REFLECTION OF THE 1930S REPRESSIONS IN CONTEMPORARY GEORGIAN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS





მოცემული მასალის მომზადება დაფინანსებულია შვედეთის საერთაშორისო განვითარების თანამშრომლობის სააგენტოს, Sida-ს მიერ. შინაარსზე პასუხისმგებლობა სრულად ეკისრება მის შემქმნელს. Sida შესაძლოა არ იზიარებდეს გამოთქმულ ხედვებსა და ინტერპრეტაციებს.

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<mark>ანზᲝᲜ პᲐᲥᲐᲠᲐᲫᲔ</mark> - Ხელმძღვანელი, ინფორმაციის თავისუფლების განვითარების ინსტიტუტის (IDFI) მეხსიერებისა და დეზინფორმაციის კვლევების მიმართულება

ნინო პოზალიშვილი - ასოცირებული მკვლევარი, (IDFI) მეხსიერებისა და დეზინფორმაციის კვლევების მიმართულება

<mark>ეკ</mark>) კელეგეკე - უმცროსი მკვლევარი, (IDFI) მეხსიერებისა და დეზინფორმაციის კვლევების მიმართულება

ნინო მელექიკე - ისტორიის პედაგოგი, სსიპ ვლადიმირ კომაროვის თბილისის ფიზიკამათემატიკის N199 საჯარო სკოლა

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ნინო ჩიქოვანი - პროფესორი, კულტურის კვლევების სასწავლო-სამეცნიერო ინსტიტუტის ხელმძღვანელი, თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი (თსუ)

ԼՅՅՆԵ ᲐՅᲐԼᲘᲣᲕᲘԼᲘ - პროგრამების დირექტორი, ინფორმაციის თავისუფლების განვითარების ინსტიტუტი (IDFI)

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INTRODUCTION



History textbooks are considered a primary means of shaping national identity and understanding of history. Howard Mehlinger argues that no other tool of socialization compares to textbooks in their ability "to provide young people with an official, unified, and recognized version of what they should believe" (Mehlinger, 1985, 287). The information conveyed in textbooks reflects the society in which they are created and is shaped by the values, beliefs, and needs of that society (Koulouri, 2002, 31). The selection of information included in textbooks also has a political dimension, as it is closely tied to the current social and political needs and therefore reflects the "modern past" (Porat, 2001, 49).

History textbooks are specific narratives that are created within the framework of an institutionalized and recognized historical master narrative, which includes texts that a society uses to give meaning to the past and define its identity. They can be analyzed using the theoretical framework of collective memory. As Aleida Assmann notes, history is a crucial aspect of active cultural memory, which is conveyed through textbooks and public spaces such as monuments, providing knowledge of key moments in national history, shared symbols, and holidays (Assmann, 2010, 101). In the words of Peter Burke, history determines what is worth remembering and what is not (Burke, 1980, 100-101).

The current research aims to examine the portrayal of the 1930s, a particularly traumatic period of the Soviet era, in history textbooks published in Georgia from the 1990s to present day.

Since the 1990s, the reevaluation of this era in the post-Soviet space has varied: after achieving and establishing archival openness in some countries, adopting Lustration Laws and undergoing rapid decommunization, many scientific materials about the era have been accumulated and events have been analyzed. Transitional justice occurred in Western and Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries, and the events and the role of the individuals participating in it were properly evaluated. Therefore, it is crucial to critically analyze the interpretation of the period presented in the historical narrative, as it is through the critical reevaluation of history that nuanced knowledge from past experiences can be incorporated into modernity.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT



The "Great Terror" period of the 1930s, especially in its latter half, is a particularly traumatic and significant period in the history of Georgia, as well as other post-Soviet countries. The era, masterminded by Joseph Stalin, who was born in Georgia, was marked by the brutal tactics of the regime. The main goal of the architect of this regime was to completely subjugate society by eliminating political opposition, suppressing dissent, and instilling fear and terror in society.

In addition to other obstacles such as limited access to archives,¹ the events of the 1990s, and low levels of scientific research in Georgia, the mentioned era has not yet been fully studied and understood. Furthermore, according to official information from the archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia, a fire that occurred in the former security agency (KGB of Soviet Georgia) archive destroyed an estimated 80% of the documents.²

This study will review the teaching of the "Great Terror" of the 1930s through the textbooks published and intended for schools during the period of Georgian independence. The trends in the study of the era, the time devoted to it, the participation and role of individuals (both victims and executioners) in textbooks will be discussed. The analysis will also touch on the trends in the reflection of Georgian and international scientific news in textbooks.

¹ The Institute for Development of Freedom of Information (IDFI) has conducted an evaluation on Archival Openness in former Soviet Republics and Eastern Bloc Countries, the link for which is http://open-archives.org/.

² The "Journal of the Archival Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia - Archive Moambe" published an article in issue N1 of 2008, which can be found on pages 6-8.

RELEVANCE OF THE ISSUE AND RESEARCH GOALS

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In secondary education, textbooks are considered the primary and most essential means of transferring information. They aid teachers in organizing lessons and also provide the opportunity to "regulate and control" the information that children learn in the classroom. Textbooks are used as a means by which students acquire "legitimate" knowledge and concepts, the parameters of which are determined by the state through national education standards. French researcher of East European history, Marc Ferro, believes that the state teaches its "legitimate" ideological schemes through textbooks and establishes a kind of vox populi among students by incorporating national values and perceptions (Ferro, 2003).

The extent of manipulation of history in the modern era was particularly evident after the war started by Russia in Ukraine, which was preceded by the interpretation of history by the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, in a way that provided "legitimization" for the planned actions. The special attitude of the Russian president towards the history of Russia and neighbouring countries is especially noteworthy. As the historian Fyodor Uspensky notes: "The Russian president's interest in history is fatal and harmful. This interest is alive and non-artificial, but to satisfy the interest, he obtains material from not very reliable sources, which often leads to tragic results."

In relation to the history of Georgia, Vladimir Putin's most significant propaganda speech dates back to July 2019, a few days after the incident known as the "Gavrilov Night" tensions. In this speech, Putin presented his own version of Georgian history, stating: "Ossetia became part of the Russian Empire, if I remember correctly, in 1774. It entered as an independent state, both its southern and northern parts. Abkhazia entered the Russian Empire in 1810 as an independent state, principality. Later, the southern part of Ossetia entered Tbilisi Governorate, there was no Georgia, it was Tbilisi Governorate... In 1918, Georgia occupied Abkhazia. The occupiers acted cruelly, in 1919-1920 the occupiers behaved more cruelly in Ossetia. Actually, this is exactly what is called genocide today." Shortly after Putin's announcement, in July 2019, the de facto parliament of South Ossetia appealed to the Russian authorities to officially recognize the Ossetian genocide. However, it should be noted that the topic of the "genocide" of the Ossetians is a campaign that was launched much earlier than 2019, and in all stages of which traces of the Russian government can be seen.

After the start of the war in Ukraine, the conversation about history became particularly active in Russian schools. On April 20, 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin supported the modification of historical education in schools to combat fake news about the situation in Ukraine at a meeting of the Supervisory Board of the autonomous non-profit organization - "Russia - the Country of Opportunities" [AHO «Россия – страна можность»]. According to Putin, schoolchildren in Russia are particularly vulnerable to fake news spread from the West and Ukraine: "Disinformation about the ongoing special operation in Ukraine is being spread among children. In schools, we have already conducted lessons in social sciences and history, where we talked about what is really happening in Ukraine, what is the purpose of the special operation," reported the head of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation Sergey Kravtsov. Thus, there is a growing tendency in Russia to use history as a political tool.

In Georgia, from 2022, it is planned to strengthen the teaching of history in schools, which, according to the Minister of Education of Georgia, involves separating "Georgian history" and "World History" and providing them as separate subjects.

Therefore, history is always particularly important in different countries and is connected to contemporary political agenda. The state has the exclusive right to institutional regulation of the teaching of history in public educational institutions. Textbooks play an important role in this institutional regulation. In addition to textbooks, other related educational methods are often used. For example, in modern Russia, under an authoritarian regime, one of the methods is open lessons and videos where, for example, the modern Russia-Ukraine conflict is presented in a Kremlin-approved narrative. Various sanctions are used for "distortion" of historical truth (according to the Kremlin's version), including criminal prosecution.

As French philosopher and hermeneutic theorist Paul Ricoeur has pointed out, "history" has less to do with science and more to do with telling a story and creating an effective scenario that is ideologically salient (Ricoeur, 1981). However, this does not mean that the story has no factual basis. The factual evidence behind "historical" events can be quite profound. However, given the abundance of documents and competing interpretations, historians choose the evidence that best fits their narrative of organic and natural nationhood, leaving out and/or effectively silencing other voices that oppose this selectively constructed narrative which is particularly common in the case of school textbooks.

During the last decade, interest in the study of Soviet terror has increased in Georgia. Several works have been published as a result of local and international projects, including "Lost History: Memory About Repressed Women" (2012), "Bolshevik Order in Georgia: Terror in the Small Republic of the Caucasus" in 2 volumes (2015); "Ethnos and Terror in Georgia" (2015); "Occupation of Georgia, Bolshevik Interpretations (1921)" (2017), "Repression of Poles in Soviet Georgia during the Great Terror" and "1937-1938: Poles in Georgia" (2019); "Soviet Repressions and Members of the Founding Assembly" (2020). Additionally, since 2008, the archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has published the magazine "Archival News," which primarily includes articles and documentary sources from archive employees, with a significant portion related to the repressions.

One of the goals of the present research is to determine the extent to which the 1930s are reflected in the historical narratives of school textbooks for grades IX-XII published and available from the 1990s to 2021. The study will analyze to what extent the authors of the textbooks use the above and other studies and publications to achieve this goal.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY



Pierre Nora views textbooks as important areas of memory that play a crucial role in maintaining historical continuity (Nora, 2001, 19). According to his classification, textbooks belong to the category of functional areas (Nora, 1989, 19), which contribute to the consolidation of groups that share a common memory. Including a fact, event, or character in a textbook is an effective way to make it a part of the memory.

Textbooks are the most widely used and accessible resource for memory formation. During the most active stage of socialization - school education - they are in the hands of the vast majority of young citizens and play a crucial role in creating and transmitting the memory of a particular fact. Through textbooks, we can judge the official policy on memory.

The following research questions aim to evaluate the extent to which history textbooks align with the goals defined by the educational standard of history:

1. In quantitative terms:

On average, what proportion of the textbook is devoted to the presentation of the research topic (repressions in the 1930s)? Has there been a trend of change over time?

What is the balance between the volume of the author's text and the use of sources in the textbook?

2. In terms of content:

- Is a multi-perspective approach used, as required by the educational standard? Are the authors' text and accompanying sources able to provide multiple perspectives on events?
- How are sources selected and used: to illustrate the author's statements or to provide different opinions on events?
- -- What is the purpose of the accompanying sources (textual, statistical, or visual material) and assignments: to reinforce factual knowledge or to introduce different viewpoints and open questions about the possibility of alternative developments?
- --- Are the sources provided by the authors varied and diverse, such as narratives from victims, perpetrators, and those whose family members were both punished and repressed?
- ---- Are archival materials, memoirs, etc. published over the years used in the textbook?
- Is the author's narrative limited to specific stories or does it provide context?
- Is the terminology used in the textbook accurate and appropriate for the research topic?
- Has the form and content of the narrative on the research topic changed over the past two decades?
 - -- And finally, the research will evaluate the use of sources, the variety of perspectives, and the historical context provided in the textbook, as well as the changes in the narrative over the past two decades.

BARRIERS TO RESEARCH



Obstacles in the research of textbooks in Georgia include the lack of a consistent system for selecting and grading textbooks prior to 2006, which was when the Minister of Education and Science of Georgia issued the decree "On the Approval of the Rule for Assigning a Grade to Recommended Textbooks"³. Since then, the decree has been modified multiple times.

In the early 1990s, teaching in Georgia primarily relied on textbooks from the Soviet era. However, starting in 1994, new textbooks were published by authors such as Lomashvili, Vachnadze, and Guruli. **Prior to this, even in a textbook from as recently as 1990 by Farnaoz Lomashvili, the 11th grade curriculum did not include material from the Soviet era. As a result, our research focuses on textbooks published after 1994.** Despite the availability of these new textbooks, it was often difficult to introduce them in schools, and the use of Soviet-era textbooks persisted due to various factors. A consistent system for grading and selecting textbooks was not established until 2006, when the process of grading began.

The information obtained from the Ministry of Education and Science by IDFI reveals that the textbooks currently allowed for use in the educational process have been listed with different statuses such as "graded", "tested", or "recommended" in different years.

According to the materials found by the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia, the textbooks used for the educational process in the academic years 2000-2001 did not have any of the statuses of "graded", "tested", or "recommended". However, for the academic years 2003-2004, the Ministry allowed the use of textbooks that had been proven, and in the academic year 2004-2005, the textbooks were found to have the status of "recommended". Starting from the academic year 2005-2006, textbooks were assigned the status of "graded".

Regarding the list of textbooks used for academic years prior to 2000, the Ministry states that "the permanent storage orders of the Ministry of Education and Science up to and including 1999 have been transferred to the National Archives of Georgia for state protection" and they do not possess information about these textbooks.

In addition, the "History" standard of teaching and learning defined by the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia according to the national curriculum for the 1990s is not available on the website of the Ministry. The only national curricula that are available are those published since 2007. These curricula include the objectives for learning and teaching history; however, the standard itself is only included in the national curriculum for the basic level of 2018-2024.

It is worth noting that the goals of history teaching and learning provided by the national curriculum from different years often overlap, and a common list of basic goals can be found. Therefore, this allows for a brief identification of training textbooks published before 2007 that pertain to the repressions of the 30s of the 20th century, which enables the creation of a comparative picture of the training textbooks used across different years.

³ https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/1389601?publication=0



REVIEW OF TEXTBOOKS



In the study of Georgian history textbooks, challenges were encountered in relation to important goals of history teaching and learning, such as:



Developing the student's ability to analyze historical processes (political, social, economic, cultural, religious) and compare them to modern times;



Developing the student's ability to evaluate and compare historical personalities and events from multiple perspectives;



Helping the student understand historical eras and compare their characteristics to each other and to the present;



Developing the student's skills necessary for historical research;

Giving the student the ability to use the language of history effectively.

According to the curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia for various years, at the basic level, students should develop the ability of historical thinking. They should be able to explain the causes and analyze the consequences of historical events, view historical processes from multiple perspectives (political, social, economic, cultural, religious), understand the reasons for different interpretations of historical events and people, compare and evaluate different explanations, and search for historical sources. They should also be able to compare and analyze historical materials (written sources, archaeological or ethnographic material, artistic works, photographs, etc.), write about historical topics, and participate in debates on historical topics.

According to the national curriculum for different years at the secondary level, teaching history should demonstrate to students that history is a continuous process and develop their ability to solve problems. To achieve this, students should be taught historical thinking and be able to understand historical eras, analyze complex cause-and-effect relationships between events, compare and evaluate different assessments of causes and consequences, justify their own opinions about historical patterns, and conduct independent historical research.

It's worth noting that the textbooks only partially meet the goals set by the history educational standard in relation to the 1930s, and often neglect the requirements outlined in the national curriculum.





In the 1990s, multiple textbooks were published by author Farnaoz Lomashvili, including the "History of Georgia" textbook for 11th grade, which was published four times between 1994 and 1999. The 1994, 1995, and 1997 editions are identical and cover the period 1918-1985. The 1999 edition covers the years 1918-1991, with the addition of the years 1985-1991, and some changes compared to the previous editions.

Farnaoz Lomashvili is also the author of another textbook titled "History of Georgia", which was published by the "Ganatleba" publishing house in 2000 and is intended for 9th grade students.

"History of Georgia" was an 11th grade textbook written by Farnaoz Lomashvili and published by "Education" publishing house in 1995.

Farnaoz Lomashvili's 1995 "History of Georgia" textbook for the 11th grade stands out for its limited coverage of the events of the 1930s in relation to the important goals of history teaching and learning. The textbook devotes only three paragraphs to the 1930s, which are divided into the sub-chapters "Disruption of the first attempt to collectivize agriculture in Georgia," "Ending the collectivization of agriculture in Georgia and the liquidation of kulaks," and "Implementation of the cultural revolution."

The textbook provides only superficial factual information about the repressions, a particularly traumatic period in Georgia's history, without providing relevant archival documents and sources that would give students a comprehensive understanding of the brutality of the repressions and events of that time. It also uses limited narrative passages to describe the fate of the repressed intelligentsia and political elite. The questions provided at the end of the section do not address the repressions, and the discussion topic and documents used by the author do not pertain to repressions. Due to this, the textbook does not adequately fulfill the objectives related to analyzing historical processes, evaluating and comparing historical figures and events, understanding historical eras and their comparison with one another, and developing skills necessary for historical research and using the language of the field.

In the 14th paragraph, titled "Implementation of the cultural revolution," the author delves into the Soviet culture of the 1920s-1930s, the government's efforts to shape culture and use it as an ideological tool, and devotes a sub-chapter specifically to repressions (pp. 150-154), which includes photographs of repressed public figures.

The author attributes the political repressions of the late 1930s to a power struggle between the right-wing (Bukharinists), left-wing (Trotskyists), and centrists (Stalinists) factions of the Communist Party. He states that in the early 1930s, to prevent the threat of a new world war, the decision was made to physically eliminate previously ideologically defeated left and right-wing groups, using the assassination of Sergey Kirov as a pretext.

The author states that, at first, repressions were carried out with formal legal observance, but later were implemented through administrative methods such as deportation or execution without trial, through the use of "troikas".⁵ He also mentions that Georgia, as a main supplier of leading cadres of the party and state apparatus at the Union level, was particularly affected.

It is worth noting that the author does not explain the meaning or main features of the term "troika" in detail.

It should be noted that the author's narrative is characterized by a straightforward description of the socio-political landscape of the period of repression and a neutral tone. While discussing specific events, the author does not make much effort to provide a detailed context and analysis of cause-and-effect factors, which helps to distance the reader from the facts and events and indicates a lack of evaluation.

The textbook provides a brief historical overview of repressed individuals, focusing mainly on the intelligentsia and political elite and not providing information about the repressed working class. Given the limited information provided, it is unlikely that students would have a comprehensive understanding of the scope and target range of Soviet repression. The book also briefly discusses repressions against the intelligentsia and lists some of the victims, such as Mikheil Javakhishvili, Titsian Tabidze, Sandro Akhmeteli, Evgeni Mikeladze, Grigol Tsereteli, Bidzina Ramishvili, and Vakhtang Kotetishvili.

It should be noted that the author does not mention the Gulag system, a system of forced labor camps, in the textbook.

The author separately describes the outcomes of repression, such as those who sought refuge abroad (Grigol Robakidze), those who became unemployed (Ivane Javakhishvili), and those who killed themselves (Paolo Iashvili).

The textbook by Farnaoz Lomashvili also mentions the destruction of the Georgian political elite but only lists their names (Lavrenti Kartvelishvili, Mamia Orakhelashvili, Samsun Mamulia, Mikheil Kakhiani, Levan Ghoghoberidze) without providing any further details. The textbook also does not explain figures such as "Budu Secretary."

17 questions are given at the end of the section, only one of which is related to repression - "What were the manifestations and consequences of the repressions of the second half of the 30s?" The author lists several repressed individuals but does not provide any specific accusations or detailed information about them.

Two documents (p. 155-158) are included at the end of the section, neither of which is related to repression (the first one is an appeal by a group of Russian writers to their counterparts around the world, criticizing the Soviet system and censorship; the second document is a speech by Bukharin).

The discussion question does not address the issue of repression and instead instructs students to consider the reasons why the "Cultural Revolution" could not be implemented in Georgia.

⁵ The "Special Triad" of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, which was a body comprising of three members, was responsible for trying those who were repressed during the Great Terror.



It should be noted that the narrative material in the textbook, which mainly includes the author's narration, exceeds the volume of sources used in relation to the issue in terms of ratio. Furthermore, the text and factual material provided do not allow for the use of multi-perspective approaches, which would allow students to understand the issues or events from different perspectives.

Farnaoz Lomashvili's "History of Georgia" textbook for the 11th grade, published in 1999

There is minimal difference between the 1995 and 1999 editions regarding the 1930s, despite the latter being labelled as a complete edition.

Paragraph 14 remains unchanged in content, but now includes additional figures and photographs among the repressed. The number of questions at the end of the paragraph was reduced from 17 to 13 in the 1999 edition. Conversely, an additional question was added to the list of questions following the sources, bringing the total to 7.

Farnaoz Lomashvili's "History of Georgia" 9th grade textbook published by Ganatleba in 2000.

In the 9th grade history textbook published by Farnaoz Lomashvili in 2000, there is a slight deviation from the goals of the national curriculum when compared to 11th grade textbooks published between 1995 and 1999. This comparison is made due to the differing volume of the study topic in the respective textbooks, with the middle level textbook containing more information on the subject than the basic level textbook.

The textbook on repressions carried out in the 1930s provides limited narrative material and supporting sources. However, compared to previous textbooks authored by Farnaoz Lomashvili, there has been some progress. The author uses a unique approach to present the stages and harsh realities of the repression in a more clear and evaluative way, using various sources to illustrate the events. Overall, the author's use of a multi-perspective approach in the textbook can be seen as a positive step forward, as it allows students to gain a deeper understanding of the era and view events from different perspectives.

The 22nd chapter of the textbook focuses on the topic of Georgia before the Second World War. The chapter is divided into three sub-chapters. Our research topic, the repressions of the 1930s, is covered in the second sub-chapter.

The author begins the discussion of the repressions carried out in the 1930s by mentioning the murder of Sergei Kirov, which was used as a pretext, before delving into the true reasons behind the repressions.

The author cites Stalin's consolidation of power as one of the reasons for the repressions and notes that it led to the destruction of Trotskyists and Bukharinites. He also mentions that the physical extermination of the oppositionists was also justified by the fear that in case of war, they could act as a "fifth column".

When discussing the topic of repressed individuals, the author follows the traditional approach of previous textbooks, which relies on the use of limited narrative material and factual information, resulting in a vague historical account that does not allow for a comprehensive understanding of the event. However, it should be noted that the author provides statistical data to convey the scale of the repression and openly discusses the brutal policies of the regime. The author also uses terms such as "troika" without providing a clear definition in the text. Additionally, the specifics of their work and basic rights and duties within the context of repressions are not discussed, leaving the period of repression as less comprehensible.

The textbook, like previous editions, has no mention of the Gulag - the Soviet penal system where prisoners were forced to perform hard labor in addition to serving their sentences.

When discussing the issue of the repressed, the author primarily focuses on those who were executed following a trial (such as Zinoviev, Bukharin, and Tukhachevsky), as well as those who committed suicide (such as Ordzhonikidze and Tomsky) and those who perished in prisons and concentration camps (whose names are not mentioned). The author also notes that the court of "troikas" did not spare children, the elderly, or women, and states that "the total number of repressed people in the USSR exceeded 4 million."

The author notes that in addition to the main accusations in the USSR of "leftism" and "rightism", two new accusations were added in Georgia - "nationalism" and "chauvinism". He then goes on to discuss the number of repressed individuals, stating that "more than 30,000 people were repressed in total. If we take into account that there were more than 5-6 people in each family, we must conclude that the repressions affected almost 200,000 people."

Similar to the textbooks from previous years, the author lists the names of repressed individuals such as Mikheil Javakhishvili, Titsian Tabidze, Sandro Akhmeteli, Evgeni Mikeladze, Grigol Tsereteli, Bidzina Ramishvili, and Vakhtang Kotetishvili and repeats that Paolo Yashvili committed suicide. He also writes about the destruction of the party elite - Lavrenti Kartvelishvili, Mamia Orakhelashvili, Samson Mamuliya, Mikheil Kakhiani, Levan Ghogoberidze, etc., repeating material from the eleventh-grade textbook.

The textbook includes six questions at the end of the chapter, of which only three are related to the repressions. The structure and wording of the questions are consistent with the textbook's overall format.

At the end of the discussion, the author poses the question: "Were the political repressions of the 1930s necessary?" The form and content of the question can be considered to be formulated incorrectly, because it implies that the repressions committed could have been justified as a necessary measure. It leaves the interpretation of the event to the students.

A new section that is noteworthy is introduced at the end of the sub-chapter in the textbook. In this section, the author cites two facts to illustrate the horrors of the repressions of the 1930s. He mentions that Maxim Gorky collected a lot of complaints and statements about the repressions in the Solovki concentration camps and presented them to the authorities. However, "when he returned to Moscow, the suitcases were handed over empty, and inside there was only a threatening letter from the punitive authorities, with which the writer was given "advice" to stop such activities and take care of himself." The threat turned out to be quite valid. The great writer "died" under suspicious circumstances.

The author cites the second fact about Titsian Tabidze, mentioning: "...in order to avoid torture during the interrogation, he falsely admitted to creating an 'anti-Soviet organization' and named Giorgi Saakadze as a member of it. The investigation subsequently announced the 'union wanted' for the latter."

Despite the progress compared to the editions of previous years, the textbook still lacks a balanced distribution of narrative and factual materials. This makes it difficult to develop analytical skills and properly work with sources. The author's tone when discussing the topic contains evaluative elements, which adds a subtle nuance to the material. However, it still falls short in providing a comprehensive understanding of the subject.

THE BEGINNING OF THE 2000s



The 9th grade textbook "History of Georgia", authored by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli and published by "Artanuji" in 2001.

The 9th grade Georgian history textbook, "Artanuji" publishing house's publication, authored by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli, falls short of the national curriculum's goals when it comes to covering the repressions of the 1930s.

In relation to the topic of repression, the textbook authored by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli is lacking in both narrative and factual material. The information provided is also of poor quality, and there is a lack of supporting archival documents. The book's limited number of sources, with only one source related to the topic of repression, further exacerbates this problem. Additionally, the textbook does not provide any discussion on the terminology associated with this period of history. Given these factors, students are not provided with the opportunity to acquire the necessary skills to analyze, compare, and evaluate historical events and processes, to develop language skills in the field of history, and to conduct historical research.

Chapter 22 of the textbook (pages 153-168), covers the topic of Georgia in the years 1925-1941. This chapter is divided into four paragraphs, each of which is further divided into various sections. One of these sections focuses on the political repressions of the 1930s (p.157-158).

The authors of the textbook note that these repressions began in the 1920s but escalated in the mid-1930s. They provide three reasons for this increase in scale:



The population that previously supported socialism lost faith due to the prevalence of violence and injustice.



Opponents of Stalin's policies emerged even within the highest ranks of the Bolshevik Party's legislative and executive authorities.



There was a segment of the intelligentsia who had long held a stance of inner protest.

The authors of the textbook argue that Stalin and his associates initiated repression in order to preserve the system and retain power. They specifically mention Lavrentiy Beria, who is said to have carried out the repressions with particular fervor and to have been responsible for the ongoing repressions in Georgia.

The authors have provided a list of notable public figures who were victims of repression, including Mikheil Javakhishvili, Evgeni Mikeladze, Vakhtang Kotetishvili, Titsian Tabidze, Paolo Iashvili, and others. However, the book does not provide much information about Paolo Iashvili's suicide.

Additionally, the authors mention that "many outstanding representatives of Georgian culture and science" spent years in prisons and exile, but do not provide any names. Furthermore, the text lacks information on the terminology that is specific to this period and on the Soviet regime's Gulag system.

After discussing the repressions of the intelligentsia, the authors move on to the topic of political repressions. They state that these repressions affected Georgian Bolsheviks themselves, including leading party and economic workers, and were particularly harsh. They mention that Mikheil Kakhiani, Mamia Orakhelashvili, Levan Ghoghoberidze, Budu Mdivani, Mikheil Okujava, Samson Mamulia, and others were executed.

The chapter includes a significant amount of photographic material, although the section discussing those who were directly repressed contains only photographs of Evgeni Mikeladze and Vakhtang Kotetishvili (on page 158). Mikheil Javakhishvili and Titsian Tabidze are only found in the subsection "Writing" (on page 162), and Sandro Akhmeteli is found in the subsection "Art" (on page 166). This seems strange considering that the authors did not want to overload the material with photos, as there are only six photos on page 167. It is not clear why Evgeni Mikeladze and Vakhtang Kotetishvili were not included in the section of their "department", which gives the impression that the topic of those who were repressed is not well-defined.

The chapter is lacking in written sources and questions for further exploration. Only one source is cited at the end of the chapter, "Decision of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers of Georgia on the expulsion of Mikheil Javakhishvili from the Union of Writers" (August 17, 1937).

The chapter concludes with three questions and one assignment, with only one question specifically related to the topic of the repressions.

The textbook devotes only two pages to the topic of repression, and the authors adopt a neutral tone when describing the issue. Compared to previous history textbooks on Georgia, the material provided is much more limited, only providing an overview rather than a comprehensive education on the topic of repression. The lack of material also prevents the textbook from presenting a multi-perspective approach.

The "History of Georgia" textbook, written by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli, is intended for 9th grade students and was published by the "Artanuji" publishing house in 2004.

The "History of Georgia" textbook, authored by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli, which was published by the "Artanuji" publishing house in 2004, has not seen any changes in comparison to the 2001 edition, and the material presented is identical.

Similarly, the textbook "History of Georgia" written by Farnaoz Lomashvili and published by the "Education" publishing house in 2004 contains identical material to the earlier edition written by him.

In the case of **the "History of Georgia" textbook written by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli, Class XI edition published by the "Artanuji" publishing house in 2004,** the book also contains material identical to the previous edition.

The textbook's coverage of the topic is limited to a brief overview, providing only minimal factual information to students. This inadequate treatment of the subject does not allow students to develop the critical analysis and evaluation skills necessary for understanding historical processes and events. Furthermore, the lack of sources and documents in the textbook prevents students from acquiring the necessary skills for researching and understanding the historical language and context of the repression era. The textbook's Chapter 18, which covers the period from the second half of the 1920s to the end of the 1940s in Georgia, is divided into five paragraphs. The third paragraph specifically addresses the topic of political repressions in the 1930s.

The authors begin by setting the scene in the 1920s, noting that Stalin's model of socialism was quite different from traditional forms, and as a result, it had many opponents. They go on to explain that Stalin began implementing political repressions in 1927, and that the years that followed were marked by a tense struggle between Stalin and his opponents. By 1934, Stalin had physically eliminated or imprisoned many of his known opponents, and this pattern continued until 1938. The authors also mention that many of the victims of these repressions were not political figures, but rather members of the intelligentsia.

The authors of the textbook link the name of Lavrentiy Beria with the political repressions that took place in Georgia during this period. They acknowledge that while Beria carried out these repressions, they were part of a larger plan developed in Moscow. The main objective of these repressions was to eliminate the old Bolsheviks. The authors provide several examples of those who were targeted, including Mikheil Kakhiani, Mamia Orakhelashvili, Lavrenti Kartvelishvili, Levan Ghoghoberidze, Budu Mdivan, Mikheil Okujava, Samson Mamulia, and Shalva Eliava. They also note that those old Bolsheviks who managed to survive the repressions, such as Mikha Tskhakaya and Filipe Makharadze, went on to play little role in political life.

It is worth noting that the previous 9th grade textbooks written by Merab Vachnadze and Vakhtang Guruli stated that Lavrentiy Beria was solely responsible for the political repressions that occurred in Georgia. However, the authors of the textbook being discussed take a different stance, stating that Beria carried out these repressions as part of a plan developed in Moscow. The reason for this shift in the authors' attitude and evaluation is not made clear, which can create confusion for students trying to understand the historical context. The authors also emphasize that the repressions were not a one-time event, but rather an ongoing process, even targeting those who had previously been responsible for carrying out unjust executions.

The authors of the textbook also mention the representatives of the intelligentsia who were victims of the repressions, including Mikheil Javakhishvili, Evgeni Mikeladze, Vakhtang Kotetishvili, Titsian Tabidze, and Aleksandre (Sandro) Akhmeteli. They also mention Paolo Yashvili, who committed suicide, as well as many other intellectuals who were imprisoned or exiled but not named specifically. Additionally, the authors categorize a separate group of people who, while managing to survive the physical destruction, were subjected to a severe moral and psychological atmosphere and suffered greatly, including Ivane Javakhishvili, Shalva Nutsubidze, Vukol Beridze, Simon Kaukhchishvili, Niko Lortkifanidze, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, and others.

The textbook also lacks detailed information about the specific accusations and verdicts of those who were repressed. Additionally, the list of those repressed does not include members of the working class (referred to as "kulaks") and does not mention the Gulag system or other terms established during this period. Furthermore, the authors do not provide information about the "troika", a group involved in the repressions. They do not use evidentiary elements such as sources or archival documents when discussing the repressions in general.

In conclusion, the authors note that in addition to the physical victims of the repressions, society as a whole was left with a great moral-psychological trauma and an atmosphere of fear and mistrust was established.

The chapter includes photographic material, but is lacking in documentary evidence, featuring only one appendix, which is Beria's report on TSU from 1928. The chapter also includes a limited number of questions, with only 4 attached at the end, only one of which is related to the topic of repressions, and only in part: "Which social stratum of the population represented the most serious opposition force of the Soviet government in the 20s-30s of the 20th century?" The type of assignment, whether written or oral, is not specified.

At the end, the chapter poses a question for reflection as an assignment: "In your opinion, without repressions, would it have been possible to maintain the Soviet government in the 20s-30s of the 20th century?"

The handbook gives minimal coverage to the repressions of the 1930s, and its use of narrative and factual material is limited in depicting the victims of repression. The authors attempt to critically evaluate the brutality of the repressions, but this falls short in fully illustrating the negative aspects of the period. Additionally, the textbook lacks information on interrogation methods, indictment, and sentencing of those repressed. The authors take a minimalistic approach in presenting these issues.

The "Georgian Biographical Center" publishing house released the 9th grade textbook "History of Georgia", authored by Nino Kvitaishvili, Davit Malazonia, and Tamar Malazonia, in 2008.

The textbook published by the "Georgian Biographical Center" in 2008 delves into the topic of Georgia in the 20s-40s of the 20th century, with a specific focus on the 3rd and 4th paragraphs. These sections are filled with a wealth of photographs, primary and secondary sources, along with definitions of difficult and foreign words. The book also includes a helpful rubric labeled "This is Interesting" and thought-provoking questions that are well-aligned with the lesson material and placed in appropriate sections, guiding the reader towards a deeper understanding of the subject matter.

The textbook, at a basic level, aims to develop the student's ability to think in historical terms by enabling them to explain the causes of historical events and analyze their consequences, view historical processes from different perspectives, and understand the reasons for different interpretations of historical events and figures. However, it falls short in providing detailed information about the cruelty of the Soviet regime and how it affected all social strata, rather than just the political elite or wealthy peasantry. The authors seem to have limited themselves to a general list of objectives without providing specific information surrounding their indictments and verdicts.

The authors of the 3rd paragraph, in the first sentence, paint a vivid picture of the brutality of the repressions in the Soviet Union during 1937, describing it as a period of repression, fear, and terror. They go on to explain how indiscriminate arrests, deportations, and executions became commonplace during this time. They point out that in 1937, the number of prisoners in the Soviet Union reached 820,881, and in Georgia alone, internal affairs bodies arrested more than 12,000 people in the month of October, with many of them ultimately being executed in prisons." The authors in the next section of the 3rd paragraph attribute the beginning of the repressions to the international situation, citing the strengthening of Germany and the West's desire to use it against the USSR as well as the expectation of war, which necessitated the mobilization of workers and strict discipline. They introduce the concept of the "enemy of the people", which could be anyone, including state officials, intellectuals, or workers, thus making the repression comprehensive and affecting all parts of society. They provide examples of specific persons who were repressed to support their argument.

Following the above-mentioned section, the authors include some quotes from the "Communist" newspaper that highlight the poor construction of factories and the harm caused by them. These quotes also give insight into the pervasive fear that existed within society. For example, one quote by V. Kiknadze (whose identity is not specified) states: "An acquaintance told me: when I was arrested, I felt relief, waiting for arrest was the real hell." These statements provide a powerful illustration of the fear and desperation that was rampant at that time.

"The authors begin the 4th paragraph by discussing the main penal agency, the "special three" or "troika", which was responsible for determining the guilt of suspects through brutal torture. It is also mentioned that the "troika" was also responsible for executing death row prisoners. To support their argument, the authors cite excerpts from the memoirs of both the repressors and the repressed. For example, an investigator named Khazan is quoted as saying: "All means were acceptable to use until we got an admission of the crime." The testimony of T. Vesteva, a repressed person who had previously been an executioner, provides a stark contrast, as it describes in detail the brutal torture of prisoners.

In the next two excerpts, the authors highlight the inhumane nature of the torture as recalled by the repressed. One of them says: "You shouldn't judge the innocent, because two extremes happen to a person during torture, either he exclaims everything, lies and truth, or he has a spasm and cannot say anything." This passage is a powerful illustration of the horror and inhumanity of the repressions.

The authors then present two questions for the student to consider. The first question asks the student to evaluate the legality and objectivity of the "troika" in determining guilt. The second question encourages students to consider the morality of betraying loved ones, which was a common occurrence during the repressions. Following this, the authors delve into a discussion about the harassment of the intelligentsia and the repressions that targeted them. They mention several names in this context, such as Titsian Tabidze, Mikheil Javakhishvili, Sandro Akhmeteli (all of whom have photos included in the textbook), and Evgeni Mikeladze (whose photo is not included). These questions and the accompanying discussion provide a deeper understanding of the repressions and their impact on society.

The next section, titled "This is Interesting," provides information about the relationship between Mikheil Javakhishvili and Beria. It is mentioned that when Javakhishvili saw Beria, he hurriedly entered the room from the balcony and seemed to be visibly upset. The section goes on to discuss how a delegation was formed to save the historic Metekhi district from destruction, and all its leaders, including Javakhishvili, were arrested. Javakhishvili was later executed. The information provided in this section does not include a reference to its source.

The above information is followed by a question that only reflects a fragmented aspect of reality and asks: "Why did the Soviet government actively fight against the intelligentsia?" The last part of the paragraph contains only a few lines of text written by the authors, with the majority of the space dedicated to sources and questions. This section discusses the exploitation of the labor of refugees, with sources illustrating the harsh conditions they faced. An example is a letter from an unknown student to Ivane Javakhishvili, where the student complains that Stalin is unaware of the deportation of innocent people and requests Ivane to give him a voice. The question that follows attempts to explain this attitude.

The section gives the following task: "Write a letter to the students, explaining to them the reasons for their arrest and subsequent exile."

The final section discusses how the repression by the government slowed down by 1938. It cites a resolution from the Central Committee of the Party, which states that disguised enemies of the Party, under the pretext of "vigilance," falsely accuse and persecute honest communists.

The textbook "Georgia in the 20s-40s of the 20th Century," published by the Georgian Biographical Center in 2008, delves into the topic of repressions in Soviet-era Georgia. The authors utilize a mix of primary and secondary sources, including photographs and personal accounts, to provide a detailed and nuanced understanding of the period. The textbook also includes definitions of difficult and foreign words, as well as questions that encourage critical thinking and analysis. The authors do not shy away from describing the brutality of the repressions, but also provide context by citing the international situation and the government's justifications for the repressions. The textbook also touches on the repressions against those who organized the repressions themselves, and the slowing down of repressions by 1938. Overall, the authors use a multi-perspective approach, allowing students to evaluate the historical events from different angles.

FROM 2010 TO 2020



The "History of Georgia" textbook for Grade IX, authored by Otar Janelidze, Apollon Tabuashvili, Leri Tavadze, and Nana Iremashvili, was published by "Klio" Publishing House in 2012.

In 2012, the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia selected the 9th grade history textbook, published by "Klio," to be used in schools. The textbook covers the history of Georgia from ancient times up until the 21st century.

The curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia for 2011-2016 emphasizes the importance of knowledge of Georgian and world history for shaping students into patriotic and politically educated citizens. This curriculum states that at a basic level, students should develop the ability to think in historical terms by being able to explain the causes and consequences of historical events, view historical processes from various perspectives, understand the reasons for different interpretations of historical events and figures, and evaluate these explanations. Additionally, students should be able to search for historical sources, analyze different types of historical materials such as written documents, archaeological findings, and artistic works, and write and participate in debates on historical topics.

According to the National Curriculum from 2011-2016 of the Ministry of Education and Science, this textbook addresses some of the teaching-learning objectives related to the 1930s and political repressions.

The authors of the textbook only briefly mention the repressions of the 1930s, providing a limited overview of the events, without using many sources to support or provide examples. Additionally, the book only includes a brief list of repressed individuals. Due to this, it falls short in effectively addressing the goals related to understanding the causes and consequences of the repressions, examining the historical events from various perspectives, identifying the reasons for different interpretations of the repressions, and evaluating different explanations.

The issue of repressions is covered in the textbook under the topic of "Political repressions in the 20-30s of the 20th century", which only takes up 3 pages of the book. The authors, when discussing the repressions, focus on the question of why political repressions affected all layers of society in the 1920s-1930s. The main keywords used in this topic are: purge, confiscation, outlaw, and Gulag.

The textbook starts with a general overview of the topic of repression. The authors state that the repressions that were carried out periodically throughout the country overshadowed all the achievements of the Soviet regime, and many people were sacrificed. However, it should be noted that the authors do not specify what they mean by "achievements of the Soviet regime", which leaves the reader without a clear understanding of the context. Additionally, it can be argued that any economic or infrastructural progress cannot be considered an achievement when it was achieved at the cost of violating human rights and lives.

The authors of the textbook , when discussing the motives of repressions, note that mass repressions in the country were carried out for various reasons such as social (elimination of Cossacks⁶, persecution of the clergy, destruction of kulaks), economic (abolition of private property, confiscation of land, nationalization of industry), political (struggle to maintain power, confrontation with opposing political forces and even within the Bolshevik Party), and ethnic grounds.

The textbook cites a specific source, an excerpt from the ruling of the Presidium of the Kutaisi Mazhar Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and from the verdict of the assistant trustee of the Kutaisi Mazhar Politburo, which illustrates the Soviet regime's efforts to suppress religion. It also includes a photograph of a bell being dropped from a church bell tower as an illustration.

The textbook states that punitive measures began in 1921, with the repressions of 1937-38 being particularly severe in their scale. The criteria and methods used to identify victims are discussed briefly: "The first target of attack were anti-Soviet parties, leading to emigration and repression of some members and exclusion of others from public and political life. The Soviet government created a climate of fear and psychosis through mutual surveillance, espionage, and unfounded accusations of wrongdoing. Being "on guard for socialism" by engaging in "revolutionary vigilance" was seen as a desirable and honorable thing."

The textbook provides a brief overview of the "Great Terror" of 1937-38, including information on the perpetrators, victims, and types of accusations: "Repressions were orchestrated from the Kremlin, where the number and identities of those to be arrested and executed were determined. However, similar decisions were also made at the republic level. In Georgia, repression was closely tied to the actions of Lavrentiy Beria, who held the position of first secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Transcaucasian Regional Committee since 1931. The Communist Party of Georgia underwent several "purges" during this time, with prominent Georgian Bolsheviks being executed and replaced by young cadres loyal to Stalin. Repression also affected those in the economic and military spheres, professors and teachers, students, as well as those in literature, art, and culture. Thousands of ordinary people were also arrested and subjected to torture to extract false confessions and forced to accuse innocent people of counter-revolutionary activities, terrorism, and other baseless accusations."

The source provided is an excerpt from the minutes of a meeting of the Federation of Writers⁷ of Georgia discussing the creative work of Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. The protocol portrays Gamsakhurdia as "…a reactionary-chauvinist and anti-Soviet writer who, through his artistic productions and speeches, constantly fights to preserve feudalism, aristocratic ideology, chauvinism, and the tradition of the "Black Collar." His speeches have repeatedly earned him the contempt and hatred of Soviet society. The writer is referred to as an incorrigible reactionary, and his works of fiction are deemed politically harmful for the present day."

The textbook also mentions several notable Georgian public figures who were victims of the harsh repressions carried out in 1937-38, such as "Mikheil Javakhishvili, poet Titsian Tabidze, director Sandro Akhmeteli, musician and conductor Evgeni Mikeladze, scholars Grigol Tsereteli, Vakhtang Kotetishvili, among others. In protest, the poet Paolo Yashvili tragically took his own life in the building of the Writers' Union of Georgia."

⁶ The Cossack repressions, also known as "Raskazachivaniye", mainly occurred in the 1920s during the time period known as the "Red Terror".

⁷ "The organization known as the "Federation of Writers" was the official union of writers in Georgia until 1932. However, on April 23rd of that year, the resolution was passed to cancel the previously existing "Federation of Soviet Writers of Georgia" and rename the organization as the Union of Writers of the Georgian SSR.

The book also highlights the use of prisons and Gulag concentration camps, "where 12,000 Georgian citizens were sentenced to stay, and only a small number were able to return home after a long exile. After Stalin's death, the Communist Party denounced the practice of political repression, and most convicts were rehabilitated." The textbook includes a photograph of one of the Gulag camps as an illustration.

In the conclusion, the authors of the textbook highlight the devastating impact of the repressions carried out in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century on Georgia. They note that "in addition to numerous human casualties, the repressions also caused great moral and psychological trauma for the people. The year 1937, which marked the peak of Soviet terror and repression, is remembered as a dark period in the history of Georgia, symbolizing the horrors of a totalitarian regime."

As an interesting aside, the authors also provide information about the Shavchokhons, a group of individuals who expressed their opposition to the Soviet regime in a unique way. "Young people wore black clothing and chokhas on a holiday as a sign of mourning for the loss of Georgia's freedom and a demonstration of their loyalty to the nation." Notable members of this group included Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Vakhtang Kotetishvili, Aleksandre Abasheli, and Pavle Ingorokva.

The textbook includes four tasks presented as questions and defines only one word: Gulag.

The textbook under discussion provides a detailed account of the period of repression in Georgia, but falls short in terms of the number and diversity of sources used. The authors exhibit a cautious approach towards the topic and focus primarily on factual material. However, their treatment of repressed individuals is limited and does not provide sufficient information on their biographies, charges, and convictions. The textbook also lacks archival documents that would provide a more complete understanding of the brutality of the Soviet regime and the fate of its victims. Additionally, it fails to mention key institutions, such as the "Troika" responsible for issuing death sentences and exile. This lack of targeted and informative material hinders the student's ability to understand the issue of repression from multiple perspectives.

The textbook "History" written by Nino Kiguradze, Revaz Gachechiladze, and Giorgi Sanikidze is a textbook for Grade XII, published by the Bakur Sulakauri publishing house in 2012.

The textbook falls short in its coverage of the repressions that took place during the 1930s in terms of meeting the educational objectives outlined in the 2011-2016 National Curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Science.

The authors of the textbook delve into the history of Georgia and the world during the 19th and 20th centuries, with a specific focus on the topic of repression. They approach this issue from two perspectives, firstly from that of the Soviet Union, and secondly from that of Georgia:



(02)

Paragraph 26. Soviet totalitarianism - Stalin (pp. 143-149)

Paragraph 45. The era of political repression in Georgia (p. 246-248)

Paragraph No. 26. The section "Soviet totalitarianism - Stalin" in the textbook, covers the topics of Stalin's model of socialist economy, industrialization, and collectivization, as well as mass repressions. The second and third sub-chapters specifically delve into the issue of Stalin's policies and their impact on society, including the repression of individuals.

The textbook delves into the topic of mass repressions under Stalin, starting with the assassination of Sergei Kirov, which was used as an excuse to launch a wave of repressions against perceived "enemies of the state." The authors discuss the infamous "show trials", where a significant portion of the party elite from Lenin's era were put on trial and executed. Unfortunately, the textbook does not provide any specific names of those who were repressed or any archival documents to support their claims. The authors mention that millions of politically motivated sentences were handed out between the 1920s and 1950s, with at least a million being executed immediately and another 6 million, mostly "kulaks," being deported without trial.

The textbook fails to provide reliable information due to the lack of cited sources for the figures presented on mass repressions. The authors mention the creation of 430 divisions of labor camps, where millions of people were forced to work without pay, but do not provide any source to verify this claim. They also highlight the repressions of 1937-38 as the most severe, with 1.5 million repressed and 700,000 sentenced to be shot, but again, no sources are cited. Additionally, the authors briefly mention that the repressions affected all levels of society, but once again provide no evidence to support this statement.

One of the limitations of the textbook is the lack of specific names or cases. The textbook also lacks written sources and illustrations, despite its well-chosen themes. For example, there is one illustration of kulaks in the paragraph "Expel the kulaks from the collective farm" from 1934, issued by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and the Council of People's Commissars. The December resolution on "Rules for Holding Trials against Members of Terrorist Organizations" is mentioned, which stated that trials should be held without the presence of the parties and that the highest punishment should be executed immediately. At the end of the paragraph, there is a request by one of the district committees to shoot 300 people, with Stalin's resolution to increase the number to be shot to 500 people.

Of the classwork questions at the end of the paragraph, one is about collectivization, and one is about repression. Homework is also attached - "Mass repressions in the Soviet Union", which is requested to be written according to the text and sources. No additional sources are specified for writing the topic, and it is not required to find any.

Paragraph 45, on the era of political repressions in Georgia, is lacking in detail and sources. It is brief, and there are few illustrations. The repressions are described as targeting both old Bolsheviks and the intelligentsia, resulting in thousands of deaths. However, the textbook does not provide any specific names of those who were repressed. The only mention of a repressed individual is a photo of the writer Mikheil Javakhishvili.

The paragraph on the era of political repressions in Georgia is brief and lacks substantial sources and illustrations. It notes that repressions targeted both old Bolsheviks and the intelligentsia, resulting in thousands of lives lost. No names of the repressed individuals are provided, only a photo of repressed writer Mikheil Javakhishvili and an anonymous group photo depicting other repressed writers. The student may have difficulty recognizing them, as they are not named. The paragraph lacks written sources specifically referring to the repressions of the 1930s, with only one source mentioning the shooting of the Chavchavadze family. The class work question at the end of the paragraph only briefly touches on the topic by asking "Who were Stalin's repressions directed against?" The textbook's lack of detail and specific examples regarding the topic of mass repressions in Georgia makes it difficult for students to fully understand and write about the subject. The textbook also provides minimal written sources and few illustrations, making it challenging for students to find additional information or recognize those who were affected by the repressions. The authors appear to have a casual attitude towards this serious topic, as evidenced by their limited use of factual information and inability to properly identify individuals in photographs and sources. This suggests that the textbook was not approached with the necessary level of professionalism and care in providing accurate and verified information to students.

The textbook is deficient in its treatment of the subject of repressions in Georgia. The authors fail to provide specific information about the repressed individuals and instead only mention them in general terms. They also do not provide any archival documents or information about the "Troika" that would help students understand the severity of the repression and the impact it had on those targeted. The lack of primary sources and illustrations in the textbook makes it difficult for students to fully understand the topic and complete the homework assignments given. Additionally, the authors do not guide students in finding additional sources or material to supplement their understanding of the subject.

The authors of the textbook do not provide a comprehensive and diverse perspective on the political repressions of the 1930s. Their use of materials is limited and does not allow for a well-rounded understanding of the events and their impact on different groups of people. The lack of multiple perspectives hinders the student's ability to critically evaluate and understand the events of that time period.

The textbook "History" by Gvantsa Abdaladze, Bondo Kupatadze, Nata Akhmeteli, and Nikoloz Murgulia, for class XII, was published by "Diogene" in 2012.

According to the 2011-2016 National Curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Science, the textbook aligns with the goals of teaching and learning about the repressions that occurred during the 1930s. The textbook provides an in-depth look at the history of Georgia and the world in the 19th and 20th centuries, including a dedicated section on the topic of repression:

01)

Paragraph 32. The Soviet Union (pp. 155–161)

2 Paragraph 34. The Soviet totalitarian system (pp. 166–171)

The 32nd paragraph, titled "The Soviet Union" (pp. 155-161), specifically covers the topic of collectivization in relation to the present research (159-160). The authors provide detailed information on the reasons for the start of collectivization and the forced campaign, including statistics on the number of people deported and shot during the kulak process and the number of households united in collective farms by year. The textbook also includes a photograph of a collectivization campaign in progress and a first-hand account of collectivization from a peasant. Furthermore, the textbook is notable for its numerous review questions found at the end of each sub-chapter.

The 34th paragraph, titled "The Soviet Totalitarian System" (pp. 166-171), provides an in-depth examination of the political situation in the Soviet Union during the 1930s, with a particular focus on repressions in Soviet Georgia. The paragraph is marked by its extensive text and the use of a variety of sources, both written and photographic, such as a photograph of a labor camp. A map of the Soviet Gulag camp system is

also provided, including the locations of the main labor camps, settlements built by prisoners, and canals. The authors provide information on the Gulag and the Cheka, including their meaning and purpose, and also reference a specific source on the Vorkuta Gulag and the harsh conditions there. The authors note that the repressions began after the assassination of Kirov in 1934 and that the search and arrest of "the enemies of the people" began throughout the country. They mention that each prisoner had to name 10-20 accomplices. Furthermore, the authors point out that the active organizers of the repressions, such as Yagoda, Ezhov, and Abakumov, fell victim to the repressions themselves, and some of them were shot after Stalin's death, like Beria and Dekanozov.

The authors provide a detailed description of the "Troika," which was a court established for the purpose of holding trials. They highlight the fact that the trials of famous individuals were made public in order to exert influence on the masses and also describe how Soviet citizens were encouraged to spy on each other. To aid in understanding the material, the authors have included 11 review questions at the end of the first part of the paragraphs that cover the material in considerable detail.

The authors of the sub-chapter "Repressions in Soviet Georgia" attribute the main role in the repression to Lavrentiy Beria and mention that Stalin's role is not clearly visible. They note that Beria carried out repressions using methods developed in Moscow, starting by eliminating old Bolsheviks and promoting new ones, then targeting intellectuals. They provide a detailed account of how cases were fabricated through forgery, torture, and wiretapping and how authorities attempted to make these actions appear legal. The authors list notable intellectuals who were victims of repressions, such as Mikheil Javakhishvili, Evgeni Mikeladze, Sandro Akhmeteli, Titsian Tabidze, and Vakhtang Kotetishvili, and mention the suicide of Paolo lashvili. They also mention those who survived the repressions but lived under great pressure, such as Ivane Javakhishvili, Shalva Nutsubidze, Vukol Beridze, Niko Lortkifanidze, Simon Kaukhchishvili, and Konstantine Gamsakhurdia. The authors have used the documentary series "Georgia 20th Century" as a source, for example, Nikolo Mitsishvili's refusal to drink Beria's toast and his shooting soon after. They also include official sources, such as an excerpt from a Communist newspaper about counter-revolutionary pests, how goods were poisoned, and an excerpt from the transcript of a congress where Georgian writers were condemned for having an anti-Soviet attitude. To aid in understanding the material, the authors have included 3 review questions and 3 tasks such as discussing the need to adopt the law of lustration at the end of the sub-chapter.

The textbook was republished multiple times over the following years, but remained unchanged in its printed form. The textbook's use of narrative material and sources effectively conveys the repressions of the 1930s. The variety of sources and inclusion of a discussion on the characteristics of the "Troika" provide a comprehensive representation of the topic of repression. However, it would be beneficial if the authors incorporated relevant sources and archival documents when discussing the "Troika" and repressed individuals.

It should be noted that the authors exhibit a subjective stance on certain events, such as characterizing Lavrentiy Beria as the primary instigator of repression. Their disregard for Stalin's role in the repressions can be perceived as a deliberate choice. Despite these shortcomings, the textbook partially facilitates the use of multi-perspective approaches.

YEAR 2020-2021



According to a 2021 directive from the Ministry of Education and Science in Georgia, 9th grade students will be using a newly compiled Georgian and World History textbook from the "Logos Press" publishing house. This textbook was approved for use in schools starting with the fall of 2021. Alongside the Logos Press textbook, 9th graders will also be utilizing a history textbook published by Diogene in 2020. This textbook received an award from the Ministry of Education and Science in the same year.

The material in the textbooks instructs students on the interconnected history of Georgia and the world. Both books include information on Georgia's recent history and how international events have impacted the country. The National Curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia for 2018-2024 highlights the "History" standard at the basic level, which includes various components such as teachinglearning objectives for the subject.

At the basic level, the subject of "History" involves an integrated approach to teaching and learning both Georgian and world history. The curriculum standard emphasizes that students should become familiar with the significant events in Georgia's history, from ancient times to the present, and connect them with key events in world history. Additionally, students will study the social history of different eras, including religion, culture, and economy. The curriculum also emphasizes the importance of understanding the connections between the past and the present. Throughout the course, students will engage in activities that allow them to apply their knowledge in practice.

Nato Akhmeteli, Besik Lortkifanidze, Natia Firtskhalava, History, Grade IX Textbook, Publishing House "Diogene", 2020

The 9th grade Georgian history textbook published by "Diogene" in 2020 discusses industrialization and the use of the labor camp system (Gulag) in the Soviet Union. It also includes a separate chapter on the repressions that took place in the 1930s, exploring the reasons behind the persecution of free thought in the Soviet Union. This textbook partially meets the goals and objectives of the "History" standard outlined in the 2018-2024 basic level national curriculum of the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia.

The textbook provides informative material on the topic of repressions, but several factors limit its comprehensiveness. One such factor is the lack of biographical information, accusations, and sentences for the repressed individuals listed. The authors only mention Paolo Iashvili's suicide and cite a few sources, and only briefly mention other representatives of the Georgian intelligentsia. Additionally, the textbook does not focus on the repression of the working class and does not discuss specific phenomena related to repression such as the "Troika", forms of terror, and surveillance practices. These limitations impede the student's ability to analyze historical processes and compare them with modern times.

The textbook begins its discussion of the Gulag system by providing a definition of a labor camp as a place where prisoners were forced to perform various jobs while serving their sentences. It explains that prisoners were mostly people who opposed or expressed dissatisfaction with the Soviet government. The authors note that the number of repressed individuals increased dramatically with collectivization, and that the labor-correction camp system ensured the availability of free labor. The book cites "The State against Its Own People" by Nikola Vert as a source that describes the situation of 1928-1930 and the trend of increasing the number of people in labor camps.



After citing the source, the textbook includes a map of the Soviet Union and the network of camps, and then provides information about the construction of the canal connecting the White and Baltic seas, which was built with the participation of Gulag prisoners. The textbook includes quantitative data on how many people worked on the construction at the same time (1000) and how many people died per day and night, on average 700 people and that 50,000-200,000 people died from hunger and poverty. The textbook also cites two more sources on the same topic, one of which is a letter written by the writer Nikulin to the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, in which the construction of the canal is portrayed as a manifestation of humanity and humanism. The second source is an excerpt from the story of the prisoner Dimitri Vitovsky, which describes the cruel environment and conditions under which the prisoners had to work. The textbook includes questions for analyzing the sources, and task the students to understand the propaganda message expressed in the first source.

After the questions, the textbook provides another source, an excerpt from the text of political scientist Alexander Rondel about the Gulag. The excerpt describes how the Soviet regime attempted to conceal the conditions in the Gulags and to control information. It highlights how the Soviet Union emphasized its "success" while hiding the truth about the Gulags.

At the end of the chapter on the Gulag system, the textbook presents a task for students to work on as a group. The task is to compose a letter of initiative to a local government body, advocating for the opening of a memorial. The letter should provide justification for why a memorial is necessary.

The following chapter of the textbook is specifically dedicated to the repressions of the 1930s. The chapter begins by explaining the purpose of the Great Repressions, which was to "destroy socially dangerous elements." The definition of socially dangerous elements is provided, citing the Criminal Law Code of the Soviet Union, which states that a person who has committed an anti-social act or has connections to the criminal world is considered socially dangerous.

According to historians, July 30th, 1937, marks the start of the Great Repression, as it was the day when the secret order for repression was signed. The source of this information is the same order.

The textbook notes that Stalin believed a "purge" should begin within the ranks of the Communist Party. It lists the names of repressed political elite members and the intelligentsia of Georgia. However, the authors do not provide any further information or details about the repression. The only exception is the story of Paolo Iashvili's suicide.

T. Kadagidze's "Stalin's Great Terror: The Easiest Questions for 1937" is included as an appendix, describing the brutality of the Great Terror in approximate numbers. The author states that within two years, 1.7 million people were arrested, and 725 people were executed. The situation in Georgia is also described, with a focus on the repression of the Georgian intelligentsia. Additionally, a list of the members of the first Soviet government is provided, along with the date and cause of death for each individual.

The authors ask the following question: "Why or how might famous artists and individuals from various professions, such as conductors, writers, poets, and directors, end up among the repressed?"

When considering the aforementioned question, it is important to acknowledge that repression was often carried out without just cause. People were falsely accused and tried on fabricated charges. The reasons for repression can't solely be attributed to opposition to the regime, as even those who openly supported it and were loyal to the Soviet system were targeted.

"Journey to Hell" by D. Gorgadze is a source that recounts the experiences of many famous individuals he encountered during imprisonment. Along with their professions, he details the charges that led to their imprisonment.

The chapter concludes with several quotes from different sources about Paolo Iashvili's suicide. Each passage offers its own perspective on the story. The first regards it as an anti-Soviet provocation. The second depicts the poet's actions as counter-revolutionary, treasonous, and malicious in a resolution. The third is a recollection by writer Shalva Apkhaidze of Paolo and his characterization of him. The fourth is Paolo's final letter to his daughter. The fifth source quotes poet Iza Orjonikidze's thoughts on Paolo. The sixth notes Mikheil Javakhishvili's support for the poet. Lastly, the seventh passage is an order to expel Mikheil from the Union of Writers.

The chapter ends with questions and assignments, including a comprehensive list of materials for research on the subject of repression, to be used for familiarization and presentation. The resources include modern studies. Properly framing the questions is a step towards enhancing the student's analytical skills and deeper understanding of the era.

It should be noted that the textbook relies heavily on source materials rather than the authors' narrative. The sources are varied, but the authors could benefit from using more narration to provide specific details on events, the harsh policies against the repressed, eavesdropping as a common tactic, the practice of night terror and sentencing bodies, and archival sources.

For instance, minutes from the Troika sessions and execution orders are valuable sources. The selected narration, while consistent with the sources and fitting with the overall context, partially allows for a multi-perspective approach. Compared to previous school textbooks, progress can be seen in the handling of the topic of repression.

Mzia Surguladze, Vladimir Kekelia, Rusudan Labadze, Shorena Murusidze, Manana Kurtubadze, Georgia and World History, Grade IX textbook, "Logos Press" publishing house, 2021

The "Georgia and World History" textbook by Logos Press is split into two parts. Part 1 covers Georgia and the world from 17th to 19th centuries, while part 2 explores two themes: "Georgia and the Outside World during the World Wars and the Cold War" and "Georgia and the Modern World".

It's important to note that history education should develop skills and values that align with the national curriculum goals, and this textbook succeeds in doing so, with a few exceptions. For instance, it lacks references to the indictments and verdicts of the repressed people. Adding archival materials, such as the "Troika" protocols, to illustrate the harsh regime that could sentence someone to death in just 10 minutes, would be ideal. When discussing repression, including statistical information and significant documents could better help students understand its scale in the 1930s.

The second part of the "Georgia and World History" textbook contains a separate topic, titled "The Creation of Stalin's Cult and the Great Terror of the 1930s in the Soviet Union", which spans 6 pages, to the repressions of the 1930s.

According to the authors, students should learn how Stalin's dictatorship was established, how the Soviet government created an obedient society through the creation of Stalin's cult of personality and the implementation of brutal repressions.



However, the book only focuses on those who submitted to the Soviet regime, ignoring the opposition and victims of repression. The authors should highlight the bravery of those who defied the vicious policy of the Soviet regime, despite the consequences of repression.

The topic of Stalin's cult is introduced in the first sub-chapter, titled "Stalin's Cult". It briefly explains how the cult originated: "The Stalin's personality cult began to be created in the Soviet Union after the celebration of Joseph Stalin's 50th anniversary on December 21, 1929, and the publication of articles glorifying the leader in the "Pravda" newspaper."

The source used, an excerpt from the memoirs of writer and critic Geronti Kikodze, highlights the extent of Stalin's glorification by artists in the 1930s and the impact of his self-aggrandizement.

To further demonstrate the cult of Stalin, the textbook cites Soviet propaganda posters that showcase the leader's status and exaggerated depiction of his talents and abilities. It also mentions the invitation of poet Lado Asatiani to the ceremonial opening of Stalin's room in 1938.

The textbook raises a question on career advancement under the Soviet regime: Is it based on talent and knowledge or loyalty to Stalin and the party? Due to the specifics of the policies, the answer is unclear. The regime targeted both talented individuals and those loyal to Stalin, as evidenced by the repression of the political elite. The question could have been worded more effectively to avoid implying the possibility of avoiding repression through compliance.

The following sub-chapter, "Causes of the Great Terror," opens with a 1920 propaganda poster by Victor Deny and Mikhail Cheremnykh titled "Comrade Lenin Cleanses the Earth of Impurity." The illustration reflects the attitude promoted through propaganda in the early years of the October Revolution.

The conversation continues with the discussion of Sergei Kirov's assassination in 1934, which Stalin used as an excuse to eliminate political opponents and silence dissenters. The textbook summarizes the goals and outcomes of the 1937-38 mass repressions: the aim was to bring in obedient cadres across all fields, as stated by Lazar Kaganovich, who would follow Stalin's orders. Stalin targeted prominent Bolsheviks who played a significant role in the October 1917 coup and held influence in the party. The repressions also aimed to eliminate "socially dangerous elements," particularly those with independent and creative thinking, who had no place in the USSR, where thinking was reserved for the leader.⁸ The ultimate goal of the "Great Terror" was to create a compliant society, where members would not question the communist ideology or the leader's decisions and would support the state's initiatives.

Under the subtitle "Enemies of the People: Those Caught in the Purge," the textbook describes the victims of the "Great Terror": "The repressions targeted anyone who questioned the communist ideology, opposed the Soviet leaders, or thought differently due to their creativity. Even those who were communist and actively participated in the repressive system and showed loyalty to the party and ideology were declared "enemies of the people" and "traitors of the motherland" based on absurd or fabricated charges. They faced brutal torture or, if they survived, were sent to labor camps for hard labor."

⁸ The thought process was rigidly defined: only those from the worker and peasant background were considered to have "correct" thinking, a "red professorship" was formed from this group, and they were responsible for recruiting writers, etc.



The textbook cites an excerpt from the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs order from August 15, 1937, about the wives of traitors, highlighting the cruelty of the Soviet regime. The book also covers informing on others as a common practice during Stalin's rule, used for purposes of revenge or official and personal advancement. Innocent people were framed and anonymous letters sent to authorities. It mentions the story of Pavlik Morozov, a boy who informed on his father and was hailed as a hero and model youth. The textbook also references a letter from the Georgian "Communist" newspaper, accusing "bribed agents of fascism, Trotskyists, and right-wing counter-revolutionaries" of hindering socialist construction.

The textbook highlights the injustice of the 1930s repressions by discussing the pre-determined lists of the repressed and the use of falsified accusations: "The central government predetermined the number of people to be executed and deported, creating lists with specific names based on these plans. Stalin and other USSR party leaders signed these lists as a final confirmation. In Georgia, these plans were often carried out in an excessive manner, with the accused not receiving proper treatment under the law, such as a fair investigation, a lawyer during court proceedings, or the ability to defend themselves. Executions were carried out without proper investigation, based on fabricated evidence, and the accused were forced to confess through torture and sign false statements to give a false legal basis for the execution of the innocent." A source is included, the account of the Tbilisi prison supervisor in 1937-38, which describes the inhumane conditions and treatment of the prisoners.

The book on the "Great Terror" perpetrators mentions that the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the Georgian SSR (Shinsakhkom or NKVD) and special "troikas" carried out the repressions in 1937-38. The leader of the Communist Party of Georgia, Lavrentiy Beria, followed Stalin's instructions in leading the repressions in Georgia. An excerpt from the 1934 decree on the amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure, which expedited court proceedings, is quoted to reflect the increase in the scale of repression.

The book cites Geronti Kikodze's memoirs about Lavrentiy Beria as a source, providing information on Beria's policies for career advancement and the Tbilisi "troika" of Goglidze, Dekanozov⁹ and Kobulov, briefly mentioning their dates of office and execution.

In the book, the authors reference the arrests of the "accused" at night. The penal authorities' executives went to their houses in the middle of the night, knocked loudly, woke up the family, searched the apartment, and arrested the "accused" without explanation. This nocturnal "visitor" caused fear in the community.

In the same section, a shot from the film "Repentance", directed by Tengiz Abuladze, is presented. Shot in 1984, the film is based on true events of Stalinist repression and the shot is described as: "Themis, the goddess of justice, is in the foreground, with her eyes traditionally covered in a sign of impartiality, but here the cloth is black. In the background, near the grand piano, a judge dressed as an artist presides over the trial, though the accused is not visible in the frame."

⁹ Actually, Vladimir Dekanozov wasn't part of the special trio, which consisted of Sergo Goglidze, Bogdan Kobulov, Shalva Tsereteli, Ilarion Talakhadze, Avksenti Rafava, and Kandid Charkviani. Kobulov and Charkviani joined later, but the original group was comprised of the four people mentioned. Source: Составы троек НКВД—УНКВД 1937–1938 гг., созданных для представления для проектованных в ходе массой операция по приказу НКВД ССССР No 00447 от 30 июля 1937 г.



In the book, the authors pose a question to the students after describing a shot from the film "Repentance": "What message is the director trying to convey symbolically with this shot? Why are Themis's eyes covered with a black cloth? Why is the judge dressed as an artist?" They then present a collage of photos that depict the lives and work of Gulag prisoners, who were forced to do hard physical labor in challenging conditions for the state. The text describes these prisoners as "free labor" used for the implementation of large-scale economic projects.

The authors of the book address the students with several questions, try to clarify the attitude of the students and reveal their analytical skills.

The authors present a thought-provoking question: "Would you be willing to live in a country where prosperity is built on the physical harm to those with differing opinions and forced labor of others?" They ask students to support their arguments in class. This raises the debate about the morality of a nation's wealth being achieved through the repression of its citizens and forced labor. While the definition of "prosperity" built on human destruction and slavery is debatable, it is important to note that repression was not the only means to attain the wealth mentioned in the book.

The textbook covers the repressions of the 1930s in a chapter called "Repressions of People with Different Opinions". It discusses how Stalin and his followers repressed creative people and scientists who were deemed unacceptable to the Soviet system. The authors note that the goal was to eliminate the thinking part of society to make people believe in the infallibility of their ideas and maintain their power. The book mentions several repressed writers and scientists-artists, including Sandro Akhmeteli, Mikheil Javakhishvili, Titsian Tabidze, Shalva Tsintsadze, and Dimitri Shevardnadze, but the biographies provided are brief and don't fully convey the extent of the repression.

The authors of the textbook inform students about Davit Demetradze's stance on Mikheil Javakhishvili in 1937 as secretary of the All-Georgia Soviet Union of Writers, calling him a "hypocritical saboteur" and believing his destruction would strengthen Soviet literature. Students are tasked with finding information on one of the topics listed ("Repressed writers, repressed scientists, repressed artists, repressed women") and preparing a presentation. The book also provides the resource "The Great Terror" - human stories on YouTube. However, for students in the 21st century, there are many more resources available on the subject of repression, so a more diverse list of resources that allows students to choose would be more beneficial.

The textbook devotes seven pages to discussing the repressions of the 1930s, a significant improvement compared to previous history textbooks. The authors present the text and accompanying photos and sources in a well-balanced manner, and also explain foreign terminology. The focus on the repression of the political elite and Georgian intelligentsia is important, but it should be noted that the full scale of terror is not conveyed by only highlighting the repression of the creative class and party members. It is also important to mention that repressions affected not just political figures but also ordinary people who were not involved in political processes.

As mentioned above, giving students a more comprehensive understanding of the period would be beneficial for the authors to delve into the details of the "Troika" sessions, such as how they were conducted and how indictments and verdicts were drawn up. Supplementing the information with relevant archival documents would offer a more immersive experience and give students insight into the trial methods of that time.

CONCLUSION:



In this study, we analyzed the teaching dynamics of Georgian school textbooks published from the 1990s to present day regarding the "Great Terror" of the 1930s. We evaluated 13 history textbooks for basic and secondary levels (IX and XI grades).

Due to limited access to archives and low research activity, the era of the "Great Terror" is covered only partially and in a fragmented form in these textbooks.

Our analysis of repression in textbooks recommended for teaching in schools since independence reveals problematic approaches such as insufficient integration of modern research, incomplete portrayal of historical events, and a lack of subjects in the narratives.

The limited use of narrative and factual material by textbook authors to portray victims of repression should be mentioned. They often rely on short passages to describe the fate of the repressed intelligentsia and political elite, and frequently limit themselves to a small list. Notably, the same individuals have been identified as victims of repression in Georgian history textbooks from 1994 to present day, including Sandro Akhmeteli, Evgeni Mikeladze, Mikheil Javakhishvili, Titsian Tabidze, Shalva Tsintsadze, Dimitri Shevardnadze, Grigol Tsereteli, Bidzina Ramishvili, and Vakhtang Kotetishvili. This list has remained virtually unchanged for three decades. Unfortunately, the information about these individuals is limited to a list, and biographical information, accusations, sentences, and other relevant details about the repression are often omitted.

Textbooks should certainly include information about great writers and public figures, but it is also important to highlight figures who made significant contributions to science in Georgia and the world, such as forester-breeder Solomon Kurdiani, microbiologist Giorgi Eliava, philologist and historian Kristofore Rachvelishvili, and other deserving individuals whose fate was determined by the regime.

Textbooks could also separately mention the stories of repressed women, for which the collection "Lost History: Remembrance of Repressed Women" provides ample material. Similarly, information about repressed ethnic groups can be incorporated into the textbooks using the research "Ethnos and Terror in Georgia."

Textbooks often neglect to mention the repression of workers, or "kulaks", and provide little information about this category of people. Despite being the largest group affected by repression at the time, which was primarily driven by social rather than political factors, the authors do not elaborate on their stories. It is unclear why they overlook the experiences of "ordinary people" and why they prefer to avoid this aspect. Additionally, the narrative about repressed individuals primarily focuses on those who were executed, while ignoring those who were exiled for varying periods of time (repressed in the second category), many of whom never returned.

The repressions in 1937-38 claimed tens of thousands of lives in Georgia. To portray this traumatic period in history textbooks, authors adopt a cautious approach, focusing on factual information. The tone is neutral, and the description of the socio-political backdrop of the repression period is monotonous. While recounting events, the authors avoid going into detail, distancing themselves from the facts. This reflects a lack of

reflection. Older textbooks, particularly those published in the 1990s and early 2000s, relied heavily on the authors' accounts and had limited sources. However, textbooks from 2008 and 2020-2021 have a more extensive use of sources and provide a more comprehensive account of the repression period.

In most of the textbooks, there is a lack of more informative material for classifying, prioritizing, and better understanding of the issue of repression, revealing the vicious sides of repression.

Most textbooks do not provide detailed information about the historical terms established in that period and their definitions. In terms of content, there is almost no description of the process of repression, which may include information about the legal framework of the Great Terror, the methods of interrogation, the indictments and sentences issued against the repressed. Also not mentioned are the informational propaganda activities that accompanied the Great Terror throughout the entire process. It is true that some books mention that the process was aimed at forming a "new Soviet man", but the methods for this are not described: demonstration processes, newspaper articles, the activities of an agitprop¹⁰ party worker who informed on the vicissitudes of destroying "enemies of the people" attached to different groups of people (labor collectives or trade unions, peasants gathered in cities and rural areas, etc.). The large-scale information campaign that followed the repression was aimed at shaping public opinion.

Some textbooks lack accompanying archival documents, such as the "Troika" protocols, which provide vivid insight into the cruel nature of the Soviet regime and the fate of those unjustly accused. Including these documents would deepen knowledge and foster empathy towards the repressed. The authors take a minimalistic approach, which results in a vague understanding of events and hinders a comprehensive perception of the topic.

In some cases, the formulation of questions and tasks in textbooks lacks objective language and clear context, which can lead to misinterpretation and a biased subtext. To minimize such issues, authors should aim for clarity and minimize ambiguity.

It should be mentioning that some history books published in recent years, recommended for use in education, have incorporated the latest research and additional material related to repression.

When discussing the topic of repression, to provide a comprehensive picture of the era and acknowledge the victims, it is crucial to inform students about the methods of judgment, the nature of accusations, and the main motivations behind repression. Including basic biographical information about the repressed individuals and details about their charges and convictions is important. The narratives should be supported by relevant sources and archival documentation to help students analyze cause-and-effect relationships between historical events, gain a deeper understanding of historical eras, and make comparisons.

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¹⁰ Agitprop - the abbreviated name of the agitation-propaganda department.

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