike Kantey, "Book Publishing in South Africa: A Provisional Sketch", unpublished report for NEPI Curriculum Report (Cape Town: c. 1992), 11 – 12.

14 Joubert, "Another South Africa", 15.

the publishers' imperative was to get their textbooks on the lists. Exclusion from the initial approved list entailed a lengthy wait before a new syllabus was introduced.[15] Publishers needed to prepare the manuscripts that would be passed with minimal instructions for revision.

Under this climate, the textbook industry began to develop a particular industry culture. The South African textbook market was dominated by the English and Afrikaans-speaking press. Very few black publishers of commercial significance existed in the textbook market. Subsidiaries of white-owned publishing houses supplied textbooks for black students. Profits earned from sales to black education departments thus indirectly subsidised the white publishing houses.[16] For instance, Via Afrika was a Nasionale Pers subsidiary, which held business interests in the 'independent' Homelands of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and the Northern Transvaal.[17]

Various accounts allege that cosy relationships developed between publishers and education departments, which arouse suspicion of corruption and favouritism.[18] It was alleged that Afrikaner publishers enjoyed particular patronage from education departments over the years. It is known that there were many close connections between the publishers and the government. Two prominent leaders of the NP, H. F. Verwoerd and B. J. Vorster, served on the Boards of Directors of a large Afrikaner publishing house, Perskor.[19] The number of titles adopted by the DET shows the dominance of the Afrikaner publishers, Educum, De Jager-Haum and Via Afrika over those of English-speaking publishers such as Juta, Shuter and Shooter, and Maskew Miller. However, it would be a mistake to assume only Afrikaner publishers enjoyed special relations with the government (Table 1).

15 Mary Monteith, "The Making of Schools' History Textbooks in Natal", (paper presented at the *75th Anniversary of the University of Natal Conference on the History of Natal and Zululand,* the University of Natal (Durban), 2 – 4 July 1985), 14; Glenn Moss, "A Critical Overview of Educational Publishing", in *Publishing for Democratic Education,* eds. Steve Kromberg, Meneesha Govender, Natalie Birrell and Mxolisi Sibanyoni (Johannesburg: The Sached Trust, 1993), 24; Phaswane Mpe and Monica Seeber, "The Politics of Book Publishing in South Africa: A Critical Overview", in *The Politics of Publishing in South Africa,* eds. Nicholas Evans and Monica Seeber (Pietermaritzburg: The University of Natal Press, 2000), 21; and Siebörger, "Textbook Production", 238.

16 Siebörger, "Textbook Production", 239 and 242n21.

17 Mpe and Seeber, "Politics of Publishing", 21n19.

18 Moss, "Critical Overview", 25 – 28; Mpe and Seeber, "Politics of Publishing", 18 – 23; and Proctor and Monteith, "Corruption", 32.

19 Mpe and Seeber, "Politics of Publishing", 20.

Table 1: Number of Textbook Titles Adopted at DET Primary and Secondary Schools per Publisher (top 10 publishers), 1990

Publisher	Number of titles	Percentage (%)
Educum (Perskor)	236	20.0
De Jager-Haum	197	16.7
Via Afrika (Nasionale Pers)	169	14.3
Juta	124	10.5
Shuter and Shooter	107	9.1
Maskew Miller	68	5.8
Nasou	58	4.9
Boekateljee	49	4.2
Dynamic Books	24	2.0
Oxford University Press	24	1.7
…	…	…
Total	1180	100

Source: adapted from Susan Joubert, "Another South Africa", Appendix 4, citing figures from *DET Primary Schools Catalogue 1990* and *DET Secondary Schools Catalogue 1990*. I have omitted the publishers below the top 10.

A second allegation concerned linkages between publishers and education department officials. History textbooks were typically written by historians and education department officials sympathetic to the Afrikaner nationalist historiography.[20] It was frequently alleged that department officials wrote textbooks or had their names appear as authors despite negligible input and in the face of prohibition. The history educationist Rob Siebörger notes anecdotes of syllabus committee members writing textbooks before the syllabus was finalised and receiving royalties of between ten and fifteen percent without the production costs having been deducted.[21] In 1990, prompted by persistent rumours of rampant corruption, President F. W. de Klerk commissioned an investigation into the DET. The four-part report discussed the issues of corruption and malpractice in financial accounting in the DET and found such examples.[22]

20 Cynthia Kros and Ismail Vadi, "Towards a New History Curriculum: Reform or Re-conceptualisation?" in *Inventing Knowledge: Contents in Curriculum Construction*, ed. Nick Taylor (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1993), 92 – 93; and Proctor and Monteith, "Corruption", 37.

21 Siebörger, "Textbook Production", 239. See also, Kantey, "Provision of Textbooks", 11; and Moss, "Critical Overview", 28.

22 Mareka Monyokolo, *Financing and Provision of Textbooks in South African Black Schools* (Johannesburg: Education Policy Unit, University of the Witwatersrand and NECC, 1993), 35n13. The Commission is officially known as: the South African (L. van den Heever, Chairperson), *Kommissie van Ondersoek na Aangeleenthede Rakende die Department van*

The state's attitude towards history education may be observed from the syllabus documents of the time. The articulation of civic responsibility is one long-standing feature of the curricula that goes back to the early 1940s. The Transvaal syllabus of 1942 aimed at 'a sense of sound citizenship, i. e., the correct attitudes towards everybody and everything with which he comes in contact …'.[23] The Cape primary school syllabus of 1949 stated: '[t]he ideal towards which we strive is the cultivation of a spirit of good citizenship, after the child has realised, from his study of history, his responsibility as a member of an educated community'.[24] This aim persists as late as the Cape syllabus for junior secondary schools (Standards 5 – 7) in 1985: 'to make the pupil conscious of his [sic] privileges and duties as a citizen of the Republic of South Africa'.[25] The syllabi mention 'privileges and duties' but do not elaborate on them.

Similar aims appeared in the syllabus for African students. The Bantu Education Department syllabus of 1955, which then included Standard 6, promoted social studies 'to develop in the Bantu child social consciousness and a feeling of responsibility'.[26] This aim has been elaborated as:

a. The realization by the Bantu child that he is a member of a particular community and that he is bound by various ties to particular groups of people as they are represented in *his* home, *his* school, *his* church, *his* village and *his* tribe. These groups serve him directly or indirectly and he in turn owes them loyalty and co-operation.[27]

Cynthia Kros's critique of the Bantu Education Department syllabus shows how the lower Standards positioned the student within the immediate environment and expanded from the village to 'tribes' and eventually to 'white South Africa' in higher Standards.[28] Considering the high attrition rates among African students in the 1950s, it is likely that the majority were only exposed to the contents aimed

Onderwys en Opleiding (*Commission of Enquiry on Matters Concerning the Department of Education and Training)* (Pretoria: Staatdrukker, 1992).
Interviews conducted with former authors and publishers in South Africa between October 2003 and March 2004 provided ample anecdotes. I requested interviews with former Afrikaner publishers. Despite numerous attempts, they did not respond to my requests.

23 Transvaal Education Department (TED), *Suggested Syllabus for History: Grades to Standard VIII* (Pretoria: TED, 1942), 3.

24 Cape of Good Hope Education Department (CED), "Proposed Syllabus in History and Civics for the Primary School", *The Education Gazette* 48, no. 28 (1949): 2060. At the time, primary school ended at Standard 5. Standard 6 was not yet compulsory.

25 CED, "Junior Secondary Course: Syllabus for History", *The Education Gazette* 84, no. 4 (1985): 191.

26 Department of Bantu Education, "Social Studies", *Bantu Education Journal* 1, no. 8 (1955): 268.

27 Ibid., 269. Italics and "his" in original.

28 Ibid., 268 – 279; and Cynthia Kros, "Telling Lies about History and Hoping to Forget All about History", *South African Historical Journal* 42 (2000): 77.

to develop 'social consciousness' and 'responsibility' within the immediate surroundings.

As Jonathan Hyslop observes, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 is said to have reconciled the racist assumptions of the government with the labour requirements of industry and focussed on meeting white employers' demand for semi-skilled labour. Four years of basic education was deemed sufficient for the acquisition of basic numeracy and mother-tongue literacy, as well as a command of English and Afrikaans.[29] By contrast, in 1952, free and compulsory schooling up to Standard 8 (or sixteen years of age) was guaranteed for white students.[30]

African teachers' organisations had continually complained about work conditions, pay and education policies from the late 1940s to the early 1950s. The Transvaal African Teachers' Association, for instance, worked closely with the African National Congress Youth League.[31] The government's response to African teachers' dissent can be observed through its definition of teacher misconduct. A teacher was deemed to have committed misconduct when s/he 'contribute[d] to the press by interview or in any other manner, or otherwise publishes a letter or an article criticizing his superior officers or the policy of the Department of the Native Affairs'.[32] African teachers' associations dropped militancy and adopted a conservative, apolitical stance as government suppression grew both in severity and scale.[33]

The strict measures against teachers' activities continued. The Department of Education and Training Act passed in 1979 replaced the Bantu Education Act and continued to make it illegal for teachers to criticise the government publicly except in union meetings. During the 1980s school boycotts, the DET often used transfer and dismissal to punish its teaching personnel for dissent.[34]

The white education authorities adopted an equally tough stance with white teachers. In its 1953 regulation, the Transvaal Education Department (TED) permitted teachers' involvement in politics, but prohibited them from making public criticism of the state and education departments. Any infringement entailed fines, suspension or dismissal.[35] In 1988, the National Education De-

29 Jonathan Hyslop, *The Classroom Struggle: Policy and Resistance in South Africa, 1940 – 1990* (Pietermaritzburg: The University of Natal Press, 1999), 52 and 58 – 59.

30 Edward G. Pells, *300 Years of Education in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta, 1952), 93.

31 Hartshorne, *Crisis*, 296. See, also, Hyslop, *Classroom Struggle*, chap. 2, for a thorough account of teacher activism in the Transvaal and Cape Provinces.

32 Hendrik F. Verwoerd (Minister of Native Affairs), "Regulations Governing the Conditions of Appointment, Service and Discipline of Bantu Teachers in Government Bantu Schools", *Government Gazette* 180, no. 5452, 22 April 1955 (Pretoria: Government Printer), 40.

33 Hartshorne, *Crisis*, 300; and Hyslop, *Classroom Struggle*, 43.

34 For instance, the DET dismissed 4,584 teachers in 1987. Hartshorne, *Crisis*, 306 – 307.

35 TED, "Ordinance to Consolidate and Amend the Laws Relating to Education in the Transvaal", *Transvaal Education Ordinance* 29 (1953): 225.

partment listed nineteen kinds of misconduct for white teachers, including 'publicly criticiz[ing] the administration of any State department' including the education department. Teachers were also prohibited from 'us[ing their] position to promote or prejudice private or sectional political objectives'.[36]

Verwoerd's Premiership: Separate Development and Afrikaner Nationalism

Upon becoming Prime Minister in 1958, Verwoerd remodelled apartheid and advanced two new forms of nationalism. First, Verwoerd emphasised a common white identity, thereby offering an olive branch to the English speakers. Secondly, he shifted the language of apartheid from white dominance over the blacks (*baaskap*) to the euphemistic aim of 'separate development'.[37] He argued that integration of the racial groups was impossible due to unbridgeable cultural differences. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 separated the black population from the white territories, while keeping black workers at employers' disposal. It fragmented the African population into eight self-governing 'Homelands' and attempted to co-opt some black leaders who stood to gain from this satellite state policy.[38] The new Homelands were to administer their own education programmes, thus freeing the central government from financial and administrative responsibilities. Although most Homelands were practically subjected to NP tutelage, from the late 1970s the Homeland of KwaZulu pursued its own separatist agenda. Its education department prescribed a civics programme of *Ubuntu Botho* (humanism) which emphasised a distinct Zulu identity.[39]

The proclamation of South Africa as a republic and its withdrawal from the British Commonwealth in 1961 are regarded as the pinnacle of Afrikaner nationalism. This was also when a generational rift emerged. The conventional

36 South Africa, "The Education Affairs Act (House of Assembly)", *Government Gazette*, no. 11379, Act 70, 29 June 1988 (Pretoria: Government Printer), 47.

37 Hermann Giliomee, *Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 520 – 521; and O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 116 – 117.

38 Jonathan Hyslop suggests that Verwoerd's policies were often misunderstood as simply racist and intent on limiting the career advancement of black people. Rather, he argues that Verwoerd's separate development was a mechanism to co-opt the blacks. Hyslop, *Classroom Struggle,* 60.

39 For detailed analyses, see Paul Forsyth, "The Past in the Service of the Present: The Political Use of History by Chief A. N. M. G. Buthelezi, 1951 – 1991", *South African Historical Journal* 26 (1992): 74 – 92; Daphna Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994); and Gerhard Maré, *Ethnicity and Politics in South Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1993).

Afrikaner self-image emphasised 'strong traits of independence, dexterity, stubbornness, resoluteness against force and love of freedom of the veld with its wide-open spaces'.[40] This self-image grew less important to young Afrikaners who became secularised and moved to urban areas.[41]

As early as the 1950s, Afrikaner historians raised their concern that history was rapidly losing its relevance for Afrikaans-speaking students.[42] The government commissioned an investigation into the perceived decline in history enrolments in 1966. Its report, published in 1972, showed a decline of the Matriculation examination candidates in history (Table 2).

Table 2: Proportion of History Matriculation Examination Candidates

Examination Authorities	1956 (%)	1966 (%)
Natal	45.5	42.6
Transvaal	57.1	49.0
Cape Province	62.7	53.4
Orange Free State	71.9	47.5
Joint Matriculation Board (Private schools)	61.6	66.6

Source: Human Science Research Council (HSRC), C. R. Liebenberg (chairperson), *The Teaching of History at South African Secondary Schools: A Condensed Version of a Survey in the Year 1966, Report No. O-11* (Pretoria, 1972), 24.

In 1967, the government passed a National Education Act amid fierce opposition from the English-speaking teacher associations and parliamentarians. The Act, *inter alia*, officially enshrined Christian National Education (CNE), which had been an unofficial pillar of Afrikaner nationalism. CNE propounded that God manifested himself through languages and history specific to ethnically-based nations.[43] The mixing of languages, religions, cultures and races was deemed inappropriate. Consequently, mother tongues and religion were prioritised to safeguard the existence of 'national' groups.[44] The critics charged the Act as the government's domination of state education, infusing religion and the notion of

40 F. A. van Jaarsveld, *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism* (Cape Town: Human and Rousseau, 1961), 11.

41 William Beinart, *Twentieth-Century South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 180 and 187.

42 Gerhard Schutte, *What Racists Believe: Race Relations in South Africa and the United States* (London: Sage, 1995), 44 – 45.

43 Dunbar T. Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1975), 241.

44 Michael Cross, *Imagery of Identity in South African Education, 1880 – 1990* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1999), 42 – 43; and Giliomee, *Afrikaners*, 468 – 469.

nationhood resting on 'cultural differences'. The government saw few problems in the combination of religion and national focus.[45]

Furthermore, a supplementary act that governed teacher training also elaborated on 'national character'. Teachers should possess 'a broad national character' to impart to students, *inter alia:* '[the] appreciation of a common fatherland, … to engender a spirit of patriotism, loyalty, and a sense of responsibility towards the fatherland and its inhabitants, and an appreciation of the national symbols as a common heritage'[46] and 'the language, traditions and history of the Afrikaans and of the English cultural communities, … to develop a positive and balanced perspective [towards] co-operation beyond our national borders'.[47] This seems to reveal an eagerness within the education bureaucracy to promote patriotism predicated more on ethnic identity and belonging to a language, culture and religion, rather than on a sense of political or civic membership of a nation.

The power that the government exercised on textbooks came from another direction following the passage of the National Education Act. The syllabus revision process became centralised and the content of education moved towards greater uniformity. The Act states: 'co-ordination, on a national basis, of syllabuses, courses and examination standards and research, investigation and planning in the field of education shall be effected …'.[48] The national core syllabus took up about seventy percent of the individual departmental syllabi. It stated overall aims, content outlines and evaluation procedures. Each department then devised the remaining thirty percent. But duplication was common across the departments. Because no section of the overloaded core syllabus could be deleted, the variations were slight.[49]

45 Michael Ashley, *Ideologies and Schooling in South Africa* (Rondebosch: South African Teachers' Association, 1989), 8 – 9; and Penny Enslin, "The Role of *Fundamental Pedagogics* in the Formulation of Educational Policy in South Africa", in *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans*, ed. Peter Kallaway (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1984), 139 – 147.

46 Republic of South Africa, *Government Gazette* 120 (1975) (Pretoria: Government Printer), R.1192, 8 – 9.

47 Ibid., 9. This act is also cited in Chernis, "The Past", 289 – 290.

48 Department of National Education (South Africa), "National Education Policy Act", Act No. 39 (1967) *Statutes of the Republic of South Africa, Part I* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1967), 614.

49 Owen van den Berg and Peter Buckland, *Beyond the History Syllabus: Constraints and Opportunities* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1983), 5; Chernis, "The Past", 290; and Elizabeth Dean, Paul Hartmann and May Katzen, *History in Black and White: An Analysis of South African School History Textbooks* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 45.

Education under Pressure

In the 1970s the business sector asked for educational reforms to create a skilled black workforce to satisfy the new industrial requirements.[50] Among those calling for change were Afrikaner industrialists whom the NP could not ignore. Schooling for African students became more accessible as the government increased the funding in 1972. In 1979 primary education became both compulsory and free for black students, although there was no penalty for non-attendance.[51] The total enrolments and promotion ratio dramatically increased during the 1970s and the 1980s, although the disparity in education budgets remained (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3: Secondary School Enrolment of African Students, 1975 – 89

Year/Standards	6	8	10	Total (from Standards 6 to 10)
1975	149,251	50,772	9,009	318,568
1980	255,920	177,581	43,086	773,910
1985	371,623	250,604	107,022	1,192,932
1989	529,489	357,994	218,983	1,820,807

Source: Adapted from Hartshorne, *Crisis*, 77.
Note: Hartshorne relies on statistical data issued by the Department of Bantu Education, *Annual Report*, 1976 – 1979; South African Institute of Race Relations, *Annual Survey*, 1980 – 1989; and Research Institute for Education Planning, the University of Free State, *Annual Education and Manpower Production*. Hartshorne also notes that from 1977 the figures became difficult to obtain because of the further fragmentation of black education departments as Homelands gained 'independence'.

Table 4: Per Capita Expenditure on Education per 'Racial Group' (in Rand (R) and ratio)

Year\'race'	African	Coloured	Indian	White
1953 – 54	R17 (1)	R40 (2.35)	R40 (2.35)	R128 (7.50)
1969 – 70	17 (1)	73 (4.29)	81 (4.76)	282 (16.50)
1975 – 76	42 (1)	140 (3.33)	190 (4.52)	591 (14.07)
1977 – 78	54 (1)	158 (3.43)	276 (5.11)	657 (12.17)
1980 – 81	139 (1)	253 (1.82)	513 (3.69)	913 (6.57)
1982 – 83	146 (1)	498 (3.40)	711 (4.86)	1,211 (8.27)

Statistics taken from Christie, *Right to Learn*, 98 and 100, using information from: South African Institute of Race Relations, *Race Relations Survey*, relevant years; and Sue Blignaut, *Statistics on Education in South Africa, 1968 – 79* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981).

50 O'Meara, *Forty Lost Years*, 183.
51 Hartshorne, *Crisis*, 44.

However, the African students found their employment prospects did not improve immediately. The enforcement of dual-medium instruction in Afrikaans and English at African secondary schools triggered the epochal Soweto uprising in June 1976. The government's brutal response further tarnished South Africa's international profile and instigated school revolts nationwide.[52]

The tide of education reform in the 1970s also affected the teaching of history, albeit to a limited extent. The impetus for reform came from the Joint Matriculation Board (JMB), which represented elite English-speaking private schools. The JMB expressed concern about the decline of students taking history as an elective subject and imported a new model from Britain. Instead of a history of 'facts', the model emphasised training in analytical skills and the development of empathy with the human subjects of historical narratives.[53] During the decade, the JMB incorporated skills-based assessment in its senior examinations.[54]

It seems that the JMB succeeded in securing the support of the business community, rather than the NP government. The business community appreciated the practical benefits of skills-based history to address the shortage of professionals with research and analytical skills.[55] However, the impact of the JMB seems limited, because the main constituency for innovative history education was private schools catered for by the JMB, Natal and Indian Education Departments. Even at the private schools the new innovative approach to teaching history met with resistance from conservative teachers.[56]

Botha's Reform and the Deepening Crisis of Education

By the mid-1980s South African education faced another crisis. A long-term struggle between boycotting students and the state engulfed townships across South Africa. Meanwhile, the government-launched commissions recommended relaxing racial discrimination to stimulate the economy. The De Lange

52 Ibid., 195 – 205, and Hyslop, *Classroom Struggle,* 158 – 164. For a comprehensive analysis of the Soweto uprising, see Baruch Hirson, *Year of Fire, Year of Ash: The Soweto Revolt, Roots of a Revolution?* (London: Zed Press, 1979).

53 Schools Council History 13 – 16 Project, *A New Look at History* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1977), 17 – 18.

54 Peter Kallaway, "History Education in a Democratic South Africa", *Teaching History* 78, June (1995): 13.

55 Interviews with two former secondary school history teachers and now university-based history educationists, 27 February 2004 and 5 March 2004.

56 Peter Kallaway, "Education and Nation-Building in South Africa in the 1990s: Reforming History Education for the Post-Apartheid Era", (paper presented at the Fourth International Symposium on Educational Research at the University of Swaziland, 29 July-2 August, 1991), 5.

Commission (1981) suggested a wider economic participation of the blacks in a modernised workforce through technical and vocational education.[57] The Afrikaans-speaking teachers' union in the Transvaal, Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging, rejected the recommendations as threats to Afrikanerdom.[58] A parents' group, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), was established in 1986 and found the government proposals inimical to addressing structural inequality within South African society. NECC promoted 'People's Education' as an extra-mural alternative to apartheid education.[59]

The Department of Education revised the core syllabus in 1972 and 1983 and provincial departments revised the syllabi thereafter. The 1973 history syllabus for the Cape Province acknowledged 'the importance of critical thinking'.[60] The 1972 Transvaal syllabus listed aims such as 'the sharpening of critical ability, analytical talent and creative power' and 'learn[ing] to reason and think independently'.[61] Yet this syllabus also contained another goal: 'The fostering of firm principles and religious convictions.'[62] It seems that the syllabus failed to reconcile its paradox. Transvaal's 1985 syllabi featured the rhetoric of multiculturalism and cultural heritage. Among its aims was: 'the realization of the spiritual values which refine character so as to enable pupils to assume their place in society with the dignity of responsible citizenship'.[63] Under 'Attitudes', nine further aims featured in the Transvaal syllabus, including the development of loyalty to the student's own 'cultural group, nation, party and church to which he belongs, so as to develop an appreciation of his own identity. This may result in service'.[64] Likewise, the Natal syllabus hoped 'to contribute to the pupils' understanding and appreciation of the pupils' heritage and that of other peoples'

57 Peter Kallaway, "Introduction", in *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans,* ed. Peter Kallaway (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), 24 – 27.

58 Pam Christie, *The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), 270.

59 Colin Bundy, "Street Sociology and Pavement Politics: Aspects of Youth and Student Resistance in Cape Town, 1985", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, no. 3 (1987): 303 – 330; and Johan Muller, "People's Education and the National Education Crisis Committee", in *South African Review 4*, eds. Glenn Moss and Ingrid Obery (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1987), 18 – 32.

60 CED, "Syllabus for History [1973]", 336.

61 TED, *Syllabus for History Standards 5, 6, 7: June 1972* (Johannesburg: Lex Patria, 1972), 2.

62 Ibid., 2.

63 TED, *Syllabus for History Standard 5 and Ordinary Grade Standards 6 and 7: Implementation date 1985* (Johannesburg: Lex Patria, 1985), 5.

64 Ibid., 5. "He" and "his" in original. The aims prioritised personality moulding; group development; civic development; national development; cultural development; religious, ethical and moral development; social development; development of empathy; and interest in the subject. Ibid., 5 – 7.

cultures'.[65] These syllabi attempted to explain that history is useful in helping students to affirm their identity. Yet they tended to take cultural differences for granted, instead of making the differences the subject of enquiry.

Although the recognition of skills was to be found in the earlier syllabi, it was not until 1985 that education departments first appeared to respond to the business groups' calls for skills development that had been voiced since the 1970s. The Natal and Cape syllabi featured an identical and generalised statement. Both viewed history 'as an academic discipline and [a set of] intellectual skills and perspectives'.[66] Among the skills listed were 'the dimension of time, the importance of putting events in their historical context; conceptions and terminology and interpretations and perspectives of historical knowledge'.[67] The 1985 Transvaal syllabus defined skills as:

> 3.2.6. The ability to select and use information to substantiate or refute a declaration, argument, allegation, hypothesis or confusion.
> …
> 3.2.10. The ability to recognise motives, attitudes, bias, propaganda, exaggeration, falsification, trivialities, untruth in documents, books, films, television and reference works.
> 3.2.11. The ability to think objectively and critically, to create a hypothetical situation or present concrete evidence, to formulate alternative solutions and the ability to judge on available evidence.[68]

However, these syllabus alterations did not placate those who were dissatisfied with history education. In the mid-1980s dissent resurfaced from the white people. The Transvaal High School History Teachers' Association criticised the history syllabus and the Matriculation examinations as biased towards the Afrikaners. This time, the concern was not just the balance between the Afrikaner and British historical perspectives, but also the neglect of the black perspectives.[69] Controversy developed when the TED approved a history textbook, *History Standard Ten* by C. J. Joubert and J. J. Britz. It became the only textbook on the approved list, replacing, for example, A. N. Boyce's long-selling textbook of twenty-five years.[70] The Minister of National Education, Piet Clase, claimed

65 Natal Education Department (NED), *Syllabus for History Lower Grade Stds. 6 – 7* (Pietermaritzburg: NED,1985), 1.
66 CED, "Syllabus for History [1985]", 191; and NED, *Syllabus for History* [1985], 2.
67 CED, "Syllabus for History [1985]", 191; and NED, *Syllabus for History* [1985], 2.
68 TED, *Syllabus for History* [1985], 4.
69 The Transvaal High School History Teachers' Association was affiliated to the English-speaking union, the Transvaal Teachers' Association. Chernis, "The Past", 332 – 334.
70 In reviewing the textbook, Professor Colin Bundy criticised it as "anti-knowledge" and the "toxic waste of apartheid." Colin Bundy, *Re-making the Past: New Perspectives in South African History* (Cape Town: Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies, the University of Cape Town, 1986), 69.

that *History Standard Ten* was the only textbook submitted for certification.[71] It soon emerged that the TED had received five textbooks, including Boyce's.[72] The reasons for the rejection of the Boyce book were unclear, although it was alleged that the inclusion of black perspectives was the cause.[73] Members of the Transvaal English-speaking teachers' union were incensed by this incident, as were the Transvaal High School History Teachers' Association, parents' lobby groups and an opposition party, the Progressive Federal Party. *History Standard Ten* allegedly contained numerous errors and objectionable references to black people and to Afrikaner triumphalism. Clase and the TED ignored requests for the recall of the textbook.[74] The publisher, Perskor, eventually recalled and pulped about 10,000 copies.[75] Paradoxically, the TED announced in February 1988 that the textbook could remain in use until 1996, offsetting this announcement with a promise that additional textbooks would be available for use by April 1989.[76]

TED's attempt to shut out alternative historical interpretations emerged with its decision to reject the *History Alive* series. Since its launch in the mid-1980s, the TED had rejected a series of *History Alive* for Standards 7, 8 and 9 without explanation and approved the texts for lower Standards only after changes were made. In 1987, the publisher Shuter and Shooter decided not to submit the manuscript of *History Alive Standard 10* because they felt it was not worth risking its rejection. However, the text was approved for use in Natal, Coloured and Indian schools.[77] This episode reflected the screening and adoption systems in South Africa. The systems were administered separately by each provincial and 'ethnic' education department. Hence, it was possible for one textbook to be approved by one education department, but rejected by another. The publisher's decision against submission can be viewed as the ultimate form of control: self-censorship and withdrawal.

71 "TED History Book Storm Reaches Parliament", *The Star*, 5 September 1987, 5.
72 "TED Gets 5 History Setwork Submissions", *Business Day*, 8 September 1987, 1.
73 "TED Rejects a More 'Balanced' Version of SA History", *The Star*, 3 June 1987, 15.
74 "Ending Paternalism for the Parents", *The Star*, 17 September 1987, 10; "History as She is Still Being Wrote [sic] in the Transvaal", *Business Day*, 18 September 1987, 6; and "Publisher Won't Deal With TED", *Business Day*, 25 September 1987, 2.
75 However, the TED claimed it was not aware of the pulping. "Through the Past Darkly", *The Sunday Times*, 29 April 1990, 10.
76 "Long Stay for Controversial History Books", *Business Day*, 17 February 1988, 3.
77 "Publisher Won't Deal with TED", 2.

The Transition Period: Struggle for a New Education System

By the early 1990s, the struggle between the government and the outlawed oppositional African National Congress (ANC) reached a stalemate. Meanwhile, the government sought to reform the education systems on its own terms. Key reforms involved the end of central funding to schools and an ethnicity-based admissions policy in 1991. The new policies were predicated on a self-financing and self-administering philosophy.[78] Teachers who were critical of the government now began to voice their opposition to apartheid education by forming small-scale associations. In March 1990, a strike involving 6,000 teachers in Johannesburg spawned solidarity strike actions in the Transvaal and further marches and rallies over conditions and pay.[79]

From the late 1980s onwards, new national education policy initiatives were articulated by government-established and privately-established lobbies. History education came under the spotlight. Two significant events took place. The first was the government-commissioned investigation into history teaching in 1988. The government-sponsored team, seventy-five percent of whom were white Afrikaner males, investigated future models for teaching history in post-apartheid South Africa.[80] In a government report, the educationist Martin Trümpelmann proposed a new curriculum where 'a particular sensitivity for commonalities and differences are essential. This definitely does not mean betraying group loyalties, but rather acknowledging that a group exists in relation to other groups and should preferably interact harmoniously with them'.[81] This rationale for history teaching drew criticism. The education historian Peter Kallaway dismissed this model as recycling the apartheid idiom of separate development while preserving the Afrikaner privileges and failing to address the iniquitous education system that hindered a cohesive and democratic South Africa.[82]

The second development was two textbook colloquia held in 1993. These meetings involved textbook writers, history educationists, academic historians and teachers representing diverse political and educational persuasions, but no government official or textbook publisher. The colloquia were significant be-

78 NEPI, *Curriculum*, 23. The desegregation policy also affected Indian and Coloured schools that began taking students of other races. Segregation at private schools had ended in 1986. Ibid., 23.

79 Hartshorne, *Crisis*, 323.

80 Stephen Lowry, "A Critique of the History Curriculum in South Africa", *Perspectives in Education* 16, no. 1 (1995): 108.

81 Martin Trümpelmann, "History Teaching in the RSA: A Rationale", *The Teaching of History in the Republic of South Africa: HSRC Education Research Programme no. 27, sub-report B*, Human Science Research Council (Pretoria: HSRC, 1992), 6.

82 Kallaway, "Education and Nation-Building", 30.

cause they were the first opportunities for the participants to freely discuss history textbooks and syllabi. This initiative was justified because the various participants had held antagonistic views for so long.[83] The workshops decided that '[t]he curriculum should reflect advances in the discipline of history and in history education, locally and internationally, and should be sensitive to recent and current debates within specific areas of research', and '[i]t is essential that the process of publishing, recommending and selecting history textbooks be transparent, open and fair'.[84]

Actual syllabus revision began after the country's first democratic elections in April 1994. Despite their overwhelming victory, the ANC could not implement policies single-handedly. The ANC was required to form a Government of National Unity with the second and third highest polling parties, the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It has to be remembered that the educational bureaucracy was dominated by the Afrikaners. The newly proposed Curriculum 2005 amalgamated history into 'human and social science' and sidelined it in favour of mathematics and science.[85] Further frustration with history syllabus reform was expressed by the new Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bengu. He invited public submissions on interim syllabi, including history, for implementation in January 1995, the beginning of the academic year.[86] A vital condition stipulated that new textbooks 'only … remove bias and factual incorrectness from syllabuses in the immediate future, without replacing textbooks'.[87] 'However, the accent can be shifted. Instead of looking from the standpoint of Europe towards South Africa, it has been decided to use South Africa as a standpoint to look outwards'.[88]

The 1995 interim syllabus seems to demonstrate the constraints of 'the essential alterations' and the differences among the provinces. Kros reports that Stephen Lowry, the convenor of the history sub-committee of the National Ed-

83 Rob Siebörger, "Reconceptualising South African School History Textbooks", *South African Historical Journal* 30 (1994): 99 and 102.

84 Rob Siebörger, ed. *New History Textbooks for South Africa* (Manzini: Macmillan Boleswa, 1994), 3 and 19 respectively.

85 Kros, "Telling Lies", 86; and Siebörger, "Textbook Production", 232.

86 For detailed accounts see June Bam, "A Critique of the Interim History Curriculum for Schools", (paper presented at Future of the Past conference, the University of the Western Cape, July 1996); June Bam, "The 'Hidden Hand' in School History", (paper presented at South African Historical Society Biennial Conference, the University of the Western Cape, July 1999); and Lowry, "Critique", 105 – 130.

87 S. M. Bengu (The Department of Education), "Public Comment is Invited on Essential Alterations to School Syllabuses", advertised nationally in, *inter alia*, *The Sowetan*, 24 August 1994, 11 and *The Argus*, 24 August 1994, 28. For a thorough background and analysis to Bengu's initiative, see Jonathan Jansen, "'Essential Alterations?' A Critical Analysis of the State's Syllabus Revision Process", *The Educational Journal* 66, no. 1 (1996): 6 – 11 and 16.

88 Kwa-Zulu Natal Education Department, *Interim Syllabus for History* (1995), (n.p.) 4.

ucation Training Framework (NETF), the governmental curriculum revision forum, recalled that many of the NETF's suggestions were not reflected in the new syllabi. In Lowry's opinion, the gazetted version of Standards 2 – 7 history syllabi rejected many suggested changes and the Standards 8 – 10 syllabi contained 'only about 10 %' of the NETF history sub-committee's recommendations.[89]

Japanese Education

Post-war reform in Japan envisioned demilitarisation and democratisation. The American-led Allied Occupation authorities believed that post-war education could cultivate a democratic Japan for they had regarded wartime education as a powerful tool in inculcating fervent nationalism and militarism in Japanese children. Now, Mombushô came under the authority of the Civil Information and Education Department (CI&E) of the General Head Quarters (GHQ) of the Allied Occupation. Mombushô was to reconstruct a new model of history education, including the rewriting of curricula and textbooks under the authority of the CI&E.[90]

Post-war education reform initiatives came from both the Japanese and the GHQ. The Japanese cabinet got in first. Two weeks before the formal surrender on 2nd September 1945, it terminated military training in schools and ordered the deletion of any nationalistic references in textbooks.[91]

The majority of teachers welcomed the reforms and sought to confront their wartime roles in inculcating nationalism in school children.[92] Article 26 of the new constitution guaranteed the right to education. Clause 1 guarantees that compulsory and free education will be provided. However, Clause 2 says that it is the duty of parents and guardians to ensure that their children receive compulsory education. Paradoxically, Article 23 guarantees the freedom of educa-

89 Kros, *Trusting to the Process*, 9 quoting Centre for Education Policy Development History Task Team, *Report on Activities, 9 April 1995*, unpublished document.

90 Kôno Yasuko, *Nihon no rekishi dai 24 kan: Sengo to kôdo seichô no shûetsu* [A History of Japan 24: Post-war and the End of High Economic Growth] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2002), 28 – 29.

91 The policy was popularly known as *'suminuri'* ('black out'). It did not stipulate exactly which phrases or sentences had to be 'blacked out', causing much variation of blackout in texts. The blackout made students aware that wartime education was no longer legitimate. Yoko Thakur, "Textbook Reform in Allied Occupied Japan, 1945 – 52" (PhD diss., the University of Maryland, 1990), 169 and 264 – 265.

92 John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 246 – 251.

tion.[93] This was further reinforced by the Fundamental Law of Education (FLE) promulgated in March 1947. Article 10 prohibits the state's usurpation of education for political and militaristic purposes, stating, '[e]ducation shall not be subjected to improper control, but it shall be directly responsible to the whole people'.[94] The reform purged nationalistic teachers while allowing teachers to form trade unions. Eiji Takemae cites that between May 1946 and April 1949 a total of 119,700 teachers, twenty-four percent of the teaching staff, were either purged or resigned on their own accord, resulting in a substantial teacher shortage.[95] Following the mergers of various teachers' unions, Nikkyôso was formed in June 1947. It became one of the largest public sector unions in Japan with 446,000 members and espoused left-wing political persuasions.[96] Democratisation in education also entailed the establishment of publicly elected local Committees of Education as a counterweight to the centralised Mombushô.[97]

The curriculum documents of this time indicate a new educational resolve. The 1947 social studies curriculum rhetorically asked: 'It is said that our nation should be reconstructed as a peaceful cultural nation state. What must be done in order [for Japan] to become such a nation state?'[98] Patriotism crept back into the 1951 'Japanese history' curriculum, which encouraged students 'to possess deep affection and respect towards the homeland and the nation, and to develop the attitude and the ability to cordially interact with the people from the various countries of the world'.[99] These statements seem to suggest that Mombushô envisaged the reconstruction of post-war Japan as a 'cultural nation'.[100]

93 Teruhisa Horio, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom*, ed. and trans. Steven Platzer (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), 110 – 111.

94 Official English translation of the FLE, ibid., 401.

95 Eiji Takemae, *Inside GHQ*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 352.

96 At the time of its inception, ninety-eight percent of the members were primary-school teachers. Robert W. Aspinall, *Teachers' Unions and the Politics of Education in Japan* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 25.

97 Leonard Schoppa, *Education Reform in Japan: A Case of Immobilist Politics* (London: Routledge, 1991), 33.

98 Mombushô, *Gakushû shidô yôryô shakaika hen (II) (dai 7 gakunen – dai 10 gakunen) shian* [Course of Studies: Social Studies (II) (Years 7 to 10) Suggested Plans] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1947), 140.

99 Mombushô, *Chûgakkô, kôtôgakkô shakaika hen (II) ippan shakaika (Chûgakkô 1 nen – kôtôgakkô 1 nen, chûgakkô Nihonshi o fukumu) shian kaitei ban* [Middle and High School Social Studies (II), General Social Studies (From Middle School Year 1 to High School Year 1, including Middle-School Japanese History) Revised Suggested Plans] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1951), 118.

100 Edward Beauchamp, "Reforming Education in Postwar Japan: American Planning for a Democratic Japan, 1943 – 1946", *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 11, no. 1 (1995): 72; and Tôyama Shigeki, *Sengo no rekishigaku to rekishi ishiki* (2001 nen ban) [Post-war Hi-

The statements in the 1947 and 1951 curricula, which openly supported scientific and rational approaches to history while criticising 'the feudal mindset' and welcoming democracy, disappeared in the subsequent curricula. One of the seven aims in the 1947 Year 9 social studies unit, 'Our Heritage of Cultural Relics from the Past' proclaimed that '[students will] develop the skills to always think rationally without being swayed by unscientific customs and superstitions, and to treat matters scientifically'.[101] The 1951 document repeats the criticisms of 'the feudal mindset'. In a unit titled 'What was society like in the era of regional castles?' it reads: 'In a society marching towards democracy, middle-school students may often hear the word "feudal". Today, this is viewed as a cancer in the development of contemporary society.'[102]

Textbooks also came under the scope of the reform initiatives. Wartime history textbooks were compiled and published by Mombushô. The Allied Occupation saw them as propaganda tools, promoting an 'emperor-centric' view of Japanese history and a chauvinistic mindset. The occupation authorities demanded that Japanese historians write new history textbooks. The project stalled as authors and the authorities could not agree on the introduction of suppressed archaeological evidence and the treatment of ancient chronicles. It was these chronicles that legitimised the mythical origins of the Japanese imperial family and Japan's imperial ventures in Asia.[103]

A new textbook project was hastily launched. This resulted in new textbooks approved for use in the latter half of 1946, one of which was the primary-school textbook, *Kuni no ayumi*, to which the historian Professor Ienaga Saburô contributed as one of the authors. Mombushô's reluctance aside, the new texts met the GHQ demands. The texts removed the wartime dogma and replaced the mythical past with the archaeological origins of Japan. However, left-wing intellectuals maintained that these new textbooks had not sufficiently removed the state dogma, because they allegedly retained the emperor-centric trait and paid inadequate attention to ordinary people.[104]

storiography and Historical Consciousness, year 2001 ed.] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001 [1968]), 26 and 32.

101 Mombushô, *COS: Social Studies* [1947], 140.

102 Mombushô, *COS: Japanese History* [1951], 132.

103 John Caiger, "Ienaga Saburo and the First Postwar Japanese History Textbook", *Modern Asian Studies* 3, no. 1 (1969): 6.

104 John S. Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600 – 1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 205; and Kimijima Kazuhiko, *Kyôkasho no shisô: Nihon to Kankoku no kingendaishi* [Ideologies in Textbooks: Contemporary Histories of Japan and Korea] (Tokyo: Suzusawa Shoten, 1996), 274.

Reverse Course

After the initial burst of enthusiasm for reform, there followed a period of consolidation of the right-wing orthodoxy in Japanese politics, giving way to continuities between pre-war and post-war Japan and its education system.[105] These were ensured by the crucial decision from the head of the GHQ, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur. He decided to retain Hirohito as the Emperor to maintain Japan's social fibre and to help MacArthur execute his reforms smoothly. Despite Hirohito's preparedness to abdicate, the imperial family and the conservatives hoped to keep the imperial institution alive and dissuaded Hirohito from abdication. MacArthur and the GHQ were feeling the pressure of what was to become the Cold War. They believed that Hirohito's abdication would allow socialists and communists to dominate national politics. Japan could adopt democracy while maintaining the imperial family, which involved Hirohito reinventing himself as a human being.[106] The GHQ collaborated with the existing Japanese bureaucracy to execute the reform in order to avoid greater confusion among the Japanese people and a time-consuming overhaul of the machineries of state. This ironically empowered the Japanese bureaucracy to negotiate or even resist the GHQ initiatives.[107]

One outcome was that Mombushô eventually gained power over education and textbook policies. 'Reverse course' entailed both a 'red purge' and a 'depurge' by the Japanese and American authorities around 1950 when the Korean War began. The red purge led to the dismissal of those suspected of being sympathetic to left-wing causes and trade unions. According to Nakamura Masanori, a total of 13,000 private and public sector workers were ousted, while the 'depurge' reinstated another 13,000 right-wingers and former military personnel who had previously been ousted.[108]

The reversal of education reform was assured in October 1953. The chief of the Liberal Party's Policy Research Committee, Ikeda Hayato, and American Assistant Secretary of State, Walter Robertson, then agreed on the reintroduction of a form of patriotic education. It aimed to curb the allegedly left-wing tendencies

105 For a comprehensive account of 'reverse course', see Takemae's, *Inside GHQ*, especially Part V, "Policy Shifts and Aftermaths".

106 Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Perennial, 2001), 541 – 545; Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, chap. 9.

107 Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 560 – 561.

108 Nakamura Masanori, "1950 – 60 nendai no Nihon" ["Japan of the 1950s and the 1960s"] in *Iwanami kôza Nihon tsûshi dai 20 kan: Gendai 1* [Iwanami Series of Comprehensive History of Japan, vol. 20, Contemporary History 1], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanimi Shoten, 1995), 8 – 9.

of post-war education in order to secure American economic aid.[109] As part of the agreement, Japan would fortify its defence capacities and promised 'to nurture the atmosphere of a voluntary spirit of patriotism and self-defence through education or publicity'.[110]

While the merger in 1955 of the Liberal and Democratic Parties into the LDP paved the way for a long reign, tensions over history education and textbooks ran higher as the 'reverse course' was set in motion. Mombushô implemented measures that effectively restricted textbook publication on two fronts: ministerial regulations on textbook screening and determining textbook contents by means of the curriculum. Conservative politicians' campaigns to 'normalise' education by undoing what they saw as excessive reforms formed the backdrop to these measures.[111] Textbooks became a target of the conservative backlash.

In 1955, the Democratic Party published a three-part pamphlet, *Ureubeki kyôkasho no mondai* [Deplorable Textbook Problems]. It alleged exploitative commercial practices by publishers, such as high prices and selling supplementary materials with textbooks. The series also claimed that the left-wing textbooks violated the political neutrality of education.[112] Following this campaign, an extra-ministerial government body, Kôsei Torihiki Iinkai (the Fair Trade Commission), issued a notice which prohibited publishers from promoting supplementary materials and offering bribes to teachers, school administrators and personnel.[113] However, the notice lacked legal power and did not delineate illicit practices. This was because it relied on self-restraint (*jishuku*) by publishers, which was often said to be lacking.[114]

Fuelling the conservatives' allegations of 'deplorable textbooks', anecdotal

109 Horio, *Educational Thought*, 147.

110 Tokutake Toshio, *Kyôkasho no sengoshi* [A History of Textbooks in the Post-war Period] (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1995), 86 citing a quote in *Asashi Shimbun*, 25 October 1953.

111 Horio, *Educational Thought*, 146.

112 Ibid., 172; and Nihon Minshutô Kyôkasho Mondai Tokubetsu Iinkai, ed., [Japan Democratic Party Special Committee on Textbook Issues] *Ureubeki kyôkasho no mondai 1* [Problems with Deplorable Textbooks] (Tokyo: Nihon Minshutô, 1955). In this volume, Part 1 alleges fierce and corrupt sales practices by publishers, Part 2 criticises the left-leaning tendencies of textbooks, and Part 3 targets Nikkyôso and the left-wingers for tainting textbooks.

113 The decree was The Law Concerning Unethical Business Practice by Textbook Publishers, the Fair Trading Commission, decree 5, 20 December 1956, cited in Mombukagakushô Shotô Chûto Kyôkakyôikukyoku (Primary and Secondary School Section, MEXT), "Kyôkasho seido no gaiyô" (Tokyo: MEXT, 2005), Monbukagakushô, http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/gaiyou/04060901/all.pdf (accessed 25 August 2005), 21 – 22. This decree was repealed in 2006, but textbooks came under anti-trust law. MEXT, "Kyôkasho saitaku no kôsei kakuho" ["Securing Fair Adoption of Textbooks"], http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/gaiyou/04060901/007.htm (accessed 22 July 2010).

114 MEXT, "Kyôkasho seido no gaiyô", 21 – 22.

accounts pointed to overzealous sales practices by sales representatives bordering on corruption such as giving gifts, including cash, gift vouchers and clothes as well as inviting textbook screening members to restaurants for meals and holding 'study groups' for teachers, in which teachers expected the publishers to 'look after' them.[115] In 1961, the Osaka police interviewed 170 middle-school teachers and even arrested some for receiving bribes from textbook publishers.[116]

Later, Mombushô's grip on textbooks tightened. In 1963, Mombushô decided to purchase textbooks on behalf of all students in compulsory education and then distribute them free of charge to students. Meanwhile, Mombushô imposed conditions on the staff and finances of publishers, which pushed financially weak publishers out of the market (Table 5).[117] It could be speculated, as the statistics by Kyôkasho Repôto have suggested over time, that these strictures may have resulted in a handful of publishers holding dominating the market (Table 6). Yet, illicit practices persisted. A trade union of textbook publishers, Shuppan Rôren (the Japan Federation of Publishing Workers' Unions), claimed that despite the prohibition by the Fair Trade Commission, teachers still expected kickbacks. The publishers were vulnerable to teachers' expectations of seasonal gifts. The practice was alleged to be common at high schools which adopted their textbooks.[118] A former Mombushô textbook screening officer, Satô Kômei, observed that local politicians often wielded their clout over textbook adoption. Suspicion of a link between the politicians and textbook companies increased when sales of one textbook improved dramatically within a short period.[119]

115 Kakinuma Masayoshi, "Mombushô no kyôkasho shihai wa kokomade kiteiru" ["Mombushô Has Come This Far to Control Textbooks"] in *Mombushô no kenkyû: Kyôiku no jiyû to kenri o kangaeru* [Study on Mombushô: Thoughts on the Freedom and the Right to Education], eds. Sakamoto Hideo and Yamamoto Kôzô (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobô, 1992), 190. Kakinuma consults Hirata Munefumi, *Kyôiku Oshoku: Sono Rekishi to Jittai* (Tokyo: Keishusha, 1981).

116 Kakinuma, "Mombushô no shihai", 190.

117 Yamazumi Masami, "Educational Democracy versus State Control", in *Democracy in Contemporary Japan,* eds. Gavan McCormack and Yoshio Sugimoto (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1986), 97; and Kawashima Minemori, "Kyôkasho o kôsokusuru mono" ["What Restricts Textbooks"], in *Kyôkasho ronsô o koete* [Beyond Textbook Controversy], eds. Kakinuma Masayoshi and Nagano Tsuneo (Tokyo: Hihyôsha, 1998), 98.

118 Shuppan Rôren Kyôkasho Taisaku Iinkai (SRKTI), *Kyôkasho repôto* [Textbook Report] 23 (1979): 34; and SRKTI, *Kyôkasho repôto* 24 (1980): 11.

119 Satô Kômei, *Kyôkasho kentei no gemba kara: 17 nenkan no insaidâ repôto* [From the Coalface of Textbook Screening: An Insider Report from Seventeen Years of Experience] (Tokyo: Waseda Shuppan, 1987), 323 – 334.

Table 5: The Number of Publishers for Middle-school Textbooks per Subject, per Screening Round (1950 – 65) and per Adoption Round (1966 – 97), Selected Subjects

Subject\year 19–	50	55	61	66	69	72	75	78	81	84	87	90	93	97
Japanese	11	18	17	10	7	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5
Geography	–	24	20	9	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	7
History	8	27	19	9	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	7	8	7
Civics	–	24	19	10	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	7	8	7
Mathematics	11	18	19	9	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Science	9	16	15	8	7	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
English	16	17	12	8	7	5	4	5	5	5	6	6	7	7

Source: S.R.K.T.I., *Kyôkasho repôto* 41 (1997): 59.
Note: '–' denotes 'data unavailable'.

Table 6: Market Share of the Top Three Publishers out of Total Sales of Middle-school Textbooks (selected subjects, expressed in percentages), 1981 – 97

Year\subject	Japanese	Geography	History	Civics	Maths	Science	English
1981	86.0	70.6	65.1	68.1	81.0	90.9	91.8
1984	86.6	71.9	66.4	70.0	79.0	88.8	91.0
1987	92.4	77.6	67.5	70.5	77.4	88.2	88.6
1990	89.6	78.2	67.8	74.4	78.1	88.4	87.2
1993	88.5	76.3	68.1	72.4	77.9	89.7	81.7
1997	87.9	81.2	78.3	79.4	78.4	91.0	82.8

Source: SRKTI, *Kyôkasho repôto* 41 (1997): 60.

Meanwhile, Kyôkasho hôan (the Textbook Bill) of 1956 delegated the adoption of textbooks to prefectural rather than regional committees of education within each prefecture. The regions thus had to forego their decision-making independence and abide by the decisions of larger jurisdictions. The bill also limited the choice of textbooks to about three per subject per level. This bill triggered mass demonstrations and a walkout by 500,000 Nikkyôso members, joined by several lobby groups.[120] Although the action succeeded in forcing the government to retract the Textbook Bill and its limitations on the choice of textbooks, Mombushô implemented ministerial regulations which did not require parliamentary discussions or approval. These regulations effectively controlled the production of school textbooks.[121]

In 1956, Mombushô formalised and tightened the textbook screening that had begun in 1948. It increased the number of textbook screening officers from

120 Benjamin Duke, *Japan's Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-wing Teachers' Movement* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1973), 133.
121 Aspinall, *Teachers' Unions*, 41.

sixteen to eighty. These were Mombushô employees, that is, bureaucrats. In the 1956 certification round, Mombushô rejected a third of all textbooks submitted for approval.[122] The changes introduced in 1956 departed from the previous system. Mombushô had employed teams of five examiners, mostly school teachers and university lecturers, temporarily.[123] As Mutsumi Hirano observes, the use of Mombushô's own employees to examine textbooks attracted criticism from opposition political parties on at least two grounds. Firstly, unlike elected officials or parliamentarians, the bureaucrats were not subject to the same degree of public accountability. Secondly, there was the possibility of the bureaucrats' political and ideological persuasions influencing the screening results.[124] Consequently, many left-leaning textbook authors abandoned textbook writing in protest.[125]

Another route Mombushô pursued during the 'reverse course' was to secure control over textbooks by means of curriculum changes. The revised curriculum from 1958 deleted *shian* ('suggested plan') from the official title and became a legally binding document. The deletion was seen by many as Mombushô flexing its muscles to control educational content and pedagogy.[126] The tone of the curriculum documents since 1958 also changed. The 1958 curriculum directs teachers to 'consider the developmental stages of students, and limit teaching to the understanding of the basic matters after carefully selecting the names of individuals and places, and epochs. Exercise discretion not to delve into sophisticated matters such as religion, thought, academic disciplines and complex social structures.'[127] These directives survived into the 1977 and 1989 curricula: 'Consider students' developmental stages, and avoid delving into abstract and sophisticated materials, and complex social structures. Plan lessons by concentrating on the basic historical events that highlight the characteristics of each historical era.'[128] The curricula frequently instruct teachers 'not to delve into details' and to 'carefully select' teaching materials without giving precise guidelines.

122 Tokutake, *Sengoshi*, 98 – 99 and 101.

123 Kimijima, *Kyôkasho no shisô*, 182; and Nozaki, "History Textbook Controversy", 279. According to Kimijima Kazuhiko and Tokutake Toshio, the provision of textbook examiners as full-time employees of Mombushô in the 1956 Mombushô regulations had been recycled from the Textbook Bill which had been defeated. Kimijima, *Kyôkasho no shisô*, 183; and Tokutake, *Sengoshi*, 100.

124 Mutsumi Hirano, *History Education and International Relations: A Case Study of Diplomatic Disputes over Japanese Textbooks* (Folkestone, UK: Global Oriental, 2009), 139.

125 SRKTI, *Kyôkasho repôto* 1 (1957): 9; and Tokutake, *Sengoshi*, 94 and 117.

126 Horio, *Educational Thought*, 151; and Tokutake, *Sengoshi*, 107 – 108.

127 Mombushô, *Chûgakkô gakushû shidô yôryô* [Middle-School Course of Studies] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1958), 40.

128 Mombushô, *Chûgakkô gakushû shidô yôryô* [Middle-School Course of Studies] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1989), 29.

Furthermore, Mombushô also tightened the alignment between the curriculum and textbooks by introducing an internal textbook screening regulation. The 1958 screening standards for social studies texts say that '[i]n the light of the aims and the contents of the subject, level and the curriculum, there is no lack of the necessary material.'[129] The screening standards issued between 1968 and 1976 insisted that 'in the light of the aims and contents of the curriculum, there should be no particularly unnecessary material featured in textbooks.'[130] Put differently, these regulations stipulated that textbooks feature all the prescribed items and add no additional material, thus increasing the power of the curriculum.

The tenor of the curriculum statements also changed following the 'reverse course'. These pertained to, *inter alia*, the nature and approach to history as a discipline. Compared with earlier curricula, the curricula after 1955 made few overly idealistic statements. These later curricula included legendary accounts in the ancient history section without rejecting a scientific approach to history. The 1955 curriculum presents two seemingly conflicting aims:

> Through the study of Japanese myths and legends, get students to think of the forms of worship and outlooks of the ancient Japanese people, while also mentioning those of foreign countries. Make students aware of the differences and similarities. … Develop an inclination and ability to comprehend myths and legends academically and to understand history by treating such material scientifically.[131]

One aim highlights the importance of the ancient belief systems relative to 'the ways of seeing things' in antiquity, while another encourages students to develop 'scientific' and 'academic' understanding of 'myths and legends'. These statements are repeated in the 1958 curriculum: 'It is desirable that [teachers] properly treat myths and legends presented in the classics [ancient chronicles], and how the people of the time worshipped and saw things'.[132] The subsequent curricula followed suit: 'When dealing with [prehistoric] Jômon and Yayoi cultures, draw on the benefits of archaeology and other scientific disciplines. … [W]hen teaching prehistory, it is necessary to explain that myths and legends were compiled into chronicles, and to mention how the people at that time saw

129 Mombushô, *Kyôkayô tosho kentei kijun* [Textbook Screening Standards (hereafter referred in the translated title)] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1958), chap. 2.2.1.3 (1), 9.

130 Mombushô, *Textbook Screening Standards* (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1968), chap. 2.2.1.1 (2), 13. This prohibition is repeated in subsequent editions published in 1971, 1973 and 1976, see Mombushô, *Textbook Screening Standards* (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1971, 1973 and 1976), chap. 2.2.1.1 (2), 10; chap. 2.2.1.1 (2), 10; chap. 2.2.1.1 (1), 10, respectively.

131 Mombushô, *Chûgakkô gakushû shidô yôryô* [Middle-School Course of Studies] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1955), 22.

132 Mombushô, *COS* [1958], 34.

things and worshipped.'[133] Taken together, the curriculum documents presented myths and legends as historical sources possessing the same validity as archaeology. However, unlike the previous curricula, the reverse course curricula do not distinguish between different natures and functions of scientific and rational approaches to history, on the one hand, and those of myths and legends on the other. Coupled with the changes on textbook screening regulations and the curriculum, it could be suggested that the dual endorsement of 'unscientific' legendary and mythical accounts and archaeology would appear as an implicit permission for textbooks to introduce the emperor-centric view of the Japanese state.[134]

Ienaga Textbook Trial

The tension over textbooks found a new height in the mid-1960s. In the 1964 screening round, Mombushô ordered Professor Ienaga Saburô to correct over 300 references in his high-school history textbook manuscript.[135] The two most well-known objections that Mombushô raised concerned the ancient chronicles, *Kojiki* (*A Chronicle of Ancient Matters*) (712 CE) and *Nihon shoki (A Chronicle of Japan*) (720 CE), and the descriptions of Japan's wartime atrocities. His manuscript stated that the two chronicles were based on mythologies and used to legitimise the imperial family's authority over the Japanese state. Furthermore, Mombushô judged that Ienaga's manuscript conveyed an overly bleak impression of Japan's role in the Pacific War.[136]

Ienaga decided that Mombushô had violated the constitutional rights to freedom of education, thoughts and conscience, as well as Article 10 of the FLE prohibiting the government from 'improper control over education'.[137] In 1965, he filed the first of three lawsuits. The final verdict was reached on the third

133 Mombushô, *Chûgakkô gakushû shidô yôryô* [Middle-School Course of Studies] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1969), 42. The 1977 and 1989 curricula contain similar phrases: *Mombushô*, *Chûgakkô gakushû shidô yôryô* [Middle-School Course of Studies] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1977), 27; and Mombushô, *COS* [1989], 29.

134 See above n. 99 on p. 40, and the next section below.

135 Yoshiko Nozaki and Hiromitsu Inokuchi, "Japanese Education, Nationalism and Ienaga Saburô's Textbook Lawsuits", in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*, eds. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000), 107 – 108.

136 Tokutake, *Sengoshi*, 149 – 150.

137 For further details of the Ienaga trials, see; George Hicks, *Japan's War Memories: Amnesia or Concealment?* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), chap. 7; Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education", 107 – 122; and Yoshiko Nozaki, *War, Memory, Nationalism and Education in Postwar Japan, 1945 – 2007: The Japanese History Textbook Controversy and Ienaga Saburô's Court Challenges* (London: Routledge, 2008).

lawsuit in 1997. Whether the verdicts in these trials had a tangible impact on textbooks is uncertain. Yet as Yoshiko Nozaki and Hiromitsu Inokuchi suggest, Ienaga's lawsuits kept Mombushô under intense public scrutiny and forced Mombushô to disclose textbook screening staff and procedures.[138]

The court proceedings exposed fundamental differences in what constitutes historical knowledge. Nozaki scrutinises the two positions presented in the court hearings. On the one hand, Ienaga and his supporters argued that history was a scientific discipline; interpretation and information were open to rigorous scrutiny. Hence, textbooks should incorporate new findings and reflect a diversity of interpretations. On the other hand, Nozaki summarises Mombushô's concept of history as follows:

> In many cases, a strict adherence to the objectivist or empiricist position was used to rationalize the deletion of descriptions [Mombushô] did not want to be included in textbooks. That position was used to close down the possibility of alternative or oppositional views, interpretations, and narratives. In some cases, the relativist and pluralist position was used to insert nationalist and imperialist views of historical events (e. g., a glorification of mass suicide in the Battle of Okinawa) into the textbooks, so as to downplay the alternative and oppositional views.[139]

Evidently the two camps operated on different principles of history. The court proceedings exposed Mombushô's rationale. Mombushô's insistence on objectivity and empiricism may be explained by the intellectual bedrock of Japanese historiography. Yang Daqing, the American-based historian, acknowledges that East Asian history writing is under the enduring influence of a 'positivist notion of scientifically verifiable "historical facts"'.[140] To better explain how such differences in what constitutes historical knowledge emerged, it is necessary to address historiographical influences on the Japanese academy.

Two approaches to Japanese history writing were influential: the chronicle and *akademizumu*. In the chronicle approach, historical events unfold chronologically, punctuated by changes of rulers. The chronicle approach dates back to the beginning of the writing of history in Japan in the eighth century CE. Two chronicles, *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, relate myths and legends about Japan's origins and the deeds of deities during 'the Ages of Gods'. The Sun Goddess, Amaterasu Ômikami, is said to have created the Japanese archipelago and the

138 Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education", 109 – 111.

139 Nozaki, *War Memory*, 120.

140 Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past within Us: Media, Memory, History.* (London: Verso, 2005), 10 citing Yang Daqing, "'Regime of Truth' and Possibilities of Trans-National History in Japan and China", in *Can We Write History? Between Postmodernism and Coarse Nationalism: Workshop Proceedings for the Academic Frontier Project, 19 March 2002*, ed. Institute for International Studies, Meiji Gakuin University (Yokohama: Meiji Gakuin University, 2003), 112 – 113.

line of imperial descent. *Nihon shoki* names Jinmu as the first emperor whose reign began in 660 BCE. To legitimate its governance, the Yamato court, the ancestor of today's imperial family, relied on the Chinese chronicle style of narrating the rule of dynasties. Even though this account is discredited among professional historians and replaced by scientific and archaeological explanations, the chronicle approach has still long been regarded as 'standard or orthodox history' (*seishi*).[141]

The importation of Rankean historiography into the nineteenth century Japanese academy seems to have formalised the orthodoxy of the chronicle approach and developed into *'akademizumu'*. Its chief tenets were 'history as science', the use of documentary evidence as the primary evidence, and an insistence on the impartiality of the historian.[142] Its appeal was based on its potential to stand apart from the moralistic impetus of the Confucians who distorted the evidence, from the dynastic approach that overlooked socio-economic and cultural history and also from the chronicle approach which seemed simplistic to modern eyes.[143] Without direct evidence it is difficult to ascertain if Mombushô expressed its endorsement of the chronicle approach and *akademizumu*. But, as Nozaki has pointed out with respect to Mombushô's adherence to objectivity and empiricism, there appear to be similarities between these two historiographical approaches and Mombushô's concepts and policies for textbooks and history curriculum.

High Growth Era and the Economic Rationale of Education

In the 1960s, Mombushô began to respond to industry's call to prepare the youth for the workforce and to instil a kind of economic nationalism couched in the idiom of national good.[144] Mombushô's 1966 document, *Kitai sareru Nihonjin zô* [The Images of the Desirable Japanese (hereafter *Images*)], proclaimed that education in Japan should recognise the importance of the formation of 'a people possessed of self-awareness as Japanese; as members of society who value the dignity of employment and the virtue of labour; as individuals with a strong will

141 Brownlee, *Japanese Historians*, Introduction, esp. 3 – 5; Margaret Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 6.

142 Morris-Suzuki, *The Past within Us*, 10; and Mehl, *History and the* State, 104.

143 Brownlee, *Japanese Historians*, 80.

144 Bai Gao, "The Search for National Identity and Japanese Industrial Policy, 1950 – 1969", *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 2 (1998): 228; and Fujita Hidenori, *Kyôiku kaikaku: Kyôsei jidai no gakkô zukuri* [Education Reform: Schools for Co-existence] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 20.

who are independent and autonomous'.[145] Its final section promotes: 'possessing proper patriotism'; 'possessing a sense of awe towards the symbol [of the state, i. e., the emperor]'; and 'to develop positive national characteristics'.[146] Such expectations of patriotism from students immediately galvanised critics to view *Images* as a reversion to wartime education and nationalism. But Mombushô's will to use education towards economic and patriotic ends testifies to its confidence.[147]

Alongside the questions of nationalism and history education, conflicting attitudes towards Japan's wartime past emerged during the 1960s. The booming 1960s, symbolised by mass consumption and an increase in leisure pursuits, rapidly turned wartime memories into the fossils of an unwanted past.[148] Oguma Eiji argues a generational shift in the intellectual scenes occurred and consolidated 'the second post-war'. Both left- and right-wing intellectuals without strong memories of wartime socialisation replaced their predecessors who had reached adulthood during the war.[149] On the contrary, the Vietnam war and Japan's role in it aroused the conscience of those who opposed the war and engendered a public awareness of the Japanese as aggressors towards their Asian neighbours during the Asia Pacific wars, rather than as victims of their own military and Allied attacks. The court decided in favour of Professor Ienaga in 1970 and history textbooks of the early 1970s began to include references to the Japanese military's wartime actions and Japan's imperial ventures.[150]

While the textbooks from that time seem to incorporate new findings, Mombushô was steadily reinforcing its textbook screening regulations. One regulation which has appeared since 1968 states: 'There should be no partial interpretation without sufficient consideration [of the alternatives]. Nor should there be categorical statements about topical events and phenomena about which there is currently no consensus.'[151] Another regulation for social studies

145 Mombushô Chûô Kyôiku Shingikai [Mombushô Central Committee of Education], "Kitai sareru ningenzô" ["The Images of the Desirable Japanese"], in "Kôki chûtô kyôiku no kakujû seibi nitsuite (tôshin): dai 20 kai tôshin" ["On the Expansion and the Provision of Latter Phase of Secondary Education (Report): The 20th Committee Report)"], maegaki [Preamble], paragraph 1, 31 October 1966, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/12/chuuou/toushin/661001.htm (accessed 22 July 2010).

146 Ibid., chap. 4.

147 On critical evaluation of *Images*, see Horio, *Educational Thought*, 153 – 159.

148 Ishida Takeshi, *Kioku to bôkyaku no seijigaku: Dôka seisaku, sensô sekinin, shûgôteki kioku* [The Politics of Memory and Forgetting: Assimilation Policies, War Responsibilities and Collective Memory] (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2000), 180.

149 This is one of the key points Oguma Eiji makes in his *'Minshu' to 'aikoku': Sengo Nihon no nashonarizumu to kokyôsei* ['Democracy' and 'Patriotism': Discourses on Nationalism and Communality in Post-war Japan] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2002).

150 Nozaki, *War Memory*, 50 – 53.

151 Mombushô, *Gimukyôiku shogakkô kyôkayô tosho kentei kijun jisshi saisoku* [Textbook

that appeared in 1977 states: 'Quotations [and citations] from historical sources and published materials (including translations of foreign sources) will mainly be based on important classics. When quoting [and citing] historical sources for modern and contemporary history, use highly credible sources.'[152] The trade union of textbook publishers, Shuppan Rôren, points out that nowhere in the documents do readers find the definitions and the examples of, or the criteria for, 'topical events' (as opposed to historical events), 'important classics' and 'highly credible sources'. Nor is there a clear indication of who decides the validity of the sources.[153]

The 'no partial interpretation' rule would seem to allow an acknowledgement of different interpretations of historical events. It would also seem to prohibit the writers from making 'categorical statements' on issues on which 'consensus' has not been reached, thus pre-empting the making of extreme assertions. However, these regulations raise questions about whose interpretations could be introduced into the texts. Shuppan Rôren points out that, taken as a whole, the instruction seems to discourage attempts to problematise historical events and to introduce students to different and especially new interpretations.[154] Again, these statements seem to underpin Mombushô's concepts of history and education which may seem to share aspects of chronicle and *akademizumu* historiography.

Resurgent Nationalism and Internationalising Textbook Issues

An increase in textbook references to wartime atrocities was short-lived. In the early 1980s, Japan's economy seemed to bounce back from the oil crisis. The LDP managed to recover the margin of its majority that it had previously lost. Resurgent nationalism also ran high. Calls for further controls on education came from the LDP's education lobbyists in parliament. Their solution was to tighten control over education institutions and students to stem the alleged moral decay.[155]

~~Screening~~ Standards Implementation Subsidiary Regulations for Compulsory Schooling Sector (hereafter *Textbook Subsidiary Regulations*)] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1968), chap. 2.2.1.2 (4), 13 – 14. This regulation was revised from the 1958 edition: 'There is no part that deals with one-sided interpretations without sufficient consideration.' Mombushô, *Textbook Subsidiary Regulations* (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1958), chap. 2.2.1.2 (4), 9.

152 Mombushô, *Textbook Subsidiary Regulations*, decreed 22 September 1977, issued October 1977, chap. 3.2 (5), 21. The Japanese word *inyô* strictly translates as 'quotation'. However, it may also be used to mean 'citation'. The instruction concerning modern and contemporary history was newly added in 1977.

153 SRKTI, *Kyôkasho repôto* 22 (1978): 7 – 8.

154 Ibid., 7.

155 Yamazaki Masato, *Jimintô to kyôiku seisaku: Kyôikuiin ninmeisei kara rinkyôshin made* [The Liberal Democratic Party and Its Education Policies: From Appointed Committees of Education to Rinkyôshin] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986), 142.

In a campaign resembling the Deplorable Textbook campaign of 1955, conservative politicians, backed by like-minded intellectuals and business leaders, alleged and lamented the left-wing bias of textbooks in the LDP newspaper. The left-leaning Nikkyôso, supported by Shuppan Rôren, objected to the allegation.[156]

The long-alleged connections between textbook publishers and LDP politicians were exposed at this time. In 1981, it was found that seventeen textbook publishers had made political donations to the LDP totalling ¥16 million in 1980 and ¥12 million in 1981. The exchange did not stop at financial donations. It extended to giving seasonal gifts to LDP's education lobbyists in parliament and purchasing fundraising party tickets for them.[157] The chairperson of Kyôkasho Kyôkai (the Textbook Publishers' Association of Japan, TPAJ), Inagaki Fusao, who was also the chairperson of Mitsumura Shuppan, the largest-selling publisher of Japanese language textbooks, admitted to TPAJ that he had pooled contributions from publishers and donated a total of ¥90 to ¥100 million to LDP's fundraisers between 1975 and 1981.[158] Initially, Inagaki defended the donations because the practice had begun before he became chairperson in 1976.[159] It was alleged that the donations and gifts were intended to soften LDP criticism of textbook content and to maintain the government subsidy for the free provision of textbooks in the compulsory education sector.[160]

In June 1982, history textbook debates surfaced again as an international issue. Newspaper reports revealed that Mombushô had demanded that manuscripts water down references to Japanese imperial aggression. One order was to replace the word 'invasion' (*shinryaku*) with 'advance' (*shinshutsu*) in accounts of Japan's attack on China in order to soften its severity.[161] However, the reports were based on hearsay provided by a textbook author and patchy information

156 Hicks, *Japan's War Memories*, 43 and 103; and Nozaki and Inokuchi, "Japanese Education", 112 – 113.

157 "Kyôkasho 17 sha, Jimin ni kenkin" ["17 Textbook Publishers Donated Funds to LDP"], *Asahi Shimbun*, 4 August 1981 (morning ed.), 1; and "Kyôkasho kenkin sengetsu mo 12 million yen" ["Another ¥12 Million Donation by Textbook Publishers Last Month"]*Asahi Shimbun*, 5 August 1981 (morning ed.), 1.

158 "Kyôkasho 17 sha", 1; and "Ishii moto shûin gichô nimo kenkin" ["Political Donation also to Former House of Representatives Speaker Ishii"], *Asahi Shimbun*, 5 August 1981 (evening ed.), 8.

159 "Kyôkasho 17 sha", 1; and "Asekaki shirodimodoro: Kyôkasho Kyôkai kanbu no kaiken" ["Struggling to Give Responses: The Chairperson of Textbook Publishers' Association of Japan at Press Conference"], *Asahi Shimbun*, 7 August 1981 (morning ed.), 23.

160 "Kyôkasho 17 sha", 1. Inagaki resigned at the end of August 1981. "Kyôkasho Kyôkai Inagaki kaichô seishiki ni jinin" ["Textbook Publishers' Association of Japan, Chairperson Inagaki to Officially Resign"], *Asahi Shimbun*, 31 August 1981 (evening ed.), 1.

161 For a detailed account of the events surrounding this controversy, see Chong-Sik Lee, *Japan and Korea: The Political Dimension* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1985), chap. 6; Hirano, *History Education*, 118 – 130.

from Mombushô. The alleged rewrite order proved to be merely a suggestion, which the publisher did not necessarily have to follow. However, it was too late to stop a diplomatic furore.[162]

The Chinese and South Korean governments lodged official protests and demanded apologies from Tokyo. The Japanese Chief Cabinet Secretary, Miyazawa Kiichi, guaranteed that future textbook screening would apply a new criterion, 'consideration towards neighbouring nations'.[163] However, Mombushô refused to retract the 'invasion-to-advance' suggestion. Furthermore, it attempted to distance itself from the controversy, stating that Mombushô was only responsible for screening and not for the contents.[164] Caroline Rose argues that Miyazawa's statement and Mombushô's defensiveness did not simply mean that the Japanese government gave in to foreign pressure. Rather, they resulted from fissures within the LDP and conflict between Gaimushô (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Mombushô. Gaimushô hoped that Mombushô would make a full effort to satisfy China and South Korea. The education lobbyists among LDP members of the Diet were dissatisfied with Mombushô conceding to Gaimushô.[165] Indeed, as Hirano's detailed analysis reveals, the prevailing mood in Mombushô was to placate the critics and to return to 'normality' when the diplomatic heat had cooled down.[166]

In 1986, Mombushô faced another challenge. A group of right-wing academics, Nihon o Mamoru Kokumin Kaigi (the National Confederation to Defend Japan), compiled a nationalistic high-school textbook, *Shimpen Nihonshi.* Mombushô's screening panel was dissatisfied with its factual errors, nationalistic bias and insensitivity to neighbouring Asian nations. The textbook was eventually approved due, allegedly, to pressure from right-wing LDP members. However, in an unprecedented move, Prime Minister Nakasono Yasuhiro intervened and instructed Mombushô to demand that the publisher revise the text after its publication.[167] There was speculation that Mombushô needed to placate its own textbook screening officers, as well as the South Korean and Chinese governments.[168] However, these disputes did not result in a substantive overhaul of textbook screening systems. Indeed, Gaimushô was not satisfied with Mombushô's response, as he was afraid that a similar diplomatic dispute would occur.[169]

162 Lee, *Japan and Korea:* 150.
163 Caroline Rose, "The Textbook Issue: Domestic Sources of Japan's Foreign Policy", *Japan Forum* 11, no. 2 (1999): 209.
164 Kenneth Lichtman, "'Biased Textbooks': Japan's New Conservativism and the Attack on Educational Content", *Journal of Asian Culture* 11 (1987): 60.
165 Rose, "Textbook Issue", 212.
166 Hirano, *History Education*, 130.
167 Ibid., 135.
168 Nozaki, *War Memory,* 138.
169 Hirano, *History Education*, 135 – 136.

Prime Minister Nakasone and Rinkyôshin (the Ad Hoc Council on Education)

In 1982, the veteran LDP parliamentarian, Nakasone Yasuhiro, became Prime Minister. Nakasone had supported the LDP's call to reverse the perceived excesses of post-war education reform and restore state power over education. For instance, since the 1950s he had advocated limiting the number of textbooks on Committees of Education short lists and served on the Deplorable Textbook campaign committee.[170]

In 1984, Nakasone established Rinkyôshin (the Ad Hoc Council on Education), which drove a wedge between Mombushô and the LDP over the education policy-making process. Rinkyôshin was a temporary advisory committee directly answerable to Nakasone. Rinkyôshin completed its three-year term and was dissolved in 1987 after delivering its fourth and final report. The members represented the political, business, academic and literary fields. Teachers were under-represented.[171] It will be remembered that business groups saw education as an investment in the future economy, backed by the doctrine of 'economic nationalism'. Their presence in Rinkyôshin shows that business groups sought alternative methods of influencing education policies outside of the established Mombushô-LDP channel.[172]

Rinkyôshin did not make direct proposals for re-orienting the approach to history, or for revising the history curriculum or textbooks. However, one suggestion related to history education was internationalisation. Nakasone promoted internationalism as 'healthy nationalism' and justified it as necessary for international co-operation.[173] Marie H. Roesgaard describes Rinkyôshin's stance on internationalisation: '…[w]ith its emphasis on a "good Japanese", it looked more like nationalist propaganda for traditional values than internationalisation'.[174] In the absence of a direct statement by Mombushô, it would

170 Marie H. Roesgaard, *Moving Mountains: Japanese Education Reform* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998), 90.

171 Ibid., 92; and Leonard Schoppa, *Education Reform in Japan: A Case of Immobilist Politics* (London: Routledge, 1991), 43 – 45.

172 Keizai Dôyûkai (Japan Association of Corporate Executives) and Sekai o Kangaeru Kyôto Gakkai (The Kyoto Group for Study of Global Issues) were among the most vocal business-linked education interest groups. Members of the Kyoto Group were appointed to the Rinkyôshin panel. The Kyoto Group espoused a strong nationalist content in education, but laissez-faire school management. Keizai Dôyûkai argued for greater creativity, diversity and internationalisation, but the standardisation of academic achievement. Roesgaard, *Moving Mountains*, 138 – 145.

173 Christopher Hood, *Japanese Education Reform: Nakasone's legacy* (London: Routledge, 2001), 51 – 52.

174 Roesgaard, *Moving Mountains*, 98.

be difficult to ascertain the direct influence of Rinkyôshin on Mombushô. Yet the curriculum revision in 1989 was controversial. The primary school Year 6 history curriculum included Admiral Tôgô Heihachirô as one of the forty-two figures to be studied. Tôgô is known to have contributed to the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 – 5. Critics of this curriculum saw it as the promotion of nationalism or patriotism, which had seeped into non-academic aspects of schooling such as the compulsory use of *hinomaru* and *kimigayo* (now the national flag and anthems of Japan respectively).[175]

Furthermore, Mombushô tightened its control over textbook content in its textbook screening regulations. As previously mentioned, since 1958 Mombushô's textbook screening regulations had advised publishers against 'featur [ing] unnecessary items'. The 1989 regulations retained the 1977 regulation: 'In the light of the aims and the contents indicated in the curriculum, [textbooks] should not feature unnecessary material'.[176] However, it added a new demand: '[Textbooks] should follow the "aims" indicated in the subjects and levels, and sub-fields and the areas of primary and middle-school courses of studies, and deal with items listed in the "contents" and the "treatment of the contents" sections without deficiency.'[177] Critics charged that this regulation signalled a reversal to glorification of the war, since the regulation now effectively instructed textbooks to feature Tôgô.[178]

It is acknowledged that since publishers had to contend with these regulations, a 'play safe' culture developed. The publishers refrained from adding extra information which might be judged 'unnecessary'. Introducing new information and interpretations, even if it was only one sentence, would thus entail much effort and risk.[179] Meanwhile, pressure on Mombushô from the left-wing seemed to dissipate as Nikkyôso lost its membership and clout over the decades.[180]

175 Yamazumi Masami, *Gakushû shidô yôryô to kyôkasho* [Course of Study and Textbooks] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 16.

176 Mombushô, *Textbook Screening Standards* [1977], chap. 3.2.1.1 (2), 9; and Mombushô, *Textbook Screening Standards* [1989] chap. 2.1.1 (1), 1.

177 Mombushô, *Textbook Screening Standards* [1989], chap. 2.1.1 (1), 1.

178 See the following for criticism of the 1989 regulations: Kimijima, *Kyôkasho no shisô*, 32; and Yamazumi, *Gakushû shidô yôryô*, 32.

179 Anonymous, "Rekishi no jugyôtte dônatte iruno" ["What's Happening in History Classes?"], *Sekai*, no. 689 (2001): 113 – 114. The article is a record of a round-table discussion held by history teachers.

180 Its membership in proportion to the total educational personnel dropped from 86.3 % in 1958 to 48.5 % in 1987. The decline was more dramatic among new recruits: from 78 % in 1960 to 28 % in 1986. Aspinall, *Teachers' Unions*, 48 (for the first set of statistics) and Ronald R. Thurston, "The Decline of the Japan Teachers' Union", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 19, no. 2 (1989): 199 (for the second set of statistics).

The Nineties: The End of the 1955 System and 'Apology' Statement

In the 1990s, Japan's collective history debate took a new turn. The death of Emperor Hirohito in January 1989 seemed to stimulate discussion about Japan's wartime atrocities in Asia. Soon after taking office in August 1993, the first non-LDP Prime Minister, Hosokawa Morihiro, stated: 'I personally recognise it [the war] as a *shinryaku sensô* (war of aggression), an *ayamatta sensô* (wrong war)'.[181] These comments drew criticism from the conservatives who felt that the Japanese need not bow to foreign pressure and also from the left who thought that plain admissions would inhibit a thorough enquiry into Emperor Hirohito's wartime role. Another struggle for Japan's admission of its wartime past developed in 1995, when the Socialist-LDP coalition cabinet drafted a resolution for the fiftieth anniversary of Japan's defeat. The Socialist Prime Minister, Murayama Tomi'ichi, met resistance to the wording of the resolution from his LDP peers.[182] On 15 August, Murayama issued words of apology which reflected the original draft by the Socialists. Soon afterwards, insensitive statements by high-profile officials undermined the spirit of Murayama's speech.[183]

Whether and to what extent history textbooks should discuss Japan's wartime atrocities has been a topic of recurring debates. Rikki Kersten observes that the left-wingers failed to engage with the public in a debate about patriotism in the post-war period, while the right-wing revisionists' recycled calls for 'healthy nationalism' aided their dominance of public discourse.[184] They criticised Japanese history textbooks as becoming 'masochistic' and sought to deny or mitigate Japan's wartime atrocities. They also viewed foreign criticism of history textbooks as interfering in Japan's domestic affairs and that Japan had a right to its own national historical perspective. The movement to 'correct' history culminated in 1995 when these right-wing revisionists established Jiyûshugi Shikan Kenkyûkai (the Liberal View of History Study Group). In late 1996, it regrouped into Atarashii Rekishi o Tsukurukai (the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform).[185] Its middle-school textbooks have generated controversy since 2001. Against this backdrop, as in South Africa, concerned scholars and educationists

181 Nozaki, *War Memory*, 142 citing, "Hosakawa shushô kishakaiken no yôshi" ["An Outline of a Press Conference of Prime Minister Hosokawa"], *Asahi Shimbun*, 11 August 1993.

182 Hicks, *Japan's War Memories*, 91 – 92.

183 George Hicks notices that the English text added 'unbearable' to 'the suffering inflicted on people of other countries', ibid., 93.

184 Rikki Kersten, "Neo-Nationalism and the 'Liberal School of History'", *Japan Forum* 11, no. 2 (1999): 202 – 203.

185 Nozaki, *War Memory*, 144.

in Japan and South Korean took their own initiatives since the 1990s to co-write bi-national supplementary teaching material on Japan and South Korea.[186]

By the end of the 1980s, it was clear that public debate over history and Mombushô's textbook policies were on different tracks. Mombushô reformed the textbook screening process in 1990. Two changes in particular were important. Firstly, three reviewing sessions were combined into one, which reduced the capacity for negotiation over Mombushô's assessment. Mombushô officials had previously passed on the review results and items for correction orally in interviews with publishers. This gave the publisher an opportunity to negotiate with the officials. After 1990, Mombushô simply sent lists of items for correction to the publisher without providing an opportunity for face-to-face negotiations.[187] Secondly, the previous distinction between 'corrections' and 'improvement' were combined in a single 'screening opinion' (*kentei iken*). A publisher would be taking a risk if it decided that a screening opinion was insignificant and ignored it. The *de facto* reform thus made all the changes appear mandatory.[188]

Summary: Bi-national Comparison

This chapter has argued that the South African and Japanese governments resisted demands for reform of the education systems and history education over the decades studied, but for different reasons. Notwithstanding the palpably divergent political situations, the environments for textbook writing were not so different in the two nations. Both pursued education policies to enhance national identity through history education.

In South Africa, one-party government operated a state system that effectively equipped itself to suppress dissent and external criticism. The government retained the prerogative to modify education policies on its terms in order to better serve the changing notions of apartheid – from racial domination (*baaskap)* to separate development and multiculturalism. This fostered an overt celebration of Afrikaner nationalism and a muted white supremacy. The beginning of the transition to democracy in 1989 and 1990 paved the way for a negotiated settlement between the NP government and the ANC. The existing bureaucracy attempted and succeeded in leaving its imprint on the post-apartheid interim syllabus, which frustrated those anticipating a radical overhaul.

In Japan, the initial attempts at education reform were sponsored by the

186 Kimijima, *Kyôkasho no shisô*, 22.
187 Ibid., 186.
188 Ibid., 186; and SRKTI, *Kyôkasho repôto* 34 (1990): 10.

American occupiers and welcomed by left-wing Japanese. However, these attempts faltered under the impact of a number of different factors known as 'reverse course'. These events helped Mombushô and, to a lesser extent, the LDP, to 'reverse' education reform and history education, conveying messages that were congenial to the interests of particular notions of nationhood. Meanwhile, Mombushô insisted on its neutrality amid increasing criticism of the history textbooks that it screened.

Both governments and the education authorities contended with left-wing and right-wing forces when implementing drastic policy changes. In South Africa, the last days of apartheid saw a final surge of right-wing white supremacism. In Japan, nationalist movements to rectify history education have occurred since the 1950s and have evolved into resurgent neo-nationalism since the mid-1980s. One remarkable difference between the countries is the way in which business groups reacted to history education. In both nations, business groups were concerned with education reforms to meet workforce requirements. South African business interests saw the utility of a 'skill-based' learning of history which had been pioneered in Britain. This offered a limited counterpoise to history education steeped in Afrikaner nationalism and separate development. In Japan, the business community's role was limited – to finding education benefits to reinforce economic nationalism. They did not propose or endorse a novel way of learning history as in South Africa.

Chapter Two: An Analysis of South African Standard 6 History Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter attempts to show how South African history textbooks have narrated four selected historical themes in selected textbooks published between 1945 and 1995. So far, it has been argued that textbook publishers had little opportunity to present historical facts and interpretations that were deemed inimical to the interests of the apartheid state, due to various constraints placed on the writer and the publishers. It is therefore anticipated that changes in the texts would support to the apartheid ideologies, not challenge them. However, it is also expected that the reformed syllabus of 1985, followed by the evident collapse of the apartheid regime in the early 1990s, opened the way for textbooks to incorporate long-suppressed historical facts and interpretations. This analysis shows that dramatic shifts in content, interpretations and pedagogical orientation are evident in several of the latest textbooks, thereby bridging the gap at last between academic and school history.

A Note about Textbook Format

Most South African history textbooks were jointly written by two or more authors. Single-authored textbooks were in the minority. The texts devote about half of the pages to 'General' history and half to 'South African' history; conforming to the proportion laid down in the syllabi. They vary in length from forty to over a hundred pages.[1] The level of language also varies. Texts aimed at English-speaking students tend to be more content-rich and to have more sophisticated vocabulary and sentence structures, compared with those aimed at students of non-English speaking backgrounds.

1 Counting only the sections on South Africa. Texts published between 1972 and 1984 are the longest, corresponding to the amount of prescribed contents in the syllabi during this period.

1. The Relationship between the Khoikhoi People and the Early Dutch Settlers c. 1652 to 1662

Historical Background

The Khoikhoi, who lived at the Cape before the Dutch arrived, led a nomadic existence. When there was sufficient grazing for their animals the Khoikhoi herded at the Cape. In the dry season, they moved inland searching for fresh pastures. The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) had initially intended to use the Cape simply as a supply station for ships sailing between Europe and Asia. Colonial settlement by the Dutch was not part of its original plan. The DEIC employee Jan van Riebeeck had been recalled from his position with the DEIC in Asia, after having infringed the company's ban on private trade. His secondment to the Cape offered him an opportunity to revive his career as its Commander.[2]

While at the Cape, van Riebeeck acted under instructions from the governing board of the DEIC, the Council of Seventeen, in Holland. The council had instructed him to conduct trade and maintain peaceful relations with the Khoikhoi. This was important because the DEIC's imperative was to keep its running costs to a minimum by avoiding expensive military clashes.[3]

In these circumstances, van Riebeeck forged a working relationship with Autshumao of the Goringhaikona clan, also known as Harry, who was a well-known Khoikhoi individual of the time. Van Riebeeck's opinion of the Khoikhoi was coloured not by genuine affection, but by the necessity to trade for the DEIC. Before the establishment of the DEIC supply station at the Cape in 1652, Harry had already met European traders, mainly English. The historians Richard Elphick and Shula Marks suggest that Harry thought of himself as a middleman between his clan and the Europeans.[4]

There was a turning point in the relationship with the Khoikhoi in 1657 when the DEIC allowed van Riebeeck to authorise the cultivation of crops by company employees along the Liesbeeck River. This triggered a struggle for land and resources. The Khoikhoi had thought that the DEIC employees would eventually leave the Cape. However, after the arrival of the free burghers (the former DEIC

2 Jay Naidoo, *Tracking Down Historical Myths: Eight South African Cases* (Johannesburg: A. D. Donker, 1989), 21; and Richard Elphick and V. C. Malherbe, "The Khoikhoi to 1828", in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652 – 1840*, 2nd rev. ed., eds. Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1989), 11.

3 Naidoo, *Tracking Down*, 22.

4 Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), 85 and 116.

employees), they realised that the settlers intended to stay. Relations between the Khoikhoi and the settlers turned from tense cordiality to hostility.[5]

In 1659, a series of skirmishes occurred between the alliance of the Khoikhoi clans and the DEIC employees. This ended in 1660 with a treaty which favoured the settlers and granted them the right to occupy the land, while allowing the Khoikhoi to retain the booty seized during the battles.[6] The treaty signalled the start of a steady decline among the Khoikhoi in the face of the Dutch settlers' territorial expansion. Elphick also notes that as early as 1654 van Riebeeck hatched an abduction plot as a pretext to wage war on the Peninsular Khoi. The Council of Seventeen rejected his proposal.[7] The origins of the skirmishes thus seem to have been not entirely beyond van Riebeeck's control.

The historian Leslie Witz has analysed school texts issued from the early nineteenth century to the 1940s. He finds that some texts blandly describe van Riebeeck. While acknowledging his role in transplanting the European civilisation at the Cape, and even claiming his arrival as the beginning of South Africa, the textbooks characterised him as a stoic figure who gave the settlers a foundation, albeit a precarious one. These textbooks promoted the interests of the Dutch settlers and Dutch imperial causes. Textbooks that reflected Afrikaner historiography exhibited sympathy towards van Riebeeck. Furthermore, the texts withheld reservations about his private motives and any flaws in his tenure, which other textbooks had expressed. The sympathetic texts noted mitigating circumstances that afflicted van Riebeeck.[8] The present analysis shifts the focus to the interaction between the Dutch settlers and the Khoikhoi, as this provides an insight into how textbooks narrate the beginning of 'white' South African history.

Textbook Approaches

Texts published during the high apartheid period (1945 – 71), along with two of the six post-apartheid textbooks (1990 – 96), cover the 1652 – 62 period.[9] The Standard 6 syllabus deleted this period after the 1972 – 73 syllabus. The high

5 Elphick and Malherbe, "The Khoikhoi to 1828", 110; and Shula Marks, "Khoisan Resistance to the Dutch in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *The Journal of African History* 13, no. 1 (1972): 62. A textbook by M. S. Geen and R. A. Warner also notes this point, *South African Heritage Book 1: From Ancient Egypt to 1795* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1969), 89.

6 Elphick, *Khoikhoi*, 114.

7 Ibid., 102.

8 Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 52 – 64.

9 Charles Dugmore et al., *Making History Grade 8/Standard 6* (Sandton: Heinemann, 1996);

apartheid texts, published during a period marked by strong commitment to racial domination and segregation by the National Party, assume that pre-1652 history was an inconsequential background to the Dutch occupation.[10] An assertion such as 'For us the whites, our history begins in 1652'[11] thus conforms to the Eurocentric, particularly the Afrikaner, historical view that the history of South Africa was the history of the European settlers. The design of syllabi and textbooks tends to support June Bam's term, 'the Cape paradigm', which assumes Cape Town as the starting point of South African history; ignoring South Africa before the European arrival.[12]

The texts characterise the Khoi-Dutch relationships as revolving around trade and livestock theft. It is hardly surprising that high apartheid texts sketch a one-sided picture of the Khoi-Dutch relations in which the white settlers are the protagonists. B. E. Paynter's 1968 edition exhibits the high apartheid ideology:

> … Van Riebeeck had arrived before the winter rains and the Kaapmans and the 'tobacco thieves', who periodically visited the [Table] Bay with their herds of cattle and sheep in search of grazing, were not there. However, he was able to obtain a few cattle from wandering Hottentots … and much bartering took place. A piece of copper wire or a roll of tobacco as long as the distance from the sheep's nose to the tip of its tail was the price of a sheep. The Hottentots were also eager to exchange their animals for beads, mirrors and wine.
>
> But the Hottentots were angry that the Whites had come to take their pastures. They sometimes stole back the cattle they had sold. Even Harry, with whom the Commander [van Riebeeck] was friendly, proved treacherous. One Sunday while the people were engaged in worship, he and his people killed the cattle herd and vanished with a large number of cattle.
>
> Eventually, van Riebeeck sent a bartering expedition further inland, and they obtained cattle and sheep from the larger Hottentot clans.[13]

The text refers to the Dutch settlers' conduct with terms such as 'obtain' and 'barter' to make their 'trade' seem neutral, fair and mutually agreed between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi. The text describes the Khoikhoi as 'eager to exchange'. However, they are introduced as 'tobacco thieves' from the beginning, although the text fails to explain the origins of this reputation.

This passage implies two suggestions. Firstly, the trade between the Dutch

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and Jane Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History: Secondary Book 2* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1996).

10 See above, Introduction, pp. 37 – 38 for the working definitions of high-, low- and post-apartheid periods.

11 F. A. Van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History Standard 6*, trans. F. R. Metrowich (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1968), 119.

12 June Bam, "A Critique of the Interim History Curriculum for Schools" (paper presented at Future of the Past conference, the University of the Western Cape, July 1996), 8.

13 B. E. Paynter, *A New Course in History Standard 6* (Johannesburg: Nasou, 1968), 94.

and the Khoikhoi was motivated by mutual needs, not that one party imposed their commodities on the other. The text emphasises the different value systems of the two parties. By claiming that the length of the sheep's body determined the value of copper wire and tobacco, the text accentuates the Khoikhoi's measuring system as arbitrary or rudimentary by today's standards.

Secondly, the passage suggests the fairness of the trade despite the different values attached to the goods. The text depicts the Khoikhoi as happy to accept unproductive goods such as beads, mirrors, wine, wire and tobacco and to sell their stock. It shows that the Dutch satisfied the Khoikhoi's demand for those goods as well as their own needs for livestock to feed the DEIC employees.

If one reads the text between the lines, it could be posited that the text implies that the Khoikhoi failed to appreciate the potential of their possessions until it was too late. It also portrays the anger of the Khoikhoi as an absurd and unreasonable outburst of temper resulting from their own 'eagerness to exchange', showing that the Khoikhoi could not foresee the consequences of their willingness. They could not be readily contained and even drove Harry, who was familiar with the European customs and regarded as a mediator between the two groups, to violate the European values by raiding a sacred Sunday mass when the settlers were presumably unarmed. The message is that Harry could not be fully trusted because he exploited his knowledge of European ways in this 'treacherous' act.

Harry's revenge is said to have invited van Riebeeck to dispatch a 'bartering expedition', which seems more like a euphemism for counter-theft or retribution. The text omits to say how the group 'obtained' the cattle and sheep, or whether those animals had belonged to the settlers. By describing the incident as another legitimate trade transaction, the settlers appear to have honoured the Khoikhoi's value systems. The settlers' actions are presented as blameless or justified.

The text employs two strategies when describing the Khoi-Dutch relations. Firstly, it emphasises the unreliability of the Khoikhoi and changes their status from indigenous landowners to visitors. Van Riebeeck is portrayed as arriving at the Cape while the Khoikhoi were away, making the Cape *terra nullius*. From the moment the Dutch arrived at the Cape it became Dutch territory and the Khoikhoi became visitors to the Cape inhabited by the Dutch. Students are led to believe that Dutch occupation of the Cape was legitimate – a tenet of European historiography justifying white settlement.

Other texts of this era convey similar messages. D. C. Uys and co-authors state: 'During October the Kaapmans [a Khoi clan] arrived at the Cape with their cattle, and the settlers could at long last obtain some cattle and sheep, but this

was a very doubtful and uncertain way of obtaining enough meat for the refreshment station and passing ships.'[14] The Afrikaner historian and prolific textbook writer F. A. van Jaarsveld and his co-authors reiterate: '[F]rom time to time the wandering Hottentot tribes visited the Cape. Van Riebeeck bartered tobacco, wine, copper wire, mirrors and beads for livestock.'[15] The words 'arrived' and 'visited' underscore the Dutch settlers' possession of the Cape. The 'Kaapman' are made 'doubtful' and 'uncertain'. 'Wandering' indicates the aimlessness of the Khoikhoi's migration pattern.

Secondly, the Khoikhoi were repeatedly accused of theft without sufficient explanation. Boyce's 1967 edition states: 'The Hottentots with their cattle did not at first put in an appearance to trade. Later, when they did come, they used to steal the cattle they had previously sold'[16] and 'Hottentots were a constant nuisance because of their thieving habits.'[17] Similarly, Uys and co-authors say: 'From 1655 onwards the Kaapman began to steal systematically from the settlers. Even when they became more insolent, Van Riebeeck tried to maintain friendly relations with them.'[18] The text does not say why the Khoikhoi 'began to steal systematically' or 'became more insolent'.

How did van Riebeeck respond? J. C. Muller and G. H. P. de Bruin say:

> The frontier was at first defended by armed herdsmen and a few soldiers, and the free burghers had to help with the defence. But this was not enough. Van Riebeeck longed to teach the Hottentots a lesson, but his orders were to maintain friendship and *to forgive and forget!* This was indeed a difficult situation. … The free burghers, who had suffered heavily, pressed him to declare war on the Hottentots. In May 1659 war was at last declared against Gogosoa and his Capemen.[19]

The text sympathises with van Riebeeck as being torn between his desire to 'teach a lesson' to the Khoikhoi and to uphold the company's instructions and the free burghers' interests. The phrase 'at last' suggests that van Riebeeck's decision was welcomed or long-anticipated since the settlers 'had suffered heavily' from the Khoikhoi's insolence.

Similarly, M. S. Geen and R. A. Warner relate: 'Van Riebeeck did his best to soothe the tempers of the settlers who were constantly harassed by the attacks of the Hottentots, but when they began to take the law into their own hands he was

14 D. C. Uys et al., *Geography-History: OFS Syllabus Standard VI* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1966), 130.
15 F. A. van Jaarsveld et al., *History for Std. 6* (Johannesburg: Voortrekkerpers, 1958), 98.
16 A. N. Boyce, *Legacy of the Past: A History for Std. VI*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cape Town: Juta, 1967), 115.
17 Ibid., 122.
18 Uys et al., *Geography-History*, 130.
19 J. J. Muller and G. H. P. de Bruin, *History Part 1, Standard 6 Cape Department: 1968 Syllabus* (Cape Town, 1968), 96. Italics in original.

obliged to declare war on the responsible tribes.'[20] Van Jaarsveld and co-authors sympathise with the Khoikhoi who 'maintained that the White people had taken their land, and that they had taken it without their permission. They wanted to drive out the Free Burghers. How were they to do this? The only method was to raid their cattle and to set fire on their corn fields'.[21] However, van Jaarsveld's sympathy with the Khoikhoi stretched only so far. The Khoikhoi are depicted as capable of solving their own problems only through warfare and not by negotiation. His textbook reinforces the Eurocentric sentiment that the Europeans received the putatively irrational wrath of the indigenous people.

Post-apartheid texts (1990 – 96) bridge the gap between school texts and the work of academic historians cited earlier. Charles Dugmore and co-authors say:

> People from Europe did not know that cattle were more than just a source of food to the Khoikhoi. They became angry when the Khoikhoi said they had no cattle to exchange for iron and copper, when in fact they could see the herds in the distance. They tried to use force to get what they wanted.[22]

Now the settlers are shown as greedy and arrogant. The text deconstructs the terms of the trade:

> The Dutch bartered copper and iron for cattle, but copper and iron could not increase in value once the Khoikhoi owned them. Only livestock could increase in numbers and value. The whole lifestyle of the Khoikhoi relied upon their animals. When they bartered livestock, they were left with fewer and fewer cattle from which to breed. Their herds became smaller and they lost their wealth.[23]

According to this text, the Khoikhoi were forced into subservience. The text sympathises with the Khoikhoi's resentment towards the Europeans' forcible acquisition of their possessions. However, it does not address whether the Khoikhoi could foresee the consequences of trade that ultimately brought about their plight. The entire Khoikhoi people are generalised, which impedes enquiry into whether any Khoikhoi benefited from the trade. The text may thus be criticised for glossing over the internal dynamics among the Khoikhoi.

In discussing periods of conflict, post-apartheid texts concur with academic historians' approaches and show different strategies the Khoikhoi clans adopted in dealing with the Europeans. Jane Rosenthal and co-authors say: 'In 1659 and again in 1673 the Khoikhoi attacked the Dutch colonists. But they did not present a united front as they quarrelled among themselves. Some even fought *for* the Dutch.'[24] Similarly, Dugmore and co-authors point out: 'Different clans had

20 Geen and Warner, *South African Heritage*, 98.
21 Van Jaarsveld et al., *History Std. 6* [1958 ed.], 117.
22 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 8.
23 Ibid., 9.
24 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 84. Italics in original.

different needs. Some wanted to work with the Dutch to achieve their aim of increasing their power and their cattle. Others wanted nothing to do with the Dutch, while others wanted to force the Dutch to leave the Cape.'[25] Obviously these texts suggest that the Khoikhoi were not an undifferentiated mass whose prime motive was theft, but individuals who tried to exploit, resist or dissociate from the Dutch presence.

Summary

Apartheid textbooks generally presented the Khoi-Dutch relationships from the European settlers' perspective. They stressed the unreliable or treacherous nature of the Khoikhoi and legitimised the presence and trade methods of the European settlers. The texts depicted the Khoikhoi as willing but untrustworthy business partners, although the Europeans are depicted as benefiting from the different values the Khoikhoi attached to commodities. Post-apartheid texts (1990 – 96) clearly discarded negative depictions of the Khoikhoi. They discuss the Khoikhoi lifestyles and the multiple motives of the Khoikhoi clans in dealing with the Dutch.

2. Cultural and Racial Characterisation of the Khoikhoi, the Bushmen, and Europeans

Historical Background

Popular beliefs held by Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries divided human beings into races and placed the Europeans at the top of the ladder. The labelling of the races by Europeans spurred scientific racism and an equation of culture with race. The impact of racist thought on South African historical writing became entrenched in what the historian Saul Dubow calls the Stow-Theal racial paradigm after its proponents, ethnologist George Stow and the Settler historian, George McCall Theal. The latter was an influential figure in the settler school of South African historiography, which defended the interests and presence of European settlers in South Africa. While indigenous people were assumed to be inferior to the settlers, the British authorities were resented as unsympathetic and ignorant of the local conditions and circumstances.[26]

25 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 9.

26 Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988), 37; Paul Maylam, *South Africa's Racist Past: The*

Scholars who have studied his legacy acknowledge his lingering influence on late nineteenth and early twentieth century textbooks.[27]

In essence, the Stow-Theal paradigm claimed the late arrival of the Bantu-speakers in South Africa. It was also influenced by Social Darwinism that legitimised white colonists' supremacy and posited waves of migration and conquest whereby the early inhabitants were subordinated by peoples arriving later. The hunting Bushmen, for example, were subjugated by the Khoikhoi pastoralists. The cultivating Bantu-speakers then dominated the Khoikhoi. The whites were represented as possessing the highest civilisation and as advancing northwards while the Bantu-speakers migrated southwards.[28] European intellectuals ranked the Khoikhoi as a primitive race between the 'Negroid' and animals. The tragedy of Sara Baartman, who was taken away from South Africa to Europe and exhibited as 'the Hottentot Venus', offers a poignant reminder of the European hunger for racism and sexism.[29] Even in Japan, the Khoi are regarded as occupying the bottom rung of human evolution. In his essay, the former diplomat Kawasaki Ichirô drew considerable criticism for his remark that the Japanese were aesthetically the ugliest, except for the 'Pigmies' and the 'Hottentots'.[30]

The Stow-Theal paradigm was not unique to South Africa. It was symptomatic of the chain-of-being thinking derived from Social Darwinism. According to Michael King, a New Zealand historian, the consensus among ethnologists in the 1910s held that the Maori colonised what is known today as New Zealand in the fourteenth century and drove the original inhabitants, the Moriori, to the Chatham Islands, 800 kilometres east of the South Island. King demonstrates that the Maori-Moriori replacement thesis was something of a myth perpetuated for generations, partially through primary-school readers used until the 1970s. The thesis implies that the Pakeha (European settlers), who colonised Aotearoa/New Zealand several centuries later, should not be accused of colonising the

History and Historiography of Racism, Segregation and Apartheid (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 208 – 209; and Ken Smith, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1988), 19 – 20.

27 Ryôta Nishino, "George McCall Theal and South African History Textbooks: Enduring Influence of Settler Historiography in Descriptions of the Fifth 'Frontier War' 1818 – 19", in *Orb and Sceptre: Studies on British Imperialism and its Legacies, in Honour of Norman Etherington*, ed. Peter Limb (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2008) 06.1 – 06.17; Leonard Thompson, *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 134; and Witz, *Apartheid's Festival*, 66.

28 Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 66 – 74.

29 Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009), 133.

30 Minami Hiroshi, *Nihonjin-ron: Meiji jidai kara konnichi made* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 379 – 380.

Maori because the Maori had created a precedent for the Pakeha.[31] Similarly, the Theal-Stow paradigm implied that Africans had few legitimate claims against European colonisation.

Recent historians and archaeologists have refuted the idea of sharp physical distinctions among South Africans, but argued that the vital distinctions were social. The Khoikhoi were pastoralists, the Bushmen were hunter-gatherers, and the Bantu-speakers were farmers.[32] Contrary to the Europeans' deliberate exaggeration of the Khoikhoi's 'protruding buttocks and stomachs', the Khoikhoi possessed well-proportioned physiques that reflected their lifestyles and adaptation to the environment and climate.[33] Another oft-claimed characteristic was laziness. Andrew Smith refutes it saying that 'laziness' was actually derived from an abundance of leisure time and a knowledge of how to exploit the natural resources efficiently.[34]

Richard Dyer surmises that the white people portray themselves as taking initiatives to manage the environment and setting the normative standards for humanity. The positive values ascribed to the white people mean that their success is guaranteed. The 'others' are bound to fail and are thus presented as inferior or even non-human.[35] It is not surprising that the novelist J. M. Coetzee found that the early white colonists saw themselves as virtuous and industrious and the Khoikhoi as indolent and regressive.[36]

It is misleading to suggest that all European writing on South Africa was invariably denigrating and condescending to black people. The 1960s saw a surge in a new historiographical trend, Africanist history. It hoped to reverse the pejorative stereotypes of African people and sought to portray the positive aspects to give them historical agency.[37] This present analysis updates the previous analyses by Smith, Aron Mazel and P. M. Stewart, which examined how apartheid textbooks depicted the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen.[38] It hopes to

31 Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), 38, 44 – 45 and 56 – 58.

32 Martin Hall, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200 – 1800* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1987), chap. 4 and 58 – 60.

33 Andrew B. Smith, "The Hotnot Syndrome: Myth-Making in South African School Textbooks", *Social Dynamics* 9, no. 2 (1983): 45.

34 Ibid., 45.

35 Richard Dyer, *White* (London: Routledge, 1997), 9, 14 and 31.

36 J. M. Coeztee, *White Writing: On the Culture of Letters in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 10 and 26.

37 Smith, *Changing Past*, 138 – 139.

38 Smith, "Hotnot Syndrome", 37 – 49; and Aron D. Mazel and P. M. Stewart, "Meddling with the Mind: The Treatment of San Hunter-Gatherers and the Origins of South Africa's Black Population in Recent South African History Textbooks", *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 42 (1987): 166 – 170. Although less extensive, see also Thompson, *Political Mythology of Apartheid*, 92 – 93 and 95 – 97; and Elizabeth Dean, Paul Hartmann and May

augment their contributions when analysing depictions of the white colonists, which is a crucial lacuna in the existing textbook analyses. Because the majority of the textbooks examined in this analysis were produced for white students, it is worth analysing how the textbooks describe the white people compared to 'the others'.

Textbook Approaches

Textbooks published between 1968 and 1971 feature a section describing the 'population groups' of South Africa. This follows the syllabus revision that added the study of lifestyles, culture and migration patterns. The syllabi issued after 1972/73 dropped this theme and the number of the textbooks sampled is smaller. Several texts discuss it in different sections. The period of 1968 – 71 is notable for the shift in state rhetoric from racial domination to separate development. Apartheid texts narrate the fate of the people they called Bushmen and Hottentots. Paynter's 1968 edition explains the exterminations:

> The Bushmen, a primitive race of small, yellow-skinned people, were the first native people in South Africa. … They were relics of the Stone Age who lived in caves and existed by hunting. The arrival of more advanced people, Hottentots, Bantu, and Europeans spelt their doom. The Bushmen, unable to resist the temptation of stealing the cattle of these pastoral people, were practically exterminated by them.[39]

Two seminal aspects of the Stow-Theal paradigm are found here. Firstly, the text introduces the Bushmen as 'a primitive race' and 'the first native people' whose small physique is suggested as implicit weakness. The text introduces the nineteenth-century racial theory that posited hunter-gathering as inferior to pastoralism. By equating them with 'relics of the Stone Age', the text suggests the Bushmen never progressed beyond 'the Stone Age' because they 'lived in caves and existed by hunting'. Those who arrived later are described as 'the more advanced people' and as 'pastoral people'. The order of appearance of these people carries an implicit racial pecking order whereby the 'Hottentots' stand marginally above the Bushmen, followed by the 'Bantu' and ultimately the Europeans at the top.

Secondly, the Bushmen's demise is narrated as a consequence of their own actions. The Bushmen are described as 'unable to resist the temptation of stealing'. The textbook seems to make an identical allegation to that of the Khoi theft of the Dutch settlers' stock. While the text fails to indicate what compelled them to 'steal', it states that the Bushmen were incapable of self-restraint or

Katzen, *History in Black and White: An Analysis of South African History Textbooks* (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), 57 – 58.

39 Paynter, *New History* [1968], 78.

negotiation with the 'advanced people'. Contrary to critically examining the actions of the 'Hottentots', the 'Bantus' and the whites, readers are led to believe that the Bushmen deserved the punishment for their theft, even if it resulted in their extermination.

Boyce's 1967 edition follows a similar strategy in depicting the Khoikhoi:

> A struggle for the possession of the land began [between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi], as a result of which the Hottentots were gradually driven inland. As Hottentot tribes moved to the interior they were either destroyed or absorbed by the Bantu. The numbers of the Hottentots were further depleted by the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic early in the eighteenth century.[40]

Repeating the Stow-Theal paradigm, the text attributes the weakness of the Khoikhoi to three factors. Firstly, the text seems to sanitise the white settlers' intrusion. What may appear to be invasion from the Khoikhoi is described as 'a struggle for the possession of the land', intimating that both sides were equally responsible for the conflict. The Khoikhoi migration is attributed to an unspecified 'struggle' without identifying who drove them inland. Secondly, the narrative order places the Khoikhoi below 'the Bantu'. This seems to foreshadow the racial hierarchy. The Khoikhoi were 'destroyed or absorbed' into the 'Bantu'. By attributing the Khoikhoi destruction to the 'Bantu' people, the text creates an impression that the Europeans had no direct responsibility for their deaths. Thirdly, the text absolves the Europeans of blame by attributing the Khoikhoi demise to illness. Geen and Warner reiterate the Khoikhoi were:

> unable to combat any serious illness and when the small-pox scourges of the eighteenth century struck the Cape the Hottentots were almost exterminated. The pathetic remnants were inclined to throw in their lot with other race groups and intermixed to such an extent that they ceased to exist as a separate race.[41]

The texts reinforce the axiom of Social Darwinism, 'survival of the fittest', and warn students that unrestrained racial mixing could cause a people to be 'absorbed' or to 'cease to exist'.

Low and post-apartheid textbooks (1972 – 94 and 1990 – 96) introduce the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen in different terms. The 1986 and 1994 editions by A. P. J. van Rensburg and co-authors relate that '[t]he Khoikhoi were herders and the San were hunters',[42] but do not explain how the interchange of roles occurred – thus giving the impression they were distinct races. Apart from replacing 'Hottentots' and 'Bushmen' with 'Khoikhoi', 'San' and 'Khoisan', the text still

40 Boyce, *Legacy* [1967 ed.], 117.
41 Geen and Warner, *South African Heritage*, 71.
42 A. P. J. Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* (Pretoria: De Jager-HAUM, 1986), 104; and A. P. J. Van Rensburg et al., *Active History Standard 6* (Cape Town: Kagiso, 1994), 104.

repeats descriptions of the physique. It describes the Bushmen as 'small people, rarely over 1.5 m tall' and the Khoikhoi as 'a yellow-skinned people with high cheekbones, slanting eyes and small hands and feet'.[43] The latter resembles Theal's description seventy-six years earlier: 'eyes far apart and often appearance set obliquely, hands and feet small, colour yellow to olive.'[44]

Post-apartheid texts (1990 – 96) clearly explain differences in terms of modes of production. Rosenthal and co-authors say: 'The Khoikhoi were not physically different from the San'[45] and 'Sometimes if times were very hard, during droughts for example, the San might attach themselves to a Khoikhoi band as servants and herders. Or a Khoikhoi family might have to resort to living by hunting and gathering if they lost their stock.'[46] The text shows how the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen responded to environmental constraints, although how the Khoikhoi 'lost their stock' and how the Bushmen were treated as 'servants and herders' raises questions.

Apartheid-era texts portray the Bantu-speakers as physically different from the Bushmen and the Khoikhoi. Van Jaarsveld and co-authors write: 'The Bantu are of average height and they are physically well developed. The Bantu is on the whole much stronger and taller than the Bushman or the Hottentot.'[47] Behind the judgments of 'average height' and a 'well developed' physique, is an implicit installation of white Europeans as the normative standard. G. J. J. Smit and co-authors elaborate: 'The Bantu tribes were the most formidable of all the native races that the colonist had come up against. Their numbers far exceeded those of the Whites. They were also the most warlike people that the Whites had come in contact with.'[48] Words such as 'formidable', 'come up against' and 'warlike' portray the Bantu-speakers as a threat to the whites. This is enhanced not only by their characteristics, but also by the 'numbers [that] far exceeded those of the Whites.'

Other texts feature similar passages. Boyce's 1967 edition says: 'The Bantu are both pastoralists and agriculturalists. … The Bantu did not succumb on the arrival of the Europeans: indeed they became more and more numerous and presented quite a problem to the European authorities.'[49] The text implicitly suggests that the Bantu-speakers are in competition with the whites for the

43 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 106; and Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.], 106.

44 George McCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of Africa South of the Zambezi* (New York: Negro University Press, [1910] 1969), 32.

45 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 26.

46 Ibid., 29.

47 Van Jaarsveld et al., *History Std. 6* [1958 ed.], 110.

48 G. J. J. Smit et al., *Man and His World: History and Geography for Standard VI Composite Course in Social Studies*, *6th ed.* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1971), 50 – 51.

49 Boyce, *Legacy* [1967 ed.], 117.

resources against a backdrop of seemingly unstoppable population growth of the Bantu-speakers. Thus, the Bantu-speakers became 'quite a problem to the European authorities', which Geen and Warner confirm: '[t]he relations of the European with the Bantu has constituted the most vital and vexing problem facing successive governments in the sub-continent'.[50]

Texts also promote 'separate development' on behalf of African people. Muller and de Bruin explain: 'After about 1850 the Bantu were gradually settled in certain areas. This happened as a result of Bantu Wars. … At length Bantu reserves were established and this brought peaceful living in their own Homelands.'[51] The text offers the solution to the 'problems' raised in Boyce's 1967 edition as well as Geen and Warner's textbook. Although Muller and de Bruin fail to mention what caused the people to willingly move to the reserves, it says the Homelands brought them 'peaceful living'. It explains the function of the Homelands was 'to ensure for them a better existence there; the Bantu are led to manage their own affairs. In the Transkei this policy resulted in the establishment of the first self-governing Bantu state in the Republic of South Africa'.[52] In these texts the African people are presented as no longer 'problems' to the whites, because they became citizens of the Homelands separate from the white Republic.

Texts published from the 1980s onwards show more cultural sensitivity. J. Nisbet and co-authors explain that '[t]he Stone Age hunter-gatherers and herders lived a nomadic life, but with the crop production of the Iron Age, it was essential that the people stayed in one place, close to their crops. … All of these [agricultural] processes meant that people had to have a fixed place to live.'[53] Dugmore and co-authors confirm:

> In recent years researchers, historians and archaeologists have uncovered the remains of hundreds of early farming villages south of the Limpopo River and along the east coast regions of South Africa. In the remains of these villages there is evidence that shows that the people made and used iron tools and weapons. New ways of farming needed iron tools. Settled farmers needed iron weapons to defend their territory, or gain new land.[54]

These textbooks seem to have moved closer to an academic consensus led by the liberal Africanists of the late 1960s and away from the high apartheid texts' assertions (1945 – 71). Racial categories were replaced by the socio-cultural terms of 'hunter-gatherers', 'herders', and 'settled farmers'. The newer textbooks

50 Geen and Warner, *South African Heritage*, 72.
51 Muller and de Bruin, *History Part 1*, 78.
52 Ibid., 79.
53 J. Nisbet et al., *History Alive Std. 6* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1985), 129 – 131.
54 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 10.

also describe lifestyles without overtones of racial ranking, derision and threat. The descriptions are substantiated by archaeological evidence. There is little evocation of these people living in a distant 'primitive' age. The newer texts mention archaeological evidence showing that the people were capable of making and using 'iron tools and weapons'.

The lifestyles and cultural patterns of the white people also appeared in textbooks. According to the 'Foreword' in van Jaarsveld and co-authors' 1958 and 1968 editions:

> We say today that our nation is *civilized* because we wear attractive clothes, write in books, drive motor-cars, travel by air, use refrigerators and have many other conveniences. … Long, long ago our white forefathers lived in the forests of Europe. They were savages and like the Bushmen of today, hunted with bow and arrow. They lived in straw huts and were clothed in skins. They could not read nor write. … We see, therefore, that uncivilised people live close to nature and build huts of mud and grass. They are very scantily clad, they cannot read nor write and they are not able to erect fine buildings. On the other hand, civilized people are capable of better living. A nation has to *acquire* its civilization.[55]

This passage discusses a popular theme among Afrikaner intellectuals of the interwar period: civilisation. It may appear as an innocent statement of the fundamental differences between the people possessing different cultures and civilisation. However, the veneer of cultural difference is thin. From the outset the passage separates the small minority of 'we' and 'our nation' from the vast majority of South Africans. The phrase 'our white forefathers' resembles the opening statement of school texts in French African colonies: 'Our ancestors, the Gauls'.[56] The contrast between 'us' and 'them' is sharp. 'We', the white people, enjoy the modern conveniences brought by the progress of science and civilisation. However, the 'uncivilised' 'Bushmen of today' are said to be the contemporaries of the Europeans of 'long, long ago', because the lifestyles of these two are quite similar. They lived 'close to nature', wore skins or were 'scantily clad', were illiterate and 'unable to erect fine buildings'.

The sentence, 'a nation has to *acquire* civilisation', aims to convince white adolescents to maintain and improve the standards as a nation so that they can all enjoy 'better living' beyond the labour of their forefathers. It also implies that the 'uncivilised' would have to work just as long and hard as the European forefathers and excuses the 'uncivilised' people from not receiving the same benefits as the white people. The text therefore consigns the white and 'other'

55 Van Jaarsveld et al., *History Std. 6* [1958 ed.], 7. Italics in original. The identical text is reproduced in its 1968 edition, van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History*, 11.

56 Marc Ferro, *The Use and Abuse of History, or, How the Past is Taught*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 156.

South Africans to different 'time zones', which the cultural anthropologist, Johannes Fabian, calls 'the denial of coevalness'.[57] Finally, the text emphasises the role of the collective over the individual to 'acquire civilisation' and to deserve 'better living', instead of individual effort. Without employing biological racism, the text effectively justifies the racial order as an order of civilisation.

Texts convey similar messages in the descriptions of the dwellings. Van Jaarsveld and co-authors relate how 'the burghers began to build attractive houses. … The dwellings of the wealthy burghers bore a resemblance to those in Amsterdam. … The homes were attractively furnished.'[58] Here the architecture is equated with wealth that the burghers have acquired since their arrival and is shown as a trophy of their progress. The text also tries to shape students' sense of aesthetics by frequently describing the white settler houses as 'attractive'. Muller and de Bruin concur: 'The architecture was of course influenced by that of the Netherlands'.[59] The early Cape houses bear the influence of 'our white forefathers' in Europe and are therefore a reminder of the successful transplanting of European heritage to the southernmost tip of Africa. Van Jaarsveld's 1968 edition also states: 'Cape Town was influenced by the French baroque style as well as the Cape Dutch architecture.'[60] These texts eagerly show that the Cape architecture was an eclectic mix of European styles, of which the white South Africans can be proud. Boyce's 1967 edition agrees: 'The houses were built of stone or brick … The houses with thatched roofs always had beautifully designed gables … The rooms were tastefully furnished with stinkwood or yellow-wood wardrobes, wall-cabinets, tables, chairs and large kists [wooden chests]'.[61] This text suggests that the dwellings of the European colonists had both aesthetic and practical merits, for they were 'beautiful' and 'tasteful' and contained complementary furniture. A sketch of a Cape Dutch homestead accompanies the narrative and accentuates the aesthetic merit of their dwellings.[62]

By contrast, the dwellings of the Bushmen are 'practically unknown'.[63] They lived 'in huts made of branches, or under overhanging rocks and fallen trees'.[64] Texts represent the Khoikhoi dwellings as having 'a light wooden framework covered with reed matting or skins and were easily dismantled and transported.'[65] Van Jaarsveld and co-authors say that the Bantu-speakers 'constructed

57 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 31 and 153 – 154.
58 Van Jaarsveld et al., *History Std. 6* [1958 ed.], 140 – 141.
59 Muller and de Bruin, *History Part 1*, 107.
60 Van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History* [1968 ed.], 183.
61 Boyce, *Legacy* [1967 ed.], 146 – 148.
62 Ibid., 150.
63 Geen and Warner, *South African Heritage*, 68.
64 J. F. E. Havinga et al., *History for Std. VI* (Johannesburg: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1958), 76.
65 Geen and Warner, *South African Heritage*, 72.

huts from cane and thatch. Each family had its own garden and made its own household utensils … They also made their own karosses [rugs] and mats.'[66] Notably, the text prizes individual ownership and efforts to establish an abode which gave them their 'own' gardens and 'household utensils'. Put differently, white supremacy is affirmed even in the descriptions of architecture: the higher the rank a race occupied, the stronger the housing became.

The point is amplified by illustrations. J. F. E. Havinga and co-authors feature 'A Kaffir kraal in Ovamboland' – an undated photograph from the State Information Office, taken in northern Namibia. The settlement shows thatch-roofed shelters with wooden pillars. Apart from a lone figure in the background, there is no sign of domestic animals, crop cultivation or home life.[67] This is contrasted by an illustration of a Dutch settlers' homestead with a caption: 'The settlement at Stellenbosch could boast beautiful gables and homestead'.[68] It features a few children playing a ball game, well-dressed families talking with each other, a neatly planted and thriving vegetable patch, and Cape Dutch houses with lush trees.

Apartheid texts often distinguish European settlers in the hinterland from those in cities and towns. Smit and co-authors describe the rural settler as 'isolated by great distances form [sic] the settled parts of the colony; and living under pioneer conditions he [the European settler] had to forgo many civilised refinements. Nevertheless, he maintained high moral standards and his religion safeguarded him against degeneration'.[69]

The text endorses a key element of the archetypal Afrikaner identity: religion. Afrikaner nationalist historians argued that the Afrikaners were God's chosen people who were destined to rule and remain as the rulers of South Africa.[70] The text upholds religion as a beacon of 'high moral standards' and a shield against 'degeneration'. Paynter's 1968 edition emphasises: '[The settlers] compared themselves with the Israelites in the Old Testament and believed that God protected them as He had His Chosen people'.[71] A. N. Boyce's 1959 edition characterises the rural settlers as 'very *godly people*'.[72] Van Jaarsveld and co-authors connect religion, civilisation and racial consciousness: 'The Boers were firm Calvinists, and had a strong sense of race consciousness. … It was his ideal to

66 Van Jaarsveld et al., *History Std. 6* [1958 ed.], 110.
67 Havinga et al., *History Std. VI*, 86.
68 Ibid., 104.
69 Smit et al., *Man and His World*, 85.
70 Smith, *Changing Past*, 10, 58 and 63 – 64; and Floors van Jaarsveld, *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism 1868 – 1881* (Pretoria: Human and Rousseau, 1961), 86.
71 Paynter, *New History* [1968], 132.
72 A. N. Boyce, *The Legacy of the Past: A History for Std. VI* (Cape Town: Juta, c.1959), 143. Italics in original.

maintain his white skin and intermarriage with the natives was out of the question.'[73] This is a powerful invocation of religion as a defence for the racial purity of the white people during apartheid. However, the text fails to explain why Calvinism should forge 'a strong sense of race consciousness' and prohibit 'intermarriage'. The passage also echoes the psychologist, I. D. MacCrone's *Race Attitudes in South Africa* (1937), which was inspired by Fredrick Jackson Turner's work on the American 'frontier' mindset. MacCrone argued that racial consciousness arose from the contact between the colonisers and the indigenous people.[74] The textbook attempts to legitimise apartheid laws prohibiting inter-racial sexual liaison and marriage. The text thus suggests a good Afrikaner or a white person would be religious and would refrain from 'intermarriage'.

Low and post-apartheid texts (1972 – 96) examined for this investigation contain few cultural descriptions of the white people. Rather, post-apartheid texts (1990 – 96) attempt to demythologise many tendentious characterisations of the Khoikhoi, Bushmen and Bantu-speakers. Rosenthal and co-authors say: 'The San and the Khoikhoi continued to inhabit roughly the same areas, especially in the dry western and south and south western regions. There was sometimes conflict about intruding on each other's hunting grounds, and the San sometimes hunted the domesticated animal of the Khoikhoi.'[75] The text has clearly 'caught up' with the consensus of academic historians. Dugmore and co-authors elaborate: 'In order to graze their cattle safely, cattle farmers drove the hunting people away, often killing the men and taking the women and children as slaves or servants.'[76] Unlike apartheid texts, these texts do not recount the lives of indigenous people through the actions of the whites. These texts show that the Khoikhoi-Bushmen interaction was not always idyllic or peaceful and avoids romanticising them as the relics of a distant past.

Summary

Apartheid textbooks portrayed and even caricatured differences among the racial groups to make them seem inherent and immutable. Such differences also legitimised a hierarchy in racial and cultural terms. The order was based on the depictions of physique and cultural practices and the levels of civilisation each 'race' possessed. Through the descriptions of architecture and religion, the apartheid textbooks reminded white adolescents of the contrast between their

73 Van Jaarsveld et al., *History Std. 6* [1958 ed.], 146.
74 Maylam, *Racist Past*, 32 – 33.
75 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 29.
76 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 3.

own civilisation and the rudimentary civilisation of the others. Low apartheid texts (1972 – 94), which are marked by weakness in racial domination but by 'separate development', depicted the Bantu-speakers as living peacefully in self-governing states. Several texts published after the mid-1980s replace these descriptions by incorporating recent historical and archaeological scholarship. Efforts are made to avoid facile romanticising of the Khoikhoi and the Bushmen.

3. Slavery at the Cape

Historical Background

Within the first few months of arrival, Jan van Riebeeck realised slaves were necessary for the rapid construction of the Cape as a victual station.[77] The Khoikhoi resisted enslavement. After 1658, the DEIC provided slaves to the Cape from parts of Africa and South-East Asia. After the British takeover of the Cape in 1806, slavery there was phased out. In 1808, the slave trade was outlawed for all British subjects, followed by the eventual abolition in 1834 throughout the British Empire. However, the Cape Government introduced the Apprenticeship Act, which bonded the slaves to their owners for four more years as 'apprentices' without pay.[78] The British Government compensated the Cape slave owners with a lump sum payment. The compensation could be collected only in Britain, which suited most West Indian slave owners because they lived in Britain. Most of the Cape slave owners could not afford to travel to Britain and instead hired agents who profited from commissions.[79]

Liberal historians proposed that inter-racial contact and racial awareness from the time of European settlement were key drivers of South African history. They lamented that the white people grew to despise manual work and to expect 'the people of colour' to perform it.[80] Eric Walker further argued that such an attitude also inhibited the economic growth of the Cape Colony.[81] This criticism seems to originate from that advanced by Settler historians. For Theal, the abolition of slavery made matters worse for the whites as they had to look after

77 Nigel Worden, *Slavery in Dutch South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 6.

78 Marks, "Khoisan Resistance", 64.

79 The payment was £1,274,000 (£34 per slave), far below the estimated value of over £3 million (£73 per slave). Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1996), 114 – 115.

80 These assessments occur with an earlier comment made by a Dutch official, Baron Graaf Willem van Imhoff, in the late eighteenth century. Worden, *Slavery,* 139.

81 Eric A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa*, 3rd ed. (London: Longmans Green, 1957), 85 – 86.

the emancipated slaves. Slavery 'was worse for the white man, who had all the care and anxiety, than for the negro [sic], who had only manual labour to perform'.[82] The implication is that complete racial segregation could have been achieved had the white people been industrious and ceased to depend on black labour.[83]

A perennial concern for these later historians was to explore the thesis of materialist historians, who challenged the liberal historians in the 1970s. They contended that while racial consciousness began in pre-industrial times, South African racism of the twentieth century developed in tandem with the development of nineteenth-century industrialisation. Current historical research explores the relationship between slavery and racial awareness and the extent to which apartheid could be traced back to slavery.[84] The Afrikaner historian, Hermann Giliomee, whose work attempted to place Cape history within a global context, undermined the Afrikaner nationalists' claims of the Afrikaners' uniqueness.[85] He points out that those claims intimated that increased European immigration to the Cape would have reinvigorated the sluggish economy and reinforced the security of the European settlers against the slaves.[86]

An enduring myth about Cape slavery, repeated by influential liberal historians such as Walker and William Macmillan, was that it was benign compared to other parts of the world.[87] Walker's evaluation of Cape slavery as 'not cruel'[88] was followed by Macmillan's. The latter stated '[i]ll usage of servants was and always has been unusual.'[89] Such claims seem to soften the cruelty of slavery and excuse the settlers' responsibilities. Later historians refute such assessments and employ the materialist approach to understand Cape slavery.[90] Benign slavery was a mere impression arising from the fact that most Cape slaves served in households and on small farms, where the treatment varied and relationships with owners were intimate but paternalistic. This pattern contrasts with that of the West Indies and American slaves, whose relationships with their owners were

82 Saunders, *South African Past*, 26, quoting George McCall Theal, *Compendium of South African History and Geography*, 6th ed. (1899), (n.p.) 181.
83 Walker, *South Africa*, 76.
84 Smith, *Changing Past*, 204 – 205.
85 For the debate between the Afrikaner historians, see, ibid., 94 – 97.
86 Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People* (London: Hurst & Company, 2003), 13 citing Robert C.-H. Shell, *The Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652 – 1838* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 4.
87 Worden, *Slavery*, 2.
88 Walker, *Southern Africa*, 71.
89 W. M. Macmillan, *Bantu Boer and Briton: The Making of the South African Native Problem,* rev. and enlarged ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 7
90 Smith, *Changing Past*, 202 – 203.

distant, because the majority worked outside on plantations and large-scale farms.[91]

Understanding how textbooks depicted slavery is important. It shows us the extent to which slavery is legitimised and justifies the class distinctions along 'racial' lines. It also tells us how settler and liberal historiography sought to portray the settlers' responses to British rule. In the post-apartheid era, the recovery of the slaves' experiences through school teaching and museum exhibitions is another vital task.[92]

Textbook Approaches

High apartheid texts (1945 – 71) narrate the beginning and the practice of slavery in the seventeenth century. Low and post-apartheid texts (1972 – 96) discuss abolition in the nineteenth century. A study by Elizabeth Dean, Paul Hartmann and May Katzen, as well as another by Linda Chisholm find that texts absolved the Cape slave owners of the ill-treatment of their slaves by comparing them to their West Indies counterparts. Although Chisholm analysed only one unnamed text used in Coloured schools, she concludes that this text blamed the British for bringing about emancipation.[93] This analysis focuses on three aspects of slavery: the reasons for the importation of slaves, the slaves' lifestyles and treatment and the consequences of emancipation.

High apartheid texts (1945 – 71) recount the beginning of slavery in relation to van Riebeeck's challenges. According to A. D. Dodd and W. A. Cordingley:

> The main trouble was the lack of labour, for the Hottentots were inefficient and unwilling to work. Van Riebeeck suggested that Chinese labourers should be imported, but none was available … [H]e suggested that some of the Company's servants should be allowed to leave its service and farm on their own account. … This however, did not solve the problem as the free burghers themselves needed labourers to help them on their farms. Thus in 1658 slaves were introduced and this eventually solved the labour shortage.[94]

91 Keegan, *Colonial South Africa*, 19 and 146.

92 Kerry Ward and Nigel Worden, "Commemorating, Suppressing and Invoking Cape Slavery", in *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa,* eds. Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1998), 212.

93 Dean, Hartmann and Katzen, *History in Black and White*, 58 – 59; and Linda Chisholm, "Ideology, Legitimation of Status Quo and History Textbooks in South Africa", *Perspectives in Education* 5, no. 2 (1981): 143 – 144.

94 A. D. Dodd and W. A. Cordingley, *Junior Secondary Course Social Studies History Standard VI*, 3rd ed. (Cape Town: Juta, 1950), 7 – 8.

The text explains the introduction of slavery on the basis of three factors. Firstly, 'the lack of labour' is attributed to the 'inefficient and unwilling' Khoikhoi. The text suggests that the Khoikhoi should have been available to serve the white settlers. Secondly, van Riebeeck's 'Chinese labourers' solution fell through. This solution also underlines the widespread practice of importing labourers from another region of the world to newly established European colonies and *entrepôts*. His request may thus not appear as morally reprehensible as it would in the twentieth century.

Thirdly, van Riebeeck's 'free burgher' scheme exacerbated the labour shortage. Instead of the troubled van Riebeeck recruiting more settlers from Holland, he justified the introduction of slaves as the final solution having exhausted all other available avenues. Although the text does not explain the work of slaves, the last sentence of the text replaces 'labourers' with 'slaves' who 'solved the labour shortage'. The text thus conveys the class distinctions and that the type of work he wanted performed by the slaves was different from the settlers' work.

Other texts of this era give similar explanations. The Khoikhoi are dismissed as 'incurably indolent. … They never deigned to cultivate the land';[95] 'unskilled and unwilling to work';[96] 'useless as labourers because they were extremely dirty and lazy'[97] and 'lazy and very dishonest.'[98] Instead of viewing their 'unwillingness', 'laziness' and 'dishonesty' as indications of resistance against the whites, the texts use the Khoikhoi character to justify van Riebeeck's request for an overseas slave supply. In the late 1960s, texts added a new reason for the Khoikhoi's unsuitability. Muller and de Bruin explain: 'The Hottentots were no use as workmen, as they were a herding people.'[99] Van Jaarsveld follows: '[The "Hottentots"] were accustomed to a free wandering life and did not understand the White man's work.'[100] Van Riebeeck's reliance on overseas slaves is thus further justified because 'a herding people' 'did not understand White man's work'. This reasoning based on a perversion of cultural differences seems to signal the influence of 'separate development' thinking.

High apartheid texts (1945 – 71) compare the nature of slavery in the Cape to the West Indies. D. C. R. Clear's 1947 textbook explains: 'In contrast to the West Indies, where many of the slave owners were brutal, the condition of slaves in South Africa was by no means bad. It has been said that they were the best treated

95 Havinga et al., *History Std. VI*, 82.
96 Boyce, *Legacy* [1959 ed.], 92.
97 Uys et al., *Geography-History*, 136.
98 D. C. R. Clear, *Our Country: A Concise History of South Africa for Standard VI*, 3rd ed. (Cape Town: Juta, c. 1947), 16.
99 Muller and de Bruin, *History Part 1*, 94.
100 Van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History* [1968 ed.], 150.

slaves in the world.'[101] Although the text does not detail the treatment of the West Indies slaves, it mitigates the severity of the Cape slavery. Deploying liberal historians' claims, the text now boasts that the Cape slaves were 'the best treated slaves in the world'. It concludes: '[A]part from the loss of their liberty, they suffered little hardship and most of them were perfectly satisfied with their condition.'[102] The text pretends to speak for the slaves while failing to mention their work and living conditions. Herein lies an argument predicated on paternalism: the loss of personal liberty was not necessarily heinous, because with good treatment the slaves could become content despite their immutable fate.

Texts describe 'the benign treatment' from various angles. Havinga and co-authors describe the slaves as 'an important part of the assets of the Free Burghers, consequently good care was taken of them'.[103] Its illustration shows three dark-skinned men. While their facial features and expressions are somewhat obscured, their playing of musical instruments is visible. The caption reads 'Slaves often played music at social gatherings'.[104] Boyce's 1967 edition notes: 'The Company issued strict instructions that slaves were to be well treated.'[105] However, the text fails to discuss whether the owners obeyed or indeed whether the Company enforced these 'strict instructions'.

Low apartheid-era texts followed the trend. C. J. Joubert and J. J. Britz claim: 'It was in the West Indies that the slaves were worst treated. At the Cape conditions were totally different. Even Dr. Philip [a prominent anti-slavery campaigner] had to admit that the slaves in the Cape were treated well.'[106] The text eagerly emphasises the 'totally different' nature of slavery at the Cape and even deploys Dr. Philip's comment to strengthen the 'benign' slavery case. Another text, published in the same year by Nisbet and co-authors, describes the Cape society as 'rest[ing] firmly on the dominance by the whites over their slaves and servants'.[107] In a post-apartheid text, Dugmore and co-authors point out:

> Slaves were the main form of labour and slave owners made it difficult for them to escape or rise up against them. … Sometimes slaves would try to escape from the cruel conditions under which they lived and worked. … If they tried to escape, slaves were severely punished, usually by whipping, branding … or crippled by having their legs broken. The owners could punish their slaves themselves.[108]

101 Clear, *Our Country*, 58.
102 Ibid., 59.
103 Havinga et al., *History Std. VI*, 95.
104 Ibid., 121.
105 Boyce, *Legacy* [1967 ed.], 123.
106 C. J. Joubert and J. J. Britz, *History Std. 6* (Johannesburg: Perskor, 1985), 136.
107 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 170.
108 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 36.

Shedding light on the slaves' experience, the text jettisons the myth of the benign Cape slavery. An illustration accompanying the text depicts a white man whipping a slave tied to a tree, with the caption: 'This Cape slave is being beaten for as long as it takes the farmer to smoke his pipe'. The farmer, who is at the scene, is leaning against another tree. He looks relaxed and in no hurry to finish his smoking.[109]

High apartheid texts (1945 – 71) assess the impact of slavery on the settlers' minds. Paynter's 1968 edition states: 'Although slavery had a bad effect on the character of the white people, making them lazy and contemptuous of manual labour, the slaves served a useful purpose.'[110] This evaluation reiterates the liberal historians' view of the effect of slavery on white people's mentality and amplifies the message of 'civilisation' quoted earlier. However, slavery and those who benefited from it are partially excused because it 'served a useful purpose'. Similarly, Havinga and co-authors claim, 'slavery unfortunately had a detrimental influence on our national character. We are too proud to consider certain routine tasks as chores that must be performed by servants only'.[111] Here, 'servants' and 'slaves' are used interchangeably, which gives the impression that slaves' work was not as exacting as often believed. 'Our national character' and 'we' are aimed at white teenagers destined to be 'masters'.[112] Boyce's 1967 edition follows: 'The importation of slaves was a tragedy: the presence of slaves caused the Europeans to despise manual labour.'[113] Likewise, Geen and Warner repeat: 'A person with a white skin was automatically superior to one with a black skin.'[114] White people, the text claims, began to regard slave work as 'beneath the dignity of a white man'.[115] These textbooks appear to criticise the Dutch for introducing slavery, sympathise with the slaves, and instil respect for manual labour among the white youth. Yet they also convey two messages upholding apartheid: if the white people worked hard enough, they would require less black labour and could bring segregation of the blacks and the whites closer to perfection; and the differences between the whites and blacks were not just due to skin colour, but also to the type of work they performed.

Low and post-apartheid textbooks narrate the emancipation of slaves. Van Rensburg and co-authors relate:

109 Ibid., 36.
110 Paynter, *New History* [1968], 97
111 Havinga et al., *History Std. VI*, 95.
112 The text was approved for use at Transvaal Education Department schools for white students.
113 Boyce, *Legacy* [1967 ed.], 123.
114 Geen and Warner, *South African Heritage*, 122.
115 Ibid., 122.

> 'Philanthropists [in Britain] were mainly worried about the slaves in the West Indies. Uninformed sources in Britain, however, thought that slaves at the Cape were treated as badly as those in the West Indies. They felt that slave regulations intended for the West Indies should also be enforced at the Cape.[116]

The philanthropists, the text asserts, were influenced by 'uninformed sources in Britain' and naïvely believed that slave regulations should be universal; and they meddled with local politics without understanding the local conditions at the Cape. The text follows the Settler historians' approach in defending the interests of the settlers. Other texts explain that the slave-owning farmers 'found the British laws irritating'[117] and 'an insult'.[118]

The texts also tell the story of the compensation paid to the slave owners, in chapters accounting for 'the Great Trek' in which white farmers left for the interior in the 1830s. H. G. J. Lintvelt and co-authors say: 'slave-owners in the Cape Colony received only one-fifth of the original estimated worth of their slaves. This caused misery and hardship for many of the farmers, although quite a number of the slaves stayed in their masters' service.'[119] The text openly sympathises with the settlers, who suffered not only from 'misery and hardship' but also from the added financial burden to maintain their former slaves 'in their masters' service' as apprentices or workers. Texts cite the compensation scheme to highlight the British Government's insensitivity to settlers' needs and their 'misery'. The texts say little about the consequences for the slaves. E. Syphus and co-authors say: 'Piet Retief and others complained of 'the severe losses' suffered by the emancipation of the slaves.'[120] Van Rensburg and co-authors explain: 'farmers suffered large losses – Gerrit Maritz, for instance, lost R1800 on his twelve slaves'.[121] However, Paynter's 1974 edition asserts: 'Even those who did not own many slaves (and most of the Trekkers, being cattle farmers, were not great slave owners) felt very strongly about this.'[122] Why? 'Britain's attitude towards the slave question was further proof that the British Government was not working in the interests of the colonists.'[123] While the text concedes that not

116 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 159. Its 1994 edition made no change to this text, van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.], 159.

117 F. A. Van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History Standard Six*, trans. F. R. Metrowich (Johannesburg: Perskor, 1974), 177; H. A. Lambrechts et al., *History 6 New Syllabus 1985* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1985) also describe the slave laws as 'irritating', 135.

118 Joubert and Britz, *History Std. 6*, 135.

119 H. G. J. Lintvelt et al., *Timelines (History for Std. 6)* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller-Longman, 1985), 122.

120 E. Syphus et al., *Man Through the Ages Standard Six* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1981), 195.

121 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 169.

122 B. E. Paynter, *Junior Secondary History for Standard 6* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1974), 135.

123 Ibid., 135.

all trekkers were 'great slave owners', it partially blames 'the Great Trek' on financially related resentment towards the British Government. These texts thus exhibit the fusing of Afrikaner and Settler historiography.

J. Nisbet and co-authors attempt to alter the narrative angle, even though their text was published during apartheid. It mentions a slave revolt that was 'quickly and firmly crushed' and the slaves 'remained firmly repressed'.[124] Post-apartheid texts (1990 – 96) follow a similar approach. Dugmore and co-authors further note: 'Owners complained that slaves were becoming more insolent. Slaves were, in fact, refusing to be treated like slaves any longer and they were defying the absolute control their owners had over them before.'[125] To highlight this point, the text tells us that the slaves took action. Despite their illiteracy and distance from magistrates' offices, they sued slave owners. Readers also learn about the Bokkeveld uprising by slaves and Khoi workers in 1825, led by a slave named Galant. The text says that this revolt speeded up reform by the Cape Government.[126] These texts no longer repeat the decades-old Settler and Afrikaner perspectives. Rosenthal and co-authors note:

> [Financial compensation] brought a lot of money into the Cape, causing an economic boom in Cape Town. … But slaves were never paid any compensation … Nor were they given any land to settle on, because the government did not want them to become independent farmers. So many of the slaves who worked on farms decided to stay on the farms after 1838 as wage-workers.[127]

The text acknowledges a positive outcome of the compensation, which apartheid-era texts only disparaged. It also shows the partiality of the compensation and how the emancipation did not bring about drastic changes for the slaves.

Summary

Stories of slavery in the texts surveyed shifted from the slave owners' perception of slavery to the slaves' own experiences. Apartheid texts repeatedly defended white settlers' interests, describing Cape slavery as 'benign'. The white people's attitude to manual labour became a warning against reliance on the blacks that would impede segregation. Low apartheid texts (1972 – 96) discuss the negative impact of emancipation on the owners, ignoring the slaves. The texts blame the naïve and idealistic philanthropists as well as the negligence of the British Government and point to settlers' resentment as a cause of 'the Great Trek'. Post-

124 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 170 for both quoted phrases.
125 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 39.
126 Ibid., 38. This revolt is also cited in Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 112.
127 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 113.

apartheid texts (1990 – 96) ceased to defend the settlers and began narrating slaves' experiences.

4. The Origins of the Zulu State-formation in the Nineteenth Century and the Changing Images of Piet Retief and his 'Treaty' with the Zulu Kingdom

Historical Background

The Zulu chieftaincy in today's KwaZulu-Natal grew into a large kingdom during the early 1820s. Historians have debated the reasons for its emergence. Settler historians, affirming Theal's work, saw the personality of King Shaka (spelt variously) and his alleged regime of terror as responsible. Shaka unified the Zulu and expanded their territory by exterminating the rival chieftaincies, or absorbing them into his powerful kingdom. This process sparked the '*mfecane*' (or '*difaqane*'). The '*mfecane*' denotes the Zulu attacks on neighbouring chieftaincies, who in turn attacked others – thus spreading the wars further inland. As a result, the highveld was 'emptied' and encircled by pockets of African settlements.

An empty highveld became a critical element in Afrikaner nationalist historiography. In the early twentieth century, the journalist Gustav Preller created a hero of Piet Retief, a key Voortrekker. He also popularised 'the Great Trek' as the opening of the 'dark continent' and the establishment of the Boer republic in the interior.[128] The Voortrekkers were said to have sought freedom and independence from British rule in the Cape and settled on the highveld. The Voortrekkers eventually occupied the emptied terrain in the 1830s, ending the '*mfecane*' wars. This became the standard explanation which served to justify territorial segregation by the subsequent white regime.

Alternative explanations attempted to modify or subvert the empty-land thesis. Works on African oral accounts, compiled in the 1920s by the African nationalists Magema Fuze and Henderson Soga as well as the missionary Arthur Bryant, refuted Theal's view of Africa as a savage continent. They argued that southern Africa had been peaceful before Shaka's emergence.[129] Yet Afrikaner nationalist history continued to portray the Afrikaners as 'the Chosen People' who had a special relationship with God and a 'divine mission' to create and lead

128 Smith, *Changing Past*, 65 – 66.

129 Norman Ethertington, *Great Treks: The Transformation of Southern Africa, 1815 – 1854* (London: Pearson, 2001), 333 – 338; and Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998), 170.

Boer republics.[130] Furthermore, the 'pioneering spirit' has given a narrative thread to the Afrikaner trait. In 1961, the year seen as the pinnacle of the Afrikaners when South Africa became a republic and withdrew from the British Commonwealth, van Jaarsveld claimed that the Afrikaners 'acquired strong traits of independence, dexterity, stubbornness, resoluteness against force and love of freedom of the veld with its wide open spaces'.[131]

Shaka continued to fascinate missionaries, historians and novelists. Dan Wylie's study on the representation of Shaka in literature demonstrates striking semblances between accounts by missionaries, Settler historians and authors of historical novels. He finds that E. A. Ritter's historical novel *Shaka Zulu* (1955) depicts Shaka as driven to overcome his unhappy childhood of being ostracised and bullied for, *inter alia*, his illegitimate birth. He is said to have developed military and political skills, laced with totalitarian inclinations, which earned him the nickname Black Napoleon.[132] The potency of the Shaka cult was enhanced by a popular drama series, *Shaka Zulu* (1986), shown on South Africa's state-run television.[133]

Alternative explanations of the rise of the Zulu state emerged in 1940. The anthropologist Max Gluckman argued that the formation of the Zulu state stemmed from the limited land available for dissenting chieftaincies. John Omer-Cooper's 1966 work, *The Zulu Aftermath,* challenged the racist assumption of an African inability to form a state by presenting Shaka as an astute nation-builder. Some defenders of apartheid twisted Omer-Cooper's Liberal Africanist assessment to show Shaka as an historical precedent for the Homelands.[134] In the 1980s and 1990s, Zulu nationalists harked back to Zulu history and extolled Shaka as the founder of one of the Homelands, KwaZulu. In its schools, the subject *Ubuntu Botho* (humanism) replicated this interpretation of Shaka and Zulu history.[135]

Meanwhile, advances in archaeology and history undermined some key assumptions of African and Zulu history. From the mid-1960s, radiocarbon-dating

130 Smith, *Changing Past*, 86. This notion is thoroughly debunked by André du Toit's "No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology", *American Historical Review* 88, no. 4 (1983): 920 – 950.

131 Van Jaarsveld, *Awakening*, 10.

132 Dan Wylie, *Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000), particularly 23, 37n7, and 164.

133 Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty*, 171.

134 Norman Etherington, "Were There Large States in the Coastal Regions of Southeast African Before the Rise of the Zulu Kingdom?", *History in Africa* 31 (2004): 164 and 167.

135 Daphna Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 25; Gerhard Maré, *Ethnicity and Politics in South Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1993); and Paul Forsyth, "The Past in the Service of the Present: The Political Use of History by Chief A. N. M. G. Buthelezi, 1951 – 1991", *South African Historical Journal* 26 (1992): 74 – 92.

techniques enabled archaeologists to establish that Early Iron Age inhabitants occupied the south-eastern regions of South Africa as early as the third century CE, debunking the empty-land myth.[136] Returning to history, new materialist hypotheses of the Zulu state formation stressed external factors: competition for land triggered by environmental degradation and over population as well as influences from the Portuguese traders.[137] These new interpretations culminated in the work of the historian Julian Cobbing in the 1980s. He exposed flaws in the logic and evidence used to support 'the *mfecane*'. Furthermore, he argued that the Portuguese slave trade around the Delagoa Bay stimulated the rise of new chieftaincies as a defensive response to slave raiding.[138] The historian Norman Etherington supports Cobbing's rejection of 'the *mfecane*'. However, having re-examined the sources and evidence he concludes that the Zulu state was indeed a new state, but not 'a new kind of state, or necessarily larger than any other that existed before'.[139]

Turning to the interaction between Reteif and Dingane, a Voortrekker party led by Piet Retief was murdered by Shaka's successor, King Dingane, in February 1838. It was alleged that before his death, Retief had obtained a treaty which granted the Voortrekkers part of the territory under Dingane's control.[140] In October 1837, Retief's party reached an area near Port Natal (present-day Durban) where British missionaries and traders had traded with the Zulu. Retief sought an audience with Dingane to negotiate a Voortrekker settlement in the region. Dingane informed Retief that he would be willing to negotiate provided Retief could prove that he had not been responsible for the theft of some Zulu property. Retief maintained his innocence and blamed Sekonyela of the Tlokwa clan for the theft. He offered to retrieve the lost property. Accompanied by some of Dingane's councillors, Retief met Sekonyela and imprisoned him by trickery,

136 Martin Hall, *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200 – 1860* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1987), 10 and 12.

137 For a summary of these hypotheses see Norman Etherington "The Mfecane Controversy in Context", in *The Mfecane Aftermath: Reconstructive Debates in Southern African History*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995), 13 – 19.

138 Julian Cobbing, "The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo", *The Journal of African History* 29, no. 3 (1988): 487 – 519.

139 Etherington, *Great Treks*, xx-xxi and 338 – 339.

140 Accounts by Settler and Afrikaner historians and popular fiction unfold the developments of the Dingane-Retief interaction. For instance, Peter Becker, *Path of Blood: The Rise and Conquests of Mzilikazi, Founder of the Matabele* (London: Penguin, [1962] 1979), 221 – 222; Donald R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears* (London: Cape, 1966), 138 – 150; Gustav Preller, *Day-Dawn in South Africa* (Pretoria: Wallach's P. & P. Co. Ltd., 1938), 186 – 189; George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa Since 1795, vol. 2, The Cape Colony from 1828 to 1846, Natal from 1824 to 1845 and Proceedings of the Emigrant Farmers from 1836 to 1847*, 5th ed. (Cape Town: Struik, [1926] 1964), chap. 35, especially 354 – 382; and Eric A. Walker, *The Great Trek*, 2nd ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1938), 152 – 164 and 188.

demanding 700 cattle, 70 horses and 30 muskets for his release. Sekonyela obliged and was freed. After delivering some of the property to Dingane in February 1838, Retief and his men were invited to witness a dance competition. During the dance Dingane suddenly seized the trekkers. The Zulus dragged the trekkers to a nearby hill and executed them.[141]

The episode is presented in early Settler and Afrikaner histories as the low ebb of the entire 'Great Trek' saga. Ten months after Retief's murder, Voortrekker Andries Pretorius defeated Dingane's army at the Battle of Blood River. According to Theal and Walker, Pretorius found Retief's remains and a leather pouch on the hill where he had been executed. Pretorius said the pouch contained a treaty document ceding all land between the Thukela and Umzimvubu rivers.[142]

Academic historians of more recent times have demonstrated the flaws in this 'good versus evil' narrative. They question the character of Retief and Dingane and view the murder as Dingane's defensive act rather than treachery as previously told. They consider that Dingane was closer to being a politician or a diplomat than a militaristic ruler.[143] His unease with Retief grew as more trekkers poured into the region. The trekkers had conveniently assumed that Dingane's willingness to negotiate meant approval for their settlement.[144] Retief's treatment of Sekonyela is also re-assessed. Retief had negotiated treaties of friendship with Sekonyela and other chiefs on his way to Port Natal. Dingane had asked for 300 cattle, but Retief extracted an extra 400 cattle which he shared among his people. These developments naturally caused Dingane to grow apprehensive. Dingane's fear was further aroused by Retief's letter written in late January 1838, which boasted about the trekkers' defeat of King Mzilikazi of the Ndebele, Dingane's arch-rival. Upon Retief's arrival at Dingane's kraal, Dingane asked him to return the firearms and the horses as well as the cattle. Retief refused and pointing at his greying hair, he told Dingane that he was not a child and that he would only return the items after the negotiations.[145]

The treaty is no stranger to controversy and scrutiny. The Settler historian, George Cory, questioned its authenticity as early as 1923. But Cory apologised after incurring the opprobrium of Afrikaner nationalists.[146] According to the

141 Etherington, *Great Treks*, 264 – 266; Peter Colenbrander, "The Zulu Kingdom, 1828 – 79", in *Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times to 1910, A New History*, eds. Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), 108 – 109; and Felix N. C. Okoye, "Dingane: A Reappraisal", *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 2 (1969): 139 – 140.

142 Theal, *South Africa since 1795*, 382; and Walker, *Great Trek*, 188.

143 Okoye, "Dingane", 223; and Naidoo, *Tracking Down*, 102.

144 John Omer-Cooper, *A History of Southern Africa*, 2nd ed. (Cape Town: David Philip, 1994), 79.

145 Etherington, *Great Treks*, 259 and 264 – 265.

146 Naidoo, *Tracking Down*, 83; and Smith, *Changing Past*, 46.

historian Jay Naidoo, Dingane was said to have comprehended the significance of written documents and had a functional level of literacy. Dingane would have rejected Retief's offer had he read the treaty, because the exchange of cattle for land is not a Zulu custom.[147] Recent work by Etherington seconds Naidoo's verdict. He surmises that the treaty document 'seems more likely to be a fraud. Dingane's original demand, written for him by the missionary, Francis Owen, had been that Retief bring the cattle in order to clear the Boers of suspicion of involvement in the theft, not as payment for a whole country.'[148] Although the treaty document was dated 4 February 1838, there is no record of a meeting on that day. Etherington thinks it unlikely that Retief had obtained Dingane's signature and hid it away just before Retief's death.[149]

Although based on a small number of texts, previous textbook analyses agree that apartheid-era school texts invoke the *'mfecane'* to justify the white occupation of the emptied highveld and the creation of the Homelands.[150] This analysis concentrates on three questions: How do textbooks depict Retief? How is Retief's trick on Sekonyela narrated? How do the texts explain the signing of the 'treaty'?[151]

Textbook Approaches

Standard 6 texts that followed the syllabi issued after 1965 feature this topic. The texts conforming to the 1972 – 73 syllabi include biographical chapters on Shaka. Texts following the 1985 and 1995 syllabi discuss the Zulu state-formation in units titled the *'mfecane'* or 'black migration'. Although the syllabus did not prescribe it, a high apartheid era text by Havinga and co-authors discusses the topic at length. It serves as a reference point for the subsequent texts:

> The tribal chiefs believed that the only way they could procure more land and cattle was to attack their neighbours. Intertribal wars were therefore not infrequent. One of the most cruel warriors was Chaka, the Zulu Chief, who sent out his impis [troops] to

147 Naidoo, *Tracking Down*, 102 and 107.
148 Etherington, *Great Treks*, 282.
149 Ibid., 282.
150 Marianne Cornevin, *Apartheid: Power and Historical Falsification* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), 101 – 105; Kevin Carlean, "Myths of the Mfecane and South African Education Texts: A Critique" (unpublished paper, Rhodes University, 1990), 4 – 5; and Chisholm, "History Textbooks in South Africa", 141 – 143.
151 Marianne Cornevin found that the government's 'official' historical account in *Yearbook* and B. E. Paynter's *Junior Secondary History for Standard 6* (1974), which I also examined, characterised Dingane negatively. Cornevin, *Apartheid*, 95 – 100.

> annihilate not only his neighbours in Natal but also the natives in the Free State and the Transvaal.[152]

The text explains that competition for resources triggered 'intertribal wars', as attacking neighbours was considered 'the only way' to acquire resources. Why? 'The tribal chiefs believed' so, which made 'intertribal wars' 'not infrequent'. The quoted text thus rests on a preconception about the inherently violent nature of the African people. The text foregrounds Shaka's cruelty. His troops 'annihilated not only his neighbours' but also those in 'the Free State and the Transvaal', confirming that 'attack' was 'the only way' to get more land and cattle.

Low apartheid texts (1972 – 94) focus on Shaka's personality. Lintvelt and co-authors explain:

> By the beginning of the nineteenth century the AmaZulu were a very small tribe under their chief, Senzangakona. His son, Chaka, had been born in 1787 but, because his mother came from the Elangeni tribe, he was not accepted by the AmaZulu. So she returned to the Elangeni tribe, taking her son with her, but, because his father came from the AmaZulu tribe, Chaka was not welcome here either. He was kicked, beaten and the unhappy youngster decided that some day he would have his revenge on the Elangeni. … His ideal was to mould the AmaZulu into a great and powerful nation and to take revenge on the enemies of his youth. So the very first thing he did was to destroy the Elangeni tribe.[153]

Although the text appears sympathetic to Shaka, it suggests his tormented childhood shaped his desire to avenge 'the enemies of his youth' rather than patriotism. It is worth noting that the idea of a 'tribal' boundary has crept into the text. Shaka is presented as a child of two different 'tribes'. Herein lies a message advancing ethnic homogeneity: intermarriage could make children's lives miserable. It seems to endorse two infamous apartheid laws, the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act, which prohibited sexual liaison and marriage across 'racial' boundaries. However, the text does not say how the 'illegitimate' liaison of his parents occurred. E. H. W. Lategan and A. J. de Kock reiterate: 'Chaka was therefore by birth not of pure Zulu blood. He was not particularly welcome among the Zulus. He and Nandi [Shaka's mother] then went to Elangeni, but because of his Zulu blood, Chaka was not welcome there either.'[154]

Van Rensburg and co-authors analyse the origins of Shaka's childhood:

> Shaka's childhood was unhappy. People regarded him as illegitimate (i. e. born to a mother who was not married). This left a permanent scar on his personality. … He

152 Havinga et al., *History Std. VI*, 87.
153 Lintvelt et al., *Timelines*, 107.
154 E. H. W. Lategan and A. J. de Kock, *History in Perspective Std. 6* (Johannesburg: Perskor, 1978), 208.

> developed a streak of cruelty, but was very intelligent and wanted to prove himself by ruling others. Only to his mother did he show deep affection.[155]

The text thus makes the unmarried mother, not the unmarried father, responsible. Syphus and co-authors explain that '[i]t is possible that his childhood unhappiness and frustration can in some way account for his cruelty and vengefulness in later life'.[156] A. M. Grundlingh and L. W. F. Grundlingh repeat the sorry tale: 'Other children often teased and bullied Shaka', which engendered 'a burning desire to prove himself and to become successful'.[157] Although school texts do not usually cite the sources, several texts cite historical novels.[158]

Many texts focus on a period beyond the rise of the Zulu kingdom. Joubert and Britz say: 'By 1820 Shaka controlled the whole of Zululand. He could have ended his wars, but then his warriors would have had nothing to do. He believed that this would weaken his forces. He therefore sent his impis far outside the borders of his country.'[159] This passage reveals two assumptions about Shaka and the Zulu. First, war is presented as the main preoccupation of the Zulu men who would otherwise have 'nothing to do' and fall into indolence. The text manages simultaneously to perpetuate stereotypes of African cruelty and laziness. Second, the text emphasises Shaka's insecurity. With 'nothing to do' but fight, Shaka 'believed' that ending wars would emasculate his forces and decided that the best form of defence was constant attack. Again, the text creates or reinforces the stereotype of war as the *raison d'être* of the African people. A textbook by H. A. Mocke and H. C. Wallis repeats: 'The Zulu kingdom grew steadily in size. It included the present-day KwaZulu and Natal. Tshaka believed that his army should be kept busy, so he waged war constantly.'[160]

Alternative descriptions appeared in the 1980s. Nisbet and co-authors advise:

> Some writers have described [Shaka] as a tyrant, but such judgements should be viewed against the background of his times rather than in terms of how we may see things today. … However, his success and achievements need to be measured more in terms of his undoubted skills as a political and military leader.[161]

155 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 118; and Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.] keeps the text intact, 118.

156 Syphus et al., *Man Through Ages*, 259.

157 A. M. Grundlingh and L. W. F. Grundlingh, *Active History Standard 6* (Randburg: Hodder and Stoughton, 1994), 6.

158 Becker's *Path of Blood* is listed in Y. Chengalroyen, *History 2000* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1990), 133; A. N. Boyce, *Legacy of the Past: A History for Standard 6* (Cape Town: Juta, 1972), 170; and Joubert and Britz, *History Std. 6*, 116. Ritter's *Rule of Fear* and *Shaka Zulu* are mentioned in Chengaloryen, *History 2000*, 133.

159 Joubert and Britz, *History Std. 6*, 113.

160 H. A. Mocke and H. C. Wallis, *History for the Eighties: Standard 6* (Cape Town: Via Afrika, 1981), 199.

161 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 158. This excerpt is reproduced without alteration in its sister

The text resembles the liberal Africanists' interpretation, after nearly twenty years since its rise in academic circles. Moreover, this text introduces students to five '[f]actors leading to change before 1800' and before Shaka appears. It states: '[t]o trace the origins of the power struggle in this region, and the story of how the Zulu became dominant, we must first go back in time and see what was happening further to the north-east around Delagoa Bay'.[162] Then the text discusses 'Trade', 'Land and cattle', 'Growth of population', 'Changes in social organisation' and 'Political change among the northern Nguni kingdoms, 1750 – 1818'.[163] These explanations seem to reflect a speedy uptake of historical scholarship until the 1980s. Although the text does not reveal who wrote each chapter, the back cover lists the historian John Laband as '[a]uthor of books on 19th century Natal and Zululand'.[164] Ironically, the material causes, hinted at in Havinga and co-authors, returned in this textbook after nearly 40 years, although the textbook by Nisbet and co-authors has no overtly racist overtone.

The 1986 and 1994 editions by van Rensburg and co-authors list seven factors leading the Zulu 'to become the most powerful of all the Black nations': 'Population explosion'; 'Land becomes scarce'; 'Political change becomes necessary'; 'Social change'; 'Dingiswayo conquers his neighbours'; 'The Zulu chiefdoms'; and 'Shaka takes over'.[165] The 'population explosion' calls to mind Cynthia Kros's critique in its assumption of 'the careless fecundity of African women'.[166] While the text presents the first three factors as affecting the chiefdoms in the region, the last four pertain to the Zulu. The order of the factors suggests a build-up to the appearance of Shaka and thus still confirms the Shaka-centric explanation with non-Shaka factors attached. Not only is Shaka presented as 'the military and political genius of the Zulu',[167] the text also tells us: '[s]ome historians regard Shaka as one of the top ten generals the world has seen. He was indeed the Napoleon of Africa!'[168] These claims are not substantiated by credible empirical sources.

F. E. Grave and co-authors follow: 'No one is really sure whether the ma-

publication, Angus MacLarty et al., *Discovering History Std. 6*, 2nd ed. (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter, 1995), 122.

162 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 149, also replicated unaltered in MacLarty et al., *Discovering History*, 114.

163 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 149 – 153; and MacLarty et al., *Discovering History*, 114 – 117.

164 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, back cover.

165 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 114 – 116; and Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.], 114 – 116.

166 Cynthia Kros, *Trusting to the Process: Reflections on the Flaws in the Negotiating of the History Curriculum in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 11.

167 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 138; and Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.], 138.

168 Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 122; and Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.], 122.

rauding attacks on other tribes … were the result of drought, shortage of food, greed for more cattle or overpopulation. What is known is that the warriors of Shaka became more powerful and won more battles than previous armies.'[169] This text acknowledges the material explanations of the early 1980s, but does not endorse them because 'no one is really sure'. It therefore focuses on 'what is known': the rise of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka's leadership. Curiously the text uses the word 'tribe', which by this time was considered a term loaded with negative connotations in southern African academic discourse.

In one of his '[p]oints to remember', Y. Chengalroyen tells us the *'mfecane'* was 'probably dictated by the growth of population and need for better grazing and irrigation, as well as the invasion of northern Africa by stronger tribes and pressure caused by other migrating tribes'.[170] The main text states: 'The emergence of a large kingdom intent on finding more land and requiring more food led to warfare.'[171] While the text introduces material factors behind the wars, it fails to consider alternative methods of obtaining resources by negotiations with other chieftains and increasing crop yield by improving farming methods. It therefore still perpetuates the view that warfare is the African way of obtaining resources as quoted from Havinga and co-authors.

Fresh approaches emerged after 1994. Rosenthal and co-authors caution students: 'Historians agree that this was a time of disruption, but disagree about the explanation for this disruption.'[172] Dugmore and co-authors recognise 'many different explanations' and that '[e]ach explanation has strengths and weaknesses'.[173] Unlike previous texts, both texts acknowledge that consensus has not yet been reached about this complex phenomenon. They discuss, at length, explanations based on the Zulu state-formation, ecological factors and trade factors.

Furthermore, Dugmore and co-authors explore four theories: 'Shaka's military skills'; 'Ecological'; 'Trade'; and 'Slave trade'.[174] Rosenthal and co-authors feature three: 'The rise of the Zulu nation'; 'Whites trading in slaves'; and 'Competition for resources'.[175] The latter text describes 'The rise of the Zulu nation' as what 'most people were taught in the past and ha[s] generally been absorbed as true', and declares it 'inadequate, because it only looks at one factor in what was a complex situation'.[176] Furthermore, it concludes that '[P]oliticians

169 F. E. Graves et al., *History for Today* (Cape Town: Juta, 1985), 160.
170 Chengaloryen, *History 2000*, 87.
171 Ibid., 87.
172 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 117.
173 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 28 for both quoted phrases.
174 Ibid., 29 – 31.
175 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 118 and 120 – 121.
176 Ibid., 118.

have used the Zulu-centred theory to support political claims', an assertion unthinkable during apartheid.[177] The textbook reflects a new pedagogy. When listing each hypothesis, it lists merits and flaws. Students' study activities are designed to train students' critical analysis of these hypotheses.

The syllabi issued in 1972 – 73 and thereafter prescribed the period that included Retief's murder by Dingane. Among the high apartheid texts (1945 – 71), Clear narrates these events. In the low apartheid era, the textbook by Mocke and Willis does not deal with the murder. However, its Transkei edition presents it in a biographical chapter on Retief.[178] One frequently-told story in low apartheid texts (1972 – 94) concerns the delivery of the cattle 'obtained' from Sikonyela to Dingane. Lategan and de Kock recount:

> The Rev. Owen [a British missionary in Port Natal] told Retief to be wary of Dingaan [sic] … Gert Maritz and some other Boers did not want Retief to go to Dingaan again. Maritz did not trust Dingaan at all. He offered to take Retief's place. Retief would not hear of this. He, as leader of the Voortrekkers, had decided to go himself. He himself wanted to make sure that his people were given land.[179]

The text portrays Retief as a leader who put his fellow trekkers before himself. The text's judgement can be found in the final sentence. In this way, his unwavering nature, or intransigence, is transformed into altruism. Maritz's offer to go in his place illustrates the respect that Retief enjoyed. The text also depicts Retief as almost too naïve for his own good to negotiate with Dingane. While the text portrays Retief in an admirable light, it also indirectly characterises Dingane's personality as deceitful or fiendish.

Paynter's 1974 textbook relates: 'There were already some disturbing rumours that Dingaan [sic] meant mischief. … However Retief thought it essential that he himself should go and take a fairly large commando with him to impress Dingaan.'[180] While the text shows Retief's dutifulness, it does not address why Retief wanted to impress and needed to take 'a fairly large commando'. Boyce's 1972 edition explains that Maritz:

> did not wish Retief to return to Dingaan in person for already rumours were spreading to the effect that Dingaan was plotting to kill the Boers. Retief, however, felt it would create a bad impression if he did not return in person to Dingaan to make the final arrangement concerning land.[181]

177 Ibid., 118.
178 Mocke and Wallis, *History for the Eighties*. The edition for the Homeland of the Transkei is *Discovering Our Amazing Past* (Umtata: Via Afrika, c.1980), written by the same authors.
179 Lategan and de Kock, *History in Perspective*, 137.
180 Paynter, *Junior History* [1974], 141.
181 Boyce, *Legacy* [1972 ed.], 184.

Other low apartheid texts follow suit. As Lintvelt and co-authors reiterate, 'Maritz did not trust Dingaan and offered to go in place of Retief. However, Retief did not wish to offend Dingaan and he felt that, as leader of the Voortrekkers, it was his personal duty to continue with Dingaan'.[182] On the subject of Dingane's invitation to watch the dancing, the text explains: 'Because Retief wanted to gain the confidence of Dingaan, he could not decline the invitation. William Wood, a boy who lived with the missionary, Owen, in Dingaan's kraal, warned Retief that Dingaan was planning to murder them. However, Retief trusted Dingaan and did not pay attention to this warning.'[183]

The support Retief enjoyed is demonstrated elsewhere. According to Joubert and Britz's 1985 textbook, Retief refused Maritz's suggestion to take 'four or five men'[184] with him. But Retief was 'eventually persuaded to take only the volunteers'.[185] By the time Retief departed, the volunteers comprised '67 men, 4 boys and 30 outriders'.[186] The outriders are described as 'Khoi outriders' in one text,[187] 'Coloured retainers' in Lategan and de Kock's textbook,[188] and 'coloured servants' in Boyce's 1972 edition and Paynter's 1974 edition.[189] Retief is thus shown to have won the confidence of not just his trekkers, but also servants of another 'racial group'. The mark of 'Coloured' or 'Khoi' support seems to foreshadow or echo the 1980s low apartheid programme of co-opting support from the Coloured and Indian people. In 1983 the South African government implemented the tricameral constitution, which established three separate parliaments for the white, Coloured and Indian peoples, excluding the blacks. The status of the coloured people is presented as clearly subordinate to the whites as 'servants' or 'retainers'.

The texts turn to the treaty. Retief and his party secured the land treaty from Dingane and were ready to depart. Clear's textbook presents the Dingane-Retief exchange as a dialogue: '"Before you go you must drink with me," said Dingaan. "Let some beer be brought in." The unsuspecting trekkers sat down. They had no guns, as they had been told that it was an act of discourtesy to come armed to the king's kraal for entertainment.'[190] The trekkers are described as 'unsuspecting', which may be interpreted again as being due to either their trust or naivety. They are also shown to respect the Zulu custom, as it is 'discourteous' to come armed

182 Lintvelt et al., *Timelines*, 141.
183 Ibid., 141.
184 Joubert and Britz, *History Std. 6*, 146.
185 Ibid., 146.
186 Ibid., 146.
187 Lambrechts et al., *History 6*, 87.
188 Lategan and de Kock, *History in Perspective*, 137.
189 Boyce, *Legacy* [1972 ed.], 184; and Paynter, *Junior History* [1974], 142.
190 Clear, *Our Country*, 70.

to Dingane's kraal. Although it is only in one text, 'cultural difference', which is typical of the low apartheid-era texts, is also found in the high apartheid era (1945 – 71). Although this representation reverses the normal portrayal of white leaders as individuals and the blacks as masses, it singles out Dingane and presents the trekkers as a collective. The narrative thus hides Dingane's people from the scene and presents the trekkers as a coherent whole – omitting some trekkers' reservations about Dingane's instructions.

'Cultural difference' finds expression in Mocke and Wallis's Transkei edition: '[The trekkers] left their weapons outside the kraal as it was not the custom to carry weapons when meeting a king.'[191] Lintvelt and co-authors say: 'They were compelled to leave their horses and weapons outside as no weapons were allowed in the kraal.'[192] Alternatively, Paynter's 1974 edition shows: 'When Retief and his men were told to leave their guns and horses outside Dingaan's kraal, some of the Boers wanted to refuse but Retief reassured them that there was no reason to doubt Dingaan's good intentions.'[193] This text suggests not only Retief's respect for Dingane's instructions, but also his ability to 'reassure' his followers not 'to doubt Dingane's good intentions'. Yet in the context of the murder, which all the texts mention, Dingane is shown as disrespectful of the trekkers' accommodating attitude. Retief's trust costs him. It seems to imply that one must constantly be on guard when negotiating with African leaders.

Paradoxically, in the 1980s, a few textbooks replaced the dominant biographical approach to history with some pedagogical innovation. Nisbet and co-authors feature over seven pages of resource-based activities. The resources incorporate accounts by British missionaries, Gustav Preller and the Xhosa translator Jakot Msimbiti. The latter advised Dingane that the white people would first settle in small numbers, then in large numbers and later would eventually try to wipe out the original inhabitants.[194] Predictably, the post-apartheid texts examined neither vilify nor glorify Retief and Dingane. Chengalroyen has a learning activity that sets up a mock trial of Retief.[195] Angus MacLarty and co-authors caution that the story of the murder 'is clouded with emotions'. The text encourages students to come to a reasoned conclusion: 'What seems to be certain about this event? Can we come to any conclusion about why Dingane acted as he did?'[196] Two post-apartheid textbooks, Dugmore

191 Mocke and Wallis, *Discovering Our Amazing Past*, 51.
192 Lintvelt et al., *Timelines*, 141.
193 Paynter, *Junior History* [1974], 142.
194 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 214 – 221.
195 This textbook recommends students read R. U. Kenny's *Piet Retief: The Dubious Hero* (Cape Town, 1976). Chengalroyen, *History 2000*, 119.
196 MacLarty et al., *Discovering History*, 141. As a sister publication of Nisbet et al.'s *History Alive* it is driven by resource-based activities.

and co-authors, and Rosenthal and co-authors, are also activities-driven. In particular, the latter sets up a theme, 'Dingane's Dilemma'. The tasks get students to examine four sources pointing to Dingane's afflicted state. This textbook not only uses Retief's letters, but it also features oral evidence and the warning to Dingane from Msimbiti.[197]

How do the texts narrate Retief's recovery of cattle from Sikonyela? Van Jaarsveld's 1974 edition describes how Dingane

> was prepared to give land to the Boers, but there was a condition: Retief had to recover cattle which had been stolen from Dingaan by Sikonyella [sic]. Retief agreed to do this. […] At a general assembly it was decided that Retief would have to deliver the cattle which had been taken from Sikonyella.[198]

The text notes Dingane's challenge to Retief and moves straight to a comment about who delivered the cattle to Dingane. It thus omits how Retief recovered cattle from Sekonyela as if it were an insignificant event. Joubert and Britz narrate likewise: 'Retief recovered the stolen cattle from Sekonyela and a people's meeting decided that 200 men were to accompany him to Dingane.'[199]

Low apartheid texts describe Retief's cattle seizure as unproblematic. Boyce's 1972 edition simply tells that 'Retief … recovered the cattle from Sekonyela without any difficulty.'[200] Lategan and de Kock maintain: 'The Boers quite easily got back the stolen cattle.'[201] Mocke and Willis's Transkei edition reiterates: 'Retief and his men went to Sikonyela on the border of Lesotho and got back the cattle without difficulty.'[202] Van Rensburg and co-authors state: 'Retief regained the stolen cattle from Sekonyela.'[203] Their 1994 edition reproduces the same description without amendments, which may be construed as failing to anticipate the changing political climate. Lintvelt and co-authors say: '[Retief] had experienced no difficulty in recovering Dingaan's cattle from Sekonyela, but had not taken Sekonyela prisoner.'[204] Curiously this text denies that Retief took Sekonyela prisoner. For readers with knowledge of Retief's trickery, this statement appears to be a blatant lie.

H. A. Lambrechts and co-authors note Dingane's conditions of negotiation with Retief 'provided that Retief could return cattle stolen by Sekonyela to him [Dingaan]. Retief however refused to surrender Sekonyela or the horses and

197 Rosenthal et al., *In Search of History*, 136 – 137.
198 Van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History* [1974 ed.], 196.
199 Joubert and Britz, *History Std. 6*, 146.
200 Boyce, *Legacy* [1972 ed.], 182.
201 Lategan and de Kock, *History in Perspective*, 137.
202 Mocke and Wallis, *Discovering Our Amazing Past*, 53.
203 Van Rensburg et al., *Active History* [1994 ed.], 180. The entire section is identical to the 1986 edition, Van Rensburg, *Active History* [1986 ed.], 180.
204 Lintvelt et al., *Timelines*, 140.

guns taken.'[205] This text seems to show Retief as not only fulfilling his duty to Dingane, but also defending Retief for capturing Sekonyela, possibly to protect Sekonyela from Dingane's ire. The text does not directly state but implies that Dingane was fickle and greedy to demand 'horses and guns' from Retief, which the text does not mention is part of Retief's duty. Yet it does not detail why Retief captured Sekonyela and obtained the horses and guns.

Textbooks published after the mid-1980s reveal more about Retief's trickery. Graves and co-authors expose it thus: 'The indunas [councillors], who had accompanied the cattle raid, had reported on how Siknoyela was tricked into giving them up.'[206] An inlay adds '[t]he trekkers kept more cattle than they sent to Dingane, as reward for their efforts'.[207] The text describes Retief as embarking on a 'raid', implying that Retief was not interested in negotiation with Sekonyela from the outset. Post-apartheid texts elaborate on Retief's deceit. Chengalroyen notes: 'Sikonyela was tricked, handcuffed and threatened that he would not be released until he returned the cattle belonging to Dingaan. Retief took 700 cattle, 63 horses and 11 guns, but only sent the royal cattle to Dingaan. He released Sikonyela and kept the rest of the booty.'[208] MacLarty and co-authors explain:

> Retief had been mistakenly accused during the first meeting with King Dingane of taking Zulu cattle. The cattle in fact had been taken by Sekonyela. Dingane had required Retief to prove himself innocent by getting the cattle back from Sekonyela. King Dingane sent men to see that the cattle did come from Sekonyela. These men therefore saw that Retief did not use force, but tricked Sekonyela into putting on handcuffs, and refused to release him until the cattle and some firearms were returned.
> Dingane accepted that the cattle had been stolen by Sekonyela. He demanded that the firearms be handed to him with the cattle, but Retief refused, saying that he had only been told to bring back and hand over the missing cattle.[209]

Dugmore and co-authors are succinct: 'Retief tricked chief Sekonyela into trying on a pair of handcuffs and then held him captive until he had all the cattle back.'[210] It elaborates how Dingaan became sure of Retief's intentions:

> Dingane knew that the white colonists had defeated the Xhosa on the eastern Cape frontier. … [The Ndebele chief Mzilikazi] controlled the trade to Delagoa Bay and he

205 Lambrechts et al., *History 6*, 87.
206 Graves et al., *History for Today*, 215.
207 Ibid., 215.
208 Chengaloryen, *History 2000*, 115.
209 MacLarty et al., *Discovering History*, 142. A similar statement is found in its predecessor: 'Some of [Sekonyela's] men had horses and wore European clothes and had, when they stole the cattle, been mistaken for Trekkers.' Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 218.
210 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 56.

was afraid that the Voortrekkers might try to take this control. He decided to get rid of them by killing him and his men.[211]

Post-apartheid texts show how Retief's tricked Sekonyela, which undermines the integrity of Retief that some texts portrayed. The texts that present his integrity and trickery together appear to ignore the contradictory characteristics. Throughout the period, the texts tell us much about Retief and Dingane, but very little about what happened to Sekonyela or how he felt about the accusation and the deception. These texts imply that Dingane's decision was shaped by Retief's dishonesty, not honesty.

The land treaty between Dingane and Retief has been treated in various ways over time. Clear's 1947 textbook states that 'Retief was ready to depart, the treaty signed and in his wallet'.[212] This sentence presents the actual signing as a *fait accompli* and allows the omission of the circumstances under which the signing might have taken place. Three other texts deploy the same strategy although a small number clearly state that Dingane signed the treaty.[213] Mocke and Wallis note: 'According to the treaty with Retief signed by Dingane and three of his indunas, Natal was the lawful property of the Voortrekkers.'[214] Instead of asking if the treaty was genuine, the text seems to legitimise the treaty by adding 'three of his indunas' as witnesses to the document, which made Natal the Voortrekkers' 'lawful property'. Joubert and Britz describe the Voortrekkers as 'legal owners of the region between the Tugela and Umzimvubu rivers'.[215] Paynter's 1974 edition cryptically narrates that 'After Dingane had made his mark on the treaty granting the Trekkers all the land … the Boers were anxious to depart.'[216] Why did the Boers become 'anxious to depart'? The text does not explain. Nor does it detail how the signing took place.

Mocke and Wallis's Transkei edition tells a slightly different story: 'Dingane was very pleased when his stolen cattle were returned to him. On Sunday 4th February the treaty was signed. Retief obtained the territory'.[217] This text does not say who signed the treaty. However, the progression of events creates an impression that Dingane or the Zulu signed the treaty almost on an impulse.

'Cultural difference' is also employed in explaining this event. Van Jaarsveld's

211 Ibid., 56.
212 Clear, *Our Country*, 70.
213 Boyce, *Legacy* [1972 ed.], 184: 'On 4 February, Dingaan signed a treaty giving all the territory …'; Lambrechts et al., *History 6*, 87: 'Dingaan signed this treaty with a cross on 4 February 1838'; and Lategan and de Kock, *History in Perspective*, 137: 'On Sunday 4 February, Retief and Dingane concluded and signed a written agreement.'
214 Mocke and Wallis, *History for the Eighties*, 133.
215 Joubert and Britz, *History Std. 6*, 146.
216 Paynter, *Junior History* [1974], 142.
217 Mocke and Wallis, *Discovering Our Amazing Past*, 51.

1974 edition says: 'Both Chaka and Dingaan sold land near Port Natal to the British traders'. Then a paragraph later it says: 'A treaty ceding land was drawn up and "signed" by Dingaan, with his "mark".'[218] By using inverted commas, the text seems to imply Dingane's illiteracy and his ignorance of the significance of written documents in European customs. However, the preceding remark about Dingane's dealings with British traders shows that Dingane might not be completely ignorant of the western ways of doing business. Another text puts it more bluntly: 'Dingane "signed" a treaty ceding the land. … This Treaty did not mean to Dingane what it meant to Retief.'[219] Taken together, historical precedents are used to legitimise the low apartheid ideology of separation as the solution to South Africa's problems.

Yet 'cultural difference' can also be used to query the validity of the treaty. Nisbet and co-authors ask if Dingane gave the land to the trekkers and suggests that students use their 'knowledge of the Blacks' and the Voortrekkers' differing attitudes to land rights'.[220] It further explains that '[i]n all Black kingdoms and chiefdoms there was no such thing as the outright sale of land as in European law'.[221] The misunderstanding between the two is explained: 'Because the Voortrekkers considered land agreements as outright purchase.'[222]

Post-apartheid texts further bridge the gap to recent academic history and expose the flaws of the treaty document. Dugmore and co-authors put it this way: 'Dingane is said to have agreed to give Retief the land'.[223] The circumspect phrase 'is said to have' neither confirms nor denies the existence of the treaty. The textbook explains later: 'In spite of the claims that Retief had a land deed, or treaty, signed by Dingane, many historians doubt this. Some think it was written by Retief's followers after he had been killed.'[224] The caption under the photograph of the treaty says that it 'was supposed to have been in Retief's hunting bag when his body was found in December 1838. Not all historians believe that this document is genuine.'[225] MacLarty and co-authors reveal:

> Only a copy of a treaty, dated two days before the day when Retief was killed, exists today. It is a certified copy; the original disappeared many years ago, but it is said to have been found in a leather bag on the hillside where the Trekkers were killed. This

218 Van Jaarsveld, *New Illustrated History* [1974 ed.], 201.
219 Syphus et al., *Man Through Ages*, 266.
220 Nisbet et al., *History Alive*, 221.
221 Ibid., 211.
222 Ibid., 212. These explanations appear in an inlay as optional reading.
223 Dugmore et al., *Making History*, 56.
224 Ibid., 56.
225 Ibid., 57.

> treaty has Dingane's mark on it. … But presumably the Trekkers would not have been leaving unless Retief had obtained his promise.[226]

Summary

Low apartheid texts (1972 – 94) explained the Zulu state-formation as Shaka's single-handed effort and that his motivation stemmed from his miserable childhood. These textbooks suggest that Shaka was motivated to overcome his miserable childhood. This characterisation of Shaka as a vengeful tyrant and the wars leading to the Zulu state-formation can be construed as perverting Africanist historiography and legitimising the Homeland policies. From the mid-1980s onwards, a handful of textbooks introduced material factors to explain the Zulu state-formation, which academic historians had advanced only a few years earlier. However, these texts did little to diminish the dominant role of Shaka. Post-apartheid texts (1990 – 96) have gone some way towards bridging the gap to academic historians. They negate the Shaka-centric explanations of the Zulu state-formation and introduce material, ecological and trade factors as contributing to the outcome.

The apartheid-era textbooks show Retief as determined to deliver the best outcome for his fellow trekkers. Two main factors enhance his steadfastness and unflagging trust in Dingane: his refusal to act on advice from his supporters and his dutifulness even to the point of endangering his life. Such a portrayal might be interpreted as naïve or heroic. Emphasis on his positive qualities serves not only to mask his arrogance towards Sikoneyla and Dingane, but also to highlight Dingane's treachery. This analysis has found that Retief's method of capturing cattle from Sekonyela varied from being described as an unproblematic act to being a deception by Retief. Post-apartheid texts tend to reveal the latter aspect, although Sekonyela's perspective remains untold.

Apartheid texts describe the signing of the treaty as a largely unproblematic issue and trivialise questions surrounding the actual signing. Cultural difference is emphasised. Retief's respect for the Zulu protocols at Dingane's kraal is shown to have resulted in his death. Apartheid texts stress Retief's good faith as being betrayed by Dingane. 'Cultural difference' is also used to show or even to excuse the Voortrekkers' ignorance of the Zulu concept of land which was different from theirs.

226 MacLarty et al., *Discovering History*, 142.

Themes Emerging from South African History Textbooks

This analysis has shown how South African history textbooks dealt with four themes that were selected from Standard 6 history syllabi during the fifty years after World War II. Five observations emerge from the examination.

Firstly, apartheid texts offer apologetic or sympathetic interpretations favouring or excusing European settlers, while attributing blame to blacks or metropolitan authorities. An apology for settlers appears in the descriptions of van Riebeeck's interactions with the Khoi, the reasons given for importing slaves, and the British Government's abolition of slavery.

Secondly, white people are presented as the protagonists of South African history. In high apartheid texts (1945 – 71), the Khoikhoi, the Bushman and the Bantu-speakers are portrayed negatively. The texts assert the supremacy of the whites not only in conflicts, but also by concentrating on a few individuals to produce generalised 'racial' stereotypes. A stark contrast emerges from depictions such as Harry and Shaka on the one hand, and van Riebeeck and Retief on the other. While the apartheid texts generally disparage Harry and Shaka, they are predominantly complimentary to the white figures. White triumphalism also presents the European culture as the most civilised in South Africa. The apartheid texts underplay or ignore the history of the Khoikhoi, the Bushman, the slaves and Bantu-speaking people except when whites are involved. Texts frequently single out the actions of white individuals to emphasise their initiative and dominance, while the blacks are generally reduced to insignificant and unspecified masses.

Thirdly, the apartheid texts, especially low apartheid texts (1972 – 94), seem to invoke historical precedents to legitimise apartheid policies.[227] They seem to present 'inter-racial' conflict as inevitable and 'inter-racial' co-operation as difficult or impracticable. Lamenting the deleterious effects of slavery on the white psyche endorses a wishful programme of self-sufficiency for the whites in a world where they would no longer rely on black labour. Separate development also seems to be endorsed by showcasing Shaka's traumatic experience as a child of 'mixed blood' and the effects of his '*mfecane*' wars. A remarkable change in the texts from the mid-1980s comes with the emergence of references to the Khoikhoi as junior partners of the whites during conflicts against the Bantu-speakers. This appears to reflect the appropriation of policy embedded in the tricameral constitution.

Fourthly, a significant transition occurred in a limited number of texts published since the mid-1980s. Changes in the contents and interpretations were

227 Dean, Hartmann and Katzen write that this tendency 'parallels with the present'. Dean, Hartmann and Katzen, *History in Black and White*, 59.

accompanied by a shift in pedagogical orientation. In these texts, a linear narrative became less prominent than in previous textbooks. Instead, the texts incorporated student-centred approaches, encouraging students to view history as an analytical exercise requiring evaluation and interpretation of evidence.

Finally, the transitions from high to low and to post-apartheid texts are not as clear-cut as might have been expected. Cultural differences, expected to appear in low apartheid texts, appear in several high apartheid texts. A few texts published in the 1980s towards the end of the low apartheid era (1972 – 94), challenge the orthodox interpretations expressed in previous texts. However, it is worth noting that not all texts published in the post-apartheid era (1990 – 96) discarded the assumptions of the low apartheid era.

Chapter Three: An Analysis of Japanese Middle-school History Textbooks

Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of my analysis of four historical themes in thirty Japanese middle-school history textbooks, which were screened and approved for use by Mombushô between 1951 and 1993. It has been argued that Mombushô's power over textbook publishers increased over the decades. However, Mombushô also distanced itself from direct responsibility for textbook content. The following analysis shows that changes occurred, but important aspects of textbook historiography remained the same.

The events and themes chosen for this analysis and the rationale for the choice have already been stated in the Introduction and need not be repeated here. However, one further point deserves attention. To what extent do Japanese textbooks incorporate historical voices of minorities? In his analysis of American textbooks, the educationist Michael Apple observes that American textbook publishers may respond to pressures from minority and progressive lobby groups by including items relating to these groups. However, the texts maintain the hegemony of the dominant culture by polite mentions and compromise; for example, only briefly introducing the minority and progressive items.[1] This is the sort of practice that Robert Lerner, Althea Nagai and Stanley Rothman call 'filler feminism': a token recognition of women's role in history in response to feminist activities and lobbying in the United States.[2] This criticism may be borne in mind when analysing Japanese texts. Two of the four selected themes, the Ainu-Japanese interaction and the representation of female factory workers, offer ideal opportunities to test whether the same criticism can be fairly directed at Japanese texts.

1 Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 56.

2 Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai and Stanley Rothman, *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Texts* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1995), 66.

A Note about Textbook Format

The formats of Japanese history textbooks have changed significantly over time. Before 1958 it was not uncommon for textbooks to be published in two volumes. Since then, textbooks have been published in single volumes of A5 size, with about 300 pages covering the entire history curriculum. A page typically contains between fifteen and eighteen lines of text taking up about two-thirds of the page, with visual aids occupying the rest. 'Extra information' is the content not officially prescribed in the curriculum. It is distinguished by one of three conventions: text in a smaller font size, a separate feature as 'special reading' and footnotes.[3]

1. The Nanboku-chô Conflict

Historical Background

By the time the Hojô clan ruled the *bakufu* (samurai regime) in the late Kakamura period (1192 – 1334), the role of the imperial family had changed to reigning as opposed to ruling, which the *bakufu* assumed. The relative decline of the imperial family is illustrated by the Hojô clan's role as mediator in an intractable succession feud in the imperial family between the Southern and the Northern Courts.[4] Go-Daigo of the Southern Court solicited support from disaffected samurai and rose up against the Hojôs. In 1333, Go-Daigo escaped from Oki Island where he had been banished. He deployed his samurai allies, Nitta Yoshisada and Ashikaga Takauji, and defeated the Hojôs.[5] In 1334, Go-Daigo proclaimed himself the new ruler and launched some reforms from Kyoto. However, what became known as the Kenmu Restoration was short-lived. Dissent arose among the samurai and the peasants, who felt that Go-Daigo neglected their interests and favoured the aristocracy.

3 Of the thirty texts examined, most are written in the 'authoritative-sounding' plain form (*da/dearu-tai* or *jôtai*). Three texts are written in the 'polite-sounding' *desu-masu* form (*teineitai*): Fujii Kantarô and Sugano Jirô, *Sodachiyuku Nihon (jô, ge)* [Growing Japan (vols. 1 and 2)] (Tokyo: Fennikkusu Shoin, 1951); Tokinotani Masaru, *Chûgaku shakai rekishiteki bunya* (Osaka: Osaka Shoin, 1984); Teruya Hirohiko, *Chûgakusei no rekishi: Nihon no ayumi to sekai no ugoki* (Tokyo: Teikoku Shoin, 1993).

4 Murai Shôsuke, "13 – 14 seiki no Nihon", in *Iwanami kôza Nihon tsûshi dai 8 kan: Chûsei 2* [Iwanami Series of Comprehensive History of Japan Volume 8: Medieval 2 (hereafter abbreviated into *IKNT* or *Iwanami History of Japan*)], eds. Asao Naohiro et al., (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 48.

5 Ibid., 54; and Nitta Ichirô, *Nihon no rekishi dai 11 kan: Taiheiki no jidai* [History of Japan 11: The Era of Taiheiki] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2001), 55.

What ensued was the Nanboku-chô conflict that lasted for six decades and stretched from the Kyûshû to the Kanto regions. It involved aristocrats, samurai, peasants and the so-called bandits.[6] Go-Daigo deployed Takauji to quell rebellions against the restoration. However, Takauji turned against Go-Daigo and defeated Yoshisada who had been despatched by Go-Daigo to punish Takauji. Then Takauji installed the Northern Court in Kyoto where Emperor Kômyô granted him the title of Shogun in 1338. This step was necessary to proclaim a samurai *bakufu* and one that kept the imperial family from falling into obscurity.[7] In 1337, Go-Daigo went into exile in Yoshino, near Nara, taking with him the imperial regalia. Possession of the imperial regalia symbolised the right to rule and was accorded by the imperial family. This meant that two emperors and one *bakufu* reigned concurrently, exposing the rift within the imperial family.

Both courts mobilised troops by rewarding them with manorial estates. The third Ashikaga shogun, Yoshimitsu, led the Southern Court into a negotiated settlement that ended the war in 1392.[8] The terms of the ceasefire entailed the handing over of the imperial regalia by the Southern Court to the Northern Court, thus conceding legitimacy to the Northern Court. Moreover, alternate succession resumed, although the Northern Court soon absorbed the Southern Court.[9] As the Japanese medieval historian Amino Yoshihiko pointed out, the compromise saved the imperial family from complete disintegration.[10] In Kenneth Grossberg's analysis, the settlement also consolidated the authority of the Ashikaga regime through 'the aristocratisation of the *buke* [samurai]', making it a *de facto* shogun monarchy by intermingling with the aristocracy.[11]

The impact of the Nanboku-chô conflict on Japanese historiography cannot be neglected for it exposes vital aspects of *kôkokushikan*, an emperor-centric view of Japanese history. *Kôkokushikan* is said to justify the existence of the imperial family from Emperor Jinmu, whose reign is alleged to have begun in 660 BCE, through to the present emperor along a supposedly unbroken lineage. It was compatible with the Meiji state ideology, which held that the emperor was

6 According to Andrew Edmund Goble, Go-Daigo was regarded as a revanchist opportunist for decades. But since the mid-1970s, revisionists' works such as that by Amino Yoshihiko have reinterpreted Go-Daigo's policies. It is now believed that Go-Daigo's policies were adopted by later regimes and thus were ahead of his own time. Andrew Edmund Goble, *Kenmu: Go-Daigo's Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

7 Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "In Name Only: Imperial Sovereignty in Early Modern Japan", *Journal of Japanese Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991): 30.

8 Nitta, *Taiheiki*, 290.

9 Ibid., 290 – 292.

10 Amino Yoshihiko, *Ikei no ôken* [An Idiosyncratic Regime] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), 244.

11 Kenneth Grossberg, "From Feudal Chieftain to Secular Monarch: The Development of Shogunal Power in Early Muromachi Japan", *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 1 (1976): 30 – 34.

'sacred', 'inviolable' and his veracity was derived from the ancient 'Age of Gods'. However, this was incompatible with the scientific practice of history.[12] For instance, Mombushô-authored wartime school texts aimed to foster the *kokutai* ideology: to identify the Japanese as loyal subjects of the emperor, conflating the national and common good, and stressing the people's duty to serve the nation.[13] In these texts, Emperor Jinmu's lived until the age of 127 years, 85 of which he spent as Emperor. However, the textbook did not dwell on his longevity, but skipped on to the eleventh emperor.[14]

Even after Japan's defeat in 1945, *kôkokushikan* is said to have survived in different forms. Morita Toshio suggests that it may have been purged of wartime ultra-nationalist sentiments, but it still maintained the emperor-system as a foundation of the Japanese state (*tennôsei rekishikan*). The difference is that while *kôkokushikan* stresses the omnipotence of the emperor and the imperial family, *tennôsei rekishikan* removes the emperor's political authority, but depicts the imperial family as the epitome of Japanese cultural evolution from antiquity.[15] This view seems to complement the post-war Constitution, Article 1, which defines the emperor as the 'symbol' of the Japanese state and the unity of the Japanese people asserts the emperor as the nation's symbol. Article 6 refers to the emperor's role in 'appointing' prime ministers and supreme court chief justices.[16] Furthermore, another variant, the 'delegation theory' reinforces this view of history. It assumes that the imperial family has been generally apolitical, preferring to mandate shoguns to rule on their behalf.[17] These perspectives lead Yoshida Takashi to argue that the common narrative pattern of Japanese history is still dominated by the development of the Yamato Court, which laid the

12 Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 142.

13 John Caiger, "The Aims and Content of School Courses in Japanese History, 1872 – 1945", in *Japan's Modern Century: A Special Issue of Monumenta Nipponica Prepared in Celebration of the Centennial of the Meiji Restoration*, ed. Edmund Skryzpczak (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1968), 65.

14 John Brownlee, *Japanese Historians and the National Myths, 1600 – 1945: The Age of the Gods and Emperor Jinmu* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), chap. 8; Margaret Mehl, *History and the State in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 126 – 133.

15 Morita Toshio, *Rinkyôshin to Nihonjin, Nihon bunkaron* [Rinkyôshin and the Japanese and Theories of Japanese Cultures] (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha, 1988), 8 – 9.

16 Wakabayashi, "Imperial Sovereignty", 56.

17 Takashi Fujitani states that the proponents cite delegation policies by Emperors Kanmu, Shirakawa, Go-Shirakawa and Go-Daigo as ideal examples. Fujitani Takashi, "Shôchô tennôsei no mirai ni tsuite" ["On the Future of the Symbolic Emperor System"], *Nihon no rekishi 25: Nihon wa doko e yukunoka* [History of Japan 25: Where is Japan Going?], eds. Carol Gluck et al. (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2003), 251 – 252.

foundation of today's imperial family and the development of a centralised state, with regional history making only an occasional appearance.[18]

While consolidating state power, the Meiji regime sought to gain inspiration and legitimacy from what it saw as an historical precedent. Emperor Go-Daigo's revolt against the samurai regime and the Kenmu Restoration provided the necessary ideological sustenance. However, the Meiji government's effort met with controversy. In creating its national history, the Meiji state drew on *Dai Nihonshi*, compiled in the Edo period (1603 – 1868), which relied on *Taiheiki,* a chronicle of the Nanboku-chô conflict. Both were sympathetic to the Southern Court.[19] The sore point of this history was that Emperor Meiji came from the Northern Court. However, the state seemed more interested in cultivating loyalty to emperors. The legitimacy of the Northern Court was eventually resolved by pointing out that it had received the imperial regalia at the end of the Nanboku-chô conflict. The questions surrounding the imperial regalia are highly complex. There is little agreement about their authenticity, but historians accept that the Northern Court's receipt of the regalia made it the authentic court thereafter.[20]

A new breed of professional historians from the Meiji period clashed with the state over Nanboku-chô. In 1890, the historian Professor Shigeno Yasutsugu broke the silence about the empirical basis of the imperial family's history. Shigeno challenged the empirical validity of the fourteenth-century war chronicle, *Taiheiki*, which is said to have commemorated the efforts of the loyal retainer, Kojima Tadamori, in support of Go-Daigo.[21]

In 1911, another controversy emerged. The government declared the state-written primary-school history text inappropriate, because it named the Nanboku-chô era.[22] The government believed 'Nanboku-chô' validated both courts as legitimate, contradicting the prevailing Meiji-era ideology of an unbroken and undivided imperial family lineage; where two sovereigns did not reign simultaneously.[23] The government ordered that 'Nanboku-chô' be replaced with 'Yoshino-chô,' which favoured the Southern Court. Moreover, the chief author of the text, Professor Kita Sadakichi, was suspended from his academic post. Consequently, the university lecturers ended up teaching the state version while conducting their own research in their professional capacities.[24]

18 Yoshida Takashi, *Nihon no tanjô* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 207.

19 Brownlee, *Japanese Historians,* 119; Iwai Tadanobu, "Kindai ni okeru Go-Daigo tennô zô" ["The Images of Emperor Go-Daigo in Modern Period"], in *Tennôsei no kokka no tôgô to shihai* [The Unification of and Rule by the Emperor System State] eds. Umahara Tetsuo and Iwai Tadanobu (Tokyo: Bunrikaku, 1992), 4; and Nitta, *Taiheiki*, 324 – 325.

20 Brownlee, *Japanese Historians*, 119.

21 Ibid., 87 – 88; Iwai, "Go-Daigo tennô," 9; and Mehl, *History and the State*, 122 – 123.

22 Brownlee, 119 – 120; and Iwai, "Go-Daigo tennô", 9.

23 Brownlee, 119 and 121 – 122.

24 Ibid., 122 and 128 – 129; and Mehl, *History and the State*, 144 – 145.

The pre-1911 texts, according to John Brownlee and Iwai Tadanobu, used the term Nanboku-chô, which implicitly validated both courts.[25] Brownlee suggests that this textbook controversy occurred in the aftermath of the Taigyaku incident of 1910 – 11, when 'anarchists' were sentenced to death for allegedly plotting the assassination of Emperor Meiji. The popular press viewed the textbook as failing to inculcate students with loyalty towards the imperial family.[26] The subsequent wartime texts, however, did not state which court was legitimate, but portrayed Go-Daigo's allies as fighting with valour and being loyal to the emperor. Such representation seemed to promote *kôkokushikan* and to reinforce the *kokutai* ideology.[27]

How textbooks should treat this sensitive tussle between the imperial family and the samurai re-emerged as an issue in post-war Japan. Professor Ienaga Saburô's high-school textbook manuscript, written in 1962, pointed out that during the Edo period (1603 – 1868) the emperors lost the position of sovereign. Mombushô demanded it be revised because Mombushô believed that despite the loss of this position, the imperial family still retained the power to appoint shogun, albeit only formally.[28] The order has been seen as reinforcing *tennôsei rekishikan* and delegation theory, as well as the role and the status of the emperor and the imperial family stated in the post-war Constitution. Current academic historians do not view the Nanboku-chô conflict as simply a struggle between the samurai and the aristocracy, but more as a conflict about the shape of the monarchy – either direct imperial rule (*shinsei*) or indirect rule by a cloistered emperor (*insei*).[29]

Textbook Approaches

This analysis focuses on two aspects of the Nanboku-chô conflict. Firstly, how the texts narrate the beginning of the dual reign and secondly the conclusion of the conflict. In a brief analysis of text descriptions of emperors, Ochiai Nobutaka finds that the texts tended to accord the symbolic role of the Japanese historical narrative to the imperial family. This is in spite of their declining status during

25 Brownlee, 119 – 120; and Iwai, "Go-Daigo tennô", 8.

26 Brownlee, 120.

27 Ibid., 122 – 23; and Iwai, "Go-Daigo tennô", 9; and Nitta, *Taiheiki*, 66.

28 Wakabayashi, "Imperial Sovereignty", 27 citing Ochiai Nobutaka, "Rekishi kyôkasho ni okeru tennô no jojutsu" [References to Emperors in History Textbooks"], *Rekishi hyôron*, no. 314 (1976): 72.

29 Imatani Akira, "14 – 15 seiki no Nihon" ["Japan in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries"], *IKNT dai 9 kan: Chûsei 3* [Iwanami History of Japan Volume 9: Medieval 3], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 3.

the medieval era, so it loses sight of the court-samurai relations. He concluded that such descriptions vindicated the spirit of *Kitai sareru Nihonjin zô* [The Images of the Desirable Japanese] that promoted the fostering of loyalty to the imperial family and the emperor. However, he analysed only eight textbooks that were screened and published in 1974, and the sample included only one middle-school text. A more comprehensive and focused sample thus merits new analysis.[30] The thirty middle-school texts examined here devote about three pages to the Kenmu Restoration and the Nanboku-chô conflict. All the texts name the conflict 'Nanboku-chô', none of them call it 'Yoshino-chô'.

Firstly, according to a post-war text (1951 – 58) by Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubunai Shigakukai [Tokyo University Faculty of Humanities, History Association] the start of the Nanboku-chô conflict is explained as: 'There was a period when two emperors reigned concurrently. This was in the fourteenth century following the defeat of the Kamakura *bakufu*. How did such a thing happen?'[31] After discussing the collapse of the Kenmu Restoration it says:

> Emperor Go-Daigo fled Kyoto and moved the capital to Yoshino. On the other hand, Takauji installed another emperor, became shogun and commenced a new *bakufu*. Thus, two emperors reigned at the same time in Kyoto and Yoshino, split into the Northern and Southern Courts and later fought for almost sixty years.[32]

Although the text begins with a crucial question about the split within the imperial family and attempts to stimulate students' interests, the narrative follows the actions of Go-Daigo and Takauji instead of directly addressing the succession feud. The text reads like a list of events and merely notes Takauji's appointment as shogun by an unnamed emperor. The text thus raises more questions: why did Takauji need authentication by an emperor to proclaim his regime instead of doing so without it? Who requested or initiated the establishment of the Northern Court? Did the Northern Court have the legitimate authority to appoint shogun? Finally, which court was legitimate?

Other post-war texts (1951 – 57) narrate the origins of the dual reign in a similar way: 'Takauji established another emperor in Kyoto. Therefore in the

30 Ochiai Nobutaka, "Tennô no jojutsu", 69 – 70.

31 Tokyo Daigaku Bungakubunai Shigakukai [Tokyo University Faculty of Humanities, History Association, hereafter TDBS], *Nihon no ayumi* [The Footsteps of Japan] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1951), 68:「日本にふたりの天皇が、同時にたたれた時代があった。それは14世紀になって、鎌倉幕府が倒されてから後のことである。どうしてこんなことが起ったのであろうか。」
See Introduction, pp. 37 – 38 for the classification of textbooks.

32 Ibid., 68 – 69:「後醍醐天皇は京都をのがれて吉野に都を移した。いっぽう尊氏は京都に別の天皇をたて、征夷大将軍となって新しい武士の政治をはじめることとなった。こうして京都と吉野に、ふたりの天皇が同時にたたれ[sic]、南北両朝に分れてこの後60年ちかく争ったのである。」

south and the north two emperors began to reign'[33] and 'Emperor Go-Daigo refused to recognise this [collapse of the Kenmu Restoration]. He moved from Kyoto to Yoshino and tried to maintain his imperial rule. Then, Takauji recommended another emperor be installed in Kyoto and opened a new *bakufu* under the new emperor.'[34] The latter text by Wakamori Tarô features Takauji's initiative for 'recommending' the installation of the Northern Court. However, it still fails to address the succession feud, the question of legitimacy, the necessity for the installation, and which court was the legitimate one.

In the top-selling textbooks from the reverse course era (1958 – 93), Toyoda Takeshi's 1969 edition and Kodama Kôta and co-writers say: 'Emperor [Go-Daigo] fled to Yoshino and established his Court there. Because Takauji had also established another emperor in Kyoto, the samurai split up and began fighting for either the Yoshino (the Southern Court) or the Kyoto side (the Northern Court)'[35] and 'Takauji installed the new emperor (Emperor Kômyô) and opened a new *bakufu*. Dissatisfied, Emperor Go-Daigo moved to Yoshino and established his Court.'[36] Only three other texts identify the name of the emperor, Kômyô, who granted Takauji the title of shogun. However, they do not say why the title was necessary for Takauji to claim the regime, or on whose initiative Emperor Kômyô and the Northern Court were established.[37]

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33 Kodama Kôta et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi* [History for Middle-School Students] (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1951), 82:「尊氏は京都でほかの天皇を立てたので、南と北にふたりの天皇がいることとなった。」

34 Wakamori Tarô, *Nihon no hatten* [The Development of Japan] (Tokyo: Jitsugyô no Nihonsha, 1952), 92 – 93:「後醍醐天皇はこれをみとめず、京都から吉野に移って、天皇の政治をつづけようとした。そこで、尊氏は、京都で別の天皇が位につくことをすすめ、そのもとで新しい幕府を開いたのである。」

35 Toyoda Takeshi, *Chûgakusei no shakaika: Nihon no ayumi to sekai rekishi* [Social Studies for Middle-School Students: The Footsteps of Japan and World History] (Tokyo: Chukyô Shuppan, 1969), 83 – 84:「天皇は吉野に逃れて朝廷をそこにおき、尊氏もまた、京都に別の天皇を立てたから、諸国の武士は吉野方(南朝)と京都方(北朝)に分かれて争うようになった。これを南北朝の争乱という。」

36 Kodama Kôta et al., *Chûgaku shakaika rekishiteki bunya* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1977), 88 – 89:「尊氏は新しい天皇(光明天皇)を立て、幕府を開いたが、これに不満な後醍醐天皇は、吉野に移って朝廷を立てた。」

37 Nishida Naojirô and Suzuki Shigetaka, *Chûgaku shakaika rekishi* (Tokyo: Teikoku Shoin, 1965), 101: 'Takauji strengthened his force gradually and occupied Kyoto. He established Emperor Kômyô and became the shogun himself. Then he began the samurai regime.':「尊氏はしだいに勢力を強め、ついに京都を占領し、光明天皇を立てて、自分は征夷大将軍となり、武家政治をはじめた。」

Kasahara Kazuo et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika rekishiteki bunya* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Gakkô Tosho, 1975), 83: 'Takauji was once defeated and fled to Kyûshû. But he regained his power, entered Kyoto and established Emperor Kômyô. Then he was appointed shogun in 1338 (Ryakuô, the northern court year, 1).':「尊氏は、一度は敗れて九州へのがれたが、まもなく勢いをもりかえして京都にはいり、光明天皇をたてた。そして1338(北朝の暦応1)年には征夷大将軍に任じられた。」

Toyoda's top-selling 1962 and 1969 editions recount the establishment of the Muromachi regime: 'Following [the unification of the two courts] Takauji had been appointed the shogun by the Northern Court emperor, and opened the regime in Kyoto (1338). This is the Muromachi regime.'[38]

Common to these texts is that Takauji's act of installing the Northern Court is told without explaining or suggesting his motives. The phrases 'Because Takauji had also established another emperor' and 'Takauji installed another emperor' treat these developments as having already happened, without discussing the motivation of Takauji or the Northern Court. The last phrase, 'Takauji had been appointed the shogun', appears to be a mere additional incident and therefore trivialises the significance of the questions about the samurai-court dyarchy.

The top-selling text by Ukai Hiromi and co-writers says: 'Emperor Go-Daigo fled to Yoshino (Nara Prefecture) with a few aristocrats. On the other hand, Ashikaga Takauji installed another emperor and opened the regime. In 1338 he was appointed shogun. Thus, two courts were created.'[39] Three successive top-selling editions of this textbook, Ukai Nobushige and co-writers, and Kawata Tadashi and co-writers repeat: 'As Emperor Go-Daigo fled to Yoshino (Nara Prefecture), Ashikaga Takauji enthroned another emperor in Kyoto, was appointed shogun, and opened a *bakufu*. Thus, two courts were created.'[40] The texts simply tell the events in a bland narrative tone that reads like a chronicle of events and omit issues of succession and legitimacy. A notable difference between the 1977 edition and the other three is that the latter delete the reference to Go-Daigo's fleeing 'with a few aristocrats'. Whether this deletion was ordered by Mobushô is uncertain. But the former textbook implies that Go-Daigo had become so vulnerable that he needed a retinue to protect his life.

Takeuchi Rizô et al., *Chûgaku shakai rekishi* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Teikoku Shoin, 1975), 80.

38 Toyoda Takeshi, *Chûgakusei no shakaika: Nihon no ayumi to sekai rekishi* (Tokyo: Chukyô Shuppan, 1962), 82; Toyoda, *Chûgakusei no shakaika* [1969 ed.], 84 – 85:「これよりさき尊氏は、北朝の天皇から征夷大将軍に任ぜられ、京都に幕府を開いて政治を行った(一三三八年)これを室町幕府という。」In the latter edition, the last sentence ends with a rhetorical change「これが室町幕府である。」

39 Ukai Hiromi et al., *Atarashii shakai rekishiteki bunya* [New Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1977), 89.「後醍醐天皇は、わずかの貴族とともに吉野(奈良県)にのがれた。いっぽう、足利尊氏は新たに天皇をたてて、幕府を開き、1338年、征夷大将軍に任じられた。そのため、ここに２つの朝廷が生まれた。」

40 Ukai Nobushige et al., *Atarashii shakai: Rekishiteki bunya* [New Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1981), 94; Ukai Nobushige et al., *Atarashii shakai: rekishiteki bunya* [New Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1984), 93; and Kawata Tadashi et al., *Atarashii shakai: Rekishiteki bunya* [New Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1990), 88:「後醍醐天皇が吉野(奈良県)にのがれると、足利尊氏は京都にべつの天皇を立て、1338年には、その天皇から征夷大将軍に任じられて幕府を開いた。そのため、ここに２つの朝廷が生まれた。」

The textbooks with medium and low sales by Abe Yoshishige and co-writers and by Takeuchi Rizô and co-writers state: 'Having occupied Kyoto, Takauji established another emperor in order to oppose Emperor Go-Daigo. Therefore, the Court in Yoshino (Southern Court) and the Court in Kyoto (Northern Court) were created'[41] and 'Takauji defeated the troops of the Kenmu regime and entered Kyoto, opened the Muromachi *bakufu* after installing Emperor Kômyô of the Northern Court. He was appointed shogun in 1338. Whereas Emperor Go-Daigo fled to Yoshino (Nara Prefecture), but did not relinquish the principle of direct imperial rule.'[42] By describing Takauji's action as 'to oppose Go-Daigo', the first account implies his intention to exploit the discord within the imperial family to further his own political ambition. The second account clearly mentions Go-Daigo's defeat by Takauji and shows Go-Daigo's determination to preserve his imperial status despite his defeat.

Such unequivocal descriptions are not found in the other texts examined here. On the other hand, the 1993 edition of the textbook by Kawata Tadashi and co-writers (of a series including the 1977 edition by Ukai Hiromi and co-writers, 1981 and 1984 editions by Ukai Nobushige and co-writers, and Kawata and co-writers' 1990 edition) gives a plainer account than its previous editions: 'Takauji installed a new emperor in Kyoto and opened his regime. On the other hand, because Emperor Go-Daigo had fled to Yoshino (Nara Prefecture), two Courts were created.'[43] It omits Takauji's motivation for installing the new emperor or opening his own *bakufu* and Takauji being granted the shogun status.

The only reference to the succession feud is found in a footnote of Kasahara Kazuo and co-writers' text: 'From the late Kamakura period, due to the *bakufu* intervention, the imperial throne was alternated between both Courts. Emperor Go-Daigo was dissatisfied with it.'[44] The text goes no further.

Bearing in mind the strictures on textbook publishers and authors, this footnote may be the best that the publisher and authors could manage. Whether this mention would engender classroom discussions, or raise questions about

41 Abe Yoshishige et al., *Chûgaku shakai 2: Rekishiteki bunya* [Middle-School Social Studies 2: History] (Tokyo: Nihon Shoseki, 1969), 89 – 90:「京都を占領した尊氏は、後醍醐天皇に対抗するため、別の天皇を立てたので、吉野の朝廷 (南朝) と京都の朝廷(北朝)ができた。」

42 Takeuchi et al., *Chûgaku rekishi*, 80:「足利尊氏は、1336年(建武3)、建武政府の軍を破って京都に入り、北朝の光明天皇をたてて室町幕府を開き、1338年、征夷大将軍に命じられた。これに対し、後醍醐天皇は、吉野(奈良県)にのがれたが、天皇親政のたてまえをくずさず[…]」.

43 Kawata Tadashi et al., *Atarashii shakai: Rekishiteki bunya* [New Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1993), 92:「尊氏は京都に新たに天皇を立て、幕府を開いた。いっぽう、後醍醐天皇は吉野(奈良県)にのがれたので、二つの朝廷が生まれた。」

44 Kasahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika*, 82:「鎌倉時代の末から、幕府の干渉で、皇位は両統交互につぐことになった。後醍醐天皇はこれに不満をもっていた。」

historical perspectives on the imperial family is uncertain. Those critical of the emperor-system view of history (*tennôsei rekishikan*) might find this footnote insufficient in addressing what they regard as a vital question in Japanese history. By omitting the questions about the crisis of the imperial family, the texts appear to present the emperor-system view of history and imply the longevity and the relevance of the imperial family in Japanese history; in spite of having to compromise and share political power with the samurai.

Moving onto the second aspect of the Nanboku-chô conflict, how have the texts narrated its end? The texts examined narrate that the Northern Court gained samurai support and became dominant. Kodama Kôta and co-writers' 1951 edition recounts the end as:

> The Yoshino's power gradually declined. In 1392 (Genchû 9), Emperor Go-Kameyama returned to Kyoto and gave imperial symbols to Emperor Go-Komatsu. Although installed by the Ashikaga, Emperor Go-Komatsu became the genuine emperor from now on. Simultaneously, the ambition to revive rule by nobles was defeated. Samurai got to grasp the actual political authority. Never again did aristocratic reign occur in Japanese history.[45]

Unlike all other texts analysed, this text notes the handover of imperial regalia ('imperial symbols') by Emperor Go-Kameyama. The transfer seems to suggest that whether or not the Ashikaga installed the Northern Court or how it achieved hegemony is irrelevant to the legitimacy question – because the possession of the 'symbols' made Go-Komatsu the 'genuine emperor'. Paradoxically, the text says the end of the conflicts consolidated the Muromachi *bakufu*, granting the aristocrats hegemony 'never again'. However, like all those analysed, the text fails to raise a historiographical question: whether it would be reasonable to suggest a link between the Kenmu Restoration and the Meiji Restoration and what implications such a comparison would generate.

Similarly, Wakamori relates that 'the Southern Court declined and united with the Northern Court during the reign of Emperor Go-Kameyama. However, the power of the aristocracy had already waned; that of the Ashikaga strengthened even further'.[46] Toyoda Takeshi's 1953 edition reiterates:

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45 *Genchû* refers to the years marking the reign of the Southern Court. Kodama et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi* [1951 ed.], 82 – 83:「吉野のほうが力がしだいに衰えて、1392(元中9)年に後亀山天皇は京都に帰って皇位のしるしを後小松天皇に渡した。後小松天皇は足利氏の立てた天皇であるが、これから正統の天皇となった。これと同時に、貴族政治を復活しようとする夢は破れて、武士が政治の実権を握るようになったわけで、貴族政治はふたたび日本の歴史に現れることはなくなった。」

46 Wakamori, *Nihon no hatten*, 93:「けっきょく南朝方は衰えて、後亀山天皇のときに北朝に合体した。しかしすでに、貴族の力はきわめて弱まっていて、足利氏の勢力は、一段と強くなった。」

> The Yoshino side lost its force because the influential figure Kitabatake Chikafusa died. Whereas by the time Takauji's grandson Yoshimitsu came to power, most samurai across Japan supported the Ashikaga. In 1392 (Genchû 9), both the Southern and the Northern Courts united for the first time in fifty-odd years. Therefore, the samurai defeated the aristocratic court that continued from antiquity and established a unified government by the samurai.[47]

Despite the brevity of this account, it may shed light on historiographical aspects assumed in these textbooks. Firstly, to critics of the emperor-system view of history, the two excerpts above may appear to endorse the emperor-system view of history, because they fail to note that this coalition enhanced the samurai-court dyarchy. Secondly, in the latter excerpt it is difficult to grasp whether the aristocratic court was defeated completely or partially. If the latter were the case, we could posit that the members of the 'unified government' would include aristocrats as representatives of the imperial family, despite being led by the samurai.

Analysing other post-war texts (1951 – 57), Sakamoto Tarô and Ienaga Saburô's text only says: 'the Yoshino camp declined, and combined with the court in Kyoto.'[48] Another post-war textbook by Fujii Kantarô and Sugano Jirô notes that the two courts 'continued to fight for the next half century. However, this eventually ended in the defeat of the Southern Court. In 1392 the two Southern and Northern Courts united, and the upheaval finally ended'.[49] The union of the two courts is told as a simple consequence of the decline of the Southern Court. These passages merely tell of the unification, omitting the conditions, and fail to show different interpretations of the unification. For instance, was it a compromise in favour of the entire imperial family, one of the two courts, or the samurai? Without these possible interpretations it becomes difficult for students to learn who initiated and mediated the unification and which conditions were agreed for each court and the samurai. Despite the various ways of concluding the Nanboku-chô conflict, a common aspect in these textbooks is that national

47 Toyoda Takeshi, *Chûgakusei no shakaika Nihonshi* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Chukyô Shuppan, 1953), 73:「吉野ではその中心であった北畠親房が死んで、その力が衰えた。これに対し、足利氏の勢いはだんだん強くなり、尊氏の孫義満の代になると、全国はほとんど足利氏にしたがうようになり、1392年(元中9年)には、五十余年ぶりで、南北両朝が一つになった。ここに武士は、古代からの公家政権を倒して、武家による統一政権を打ち建てることができたのであった。」

48 Sakamoto Tarô and Ienaga Saburô, *Chûgaku Nihonshi* [Middle-School Japanese History] (Tokyo: Gakkô Tosho, 1951), 95:「これから六十年ほど、吉野に移った後醍醐天皇がたと、京都の天皇がたとが、たがいに争った。しかしついに吉野がたがおとろえ、京都の朝廷に合体した。」

49 Fujii and Sugano, *Sodachiyuku Nihon (jô)*, 94:「南・北二朝ができ、全国の武士もまた、この二つの朝廷に結びついて、その後半世紀にわたって戦いをつづけました。が、結局南朝の敗北に終わり、1392年南・北二朝が合体して、ようやく動乱は治まりました。」

unity appears to be synonymous with normality. This could be construed as a historiographical approach that privileges the road to statehood as the prime motor of history.

A new trend emerged in the reverse course era (1958 – 93). Toyoda's top-selling 1962 and 1969 editions describe: '… by the reign of Takauji's grandson Yoshimitsu most samurai nationwide followed the Ashikaga clan's command. So [the Yoshino] agreed on a negotiated settlement for the first time in fifty-odd years. In 1392 (Genchû 9) the Southern and the Northern Courts unified.'[50] The new editions made a small but significant change to the previous 1953 edition. They add 'a negotiated settlement' and delete the sentence that had appeared in the 1953 edition: 'Therefore, the samurai defeated the aristocratic court that continued from antiquity and established a unified government by the samurai.' These alterations seem to save the face of the imperial family in two ways. Firstly, they hide potential embarrassment to the imperial family because the defeat is no longer mentioned. Secondly, they enhance the Yoshino's pragmatic and conciliatory nature, for the Southern Court is depicted as agreeing to a negotiated settlement, which seems to create a precedent for the imperial family in later centuries.

Ukai and co-writers' top-selling 1977 edition and Ukai Nobushige's 1981 edition follow this trend:

> Once the leader of the Southern Court, Chikafusa, died the power of the Southern Court waned. When Takauji's grandson, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, became shogun, the *bakufu* power rapidly strengthened. And, in the late fourteenth century the Southern Court agreed to a negotiated settlement. The Nanboku-chô conflict that had continued for nearly sixty years ended.[51]

The contrasting fortunes of the two courts are juxtaposed. These changes are implied as sufficient cause for the Southern Court's conciliatory response to a negotiated settlement. Still, the question of which court was the legitimate one remains unaddressed. Rather, by ending the six-decade long conflict with the unification, the texts have rendered the questions of imperial legitimacy and the

50 Toyoda, *Chûgakusei no shakaika* [1962 ed.], 82; Toyoda, *Chûgakusei no shakaika* [1969 ed.], 84:「尊氏の孫義満の代になると、全国の武士はほとんど足利氏の命に従うようになった。そこで、1392年(元中9年)吉野方もついに五十余年ぶりで、北朝との講話に同意した。」 The latter adds Meitoku 3 (marking the reign of the Northern Court) to the year of settlement, ibid., 84.

51 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.] 89; Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.], 94:「南朝の指導者であった北畠親房が死ぬと、南朝の勢いはおとろえ、尊氏の孫、足利義満が将軍になったころから、幕府の力は急速に強くなった。そして、14世紀の末には、南朝も講話に同意し、60年近く続いた南北朝の争乱は終わった。」
Some textbooks tend to omit details. Two texts omit the death of Kitabakake Chikafusa. Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1984 ed.], 88; Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.], 88.

nature of the 'Court-*bakufu*' dyarchy irrelevant. Furthermore, as in previous texts, this text does not elaborate on the conditions of settlement between the two opposing factions.

However, this narrative approach to the end of the conflict may not be the only one. The medium-selling text by Aoki Kazuo and co-writers summarises: 'Both the Southern and Northern Courts reconciled and became one. The Ashikaga held the political authority completely.'[52] The low-selling text by Yamaguchi Takeshi and co-writers concludes that Yoshimitsu 'brought about the unification of the Northern Court and the Southern Court, which [the Southern Court] had lost political clout. And because [he] ended the internal disturbance, the power of the samurai regime stabilised'.[53] Kawata and co-writers' 1993 edition notes the role of Yoshimitsu as the mediator: 'However, when Takauji's grandson, Yoshimitsu, became shogun, the Southern Court lost force. And, in the late fourteenth century, by the recommendation of Yoshimitsu, the Southern Court agreed to a negotiated settlement. The Nanboku-chô conflict, which had continued for nearly sixty years, ended'.[54] The conclusions presented in these textbooks are slightly different from previous post-war textbooks, in that these references seem to underline the rise of samurai power.

While these texts say that the unification enhanced the authority of the Ashikaga, they refrain from explicitly stating whether the Southern Court was reconciled to their defeat, or from exploring how the imperial family avoided extinction. The textbooks examined present the Nanboku-chô conflict in the chronological fashion, which seems to conform with the historiographical orthodoxy of the Japanese academy and with ministerial requirements. However, the chronological approach is not the only one. By omitting the questions and different interpretations of the unification, the texts seem to present the Nanboku-chô conflict as an episode of state unification headed by the imperial family. The texts appear to portray the imperial family as ill-suited to directly rule Japan, but as well-suited to reign while retaining moral authority over the people living in Japan. This subtly but effectively reinforces the emperor-system view of history.

Among the sampled texts, the low-selling Kasahara and co-writers is the only

52 Aoki Kazuo, *Nihon no ayumi to sekai (rekishi)* [The Footsteps of Japan and the World (History)] (Tokyo: Chûkyô Shuppan, 1984), 77:「尊氏の孫義満の頃になると、全国の武士のほとんどが幕府に従うようになった。南北両朝が和解し、朝廷は一つとなり、足利氏が完全に政権をにぎった。」

53 Yamaguchi Takashi et al., *Nihon no rekishi to sekai* [History of Japan and the World] (Tokyo: Shimizu Shoin, 1993), 73:「北朝と政治的な力をなくした南朝との合体を現実し、内乱を終わらせたので、幕府の力は安定した。」

54 Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 93:「しかし、尊氏の孫足利の義満が将軍になったころから、南朝の勢いはおとろえ、14世紀の末には義満のあっせんで、 南朝も講話に同意し、60年近く続いた南北朝の争乱は終わった。」

exception to the reverse course convention: 'Yoshimitsu strove to fortify the power of the *bakufu* and defeated the prominent lords, the Yamauchi and the Ôuchi. Furthermore, in 1392 (Meitoku 3), he approached the Southern Court for the unification of the Southern and the Northern Courts, and succeeded in creating a coalition government.'[55] The text places a different emphasis to the rest. It underscores Yoshimitsu's motivation and initiative, which, the text explains, resulted in a coalition government involving the imperial family. The reference to the coalition government provides an opposite interpretation to Kodama's 1951 edition and Toyoda's 1953 edition, which asserted the dominance of the samurai after the Nanboku-chô conflict. However, the text says little about the conditions under which the imperial family and the Ashikaga *bakufu* reached a settlement.

Summary

The present analysis of the textbook descriptions of the beginning and the ending of the Nanboku-chô conflict has found that while texts relate the events, they hardly explain the nature of the succession feud. Those critical of an emperor-system view and a chronicle approach to history would still find such a presentation problematic. The textbooks overlook different interpretations about the role of the imperial family and the status of the samurai. Overall, the textbooks conclude this section with the unity of the state – stressing harmony. The texts seem to avoid drawing students' attention to potentially controversial theories and questions about the role of the emperor and the imperial family in history and in contemporary Japan. It remains unclear whether this textbook narrative trend is a continuation of the long-standing taboo on the imperial family from the Meiji period, or a product of the strictures applied by Mombushô. However, it is plausible to suggest that these two influences might have played significant roles in toning down the samurai's victory and stressing the unity of the state. The latter trend could again be seen to endorse the emperor-system view.

55 Kasahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika*, 84:「義満は幕府の力を強めようと努力し、有力な守護大名であった山内氏・大内氏を討った。さらに1392(明徳3)年には、南北朝の合体を南朝に申し入れ、統一政権をつくることに成功した。」

2. The Description and the Assessment of '*Sakoku*' (National Seclusion) and the Genroku Culture

Historical Background

Since the establishment of the *bakufu*, the Tokugawa regime grew alarmed at the growing number of Catholic converts. The *bakufu* suppression of Christianity was further reinforced after a four-month revolt by Christian peasants, the Shimabara Revolt (1637 – 38). After quelling the revolt, the *bakufu* persecution of Christians escalated. The *bakufu* began trading with only selected nations. This chain of developments is understood to be the lead-up to *sakoku*, the term that ordinarily refers to a policy of national seclusion under the Tokugawa rule. It is said that *sakoku* ended after Japan signed treaties that opened its ports to the Western nations in 1858, prompted by a visit of the American naval officer, Commodore Matthew Perry, in 1853. The historian Yamaguchi Keiji observes that this popular understanding of *sakoku* evokes complete isolation from the rest of the world.[56]

Works exposing the limitations of *sakoku* by both Japanese and English-speaking historians began receiving wider acceptance in the 1970s.[57] For one thing, the term *sakoku* only gained currency in the nineteenth century. Its origin dates back to a translation of diaries written by a European resident doctor, Engelbert Kämpfer (1651 – 1716), by an early nineteenth-century interpreter, Shizuki Tadao. The term became popularised when the Tokugawa *bakufu* grew anxious about dealing with Russian envoys in the nineteenth century.[58] A fatal flaw of *sakoku* is that it fails to accurately represent reality. The *bakufu* wished to monopolise trade, and to prevent the merchants and regional feudal domains from accruing countervailing financial and political power.[59] It maintained trade partnerships with the Chinese and the Dutch at Nagasaki; the Koreans at Tsushima; the Ainu at Ezo-chi (Hokkaidô); and the Ryûkyû Kingdom (Okinawa) at Satsuma (Kagoshima Prefecture).[60] The historian Yamamoto Hirofumi notes the emerging alternative term, *kaikin* ('ban on voyages abroad and trade with

56 Yamaguchi Keiji, *Sakoku to kaikoku* [The Closing and the Opening of the Nation] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 41.

57 Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), xviii.

58 Ibid., 12 – 13; and Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Sakoku to kaikin no jidai* [The Age of *Sakoku* and Ban on Foreign Trade] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobô, 1995), 7 and 252.

59 Ibid., 110; and Kitô Hiroshi, *Nihon no rekishi dai 19 kan: Bunmei toshite no Edo shisutemu* [History of Japan 19: The Edo System as a Civilisation] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2002), 163.

60 Yamamoto, *Sakoku to kaikin*, 8; and Yokota, *Tenka taihei*, 98 – 101.

foreign traders').[61] However, he also notes that China had initiated similar regulatory trade measures and argues that whether it is *sakoku* or *kaikin*, the term focuses on Japanese relations with Europe and neglects the East Asian network.[62]

It seems that historians view *sakoku* as resulting from *ad hoc* factors, as well as long-term efforts to control foreign trade on the *bakufu*'s terms, rather than a predetermined one-off measure.[63] Kitô Hiroshi suggests *sakoku* was not simply a knee-jerk reaction to external factors. He acknowledges a theory that supports the Tokugawa *bakufu*'s initiative. It suggests that the *bakufu* aimed to establish a self-contained political and economic order.[64] The Tokugawa *bakufu* continued with the policy of the previous *bakufu* of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (r. 1590 – 98), which permitted trade with the Portuguese and Spaniards, but prohibited them from proselytising the populace. The Tokugawas sought to persecute Christians and expel foreign missionaries in the 1610s. These edicts concerned specific domains and were aimed at missionaries, priests and the samurai converts, but excluded peasants.[65] However, many still practised Christianity as 'closet Christians' (*kakure kirishitan*) whose faith became even more tenuous after the Shimabara Revolt. Marius B. Jansen suggests that the *bakufu*'s ferocity in excluding Christianity led to seclusionist policy during the Tokugawa era.[66]

In the early post-war era, intellectuals and academics generally explored the flaws in the Japanese collective psyche to better understand the Japanese defeat. They lamented that *sakoku* might have damaged the Japanese collective psyche. A prominent intellectual, Watsuji Tetsurô, claimed it was a mistake because it froze the Japanese in a feudalistic and unscientific mindset, thus suggesting that it put the nation on the road to eventual war and defeat.[67] The left-wing historian Inoue Kiyoshi condemned the *sakoku* mindset for inhibiting an understanding of trade monopoly by the Tokugawa.[68]

These propositions can be related best to a discourse on the uniqueness of the Japanese characteristics, known as *Nihonjin-ron.* The sociologist Yoshio Sugi-

61 Yamamoto, *Sakoku to kaikin*, 9 and 25; and Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 11.

62 Yamamoto, *Sakoku to kaikin*, 253 and 255 – 256.

63 Ôhashi Yukihiro, "Kirishitan kinsei no tenkan to kirishitan minshû" ["Changes Affecting Ban on Christianity and the Christians"], *Rekishigaku kenkyû (Journal of the Historical Science Society),* no. 631 (1992): 9; Yamamoto, *Sakoku to kaikin*, 68 – 69 and 221 – 222.

64 Kitô, *Edo shisutemu*, 163.

65 Ôhashi, "Kirishitan kinsei", 9.

66 Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 95.

67 Kitô, *Edo shisutemu*, 158; and Kobori Keiichirô, *Sakoku no shisô: Kemperu no sekaiteki shimei* [The Ideas of *Sakoku:* Engelbert Kämpfer's World Mission] (Chûô Kôronsha, 1974), 5 – 6 and 199 – 202. The title of Watsuji's book, *Sakoku: Nihon no higeki* [Sakoku: The Japanese Tragedy] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1950), foreshadows his conclusion.

68 Inoue Kiyoshi, *Nihon no rekishi* (*jô*) [A History of Japan, vol. 1] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963), 284 – 285.

moto surmises that *Nihonjin-ron* rests on four common premises: 1) the possession of stated or hypothesised attributes; 2) the uniformity or homogeneity of the Japanese; 3) the uniqueness of the Japanese; and 4) populist appeal lacking historical basis.[69] In summarising the key principles of *Nihonjin-ron*, Minami Hiroshi lists Japan's geography as influencing an 'island nation spirit' and 'close-mindedness'. The proponents of *Nihonjin-ron* would suggest that *sakoku* accentuated these principles and generated a consciousness of exclusion towards foreigners.[70] Similarly, Oguma Eiji notes that 'the island nation' discourse appealed to the war-fatigued Japanese and served to bolster a view of the emperor as the symbol of the unity and peace of the 'homogenous' Japanese people.[71]

Western academics also voiced criticisms of *sakoku.* In the English-speaking sphere, Ronald Toby suggests that the term *sakoku* implies 'a cowering, passively isolationist stance'. He aims to emphasise the Tokugawas' initiatives to steer the *bakufu*'s domestic foreign relations.[72] Jansen suggests that Japan's 'seclusion' was aimed at the West, while permitting the flow of people and trade between China and Korea. He continues to say: 'It is Western ethnocentrism to think that a country that chooses to cut itself off from Westerners has cut itself off from the world.'[73]

During the Edo period (1603 – 1868), the Tokugawa *bakufu* created a feudal social hierarchy with the samurai and under them the peasants, then the artisans, merchants and lastly the 'outcasts'. This hierarchy was undermined as commercial and urban development helped the merchants to accumulate surplus wealth.[74] The *de facto* change in the hierarchy was reflected in the culture of the Genroku period (from the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries), in which the urban intelligentsia set the trends which spread to the townspeople.

Significant developments occurred during the Genroku period in culture and knowledge with visual and performance art becoming commodified for public consumption. Despite strict restrictions on publishing, books became more accessible through mass production and rental bookshops.[75] The populace

69 Sugimoto Yoshio, *An Introduction to Japanese Society,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.

70 Minami Hiroshi, *Nihonjin-ron: Meiji jidai kara konnichi made* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 392.

71 Oguma Eiji, *A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Images*, trans. David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 299.

72 Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, xvi.

73 Jansen, *Modern Japan*, 87.

74 Yamaguchi Keiji, *Sakoku to kaikoku* [The Closing and the Opening of the Nation] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), 201.

75 Tsuji Tatsuya, *Edo jidai o kangaeru: Tokugawa 300 nen no isan* [Thoughts on the Edo Period: The Legacy of the 300-year Tokugawa Regime] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobô, 1988), 130 – 131, 136 – 137 and 140; and Yokota Fuyuhiko, *Nihon no rekishi 16: tenka taihei* (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2002), 367.

sought literacy and knowledge at private academies in order to better understand the clash between the ideals and realities of daily life, and between 'self' and the ruling authority.[76] Printing technology made visual art such as *ukiyo-e* affordable to the masses, accelerating the commercialisation of printed materials.[77] In the performing arts, forms of theatre, *kabuki* and *ningyô-jôruri* (or simply *jôruri*) plots dealt with ordinary people's predicaments, compounded by ethical dilemmas involving obligation (*giri*) and sentimentality (*ninjô*). Miyazawa Seiichi notes that the plays of the leading playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon showed how financial issues strained romantic relationships and criticised the Tokugawa Shogunate's fiscal policies that led to confusion and the polarisation of the rich and the poor.[78] *Kabuki*'s popularity brought about mixed outcomes. Entrepreneurship and commercialisation affected *kabuki* theatres as they began charging admission fees, which put them beyond the reach of many theatre-goers.[79] Despite the popularisation of cultural activities and pursuits, the samurai still exerted influence. Prominent Genroku figures such as Monzaemon and the poet Matsuo Bashô had samurai backgrounds.[80]

Textbook Approaches

Harold J. Wray's analysis of pre-war state-authored primary-school history texts found that the first edition (1903) lamented *sakoku* as stifling Japan's efforts to internationalise and modernise. By contrast, the fifth edition (1941) lauded *sakoku* as guarding Japan from alien Christianity and European economic powers and helping to stimulate the domestic economy.[81]

A post-war text by Sakamoto and Ienaga defines *sakoku* as follows: 'Although private trade made progress, all overseas voyages were soon prohibited in what is called *sakoku*.'[82] No other text analysed makes such a sweeping generalisation as stating 'all overseas voyages were prohibited'. However, two pages later is the

76 Bitô Masahide, *Nihon bunka no rekishi* [A History of Japanese Culture] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2000), 163 – 164; and Yokota, *Tenka taihei*, 370.

77 Tsuji, *Edo jidai o kangaeru*, 142 – 43.

78 Miyazawa Seiichi, "Chônin bunka no keisei" ["The Forming of the Townspeople Culture"], in *IKNT dai 12 kan: Kinsei 2* [Iwanami History of Japan, vol. 12, Early Modern 2], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1994), 285.

79 Yamaguchi, *Sakoku to kaikoku*, 211; Yoshida Nobuyki, *Nihon no rekishi dai 17 kan: seijuku suru Edo* [History of Japan 17: The Maturing Edo] (Tokyo: Kôdansha, 2002), 349 – 350.

80 Bitô, *Nihon bunka no rekishi*, 161; and Yokota, *Tenka taihei*, 367.

81 Harold J. Wray, "Changes and Continuity in Japanese Images of the *Kokutai* and Attitudes and Roles toward the Outside World: A Content Analysis of Japanese Textbooks, 1903 – 1945" (PhD diss., the University of Hawai'i, 1971), 402 – 403.

82 Sakamoto and Ienaga, *Nihonshi*, 124:「民間貿易が発達したのに、まもなく鎖国といって、海外とのゆききが一切禁止されてしまった。」

comment: 'Only Holland and China were permitted to come to Nagasaki because they did not try to spread Christianity.'[83] This comment seems confusing when one remembers the earlier text states that 'all overseas voyages were prohibited'. Furthermore, the reference to Holland and China does not clarify what the ban entailed: if it concerned outward voyages by the Japanese or inward voyages by foreigners.

Wakamori's textbook of the same era relates that '[i]n 1639 (Kanei 16) the *bakufu* promulgated the so-called *sakoku* decree and prohibited the arrival of Portuguese ships.'[84] This text expresses reservation about *sakoku* by qualifying it as 'so-called'. The text tries to suggest that the *bakufu* terminated trade with Portugal but continued to trade with others.

Fujii and Sugano's text states: 'After this [Shimabara] revolt, the *bakufu* further hardened its stance and strictly prohibited Christianity in 1639 (Kanei 16) and at the same time prohibited entry [of foreigners] except the Dutch and the Chinese and forced *sakoku* by almost closing relations with foreign nations'.[85] Contrary to Wakamori, this text does not challenge *sakoku,* but still undermines the popular perception of *sakoku* as a complete closure by listing the nations with which the Japanese traded. However, it does not comment on how or why the popular understanding of *sakoku* differed from the reality presented in the text. A medium-selling textbook by Abe and co-writers of the reverse course era (1958 – 93) elaborates:

> Already by 1635 the outgoing and incoming travel by the Japanese had been prohibited. After the Shimabara revolt, [the *bakufu*] banned the arrival of Portuguese ships. By then the arrival of Spanish ships had been banned. Britain had retreated as it had been pressured by Holland. Subsequently, among European nations [the *bakufu*] conducted trade only with Holland. Furthermore the *bakufu* transferred the Dutch from Hirado to Dejima in Nagasaki and made it the only trading port. Thus, the almost total absence of relations with foreign nations is called *sakoku*.[86]

83 Ibid., 126:「オランダと中国とは、キリスト教をひろめようとしないので長崎だけに来ることが許された。」

84 Wakamori, *Nihon no hatten*, 125:「1639年(寛永16年)にはいわゆる鎖国令をしいて、ポルトガル船の来航することを禁じたのである。」

85 Fujii and Sugano, *Sodachiyuku Nihon (ge)*, 16:「この乱によって幕府は、さらに、態度を強化して、1639年(寛永16年)キリスト教を厳禁し、同時にオランダ・中国人以外の入国を禁止し、ほとんど外国との関係を閉じて鎖国を断行しました[…]」

86 Abe et al., *Chûgaku shakai*, 143 – 144:「すでに1635年には、日本人が海外に出ることも、海外にいる日本人が帰国することも禁じていたが、島原の乱後は、貿易の制限を強め、1639年には，ポルトガル船の来航を禁じた。この頃すでに、スペイン船は来航を禁止されていて、イギリスは、オランダにおされて引き上げていたので、その後は、ヨーロッパ諸国のなかではオランダだけと貿易を行うことになった。次いで幕府は、平戸にいたオランダ人を長崎の出島に移し、ここを日本でただひとつの貿易港とした。こうして、外国との交際をほとんどなくしたことを鎖国という。」

This text shows the lead-up to *sakoku* in the context of the ban on Christianity and the international context of mercantilism among European powers. Ukai and co-writers' top-selling 1977 edition reiterates:

> Surprised by this [Shimabara] revolt, in order to thoroughly execute the ban on Christian missionaries, the *bakufu* forbade the arrival of Portuguese ships. The Dutch merchant house was moved from Hirado to Dejima in Nagasaki. The British had lost the competition with the Dutch, and ceased to sail [to Japan]; only the Dutch and the Chinese were permitted to trade. Therefore, Japan entered a phase of *sakoku* which continued more than 200 years.[87]

This description survives in the most recent edition examined, Kawata and co-writers' 1993 edition.[88] Other texts follow this pattern irrespective of the sales ranking. Two editions of a medium-seller by Nagahara Keiji and co-writers (1980 and 1984), suggest:

> The [Tokugawa] *bakufu* prohibited the arrival of Portuguese ships. To monopolise trade in the *bakufu*'s hands, it also moved the Dutch merchant house from Hirado to Dejima and made Nagasaki the only port of trade in Japan. [The Tokugawa *bakufu*] permitted trade only with the Chinese and the Dutch. This is called *sakoku*.[89]

A low-selling textbook by Kasahara and co-writers says that after the ban on the Portuguese ships, '[t]he Dutch became the only Europeans permitted to come to Japan. But they were only allowed to land at Dejima in Nagasaki, and not allowed to negotiate with the ordinary people'.[90] The textbook is unique amongst the texts examined. It mentions the prohibition of negotiations with ordinary

87 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.], 143 – 144:「この[島原の]乱に驚いた幕府は、禁教の方針を徹底させるために、1639年(寛永16年)にポルトガル船の来航を禁じた。オランダの商館も平戸から長崎の出島に移した。イギリス人は、アジアでオランダ人との競争に敗れ、すでに来航しなくなっていたので、オランダ人と中国人だけが長崎の港に限って貿易を許させることとなった。こうして、日本は、200年以上もつづく鎖国の状態に入った。」
In a footnote the text adds: 'Together with those prohibitions, the decrees banning overseas travel and the return of the Japanese are called *sakoku* decrees', ibid., 144n:「この禁令と、これまでに幕府が出した日本人の海外渡航や帰国を禁ずる法令などを合わせて鎖国令という。」

88 Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 142. Except for moving the sentence on the British to the footnote, the text leaves the passage unchanged from the previous edition.

89 Nagahara Keiji et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika rekishiteki bunya* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Gakkô Tosho, 1980), 130; Nagahara Keiji et al., *Chûgakusei shakai (rekishiteki bunya)* [Middle-School Social Studies (History)] (Tokyo: Gakkô Tosho, 1984), 121:「さらに幕府は1639年、ポルトガル船の来航を禁じた。貿易を幕府が独占するため、オランダの商館も、平戸から、長崎の出島に移し、長崎を日本でただひとつの貿易港として、オランダ人と中国人に限って貿易を許した。これを鎖国という。」

90 Kasahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika*, 129:「日本に来ることを許されたヨーロッパ人はオランダ人だけになったが、それも、長崎の出島に上陸が許されるだけで、いっぱんの人々との交渉はいっさい禁じられた。鎖国はこうして完成し、その後200年以上もつづいた。」

people, which seems to stress the *bakufu*'s determination to regulate trade on its own terms. Another low-selling textbook by Mori Masao and co-writers similarly relates that '[…] it became the period of *sakoku* that allowed only Holland and China to trade only in Nagasaki'.[91] The use of 'only' seems to accentuate the right to trade with Japan as a special privilege and the *bakufu* monopoly. Another low-seller, Teruya Hirohiko and co-writers, defines *sakoku* as 'the condition called *sakoku* that conducted diplomatic relations only with the designated nations'.[92] Notably, this text presents a map covering a whole page and entitled 'External relations during *sakoku*'. The map includes the whole of East Asia, South East Asia and Siberia. It features arrows and lines showing the directions and destinations of trade networks during the *sakoku* policy of the Tokugawa *bakufu*.[93] Although the title uses *sakoku,* the extensiveness of the map and the trade routes seem to undermine *sakoku's* connotation of closedness. These texts, however, undermine the popular perception of *sakoku* only indirectly. Strong-willed critics of the *sakoku* view of history would find that the textbooks fail to encourage students to compare the conventional descriptions with the ways that professional historians see it; thus inadvertently helping the discredited concept to survive.

From these texts it may appear that Tokugawa Japan traded only with the Dutch and the Chinese. The texts examined describe trade with Korea, the Ryûkyû, and the Ainu, if mentioned at all, in a separate section after the Europeans and the Chinese. Texts even introduce Korea as having a formal diplomatic tie during *sakoku.* For example, Ukai and co-writers' top-selling 1977 edition compares Japan's relations with China and Korea: 'Formal diplomatic relations with China were not opened. Only merchants came and went. With Korea, [Japan] recovered diplomatic relations during [the first shogun Tokugawa] Ieyasu's reign [r.1603 – 05, d.1616]. A practice was established for envoys to congratulate the shogun's accession.'[94] A low-selling textbook by Yamaguchi and co-writers says: 'Korea is the only nation with which Japan under *sakoku* had formal diplomatic ties.'[95] Although no apparent Mombushô regulation pre-

91 Mori Masao et al., *Nihon no rekishi to sekai* [History of Japan and the World] (Tokyo: Shimizu Shoin, 1987), 141:「[…]オランダと中国だけが、長崎においてのみ貿易を許される鎖国の世となった。」

92 Teruya et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi*, 148:「[…]決められた国だけと外交を行う、鎖国という状態[…]」

93 Ibid., inside back cover, no page number.

94 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.], 149:「中国とは正式な国交は開かれず、商人が往来するだけであった。朝鮮とは、家康のときに国交を回復してから、将軍がかわるごとに慶賀の使節が来る慣例となった。」

95 Yamaguchi et al., *Nihon no rekishi to sekai*, 141:「朝鮮は、鎖国下の日本が正式な国交を持ったただ一つの国である。」

cluded this separate treatment, the order suggests implicit tiers of 'foreignness' or importance attached to these nations.

The perplexing aspect of these texts is that *'sakoku'* keeps appearing, despite historians' consensus that the realities were different from 'complete closure'. Again, critics of the *sakoku* concept would find no text that openly proclaims the ideological bankruptcy of *sakoku*, reveals its etymology, or encourages students to question the validity of the term. Nor do they suggest the alternative term *kaikin*. No text examined stresses the maritime connection within and beyond the region, a key element of 'the Amino school', or alerts students to the possibility of informal or 'illegal' voyages and trade. The lack of a clear presentation of alternative theories in these school textbooks may indicate a significant gap between the theories of professional historians and those espoused in textbooks.

It has been noted above that publishers were required to comply with the themes of study prescribed in the curriculum. The curricula, which all textbooks needed to follow, have consistently used *sakoku* over the decades (Table 7). Whether these texts seek to undermine *sakoku* directly or indirectly or simply comply with Mombushô's strictures is difficult to tell. Although direct evidence is lacking, it may be speculated that the best strategy that publishers could take was to subvert the notion of *sakoku* indirectly, rather than suggesting alternative historiographical perspectives that directly question and critique the nuances and implications of *sakoku*. This suggests how the misconception of *sakoku* may have persisted, despite professional historians' united opposition to the term *sakoku*.

Table 7: *'Sakoku'* in Japanese Middle-school History Curriculum Documents

Year curriculum issued	English translation	Original in Japanese
1951	'Discuss in the whole class, what advantages and disadvantages *sakoku* brought to Japan'	「鎖国は日本人にどんな利害をもたらしたか、クラス全体で討論しよう。」
1951	'Offer critique on "the island nation spirit."'	「『島国根性』といわれるものについて批判してみよう。」
1955	'… [T]hrough the study of the establishment of the Edo *bakufu*, *sakoku* and so on …'	「…江戸幕府の成立、鎖国などの学習を通して…」
1958	'… [T]he Development of the Feudal Society in Japan and the Meanings of *Sakoku* …'	「…日本の封建社会の発展や鎖国の意義…」
1969	'The Development of the Expatriate Japanese and *Sakoku*'	「日本人の海外発展と鎖国」
1977	'The Edo *Bakufu* and *Sakoku*'	「江戸幕府と鎖国」

Table 7 *(Continued)*

1989	'The *Bakufu*-Domain System and *Sakoku*'	「幕藩体制と鎖国」
1989	'The Making of the *Bakufu*-Domain System and *Sakoku*'	「幕藩体制の成立と鎖国」

Mombushô, *Chûgakkô, kôtôgakkô shakaika hen (II) ippan shakaika (Chûgakkô 1 nen – kôtôgakkô 1 nen, chûgakkô nihonshi o fukumu) shian kaitei ban* [Middle and High School Social Studies (II), General Social Studies (From Middle School Year 1 to High School Year 1, including Middle-school Japanese History) Revised Suggested Plans] (Tokyo: Mombushô, 1951), 136. Hereafter, the curriculum title is abbreviated to *COS*.
Mombushô, *COS: Social studies* [1955], 26.
Mombushô, *COS* [1958], 35.
Mombushô, *COS* [1969], 35.
Mombushô, *COS* [1977], 23.
Mombushô, *COS* [1989], 25 – 26.

The assessments of *sakoku* in the texts examined show similar changes between the negative and the positive evaluations found in Wray's study. Sakamoto and Ienaga say: 'Despite forging links with Europe, [the Tokugawa *bakufu*] prohibited this [the ties with Europe] by itself, because Christianity was regarded as an obstacle to maintain feudalism.'[96] It continues: 'Only the Dutch traders shared the advanced European culture in Nagasaki. Therefore, the Japanese culture lagged far behind the European culture.'[97] The text relates to concerns expressed by early post-war intellectuals about the 'feudal mindset'. This had also been stated in the 1951 curriculum document, along with the government's effort to reconstruct Japan as 'the cultural nation'.[98] *Sakoku* became a scapegoat for the perceived political and cultural stagnation. What is patently clear is the self-imposed Eurocentrism to emphasise Japan's lag. The text suggests that *sakoku* was self-inflicted damage by the Tokugawa *bakufu* and laments that the *bakufu* wasted the links forged earlier with Europe.

Assessing *sakoku*, Sakamoto and Ienaga express regret that Japan missed out on the benefits of European influences and that it 'lagged far behind' the Europeans. This positioning of Japan evokes the *'datsu-a nyû-ô'* thesis ('Leave Asia, join Europe');[99] a kind of voluntary subordination to a Eurocentric world order by 'catching up'. The text appears to promote notions of modernisation and

96 Sakamoto and Ienaga, *Nihonshi*, 124:「せっかくヨーロッパとのつながりができたのに、これを自分で禁止したのは、キリスト教が封建制度を保つうえにじゃまになると考えられるからであった。」
97 Ibid., 126:「ヨーロッパの進んだ文化は、わずかにオランダの船が、長崎に伝えてくるだけとなった。そのために日本の文化はヨーロッパよりもずっとおくれてしまった。」
98 See above chap. 1, p. 62.
99 See above Introduction, pp. 27 – 28.

development similar to those that the economist Walter Rostow proposed in his theories of development: Japan needed to modernise and make economic progress by following the western and liberal capitalist path.[100] Not surprisingly, the text portrays feudalism as an impediment to 'modernisation' and 'progress', which had also been articulated not just by intellectuals but also in the curricula of the time.[101] Other post-war era texts (1951 – 57) similarly criticise *sakoku*. Fujii and Sugano say: '[w]hile our country had conducted *sakoku* for a long time and plunged into deep slumber, European nations had made truly surprising progress.'[102] Another post-war era textbook by Tokyo University's History Association reiterates:

> Japan was left behind in the rapid progress the world made, and behaved haughtily within its territory like a frog in a well. The progressive mood that arose after the sixteenth century was stymied, and a selfish national character emerged. The factor that delayed [Japan] from the world progress was created by *sakoku*.[103]

The texts published after the mid-1960s assess *sakoku* differently. Inoue Chiyû and co-writers' 1965 edition asserts that *sakoku* enabled the *bakufu:*

> To strengthen domestic rule and stemmed foreign influence, which enabled the *bakufu* to consolidate feudalism. Also a period of peace continued which developed the distinctive culture. However, the development of the Japanese nationals overseas was terminated completely. Only through a small window of Nagasaki could Japan gain a glimpse of the advanced European culture. Japan was left behind the advances of the world.[104]

The critical tone found in the earlier texts is balanced by affirmative assessment, mentioning 'the consolidation of domestic rule', and by suggesting that 'a period of peace' helped to develop a 'distinctive culture'. Such an attempt to provide an

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100 For instance, among his numerous publications, see *The Process of Economic Growth* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1952).

101 See above chap. 1, p. 27.

102 Fujii and Sugano, *Sodachiyuku Nihon* (*ge*) (1951), 41:「わが国が長い間、鎖国を行って深い眠りにおちていたころ、ヨーロッパの国々はじつにおどろくほど進歩していました。」

103 TDBS, *Nihon no ayumi*, 116:「急速にすすんでいった世界の進運から、日本は取り残され、国内でひとりでいばっている井戸の蛙のようになってしまった。そして16世紀頃からたかまったのびのびとした精神もつみとられ、ひとりよがりの国民性が生まれ、世界のすすみゆきからおくれてしまう原因が、この鎖国によってつくられたのである。」The phrase 'a frog in the well' is a Japanese proverb, which implies that one cannot gain a wide range of experience or knowledge if ones lives in a small world.

104 Inoue Chiyû et al., *Chûgaku shakai: Rekishiteki bunya* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Osaka: Osaka Shoseki, 1965), 143:「[…]国内の政治を強化し、外国からの影響をふせいで、封建制度をかためることができた。また、太平がつづき、独自の文化が発展するようになった。しかし、国民は海外への発展を全くたちきられ、ヨーロッパの進んだ文化も、長崎という小さな窓をとおして、うかがい知るだけとなった。日本は、それだけ世界の進運からとりのこされることになった。」

even-handed evaluation is not unique to this text. Inoue and co-writers' 1975 edition notes that during *sakoku* a 'distinctive Japanese culture developed. However, the Japanese people lost the opportunity to go abroad and became unfamiliar with foreign affairs. The Japanese were left behind the world development'.[105] The text by Nishida Naojirô and Suzuki Shigetaka confirm *sakoku* as a period in which:

> … the power of the feudal lords and merchants weakened. The *bakufu* monopolised trade surpluses and consolidated its feudal structure. This way, the domestic situations stabilised. Gradually the culture distinctive to our own nation and regional industry began to develop. However, the opportunity for the overseas development of our nationals was stymied. During the following long period of over 200 years, our nation became cocooned as an island nation, and the development of a modern society was delayed.[106]

The text by Kawasaki Tsuneyuki and co-writers follows suit. It acknowledges the *bakufu* success:

> Banning missionaries and controlling trade enabled [the *bakufu*] to reinforce the foundation of feudalism. However, the development of [activities by] Japanese expatriates was stymied and a spirit of self-righteousness, 'island nation spirit', was fostered. Also, peace within the nation was maintained. But because there was little interaction with foreign nations, industry and culture fell behind world progress.[107]

These texts (Inoue and co-writers' 1965 and 1975 editions, and Kawasaki and co-writers) introduce both positive and negative assessments of *sakoku.* The positive outcomes are the development of domestic 'peace', stability, 'regional industry' and 'distinctive culture of our nation'. The texts also list the familiar negative assessments found in post-war texts.

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105 Inoue Chiyû et al., *Chûgaku shakai rekishiteki bunya* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Osaka: Osaka Shoseki, 1975), 154:「日本独自の文化も発展したが、日本人は、海外への発展をたちきられ、外国の事情にうとくなり、それだけ世界の進歩からとりのこされることになった。」

106 Nishida and Suzuki, *Chûgaku rekishi*, 166:「[…]大名や豪商の勢力は弱まり、幕府は貿易の利益を独占して、封建体制をいっそう強化した。こうして国内は安定し、しだいにわが国独自の文化と地方の産業が発達するようになった。しかし、わが国民の海外発展の気運はくじれかれ、その後200年以上の長いあいだ、わが国は島国のなかにとじこもって、近代社会の発展がおくれる結果となった。」

107 Kawasaki Tsuneyuki et al, *Hyôjun chûgaku shakai: Rekishi no nagare* [Standard Middle-School Social Studies: The Currents of History] (Tokyo: Kyôiku Shuppan, 1962), 148:「幕府は、鎖国により禁教と貿易の統制に成功したため、封建制の土台をいっそうかためることができた。しかし、さかんであった日本人の海外発展がおさえられ、『島国根性』と呼ばれるような、ひとりよがりの気風が育てられた。また、国内の平和は守られたが、外国との交渉が少なかったため、産業も文化も世界の進歩からおくれてしまった。」

Another strategy is to draw links with other historical eras, as Takeuchi and co-writers, for example, wrote:

> … [J]ust as in the Heian period [794 – 1185/92] when the national [*kokufû*] culture developed, during the Edo period a culture unique to our own nation was formed. Through China and Holland, the European culture was introduced into our nation and accumulated over many years. [Thereafter,] Japan would be ready for the new era of the Meiji Restoration.[108]

This text shows *sakoku* as an incubation period that developed a 'culture unique to our own nation', and prepared Japan well for the Meiji period by limiting the importation of foreign culture during *sakoku*. It implies that the sudden surge of cultural importation would have caused irreparable damage to Japan. Again, this text reinforces notions of Japan as a 'late bloomer', whose dexterity enabled its people to adopt the best of foreign innovations while maintaining the immutable 'Japanese' core (*wakon yôsai*).

Why did these 'balanced' evaluations emerge after the mid-1960s? It might be suggested that a reinvention of Japan's self-image was a reflection of economic growth and 'one nation pacifism', which Oguma defines as 'a rejection of any troublesome event outside Japan in an attempt to maintain domestic peace and stability'.[109] The growth engendered a generally upbeat *zeitgeist* inside Japan from the mid-1950s to the end of the 1960s. The 1960s began with the Japanese government ratifying the US-Japan Security Treaty amid fierce opposition. However, Japan's domestic recovery and international presence were symbolised and recognised through the Tokyo Olympics (1964) and the country's growing economic performance. These developments could therefore have invited a positive evaluation of Japanese culture and *sakoku*. More crucially, as Oguma points out, the Japanese intellectual landscape experienced a generational shift during the 1960s as the senior and influential intellectuals, including the aforementioned Watsuji, died.[110]

From a pedagogical viewpoint these textbooks may seem to suffer from a lack of clear comparison and contrast of the positive and negative interpretations of *sakoku*. They also do not provide activities to encourage students to evaluate and

108 Takeuchi et al., *Chûgaku rekishi*, 144:「[…]平安時代に国風文化が展開したように、江戸時代にもわが国独自の文化が形成されていった。中国やオランダを通じて、ヨーロッパの文化がわが国に紹介され、それらが長い年月の間に集積されて、明治維新の新しい時代を迎えたのである。」
For my analysis of textbook descriptions of *kokufû* culture, see Ryôta Nishino, "Narrative Strategies of Japanese Middle-School History Textbooks Regarding Japanese Ethnic Origins and Cultural Identity", *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010): 97 – 112.

109 Oguma, *Genealogy*, 322.

110 Ibid, 319.

draw their own conclusions about the impact of *sakoku* on Japanese society and culture. From a historiographical viewpoint, the texts may be criticised for an absence of explicit appraisal of the *sakoku* concept. An irony, however, is that the muted presentation in these descriptions does not attract the emotionally-charged criticism that *Nihonjin-ron* received.

This analysis has found, however, that very few texts published after the mid-1970s pass judgements on the effects of *sakoku* on Japanese culture, politics, society and the 'national psyche', except one. A medium-selling text by Aoki and co-writers says: 'Japan had little to do with global developments. Inside Japan, the power of the *bakufu* and domains strengthened. Also, distinctive industry and culture began to grow.'[111] As far as the evidence I have gathered reveals, neither Mombushô nor publishers explain why this disappearance of judgements occurred.

Turning to Genroku culture, a post-war era text (1951 – 57) by Fujii and Sugano relates that it '… reflected the buoyant, enthusiastic and independent mood of the townspeople who created vast wealth by their own effort. Although they occupied the lowest rank of the caste, in actual life [this culture] exhibited their dignified power that overwhelmed the samurai'.[112] Genroku culture is characterised as vibrant and led by the townspeople – a kind of cultural revolution whereby the townspeople took the cultural lead from the samurai class. The text is tinged with a strain of Marxism as it shows clear class-consciousness among the townspeople as the *nouveaux riches,* who challenged the dominant samurai class. Expressions such as 'buoyant, proactive and independent mood', 'vast wealth' and 'dignified power' evidently commend the rise of the townspeople as the trailblazers. Kodama and co-writers' 1951 edition reiterates:

> Japanese culture so far had been the culture created by those who dominated. But from about the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, culture was generated among those who were dominated. However, it was mainly in literature and performing arts, and scholarship was not as strong as the samurais'. What the townspeople created was the culture not bound by old traditions and customs. It had [an air of] freedom and much humanism.[113]

111 Aoki et al., *Nihon no ayumi*, 118:「日本は、これからのち、世界の動きとは直接かかわりなく、幕府や藩の力が強まり、特徴ある産業や文化も生まれるようになった。」

112 Fujii and Sugano, *Sodachiyuku Nihon* (*ge*), 26:「[…]いずれも商・工業の発達を通して、自力で巨万の富をきずき上げた町人の明るい、積極的で自主的な気風の反映されたもので、身分としては最も低い町人階級にありながら、現実生活においては、武士を圧倒した彼らの誇らしげな力の現れでありました。」

113 Kodama et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi* [1951 ed.], 148:「これまでの日本の文化は、支配する人々の作り出した文化であったが、17 – 18世紀からようやく支配される人々のなかから文化が生まれてきたのである。ただその文化は文学や芸能が主であってま

The somewhat upbeat text seems to champion the contribution by the ordinary people. The narrative implies that the 'those who were dominated' had exerted cultural clout against the social hierarchy of the time. The text admits that the samurai still dominated scholarship and intimates that Genroku culture falls short of complete cultural revolution. However, the emphasis is on the perceived success of the ordinary people, rather than the conflict. Such a narrative may give the readers hope for a mass cultural resurgence to strengthen national cohesion under the contemporary catch-cry of 'cultural nation'.[114]

The low-selling Inoue and co-writers' 1975 edition introduces Genroku culture as: 'The culture of the ordinary people which had developed since the Muromachi era [fourteenth to sixteenth centuries CE] blossomed as Genroku culture around the Kyoto-Osaka region. This was the culture by the townspeople who gained economic leverage through the development of commerce despite being oppressed by the samurai.'[115] This text highlights the role of the ordinary people and indicates the centuries-long maturing of popular culture, although the connection between the Muromachi and Genroku periods remains unclear. Yet attention to the 'ordinary people' seems to reflect the changing landscape in historiographical approaches within the academy. The influence of the Annales School in Japanese academia in the late 1960s and the early 1970s aided the resurgence of folklore studies in Japan and cemented the disciplines of social and cultural history as alternatives to Marxist and state-centred historiography.[116]

Ukai and co-writers' top-selling 1977 edition narrates differently: 'New culture was created in the society of the townspeople who had gained power by acquiring wealth. That the ordinary people became the centre of a cultural movement was unprecedented until this [Genroku] period.'[117] This text may lead students to believe Genroku culture merely occurred in an historical vacuum, while the Inoue and co-writers' 1975 edition attempts to present the rise of popular culture as an historical process. Two subsequent editions of Ukai and co-writers published in 1981 and 1984, and two further editions by Kawata and

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だ学問の方は武士には及ばなかった。町人の作り出した文化は、古い伝統やしきたりにとらわれない、自由な、人間味の多い文化であった。」

114 See above Chap.1, p. 62.

115 Inoue et al., *Chûgaku shakai* [1975 ed.], 164:「室町時代からめばえた庶民の文化は、元禄のころに京都大阪などの上方を中心に元禄文化となってはなをひらいた。それは、商業の発達によって経済力を持った町人が、武士に押さえられながらも、あたらしい気分で生み出した文化である。」

116 Ishii Susumu, "Shakaishi no kadai," ["Tasks for Social History"], *IKNT bekkan 1: Rekishi ishiki no genzai* [Iwanami History of Japan, Supplementary vol. 1, The Contemporary Historical Consciousness], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 77 – 78.

117 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.], 161:「富をたくわえて力を伸ばしてきた町人の社会から、新しい文化が生まれた。庶民が文化の中心となったのは、これまでの時代には見られないことであった。」

co-writers published in 1990 and 1993, resemble the 1977 edition: 'New culture was created in the society of the townspeople. That the ordinary people became the centre of a cultural movement was unprecedented until this [Genroku] period.'[118] In these texts, the phrase 'the townspeople who had gained power by acquiring wealth' is absent. The reference to social hierarchy by way of financial and cultural clout is toned down. This contrasts with the post-war texts (1951 – 57) that describe Genroku culture as a cultural revolution of sorts. Moreover, the texts hardly address the issues of commercialisation and the production of printed materials as key contributing factors to the spread of culture to the ordinary people. The texts seem to treat cultural development as independent from economic development.

The texts consistently mention several cultural phenomena of the time. These include contributions by the *jôruri* playwright, Chikamatsu Monzaemon, and the poet, Matsuo Bashô. The text by Fujii and Sugano says Monzaemon 'left many works that depicted the worlds of the townspeople and the lives of samurai in the feudal society that were intertwined with money, obligation and sentiments'.[119] Similarly, other post-war texts (1951 – 57) characterise his plays as revolving around the 'clash between obligation and the true nature of human being in the master-serf relation in the feudal society',[120] and 'Stories featured clashes in feudal society between obligation in the feudalistic master-serf relations and the sentiments that humans inherently possess, which eventually end in misery.'[121]

The post-war texts stress the common theme of *jôruri* as the impact of feudalism on the lives of the ordinary people. Reference to feudalism seems to reflect the intellectual climate of that time which advocated overcoming the residues of feudalism. Nonetheless, from a pedagogical perspective, the texts lack examples of such clashes and therefore may be seen to require further elaboration by the teacher. Without sufficient explanation or invitation to debate within the textbooks, students would be left wondering about the fervour of criticism towards feudalism, why feudalism had to be criticised, what it did to

118 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.], 158; Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1984 ed.], 153; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.], 151; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 155: 「[…]都市の町人の社会から、新しい文化が生まれた。庶民が文化の中心となったのは、これまでの時代には見られないことであった。」

119 Fujii and Sugano, *Sodachiyuku Nihon (ge)*, 25:「封建社会の中にあって金や義理人情にからむ町人の世界や武士の生活を描いた作品を多く残した。」

120 Wakamori, *Nihon no hatten*, 135:「封建社会のなかでの、主従関係の義理と人間の本性との衝突など[…]。」

121 TDBS, *Nihon no ayumi*, 130:「封建的な主従関係における義理と、人間本来が持っている人情とが、封建社会の中でたがいに衝突し、けっきょくは悲しい運命に終わってしまう話であった。」

the people and if it would be fair to assume that feudalism influenced contemporary Japanese social relations.

With regard to *haiku*, post-war texts credit Bashô's contribution as he 'refined what had mainly dealt with the "ludicrous" into high art. This art spread among cities and villages. *Haiku* associations were created in various regions. Bashô visited these associations and continued to travel, and left many fine nature poems.'[122] Wakamori's text suggests that Bashô 'widely diffused it [*haiku*] through many disciples. In other words, *haiku* became created more often and later became people's literature'.[123] These texts relate how *haiku* spread across the hierarchy of people and regions, culminating in its 'national' status. While the textbooks note the change in the reception of *haiku* from 'ludicrous' to 'refinement', they seem to assume that the diffusion of *haiku* was simply accepted. If cultural or social history approaches had been introduced to the texts, it may be reasonable to assume that the texts would have introduced a more accurate portrayal of the diffusion process. Such approaches would have dealt with the motivation of the ordinary people and the significance of poetic expression. Put differently, these textbooks may be criticised for lacking a human element despite the subject matter, and for implying that ordinary people merely followed the fads.

A top-selling reverse course era text (1958 – 93) by Ukai and co-writers notes that the key theme of *jôruri* deals with 'the misery of the townspeople living in the world of obligation and sentimentality in beautiful prose'.[124] It introduces *haiku* as being 'polished into art by Matsuo Bashô, and spread among the regional merchants and well-to-do farmers'.[125] Four of its later editions by Ukai and co-writers, as well as Kawata and co-writers, repeated the 1977 edition without changes.[126]

Other reverse course era texts note *jôruri* as 'the conditions of samurai and

122 Fujii and Sugano, *Sodachiyuku Nihon* (*ge*), 24:「今まで"こっけい"を主としていたものを、高い芸術として完成させた。そして、この芸術は、都市や農村の間に広がり、各地方に俳句の会が作られ、芭蕉はそれらの会をたずねて各地に旅をつづけ、自然をよんだ多くのすぐれた句を残しました。」

123 Wakamori, *Nihon no hatten*, 135:「多くの弟子を通じて、それを広く普及させていった。すなわち、俳句というものが、それによってしきりに作られるようになり、やがて民衆の文学となっていった。」

124 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.], 162:「浄瑠璃では、[…]義理と人情の世界に生きる町人の悲劇をうつくしい文章に書いて人気を集めた。」

125 Ibid., 159:「[…]松尾芭蕉によって芸術に高められ、地方の商人や豪農のあいだにもひろまった。」

126 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.], 159; Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1984 ed.], 153; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.], 151; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 156.

townspeople tormented between obligation and sentiments';[127] and 'men and women living desperately in a dilemma between obligation and sentiments'.[128] Here the texts barely introduce the political and economic aspects of *jôruri*, an issue about which a cultural or social historian would be concerned. The texts seem to assume that the art developed and operated in a vacuum, in isolation from wider socio-economic conditions that affected the ordinary people and motivated authors to write. *Haiku* and its spread are described as: 'Matsuo Bashô raised *haiku* that derived from *renga* [a form of poetry contributed by different poets taking turns] into respectable literature, and spread [*haiku*] among powerful townspeople and landowners';[129] 'refined into art of elegant simplicity by Matsuo Bashô and spread among the people';[130] and 'Matsuo Bashô raised *haiku* into a distinguished art form while travelling various regions'.[131]

In reverse course era texts the themes of *jôruri* as 'obligation and sentiments' are repeated throughout, while references to the feudalist social context of *jôruri* were deleted. Among the reverse course era texts analysed, Nagahara and co-writers' 1980 edition is the only text that directly relates *jôruri* to feudalism: 'Chikamatsu Monzaemon, who was born into a samurai family in Osaka, depicted the sorrow of men and women entangled in obligations and sentiments of the feudal society, and gave profound feelings to people.'[132] Inoue and co-writers' 1975 edition is the last text among those examined that refers to the feudalist context of *jôruri*. However, its description is cryptic, saying *jôruri* dealt with 'the feelings of townspeople and samurai tormented by obligations and sentiments amid strict status hierarchy'.[133] The descriptions of *haiku* continually note the contribution by Bashô, while introducing its spread either to the bourgeoisie or the general public. The reverse course era texts tend to merely list the Genroku cultural icons without relating to today's Japan.

127 Kasahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika*, 142:「義理と人情の板ばさみで苦しむ武士や町人のようす」.

128 Sasayama Haruo et al., *Chûgakusei shakai rekishi* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Kyôiku Shuppan, 1993), 145:「義理と人情の板ばさみの中でけんめいに生きる男女」.

129 Inoue et al., *Chûgakusei shakai* [1975 ed.], 165:「松尾芭蕉は連歌からおこった俳諧をりっぱな文学に高め、有力な町人や地主などの間にひろめた。」

130 Aoki et al., *Chûgakusei no shakaika*, 128:「松尾芭蕉によってさびの文芸として高められ、民衆のあいだにもひろまった。」

131 Tokinotani et al., *Chûgaku shakai*, 141:「松尾芭蕉は、各地を旅行しながら、俳諧をりっぱな芸術にまで高めました。」

132 Nagahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika* [1980 ed.], 138:「大阪の武士の家に生まれた近松門左衛門は、封建社会の義理と人情にからんだ男女の悲しみを浄瑠璃の脚本にえがき、人々に深い感動を与えた。」

133 Inoue et al., *Chûgakusei shakai* [1975 ed.], 164:「きびしい身分制度のなかで義理と人情の板ばさみになやむ町人や武士の気持ち。」

Summary

Two features of textbook descriptions of *sakoku* emerge. Firstly, throughout the period examined, the term '*sakoku*' has survived without openly questioning the validity or the conceptual adequacy of *sakoku*. The strategy used in some textbooks was only indirectly challenged. Those textbooks still adhere to the term *sakoku*, but do mention the continuation of some external trade. Secondly, the textbooks began to provide less judgemental assessments about *sakoku*. This analysis has shown that post-war textbooks were critical of *sakoku*. In contrast, reverse course textbooks feature positive outcomes to balance the negative ones. Furthermore, newer texts ceased to pass judgements on *sakoku* altogether. One lasting trend this analysis has found is that, from a pedagogical viewpoint, no text explicitly treated the positive and the negative consequences as subject to different interpretations and debate.

The texts tend to understate the class distinctions of the producers and consumers of cultural trends, an approach that cultural and social historians would pursue. The texts thus conspicuously lack reference to the political and economic factors behind the spread of cultural trends and culture as a site of conflict or subversion. The spread of cultural phenomena and the soaring popularity of literature and theatre in the Genroku period are usually described as spreading naturally, without drawing students' attention to the process of the material development of cultural forms into commercial commodities. A distinct feature of text descriptions of Genroku culture found in newer textbooks is that they do not relate how these cultural forms are relevant to Japan today. Contrary to the expectations of 'cultural nationalism' or even *Nihonjin-ron*, the descriptions may thus appear as an inventory of cultural phenomena rather than an historical narrative.

3. The Ainu Response to Japanese Colonisation

Historical Background

The Ainu are the indigenous inhabitants of Ezo-chi (present-day Hokkaidô) who formerly subsisted on fishing and hunting. The Ainu are not a mono-cultural or monolithic group. Numerous chieftains existed from as far east as the Kurile Islands and as far south as the Oshima Peninsula. The Ainu chieftains traded with the Manchus (in northeast China), and the Uilta and the Nivkhi on Sakhalin Island as well as the Japanese. The Ainu were astute in choosing their trading

partners, their prices and the commodities traded. However, the terms of trade often unfairly favoured the Japanese.[134] Ainu dissent against Japan dates back to the fifteenth century. In 1457 Chief Koshamain rose up against the Japanese and lost the battle. In the Edo period, the Tokugawa *bakufu* entrusted the Matsumae-*han* (feudal domain) to establish trade with the Ainu. In 1669, a clan leader, Shakushain, settled disputes within the Ainu and led an armed challenge against the Japanese. He lost the battle and was humiliated. The uprising of 1789 by 130 Ainu was the last gasp of Ainu military resistance. By 1821 Ezo-chi was brought under the direct rule of the Tokugawa *bakufu*.[135]

Seeking to consolidate its national boundary, Meiji Japan steadily colonised Ezo-chi and the Ainu. In 1868, Japan formally seized Ezo-chi to check Russia's southward expansion. This was soon followed by the Japanese government opening the Kaitakushi (Colonisation Commission) in 1869 to administer Ezo-chi and it renamed Ezo-chi as Hokkaidô. The bulk of immigrants from Japan, *kaitakumin* ('pioneers') were convicts, peasants and unemployed former samurai. The government also deployed demobilised soldiers *tondenhei* (colonisers) with combat capabilities in case of Russian provocation.[136]

The Ainu suffered under the Japanese colonial yoke. They lost their land and fishing territories and were forced to cultivate crops.[137] They became vulnerable to imported diseases from Japan and Russia. In the late seventeenth century, the Ainu population was estimated at 40,000. It dropped to 26,256 by 1807 and to 15,171 by 1854.[138] The portrayal of the Ainu as 'a dying race' emerged in the 1890s when Japanese nationalism was on the ascent. The Ainu were treated or regarded as the antithesis of the Japanese 'Yamato race'. It is little wonder that

134 Bruce Batten, *Nihon no 'kyôkai': Zen kindai no kokka, minzoku, bunka* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2000). Subsequently published as *To the Ends of Japan: Pre-Modern Frontiers, Boundaries and Interactions* (Honolulu: the University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 302; Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Henkyô kara nagameru: Ainu ga keiken suru kindai* [Viewing from the Margin: Early Modern History and the Experiences of the Ainu], trans. Ôkawa Masahiko (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobô, 2000), 34 – 35; and Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), 26 – 27 and 32 – 33.

135 Morris-Suzuki, *Henkyô,* 35 – 36.

136 Oguma Eiji. *'Nihonjin' no kyôkai: Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Chôsen, shokuminchi shihai kara fukki undô made* [Boundaries of 'the Japanese': Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Korea. From Colonial Rule to the Repatriation Movement] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 1998), 55; Siddle, *The Ainu*, 56.

137 Kuwahara Masato, "Hokkaidô no keiei", ["The Administration of Hokkaidô"] in *IKNT 16: Kindai 1* [Iwanami History of Japan, vol. 16, Early Modern 1] eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 353 – 354.

138 Batten, *Nihon no Kyôkai*, 153.

Richard Siddle's study finds that school texts of the time perpetuated these stereotypes.[139]

Hokkaidô kyûdojin hogo hô (the Hokkaidô Former Natives Protection Act) of 1899 granted the Ainu nominal equality with the Japanese. However, the Act aimed to 'protect' the Ainu and encourage them to adopt Japanese social and cultural mores. The Act banned the Ainu from selling land without the Japanese government's permission, prohibited their land use for other than agricultural purposes, and forced the use of the Japanese language at school.[140] The Act consequently accelerated the colonisation of the Ainu and the integration of Hokkaidô as Japan's 'in-land' (*naichi)* populated by the mainlanders, as opposed to its 'out-land' of colonial acquisition (*gaichi*). In the 1920s, the Ainu activist Iboshi Hokuto led an Ainu resistance movement.[141] From the late 1960s onwards, following a worldwide upsurge of movements for indigenous peoples' rights, sustained campaigns revived Ainu ethnic awareness and promoted recognition of their indigenous status.[142] In 1997 the Japanese government replaced the 1899 Act with Ainu bunka shinkô hô (the Promotion of the Ainu Culture Act). While it recognises Ainu cultural and linguistic rights, it does not provide for Ainu land rights, or offer to address economic and legal discrimination, or provide special political representation for the Ainu.[143]

The question of Japanese colonisation of the Ainu people may provide a counterweight to *Nihonjin-ron* proponents. As discussed earlier, *Nihonjin-ron* is said to promote the ideology of a homogenous Japan. However, as argued by the historian Amino Yoshihiko, it inhibits the recognition of diversity across modern Japan's territory and leads many to believe that the Japanese state was formed from time immemorial and without crucial defining moments.[144] He proposes a new model that 'firmly rejects historical images rooted in the "in the beginning were the Japanese" sort of framework that is still widely adhered to.'[145] Furthermore, the Korean-Japanese educationist, Yun Koncha, observes that the Japanese have a poor awareness of the issues faced by minorities. He argues that

139 Siddle, *The Ainu*, 103 – 104, and see chap. 4 "The Dying Race" for a detailed discussions of the evolution of this racial discourse.

140 Ibid., 88 – 92; Morris-Suzuki, *Henkyô*, 48 and 168; and Oguma, *'Nihonjin' no kyôkai*, 69.

141 Morris-Suzuki, *Henkyô*, 74 – 75.

142 Ibid., 185 and 215 – 216; and Siddle, *The Ainu*, 19.

143 Morris-Suzuki, *Henkyô*, 196.

144 Kano Masanao, "Nihon bunkaron to rekishi", ["Historical Consciousness of Theories of Japanese Culture"], *IKNT bekkan 1: Rekishi ishiki no genzai* [Iwanami History of Japan, Supplementary vol. 1, The Contemporary Historical Consciousness], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 195 – 200; and Ishii Susumu, "Shakaishi no kadai", 84 – 86.

145 Amino Yoshihiko, "Deconstructing 'Japan'", trans. Gavan McCormack, *East Asian History* 3 (1992): 132.

the origin of this attitude lies in post-war prosperity and the 'homogeneity' myth about the Japanese, which made it very difficult for the Japanese to empathise with minorities.[146]

Textbook Approaches

Textbook references to the formal colonisation of Ezo-chi and the Ainu appear in relation to the state-led industrialisation during the Meiji period. Among the textbooks analysed, post-war texts (1951 – 57) seldom deal with these issues. This seems to validate the frequently voiced criticism of a 'homogenous Japan' ideology. The topics dealing with the Ainu colonisation receive greater attention in the texts approved and published from around the mid-1970s. My survey of the curriculum during the purview of this study reveals that the impact of Japanese colonisation on the Ainu has not been officially prescribed. Most of the textbooks analysed feature the topic as 'extra' information, which indicates that the publishers attempted to circumvent Mombushô's strictures. It may be suggested that the publishers were responding to an external historiographical trend to focus on ethnic minorities.

The oldest reference to this theme is found in Toyoda's 1953 edition. It states that the government 'put much effort into the development of Hokkaidô. It had the former samurai and peasants immigrate and conduct large-scale agriculture along American lines'.[147] The process of colonisation is recounted without mentioning the Ainu responses. In this text, the objective of the 'development of Hokkaidô' lies with the Japanese government implementing American agricultural methods. The emphasis on catching up with the United States seems to reflect the mood of the Japanese national reconstruction at the time of publication. Put differently, Hokkaidô was a symbol of Japanese national development.

Following the global movement for indigenous peoples' rights of the late 1960s, texts published after the mid-1970s increasingly recognise the impact of colonisation on the Ainu. Inoue and co-writers' 1975 edition recounts:

> In Hokkaidô, the Ainu had subsisted by hunting and fishing. In 1871, the government established the Colonisation Commission in Sapporo, and encouraged the immigration of peasants by funding their travel costs and giving them land. Furthermore, it had jobless former samurai as *tondenhei*, got them to settle in Hokkaidô in groups, and

146 Yun Koncha, *Minzoku môsô no satetsu: Nihonjin no jikozô* [The Failure of Ethnic Illusion: The Self-Images of the Japanese] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 14 – 15.

147 Toyoda, *Chûgakusei Nihonshi* [1953 ed.], 167:「特に北海道の開拓には力を入れ、氏族や農民を移住させ、アメリカ式の大がかりな農業をやらせた。」

> assigned them to police and develop the area. In Sapporo [the government] opened an agricultural college and invited engineers from the United States. As a result of these efforts the development progressed gradually. At the same time, life for the Ainu became difficult.[148]

The text simply lists the government's actions. The Ainu's situation after 'development' is simply described as 'became difficult'. The text features no discussion of the concepts of colonisation or development. It does not discuss how the protagonists of colonisation, for example, the central government and the various Ainu clans, the Colonisation Commission and the *tondenhei*, would have perceived colonisation and 'development'. Instead the text seems to implicitly endorse 'the manifest destiny' of progress, development and modernisation – the axiom of Meiji Japan and post-war recovery – by presenting the Ainu as bearing the brunt of the supposedly inevitable 'development' of Hokkaidô.

Texts published after the 1980s pay increasing attention to specific consequences of colonisation for the Ainu. According to Nagahara and co-writers' 1980 edition '[a]s the development progressed, the Ainu could not hunt and fish as they did before, and also population decreased'.[149] Ukai and co-writers' 1981 edition states: 'The Ainu were pressured by the immigrants from the mainland. Also, prejudice towards the Ainu intensified.'[150] Mori and co-writers note that 'on the residents register [kept by the governmental authorities] the Ainu were classed as equal to the ordinary people ["Japanese"], but as the development proceeded they were chased out of their hunting and fishing sites which had sustained their living. Their traditional ways of living became threatened'.[151] Although these texts sympathise with the Ainu, they pit the Ainu hardship against 'development', suggesting that the Ainu were 'a dying race' and their decline was supposedly inevitable.

Although the textbooks show that the Ainu suffered cruel treatment by the Japanese, the texts obscure exactly who bore the responsibility and who encouraged and promoted the colonisation of the Ainu. The linguistic strategies of

148 Inoue et al., *Chûgakusei shakai* [1975 ed.], 209:「北海道にはアイヌがすみ、狩りと漁の生活をしていた。政府は1871年、開拓使という役所を札幌に置き、旅費や土地を与えて農民の移住を奨励し、さらに職のない氏族を屯田兵として集団的に移住させ、警備と開発にあたらせた。また札幌には農学校を開き、アメリカから技師を招くなどして、努力した結果、開拓はしだいに進んだ。同時にアイヌの生活は追いつめられていった。」

149 Nagahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika* [1980 ed.], 197:「開拓が進むにつれて、アイヌ人は、今までの狩りや漁業ができなくなり、人口も減っていった。」

150 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.], 220:「アイヌは本土から移住してきた人々に圧迫され、また、アイヌに対する偏見が強められていった。」

151 Mori et al., *Nihon no rekishi*, 207:「アイヌは、戸籍上は平民と同じとされたが、開拓が進むにつれて生活を支えていた狩りや漁のための場を追われ、伝統的な生活を脅かされるようになった。」

the texts deploy the passive voice, which allows the omission of the actors ('the Ainu were classed as', 'they were chased out', and 'the Ainu were pressured'). This impersonal construction, with its use of the intransitive verb ('population decreased' and 'ways of living became threatened'), omits to mention the initiators of the actions. Instead the subject is generalised ('the development progressed' or the 'immigrants from the mainland'). These descriptions are also found elsewhere. They may be characterised as conveying 'the ideology of irresponsibility', which Christopher Barnard's study finds from his study of high-school textbook explanations of the outbreak of World War II.[152] While these expressions still acknowledge the occurrence of events, they fail to mention exactly who bears responsibility for the events, which is likely to prompt readers with sharp eyes to raise more questions.

In addition to highlighting the consequences for the Ainu, the 1980s also marked the rise of references to Ainu responses to Japanese colonisation. In a section dealing with the Tokugawa trade network, Nagahara and co-writers' 1980 edition gives the first extensive description of this ilk among the textbooks analysed:

> Between the Ainu of Ezo-chi and the *wajin* [the Japanese] who had barged into this region and obtained trading and fishing rights, clashes occurred every now and then. Around the mid-fifteenth century, Koshamain mounted a large rebellion. The descendants of the samurai who subdued the rebellion were permitted to rule Ezo-chi, and became the rulers of the Matsumae-*han*, owning more than 10,000 *koku*. Under the Matsumae rule, the Ainu retaliated by initiating the Shakushain rebellion.[153]

In recounting the misery of the Ainu, the text simply narrates the events in a threadbare manner. Those expecting textbooks to reveal more would find the narrative problematic on two accounts. The first problem may arise from the historiographical sense, because it omits not only the Ainu agency and responses, but also the Japanese motives for their actions. The second problem may arise from a conceptual concern. A short discussion or explanation of colonisation, development, progress and indigenous rights and culture would have brought the Ainu-Japanese interaction into the context of world history and helped readers to appreciate the political and economic forces at play. These two

152 Christopher Barnard, *Language, Ideology and Japanese History Textbooks* (London: Routeldge, 2003), 84.

153 One *koku* is approximately 180 litres. Nagahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika* [1980 ed.], 125 – 126; Nagahara et al., *Chûgakusei shakaika* [1984 ed.], 117 – 118:「蝦夷地のアイヌと、この地方にはいりこんで商業や漁場の権利を手に入れた和人との間には、しばしば衝突が起こり、15世紀中頃には、コシャマインが大きな反乱をおこした。この反乱をおさえた武士の子孫は、のち[江戸時代に]蝦夷地の支配を許されて、1万石の松前藩主となった。松前氏のもとでも、アイヌは、シャクシャインの乱などをおこして反撃した。」

issues are mutually enhancing in promoting an understanding of history. They go beyond provoking superficial emotional reactions or even gratuitous pity towards the Ainu and antipathy towards the Japanese.

The text says that the Japanese 'barged into', but the word 'invasion' is not used, which might be how the Ainu would have seen it. The narrative moves to the 'clashes', suggesting that movement of people alone was sufficient for conflicts to arise. The text tends to give the impression that the Ainu simply responded to the Japanese presence as though no co-operation or peaceful interaction had taken place between the two and that conflict was the only method of resolving tensions. Even when the Koshamain rebellion is described, its conclusion is presented as 'subdued', without introducing any Ainu perspectives to the readers. The implication seems to be that the 'clashes' and 'rebellions' by the Ainu were little more than knee-jerk reactions. Moreover, the text describes the Ainu-Japanese relations as consisting of two sides: the Japanese and the Ainu, without introducing internal dynamics within each side. Furthermore, without showing the Ainu relations with Manchu and Sakhalin, the description may influence the readers to think that the Japanese were the only traders or foreigners who the Ainu had to deal with.

The text introduces the colonisation without conceptual framing and without providing possible causes such as competition for resources and the terms of trade. It relates that the *wajin* 'obtained the trading and fishing rights', but fails to identify who had granted such rights. Although the text shows that the samurai descendants were richly rewarded, it fails to note who provided the reward and who was disadvantaged by this process.

Ukai and co-writers' top-selling 1981 edition reveals more: 'Soon, merchants received trading rights from the Matsumae-*han*, exchanged small amounts of rice with large quantities of salmon and kelp, and exploited the Ainu for excessive profit. This made life difficult for the Ainu. As a result, an Ainu rebellion occurred on Kunashiri Island.'[154] The passage shows that the merchants and the Matsumae-*han* shared an interest in Ezo-chi without revealing whether the two could assume their entitlement. Furthermore, it explains that the rebellion resulted from 'excessive profit' that the merchants gained. Although trading on behalf of the Matsumae-*han*, the merchants appear as greedy, because the text does not discuss if and how the profit was shared between them. So the text seems to lay the blame on the merchants, instead of probing the responsibilities of the Matsumae-*han* and of the Tokugawa *bakufu*.

154 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.], 193 – 194:「やがて商人が、松前藩から交易をうけおって進出し、米などを、大量の酒や昆布と交換して暴利をむさぼり、アイヌの生活を苦しくした。そのため、18世紀の末には、国後島でアイヌの反乱がおこった。」

In considering the Ainu perspectives, while the text shows sympathy for the Ainu, it portrays the Ainu response as a knee-jerk reaction, suggesting that the Ainu had gullibly allowed the trade until the disadvantages became clear. The text leaps from the Ainu hardship to the rebellion, implying that the Ainu only used rebellion to seek justice, being ignorant of diplomatic or conciliatory solutions. A textbook by Tokinotani Masaru and co-writers veers towards this portrayal:

> The Matsumae-*han* gave small portions of rice and iron implements for the salmon, kelp and fur the Ainu brought. In the mid-seventeenth century, Chief Shakushakin called the Ainu across Ezo-chi to rise up and fight. The Matsumae-*han* was surprised at this. It sought assistance from the [Tokugawa] *bakufu* and subdued the Ainu at long last.[155]

The text makes the Matsumae-*han* appear as oblivious to the precipitating tensions before the uprising, and 'surprised' at the uprising. It justifies and disperses the responsibility of the Matsumae-*han*'s 'subduing' of the Ainu.

Texts published after 1990 reveal more consequences for the Ainu. Kawata and co-writers' 1993 edition says: 'Led by Shakushain the Ainu rose against the Matsumae-*han*, but lost [the battle]. Later, many Ainu had their fishing areas taken away, and became employed in kipper-catching by merchants.'[156] The text clearly states that the 'merchants' benefited from the unfair trade with the Ainu and that the Ainu began catching fish, not for their own sustenance or trade as they had done for centuries, but for their 'employers'. However, the text does not explore the relationship between the merchants and the Matsumae-*han* and is apt to present the merchants as innocent beneficiaries of the rebellion.

The low-selling Teruya and co-writers text shifts the actor to the Matsumae-*han:*

> … [T]he Matsumae-*han* raised rice prices. The Ainu needed rice for their sustenance. In 1669, the leader of the Ainu, Shakushain mounted a rebellion seeking freedom in trade. The Matsumae-*han* took a long time to quell the rebellion with the assistance of the *bakufu.* Later, the Matsumae-*han* reinforced the policing [of the Ainu] by making the Ainu swear unconditional obedience; segregating their residential areas; prohib-

155 Tokinotani et al., *Chûgaku shakai*, 131:「松前藩は、アイヌの持ってくるさけ・昆布・毛皮をひきかえに、わずかの米・鉄器しかあたえませんでした。17世紀中頃、族長シャクシャインは、全土のアイヌに呼びかけて戦いに立ち上がりました。おどろいた松前藩は、幕府に助けを求めて、ようやくアイヌをおさえました。」

156 Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 185:「シャクシャインに率いられたアイヌの人々が、松前藩を相手に戦いを起こしたが、敗れた。その後、多くのアイヌが、これまでの漁場を奪われ、商人の経営するにしん漁などに使役されるようになった。」

> iting them from wearing Japanese clothes; and putting the Ainu under direct surveillance of the *han* by establishing the *han* enclaves in the Ainu residential zones.[157]

The text reveals the causes and the consequences of the rebellion. It explains that the Ainu had a grievance against the Matsumae-*han* over terms of trade. It even tells how the Ainu tenaciously resisted the Matsumae-*han* before their defeat, which ended in gross humiliation and dispossession. However, in common with other texts, those partial to the Japanese state's interest may find this description dissatisfying, as it portrays the Japanese in a negative light. Although this text is informative and offers hitherto untold consequences, a more measured approach that contextualises the mechanisms behind the Ainu-Japanese trade may be necessary to better appreciate the Ainu resentment and to progress beyond a history based on antipathy between opposing sides.

Recent texts introduce the Japanese Government's attempts to assist the Ainu. Tokinotani and co-writers explain:

> Until the late Meiji era the indigenous people, the Ainu, had fished and hunted freely. But an increasing number of the Ainu struggled to make ends meet after their jobs and land were taken. Measures to protect the Ainu, such as the deferment of taxes and the provision of farming plots, were introduced.[158]

The text attempts to balance the seemingly negative and positive outcomes of colonisation. But the narrative does not stretch far enough to show how much these measures helped or did not help the Ainu.

Medium- and low-selling texts published after the 1980s specify the negative consequences for the Ainu. In an inlay, Sasayama and co-writers say the government 'regarded the Ainu land as land without owners, and nationalised it. It also legislated the Hokkaidô Former Natives Protection Act. However, in reality it began discriminating against the Ainu. Their homeland and ethnic culture were taken away'.[159] Similar descriptions follow in two other texts:

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157 Teruya et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi*, 151:「17世紀半過ぎ、松前藩は、アイヌが生活に必要としていた米の値段を上げたので、1669年、アイヌの指導者のシャクシャインは交易の自由をもとめて反乱を起こしました。松前藩は幕府の援助でようやく反乱を治めました。その後、松前藩は取り締まりを強化して、アイヌに絶対服従を誓わせ、アイヌの居住を別にし、日本人の服装をすることを禁止したり、アイヌの居住地に藩の領地をもうけて直接に監督をしたりしました。」

158 Tokinotani et al., *Chûgaku shakai* [1984 ed.], 187:「[…]これまで自由に漁や狩猟を営んでいた原住民のアイヌは、仕事や土地をうばわれ、生活に困る者が多くなりました。そこで明治の末には、税金のすえおきや農場の供与など、アイヌの保護もはかられました。」

159 Sasayama et al., *Chûgakusei shakai*, 202:「[政府は]アイヌの人たちの土地を、地租改正の際に、持ち主のない土地だとして国有地にした。政府はまた、アイヌの人たちを保護するとして、『北海道旧土人保護法』という法律を制定したが、実際は、アイヌの人たちを差別することとなり、彼らの生活の場と民族の文化はうばわれていった。」

> The government … implemented a policy of making the indigenous people, the Ainu, assimilate into the migrant population from Honshû. But discrimination against the Ainu was not rectified. As the immigrant population increased and the land became opened up for the immigrants, the Ainu lifestyle that relied on fishing and hunting became threatened. The government adopted a policy to encourage the Ainu to take up farming. But the policy was not effective.[160]

and

> To supplement labour shortage, prisoners and the Ainu were deployed and engaged in construction work such as road construction. This was very harsh labour, causing many to die of sickness and creating many victims. …. [T]he government promoted an assimilation policy for [the Ainu] people, forcing them to use the Japanese language and names. Also, to protect the Ainu, [the government] ceased to charge taxes and provided medical care. However, actual discrimination against the Ainu did not end. The Ainu people's homeland and culture were gradually taken away.[161]

While these texts fill in the 'missing links' between the colonisation of Hokkaidô and the destruction of the Ainu, they still present the Ainu as the passive victims of Japanese colonial policies instead of subjectivity examining the Ainu. Apple's charge of 'tokenism' may seem valid, because although the Ainu feature more often their history is still told from the Japanese viewpoint. However, recalling that discussion of the Ainu is not a prescribed theme in the curriculum and is only given as 'extra' information, these shortcomings are not entirely the publishers' fault.

Summary

Over the years, the texts examined moved from silence to recognition of the suffering inflicted on the Ainu through trade, repression and colonialism. This analysis has shown, broadly speaking, two narrative trends in the textbooks

160 Aoki et al., *Chûgakusei no shakaika*, 183:「政府は[…]先住民であるアイヌの人々を[…]本州などから移住してきた人々と同化させる政策をとったが、アイヌの人々に対する差別は改められなかった。移住民が増加し、開拓地が広がってくると、狩猟や漁業を中心としてきたアイヌの人々の生活は、しだいにおびやかされるようになった。政府は、アイヌの人々に農業を進める方針をとったが、なかなか効果は上がらなかった。」

161 Teruya et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi*, 213:「労働力の不足を補うため、囚人やアイヌの人々が動員され道路作りなどの土木工事にあたりました。これはひじょうに過酷なものであったため、病死する者が相次ぎ、多くの犠牲者を出しました。…. 政府は[アイヌ]に対して同化政策をとり、日本名や日本語の使用を強制しました。また、アイヌの人々の保護をはかるために、税金をすえおいたり、医療制度をととのえることもしましたが、実際の差別はなくならず、この人々の生活の場や文化はしだいにうばわれていきました。」

analysed. Firstly, the textbooks present the interaction as a simple bipartisan relationship between the Ainu and the Japanese. This analysis has found that the conflicts are told in a threadbare chronicle manner, involving linguistic constructions that removed the human element from the complex interactions which preceded or accompanied these clashes, as well as the policies and consequences that followed. The texts therefore may create an impression that the Ainu suffering was the inevitable sacrifice required for the progress of Japan and that no one bears responsibility. Secondly, texts do not introduce students to concepts relating to development, colonialism and progress or raise questions about them. The text descriptions of the Ainu suffering may evoke sorrow for them having to bear the brunt of 'manifest destiny', and some antipathy towards the Japanese for inflicting the suffering. This characterisation is superficial and unlikely to develop students' understanding of various forces behind their history of colonisation and dispossession.

4. The Portrayals of Female Factory Workers and Industrial Action in the Late Nineteenth Century

Historical Background

Japan's transformation from an agrarian economy into an industrial capitalist economy in the second half of the nineteenth century was aided by the collaboration of state-owned industry and industrialists. They took advantage of an abundant supply of labour. Most of these labourers had been peasants who were adversely affected by the government's deflationary monetary policy and taxation and therefore had little option but to become wage labourers. Equally well-known are the abject working conditions of young women in light industries, the exploitative contracts and illnesses that the workers suffered.[162] The industrialist Shibusawa Eiichi became known for his management innovation, notably employing female labourers at low wages and introducing a round-the-clock op-

162 Numerous sources discuss this period of rapid transformation. In English, see: Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); E. Patricia Tsurumi, "Female Textile Workers and the Family in Early Trade Unionism in Japan", *History Workshop*, no. 18 (1984): 3 – 27; E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Mariko Asano Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998). In Japanese, see: Kasuga Yutaka, "Kôjô no shutsugen" ["The Emergence of Factories"], *IKNT 17: Kindai 2* [Iwanami History of Japan, vol. 17, Modern 2], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), 183 – 224; and Miwa Ryôichi, *Gaisetsu Nihon keizaishi kingendai (dai 2 han)* [An Outline of Japanese Economic History Since the 1850s, 2nd ed.] (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai; 2002).

eration of the factories.[163] The dominant morality of the time assumed a subordinate role for women in supporting the family and the nation. This also extended to worker-employer relationships.[164]

Nevertheless, this does not mean that female workers were submissive or docile. Some dissenting workers responded by deserting their workplace, which was a highly risky venture. The very first strike occurred in 1886 at the Amemiya Silk Mill in Kôfu. In protest against the company's plan to increase the workday by thirty minutes to fourteen and a half hours and to decrease wages, more than one hundred young female workers fled to a Buddhist temple. The strike was spontaneous and organised solely by women and not by a trade union. The workers gained modest concessions. This incident stimulated at least three further strikes in the area against managerial proposals.[165] In 1889, female filature workers in Osaka demanded a pay rise and went on a strike for a week. The company requested the police to disperse the striking workers and threatened them with dismissal.[166]

The government responded with draconian measures. In 1900 it passed Chian keisatsu hô (the Peace Police Act). Article 5 prohibited women's political activities. Article 17 effectively banned the organisation of trade unions.[167] Legislation to protect workers was less forthcoming. The government attempted to introduce minimum standards for pay, working conditions, and health and safety measures. It took nineteen years for Kôjô hô (the Factory Law), first proposed in 1897, to be implemented in 1916. It is said that the law was gradually watered down as the government was pressured by increasing resistance from employers.[168]

Academic studies that explored women's role in society emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, in an attempt to better understand the activism of socialist women. Hosoi Wakizô chronicled *Jyokô aishi* [A Miserable History of Female Factory

163 Miwa, *Nihon keizaishi*, 58 – 59.

164 Hane, *Peasants*, 185; and Tamanoi, *Shadows*, 93 – 94.

165 Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900 – 1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 13; Tamanoi, *Under the Shadow*, 98; and Hane, *Peasants*, 194.

166 Ibid., 194; and Sheldon Garon, *State and Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press: 1987), 16.

167 On Article 5, see Nagahara Kazuko, "Shihon shugi no seiritsu to jôsei" ["Women and the Establishment of Capitalism"], in *Nihon joseishi* [A History of Japanese Women], eds. Wakita Haruko et al. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1987), 224. On Article 17, see Stephen S. Large, *The Rise of Labor in Japan: The Yûaikai, 1912 – 19* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1972), 3.

168 Kasuga, "Kôjô", 217 – 218. The reports of the investigation were "Kôjô mata shokkô ni kansuru tsûhei ippan" (1897) ["A General Outline regarding Factories or Factory Workers"], "Kôjô chôsa yôryô" (1902) ["A Summary of Surveys on Factories"], and "Shokkô jijô" (1903) ["Situations of Factory Workers"].

Labourers] (1925). The activist-scholar Takamure Itsue authored *Bokeisei no kenkyû* [A Study of Maternality] (1938) and *Josei no rekishi* [A History of Women] (1948). The Marxist historian Inoue Kiyoshi wrote the influential work, *Nihon joseishi* [A History of Women in Japan] (1948).[169] The arrival of feminism and cultural history through the Annales School in the 1970s seems to have given further stimulus to feminist scholarship. It helped gender to become an analytical tool in explaining class, ethnic and national consciousness and contributed to the diversification and specialisation of feminist scholarship.[170] The historian Kano Masanao notes the development of two approaches to feminist scholarship. One seeks to depict women's efforts to achieve liberation and tends to focus on activists and activism. The other sheds light on the lives of ordinary women and their resilience to the adverse and discriminatory conditions they faced.[171] It could further be suggested that *Ah! Nomugi-tôge* [O! The Nomugi Pass] (1968) by Yamamoto Shigemi may fall under the latter category, for it recounted the lives of female textile factory workers who were described in eyewitness accounts.

The representation of female textile workers in history textbooks can also be seen in the context of the government's attitude and initiatives taken towards labour and gender. In *Kitai sareru nihonjin zô* [The Images of the Desirable Japanese – hereafter *Images*] (1966), it was proclaimed that education in Japan should recognise the importance of forming 'a people possessing self-awareness as Japanese; as members of society who value the dignity of employment and the virtue of labour; and individuals with a strong will who are independent and autonomous.'[172]

The government's priority to achieve high economic growth spawned the rapid rise of the white-collar middle class, urbanisation, nuclear families and a shortage of labour. Women took up part-time employment after marriage and childbirth, while still supporting their husbands' efforts. Women's participation in the workforce was the result of a compromise; the prevailing ideology of the

169 Ueno Chizuko, "Rekishigaku to feminizumu" ["History and Feminism"], in *IKNT bekkan 1: Rekishi ishiki no genzai* [Iwanami History of Japan, Supplementary vol. 1, The Contemporary Historical Consciousness], eds. Asao Naohiro et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1995), 154 – 158.

170 Mackie, *Socialist Women in Japan*, 18; and Fujieda Mioko and Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow, "Women's Studies: An Overview", in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, ed. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 158 – 161 and 172 – 173.

171 Kano Masanao, *Fujin, jyosei, onna: jyoseishi no toi* [Wives, Women and Females: Questions on Women's History] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 52 – 53.

172 See above, chap. 1, n. 145.

patriarchal '*ie* system' made concessions to economic imperatives.[173] Meanwhile, it may be suggested that this gender division was fostered in school education as well as other agents of socialisation. Although public compulsory schooling became co-educational in the post-war reform, gender division within the school curriculum limited the study of home economics to girls and wood-and-metal work to boys. This division lasted until 1989.[174] This present theme of textbook analysis thus has relevance to adolescents. It has much to show them not just about Japan's transformation into an industrial capitalist economy, but also about gendered work ethics as Japan changed.

Textbook Approaches

A limited range of studies is devoted to the analysis of gender relations in Japanese school texts. A study in the mid-1970s by Fujin Mondai Konwakai [Wives' Discussion Group] found that primary and lower middle-school social studies textbooks expressed bias towards males and portrayed women as homemakers or taking up putatively female-dominated occupations. More than a decade later, another study in 1989 by the League of Japanese Lawyers found little progress with respect to changes in the textbooks' gender bias. The League urged textbook publishers to rectify this bias and reflect principles of gender equality and the diversity of gender roles.[175] It seems that the ethos of Danjyo koyô kikai kintô hô (the Equal Employment Opportunity Bill for Men and Women) implemented in 1986 had not yet been reflected in the textbooks. While these works are valuable, this study has a longer time-span to better understand which historiographical trends have been represented, what changes may have occurred, and if, how and when the alleged bias has been addressed.

This analysis examines the treatment of factory workers following an overview of industrial development and the devastating effects of economic reforms on rural areas. As with the previous theme of the interaction between the Ainu and the Japanese, successive history curricula have not specifically prescribed the study of female factory workers during the Meiji era. Several texts published from the 1980s onwards feature special reading sections about female factory

173 Kano Masanao, *Gendai Nihon jyoseishi: Feminizumu o jiku to shite* [Contemporary History of Japanese Women: Focussing on Feminism] (Tokyo: Yûhikaku, 2004), 139 – 141.

174 Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 191.

175 Atsuko Kameda, "Sexism and Gender Stereotyping in Schools", in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, ed. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (New York: The Feminist Press, 1995), 112 – 113.

workers that occupy up to two full pages. A post-war text, Kodama and co-writers' 1951 edition, narrates:

> In the early Meiji period there were not many workers, the government and capitalists only thought about raising the output and paid very little attention to the living conditions and hygiene of the workers. [The workers] were made to work till exhaustion at the lowest possible wage. Especially many female workers at reeling and spinning factories came from regional farming villages and received appalling treatment at low wages. Not few workers returned home due to ill health caused by exacting work. Their lives were truly miserable.[176]

The text further condemns the capitalists who 'hired women and children on poor conditions, and treated them like cattle and horses'.[177] It identifies the roles of the capitalists in exploiting workers, sympathising with the workers who received 'appalling treatment' and 'low wages' and were treated like animals. Its contemporary, Toyoda's 1953 edition, follows suit: '[B]ecause there were many workers who had come from rural villages, their wages were low and lifestyle miserable. However, neither the government nor capitalists cared to improve the working conditions of those workers and their social standings.'[178] While sympathising with the workers and characterising the government and the capitalists as negligent and avaricious, the text also reveals assumptions about rural and female workers as 'cheap labourers'. However, it explains little about the aspirations or intentions of the workers, almost evoking an image of the workers as silent masses magnetised to employment. These descriptions aside, the textbooks seem to echo Inoue's influential *A History of Women in Japan,* published in 1948, which argued that the exploitation of women helped to consolidate a feudalistic and patriarchal underpinning to the emperor-centric state.[179] Unlike Inoue's work, these textbooks refrain from extending their caveats to the emperor system.

176 Kodama et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi* [1951 ed.], 199:「労働者の少なかった明治の初めごろは、政府も、資本家も、ただ生産を高めることばかりを考えて、働く人々の生活や衛生などには少しも注意を払わなかった。なるべく安い賃金で、働くだけ働かされた。とくに製糸工場や、紡績工場に雇われた女工は、地方の農村から来たものが多く、いずれも安い賃金でひどい待遇を受けて、はげしい労働のために健康をそこねて帰る者も少なくなく、その生活はまことに悲惨であった。」

177 Kodama et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi* [1951 ed.], 199 – 200:「なるべくやすく雇うために婦人や幼年の者まで雇い、そのうえ待遇は悪く、牛や馬とかわらないようなひどい取り扱いをしていた。」

178 Toyoda, *Chûgakusei Nihonshi* [1953 ed.], 173:「[…]農村からきたものが多かったから、賃金は非常に安く、生活はみじめであった。けれども政府も、資本家もこれらの労働者の待遇を良くし、地位を高めることに心を用いなかった。」

179 Inoue Kiyoshi, *Shimpan Nihon jyoseishi* [A History of Women in Japan: Revised edition] (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobô, [1948] 1967), 218 – 220.

Reverse course era texts (1958 – 93) show signs of change. Subsequent editions of Toyoda's 1953 edition, published in 1962 and 1969 add:

> To win fierce competition with British cotton manufacturers, the textile and spinning industry of our nation hired girls and children from poor rural villages at very low wages and made them do heavy work. Capitalism of our country made such sacrifice and managed to catch up with the European and North American economy for the first time.[180]

The following edition published in 1969, gives a similar description:

> As a result of the industrial revolution, the number of factory workers increased. But their lives were miserable. Especially textile and spinning industries hired children from poor rural villages at very low wages and made them do heavy work, consequently made cheap products in large number, and won the competition against British cotton industry. Capitalism of our nation paid such sacrifice and managed to catch up with advanced nations for the first time.[181]

Compared with the post-war texts (1951 – 57), this text omits the role of the employers and the government. It considers 'industry' as a whole, obscuring the subjectivity of the employers. Exploitative labour is justified as it benefited 'our nation'. The text diminishes or co-opts the workers' effort; it is not the workers, but 'capitalism of our country' that made the 'sacrifice' to 'catch up with advanced nations'. The sympathy displayed towards the workers seems superficial. The text assumes the docility of the adolescent workers who sacrificed themselves for the 'greater common good', while failing to note the responsibilities of employers and the government to ensure the workers' welfare. This calls to mind a point made by Inoue's *Nihon jyoseishi* (A History of Japanese Women), first published in 1948, that profits from the export industry were spent on the military rather than lifting the living standards of the ordinary people.[182] While honouring workers' 'sacrifice' to the national economy, critical readers may interpret the text as influencing students to view manual labour as undesirable

180 Toyoda, *Chûgakusei no* shakaika [1962 ed.], 241 – 242:「わが国の紡績や製糸工業は、イギリスの綿工業とのはげしい競争にうちかつため、貧しい農村の女子やこどもを非常に安い賃金でやといいれ、かれらに重い労働を追わせた，わが国の資本主義は，このようなぎせいをはらって，初めて欧米の資本主義に追いつくことができた。」

181 Toyoda, *Chûgakusei no shakaika* [1969 ed.], 231.「産業革命の結果、工場労働者もふえてきたが、その生活はみじめであった。とくに、紡績業や製糸業では、貧しい農村の子女を非常に安い賃金で雇い、重い労働を追わせていた。それによって、安い製品を大量につくり、イギリスの綿工業との競争にうちかった。わが国の資本主義は、このようなぎせいをはらって、はじめて先進国に追いつくことができた。」

182 Inoue, *Nihon jyoseishi*, 209.

and prizing white-collar professions that are usually associated with academic achievement.

Other reverse course era texts follow suit. In addition to Toyoda's 1969 edition, Nishida and Suzuki's text justifies poor work conditions: '[T]o compete with foreign products in overseas markets the prices of commodities had to be cheap. Therefore, capitalists ended up making workers work for long hours at low wages.'[183] The text identifies the capitalists' responsibility in subjecting workers to 'long hours at low wages'. However, it defends the capitalists because the methods they used to 'compete with foreign' and 'cheap' products were dictated by the mechanisms and demands of the world economy, not the profit motive. The capitalists thus 'ended up' hiring workers under harsh conditions. Rather than holding the employers responsible for hard labour, the text generalises the responsibility to an impersonal force, the world economy. Employers are portrayed as acting in order to compete successfully, to the benefit of the national economy.

This suggestion may have echoed the *zeitgeist* of the 1960s. According to Oguma, intellectuals observed shifts in societal values, which were also reflected in popular comics at the time. The emphasis moved from 'team work' to 'the self', from a critical appraisal of Japan to resurgent nationalism amid economic and material gains, and a rise in Japan's international status during the decade. Moreover, it is worth remembering that in the 1960s *Images* expressed a desire to create a Japanese identity based on loyalty to both the Japanese nation and to citizens' occupations.[184] In the absence of concrete evidence it is difficult to prove, however tempting, any direct impact of *Images* on the textbooks. But the appearance of *Images* hints at the mood of the time in which the changes to the texts occurred.

Three editions of a medium- and low-selling text by Inoue and co-writers, published in 1965 and 1975, and Tokinotani and co-writers (1984), show remarkable changes. Inoue and co-writers' 1965 edition states: 'Factory workers were made to work long hours for low wages. The working conditions were poor; but capitalists did not think much about improving the work conditions.'[185] Inoue and co-writers' 1975 edition relates: 'As the industrial revolution pro-

183 Nishida and Suzuki, *Chûgaku rekishi*, 258 – 259:「海外市場で、外国商品と競争するため、商品の値段も安くしなければならなかった。このため、資本家は、安い賃金で労働者を長時間働かせる結果となった。」

184 Oguma Eiji, *'Minshu' to 'aikoku': Sengo Nihon no nashonarizumu to kokyôsei* ['Democracy' and 'Patriotism': Discourses on Nationalism and Communality in Post-war Japan] (Tokyo: Shinyôsha, 2002), 551 – 558.

185 Inoue et al., *Chûgakusei shakai* [1965 ed.], 244:「工場労働者は賃金が安く、長時間働かせられ、労働条件は悪かったが、資本家は、労働者の生活改善をあまり考えなかった。」

gressed, the number of workers increased. However, the wages were low, hours of work long, and the work conditions poor. Nevertheless, capitalists did not care much for improving the workers' conditions.'[186] Tokinotani and co-writers replace the second sentence of their text's previous editions with: 'However, compared to Western nations, the hours of work were longer, and the wages kept low. At dormitories workers were placed under strict surveillance.'[187] The text compares Japanese and Western work conditions superficially only to underline the poor working conditions in Japan. Yet it does not elaborate on who benefited from these working conditions. Moreover, the text replaces 'the capitalists' with the impersonal subject of 'strict surveillance'. This is a strategy texts use when narrating the colonisation of the Ainu by the Japanese and the Ainu response to it. It does not specify who supervised the workers or explain why 'strict surveillance' was required. The text manages to express its sympathy for the workers without blaming anyone for their hardships such as illness or their 'sacrifice'.

Similarly, Kodama and co-writers tell us: 'Female workers in spinning and reeling filatures were put into dormitories with high fences. They were made to work late at night, and could not go out freely. Some of them fell ill and contracted incurable tuberculosis. These workers were made to go home.'[188] Considering the time of publication, the descriptions of female workers appear to reflect the rise of social history among Japanese historians and the publication of *Ah! Nomugi-tôge* in 1968.

The emphasis on the harsh conditions may appear as a 'shock tactic' to those concerned that such depictions may not be suitable for teenagers. While it can enlighten readers about the conditions, the description can only evoke an emotive response. It inhibits an understanding of the dynamics between the government, employers and workers. Moreover, the last two sentences raise questions about the consequences for the released workers. Did the employers provide adequate treatment for their workers' illnesses? Did the employers pay

186 Inoue et al., *Chûgakusei shakai* [1975 ed.], 256:「産業革命がすすむとともに工場労働者は増えてきたが、賃金が安く、長時間働かされて、労働条件はわるかった。しかし資本家は、労働者の待遇改善をあまり考えなかった。そこで、日清戦争の頃から、労働者は資本家に待遇改善を要求し、やがて労働運動を起こすようになった。」

187 Tokinotani et al., *Chûgaku shakai*, 218:「産業革命とともに、労働者の数は増えましたが、欧米諸国に比べて労働時間は長く、しかも低賃金に押さえられ、宿舎でも厳しく監督されました。そこで、労働者は団結して、待遇改善を資本家に要求し、労働組合を作って運動するようになりました。」

188 Kodama et al., *Chûgaku rekishi* [1977 ed.], 231:「紡績や製糸の女子労働者は、高いへいをめぐらした寄宿舎に入れられ、深夜業もさせられたが、自由な外出はできなかった。病気になり、なかには、不治の病気であった結核にかかり、家に帰される者もあった。」

compensation for the workers and their families? How were the workers treated back home? Ukai and co-writers' 1981 edition offers an historical context to female workers' employment:

> Due to the growth of manufacturing, urban population increased gradually. Many of those who poured into cities could not sustain their living by agriculture and left rural villages. Therefore, even if they became labourers they were hired on a low wage. They were made to work long hours in factories with poor facilities. And they struggled to live. Furthermore, many could not keep regular employment and lived day-by-day.[189]

The text places the growing number of factory workers in the context of industrialisation and urbanisation. It says that villagers 'poured into cities' enabling employers to hire them on a low wage and for long hours. This implies that the female workers' suffering was not uncommon and that the employers benefited from a large pool of cheap labour. It elaborates later: 'The second and third sons and daughters sought employment in daily work and at filatures in cities and left their villages to relieve the financial situations of their families.'[190] The text refers to the *ie* system whereby the eldest son succeeds his parents as head of the family and his siblings contribute to the family's income. However, the text says that they 'sought' work in cities 'to relieve the financial situations'. The sentence makes the urban drift look like a voluntary act of altruism for the family.

Four subsequent editions of Ukai and co-writers' 1977 textbook (published in 1981, 1984, 1990 and 1993) add the plight of other workers: 'The *burakumin* [descendants of the "outcasts" from the feudal era] also engaged in dangerous work in poor environments and in many cases received discriminatory treatment. … Japanese capitalism, which developed after Europe and North America, rested on low wages and long hours of work of those people.'[191] In this text, the scope of exploitation has widened from female workers to the *burakumin*. While

189 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.], 239 – 240:「工業の発達などにより、都市の人口もしだいにふえてきた。都市に集まってきた人々の多くは、農業でくらしをたてることができず、農村をはなれて流りこんだ人々であった。このため、労働者となっても安い賃金で雇われ、設備の悪い工場で長時間働かされて、生活はきわめて苦しかった。さらにきまった職業に就くこともできず、その日ぐらしの人々も多かった。」

190 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1977 ed.] 241:「農家の二・三男や女子は、少しでも家計を楽にしようと、日雇いの仕事や都市の紡績・製糸などの工場に職を求めて農村をはなれていった。」

191 Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 241:「被差別部落の人たちも、環境のよくない危険な労働に従事し、そこでも差別的な扱いを受けることがおおかった。…. 欧米諸国におくれて発達した日本の資本主義は、一面では、このような人たちの安い賃金や長時間労働など、厳しい労働条件のうえに成り立っていた。」The quoted passage remained stable in three previous editions with only minor rhetorical modifications. Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.], 253 – 254; Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1984 ed.], 245 – 246; and Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.], 243.

it may be welcomed as a long-awaited acknowledgement of the role of the *burakumin*, it may also blunt the focus on women. While acknowledging widespread exploitation, the examples show that hard labour was not confined to female workers. Finally, the most remarkable aspect of the reverse course era texts, with the exception of the Inoue and co-authors' textbook,[192] is the decline or absence of a clear identification or critical comments on 'the capitalists', 'the government', or even the whole economic system as bearing some responsibility for the workers' hardship.

Texts move on to discuss industrial action and trade unions. Specific references to female factory workers' activism are rare. A footnote in Toyoda's 1953 edition reads: 'Later, among workers a demand to seek improved treatment arose. They began clashing with capitalists. In the twentieth century trade unions were born and strikes occurred.'[193] Another footnote in this text says that '[t]he first strike in Japan occurred in June, Meiji 19 [1886] by about 100 female workers at Kôfu Amemiya filature. Also a strike occurred in January, Meiji 26 [1893] at Osaka Tenmanbô'.[194] This is the only direct reference to the Kôfu Amemiya strike of 1886 among the texts analysed.

References to female workers' activism are rare among reverse course era texts. Mori and co-writers say: 'Although Japanese capitalism developed, peasants' lives remained tough. Hardship for female factory workers continued. However, soon afterwards the female workers began strikes, and tenant farmers also raised disputes. These people began demanding improvements in their treatment.'[195] Although the text focuses on relatively neglected aspects of Japan's industrial revolution, the passage may not attract much student attention because it appears at the very end of a two-page special reading section and six pages away from the main text discussing industrial action. The other text that deals with female workers' activism, Kawata and co-writers' 1993 edition, says:

> Workers gradually intensified their consciousness [as workers]. Railway and military factory workers came to lead labour disputes by striking, and united by establishing trade unions. They began demanding improvements in their treatment. Soon afterwards nationwide organisations were launched. Also, female workers in the reeling and textile industry protested against appalling working conditions and began strikes.[196]

192 See above, n. 186 of this chapter (Inoue et al. 1975, 256).

193 Toyoda, *Chûgakusei Nihonshi* [1953 ed.], 174:「やがて労働者のなかには、待遇をよくしてほしいという要求が起って、資本家と対立するようになり、二十世紀にはいると、労働組合が生まれ、ストライキが起った。」

194 Ibid., 174:「日本最初のストライキは明治十九年六月の甲府雨宮生糸女工約百名が起こした。ついで明治二十六年一月大阪天満紡のストライキが起った。」

195 Mori et al., *Nihon no rekishi*, 245:「日本の資本主義は発達したが、農民の生活はあいかわらず苦しかったし、女工の苦しさもつづいた。しかし、女工たちは間もなくストライキをおこし、小作人も争議に訴え、待遇改善を要求するようになった。」

196 Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 241:「労働者はしだいに自覚を強め、鉄道や

In these texts, workers are introduced first as a generic category. Then the railway and military factory workers are identified as the dominant activists. The female workers appear after 'nationwide organisations'. Although the first strike in Japan was organised by female filature workers in 1886, this chronological twist may lead students to think that the female workers' activities derived from those of the male workers. Hence, the text fails to give credit to the female workers' initiative, which may be interpreted as honouring the efforts of male workers at the expense of their female counterparts. The charge of 'filler feminism', although it depends on how it is defined, seems valid, because the descriptions of male workers' activism outweigh those of female workers. If anything, the female workers appear as 'suffering' and 'sacrificing' despite being subjected to harsh working and living conditions. In this way, gendered work ethics appear to be subtly endorsed.

In what appears to be a response to burgeoning feminist and cultural history, a handful of texts pay more attention to the theme of textile workers from the 1980s onwards. Kawata and co-writers' 1990 and 1993 editions feature photographs of filatures, a sample contract between the employers and the workers, a chart showing a typical workday, a report on the conditions of accommodation, and a list of workers' perceptions of life and work at filatures.[197] In a section entitled 'The Development of Capitalism and Female Workers at Reeling and Filatures: Pages for Thematic Learning', the two texts set identical tasks and questions:

1. Investigate how the spinning and reeling industry developed in the Meiji era.
2. Investigate the lifestyle and work of factory girls who aided the development of the spinning and reeling industry. Also, think about the connection between their lifestyles and the rapid development of the Japanese spinning and reeling industry.
3. Think of why ninety percent of the respondents [to a survey] said working at the factory was a good experience in a survey conducted after the expiry of contracts. Think of this while comparing work and life in rural villages.[198]

軍需工業で働く労働者が中心となって、ストライキなどの労働争議を起こし、労働組合をつくって団結をはかり、待遇の改善を要求するようになった。やがて、全国的な組織もつくられた。また、製糸・紡績業で働く女子労働者も、ひどい労働条件に抗議してストライキを起こすようになった。」The text features this passage in the main text in the standard font size.

197 Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1981 ed.]; Ukai et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1984 ed.]; Tokinotani et al., *Chûgaku shakai*; Mori et al., *Nihon no rekishi*; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.]; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.]; Sasayama et al., *Chûgakusei shakai*; Aoki Kazuo et al., *Chûgakusei no shakaika* [Middle-School Social Studies: History] (Tokyo: Chûkyô Shuppan, 1990); Teruya et al., *Chûgakusei no rekishi.*

198 The section is entitled:「資本主義の発達と製糸工女」. The questions are:
１．明治時代の製糸業の発達の様子を調べてみよう。
２．製糸業の発達をになった工女たちの労働と生活の様子を、調べてみよう。また、そのことと日本の製糸業の急速な発展との関連を考えてみよう。

The textbooks feature data from recollections of 580 former workers by Yamamoto Shigemi, the author of *Ah! Nomugi-tôge.* The results indicate that ninety percent of respondents said that the meals tasted good, ninety percent cried over the inspection of the finished products, and forty percent said the treatment of illness at dormitories was poor. Yet ninety percent said it was a good experience. The text annotates that the information was based on a small-print commentary to the data. The textbooks hint that the results do not necessarily show a faithful reflection of their experiences, because 'The author [Yamamoto] speculated and categorised based on his discussions with 580 factory girls.'[199] Considering the constraints put on publishers and authors, this thematic approach may encourage student-centred learning of an investigative nature. How the material is integrated into the teaching, and which lessons students draw would depend on the skills of the teacher.

Summary

The texts examined above show remarkable changes in the descriptions of industrial workers and their actions. The post-war texts (1951 – 57) were opinionated and unequivocally blamed the government and 'capitalists' for the exploitation and the suffering of the workers, although this representation of the economy may be too simplistic. In the reverse course era texts (1958 – 93), the descriptions changed. The clear identification of the government and the industrialists disappeared, inadvertently obscuring how the industrial economy operated. Recent texts introduce female workers' hardship. However, the texts tend to emphasise their suffering without revealing the underlying economic forces at work and the roles of the government and the industrialists. These texts may thus only evoke sympathy and may not foster an understanding of the economic systems or raise questions about gender stereotypes or gendered work ethics.

３．工女の後日調査で、90%の人が行ってよかったと回答しているのはなぜか、当時の農村の労働や生活の様子と比較しながら、考えてみよう。

Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.], 249; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 243. The results were taken from Yamamoto Tsunemi's *Ah! Nomugi-tôge: Aru seishi kôjyo aishi (shinban)* [Ah, the Nomugi Pass! A Pitiful Story of a Filature Girl, new ed.] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, [1968] 1972), 356.

199 Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1990 ed.], 249; Kawata et al., *Atarashii shakai* [1993 ed.], 243.「[…] 580名の工女の話から、著者が任意に推定大別した。」

Issues Emerging from Japanese History Textbooks

This analysis has shown how thirty Japanese middle-school textbooks, approved for use by Mombushô between 1951 and 1993, approached four selected historical issues. Five conclusions are drawn from this analysis.

Firstly, the texts steer clear of questions about imperial sovereignty and its historical and political implications to modern Japan. The Nanboku-chô section has shown that even without overt ideological control imposed on publishers as in pre-war Japan, the texts still avoid addressing questions about the ramifications of the succession feud and the unification of the two opposing courts. The analysis has found that the texts do not endorse a presentation of the imperial family as omnipotent, but seem to support the emperor-system view of history. This presents the imperial family as being woven through the fabric of Japanese history.

Secondly, the texts tend to avoid identifying historical issues and concepts, and addressing them. In narrating the origins of *sakoku*, the texts use the term without exploring its validity. This analysis suggests that the problem may have originated from the curricula which continued to use this term and the textbook regulations which demanded adherence to the curricula. However, the texts provide alternative descriptions and seem to attempt to subvert the popular misconception. But they do not go as far as to suggest the alternative term of *kaikin*. Nor do the texts encourage students to critically examine the differences between *sakoku* and *kaikin*, which may help to perpetuate the popular misconception despite its wide rejection among academic historians.

Thirdly, the texts gradually ceased to be judgemental. The post-war texts (1951 – 57) present '*sakoku*' as negatively affecting Japanese society and the 'national psyche'. During the 1960s the texts began offering balanced assessments, showing positive outcomes such as domestic stability and the development of Japan's distinct culture. The post-war texts narrate the contribution of the townspeople to Genroku culture with a sense of civic pride. This may be construed as aiming to encourage readers to draw inspiration from this period and to take an active role in rebuilding Japan's cultural landscape. By contrast, the reverse course era texts (1958 – 93) acknowledge these cultural changes, but with far less value judgement. Similarly, in their coverage of Japan's nineteenth-century industrial developments, the post-war texts criticise the roles of the government and industrialists for exploiting and maltreating workers. Few reverse course era texts openly feature critical statements like those found in the post-war texts.

Fourthly, this investigation has found that the texts pay more attention to the suffering of the people in various episodes of history. The Ainu and the female factory workers are prime examples. These texts incorporate the historical ex-

periences of female workers and the Ainu and do indeed appear sympathetic to these groups. However, they may be viewed as inadequate in helping students to examine the role of broader political and economic ideologies and systems (such as modernity, nation state and capitalism) in causing the suffering. The texts have often left out the individual actors in key episodes and presented the operative forces as collectives, thus creating an impression that no particular individual was responsible for the events. The texts also fail to mention the consequences to the Ainu and the workers as a result of state responses to their activities, implicitly portraying them as passive victims despite their mounting dissent. The texts may thus evoke pity and shock in students without helping them to understand the underlying causes of the suffering. Put differently, the increasing references to those who suffered may inspire students to feel sorrow towards the female workers and the Ainu. But the textbooks' capacity to engender empathy may be questioned. The textbooks in themselves do not seem to offer opportunities for students to develop intellectual skills, or an analytical capacity to gain an understanding of the economic and political systems and mechanisms, or their effects on female workers and the Ainu.

Finally, the narrative is dominated by bland chronological narrating or listing of the events, particularly among the reverse course era texts. Unlike the changes found in South African history texts after the mid-1980s, this analysis has found that few of their Japanese counterparts show a drastic re-orientation of pedagogical and historiographical approaches. The Japanese textbooks may have incorporated new information. However, a fundamental re-orientation in the narrative structure and in the approaches to the subject of history did not occur. From the analyses of these four themes in the thirty textbooks published over four decades, changes to their content and approaches are evident but they are not substantive. New pedagogical approaches and new historiographical trends, which emerged during the post-war period in Japanese and world academic circles, had a limited impact on the textbooks.

Chapter Four: Conclusions

History education has come under increasing public scrutiny with the rise of the nation state and public education. The controversies this has generated form the starting point of this work. Questions about what 'should' be taught to school children in history classes by state-funded compulsory public education and how it should be taught have been a subject of wide-ranging conjecture. Numerous groups and individuals representing diverse political, ideological, pedagogical and academic persuasions have articulated their opinions. Their views about solutions for the review, revision and re-writing of history curricula and textbooks have often clashed.

Studying one nation as a single entity enables us to conduct an in-depth analysis and gain important insights. International comparisons can also shed light upon both common features and differences, so that readers are better informed as to how history education has evolved in a range of countries. These points of commonality and contrast may not be found in single-nation studies. It is hoped that this work contributes to the burgeoning literature on international textbook research in a rapidly globalising world, where the nation state is regarded, by some, as less relevant and a less powerful political unit.

To help remedy the dearth of comparative work, this book focussed on two seemingly different and seldom compared nations, South Africa and Japan. At a glance, comparing the two seems too daring to render any meaningful transnational or trans-cultural investigation. However, among several common attributes of both nations, the crucial one for this comparative study is the impact on history education of long-reigning one-party governments. The book notes that these governments have been subjected to unusually fierce and sustained criticism, from both domestic and foreign sources, for the alleged bias and faults in the perspectives presented in their history textbooks: racism in South Africa, and efforts in Japan to exonerate itself from wartime atrocities.

Given the powerful influence of the single-party governments in both countries, this book examined the evolution of and changes to their history education. It has been argued that history textbooks are products of national educa-

tion policies, which give rise to curriculum design that then governs the pedagogical orientation, aims and content, as well as the textbooks required to conform to the curriculum.

Four areas of observation emerge from this comparative study of the developments affecting history education in the two nations. Firstly, to a considerable extent the history curricula of both countries resulted not so much from explicit ideological imperatives, but more from a complex interplay of political and economic influences affecting curriculum development, the educational bureaucracy and the politics and economics of textbook production. This was in spite of strong external criticisms levelled at the governments and education bureaucracies.

Even after the demise of apartheid it proved difficult to immediately and completely change the South African history curriculum and textbooks, which contained outmoded orientation and content. In Japan, the end of the Allied Occupation soon gave way to the 'reverse course', which undermined the Occupation-era reforms and consolidated the power of Mombushô over teachers, curriculum and textbooks.

The education bureaucracy of both countries avoided explicit commitments to use history education as a vehicle for political indoctrination. However, the regulations and the processes that governed the screening and adoption of textbooks subtly operated to limit the range of possible outcomes. These processes also had a profound effect on the textbook publishing industry. Both countries developed very similar textbook screening systems and markets that operated on a semi-private and semi-public basis. A striking result is that this occurred irrespective of the number of education authorities involved.

In Japan, control over textbook screening processes and curriculum revision was concentrated in the hands of one centralised authority, Mombushô. In South Africa, such functions were devolved to ethnically and geographically divided education authorities. However, this resulted in duplications of syllabi and the textbooks adopted. Various screening regulations and textbook purchase arrangements enhanced the power of the education bureaucracy over publishers and writers, even when there was no clear expression of intent by the bureaucracy. These measures effectively combined to foster an institutional culture in which the publishers and writers would write texts that would be approved by the education bureaucracy with minimum friction. The textbooks sold well in a market that leaned towards oligopoly.

Secondly, rather than seeking to justify the deeds of South African and Japanese regimes in the twentieth century, the compulsory history curricula directed attention instead towards earlier periods. Although many debates about Japanese history education have revolved around twentieth-century Japanese imperialism and wars, the twentieth century has received less attention in ex-

aminations and the middle-school history curricula. This study therefore focussed on historical themes before the twentieth century in the textbooks of each nation, which were written and used in the compulsory schooling sections of comparable age groups during the fifty years after World War II, when a single party dominated the government.

Despite the division between 'General' and 'South African' history, the South African syllabi had depth because it was taught as an independent and mandatory subject at more year levels than in Japan. But the syllabi were criticised as dense, repetitive and Eurocentric. In contrast, the Japanese history curricula were wide in breadth and shallow in depth. Furthermore, in both nations the examination formats shaped how the classes were taught and which skills the students were expected to develop, labelled as 'washback effects' in South Africa and 'correct answerism' in Japan. This occurred even though the education bureaucrats did not issue explicit demands on teaching methods. Hence, further enquiry into the processes behind curriculum development and student assessment can help us better understand how history education is defined and conceptualised.

Thirdly, pressure for change came not just from domestic political opposition and foreign governments. The book has discussed the critical role played by the business sector in education reform. Education authorities in both countries were aware of the role of education in the smooth functioning of the economy. This was more prominent in the South African case. Here education policies were altered to accommodate the demands of business, even when this resulted in compromising the principles of apartheid. It may be suggested that the push for pedagogical reform in apartheid South Africa was successful, albeit limited, because the efforts to overcome the perceived deficiency (criticised as 'washback effects' by the school-leaving examination) in history education were expended on reforming pedagogical approaches. In some South African textbooks, a change in the contents and orientation bridged the gap between school history and university. These texts also imported foreign pedagogical innovations to reframe history education. This occurred even during apartheid. Enterprising textbook writers and publishers exploited even the smallest opportunity available, initially from the Joint Matriculation Board and then from the introduction of 'skills' in the 1985 syllabus. This led to the introduction of less linear narrative and more student-centred approaches with more analytical exercises. In Japan, business, government and the education bureaucracy largely agreed on the economic benefits of nationalism. It seems that none of these sectors challenged or saw the need to reform the influence of 'correct answerism' that is said to have permeated from entrance examinations.

This leads to the fourth observation. In contrast to the South African case, the agreement between the Japanese stakeholders did not lead to a substantive revision of the contents, historical interpretations or pedagogical approaches to

history within the purview of the textbook analysis undertaken in this book. Post-war reforms in Japan did indeed promise to introduce 'scientific' history in a clean break from the wartime textbook conventions. But the 'reverse course' curtailed the reform and enabled Mombushô to tighten its grip on curriculum and textbooks. Legal opposition to the establishment was mostly focussed on textbook certification, rather than the pedagogical orientation and expected outcomes in history education. The irony here is that even though apartheid South Africa was not a democratic society there was room for innovation and reform. However, in post-war Japan despite the introduction of democracy, bureaucratic control on education grew stronger.

To gain a better understanding of how these four issues manifested in history textbooks of South Africa and Japan, this study has conducted analyses of textbook descriptions of selected events and themes. It has revealed both changes and continuities in what education ministries permitted the writers to say. This does not mean that textbook analysis should concentrate on 'lie detection' or deride textbook writers for omitting facts, especially given the limited space permitted within textbooks for each of the historical themes and events in the curriculum. This book attempted to demonstrate which historiographical interpretations are privileged or undervalued in the textbooks. As shown in my analyses, the interpretations represented in history textbooks, to which a large section of the population was exposed, are often different from those fortunate enough to benefit from specialised training in history at universities.

The themes favoured by each regime permeated most of the history textbooks. In South Africa, the narratives of early white settlement and conflict with the indigenous people were uniformly apologist towards the settlers in a way that suggested historical precedents for apartheid. In Japanese textbooks, conflicts among imperial family members and also between the state and the industrial authorities, on the one hand, and their opposition on the other, were downplayed. Underlying causes of events were only superficially introduced and little attempt was made to relate their significance to present-day Japan.

Early post-war Japanese textbooks also incorporated new information from academic research to a greater extent than was ever the case in apartheid South Africa. But pedagogical orientation and the overall national framework became largely static following the onset of 'reverse course'. My analysis has shown that the chronological narrative style that presents a linear and singular voice dominated the textbooks. Emerging historiographical perspectives from professional historians, particularly those with the potential to subvert the state's interests, were kept out of the officially approved textbooks.

In subtle and less subtle ways the episodes chosen for analysis promoted racial consciousness even when race was not mentioned. Textbooks in both nations emphasised the notions of culture together with *volk* and *minzoku*,

which continued to underpin national, ethnic and cultural identity. This work has found that these notions found wide-reaching expression in history textbooks. The textbook analysis has found that the textbooks employed these notions in almost diametrically opposed ways. South African textbooks applied the *volk* concept to promote fragmentation and maintain separation. Their Japanese counterparts applied the *minzoku* concept to unify the Japanese people and obscure the considerable diversity that existed amongst the population throughout the Japanese archipelago.

In depicting conflicts between Dutch settlers and the Khoisan people in the seventeenth century, 'high apartheid' textbooks tended to portray the conflict primarily as a racial one in which the white protagonists had to contend with the troublesome Khoikhoi. The change from 'high' to 'low' apartheid textbooks presents racial differences as inherent and irreconcilable. In a similar vein, it has been shown that the textbooks examined portrayed European culture and civilisation as superior to the black and the Khoisan. These stereotypes were reinforced and reified in the textbooks.

Culture, as described in the South African textbooks, justified segmenting people of different ethnic and racial identities. The behaviour of the white people's antagonists was primarily determined not by their race but by their culture, according to the textbooks. This portrayal was developed further when the low apartheid era textbooks, in describing Zulu history, placed Shaka on a pedestal as the paragon of separate development. They also portrayed the Voortrekkers as hapless victims falling prey to Dingane's guile. Post-apartheid textbooks not only challenged the validity of these stereotypical assumptions, but also got the students to assess conflicting historical interpretations.

In the Japanese history textbooks analysed, the notion of *minzoku* permeated textbook descriptions in different ways. In the passages about the Nanboku-chô conflict, the textbooks tended to avoid drawing students' attention to potentially controversial theories, or any questions about the role of the emperor and the imperial family. This tendency continued despite challenges to the emperor-centric and emperor-system views of history (*kôkokushikan* and *tennôsei rekishikan,* respectively) by academic historians. In the descriptions of '*sakoku*', textbooks did not directly challenge the ideological assumptions or implications of '*sakoku*', which viewed the whole of Japan as an isolated nation. This was in spite of academic historians having proved the ideological bankruptcy of '*sakoku*' and proposing '*kaikin*' as an alternative conceptual framework. Such descriptions did not promote the Japanese explicitly as a single ethnic or national entity. However, political conflict and regional diversity appear to be played down.

Textbook analysis in this work has shown that the portrayal of the economic forces behind Japanese historical events has diminished. This was found in the

lack of distinction between producers and consumers of cultural trends, and the processes of commodification and commercialisation of the arts. Increasing recognition of the role of female workers in the industrial revolution and the colonisation of the Ainu have been reflected in the textbooks. However, the descriptions tended to understate those responsible for the policies that afflicted the female workers and the complex interactions causing the suffering of the Ainu. On the depiction of the latter, it is worth pointing out that while South African textbooks emphasised conflict and presented it with verve and didactic tones, attacks by the Japanese forces and resistance by the Ainu appear to have received minor attention. Put differently, this comparative study has found that the ways of persenting the manifest destiny of the Ainu contrasts with the ways of legitimising white South African rule. For the former, it was by relative silence regarding the conflict with the Japanese. For the latter, elaborate explanations were offered to defend high and low apartheid ideologies.

International textbook researchers and readers may be reminded of three significant lessons drawn from this comparative work, which might not have emerged from a study that focussed on a single nation. Firstly, the persistent themes subtly woven into texts, combined with bureaucratic inertia and resistance, explain why both South African and Japanese history curricula and texts proved so resilient in the face of sustained criticism, more than theories centred on the states' open ideological indoctrination.

Secondly, reform of history textbooks cannot be achieved simply by altering their contents. What Japan seemed to lack was the view that history was not just about learning the facts in order to pass examinations. The system therefore perpetuated 'correct answerism' and chronological narrative, often leaving outmoded historiographical approaches and assumptions unquestioned or unchallenged. There was little consideration of history education as an aid to developing analytical skills, which might have required more than the two years of history education included in the compulsory nine years of Japanese schooling. The South African experience shows what is possible for those concerned with history education in Japan. This includes promoting history education to Japan's influential business groups as a useful subject for enhancing Japan's economic productivity and performance by improving students' intellectual and analytical abilities. However, some would oppose such a suggestion, because these abilities may dampen nationalism or patriotism which they believe history education should help to achieve.

Finally, both countries turned the corner of history at different times. Yet post-apartheid South Africa may benefit from seeing post-war Japan as a case study. 'Reverse course' in Japan crushed emergent idealism, which generated domestic and international criticisms and pressures. The Japanese experience may give the stakeholders of history education in South Africa the benefit of hindsight.

Select Bibliography

Notes

This bibliography lists the sources that have been consulted in the writing of this book. The list is not intended as a complete record of all the works and sources used. However, it serves to demonstrate the range of readings (and listening in the case of radio broadcasts) that have assisted the author to form his ideas and to provide guidance for readers who wish to pursue themes raised in this book.

For publications written in languages other than English, my translation is provided in square brackets. Where the translated title is provided by the publisher, the translation is indicated by round brackets.

Official Japanese ministerial publications and textbooks only bear the years according to the eras of reigning emperors. The era of Shôwa corresponds to the years in which the previous emperor, Emperor Shôwa (Hirohito) reigned, from his accession in December, 1926 (Shôwa 1) to his death in January, 1989 (Shôwa 64). The current reign, Heisei, succeeded Shôwa in January 1989 (Heisei 1) and continues until today (2011, Heisei 23). For the purpose of clarifying any confusion between the Japanese and Christian years, I have listed both year numbers.

For the sake of brevity, the author of this work has shortened the titles of two multi-volume series in this bibliography:

Iwanami kôza Nihon tsûshi dai [vol no.] *kan:* [Subtitle] [Iwanami Series of Comprehensive History of Japan, Volume X, [Subtitle], edited by Asao Naohiro and others. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten – is abbreviated as:
IKNT [vol. no.]: *Subtitle.* [Iwanami Series: Subtitle], publication date.
And:
Nihon no rekishi dai [vol. no.] *kan:* [Subtitle]. [History of Japan x: [Subtitle]. Tokyo: Kôdansha – is abbreviated as:
N.R. [vol. no.]: [Subtitle], publication date.

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2. Textbooks

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Phase 5: 1990 – c. 1995

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Phase 2: 1958 – 1971

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Phase 3: 1972 – 1980

Top-sellers

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Phase 4: 1981 – 1989

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Phase 5: 1990 – 1993

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Glossary

South African terms

Baaskap	Refers to the early years of apartheid, characterised by the domination of the blacks by the whites
Bantu	Originally it denotes an African language group, but has become a pejorative and offensive term when used for individuals
Burgher	A settler of Dutch descent in the South African colonies
Highveld	Inner plateau of South Africa of around 1,200 – 1,800 metres above sea level, including the Gauteng province and parts of the Limpopo, the North-West and the Free State provinces
Historiese Genootskap van Suid-Afrika, die	The Historical Association of South Africa
Impi	troop(s)
Induna	Councillor(s) serving an African chief
Kaffir	Now derogatory term for South Africans of African origin
Kist	A chest, usually a wooden box, that contains linen
Kraal	Cattle enclosure
'*Mfecane*'	Generally refers to a period of mass migration of African chiefdoms across southern Africa in the 1820s and the 1830s, alternatively known as '*difaqane*'
Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging, die	The Transvaal (Afrikaans-speaking) teachers' union
Tricameral	The system of three ethnically-based legislatures (effective from 1983 to 1994) for the whites, the Coloureds and the Indians
Trekker	See *Voortrekker*

Ubuntu Botho	'Humanism' – a civic study programme devised by the Homeland KwaZulu Education Department in 1978
Veld	Open and uncultivated grassland
Voortrekker	Dutch-speaking pioneers who departed from the Cape Colony to the interior of South Africa in the 1830s

Japanese terms

Bakufu	A central regime set up by ruling samurai (also known as shogunate)
Chô	Suffix denoting the aristocratic court, e. g., Nanboku-chô
Diet, the	The national parliament (or *Kokkai*)
Emishi	A group of people who lived in north-eastern Honshû island
Ezo-chi	Known today as Hokkaidô
Gaichi	'Out-land', territories acquired by Japan after the nineteenth century (cf. *naichi*)
Gakushû shidô yôryô	'Course of Studies', the national curriculum
Giri	Obligation to another person (cf. *ninjô*)
Haiku	A form of poetry, consisting of seventeen syllables
Han	'Fief' or 'domain' during the feudal era
Hinomaru	The 'national' flag of Japan
Ie system	Patrilineal descent conferring legal authority to males
Insei	Indirect rule by cloistered emperor (cf. *shinsei*)
Jinshu	Race (cf. *minzoku*)
Jishuku	Self-restraint
Kabuki	Theatrical drama performed by men accompanied by songs, mimes and dance
Kaikin	Ban on voyages abroad and trade with foreign traders
Kaitakumin	Immigrants from Japan to Ezochi/Hokkaidô in the second half of the nineteenth century (cf. *tondenhei*)
Kaitakushi	A governmental bureau in charge of administering Ezochi (The Colonisation Commission)
Kakure kirishitan	'Closet Christians' or Christians who secretly practised Christianity despite religious persecution
Kimigayo	'National' anthem of Japan
Kôkokushikan	Emperor-centric view of history (cf. *tennôsei rekishikan*)

Koku	A unit of volume when measuring rice. One *koku* is about 180 litres
Kokushi	National history (cf. *seiyôshi* and *tôyôshi*)
Kokutai	'The national polity' – an ideology that conflated the sovereignty of the state and the Emperor and subordinated the sovereignty of people
Minzoku	'*Volk*', ethnic groups or nation
Minzokugaku	Folklore
Mombushô	The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. After 2001 the name changed to *Mombukagakushô*, the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT)
Naichi	'Mainland' Japan or 'in-land' (cf. *gaichi*)
Nihon	Japan
Nihonjin-ron	Theories of Japaneseness
Ningyô-jôruri	Puppet theatre, accompanied by music, songs and commentaries (also known as *jyôruri*)
Ninjô	Sentimentality in interpersonal relationships
Seishi	Standard history
Seiyôshi	Western history (cf. *kokushi* and *tôyôshi*)
Sen	1 *sen* is 1/100 of one yen
Shinsei	Direct imperial rule (cf. *insei*)
Shogun	A military commander in charge of ruling Japan
Tennôsei rekishikan	Emperor-system view of history (cf. *kôkokushikan*)
Tondenhei	Settlers of Ezochi/Hokkaidô who also functioned as soldiers and police officers (cf. *kaitakumin*)
Tôyôshi	Oriental history (cf. *kokushi* and *seiyôshi*)
Wakon yôsai	Adopting Western customs, while maintaining Japanese soul or spirit.
Wajin	The Japanese. Used to distinguish them from the Chinese and the Ainu
Yamato	Ancient name for Japan. When used as an adjective, it can stress a strongly 'traditional' or even 'authentic' Japanese quality invoking the Yamato court in the ancient era
Zaibatsu	Large capitalist cartels owned by a single family, officially broken up after World War II

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