Portrayal of 20th-century European totalitarian regimes in Spanish secondary education textbooks

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This paper intends to give a first impression of how XX-century European totalitarian regimes have been seen and presented by analysing a selection of Spanish History textbooks used in secondary education (ESO). Nowadays, both in our country and in the rest of Europe, a study of this type of manuals demands a reference to the debates which, in the last few decades, have focused on the didactic rethinking of the teaching of History. And, in the case of Spain, this issue has been the object of the attention of experts, who, in different ways and from different perspectives, have analysed the three main ingredients of education: the official curricula, the books used in schools and the teaching itself.¹

In education there are, therefore, three elements, of which the teachers work is one of the most important, as the study of pedagogical reality and its didactic applications and connections demands field work, in which surveys play a leading role. So, on this first occasion, we will carry out an analysis based on the legislated theoretical paradigms and on the thematic and methodological approaches of the basic proficiencies in the History textbooks. Therefore, we will, on another occasion, tackle the activity carried out in the classroom, including how the subject is approached and dealt with, apart from the general conception of the subject.

This paper is divided into four parts. The first part sketches a historical outline of the legislation on education in the last few decades. In this case, we will not concentrate exclusively on the formal norms of said governmental ordinances, but rather will place them within the context of the transformations that have occurred in our country since the 1960's, so as to explain the contents and concepts which have been and are the foundations of the Spanish curricular system.

Secondly, we give a descriptive synthesis of the Spanish curricular situation, and later, in the third section, we present the political debate in the last few decades on the teaching of Humanities, which was centred on History, its social dimension and the didactic problems in its teaching. Finally, having chosen a certain number of textbooks, we will analyse the presentation and perception of the XX-century totalitarian regimes in Europe for the fourth year of secondary education, specifically the regimes of the German Third Reich and the USSR of Stalin, together with the construction of the political models of the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War.

1. The historical and legislative framework of the current Spanish system of education

In order to understand the current situation of the school curriculum for History, we need to give an introduction to briefly contextualise the history of education in Spain in the second half of the last century. Thus, we will focus on the legal ordinances put forward at government request, which cannot be taken as strictly normative but rather as articles which responded to and reflected the perspective and evolution of Spanish society.

The exceptional circumstances of Spain after the Civil War and the construction of a new political order in Europe after the Second World War defined an
autarkic socio-economic model and a traditional system of education linked to the 1845 Moyano Law. The new political liberalisation in the 50’s, due to cooperation agreements with the United States (1953), brought about a slow reactivation of the economy. The US aid and the changes in the social patterns triggered the 60’s “developmentalism” and the growth of a new urban middle class which demanded new social services, amongst which was education. First, in spite of the intervention of Joaquín Ruiz-Jiménez from the Ministry of Education in the 50’s, it was not until 1970 that the Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa: (“General Law on Education and Financing of Educational Reform”) was passed (Law 14/1970, August 4) with the support of the then Minister of Education José Luis Villar Palasi². Leaving aside the details, the law was decisive for the spread of obligatory free education up to the age of 14 to the whole population, and was adapted to an epoch that needed a system, both in schools and universities, that was more in agreement with social reality, together with content revision and restructuring of the schools³.

After the death of Franco and the establishment of the democratic regime in November 1975, the legislative intervention on the issue of education, as the result of state and social dialogue, was intense and controversial. In fact, Spain has undergone three important educational reforms within the context of profound intellectual and political debate. Thus, in 1990, the Ministry of Education of the Felipe González Socialist Government passed the Ley Orgánica General del Sistema Educativo (“General Organic Law on the System of Education”: Law 1/1990), known as the LOGSE. Twelve years later, the government presided by José María Aznar passed the Ley Orgánica de Calidad de la Educación (“Organic Law on the Quality of Education”: Law 10/2002) or LOCE, which was virtually never put into practice. And more recently, the law known as the LOE, Ley Orgánica de Educación (“Organic Law on Education”) (2/2006), was passed by the José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero government.

Over slightly more than 25 years, under the direction of the last three governments, educational reforms have been part of the main government actions. Moreover, the passing of these three laws, far from representing a consensus of the main political forces, was the result of profound, thorny debate in Parliament, with echoes in the Spanish media and society. The general bases and the curricular proposals have been the subject of lively debate, as, in the back-

² The very enlightening foreword of the law begins: «The Spanish system of education at present assumes tasks and responsibilities of an unprecedented magnitude. It must now offer opportunities for education to the whole population in order to make fully effective the right of all human beings to education and it must attend to the specialized preparation of the great number and variety of professionals needed by modern society» (see «Boletín Oficial del Estado» – from now on cited B.O.E. –, n. 187, August 6, p. 12525).

ground, there is great political interest in enforcing a series of principles inspired by the concept of education.

Thus, the laws on education passed during this period have assumed the priority of the role of the state as the arbiter and director of the modern system of education. The governments plan and order the principles, characteristics and typology of study, thus becoming the guarantors and even guardians of school education, and this is reflected in one of the paragraphs of the LOE, where it states that the «public service of education considers it to be an essential community service, which must allow education to be accessible to everyone, with no distinctions, in conditions of equal opportunity».

The LOGSE, the LOCE and the LOE, on the other hand, imply a means and model for the system of education, within the evolution of Western European society. Laws, as normative consensus of human communities, do not merely gather together the objectives and needs of these groups, but are also useful to understand and analyse their idiosyncrasies. In this case, we can say that the different regulations of the system of education may be some of the milestones in Spain’s recent history. The end of the Franco dictatorship, the advent of the constitutional parliamentary system, the consolidation of democracy with the alternation of political parties of different tendencies and the opening to Europe are the guiding lines for a country that, in the last 25 years, has undergone transformation at all levels. The increase in the number of immigrants, new technologies, globalisation, the strength of the media and the changes in traditional values, to mention but a few elements, have defined a new type of society and have also affected education. The new technologies, of great effect on the task of educating, have had a significant influence on the schools and their teaching materials, and are now fundamental in accessing the knowledge and contents of the curricula. However, these ostensible advantages have caused complications in the task of teaching, as now the problems lie in the criteria for the selection and interpretation of said materials, mainly of free online access.

2. The shaping of the curriculum

The present Spanish system of education is organised into different levels of teaching, following a classification that attends to different stages and typologies, including the pre-school period, obligatory or basic education (primary

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5 Á. Marchesi, Presente y futuro de la reforma educativa en España, «Revista Ibero-Americana de Educación», n. 27, septiembre-diciembre 2001 (monographic issue: Reformas educativas: mitos y realidades), pp. 57-76, particularly pp. 61-62 (also available on line: <http://www.rieoei.org/rie27a03.PDF>).
and secondary), non-compulsory secondary education, professional training, languages, sport and the arts, together with attention to adult learners. There is a specific stage within basic education on which we will focus: Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO), made up of four academic years for pupils between the ages of 12 and 16 (*Ley Orgánica de Educación*, “Organic Law on Education”) 2/2006, 3 May 2006). This stage, with the objective of «permitting the students to acquire the basic elements of culture, especially in its humanistic, artistic scientific and technological areas» (art. 22), includes obligatory curricular material for each year which is called «Social Sciences. History and Geography».

On the other hand, it is inconsistent that, despite the fact that the legislative foreword to the 2006 ESO prioritises the humanistic and cultural principles in education (art. 22), it leaves in tenth place the importance of «recognising, valuing and respecting the basic aspects of the culture and history of other peoples, together with the artistic and cultural heritage» (objective “j” of art. 23). This means, in the light of the analysis of the full twelve objectives, that the driving force behind this article was not exclusively the quality of education and the recuperation of humanistic disciplines, but that other factors intervened, for example, community spirit, the social projection of the individual and the needs of the world of labour. In fact, social cohesion and the proper use of democratic citizenship practice underlie the text and are stated conceptually and ideologically throughout.

Within this context, History – once upon a time the backbone of Social Sciences –, was not salvaged as an individual subject, but was reduced to a mere section of the programme of one of the subjects of obligatory education. Likewise, erroneously associated with narrative history, with a political-dynastic approach and a chronological-mnemonic erudition of the past, it has become blurred in a broad area which is without question eclectic.

The historical contents are put in sequence for the four years and taught simultaneously with matters of Physical and Economic Geography and Demography, together with Sociology, Anthropology and Political Science. Royal Decree 1631/2006, December 29, which established the minimum requirements for Obligatory Secondary Education instituted several content blocks for each of the four years of “Social Sciences. History and Geography”, the first of which, and the common denominator for all, is epigraph 1. *Common Contents*, of a methodological and instrumental nature. Thus, for the first year we find 2. *The Earth and natural environments* and 3. *Prehistoric societies, the first civilisations and ancient times*; for the second year 2. *Population and society* and 3. *Preindustrial societies*; for the third 2. *Economic activity and geographical space* and 4. *Transformations and imbalances in the present-day world*. Finally, for the fourth year of the E.S.O. it states 2. *Historical bases for modern society*.

7 Organic Law 2/2006, see ibid., p. 1769.
and 3. The modern world. This means that only in the final year of secondary schooling is Contemporary History and, consequently, the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century, studied.

On this matter, we cannot speak on this occasion of the non-obligatory stage, studied between the ages of 16 and 18, although it does include two specific History subjects, the first called “History” which corresponds to the Contemporary History of Spain (obligatory), and the second called “History of the Contemporary World” (optional).

The teaching of History in Spain includes, together with these official curricula, textbooks and the teaching activity. The training, characteristics and perception of the staff on the subject of the teaching and didactics of history is a complicated area to tackle, which demands thorough surveys and support studies. It would be of interest, on some other occasion, to discover what type of methodology is used in classrooms and what perspective of the discipline is offered, as the concept of enunciative reality and that of finished science are frequently prominent.

3. History, a ceaselessly debated curricular subject

On 23rd June 2000, the Royal Academy of History published a report on the textbooks and history courses in secondary schools. The document thereby joined the debate on the teaching of this subject in the school curricula. The changes occurring at all levels in Spain since 1975, and particularly in the 80’s, had drawn up a political map with the increasing importance of the different Autonomous Communities where the political parties took over the ideological debate on education.

The passing of the LOGSE in 1990 had eliminated History from the curriculum and it became part of the above-mentioned subject “Social Sciences. History and Geography”. However, the defects in the system of education, with high drop-out levels and a decline in the average level of knowledge, together with a low rate of reading, inspired the new normative revision, until the LOCE was enacted in 2002, when the title of the subject was again “History and Geography” (art. 23). The students’ lack of historical knowledge was one of the

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8 Royal Decree 1631/2006, 29 December, which establishes the minimum educational requirements corresponding to Obligatory Secondary Education (Friday, 5 January 2007, B.O.E., n. 5), pp. 702-709.
9 J. Prats, Dificultades para la enseñanza de la Historia en la Educación Secundaria, cit.
10 Real Academia de la Historia, Informe sobre los textos y cursos de historia en los centros de enseñanza media, Madrid, 23 de junio de 2000.
most debated elements in the media and political fora. The controversy began after the speech given by the then Minister of Education, Esperanza Aguirre, at the Royal Academy of History in October 1996, where she underlined «the lack of historical content in the teaching received by schoolchildren, and that a student can go through his/her ten years of obligatory education without ever hearing a lesson on Julius Caesar or Phillip II»12.

There followed several months of intense political debate which suggested that the deficiencies in Education were not merely based on the social and legislative situation, but were also conceptual13. The lack of consensus on the History curricula, given the importance of the Autonomous Communities in their design (55% in the Communities with their own language and 65% in the remainder), showed a panorama where the varied political groups made the most of the opportunity to project their ideological views of History at the service of their identity programmes, and left aside other more important issues when proposing the didactics14.

According to some specialists, the formative and educational theses on the subject had been left out of the debate, which dealt almost exclusively with which perspective on Spain that should be offered15. Thus, although for other Science subjects the curricular contents were debated by expert commissions, the subject of History was open to political opinion and intervention. The academic issues were left aside in the news coverage, and the defence of nationalities became one of the main focuses of attention. Years later (2004), the Ministry of Education then headed by Mª Jesús San Segundo opened a new space for discussion on its website, entitled Quality education for all and by all. Proposals for a debate, with the intention of following and analysing the earlier stage in depth. So, despite allowing for many contributions, the background to the discourse was again political, and brought about the latest reform, the LOE in 2006.

Now that the first decade of the new century has ended, we can say that the passions enflamed before the passing of the LOCE, towards the end of the 90’s, have been reduced in our collective memory to little more than the Minister of Education’s speeches. It has certainly been important, then and now, to recover History independently and with renovated methodology, within a general context of the rehabilitation of Humanities16. However, neither the legal ordinance, nor the exchange of declarations has exhausted the basic truths: the crisis in the

15 Prats, Dificultades para la enseñanza de la Historia en la Educación Secundaria, cit., pp. 81-82.
16 Barros, Propuestas para el nuevo paradigma educativo de la Historia, cit.
system of education\textsuperscript{17}, the changes that have come about in historical science\textsuperscript{18}, and also, and this must be said, the advent of new values.

4. \textit{20\textsuperscript{th}-century dictatorships and totalitarianism in textbooks}

In order to carry out an analytical study of the perception and representation of the totalitarian regimes by students, we must firstly make a selection of the textbooks for the 4\textsuperscript{th} academic tear of the ESO, the year when they face the historical contents of the Contemporary period. There is no doubt, besides, that behind the shaping of these manuals there is an undercurrent with reservations on the teaching method, while simultaneously mentioning the historiographical changes, but this is not the time or place to analyse the matter. It will do to say that there is a broad sample of publications on the issue of the didactics of History, the epistemological and methodological approaches to this subject and its implications as social knowledge\textsuperscript{19}.

Nowadays, at the beginning of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, there is a wide range of Spanish editorial offers for textbooks. While not wishing to be exhaustive, we can mention classical firms, linked to the religious orders, such as the nineteenth-century editorials belonging to the Marist Brothers, Edelvives; the De la Salle Edèbè, and Bruño. Some time later, new projects appeared such as the Marianist S.M. in the 1940’s, and editorials such as Vicens Vives, Santillana, or Anaya from Salamanca; these latter appeared in the early 1960’s and are basically Spanish editors. We can also mention Casals, founded as Tipografía Católica in 1870 and re-launched around 1970 for school educational projects. At present, some multinational companies, such as Oxford University Press have also entered the Spanish editorial market.

On the whole, as the year 2000 Royal Academy of History report states, school textbooks are designed by broad-ranging, specialist teams of professionals with teaching experience both in schools and universities\textsuperscript{20}. The books look attractive, with high-quality images and illustrations made up of photographs, chronologies, cartography, graphs, charts and other complementary reproductions.


\textsuperscript{18} Valls Montés, \textit{La enseñanza de la Historia: entre polémicas interesadas y problemas reales}, cit.

\textsuperscript{19} We must highlight, on the issue of didactics, the above-mentioned bibliography by J. Prats. For the historiographical crisis, methodological re-statement and social projection, the Jaume Aurell’s synthesis is very clear: J. Aurell, \textit{La escritura de la memoria. De los positivismos a los postmodernismos}, Valencia, Publicaciones de la Universitat de València, 2005, pp. 149-154, ff.

\textsuperscript{20} Real Academia de la Historia, \textit{Informe sobre los textos y cursos de historia en los centros de enseñanza media}, cit.
tions such as drawings and diagrams. The didactic proposal of the subject-matter is also supplemented with historical documents, dossiers, charts with additional data and some historical glossaries. What is more, we also find a good narrative account of the historical facts, events and processes, and interest in presenting knowledge and the use of some analytical methods to the students. Finally, the activities suggested for the students to carry out are not merely tasks to be memorised or remembered, but also offer issues for reflection, critical work and an introduction to research.

The Spanish education model, which includes the participation of the Autonomous Communities in the proposals for the curricula (55% in those Autonomous Communities with their own language and 65% in the remainder), has given rise to regional variations in the same textbook. This means that each editorial distributes a different textbook in each Autonomous Community, with the same cover and almost identical general contents. In this case, the internal variations of the subject-matter affect the History of Spain, which is the object of political debate due to the interest of the local governments.

| Table 1. Contents of the subject: “Social Sciences. History and Geography” |
| (4th Year Obligatory Secondary Education) |

**Common contents:**
- Localization in time and space of historical events and processes
- Identification of the factors that intervene in historical processes and their components
- Research and analysis of original direct sources
- Investigation into the historical precedents for current situations
- Assessment of human rights
- Recognition of the configurative elements of contemporary styles and artists

**Historical bases for modern society:**
- The Ancien Régime and its transformations
- The 19th century: the industrial revolution and the bourgeois revolution
- The construction of the Spanish Liberal State in the 19th century
- Changes and conflicts in the first half of the 20th century. Imperialism, war and social revolution
- Spain up to 1975
- Contemporary art and culture

**The modern world:**
- Worldwide political and economic order in the second half of the 20th century: power blocs and socio-economic models. The role of international organizations
- Spain since 1975
- The construction of the European Union and Spain’s integration into the Union
- New social and cultural movements
- Globalization and new centres of power
- Centres of international tension
When it came to choosing the textbooks to work with, the main criteria were the extensive school tradition, the quality of the texts and the presentation of the didactic approach, together with their availability. The internal organisation of the contents and complementary material, in addition to the pedagogical differences between them, has been the decisive factors in choosing three Spanish editorials: Edelvives, Vicens Vives and Santillana. The methodology, in this case is selective and not exclusive, and is also open at some future point to the inclusion of further bibliography as a means of support and comparison. However, the assessment of these manuals is an important task and is fully representative for the understanding of the scholastic image of contemporary totalitarianism.

The previously mentioned Royal Decree 1631/2006, which establishes the minimum education corresponding to the ESO, divides the contents of the subject for the fourth year into two sections, preceded by another section which indicates the minimum skills and attitudes. The ministerial proposal, in short, is comprised of two sections explaining the totalitarian regimes, “Changes and conflicts in the first half of the 20th century. Imperialism, war and social revolution”, and “Worldwide political and economic order in the second half of the 20th century: power blocs and socioeconomic models. The role of international organisations”. In this way, following the traditional division of the 20th century, firstly, in block 2, it formulates the rise of Italian and German Fascism, which became totalitarian dictatorships. Likewise, it deals with the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the dictatorship of the Communist Party. Secondly, in block 3, it includes the political strengthening of the West after World War II, with the formation of the two antagonistic blocs in the context of the Cold War, which ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989.

It is unnecessary to detail the important conceptual and intellectual debate that exists in the circles of politology, philosophical and historical thinking on the concept, roots, nature and characteristics of the notion of “totalitarianism”. Nor is it necessary to assess the broad bibliography available on the subject, among which the most prominent are the works of Hannah Arendt, Raymond Aron or Claude Lefort, to mention just a few of the most well-known. Far from this theoretical and semantic approach, but taking some of its proposals into account, our aim is to analyse 20th-century European totalitarian regimes, as defined by Hannah Arendt: the Third Reich National-Socialism and Stalinism. However, we also believe in the importance of the introduction of the

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21 Royal Decree 1631/2006, 29 December, which establishes the minimum education corresponding to Obligatory Secondary Education (Friday, 5 January 2007, B.O.E., num. 5), pp. 708-709.

USSR model into its satellites, which C. Lefort also considers to be a totalitarian system. However, we will not go into details of how Franco’s Spain (1939-1975) is presented in the school textbooks, as this regime is thought to be a more complex phenomenon at all levels, and therefore, should be studied on some other occasion.

Each of the textbooks, depending on editorial policy and the intervention of authors with different knowledge and experience, structures its topics by giving greater priority to more general or specific contents. The Edelvives editorial prefers the former tendency, as its text is quite succinct when compared with the other two textbooks. The Santillana text goes to the other extreme, as it explains the topics in a much more complex, in-depth manner and is illustrated with an abundance of addition material for each section and offers numerous complementary activities. The History textbook published by Vicens Vives is similar, although in its didactic approach the illustrative tools are set into the narrative, thus offering a structure which more actively incorporates the maps, documentary texts and photographs into its explanations.

4.1. The Edelvives textbook

Edelvives follows the legislative proposals *stricto sensu*, and places the historical issues within broad thematic frameworks. The complementary didactic material, in the margins and at the foot of the pages, comes down to photographs of the protagonists, maps, some explanatory charts and very simple questions. In spite of this condensing, and occasional simplification of the historical factors and processes, at the end of each unit it offers monographic attention to some aspects of the subject matter and the historical methodology. For example, Unit 9 has two pages on the issue of anti-Semitism, with an in-depth, extensive commentary, including the numbers involved in the genocide of the Jewish people and the cartography of the concentration camps.


Table 2. Content definition following the ministerial proposal for fourth ESO and the subject matter of the textbooks*

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<td>Changes and conflicts in the first half of the 20th century. Imperialism, war and social revolution</td>
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<td>Unit 7. The USSR, a new model State. The fall of czarism in Russia (1905-February 1917), the Bolshevik or October Revolution (1917-1921), the establishment of the Soviet state (1921-1929), the Stalin dictatorship (1929-1953), the building of an economic power.</td>
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* Details are given only for the epigraphs in each Unit on the subject of Totalitarianism.
Unexpectedly, in the following units it only deals briefly, for example, with issues such as the fall of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, condensing the focus to the explanation for Unit 12: Evolution of two different worlds to a methodological proposal with two photographs of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and 1989 with the title: “Image and photographic technique as means of communication at the service of History” (Pic. 1)\textsuperscript{25}. Its presentation of Communism is reduced to an enunciation of the origins and spread of the regime through Eastern Europe, a shot of John F. Kennedy with Khrushchev, Cardinal Wyszynsky and the tanks in the Spring of Prague (Pics. 2, 3 and 4, pp. 192, 198 and 199).

The collapse of Soviet Socialism and its area of influence in Europe are linked to the perestroika and glasnost begun by the Mikhail Gorbachev government, without any in-depth analysis of the evolution of the countries behind the Iron curtain after 1989 (Pic. 5, p. 200-201). We can then say that the contents are somewhat insufficient on the issue of the Communist dictatorships; that they are watered down in Unit 12, which functions as a prelude to a premonitory perspective of the present, in which globalisation, intercommunication and the increasing difference between rich and poor countries define world civilisation.

Pic. 2 (detail: John F. Kennedy with Khrushchev).

Pic. 3 (detail: Cardinal Wyszynsky).

Pic. 4 (detail: the tanks in the Spring of Prague).
From this perspective, the structure of the Edelvives textbook is a response to the historiographical crisis in the 80’s, in that it gives more emphasis to the epistemological issues, and leaves aside the possible revision of the techniques for historical work in order to offer keys to the knowledge of the past. Traditional narrative discourse predominates and it lacks innovative, open didactics, preferring a methodology that the students will scarcely find useful. Thus, the presentation of the totalitarian dictatorships barely outlines the concept of a political system, which, in the case of German Fascism and the Genocide, was disastrous; it is also very distant on the subject of the complex Soviet phenomenon. Globalisation and the new world order, in which it discusses the political project of the “Welfare State”, hide, in short, one of the most influential stages in Europe in the last century, that of the Communist political project.

4.2. The Vicens Vives editorial proposal

The editorial proposals from Vicens Vives and Santillana are much broader and offer a large amount of pedagogical materials and activities for both inside and outside the classroom. The former, like Edelvives, allots three of its Units to this matter, Unit 8 to the inter-war period (1919-1939) and the rise of fascism, Unit 10 to World War II and its consequences, among which it underlines the Cold War, and finally, Unit 11 deals with the bipolar world, which collapsed swiftly after the disappearance of the Iron Curtain in 1989. Nevertheless, the issues linked to European Totalitarianism are presented in an orderly, quite complete manner.
10
LA II GUERRA MUNDIAL Y SUS CONSECUENCIAS

En 1939 estalló en Europa la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Su desencadenamiento fue el expansionismo nazi y la incapacidad de las democracias occidentales para frenarlo. Como consecuencia del conflicto murieron millones de personas y las pérdidas materiales fueron enormes. Desde 1945 hasta 1990, el mundo estuvo dividido en dos bloques antagonistas: el socialista, dirigido por la URSS, y el capitalista, liderado por EE. UU. La tensión permanente entre estos dos bloques se trasladó a una situación de constante confrontación, la llamada Guerra Fría. En la

Observe el mapa. ¿Cómo quedó Europa tras la Segunda Guerra Mundial?

Observe el mapa. ¿En qué zonas se extendió la guerra?
¿Qué partes de las relaciones internacionales se verificaron en el conflicto?

El III "Reich" alemán

7.1. LA DERRUMBA RAPIDA

En 1933, y en una poca menos, las fuerzas transformadoras Alemanes estaban en el tránsito a un poder que decretó una dictadura. En primer lugar, el exterminio de los partidos y sindicatos, la supresión del Parlamento, se esfumaron las libertades. La sociedad en su totalidad se vio obligada a adoptar las opiniones dominantes de los nacionales. Aún quedó vida en el Partido Socialdemócrata. Los trabajadores de la vida estaban reprimidos y frustrados por la Alemania de Hitler.

Desde el punto de vista social, el estado nazista impulsó una nueva política de la economía que, en un nuevo sistema de la economía alemana, llamado Sistema Social, comenzó a intervenir en la economía dando a las empresas una gran influencia en el mercado.

Un comercio nacional, que se desarrolló a nivel local, se convirtió en el principal motor de la economía de la Alemania de Hitler.

Los Ayres del Reich

7.3. LA ALEMANIA ECONÓMICA Y SOCIAL

Desde su punto de vista económico, el III Reich se propuso promover un alemán mundial en el que la agricultura se convirtiera en una industria esencial, preparada para subir en el mercado, en un país que no conocía la esclavitud, una Francia y una Gran Bretaña. En consecuencia, la política económica que se opone fundamentalmente a las ideas de interés de los nazis de Hitler:

El Estado, como núcleo del Bienestar Social, debe tener como objetivo el bienestar económico, y se debe garantizar la estabilidad económica a través de la intervención del estado en la economía. El estado debe ser el principal motor de la economía alemana.

La economía nazista se basaba en el siguiente conjunto de ideas: la economía nacional, la economía de mercado y la economía social.

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7.3. LA ALEMANIA ECONÓMICA Y SOCIAL

Desde su punto de vista económico, el III Reich se propuso promover un alemán mundial en el que la agricultura se convirtiera en una industria esencial, preparada para subir en el mercado, en un país que no conocía la esclavitud, una Francia y una Gran Bretaña. En consecuencia, la política económica que se opone fundamentalmente a las ideas de interés de los nazis de Hitler:

El Estado, como núcleo del Bienestar Social, debe tener como objetivo el bienestar económico, y se debe garantizar la estabilidad económica a través de la intervención del estado en la economía. El estado debe ser el principal motor de la economía alemana.

La economía nazista se basaba en el siguiente conjunto de ideas: la economía nacional, la economía de mercado y la economía social.

Un comercio nacional, que se desarrolló a nivel local, se convirtió en el principal motor de la economía de la Alemania de Hitler.
Each of the units has an introduction with a brief synopsis of its content, along with graphic material and/or illustrative cartography. Also, at the foot of the second page is gives a chronological table with the main events and data of the period, an example may be seen in the presentation to Unit 10 (Pics. 6a-b, pp. 188-189). The unit itself is divided into sections and sub-sections, with a clear narrative covering a broad range of aspects, such as its description and characterisation of the German Third Reich, between pages 160 and 161 (Pic. 7a-b). Here it describes and identifies the Hitler regime with a dictatorship and a reign of terror, by explaining in detail the government actions and measures that define it as such. To do so, it uses original sources such as the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws, a chart of state expenditure between 1928 and 1938, and the photograph of a member of the SS in front of a Jewish commercial establishment showing a racist propaganda poster. This definition of the Nazi government gives a clear image of a totalitarian regime, as it did in earlier pages for Stalinism. It dedicates a special section to the latter, within the didactic unit intended to explain the construction of the Soviet state, presenting the political and also the ideological keys to a dictatorship, which, as in the German case, strengthened the control of the leaders by means of a «cult of their personality» (Pic. 8, p. 149).

In the same way, to emphasise the ideological construction of the USSR regime, it shows two historical documents. The first is a propaganda poster with the slogan: «The peasant, the worker and the Red Army soldier challenge the
imperialists», which symbolises the image of the Communist «New Man», and the second is a text praising the image and figure of Stalin. Both are evidence of part of the symbology organised by the totalitarian programme which replaced human rights with manipulative protectionism and state control designed to exalt the values of the political system.

The defence of Human rights, as in the Edelvives textbook, comes between pages 194 and 195, as it includes a dossier on the Holocaust (Pic. 9). In fact, Royal Decree 1613/2006, which regulates the minimum requirements for Obligatory Secondary Education (ESO), includes in its common contents, the evaluation of human rights and the rejection of injustice, discrimination or genocide26. This extermination of the Jews, with detailed images and direct evidence, shows the student the most frightful consequences of the existence of totalitarian regimes: the mass execution of human beings for political pretexts. Using this example, the subject matter offers the opportunity for in-depth study of the proposed historical issue, enriches the pedagogical system and allows

26 Royal Decree 1631/2006, pp. 708-709. The text specifically explains that one of the common contents for 4th year ESO is: «Assessment of human rights and rejection of any type of injustice, discrimination, supremacy or genocide. Statement of a critical perspective on unjust situations and assessment of dialogue and the search for peace in resolving conflicts».
for new approaches that go beyond the traditional explanatory method. The students are therefore invited to accept the complex nature of this science, as, in order to properly assess the historical processes, in this case the extermination of the Jews, they must learn to tackle, appropriately and with perspective, elements such as conceptualisation, location of places, time sequences and overcome what is merely informative.

The anti-Semitic Holocaust has been chosen as the paradigm of XX-century genocides, although the deportations, persecutions and massacres committed for the sake of a Communist ideology which have occurred in other parts of the world could well have been studied. Thus, one of the sections in Unit 11 shows the expansion of Communism both in Eastern Europe and in the rest of the world (Pic. 10, pp. 218 and 219). The study of this matter is quite significant, as are the maps that illustrate the text, as they show the most recent precedents of current geohistory in Central America, Cuba, Afghanistan or the Far East (Vietnam). So, in other sections of the manual, we find the various conflicts that occurred during the Cold War, with the missile crisis as another chapter of the establishment of the Castro regime in Cuba in 1959 (Pic. 11, pp. 200-201). The map of the October 1962 event could be a teaching tool to explain the political and strategic uniqueness of Cuba, with a revolutionary government set up by Fidel Castro which still exists, and is frequently the focus of the main news in the media.

The Vicens Vives book, which offers a complete glossary at the back, presents a development and structuring of basic skills for students with a dynamic, in-depth system that is also concise and clear. The pedagogical tools, likewise,
La URSS, un nuevo modelo de Estado

A comienzos del siglo XX Rusia permanecía política, económica y socialmente en el Antiguo Régimen. La guerra con Japón en 1904 y la intervención en la Primera Guerra Mundial a principios de 1914 fueron los detonantes que hicieron explotar el malestar social y que condujeron al estallido revolucionario en 1917.

La revolución de octubre de 1917 constituyó uno de los acontecimientos más importantes del siglo XX y gran dispositivo a un nuevo Estado y una nueva sociedad. La soviética comenzó el proceso revolucionario llevó a la creación en 1922 de la Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas (URSS), el primer Estado socialista de la historia, cuyas mismas se proclamaron una unión.

El ideario de este nuevo Estado, que se habría de iniciar hacia su fin en 1924, tras unos años de lucha por el poder, fue el que se hizo con el liderato. Para la época rusa trae consigo empeño por un proyecto soviético, que ha de ser un proyecto soviético a pesar del sonrojo de la República, una desviación personal muy expresada.

Actividades de repaso

Recuerda

- Revisa en tu libreta la tabla de la historia del mundo desde 1868 hasta 1918.
- Trata de anticipar en tu trabajo el tema que se va a tratar.
- Escribe una frase que resuma el tema que se va a tratar.

Analiza

- Describe la evolución de la justicia social desde un aspecto sociológico.
- Describe el papel de la lucha por el poder.

Aplica

- ¿Qué influye en la lucha por el poder?
- ¿Qué ventajas tiene el poder en la lucha por el poder?
- ¿Qué desventajas tiene el poder en la lucha por el poder?

Explica

- ¿Qué significa el poder en la lucha por el poder?
- ¿Qué desventajas tiene el poder en la lucha por el poder?

Elabora fichas

- Elabora fichas sobre la lucha por el poder.
- Elabora fichas sobre la lucha por el poder.

Técnicas de estudio

- Haz una ficha sobre la lucha por el poder.
- Haz una ficha sobre la lucha por el poder.

Conclusiones

- Concluyendo, la lucha por el poder es un tema importante que requiere un análisis crítico y detallado.
- Concluyendo, la lucha por el poder es un tema importante que requiere un análisis crítico y detallado.
are complementary to the text as they do not simply illustrate, but also raise interest based on activities and brief texts that expand on the information. The authors, Margarita García Sebastián and Cristina Gatell Arimont, both heads of departments of History and Geography in public secondary schools, have published many textbooks and therefore have a great deal of experience, and this is very obvious.

4.3. The Editorial Santillana book

The final work for analysis is by Editorial Santillana; its organisation and didactic strategy is extremely complete and the text itself is precise. Although seven people have been involved in preparing the book, the editor is Teresa Grence Ruiz, who also has great experience in the area of school History textbooks.

Each of the 16 Units that make up the fourth year ESO book is structured in three parts with a thematic explanation broken down into internal sections (up to 9, depending on the unit), revision activities that include study techniques and finally a critical reflection that proposes reading, research and a question referring to the present.

The Units, number 7, for example, begin with a double page spread (Pics. 12a-b) which includes a general presentation giving some key ideas on the matters to be dealt with. This is followed by a chronological chart showing the most important facts and a proposal for a work plan with objectives. In second place comes a photograph from the period and a news item from the press of the time which illustrates what is to be studied. The didactic design is completed with a not insignificant number of activities that assess previous knowledge and the understanding of the subject matter of the introduction. Then come the pages with historical explanation and narrative, which, for each unit, display a complete chart of activities, for example, those linked to the strengthening and broadening of knowledge on the formation of the Soviet state between 1921 and 1929. Towards the end of each unit there are two pages of revision and study techniques (Pics. 13a-b), and finally the unit is closed with different proposals on the workings of critical thinking.

In addition to detailed structuring, this textbook pays more attention to political order and XX-century conflicts. It is for this reason that the issues linked to Totalitarianism appear in five of its units, three of which are monographic (Units 7, 8 and 11). Thus we find study of the Russian Revolution and the creation of the USSR (Unit 7), the origins and development of the inter-war totalitarian regimes (Fascism and Nazism, Unit 8), the portrayal of the Cold War (Unit 11); and in Units 13 and 15 there are two didactic units introducing the world of the Cold War and the fall of the Communist Bloc, respectively.
Unit 7 dedicates five didactic sections to the explanation of the dawn of the USSR, considering the fall of Czarism (1905-February 1917), the Bolshevik or October Revolution (1917-1921), the formation of the Soviet state (1921-1929), the Stalin dictatorship (1929-1953) and the construction of an economic power. Likewise, in the annex, it includes a critical activity focusing on “Propaganda posters in Communist Russia and in history by Andreu Nin i Pérez”. In this case the posters have been chosen in order to go further into the assessment of knowledge on the ideological revolution that brought about the establishment of a Soviet Socialist state. After the different sections in the Unit which explain the events, it dwells on the types of political propaganda used by a totalitarian regime controlled by a dictator (Stalin), who intervened to introduce government control, to strengthen his image by means of a personality cult, and ordered purges and persecutions to silence any type of opposition. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that the same control was practiced on cultural models, which explains the singularity of official Russian posters, characterised by a Realism that praises the Revolution and its rank and file (peasants and workers), and its leaders. However, the pedagogical strategy then changes course and gives more in-depth information on the methods of this Communist Totalitarianism. On the one hand, it presents the case of Andreu Nin i Pérez, a prominent Spanish Communist leader who was close to Trotsky and the purest wing of Marxist ideology. He was assassinated on Stalin’s orders, after the purges decreed against those who opposed his system of government (Pic. 14). And on the other hand, it illustrates the forgery of historical documents, with the

Pic. 17
(p. 167: detail).
touched-up photo from one of Lenin’s speeches in 1920, in which Stalin deleted the images of two prominent members of the Federal Committee, Kamenev and Trotsky (Pic. 15).

This orchestrated manipulation by the Stalinist dictatorship leads us to reflect on the legitimacy of this political regime and of those that use the same methods at present. The didactical, and in the end, historical presentation could not be more graphic, thus helping the students to become familiar with the tools of the historian, whose basic research technique is to avoid the simplification of the facts and mere informative narrative.

Another of the totalitarian regimes dealt with in the Santillana book is the Fascist and Nazi one in Unit 8 (Pic. 16), which it analyses in depth, as in the
previous unit. In fact, it again draws on the analysis of the political use of culture by Nazism in one of the activities (Pic. 17). However, like the other two manuals, it emphasises the Holocaust, and offers a monograph on the subject in one of the final activities for critical reflection. In this case, apart from dealing with the German genocide, the issue is viewed from a present-day perspective as it brings up other XX-century mass killings, and draws on a fragment of the declaration by the President of Iran, Mahmud Ahmadineyad, denying the truth of the Holocaust (Pic. 18). In this way, the editorial team enriches the traditional discourse of school textbooks, and shows not merely History and its facts, but also the internal debate of a discipline that is a lot more than a learned store of knowledge of the past. Only with this kind of teaching proposals, and by means of the presentation of these dictatorial regimes, can we see the vulnerability of the past as an ideological weapon in the hands of those who change the rules for use of a scientific discipline such as History.

The Cold War is again dealt with in Unit 11 (Pic. 19), which details the circumstances which have become milestones in the conflict, such as the division of Germany and Berlin; it also pays special attention to the worldwide spread of the conflict in Asia, Cuba and Afghanistan. One of the issues that is still part of the collective imagery is the arms race and the danger of a nuclear war, given the military potential of the antagonists in the conflict: the USA and the USSR. This fear was one of the fundamental ingredients in Western culture in the second half of the 20th century, thus feeding part of its literature and cinema, for example. Therefore, and not simply for its strictly military implications, the fragment from Ronald Reagan’s speech is of interest, as evidence of a period when the fear of an atomic global war left its mark on worldwide diplomatic relations (Pic. 20).

Finally we see how the textbook focuses on the disappearance of the Communist Bloc, with a sequence of pictures that illustrate the final years of the regime and the speed of the events that gave rise to the end of the USSR and the beginning of a new political map of Europe and the Middle East. A new world order had begun.

**In conclusion**

In accordance with what has been explained in this paper, we can infer that in order to carry out an in-depth study of how the totalitarian regimes are presented in Obligatory Secondary Education textbooks, several elements must be taken into account, as together they give shape to a complex educational reality. Firstly, the legislative framework for Education in Spain, which has shown itself to be particularly interesting as evidence of the concern of the country to build a system to attend to the basic and present needs of a society in flux, which is
receptive to the new values of a globalised and intercultural world. Thus, there has been an evolving overhaul of the three educational reforms carried out since the establishment of the democratic system (1975), the LOGSE, the LOCE and the LOE and of the principles that were the inspiration for them: quality, the society’s involvement in the project, the preparation of the public for new challenges and the development of the values of democratic cohesion.

Secondly, based on the educational model proposed by the legislation, we have chosen the time sequence and the curricular material for Obligatory Secondary Education in which History is explained, more specifically Contemporary European Education: “Social Sciences. History and Geography” in fourth year ESO (15-16 year-olds). Nevertheless, the composition and final approval of this official curriculum has meant an intense political and theoretical debate on the content and effectiveness of this branch of learning.

Although this has not occurred with other subjects, History has been completely immersed in the renovation of the Spanish system of education over the past three decades, which point will be analysed in third place. In spite of the general neglect of Humanities in a civilisation that gives precedence to the technical world, the speed of information and the accessibility of knowledge, the interest professed by politicians to be involved in the conception and organisation of the contents of the school curricula has been noteworthy. History, to a certain extent, is no longer exclusive to professional historians; however, those who are not professionals vainly evaluate the present and the past either scientifically or ethically, thereby allowing for mere social memory games.

The continuing process of reforming Spanish education over the last three decades is evidence that there has been a forum for political debate with the intention of transmitting the importance of the construction of autonomic identities for the country. However, neither the texts of the three laws (LOGSE, LOCE and LOE), nor the media debate is a full reflection of the true fundamental problem marked by the crisis of the system of education and the science of History.

Finally, a selection of textbooks was made, as the Spanish editorial offer is broad and varied, and three works with different pedagogical approaches and content structures were chosen. It is clear that the textbooks by Edelvives, Vicens Vives and Santillana represent three of the possible pedagogical strategy models, as the first is identified with explanatory synthesis and an excessive concern to transmit the methods and techniques of historical research, which causes certain didactic imbalances, because the students cannot learn to think historically without first mastering the subject matter. The Vicens Vives book, with a very different editorial approach from the former, presents very complete and well-structured explanations together with suitable good-quality pedagogical tools, and illustrates the text with images that are eloquent enough to assist

in understanding the different issues and problems. There are sufficient but not an overwhelming amount of activities for the students to carry out, moreover, and they well integrated into the explanation in each of the sections.

Editorial Santillana goes a step further than the former, as the integration of the narrative description with the activities implies the revision of not only the topical issues, but of the methodological ones also. This leads to reflective development and, in short, the necessary stimulus for a critical spirit. A significant case is that of the Stalinist manipulation of historical documents, and finally, of reality, by means of the propagandistic display of the state posters.

On the subject of the teaching material concerning Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism in some of the Spanish History textbooks, we must point out the importance of this discipline in shaping public thinking. The subject of History, which Cicero considered *magistra vitae*, continues to be the backbone of the Social Sciences, the font of knowledge and the model for the integration and ordering of the historiographical memory of the past. History is not something that occurred, nor is it an encyclopaedic list of dates and names. Through History, students have the chance to identify, study and assimilate the totalitarian regimes in Europe in the 20th century, in order to learn, in a broader context, the evolution of Western historical processes, but also to analytically understand the past and the present. Only in this way can History be useful as formative knowledge, as it will allow the strengthening of logical reasoning and of humanistic wisdom. Knowing and learning about the Holocaust, a key topic in the Spanish texts, will guarantee more than the formation of good citizens. If the subject is presented with the proper educational guidance, it will help to form individuals with values that go beyond tolerance, respect and justice. And this, in short, will help to bridge the differences between the theoretical approaches, that is, the legislation and editorial proposals, and reality, the classroom activity on which the manner in which the students will know and interpret the historical facts depends.

**School manuals**


Table 3. Didactic tools in the textbooks. 
Materials for the study of the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989)

|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| **Illustrations/photos**  | - Photograph of construction of the Berlin Wall (1961)  
- View of the Berlin Wall, with graffiti  
- Kennedy/Khrushchev interview (1961)  
- Cardinal Wyszynski  
- Soviet tanks in Prague  
- Caricature of Marshall and his plan, made in the USSR  
- Anti-Soviet poster (France)  
- Graph of military spending by the two powers  
- Arms data on the two powers  
- Photograph of the Kennedy/Khrushchev interview (1961)  
- Film poster: Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb (1963)  
- Border post in Berlin  
- Graph of land sharing in the popular democracies  
- Gulag photograph  
- The Spring of Prague (1968)  
- Evolution of the main Soviet economy indicators.  
- Photograph of the fall of the Berlin Wall  
- Sequence of images: Chernobyl, Lech Wałęsa, Yugoslav conflict and Gorbachev |
| **historical maps**       | - Areas of political influence in the city of Berlin  
- The break-up of the USSR | - European blocs  
- The division of Germany and Berlin after World War II  
- The world military blocs  
- Military deployment of the USA in the world  
- Cuba and the missile crisis  
- The break-up of the USSR |
| **chronological Charts**  | - Chronology (1939-1985)  
- Comparative chronology of the history of the USSR and the USA, with main milestones | - Main milestones of the Communist bloc (1946-1991)  
- Chronological chart (1948-1990)  
- Chronology (1985-2008) |
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<td>- Soviet report on Americans (1947)</td>
<td>- Winston Churchill “Iron Curtain” speech (1946)</td>
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<td>- Truman Memoirs (1956)</td>
<td>- Andrei Zhdanov speech (1947)</td>
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<td>- Khrushchev speech (1960)</td>
<td>- Truman speech to Congress (1947)</td>
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<td>- Kennedy speech (1961)</td>
<td>- Kennedy speech at Berlin Wall (1963)</td>
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<td>- Ernesto “Che” Guevara speech</td>
<td>- Text describing flights from East Berlin</td>
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<td>- Gorbachev Memoirs</td>
<td>- Description of the nomenklatura (political posts in Russia, 2006)</td>
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<td>- Winston Churchill “Iron Curtain” speech (1946)</td>
<td>- Chronicle of November 9th 1989 (Diario el País)</td>
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<td>- Gorbachev resignation speech (1991)</td>
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<td>- The formation of Yugoslavia</td>
<td>- The arms race or the “War of the Worlds”</td>
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<td>- The “walls” in our times</td>
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<tr>
<td>pictures with additional explanations</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Research into the Space Race</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dossiers</td>
<td></td>
<td>(In this case there are none, however there are for other subjects such as Nazism, with a dossier focusing on the Holocaust)</td>
<td>- The arms race or the “War of the Worlds”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Methodological issues</td>
<td></td>
<td>- How to make a comparative chronological table</td>
<td>- The “walls” in our times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assessment proposals</td>
<td>- Brief questions at foot explanation</td>
<td>- Work plan with different questions - Revision of subjects</td>
<td>- Work plan with different questions - Revision of subjects</td>
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<tr>
<td>Current state of the subject</td>
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<td>- Critical reflections: relationship between historical issues and current affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of pedagogical material in the textbooks quoted in this paper

4.1. **Editorial Edelvives**

1. Anti-Semitism (*Unit 9*, pp. 152-153)
2. Image and photographic techniques as a means of communication at the service of History (*Unit 12*, p. 202-203)
3. Photograph of the 1961 John F. Kennedy/Khrushchev interview, part of the explanation of “The United States and the new international order” (*Unit 12*, p. 192)
4. Photograph of Cardinal Wyszynski in the chapter studying “The USSR and popular democracies” from World War II until 1989 (*Unit 12*, p. 198)
5. Photograph of tanks in the spring in Prague, in the previous chapter (*Unit 12*, p. 199)
6. Current transformations of the Socialist countries (*Unit 12*, pp. 200-201)

4.2. **Editorial Vicens Vives**

7. Presentation of *Unit 10* (pp. 188-189)
8. The German Third Reich (*Unit 8*, pp. 160-161)
9. Stalinism (*Unit 8*, p. 149)
10. Dossier: The Jewish Holocaust (*Unit 10*, pp. 194-195)
11. The spread of Communism (*Unit 11*, pp. 218-219)
12. The Cold War and peaceful co-existence (*Unit 10*, pp. 200-201)

4.3. **Editorial Santillana**

13. Double-page presentation of *Unit 7*: the USSR, a new model State (pp. 140-141)
14. Activities from *Unit 3* (*Unit 7*, p. 147)
15. Final revision activities from *Unit 7* (pp. 152-153)
16. Critical reflection (*Unit 7*): Understanding what one reads. Russian propaganda posters and assessment of the Russian Revolution (pp. 154-155)
17. Document forgery during the Stalin dictatorship: the doctrine of Lenin (*Unit 7*, p. 149)
18. Double-page presentation of *Unit 8*: Fascism and Nazism (pp. 156-157)
19. Education and the political manipulation of culture under Nazism (*Unit 8*, p. 167)
20. The Holocaust, 60 years later (*Unit 8*, pp. 174-175)
21. The Cold War (*Unit 11*, p. 220)
22. The ideological bases for the constitution of the two political blocks during the Cold War. Map of the division of Berlin and Germany (*Unit 11*, p. 223)
23. The spread of the Cold War conflict: Cuba, Vietnam y Afghanistan (Unit 11, pp. 232-233)
24. The “War of the Worlds” (Unit 11, p. 236)
25. The disappearance of the Communist bloc (Unit 15, pp. 294-295)

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