
FORUM

The Political Uses of History of the Franco Regime and the Park Regime

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RESÜMEE

Dieser Aufsatz beschäftigt sich mit dem politischen Gebrauch historischer Bildung unter Diktaturen, wobei das spanische Franco-Regime und das südkoreanische Park-Regime vergleichend betrachtet werden.

Während der Fokus auf der Herrschaftszeit beider Diktatoren liegt, beleuchten wir auch knapp die jeweils davor liegende Periode, um die allgemeine Bildungspolitik beider Regimes besser einordnen zu können. Unser Ziel ist ein Vergleich der mit der Geschichtsbildung verfolgten politischen Ziele und der darin reflektierten Ideologie sowie der narrativen Strukturen in den Geschichtslehrbüchern, weshalb wir neben Bildungsgesetzen und politischen Erklärungen auch die Curricula und die Lehrbücher in die Betrachtung einbeziehen.

We now live in “a time when memory has entered public discourse”, as Antze and Lambek have asserted in their book *Tense Past*.¹

Why is memory so important to societies? There are basically two reasons. First of all, it is because the memory may provide a matrix for individual or collective identities, to shape and sustain them. Secondly, it is because it may justify or legitimate ruling order. Here is the reason why a governing power endeavours to create and maintain it. It goes without saying that dictatorships also do this. The Franco regime of Spain and the Park regime of the Republic of Korea made no exception to this rule.

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1 Paul Antze/Michael Lambek (eds.), *Tense Past. Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*, New York/London 1996, vii.

History teaching and textbooks may be used in legitimating the existing political order and providing a sense of (national) identity. Actually, in Spain, state control of history teaching and textbooks reached its highest levels under the Franco regime.² And the same was true under the Park regime in the Republic of Korea. The Park government pushed ahead with the Reinforcement Policy of Korean History Education, which had a great influence on Korean society during and even after his reign.³

Here, we are going to examine how the Franco regime and the Park regime politically used history as a school subject.

I. Background

In the nation-building process, some European countries have exploited their national history in hope of gaining the effect of “integrative function”. National history provides a shared understanding of the past and instils a collective sense of history and identity.⁴ This has been demonstrated for both France and Germany at the end of the 19th century. The liberal revolution in Spain made an effort to follow this pattern, but failed to convert history teaching into an effective instrument of national integration at that time.⁵

In Spain, by and large, authoritarian rightists (Catholic conservatives, Catholic traditionalists, and Catholic integralists) and democratic leftists (including liberals, progressives, and republicans) were competing for control over national history and identity. At the beginning of the 19th century, Spanish liberals already considered history education as an essential element in building a sense of national identity and introduced national history as a required subject in the school curriculum in 1836. However, there were no state guidelines concerning the content or structure of history textbooks, and all textbooks were much more influenced by the political opinions of the authors themselves. Liberal and progressive authors placed an emphasis on human agency and scientific foundations, while Catholic authors showed a providentialist and authoritarian orientation. Taking into consideration that 23 different history textbooks were used in the 58 secondary schools nationwide in 1894,⁶ one can measure that history education had only limited influence on national integration in the 19th century.

Catholic traditionalists proclaimed Catholicism to be intrinsic to the Spanish people and maintained that the origins of the Spanish nation traced back to the Visigothic king Reccared, who converted to Catholicism. They argued that both the Catholic unity of the nation and the alliance of throne and altar were initiated by this conversion with

2 Carolyn P. Boyd, *The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain*, in: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 617 (2008) 1, p. 138.

3 Chang, Young-Min, *A Study on the Reinforcement Policy of the Korean History Education of the Park Jeong Hui Regime*, in: *The Journal of Humanities*, Daejeon, 34 (2007) 2, p. 447.

4 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria. Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875–1975*, New Jersey 1997, p. xiii–xiv.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

the national culture reaching its peak in the Middle Ages.⁷ This kind of interpretation of the past was reinforced by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. He places emphasis on the consubstantiality of the Spanish nation and the Catholic faith in his essay *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*. It was in this respect that Catholic traditionalists accused modern history of Spain of getting off the right track and strived to return it by restoring the traditional Catholic interpretation of the past.⁸

In the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, its official party, the Patriotic Union – which was dominated by Catholic conservatives – considered the nation as the supreme political value. The various groups that constituted the party formed a unique programme of political and cultural nationalism that reflected their values, symbols, and rhetorical conventions. This became known later as National Catholicism, which mixed traditional Spanish Catholicism and authoritarian nationalism.⁹

On the other hand, progressives, including Rafael Altamira, developed a characteristic historical discourse. He emphasised that history had an important role in forming civic consciousness and national unity.¹⁰ Considering this point, progressive educators demanded the renovation of content and methods of history education. They tried to search in history for evidence confirming that the Spanish people had contributed to the forward march of humanity.

In 1931, the republicans formulated their mission in terms of cultivating a national aptitude for democracy and progress. The Institución Libre de Enseñanza (Free Educational Institution) had a significant effect on republican educational policy together with Altamira's ideas. The republicans aimed at the moral and intellectual emancipation of individuals and hoped to establish a basis for a collective national project. They accentuated “human agency, the brotherhood of peoples, and nationhood as a collective projection toward the future”. But the Catholic right continued to emphasise “providentialism, Spanish ‘difference’, and filio piety”, as Boyd has pointed out.¹¹ They attempted to restore traditional Catholic prerogatives over education. However, contrary to their efforts, obligatory religious instruction in the primary schools was prohibited in 1931. And Article 26 of the constitution stated that the government will dissolve the Jesuits and ban Catholic education, thereby prohibiting the remaining religious orders from teaching. As was the case with Spain, two views of history also vied for in hope of dominance in Korea: a national one and a colonial one. It was in the 1880s that a group of the governing elite called the Enlightenment Party began to give attention to national history. However, they did not reach the classroom.¹² Modern education in Korea origi-

7 Ángel Luis Abós Santabárbara, *La Historia que nos enseñaron (1937–1975)*, Madrid 2003, p. 110.

8 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 99–107.

9 See Alfonso Botti, *Cielo y dinero: El nacional-catolicismo en España (1881–1975)*, Madrid 1992, and Juan Álvarez Bolado, *El experimento de nacional-catolicismo, 1939–1975*, Madrid 1976.

10 Rafael Altamira, *La enseñanza de la historia*. 2d ed. Madrid 1895, p. 6.

11 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 214. See also Ángel Luis Abós Santabárbara, *La Historia*, p. 55.

12 The national history of Korea was compiled before that, but Chinese history made up the bulk of the national history of Korea because teaching and learning history was just a means or way of applying for the state exami-

nated from the Royal Decree on the Establishment of a State on the Basis of Education issued by King Gojong in 1895. Immediately after proclaiming the royal decree, Hakbu, a kind of education department of the government, was established and many public and private schools were founded. Hakbu soon launched a project of compiling textbooks, but they were forced to follow the precedents of Japan or seek Japanese cooperation because they had little experience in publishing.¹³ From this moment on, Japan seized the opportunity and began to interfere in this matter. However, the media and social organizations in Korea rose up in major opposition to this Japanese interference.

The Japanese Government General of Korea intended to make the Korean people compliant with the colonial rule of the Korean peninsula through teaching and disseminating the Japanese language. The colonial administration was convinced that teaching the Japanese language and history of Japan was a shortcut for making the Korean people subjects of the Japanese Empire. The Japanese Government General of Korea looked upon elementary schools as being very important in implementing this policy.¹⁴ The Japanese authorities were shocked by the March First Independence Movement in 1919 and revised the Educational Ordinance in order to control and subdue a deep-rooted anti-Japanese sentiment of the Korean people. As a consequence, they started teaching history but only that of Japan.¹⁵ This was introduced as a part of “cultural policies” of the Japanese Government General of Korea for building up a “collaborative mechanism” in Korean society. Furthermore, the Japanese Government General of Korea carried forward the colonial policy of subjecting the Korean people to Japan in earnest following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. As part of this policy, they established the “Pledge of the Subjects of Japanese Empire” in October 1937 and forced the Korean students to recite it in elementary school.¹⁶ In the late period of colonial rule, they tried to instill the “Japanese spirit” into the hearts of the Korean people through history education.¹⁷

In 1945, Japan’s empire collapsed. Douglas MacArthur, who officially accepted Japan’s surrender on 2 September 1945, declared that US military rule would be imposed in the Korean Peninsula below the 38th parallel. The US Military Government in South Korea revised the education system of Korea and modelled it on the American system. They announced the Educational Policy for Koreans of New Korea in September of 1945, allowed for the use of the Korean language in schools as a medium of instruction, and

nation; see Park, Gul-Sun, The education of national history and the compilation of the history textbook in the Empire of Korea, in: *Journal of Humanities*, Chungjoo, (2000), pp. 169–170.

13 Ibid., pp. 187–188.

14 Moon, Dong Seok On the transition of history textbooks and curricula of history education under the Japanese colonial rule of Korea, in: *Social Studies Education*. Seoul 2004, p. 140.

15 Moon, Dong Seok, On the transition of history textbooks and curricula—143.

16 The contents of the Pledge are as follows: ry textbooks and curricula of history education under the Japanese rule with all our heart, and we are disciplined to be a good and strong subject.”

17 Koo, Hee-Jin, Educational Theory of ‘Subjects of Japanese Empire’ in the late Japanese Colonial Era, in: *Nation Problem and New State Building in the Modern and Contemporary Korea*, Seoul JAHK, p. 429.

replaced Japanese history with Korean history. These were just temporary expedients.¹⁸ The US Military Government thought it necessary to clear away the Japanese method of education and introduce the American model of liberal democracy. However, the liquidation of the colonial view of history that justified the colonial rule of Japan was implemented at a snail's pace.¹⁹

The educational policy of the Syngman Rhee government that was inaugurated in 1948 was greatly influenced by the progressive ideas of the US educational system. The purpose of education of his government was training human resources for nation-state building. In 1949, his government introduced an official authorization system for textbooks, which meant that the state began to regulate the contents of textbooks.²⁰ It was in 1955 that the Syngman Rhee government established its own school curriculum, which resulted in the rewriting of textbooks. Lee Byung-do, professor of Seoul National University, began to give prominence not to the independence movement but to the anti-communist struggle in the contemporary history of Korea in his history textbook.²¹

II. Main Currents

Now let us examine the main currents of history education that the two regimes – the Franco regime and the Park regime – carried forward in their time.

Since the educational policies of the Franco regime in its first decade were changed during the 1950s, it is appropriate to divide the long dictatorship of Franco into two periods. While in the first the church took the lead in drawing up and carrying forward educational policies, in the second the state regained the initiative gradually.²²

The privileged classes of Spain struggled to resist the process of socioeconomic modernization unfolding since the proclamation of the Second Republic. Their struggle against the left-wing republicans and socialists eventually led to the Civil War in 1936. In August 1936, the Junta of National Defense ordered the opening of primary schools at the beginning of September as usual. This administrative order was the first measure that the Junta took concerning education. Its purpose was to hispanicize the youth of the future.²³ This shows that the rebel forces placed great emphasis on education even in wartime.

It seems that the rebel forces intended to change the liberal system of education into a conservative and authoritarian one. They abolished coeducation while making religion

18 Lee, Myung-Hee, *The Character of Social Studies' Curriculum in the Era of Korea's State Building*, in: *History Education*. Seoul 2003, vol. 88, p. 6.

19 This work was not finished under the Park regime. Therefore, liquidating the colonial view of history has been a subject of controversy up to recently.

20 Lee, Sin-Cheol, *History of Using Korean History Textbooks as Political Means*, in: *History Education* (2006), vol. 97, p. 181.

21 Lee, Byung-do, *Middle School Social Studies-Middle School National History*, Seoul 1960.

22 Manuel Fernández Soria, *Estado y educación en la España del siglo XX*, in: J. Ruiz/A. Bernat/M. R. Domínguez/V. M. Juan (eds.), *La Educación en España a examen (1898-1998)*, vol. I, Zaragoza 1999, pp. 229-232.

23 *Orden de 19-08-1936*, *Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Defensa Nacional de España (B.O.J.D.N.E.)*, 21-08-1936.

and sacred history obligatory in primary and secondary schools.²⁴ They began to censor teaching materials and textbooks and extended this censorship to public as well as school libraries. For this purpose, the Junta of National Defense formed the Censorship Committee in September 1936,²⁵ which made a list of books to abolish, collected those books, and burned them.²⁶ The books that were listed were chosen for dealing with separatism, liberalism, Marxism, Black Legend and pessimism, etc.²⁷

In addition, the rebel forces purged teaching personnel in order to remove the “infectors of the popular soul”.²⁸ The Junta Técnica del Estado established purge committees in November 1936 to remove teachers and arranged the rules of punishment the following month. These rules were aimed not only at the members of the social organizations or political parties that were affiliated with the Popular Front but also at their sympathizers.²⁹ As a matter of fact, if there were any conditions for a teacher to escape any punishment, they were to be Catholic and patriotic with a good work ethic.³⁰ In other words, they should be one that “loves not only God and Spain but also children as he or she loves God”.³¹ In the end about 30 percent of the teaching corps had been dismissed by the end of the Civil War.³²

These measures were something like a levelling of ground work that was needed to establish the educational policy of the Franco regime. It can be said that the educational ideology of the Franco regime in its first decade was completed with the law of 1945,³³ which defined the purpose and structure of primary education. The law placed an emphasis on the educational mission of schools³⁴ while considering the Catholic religion as its base. According to the law, the role of the state was to protect and nourish the function of the church.³⁵ That was the so-called principle of subsidiarity of the state.³⁶ In short, Catholic churches and organizations came to take the lead in education. This was accomplished by the victory the Catholic right gained in the struggle for control over the school system with the Falange.³⁷ This in fact, was a continuation of the reform introduced by

24 Orden de 4-09-1936, B.O.J.D.N.E., 8-09-1936.

25 Orden de 16-09-1936, B.O.J.D.N.E., 19-09-1936

26 El Alcázar, Toledo, 26-08-1938; Arriba, 2-05-1939, and Ya, 2-05-1939.

27 Arriba, 2-05-1939.

28 Orden de 4-09-1936, B.O.J.D.N.E., 8-09-1936. See Francisco Morente Valero, *La escuela y el Estado Nuevo. La depuración del magisterio nacional (1936–1943)*, Valladolid 1997.

29 Orden de 7-12-1936, Boletín Oficial del Estado (B.O.E.), 10-12-1936.

30 V. Saez, *Los maestros en la España Nacional*, in: *Atenas*, (1939) 95-96, pp. 265–270.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Ramón Navarro Sandalinas, *La enseñanza primaria durante el franquismo (1936-1975)*. Barcelona 1990, p. 73.

33 B.O.E., 18-07-1945.

34 One of the objectives of primary education was “to infuse the spirit of the student with the love and the idea of service to the Patria.” Quoted in Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia patria*, p. 257.

35 Alejandro Mayordomo, *Iglesia y Estado en la política educativa del franquismo*, in: Javier Vergara Ciordia (coord.), *Estudios Sobre la secularización docente en España*, Madrid 1997, p. 188.

36 Manuel de Puelles Benítez, *Oscilaciones de la política educativa en los últimos cincuenta años: Reflexiones sobre la orientación política de la educación*, in: *Revista Española de Pedagogía* 192 (1992), p. 314.

37 Concerning this struggle, see Gregorio Cámara Villar, *Nacional-catolicismo y escuela: La socialización política del franquismo, 1936–1951*, Jaén 1983.

Sainz Rodríguez in September 1938, based on the Catholic conception of education.³⁸ The Franco regime established this policy and tried to impose ideological uniformity on course content and textbooks. The regime prepared the syllabi for the *bachillerato* (baccalaureate) in May 1939. These syllabi specified not only the topics but also their correct interpretation.³⁹ The Franco regime also reviewed textbooks. The textbook review committee that was appointed in July 1938 announced the list of approved history books after monitoring existing textbooks. As a result of this review, the history textbooks that were found to be flagrantly “defective” against the standards of the regime were banished from use in schools. According to Boyd, “censorship was exercised in primarily negative ways, to eliminate unorthodox views”.⁴⁰

On the other hand, a little while later some professors began to write new textbooks complying with the teaching guidelines. Consequently, during the 1940s and 1950s there appeared many textbooks that were similar in content and style.⁴¹

Around the 1950s, there were some changes not only in the educational policies but also in the meaning and importance of history education. Joaquín Ruiz Giménez, minister of national education, reformed the *bachillerato* in 1953. The law of 1953 replaced the law of 1938 and affirmed “the state’s responsibility to make secondary schooling useful and accessible to all Spaniards”.⁴² Ruiz Giménez also strengthened the state’s supervisory and inspectorate role as Boyd pointed out.⁴³ This indicates that the initiative in the educational policies began to move gradually from the church to the state. It was the ministry that launched a project to expand the number of secondary schools and tried to transform the quality of primary education especially after the First Development Plan in 1964.

These educational reforms were motivated by several factors. Firstly, during this period Spain ended its diplomatic isolation and began to rejoin the international community. Secondly, there was a necessity for a skilled labour force in Spanish society as a result of an economic policy for modernization. Lastly, the extreme political tensions of the post-war era were reduced due to social and political change in Spain and abroad during the 1950s and 1960s. The Spanish technocrats who carried forward the Stabilization Plan of 1959 began to show more and more interest in promoting democracy.⁴⁴

These elements contributed not only to change in the existing educational policies but also to a transformation of the role and meaning of history education. History was now demoted from the privileged place it had enjoyed in the early period of the Franco

38 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 240.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 252. On the other hand, books used in primary schools were reviewed by an ad hoc ministerial review commission until 1941 and by the Council of National Education thereafter. However, not all books required state review and approval (*ibid.*, p. 262).

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 245–248.

42 Manuel de Puellas Benítez, *Educación e ideología en la España contemporánea*. Barcelona 1986, p. 387; Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 274.

43 *Ibid.*, pp. 274–275.

44 Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política*, Madrid 2008, pp. 106–107.

regime, lost partly its legitimizing function, and had its importance decreased in the curriculum of secondary schools. History came to be just one of the natural and social sciences.⁴⁵ Why did the Franco regime allow these changes to occur? The reason is likely to be that the regime had gained confidence in their political stability and that they accordingly needed less support of history than before.

In short, the Franco regime used history education for the legitimation of the dictatorship in its first decade, but diminished its importance as a tool of political socialization since the 1960s. The main current in Korea unfolded in a different way. The Park regime strengthened national history education not in its first but in its second period.

Park Chung-hee staged a military coup on 16 May 1961, came to power, and was inaugurated as president in 1963.⁴⁶ In the same year, the Ministry of Education introduced a new curriculum officially confirming anti-communism as an important objective of education.⁴⁷ This was the most important difference to the preceding curriculum. It seems that the Park regime showed no great interest in educational policies or history education at this point.

However, some changes began to appear in the late 1960s. The Park regime proclaimed a Charter of National Education in December 1968. Here, it emphasised the importance of tradition, the social utility of education, and the education of the people.⁴⁸ Some historians maintain this Charter originated with certain political changes.⁴⁹ On the one hand, tensions between South and North Korea were building up especially since the January 21st attack by North Korean armed guerrillas on the Blue House (the South Korean presidential residence). On the other hand, President Park gave impetus to economic development through the Second Five-Year Economic Development Plan with the intention of running for a third presidential term. In this situation, the regime tried to realize the idea of the charter. They published *Basic Guidelines for Improvement of National History Education for Secondary Schools* in 1969 and worked out the Strengthening Plan of National History Education.⁵⁰

In May 1972, the Committee for Reinforcement of National History Education was launched by an order of President Park. Here, it is worth taking note of the members of the committee. The committee was composed of 14 scholars, one special assistant to the president, and two presidential secretaries.⁵¹ It shows that President Park took special

45 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 287–288.

46 The Park regime continued in power until 1979 when Park Chung-hee was assassinated.

47 In the Second Curriculum they confirmed one of the guidance objectives of National History (Korean History) for high schools as follows: "... to contribute to the construction of World Peace by strengthening ideological education of anticommunism." (Ministry of Education, *The Second Curriculum*. Cited in Lee, Sin-Cheol).

48 National Education Council, *Historical-philosophical background of the Charter of National Education*, in: *General Survey of Materials of the Charter of National Education*, Seoul 1972, pp. 27–39.

49 Chung, Sunyoung, et.als., *Understanding of History Education*, Samjiwon 2001, pp. 286–287.

50 Park, Jin-dong, *National Standards of the Selection of the Content of Contemporary Korean History*, in: *The Korean Historical Review*, Seoul 2010, no. 205, pp. 42–44.

51 Yoon, Jong-young, *Study of the Publishing System of National History Textbooks*, in: *The Civilization Journal*, Seoul, Vol. 1 (2000) 2, p. 74.

interest in reinforcing education of Korean history. Therefore, it is highly probable that he wielded strong influence over the policy through his special assistant and secretaries. The committee submitted Recommendations for the Reinforcement of National History twice to the Ministry of Education and the ministry reformed the curriculum of secondary schools as well as of primary schools in 1973. As a result, Korean history, which had been integrated into social studies, became a separate subject for the first time in middle school and high school. Separately, the process for the homogenization of Korean history textbooks for middle school was under way in 1973. Furthermore, the textbook publication system was changed the same year. The existing system that the government-endorsed textbook replaced was by one that the government compiled. The ministry maintained they had changed the system for the purpose of rejecting subjective theories and unifying a variety of national views of history, but this intention was no more than teaching “official history” to the students and not allowing other interpretations of what should become the collective memory. Actually, a textbook of Korean history designed by the government was used in secondary schools from 1974 onwards.

III. Basic ideologies

What was the basic ideology of educational policy of both regimes? In short, in the Franco regime it was Catholicism based on nationalism, which was called National Catholicism, while in the Park regime it was just nationalism.

López Marcos studied ideological phenomena that was manifested in the textbooks of primary schools and identified two pillars that supported the Franco regime and its educational system: nationalism and Catholicism.⁵² As mentioned earlier, with the Catholic integralists in power in the educational sector, National Catholicism began to flourish in the 1920s. We may find a formal statement of National Catholic ideology in *¿Qué es 'lo Nuevo'?*, written by José Pemartín in 1938. According to this book, Spanish nationality had been definitely brought to perfection by the fusion of the Catholic ideal with the military monarchy in the 16th century.⁵³ The National Catholic ideologues defined Spanish nationality in terms of religion and history.⁵⁴

However, there was an internal struggle between Catholics and Falangists within the Francoist coalition. While the Catholic right considered a strong state as a necessary evil, the Falangists valued it as an end in itself. The Falangists made an effort to subordinate education not to the church but to the state.⁵⁵ As a result, the Catholic right and the

52 Manuela López Marcos, *El fenómeno ideológico del franquismo en los manuales escolares de enseñanza primaria (1936–1945)*, Madrid 2001, pp. 131–157.

53 José Pemartín Sanjuán, *¿Qué es 'lo nuevo'?: Consideraciones sobre el momento español presente*, Sevilla 1938, pp. 46–48.

54 See Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism*, Madison 1984, pp. 171–191.

55 Benjamín Oltra y Amando de Miguel, *Bonapartismo y catolicismo: Una hipótesis sobre los orígenes ideológicos del franquismo*, in: *Papers: Revista de sociología* (1978) 8, p. 94; Falange Española, *Fundamentos del Nuevo Estado*, Madrid 1937, pp. 12–16; Joaquín Azpiázu, *El estado católico: Líneas de un ideal*, Burgos 1939, pp. 160–

Falange competed for control over education. Catholic integralists won the first round of this struggle and, consequently, National Catholicism came to be the ruling ideology in education. This was reflected in the law of 1945. Although it came to lose its hyperbolic rhetoric because of social and economic transformation of the 1950s and 1960s, this ideology never lost its official standing until the end of Franco regime.⁵⁶

In contrast with the National Catholicism of Spain, the main ideology that had emerged in the educational policy and in the writing of history textbooks in South Korea was simply nationalism. In the first period after the war, the colonial view of history was still predominant in history textbooks. It was in the 1960s that nationalism began to be promoted in Korean society. Some Korean historians exerted efforts to remove the colonial view of history and build up new images of Korea based upon a nationalistic perspective on history.⁵⁷

Park Chung-hee and his regime claimed to stand for education of Korean nationality, which was translated into the “Third Curriculum”. In 1972, Park Chung-hee said “we should establish an independent and nationalistic view of history for the education suitable to our country’s circumstances and deter the North Korean plot to invade the South by realizing that we, South Korean people, have the legitimacy of Korean people”.⁵⁸ He threw himself into reinforcing Korean history education in order to establish national identity. But the hidden intention was, of course, maintaining his regime, that is to say, his Revitalizing Reforms system.⁵⁹

At that time, there was strong military hostility between South and North Korea. It was under these circumstances that he emphasised national identity by referring to the North Korean plot to invade the South. He made full use of the military tension to justify his regime.

IV. Narratives of History Textbooks

Although both the Franco regime and the Park regime actually did impose their main ideology through regulation of textbooks and course content, the Park regime did so with a more rigorous approach. The Park regime adopted a government-designated system in 1974, while the Franco regime adopted a state-mandated system, which had come down theoretically since the passage of the Law of Moyano in 1857. The former system allowed just one textbook, while the latter system acknowledged a variety of textbooks.

161, 163–164; Gregorio Cámara Villar, *Nacional-Catolicismo y Escuela: la socialización política del franquismo, 1936–1951*, Jaén 1983, pp. 132–133; Laureano Pérez Mier, *Iglesia y Estado Nuevo*, Madrid 1940, p. 537.

56 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 283.

57 Park, Chanseung, *Korean History in time of division*, in: *Historians and History in Korea*, Vol. II, Seoul 1994, pp. 332–333.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 339.

59 Cha, Mi-hee, *The Background and Content Characteristics of the Independence of the Korean History for the Middle and High School in the Third National Curriculum Period (1974–1981)*, in: *Hankuhsahakbo*, Seoul 2006, pp. 408–409; Lee, Sin-Cheol, *History of Using Korean History*, p. 200; Kim, Han-jong, *Transition of National History Textbooks and Ruling Ideology after Liberation*, in: *Yuksabipyong*, Seoul 1991, p. 76.

In Spain, the textbook review committee appointed in 1938 examined existing textbooks. But the textbooks that were judged to be inappropriate in the light of the principles of the National Movement were not many. Most textbooks passed the review.⁶⁰ The content of the textbooks approved during the 1940s and 1950s were similar. There were allusions to the national character, references to Columbus' voyage, and emphasis on national unity.⁶¹ Especially, Feliciano Cereceda delivered a triumphalist version of the national past. He traced "Spain's vigorous defense of the true faith against foreign heresy, materialism, and atheism".⁶² He praised the glorious past and at the same time wanted to recover it in the immediate future, as follows:

*The future of Spain united, after three centuries, to the destiny of the past! Because our current desires coincide with past realities, we proclaim the historical continuity of today's imperialism with that which filled the glorious days of Philip II. ... The ancient procession has not ceased; on the contrary it is once again in full flood. Along its path advance the dead and the living. As banners they carry the national glories, laden with universalism, bursting with Christianity, in which a world disoriented and in catastrophic convulsions centers and anchors itself. ... This is the grand task that God has saved for the Spain of today.*⁶³

This narration gives the reader a hint of how the Franco regime undertook the important task of recovering the glorious past.

The primary school books also extolled the salvation of Spain by General Franco. For example, José María Pemán wrote a *Manual de historia de España*,⁶⁴ in which he dealt with "the providential emergence of caudillos in times of danger or disorder, the continuous struggle to repulse alien ideas and invaders, the national mission to universalize the true faith, the repeated treachery of bad Spaniards and foreigners".⁶⁵ He tried to show that all the best in the history of Spain came together in Franco and the Nationalist zone. This kind of history writing represented the ideal narrative of the textbooks of those days.

However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s there arose some changes in the narrative. Around this time the subject of history lost its utility as a legitimizing tool to the Franco regime because of changes in the social, economic, and political environment of Spain as mentioned earlier. In this phase, national identity was obviously no longer a priority. Factual accounts of events were becoming more important as reflected in the curricu-

60 The eventually approved history books were 50.

61 Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Políticas de la memoria*, pp. 107, 131.

62 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 252.

63 Feliciano Cereceda, *Historia del imperio español y de la hispanidad*, 2d ed., Madrid 1943, 273–274. Cited in Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia patria*, p. 252. See also L. Ortiz Muñoz, *Glorias Imperiales*, Madrid 1954, pp. 216–217, 282; Manuela López Marcos, *El fenómeno ideológico*, pp. 136–140.

64 José María Pemán, *Manual de historia de España*. Segundo grado, Santander 1939.

65 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, p. 265. A textbook called *El libro de España* tells the same story (*El libro de España*, Zaragoza 1957, pp. 217–218. See also Manuela López Marcos, *El fenómeno ideológico*, pp. 207–210.

lum.⁶⁶ It is in this respect that some textbooks intended to place emphasis on the values such as peace, order, tolerance, harmony, and coexistence.⁶⁷

There was no such change in the Park regime. The narrative remained unchanged. The textbook under the Park regime, especially in the “Third Curriculum”, praised the glorious past and justified and extolled the regime as they did in the earlier phase of the Franco regime.

Firstly, there was a tendency to reject the existing colonial view of history and rewrite the past from a national view of history. For example, in dealing with the invasion of the Mongols that had occurred in the 13th century, the textbook now emphasised the independence of the Goryeo dynasty.⁶⁸

Secondly, new heroes of the past were rediscovered, such as King Sejong for the cultural sphere and Admiral Yi Sun-shin for the military.

Lastly, contemporary history of Korea in the textbook justified Park’s coming to power by using nationalistic discourses such as “national restoration” and “modernization of the fatherland”. The May Revolution, through which Park held power, was described not as a military coup but as a revolution to “build up a sound democratic state rescuing the Republic of Korea from communist invasions and liberating the people from corruption and insecurity”. In the paragraph dealing with development of the Republic of Korea, the history textbook also praised “economic growth”, “Saemaetul (new village) Movement”, and “October Revitalizing Reforms” as follows:

*The Third Republic succeeded in accomplishing the first and second Five-Year Economic Development Plan placing an emphasis on the economic development and modernization of the fatherland. ... The government carried out the October Revitalizing Reforms in October, 1972, in order to provide for rapid changes of the international situation and achieve its historical mission of national restoration.*⁶⁹

To sum up, both regimes have something in common. They were established by military coup and in need for new sources of legitimation. They saw the chance to mobilize a collective sense of history and identity for their particular projects of nation-(state)building.

They therefore used history education actively. But while the Franco regime accepted a certain plurality of voices within the limits of its basic ideology and had to manage the tensions between the Catholic integralists and the Falangists, the Park regime insisted on a much more consequent homogenization of the historical narrative. While the Franco regime needed less history education in the later period, the Park regime strengthened it in the later period in order to preserve and consolidate his Revitalizing Reforms system.

66 Carolyn P. Boyd, *Historia Patria*, pp. 283–300.

67 Paloma Aguilar Fernández, *Políticas de la memoria*, pp. 135–136.

68 Ministry of Education, *Korean History for Academic High School*, 1974, pp. 85–90.

69 Ministry of Education, *Korean History for Academic High School*, pp. 230–231. Also see Park, Jin-dong, *National Standards for the Selection of the Content of Contemporary Korean History and Korean History Textbook Accounts*, in: *The Korean Historical Review*, Seoul 2010, no. 205, pp. 51–67.