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**SLAVIC COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL
AND EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE POST-COMMUNIST PERIOD
ON THE PAGES OF UKRAINIAN TEXTBOOKS**

Abstract. *The purpose of the research* – to reveal the scientific and methodological content of Ukrainian educational textbooks for higher educational institutions concerning the history of the Slavic countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) in 1991 – 2000; to find out the main tendencies in the history coverage. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of scientificity, historicism, verification, systematization, an authorial objectivity, as well as on the general scientific methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and special historical (historical typological, historical genetic), the method of content analysis. **The scientific novelty** consists in the fact that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography on the basis of a wide range of educational publications as a historiographical source there has been carried out the analysis of the generalized image of the Western and South Slavic national communities of CEE on the way to the formation of market economy and democracy reflected in the educational textbooks for higher education institutions of Ukraine. **The Conclusions.** Considering the experience of the Slavic communities in national or regional contexts, the authors of educational publications started their analysis from the problems, which these communities solved. The image of the Slavic states of the region was depicted, primarily, through the reproduction of the political processes. Despite their complexity and uniqueness, the information on the political life of the countries is comprehensible and systematized, but the issues of a social history have not been fully elucidated. The authors of the educational publications refrained from categorical assessments when it concerned the recent past. There is every reason to state about a certain evolution in the interpretation of the image of the Slavic countries. If during the second half of the 1990-ies this image was replicated as a source of instability, during the 2000-s it began to be replaced by the one that diversified the complexity and ambiguity of the European continent's historical paths in asserting democracy and finding the patterns of an advanced historical development. The scientific and methodological content of the educational publications was the subject to correction.

Key words: historiography, Ukrainian textbooks, modern history, Western and Southern Slavs, Central and Eastern Europe.

СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКІ КРАЇНИ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-СХІДНОЇ ЄВРОПИ ПОСТКОМУНІСТИЧНОЇ ДОБИ НА СТОРІНКАХ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ ПІДРУЧНИКІВ

***Анотація.** Мета дослідження – розкрити науково-методичний контент української навчальної літератури для закладів вищої освіти щодо історії країн 1991–2000-х рр. Центрально-Східної Європи (ЦСЕ), де титульними націями є південні та західні слов'яни, з'ясувати основні тенденції у її висвітленні. **Методологія дослідження** спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, верифікації, системності, авторської об'єктивності, а також на загальнонаукові методи (аналізу, синтезу, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичні (історико-типологічний, історико-генетичний), метод контент-аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії на підґрунті широкого кола навчальних видань як історіографічного джерела здійснений аналіз узагальненого образу частини національних спільнот, що входять до ЦСЕ, на шляху формування ринкової економіки та становлення демократії у дзеркалі навчальної літератури для закладів вищої освіти України. За основу аналізу взято досвід колективів, пов'язаних глибокими історичними, культурними традиціями, спорідненістю мов, тобто південних та західних слов'ян. **Висновки.** Розглядаючи досвід аналізованих спільнот у національному або регіональному контекстах, автори навчальних видань відштовхувалися від проблем, які ці спільноти розв'язували. Їх образ змальовується передовсім через відтворення політичних процесів. Попри складність та унікальність зазначених процесів інформація з політичного життя країн є придатною для розуміння та викладена систематизовано, проте питання соціальної історії не набули докладного розкриття. Автори навчальних видань утримуються від категоричних оцінок, коли йдеться про недавнє минуле. Є всі підстави стверджувати про певну еволюцію у тлумаченні образу слов'янських країн. Якщо у другій половині 1990-х рр. він тиражувався як джерело нестабільності, то у 2000-і рр. починає заміщуватися на такий, що урізноманітнює уявлення про складності та неоднозначність історичних шляхів європейського континенту у ствердженні демократії та пошуку моделей випереджального історичного розвитку. Науково-методичний контент навчальних видань незмінно підлягав корекції.*

***Ключові слова:** історіографія, українські підручники, сучасна історія, західні та південні слов'яни, Центрально-Східна Європа.*

The Problem Statement. It is generally acknowledged that nowadays in Ukraine, in the system of educational practices the textbook still retains the status of the dominant means of learning, including the field of a historical education of a higher level. In the scientific and pedagogical circles of Ukraine there has always been a clear awareness of the problem importance of the history textbook quality. In 1991, with the independence of Ukraine, the urgency of this problem only increased. The new situation in the society, associated with the collapse of the USSR and the collapse of socialism as a system, required not only the appropriate reading of the past, but also an adequate interpretation of the present on the pages of the educational textbooks.

The Analysis of Recent Researches. The Ukrainian researchers have repeatedly turned to the analysis of the textbooks on history, including the ones for higher educational institutions: after all, in Ukraine higher education has long been a powerful means of knowledge about the past (Chuprij, 2011, p. 20). However, the emphasis was mainly focused on methodological and scientific pedagogical aspects of the educational textbooks (Udod, 2017; Zyakun, 2002, pp. 8–9). As a rule, the publications were thematically related to the national history (Zyakun, 2001, Zyakun, 2002, pp. 17–19). The content of education in the history of the post-communist CEE Slavic countries was considered superficially and in connection with other problematic issues (Aleksyeyev, 1992, p. 81, 82; Aleksyeyev, Kravchenko & Pavlenko, 1993, pp. 88–89, 90; Vidnyans'kyj & Martynov, 2017, p. 173; Kalakura, 2012, pp. 123–124, 129–130; Mitrayayev, Pugach, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1995; Sych, 1998, p. 116; Stel'mach,

2006; Postolovs'ky, 2015). These factors make the issue under analysis poorly studied. The Ukrainian academic community, discussing new, correspondent to historical changes textbooks on world history during the first half of the 1990-ies on the topic, mentioned in the title, put forward a number of relevant and appropriate considerations, dictated by the logic of not only a social change but also the logic of the educational process. In particular, it was emphasized on the need to clarify "the facts about the anti-totalitarian democratic revolutions of 1989 – 1991, the formation of new states, the characteristics of their constitutional order, a domestic and foreign policy" (Mitryayev, Pugach, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1995, p. 115), the contribution of the Slavic peoples to civilization (Aleksyeyev, Kravchenko & Pavlenko, 1993, p. 94). The latter task corresponded to the very understanding of the content of historical knowledge within a global history (Orlova, 2013, p. 24), interest in which the Ukrainian academic community began to demonstrate actively during the last twenty years. Despite the fact that a lot has been done in Ukraine to implement these tasks into the educational process in higher education institutions, the current experience of covering the post-communist era of the Slavic peoples of CEE on the pages of the educational textbooks has not yet been the subject of a separate study. Textbooks and manuals are considered as a historiographical source, the peculiarities of which have already attracted attention of the researchers (Zyakun, 2001, Viktorova, 2012, Taneva, 2006, Shnirelman, 2015). Our research is based on the texts of educational publications available to the author. After all, some of educational publications (Samchuk B. L. Culture of Southern and Western Slavs. Textbook. Mykolaiv, 2002; Rudko S. O. History of Central and Eastern Europe (the end of the XVIIIth – beginning of the XXIst centuries). Manual. 2nd. ed. Ostroh, 2010; Cherniy A. I., Cherniy V. A. History of Southern and Western Slavs. Rivne, 1999), related to the topic in the title, taking into consideration the quantity and place of publication, have already become a bibliographic rarity. The analyzed publications were examined not only by the scientific and pedagogical society, but also by the Ministry of Education of Ukraine (hereinafter – the Ministry of Education and Science, Youth and Sports of Ukraine and the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine) and are sufficient to elucidate the topic.

The Purpose of the Article. The article focuses on the clarification of the content and nature of changes in the Slavic European post-socialist countries on the pages of Ukrainian educational textbooks for higher education during the 1990-ies – the beginning of the 2000-s, which aspects of the historical path of the Slavic ethnic groups in the region were reflected; the article also focuses on the elucidation of the scientific and methodological content of Ukrainian educational textbooks on the history of the Slavic countries of CEE during the 1990-ies – the beginning of the 2000-s; the main tendencies of history coverage have been analyzed. The attention is focused on reproduction of the image of the Slavic communities in the region as it was coded on the pages of educational textbooks after the end of the democratic revolutions and the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation, which led to the collapse of the communist regime there (Romanyuk, 2018, p. 418).

The Statement of the Basic Material. The chronological framework of the research is determined, on the one hand, by the collapse of the socialist bloc (1989 – 1991), and on the other hand, – is related to the main progress stages of a domestic historical science and the time when the coverage of events in the Slavic CEE states was on the pages of Ukrainian educational publications. The period from 1991 – the beginning of the 2000-s in the development of Ukrainian historical science was characterized by the break with the one-dimensional approaches to the heritage of the previous decades and a gradual transition to

new scientific and methodological principles. The extremely important task of incorporating into the world scientific space was solved (Zashkil'nyak, 2016, p. 17). Subsequently, a new worldview was asserted in the works of a wider circle of domestic historians, a more realistic understanding of world historical progress, its stages and role of individual states and regions (Kudryachenko, 2013, p. 13, Zashkil'nyak, 2007, p. 4). However, according to the observations of the Ukrainian researchers, Ukrainian historical science is still in a state of crisis as a transitional period, characterized by the coexistence of the opposites: old and new, empirical and theoretical, logical and figurative, imaginary and real, achievements and drawbacks (Kolesnik, 2013, p. 106, Zashkil'nyak, 2014, p. 289).

The geographical boundaries of CEE varied according to numerous historical and political circumstances, and were also the subject of academic debates (Pop, 2015). Despite the fact that in science there is no consensus on these boundaries, the lands of the southern and western Slavs were usually considered as the part of them (Leshkovych, 2016, p. 283, Shnicer, 2017, p. 168, Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 49–50, Orlova, 2017, p. 213, Kril', 2008, p. 4, Zashkil'nyak, 2001, p. 4). The concept of “CEE” continues to be used concerning the region that did not represent a political entity.

The contradictory nature of modern Ukrainian science was reflected on the pages of educational textbooks (Chuprij, 2011, p. 20). The elucidation of changes in the countries of the region was complicated by the incompleteness of this process, as well as the need to overcome the state of a methodological confusion of the 90-ies in the socio-humanitarian sciences in Ukraine (Kolesnik, 2013, p. 107). In addition, the reference to recent events in high school textbooks required not only historical but also political analysis, while the foundation of one's own academic and scientific tradition was just laid in the field of a political science at the beginning of the 1990-ies. Obviously, among the difficulties of covering modern history there is the lack of historical distance and a stable historiographical tradition. Most of the authors were contemporaries of those events and have their own political beliefs, which inevitably affected their perception of the post-communist experience of the Slavic CEE countries. In the textbooks there was described the process concerning which the academic community only established the scientific truth during the 1990-ies – the beginning of the 2000-s. This happened against the background of inflated public expectations and illusions of the part of the population of the Slavic countries. The expectations were replaced by disappointment. Among the favourable factors for solving the problem of an objective and impartial coverage of the post-communist experience of the Slavic countries on the pages of educational publications there should be mentioned the established traditions of the historical and Slavic studies in Ukraine, the functioning of specialized Slavic centers and scientific schools, which were founded in the XIXth century, and the presence of the corresponding human resources.

University textbooks, texts of lectures for students, textbooks that reproduced the image of the Slavic countries of the post-communist era, began to appear in the mid-1990-ies in response to the practical needs of teaching and studying the past and present of CEE. In particular, the textbook edited by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor V. I. Yarovyj (Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995), was prepared by order of the Department of Public Education of Dnipropetrovsk regional executive committee. It was compiled for teachers, post-graduate students, students, schoolchildren. The experience of the Slavic countries on the pages of the educational publications was the subject to different degrees of coverage and generalization depending on the tasks and the subject field of the discipline they were written on. In this regard, taking into consideration the content of the textbooks or their

fragments on the topic mentioned in the title, it is possible to single out two groups of texts. The first one includes those texts, where the emphasis is laid not on events, but on their essence (for instance: Gorban', 2003, p. 382, Ivanyts'ka, 2003 p. 335, Orlova, 2008, p. 318). The second group is much more numerous, based on the country study principle, represented by the educational textbooks, where carefully selected facts, descriptions of events and new phenomena in the life of the Slavic countries of the post-communist era appeared as the manifestation of certain processes and tendencies, which were inevitable in the transitive societies (Pugach, Kozlitin, Postolovs'kyj, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1998; Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, 2015; Yarovyj 2005; Kril', 2008; Yarovyj, 1996, 1997; Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995; Zashkil'nyak, 2001; Orlova, 2017). At the same time, the development of the Slavic communities during the 1990-ies and 2000-s was covered not only in the national context (Pugach, Kozlitin, Postolovs'kyj, Strashnyuk & Chernyavs'kyj, 1998; Yarovyj, 1996), the changes in regional geographical boundaries were taken into account (Zashkil'nyak, 2001; Kril', 2008, pp. 5–6; Yarovyj, 2005, p. 5; Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 46–49; Orlova, 2017, pp. 220–228) and global tendencies as well (Gorban', pp. 388, 394, 404, 401, 421, Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, p. 3; Gazin & Kopylov, 2015, pp. 7–8, 11, 17, 21, 24; Orlova, 2008, pp. 317–319).

Ethnographic surveys covered a wide range of the Slavic states in the region, which was explained not only by the specific disciplinary field of the textbook, but in the case of the collapse of the Yugoslav federation depended on the outcome of the state-building processes in its territory. The Republic of Poland, which was more successful in solving economic and political problems, was especially “lucky”. Poland's experience was represented separately in textbooks not only on European history, but also in the disciplinary field of the history of the modern world, the history of Europe and America (Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 258–291; Gazin & Kopylov, 2015, pp. 161–167; Orlova, 2017, pp. 231–252).

Despite the diversity of educational textbooks, which in one way or another reflected the path of the Slavic countries during 1991 – 2000, in its content it is possible to single out some common features. Firstly, we mean the determination of the leading tendency in the historical development of the Slavic communities after the collapse of socialism. In particular, in the first textbook, in which the beginning of the post-communist transformations in Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria is described (Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995, pp. 102, 115, 118, 122), the leading tendency is defined as the political and economic transformations of the transition period. The formation of market relations and the dismantling of totalitarianism as a programme of action were singled out. There is a significant clarification in the next publications. Practically all publications, which are based on the country study principle, in a direct or indirect form, are already considered to be the main content of the processes in these countries and Slovenia's way to a market economy and democracy according to Western European standards. It is noted that this way was accompanied by significant difficulties. But the periodization of this process is absent: it was premature to talk about the criteria of the process's clear definition.

Secondly, owing to this process that almost all the facts of life during the post-communist era were systematized on the pages of textbooks. Gains and losses on this way in the interpretation of educational publications are the criterion for the transformation processes success. The idea of accelerating the pace of a historical development is indirectly asserted: this period was reproduced as oversaturated with events, which is especially noticeable against the background of the stagnation described in previous sections of textbooks for the

era of socialism. This result is achieved by displaying numerous facts and related phenomena over the period of time in a chronological order. On the pages of educational publications, this period was usually associated with changes in the upper echelons of government (presidential or parliamentary elections, change of government).

Thirdly, political history was usually chosen as the core of elucidating the nature and peculiarities of the Slavic states development in the region (alignment of political forces, inter-party disputes, elections of different levels, legislative activity, etc.) against the background of some attention to a socio-economic development and foreign policy. This feature was typical of the analyzed educational publications, written on the country studies principle. It is impossible not to notice that the emphasis on the political component in the content of knowledge about the Slavic countries of the post-communist era is inherited from the previous tradition of the Soviet period, laid down in textbooks on the history of the southern and western Slavs (*The History of the Southern and Western Slavs*. Moskow, 1957; *The History of the Southern and Western Slavs*. Kyiv, 1966; *The History of the Southern and Western Slavs*. Kyiv, 1986). This tendency is preserved in the content of a historical education under conditions when, on the one hand, new tendencies in Ukrainian historiography gained advantages related to the active “interest in anthropologically oriented historiography” of a wide circle of the Ukrainian scientific and humanitarian community (Shaurenko, 2017, p. 199, Sych, 1998, p. 113), on the other hand, – the Western European and American scientific tradition during the last third of the XXth century already learned the negative and positive lessons of a historical anthropology and cultural research in the educational space, in the training of professional historians and found peculiar mechanisms of adaptation to them (Saveleva & Poletaev, 2008, pp. 487–488, 500–501).

The range of plots and their interpretation give a clear understanding of what was considered topical during the post-communist era in the Slavic countries on the pages of Ukrainian educational textbooks. At the center of the coverage of a political life, as a rule, there was not only political confrontation, but also the democracy formation. The institutionalization of democratic mechanisms and structures of the state power on the pages of educational publications has always been an urgent problem, which was solved by Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Bulgaria. In particular, in the textbook authored by Yarovyj V. I. (2005) concerning the period of 1991 – 1995 in the Republic of Poland, there were mentioned 7 legal measures and the documents of various nature, which directly or indirectly contributed to the democratization of the countries, in the Republic of Bulgaria – 5 legal measures and documents of various nature (Yarovyj, 2005, pp. 349–351, 118–121). The history of 1992 – 2001 in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro was usually dominated by military stories or the influence of external factors and ways for solving ethnic problems (for instance: Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 506–508, 523–525, 528–531, 498–502; Zashkil'nyak, 2001, pp. 631–634; Yarovyj, 2005, pp. 775–781). However, with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Croatia, later the emphasis shifted to state-building processes against the background of conflicts, the influence of external factors and domestic political processes (Krill', 2008, pp. 54–59, 100–107, 218–230).

Accumulation and scientific analysis of the information on the history of the post-communist era of the Slavic peoples of CEE, enrichment of the traditions of historiography through subdisciplinarity, which exists in almost all areas of disciplinary knowledge (Udod, Vermen'ch, Kovalevs'ka & Yas', 2018, p. 4), could not help affecting the content of educational textbooks. This allowed to expand the subject matter and the range of plots,

which diversified the image of the Slavic community. This diversification was carried out primarily through the constant updating of facts by shifting the upper chronological boundary, the use of new historical sources, researches, personification of political leaders, and etc. In particular, in the textbooks authored by V. I. Yarovyj there were presented separately biographical references to 9 presidents or the prime ministers of the states; the southern and western Slavs are the titular nations (Yarovyj, Antonyuk & Chepusov, 1995; Yarovyj, 1996; Yarovyj, 2005). Thus, it was about the first persons of the states, who had considerable power, and hence influence in the country. A convincing evidence of the accumulation of knowledge on the modern history of the Slavic countries of CEE on the pages of Ukrainian educational literature was the appearance of textbooks summarizing the experience of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina including the first decades of the XXIst century (Kril', 2008; Gazin & Kopylov, 2015; Orlova, 2017).

The textbook as a means of communication in the educational space could not fail to record the relationship established by sociolinguists between the expression of assessments and values (Ananko, 2017, p. 130). They were directly or indirectly represented in the text, because together with other components the textbook contained a description of recent events, politically relevant and modern at the time of its writing. Thus, despite the fact that the same facts are depicted in the textbooks, there are differences. First of all, it concerns the generally recognized influence of external factors in the state-building processes of the South Slavs in the process of disintegration of the Yugoslav federation. However, the only balanced assessment of it did not appear on the pages of Ukrainian educational publications. In particular, the NATO's Allied Force air operation (March-June 1999) against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is considered as the aggression (Yarovyj, 2005, p. 788), the armed action (Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, p. 497), the reaction to the brutality of the Serbian troops and indignation of the world community (Zashkil'nyak, 2001, p. 634), or the NATO's Allied Force air operation is not mentioned at all (Kril', 2008, pp. 18, 156–173, 254–255). Its social and moral consequences seem contradictory (Yarovyj, 2005, pp. 788–789; Gazin & Kopylov, 2004, pp. 497–498). The authors of all educational publications, without exception, find out the high social price paid for transformations, mention the difficulties that still need to be overcome. At the same time, only one author makes a moderately optimistic conclusion about the prospects: "All difficulties can be overcome. ... The majority of CEE countries has already emerged from a historic stalemate" (Orlova, 2017, p. 319). Therefore, it is too early to say about the unity of views on the modern history of the southern and western Slavs on the pages of domestic textbooks.

The Conclusions. The analysis of the educational literature proves that its pages reflect a whole palette of conceptual approaches, views on the events, which exist in historical science and public consciousness concerning the post-communist era of the Slavic communities of CEE. Analyzing experiences in national or regional contexts, the authors started from the problems, solved by those communities. The image of the Slavic states of the region is depicted primarily through the description of political processes. Despite their complexity and uniqueness, the information on a political life of the countries is understandable and systematized. However, the detailed disclosure of the realization of the Euro-Atlantic choice by the Slavic communities was not accompanied by the same detailed reflection of the changes in the life of the society. Despite the significant cognitive content of educational literature, the natural question: "What happened to a man (not the state)?" – remained a secondary issue on its pages. Thus, political history prevailed.

In accordance with the laws of the educational literature genre, the authors refrain from categorical assessments when it goes about the recent past. The analysis of the Ukrainian educational literature on the topic mentioned in the title gives grounds to assert a certain evolution in the interpretation of the Slavic countries image, when they are considered in the context of a national or regional development. If during the second half of the 1990-ies it was replicated as a source of a dynamic change with uncertain results, instability and even danger, during the 2000-s it began to be replaced by such, which diversifies the idea of the complexity and ambiguity of the historical ways of the European continent in the assertion of democracy and the search of advanced historical development models. The scientific and methodological content of educational publications was the subject to correction depending on the year of publication, the accumulation of knowledge in the field of historical Slavic studies, related to the history of socio-humanitarian sciences, the development of subdisciplinarity. The authors of the textbooks not only proclaimed the use of historical sources, previously unknown to researchers, new researches, but based on them, set out the events and facts. The above analysis of the educational publications gives every reason to say that the educational publications are a sufficient basis for the adequate ideas formation about the post-communist experience of the Slavic communities of CEE and the adequate ideas development in special courses.

As a perspective on the the topic study, it is possible to find out how the content of knowledge about the Slavic countries: 1) meets the needs of the educational services market; 2) contributes to the formation of European identity; 3) is associated with the important mission of modern history education – “the study of the past at the level of mentality” (Udod, Vermen’ch, Kovalevs’ka & Yas’, 2018, p. 115).

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