

**A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION INTO THE
REPRESENTATION OF RUSSIA IN APARTHEID AND
POST-APARTHEID HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Masters in Education (History Education)**

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

2016

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I, **Tarryn Chanel Halsall (205514009)**, declare that:

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As the candidate's supervisor, I agree to the submission of this dissertation.

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'JM Wassermann'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looped initial 'J'.

10.1.2017

ABSTRACT

South Africa's relationship with Russia has been determined by the significant shifts in the political ideologies within South Africa. It is this changing relationship that will be examined in order to identify the representation of Russia within Apartheid and post-Apartheid era history textbooks and how the changing relationship affected the representation of Russia in each textbook of each era.

This study, analysed three Apartheid era and three post-Apartheid era textbooks. My study seeks to understand the representation of Russia within era different textbooks which is underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm and is further supported by the method of qualitative content analysis.

Various findings emerged from the comparative analysis of the sampled Apartheid era and post-Apartheid era textbooks. The three Apartheid era textbooks displayed a contrasting image which mirrored the different stages of Apartheid. Book A1 (1974) and Book A2 (1987) both represent Russia in a similar fashion as they perpetuate the same anti-Tsarist, anti-Communist and pro-West narrative throughout. Book A1 (1974) was written when South Africa was entrenched in Apartheid as well as anti-Communist motions (as was the rest of the world) and Book A2 (1987) was written during the death throes of Apartheid and petty Apartheid. Both books perpetuate the similar discourse perhaps as a way to perpetuate the ideals maintained by the Apartheid regime. In contrast, Book A3 (1989), which was written at the end of the Apartheid era as well as at the fall of the Berlin Wall which marked the end of European Communism, offers a less critical representation of Communist Russia perhaps, in order to accommodate the changing world and ideological perspectives. All three post-Apartheid era textbooks are written in an era where the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) share a strong bond and thus the perception of Communism has altered. All three post-Apartheid textbooks continue the perpetuation of the anti-Tsarist discourse but there was no anti-Communist discourse evident as well as a less significant pro-West discourse. Despite these differences, all six textbooks portrayed the identical main characters within the Russian chapter highlighting, to a certain extent, the continued Big Men discourse and the unchanging nature portrayed of Russian history within history textbooks.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE START OF A CONNECTION

1.1 Introduction

The symbolic solidifying of the relationship between South Africa and Russia can be characterised as turbulent as well as lengthy. South Africa has had a long-standing relationship with Russia that has spanned decades and one that was determined by the three differing ideological powers of pre-Apartheid era, Apartheid era and post-Apartheid era. It is this relationship that underpins my study of Russia's representation within South African history textbooks in both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras respectively. In this study I plan to unpack the relationship that South Africa has had with Russia and how this relationship affected the representation of Russia within South African history textbooks.

This chapter seeks to introduce and outline the relationship between Russia and South Africa. It is important for one to not only have an understanding of the relationship between these two countries, but to have a full understanding of what both "Russia" and "South Africa" mean. Each country has experienced immense political and ideological changes and these changes have affected the understanding and connotations behind their names.

In this chapter, I will first discuss Russia¹ in its three phases of change: Tsarist (Feudalism/Imperialism), Communist and post-Communist. The term "Russia" is entirely dependent on the particular time-frame under study as each has a differing connotation. The reason for Russia preceding South Africa is because it was Russia's shifts in politics and ideology which impacted South Africa irrevocably. Russia's new ideologies subsequently sparked the same desire for the same ideology amongst

¹ The concept of "Russia" changes in relation to its political period. The term "Russia" will be used to indicate the country under study and therefore will become synonymous with other significant terms under Communist rule such as the "Soviet Union" and the "USSR". The terms may shift in accordance to the historical context to underpin the ideology in existence at that time.

many South Africans. This new desire imbedded itself in South Africa in the form of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) which sought to mirror the ideologies of the Communist Party of Russia (Israel & Adams, 2000). Russia's struggle for change came from the need to break the rules and restrictions created and perpetuated by the Tsars. This struggle mirrored the same struggle by many in South Africa during Apartheid which is why Russia's political change needs to precede that of South Africa in this discussion as it is Russia's changes which aided South Africa's struggle for political change.

Russia's change in political ideology led to the formation of the first Communist Party led by the Bolsheviks in 1917 (Moscow, 1962). The impact the Russian Revolution had on world politics was irrevocable. In order to fully understand the extent of the impact Communism had on the world, a theoretical understanding of Communism and how it was applied in Russia and why it was considered a desirable ideology in not only Russia but South Africa also needs to be unpacked. This chapter therefore discusses what Communism is and its effects on the world. Communism was first applied in Russia and Russia was therefore used as the Communistic benchmark which many countries attempted to mirror.

With reference to South Africa – the country has had a relationship with Russia long before the fall of Imperial Russia and it is a relationship that continues till today. South Africa's three levels of political change will be discussed as they ultimately had an impact on the understanding of the geopolitical term "South Africa" as well as the relationship with Russia. The "South Africa" under study underwent, in relation to Russia, three political changes: pre-Apartheid, Apartheid and post-Apartheid and these changes affected the political landscape of South Africa as well as education and its relationship with Russia. These different phases encompassed a different ideology which at times clashed with Russia's.

The reason behind my study is simple: both South Africa and Russia underwent radical political change and for a long period during Apartheid, the ideology of South Africa between 1948 and 1994 clashed with the ideology of Russia and so it is pertinent to see the impact that this had on Russia's representation in the history textbooks of South Africa. After the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and the end of the Cold War (1991)

and Apartheid (1994), the relationship between South Africa's government and Russia's thawed and, post-1994, the relationship was strengthened; this is why it is also important to analyse the representation of Russia in Apartheid-era and contemporary history textbooks. In this study, I plan to provide a comparative analysis of the representation of Russia within the history textbooks of the Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras. The purpose of the study is to identify representations of Russia within the history textbooks of the two ideologically different eras.

1.2 Background and Context

Russia underwent three radical political changes. These changes impacted the perception of Russia from a feudalistic nation to a Communistic one to a present-day federal republic. The "Russia" in this study will pertain to these three political phases and how they have contributed to the changing relationship between them and South Africa. Russia's geography altered during these three political changes due to the loss and gain of territories. As these territories were part of Russia, they followed the laws set forth by the Russian powers, therefore the connotations behind the term "Russia" are not affected.

The different concepts of Russia take place in various time frames. The Russian Empire under Feudalism or Tsarist Russia will be specific to the Romanov reign up until its overthrow in 1917. The Russian Empire functioned under a feudalistic society under which the peasants and the minority nations, such as the Jewish population, were marginalised. The Romanovs ruled for 300 years, so this time-frame will not be discussed in its entirety however, although there will be mention of some of the earlier rulers, much of the focus will pertain specifically to Tsar Nicholas II. Tsar Nicholas II was the last Tsar of Russia up until his downfall in 1917 when the Russian Imperial regime was overthrown in the February/March² Revolution (Moscow, 1962). Subsequent to the fall of the Russian Empire, the October/November Revolution occurred which established Russia as a Communist country with Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, more commonly known as Lenin, as its leader. This revolution seemed to

² During the Imperial Regime and the Communist Revolution, Russia followed the Byzantine calendar which is thirteen days behind the Julian calendar; therefore some dates may differ according to different sources.

resonate with many South Africans as it paralleled their grievances which ultimately aided in the establishment of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). Communist Russia is classified from the fall of the Imperial Empire in 1917 to the fall of the Berlin Wall and Communism in 1989/1990. The Russian Federation is the Russia of the present post-Communist era. This new era in Russia, and subsequent new era in South Africa, as will be outlined below, strengthened the relationship between the two countries and reinforced its allegiance.

For over a thousand years, Russia had been ruled by some form of autocracy which had established a feudalistic system. The October/November Revolution of 1917 brought an end to this. The feudal system of this era essentially allocated a distinction between nobility and peasantry. With the beginning of the Russian Industrial Revolution two more classes were created: the bourgeoisie (middle class) and the proletariat (working class) thus separating Russia's class system even further. The unhappiness of the peasant and proletariat classes was something that had been brewing years before Nicholas II ascended the throne in 1894. However, it came to its culmination during his reign and he was unable to stop it; which resulted in the revolution of 1917 and subsequently the start of Communist Russia (Moscow, 1962).

As a result of the Russian Revolution, the Imperial family no longer ruled Russia and after a brief period of turmoil, the Bolsheviks came into power with Lenin at its forefront. The political climate of Russia was forever changed, as it no longer followed the Imperial system, but that of Communism. In order to understand how Communism shaped the new Russia, it is important to unpack what Communism is and the different representations of it.

In light of the above it is necessary to conceptually clarify Communism. There are many different variations to the theory of Communism that one needs to identify in order to understand the full extent of Communism in the world and people's perspective or understanding of Communism as a world theory. Communism was a socio-economic theory based on the writings and theories of Karl Marx and later Friedrich Engels. Marx and Engels designed *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848 which was the platform Marx used to extend his theories of Communism. Although *The Manifesto* is a collaboration with Friedrich Engels, Marx is considered to be the father

of Communism and played a prominent role in the development of the related theory. Engels is almost side-lined and is not considered to have played a prominent role in the development of Communism (Stevenson, 1987). Contemporary scholars debate whether Communism is “dead” and whether or not it is relevant, however, one cannot deny the impact that Communism has had on world ideologies and historical development (Jones, 2002, p. 5).

Marx’s theories were influenced by Hegel’s concepts of historical development, self-realisation and alienation (Stevenson, 1987). Although Hegel was a believer of pantheism (a belief that God is everything and everything is God), there were two sections to Hegelianism: the left and right Hegelians. The right Hegelians continued to believe in the importance of historical development as well as religion. The left Hegelians, following the influence of Feuerbach who stipulates that the world is the only reality and God has nothing to do with it, is this division that Marx chose to follow (Stevenson, 1987, p. 54). Although he believed in Hegel’s primary thoughts of historical development and alienation, he did not, however, follow the same belief of religion, as he believed that religion played no part in historical development nor in people. Marx firmly believed that the history of societal development could be predetermined by following the economic history of the world for he believed that “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles” (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 219; Stevenson, 1987, p. 59).

The theory of Communism is hence based on the imminence of the oppressed rising up against the oppressors. The oppressed or proletariat were “the classes of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling labour power in order to live” (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 219). The oppressors being the bourgeoisie were defined as “modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 219). Marx believed that the Capitalist system was nearing its end as the vast majority of people were poor and were subject to the authority of only a few (Marx & Engels, 2002; Stevenson, 1987); which was considered a precarious situation and would no doubt crumble (Marx & Engels, 2002).

The birth of the Capitalist society, according to Marx, could be traced back to the discovery of America in 1492 as this thrust the world into a world of trade (Marx & Engels, 2002, pp. 220-221). Marx claims that “the desire and speed of Industrialisation led to the development of the bourgeois element” and as a result of this modern bourgeois society was born (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 220). In light of this development class antagonisms prevailed, to a worse degree as new classes and “new forms of struggle in place of the old ones” had been created as a result of the desire for trade and manufacturing (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 220). The increase in trade led to an increase in manufacturing and as the demand for products increased so did the desire for improvement. This demand, ultimately, led to the Industrial Revolution or Modern Industry and thus the Capitalist system, which was in place prior to the discovery of America, dissolved (Marx & Engels, 2002, pp. 220-221). Due to this current desire to trade and manufacture, the means of which required labour, “subordinate gradations” still continued to permeate through the class system (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 219). It was this dilemma that aggravated Marx, as he felt that the working class had been taken advantage of for too long and that they had lost their humanity at the hands of the bourgeois:

The bourgeois, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound men to his ‘natural superiors’, and has left them no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous cash payment (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 222).

Marx postulated that the essence of humanity was being withdrawn from the working class as they were no longer considered humans per se, but rather that of “exchange value” meaning that their human worth was not valued but only their ability for labour was considered worthy and of value (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 222). Marx describes the workmen as being an “appendage” to the machine and that their work has lost all “individual character” as their work was becoming more and more degradingly simple as the machines were replacing their labour (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 227). However, Marx identified a fault in this system, as the constant need for more raw material and products was creating a constant desire for revolutionised machinery impacted not only the proletariat but also the society which would ultimately lead to the downfall of the bourgeois system.

The effect of Modern Industry created could, in essence, be considered as a catalyst for what became known as globalisation. The constant reliance on industrialised machinery and labour forced nations to become “civilised” for fear of extinction (Marx & Engels, 2002, pp. 223-225). An “interdependence of nations” was formed as a result which brought about the introduction of world literature to each nation; knowledge was now easily transferable whereas before it was not (Marx & Engels, 2002, pp. 223-225). Marx felt that this system was flawed and doomed to fail as there was constant change to machinery and industry which would result in overproduction which would in turn cause a crisis as barbaric behaviour would occur in order to deal with this overproduction. This problem would effectively hamper the development of the bourgeois system which would ultimately cause its decline and downfall (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 226). This demise of the bourgeois system, Marx felt, was imminent. The proletariats were an “essential product” in this revolution of class antagonisms (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 231). Marx felt that there was no choice but for a revolution to occur, as the proletariat were constantly being stripped of their human essence to fulfil the need of the minority bourgeois society (Marx & Engels, 2002, pp. 230-233).

The primary goal of the Communist party in Russia was therefore, in the light of the above, to abolish private property as it represented the bourgeois oppression of the proletariats under the Tsar. Marx believed that property should be well-earned not something that was based on society regulations: “Property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence. Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property!” (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 235). “Capital is, therefore, not personal, it is a social power” (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 236). Marx believed that a revolution would ultimately do away with the Capitalist society, thus bringing economic freedom to the oppressed as capital would no longer be used as a tool for oppression. He believed that a revolution was imminent, but some Communists believed that, although a revolution was pending, one could help the process along by forcing the revolution to come earlier (Stevenson, 1987, p. 61). Stevenson (1987) cites *Karl Marx: selected writings in sociology and social philosophy* when he states one of Marx’s philosophies “from each according to his ability to each according to his needs” (p. 263) which was the one of the most basic outlines of the Communist ideology: essentially, we are all equal. It was these philosophies of equality that fuelled the

working class, which helped to spearhead Lenin's attempt to revolutionise Russia. The irony of Karl Marx's theory is that he believed wholeheartedly that a revolution would occur in a Capitalist society (probably Germany or Britain) in which the proletariat was oppressed; ironically the revolution occurred in a society with little Capitalist motivation – such as Russia under Imperialist rule (Marx & Engels, 2002, p. 258; Stevenson, 1987).

Karl Marx was the first to document the Communist ideology, however, over time, the ideology shifted according to the needs of nations (Mastin, 2008). Lenin adapted the theory of Communism which subsequently was called Marxism-Leninism which some scholars believed was the 'pure' form of Communism as it was continued by Stalin, although whether it was continued in practice is debatable (Mastin, 2008). Kamiński and Sołtan (1989) state that there are actually three distinct levels in the development of Communism: pure Communism; late Communism and constitutional Communism. Pure Communism exacts a complete control over a nation and follows in strict accordance to the ideology. Late Communism applies to a more pragmatic approach to Communism in its application in society and constitutional Communism is the final stage because this is where the law is adjusted to suit the needs of the Communist ideology (Kamiński & Sołtan, 1989).

According to Karl Marx, the fall of the Capitalist structure was imminent as the oppressed would rise up against the oppressor in some sort of violent overthrow thus creating a new socio-economic system of equality (Marx & Engels, 2002). It was this premise that was exploited by Lenin and other Communist revolutionaries to form a new system of governance in Russia in 1917. The continued periods of unrest amongst the peasantry and the proletariat eventually reached its breaking point at the beginning of the 20th Century which was capitalised on by the Communist revolutionaries. The idea of Communism appealed to many because of the proposed equality and eradication of the classist system under which they suffered. As the suffering got worse, so the utopian idea of Communism became more appealing.

The instability of the Russian Imperial Regime worsened under Tsar Nicholas II's reign. With two war losses under its belt (Crimean War of 1853³ and Russo-Japanese War of 1904/1905), the discontentment of the lower classes rose and they sought an end to their suffering. The Communist revolutionaries continued to fan the utopian idea of a class-less and state-less society which garnered them more support from the lower classes (Moscow, 1962; Trotsky & Eastman, 2008). Compounding the two major Russian losses was the inadequacy of Tsar Nicholas II's reign, which heavily fanned the discontentment as Nicholas was said to have been weak-willed and oblivious to what his country needed (Kochan, 1974; Moscow, 1962). Protests started to emerge to try and propose a change to Russia's governance as the Imperial family lost more and more favour. The foothold of the Imperial Regime was severely weakened by a peaceful protest outside in 1905 which turned bloody as the Imperial Army opened fire on the protestors, who were marching towards the Winter Palace in St Petersburg, unbeknownst to the Tsar. This protest was disastrous for Nicholas' hold over Russia and it sparked an outrage amongst the people which forced Nicholas II to make some changes to Russia's political system (Kochan, 1974; Moscow, 1962; Trotsky & Eastman, 2008). The disastrous event became known as "Bloody Sunday" and this marked a change in the views of Russia's lower class. During the Revolution, the St Petersburg Soviet had been set up by Leon Trotsky which proved to be a council of workers allowing for voices to be heard. The Soviet was subsequently disbanded but would re-emerge again in the 1917 Revolution. A thirst for some sort of democracy had been yearned for, and after "Bloody Sunday" some form of government by way of constitutional changes had been established by Nicholas II's declaration of the October Manifesto, which led to Russia's formation of a new parliament which became known as the Duma (Kochan, 1974; Moscow, 1962; Trotsky & Eastman, 2008). Although the Duma was temporary in its existence, some sort of improvement was accomplished. Though there were still problems with regard to living conditions and wages, Russia at least saw slight improvements to industry.

It was when Russia was thrust into World War one in 1914, that the Bolsheviks finally gained momentum (Kennan, 1990). Lenin used the massive loss of life and poor

³ The Crimean War of 1853 played an important role in the manifestation of the Xhosa Cattle killings in South Africa which had an effect on the relationship between Russia and South Africa. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

organisation to his advantage and fuelled the fire of the discontent that did not dissipate enough during the Duma's reign. He used the slogan "Peace! Bread! Freedom!" to garner support from the masses (Moscow, 1962). The unrest finally reached its culmination in February/ March 1917 when a spontaneous strike erupted over a bread shortage sparked by the women's march on International Women's Day. It was this spontaneous strike that would prove to be the catalyst for the abdication of the Imperial family and the establishment of the Provisional Government after the dissolution of the Duma. Lenin capitalised on this and was smuggled back into Russia by outside countries like Germany. He then used the unhappiness of the proletariat and peasantry to continue the Bolshevik revolution to form a Communist state (Kochan, 1974; Moscow, 1962).

Lenin followed the Marxist principles and established the Russian Democratic Workers' Party. Lenin was a vehement follower of the Marxist principle which supported the uprising of the proletariat class, and he believed that the only way Russia could achieve revolutionary success was through violence (Kochan, 1974). The Russian Democratic Workers' Party, with its two prominent leaders, Lenin and Leon Trotsky, faltered on the principle of a violent overthrow which ultimately created two factions: The Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (Kochan, 1974; Moscow, 1962).

The Bolsheviks clashed with the Provisional Government in terms of principles of reign and the future plans for Russia. The Provisional Government decided to hold a national election in October/November 1917 and for fear of losing the national election, Lenin launched a second surprise revolution a few days before the national election. The Bolsheviks took control of the army, seized government buildings and bombed the headquarters of the Provisional Government (the Winter Palace). After the Bolsheviks seized power a Constituent Assembly was held where the Bolsheviks lost the vote however, the Red Army was sent in and the Assembly was dispersed after its first meeting. By force, the Council of People's Commissars was established which would later become the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in 1922 - a one-party state based on Communist principles (Mastin, 2008; Moscow, 1962). This created radical changes in Russia, not only politically but economically, socially and culturally (Dewitt, 1968).

The long arms of Communism have managed thereafter to spread its ideologies throughout most of Europe and other parts of the world. The countries that were affected by Communism's spread either adhered to the principles set forth by Marx and Engels written in *The Communist Manifesto* 1848 or they adapted the Communist principles to suit their own cause; both a testament to the immense growth of the Communist ideology. Communism has many forms and representations, and in order to fully understand the influence of Communism globally, one has to uncover the various differentiations of Communism. The theory of Marxism had a grand influence on Russia's political landscape however, the alterations made to it by Vladimir Lenin and subsequently Joseph (or Josef) Stalin created an irrevocable change to the representation of Communism throughout the world. Lenin hoped to achieve Communism on an international scale and so he established the Communist International (Comintern) which meant that any other Communist party outside of Russia had to conform to the guidelines set forth by the Comintern (Israel & Adams, 2000).

Lenin adapted the writings of Karl Marx to suit the needs of Russia, thus creating Marxism-Leninism which was continued well after his death (Mastin, 2008). An international Communist presence was sought by Lenin which in turn lent to the creation of the Comintern, an establishment of which the CPSA was a member. Lenin's rule mirrored that of the Tsarist rule in terms of censorship and absolute control. Any publications that went against the Bolsheviks were banned, international travel became almost impossible and the creation of the secret police to dispel agitators were all remnants of the former Tsarist rule which had now been retained by Lenin. After Lenin's death in 1924 there was a power struggle between two prominent Russian revolutionary figures: Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. The power struggle ended in 1928 with Stalin as the new leader of Russia and under his rule, censorship was heightened. Once Russia became a Communist state, its leaders had to sustain the socio-political change by developing various bodies which was under perpetual change (Dewitt, 1968; Mayer, 2002). This development served the purpose of creating the ultimate "soviet man" and the educational system played a pertinent role in perpetuating the ideologies of Communism in creating this "man" (Dewitt, 1968, p. 236).

Following Lenin's death in 1924 and Stalin's subsequent rise to power in 1928, the system of government further adjusted the system of Marxism-Leninism to Stalinism (Kennan, 1990; Mastin, 2008). Stalin and Lenin's goal was to eliminate the bourgeois and create a Socialist state. Stalin implemented many new facets to Communist life, all of which were underpinned by the facet of fear. Stalin initialised the period known as collectivisation which confiscated the only property owned by the peasantry class known as the Kulaks (Piskunov, n.d.). Stalinism was a system that became firmly entrenched in the daily lives of the Russian people. With his Five Year Plans and Purges, Stalin ruled by fear and it was this fear that entrenched the system of Stalinism. Subsequent to Stalin's death, the leaders that succeeded did not see the necessity to change that system, thus ensuring the continuance of Stalinism and the suppression of the young intelligentsia up until the demise of the Soviet Union.

Some scholars argue whether Russia was indeed a purely Communist state or socialist as it strayed from its earlier objectives (Brown, 1943). The reason for this discrepancy is that the level of salary would directly correlate to the level of education thus promoting the sense to be better educated in order to earn more money (Brown, 1943; Dewitt, 1968). Russia followed the guidelines stipulated by Marx which could add to the discrepancy (Brown, 1943). However, the counter argument could be that Russia had simply altered the ideology of Marx in order for it to work in Russia and it is this ideological paradigm shift (even if it is just a perceived ideology) that leads me to continue this dissertation under the premise of Russia following a Communist system. The perpetuated perception of the Communist ideology is that the Capitalist system exploits the workers and therefore the economic freedom offered by the Communist state would appeal to the workers as it specifies equality of labour (Brown, 1943; Dewitt, 1968).

The Russian Revolution affected the world on a grand scale as it brought about a new socio-economic theory labelled as Communism. After World War Two, some countries were forcibly introduced to this theory while others took it on willingly. The signing of the Warsaw Pact saw Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Romania all officially become satellite states of Russia hence they were to follow the Communist ideology (Mastin, 2008). As a result of this official recognition, the Eastern European countries under Soviet control became known as the Eastern

Bloc. China willingly became a Communist country in 1949 when the Communist Party of China established the People's Republic of China (Mastin, 2008). Although it follows a Communist adaptation of Maoism, it still follows an adaptation of Communism; it currently (as of 2016) still follows this system.

By the end of World War Two, Russia was a military and political superpower with a counter-ideology to that of America and the Capitalist West, as a result, this thrust the world into a new war, the Cold War (Kalashnikov, 2012). The Cold War was marked by a state of tension between Russia and America, because of aforesaid clashing ideologies. After World War Two, a scramble for territory by these two factions led to the establishment of the Eastern and Western Blocs in Europe; a division of countries based on ideology (History.com Staff, 2009). The Eastern Bloc countries followed a Communistic approach dictated by the Soviet forces whilst the Western Bloc countries followed a Capitalistic approach as America tried to "contain" Communist expansion as much as possible. The largest physical symbol of this division was the Berlin Wall. Berlin had been divided between the Soviet Union and America and its allies after the war, thus to maintain such a division, prompted the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 (History.com Staff, 2009). The Berlin Wall became a symbol of the Iron Curtain, the imagined curtain between East and West. It subsequently became a symbol denoting the end of the Soviet Era when it was taken down in 1989. With the official division between East and West, came a period, known during the Cold War as 'The Red Scare' which symbolised the fear of Communist ideology spreading. Although Russia was ruled with a so-called iron fist, Russia, it seemed, was able to create a successful nation. The Russian system offered free education and free medical care and it also made significant advancement in the scientific and cultural sectors of the world (Kalashnikov, 2012). Russia, as a Communist country made significant advancement in the world of politics on a grand scale which offered inspiration to other countries seeking to overthrow the bourgeois system.

For Russia, the 1980s brought about economic struggles. Mikhail Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party and later President of the USSR, set about trying to democratise Russia in order help the economic situation (Kalashnikov, 2012). Russia had reached an economic stagnation, especially in the agriculture sector and it was Gorbachev who saw that Russia was no longer able to compete on a worldwide

economic scale and thus a shift in power and system of governance needed to be implemented (Kalashnikov, 2012; Piskunov, n.d.). Russia allowed for more social freedoms, a semi-free market and an end to monopoly. These reforms were characterised as *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* - restructuring and openness (Kalashnikov, 2012). Ultimately, these reforms were some of the reasons which led to the surprising collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states from 1990 onwards (Kalashnikov, 2012). Prior to the dissolution of the USSR, 1990 saw the dissolution of the Communist satellites with the falling of the Berlin Wall as well as the dissolving of the Warsaw Pact. The fall of the USSR did not dispel Communism altogether as there are still a few countries that remained Communistic, such as China (Mastin, 2008).

By 31 December 1991, the Soviet Union was no more (Kalashnikov, 2012). The destruction of the Soviet Union was something the world was not expecting (Contzen & Groothaert, 2008; Mayer, 2002; Party, n.d.). The sudden dismantling of the Eastern Bloc and the fall of the Berlin Wall led to a three-fold snowball effect (Mayer, 2002). The dissolution of the Russian Communist party, the abolition of the Socialist economic state and, the final effect, was the dismantling of the Soviet Nation State were all consequences of the falling of the Eastern Bloc (Mayer, 2002). This plunged not only Russia into new territory but the rest of the countries who relied on and supported Communist parties. This sudden change affected more than just Russia and its states; it affected the world on a grand scale, especially with the relationship with Russia as the 'Red Scare' was no longer applicable, thus the geo-political and socio-economic structures of the world changed too (Contzen & Groothaert, 2008).

After the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia underwent a radical change in terms of its political structure. Russia went from a totalitarian state to a democratic state which allowed for the leaders to be elected by the people (Shleifer & Daniel, 2005). The economic platform under which Russia operated also shifted. It had already undergone some economic shift with Gorbachev's reforms, but post-1991, Russia changed into a crude Capitalistic system (Shleifer & Daniel, 2005).

It was during Gorbachev's reign when the relationship between South Africa's government and Russia's thawed (Byrnes, 1996). Almost simultaneously, South Africa was also undergoing political change in the 1990s brought about by the end of

Apartheid and the rise of democracy. These changes brought about a renewed relationship between South Africa and Russia, a relationship that has continued under the current leadership of Vladimir Putin of Russia and Jacob Zuma of South Africa.

It is also pertinent for the background and context of this dissertation to unpack the relationship that South Africa has had with Russia and vice versa. The first documented mention of South Africa in a Russian book, can be dated back to a 1793 travel book (Davidson, 1992). Although, this was the start of a connection between the two countries, the most profound connection between the two is the influential spread of Communism from Russia to South Africa.

Much of the Jewish population in South Africa hailed from the western part of the Russian Empire from what are currently countries such as Belorussia, Ukraine, Lithuania and Russia herself. The immigration of the Jewish population to South African soil started during the Russian Imperial Regime where many restrictions were placed on the Jewish population creating poverty, unemployment and, in many cases, famine. In 1835 the Jews were restricted to the western part of Russia and this settlement became known as the Pale Settlement (Israel & Adams, 2000). Many laws in 1882 prevented Jews from moving to the rural areas, thus creating specific Jewish sectors. The amassing of the Jews in one section created an opportunity for Jews to collectivise their grievances and the Jewish working class created The Bund and the General Jewish Workers' Union. These organisations were radical and anti-Zionist and it was these organisational thoughts that were transferred to South Africa with Jewish migration (Israel & Adams, 2000). There were many reasons for the Jewish movement to South Africa: The Pale Settlement, the discrimination as well as empathy for the Afrikaners' plight under the British (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992).

Russia's involvement with South Africa extended further than just the migration of the Russian Jews. During the heightened contention between the British and the Afrikaners over the gold mines in South Africa's interior, a war broke out between the Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and Britain. This war is currently known as The South African War of 1899 – 1902 (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). Prior to the start of the war, there was still much contestation against Britain, not just by the Boer Republics but by the marginalised indigenous groups such as the Xhosa.

During the colonisation period, the British had managed to amass a large portion of land from many of the indigenous tribes, and one of the strongholds against this expansion came from the Xhosaland (located in the current Eastern Cape), from the Xhosa tribes. A strange event occurred during the period of 1855-1857 which, even more strangely, contributed to the link that Russia had with South Africa. In 1855, there were 5 alleged prophets in the Xhosaland region, in South Africa who claimed that the Russian soldiers fighting in the Crimean War (1853-1856) (a conflict between Russia, Britain, Sardinia, France and the Ottoman Empire) were the spirits of dead Xhosa warriors. The spirits of the Xhosa were said to be coming to rescue the Xhosa people from British Colonial expansion (Peires, 1987). Some scholars believe that the Xhosa people believed that with the destruction and sacrifice of the cattle and crops, the Russians would rid Southern Africa of British expansion (Davies, 2010; Peires, 1987). Because of this between 1856 and 1857 there was a mass slaughter of cattle and destruction of crops by the Xhosa people; this period, in turn, became known as the Xhosa Cattle Killings, whereby over 400, 000 cattle were slaughtered. Some theories however, suggest that the cattle were killed to prevent the spread of a cattle disease (which had afflicted the area) or because a girl from one of the Xhosa tribes believed to have seen ancestral spirits telling the people to slaughter all the cattle and destroy all the crops (Davies, 2010; Peires, 1987). It remains unclear as to the origin of the cattle killings but irrespective of the many theories, one of the theories included Russian aid, which identifies a Russian link to South African history.

After the defeat of the Boer Republics in 1902, in which a Russian Ambulance Corps and some volunteers supported the Boers, and the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, many Jews of Russian origin joined the South African Labour Party in 1910. With the start of World War One, division arose which caused a split in the party and many Jews split from the Labour Party and formed the International Socialist League (ISL) (Israel & Adams, 2000; Pampallis, 1991). With the fall of Tsarist Russia in 1917, many more Jews joined the ISL and many more praised the revolutionary actions of the Bolsheviks in their attempt to construct a Communist state (Israel & Adams, 2000).

The Russian Revolution of 1917 sought an end to the Imperial Regime, a regime that marginalised the Jewish population. The revolutionaries sought an end to the classist

structure erected by the Imperial Regime and did not want to contend with the Jewish Workers' Union as they wanted to be the single revolutionary party and so The Bund was disbanded in 1917 (Israel & Adams, 2000). When many Jews from these regions immigrated to South Africa they brought with them the ideas of a Communistic ideology and some Jews set up unions in South Africa as a result.

A founding conference was held in Cape Town on July 30, 1921 which was attended by 14 delegates and six organisations including the Jewish Socialist Society of Cape Town and the Jewish Socialist Society of Johannesburg (Africa, 1999; Israel & Adams, 2000; Ludi, 2011; Pampallis, 1991). At this conference the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was formed. The CPSA became part of Communist International (Comintern) section (Africa, 1999; Davidson, 1992; Israel & Adams, 2000). A representative of the CPSA became a member of the Comintern Executive Committee in Moscow which highlights the relationship between Soviet Russia and the CPSA and by extension, South Africa (Davidson, 1992).

Russia continued to play a role in the CPSA and therefore maintained its link to South Africa. 1922 produced an unfortunate turn for the CPSA and it showed yet another militaristic involvement of Russia in South African political affairs. White miners in the Transvaal went on strike against the Chamber of Mines over a reducing of wages and the replacement of many white miners with cheaper black labour (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). The CPSA backed this revolt and tried to use the strike as a foothold for a political uprising, which was supported by the Bolsheviks (Davidson, 1992; Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). The strike was unsuccessful and the consequences for the CPSA were two-fold: one being that over 230 instigators were executed and the other being an image of the CPSA as a political group only after white interests (Davidson, 1992). This affected the doctrine of the Communist Party as it was supposed to be supportive of workers and so the Party became non-racial in 1924 (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). During the Rand "Red" Revolt or the Transvaal Miners Uprising of 1922, Vladimir Lenin (the leader of the Bolshevik party and the Revolution) sent a representative to South Africa to collect all material that existed that could implicate Russia to South Africa (Davidson, 1992). The CPSA, as supporters of the workers' struggles, extended this perception by calling for the need of independent native African republics where the native workers are no longer oppressed by the Imperialists (Drew, 1996). This notion

by the CPSA called upon the workers of South Africa to unite and fight for this idea which would create a better life for them. In 1928, the Comintern viewed the struggle for an independent native African Republic as crucial, as this would then aid the influence of Communism in South Africa, thus expanding the ideology because the majority of the workers were black which would in turn foster more support for the CPSA and therefore help instigate and then perpetuate the plight of the Communists in South Africa and internationally (Davidson, 1992; Pampallis, 1991).

To accentuate the relationship, Russia initialised a University Department of African Studies; the first Scientific Institution and first University department was established in Moscow which specialised in the problems of Africa (Davidson, 1992). Although there had been some books written about South Africa, be it the geographic space or the political aspect, with the initialising of the African studies, many more authors and books about South African politics were being written in Russian. The most prominent of those authors was Ivan Potekhin who specialised in writing about the problems in South Africa (Davidson, 1992). South Africa was undergoing political turbulence and was ripe for an uprising of the Communists, hence a department was dedicated to African studies to emphasise the need to support South Africa and its workers. The Department of African Studies received their information from the Comintern therefore the Comintern controlled the education about Africa that was being transferred (Davidson, 1992). Many of the teachers of African studies had no official historical training nor had many actually visited Africa or South Africa thus extenuating the influence of the Comintern. South Africa's political structure was capitalised to suit the political needs of the Comintern as the revolutionary potential of the black proletariat grossly overestimated the power of the ruling party (Davidson, 1992).

The coming to power of the National Party (NP) in 1948 brought about institutionalised Apartheid (Ludi, 2011). Apartheid was legalised separation of the different races which was pertinent in the setting of South Africa's political climate and the influence of the African National Congress (ANC) and the CPSA. It was this institution which provided a platform for the attraction of the CPSA, especially from the ranks of those who were marginalised. South Africa, under the Apartheid regime, marginalised people according to race (Israel & Adams, 2000). This inequality led many people who had been marginalised and who opposed the NP to seek asylum in political parties that

postulated equality. Although, at its inception, the CPSA was predominantly white, its Communist philosophies that it espoused advocated for equality in the workplace which gained popularity amongst the black population (Israel & Adams, 2000). At its core, Communist ideologies have expostulated Capitalist ideologies and it therefore illustrates that all people are equal; and should therefore all work together for the greater good of the country (Marx & Engels, 2002). Communism therefore managed to root itself in South Africa because of the economic oppression that was occurring amongst the poorer black population (Milazi, 1987).

The laws of Apartheid offered very little equality amongst the races. The black population was affected the most by the segregation laws set forth by Apartheid. The CPSA functioned under the premise of equality which made it an attractive party for many and which made it a threat to the NP (Israel & Adams, 2000). After the coming to power of the NP, it banned the CPSA in the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and later banned the ANC in 1960 (Davidson, 1992; Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). Many scholars view the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act as an umbrella act used to eliminate any form of opposition, as any opposition was at the time construed as 'Communist' and thus un-South African (Israel & Adams, 2000; Ludi, 2011; Online, 2000). In 1950, the CPSA had over 2,000 members, of which 1,600 were African, 250 were Indian and 150 were white. This was the first multi-racial party in South Africa, which made it more desirable and therefore more of a threat (Israel & Adams, 2000). After World War Two there was an increase in strikes, the repercussions from the black population because of discrimination, the uncertainty of the Cold War and perhaps to some extent the multi-racial facet of the CPSA, all led to its suppression in 1950 (Israel & Adams, 2000).

The CPSA has managed to adapt to its surroundings, evolving where necessary in order to fit in with the political climate of not only the country but the world too (Adams, 1997). The relationship between the CPSA and the ANC was originally formed because of a unified threat imposed by the NP. It was this common threat that strengthened the unification between the two ideologically different parties, one that continued even after the collapse of the Apartheid Regime in 1994 (Segal, 1976; Thomas, 2007).

Under the leadership of the NP the black sectors of the population were under immense political and economic oppression, thus an alternative system was sought. The system that deemed to provide the most equality over the Capitalist system seemed to be that of Communism. The Marxist-Leninist approach adopted by the CPSA promoted a united front of races against a class system based on race, a class system that had been fostered by the NP but which had been manifested by Capitalism (The South African Party, n.d.). South Africa during Apartheid rooted its fundamental beliefs through the concept of racialism which would provide a strict social construct of the wealthy remaining in the positions of power (Milazi, 1987). Compounding the race struggle was also that of a class struggle and it was this class system that was capitalised on by the CPSA. In their 1921 Inaugural conference, they stated that the main duty of the CPSA and its members was to organise contact with workers, no matter their race, specifically industrial workers and to spread the word of Communism (Africa, 1999). The poorer elements of the nation were mostly those of the black sector, thus making the lowest earners and contributors to economic growth, yet they constituted the majority of the labour force; a similar problem to that of Russia under the leadership of the Tsars (Milazi, 1987). Because “Marxism provides a vision of hope for the oppressed masses” (pp. 219), this platform could easily be inserted into the South African situation due to the oppressive political and economic climate (Milazi, 1987).

Once the CPSA was banned it went underground and created its new identity the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1953. The SACP also identified with the Marxism-Leninism approach which was as dogmatic as in the USSR and it purported the plight of the workers and continued the fight for a worker nation (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). The SACP latched itself onto the ANC when it was banned in South Africa by the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act (Segal, 1976) as both were fighting a common enemy.

In 1956, the NP cut any ties they had with the Soviet Union because of its continued support of the SACP (Byrnes, 1996). Russia’s role in the support of the SACP changed in the 1960s to that of a more militaristic one (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). It now supported the SACP and ANC’s violent factions in the liberation struggle in South Africa and its surrounding countries in an attempt to expand the influence of Communism. The

Soviet Union trained many Umkhonto we Sizwe (the military wing of the ANC) members from the 1960s to the 1990s as well as supplying arms to the ANC military training camps situated in for example Tanzania in the 1980s (Byrnes, 1996; Kamalakaran, 2013; Slovo, n.d.).

The NP did not support Russia during the years of Apartheid as it clashed with its ideologies as well as its heightened role in the armament of the SACP and ANC (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). Russia maintained its support of the SACP and any other international Communist Party and was therefore seen as the threat to the spread of the '*Rooi Gevaar*' or 'Red Scare'. Ultimately, the spread of Communism was one that the world did not accept, and South Africa was no exception. From 1961, Russia contributed arms to the SACP in the liberation struggle against the NP and Apartheid (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). In short – the liberation movements supported by Russia were involved in an armed conflict with the South African state based on differing ideologies. During the period of the 1970s to the end of the 1980s, Africa saw a spread of Communism and thus the NP initialised troops to the affected 'borders' of South Africa, Namibia and Angola, in what became known as the South African Border Wars (Baines, 2004; Saunders, 2011). The purpose of this conflict was, according to the NP, to prevent the spread of Communist control under such leadership of South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (Plan) (Baines, 2004; Saunders, 2011). Angola after independence also followed a Marxist-Leninist approach and thus garnered the support of both the Soviet Union and Cuba (as Cuba was a Communist country). As Angola also harboured the Umkhonto we Sizwe, this facilitated the NP's urgency to prevent the spread of Communism, as not only was the Soviet Union supplying arms to the ANC's military wing (as aforementioned), it was also offering its support to Angola's liberation struggle which alluded to the Soviet Union's Communist expansion in Africa (Baines, 2004; Saunders, 2011).

The South African system of governance was made to benefit one race group. It was this form of inequality that led many to join the liberation movements of the ANC or the CPSA and later SACP and since these two parties were both banned by the government they joined forces as they served a common goal. A third leg in the liberation struggle pedestal can be found in the support of the Congress of South

African Trade Unions (COSATU) and this formation led to the emergence of the Tripartite Alliance, a three-legged approach to the liberation struggle (Ludi, 2011; Thomas, 2007).

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent demise of the Soviet Union led to a radical world change which undoubtedly affected South Africa's political climate. Subsequently the collapse led to the lifting of sanctions against the SACP and its exiled members (Ludi, 2011). They were lifted by the prompting of the NP's last state president, FW de Klerk. This change in the political climate was a result of South Africa no longer having to fear the spread of Communism because of the dismantlement of the Eastern bloc as well as the end of Communist Russia therefore, the NP could no longer use it as an excuse to ban parties or affiliates who questioned them (Online, 2000).

The SACP continued its support of the USSR and the dogma of Marxism-Leninism right up until 1990 when it started to question its viability (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). Previously, the SACP was a fervent follower of the Marxist Communism instituted by Stalin (Adams, 1997; Milazi, 1987). However, with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the legalisation of the SACP in South Africa in 1990, the Party changed strategies and opted for a reformed structure (Adams, 1997).

This reform included the denial of knowledge of Stalin's actions or the intensity of which the leaders of Russia imposed the system of Stalinism after his death (Slovo, n.d.). With the fall of Stalinism and the degeneration of Euro Communism (the need for autonomy from Russia and China for European countries' own Communist party), it is deemed as a surprise that the SACP survived in South Africa (Adams, 1997). The ability of the SACP to adapt to its political surroundings also ensured its stake in the future of South Africa. With the relationship the SACP had with the ANC, many of the SACP members were also in fact ANC members, including Nelson Mandela (Adams, 1997; Thomas, 2007).

Since the fall of Communism in Russia and Europe, the SACP experienced radical policy changes in which it supported a democratic government (Adams, 1997; Slovo, n.d.) in the hopes of swaying the ANC (Thomas, 2007). The ANC adopted a neoliberal

(the promotion and encouragement of free enterprise amongst individuals) outlook and the SACP has struggled against this and other various forms of financial reform since (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). It is this focused struggle and attempt at influencing the ANC that had led to the loss of popularity of the SACP as well as a division of true ideologies as they spurned the ANC on one side and commended them on the other (Thomas, 2007).

With the dismantling of the Apartheid government and the USSR, a strengthened relationship between South Africa and Russia emerged. Because the ANC maintained its relationship with the SACP since its ascent to power in 1994, it continued the relationship with Russia (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2012-2016). South Africa consequently united with Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) in 2011 and with the addition of South Africa, the economic group became known as BRICS, a group for the five emerging economies which acts as a counterfoil to other rich-world economies. BRICS accounts for one fifth of the world's economic output as well as 40% of the world's population. BRICS has opted for a \$100 billion pool of reserves in case any of its five members needs it. South Africa has opened a BRICS bank in order to secure its relationship with China and Russia for the purpose of reshaping "the Western-dominated financial system" (Bloomberg & Reuters, 2015).

In addition, in 2015 the details of the recent nuclear agreement between South Africa and Russia made in 2014 were revealed. This agreement has further cemented South Africa's allegiance to Russia as it will be an agreement that will span at least two decades (Allison, 2015). This new allegiance to Russia is clearly outlined in a statement made by the South African government on their website. The International relations sub-section of the site clearly boasts about the "historical links" shared between Russia and South Africa. However, the "historical links" are only mentioned from 1963 when the USSR started providing a militaristic involvement in the liberation struggle as can be gleaned below:

The historical links between South Africa and the Russian Federation are strong. Direct contacts between the former USSR and the ANC were established on a regular basis during 1963. In the era of the USSR, the latter was one of the key supporters of the struggle for liberation on South Africa. With the dissolution of the USSR, South Africa became the first African state to recognise the independence of the Russian

Federation. Full diplomatic relations were established between South Africa and the Russian Federation on 28 February, 1992 (Cooperation, 2012-2016).

South Africa has had a long-standing relationship with Russia but it is the militaristic involvement in the liberation struggle that is deemed most pertinent. It establishes a perception that the USSR desired liberation for South Africa's people and provided physical aid rather than just the theoretical aid in previous years. However, it is this perception of Russia that could have played a pertinent role in the representation of Russia in both Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. As Russia was considered a liberation threat during Apartheid, it was considered a liberation ally post-Apartheid. There is little to no comparative information available about the representation of Russia within South African textbooks Apartheid and post-Apartheid and whether there are differences or similarities to each representation, which is why I have chosen this topic to research.

1.3 Rationale and Motivation

I have always loved history and the narratives it espouses. I fell in love with Russian history from a very young age, particularly surrounding the mystery of Romanov princess, Anastasia, which deepened my decades-long love affair with Russia. It was this premise that lured me into this research. My fascination with Anastasia extended into the narratives of the last Romanov family and the events surrounding their deaths and that of the mystical man, Rasputin. My interest with Russia was not content with just relying on the pages of a book so I decided to travel to Russia. It was this fascination that prompted me to choose a topic that was able to combine my two loves - history and Russia.

However, this love can also be an academic limitation. The personal limitation to this study is therefore two-fold. Because my fascination lent itself to the Imperial side of Russian history, it left little expansion into life in Russia after the end of Imperialism and the start of Communism. The second limitation is my fascination itself. Because I have a deep personal interest in the country under study, the data interpretation may be considered to be biased and therefore untrustworthy. To safeguard my study from

perhaps being overtly biased (although according to the interpretivist paradigm I will be using, one cannot be completely objective, no matter how one tries), I will attempt to put my sentiments aside and focus on the data collected in a factual manner. Staying clear of being overtly emotive with the background and the interpreted data should help deflate the chance for a biased perspective to emanate. Also, many cohorts with my academic peers, in which each of us discuss our chapters in detail, have taken place where lively and critical discussions of one's topic have manifested, therefore this will also safeguard and help prevent any overtly biased interpretation from occurring.

The problem I encountered with choosing my topic was the availability of data on Imperial Russia history within South African textbooks. Because there is not enough substantial information surrounding the Russian Imperial family in South African textbooks, I had to shift my focus to a more general history of Russia as this is what is studied in South Africa. Originally my topic was to focus only on Communism in Russia, but over time and with lengthy discussions, my topic evolved to encompass the entire Russian chapter in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks.

Apart from personal reasons, the scholarly and conceptual reasons for this study are because Russia and South Africa have, as explained in the background and context section, strong historical links. This relationship has changed over time in accordance to South Africa's political change and it is these changes that could affect the representation of Russia in South African textbooks of both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras. Thus, I felt a comparative study to research the similarities and differences of Russia within the textbooks of the two ideologically different eras, Apartheid and post-Apartheid, was necessary and intriguing. This is especially the case for the relationship between South Africa and Russia as it has had elements of change and continuity across the Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras which should be reflected in the history textbooks used in schools.

This study therefore not only attempts to expand my fascination with Russian history, it also attempts to help me grow as a person. I really enjoy studying and the myriad of mazes I have to travel in order to discover some gem of information. I have been

predominantly an English teacher since the start of this study however, I have been a History teacher in Vietnam this past year (2016) which enables me to adapt some critical thinking exercises that I have learned during this study to my lessons. The personal and professional reason for my study is simple: self-discovery, self-enhancement and self-improvement. I embarked on this journey to not only quell my need for learning but to help me grow and become more confident in myself. In the process I would hopefully contribute to the scholarship related to Russia and South Africa and to history textbooks in general.

1.4 Focus and Purpose

Apartheid South Africa and post-Apartheid South Africa are two ideologically different eras. These differences may have had an effect on the representation of Russia within the history textbooks of Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras. The focus of my study is thus on the representation of Russia in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. This entails a comparative look at how Russia has been represented in the history textbooks as a manifestation of the South African society it served.

The purpose of my study is therefore to discover how Russia has been interpreted within these ideologically different textbooks. The aim would then to be ascertain the similarities or differences between the two sets of textbooks. The purpose of my study is found in the gaps identified within the literature. There is a myriad of literature available that pertains to the relationship between Russia and South Africa (the general trend of which refers to its current economic and political affiliations and perhaps a few that discuss the history between the two countries); however, there is little to no literature available linking South Africa and Russia scholarly nor is there literature that I could locate on the representation of Russia within South African textbooks of any time frame. This is where my research can be inserted.

1.5 Research Questions

Research questions in a study pose theoretical problems that desire an answer. A study needs to have a problem which is ultimately answered or addressed; one cannot simply know the outcome otherwise there would be no need to research. The problem encountered in my research is the lack of comparative literature available on Russia within South African history textbooks. This creates a gap in the literature and problem as the literature on the representation of Russia is lacking. Because of this gap in literature, I am able to conduct research on the representation of Russia within history textbooks. My research poses two research questions:

1. How is Russia depicted in Apartheid and post-Apartheid era History textbooks?
2. Why is Russia depicted the way it is in Apartheid and post-Apartheid era History?

1.6 Research Methodology

My research methodology chapter is broken down into two sections: my research design and my methods used to collect and analyse the data. The topic under study is the representation of Russia in two ideologically different textbooks of South Africa and my research question (as posed above) is to try to understand how Russia is represented and why Russia is depicted the way it is in the two ideologically different textbooks of South Africa. My research design and its methods will provide the necessary scaffolding in order to answer the posed research questions.

My research design uses that of the qualitative approach because it works well with that of the interpretivist paradigm. The qualitative approach does not rely on a set structure as its purpose is to understand the world and interpret the meanings; this is why it works well within the interpretivist paradigm because the interpretivist paradigm acknowledges the social construction of reality and seeks to understand the reality. Because my topic pertains to the ideologically different eras of South Africa and its representation of Russia, the social construction of reality is affected. The ontological and epistemological assumptions of my study will uphold my research design as the

assumptions purport whose knowledge is being told and the construction of social reality in the South African textbooks. In order to discern the nature of reality and whose knowledge is being purported in the ideologically different textbooks, I needed to create a sampling base. Under purposive and convenient sampling I have selected three Apartheid textbooks and three post-Apartheid textbooks in order to differentiate the social reality as well as to understand the social context of each ideologically different textbook.

I have used a comparative approach to my study as it involves a comparison between the ideologically different books of Apartheid and post-Apartheid South African textbooks and how each perceived Russia. The data has been analysed using a form of content analysis – qualitative content analysis. While content analysis is multi-purposive as it identifies changing themes with the text, qualitative content analysis is more specific to my research as it focusses on the contextualisation of the language within the texts which enables the identification of themes to emerge. The emergent themes will be used to answer my posed research questions of how Russia is represented as well as to provide a social understanding of why Russia is depicted the way it is.

1.7 Outline of Dissertation

This study contains six chapters.

Chapter One

In this chapter I outlined the study as a whole and the context under which it falls. The context of my study lies in the history of the relationship between South Africa and Russia and the involvement of Communism. My rationale and motivation made clear the reason for my study and my research questions accentuated this reason.

Chapter Two

This chapter contains my literature review on textbooks. It is divided into many sections but three main stages are developed: textbooks and their influential nature in general, textbooks in Russia and textbooks in South Africa. This chapter discusses

the importance of textbooks in the transmission of knowledge and how this affects the knowledge of both Russia and South Africa.

Chapter Three

Chapter three outlines my research design, methodology and research methods undertaken during my research. The chapter frameworks the interpretivist paradigm and qualitative approach under which my research falls and the subsequent use of content analysis methods in the data collection process.

Chapter Four

This chapter is an analysis of the Apartheid era history textbooks. The chapter includes the analysis and the findings of the three selected Apartheid history textbooks. The chapter uses the themes of the different rulers in Russia appearing within the book in order to categorise the analyses. The four themes are used in all three books and they establish the representation of Russia under the rule of the Tsar, Bolsheviks, Lenin and Stalin. The findings of each book is detailed at the end of each book which then culminates into the final findings which incorporates the findings of all three books.

Chapter Five

This chapter is an analysis of the post-Apartheid era history textbooks. The chapter is broken down into the analysis and findings of each book under four main themes in order to discuss the representation of Russia under each different period of rule such as the Tsars, Bolsheviks, Lenin and Stalin. Subsequent to the end of the analysis for each book, I have included the findings of the analysis. This chapter also includes a section on the final findings which is culmination of the findings from all three books.

Chapter Six

In this chapter I have brought the analysed data and subsequent emerged themes into conversation with the literature found in chapters one and two in order to provide a reason or reasons why these themes have emerged in the different era textbooks. Following this, an overall critical reflection of my study is detailed, discussing any challenges that I may have experienced along the way.

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the relationship Russia and South Africa has had from its earliest noted origins to the present. It is this relationship that could affect the representation of Russia within the history textbooks of Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa. As both Russia and South Africa underwent political changes their relationship evolved in accordance with these changes. I have also outlined, in this chapter, the contextual changes of the ideologies of South Africa as it would be the entrenched political system that could affect the representation of Russia too within Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa. I have clearly established the research questions of my study and have identified the gaps within the literature where my research can be inserted.

The historical context of both South Africa and Russia during their relationship is vital as it creates an understanding of this relationship and it clearly outlines the changes that occurred over the years. It was this changing relationship that could affect the content of Russian history found within South Africa's Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. Russia and South Africa, during the time of Apartheid, experienced a clash of ideologies which again could have had an impact on the representation of Russia as the Apartheid government had a negative perception of Russia as it followed the system of Communism which was prohibited by the Apartheid government. Since the fall of both the Communist Regime and the Apartheid system, Russia's relationship with South Africa has strengthened. It is these factors that could affect how Russia is represented in the ideologically different history textbooks of Apartheid and post-Apartheid.

The next chapter seeks to discuss how textbooks influence the representation of a nation's history and this will be done in the form of a literature review which is broken down into various stages. At first, the literature review focuses on the generalised textbook research which is then narrowed down to a specialised focus of history textbooks. The generalised focus of textbooks establishes an emphasis on the importance of textbook research and the impact of the socio-political climate on the textbooks as well as the use of textbooks in the classroom. The specialised focus on

history textbooks highlights the intertwined relationship in the teaching of history from the history textbooks and in nation building. The next two parts of chapter two will discuss specifically Russia's portrayal in textbooks as well as history textbooks in South Africa. Russia's portrayal in textbooks is important as it creates a foundation upon which my research can build. The discussion involving history textbooks in South Africa is vital in establishing the changing socio-political climate's influence on the history textbooks which again provides a backdrop for my research. Finally, as my study involves an analysis of two ideologically different textbooks, a discussion on comparative studies in history textbooks is vital to the understanding of the necessity for my study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is pertinent to a study as it provides a theoretical outline of previous works that aid in your research (Hofstee, 2006). The word 'literature' refers to any published scholarly work such as research papers and/ or presentations, journals, theses and dissertations. The purpose of a literature review is for a study to be placed in context with other scholarly work of a similar nature in order to show that a study has significance and can contribute to a gap within the literature. The literature review provides the background for your own study as well as proving to the reader that your research has significance and is unique (Hofstee, 2006). The significance of your own research is reflected in the literature review as it should show where the gaps in the literature are that your study can fill (Wortman, 2013). The literature context of my study focuses on textbooks in general and then narrows down its focus to history textbooks. The focus narrows further with a focus on Russia in textbooks and history textbooks in South Africa with a look at comparative studies in history textbooks. The gap for my study occurs in the representation of Russia in Apartheid and post-Apartheid era history textbooks as I am yet to come across research that reflects this representation.

Textbook research provides an insight into the chosen curricula and instruction of a country. History textbooks are an essential part of the history curricula and instruction. There is a wide variety of academic literature available pertaining to textbook research as well as history textbooks which should illustrate the importance of such research. My study reflects the representation of Russia within two ideological eras in South Africa which is why a contextual understanding of Russian and South African history textbooks is imperative to this study and to this literature review. Both countries underwent ideological shifts throughout the time period of my study. An ideological shift necessitates that history teaching and therefore, textbooks will be affected according to the current ideology.

In this chapter I will first review literature on textbooks in general and then funnel the academic literature down to more subject specific such as history textbooks. This will provide the basis of textbook understanding for the reader which will clearly outline the importance of textbook research. A more magnified view on history textbook research is needed to further foreground my study, which will encompass research that has been conducted using South African history textbooks. Textbooks are not created equally and can therefore differ under each new political and ideological era which is why I have included a section on comparative textbook research as my study involves a comparative study of Apartheid and post-Apartheid era history textbooks. This provides a platform for my own comparison of the different political eras of South Africa and will at least outline what work has already been done with other textbooks in general and South African textbooks dealing with different eras and different ideological eras.

2.2 Nature and Purpose of Textbooks

A dictionary definition of a textbook states that textbooks are books about a certain subject that are used to study that said subject, especially in schools (no Author, 2015). This humdrum term offers very little detail into the nature and purpose of textbooks and what the possibilities are available when using textbooks. Textbooks are multi-dimensional and are often not confined to just being a pedagogical tool.

Textbooks are considered one of the longest forms of teaching texts used in schools (Engelbrecht, 2006; Nichol, 2003). The word 'textbook' is a compound word made up of two words 'text' and 'book'. The word 'text' implies a communicative device either in written or pictorial form. A text can be in many forms either written, graphical, cartoon or pictorial and the textbook is made up of this variety of texts. The word 'book' suggests a compilation of pages that contain some form of text that carry a certain message for a certain topic or subject. This reaffirms the clinical meaning of the word 'textbook', however, the connotations of the texts within the textbook are what are often scrutinised.

The nature of textbooks, aside from their function of holding selected information, is for them to provide an educational scaffolding to support the learners when interpreting texts (Kalmus, 2004). The information contained therein is aligned to match the curriculum outline, therefore the textbook provides an educational backing for the curriculum (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Mikk, 2000 cites Merzyn, 1987). Like most things, the information contained within the textbook is subject to evolutionary change. Textbooks are affected by societal change and so is their content. This evolutionary change, based on societal expectations, highlights the malleability of textbooks within the curriculum (Rodden, 2009). Currently, textbooks are incorporating more pictures than actual written text as current societal expectations want a multi-modal approach to the textbook experience (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Gullion, 2010; Sewall, 2005). Textbooks are social products and they can be marked against the setting of their time, context and place all of which correspond to the socio-political forces as well as the new trends of academic writing and teaching approaches (Anyon, 1979; Edwards, 2008; Repoussi & Tutiaux-Gullion, 2010). The change in the textbook content and the demand from societal expectations can be ammunition for the argument of which is more important: Textbooks or the curriculum? An argument for the hierarchical position of textbooks is made because the textbook communicates what the curriculum dictates therefore creates a dominance because the textbook is used by the learners, not the curriculum (Kahn, 1978). As a result of this perceived dominance, there are many extenuating factors that go into the selection of a textbook.

Textbook production is a commercial venture which needs to publish valued and viable textbooks for purchase (Anyon, 1979; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Repe, 2001; Sewall, 2005). The commercial viability of a textbook, sometimes, is considered more important than the actual textbook and so, in certain cases, textbooks that contain the desired content are purchased (Sewall, 2005). Occasionally, the publishing industry is dominated by certain houses because they produce the textbook considered *most* viable and useful by the dominant power group (Anyon, 1979). Socio-political factors can play a role in the textbook selection beyond that of just its marketability, pedagogical influence and its epistemological influence as the promotion of political and cultural interests of the dominant power are considered paramount (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Edwards, 2008; Wain, n.d.).

Textbooks are not iconic and do not last through the ages. Just like textbook production, textbook removal is also a symptom of societal evolution. When a textbook is no longer considered economically feasible, in other words, when a textbook will not be used in the classroom or will no longer be utilised by anyone, it is removed from the shelves or circulation (Rodden, 2009). If a textbook is to be published it needs to be considered economically viable, which often means that the textbook author/s adds his/her own personal agency to the textbook in order for it to become a viable textbook. In some cases, this is not considered enough, and so, the textbook undergoes further alteration by the publication houses to create a marketable textbook (Anyon, 1979; Paxton, 1999; Sewall, 2005). When textbooks are used to perpetuate a new or current social order, the content of the textbook affects its marketability, so sometimes, the content appears warped to suit the standards of the new or current social order (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2004; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Mikk, 2000; Sewall, 2005). This in turn creates a sense of 'content masking' where the content masks the real purpose or beliefs behind societal education, or 'miseducation' (Apple, 2004; Rodden, 2009; Zajda & Zajda, 2003).

The culture of textbooks is not mono-cultural; each country can have a different textbook perspective and therefore a different selection process. Textbooks are not always used as a political tool and so the selection of a textbook, is often based on various aspects such as the market, curriculum, politics and the already set standard requirements (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Repe, 2001). However, frequently, textbooks are influenced by the socio-political culture of the dominant power group, and so textbooks can often be seen as an ideological tool that contain politically motivated content (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Repe, 2001). As textbooks are dependent on socio-political standing, textbooks from different regions and different ideological spheres cannot be interchangeable thus emphasising the socio-political dependence (Schissler, 2001). Another reason for this lack of interchangeability is that textbooks have remained largely ethnocentric, despite the impact of globalisation (Crawford, 2004; Dragonas & Frangoudaki, 2001). This ethnocentrism does not promote a multi-cultural education but rather one that is dominated by one nation and one culture instead (Crawford, 2004; Dragonas & Frangoudaki, 2001).

Due to the isolating of cultures within a textbook, mentions of minority groups may be limited and/or undermined as a result (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Crawford, 2004). Cultural domination equates to the promotion of specific ideologies that represent that particular majority group in order to perpetuate the official cultural party-line (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991 cites Altbach, P. & Kelly, G., 1984). Dominant groups need to promote a sense of unity and thus a promotion of shared attitudes and values is needed which often leaves the disenfranchised groups more of a mere mention as their values and attitudes are not promoted nor shared (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Crawford, 2004). A confined hierarchy of needs is thus created. The power and purpose of textbooks can lie in their use and ability to promote 'official' ideologies and political interests, moreover textbooks can be considered a pawn in the 'official knowledge' chess match (Foster, 2011; Wain, n.d.).

The content controlling ability of textbooks leads them to be considered the keepers of knowledge, therefore their role moves beyond that of being purely communicative (Foster & Crawford, 2006). The school is affected and by extension the schooling programme is affected by the textbook content. Textbooks are a creation; they exist purely as an extension of someone's thought processes (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). By this notion, this can, possibly, affect the agency of the textbook content so much so that schooling can perhaps be affected by the textbook as it can dispel certain ideological influences perceived by the textbook's creator (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

Textbooks may be the gate keepers of knowledge, but teachers are the disseminators as textbooks often need to be used in conjunction with teachers (Engelbrecht, 2006 cites Marsden, 2001; Kalmus, 2004; Nichol, 2003; Pratte, 1977; Rodden, 2009). Because textbooks are considered "agents of socialization", the socialisation of the future generation is grounded in the education received at school level (Kalmus, 2004, p. 470; Schissler, 2001). Primary and secondary school levels are the most influential as they still rely on teachers as well as the textbook to transfer knowledge (Rodden, 2009). Some learners are more susceptible than others to the "agents of socialization" found within the textbook, as often, those learners are only exposed to the textbook content (Kalmus, 2004, p. 470; Paxton, 1999). The reinforcing of pedagogy can

therefore, often be the job of the textbook as they have the ability to de-power and empower a nation (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

'Official' knowledge is contained within the textbook; knowledge that has been approved by the dominant hegemony and therefore espouses a certain ideology which in turn creates textbooks into an ideological tool (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Schissler, 2001; Wain, n.d.). An ideology is a human construction that manifests itself in people and society awaiting hegemonic propagation (Pratte, 1977). The ideology itself evolves from a set of beliefs and it becomes an ideology by social validation (Pratte, 1977). The ideology needs to be legitimised by society and needs to be continued through sustained practices, which is where the use of textbooks lies, in propagating the ideology in order for society to maintain that ideology (Pratte, 1977; Zajda & Zajda, 2003 cites Geertz, 1964). Although there are different theories with regards to the concept of the word 'ideology', the consensus is that ideology pertains to the transitions in political, economic and social spheres (Pratte, 1977). In saying this, the concept of 'ideology' also differs in terms of its theoretical existence. For some countries in the East, the term 'ideology' has no meaning whereas other countries in the West categorise the term 'ideology' as a distortion of reality (Zajda & Zajda, 2003). Irrespective of each sphere's 'definition' of ideology, it can still be meshed into the curriculum that it forms a hidden curriculum, one that ultimately promotes the dominant ideological system (Apple, 2004; Crawford, 2004). An understanding of the nature and purpose of textbooks in general has been created which now lends itself to the more specific discussion on the nature and purpose of history textbooks.

2.3 Nature and Purpose of History Textbooks

Textbooks themselves can help transmit knowledge and history textbooks are no different. As with textbooks in general, history textbooks too can be seen as gatekeepers of knowledge that are influenced by the dominant socio-political group. Thus the nature and purpose of history textbooks can be seen as disseminators of specific historical knowledge. The impact of ideological dominance on historical knowledge and therefore the nature and purpose of history textbooks in the classroom

can affect the concept of memory building as only certain historical memories can be promoted.

History textbooks and history education have a long lineage of debate because its importance is often fought over. The nature of history in textbooks is often deemed important enough to fight over as well as useful in promoting peace-building amongst nations (Wang, 2009). As history textbooks are regarded as large contributing factors to the construction and reproduction of national narratives, textbook publishers are under huge pressure to produce history textbooks that promote those narratives (Association, 1968; Wang, 2009). Thus to ensure the essential national narrative is espoused, the history within the textbook must be written in the correct context within the same context of time thus ensuring the meaning and significance remains the same and is not warped (Association, 1968). Because history education is often considered invaluable, in most countries, history textbooks can epitomise the pedagogical tool used to disseminate historical knowledge (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Paxton, 1999).

History textbooks are not always neutral entities and thus can serve a purpose beyond that of just transmitting the history curriculum (Foster, 2011; Zajda & Zajda, 2003). The promotion of a 'modified memory' aimed at the promotion of a national identity can manifest itself in the history textbook via the dominant power group (Engelbrecht, 2006; Foster, 2011; Kalmus, 2004; Rosen, 1971; Stojanovic, 2001). The key factors in forming desired historical conceptions which aid in the redefining of national identity can be sourced from history textbooks as they prescribe to the notion of selective nostalgia; choosing certain histories that best represent their country and produce the desired past which often results in history textbooks, from one country, being largely different from another (Porat, 2004; Stojanovic, 2001; Wain, n.d.; Zajda, 2007). National identity and history are often intertwined as a specific historical identity and therefore national identity is perpetrated throughout the textbooks which could create a desired national history. Thus the nature of history and the nature of the history textbook can affect the perception of national identity. A definition of one's identity comes into play, an identity that is different from another nation's and unique to its own history (Foster & Crawford, 2006). A sense of one's own identity can occur through a variety of ways: through remembrance, historical myths and official knowledge. It is a

mixture that is concocted to create a national history so the history that is created is not necessarily the events that occurred but are the events that best represent the nation (Foster & Crawford, 2006).

A question should be asked about the concept of 'identity'. From where does the concept of identity come? The concept of a national identity can be traced back to the middle ages but only with the Revolutions in France and America, did 'national identity' become a real concept (Smith, 1992). National identity may be defined in various ways and many countries use different approaches to conceptualise national identity which could cause some contradiction (Smith, 1992). Some regard national identity as an 'organic unit' and others regard it as something that is defined by territory and common laws or common norms dictated by the dominant power group (Checkel, 1999; Smith, 1992). However, the ideas or demarcations of nation states has drastically altered over the years and as territories expand so do some national identities (Crawford, 2004). Multiple identities occur through territory expansion, however, this identity is contingent on the nation states and whether it wants to incorporate those identities (Checkel, 1999; Crawford, 2004). Globalisation plays a key role in the expansion of identities, however, textbooks have still remained ethno-centric, despite the awareness of multiple identities which further emphasises the fact that history textbooks can be subject to offering a one-sided view of history (Crawford, 2004; Dragonas & Frangoudaki, 2001).

The manifestation of certain desired historical conceptions in the history textbook can be a product of culture and society as these two entities (culture and society) can be influential in the adoption of historical knowledge. Historical knowledge can then be said to be a manipulation of current cultural and societal needs in order to instil a set of desired common values and identities (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Porat, 2004). The vehicle through which historical myths and re-representations of history are transmitted can be history textbooks. The selected narratives are fostered in order to anchor ideology to society and create a desired national history (Engelbrecht, 2006; Foster, 2011; Pratte, 1977). The dangers of selecting certain histories to represent the desired national consciousness, is that often meanings and terms used for that particular time period may have evolved and therefore do not have the same connotations as they did in the past (Zajda & Zajda, 2003 cites Kaestle, 1988). The

anachronistic feature of history can be considered problematic when selecting certain ideologies or ideas that best represent the dominant hegemony because they could have had alternative meanings or implications prior to publication. Sometimes, in the selecting of historical myths, certain terms from the past had certain connotations which have been now altered under present day circumstances which can be problematic when it comes to analysis (Zajda & Zajda, 2003).

Ideological dominance can often be intertwined with the historical knowledge found within the history textbook. A new political era often brings with it a new ideology which results in the need for a new history, a history that will establish a sense of identity for the dominant ideological group (Pratte, 1977; Zajda & Zajda, 2003). An ideology is considered a distorted perspective that is supported and promoted by the dominant hegemony and is often used as a means to justify the interests of the dominant party (Apple, 2004; Pratte, 1977). The adoption of a new ideology does not necessarily signify the stagnation of the previous ideology, for once an ideology is adopted, it can be changed to suit the needs of the dominant group thus leaving 'ideology' open for interpretation and adjustment if necessary (Pratte, 1977). Time is a supporter of ideological change, because, in time, societal knowledge will adapt to the new ideological dominance (Rodden, 2009). A change in the history curriculum to support the new social, political and economic changes would reinforce the spread of the ideology and therefore entrench it within society (Zajda & Zajda, 2003). Any event or person can be based on an interpretation which results in a pure representation which leaves historical events open to interpretation (Weber, 1974).

'Memory building' is an important component in the interpretation of history needed for nation building. The process of 'image selecting' is undertaken in order to enhance the selected memory building blocks used to build a repositioned national consciousness (Repe, 2001; Stojanovic, 2001; Zajda, 2007). Each history is unique in its interpretation of each country's past; so one historical event can be interpreted in many different ways depending on the perspective one nation would like to take (Stojanovic, 2001, pp. 28-30). The purpose of the 'image selecting' process is to find preferred images of the past that could promote a collective memory and thus a collective national consciousness and patriotism for that country (Foster, 2011; Rodden, 2009; Schissler, 2001; Stojanovic, 2001; Zajda, 2007). This selection process promotes and

entrenches certain political and societal norms which in turn create a desired version or interpretation of history and particular societal theory (Pingel, 2010 cites Schissler, H., 1989-1990). A societal theory is based on the premise that society is based on external forces therefore it can be moulded according to those external forces and as historical knowledge is someone else's interpretation of the past, thus societal identity can be moulded to those historical beliefs (Apple, 2004; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991 cites Williams, R., 1961; Weber, 1974). History textbooks, then, can be propagandised in order to appease the socio-political powers (Foster, 2012).

History textbook responses play a key role in the success of actual dissemination of knowledge, and the same can be said with the history textbooks. Each textbook reader brings their own interpretation to the text which can often create a multi-perspective take on the literature (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). This can be attributed to culture and society because it can influence a learner's understanding and preconception of historical events which creates a niche for the influence of teachers and the textbook on the learner (Kalmus, 2004 cites Gureneburg, 1991; Porat, 2004). Due to the supposed malleability of history, learners can sometimes develop their own responses to the text at hand (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Porat, 2004 cites Stearns; Seixas & Wineburg, 2000; Wineburg, 2001). There can be at least three responses to the history textbook. The first being an accepted response by the reader where the reader will accept the information provided at face value. The second response is when the learner disputes some parts of the text but overall accepts the given information. The final response is when the learner completely rejects the information provided and this would often suggest that the reader would be part of the oppressed or marginalised group (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

Many learners only experience history text through the textbooks which leaves them susceptible to the textbook agent (Paxton, 1999). The textbook agent's goal is to produce a culture and knowledge to which current learners and future learners assimilate and support (Foster & Crawford, 2006). There is often a relationship between the text and the agent. The agent, in the writing of historical textbooks can be either the writer or the dominant power group. The agent is responsible for his/her own interpretation of historical events (Porat, 2004 cites Wertsch, 1998). As the agent is responsible for the representation of history within the textbook, the agent's

influence comes out in the writing as the author writes his own understanding of events (Paxton, 1999; Porat, 2004). The author of a history textbook will write his own understanding of the events, therefore what results is a truth, not *the* truth (Paxton, 1999). A selected truth can therefore be transferred by the words of the agent, and therefore one must be aware of whose voice is being heard and what it is saying (Porat, 2004).

Because many learners only experience history through the textbook, this not only leaves them susceptible to the agent but also to the teachers. History teaching is often used alongside history textbooks in order to create a two-fold ideological impact (Foster, 2011; Kalmus, 2004). History teachers can often be used as an instrument, like the history textbooks, for the dominant power to disseminate the 'correct' history (Zajda, 2007 cites Danilevskoi, 2005). History education plays a vital role in transferring the desired historical narrative or a common past, which is why history education is often considered of vital importance as well as being a largely political focus (Foster, 2011; Schissler, 2001; Wang, 2009).

History itself cannot stand alone unjudged as history is not objective and omissions still occur as well as 'alterations' to the history. Such is the fact that history textbooks often contain certain 'idealised' perspectives which can be used to create a collective audience with the same nationalistic principles which could result in the marginalisation of minority groups if they are not classified as part of the 'collective audience' (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Pingel, 2010; Zajda & Zajda, 2003). The role of historical narratives is constantly being questioned alongside ideological shifts as with the change of ideology comes the change of narrative and history textbook (Wang, 2009; Zajda, 2007). History textbooks, across many (not all) nations, are nationalistic and often adopt a single narrative style to promote their point which can incite a negative attitude from neighbouring countries or minority groups if they disagree (Wang, 2009). The minority group may find it a struggle to find a place within the historical consciousness of the nation and neighbouring countries could become incensed by another country's narrative version of history (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Wang, 2009). An example of a history textbook agenda and control over education can be seen in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) of 1949-1989. A textbook committee had been created in order to control the history representation of

that region so that it was portrayed in a positive light therefore there was a loss of textbook integrity. No critical thinking occurred as learners were told what to believe and no comparisons were made so that a chosen education would occur (Rodden, 2009, p. 270).

The drawback to using a single-narrative is that it could result in the perpetuation of an “us versus them” type of conflict amongst disenfranchised groups of the nation or outlying nations (Stojanovic, 2001, p. 29). This can be caused by the emphasis of bullying of their nation by others which resulted in a prevention of independence (Repe, 2001). A nation can be described as a community which has a sense of solidarity and a sense of oneness or as a group of people who believe that they are ancestrally related, this then is the backdrop to which a national consciousness can be formed which is often the premise of the single-narrative. The single-narrative also can build on the characteristics the country wishes to be portrayed within the textbook and as such, historical memory is scoured in order to locate appropriate historical heroes or symbols or national myths that best represent their country’s characteristics and which will be the best representative of nation-building; thus a specific history is chosen via these national myths (Foster & Crawford, 2006; Stojanovic, 2001; Zajda, 2007). Historical knowledge is dependent on current social principles which require a strong presence of national myths and stereotypes in order to promote the desired patriotism and as a result, one of two things can occur: the new historical memory or ideology offers a sense of solidarity to certain groups in times of transition; or it creates a sense of identity for individuals (Apple, 2004 cites Bernstein & Young; Pratte, 1977; Repe, 2001). This can only be effective if there is joint support of a nation or certain dominant groups hence the importance of the socio-political climate and its implications on society and societal knowledge (Porat, 2004; Stojanovic, 2001). The “us versus them” faction is often perpetuated through the history curriculum and by extension the history textbook because some political eras are entrenched within the history curriculum and textbook in order to legitimise it (Pingel, 2010).

The purpose of history textbooks and schooling is called into question as both factors can force learners to assimilate into a desired society (Crawford, 2003). Consequently, teachers should treat history textbooks with caution and use other sources (Nichol, 2003). Alternative sources to history textbooks are becoming more and more available

and offer multiple perspectives other than the one offered in the chosen textbook (Nichol, 2003). The internet market has expanded, and the educational website is at a distinct advantage when it comes to historical perspectives. There are no page limitations on a site, therefore there is no condensing of information, and these educational sites are not subject to the same marketability and political influence as textbooks (Nichol, 2003). As a result, it is up to the teacher to use alternative sources in order to supplement the history textbook. Recently, there has been a change in focus with regards to history textbook research. As history textbooks change according to society and teaching practices, so there are changes made (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Gullion, 2010). History textbooks include multiple sources which in turn turns them multi-modal and less didactical. The textbook narrative is changing as it is now more focused on an open narrative which allows the students to form their own historical understanding from their past and the textbook information thus, history textbook research is more focused on how textbooks are received and used by the students and teachers rather than what the message is (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Gullion, 2010).

History textbooks are written by historians, curriculum experts, teachers and publishing company personnel thus, historical knowledge is not a defined set of facts and can be altered or interpreted to suit the needs of a nation which allows for a compromise of historical facts which could ultimately, compromise the reliability of the history textbook (Anyon, 1979; Wain, n.d.). This compromise can create a gap of knowledge which could be considered as a shortcoming of the textbook (Engelbrecht, 2006; Foster, 2011; Wain, n.d.).

Scholars argue of the reliability of history textbooks as often, textbooks do not contain knowledge that is deemed natural which means that historical knowledge and historical events are largely interpreted therefore are often deemed one-sided, thus affecting their reliability as an educative tool (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Foster, 2011; Pingel, 2010). History textbooks are official versions of history which represent a particular past that has been specifically chosen. This decision in choice can create gaps or inconsistencies in the history found within the textbook; a preference of historical events or a history that is 'correct' is selected which is a shortcoming when it comes to history textbook reliability in the classroom (Engelbrecht, 2006; Foster, 2011; Zajda, 2007).

History textbook reliability can be problematic and there are continuing debates regarding the fate of the textbook in the classroom. Some scholars debate whether to keep history textbooks on as a form of knowledge or whether or not meetings should be held to authenticate the textbook knowledge (Paxton, 1999; Pingel, 2010). Pingel (2010) believes that conferences should be held to authenticate the history chosen to make it as objective as possible. However, he outlines the flaws of this plan as it would entail discussions of certain historical events which would not display a particular country in a positive light and some countries do not want to be told about their own histories. There is also a counter-argument asking for the complete removal of textbooks from the classroom and be substituted with primary and secondary sources instead as an information source (Paxton, 1999).

History textbooks are still being used in the classroom today. The content of the history textbook should be viewed with caution as many history textbooks around the world can contain sanctioned knowledge which can affect the outcome of historical knowledge obtained by the learners. In short, history textbooks can be used as a tool to disseminate a specific national identity and can therefore be used to modify historical memory. Often it is found that one nation's history can differ from another nation's, thus the perception of history and historical memory can be determined by the dominant power group which can affect the perception of other countries within the same historical context. The perception of a socio-politically dependent history can be further illustrated in the portrayal of Russia in the textbooks of other nations.

2.4The Portrayal of Russia in Textbooks

The ever-changing socio-political landscape of Russia over the centuries has thusly affected the image portrayal of Russia within foreign textbooks. Russia, as a country, has struggled with a European identity in some textbooks as some countries view Russia as part of Asia and so Russia's geographic space is often called into question (Paddock, 1998). The depiction of Russia is often outdated, according to some sources, which illustrates a lack of current socio-political interest in Russia and its

history from not only European culture but also American (Anderson, 1954; Burkhardt, 1947-1948; Paddock, 1998).

One of the depictions of Russia comes from 17th – 19th century European textbooks where they describe Russia as backward and barbaric, this was especially so prior to the Russian Revolution (Anderson, 1954; Paddock, 1998). The reasons for this representation could be considered two-fold: the concept of European culture was disconnected from Russian culture on the grounds of geography as it was considered part of Asia therefore, prejudice could have manifested; and secondly due to the fact that during the 16th – 19th centuries, not much was actually known about Russia (Anderson, 1954; Paddock, 1998). Additionally, during the 17th Century, Great Britain and Russia had a tumultuous relationship over a trade dispute which led to the trade cut-off of Great Britain by Russia; only a single port was made available to Great Britain in the end (Anderson, 1954). As a result of this exclusion, very little first-hand accounts were available to the British populace about Russia, thus an old and out-dated, perhaps soured, opinion remained (Anderson, 1954). A singular first-hand account of Ivan the Terrible remained as one of the few sources available on Russia, thus the depiction of him as Tsar, through to the end of the 16th Century, remained as an image of cruelty and tyranny. Images of the peasantry were also cemented after the image known of them during Ivan the Terrible's reign. The perpetuated image of the peasants were that of Muscovites destined for slavery because of their unwavering servitude to the Tsar (Anderson, 1954).

The recycled image of Russia as barbaric and backward was not an isolated opinion. Similarly, Germany had the same perspective in the late 19th to early 20th Century (Anderson, 1954; Paddock, 1998). The depiction of Russia was perpetuated in both German geography and history textbooks of both the 19th to 20th Century. The image of Russia was created through negative images of its geography, the Tsars, the Russian Orthodox Church as well as the Russification of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). These symbols of Russian history were used to harbour and perpetuate a negative representation of Russia (Paddock, 1998). Consequently Germany, in the late 19th and early 20th Century, regarded Russia as an empire rather than a nation; an empire that had more in common with Asia than it did with any other European empires or nations (Paddock, 1998). In German geography textbooks this

is reasoned because the tyrannical reign of the Tsar and extreme poverty experienced by the peasants was more synonymous with Asiatic empires than with European ones (Paddock, 1998). For Germans in the late 19th to early 20th Century, Russia's history began from Peter the Great and the rest was omitted or became referential (Paddock, 1998). Peter the Great was described as a Tsar who attempted to westernise Russia but failed in his endeavour. Comparisons between Russia's empire and Germany's empire were constantly being made which created a reinforced German national superiority (Paddock, 1998). The reinforced superiority was obtained by reiterating that the German empire was occidental therefore authentic whereas Russia was construed as oriental therefore artificial (Paddock, 1998). The darkening of the representation of Russia continued after the death of Peter the Great. Succeeding Tsars continued to be characterised as failures as their attempts to westernise Russia continued to bear little fruition. After the assassination of Alexander II, an anti-German clique was mentioned in the textbooks which further reinforced a negative perspective of Russia (Paddock, 1998). The Tsars were not the only ones singled out in these textbooks; the Russian Orthodox Church was also portrayed in a negative light as it was considered a perpetuator of the Tsars' tyrannical regime that reinforced the suffering and subjugation of the peasants. The last category to further continue negativity was when Russia Russified the Baltic States. The portrayal of the Russification was neither liked nor well-received therefore the negative image of Russia darkened. These negative accounts of Russia and its policies were the first introduction the people of Germany had to Russia (Paddock, 1998).

Russian history also appears in both the older and newer history textbooks of Ukraine. However; the appearance of Russian history was more of a condemnation of Russia's past actions (Korostelina, 2010). Russia has had a tumultuous relationship with the Ukraine since it had come under the control of Imperial Russia in the 18th Century. The Ukraine became an independent country from Russia following the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 however, was once again incorporated into Russia under the Soviet Union in 1922. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine was once again independent in 1991 (Bates, 2014). In the case of Ukrainian history, there is a definitive difference in the representation of the minority or foreign rule mentioned in era-different textbooks (Janmaat, 2007). The older textbooks claim subjugation by the Russians and emphasise the indifference they had towards the Ukrainian people since

the elimination of the Cossack state by Catherine the Great⁴ (Janmaat, 2007). A continuance in the reminder that Ukrainians played a very little part in the Russian takeover can be detected in the mention of two more events in Ukrainian history of the Bolshevik takeover and collectivisation. The reiteration of the Bolshevik takeover being of foreign origin was highly played in the textbooks, thus downplaying Ukrainian's role in the Communist takeover (Janmaat, 2007). The authors of the textbooks were highly critical of the Collectivisation period and solely blamed Stalin for the subsequent deaths of the Ukrainian people. The older Ukrainian textbooks tend to omit any sort of responsibility of the Ukrainian people in any of the tragedies that occurred during Soviet reign, however, the newer textbooks provide a more balanced inter-ethnic textbook. Even though a critical approach is still taken when dealing with the Russian takeover and Stalin's actions, the newer textbooks of the Ukrainian curriculum do offer a more balanced outlook on the history by mentioning that others were responsible as well as affected outside of the peasantry group (Janmaat, 2007). The nationalising programme in Ukraine (the russification of the Ukrainians to prevent Ukrainian nationalism), led to a negative portrayal of the Russians as foreign rulers as even their positive results throughout history as glossed over or are superficially mentioned (Janmaat, 2007 cites Carras,2001, Schissler, 2001). As a result of this nationalising, four features of the historical narrative surface. The first one being the perception of "moral superiority" by the dominant group (Ukrainians) and secondly, because the dominant group are considered morally superior and therefore cannot be held accountable for their actions which reduces the stresses between the dominant groups (Janmaat, 2007). A third aspect of creating a nationalist perspective is to generate a sense of justification for the treatment against the former oppressor. The fourth and final feature is the eradication of ownership by the new government as the independent state holds the former state responsible for the current problems within the society (Janmaat, 2007).

Russia and its history made its way to North America, thus showing, in the very least, movement and dissemination of *some* information. Various American textbooks were analysed in a study conducted by Burkhardt (1947-1948) in order to ascertain the representation of Russia in American textbooks in the 1940s. 117 textbooks were

⁴ The Tsarina and longest-ruling female leader of Imperial Russia from 1762 to 1796.

analysed in this study: 29 geography, 19 world history, 28 American history, 16 civic and 25 modern problems. The common denominator in these textbooks was that these textbooks shared a lack of space dedicated to the subject of Russia (Burkhardt, 1947-1948). Russia's depiction in these textbooks seemed to be a mixture of out-dated, inaccurate and stereotypical information (Burkhardt, 1947-1948). A reason for this could be perhaps, that post World War Two relations between Russia and America were extremely strained and thus brevity was key in order to not provide too much information on the topic. However, a result of this forced brevity was that an inadequate portrayal of Russia emerged in American textbooks. The harmonious and discordant Soviet-American relationship seemed to be used interchangeably to describe the history of the Soviet-American relationship (Burkhardt, 1947-1948). The results of Burkhardt's findings were that very little information regarding the Russian people, contemporary Russia, and an inadequate representation of Russia as a country and Soviet-Russia ties led to an inaccurate and inadequate portrayal of Russia in American textbooks in the 1940s (Burkhardt, 1947-1948).

There seems to be a shallow pool of academic sources made available about Russia in foreign textbooks (textbooks outside of Russia) and what is available, provides very little focus on the recent history of Russia. However, in contrast, there seems to be a much more ample supply of academic data regarding the representation of Russia in Russian textbooks. In order to note the contrast or similarities in narratives, it is necessary to observe the depictions of Russia in the national textbooks.

Russian historical education during the Soviet period (1917 - 1989) and post-Soviet period (1989 - present) has been divided into two factions: federal and provincial (Rouvinski, 2007; Shnirelman, 2009). The two factions were divided on the thought of the ethnic minorities. Soviet Russia played a major role in selecting the historical myth to be used in the "all-Union textbooks" (federal) which often selected the memory of the Russian people and little was mentioned about ethnic groups in Russia (Rouvinski, 2007; Shnirelman, 2009). Although Russian State textbooks provided very little mention of the ethnic groups in Russia, they (ethnic groups) were however, allowed to teach their own local history from the 1920s (Rouvinski, 2007). The history found within their textbook was aimed at local ethnic groups and the textbooks offered more freedom to content than the federal textbooks (Rouvinski, 2007). This was done to

maintain the links between Russia and ethnic groups who were residing in Russia but not considered Russian (Rouvinski, 2007). By 1937, all schools were using state sponsored textbooks and in order for an ethnic group to be mentioned within the textbook, they had to provide proof that they were using their own ethnic language from the beginning of the ethnic group's existence (Rouvinski, 2007). This is why the history found within the Federal textbooks pertained mainly to the history of the Russian people because of intentional exclusion of the ethnic minorities.

During the Soviet regime (1922 - 1990), schools were seen as a tool to create the perfect soviet person which would emphasise the role of the Russian people in this creation (Shimoniak, 1970). The theory that socialists were created and not born, perpetuated the strong role of education in order to create a socialist class (Kirschenbaum, 2001; Shimoniak, 1970). This perpetuation of socialist theory was aided by the teachers who were educated in the 'correct' regime ways (Shimoniak, 1970). As Soviet education was based on the philosophy of Engels and Marx as well as the adaptation of this philosophy by Lenin (Marxism-Leninism), it was therefore the duty of the school to educate its learners in the Communist ways which reiterated the chosen historical myth of the Russian nation – the superiority of Communism (Shimoniak, 1970).

Education was a tool used by Lenin and Stalin and their successors - so much so that even non-Russians were forced to glorify Russia's history before their own (Shimoniak, 1970). The Communist ideology infiltrated all subjects at school in order to perpetuate the "correct Communist view" as well as the reinforcement of a technological workforce (Rosen, 1971, p. 131; Shimoniak, 1970). The educational goal was to develop a generation with a collective Communist consciousness with the continued teaching of anti-individualist, anti-religious and anti-Capitalist perspectives (Rosen, 1971). A Communistic code was reinforced by the indoctrination at school level. It underpinned the desired characteristics of the Communist government such as a devotion to Communism, a conscientious need for labour and the benefit of society, public duty, a collective emphasis on moral purity and a sense of brotherhood (Rosen, 1971). History textbooks in Russia strongly carried these messages.

Towards the end of the Soviet era (late 1980s), there was a need for a change in the textbooks because of the sudden growth of ethnonational movements and a need for a new national identity (Shnirelman, 2009; Zajda, 2007). A new creation of patriotism that supported a new national identity was needed and this was done by creating a desired history. The new history books focused on the origins of the Russian people (Rus) and reminded its people about its historical heroes in order to reinforce patriotism (Zajda, 2007). In 1992, a new law was imposed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation which stated that Federal textbooks needed a balanced outlook on Federal and ethnonational components (Shnirelman, 2009). However, research into three textbooks produced from 1998 – 2003 by Shnirelman (2009), show that, although ethnic groups are mentioned in the textbooks, there is still an unbalanced interpretation of the ethnic groups.

The post-Communism period occurred almost overnight, leaving the Russian nation struggling to identify with a new national identity (Zajda & Zajda, 2003). As new national myths and heroes are very rarely created, the nation's history is often sourced for myths and heroes of old, myths and heroes that could provide a sense of nostalgia for the dwindling patriotic nation and therefore reinforce the sense of solidarity and patriotism (Zajda, 2007; Zajda & Zajda, 2003). There needed to be a “repositioning of political historical correctness” in order to change to the new national identity which is why history textbooks needed to include selected histories which subsequently reasoned why not all knowledge of Soviet repression and mass deportation of ethnic groups was included as it was not the desired history needed (Zajda, 2007, p. 293; Zajda & Zajda, 2003).

For, as early as the 16th Century to as late as the early 20th Century, Germany and Britain have had the same recycled perception of Russia, an image of a largely backward, imperialist Eurasian country. The perception of Russia being ethnically different as it does not quite match up to European standards is also a selected narrative that is permeated through the German and British history textbooks. The image of Russia as backward is shared within some American textbooks (albeit brief mentions of Russia) which illustrates the unchanging, shared perception of Russia. The entrenched ideology that is found in the British and German history textbooks can be viewed as similar to the perception of Apartheid regime as the Apartheid regime

was strongly Afrikaner Nationalist and did not portray royalty in a positive light because of its tumultuous relationship with Britain. Herein lies a gap for my literature. As there is little to no literature available on the representation of Russia within South African history textbooks, my research can provide an understanding of how Russia was viewed in South African textbooks, both Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. The perception of Russia within the Ukraine changes over time, although the Imperialist and the Soviet Regime are both portrayed as violent. This perception is again in keeping with the anti-royal and anti-Communist Apartheid regime which again reiterates the gap in literature in order to determine if the perception of Russia would be the same under the different ideologies of Apartheid and post-Apartheid.

2.5 History Textbooks in South Africa

The perception of Russia has changed very little within the western textbooks however, there are no studies depicting the representation of Russia in South African textbooks. There are few South African studies done on the representation of other countries, which is where my study slots in. In order to understand South African textbooks and by extension their representation of Russia, one first has to acknowledge the ideological shift that took place within South Africa's textbooks. The construction of Apartheid and the de-construction of Apartheid presented South Africa with two major educational shifts. History textbooks played a prominent role in the dissemination of Apartheid ideologies and post-Apartheid saw history textbooks as a tool to repair and equalise those ideologies (Chisholm, n.d.; Dean, Hartmann, & Katzen, 1983; Siebörger, 1994). Historical representation of South African history within South African textbooks was a contentious issue, and still is, during the two aforementioned periods.

During Apartheid, South African history textbooks epitomised the values set forth by the government which inherently restricted the laws of the nation according to racial differences (Dean et al., 1983). Textbooks control the knowledge and the same can be said about Apartheid history textbooks (Dean et al., 1983). Apartheid history textbooks were saturated with stereotypes and stigmatisms that perpetuated the curriculum supplied by the Apartheid regime which consciously marginalised certain

races in its curriculum (Engelbrecht, 2006). Certain historical myths incorporated into the history textbooks were perpetuated by the government's need to emphasise superiority over the black population (Dean et al., 1983). An example of which can be seen in Apartheid history textbooks' recollection of the European settlers. It was stipulated that South Africa was inhabited by a small population of indigenous people (the Khoisan) and the African population migrated South into South Africa around the same time as the movement of the European population (Dean et al., 1983). This is stated to further emphasise the roots of belonging to the white population, but also to de-emphasise a sense of belonging to the black population.

A further aspect of Apartheid education was Bantu Education in which the black population received inferior education. With a new era of South Africa having emerged, the need for a new curriculum was immediate and obvious and therefore new textbook representations were obvious (Johannesson, 2004; Siebörger, 1994).

Subsequent to the ending of Apartheid and the first democratic election in 1994, a complete change in education was needed. This change needed to occur since there had been a shift in ideology and, therefore, the 'old' educative structure would have contradicted the new government ideology. There needed to be a complete overhaul of the curriculum and subsequently, textbooks (Johannesson, 2004; Polakow-Suransky, 2002).

Post-1994 saw a change in curriculum as an outcomes-based-educational system (or OBE) was introduced and because of the nature of the new curriculum, it did not make history a viable option for many. Only with the implementation of a new curriculum by Kader Asmal (Minister of Education, 1999-2004), did the schooling system seek to place an importance in history education as Asmal saw the importance of the history curriculum and nation building (Chisholm, n.d.). Thus the first attempt at a new curriculum, came about in the form of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) in 1997 (Bertram & Bharath, 2011). A curriculum plays an important role in the strengthening of a democracy and so the need to create a curriculum for a democratic nation was necessary but also problematic (Johannesson, 2004). C2005 took a while to get off the ground which also slowed down the creation of new history textbooks so many schools were still using the old Apartheid era textbooks (Johannesson, 2004; Polakow-

Suransky, 2002). Another aspect of the new curriculum was to try and not recreate any animosities between nations, so a decision was made about the history curriculum. History, in the younger years, amalgamated with Geography to form the Social Sciences. This in turn watered down the history being taught which strayed heavily from the content-driven history of the former years. The decision behind this was to downplay history so there would be no animosity (Polakow-Suransky, 2002).

South Africa's history curriculum has undergone many changes since 1994 in order to adapt to the changes in government as well as to decide what and whose history is important. There has only been a surge of scholarly research on South African textbooks since the 2000s (Bertram & Wassermann, 2015). This is indicative of the changing nature of history textbooks as well as an indication of niches within the academic market. In saying this, there are many comparative studies involved in Apartheid's curriculum and today's, however there are few comparative studies done on the depiction of other countries in South African history textbooks, specifically Russia. This opens a local gap for my study as my study compares Apartheid and post-Apartheid's representation of Russia within the history textbook.

2.6 Comparative Studies in History Textbooks

South Africa's political system shifted from the Apartheid era to the post-Apartheid era which created a different political ideology between the two thus allowing for a comparative outlook of the two eras. In the previous section, South Africa's different educative systems were compared with each other as the different ideologies of Apartheid and post-Apartheid allowed for such comparison. Comparative studies is a comparative tool that is considered the only tool one can use to assess the similarities or differences of the chosen topic and it helps to frame the problem and therefore conceptualise the hypothesis and the empirical data that you can use in order to test the hypothesis (Cavalli, 2016). Comparative education is often classified as an educational science as it discusses a myriad of educational systems and educational theories (Jing & Zhou, 1985). Comparative studies can occur within old and new textbooks of one country or a comparison of two countries within the same time period. Comparative studies in history textbooks provide a detailed outlook on the

historiography of the nation. Textbook research is changing and, as a new niche market is opening up with regard to textbook research; textbook research is no longer fixated on the message contained within the textbook but is more fixated on how the textbook is used within the classroom and how it is perceived by both the teacher and the students (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Gullion, 2010). Thus comparative studies can indicate a comparative look at textbooks in one nation between two ideological educational frames and it can also provide a comparative look between historiography of different nations.

History textbooks are used in comparative education to discover how different nations promote ideology or promote history and so history's role in education is often ambiguous (Pingel, 2008). Comparative studies in history education can ascertain similarities between two similar and dissimilar nations by exploring the history found in their textbooks. For example, a comparison of Turkish and Greek history textbooks found that each respective country shows a different history from each other that represents different perspectives of the conflict between those two nations (Barnard, 2003; Millas, 1991). The country being represented does not want to shed unfavourable light onto itself and would rather reflect on the neighbouring nation and thus place blame on it for the current issues in the country. During Turkish and Greek conflicts throughout history, the extreme violent acts undertaken by each of those countries have been omitted thus seizure of cities were bloodless and therefore seen as merciful (Millas, 1991). The older and newer books of Turkey and Greece respectively, share some similarities in their narratives but they do differ on some key aspects. Both old and new textbooks reiterate the sense of superiority between each nation and each nation claims ownership over the current world civilisation (Millas, 1991). Both styles of textbooks also ignore any positive aspect of foreign rule within the textbook, thus emphasising the importance of a unified nation and disgruntlement towards the other. The older textbooks reinforce a hatred towards the neighbour by using highly emotive words whereas the newer textbooks downplay the atrocities committed by the neighbouring country (Millas, 1991).

South African textbooks have also undergone comparative studies with Japan and the German Democratic Republic. The two respective studies focus on South Africa's Apartheid textbooks as its political climate held similarities with the other country. A

comparative study of Apartheid South Africa and Japan showed similarities in the curriculum content. Both countries' curriculum espoused nationalist, racist and ethno-centrist perspectives which promoted a certain ideology (Nishino, 2006).

Japan and Apartheid South Africa's textbooks have both received international criticism because of their known historical memory and have therefore been placed under scrutiny (Nishino, 2006). History and history education are both public topics and thus are opened for scrutiny (Nishino, 2006). The comparative nature of Japan and South Africa is because both South Africa and Japan are compatible in terms of their historical memory within the textbooks. According to Nishino (2006), Apartheid South Africa and Japan are compatible because of the following reasons: both countries developed into industrial economic powers, despite their lateness in comparison to other Western countries; both countries experienced a long period of one-party rule; both countries developed racial and ethnic policies and finally each nation experienced a "burden of exceptionalism" (pp. 24).

History textbooks show the change and continuity in history education (Nishino, 2006). Japan and Apartheid South Africa's textbooks display the history curricula as resistant to change and both perpetuate the ideology of the ruling elite. In Apartheid South African textbooks white supremacy is legitimised and the Afrikaner nationalism is glorified at the expense of the black people. In Japan's history textbooks, the state's responsibility in the Battle of Okinawa during the Pacific War is not only considered unclear but the textbooks are described as promoting a sense of nationalism aimed at the ruling elite (Nishino, 2006).

A comparative study of South Africa and the German Democratic Republic revealed two similarly transitional countries undergoing political and ideological change and how that impacted the history textbooks of each country (Chisholm, 2015). South Africa during Apartheid (1948 - 1994) showed similarities in its societal transition and ideological dominance to that of the GDR (1949 - 1990). The Chisholm (2015) study centres around how the two nation states developed their curriculum and how their curriculum changed nearing the end of their regime. As both societies were transitioning into a new period around the same time, a new curriculum was sought

and it was these new curricula that were discredited according to the new hegemonic standards of the world (Chisholm, 2015).

Each textbook depicts a nostalgic representation of the past as it emulates what society is desired now as the past was still present in the society. This gave the two countries an opportunity to distance the present from the past which would aid in the nostalgic overview (Chisholm, 2015). Although there were some fundamental differences between each ideology, it was the autonomy of these two states which allows for similarities to occur. The GDR followed a Marxist-Leninist perspective which focused on equality, which, ironically, supported anti-Apartheid views. South Africa focused on a more racial and nationalist education which promoted inequality amongst the different races. Even with these fundamental differences, both countries followed a master narrative and a state sanctioned history (Chisholm, 2015).

The social realities of the two countries differed and subsequently dealt with these realities differently. An example of this would be resistance. South Africa incurred mass daily resistance from the 1970s where the GDR did not experience such things. But the common denominator between these two countries' dealing with their social reality, initially was the lack of change in textbook conflict regarding the social tensions (Chisholm, 2015). The education and curriculum policy of each country was centralised and state sanctioned thus creating an overall control of what education is disseminated. Although, theoretically South Africa allowed the Bantustans (black areas) some control over their education however; in practice, the Bantustans were still liable to the centralised government and so were their education choices (Chisholm, 2015).

The ideological dissemination between the two countries held the similarities, but with regard to textbook layout, the similarity stops there. Chisholm (2015), states that the textbooks differ greatly in the layout which reflects each countries' perspective of the textbook as a pedagogical tool. The GDR's textbook contained more visual texts and more word boxed texts whereas South Africa's textbooks offered more assessment tasks although the assessments called for more of a rote learning technique where the GDR asked for more descriptive answers.

Both countries' textbooks illustrate a sense of social and civic responsibility to the nation. The difference in these textbooks representations occur near the end of each country's reign. The imminence of Apartheid's end heralded a fluctuation of alternative textbooks with alternative perspectives which provided a broader historical context. The GDR however, continued to promote the socialist perspective as late as 1988 (with the falling of the Soviet states occurring a year later). The 1988 textbooks of the GDR remained largely unchanged when compared to their textbooks of 1969 (Chisholm, 2015). The study conducted by Chisholm (2015) clearly outlines the comparative nature of history as well as identifying that dissimilar countries can display vast aspects of similarities in their education dissemination.

Comparative education is deemed as a science as it investigates various educational techniques and how they can be applied elsewhere. Internal comparisons as well as foreign comparison is vital to academic growth. Using comparative education also helps aid people and nations to focus less on viewed selected identities (Cavalli, 2016). There are few comparative studies involving Russia's perception in outside textbooks and there are little to no studies involving the representation of Russia within Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. Although there are many South African studies comparing Apartheid and post-Apartheid education, there are few to no studies pertaining to Russia's perception in the two era textbooks; thus a gap in the comparative literature is found.

2.7 Conclusion

This literature review has provided a scholarly outlook and scaffolding for my own research. The purpose of this literature review is to validate my research with other scholarly works and to identify any gaps within the literature. In this chapter I have outlined a series of themes regarding my textbook research and the gaps that I have discovered. My focus has been multi-focal.

First, I have outlined the nature and purpose of textbooks in general in order to focus on the importance of textbook use in the classroom. Secondly, a more narrow approach to textbook research followed when I discussed history textbooks and their

influence in the dissemination of 'correct' historical consciousness. Thirdly, as my scholarly overview needs to provide a framework for my own study, a look into Russia in textbooks and South Africa in textbooks was necessary. Both Russia and South Africa have undergone both political and ideological changes which is why their representation within textbooks or their own textbooks is a necessary discussion. And fourthly, my study focuses on a comparative investigation hence a discussion of other comparative textbook research is needed to underscore my own research.

The academic writings will underpin my own research and provide a structure for it. A gap in the literature has been identified and this will be further discussed in the subsequent chapters. The gap in the literature pertains to any pieces of writing that reflect Russia's representation within South African history textbooks on both Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research design and its subsequent methodology provide an integral outline of any researcher's work and before one can set about conducting one's research, it is important to provide a sturdy scaffolding of not only a research design and methodology but that of a literature review too. A literature review helps maintain the focus of what it is under study and it will further guide the researcher in noticing the gaps in the literature which in turn allows for the creation of the research design. The previous chapter reviewed literature history textbooks as noted by other scholars through the medium of a literature review. It articulated that textbooks often are a double-edged sword as they are the transmitters of knowledge but their knowledge often comes with an agenda. The literature review focused on both textbooks in general as well as history textbooks with a further emphasis on Russia and South Africa in textbooks and history textbooks. The literature review then highlighted the gap in knowledge found within the literature which then provided the scaffold for my subsequent research design and its methodologies.

This chapter will be divided into two sections: research design and research methodology. Research design will clearly outline the approach I have undertaken as well as the paradigm into which this approach falls. Furthermore, this section details the epistemological and ontological assumptions of my study as well as providing a clear insight into my sampling methods. It also includes any ethical issues encountered during this study. The subsequent section of research methodology will entail how I go about my analysis. This section will detail the methods I have used to analyse the relevant data in order to answer my posed research questions. Research design and research methodology cannot be divorced from one another and each section will maintain the focus of my study which is how Russia is represented in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks.

There is an inextricable link between research design and methodology. Each aid in the development of the study and help guide the researcher into what needs to be researched and how. These two factors provide a scaffold for the researcher in what needs to be researched and how it is to be researched; which is why research design and research methodologies are paramount to the study.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is a blueprint, a plan, of what will be discussed and used in a study (Mouton, 2001). It outlines what approaches need to be used, what paradigm to adopt and what methods need to be used in order to analyse the required information which essentially will answer the research questions (Mouton, 2001; Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch, & Sikes, 2005).

Research design and research methodologies are often confused (Mouton, 2001; Wellington et al., 2005). A research design is a plan and the methodologies outline the strategy of the methods that are used to collect the data. It is important to first outline my research design as it will explain the fundamentals of my research and thus provide the reasoning behind my chosen method of data analysis.

As a research design provides a blueprint that allows for the maintenance of methodological standards, it also uses the combination of a research approach and the procedures used to analyse the data in order to ensure the trustworthiness of the data (Creswell, 2009; Gerring, 2011). The research design needs to clearly stipulate the epistemological and ontological assumptions which in turn reinforce the philosophical perspective or the paradigm of the study (Creswell, 2009 cites Crotty, 1998). The purpose of the research design is to safeguard the data collection to maintain methodological standards.

My research design section will discuss how the selected qualitative approach is beneficial for my study and how it fits into the interpretivist paradigm. This section will seek to explore the epistemological and ontological assumptions made in this chapter

and how they link to my research. Each of these aspects (approach, paradigm and epistemological and ontological assumptions, sampling and ethical issues) allow for the study to be explained and thus provide grounding for the subsequent section: research methodology.

Just as architects need a blueprint to press forward with their buildings so a researcher needs a blueprint to continue with his or her research. The design of the study provides a constant reiteration of focus for the researcher as the research needs to be in-line with the approach, paradigm and epistemological and ontological assumptions. The research design is the prelude to the methodologies used to analyse the information.

3.3 Qualitative Approach

A research approach provides a planning for the research process which is normally underscored by the chosen paradigm (Maxwell, 2013). My study involves the qualitative approach which provides more of a flexible planning structure for my qualitative research and is complemented by the interpretivist paradigm (which will be discussed later) (Maxwell, 2013). The qualitative approach has been selected for two reasons: qualitative approach allows for flexibility as the approach is not pre-determined by a specific structure which allows the researcher to create their own structure based on the findings; the purpose of the qualitative approach is to seek to understand the world and to make meaning from experiences (Kahlke, 2014; Maxwell, 2013). Because qualitative work is largely based on empirical data and contextual understanding of that data, research questions are posed first, rather than having an hypothesis as an answer cannot yet be known (Dudovskiy, 2011; Maxwell, 2013). Once the data is analysed, then patterns will emerge which would be able to provide an answer for the posed research questions (Dudovskiy, 2011).

The purpose of the qualitative approach is to understand the world and to interpret meanings from the experiences (Kahlke, 2014). There is a relationship between the knower and the known as the researcher interprets the data from where it was found and the knower seeks to answer “what, how and why” (Kaya, 2013). Basic qualitative approach can stand alone as the main approach which is also not restrictive in its

application of analytical methods, in other words, there is no strict academic criteria of science to follow in order to achieve the desired interpretation (Flick, 2006; Kahlke, 2014; Maxwell, 2013). The qualitative approach conceptualises the social relationships determined by society which aids in the knowledge gain of developing and testing what is already known (Flick, 2006, p. 15).

“The word ‘qualitative’ implies an emphasis on the qualities or entities and on the processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured” and it can be broken down into two concepts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 14). *Rationalism* states that experience (empiricism) of the senses is not always the best thing and *Relativism* states that the reality that we perceive is always conditioned by our experiences and our culture. In other words, the researcher’s own perspectives can often influence the research; there is always an uncertainty of the truth (Willis, 2007). This is where the qualitative approach is a valid link to the interpretive paradigm, as the qualitative approach tries to interpret social realities and the interpretive paradigm revolves around the two central ideas of *Relativism* and *Rationalism* (Kahlke, 2014; Willis, 2007).

As with any approach and any study, there are limitations to my using the qualitative approach in my study. Findings under the qualitative approach are contextually dependent as well as interpretative (Kaya, 2013). In order to maintain the trustworthiness of the data, certain measures need to be taken. Using the interpretive qualitative approach means that the researcher needs to maintain the contextual standards during analysis which means the researcher needs to remain closer to the original work (Kahlke, 2014 cites Sandelowski, 2000; Kaya, 2013). This maintenance requires there to be little judgement and biases need to be made known (Kaya, 2013).

My research cannot be experimentally measured, rather it focuses on *how* Russia is represented in two different ideological eras of South Africa, which therefore focuses on the social construction of the data analysed. Thus, my research falls under the umbrella of qualitative because qualitative approach calls for the stress of a version of reality posed, a social construction which mirrors that of my study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Kahlke, 2014). Thus, this forms the strength of my selected approach, as my study involves an interpretation of a represented social reality (Bauer, Gaskell, &

Allum, 2000). The flexibility of the qualitative approach based on the premise of reality being a social construction complements the qualitative research because it develops an understanding of the world through interpretation of the data.

Qualitative research is more relevant to the study of social relations as it forms an understanding of the different worlds through the use of empirical data collection which is then used to interpret social realities (Bauer et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Flick, 2006). There is no clear-cut version of reality, the purpose of the research is then to understand the socially constructed version of reality. This ties into my study as it will investigate the socially constructed version of history found in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. What qualitative researchers investigate pertains to knowledge gain and what type of knowledge is available and why it is developed in that way.

The purpose of a qualitative researcher is “to locate the observer in the world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 4). The qualitative researcher attempts to understand his/her surroundings by interpreting the information within the naturalistic settings and trying to make sense of the collected data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). In turn, the qualitative researcher applies his/her own theoretical assumptions based on his/her background and thus his/her own interpretations to the collected data (Flick, 2006). As a result, it can be suggested that reality is socially constructed and is dependent on many factors as theories designed by the qualitative researcher are considered versions of the world and therefore a version of reality thus, these attributes shape the investigation of the qualitative researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Flick, 2006).

The qualitative researcher needs to incorporate three aspects into his/her research. The first being to understand that constructed events and actions within the social context is pertinent rather than to rationalise it. Secondly, the qualitative researcher needs to remain true to the context in which he/she finds his/her research. Thus, thirdly, the use of concepts to understand the context and participants need to be contextualised and understood from whence they came. There should be no generalised version of reality, rather a “contextually valid account of social life” (Mouton, 1996 cites Rock, 1982).

As with any approach, qualitative research has limitations in the study. Qualitative research relies heavily on the researchers' interpretation of the social reality found within the data (Bauer et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Consequently, with any interpretation, the possibility of subjectivities of the data can be an obstruction to the research. To ensure the trustworthiness of the data collected and to eradicate as much bias from my research as possible, it underwent a series of reviews in which my supervisor made constructive comments. My research also underwent constructive criticism in the form of a Master's cohort, in which, colleagues contributed their opinions to the research in order for it to remain as objective as possible. Although research bias is unavoidable, these preventative methods help maintain the objectivity as much as possible. It is also important to identify the biases that could occur and monitor them throughout the research and the shaping of the research (Merriam, 2009).

The second limitation to qualitative research is that of its lack of generalisability. The data perceived by the researcher cannot be generalised and it cannot be used to categorise another event of a similar nature (Bauer et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Dudovskiy, 2011). This is a limitation of my study as well as a positive aspect. Because my research is unique to any other situation, it therefore allows for a gap in literature to occur. As a qualitative researcher, I cannot do anything about the lack of generalisability in my research, but I can at least add to the research collection.

Qualitative research seeks to understand a socially constructed reality. Each reality is different and the qualitative researcher seeks to understand the difference through an interpretation of the context in which the reality is found (Bauer et al., 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Flick, 2006). Thus this works in accordance with my study as I am seeking to understand the reality of Russia found within two ideologically different history textbooks.

3.4 Interpretivist Paradigm

A paradigm is a theoretical assumption that generates a set of metaphysical beliefs (Willis, 2007). The characterisation of which can be broken down into five components (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Willis, 2007 cites Chalmers, 1982). The first two components

of a paradigm postulate the “theoretical assumptions” or “stated laws” (pp. 8) and how these laws are applied to a variety of situations. The third component of a paradigm is the use of instrumentation and its techniques to facilitate the usefulness of the paradigm within reality. The final two characteristics that outline a paradigm relate to how work is maintained within the paradigm: the metaphysical guidelines are used to scaffold the work and the proposed methodologies which then aid in expressing how work is conducted in the paradigm itself. Suffice to say that a paradigm scaffolds the research and subsequently guides the researcher in his/her investigation (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Willis, 2007 cites Chalmers, 1982).

A research paradigm is important because the “stated laws” help guide the researcher’s investigation (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Willis, 2007, p. 8). There are many types of paradigms, and each facilitates the researcher in his or her research. Each paradigm is dependent on the type of research approach used. The paradigm in turn helps emphasise the epistemological and ontological assumptions of the study, which is also what guides the researcher in his/her study. I have selected the interpretivist paradigm as it complements that of the qualitative approach because it acknowledges the social construction of reality (Willis, 2007).

Upon researching the interpretivist paradigm, a contradiction was discovered amongst scholars. Some scholars view the interpretivist paradigm and the constructivist paradigm as two separate entities, whilst some scholars view the constructivist paradigm as synonymous with the interpretivist paradigm (Creswell, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Willis, 2007). My belief tends to lean towards the latter set of scholars as constructivists, too, believe that reality is socially constructed and the goal of “social constructivism” is to understand the world and so the terms are often used interchangeably (Creswell, 2009, p. 37). Interpretivism is seen as constructivist because the ontology is relativist and the epistemology is subjectivist which describes knowledge as dependent on the society as there are no outside forces affecting knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 32). This categorisation of the interpretivist and constructivist paradigm reinforces my assertion of those two paradigms being synonymous because both refer to reality as being socially constructed therefore the perceived knowledge of Russia as represented in South African history textbooks is dependent on the socio-political climate therefore, socially constructed. In this study, I

will follow the interpretivist paradigm rather than constructivism, purely because I do not want to cause confusion when using the terms interchangeably; it is good to maintain the focus under one name. Also, much of the literature I have read pertains to the interpretivist paradigm, so although I agree that constructivism and interpretivism should be categorised the same, I still choose to use interpretivism as it is the name with which I am most comfortable.

My research is underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm. The interpretive or interpretivist paradigm is based on the premise that reality is socially constructed (Creswell, 2009; Flick, 2006; Mack, 2010; Willis, 2007). Interpretivists try to understand the world around them as there are different interpretations of reality therefore, reality is viewed in multiple perspectives (Creswell, 2009; Mack, 2010). Thus this paradigm is suitable for my own research as it incorporates the interpretation of Russian history based on the ideological climate of Apartheid and post-Apartheid therefore, it too would be socially constructed.

Interpretivism can be categorised by three specific features (Creswell, 2009 cites Crotty, 1998). The first criterion pertains to interpretation as the world is interpreted by human beings through their own involvement and as a result meanings are constructed through this said engagement. The second criterion stipulates that the meanings created are shaped based on the historical and social perspective of the said human. Thus the meaning that is created is then interpreted based on pre-existing beliefs. Hence, when interpretivists try to understand the world around them, they are basing their interpretations on their own experiences and background. The final criterion postulates that meaning is always socially constructed as it is dependent on the society in which humans find themselves. Thus, qualitative research falls into the paradigm of Interpretivism as the research obtains meaning from the data.

Research is socially constructed as it is influenced by pre-existing terms, it in turn creates a reality that is of the same (Willis, 2007). The interpretation of the data is then based on the researcher's perspective and pre-existing thoughts which allows for interpretation and understanding to become a social construction of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The interpretivist's goal is not to seek for *the* truth, but a truth. There is no search for a specific truth (therefore qualitative) because the truth is

in the interpretation of the knower's world; therefore, interpretivists offer enlightenment on human behaviour (Zhao, 2001, p. 392).

As the interpretivists do not seek a specific truth, they are not trying to prove anything but rather trying to understand. The interpretivist paradigm follows the research and then subsequently, a theory is devised from what has been researched or analysed, thus an interpretation (theory) is developed from the research (Cohen & Manion, 1994). The interpretive paradigm offers insight and a greater understanding of the world (Zhao, 2001). Although there is a contradictory debate amongst scholars about whether the ability to construct meaning lies in the collective or the individual, the importance behind this debate is that it is still in the hands of the person or persons to construct meaning and to generate understanding of the world (Mack, 2010; Willis, 2007, p. 19 cites Gall et al, 1996).

As with any paradigm research, there are limitations to the interpretivist paradigm. Because this particular paradigm cannot be observed through the outside and can only be observed through direct experiences, it therefore cannot be generalised (Mack, 2010). As this is a characteristic of the interpretivist paradigm, the researcher has to be aware of the non-generalizability of the paradigm.

Interpretivists aim to understand the subjective nature of reality by interpreting that reality (Cohen & Manion, 1994). A limitation of this is that it allows for a subjective view of that observed reality. The epistemological and ontological assumptions can help guide the researcher in terms of the nature of reality and what possibly can be known which can therefore aid in the trustworthiness of the study and help keep the subjectivity to a minimum.

As the paradigm selected for my research is that of the interpretivist paradigm, my research is therefore not based on any axiomatic rules guided by the paradigm but it involves the particular perception and understanding of Russia's representation in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Willis, 2007). Reality has different truths; these truths are sought by interpretivists. Interpretivism has three factors which tie into my own research: Interpretivists believe in a socially

constructed reality; the focus of which is how the reality is created and understanding on social context is sought (Willis, 2007).

3.5 Epistemological and Ontological Assumptions

Ontology and epistemology deal with two different factions of thought respectively: Ontology relates to the nature of reality (what can exist) and epistemology questions the relationship between the inquirer and the known (what we can know) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Willis, 2007). These assumptions help frame the paradigm being used and in turn aid in the development of the methodologies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

Ontology refers to the nature of things which essentially focuses on being human in the world and how a reality is seen from that person's perspective. Ontology also gauges whether that perspective is indeed a concept of social reality, in other words, ontology notes how one perceives the world (Wellington et al., 2005). In other words, reality is socially constructed; a person's perspective or background shapes their version of reality. How I, as a researcher and my own person, perceive the world has influenced my type of research questions.

As ontology refers to the nature of reality, it helps identify the reality found within the Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. The textbooks under study take place within two different ideological eras and this can affect the nature of reality. The ontological assumption works closely with the interpretivist paradigm as the paradigm focuses on the social construction of reality thus affecting the nature of reality under study (Willis, 2007). This affects my study, because the social construction of reality is dependent on the ideological time-frame (Apartheid or post-Apartheid) therefore my ontological assumption shows an understanding of the nature of reality found within each ideological era. Thus, the ontological assumption is that the construction of reality is dependent on the particular ideological era.

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge (Wellington et al., 2005) that asks two questions: how do we know what we know? And how do we know that we know what we know? (McGee, 1975). Epistemology questions what constitutes knowledge and where it originates and whose knowledge it is (Wellington et al., 2005).

Epistemology describes the theory of knowledge and what can possibly be known. This ties in with my research as what can possibly be known from my research is that *how* Russia is represented in Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. The two differing ideologies represented by the chosen textbooks will help explain whose knowledge is being represented, as each ideology has differing perspectives of knowledge. The interpretivist paradigm allows for the researcher to follow the research and then make logical inferences, thus an attempt to understand the surroundings and the contextually constituted knowledge is made (Cohen & Manion, 1994). Thus, the theory of knowledge or what can be possibly known can be derived from the context of each ideological era. The knowledge therefore, pertained within the textbooks is presumed to influence the representation of Russia and therefore helps establish a theory of knowledge.

The ontological and epistemological bearings of the interpretivist paradigm seek to find a truth (ontological) and form an understanding of it based on its context (epistemological). In terms of my study, the ontological perception would be to seek a truth behind Russia's representation in history textbooks and the epistemological aspect would pertain to how Russia's representations in the South African textbooks affect our understanding of the different political eras. Ontology and epistemology can therefore be construed as metaphysics as there is no other reality other than what is in our heads therefore we create our own reality (Willis, 2007).

3.6 Sampling

When conducting research, it is impossible to incorporate the entire research population, thus a selection or sample of the representative group is initialised in order to gain a solid representation (Chaturvedi, n.d.). Every study needs a sample in order for data to be analysed and it is the approach the study has chosen that will determine the size of the sample needed for the study. A sample is essentially a smaller representation of what is under study and it is intended to encapsulate a smaller representation of the population.

Sampling is a much needed process within the research. Sampling allows for the researcher to select a portion size that will be able to reflect the general population. It is near impossible for a researcher to select an entire population size within the study which is why a sampling portion is selected in order for a proportional size of data collection to occur. There are many types of sampling methods; the methods I have selected are convenience sampling (availability) and purposive (hand-picked) sampling.

Convenience sampling is a type of non-probability sampling that allows me to select the most convenient samples based on availability (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Marshall, 1996; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). My selection of Apartheid era history textbooks was predominantly based on convenience sampling as only a few textbooks were available to me. I did however, incorporate some purposive sampling into my Apartheid selected textbooks as I only needed three of the five books available to me. I will discuss each sampling choice (convenience and purposive) separately.

Convenience sampling was used to select my Apartheid era textbooks. The availability of these textbooks was a problem, which is why the selected books were chosen because they were made available to me. Apartheid textbooks are a previous generation of textbooks and are no longer used in schools as they do not reflect the current socio-political state therefore, they are no longer in circulation. Because of this, the availability of these textbooks in schools or libraries is scarce. I initially struggled to find any Apartheid era textbooks. I approached a few colleagues who worked in schools that offered history as a subject, and not one could procure the book from their storerooms because the books had been removed from the storerooms years previously. I had mentioned this problem in our Master's group and one of my colleagues had old textbooks in her storeroom. My supervisor collected them for me and I selected the textbooks that contained my chapter of discussion, Russian history. Convenience sampling is a suitable method of data collection because I had little to no other options. The selected Apartheid textbooks align with the Afrikaner Nationalist historiography and therefore tie in with the idea that textbooks represent the ideology of the day.

Only five Apartheid era textbooks with the chapter of Russian history were available. The study would become too cumbersome and surpass the scope of a Master's Degree if I had selected five textbooks from each era, so I had to purposively select three textbooks from the five available. I made the selection based on two aspects: to ensure a wide range of dates so I could get a comprehensive depiction of the Apartheid history timeline; to use the same publisher, if possible, to that of the post-Apartheid era textbooks to create a sense of continuance of the perspective of the publisher in two different eras.

The Apartheid era textbooks and their chapters selected by convenience sampling are listed below. Each book will be allocated a new title which will then be used in my findings chapter.

Book A1 (South Africa in the modern world (1910-1970), 1974, publisher: Shuter and Shooter, Standard 10 [Grade 12]): Chapter 3 (pp. 40-62) is the unit under analysis. Chapter 3 is entitled: *The Growth of Totalitarian Powers: Communist Russia to 1939*. The chapter has been selected because it details Russia's conditions before 1914 and the events that led to and the events after the Russian Revolution in 1917. The first two pages are dedicated to conditions in Russia before 1914 and the events that led to the Russian Revolution. The chapter layout predominantly focuses on life in Russia after the 1917 revolution up to a portion of Stalin's reign.

Book A2 (Timelines, 1988, publisher: Maskew Miller Longman, Standard 10 [Grade 12]): Chapter 1: *The rise of Soviet Russia* which falls under the heading: *The rise of the Super-powers, 1917 to 1939* (pp. 1-24) is the unit being analysed. The initial heading of the chapter does not allude to much (other than Russia becoming a Soviet state) as it only states "The rise of Soviet Russia" but the content of the chapter goes into greater detail. The contents page introducing the chapter outlines all the necessary information contained in the chapter. The chapter discusses conditions in Russia before the 1917 revolution. That section is detailed in the first five pages of the chapter, the rest of the chapter is dedicated to the 1917 Revolution and Lenin and Stalin's reign. This chapter includes a one-page assessment page.

Book A3 (History for Today, 1989, publisher: Juta & Co, Ltd, Standard 10 [Grade 12]): Part One: General History is the section under study. This textbook is broken down into themes. Theme one: *The rise of the Superpowers* is divided into four chapters. Only the first two chapters pertain to my study. This theme is subdivided into two countries Russia and America. The country under study is that of Russia, so the units of analysis will be both chapter 1: *Discontent and revolution: The emergence of Communist Russia* (pp.1-34) and chapter 2: *The transformation of Russia: The growth of the Communist Superpower* (pp. 35-64). Chapter 1 details life in Russia prior to 1917 and the events leading up to the Russian Revolution in 1917 including the Bolshevik victory of the Civil War in 1922. Chapter 2 includes life in Communist Russia after the Bolshevik victory under the reign of Lenin and Stalin.

Purposive sampling suggests that my samples are hand-picked for a specific purpose (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Marshall, 1996; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). I had an array of post-Apartheid era history textbooks from which to choose, so my sampling method was purposive as I selected my three textbooks based on my specific needs. The selected post-Apartheid era textbooks are currently in circulation and they follow the most recent curriculum structure, The Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). This made it easier for me to not only find textbooks but to also select the textbooks needed. Two criteria controlled my selection of the history textbooks. The first criterion was that I wanted to select a post-Apartheid history textbook that had the same publisher as an Apartheid era history book I had selected. The second criterion was the use of the textbook within the classroom; I wanted to select a book or books that were commonly used in the history classroom. I asked my history teacher colleagues what history textbooks they used in the classroom and so I generated a list of the common textbooks used. Purposive sampling works for my post-Apartheid textbook selection as I had seven books from which to choose and therefore, I could select the textbooks based on my own purpose. The post-Apartheid era History textbooks all follow the current CAPS curriculum. They all encapsulate a section on Russian history.

Book B1 (Top Class, History, 2012, publisher: Shuter & Shooter, Grade 11 [Standard 9]): the textbook is divided into terms and the term being analysed is *Term 1: Communism in Russia 1900-1940* with the sub-heading: *How was Communism*

applied in Russia under Lenin and Stalin? (pp.1-51). The chapter is introduced by first commenting on the major players who applied Communism in Russia, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. The chapter then details the movement that led up to the 1917 Russian Revolution and the players who took charge of that. Following the Revolution, the Civil War and life in Communist Russia under the leaders Lenin and Stalin are explained.

Book B2 (Focus, History, 2012, publisher: Maskew Miller Longman, Grade 11 [Standard 9]): the textbook is divided into terms. The term under study will be Term 1 which is the first unit in the textbook. The unit being analysed is *Unit 1: Communist Russia, 1900 to 1940* (pp. 12-90). The unit is divided into 12 chapters, all of which pertain to Russian history and all of which fall under the same key question: *How was Communism applied in Russia under Lenin and Stalin?* The chapter begins with an analysis of the key players in the Russian Revolution as well as detailing the importance of the Russian Revolution. The chapter divulges more information about Communism itself and how it was applied under Lenin's rule. The next few chapters dictate the events leading up to the Russian Revolution and the key players involved in the revolution. Chapter 5 onwards details Russia under the rule of Lenin and Stalin.

Book B3 (Viva History, 2012, publisher: Vivlia, Grade 11 [Standard 9]): The textbook is divided into terms and the term being analysed is *Term 1: Communism in Russia, 1900-1940* (pp. 3-56). The unit opens up with a chapter overview as well as an inclusion of the political parties of Russia. The unit starts its discussion with a description of the different economic policies of the world. Units 1 and 2 describe the different economic policies as well as the events leading to the 1917 Russian Revolution. Unit 3 details Lenin's interpretation of Communism and how it was applied in Russia. The last unit details Stalin's rule in Russia.

I have selected three textbooks from two different eras of South African history: the first being Apartheid South Africa and the second being post-Apartheid. As a result of only selecting three textbooks per era, I have put a self-induced limitation on my study. The reason for only selecting three textbooks is simple: any more would prove too much and too lengthy for the time available in my study, however, three would be enough for a clear representation of my study. The analytical focus of these textbooks will only be that of the written body text; I have decided to exclude sources from the

analysis as the study would have become too large thus creating another self-inducing limitation however based on practicality.

3.7 Ethical Issues

Maintaining ethical standards is an important part in any research. Ethical clearance within the qualitative field is becoming more pertinent and ethical standards cannot be breached in any study (Bresler, 1995; Wolff-Michael, 2005). Ethical standards safeguard the participants, the schools or any other institution (Wolff-Michael, 2005). Regardless of the research and the type of research approach undertaken, ethics is an important factor in the research.

Although my research pertains solely to history textbooks, which are accessible in the public domain, I still had to adhere to the ethical standards of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As with any institution, ethical standards need to be maintained by the researcher by informing the institution of his/her study. My study did not require any participants, and all my data came from a public domain, so I applied for ethical exemption when submitting my research proposal which took place on 29 May, 2015. I received approval for my study on 3 June, 2015. Refer to Appendix A for my ethical acceptance letter.

My research used textbooks from Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras. Although Apartheid era textbooks are no longer in circulation and are therefore difficult to come by, this does not in any way preclude them from the public domain. They are available, however, many schools have chosen to dispose of antiquated textbooks. I have used a coding system in my research to describe the textbooks from each era. This was not done to hide any details regarding the book. It was done solely to aid me in my analysis and to prevent any overt bias towards an era or books.

3.8 Research Methodology

Research methodology outlines the strategy undertaken to collect and analyse the data (Mouton, 2001). Previously, the research design provided the theoretical framework for what will be researched and why. Research methodology is the practical

application of the theories aforementioned with an outline of the tools used to analyse the data.

The outline of the practical application for this study is imperative as it discusses *how* the data will be analysed, thus ensuring the trustworthiness of the data. A clear outline of what tools or methods will be used during the analytical process is imperative to the trustworthiness of the study.

This section will first provide a detailed description of how qualitative research will dictate the types of methods used to analyse the data. Although still part of the theoretical framework, it provides more of a practical reasoning behind certain methodological choices made in this study. There are a myriad of methods available, but only a few are relevant to this study therefore, it is necessary for a clear outline of what tools are necessary for this study and why. Secondly, the research methodology section will discuss the type of analysis used in this study. The baseline of textual analysis used is that of content analysis as this forms the foundation for its subdivision, qualitative content analysis. This form of analysis allows for the use of open-coding as qualitative content analysis does not rely upon pre-determined systematic codes or themes, merely the themes that emerge from the data. As my study is a comparative investigation it requires a detailed description of comparative methodology and how it is used to enhance my research.

The method or tool behind the analysis is that of the open-coding system. This will provide a layout of the process undertaken in order to identify what themes and patterns were discovered as a result. A detailed plan of how I go about analysing the data to create theme is of vital importance as this will be able to decipher the themes and patterns discovered which in turn reiterate the methodology of qualitative content analysis.

The research methodology provides the best possible execution of data analysis of the chosen textbooks (data) which is clearly outlined in the research design which provides the needed springboard for the necessary methods to be developed.

As part of the research methodology, I have had to adopt a certain tool in order to analyse the data. This tool is qualitative content analysis, a subsection of content analysis which is a type of textual analysis. In order to fully understand textual analysis,

one first needs to have an understanding of the word “text”. A text is anything from which an interpretation can be gleaned and this can be in any form from film to television programmes to magazines and many more (McKee, 2002). In my study, the written text under scrutiny is that of textbooks of two different eras: Apartheid and post-Apartheid.

The reason behind textual analysis is to gather information about how other people see the world. In my study the text under study will pertain only to the written body text found within the selected textbook chapter. This will however, exclude any sources. I have chosen to exclude sources for two reasons: the first being that the sources make up a range of styles including written and pictorial and if I include one, I would have to include the other; the second reason is that the study would become too large and cumbersome. Cartoons and pictures will not be included in this study’s textual analysis as my only focus will be that of written text and not pictorial text. The objective of textual analysis, therefore is an interpretation of the reality found within the selected textbooks (McKee, 2002).

There are many forms of text, but the sole focus, in my study, will be that of written text but it will preclude that of images, cartoons and graphs. The methodology I have used to analyse the textual analysis is that of both content analysis and qualitative content analysis as they both can work hand-in-hand with each other to decipher the themes and patterns found within the text.

3.9.1 Content Analysis

The purpose of content analysis is to provide a scaffold for the phenomena under study (Elo & Knygäs, 2008). Content analysis therefore, forms the basis for understanding of the said phenomena (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 314 cite Downe-Womboldt). Two aspects of the text are focused on when using content analysis: syntactical and semantic. Syntactical is the study of signs and images, whereas semantics, is a study of the expression of the text (Bauer et al., 2000). My study will focus on semantics as to incorporate both semantic and syntactical analysis would be too lengthy. The semantic analysis is suitable for my study as it involves a study of the actual written text and as semantics is a study of word frequency, chosen vocabulary and their order within the sentence as well as the influence the writing style has on a

particular audience, it is therefore suitable because it focuses on the influence writing has on the audience (Bauer et al., 2000).

Content analysis is a study of social artefacts which allows for a comparative or a cross-cultural study (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Messinger, 2012). Textbooks change over time and thus a change in cultural differences and cultural censorship can be noticed over the ages. This change can only be identified or noticed through an analysis of patterns of each textbook era, but this analysis needs to be objective in its endeavour to notice the changes (Cohen & Manion, 1994). Classical content analysis makes inferences from focal text to its social context in an objectified manner (Bauer et al., 2000).

The semantic dimensions aforementioned for content analysis are synonymous with the process of identifying themes generally associated with content analysis. As content analysis is a summary of data, therefore some systematic examination of recurrent themes need to be identified and grouped together by the use of a coding system (Wilkinson, 1997). Content analysis is multi-purposive (Bauer et al., 2000; Cohen & Manion, 1994). It is able to identify changing themes and patterns in communication as well as identifying the connotations behind the themes discovered. A comparison of the text is therefore required in order to infer the differences or similarities found. Content analysis aids in style analysis which contributes to the discovery of techniques of persuasion found within the text. With the analysis of techniques of persuasion, a theme emerges from the text aimed for a specific audience and as a result categories are created. Lastly, content analysis is used to reconstruct the knowledge uncovered as language is used to represent the world (Bauer et al., 2000 cite Krippendorff, 1980; Cohen & Manion, 1994 cites Holsti, 1968).

The multi-purposive research method, content analysis investigates a broad spectrum of problems by inferring the emotional states or themes based on word-usage which creates content-related categories (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Elo & Knygäs, 2008). These themes are identified through a systematic code which will place these themes in the appropriate categories that will show the inferences that are calculated from the data (Cohen & Manion, 1994; Elo & Knygäs, 2008; Wilkinson, 1997). The themes are coded by noting the prominence within the text and how they appear in the text thus

this enables theories to be developed which can explain the patterns of the themes in the data (Messinger, 2012).

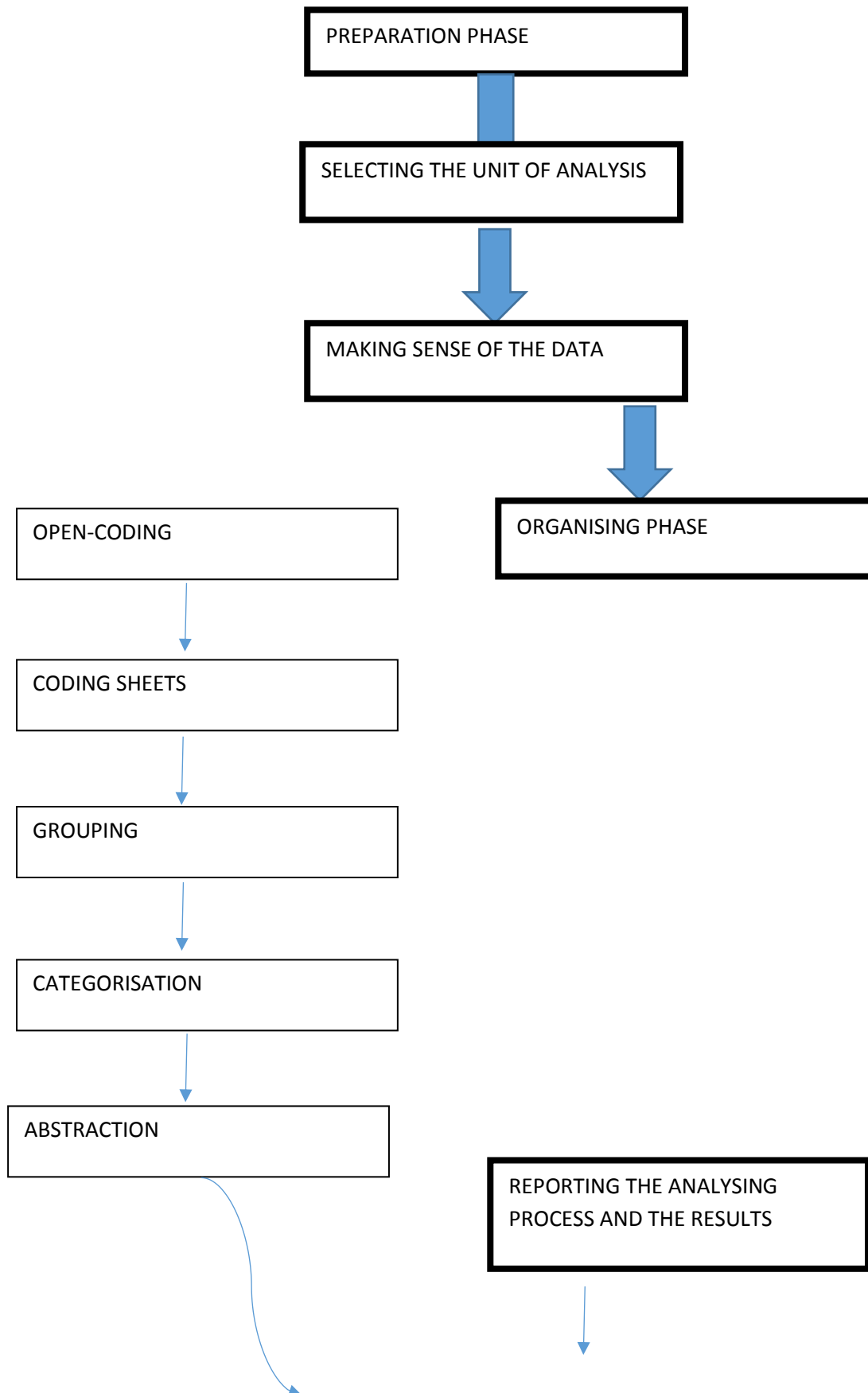
3.9.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

Discrepancies were uncovered in my research of qualitative content analysis. It is either used as a phrase to illustrate that the content analysis is indeed only qualitative or it is used to discuss a mixed-method approach of inducting both qualitative and quantitative methods into the study. My study will be incorporating the definition of the former as my study is purely qualitative.

Qualitative content analysis is a subdivision of content analysis which involves an inductive study of the text which includes a subjective interpretation of the content of the text through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Elo & Knygäs, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The interpretation of the texts is an empirical procedure which results in a theory being developed by its subsequent coding material (Flick, 2006). Qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language and how it has been contextualised within the text (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005 cite Budd, Thorpe, Danohew, 1967).

There are three main phases to the induction process: preparation, organising and reporting (Elo & Knygäs, 2008). The first phase, preparation, selects a theme or unit of analysis which would fall under the broad historical eras under study: Russia under the Tsarist Regime; Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution; Russia under Lenin and Russia under Stalin. Organising the themes is the second phase and this is where the method of open-coding comes into play. Notes are written alongside the text first and then they are further categorised by creating a list of themes and their description in my notebook. I did not generate coding sheets for this part as it was not necessary, it worked better for me to write the emerged theme in my notebook and then directly transfer it to the study. The final phase is reporting or my analysis. As the categories allow for an understanding of the phenomena under study, thus the categories are then interpreted. The inductive process, which incorporates the characteristics of language, can best be shown in the diagram below:

Diagram 1: Induction process



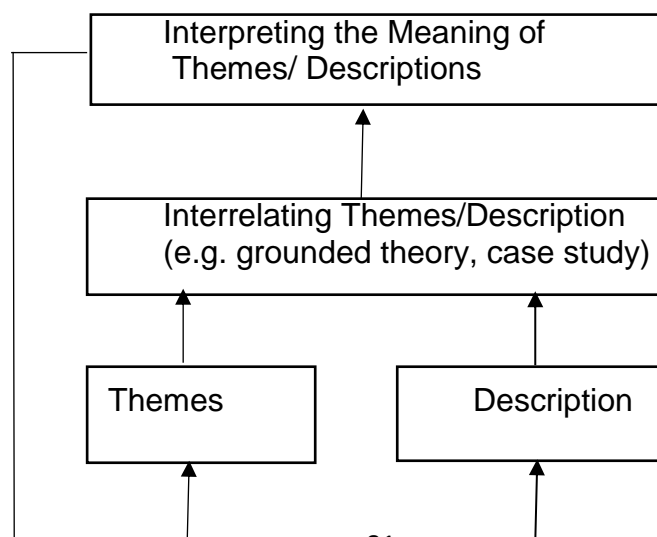
MODEL, CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM,
CONCEPTUAL MAP, OR CATEGORIES

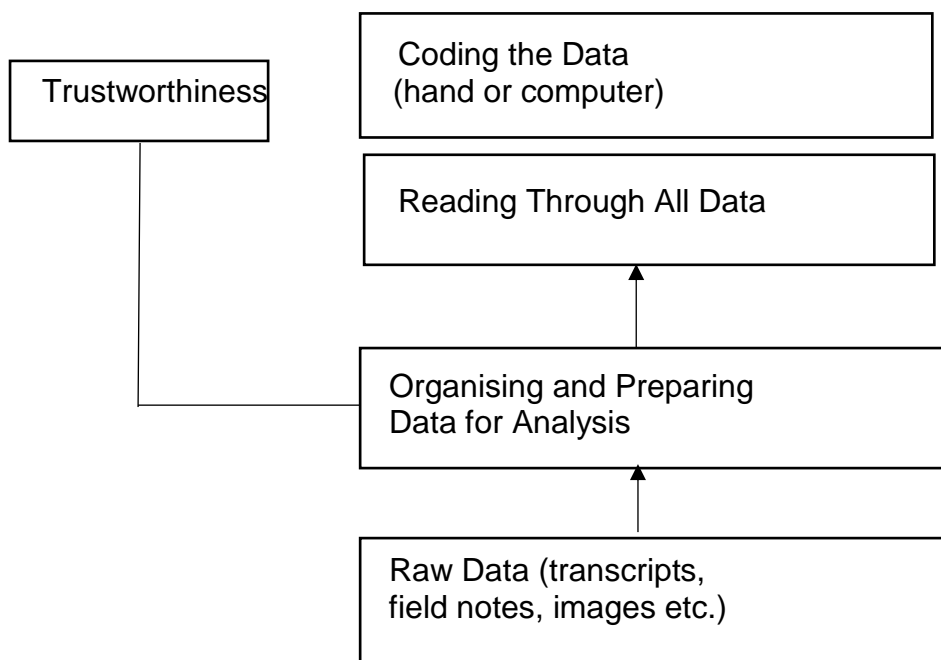
(Elo & Knygäs, 2008)

As qualitative analysis explores the entire content in order to create important categories that would be used for interpretation of the text, so qualitative content analysis explores the entire text creating categories based on the use of language found within the text (Kracauer, 1952-1953).

Each chapter in each textbook under study is considered the data. The interpretation of the said data is a form of data analysis. Data analysis is an attempt at interpreting the text or images and making sense of it (Creswell, 2009; Mouton, 1996). The idea of data collection is that of applying measuring instruments to the sample. There are two parts to the data collection process: data reduction and data analysis (Mouton, 1996). Data is sifted and collected (reduction) and an analysis is developed from the information gathered (analysis) (Creswell, 2009; Mouton, 1996). Creswell (2009) illustrates this process of data analysis in qualitative research as a flow diagram shown below which has been adapted to suit my paradigm needs:

Diagram 2: Data collection process





Source: Creswell, 2009

Data analysis can be both quantitative and qualitative as it can deal with a statistical component and/ or a thematic and content component, an interpretation of the synthesis then follows (Mouton, 1996). Data analysis synthesises the information thus creating interpretation. The word 'synthesis' suggests a gathering of parts and interpretations that are grouped as a result of findings and hypotheses (Mouton, 1996, p. 161).

3.10 Comparative Methodology

Comparative study is a simultaneous study when two or more systems of education are under scrutiny (Spolton, 1968). A comparative study can involve different areas or different periods of time. A comparative education can be a focus of geographic space or perhaps periods of time, however, geographic space can be quite contentious depending on the political boundary of an area (Spolton, 1968). Spolton (1968) states that comparative education is more inclined to focus on the differences between two educative systems rather than the similarities which are expected with the term 'comparative'. The comparison occurring in this study is the comparison between textbooks of two different time periods and thus two different ideologies.

There can be three categories of data analysis in comparative education (Rust, 2003). An exploration of educational likeness and differences between regions of the world can be considered as one example of comparative education. The next two categories pertain to single country studies. One comparative study can involve some sort of comparison of a single country and another aspect can be a single country study that uses examples from outside places in order to verify analysis (Rust, 2003).

My study will involve an analysis of the textbooks of a single country which underwent two ideological shifts. In the analysis of the two different ideological textbooks, the focus will only be on Russia and its shift from an Imperial Empire to a Communist nation. As education can only be truly analysed and understood within the political, socio-economic and cultural contexts of a country, thus the purpose of my research involves an analysis of Russia within two differing time-frames (Rust, 2003).

The purpose of this comparative study was to explore the similarities found within each era of Russia's representation. Each textbook will offer a representation of Russia and it is the purpose of this study to identify the similarities (or differences if they are found) of Russia's representation within the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks.

3.11 Analysis

The chapter on Russian history in six South African history textbooks, three Apartheid and three post-Apartheid, were analysed and each underwent the same analytical procedure. I have amalgamated the model of the induction process in diagram 1 and the data collection process model in diagram 2 to analyse my data. Both diagrams overlap in some key aspects however, the induction process provides a clearer outline of how the analysis began.

The first step used in the open-coding process would be to use the preparation phase. I first selected the broader historical era which would be used as a foundation for my analysis. This was selected based on the reasoning that Russia in each book has four distinct phases of rule found in the chapter: Russia under the Tsarist Regime, Russia during the Bolshevik Regime, Russia under Lenin and Russia under Stalin.

After reading through the chapter on Russian history, the second step in the open-coding process would be to select units of analysis. As the broader historical eras have

already been selected, further themes, or units of analysis would be found. This can only be achieved through the third step of making sense of the data. During the initial reviews of the chapter, notes of possible themes were made on the side of the pages and after re-reading the chapter the themes began to take shape and make more sense. The organising phase follows after developing a certain number of possible themes. The possible themes would then be written down in my notebook where I would try to make sense of the themes and see if any themes were repeated or underdeveloped. I read through the text again and added in the necessary information from the book under each themed heading in my book thus taking in a more refined search, looking at specific sentences rather than large pieces of writing. This process of organising the themes and adding the subsequent supporting evidence took a few attempts and sometimes, during the process more themes emerged. In essence the classification of the themes in my notebook acted as my coding sheets.

Once the inner themes and the description of them had been created for one of the broad themes, an interpretation needs to follow. The categorised and organised themes and descriptions are then written out directly into my study (omitting the coding sheets step) however, in this process, the interpretation of the themes occurs. In other words, based on how the content appears or does not appear and the choice of words used all add to my interpretation of the data.

3.12 Trustworthiness

Because qualitative researchers view things within their natural settings, trustworthiness of data is necessary as the data is viewed subjectively. Trustworthiness also lends itself to the interpretivist paradigm, which is the paradigm used in this study (Morrow, 2005).

Using the interpretivist paradigm allows for the use of a qualitative approach to my data analysis, however, this in turn, lends itself to a subjective perspective of the data analysed. To ensure an essentially objective study, certain precautions had to be taken. These precautions involve an admitting of a biased perspective, cohorts with peers and constant submission of drafts.

My love for Russia, as aforementioned, could play a role in the subjectivity of my perspective when it comes to data analysis. My perspective of Russia could be skewed in its favour and thus risks the trustworthiness of my study. In order to avoid this, I have been self-aware of such a thing so when analysing the data, I have had to make a concerted effort to remain steadfast and objective in my analysis. To compound the objectivity of my study, I have been involved in Master's cohorts which essentially are critical discussions, amongst peers and supervisors, about my study and commenting on the positives as well as needed areas of growth. These cohorts offer constructive criticism towards my study which further ensures the objectivity of my study. The final leg in my tripod of objectivity is that of constant submissions given to my supervisor. The constant drafts of my chapters issued to my supervisor have further ensured I remain as objective as possible during my analysis as my supervisor has constantly provided constructive criticism of the areas that need expansion. My supervisor's constant oversight has ensured that the quality of my work remains on track as well as offering an almost 'third party' perspective on the objectivity of my study.

3.13 Conclusion

In this chapter I have clearly outlined how my research design complements the research methodology in answering my research questions. This chapter seeks to outline how my research questions, posed in chapter 1, were answered in discussing how my research design and its methods went about the data analysis from the six selected Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. I have outlined in this chapter, the different aspects of my research design and how they link together forming an understanding of what I seek to achieve in the data analysis; which is understanding the socially constructed reality of the ideologically different textbooks. My research design is underpinned by my methods used (qualitative content analysis and open-coding) to achieve the understanding of the ideologically different textbooks and by extension my research questions.

The use of the qualitative approach and the interpretivist paradigm in my research design clearly espouses the purpose for this study and how this will seek to answer my research questions. An interpretivist seeks to understand this world around him/her and thus understands how society can be constructed based on a perceived reality.

This in turn aids in answering my research questions as I intend to understand the representation of a country, being Russia, and how and why the reality of that country is represented in the two ideologically different countries. Because I have used a qualitative approach underpinned by the interpretivist paradigm, I will use qualitative content analysis, a form of content analysis, to analyse the data as qualitative content analysis does not require a specific way of analysis and is thus more flexible in its attempt to analyse the data. Qualitative content analysis allows for the use of an open-coding system which is flexible in its appointment of themes that emerge from the data. This in turn allows for my data to be analysed based on the emerged themes and does not rely on a pre-determined categories and would therefore allow flexibility in analysing each selected textbook according to its own emergent themes.

The next chapter will provide a detailed discussion of the themes that emerged from the broader historical eras of Russia under the Tsarist Regime, Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia under Lenin and Russia under Stalin of the Apartheid textbooks. Following the discussion of the emerged themes will be an outline of the firm findings found in each book and finally an outline of the firm findings found in all three Apartheid era textbooks.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS: APARTHEID

4.1 Introduction

In my previous chapter my research design and my research methodology were clearly outlined to show how my data analysis would attempt to answer my research questions.

The aim of this chapter is to first analyse and compare the analysis found within the Apartheid textbooks to determine the representation of Russia within each of them. In this chapter I will first discuss and compare Russia in four key stages of broad historical themes/ eras: Russia under the Tsarist Regime; Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution; Russia under Lenin and Russia under Stalin. These historical eras have been chosen as they are the prominent eras within the textbooks and are thus the key themes of the curriculum of the Apartheid South Africa textbooks. Each key stage has different themes found within and so each key stage will be divided according to the aforementioned themes.

This chapter will be divided book by book. Each book will be analysed under the four historical themes aforementioned but each book provides different insight into the sub-categories for each theme thus the reasoning for analysing each book separately prior to the comparative stage.

The books under study pertain strictly to the Apartheid era. The political context of this era a South Africa governed by the National Party, a generally Afrikaner Nationalist party who opposed the past colonial control of the British and had banned both the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the African National Congress (ANC). It had maintained strict control of the nation by enforcing systematic marginalisation against people of colour and promoted Christian National Education and its offspring Bantu Education. Thus the idea of Communism and racial equality were opposed by the National Party during this time.

4.2 Book A1 (1974)

4.2.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime (circa 1900s - 1917)

The Tsarist regime and Tsar Nicholas II are not treated kindly in Book A1 (1974). The Tsarist Regime is painted as obsessive in nature and only interested in maintaining autocratic rule at the cost of the people and Russia and are always searching for ways to maintain such autocratic control, according to Book A1 (1974). This determination to cling to power and power-hungry nature of the Tsarist Regime and effectively, the Tsar, is highlighted in what Book A1 (1974) refers to as “half-baked constitutional arrangements” (page 41) which ultimately maintained the autocratic rule of the Tsarist Regime at the cost of both the people and Russia. Subsequently, the Tsar is painted as a leader who is not interested in his people or in the advancement of Russia and as a result maintains the image, throughout Book A1 (1974), of not only a weak leader, but an unpopular one too.

The Tsar’s image of being a weak and unpopular leader is emphasised through his continued use of archaic policies (such as the Nationality policy) as well as his ability to be manipulated by his German wife and other strange court members within the political arena (page 42). His weakness, according to the book, lay in his inability to control men and what Book A1 (1974) refers to as “extraordinary” occurrences at court with men like Rasputin (page 42) as well as allowing his wife too much influence when making political decisions. The ineptitude of the Tsar in the political frontier is portrayed in the book as being synonymous with indifference as he is unable to identify with his people thus making him inept in identifying their plight. The Tsar’s inability to create a politically stable country is further highlighted, in Book A1 (1974), by his poor leadership skills when at war. The image created as a result is a Tsar who cannot plan, makes ill-advised choices and is uncaring towards his troops. All these factors create an unfavourable figure of a leader who is uncaring in the face of war, despotic and indifferent to his people, according to Book A1 (1974)

The unkind image of the Tsar is continued as he is also labelled as a leader who purposely misleads his people. An example of such misleading according to Book A1 (1974), is seen in the constitutional arrangements of 1905. The arrangements were set up in 1905 to appease the discontented populace. Book A1 (1974) sets the tone that this discontentment was a prelude of things to come, however, the Tsar still maintained autocratic rule and so the constitutional arrangements are represented as an artificial façade made in pretence of appeasement which further flamed the fire of discontent.

A critical fault of the Tsar, as described by Book A1 (1974), is his ineffectiveness of transforming Russia's image of backward and largely agricultural. His inability to transform Russia, according to Book A1 (1974) is mainly seen as determination on his part to keep Russia backward. The Tsar's anti-Western, anti-progress and anti-democratic representation can be identified by many of his policies. The one being his "half-baked constitutional arrangements" (page 41) as the arrangements were more geared towards autocracy than democracy, the arrangements made by the Tsar became largely ineffective thus hindering Russia from progressing into a Western and democratic nation.

The economic conditions of Russia are deemed, by Book A1 (1974), to stress the backward and agricultural image of Russia created as a result of the Tsarist Regime. The economic conditions under Tsarist Russia, according to Book A1, seem to mirror the political situation – unstable and volatile. Tsarist Russia is described repetitively as being backward (page 41, 42, 43) as a result of the largely backward agricultural sector which had a dramatic effect on the economy. Although the economic situation is underplayed when compared to the political situation, there are still enough significant mentions of an unstable economy as a result of the decisions made by the Tsarist Regime.

There are references to certain political characters who contributed positively to the economy (Sergei Witte and Stolypin) however, these references are met with a damaging reference to how the Tsar as well as his political decisions reversed these positive contributions. Thus the image of the Tsar is further tarnished as he is painted as a leader who is opposed to economic growth. A consequence of such derision for economic growth, according to Book A1 (1974), for Russia is the perpetuating image of Russia as backward, underdeveloped and a country with a myriad of problems.

Book A1 of 1974 paints Russia as a deplorable place where there is constant hardship and mistreatment by the Tsars. The population most affected were the peasants, although, in Book A1 (1974) the peasants become a faceless mass as their identification as peasants, is mentioned a total of 13 times in the entirety of the chapter. This lack of identification and emphasis contributes to the faceless image of the peasants whilst downplaying the role the peasants played in Russia's instability thus reiterating that the chapter, in Book A1 (1974), is largely one that maintains a political

focus. The peasants made up the majority of the population in Russia at this time and Book A1 (1974) reverts their status to a faceless and generic one which allows for the primary focal point to be on the political and ideological outcomes of Russia as a result of the Tsar's actions or inactions. The ordinary people within Russia are considered faceless and are seen as a large crowd sporadically placed within the text of Book A1 (1974) but creating no real sustenance to the political fray about which the chapter speaks. The peasants and social conditions are not really emphasised in this chapter, as the political scope takes the limelight of this chapter.

In Book A1 (1974) World War One is noted as having a demonstrable role in highlighting both the political instability (as well as hastening it) within Russia as well as the ineptitude of Nicholas II as a leader. During World War One, Russia was at war with Germany and Tsar Nicholas II's wife inadvertently enhanced the unpopularity of the Tsar because of her German origins. According to Book A1 (1974), the impact the Tsar's policies and indifference had on the image of him was damaging, and with his wife being German, it did not help the situation which reached a critical level during World War One.

Book A1 (1974) describes Russia's involvement as nonsensical and ill-advised (page 41, 42). The militaristic decision is frowned upon by Book A1 (1974), and the treatment of the soldiers during WWI as a result of the Tsar's decisions further enhances the picture of Nicholas as someone who is uncaring towards his people. Nicholas II's negative image reached critical levels during World War One, and his decisions in World War One are described as the beginning of the end for the Tsar, according to Book A1 (1974). The Tsar's inability to strategically plan and see beyond the long-term territorial benefits of the war all fanned the flame of disloyalty and discontent. According to Book A1 (1974), the inability of the Tsar to plan led to huge losses on the warfront as many of his troops were sent to the front without weapons. Russia remained in the war in the hopes of gaining territory, so the picture that is painted as a result is one of the Tsar putting territorial gain over the benefit of his own people which enhances the notion created by Book A1 (1974), that World War One was a key factor in the downfall of the Tsar.

The Tsar's decision to keep Russia in the war is described by Book A1 (1974) as having disastrous consequences for the Russian economy and agricultural sector. The

high casualty rate experienced in World War One had an adverse effect on the economy and agricultural sector because now there would be far fewer able-bodied workers to cultivate the farmlands. Book A1 (1974) describes the affected agricultural sector as damaging for the country as well as unnecessary because Russia could not afford such an economic discrepancy (page 41, 42). According to Book A1 (1974), a result of this decision was that Russia was no longer self-sustaining and required the help of her allies which meant that she became burdensome. The Tsar's decision to stay in the war, as described in Book A1 (1974), directly contributes to the perpetuating image of Russia unable to overcome her backwardness as well as being a burden to other countries.

Because the Tsar is described as someone who overlooks deplorable social conditions as well as someone who is unwilling to acknowledge unhappiness within his country, Book A1 (1974) credits Tsar Nicholas as giving rise to the ultimate consequence for Russia – the rise of the Communist Regime. Book A1 (1974) lays blame for such a consequence on Tsar Nicholas II's ineptitude as a leader as well as his lackadaisical attitude towards helping raise Russia from her deplorable social conditions.

4.2.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution (1917 - 1922)

The depiction of the Bolsheviks in Book A1 (1974) is not forgiving. Usurpers who mimicked Tsarist behaviour is the image that is created by Book A1 (1974). Prior to the civil war (1918-1922) the Bolsheviks are described in a slightly kinder fashion thus creating an impression that the Bolsheviks are a group who are not what they seem and would clearly show their true colours eventually and as their policies regarding political and economic are described as "illusions" (page 52) emphasises the foreboding sense of change that is deemed imminent in a political group of this nature.

There is some reiteration of the Bolsheviks being described as highly organised and disciplined (page 44, 55). This description is a full result of Lenin's capabilities as a leader, according to Book A1 (1974). When discussing the highly "trained and loyal" Bolsheviks in Book A1 (1974) it becomes synonymous with Lenin's leadership qualities because it was with these qualities alone that led the Bolsheviks to victory in the October/November Revolution of 1917. During the first revolution of

February/March, the Bolsheviks are described as of little consequence, yet by October, under Lenin's leadership the party managed to secure victory over Russia. Although there were many other social factors that affected both revolutions, such as the peasant uprising, Book A1 (1974), almost wholly maintains a political focus on the revolutions and the Bolshevik takeover, almost as a warning, as the Bolsheviks, at infancy were deemed unimportant in the political game, yet under one man, their impact on Russia changed.

During the two revolutions, the representation of the Bolsheviks is not entirely damning in Book A1 (1974) however, this is only done so when recognising the role Lenin played in the 'creation' of the Bolsheviks. He is credited with creating a highly organised group and very well-disciplined, so organised in fact that it was this organisation that led to the Bolshevik victory in 1917. Lenin's members are described as "trained and loyal" which provides the impression that he has created members who follow orders and who are dogmatic or robotic but more importantly, members that follow his orders. During the civil war in Book A1 (1974), the Bolshevik representation changes drastically for the worse and this is where the leadership of Lenin is withdrawn. The Bolsheviks become a disembodied group from Lenin, almost detracting blame from Lenin for what the Bolsheviks did during the civil war and so Lenin is no longer mentioned during this period and whatever was done during the Civil War was seen, by Book A1, as actions done by the Bolshevik Party.

In Book A1 (1974), it is important to note that during the depiction of the civil war, the term "Bolsheviks" is replaced with the terms "Communists" or "Communist Party". This highlights the political ideology at play during the civil war and it also serves as a reminder of what this particular ideology could do to a nation. As a contrast from earlier depictions of a party that is highly organised, there is now a depiction of a party with a more tyrannical demeanour. This demeanour is highlighted in Book A1 (1974) by the description of the Bolsheviks (or Communists as mentioned in the chapter) abandoning previous declarations of representing the people, such as the previous set-up Soviets, and instead used the civil war as a testing ground for adopting certain tyrannical actions. An example of such tyranny is the adoption of War Communism which was used to instil terror on the peasant population by means of the secret police. According to Book A1 (1974), the Communists were "perfectly willing" (page 52) to use terror as a weapon against the peasant which provides the image of a political

group not interested in the people for which its original declarations stood. Not only are the Bolsheviks described as being tyrannical, they are also noted, in Book A1 (1974), as preferring “ruthless” (page 52) men in positions of leadership over intellectuals. This suggests that the Bolshevik Party were interested in continued tyrannical behaviour and are not interested in seeking the best for the people.

The rise of the Bolsheviks, according to Book A1 (1974), is also attributed to the anti-Communist factions (ironically), the ineptitude of the Provisional Government as well as the involvement of Western powers. All these factors contributed to the Bolshevik takeover in both the Revolution and civil war, thus permanently securing the Bolsheviks as the leaders of Russia.

The Provisional Government is described as weak, inept and unprepared, according to Book A1 (1974). Because the Provisional Government were unprepared, this allowed for the Bolshevik Party to seize power and to take over Russia. However, the ineptitude of the Provisional Government is not only blamed in Book A1 (1974), the unwillingness of the Western Powers to let Russia off the hook during World War One (a considerable factor, according to Book A1 (1974) leading to the fall of the Tsarist Regime) is also blamed as it was this obligation that had serious consequences to Russia’s political landscape.

Book A1 (1974) makes mention of the many anti-Communist factions in and around Russia which highlights that Communism was not met with open arms. An example of such disdain is provided in the mention of how the Ukraine was already set in fighting against the Communists (page 49). Russia is described, in Book A1 (1974), as a place ruled by “Communist tyranny” (page 51) but unwilling to accept help from Western powers. The image that is reflected in describing Russia being ruled by “Communist tyranny” is that “Communism” and “tyranny” are synonymous.

Once the civil war started, many of the anti-Communist factions joined together to fight the “Communist tyranny”. Ironically, it was this involvement, according to Book A1 (1974) that led the peasants to side with the Bolsheviks, a large contributor to Communist victory. The Bolsheviks are said to have used this involvement to their advantage, as the Russian people opposed a foreign ruler more than they opposed the treatment by the Bolsheviks. This not only highlights the error made by the Western powers but also highlights the fact that the Bolsheviks were not necessarily well-liked

within their own country. The peasantry class deemed the Bolsheviks as the “lesser of two evils” (page 51) which is why the peasants, according to Book A1 (1974) sided with the Bolsheviks which effectively gave the Bolsheviks another advantage over the anti-Communist factions.

Although the primary focus of this chapter maintains a political focus, there is an indication of social problems in Communist Russia. Book A1 (1974) describes the issues of miseducation that is occurring in Russia. Russian depiction of the historiography of the civil war is considered wrong as it miseducates the people on what occurred during the civil war. It, according to Book A1 (1974) depicts the civil war in a more black and white perspective rather than, according to Book A1 (1974), a more objective version. This mention of “miseducation” enhances the image already provided of a country ruled by tyranny and now it is a country that distorts its history too.

4.2.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin (1922 - 1924)

The perception of Russia changes after the Bolshevik victory in the civil war within Book A1 (1974). Within this section of the chapter of Book A1 (1974) Russia is no longer noted as “Russia” but instead referred to as “Soviet Union” or “Soviet Russia”. This change in name brings to the fore the official ideological change that occurred thus serves as a reminder of the Russia under study – a Communist one. The politics behind Communist Russia are also discussed in Book A1 (1974) with obscurity as it is termed a “rather academic” (page 53) subject which suggests that Russian politics, beyond that which has been mentioned within the chapter, is best left to the academics.

After the civil war, according to Book A1 (1974), Russia still had many problems and the only man that had the ability to take over Russia was Lenin. Book A1 (1974) has a contradictory perception of Lenin as he noted as having “violent” and “revolutionary” (page 47) tendencies, but the book still admires Lenin and his leadership. Lenin is described as a separate entity to the Bolsheviks and his policies, for the most part, are shed in a positive light. Book A1 (1974) regards Lenin as the perfect man to take over Russia and to lead Russia. Although the book makes it very clear that Lenin never

relaxed political control, it casts a foreshadowing when describing Russia without Lenin, almost setting a negative tone for the future of Russia without Lenin.

Lenin is not only described by Book A1 (1974) as the man who, by 1924, had constitutionalised greater Russia under the Communist Regime, but he is also described as someone who was smart and advocated the benefit of Communism and by extension, Russia before any territorial gains or revenge tactics (unlike that of the Tsars). Book A1 (1974) reiterates this sacrifice by mentioning the loss that Russia experienced under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and how other Bolsheviks disagreed with this, where the book reiterates its agreement with Lenin by stating that Lenin's choice was indeed correct (page 49).

Lenin's policies are met, mostly, with admiration in Book A1 (1974). This is the case when discussing War Communism. Under the Bolsheviks, War Communism is described as a terror, but when linking Lenin and War Communism, Book A1 (1974) changes its perspective on it and calls it a "courageous leap into socialism" (page 55) as well as having "outstanding characteristics". It is described in Book A1 (1974) as a positive creation of Lenin's because Lenin saw that Russia needed the harshness during the civil war in order to survive the war. Book A1 (1974) regards it as harsh but necessary because Lenin knew that this type of harshness would be extreme albeit temporary; this leans towards the book's implication of Lenin being the best man for the job because he knew it should be temporary.

For the most part, Book A1 (1974) deems Lenin's policies positive enough as they dabble slightly in Capitalism. The only policy that the book reflects negatively is the nationalist policy that was started by the Tsars and perpetuated by the Bolsheviks (not Lenin). The New Economic Policy (NEP) is described by Book A1 (1974) as a popular economic policy however, the NEP is also described in obscurity. Lenin is described as spearheading the NEP after the civil war. This policy followed the extremities of War Communism and is painted, by Book A1 (1974) as a policy that attempted to aid Russia's economic situation which was dire after the civil war. The NEP is shed in a positive light in Book A1 (1974) as it is described as an economic success because it applied a Capitalistic spin in order to bring Russia back from economic decline. Despite the description of success in Book A1 (1974), the descriptions are thin and limited in the detail they offer thus maintaining the political scope of the chapter.

Although the details in Book A1 (1974) are hazy, what is reiterated is that this policy stabilised the Russian economy, stabilised the internal economy and brought back limited foreign trade. These lists create an image of a utopian policy that would provide Russia with a hopeful future as well as reiterate Book A1's admiration for Lenin.

The Bolshevik Party is painted as a group who change Lenin's wishes on a whim. An example of this is provided in Book A1 (1974) when discussing the control operated by the Communist Party as they had earlier dismantled larger central committees, the entrusted group that ran the party during party congresses. This disintegration allowed for political decisions to be made from a smaller political body thus party congresses were used for dissemination of information rather than discussion (page 54). This example reiterates the negative image of the Bolshevik Party as well as highlighting the better nature of Lenin as a leader. In Book A1 (1974), the Communist Party is referred to as mostly a theoretical party as it does not follow the rules firmly established in the constitution (set up by Lenin) after the civil war victory thus reiterating, once again, that the party was not what it seemed.

The Bolshevik's discipline in Book A1 (1974) is reiterated in this section however, here it is equated with Germany. It is described as Russia's strongest asset as it is deemed as a weapon. This weapon is equated with Germany under Nazi rule, but, the Bolshevik's discipline is described as being stronger than that of Germany (page 55). The comparison made to the Germans in Book A1 (1974) is not considered a compliment but a warning. Book A1 (1974) equates Russian strength and discipline with that of Germany – a known totalitarian state during World War Two. This is mentioned alongside a brief mention of the fact that there were no "power centres" (page 55) left in Russia to argue the Bolshevik's position. Combining the two equations, it can be insinuated that Russia is considered a totalitarian state by Book A1 (1974).

4.2.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin (1924 – end of chapter)

The section within Book A1 (1974) detailing Stalin's rule in Russia portrays Russia in two different ways. Previously in the chapter, the 'new' Communist Russia was described as the "Soviet Union" or "Soviet Russia" however, that description is maintained only when being described alongside the negative aspects of Stalin's rule.

When Stalin's positive changes to Russia are described, Book A1 (1974) uses the term "Russia" – the term no longer used in Book A1 (1974) after Communist victory in 1922. The highlighting of Russia's negatives within Book A1 (1974) alongside that of being a "Soviet Russia" fault reiterates the ideological implications against that of Communism however, when discussing the industrial prowess of "Russia" there renders no ideological implications to the prowess. Despite these differences, Book A1 (1974) paints Russia as a country that became industrialised on a world scale whilst, simultaneously being led by a tyrannical leader.

The Russia described under Stalin's rule, in Book A1 (1974) is described as both turbulent as well as a turning point in Russian history. Book A1 (1974) scrutinises the character of Stalin and is unrelenting in its negative characterisation however, in saying this, Book A1 (1974) does reserve *some* admiration for Stalin in his ability to industrialise Russia quite rapidly. Despite Russia becoming increasingly industrial under Stalin's rule, according to Book A1 (1974), Stalin is described as a totalitarian leader responsible for a great number of deaths. This unrelenting description provides the foundation for a warning against revolutionary leaders as despite his economic successes he is described as extremely ruthless in his acts as a leader.

An undesirable portrayal of Stalin is painted in Book A1 (1974) as his character is described in a myriad of unfavourable ways providing an unrelenting tirade against Stalin. According to Book A1 (1974), Stalin's character is ruthless, nepotistic, unforgiving, suspicious, secretive, strategic, brutal, cynical, radical, cunning and evil (pages 57, 61, 62). Even Stalin's rise to power is described as being a shadowy act, according to Book A1 (1974), thus creating the impression that he is not construed as a true leader nor an honest one as his first act as a leader led to the exiling of potential opposition leader, Leon Trotsky. Stalin, in Book A1 (1974), is said to have risen to leadership by use of "cunning and manoeuvre" (page 57) thus reiterating the shadowy character of Stalin. Book A1 (1974) constantly critiques Stalin's character, for despite his success in bringing Russia into the 20th Century his dubious character is repeated throughout to act as a warning of the possibilities of what could happen to a country under a man of Stalin's nature for he kept his radical ideas quiet until he came to power (pages 57 and 62). Although, Stalin is admired for his ability to bring Russia out of its backwardness, in Book A1 (1974), his character overshadows the positives of his reign.

Despite Stalin's policies being regarded by Book A1 (1974) as radical (page 57), Stalin is credited with making Russia self-sufficient and independent through his two radical policies of Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans. These policies are described, by Book A1 (1974) as bringing huge economic benefits to Russia and it is those economic benefits and industrial refinements that are promoted in Book A1 (1974) whilst the consequences of such radical policies are glossed over. Book A1 (1974), highlights the benefits of these policies in order to create a justification behind the human cost experienced during these two policies.

The period known as "Collectivisation" is described by Book A1 (1974) as a forced removal of the peasants from their own holdings into collectivised farms. Book A1 (1974), provides little information as to what this "forced removal" (page 58) entailed, except that it was met with huge peasant resistance. Stalin's persistent measures (undescribed) according to Book A1 (1974), led to Stalin breaking peasant resistance and permanently sealing Stalin's power in the rural areas as well as seeing a considerable rise in agricultural production. The deaths, deportations and famine incurred as a result of Collectivisation have been bequeathed in Book A1 (1974) one shared sentence alongside the justification of Collectivisation turning Russia into a "mighty industrial power" (page 58) thus highlighting the significance of the success of the policy over human cost as it played a huge role in the formation of Russia becoming a competitive industrial power.

The Five Year Plans initiated by Stalin, go into much more detail in Book A1 (1974) as the prospect of Russia being able to compete on a world industrial standard is highlighted. The admiration of the Five Year Plans in Book A1 (1974) is reiterated by the description in the increase of industrial production, urbanisation and literacy amongst the peasants. Book A1 (1974) describes some of the industrial targets as "hopelessly optimistic" however, despite the hindrances observed, Russia still managed to accomplish a great deal (page 59). The conditions under which the workers worked is underplayed in Book A1 (1974) as the focus is more on the benefits of the Five Year Plans to Russia's industrial strength. Book A1 (1974) touches on the "enormous" cost to human life (page 60) in industrialising Russia however, the cost is justified because it brought Russia into the 20th Century, thus serving a purpose. The Industrialisation period is considered an impressive event by Book A1 (1974) dismissing the deaths incurred as necessary.

A third policy initiated by Stalin is described as a tyrannical one in Book A1 (1974), very much unlike the previous two policies aforementioned; that is the policy of political terror known as The Purges, or The Terror. Political conditions within Russia during Stalin's rule are met with ambiguity within Book A1 (1974), as the Industrialisation of Russia is admired however, the period of the purges is met with disdain and caution. According to Book A1 (1974) the purges were a period of Terror for anyone within the political system even members of the army were not safe from being charged with treason. Book A1 (1974) paints a picture of a disloyal and ruthless leader who does not reward loyalty within his party as many of the accused were supporters of Stalin.

Although the Communist Party in Book A1 (1974) is described as wanting to relax the policies following the successes of the Industrialisation of Russia, Stalin did not agree and according to Book A1 (1974), Stalin's word mattered more thus leaving the impression of Stalin as a leader who follows his own rules and will not be dictated to by anyone. Many of his accused members were placed on a public trial, shot, imprisoned or they just disappeared and Book A1 (1974) reiterates the senselessness of these purges and therefore condemns the deaths incurred as a result. This is reiterated in the book by the emotive detail of one old Bolshevik standing in front of the firing squad asking "Why?" (page 62). What is highlighted when describing Stalin's reign is an ambiguity towards death: death under Industrialisation served a purpose; but death under the purges did not therefore should be condemned.

Book A1 (1974) suggests, that not much is known about this period of the Purges and only Russia is able to shed light on it, thus highlighting the image of Russia as a mysterious and dangerous place. No specific numbers are given regarding the death toll during the purges in Book A1 (1974) however, a collective death toll during Collectivisation, Five Year Plans and the Purges are provided. The total number provided is equated with the death toll that occurred during the Nazi reign in Book A1 (1974). This is the second time Book A1 (1974) equates Russia with Nazi Germany thus emphasising the type of country it is; being run by a totalitarian leader.

Book A1 (1974) summarises the rule of Stalin in one sentence: "...the Terror fulfilled no such practical purpose but it stands as a monument to the potential for evil in a totalitarian system when it falls under control of a man of Stalin's nature..." (page 62)

draws attention to the consequences of revolutionary action and the possibilities one country could have if a revolutionary party were to takeover.

4.3 Conclusion: Findings Book A1 (1974)

Russia under each division of leadership aforementioned is represented in a myriad of ways in Book A1 (1974). Russia is portrayed as being at the helm of either an autocratic leader such as the Tsar or a ruthless leader like Stalin. Only under Lenin is there some reprieve in criticism as Lenin symbolises a leader trying to break free of the monarchical constraints. The political context in 1974 under which Book A1 falls is complex. The world was involved in a Cold War scare which effectively became synonymous with a Communistic scare which plunged Apartheid South Africa into a Red Scare too. South Africa during Apartheid was simultaneously involved in an internal liberation struggle whilst dealing externally with a so-called Communist war in South West Africa. The war in South West Africa was supported by Russia which emphasised the need for Communistic fear therefore the need for a war against Communists/ Africans. Communism had been outlawed in South Africa in 1950 and a systematic prejudicial and unequal system of governance was in place thus, the political context is interwoven into the content of the book and plays a role in the representation of Russia.

There is a perpetuating anti-royalty sentiment portrayed throughout Book A1 (1974) as the Tsar and his Regime are depicted as oppressive, backward and inept which supports the anti-royalty sentiment of the Afrikaner Nationalists at the time of print. The representation of Russia under the Tsars is one of backward, under archaic policies and obsessive in maintaining autocratic control. What can be concluded from Book A1 (1974) is that the concept of the West is synonymous with progress and thus the Tsar is presented as anti-progress because of anti-democratic therefore anti-West views.

It is important to note at the outset that Lenin is credited with the success of the Bolsheviks but is separated when discussing the negative actions of the Bolsheviks thus maintaining the image of Lenin as a good leader. The Bolsheviks (as a separate

entity to Lenin) represent or symbolise the dangers of a revolutionary group. South Africa had many banned oppositional groups which were considered radical or revolutionary. Book A1 (1974) warns the South African readers of the dangers of what happens when a revolutionary group (even if originally small) comes to power in order to mirror the situation in South Africa. The violent representation of the Bolsheviks is continued when Book A1 (1974) compares the discipline of the Bolsheviks to that of Nazi Germany thus emphasising their totalitarian nature as well as reinforcing the warning against Communism which highlights the anti-Communism discourse.

Lenin is credited with being the mastermind behind the effective organisation and highly disciplined group, without whom the Bolsheviks would surely have failed which insinuates a begrudging admiration for Lenin despite his affiliation with the Bolsheviks. This begrudging admiration could perhaps lend itself to a paralleled image of Mandela or perhaps it is just an extension of the discourse already available on Lenin. The image of a Lenin being the mastermind behind the group can be paralleled to the situation in South Africa with Nelson Mandela considered one of the major influences within the ANC. The Bolsheviks are further categorised as trained and loyal, thus symbolising the power that Lenin had as well as the nature of the Bolsheviks – loyal to their leader.

What can be concluded from Book A1 (1974) is that the Russian civil war acts as a warning against the dangers of a revolutionary party as they are depicted as adopting a more tyrannical approach during this period. This tyrannical approach is highlighted by the use of War Communism which is contrasted to the previous image of the Bolsheviks. War Communism is portrayed as brutal and ruthless under the Bolsheviks however, under Lenin it is regarded as courageous. This reiterates the narrative of the evils of the Bolsheviks/ Communism as well as the narrative of Lenin being a good leader.

The narrative of Lenin being a good leader is extended with the depiction of the popular and successful New Economic Policy. The policy is considered successful as it offers a return to Capitalism which perpetrates a pro-West discourse.

The character of Stalin, within Book A1 (1974), is constantly criticised. Despite some economic success, his character is regarded as not having a redeeming quality. The achievements of Stalin are begrudgingly admired within the book however it is constantly written alongside his tyrannical qualities thus reminding the reader about the anti-Communist implications and anti-revolutionary sentiments of the National Party. Stalin's tyrannical qualities are highlighted in his purges as well as the deaths incurred during Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans however, only the deaths during the purges are condemned. This creates a contradiction, as, despite the deaths during modernisation, the transformation of Russia is lauded (thus serving a purpose) which enables a begrudging admiration towards Stalin. The radical Industrialisation under Stalin is what made Russia a world industrial power, according to Book A1 (1974) and thus the consequences are glossed over in order to downplay the level of cruelty. South Africa within the 1974 context and under Apartheid experienced their own level of cruelty and marginalisation against the predominantly black labour force, which is perhaps why, Book A1 (1974) downplays the level of cruelty incurred during Industrialisation.

The following general findings can be concluded from Book A1 (1974). The perception of Communism remains unclear within the book. What can be concluded about Communism is that Karl Marx should be credited with the ideological creation and that Communism espoused a class struggle. Despite the mention of a class struggle there is very little detail into what Communism is and as such there is no mention of any egalitarian policies. The reason for this is simple: not only was Communism made illegal in South Africa, Communism also espoused the concept of equality and the National Party marginalised all people of colour, thus clearly not espousing equality. Therefore, the concept of equality, the working class struggles and the principles of Communism could not be made clear because it was the antithesis of the National Party.

Within Book A1 (1974), the 1905 Revolution is used to describe a turning point however, no information regarding that revolution is found within the book. This is a vital revolution that almost counted as a prelude to the 1917 Revolution. It is also of importance because it was when the Tsar changed the constitution if only temporary. The influence of the 1905 revolution is severely underplayed in the book in order to

maintain the level of anger against the Tsar as well as to maintain the political focus of the book.

World War One is considered a pivotal role in the downfall of the Tsar in Book A1 (1974) as it highlights the political instability and ineptitude of the Tsarist Regime reaching a critical level. The entrance into the war is considered nonsensical as Russia was not prepared for it and this can be seen by Book A1's (1974) poor treatment of the soldiers. Russia is described as entering the war in order to gain territory thus, the entrance into World War One emphasises the anti-royalty discourse as the Tsar was more concerned over territory rather than his men.

Trotsky is an important character in the revolution of Russia but in Book A1 (1974) his role is downplayed considerably. The face of the Communist Revolution therefore is Lenin, which is the same in the South African context where Mandela became the face of the ANC. Book A1 (1974) mentions that Stalin ousted Trotsky, who was a potential leader of Russia. There is no mention as to why that is thus reinforcing the image of Lenin being the face of the revolution.

4.4 Book A2

4.4.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime (19th Century - 1917)

At the beginning of the 19th Century, Russia, according to Book A2 (1987), is described as a largely agriculturally, economically and industrially underdeveloped feudalistic society ruled by leaders who had very little interest in the reform and modernisation of Russia. Book A2 (1987) describes the peasant population (attributing to 96% of the population) as being exploited and ruled under serfdom, a type of slavery with no rights which is attributed to causing much of the unrest in Russia due to the apathetic nature of the Tsars.

During the 19th Century, Russia's problems and uprisings described in Book A2 (1987) can be ascribed to the unequal distribution of wealth as well as the poor treatment of the peasants by the Tsarist regime. However, in saying this, Book A2 (1987) describes at length, one Tsar, Alexander II, who made a "significant" attempt at reform within

Russia (page 2). Only one Tsar is credited with making an attempt at modernising Russia which emphasises the image of the Russian monarchy as being indifferent to the needs of the people. Although, the book credits Alexander II as the only Tsar to attempt reformation by emancipating the peasants from serfdom, this caused many problems later and Book A2 (1987) links this emancipation to the revolution of 1917. The inability to relinquish full control of the peasants by Alexander II is highlighted in the book as a causation for the persistent unrest amongst the peasant populace as well as his assassination in 1881. This highlights a great peasant discontent that can be traced back to the 19th century, thus Book A2 (1987) underscores the vast peasant unhappiness that ultimately led to the revolution of 1917. Alexander II's succeeding Tsars, Alexander III and Nicholas II were uninterested in continuing reforms in Russia and are described in Book A2 (1987) as abandoning attempts at modernisation of Russia and as such, the modernisation of Russia was only "achieved through revolution" (page 2). The image that is created as a result is that of an uncaring Tsarist regime, and it was this indifference towards their people and indifference to the reformation of Russia which ultimately led to revolution. Book A2 (1987) reiterates through using this image that Russia was a vast country filled with vast problems dating back even prior to 1917.

The Russia under the Tsars perceived in Book A2 (1987) is a country that is often afflicted with uprisings, unrelenting unhappiness and constant repressive actions as well as socio-economic backwardness. Book A2 (1987) compares Russia's socio-economic state with other European countries and reiterates that Russia is far behind the rest of Europe (pages 2 and 4). This disparity is mirrored in the book with the indifferent nature of most of the Tsars and it was only with the aid of "Western technology" that Russia was able to incur industrial changes (page 4). It was this basic Industrialisation that attributed to a creation of a new class, the proletariat. This new class allowed for industrial serfdom to occur (page 4), an exploitation that, according to Book A2 (1987), mirrored in other European societies which provided the breeding ground for the creation of a new, radical form of Socialism to occur, Communism (page 4). Russia was not exempted from this and the continuous exploitation of the workers ultimately led to the socio-political changes to happen in 1917 led by the Marxist, Lenin, according to Book A2 (1987).

The Tsars' autocratic rule lasted for 300 years and the rulers described as indisputable in Book A2 (1987) (page 4). In Book A2's (1987) description of the autocratic rule, the name of the leading family "Romanovs" has been spelled as "Romanofs" (page 4) and the first ruler of the Romanov family's name has been anglicised as "Michael" in lieu of "Mikhail". This depiction of the Tsars creates an image of unimportant history, and displays a false sense of history, although it may not be pertinent to the main topic of discussion, these inaccuracies create an indifferent picture of Russian history by Book A2 (1987).

Tsar Nicholas II is described in Book A2 (1987) as the last Tsar of Russia and during his entire reign received opposition (page 4). Although Book A2's (1987) description of Tsar Nicholas II's reign is ambiguous as it states that "during the entire 19th century and early 20th century" (page 4) he received opposition. This description is ambiguous as it alludes to Tsar Nicholas II reigning for over a hundred years, however this is clarified when Book A2 (1987) states the Tsar's reign from 1894 -1917 but, this blurred description further adds to the marring or indifferent image of Russian history by Book A2 (1987). Aside from the unclear and ambiguous statement, this does not detract from the message; that Tsar Nicholas II's reign was met with opposition the entire time.

The image that is created in Book A2 (1987) of Tsar Nicholas II is one who is despotic, repressive and one who is reluctant to change. The Tsar's attempt at dealing with opposition or revolutionary behaviour is described by Book A2 (1987) as ultimately ineffective in the wake of "revolutionary spirit" (page 4). As Russia was portrayed as filled with problems as aforementioned, the leaders of Russia, being Tsar Nicholas II, led Russia on frivolous wars such as the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 in order to distract the public from their current situations according to Book A2 (1987) which creates an image of a regime uninterested in dealing with the issues of the state. The intended 'distraction' however had an opposite effect as the scheme backfired which ultimately aided in the revolution of 1905 according to Book A2 (1987). The peaceful protest that turned violent was an indelible mark on the Tsar's image, however, Book A2 (1987) fails to mention that the Tsar was not involved in what the book calls 'Bloody Sunday' which emphasises a massacre, thus this absence allows for an interpretation that the violence incurred can be blamed on the Tsar. Even after the bloody revolution, Tsar Nicholas II is depicted in Book A2 (1987) as still being "reluctant" (page 5) to

administer any changes to the constitution. This shows a leader who is unwilling to make changes to Russia, even in the face of adverse opposition. A result of the 1905 Revolution, was that the Tsar reluctantly allowed for the creation of the national assembly or Duma. The Duma was not widely accepted as Book A2 (1987) argues that opposition was still met by Liberals and Marxists. The leading Marxist is noted in the book as Leon Trotsky who established Soviet-councils. Book A2 (1987) is unclear about the Soviets as it insinuates that the Soviets were created after the revolution as well as the book being unclear as to what the Soviets were and who were members however, there is a minor acknowledgement of the Soviets. Although Book A2 (1987) describes the Duma as receiving some opposition from various parties as it was considered inadequate and not actually having any real power, it did offer a temporary placation for the general public, temporary being the key word. By initiating the October Manifesto the Tsar made a promise to his people with the creation of the Duma however, this promise was not kept and is given the illusion of being forgotten by Book A2 (1987) which further damages the credibility of the Tsar as a leader as he is someone who is indifferent to what the people want and is more interested in keeping Russia as an autocratic state.

The Tsar's leadership skills are called into question in Book A2 (1987) as he is likened to a weak and easily manipulated leader. Nicholas II is depicted in the book as being easily influenced by "crazy" (page 6) people at court, people who are deemed magical healers – such as Rasputin who claimed to heal the Tsar's haemophiliac son (page 6). This faith in Rasputin and Rasputin's political control within Russia was another factor that damaged the Tsar's credibility as a leader, and as he is not yet considered a "great statesman" thus this faith in Rasputin was a severe blemish to his image (page 6). The final straw that ultimately broke the Tsar's credibility completely was, according to Book A2 (1987), World War One. Although not much detail is provided in Book A2 (1987) as to the extent of the damage caused by World War One, what is mentioned is that Russia was unprepared for the war and thus the disastrous defeats incurred by Russia's unpreparedness caused the discontent to reach uncontrollable levels.

The spontaneous revolution of February 1917's mention within Book A2 (1987) is anticlimactic as very little detail is afforded. The detail that is emphasised is that, as a result of the February Revolution, this led to the arrest of the Tsar and his family who

were later murdered in 1918. Book A2 (1987) explains that the Tsar and his family were murdered in 1918 in Siberia when actually, the Tsar and his family were killed in Yekaterinburg, outside of Siberia. This historically incorrect portrayal of the Tsarist family's death or Russian history, once again, emphasises the apathetic nature of the textbook regarding the importance of the representation of Russian history.

4.4.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution (1918-1921)

The image of the Bolsheviks as portrayed in Book A2 (1987) is described as Marxist engineered by Vladimir Lenin, highly organised, disciplined, opportunists and are described as initiating the 1917 Revolution (although Book A2 (1987) is not specific as to which one, February or October) as well as using terror to achieve their goals. The Bolsheviks are also described in Book A2 (1987) as having overthrown the Provisional Government set-up after the dissolution of the Tsarist Regime by force as well as implementing force and 'terror' during the civil war. This description allows for an image of a political group unopposed to using force to get their own way.

The creation of the Bolsheviks is portrayed ambiguously within Book A2 (1987). The creation of the Bolshevik party began with, according to Book A2 (1987), a split in the original party the Social Democratic Labour Party. Book A2 (1987) describes Lenin as engineering a majority vote (page 4) which is why he named the party the Bolsheviks (majority) and the other party the Mensheviks (minority) however, the Mensheviks received the most votes. This silence creates, once more, an ambiguous image of Russian history – it creates the illusion that the Bolsheviks were in the majority at the time of their creation.

The Provisional Government that was implemented after the fall of the Tsarist Regime are described in Book A2 (1987) as weak and unable to appease the majority of the people which allowed for the infiltration of the Bolsheviks which did not accept them as the leaders of Russia despite the socialist leader, Kerensky. The Provisional Government's undoing according to Book A2 (1987) is their decision to remain in World War One, which again, is another reason why the Bolsheviks are deemed to have gained a foothold.

Book A2 (1987) speaks about the leader of the Provisional Government, Kerensky, however, in Book A2 (1987) it is spelled incorrectly as “Kerenski”. This provides another addition to the perpetuating image of Russia’s history as being unimportant. The Bolsheviks are described as opportunists in Book A2 (1987) as they used the opportunity of the Provisional Government seeking help from the Bolsheviks to weaken the power of the Provisional Government. After the Bolsheviks took over from the weakened Provisional Government, they allowed a constituent assembly to take place however, according to Book A2 (1987), the Bolsheviks dissolved the assembly when it did not go their way. This provides an image of the Bolsheviks as unrelenting power seekers and uncaring in the face of defeat as they would just take the power and once in power, they banned all other parties as they were referred to as “counter-revolutionary” (page 10).

Book A2 (1987) makes a contradiction when describing the Bolsheviks and their influence on the Russian economy. At first Book A2 (1987) describes the nationalising of all banks and factories and the confiscating of privately-owned land and then the book states that by 1921, Russia was at a near economic collapse which was why Lenin was forced to lighten the Communistic practice in order for Communism to survive. The mention of the nationalising of property and businesses (and omitting the effects of World War One and the Civil War) and then describing the near economic collapse in the next sentence, creates a depiction that Communism cannot survive without Capitalistic tendencies and Book A2 (1987) makes a strong insinuation that the result of the economic problems is because of the Communistic practices. The contradiction occurs in the next paragraph when Book A2 (1987) elaborates that, as a result of World War One and the Revolution, when the Bolsheviks took over in 1917 they had to contend with a crumbling economy and then Lenin (not the Bolsheviks) had to deal with a “disastrous” civil war (page 10) from 1918 to 1921 which suggests that these factors were the reasons behind Russia’s failing economy.

Book A2 (1987) does not describe the Bolshevik practices favourably. The Bolsheviks are said to have created the Cheka, who employed a system of terror, to “fight counter-revolution sabotage” (page 10) according to Book A2 (1987). The success of the Bolsheviks in the Russian civil war is said to be attributed to the Bolshevik employment

of the Red Terror according to Book A2 (1987). In view of Book A2 (1987) the civil war was seen as a clash between two forces, the Reds (Bolsheviks) and the Whites (Opposition). The Whites were made up of different factions, Book A2 (1987) refers to them as “so-called counter-revolutionaries” which creates the impression that not all the groups within the Whites wanted the same thing and thus the civil war is depicted in Book A2 (1987) as a struggle against foreign rule for the Russian people hence the support for the Reds, as described in Book A2 (1987) was only due to lack of options and a fear of foreign rule. During the civil war, the Bolsheviks used terror to achieve their aims and Book A2 (1987) describes them as hunters who stalk and “hunt down” the opposition (page 11), an image of a predator seeking its prey is created, and so the use of terror is not depicted as a protective or defensive policy but more of an offensive policy. Thus, as a result of the predatory action taken by the Cheka, Red opposition and resistance fell away, according to Book A2 (1987). Not only is the Cheka and by extension the Bolsheviks described as hunters in the book, they are described as using terror against the opposition at the cost of millions of lives. In Book A2 (1987) the Bolsheviks are painted as a terror group who are not only predatory against any opposition but also uncaring towards their people as well as willing to sacrifice the lives of the people in order to maintain power and dominance.

4.4.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin (1921-1924)

Lenin, in Book A2 (1987), is described as the leader of the Bolsheviks and Russia’s first Marxist who was unrelenting in his opposition to the Tsarist Regime. Even in exile, Lenin not only believed that revolutionary action was needed but was imminent as well and as an opportunist used World War One to facilitate his continued fighting against Imperialism. Lenin is described in Book A2 (1987) as initiating policies that were for the betterment of the people, even if they came at a cost and thus provided “invaluable service” to Russia (page 13).

The civil war marked a turbulent time for Russia and Lenin and Book A2 (1987) describes him as having to “put up” with civil war that caused much more damage to Russia’s economy. Empathy towards Lenin is insinuated by Book A2 (1987) as he is described as someone trying to help Russia and now he has to deal with another

disaster. The civil war also brought about war Communism which is described in Book A2 (1987) as an emergent policy which sees the state control of the industries and agriculture. As a result of this emergent policy, resistance was met and Book A2 (1987) describes Lenin's government as having to be "obliged" (page 11) to resort to violence which creates the picture that the government had no other option which lessens the blame on their part. The book argues that even though Lenin created this emergent policy, because of the peasant resistance to the State-controlled agriculture, Russia was thrust into a famine which insinuates blame for Russia's situation on the peasants and not Lenin's actions. A result of this famine, according to Book A2 (1987), is that Russia had to accept aid from America (a Western and Capitalist country) and this action portrays America (or Capitalism) as salvaging Russia from complete economic breakdown (page 11). War Communism, according to Book A2 (1987) was an unpopular policy due to its "stringent measures" (page 11) which caused many uprisings as a result. The book does not further develop the meaning of "stringent measures" thus the image of War Communism being necessary is maintained as no other detail other than "stringent" is supplied. The image that is consequently created by Book A2 (1987) as a result, is a Russia that is unable to sustain itself and requires the help of Capitalistic nations in order to survive but as well as a country that has deep-rooted class struggles that still generate disorder and uprisings.

Book A2 (1987) paints the picture of Lenin always willing to help his people and this image is perpetuated in the description of the New Economic Policy (NEP) which describes Lenin as seeing the unhappiness in his people thus a revised view of Communistic principles is needed and the NEP came about. Book A2 (1987) portrays the NEP as a compromise with Capitalism and this compromise allowed for the improvement of agricultural and industrial productivity. The rise in grain production as well as in industrial productivity continues the image of the NEP as a success as this rise in productivity led to improved trade with foreign Western powers. This rise in trade with foreign powers is described in Book A2 (1987) as having increased by "leaps and bounds" (page 13) which generates an image that foreign trade is not only a good thing but that Communistic principles do not allow for such trade which hinders foreign investment and by extension foreign capital.

Book A2 (1987) does mention some negative aspects of the NEP, although it is generally regarded as an economic success. The NEP laid the foundation for a split in the Communist Party, according to Book A2 (1987), which would cause problems later on between Leon Trotsky (a leading Bolshevik in the revolution) and Stalin. The creation of the NEP is also described as creating a richer peasant class (kulaks) which some viewed as going against Communistic principles which was one of the causes of the split.

Despite Book A2's (1987) positive outlook when describing Lenin and his connection with Capitalism, Russia under Lenin is not only described as a Communistic state but a totalitarian one too. Russia's constitution, according to Book A2 (1987) is described falsely as a federal one when in fact it is not democratic but totalitarian because the Bolsheviks in reality, controlled the government. This falsehood provides a negative image of the Russian political system as it is a pretence. This falsehood is perpetuated in Book A2 (1987) in the description that because of the "absence of democracy" the citizens who benefitted from the NEP economically, the priests and supporters from the Tsarist era were not allowed a 'vote' according to the constitution (page 14).

The perception of the Communists in Book A2 (1987) is not a positive one as they are painted as ardent supporters of world revolution so much so that the Communist International or Comintern was created before Russia was even a constitutionalised Communist state. The depiction in Book A2 (1987) of the Comintern members is one of troublemakers thus they caused distrust of Communism. The creator of the Comintern is omitted in Book A2 (1987) thus creating a faceless image of a Communist and their determination for world revolution which emphasises the fear of such anonymity. The Comintern's goal was to control the foreign Communist parties which is noted by Book A2 (1987) as the Comintern's only "worthy success" (page 14). This success aided, with Stalin's instruction, in the establishment of a "front policy" (page 14) which attempted to halt the spread of Nazism, another Western enemy at the time of World War Two.

4.4.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin (1928 - end of chapter)

Stalin, in Book A2 (1987) is noted for his success in industrialising Russia as well as making Russia a superpower however, he is also described as a despotic leader hell-bent on becoming a dictatorial leader who had had Marxist tendencies from youth and who espoused a Tsar-like behaviour albeit more effectively. Stalin's leadership and coming to power is painted in Book A2 (1987) in a questionable fashion as he not only bullied and exiled the only other threat, Trotsky, but also committed a series of murders or purges to ensure his authoritarian image and to secure his position. Stalin's purges are described in Book A2 (1987) as a way for Stalin to achieve his dictatorship image and to rid any questioning opposition or political threat. The purges are said to have lasted between 1936 and 1939 and as a result thousands of people were executed or exiled thus eliminating any oppositional threats. Very few details are provided in Book A2 (1987) about the purges and what happened, just that it was an attempt to secure Stalin's dictatorial image as well as to rid any potential threats.

Russia's constitution under Stalin is called into question by Book A2 (1987). Book A2 (1987) argues that Stalin was forced to make constitutional changes because of pressure from Western powers as well as the rise of Nazism and Fascism. Although many Communists viewed the constitution as already democratic according to Book A2 (1987), it is deemed as a democratic façade which was one of the reasons why Stalin was pressured into changing it. The new constitution, according to Book A2 (1987) is described by Stalin as the most democratic constitution in the world; no other Western power noted as agreeing with Stalin's perception of the new constitution therefore the insinuation is that this was not true.

Stalin's economic policies such as the three Five Year Plans and Collectivisation are described in Book A2 (1987) as transforming Russia into a superpower. Much detail is provided in Book A2 (1987) as to how Stalin went about the agricultural and industrial transformation but little to no mention of the cost to human life is foregrounded, thus creating a more candy-floss outlook on the Industrialisation period thus creating a distorted image of how Russia became a superpower.

During the first agricultural modernisation, however, Book A2 (1987) mentions that the new system of collectivisation was met with fierce resistance from 4 million Kulaks (the richer peasants) and that this resistance was met with death and deportation. This is the only mention of the lives that were lost during the period of Collectivisation and thus Book A2 (1987) almost condones these deaths as the deaths are portrayed as a consequence for resisting and causing trouble (as crops and livestock were destroyed) which provides an image of condonation rather than an image of lives being sacrificed. According to Book A2 (1987) there were many variations to the collectivised farms however, the commune farm is described as being a “popular” (page 17) option thus painting a picture of peasants *wanting* to join the farms rather than opposing them and being forced to relocate. These commune farms are described by Book A2 (1987) as allowing private property such as “house and furniture” (a basic commodity in Western countries) creating an image that these farms were deemed popular because of the allowed basic necessities of small scale Capitalism features.

The first Five Year Plans described in Book A2 (1987) are painted as marginal success with the help of foreign powers. Although Russia’s industry is described by Book A2 (1987) as having improved with the help of imported German technical skills (creating an impression that Russia was unable to kick-start her own industrial programme without Capitalist Western help), as well as an attempt at heavy industry expansion of iron and steel, the quality of products produced were still a lower grade compared to other Western powers. Book A2 (1987) makes comparison with Russia against Western powers thus reiterating that Russia is unable to be on a par as other Western Powers and thus Capitalism. There is mention of the sacrifice, in the book, on the workers’ part to create an industrialised Russia, such as the low working conditions but this sacrifice is described as either coerced or willing out of loyalty for Communism. The picture that is created by Book A2 (1987) is one of a loyal work force willing to sacrifice themselves for the greater good even though working conditions and housing were much lower than other Western standards. Book A2 (1987) describes Stalin as laying claims that the First Five Year Plan was a success and actually finished earlier than expected despite such oversights as a shortage of consumer goods and poor efficiency. This image of Stalin is someone who always wants to be perceived as the best even if that is not entirely true.

The second Five Year Plan is met with a far more admired outlook by Book A2 (1987). Book A2 (1987) describes the second plan as an attempt to improve the standard of living which Book A2 (1987) describes as a “just reward” (page 18) for the sacrifices made by the workers. Another positive outlook displayed by Book A2 (1987) was that the new government believed in eradicating illiteracy in all spheres, something that the Tsar was uninterested in doing. Not only was Stalin interested in just basic education, a focus was also made on the need for tertiary education to develop skilled workers. The policies created by Stalin, according to Book A2 (1987) are described in a positive light as these helped modernise Russia. However, even though Russia’s industrial and agricultural sectors were improving and education was improving, education, according to Book A2 (1987) is described as an indoctrination tool used to perpetuate the Communistic principles and not necessarily to create an educated and critical workforce.

Book A2 (1987) describes Russia’s ultimate climb to superpower status ambiguously as it praises Russia’s industrial strength during World War Two but then downgrades Russia’s industrial and economic achievements by describing their inability to be on a par with a Western power. By the Third Year Plan, according to Book A2 (1987) Russia was able to achieve a “measure of success” (page 20) in challenging the Western powers in world domination. Although this creates an image that Russia was able to challenge the other powers, it was only a measurable success, smaller in comparison however Russia’s industrial prowess is highlighted in the book when described against the backdrop of World War Two. Russia’s industrial strength is admired in Book A2 (1987) as it was this industrial strength that played a huge role, in Allied victory, according to the book. Russia’s industrial prowess by the Third Year Plans is admired greatly as it was their industrial strength, according to Book A2 (1987) that aided in World War Two victory over Nazi Germany. However, when comparing Russia against the backdrop of other Western powers, Russia always falls short in Book A2 (1987). When compared to Western powers, Russia’s standards of living and availability of consumer products were still much lower than other Western Powers, so despite Russia’s help in World War Two, she was still a fair degree below Western countries’ standards. Despite this contradiction, Book A2 (1987) recognises Russia as a superpower because of her involvement in many international councils, thus securing her image as a world power and a threat.

4.5 Conclusion: Findings Book A2 (1987)

In Book A2 (1987), Russia is painted as a country that is consistently unable to compete with the West as well as having an absolute dependence on the West which insinuates Russia's reliance on Capitalism therefore the success of Communism is questioned. Book A2 of 1987 appears near the end of two political ideologies: Soviet Russia and Apartheid however, Book A2 (1987) constantly argues an anti-Communist, anti-royalty and overall anti-Russia and pro-West perspective.

South Africa at the time of Book A2 (1987) was under the National Party, a pro-Afrikaner Nationalist Party thus sentiments towards royalty would be considered frosty due to the turbulent colonial battle between Imperialist Britain and the Boer Republic. As a result, the anti-royalty discourse can be reiterated by the Tsarist Regime being depicted as inept, anti-progressive and apathetic to the needs of the people which is reinforced by the constant uprisings and discontent of the people. The pro-West discourse is further highlighted by Russia's backwardness. Russia under the Tsars is depicted as backward and far behind other European countries as Russia sought help from the West to kick-start the belated Russian Industrial Revolution.

Revolutionary parties were banned in South Africa at the time of publication thus the book perpetuates a negative image of revolutionary parties in Russia. The perception of the positive narrative is continued as Lenin is almost disembodied from the Bolsheviks as he is shed in a positive light but the Bolsheviks are not. The Bolsheviks are depicted in the book as a terror group who are uncaring and willing to sacrifice the lives of millions of people in order to achieve what they want. This almost mirrors the National Party of South Africa's perception of the ANC as well as the SACP as the members were considered terrorists. However, what can be concluded from Book A2 (1987) is that it was the Provisional Government's weaknesses that led to the rise of the Bolsheviks. The Provisional Government had a chance to be democratic (therefore pro-West) however, their ineptitude led to the rise of the Bolsheviks and by extension, Communism (which is a perpetuation of the anti-Communism image).

The Bolsheviks represented the anti-Communist discourse of Book A2 (1987) because, subsequent to its rise to power, Russia became a totalitarian system that became vastly politically and economically unstable. The economic instability led to Russia needing help from the USA (a Western and Capitalist country) in order to survive thus emphasising Russia's inability to survive without the West and by extension Capitalism. The negative image of the Bolsheviks is reiterated through the civil war. Although the civil war is depicted briefly, the Bolsheviks are highlighted as using terror and violence freely as well as being depicted as predators.

Lenin's image is perpetuated as positive throughout Book A2 (1987). This can be identified in his policies as they were seen as for the betterment of Russia. The policy of War Communism under Lenin is depicted favourably as it is considered necessary. The book describes Lenin as having to begrudgingly apply violence against counter-active resistance. This lessens the negative portrayal of Lenin and continues the narrative of him being a good leader. Lenin's New Economic Policy was considered a good policy because it addressed the discontent of the people as well as it being an economic success. It is viewed as an economic success because of its return to Capitalism thus highlighting the dependency on Capitalism.

Stalin's image is portrayed as a double-edged sword in Book A2 (1987). Stalin is simultaneously depicted as Tsar-like as well as someone who is credited with industrialising Russia thus making Russia a superpower. The Industrialisation of Russia is highlighted where the purges are underplayed as the book maintains its focus on Russia as a superpower. Because Apartheid was anti-Communist and anti-Russia, the transformation of Russia into a superpower was considered something to watch and fear.

What can be concluded about the transformation of Russia is that the human cost is either overlooked or condoned. Stalin in Book A2 (1987) is noted as lying about the Five Year Plans' success rate thus creating an illusion of success. The transformation of Russian industry also created a transformation of education which is noted as being an indoctrination of the Communist ideology which reinforces the warning against Communism and Russia.

Book A2 (1987) uses Russia's rise to superpower status as a springboard to compare Russia's results with that of the West. Russia is depicted as falling short in comparison to the West which highlights the anti-Russia image and pro-West image. Capitalism and a Western structure is always better, is the image that is created in Book A2 (1987). This perception is again reiterated in the mention of the consequences of World War Two. Russia's industrial prowess is praised as being able to resist Germany however, although achieving measurable success and superpower status, it is still only *measurable* success in comparison to the West.

The concept of Communism is discussed in limited detail in Book A2 (1987). Communism is described as an extreme form of Socialism developed by Karl Marx. Marxism is argued to have been created because of the exploitation of the working class and thus Marx wanted to shake off the control of the ruling class however, no egalitarian policies are mentioned. The reason perhaps for such brevity on Communism is that South Africa had made Communism illegal and the concept Communism was cloaked under the concept of the Red Scare perhaps reasoning as to why limited detail is mentioned on the concept.

Trotsky is noted as a leading Marxist within the book and having established the first Soviets. No other detail is proffered on either the Soviets or Trotsky. The book also notes that Stalin bullied him from power and thus suggests that he was a contender for the leader of Russia. Lenin is considered the face of the Revolution and thus the assumption continues of Lenin being the only important character in the Revolution of Russia.

The perpetuation of the Tsar's ineptitude is highlighted in the Russo-Japanese War and the subsequent 1905 Revolution. The anti-Tsarist image is reiterated by the omission of the Tsar's absence from Bloody Sunday which emphasises a level of blame on the Tsar as well as emphasising his ineptitude. The severity of the 1905 revolution is understated, but what is underscored is the reluctance of the Tsar to change the constitution. The brevity of the Revolution could be because the Apartheid Government did not want to highlight how uprisings could lead to constitutional change.

World War One is depicted as a turning point for the Tsarist Regime. Although not much detail is provided as to the extent of the damage caused by the war, what is noted is that Russia was highly unprepared for the war and suffered disastrous defeats which fuelled discontent and worsened the already tarnished image of the Tsar. World War One is credited with sparking the February Revolution of 1917 in Book A2 (1987). Despite its brevity, the February Revolution is noted as leading to the arrest of the Tsar.

4.6 Book A3 (1989)

4.6.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime (circa 1900s - 1917)

Book A3 (1989) provides an “historical overview” (page 1) page prior to the chapter on Russia which summarises the events in the Russian transformation. The introduction lays the foundation of the description of ineptitude of the Tsarist Regime and Provisional Government leaving Russia ripe for the takeover by the Bolsheviks through force. Thus in the opening discussion in Book A3 (1989), the Tsarist Regime is not painted in a positive light and is described as inept and indifferent to the needs of the people. Following the “historical overview” (page 1), Book A3 (1989) lists a set of pre-questions for the students to ponder before reading the chapter. The opening questions imply a fault with the Tsars for the Revolution as well as implying an unexpected victory for the Bolsheviks. However, even though Book A3 (1989) insinuates an unexpected victory for the Bolsheviks, it also describes them as being “effective rulers” (page 2) of Russia. Book A3 (1989) therefore provides a prelude to the chapter where it provides a negative outlook of the Tsars but a positive one of the Bolsheviks posing them as the effective rulers of Russia whereas the Tsars were not. This image creates a pre-determined negative opinion about the Tsars and a positive opinion of Bolsheviks.

The Tsar’s opening negative autocratic image is perpetuated throughout the chapter in Book A3 (1989). In Book A3 (1989), the Tsar is painted as a man who is ignorant or uncaring towards the growing discontent of his people, repressive and persecuting in the light of change thus representing his ardent distaste for change as often violent methods are used to dispel change. It was these actions and harsh resistance to

change which led to Marxist ideals taking hold in the country, according to Book A3 (1989). Tsar Nicholas II is the primary imperial focus in Book A3 (1989), however, the imperial legacies of the previous Tsars are mentioned and how Tsar Nicholas II continued their legacies despite the unpopularity which reiterates the image of the Tsar as unwilling to change as well as the insinuation of no hope for change under the rule of the Tsars. The Tsar's unpopular 'National policy' marginalised and suppressed the minority groups which caused much unrest and bitterness amongst the people, according to Book A3 (1989). The Tsar's autocratic control as stated in Book A3 (1989), not only suggests a repressive control but also one void of any representation of the people which continued to widen the gap between the Tsar and his people.

Russia under the rule of the Tsars is presented in Book A3 (1989) as backward agriculturally, industrially and politically which led to exploitation of the peasants and urban workers by the Tsars and the political parties. Russia's backwardness is depicted in the book as being equated with Europe in the Middle Ages which highlights the extent of Russia's backwardness and the need for reform, in the view of the book, under the Tsars. The magnification of Russia's backwardness is pinpointed by Book A3 (1989) by a shortage of land and a growing population. The lack of reform within Russia is what is described as spurring on the discontent within Russia, again emphasising Book A3's (1989) perception of the Tsar as being indifferent to the basic needs of his people.

Despite Russia's backwardness, an attempt at Industrialisation in the 20th Century is mentioned in Book A3 (1989) which highlights that at some point Russia attempted change, however it is this change that adds more fuel to the already existing discontent. Although the Industrial Revolution occurred much later in Russia than the rest of Europe, this allowed for Russia to utilise the know-how of and machinery of other European powers, thus suggesting, by Book A3 (1989), that Russia was incapable of generating her own Industrial Revolution thus reiterating Russia's lack of self-sufficiency under the Tsars. According to Book A3 (1989), the creation of a late-induced Industrial Revolution led to a growing proletariat which led to poor working conditions not only in the agricultural sector but the industrial one too. The expanding impoverished workers and working conditions, as described in Book A3 (1989) led to a resurgence as well as rise of multiple political parties trying to garner the support for

political change thus emphasising the political backwardness of Russia and the discontent that was permeating through the nation. These political groups are described in Book A3 (1989) alongside the Tsarist Regime as being opportunistic in their peppering of political ideas however, they are not described as entirely peaceful in espousing political change or ideas as there is a note of violence being used, although this is not discussed.

Book A3 (1989) reiterates that it was both a culmination of the Tsar's domestic and foreign policies that led to the collapse of the Tsarist Regime. With regard to the foreign policy of the Tsar, two events, according to Book A3 (1989) provided the catalyst for the Tsar's demise because they united the opposition and those were the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and 1905 and World War One. In Book A3 (1989), the Russo-Japanese War is described as disastrous for Russia which fuelled the discontent into the 1905 Revolution and World War One is painted as the final breakdown of the Tsarist Regime as it ultimately caused the first Revolution and subsequently the Bolshevik Revolution.

The rise in peasant violence over unresolved issues reached its peak during the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 according to Book A3 (1989). This peak can be marked, according to Book A3 (1989) by the peaceful protest which turned bloody when the Tsar's soldiers opened fire on the protesters. The Tsar's absence during this protest is omitted in Book A3 (1989), so blame for the protest's outcome still falls on his shoulders. The Tsar was forced to make constitutional concessions but according to Book A3 (1989), the Tsar was still unwilling and reluctant to make these changes, even despite constant strikes and uprisings as well as the bloody protest, this highlights the Tsar's desire for constant autocratic control. The 1905 Revolution initiated the October Manifesto where the Tsar appeared to have appeased the masses by instituting the Duma, but that was all appearance, according to the book. Book A3 (1989) highlights the possibilities that could have befallen Russia had the Tsarist Regime continued the reform, it describes the possibilities of continued loyalty for the Tsar by the people, this description of what could have been outlines the fact that the Tsar was not truthful in his promise for a Duma and remained indifferent and blasé to the needs of the people. This blasé attitude, according to Book A3 (1989), continues the discontent which finally climaxes in World War One.

World War One, according to Book A3 (1989), provided the catalyst for the collapse of the Tsarist Regime as well as the two Russian Revolutions, therefore World War One is attributed to creating an opportunity for Bolshevik takeover. Russia's unpreparedness and backwardness is magnified in the war efforts which highlighted Tsar Nicholas' ineptitude and indifference to his people according to Book A3 (1989). Described in Book A3 (1989), it was Russia's glaring weakness in the face of a large scale war, her lack of self-sufficiency and crumbling army which all led to the loss of faith in the Tsar and his regime. Book A3 (1989) highlights that the Tsar's role as Commander-in-Chief, which was meant to inspire the people, was detrimental to the Tsar because Book A3 (1989) argues that the people saw the Tsarist Government and the Tsar as one and the same where before they believed it was the government giving bad advice to the Tsar, however, this changes his image. The constant strikes, hiking prices and unhappiness roiled into a belief that "the Tsar must go" (page 16) which ultimately, according to Book A3 (1989) led to the first of the two revolutions and the subsequent abdication of the Tsar.

The imminence of the Bolshevik Revolution in October as illustrated in Book A3 (1989) can be attributed to the initial Revolution of February 1917. Book A3 (1989) describes the Tsar's reaction to the constant uprising and protests in February as repressive which emphasises what has been aforementioned – the Tsar was not interested in listening to the affairs. The build-up of strikes and protests led to a spontaneous revolution, which Book A3 (1989) refers to as a "mass movement" or the "popular revolution" (page 18). The revolution that followed after the spontaneous strike action that ended with the collapse of the entire Tsarist Government is referred to, in Book A3 (1989) as the "official" (page 18) revolution. This provides the image of the initial revolutionary action as not as important, the political aspects of what followed are more important and considered more "official".

The February Revolution is described as going the protesters' way when the army sided with them and "mutinied" against the Tsar (page 18), according to Book A3 (1989). The imminence of the revolution is hinted at by Book A3's (1989) description of the Tsar's mismanagement of the war and reforms as well as repressive attitude towards change therefore, the book provides the image that not only was the

revolution imminent but also justifiable as the discontent is described as being “legitimate” (page 18). It was this spontaneous movement against repressive non-reformation that, according to Book A3 (1989) not only led to the collapse of the Tsarist Regime but the establishment of the Provisional Government in place of the Duma.

4.6.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution (1918-1921)

Post-February Revolution, Book A3 (1989) describes the political landscape as being dominated by two different political groups: the Provisional Government and the Soviets (councils). After the creation of the Provisional Government, there was a re-establishment of the Soviets, the main one being the Petrograd Soviet according to Book A3 (1989). A description of what the soviets were are not included in Book A3 (1989) just that they were made up of Social Revolutionaries with the majority being the Mensheviks with the Bolsheviks being in the minority. Book A3 (1989) provides a brief description of these two factions stating that the Mensheviks wanted to industrialise Russia first before a revolution whereas the Bolsheviks are described as wanting to hasten revolutionary effects as waiting was unnecessary (page 19). Although Book A3 (1989) mentions a clash between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks over the hastening of revolutionary action as well as the fact the soviets, specifically the Petrograd Soviet, had more power than the Provisional Government, Book A3 (1989) also reiterates the image of the Soviets as a representative of the people instead of an alternative form of government. They are also described as not taking leadership claim over the February Revolution therefore Book A3 (1989) reiterates that the Soviets’ goal was not to challenge the Provisional Government but merely to attend to the needs of the people.

Although the Soviets are described as being more popular than the Provisional Government, the initial goals of the Provisional Government are shed in a positive light by Book A3 (1989) as they are painted as progressive and Western thus providing hope for the modernisation of Russia. However, the Provisional Government, although initially painted as a hopeful opportunity for progression for Russia by Book A3 (1989), bad decisions and slow reform in the most needed sectors such as agrarian and

political ultimately led to the critics (Bolsheviks) to expand their influence which ultimately led to the collapse of the Provisional Government.

Lenin is marked as the leader of the Bolsheviks as well as flaming anarchist ideas by encouraging the peasants to seize land thus encouraging the discontent against the Provisional Government, according to Book A3 (1989). Coupled with a bad economy and slow reform, the Provisional Government's position was weakened which allowed for Bolshevik takeover. Book A3 (1989) deems Lenin's continuous efforts to weaken the Bolsheviks and proclaim Soviet rule as a declaration of war against the Provisional Government (page 21). Book A3 (1989) reiterates that bad decisions and circumstances led to the Bolshevik takeover of the Provisional Government despite the Bolshevik opposition as the Bolsheviks were better organised. This creates an image of the Bolsheviks as being determined and opportunistic despite opposition.

The Bolshevik rise to power and subsequent consolidation, is described in Book A3 (1989) as a combination of the Provisional Government's weaknesses as well as the effectiveness of the Bolshevik Party as a whole. In Book A3 (1989) the Bolsheviks are painted as a Party that is not only highly dedicated, strategic and disciplined but also controlled by visionary leaders such as Lenin and Trotsky who established clear and meaningful policies. The establishment of the secret police and Red Army also aided in Bolshevik takeover according to Book A3 (1989) as the Red Army dispersed the Constituent Assembly when it did not go the Bolshevik way therefore painting an image of the Bolsheviks using force in order to consolidate their power. This image is further highlighted in Book A3 (1989) by the mention of the Bolsheviks' unflinching attitude to act against anyone who opposed them and this attitude is further emphasised by the policies of the banning of opposition parties as well as censorship (page 26). A mention is made in Book A3 (1989) about the fate of the Tsars, albeit a small note. Book A3 (1989) mentions that the Tsars were executed in Ekaterinberg – there is an omission of who executed the Tsars in order to perhaps lessen the blame of the Bolsheviks.

Lenin, according to Book A3 (1989), in order to refrain from fighting in World War One (a huge contentious issue in Russia), signed a Treaty with Germany, at great cost, in order to focus on internal problems. This depiction creates an image of Lenin

knowingly putting Russia first over external problems. Immediately after this, Russia incurs a civil war according to Book A3 (1989). This internal conflict was against the Whites who were made up of multiple factions therefore their aims, according to Book A3 (1989) were dispersed and not unified which ultimately led to their ineffectiveness. In addition, Book A3 (1989) states that their presence created a fear of foreign rule, which created a patriotic fervour which pushed more people to support the Bolsheviks or the Reds as they were in the Civil War. The Reds won the war because they were highly organised and strategic and this war, according to Book A3 (1989), allowed for the Bolsheviks to establish an absolute totalitarian rule equated with the absolute rule of the Tsar. However, even though Russia adopted a totalitarian rule, Book A3 (1989) still describes them as an emerging superpower and therefore acknowledges Russia's significance on the world stage (page 29).

4.6.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin (1921 - 1924)

Lenin and his policies are characterised in Book A3 (1989) as providing the necessary scaffolding for Russia to become a superpower. Lenin's policies are described by Book A3 (1989) as not only allowing for Communism to survive in Russia but creating the start of progressive social reformation and liberties. Lenin is characterised in Book A3 (1989) as unquestioned and idealistic in his social reformation goals. Lenin and Trotsky are also noted as the architects of the October Revolution as well as attempting to reform Russia – a crumbling country as the result of World War One and the civil war. Lenin and his policies are described separately from those of the Bolsheviks and their policies in Book A3 (1989) thus alluding to them as being separate entities.

Russia under Lenin's rule went under a myriad of changes such as constitutional, economic and social according to Book A3 (1989). Russia's centralised constitution is adapted by Lenin, and Book A3 (1989) creates an image of Russia's newly depicted federal government as a façade because the Bolshevik Party still dominated the main committees. The book describes a "Russian form of democracy" which alludes to the idea of it not being real (page 36). The reason for this as posed in the book is that Lenin felt that the people needed to be led, which is why the Bolshevik Party dominated

the governmental structure. Book A3 (1989) describes this façade as a “totalitarian democracy” (page 37) which essentially is oxymoronic as the freedom described within the book is considered “prescribed freedom” (page 37). This new constitution however, did not enfranchise all Russians, nor did it allow for any other political opposition, and is painted, in Book A3 (1989) as a temporary necessity in order to survive the upcoming difficult years.

The policy of War Communism is described, in Book A3 (1989) as being an initiation of the Bolsheviks, alluding to the idea that this was not a policy of Lenin’s. The collapsing economy allowed for the Bolsheviks to take control of the economy and initiate War Communism as a survival tactic. War Communism was a policy initiated during the Civil War, yet Book A3 (1989), mentions it separately from the Civil War and downplays its connection. Book A3 (1989) also omits any political terror during this time, which creates a candy-coated image of what War Communism was and what it entailed as its purpose is deemed tactical. Peasant uprisings due to the War Communism policy erupted, and Book A3 (1989) describes Lenin as recognising this behaviour and coming in to change the policies of Russia, thus Lenin is given the symbol of a hero who is always willing to see what his people need.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) is depicted in Book A3 (1989) as saving the Bolshevik Regime from collapse. The NEP, in the book is described as being a compromise with Capitalism and a placation for the farmers. This new policy gave rise to the Soviet mixed economy and also moved away from Socialism and, according to Book A3 (1989), caused much debate amongst the Bolsheviks but which only became significant after Lenin’s death which provides the allusion that no-one questioned Lenin or his policies.

The image provided of other Communist leaders during Lenin’s rule, in Book A3 (1989) is as being antagonistic and secular. Book A3 (1989) paints Communism as synonymous with atheism because of the Communist leaders (Lenin not mentioned) as being antagonistic towards religion. The comparison henceforth made in Book A3 (1989) between Lenin and other leaders is significant as Lenin is repeatedly making decisions for the people and the first mention of other leaders creates a hostile image.

The establishment of Russia as a Communist country came after the victory of the Civil War. The perspective of the new Russia, according to Book A3 (1989) by other Western Powers is somewhat dubious. In Book A3 (1989) the perspective of Russia as a threat emphasized the need, according to the Communists, for Capitalism to be weakened in order for the new Russia to survive. This in turn led to the creation of the Third Communist International (Comintern) which led to Communist parties in other countries being under this umbrella. Their goal, according to Book A3 (1989) was to provide a “World Revolution” (page 43). The image that is created of the Comintern is that their creation was as a result of the Western Powers posing a threat to Russia because they were wary of them which lessens the negative image of the Communists. Book A3 (1989) mentions the eventual acceptance of Soviet Russia as a power, with the exclusion of USA, which shows how Soviet Russia came onto the world stage.

4.6.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin (1928 – end of chapter)

Stalin’s depiction in Book A3 (1989) is one of an absolute ruler with progressive ideas who transformed Russia into a superpower. Book A3 (1989) stipulates that Stalin’s dominance in Russia was from 1924 – 1939 when Book A3 (1989) specifies that Russia was an established world power. No mention is made of the rest of his rule, which highlights that the transformational period in Russia was of the most importance regarding Stalin’s rule. Stalin came to power in 1928, so the depiction of Stalin starting his rule in 1924 could indicate the level of power he displayed within the Party very early on.

A brief mention of Stalin’s rise to power is supplied by Book A3 (1989). Stalin and Trotsky are both mentioned as prospective leaders of Russia and each had different policies regarding Russia’s future; Stalin’s being the more moderate of the two. Book A3 (1989) describes Stalin as eliminating any critics or opposition in order to gain power, and once in power switched to more radical policies. The term “eliminate” is repeated in this description (page 46) of Stalin’s seizure of power however, no detail is provided therefore no illumination on the term “eliminate” which tends to lessen the

intensity with which he seized power. In Book A3 (1989) Stalin's dubious rise to power is overshadowed by his internal transformation of Russia into a powerful nation.

Stalin is said to have established two policies which established Russia as a world power according to Book A3 (1989), the first one being, Collectivisation. At first Book A3 (1989) provides a rose-tinted image of Collectivisation as merely an "amalgamation of farms" (page 46) with very little information about the hardships incurred. There is a vague mention in Book A3 (1989) of the enforcement that occurred which further emphasises the candy-coated image of the collectivised farms. Even the famine in Book A3 (1989) (which dates are inconsistently portrayed as either 1932-1933 or 1932-1934) is not necessarily highlighted as something negative but rather as a way for Stalin to break peasant resistance. Book A3 (1989) does provide detail about Collectivisation being achieved at great human cost (page 149), which was further emphasised by the inclusion of Stalin's wife's suicide due to the deaths of the peasants. However, although this is mentioned in Book A3 (1989), it is still written alongside the positives of Collectivisation on both the Russian economy but the peasants too thus overshadowing the negatives.

The Five Year Plans were Stalin's step towards industrialising Russia to a point of self-sufficiency according to Book A3 (1989). Russia's progress is strongly admired in Book A3 (1989) as Russia's military and heavy industry was transformed. Book A3 (1989) mentions the term "hardships" that the workers had to endure but no detail is proffered except that most workers endured such hardship willingly for the betterment of Russia. This creates an idyllic image of the Industrialisation period and this idyllic image is further underscored in Book A3 (1989) by the repeated positive transformational perspective of the Five Year Plans. Book A3 (1989) extends this positive image of Russia's transformational period by comparing Russia's flourishing period whilst the West was undergoing a depression thus providing a brief period where Russia is viewed as prospering more than the West. Russia's Industrialisation period, according to Book A3 (1989) is regarded very highly because of these progressive ideas introduced, this high regard overshadows the hardships incurred as Book A3 (1989) overlooks such difficulties.

Not only did Russia undergo agricultural and industrial modernization but social and political too, according to Book A3 (1989). Despite Book A3 (1989) referring to the social change as modernisation, it is depicted in a slightly negative light. Book A3 (1989) speaks about the government's belief in education as positive as it led to a rise in literacy which led to a rise in industry however, Book A3 (1989) describes, albeit briefly, as a tool for Communist indoctrination. Another negative aspect is the Bolshevik (not Stalin) view on religion. The way in which church ideals are replaced with Marxists ideas is not represented positively in Book A3 (1989), but this was the doing of the Bolsheviks or Communists, so Stalin's name is removed from such association.

The modernisation of Russia's political landscape was done by Stalin, according to Book A3 (1989) to secure support from the Western countries in the wake of Nazi Germany and other threats like Italy and Japan. This decision by Stalin in Book A3 (1989) displays Stalin as pragmatic as well as putting Russia's fate above isolation from Western powers. Although Stalin adapted the new constitution, Book A3 (1989) declares it as still a theoretical constitution as the power was still in the hands of the Communist party thus not democratic according to Western standards. Another aspect of the change to the political landscape mentioned by Book A3 (1989) are the purges or terror incurred by Stalin. Book A3 (1989) provides an ambiguous almost excused image of the purges. While Book A3 (1989) mentions that no Party members, Army or secret police members were safe, it also mentions that anyone in society could be affected if they are deemed as plotting against Stalin or the state. The purges are highlighted in Book A3 (1989) as only being conducted if the accused was plotting against Stalin, the insinuation is that it was not always necessarily true but this is overshadowed. Book A3 (1989) does allow for the mention of the lack of freedom of expression however, this is mentioned alongside the belief by many, according to the book that the purges were a purification process to ensure loyalty in the Party. This mention overshadows any negativity as it is viewed as a necessity.

At the end of Stalin's dominance (1939), according to Book A3 (1989), the Communist State's absolute rule is mirrored with the rule of the Tsars, however it is described as a more effective absolute rule as it was maintained. Although Russia is described in Book A3 (1989) as having a pact with Germany, this is described as having being

forced because no other Western powers trusted Russia and refused allies, despite her peaceful and co-operative foreign policy.

Russia, by 1939, is considered a superpower by Book A3 (1989). Although Stalin's modernisation came at a great human cost, Book A3 (1989) regards it as necessary for it to become a superpower, which undervalues the lives lost during this process. Book A3 (1989) further emphasises this necessity by excusing Russia's political transformation and extreme authoritarian state as this is what was needed to make Russia a superpower.

4.7 Conclusion: Findings Book A3 (1989)

Book A3 of 1989 is published in a year of political change thus a change in political context is noted. 1989 saw the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and Communism in Eastern Europe also, it was the year where Apartheid was nearing its end thus the loosening of Apartheid laws was occurring. Book A3 (1989) provides a less critical outlook on both Communism and its leaders thus establishing a less harsh view on Russia. Although an anti-Tsarist discourse is still maintained, Communism is no longer viewed as something that needs to be feared. In saying this, Book A3 (1989) still maintains a strong Christian ethos throughout the chapter which forms one of the negative images perpetuated in the book.

The Tsarist Regime in Book A3 (1989) is depicted as anti-progressive, uncaring, indifferent and violent in the face of change. It was under these conditions that Book A3 (1989) claims Marxist ideals took hold. An image of Marxism being the better option for the population is thus created which already offers a less critical approach to Communism. The Tsarist Regime is blamed for the lack of progress as the book reinforces the image of Russia being backward in comparison to the West. This is highlighted by the belated Industrial Revolution that required the help of other European powers.

Lenin and Trotsky are both highlighted as the orchestrators of the October Revolution and the success of the Bolsheviks is owed to Lenin and Trotsky. Although Trotsky's

role is not well-defined in the book, Book A3 (1989) acknowledges his leadership. Book A3 (1989) describes Lenin and Trotsky as visionary leaders whose leadership and clear establishment of policies led to the Bolshevik takeover. The changing political context in South Africa might also acknowledge other leaders involved in the anti-Apartheid struggle and not just Mandela as the face of the struggle which almost mirrors the Russian context in Trotsky's acknowledgement.

The impact of the Soviets is highlighted within the book. They are deemed as having more power than the Provisional Government which weakened the image of the Provisional Government. Book A3 (1989) fails to mention the creator of the Soviets, as well as the link between the Soviets and the Bolsheviks.

Despite the Provisional Government's bad luck, it still made poor decisions which led to the Bolshevik takeover. The Provisional Government is described as attempting to introduce Western reform however, despite the pro-West outlook, it was too slow in initiating the reform which enhanced the discontent.

The civil war is depicted in Book A3 (1989) without any real mention of violence undertaken by either sides which provides an unclear image of the war. This provides a distorted view of the civil war as there is no discussion of what was incurred as a result of the civil war. This again establishes a less harsh perspective on Communism and on Russia. The terror is also omitted from the War Communism policy and is also limited in its detail despite the mention of peasant uprisings.

Lenin's policies are described as providing scaffolding for Russia's emergence as a superpower as well as providing Lenin with hero status. Lenin's hero status is further cemented in the description of the New Economic Policy. This is described in Book A3 (1989) as saving the Bolshevik regime from collapse due to its compromise with Capitalism thus continuing the perception of Communism being unable to survive without Capitalism.

Lenin provided the scaffolding but it was Stalin who transformed Russia into a superpower. It is this transformation that is magnified rather than the hardships and deaths incurred under Stalin's reign. This image provides a new, less damaging

perception of Stalin despite his policies mimicking Tsar-like behaviour. Stalin is depicted as an absolute ruler whose progressive ideas modernised Russia into superpower status.

The focal point of Stalin's reign lies in the transformational economic policies of Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans. What can be deduced from Book A3 (1989) is that despite the challenging conditions and the cost to human life, the policies are deemed successful and considered a great benefit to the economy. Therefore the main focus lies in Russia's progression. Book A3 (1989) justifies the human cost incurred under the reign of Stalin because it was what the book feels was necessary. Stalin's extreme authoritarian or Tsar-like behaviour is justified because Book A3 (1989) feels that it was what was needed in order to modernise Russia. The image of Stalin portrayed within Book A3 (1989) is one of someone who does whatever it takes in order to turn his/her country around. However, although the main focus is on Russia's progression there is mention of not all facets of life being negative. Education is described as being used as a tool for indoctrination in the schools, albeit briefly and the Bolsheviks are criticised for their lack of religious ideals and their persecution of religious members which reinforces the pro-Christian discourse of the book. However, in saying this, there is only a brief mention of the educational indoctrination and the religious persecution thus maintaining the focus on the positives: the transformation of Russia.

Although Stalin's purges are discussed and the number of deaths are detailed, Book A3 (1989) paints a picture of them being almost necessary as these were people accused of treason. The suggestion behind the word "accused" is that perhaps not all accused actually committed treason but this is not elaborated upon and the focus remains that the reason behind these purges was to purify the Party. The South African context mirrors that of Stalin's purges in that many members of opposition parties were accused of treasonous acts. Perhaps Book A3 (1989) is justifying the actions taken against those people in both the South African and the Russian context because what they did was considered treasonous.

Communism is portrayed in Book A3 (1989) as a class struggle between the two classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat. Communism is depicted as being depicted as

synonymous with atheism which continues the pro-Christian ethos of the book. The egalitarian of political and economic rights is omitted in Book A3's (1989) depiction of Communism thus not providing a full perspective on the ideology despite the changing political context in South Africa. The readers of the book are told to seek more information about the Communism thus initiating some research-based aspect towards Communism.

Trotsky's role is more defined in Book A3 (1989). His leadership in the October Revolution and his role in the leadership of the Red Army during the civil war are lauded by the book and his leadership abilities are mentioned alongside those of Lenin. Book A3 (1989) also notes Trotsky as a contender for the leadership position after Lenin's death and was expelled by Stalin, which again reaffirms his place in the discourse of Big Men. Despite this prominent mention however, Lenin still takes the limelight but at least the contributions of others are noted. This can be paralleled to the South African context as Nelson Mandela is often portrayed as the face of the struggle and other contributing members are pushed to the side or are forgotten.

The continuation of the Anti-Tsarist discourse is found in the 1905 Revolution sparked by the Russo-Japanese War. Not much detail surrounds the 1905 Revolution but, what is detailed, is the violent action taken against the protestors which is blamed on the Tsar (his absence is omitted) which led to the Tsar's reluctant constitutional change.

World War One is portrayed briefly in the book however, World War One is noted as the catalyst for the Tsar's downfall. It was the Tsar's poor decisions, constant defeats that inflamed discontent which led to the February Revolution. Although the February Revolution is depicted as the unofficial revolution, it is considered justifiable due to the unrelenting and ignored discontent. The discontent described in the book is considered legitimate and almost mirrors itself against the South African backdrop of justifiable revolutionary action if the discontent is continuously ignored. It was this revolution which led to the end of the Tsarist Regime.

Despite Russia's transition into a Socialist state, it took a while for Western powers to acknowledge this and still viewed Communism as a threat. It was under this threat from the West, the Communists felt the need for Capitalism to be weakened and this

could happen with the creation of the Comintern. Thus the Comintern's creation is depicted in Book A3 (1989) as a defence against aggressive Western countries which detracts from the past perception of Communism being viewed as a threat.

4.8 Conclusion and Final Findings of Apartheid Era textbooks

The Apartheid textbooks are written in three various stages of the Apartheid development. Book A1 (1974) is written when South Africa was entrenched in Apartheid laws and the world was entrenched in an anti-Communist motion due to the fear surrounding the ideology. Book A2 (1987) is written when South Africa was still in the throes of Apartheid and petty Apartheid however, nearing the end of its term. It is also written during a period of mass violent resistance in which the Soviet Union aided the anti-Apartheid activists which perpetuate the anti-Russian sentiment within Book A2 (1987). Book A3 (1989) encapsulates a changing world as the Berlin Wall had come down marking the end of European Communism and thus there was no longer a fear of Communism. South Africa's system of Apartheid was nearing its end and so the book is generally written in a less critical fashion. Books A1 (1974) and A2 (1987) both offer almost the same representation of Russia as the anti-Tsar, anti-Communism and pro-West discourse reverberates through the two books. Whilst Book A3 (1989) is still Anti-Tsar there is a less critical representation of Communism itself within the book. Each of the three books focuses heavily on the Big Men involved in Russia's transformation: Tsar Nicholas II, Trotsky, Lenin and Stalin. The Big Men discourse only became apparent during my analysis of the textbooks because there was a repeated focus on the main men aforementioned of the revolutions and of Russia. I have chosen to only mention the Big Men discourse here, in the analysis section, because it was not a theory with which I had noted at the beginning of my research.

The anti-Tsar discourse permeates throughout all three books as his role is viewed as oppressive, indifferent, autocratic and engendering backwardness in the country. The dislike for royalty in South Africa can be extended back to South Africa's colonial period and thus the mistreatment of the Boers by British colonists engendered a strong sense of dislike for royalty by the Afrikaner Nationalists. The Tsar is also categorised in the Big Men discourse because he is blamed for the fall of the Tsarist Empire and the rise

of Communism in Russia. Book A3 (1989) argues that it was the Tsar's oppressive measures and indifference to his people that led to the Marxist principles becoming popular. Not only is the anti-Tsarist discourse continued, Book A3 (1989) offers a less critical approach to Marxism and by extension Communism as it views it as a better option.

The issue of reform or lack thereof during the reign of the Tsar is highlighted strongly in all three books. In Book A1 (1974) the Tsar is described as having undermined any reform which led to the ultimate consequence of the rise of Communism – by extension a level of blame is placed on the Tsar in Book A1 (1974). In Book A2 (1987) reform under the Tsarist regime is mentioned in the form of Alexander II, however he is the only mention of royalty initiating reform. Both Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) underscore that Russia is unable to be self-sufficient on her own as she needed foreign help in the form of technological aid from the USA and industrial machines from Europe. This signifies a pro-West discourse that Russia is unable to cope without, not only help from the West, but without Capitalism too.

Book A2 (1989) and Book A3 (1987) both describe the importance of the 1905 revolution. Book A1 (1974) however, makes mention of the date as being significant but no detail of the event is offered and thus the influence is underplayed. Perhaps the reasoning behind this is that the Apartheid government did not want any discussion about protests and uprisings that could lead to a constitutional change in its system – the outcome of the 1905 revolution. Both Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) omit the absence of the Tsar during the protest that ignited the 1905 revolution. The omission of the Tsar is vital in not only the representation of the Tsar but also in the portrayal of Russian history. By omitting the Tsar's absence, it places an undue blame on the Tsar for the consequences that followed the protests. Whilst noting his absence does not necessarily eradicate his blame (as his reign was the cause of the protest), it does inaccurately represent Russian history. This omission greatly emphasises the anti-Tsar discourse as it perpetuates the image of brutality.

All three books highlight that World War One sparked the February Revolution of 1917. Book A1 (1974) is the only book to focus on the war as being pivotal to the downfall of the Tsar as it highlighted demonstrably the poor conditions of the people and soldiers

and the Tsar's concern over territory rather than people. Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) offer less detail about the war and the effect on its people but it does highlight that the war enflamed discontent and encouraged dissidence.

Book A1 (1974) and A2 (1987) underscore the anti-Communist discourse in their description of the Bolsheviks as being revolutionary as well as a terror group. The anti-Communist discourse can be extended into an anti-revolutionary discourse as both books highlight the dangers of revolutionary parties and therefore, the anti-revolutionary discourse is noted as a warning for the reader. Book A3 (1989) offers a less critical approach and depicts Russia as an emerging superpower despite its image as a totalitarian country subsequent to the Bolshevik takeover. Book A1 (1974) constantly reverberates the dangers of a revolutionary party taking hold as it depicts the Bolsheviks as not following through with their original policies. Book A1 (1974) reinforces this danger with the mirroring of the Bolsheviks' obedience to that of the Nazi regime. Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) offer reasons as to how the Bolsheviks came to power and both books stipulate that it was the weakness of the Provisional Government that led to Bolshevik takeover. Book A2 (1987) places blame on the Provisional Government whereas Book A3 (1989) empathises with the Provisional Government's bad situational luck in the political climate of Russia.

The actions of the Bolsheviks in the civil war are considered tyrannical in both Book A1 (1974) and Book A2 (1987) which acts as another warning against revolutionary groups taking hold. Book A3 (1989) overlooks any real mention of violence perpetrated by either sides which offers a less harsh view on the civil war. The policy of War Communism is described differently in each of the books. In Book A1 (1974) war Communism under the Bolsheviks is considered tyrannical but under Lenin the policy is viewed as necessary and a courageous attempt to bring about Socialism. The Bolsheviks as a revolutionary party are consistently painted as tyrannical which acts as a warning. In Book A2 (1987), War Communism is viewed favourably as it is considered necessary in the emergent situation. Book A2 (1987) does describe some violent action taken by Lenin during the period however, it is justified as Lenin is considered to be forced to take action against resisters who perpetuate Russia's struggle. Book A2 (1987) describes Russia under chaos due to the resistance of war Communism which continues the image of an anti-Russia discourse as she is unable

to sustain herself. Book A3 (1987) described the War Communism as being created by the Bolsheviks however, the Bolsheviks are separated from the policy and the policy is associated with Lenin, thus their terror is omitted which provides a distorted and less harsh image of War Communism and the Bolsheviks. The uprisings discussed in Book A3 (1989) as a result of War Communism (reason omitted) led to the perception of Lenin changing the policy and saving Russia. The Bolsheviks, during the period of War Communism, entertained violent and intimidating tactic in order to gain the support of the peasants and to secure grain to feed the army. This omission by Book A3 (1989) greatly weakens the negative portrayal of the Bolsheviks which greatly alters the perception of the Bolsheviks. Thus the omission of such violence which caused the uprisings is important in terms of the Bolshevik portrayal as the peasants are almost described as ensuing undue uprisings against the Bolsheviks.

All three books perpetuate the same image of Lenin. Lenin is admired and described as a good leader in all three books. His image as a good leader is extended in Books A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) as Lenin is given hero status because of his depiction of saving Russia. All three books described Lenin's policies as good as they were for the betterment of the people which was contradictory to the Tsar's. Only one negative policy is mentioned in Book A1 (1974) as it is considered an extension of the Tsarist policy. The New Economic Policy is noted as a success in all three books and Book A3 (1989) describes it as saving the Bolshevik Regime. Each book describes it as a success as it is a retreat back into Capitalism which reiterates the discourse of Russia needing Capitalism and that as a result of Russia needing Capitalism the perception of the West is one of superiority over that of Communism. Book A1 (1974) describes Lenin as being the perfect man to lead Russia despite his violent and revolutionary tendencies as he puts his country's needs first. Book A2 (1987) depicts Lenin as bringing Russia into a totalitarian state which is the antithesis of democracy thus it acts as a warning. Book A3 (1987) also depicts Lenin as bringing Russia into a totalitarian state however, Lenin is described as the better man for the job compared to the other potential leaders. Both Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) discuss the introduction of the Comintern and world revolutionaries. However, Book A2 (1987) sees it as an affront to democracy and thus creates the image of distrust whereas Book A3 (1989) depicts the West's distrust as forcing the Communists to create world revolutionaries because they felt threatened which offers a justification.

Stalin is described as a despotic, ruthless and Tsar-like ruler in all three books however, each book describes Stalin's transformation of Russia differently. In Book A1 (1974) Stalin's character is criticised throughout the book and stands as a warning against the possibility of future revolutionary leaders with autocratic power thus perhaps mirroring the warning against the revolutionary parties within South Africa. Stalin's cruelty and the cost of human lives in the transformation of Russia is emphasised however, the cost to human life during Industrialisation is justified and glossed over in Book A1 (1974) because it served a purpose. The human cost mentioned during Stalin's purges, which are described as a systematic murder, are condemned as they served no purpose and emphasise the tyrannical nature of Stalin. Book A1 (1974) does admire the modernisation that occurred under Stalin but begrudgingly so as perhaps the success of a Communist country does not want to be emphasised too much. In Books A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) the image of Stalin's modernisation is perceived in the same light: necessary. Both books overlook the hardships and focus more on the industrial and economic success. Book A2 (1987) describes the begrudging violence against the resistance creating the impression that the government was forced to act otherwise Russia would suffer. Russia's reliance on Capitalism is emphasised in Book A2 (1987) as it argues that Russia was unable to kick-start her own industrial programme without the help from the West. In Book A2 (1987) Russia is constantly compared to the West and painted as falling behind the West, never quite matching up despite its success and rise to superpower status. This perpetuates the pro-West and anti-Russia discourse present in Book A2 (1987). Book A3 (1989) views both of Stalin's economic policies as an overall justification as they were progressive and benefitted the economy and thus perpetuate the less critical view of Stalin.

Book A1 (1974) views Stalin's purges as systematic murder whereas Book A3 (1989) views them as necessary because the acts were considered treasonous. Book A3 (1989) does insinuate that the people accused of treason might not have committed the acts however, that is only an insinuation. Book A2 (1987) severely underplays the purges and the extent the purges had on Russia thus maintaining the focus on the transformation of Russia.

Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) argue against Stalin's new constitution. Book A1 (1974) omits any discussion into this new constitution. Stalin's new constitution is described in Book A2 (1987) as a façade and therefore anti-democratic, whereas in Book A3 (1989), it is also described as a façade and theoretical but it is considered a pragmatic approach from Stalin in order not to isolate Russia which removes any harshness associated with his undemocratic constitution. Both Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) describes Stalin's use of indoctrination in the form of education however, very little detail accompanies this – this can perhaps be because of the indoctrinating education of the Apartheid system and upon which attention should not be drawn.

The ideology of Communism is not discussed in its entirety in any of the three books. This illustrates the political context of South Africa as perpetuating the anti-Communist ideals of the Apartheid system. All three books discuss Communism as a class struggle espoused by Karl Marx which was adapted under Lenin. The political and social egalitarian rights espoused with Communism are omitted in all three books as South Africa was not a country run on egalitarian rights, the concept of an ideology espousing equality would be too dangerous.

The Tsar, Lenin and Stalin all fall under the discourse of Big Men as it is their roles and influences that are constantly portrayed throughout each book. The role of Trotsky is minor and underplayed in comparison however, his involvement appears in all three books thus highlighting that he did have some influence in the revolutionary action thus giving him a place in the Big Men discourse. In Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) Trotsky's leadership role is noted and the fact that he was a contender for the rule of Russia after Lenin's death also emphasises the reasoning for Trotsky belonging to the Big Men discourse.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS: POST-APARTHEID

5.1 Introduction

The books analysed within this chapter take place in a changing political context of South Africa. South Africa's new system of governance had been in place for 18 years at the time of publication of each of these textbooks, therefore the political context of South Africa and the world is vastly different to that of the textbooks under Apartheid rule. Communism is no longer banned, and instead is inextricably linked to the ANC, the current government of South Africa

In my previous chapter I discussed three books written during the Apartheid Regime and in this chapter, three books written in the post-Apartheid period are discussed. The key stages of analysis mirror the stages within the Apartheid textbooks: Russia under the Tsarist Regime, Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia under Lenin and Russia under Stalin. These historical eras have been chosen because they are the only historical eras within the chapter thus keeping in line with the CAPS curriculum of post-Apartheid South Africa.

5.2 Book B1 (2012)

5.2.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime (1900 - 1917)

There is very little focus on the Tsar and his policies within Book B1 (2012) however, the focus of his reign is mainly on the opposition and its leaders which suggests that the Tsar was not only inept and unpopular but also felt monumental opposition from the beginning. The reiteration and explanation of the many political groups within this book (which will be discussed later) suggests that Nicholas II's reign was met with a variety of opposition which can lend itself to the image of Nicholas II's inability to rule Russia effectively and being unpopular. Although in Book B1 (2012), the Tsar's tenure is only stated from 1900 – 1917, it is painted as an autocratic tenure that was oppressive against any revolutionary parties, which is the only mention in the book of any oppressive action. Russia under Tsar Nicholas was largely backward economically and industrially and this is highlighted in Book B1 (2012) by its mention

of Russia not experiencing the industrial revolution like the rest of Europe. This again stresses the inept governance of the Tsarist Regime and the inability therefore, of Russia to experience progression

Book B1 (2012) focuses considerably on the figures who led the revolts against the Tsar rather than the Tsar himself. The book focuses on the two key leaders of the opposition party, the Bolsheviks. There is considerable detail about Trotsky in Book B1 (2012) detailing his closeness to the revolution and Lenin, more so than the Tsar which again underscores the Tsar's second place narrative. In Book B1 (2012), Trotsky's role in the creation of the Soviets (councils) and therefore the insurgency in Russia creates a more prominent profile of other people involved in revolutionary action other than just Lenin. Book B1 (2012) breaks down further key concepts such as Capitalism, bourgeoisie, Bolshevik and some others. This breakdown provides a clearly established outline of the different ideologies at work during the tumultuous period during the Tsarist reign.

Russia under the Tsarist regime is described in Book B1 (2012) as being a vast country made up of many nationalities about half of which are deemed Russian. Russia is also painted as a backward country as it was economically and industrially backward, had poor communication systems, low capital and an ineffective banking system. The class structure in existence in Russia during the Tsar's reign is also deemed problematic in Book B1 (2012) because of its class structure which only allowed for a small wealthy population which limited the potential for Capitalist growth. This mention of a limitation of Capitalist growth suggests two things: the first being that there was a Capitalist economy in existence under Imperialism; and the second suggestion creates an image of a country not necessarily capable or equipped to deal with Capitalism, which is why Communism was, perhaps, also deemed attractive by the population.

Because the country was run autocratically, the peasants, according to Book B1 (2012) had no voice when it came to how the country was run and the book reasons that that is why many Russians were attracted to Communism. Despite the mention of the unhappy peasants in Book B1 (2012), they are mentioned infrequently when discussing the social and economic problems of Russia. Book B1's (2012) emphasis is on the proletariat and not the peasants. The peasants become a faceless, mass and the workers and their problems are highlighted. This underscore works hand in hand

with Book B1's (2012) reference to Communism becoming attractive and because Communism, espoused by Marx and analysed in Book B1 (2012) focuses on a proletariat revolution, which is perhaps why this book focuses primarily on the proletariat and their plight as well as their importance in the revolution as opposed to the peasants.

The problems experienced by the proletariat were many, according to Book B1 (2012). The gap between the wealthy and the proletariat grew under the visor of the Tsar which enhanced the unchanged exploitation experienced by the workers. The working conditions and living conditions of the proletariat are described, by Book B1 (2012) as having remained unchanged for decades which further emphasises the ineptitude and stagnancy of the Tsarist Regime.

The emphasis of the Tsar's reign, according to Book B1 (2012) lies in the two revolutions of 1905 and 1917. According to Book B1 (2012), war played an integral part in each of the revolutions because it "undermines the economy" (page 10). The book stresses the link between the first revolution of 1905 and the revolution of 1917 and the Tsar's downfall. The revolution of 1905 was caused by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 as suggested by Book B1 (2012). Spontaneous strikes broke out around the city and the people revolted against the Tsar – Book B1 (2012) specifies revolts against the Tsar alone, personalising the strike against the regime rather than the conditions. The spontaneous strikes led to a peaceful protest to the Tsar's residence. Book B1 (2012) states that this protest occurred in 1904, instead of 1905 when it actually occurred despite this error, the focus of this protest is on the brutality of, what Book B1 (2012) insinuates, the Tsar's actions. Again the book personalises the revolution against the Tsar when it states that it was the Tsar's troops who opened fire on the crowd. The omission of the Tsar's lack of involvement also highlights the book's personalised attack against the Tsar. Aside from this, Book B1 (2012) focuses on the establishment of the Soviets and their function. This lays down the foundation for the effectiveness of the Soviets in the revolution of 1917.

Although the 1905 revolution is mentioned and highlighted as an event that led to the Tsar's eventual fall, Book B1 (2012) downplays certain aspects of the revolution such as the consequences. Whilst there is mention of the October Manifesto and the Duma is there, no detail is proffered thus maintaining the emphasis of the Soviets within the

revolution. Book B1 (2012) mentions Lenin's April Thesis straight after the details of the 1905 revolution which suggests that they are connected when actually, Lenin's thesis came out in 1917, before the Bolshevik Revolution. This confusion can highlight the book's attempt to reiterate the link between the 1905 revolution and the 1917 one, as well as to emphasise Lenin and the Soviets' role in creating dissension in Russia and the downfall of the Tsar.

Book B1 (2012) does not detail the February/March revolution much. It specifies that it was a spontaneous revolution that was caused by the effects and hardships of World War One. The spontaneity of the revolution led to Socialists striking and marching against the Tsar, according to Book B1 (2012). There is limited focus on the ordinary people during this revolution, giving the impression that it was largely a Socialist uprising as Book B1 (2012) argues that many Socialists were involved in the revolution thus emphasising the book's position of maintaining its political focus. The Tsar is described in Book B1 (2012) as reluctantly giving up his reign but eventually abdicates and is taken into captivity however, the book fails to mention the capturing of the Tsar's family as well as their fate. This lack of information lessens the harshness of the Bolshevik image and almost creates the impression that the Tsar deserved to be taken into captivity which again, highlights the favourable image Book B1 (2012) has of the Bolsheviks.

A detailed description of Marxism, Socialism and Communism is proffered by Book B1 (2012) as an introduction to the chapter of Russian history. This description does two things: it identifies and explains that it was these ideological principles undertaken by Russian leaders during and after Tsar Nicholas' reign; and it also highlights these ideological principles as the only important aspect undertaken by Russian leaders following and including the Tsarist Regime. The Tsar's reign takes second place in the discussion of these principles in Book B1 (2012) which creates the impression that the Tsarist reign provided a base for the manifestation of these principles, as well as the image of his reign being less important to the grand scope of Russian history.

The theory of Marxism and Socialism is described in Book B1 (2012) differently from Communism. While Marxism and Socialism are highlighted as economic systems, Communism is described as a political system that was seen as an attractive option by the population because of the long-standing autocracy. The establishment of

Communism could only happen, according to Book B1's (2012) analysis of the Marxist doctrine, once everyone had achieved equal economic and political rights (page 4). The attraction of Communism by the populace is mentioned in Book B1 (2012), unlike any other ideology is, which lends itself to the idea that Communism was a widely popular ideology during the reign of Tsar Nicholas II perhaps due to the hypothesis of equality.

5.2.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution (1917 - 1921)

Prior to the February/March Revolution of 1917 there were many opposition parties in Russia listed in Book B1 (2012). Book B1 (2012) highlights the difference between all the parties by tabulating them. The Bolshevik party is portrayed in the book as the least violent (as other parties were described as being determined to use violence to achieve their means) and the most prepared of the parties as they were willing to adjust their political principles of the Marxist theory to suit the needs of an "industrially backward" Russia (page 10). This depiction shows the Bolshevik party as the most attentive towards Russia's needs thus they are being portrayed in a favourable light.

After the abdication of the Tsar, Book B1 (2012) focuses on the comparison between the Provisional Government and the Bolsheviks. The book portrays the two in battle against each other for power in Russia. Although Book B1 (2012) describes the Provisional Government as initialising democratic reforms, there are some fundamental flaws to their governance which led to Bolshevik takeover. The Provisional Government are described as being too slow in setting up the elected government besides that, there was also a discrepancy in who gets the right to vote. The image portrayed by Book B1 (2012) is a fumbling unprepared government that was unwilling to include all the voices of the people and this is where the Bolsheviks prospered. The Bolsheviks are described, in Book B1 (2012), as being more democratic than the Provisional Government because of the creation of the Soviets. This highlights the lack of democracy within Russia and the need for such councils. With the construction of the council of soldiers came the instruction by the Bolsheviks for the soldiers to ignore the Provisional Government, thus undermining the Provisional Government which again highlights the lack of preparedness of the Provisional Government.

Just like for the Tsarist regime, World War One proved a critical point in the downfall of the Provisional Government according to Book B1 (2012). The decision to stay in the war led to many revolts by ordinary people and Book B1 (2012) argues that the Provisional Government blamed these revolts on the Bolsheviks thus creating a perception that that was not true and that the Provisional Government was just seeking a scapegoat which underscores the Provisional Government's weakness. The constant revolts came to a head in October/ November when the Red guards, under the leadership of Trotsky, stormed the Winter Palace. There is no elaboration of events which provides the impression of a seamless acquisition of power, almost rightful gain of power. The summary of events provided by Book B1 (2012) highlights the strengths of Lenin's leadership against the failures of the Provisional Government which underscores and justifies the reasons behind the revolution. Although World War One is said to have played an integral part in the downfall of the Provisional Government, it receives very little limelight – the focus being on the strengths of Lenin and the failures of the Provisional Government – which maintains the political focus of this book. The summary within Book B1 (2012) goes on to mention other factors which contributed to the downfall of the Provisional Government, however, they are mere mentions (World War One included) and little to no detail is proffered which creates the impression of other mitigating factors being only minor factors in the grand scheme of things.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, the Bolsheviks changed their name to the Communist Party and their main goal, according to Book B1 (2012) was to establish a Communist state in Russia. Book B1 (2012) states that Lenin and the Bolshevik leaders *had* to establish a “dictatorship of the proletariat” (page 17) in order to deal with the problems of Russia. By doing this, Book B1 (2012) necessitates taking control of the Soviets (previously members chosen by the people) or “ruling on behalf of the soviets” (page 17) as a good thing, which lessens the meaning behind dictatorial action as it is deemed beneficial for the people. This can be seen when Book B1 (2012) discusses the Constituent Assembly elections. The Bolsheviks only attained a quarter of the votes so they sent the Red Guards in during the first meeting and “dismissed” the assembly (page 17). By simply stating the assembly was dismissed lightens the action and it is not pictured as anything necessarily negative or undemocratic.

There is no explanation provided in Book B1 (2012) as to *why* the Civil War started – thus an omission of anti-Communism factions occurs. The Civil War that occurred was the Red Army versus the White Army which was made up of “nobles, democrats, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries” (page 18). The omission of any anti-Communists groups is again highlighted by the detailed list of White Army members, thus creating the image of the war not being based on ideological differences. Although the Whites are described as having allied help, the Bolsheviks, due to the strong leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, won the war. Another factor which helped the Bolsheviks attain victory is their use of propaganda, according to Book B1 (2012). The Bolsheviks were able to portray their role as defenders of Russia against “western imperialists” (page 18) which gave them an advantage. The peasant involvement is omitted in Book B1 (2012) thus isolating the war to just the Reds and Whites and lessening the violent portrayal of the Bolsheviks and the Whites.

During the civil war, to ensure Bolshevik victory and to ensure that Russia became a Communist state, Lenin is described by Book B1 (2012) as having to take control of the state. Again this sense of necessary control is displayed. According to Book B1 (2012) the Bolsheviks initialised an economic policy called War Communism; the Bolsheviks are described as initialising this so a detachment occurs here, as Lenin is not connected with this decision. The first negative portrayal of the Bolsheviks in Book B1 (2012) occurs when discussing the policy of War Communism. The policy is not only described as largely unsuccessful but also unpopular. Book B1 (2012) states that many proletariats and peasants felt that this was worse than life under the Tsar. War Communism also saw the start of terror being used by the army and the Cheka to deal with any opposition. However, despite the negativity portrayed, the policy, whilst a bad policy, laid the foundation for Lenin to adapt and adjust the Communist principle for, according to the book, the betterment of the people.

5.2.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin (1921 – 1924)

Lenin’s image within Book B1 (2012), appears before even the Tsar’s image or history which highlights his importance to Russian history, according to the book; his importance even superseding that of the Tsar’s. Lenin, according to Book B1 (2012) is credited as the leader of the Bolsheviks and with being the creator of the Communist

state through his persistent spreading of Marxist teachings. It was Lenin's advantageous position taken during and subsequent to the February/March Revolution that ultimately led to the Bolsheviks gaining control, according to Book B1 (2012). Lenin's role in the revolution is painted as pivotal.

Book B1 (2012) mentions Lenin's willingness to adapt Marxism to suit the needs of Russia a total of three times. This reiteration hones in on the image of Lenin as a leader who is willing to mould an ideology based on the needs of his people and country and not selflessly enforce something that is unpopular. This images further highlight the strong leadership qualities with which Book B1 (2012) characterises Lenin. Lenin's reinforced image of a great leader in Book B1 (2012) continues with the description of Lenin being described as a powerful orator as well as an inspirational figure – the face of the revolution and new age.

Lenin's NEP is painted in Book B1 (2012) as a successful economic policy despite its step back into Capitalism therefore seemingly contradictory. Book B1 (2012) describes Lenin's reasoning of taking a step back as necessary before being propelled into Communism. Although not everyone agreed with this policy, Lenin's strength as a ruler overpowered them and the NEP was enforced, according to Book B1 (2012).

Prior to Lenin's death, Book B1 (2012) makes it clear that Lenin thought very little of Stalin and was extremely sceptical of him. Book B1 (2012) states that Lenin felt that Stalin was ambitious and ruthless and assumed that Trotsky would be leader. The constant involvement of Trotsky alongside Lenin is portrayed heavily in Book B1 (2012) thus creating an agreeable and sensible choice on Lenin's part. There is no mention of Stalin during the initial stages of the revolution prior and post the Tsar's downfall which again reinforces Lenin's favourable choice towards Trotsky as the suitable successor.

The role of women in revolutionary action is highlighted as important in Book B1 (2012). Book B1 (2012) notes that women played a big role in demanding changes from the Tsarist regime and were influential in support of the war-time programme. After the Communist revolution the depiction of women changed as they became more realistic rather than just symbolising freedom and justice, according to the book. This note highlights the equalising of gender under the Communist regime under Lenin, which again emphasises the favourable light under which the Bolsheviks and by

extension Communism is portrayed. Women became inspirational in the Communist movement and displayed the positives of Communism as under the first Soviet constitution, women gained far more rights than they had under the Tsarist regime.

5.2.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin (1928-1953)

Book B1 (2012) poses a question at the end of the unit: Is he a monster or a hero? This question is in reference to Stalin's reign over Russia as it brought about both advantageous and adverse aspects to Russian history. Stalin's character in Book B1 (2012) is portrayed unevenly as the book at first skirts around the issue of harshness of his rule in his economic policies but then dives right into the harshness by emphasising the harshness and brutality of Stalin's political purges.

Book B1 (2012) discusses women's roles, once more, but under Stalin's rule. Although women's lives improved and Stalin encouraged women to work, there was a change in marriage laws which made it more difficult to get divorced. The marriage laws are described as having changed because of the fact that there were too many homeless children born out of wedlock which was not deemed a positive image of Communism – thus a moral policing occurs under Communism. While earlier under Lenin, Book B1 (2012) depicts that propaganda was used to inspire women, under Stalin, propaganda was used to manipulate women. The manipulation was engendered in the workplace to encourage more women to work.

Book B1 (2012) emphasises Stalin's absence during the revolutionary struggle but downplays his rise to power (in the opening page: page 30) by using mostly neutral terminology in the description of how he attained power. Words such as: "expelled" or "removing" (page 30) offer a neutral image of how Stalin achieved power; by simply "removing" or "expelling" party members who opposed him while in fact he betrayed old alliances and exiled many Party members, including Trotsky, who was later murdered. Stalin is also depicted as opportunistic because as soon as he rose to a position of General Secretary of the Central Committee, he used this position to garner much power therefore the assumption provided is that he used it to gain much support despite his little involvement in the initial revolution. The Communist interpretation is described as being changed under the reign of Stalin as he believed in Socialism in One Country therefore, in Book B1 (2012), Stalin is attributed to introducing a new

form of Communism to Russia. The reason behind this, according to Book B1 (2012), was because Stalin's goal was to industrialise and therefore modernise Russia so that they could keep up or match the West (which was abhorred by Stalin according to the book). Socialism in One Country was essentially Trotsky's ideas that Stalin used after expelling Trotsky from the Party. The image that is created is one of someone who is secretive of his initial wants and who desires to be seen as the idea-maker and undisputed leader.

The Russia described at the start of Stalin's rule in Book B1 (2012) was one that was not entirely Communist, had a mixed economy and had an unequal distribution of wealth. Perhaps the reason for this explanation is to show the achievements of Stalin in transforming Russia into a Communist state (as stated by Stalin's interpretation of Marxism). Stalin's hatred for the West and subsequently Capitalism (as Capitalism is synonymous with the West in Book B1 (2012)), is seen in his desire, according to Book B1 (2012) to rid Russia of all "elements of Capitalism" (page 31). Thus, in order to survive in a Capitalist world (therefore an impression of world dominance by the West is created) Socialism in One Country was created, according to the book. The first order of business, according to book B1 (2012) was for the people of Russia to move from the NEP into Socialism thus providing the image of voluntary action on the people's part. Stalin believed that the peasants' move to Socialism, described in Book B1 (2012), could be forced using Collectivisation. This image of force creates the impression that the peasants were opposed to Socialism but also that they are not viewed the same as the Russian people. As it was the people of Russia who could move or "push" (page 31) towards socialism, but the peasants are to be forced.

The period of Collectivisation, initiated by Stalin to gain capital from grain exports according to Book B1 (2012), is detailed in two ways: through the body text and through sources. The portrayal of Collectivisation in Book B1 (2012) is detailed a little more thoroughly within the sources but the body text downplays the effect of collectivisation. The sources were not analysed, as discussed in the methodology section, so the uneven portrayal of Collectivisation in the body text is the focus point. Book B1 (2012) refers to party activists "persuading" (page 32) the peasants to join the collectives. The neutral word "persuading" deviates from the full extent of the force used to make peasants join the collectives, thus the text downplays the violence associated with Collectivisation. Book B1 (2012) further elaborates this downplaying

by stating that the poorer peasants would be better off within the Collectivisation – thus justifying the persuasion. The Kulaks, however, are described in Book B1 (2012) as not being better off and resisting this movement thus creating “disastrous” (page 32) consequences for the economy. This description of the resistance justifies the idea of force used upon the Kulaks as well as the violence. In Book B1 (2012) there is just a mention of the famine of 1931 and a mention that many people died – there is no further detail of this famine or the consequences (either good or bad) of Collectivisation mentioned within this unit. The detail of Collectivisation is very source heavy which allows for further objective analysis, however, very little background is proffered by the book.

The rapid Industrialisation of Russia is highlighted in Book B1 (2012) by the three five year plans thus focuses more on the positives. Book B1 (2012) portrays the five year plans as dependent on the proletariat and thus much propaganda was used to encourage the performance of them. The book also mentions that there were victims of the Industrialisation period, specifically being the Nepmen who had benefited during the NEP era. No further detail is provided on what being a victim entails, thus the description of the negative impact of Stalin’s policies during Industrialisation is vague. Again, the same as with Collectivisation, the Industrialisation era within Book B1 (2012) is very source heavy and limited detail is provided about these plans within the body text. In all three five year plans, Book B1 (2012) simply describes what each plan did with the primary focus being on heavy industry and the creation of new cities however, the working conditions, human cost and downfalls of each plan is omitted. Although World War Two is only briefly mentioned in the unit, because of the Russia’s rapid Industrialisation, it was able to become a leading industrial nation thus Russia played a decisive role in the war. Book B1 (2012) highlights this grandeur as the moment when the rest of the world recognised Russia as a superpower, which almost justifies the extremity of the Industrialisation.

The information on the periods of Collectivisation and Industrialisation is very source heavy and limited in body text however, the opposite can be said for the era of the purges portrayed in Book B1 (2012). Book B1 (2012) provides great emphasis, more so than on any other period under Stalin’s reign, on the purges. Stalin is said to have spoken about a ‘second revolution’, one that is planned thus one that was of his own volition. This revolution is depicted in Book B1 (2012) as Stalin’s period of purges and

use of “force and repression” (page 41). Book B1 (2012) does not portray Stalin in a positive light and highlights his use of terror and repression to get what he wanted. There is no mention of the Bolsheviks being involved, thus there is a detachment with Stalin and he is viewed in Book B1 (2012) as the creator of this paranoid terror. Stalin is portrayed as a “cult leader” (page 41) who utilised propaganda to glorify his own image and perpetuate his image of undisputable leader thus creating the impression that Stalin did not earn this glorification. History books are also described as being changed in order to glorify Stalin’s image so it became a learned portrayal. Terror and show trials are depicted in Book B1 (2012) as becoming the norm as Stalin’s paranoia increased – the depiction created out of this paranoia is one of an unstable leader. Another emphasis of Stalin’s violent period is the mention of many historians’ perspective of the number of Stalin’s victims – Book B1 (2012) states that many historians claim that more people died under Stalin’s reign than World War Two. The final emphasis provided by Book B1 (2012), is a quote from Lenin stating his distrust of Stalin. The quote is placed at the end of the description of the purges, which emphasises Lenin’s sensibility as well as warning against leaders like Stalin. This image lays all the negative blame at Stalin’s door which maintains the favourable image of Communism.

To refer back to the question posed within Book B1 (2012), is he a hero or a monster? Book B1 (2012) states that Stalin succeeded in killing millions of people which paints the picture of that being his goal from the start. Every part of Soviet life was affected by Stalin’s policies, whether good or bad, according to Book B1 (2012). This is a vague statement however, it does provide a notion that there were advantageous aspects to Stalin’s rule despite the millions of deaths however, the overall perception is that he is seemingly not a hero.

5.3 Conclusion: Findings Book B1 (2012)

The primary focus of the Tsar is on the opposition to the Tsar rather than his rule depicting a country that was always fighting to gain better treatment. Prior to even a description of the Tsar, the Tsar’s opposition is tabled thus emphasising the number of opposition parties against the Tsar, and not just the Bolsheviks. This can be mirrored with the South African context in two ways as South Africa has displayed many forms

of opposition, first with the Boer Republics against the British Colonists and then the illegal opposition parties against the National Party. This depicts South Africa as sharing a political framework with that of Russia thus contextualising of the anti-Tsar discourse much easier.

Within Book B1 (2012) there is very little focus on the Tsar's policies however, there are brief mentions of his inept, oppressive, unpopular autocratic rule and almost determination to keep Russia backward. This is seen in Russia not experiencing the Industrial Revolution along with the rest of Europe.

Russia under the Tsar is depicted as backward, having unequal distribution of wealth and a small Capitalist class. In South Africa, the smaller Capitalistic group overpowered that of the larger labouring workforce thus creating a gap and unequal wealth distribution amongst the classes – paralleling that of Russia.

Book B1 (2012) describes a power struggle between the Provisional Government and the Bolsheviks (who controlled the Soviets). The perception, held in Book B1 (2012), of the Provisional Government is one of inferiority in comparison to the Bolsheviks. The book highlights the Provisional Government's failures and weakness over any attempt of reform on their part thus favouring the Bolsheviks. This favouritism is reasoned due to the strength in leadership from both Lenin and Trotsky in Book B1 (2012). The image of Lenin's strong leadership and the failures of the Provisional Government can be paralleled against the backdrop of the National Party and Mandela, where Mandela was fighting against the weaknesses of the National Party. The strength and favouritism of the Bolsheviks is highlighted in the October Revolution and the Bolsheviks' seamless seizure of power. The favourable image of the Bolsheviks is continued when Book B1 (2012) states that the Bolsheviks *had* to take charge (by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat) which encourages the image of the Bolsheviks doing this for the benefit of the country and not for the establishment of a dictatorship.

During the civil war, Book B1 (2012) omits the image of any anti-Communist factions against the Bolsheviks thus avoiding any anti-Communist imagery in the book. The details of the war are very limited and the brutalities from both sides are omitted. The Bolsheviks claim to victory, in Book B1 (2012) is because of the strong leadership of Trotsky and Lenin. The only negative portrayal of the Bolsheviks comes with the

description of War Communism. It is depicted as being initialised by the Bolsheviks (detachment from Lenin) who used the Tsar-like tactics of terror and the secret police. Despite this negative portrayal, it lays the foundation for Lenin to appear as the hero of Russia. The violent wing of the ANC, who were portrayed as a terrorist group under the Apartheid regime because of their violent attacks, can be mirrored with that of the Bolshevik actions and Mandela would be mirrored against Lenin, as the saviour of the new South Africa.

Lenin's hero status is further described as willing to adapt Marxism to suit the needs of his people rather than enforce unpopularity and this can be seen in the creation of the New Economic Policy. This can be linked to Mandela as once in power he had to instil policies that would benefit everyone and not simply swap the policies of the past. The NEP is considered a success in Book B1 (2012) despite its step back into Capitalism, the book argues that this step back was necessary. The image that is created is that it was pragmatic on Lenin's behalf rather than a defeat.

What can be concluded in Book B1 (2012) about Stalin is that despite his great industrial achievements which led to Russia becoming a superpower, he is still not considered a hero like Lenin. The Industrialisation of Russia is highly lauded and the human cost in the body is either underplayed or justified which creates an established focus on the economic and industrial transformation of Russia. However, the ruthlessness and harshness of the political purges are highlighted and overshadow the positive achievements. Book B1 (2012) places great emphasis on the purges and use of terror and repression by Stalin. The policy of the purges is described as a second revolution initiated by Stalin; the blame for the purges is placed squarely on the shoulders of Stalin. Book B1 (2012) furthers the negative and unstable portrayal of Stalin by including historians' perspectives on the estimated number of deaths believed to have occurred under Stalin thus highlighting a reign of terror rather than heroism.

Communism as an ideology is discussed in detail within Book B1 (2012) thus emphasising that Communism is no longer feared and perhaps that South Africa has achieved such equality mentioned within the ideology that it is safe to mention. The ideologies of Marxism, Communism and Socialism are all detailed in the beginning of the chapter of Book B1 (2012). This provides the reader with an understanding of the

ideologies at play here and what each ideology entailed. The political context in South Africa allows for each ideology to be explained as Communism is no longer deemed illegal or something to fear.

Book B1 (2012) emphasises the link between the 1905 and 1917 revolutions thus establishing the importance of the 1905 revolution. The 1905 revolution is depicted as being specifically against the Tsar, which again personalises the anti-Tsar image and places all the blame on the Tsar himself specifically with regard to the peaceful protests. The Tsar's absence is omitted thus, shifting the blame on him and reiterating the anti-Tsar image

The role that World War One had on the 1917 revolution is extremely limited. The focus remains on the hardships incurred as a result thus the focus remains on the social hardships rather than the other factors at play during the war. Book B1 (2012) mentions the spontaneity of the strikes as a result of the growing hardships however, the strikes are viewed primarily as a Socialist uprising rather than an uprising of the ordinary people thus creating an image of a political revolution. The February Revolution is not entirely detailed but it is noted that the February Revolution led to the abdication of the Tsar and his subsequent captivity.

Trotsky plays a considerable role in the creation of the USSR. His role is highlighted in Book B1 (2012) portraying him as the right-hand man of Lenin. Trotsky is portrayed as being the orchestrator of the St Petersburg Soviet, a key factor in the 1905 and 1917 Revolution and he is also portrayed as a good leader during the overthrowing of the Provisional Government and the civil war. The detailed description of Trotsky parallels against the South African context once again as it clearly shows that there were other power factors in the Revolutionary period. Although both Lenin and Mandela are the faces of the revolution and struggle respectively, Trotsky symbolises that there were other key members involved in the struggle.

The role of women is portrayed differently under the rule of Lenin and Stalin respectively. Under Lenin the role of women in the Revolution is highlighted as pivotal. The rule of Lenin is also considered by Book B1 (2012) as benefitting the women more because there was a move towards equality for women. Whereas the policies or freedoms under Lenin showed progress, under Stalin the policies regressed and limited the freedom of women. There is stark contrast between Lenin and Stalin as

leaders under the depiction of women in the revolution and Lenin again appears as the hero and equaliser and Stalin appears as the oppressor.

5.4 Book B2 (2012)

5.4.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime (1905 - 1917)

The Tsarist Regime is not portrayed favourably in Book B2 (2012) because of its perpetuation of monarchical structures despite constant discontent amongst the people according to Book B2 (2012). The support of the Tsarist Regime depended upon the nobles, government officials, army and the church, according to Book B2 (2012). The omission of the support from the peasants or majority of the population reinforces two images: one being that perhaps the Tsarist Regime was not supported by the rest of the population or that they did not require their support and the second image that is reinforced is one of a monarchical structure. The unfavourable image of the Tsarist Regime is continued in Book B2 (2012) with the description of the oppressive treatment towards the peasant population as well as their ill-advised decisions to enter two wars.

The peasants are described in Book B2 (2012) as being oppressed in many ways through taxes, military conscription, physical abuse and with restricted travel within the country. The book furthers this oppressive image by stating that it was the authorities' (or landlords') goal to keep the peasants at their "lowly place in society" (page 16). Despite the serf emancipation, the peasants still were required to pay taxes for their newly assumed land which meant little difference in their economic relief, according to Book B2 (2012). Book B2 (2012) omits who was responsible for the emancipation, which highlights the unfavourable image of the Tsarist Regime.

Under the rule of the Tsar, according to Book B2 (2012), Russia was a badly run country filled with unhappiness, discontent and protests as a result of poor decisions. Russia is noted as being backward compared to the rest of Europe when Book B2 (2012) states that Russia's Industrial Revolution occurred 100 years after the rest of Europe. During this Industrialisation, many peasants moved to the cities to work in the factories which led to the creation of the working class or proletariat, according to Book B2 (2012). The Industrialisation of Russia occurred rapidly according to Book B2 (2012), which affected both the peasants and proletariat alike. The working conditions

of both socio-economic groups worsened and so did the taxes. Book B2 (2012) points out that the peasants were struggling with the poor working conditions and became angry with the landlords upon whose land they worked. There is no mention of the peasants, in Book B2 (2012) necessarily being upset with the Tsar himself, merely the system of things prior to 1905.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and 1905 is pointed out as being a turning point in Russian history, according to Book B2 (2012) as it highlighted the regime's weakness as well as worsened the already existing bad conditions. Book B2 (2012) alludes to the fact that entrance into this war was a bad judgement error as Russia's existing social conditions were not conducive to a large conflict. The constant defeats in the war against Japan reiterated the inabilities of the government and continued the unpopular image of the regime, according to Book B2 (2012). Coupled with ongoing unrest such as protests and, what Book B2 (2012) describes as "terrorist attacks" (page 18), the government were also trying to deal with opposition from the liberals who were using this opportunity to demand a change that would allow for ordinary people to have more say in the governmental choices. The image created by Book B2 (2012) is one of constant discontent that went beyond simply protesting but into terrorist acts.

The continuing protests brought about by the persistent worsening conditions led to the Winter Palace protest that turned violent, according to Book B2 (2012). Although Book B2 (2012) is unsure of the actual number as it states "probably hundreds" (page 19), it still fails to mention the Tsar's absence therefore accountability in this event. The event of the protests became known as "Bloody Sunday" highlighting the massacre of the peaceful protestors and which was the catalyst for the revolution that followed, according to Book B2 (2012). Unrest spread through all facets of Russian life and, according to Book B2 (2012) it was only with the ending of the Russo-Japanese War and the returning of loyal Tsarist troops which led to the containing of the protests suggesting that at this time, the Tsar still had loyalty. This notation by Book B2 (2012) creates the image of the Tsar needing his troops in order to maintain the unrest and also maintain his dominance and so this revolution highlighted the instability of the Tsarist Regime.

The result of the revolution led to two political changes according to Book B2 (2012): the establishment of a parliament or Duma and the creation of the St Petersburg Soviet. Although Tsar Nicholas II promised a constitution as well as an elected parliament, Book B2 (2012) notes that there were still acts of radicalism with the establishment of the St Petersburg Soviet by Leon Trotsky. This Soviet is described by Book B2 (2012) as a place where political ideas could be freely discussed by the people, which signifies that Russia was still not a place that allowed political freedom. This image is further emphasised by Book B2's (2012) mention of the Soviet being shut down by the police thus reinforcing the image of political repression under the Tsars.

The repression of political opposition is not the only oppressive action undertaken by the Tsar according to Book B2 (2012). The book describes the continued peasant unrest following the 1905 revolution which was met with execution. This image in Book B2 (2012) shows the Tsarist Regime as unwilling to actually hear or understand the grievances of the people thus ousting the Tsar as not only a liar but someone who uses violence to maintain order instead of using reform. The image of the Tsar as unwilling to maintain promises is further underscored by Book B2 (2012) when it states that autocracy was still the way of the government, despite the Tsar's promise to instil a parliament (and despite the legalisation of some political parties). The Duma proved too radical in its reformation ideas for him, according to Book B2 (2012), which aggravates the unfavourable image of the Tsarist Regime which was now portrayed as unwilling to create or accept reform.

Although Book B2 (2012) mentions that the Tsar opposed reform, one minister, under the Tsar, initiated a number of reforms at great economic progress for Russia. Stolypin, in Book B2 (2012) is described as initiating reforms in Russia but is also renowned for his firm control over revolutionaries and terrorists by his favouring the use of hangings. In Book B2 (2012), an image of violence to maintain control permeates through all aspects of the Tsarist Regime. This is the second mention of terrorists within Book B2 (2012) alongside revolutionaries. Although the clarification is not mentioned as to what determines a terrorist over a revolutionary, what is implied is that there is a difference and the revolutionaries are the ones who are portrayed more positively, therefore any revolutionary action is, according to Book B2 (2012), not considered a terrorist action and therefore acceptable. Stolypin's use of violence

to curb any revolutionary action even worried Lenin, according to Book B2 (2012) as Lenin was unsure if Stolypin's attempt at creating an anti-revolutionary peasant middle class would speed up or slow down revolutionary action.

The economic success aforementioned brought about with it a mass move of peasants from the countryside to the city which, according to Book B2 (2012), caused slum housing and even worse living conditions. It was because of these conditions, according to Book B2 (2012) that led to another protest. Book B2 (2012) states that this protest was again met with a violent reaction which perpetuates the image of any protesting action being met with a violent response. This image creates a continued unfavourable image of the Tsar as well as providing a basis for justification of any violent reaction to the constant repression. The constant struggle against socio-economic conditions and repression is a theme that is perpetuated within Book B2 (2012). Book B2 (2012) paints it as one of the strongest causes that ultimately caused the February Revolution of 1917 which was sparked by World War One.

Book B2 (2012) underscores the importance of "economic desperation" (page 32) as what sparked the revolution creating the image of no other choice *but* to revolt. What worsened the already dire socio-economic conditions was, according to Book B2 (2012), World War One. There were a number of factors that aided in the worsening economic conditions (and by extension, the February Revolution) during the war. Book B2 (2012) labels the Tsar's poor decisions and Rasputin's political influence as two factors which contributed to the February Revolution. The Tsar's decision to take control of the army after several heavy losses was a vital mistake, according to Book B2 (2012), because it led to his wife taking charge of the politics. This proved fatal for the Tsar because the Tsarina was heavily influenced by the mystical monk Rasputin who, according to Book B2 (2012), influenced her to fire ministers at a whim and appoint, what the book refers to as "unsuitable" (page 27) officials to top government officials. These errors fired up dissatisfaction towards the Tsar which was further heightened by continual defeats, according to Book B2 (2012). The continual defeats in the war deprived the Russian people of an opportunity to remain patriotic thus keeping the faith in the government resulting in the enhanced dissatisfaction with the government. During the war, Book B2 (2012) highlights the ordinary people as suffering the most because of the inflation and food and fuel shortages. The growing dissatisfaction with the economic circumstances led to spontaneous outbursts of

strikes in February. Book B2 (2012) emphasises this revolution took only a few days; a few days to end the Romanov dynasty. The book also includes that it was the proletariat and the liberals who took control of the revolution – no Soviet or Socialist party was involved therefore no political upheaval but rather a demonstration of the genuine unhappiness by the people.

Book B2 (2012) mentions twice the importance of the Russian Revolution in world history as it was the first attempt to create the first Socialist state and by extension a Communist one. However, the book also makes note of Russia's failure to do so; this provides a pre-determined image of a failed Communist Russia which is not a favourable starting picture. Book B2 (2012) clarifies from the beginning of the chapter the teachings of Marx, Socialism and Communism which creates a defined outline of what policy was undertaken by Russia. Within the book there is a clear explanation of Communism as being egalitarian as well as being about dedication to your country as your country would provide you with all you needed. This concept of Communism is important in order to provide the fundamentals about this ideology and how the Bolsheviks thus applied this ideology to the country of Russia. Book B2 (2012) stipulates that the Communist Party took control of the state because of its vanguard status however, what was supposed to happen under a Communist state as stipulated in the teachings (aforementioned), did not happen, thus Book B2 (2012), again provides a pre-determined opinion of the Bolsheviks or Communist Party. A One-Party State was set up with very strict rules and ruthless control, according to Book B2 (2012) thus highlighting the negative pre-determined image of the Communist Party not keeping their promises.

5.4.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution (1917-1921)

After the Tsar abdicated, Russia was theoretically under the temporary rule of the Provisional Government however, Book B2 (2012) states that there was another power party in play and that was the revived St Petersburg Soviet now known as the Petrograd Soviet. Book B2 (2012) emphasises the fact that the Provisional Government held very little power from the beginning and the real power lay with the Petrograd Soviet, thus the Provisional Government needed the support of the soviet to survive. According to Book B2 (2012) a day before the Revolution (perhaps meaning

the Tsar's abdication) the Petrograd Soviet issued order no. 1 which ordered the soldiers within the Soviet to ignore any demands made by the Provisional Government – this action stipulated by Book B2 (2012) highlights the power of the Petrograd Soviet over and above the Provisional Government.

The highlighting of the Provisional Government's reforms occurs in Book B2 (2012) however, some criticism occurs. Book B2 (2012) criticises the political reforms initiated by the Provisional Government such as the freedom of movement and the unbanning of exiled revolutionaries because it was too much too soon for the government to handle. Book B2 (2012) creates the image of condonation towards political restrictions in order to maintain peace because the returning of many revolutionaries caused much civil unrest and poverty worsened. Book B2 (2012) creates the image of an almost anarchistic period under the visor of the Provisional Government which again highlights their weakness and lack of power.

During this time of power struggling, Book B2 (2012) states that Germany smuggled Lenin back to Russia in the hopes of promoting trouble and taking Russia out of the war. This suggestion creates the impression that despite Trotsky's heavy involvement in the set-up of the Petrograd Soviet, Lenin is the most powerful figure who has the ability to cause more revolutionary action in Russia. Upon Lenin's return to Russia, according to Book B2 (2012) he immediately demanded the end of support for the Provisional Government as well as a demand for a proletariat revolution which, according to Book B2 (2012) went against many other socialist beliefs, including Marx. Lenin made several demands in his April Theses. It was these simple slogans that, according to Book B2 (2012), garnered the most support from the general populace as it was what they desired the most. The image that is created here is that Lenin was aware of what was wanted the most by the general public unlike the Provisional Government which made takeover by the Bolsheviks easier.

Book B2 (2012) highlights the constant uprisings against the Provisional Government and the continued discontent which suggests that they were not effective in dealing with the discontent of Russia. The reform declarations of the Provisional Government were stated by Book B2 (2012) but it overlooks any reforms attempted by the Provisional Government which creates the impression that any attempt at reforms were overshadowed by the constant discontent and the inability of the government to

deal with it. The downfall of the Provisional Government lies in its inability to deal with the two most pressing matters for the populace according to Book B2 (2012): land redistribution and the continuation of World War One. It was because of these two issues that Book B2 (2012) suggests why many people supported the Bolshevik Party as they had no affiliation with the Provisional Government and offered what the population wanted.

The October Revolution (which caused the dissolution of the Provisional Government) is largely underplayed in Book B2 (2012). Trotsky's role in the October Revolution is stressed and his strong organisational abilities are brought to light in Book B2 (2012). Any previous ties to the Mensheviks is omitted in the book so the image of a strong and dedicated Bolshevik is created by Book B2 (2012). Trotsky is noted as the person in charge of the Provisional Government takeover which highlights his importance. Book B2 (2012) overlooks certain aspects of the October Revolution as well as clouds the understanding of the takeover. After the takeover by the Bolsheviks, an assembly of the All Russian Congress of Soviets met up where the Bolsheviks, according to Book B2 (2012) claimed that they were the new government in which certain members such as the Mensheviks and other Socialists walked out. The image created is that not everyone approved of the Bolshevik party nor how they achieved power. However, Book B2 (2012) omits the Constituent Assembly following the revolution however, it is mentioned only much later when discussing Lenin's seizure of the state (which emphasises the power of Lenin over Trotsky even though the October Revolution was led by Trotsky). This omission is vital in the understanding that not everyone had faith in the Bolsheviks as they lost the election and with this omission, Book B2 (2012) perpetuates the image that the Bolshevik Party was very popular amongst the people.

Following the October Revolution, Russia was plunged into a civil war. According to Book B2 (2012), the Bolsheviks had much opposition from the West as well as internally from those who were excluded from the Bolshevik government. The image of the large number of opposition suggests that the Bolsheviks did not begin their reign with the support from the outside as well as from some ousted politicians. The Russia during the Civil War was a broken empire according to Book B2 (2012) because of Lenin's Decree on Nationalism which caused the separation of states. Book B2 (2012) provides no detail about this decree or what it entailed, just that it caused much

separation amongst the non-Russian members of the empire which added to the dissent.

Book B2 (2012) states that there were several reasons as to why the West supported the anti-Bolshevik faction. Although the Bolshevik image created as a result of the West reasoning is unfavourable, the West is also not portrayed in a positive light. Even though there is some mention of Trotsky and Lenin, they remain removed from the discussion of the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks are described in Book B2 (2012) as unwilling to keep the promises of the Tsarist regime, whistle-blowers on the secret treaties signed by the West which undermined the allies' reasons for war. Another aspect, according to Book B2 (2012) is that Communism was not accepted by the Western powers therefore their credibility as a government was questioned by the West and so the assumption created is that the credibility of Russia as an ally is questioned.

During the Civil War, Book B2 (2012) states that there were two main sides, the Reds (Bolsheviks) and Whites (Anti-Communist factions) however, there is a mention of a third oppositional involvement of the peasants identified as the Greens. The Greens are described as peasants who rose up against the Bolsheviks however, Book B2 (2012) omits that they rose up against both forces. Book B2 (2012) states that the reader does not need to know everything about the Civil War which creates the idea of limitation of information within the book and that there are only a few basics the reader has to understand. What the reader does need to know, according to Book B2 (2012) is that there was much fighting, particularly between the Reds and the Whites and that both sides committed atrocities against civilians which highlights that both sides used violence as intimidation. Another aspect that the reader needs to know, according to Book B2 (2012) is that the Reds defeated the Whites and drove them from Russian soil which emphasises that the Whites were imposers and foreigners which adds to the negativity of the Whites. Although, in Book B2 (2012) there is little mention of both Trotsky and Lenin during the civil war, Trotsky's role is emphasised the most. Book B2 (2012) emphasises that it was Trotsky's organisational skills that was one of the factors that led to Red victory. The organisational ability of the Reds is admired in Book B2 (2012) against the poorly organised and uncommitted members of the Whites.

War Communism is understated in Book B2 (2012). The need for War Communism is described in Book B2 (2012) as being “urgently necessary” (page 43) due to the food shortage. Book B2 (2012) calls the taking of grain from the peasants as “forcible requisitioning” (page 43) which underplays the violence that went along with the seizure. What is mentioned within the book about the seizure of grain was that the peasants opposed to selling their grain as there was no point which led to Lenin calling the peasants and bourgeoisie who retained grain surplus as terrorist action (page 44) thus making it a terrorist struggle. This image paints the picture that taking the grain by force had to happen and it is justified. The authorities then seized all the grain causing hunger and famine (which was not helped by the drought that followed). The use of violence and the Cheka during this time is underplayed demonstrably.

Although the use of terror is almost omitted, there is a mention in Book B2 (2012) that the methods used to assure victory against the Whites lost the Bolsheviks considerable support which was noted by the constant uprisings. Book B2 (2012) notes that there were several conditions created by the Bolshevik government that exacerbated the situation however, “natural conditions” such as the drought (page 45) made conditions much worse and Book B2 (2012) does note the severity of the conditions (in terms of human cost) that occurred as a result. A rebellion by the Kronstadt sailors occurred which forced the Bolshevik Party to “crush” the rebellion. Book B2 (2012) describes this rebellion as something that saddened the Bolsheviks as they had received much support from the Kronstadt sailors which provides the image of a begrudging violent action against loyalists. The description of the Kronstadt rebellion is the only aspect during the civil war that Book B2 (2012) notes was a violent reaction with many thousands dead. This can highlight that the Bolsheviks only show violence against those who oppose their rule rather than the violence opposed on the civilians which is omitted within the book.

5.4.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin (1921 - 1924)

An air of distrust is perpetuated in Book B2 (2012) when discussing the Communist Party and Lenin. Lenin is credited with wanting to adapt Marxist teachings with Russia’s situation however, this accreditation is not a positive one as Book B2 (2012) goes on further to say that instead of establishing the Marxist principle of the

“dictatorship of the proletariat” (page 52), Lenin *adapted* this to assume absolute control instead. The image of distrust continues in Book B2 (2012) when the Bolsheviks stated to be the ‘vanguard’ and were to lead the proletariat during the “revolutionary period” (page 52) rather than to instil the dictatorship of the proletariat however, according to Book B2 (2012), this ultimately led to Russia becoming a one-party state led by a “ruthless” (page 52) party.

Lenin’s portrayal within Book B2 (2012) is a varied one as the book provides detail into the positives of his legacy as well as the ruthless aspects of his character. Book B2 (2012) questions whether Lenin could be characterised as a dictator and provides a varied argument and counter-argument. Under Lenin a number of reforms were initialised and it is these reforms stated in Book B2 (2012) that highlight the positives of Lenin’s rule. For Book B2 (2012) the greatest achievement for Lenin was the New Economic Policy (NEP) as it was not only an economic success but it also saved the Bolshevik Party and according to Book B2 (2012), Lenin had hoped it would be long-lasting. What made this one of Lenin’s greatest achievements (aside from the two reasons aforementioned), according to Book B2 (2012) is because Lenin made an “honest admission of defeat” (page 53). Book B2 (2012) admires Lenin greatly for this honest admission and admires him further because of his idea of the NEP as a “strategic retreat” (page 53). However, despite Book B2’s (2012) referral to the NEP’s economic success, it does highlight the problems the NEP caused because of its contradictory ideological principles as well as the creation of a richer peasant class – kulaks.

As aforementioned, Lenin’s control over Russia led to the formation of a one-party state and thus Book B2 (2012) identifies this image of ruthlessness that is attached to Lenin. The establishment of the one-party state therefore dictatorship, is described to have occurred at the first Constituent Assembly where the Bolsheviks assumed power and disallowed any “meaningful” opposition (page 52). The image of ruthlessness is continued when Book B2 (2012) details the creation of the secret police, the Cheka. The Cheka are noted in Book B2 (2012) as being extremely ruthless which is emphasised by the mention of the thousands of believed enemies of the state who were executed at the hands of the Cheka. Lenin believed that in order for Communism to spread worldwide, Communism *had* to survive which is why Book B2 (2012) underlines the motto of “the end justifies the means” adopted by Lenin. This motto

opens the interpretation of Lenin's actions to ensure Communism in Russia to a perhaps violent interpretation.

Book B2 (2012) questions whether Lenin should be considered a great leader. Although some historians noted in the book state otherwise because the working class was revolutionary enough in itself therefore the imminence of the revolution is depicted, and the book ascertains that Lenin was invaluable to the Russian Revolution. Book B2 (2012) describes Lenin as being not a total dictator because he did not have absolute control over his party and there were many instances where he had to try and convince members to follow a certain idea, thus this creates the impression that he did not attain total dominance over his party but instead justified his reasoning for certain actions which is inconsistent of a totalitarian leader. Another positive attribute in favour of Lenin according to Book B2 (2012) was that Lenin saved the Bolshevik regime with his adoption of the NEP even though it postponed certain socialist economic principles. The counter-argument made by Book B2 (2012) is that Lenin's party is repeatedly described as extremely ruthless and under this visor created concentration camps, political restrictions and absolute authority – all of which provided a foundation upon which Stalin could build, according to Book B2 (2012). Although, Book B2 (2012) does provide a balanced outlook on Lenin, it may still favour Lenin somewhat as it clearly identifies the positive attributes of Lenin and the negative attributes of Lenin's *party*. A marked difference because one highlights the positives of the character of the leader versus the negative attributes of an organisation.

Women's role in the revolution is noted in Book B2 (2012) therefore noting their importance to the change in Russia. Book B2 (2012) is admirable of the fact the women's march on International Women's day was the march that sparked the revolution. Although this is mentioned and highlighted, there is very little emphasis on the importance of this fact outside the section dedicated to the women. Life for women before the revolution, according to Book B2 (2012) was one of a subservient nature but with the revolution came many changes for women. Under the Bolsheviks and specifically Bolshevik women, women's rights were campaigned for and the adage of marriage was called into question – which provided a new lease for many women as many women were constrained under the marital laws under the Tsarist regime, according to Book B2 (2012). Book B2 (2012) highlights that many roles in society

changed when the Bolsheviks came to power, which can further emphasise Russia's backwardness as well as the Bolsheviks' attempt at transformation.

5.4.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin (1928-1953)

Stalin is described in Book B2 (2012) as being tyrannical, untrustworthy and powerful as well as advocating for the necessary modernisation of Russia. Russia underwent rapid modernisation under Stalin's rule, which Book B2 (2012) questions whether it was truly successful. Stalin's rule is observed somewhat critically (some areas are criticised more than others) within Book B2 (2012) as the successes during Stalin's reign are greatly overshadowed within the book by the human cost.

A power struggle incurs after the death of Lenin between Trotsky and Stalin and, according to Book B2 (2012) Lenin was dubious about both possible leaders. Book B2 (2012) highlights this doubt by an extract from Lenin, however, despite this overall doubt, Lenin is, according to Book B2 (2012), more wary of Stalin and calls for Stalin's removal from the Party. This notation provides a foundation for the negative shroud surrounding Stalin. This negative shroud continues when Book B2 (2012) explains how Stalin assumed power and how he betrayed his supporters in order to achieve unthreatened dominance. Stalin is described within Book B2 (2012) as having enough power to oust anyone from the party whom he deemed a threat which again emphasises his unfavourable image.

Book B2 (2012) reiterates that Stalin was a fan of modernisation at any cost and this desire for modernisation is perpetuated by the policy of Collectivisation and the three Five Year Plans (which occurred alongside each other). Stalin's goals for Collectivisation, as stated by Book B2 (2012), are that Collectivisation was to represent the Socialist way of farming as well as to show the world how socialism worked. Book B2 (2012) mentions throughout the chapter that the West was at odds with Russia (according to Stalin) which perpetuated this image of urgent competition. Collectivisation, in Book B2 (2012) is described as "forcible" (page 66) however, the severity of Collectivisation on the peasants is highly underplayed in the body text. The sources do outline the severity of Collectivisation a little however, the sources are not under study and the body text presents a more rose-tinted look at Collectivisation in general. A more severe look is offered when Book B2 (2012) discusses the eradication

of the kulaks. Book B2 (2012) refers to this “dekulakisation” which was a policy adopted by Stalin to get rid of the kulaks as a class. The fact that the removing of the kulaks is entitled and is a policy provides an image of systematic violence against a specific class that did not represent the Communistic ideals. In light of the above policy, Stalin is credited with adapting the Collectivisation policy in Book B2 (2012) due to the multitude of peasant uprisings and the disastrous famine. This provides a somewhat less harsh view on Stalin as he adjusts the policy making life a little easier for his people however, this was the only positive aspect mentioned.

The industrialisation period is met with doubt within Book B2 (2012). Although Book B2 (2012) states firmly and repeatedly that Russia did undergo Industrialisation and therefore modernisation which enabled Russia to withstand an attack by Germany in World War Two, the book notes the terrible conditions under which normal people worked thus reinforcing the human cost. Book B2 (2012) also states that the success of the plans are debatable because of the inaccurate statistics found. This creates the image of the Industrialisation as being a façade to highlight the successes of the Soviet state. Stalin’s “war with the West” (page 71) propaganda was used to inspire the Industrialisation process according to Book B2 (2012). The plight of the ordinary people is highlighted when discussing the Industrialisation period as with the rapid modernisation came the terrible working and living conditions. Stalin’s use of terror in the work place is also highlighted to further emphasise the struggles of the common man under Stalin in Book B2 (2012). Book B2 (2012) utilises an example (one of many) of this terror by a famous trial where eleven engineers were accused of industrial espionage, five of whom were executed. This study is described by Book B2 (2012) as a way for Stalin to remove blame from the government and place the reasons for poor improvement and poor living conditions at the door of the so-called saboteurs. The image that is created is of someone willing to persecute innocents instead of dealing or accepting the shortfalls of the soviet regime and this again adds to the perpetuated negative image of Stalin. Book B2 (2012) reiterates the suffering of the ordinary man in order to achieve this Industrialisation, whether they were industry workers or enemies of the state serving in a gulag, the terrible working and living conditions is continually highlighted.

Stalin’s unfavourable image is underscored in Book B2 (2012) when discussing Stalin’s purges. Although the purges are stated in Book B2 (2012) as not being a new

thing as Lenin adopted it in 1921 to expel disloyal or luke-warm Communists, however, Stalin used the idea of purges to purge the Communist Party and other areas of anyone who opposed him – highlighting the tyrannical behaviour. Book B2 (2012) describes how thousands were at first expelled from the Communist Party but with the assassination of Kirov, the purges turned ruthless. A notation made in Book B2 (2012) about some historians' claim that Stalin ordered the assassination himself thus providing the excuse for an excessive "crack down" (page 77) severely harshens the unfavourable image of Stalin. The purges are described in Book B2 (2012) as a way for Stalin to rid the Communist Party of partial Communists as well as to rid all spheres of any competition or threats against Stalin's leadership. Great unrelenting detail about the purge is provided by Book B2 (2012) underscoring Stalin's brutality in character. His brutality in character is again emphasised when Book B2 (2012) notes that Stalin had personal involvement in the purges which emphasises his control over every aspect of Russian life. Book B2 (2012) not only notes Stalin's brutality but also the lack of logic in these purges because often they were detrimental to Russia (the executions of the majority of the Army Officers).

Overall, Book B2 (2012) comments on whether the modernisation of Russia and the effect of Stalin's rule was ultimately beneficial despite the cost. The verdict of Book B2 (2012) is that although many changes incurred and that there was rapid urbanisation, the overall lot of the ordinary people did not improve greatly. Even the lives of women, whose lives had somewhat improved under Lenin, were worsened by harsher marriage laws. Women were also forced to work in order to sustain their living conditions even though women were often paid less and worked menial jobs. Book B2 (2012) does however, shed some positive light on the modernisation of Russia, as aforementioned, as the Industrialisation saved Russia from German invasion as well as aided in the allied victory despite the distrust of Western powers, according to Book B2 (2012).

5.5 Conclusion: Findings Book B2 (2012)

The Tsar, in Book B2 (2012) is depicted as oppressive and as perpetrating the monarchical structure as well as the refusal to deal with the discontent of his people. The Tsar's oppressive action is repeated throughout the book which becomes the focal

point of the Tsar's reign thus creating a reasoning behind the justification of the revolutionary uprisings – a similar image to the repressive laws of the National Party and the revolutionary parties struggling against such oppression. Russia is perpetuated as being backward under the Tsarist regime highlighting the lack of progress incurred under the Tsar. The image of the backwardness is perpetuated by the mention that Russia was 100 years behind the West.

The result of the February Revolution led to a dual power battle between the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet, according to Book B2 (2012). Once Apartheid ended in South Africa, there was also a power struggle between the main parties of the revolutionary, ANC and the IFP which led to an outbreak of violence which can be mirrored against the power struggle between Provisional Government and the Soviets. The Soviets are described slightly more favourably as they are described as having the real power because they addressed the issues wanted by the people whereas the Provisional Government had limited power and were too slow in bringing about reform.

The Russian civil war does not depict either the Bolsheviks or the Whites (Red opposition) favourably. Both sides are depicted as using violence and intimidation in order to garner support so a balanced view of the civil war is provided. The civil war depicts a large level of outside opposition levelled at the Bolsheviks which creates the image that the West did not approve of the new regime and did not calmly accept it. The negative image of the Bolsheviks continues under the depiction of War Communism. Whilst the violence and the use of the Cheka is underplayed, Book B2 (2012) notes that the Bolsheviks did worsen the situation for the peasants. The image that is provided by Book B2 (2012) is that the civil war was disastrous for the people highlighting the ordinary citizens' plight and that no side is considered innocent during this war.

Book B2 (2012) highlights both the negative and positive aspects of Lenin's reign and calls into question whether he should be considered a dictator despite Book B2's (2012) perception of Lenin being invaluable to the revolution. This varied image of Lenin can be mirrored against Mandela as his character and actions during the struggle can be viewed from different angles too. The perpetuation of Lenin's dictatorial image is shown in his false reasoning for adapting Marxism to act as a

vanguard rather than a springboard to establish a one-party state as well as in his ruthless establishment of the one-party state and his use of the Cheka to dispose of enemies. Despite the negative portrayal, Lenin's positive contributions overshadow his negative qualities. Book B2 (2012) considers Lenin's New Economic Policy a great achievement not only because it was an economic success but because of Lenin's honest admission of defeat and retreat back into Capitalism and the book views this act as honourable. Although, Lenin views the retreat back into Capitalism as steps backward, the image created is that Russia is unable to be self-sufficient without Capitalism.

Stalin's image in Book B2 (2012) is a tyrannical one. Book B2 (2012) does not justify Stalin's modernisation against the human cost. The modernisation during Stalin's time is called into question as the level of success is doubted as the numbers published during Stalin's reign were fictional which enhances the anti-totalitarian discourse within this book as his actions are not considered truthful but more for his own glorification.

Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans are both highlighted as experiencing violence. The harshness portrayed in these periods depict a totalitarian ruler willing to do anything to achieve his goals thus, once again, emphasising the anti-totalitarian discourse of the chapter. The ordinary people of Russia are described as suffering under these conditions which emphasises the plight of the ordinary people Book B2 (2012) wishes to espouse. It claims that ordinary people did not benefit from Stalin's modernisation period thus insinuating that the ordinary people are still suffering.

Stalin's purges truly cement Stalin's image as a dictator. His actions in the purges are described as tyrannical and ruthless and detrimental to Russia. Book B2 (2012) warns against dictatorial leaders and the consequences for a country under that sort of rule.

Book B2 (2012) provides a pre-determined image of Communism as it is described as a failure in Russia. This creates the impression that Communism never truly existed in Russia and therefore there was no need for the Red Scare in South Africa nor the banning of the Communist Party. Despite Communism's failure it is still described as a policy that offers equal rights on all fronts – something that was denied to most during South Africa's Apartheid period. It was this egalitarian policy that attracted the popularity of the ideology which again, can be mirrored against the South African

backdrop as to why many black South Africans joined the South African Communist Party.

Trotsky is described as one of the big men in the revolutionary period. He is credited with playing integral parts in the establishment of the Bolshevik power with his creation of the soviets, his importance in the October Revolution and his key role in the Red Army during the civil war. This description of Trotsky provides us with the sentiment that Lenin was not the only power in play during the revolution and that there were other stakeholders just as revolutionary.

The Russo-Japanese War of 1904/1905 highlighted the Regime's weakness and enflamed discontent which led to the 1905 revolution which is painted as a massacre. The Tsar's absence from this incident is omitted which emphasises his brutal and uncaring image and perpetuates the anti-Tsar discourse. Two political changes are depicted as occurring: the establishment of the St Petersburg Soviet (headed by Trotsky) and the Duma.

World War One was ill-advised because it generated a loss of faith and patriotism for Russia and the Tsar and which ultimately led to the downfall of the Tsar due to his poor decisions. The ordinary people of Russia are described as suffering the most during this time and the climax came with the breakout of spontaneous strikes noted as the February Revolution which led to the Tsar's abdication.

Women are described in Book B2 as having a pertinent role in the revolution and Russia. However, women are described as being treated differently under Lenin and Stalin's rule and this depiction outlines the character of each ruler. Lenin is described as a campaigner of women's rights and women's rights were no longer constrained how they were in the past. However, under Stalin's rule, the lives of the women are described as going worsening which insinuates that whatever progress was made under Lenin was reversed under Stalin.

5.6 Book B3 (2012)

5.6.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime (1900-1917)

The unfavourable image of the Tsar is perpetuated throughout Book B3 (2012) by the sole blame being placed on the Tsar himself and not the Tsarist Regime. Russia's

state of backwardness is blamed on the Imperialist autocratic rule of the Tsar and his anti-democratic and anti-progressive views, according to Book B3 (2012). The oppressive nature of the Tsar is highlighted in Book B3 (2012) by his “silencing” (page 10) of his political opponents as well as his violent anti-Semitic behaviour. Book B3 (2012) describes the Tsar as ruling Russia until his death in 1918 however, this is historically inaccurate as the Tsar ruled until his abdication in February/March 1917. There is a commonality found within Book B3 (2012) in terms of the historically inaccurate portrayal of the Tsar as well as a historically inaccurate timeframe regarding the Tsar which shall be explored further on. Book B3 (2012) provides a largely political outlook on the events that led to the 1917 revolutions (although there is mention of political and social grievances) and focuses solely on the Tsar thus narrowing the scope of blame only on him.

The peasants and workers are portrayed in Book B3 (2012) as the true and constant sufferers under the rule of Tsar Nicholas II. However, despite their ill-treatment, prior to 1905, according to Book B3 (2012), the peasants and working class bore no ill will to the Tsar himself rather the system itself. This is noted in Book B3 (2012) by the peasants’ term of endearment for the Tsar: “Little Father” (page 15). Some form of reform occurred for the peasants, according to Book B3 (2012) in the form of serf emancipation. However, the mention of who emancipated them is omitted, which emphasises the silenced Tsarist Regime. Despite this emancipation, nothing much changed for the peasants because of the continued unequal distribution of wealth and so this unhappiness caused rebellions against the landlords – not the Tsar. The image that is created is one of chaos and discontent amongst the population.

Russia, within Book B3 (2012), is repeatedly described as being backward. It is pictured this way in a myriad of ways such as comparing Russia to life under the French ruler Louis XVI (page 3) as well as referring to Russia’s feudal system being the same as pre-Industrial Britain (page 10). The concept of a backward Russia is further emphasised by the statements that Russia never underwent an agricultural revolution (page 11) and that Industrialisation occurred in Russia at a much slower rate. This Industrialisation, according to Book B3 (2012), created a new class in Russia – the middle class – the people who benefitted from the new industries (this would exclude the workers). The peasants and the industrial workers are described as being at the bottom of the societal structure – highlighting their plight.

Russia's entrance into war with Japan is highlighted in Book B3 (2012) under the backdrop of Russia's backwardness in comparison to Japan's successful modernisation. According to Book B3 (2012), the Tsar entered the war with Japan to distract the people from the problems. This mention not only highlights the extent of the problems within Russia but it adds to the negative portrayal of the Tsar as he alone is described as wanting to avoid the problems within Russia. The Russo-Japanese War is noted as the catalyst for the 1905 Revolution in Book B3 (2012) as protesting soared and violence erupted. The turning point came, according to Book B3 (2012) when peaceful protesters marched to the Winter Palace to bring the protest to the Tsar. Book B3 (2012) states that the Tsar was not present at the Winter Palace but ordered his troops to fire on the protesters. According to my research, this is historically inaccurate as the Tsar was unaware of the protest and only found out about the shootings after the fact. Book B3 (2012) presents a quote allegedly given by the Tsar to justify the shootings and again, in my research I have not seen this quote nor could I find this quote after the fact. Book B3's (2012) historically inaccurate portrayal creates not only a negative image of the Tsar but a violent and ruthless one too.

The shootings became known as 'Bloody Sunday' and according to Book B3 (2012) Tsar Nicholas' nickname changed from "Little Father" to "Bloody Nicholas" (page 15). All facets of Russian life became involved in the revolution which thrust Russia into chaos, and according to Book B3 (2012) this gave Trotsky the opportunity to create the St Petersburg Soviet. The creation of the St Petersburg Soviet is significant because Book B3 (2012) argues that this was the most democratic organisation, which again emphasises the negative image of the Tsar's anti-democratic policies. Book B3 (2012) states that Lenin and Trotsky, argued that the soviet was the only truly democratic body in Russia and what can be taken away from this is Book B3's (2012) image of the soviets being democratic. The foreshadowing of the 1917 revolutions is underscored in Book B3 (2012) by the mention that the St Petersburg Soviet was to play a significant role in it which highlights the role of democracy in the 1917 Revolutions.

The significance of the 1905 revolution, according to Book B3 (2012) is the forcing of the Tsar to make some constitutional changes to Russia which placated most of the middle class. Although the October Manifesto did not incorporate all issues, it did promise some reform. The negative image of the Tsar continues despite the offer of

change because the Tsar is described as someone who does not follow through with his promises. Book B3 (2012) reinforces this negative image by referring to the action of not following through with promises as dishonourable (page 19) and this negative and ruthless image is mirrored alongside the firing on the protestors at the start of the 1905 revolution. One of the main broken promises is the supposed change to the constitution by the creation of the Duma. The Duma in Book B3 (2012) is described as having no power as well as unequal in its representation, which is further emphasised by the Tsar's return to repressive action when opposed. The broken promises offered by the Tsar, is the backdrop for the 1917 revolutions, according to Book B3 (2012). Book B3 (2012) notes that *some* reforms occurred under Stolypin however, all progression stopped when Russia entered World War One.

The consistent suffering and poor decisions by the Tsar during the war emphasised the image created by Book B3 (2012) that the war would prove fatal for the Tsar. Book B3 (2012) describes Russia's complete unpreparedness and gross incompetence for World War One and the already bad living and working conditions worsening during the war which created more chaos within Russia. However, despite a single mention of many soldiers deserting their army because of incompetent officers, there is no other detail about the conditions of the soldiers during the war – which creates a silence on their suffering because it became a significant factor in the February Revolution. The image of the Tsar is worsened when Book B3 (2012) describes the Tsar's refusal of help which can be seen in his constant dissolving of the Duma which encourages the already negative image of the Tsar as a complete autocratic ruler even in times of trouble. The Tsar's poor decision to take control of the army and leave his wife in charge proved detrimental to the image of the Tsar, according to Book B3 (2012). The Tsar being in charge of the army meant that, according to Book B3 (2012), any defeats would be placed at his door which created the Tsar as a target for Russia's defeats and subsequent problems. Whilst the Tsar was in charge of the army, Book B3 (2012) states that he left his wife in charge of political matters. This worsened the image of the Tsars because not only does Book B3 (2012) claim that she was under the influence of Rasputin who was vehemently hated by the nobles and royal family, but the Tsarina was German which garnered the spreading of rumours of her allegiance. Although Book B3 (2012) omits what happened under the rule of the

Tsarina and Rasputin, the insinuation is that it had a highly negative impact on Russia which worsened their already disreputable image.

Within Book B3 (2012) there are various “Think about this” blocks. When discussing the urban legend of Rasputin, the “Think about this” (page 22) inaccurately portrays what happened to the mystic man. Although this “Think about this” has no real significance to the matter under discussion in the textbook however, the omission of certain events and the historical inaccuracy of others adds to the historically debatable image of the Tsar and his acquaintances.

Another historical confusion occurs within Book B3 (2012) when discussing the start of the February Revolution. Book B3 (2012) first off, provides an explanation of the two calendar dates and their differences and states that it would be using the dates according to the Gregorian calendar (the Western one). However, the problem comes in the confusion surrounding the dates of the Revolution. Book B3 (2012) states that the Revolution began on the 8th March (which is historically accurate) by the strike of 40 000 workers (which is not historically accurate). Book B3 (2012) then goes on to say that the women joined the protests the next day on International Women’s Day. According to my research, International Women’s Day occurs on the 8th March and it was the protesting women that sparked a range of subsequent protests. This inaccuracy and confusion is furthered by the timeline present earlier in the textbook on page 4 that shows that the February Revolution “breaks out” on the 27th February – the old Julian date (even though the start of the revolution with the women’s march is 23rd February), which provides a confused and somewhat inaccurate portrayal of the start of the 1917 revolution.

Many things occurred during the revolution other than just protests and strikes, according to Book B3 (2012). Many ethnic groups used this opportunity to declare themselves independent which shows that these ethnic groups never felt part of the empire. The Tsar lost loyalty with his soldiers which was the turning point in the revolution, according to Book B3 (2012) when the soldiers sided with the protesters. This marked the Tsar’s end and abdication however, within Book B3 (2012) there is once again conflicting information. Book B3 (2012) states that protests broke out on the 8th March but the Tsar is noted to have abdicated on the 2nd March – before the revolution. This image provides a very confusing outlook on the Revolution and its

subsequent significant consequences. According to the Julian calendar, the Tsar abdicated on March 2nd but according to the Gregorian calendar (which Book B3 (2012) claimed to be following) he abdicated on 15th March which is a gross miscalculation and which furthers the very inaccurate portrayal of the February Revolution. Book B3 (2012) acknowledges the death of the Tsar and his family at the hands of the Bolsheviks and questions whether Lenin was involved in their deaths – which places a critical and questionable view on the events following the Tsar’s abdication.

Book B3 (2012) provides a comparison of the two economic systems that subsequently create political systems: Capitalism and Communism. The image that is created from this is a battle of the economic systems – which one is better. Book B3 (2012) places importance on both Capitalism and Communism by referring to them as shaping the 20th Century (page 3). Within the book there is a detailed layout of all the political parties – albeit illegally – during the Tsar’s reign. Book B3 (2012) explicitly details what each party stood for and what they did to try and achieve these aims and it is with these details that an image is painted of the Bolsheviks from the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party that they were the most organised and disciplined Party. The insinuation, therefore, is that the Bolsheviks would be the more successful because of their less violent approaches (like other parties) as well as because of Lenin. Book B3 (2012) further highlights the importance of the Bolsheviks by stating that eventually Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks, therefore he could see their effectiveness.

Book B3 (2012) expands the discussion on the economic theories by providing a comparison of the two as well as of Karl Marx. The aims of Communism are clearly expressed alongside those of Capitalism and Socialism however, Book B3 (2012) does note that “Communism was never fully realised” (page 7) in Russia. This portrayal provides a less harsh and almost conciliatory tone towards Communism not being realised. Book B3 (2012) however, also questions, even if it is by a single statement, whether everyone benefitted from the Soviet system – not necessarily Communism itself. However, the overall perspective of Communism and Communism in Russia within Book B3 (2012) is largely one of an explanatory nature with very little negativity attached to the explanations.

5.6.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution (1917-1921)

Lenin's role during the Bolshevik Revolution is emphasised greatly in Book B3 (2012) as well as his closeness to the Bolshevik Party. Book B3 (2012) even refers to the Bolshevik Party as Lenin's Party (page 34). The Bolsheviks were able to assume power, according to Book B3 (2012) because of the unpopularity of the Provisional Government due to the lack of improvement and Lenin was opportunistic in reacting to the worsening situation under the Provisional Government. Book B3 (2012) states that the Provisional Government attempted to create reforms but their ultimate downfall was in not meeting the needs of the people fast enough and remaining in the war. It was these pitfalls that allowed the Bolsheviks to gain popularity and therefore momentum, according to Book B3 (2012). The Bolsheviks are, at first, described positively in Book B3 (2012) but a negative image is insinuated after the creation of the One-Party state.

According to Book B3 (2012) the Provisional Government's failure to provide peace by exiting the war had severe consequences on its credibility. The Provisional Government mirrored the Tsarist behaviour with regard to the war as the leader of the Provisional Government, Kerensky, according to Book B3 (2012), decided to assume control of the army. When the army continued to be defeated, the intense unhappiness with the Provisional Government and the worsening social situations grew. The inability of the Provisional Government to handle the worsening World War One situation and the July Days attempted coup not only weakened their credibility but strengthened that of the Bolshevik Party, according to Book B3 (2012). Book B3 (2012) states that it was with the constant unhappiness that Lenin felt a second revolution was necessary. This statement is furthered by details of how Lenin organised the October Revolution whilst in exile. Again the image of Lenin not being far from the goings on of the Bolsheviks is emphasised in Book B3 (2012).

The overthrowing of the Provisional Government is painted by Book B3 (2012) as a success because very little blood was shed in the process. Book B3 (2012) continues the image of an easy takeover by the Bolshevik's assumption of power at the All-Russian Congress. This images creates the impression that there was little opposition by anyone within the Party or political parties. However, what is noted in Book B3 (2012) is that the Bolsheviks did not have the support of the majority of the people as

seen in the Constituent Assembly – which the Bolsheviks then dissolved and formulated a one-party state.

Book B3 (2012) states that after the loss at the Constituent Assembly Lenin published his thesis stating that the power remain with the Bolsheviks, which is historically inaccurate. Lenin's thesis was published in April soon after the first revolution opposing the Provisional Government's rule. The negative image of the Bolsheviks because of its assumption of power and ignoring of the election results is worsened because of the violence against Bolshevik supporters as stated in Book B3 (2012). Despite this negative image, Book B3 (2012) sympathises with the Russian revolution because it had potential to become a democratic revolution but because there was an insufficient middle-class to sustain such a revolution, this allowed for Lenin's party to establish itself as a one-party state, according to Book B3 (2012).

Due to the Bolshevik takeover, Russia erupted into a civil war. In Book B3 (2012) there is limited information about the civil war and its subsequent policy of War Communism however, what is noted in Book B3 (2012) is the violence that occurred at the hands of both the Reds and Whites. Although Book B3 (2012) notes that both sides were involved in immense brutality against opposition, the book focuses more on the Whites' violence as it targeted the Jewish population – this targeting of the Jewish population mirrored the actions under the Tsarist Regime so the Whites are highlighted as more unfavourable than the Reds.

The civil war in Book B3 (2012) is noted to have begun because the “Russian enemies” (page 34) of the Bolsheviks joined forces and then the Allied forces joined to aid Whites. Book B3 (2012) lists the Allied Powers involved which emphasises the amount of opposition against the Bolsheviks. No real mention of organisational ability or why the Bolsheviks won the war is mentioned. The only factor that is mentioned in Book B3 (2012) regarding organisational abilities and leadership is the leadership role undertaken by Trotsky. Trotsky, as leader of the Red Army, was “effective in defending the revolution” (page 35). This image adds to the growing image of Trotsky's role as an effective leader.

The policy of War Communism is stipulated in Book B3 (2012) as being a creation of Lenin. It was a policy instilled in order to feed the soldiers and workers, according to Book B3 (2012) which provides the sense of justification for it. The feelings of the

policy are omitted in the book and the brutal punishment (page 36) stated in Book B3 (2012) for peasants who did not relinquish their grain is not elaborated upon. The image of War Communism in Book B3 (2012) is simply a vague list of a necessary economic policy that received no opposition or unpopularity. This omission of violence because of the policy and omission of unpopularity lessens the harshness of Lenin's image.

Book B3 (2012) sympathises with the Russians as it notes the effects of seven years of war on the people and the economy. The wars had, according to Book B3 (2012), devastated the people and industry and it also caused a de-urbanisation as many people had to move back to the countryside to find food. It was under these tiresome conditions that led to the Kronstadt uprising, according to Book B3 (2012). The reason for the uprising, according to Book B3 (2012) is that the sailors felt that life under Communism is unbearable. These sailors were ex-loyal Bolshevik supporters, according to Book B3 (2012) which highlights the lack of faith in the Bolshevik regime nearing the end of the Civil War. Book B3 (2012) talks about how Trotsky had to "crush" the opposition and place the survivors in ex-Tsarist labour camps. This behaviour as displayed in Book B3 (2012) mirrors the repressive nature of the Tsar which therefore, emphasises the growing negative image of the Bolshevik regime.

5.6.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin (1921 - 1924)

Lenin's prominence within the Bolshevik Party is repeatedly highlighted in Book B3 (2012). It was Lenin's popular slogan that garnered more support for the Bolsheviks, it was Lenin who was smuggled back into Russia by the Germans in the hopes of starting a revolution and it was Lenin who organised the October/November Revolution. Book B3 (2012) has stated profusely that Lenin is the leader of the Bolsheviks and is highly influential within the Party. Lenin is described in Book B3 (2012) favourably as he is painted as someone who makes positive and progressive changes in Russia as well as someone who is able to make the tough decisions that would be for the betterment of the nation.

The inextricable link between Lenin and the Bolshevik Party is continued in Book B3's (2012) description of the immediate changes Lenin made after the overthrow of the Provisional Government. The positive changes stipulated in Book B3 (2012) were

made by Lenin, and this notation shines the focus of positive change solely on Lenin, not anyone else. Book B3 (2012) highlights the immediate accomplishments of Lenin which creates the image of Lenin being a man who gets things done as well as someone who listens to the needs of his people. The favourable image of Lenin in Book B3 (2012) is portrayed in the details of Lenin bringing peace by ending the war, even at great cost, peace occurred. Book B3 (2012) notes that overnight Lenin solved the land question (something the Provisional Government failed to do) and created equal rights for everyone in Russia. The only instance of opposition noted in Book B3 (2012) was by the clergy of the Orthodox Church because of the terrorising and violence that occurred. It was only the wealthy who seemed to be horrified by this, according to Book B3 (2012), which provides an image of no-one else having a problem with the actions of Lenin and by extension the Bolshevik Party.

Another aspect of society which was affected positively by Lenin, according to Book B3 (2012), was the lives of women. Book B3 (2012) notes Lenin's actions as progressive, which furthers the favourable image of Lenin as a leader. Under Lenin, women's lives changed from the oppressive, domestic perception of the past under the Tsar to one of equality where women were allowed to work, according to Book B3 (2012). Book B3 (2012) admires these changes installed by Lenin as it highlights the immense positive change experienced by women. However, despite Lenin's progressive nature, society, as noted by Book B3 (2012) was still backward and refused to change. Despite that one setback, the image of Lenin being a progressive thinker in the campaign for women's rights in Book B3 (2012), really underscores the image of Lenin being the fair and progressive leader that Russia needs.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) created by Lenin is considered by Book B3 (2012) as an adaptation to Marxism. According to Book B3 (2012), and in order to assist Russia out of her dire situation, Lenin created a return to Capitalism temporarily in order to restore Russia's economy. The image of Lenin being able to make the tough decisions is highlighted in the return to Capitalism as it goes against the socialist theory. The discussion within Book B3 (2012) regarding the NEP is very source heavy which results in very little information being provided in the body text. Book B3 (2012) does note that this policy was successful as the economy recovered because of it but, some socialists complained that it created a new class of rich peasants which perpetuated the classist system. However, there is no mention in the body text about

it going against Socialist principles which works hand-in-hand with the description of the NEP being an “adaptation” (page 38) of Marxism in Book B3 (2012).

Lenin’s rule is highlighted continually in Book B3 (2012) as something positive for Russia so it appears as if he is almost revered in the book. It is with this backdrop that Book B3 (2012) then discusses rule under Stalin. Because Book B3 (2012) immortalises Lenin as being a progressive thinker and as someone good for the country, his opinion is therefore quite influential. Book B3 (2012) stipulates Lenin’s distrust of Stalin, which provides the foreshadowing of Stalin as a leader.

5.6.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin (1928 - 1954)

Stalin is described as both a gifted politician and a tyrant in Book B3 (2012) because of his ability to transform Russia from an illiterate agrarian society to a literate industrial superpower. Despite this paradoxical description of Stalin, Book B3 (2012) does repeatedly state that life under Stalin’s reign was very difficult because of his little value for human life. Book B3 (2012) repeatedly mentions the human cost that occurred during the industrialisation however, balances the argument at the end of the chapter with a statement saying that whether the change in Russia was worth the suffering of the people will remain debatable – thus leaving it up to the reader to decide (page 52). Russia thrived economically under Stalin according to Book B3 (2012) and it is this achievement that the book admires the most however, Book B3 (2012) states that although the economic achievement should be heralded, the Marxist ideals that Communism was supposed to follow became “distorted beyond recognition” (2012). The negative image of how society transformed is compounded in Book B3 (2012) by the comparison of Stalin’s reign to that of Hitler’s. Stalin’s dictatorial and authoritarian manner of ruling such as disallowing personal freedoms, censorship and terror mirror the reign of Hitler.

Before Lenin’s death, Lenin is noted as trying to find a new leader for Russia according to Book B3 (2012). However, in Book B3’s (2012) description of this event, Lenin is found to have favoured Trotsky more despite his faults but distrusted Stalin completely and even recommended his removal. Lenin is highly admired in Book B3 (2012) and thus this creates a distrusting air regarding Stalin and a foreshadowing. Stalin, in the early days after Lenin’s death, is described as being a good politician despite not being

an academic and it was his ability in making alliances and attractive policies that led to his rise to power, according to Book B3 (2012). With Stalin's rise to power, this led to Trotsky's expulsion and eventual death for which Book B3 (2012) places direct blame on Stalin creating the image of a leader who is not entirely trustworthy.

Book B3 (2012) states that Stalin felt the need to industrialise in order to keep up with the West. The competition Stalin felt with the West is severely underplayed in the book which takes away from the urgency of these plans and why they needed to be made in a short space of time. The period of Industrialisation is described in Book B3 (2012) as having been carefully planned by the Gosplan and it was the Gosplan that set up the industrial target, not Stalin. Very little detail about what the three Five Year Plans entailed is mentioned in Book B3 (2012) thus no mention of the targets being extreme. What is somewhat noted in the book is that the Industrialisation along with Collectivisation cost the lives of millions of people however, that is the only notation in Book B3 (2012) about the human cost during Industrialisation as the book only speaks about slackness being punished – no other detail is proffered.

The period of Collectivisation is highlighted more in Book B3 (2012) than the Industrialisation period. Book B3 (2012) calls the short-term effects of Collectivisation “devastating” (page 45) for the people of Russia. Millions of people were described as being “forced” (page 42) off their land in Book B3 (2012) which received much resistance from the peasants – not just from the kulaks. Book B3 (2012) highlights the number of deaths incurred during this period which emphasises the harshness of this policy and the huge cost to human life. The harshness is compounded by not only the famine that occurred but the complete denial of the famine from the government which creates the image of an uncaring government. The long-term effects of Collectivisation and Industrialisation combined with the economic depression in the West led Russia to become the largest producer of heavy industry, according to Book B3 (2012). Book B3 (2012) does not go into detail about this heavy industrial success in the body text, however it does offer another side to the coin to Collectivisation and Industrialisation.

Terror under Stalin's rule has been noted in Book B3 (2012) and this is reinforced by the period of purges under Stalin which Book B3 (2012) refers to as “crimes against humanity” (page 49). The ‘reasoning’ behind Stalin's purges is omitted in Book B3 (2012) however, the number of deaths and deportations is highlighted but the show

trials and purges are seemed to only target former loyal Bolsheviks and members of the secret police in Book B3 (2012). Although Book B3 (2012) states the number of deaths and people transported to labour camps, it fails to emphasise the direction the purges took and the impact this had on all spheres of Russian life which provides an unclear image of the purges. Another aspect which remains unclear is the mention within Book B3 (2012) that the show trials affected loyal Bolshevik members such as Kirov and Bukharin. I am unsure if the Kirov mentioned is perhaps another one, for Sergei Kirov is known because of his assassination which *sparked* the purges; he was not involved in them. An image of Russia's problem being swept under the rug is emphasised in Book B3 (2012) by the millions of deaths being covered up until Stalin's death in 1954. This is historically inaccurate because Stalin died in 1953.

The negative image of Stalin's image is continued in Book B3 (2012) when Stalin undid the progressive reforms for women that were put in place by Lenin. The undoing of these reforms is not mentioned in detail, only a few facts were mentioned. Under Stalin's reign women suffered alongside men under the purges which, if compared to Lenin's reign, shows that suffering continued immensely under Stalin in Book B3 (2012). The human suffering under Stalin is not underplayed in Book B3 (2012) but however, it did have some benefits because Russia was able to industrialise and it was this Industrialisation that enabled her to withstand an attack from Germany as well as gaining Western approval because of its achievement according to Book B3 (2012). This balancing creates the image that whilst bad things happened, Russia was able to compete with the West which, if referring back to the debate aforementioned about whether the human cost was worth it, creates the impression that Book B3 (2012) does feel that it was worth it.

5.7 Conclusion: Findings Book B3 (2012)

The anti-Tsarist discourse is perpetuated in Book B3 (2012) by the description of the Tsar's oppressive, anti-Semitic and violent rule. The image portrayed in Book B3 (2012) is that it was solely Nicholas II to blame for the troubles in Russia as it is he who is highlighted over and above the Tsarist Regime.

The peasants and proletariats in Russia are portrayed as the constant sufferers in Russia which is akin to the suffering of the ordinary people under the rule of the

National Party in South Africa, thus Book B3 (2012) constantly mirrors the Tsar's rule with that of the National Party's. Russia is considered to be backward under the reign of the Tsar and even in this backwardness, the peasants and proletariats are deemed to be at the bottom of the societal chain.

The Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government are described as the two contenders for Russian rule. The Provisional Government is considered unpopular because of their poor decisions despite their attempt to create reforms and it was this unpopularity that was seized by the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks are favoured by Book B3 (2012) at first but lost appeal after they made Russia become a one-party state which perpetuates an anti-totalitarian discourse.

Lenin is described as having close ties to the Bolsheviks and at times the book refers to the Bolsheviks as Lenin's party thus symbolising the link between the two. The October Revolution is described as being organised from afar thus re-emphasising Lenin's key role in the Bolshevik party which mirrors that of the role Mandela played in the ANC even whilst in prison.

Although Book B3 (2012) describes the violence during the civil war as being perpetuated by both sides, there is a slightly more favourable leaning towards the Bolsheviks as the Whites are described as targeting the Jews which is reminiscent of the Tsarist behaviour. The subsequent policy of War Communism is almost justified by Book B3 (2012) because it was considered necessary. The brutality of the policy is not elaborated and it becomes a vague understanding of the policy thus lessening the harshness of the portrayal of War Communism.

Lenin's portrayal in Book B3 (2012) is one of admiration and reverence. Lenin's image as a leader can be linked to the image of Mandela as he is too revered and admired for his actions in the struggle and was also the first leader of the new South Africa. Lenin's progressive changes and tough decisions all for the betterment of his country are all what makes him admirable in Book B3 (2012). The New Economic Policy is considered a success despite its return into Capitalism.

Stalin's image however, is perceived in a dual capacity. He is admired for being a gifted politician and criticised for having tyrannical tendencies. Despite the detail of the human cost, the modernisation of Russia outweighs the human cost. Although Book

B3 (2012) details the short term effects of the modernisation of Russia, it acknowledges the human cost which is seen as devastating to the people, although the long term effects of the modernisation is regarded as ultimately beneficial.

Stalin's purges are mentioned in great detail in Book B3 (2012). Although the book fails to mention how these purges impacted Russia, they are deemed as crimes against humanity which does reinforce the severity of the leadership of Russia however, the positives of modernisation outweigh the deaths incurred during the purges.

Communism is detailed in Book B3 (2012) as a political system that emerged from Socialism. The book also establishes the difference between Capitalism and Communism and discusses the value of these two ideologies in the 20th Century. This explanation and notation of importance is a reinforced image of the political climate of South Africa after Apartheid as it allows for a detailed difference. Book B3 (2012) does argue that Communism was never fully realised in Russia which provides a less harsh view on this failure which again reinforces the political climate of South Africa. The book questions further whether everyone actually benefitted from the Soviet system – not Communism – but the Communist system in place in Soviet Russia thus insinuating that there is nothing wrong with Communism only how it is applied.

The Russo-Japanese War is depicted as what brought about the protests to the Tsar's Winter Palace and subsequently the 1905 Revolution. Book B3 (2012) inaccurately portrays the events (although accurately states that the Tsar was absent at the time) that occurred thus emphasising the brutality of the Tsar's nature and rule towards resistance. This can be mirrored in how the National Party dealt with resistance and the violence associated with these dealings. The reform offered by the Tsar after the 1905 revolution is considered by the book as temporary and Book B3 (2012) argues that the Tsar not keeping his promises is a dishonourable act which highlights the negative nature of the Tsar's rule.

World War One is considered fatal for the Tsar. The book highlights the incompetence and unpreparedness of Russia during the war and the Tsar's poor choices which proved fatal to the Tsar as it led to the start of the February Revolution and subsequently the abdication of the Tsar.

Trotsky's role is noted in Book B3 (2012) as being vital. His role as effective leader in the civil war reaffirms his role in the revolution and also highlights that there are also other key figures involved – not as powerful as Lenin, but still worthy. The same can be said of Mandela as there were many other revolutionaries involved in the struggle yet, Mandela remains the face of the revolution.

Stalin and Lenin's characters are contrasted when discussing women in Russia. While Lenin espoused progressive ideas and women's rights, Stalin undid all the progress made by Lenin which maintains the image of a controlling leader and progressive only when it suits his needs – industrial transformation.

5.8 Conclusion and Final Findings of the post-Apartheid Era Textbooks

The post-Apartheid textbooks are written during a political climate much different from that of Apartheid. The ANC, which was once considered a revolutionary party under the Apartheid regime, came to power in 1994. The ANC and the SACP had, and still have, a long standing relationship and formed the Tripartite Alliance with COSATU in order to fight the National Party. Thus the perception of Communism has changed, and this appears in all three books as not only is the ideology explained in each book but there is no anti-Communist discourse. An anti-Tsar discourse is perpetuated throughout all three books however, the Tsar and the Tsarist Regime are mirrored against the National Party Regime thus emphasising the oppressive nature of the Tsars. The discourse of Big Men is perpetuated within all three books (with a more critical approach undertaken by Book B2 (2012)) as only certain people are categorised as being involved in the revolution and the modernisation of Russia. Although, working along the lines of the removed anti-Communism, there is still an undertone of pro-Capitalism within the text, although it is not as strongly suggested.

The Tsar's oppressive action is depicted in all three books with a specific notation in Book B3 (2012) describing the Tsar's anti-Semitic tendencies. Book B1 (2012) focuses mainly on the Tsar's opposition thus indicating that the Tsar had received much opposition during his tenure, akin to that of the National Party whereas, Books B2 (2012) and B3 (2012) focus on the oppressive measure of the Tsar. Book B2 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) describe some reformation occurring under the Tsarist regime

with the emancipation of the peasants however, both books omit who was responsible for the emancipation and thus this perpetuates the anti-Tsarist discourse as the regime is continued to be viewed as wholly oppressive. Book B2 (2012) does describe progress occurring under a minister of the Tsar, Stolypin but this reform works hand-in-hand with his authoritarian action which again perpetuates the image of the Tsar as being oppressive. All three books describe the Tsar as oppressive, Book B1 (2012) describes the constant proletarian struggle under the oppression of the Tsars and Book B3 (2012) depicts both the peasants and the proletariat as constantly suffering. This depiction mirrors the struggle of the oppressed working class under the Apartheid Regime.

Book B1 (2012) specifically focuses on the proletarian struggle throughout the Tsarist rule. It is this specific class structure that causes problems within Russia because of the small wealthy class, Russia is unable to enjoy large-scale Capitalism. It is also the proletariat's struggle against the unequal distribution of wealth that is focused on in Book B1 (2012). This situation specifically resonates with the socio-political context of Apartheid South Africa. This similarity emphasises the connection of the anti-Tsarist discourse in comparison to the Apartheid system.

The war with Japan in 1904/1905 and the subsequent revolution of 1905 are emphasised and are described as a turning point for the Tsar. Book B2 (2012) highlights Russia's backwardness prior to the war as Russia being 100 years behind the West. This statement perpetuates the anti-Tsarist image as well as the pro-West discourse as the West is still considered better. It is this backwardness that compounds the weakness of the Tsar and highlights the discontent of the people which led to the 1905 protest and subsequent revolution. Book B3 (2012) continues the anti-Tsarist sentiment by the depiction of the Tsar engaging in war with Japan to distract his people from the problems thus instilling a depiction of the Tsar as someone who ignores the real issues. All three books mark this 1905 revolution as an important link to the 1917 revolution.

The 1905 protest that led to the revolution does not paint the Tsar in a favourable light. This anti-Tsar perception is heightened by the depiction of the Tsar's brutality in dealing with the protesters in all three books. Whilst Book B1 (2012) and Book B2 (2012) omit the Tsar's absence – thus enhancing his role in the brutality, Book B3

(2012) states the Tsar's absence however, inaccurately portrays his reaction thus reinforcing the image of his brutality. Another significant event of the 1905 revolution is the creation of the St. Petersburg Soviet and the Duma. Book B1 (2012) focuses more on the significance of the soviet than the Duma which enhances the image of the Bolsheviks. Books B2 (2012) and B3 (2012) describe how democratic the soviets were thus highlighting the undemocratic nature of Russia which further perpetuates the anti-Tsarist image.

The Tsar's inability to maintain his promises is what led to the 1917 Revolution which was sparked by World War One according to all three books. Book B3 (2012) calls the broken promises as dishonourable and Book B2 (2012) states that the people had no choice but to revolt because their problems were not being addressed. South Africa's struggle against Apartheid can be paralleled in the depiction of Russia's revolts as their discriminatory issues were not being addressed by the government. World War One is considered ill-advised and fatal for the Tsar in Books B2 (2012) and B3 (2012). In all three books the worsening conditions created by the war compounded the negative image of the Tsar which brought about the February Revolution. Very little information is provided on World War One in any of the three books however, what is highlighted is the worsening conditions perpetuated by the ineptitude of the Tsar. This image clearly emphasises the anti-Tsarist discourse evident throughout. The subsequent February Revolution is also noted in very little detail in all three books. Book B1 (2012) depicts the February Revolution as being mainly a socialist uprising which emphasises the political outlook on the revolution rather than a spontaneous revolution. All three books note the Tsar's abdication as a result of the revolution however, Book B1 (2012) mentions the Tsar's subsequent captivity but not fate and omits the family's involvement lessening the harshness of the Bolsheviks.

Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) provide an image of the subsequent climate of a Tsar-free Russia as a power struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government. Book B2 (2012) describes the power struggle as first being between the St Petersburg Soviet (now Petrograd Soviet) and the Provisional Government. The Bolsheviks in Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) and the soviets in Book B2 (2012) are described as having the real power and control of Russia. All three books acknowledge the weakness of the Provisional Government as it was too slow in establishing reforms thus adding to its unpopularity and the gaining of support of the Bolsheviks. Book B1

(2012) admires the Bolsheviks' strength in leadership from Trotsky and Lenin and the subsequent seamless takeover by the Bolsheviks in October which encourages the favourable image of the Bolsheviks in Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) as it creates an image of little opposition. Book B3 (2012) favours the Bolsheviks at first however, they lose favour in Book B3 (2012) once they become a totalitarian state which highlights the anti-totalitarian discourse.

The civil war is perceived in different ways in each of the three books. In Book B1 (2012) the pro-revolutionary discourse is maintained as it omits imagery relating to anti-Communist factions as well as omitting any violence committed. The Bolsheviks are described as victorious due to their strong leadership once more. In Book B2 (2012) both sides, Reds and Whites, are not pictured favourably. Both sides are described as using violent methods to garner support from the people thus highlighting the suffering of the ordinary people. Book B2 (2012) also goes on to detail the amount of opposition against the Bolsheviks which creates the image that the West did not accept the new regime. Book B3 (2012) also depicts violence on both sides however, there is still a slightly favourable image towards the Bolsheviks as the Whites are described as being violent against the Jews which mimicked Tsarist behaviour.

The policy of War Communism is described in all three books as emphasising the suffering of the ordinary people however, only Book B1 (2012) highlights the violence and terror associated with the policy. Although Book B1 (2012) describes this policy as Tsar-like (which perpetuates the anti-Tsarist discourse) it depicts the policy as allowing for the foundations of Lenin to emerge as the hero of Russia. Book B2 (2012) may overlook the brutality overall however, it does emphasise the suffering of the ordinary people during the war which does not add to a positive image of the Bolsheviks. Book B3 (2012) justifies the brutality incurred as the uprisings were going against the betterment of Russia. The brutality of the policy is overlooked and also Book B3 (2012) provides a vague account of the policy lessening the harshness of its image.

Only Book B2 (2012) provides a balanced view of Lenin as a leader. Both Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) admire and revere Lenin. Book B1 (2012) goes a step further and creates a hero status for Lenin as it depicts Lenin as the saviour of Russia. This could resonate with South Africa and the depiction of Mandela as the hero of the

struggle and the face of the new South Africa. However, Book B2 (2012) debates Lenin's legacy and questions his role as a dictator of Russia which perpetuates the anti-totalitarian discourse.

Book B2 (2012) provides both negative and positive aspects of Lenin's legacy. The negative portrayal of Lenin only occurs in Book B2 (2012) which creates a discourse of Lenin's image being almost immortalised as the hero of Russia. Lenin is described in Book B2 (2012) as providing the necessary terror foundations and use of Cheka for Stalin on which he could capitalise. Also, Book B2's (2012) interpretation of Lenin's adaptation of Marxism which enabled the Bolsheviks to become the vanguard is described as being a front in order for Lenin to create a one-party state. Despite these negativities, Book B2 (2012) depicts Lenin's positive attributes as outweighing those of his negatives. The biggest positive, according to Book B2 (2012) would be the New Economic Policy. Book B2 (2012) claims that it was a great achievement because Lenin was able to admit defeat in the retreat into Capitalism. Book B2 (2012) admires Lenin as a leader for making such an honest admission. This description underlines the discourse of the pro-West as Russia was unable to survive without it. The perception of Lenin is different in Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012). Book B1 (2012) notes the adaptation of Marxism to suit the needs of Russia as sacrifice on Lenin's part and Book B3 (2012) discusses the progressive changes for the betterment of Russia made by Lenin. Both Book B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) describe the NEP as successful and a necessary step back into Capitalism.

Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) portray the negative image of Stalin from Lenin's perspective thus creating a negative foreshadowing of Stalin. In Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) the books struggle to identify Stalin as being either admirable or tyrannical as Stalin's modernisation of Russia is perceived as great. Book B1 (2012) debates Stalin's status as a hero or monster but overall denies Stalin hero status due to the human cost incurred under his reign whereas in Book B3 (2012) the human cost is perceived to be worth it in the end despite Stalin's tyrannical description. It is Book B2 (2012) that argues there no justification for the human cost and Stalin's tyrannical behaviour.

Stalin's lack of hero status in Book B1 (2012) furthers the immortalisation of Lenin as a hero. Book B1 (2012) perceives Stalin's lack of hero status due to his lack of

involvement in the revolution and as well as Stalin's unearned self-glorification used in propaganda. These attributes greatly contrast those of Lenin's. Stalin's two economic policies, Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans are portrayed differently in each book. Whilst Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) portray these policies as an ultimate success Book B2 (2012) emphasises the short-term devastation on the Russian people. Book B1 (2012) justifies the violence against the resisters because the resistance was not beneficial for Russia therefore the body text of Book B1 (2012) downplays the extent of the violence that occurred. Where Book B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) see a transformation that impresses the West (Book B2) views the economic policies as tyrannical which emphasises the anti-totalitarian discourse. Book B2 (2012) highlights the violence and victimisation on the ordinary people in both the agricultural and the industrial sector expressing that the ordinary people did not benefit from these policies overall.

Although the economic transformation is highlighted in Book B1 (2012), the purges emphasise the anti-totalitarian discourse as the purges are described as tyrannical and ruthless in both Book B1 (2012) and Book B2 (2012). Book B1 (2012) places great emphasis on the repressive action of the purges and underscores Stalin's involvement as irrefutable which again, removes his hero status. Book B2 (2012) also provides great detail on the purges and paints the purges as crimes against humanity however, despite this, Book B2 (2012) paints the human cost as worth it overall which paints a less harsh image of Stalin compared to Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012).

In all three books Communism as a political system is detailed thus dismantling the old fear of Communism. Each book details Communism's egalitarian policy which provides a perception of why Communism was popular and also it again reminds the reader that Communism is not to be feared. Book B2 (2012) and B3 (2012) provide a pre-determined image of Communism when they argue that Communism never made it in Russia however Book B2 (2012) states that Communism failed in Russia whereas Book B3 (2012) argues that Communism was never fully realised thus placing a less harsh perspective on the failures of Russia. Book B3 (2012) emphasises that Communism was valuable to the 20th Century thus emphasising the importance of Communism within history.

The characters of Lenin and Stalin are further scrutinised when each book depicts how women were treated under each leader. Under Lenin, each book comments on Lenin's progressive ideas as well as him being a campaigner for women's rights whereas under Stalin, whatever progression was made was regressed according to each book.

The establishment of the Big Men discourse is perpetuated throughout each book by their perpetuation of the images of the main instigators in the creation of new Russia: Nicholas II, the Bolsheviks, Lenin and Stalin. Another contender for the Big Men is Trotsky. Trotsky's role in the Russian Revolution is deemed pivotal in all three books. All three books comment on Trotsky's strong leadership skills as well as vital influence and leadership in the civil war. These attributions cement Trotsky as a pertinent character in the establishment of Communist Russia thus highlighting that other people, other than Lenin, were involved in the revolutionary action. The discourse of other people contributing strongly to the revolution can be mirrored against South Africa's anti-Apartheid struggle and Mandela. Mandela is not the only person to have had a pivotal role in the Apartheid struggle, but often is immortalised as the face of the revolution and therefore overshadows other influential members.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, chapter 4 and chapter 5, I have analysed the textbook chapters pertaining to Russian history found in both Apartheid era and post-Apartheid era South African textbooks. During this analysis certain themes became apparent, and these themes were further highlighted along with the possible socio-political explanations for said themes.

In this chapter I will seek to answer my research question posed in chapter 1: Why is Russia depicted the way it is in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks? The purpose of this chapter is to outline the themes found in the chapters 4 and 5 against the literature discussed in chapters 1 and 2. The purpose of this would be to compare and contrast the emerged themes found in the era different textbooks to the known scholarship thus answering my research question.

First, I will outline the themes that emerged from the key sections in the sampled textbooks: Russia under the Tsarist Regime, Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia under Lenin and Russia under Stalin. A fifth section is deemed necessary as various themes emerged that could not be classified under the aforementioned key sections as outlined in the textbooks thus a section will be dedicated to the general findings of the analysed textbooks. These general findings were found in both era textbooks thus highlighting the suggestion that what Russian history is taught has remained largely the same. In these key sections I will discuss the themes that emerged alongside the literature that was found in order to understand and perhaps contextualise these themes.

Secondly, in this chapter, I will provide a review of my study where I refer back to the key messages of the six chapters in this study. I will also provide personal, professional and methodological reflections on this study and how this study contributed to academia. Finally, in my conclusion I seek to outline and reiterate the purpose of this study to show that not only have I achieved the purpose set out in chapter 1 but it

would show that I have filled a gap in the literature as identified and in doing so contributed to the scholarship on Russia.

6.2 Discussion

In this section, the emerged themes from the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks will be brought into discussion with each other and the literature discussed in chapters 1 and 2. The purpose of bringing the literature into conversation with the research is to seek an answer as to why Russia is depicted the way it is in the ideologically era of different textbooks.

6.2.1 Russia under the Tsarist Regime

Both Apartheid and post-Apartheid era textbooks generate the same entrenched perception of the Tsar thus perpetuating the same anti-Tsarist or anti-royalty discourse. However, although each era textbook produces an anti-Tsarist theme, the reasoning behind it may be different. The anti-royal discourse perpetuated in the Apartheid era textbooks could be as a result of the icy perception of monarchy held by the National Party of South Africa. The characterisation of the National Party is one of Afrikaner Nationalism which could invoke a certain antagonistic perception to royalty as the British Empire had managed to defeat the Boer Republics in the South African War of 1899 – 1902 and the Republic was only restored in 1961. The anti-Tsarist discourse entrenched in the post-Apartheid textbooks can perhaps be reasoned as the environment created by the Tsarist Regime was mirrored in Apartheid South Africa under the National Party. However, although, the socio-political and economic situation in Apartheid South Africa (the 'situation' being a small portion of the wealthy white population controlling that of the larger black working population under oppressive measures) is partly metaphorically mirrored in the situation under the Tsar, as it is a recycled perception of the Tsarist Russia that is found in not only the Apartheid textbooks but that of 16th Century - 20th Century German and British textbooks (Anderson, 1954; Paddock, 1998). This creates an image of textbook information and perceptions being reused and never really changing – merely being placed in the appropriate socio-political context but also an image of Russia/Tsar that transcends eras and regions which generates a form of stereotyping of Russia/Tsar.

The image of the Tsar/Tsarist Regime in both era textbooks is one of oppressive, autocratic, indifferent and anti-progressive. The perception of the Tsar and his involvement in keeping Russia backward has remained unchanged in both era textbooks which perpetuates the discourse of textbook characters hardly changing in perception over time despite two radically different political eras in which the representation takes place which highlights the persistence of textbook knowledge.

Both Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks view the perception of Tsarist Russia in much the same way with only a few additions in detail. Russia, in both era textbooks, is portrayed as backward, not self-sufficient and having undergone very little progress under the Tsarist Regime. This perception continues the anti-Tsar discourse as it perpetuates the image of Russia being forcibly kept back – which is similar to the context of the Boer rebellions against the British Empire as well as the racial segregation in South Africa during Apartheid where the black population (the larger portion of the working population) were oppressed by the smaller in number white Capitalist class (Milazi, 1987).

The Apartheid textbooks reinforce the concept of Tsarist Russia being backward by Book A2 (1987) which, for example, stating that Russia was far behind Western Europe as well as Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) describing the help received from the West. It is this image that is continued in the post-Apartheid textbooks when Book B2 (2012) for example, declares Russia as being behind the Western world by 100 years. The image of Russia being backward is a recycled image that has been portrayed in the 16th – 20th Century textbooks of Britain, Germany and America (Anderson, 1954; Burkhardt, 1947-1948; Paddock, 1998). Russia's perception in the German and the British textbooks is one of isolation as Russia is not deemed European which can be extended to Russia's perception of backwardness in comparison to the rest of Europe (Anderson, 1954; Paddock, 1998).

The post-Apartheid textbooks further the concept of Russia's backwardness by highlighting the struggle of the ordinary people. It is the struggle of the peasants and the workers against the Tsar that perpetuates this unchanging and challenging image of Russia in all three books of the post-Apartheid era. Book B1 (2012) also discusses the class system as being problematic as Russia had a small Capitalist class under the Tsarist Regime which did not allow for much economic expansion. The class

system present in Russia is metaphorically paralleled against the class system and racially oppressive Apartheid South Africa as there was large working population with a small Capitalist population (Milazi, 1987).

Although Tsar Nicholas II is described as inspiring resistance against the Royalist system in both Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks, there is a marked difference in how these textbooks describe the opposition. In the Apartheid textbooks the Tsar's opposition, outside of the resistance from the peasants, is solely found in the Bolshevik Party. Very little is mentioned of other political parties thus highlighting the Bolsheviks as the main revolutionary force which serves as a warning against Communism and revolutionary parties and the dangers they could bring about within Apartheid South Africa. Apartheid South Africa, in the 60s, 70s and 80s, was in the middle of the Cold War as well as the Border Wars in South West Africa (now Namibia) and Angola which could be the reason to focus solely on the dangers of a revolutionary Communist Party or 'Rooi Gevaar'. (Baines, 2004; Daniel; Saunders, 2011). In the post-Apartheid textbooks of Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012), there is a detailed mention of all the political parties available during the Tsarist reign, not just from the Bolsheviks which emphasise the opposition experienced by the Tsar. The reason for this perhaps could be that many parties opposed Apartheid and the NP, although some were banned and so the idea of constant opposition of the Tsar can be metaphorically mirrored against the opposition of the NP.

Overall the perception of the Tsar remains largely unchanged throughout both era textbooks. The perception that national myths within history textbooks are rarely created (Zajda, 2007; Zajda & Zajda, 2003) and are simply recycled can be paralleled to the characterisation of the Tsar. The Tsar's image has rarely changed, merely just how he can be presented by the new social order (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2004; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991). This generates a discourse that historical myths within textbooks very rarely change over time despite the radical change in curriculum between Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras.

6.2.2 Russia during the Bolshevik Revolution

The perception of the Bolsheviks in both Apartheid era and post-Apartheid era textbooks is quite different in each book. The political context of South Africa across

the Apartheid era books is a little different. Although Book A1 (1974) is written at the height of big Apartheid, Book A2 (1987) is written during the height of petty Apartheid and revolutionary struggle both domestic and foreign is palpable. However, Book A3 (1989) is written in the year of worldwide change. The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 effectively ended the Communist scare, and Apartheid was nearing its end. These could all be factors into how the portrayal of Communist Russia is different to that of the previous two books of the same era. The post- Apartheid era textbooks are all written in 2012 however, the Bolsheviks are not spotlighted as being characterised a certain way in any of the books. The reason for this could be that the ANC was considered a revolutionary party and perhaps the post-Apartheid era textbooks did not want to portray the revolutionary party too negatively as the current government was a revolutionary party during the Apartheid and even post-Apartheid eras.

The depiction of the Bolsheviks in Apartheid era textbooks is diverse. Book A1 (1974) and A2 (1989) depict the Bolsheviks as a Marxist terrorist group, thus issues warnings against revolutionary parties. This is reminiscent of the ANC and the SACP which were considered terrorist groups under Apartheid South Africa who displayed revolutionary ideologies thus the revolution in Russia has strong parallels to the Apartheid South African context, hence the warnings. Another reason for the perception of the Bolsheviks as a terrorist group is the strong link that the Soviet Union had to the Umkhonto We Sizwe and the SACP as well as the fact the Soviet Union supported the Communist rebels in the South West African Border war (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992). This not only supports the National Party's and subsequently the textbooks' perception of the Bolsheviks as a terrorist group but also supports the National Party's fears of the spread of Communism (Baines, 2004; Byrnes, 1996; Ellis & Sechaba, 1992; Saunders, 2011). Book A1 (1974), being written at the height of Apartheid, is extremely critical of the Bolsheviks and mirrors them alongside that of the Nazi Regime and classifies them as totalitarian. Book A2 (1987) offers very limited detail about the Bolsheviks. What is mentioned is that they were led by Lenin and that they used terror to get what they wanted. Perhaps the Apartheid Regime did not want to over-describe the Bolsheviks which could resonate with the political groups in South Africa at the time therefore brevity was necessary. Book A3 of 1989 however, offers a far less critical outlook of the Bolsheviks and glorifies the Bolsheviks due to their visionary leaders of Trotsky and Lenin. Perhaps the reason for this is that the book is written

during a time when Apartheid was ending and the Soviet Union was collapsing, thus a thawing of the relationship between the Soviet Union and South Africa was occurring from the mid-80s to 90s which could allow for a change in perspective of the Soviet Union as Russia was allowing more social freedoms than before (Byrnes, 1996; Kalashnikov, 2012). Under the Apartheid system, South Africa had severed ties with the Soviet Union in 1956, thus with the thawing of the relationship between the two nations from the mid-80s to 90s and the almost simultaneous shift in politics and social freedoms, more of a reconciliatory relationship was sought out.

The post-Apartheid books in contrast offer a bland description of the Bolsheviks that does not portray them in any sort of light. Perhaps the reason behind this was to offer a parallel and a justification of revolutionary groups of Russia against revolutionary groups in South Africa. Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) discuss the dual power struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government and claim the Bolsheviks had the most power. A negative connotation lies in Book B1's implication of loss of support towards the Bolsheviks once they turned Russia into a totalitarian state. There is no personal attack on the Bolsheviks unlike in the Apartheid textbooks of Book A1 (1974) and A2 (1989).

In both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks there seems to be an agreement on the weaknesses of the Provisional Government's leadership (1917). The disparities only lie in the degree of weakness. The post-Apartheid textbooks discuss that the weakness of the Provisional Government lay with the reformation whereas the Apartheid textbooks discuss the Provisional Government's slow reformation as well as poor decisions. The consensus amongst both era textbooks is that it was a mistake for the Provisional Government to remain in World War One. A contradiction occurs within the Apartheid era textbooks as the final book, Book A3 (1989) sympathises with the Provisional Government as their rise to power coincided with an unlucky socio-political climate. Perhaps the reasons for this shared depiction is three-fold. In the Apartheid era books, it was the Provisional Government's weakness that led to the rise of the Bolsheviks which gave rise to Communism – an opposed ideology of the Apartheid regime. The second reason perhaps could be the perpetuation of recycled images through history textbooks. Not much else is identified in the description of the Provisional Government, and in all six books the weakness of the Provisional Government is highlighted as the sole reason for Bolshevik takeover which

emphasises the perception of recycled historical characterisation. A third reason for the sudden sympathetic shift towards the Provisional Government could be perhaps that the political change in South Africa in the 1980s had shifted to a Tricameral Parliament where Indians and Coloureds could be represented in parliament (No Author, 2014b; Worger, 2014). This was an attempt made by the National Party to maintain their power, by allowing the aforementioned groups the right to discuss their own political issues with the overseeing of the National Party. Perhaps this espoused sympathy for the Provisional Government because the Provisional Government were trying to make changes for the betterment of South Africa under poor socio-economic conditions and the Triacameral Parliament was an attempt to appease the socio-economic conditions of South Africa (whilst still maintaining their white superiority). However, black people were excluded from this as the Apartheid Government attempted to dislodge the Coloured and Indian support from the ANC which ultimately was a superficial representation however, it still pushed South Africa towards the road to Apartheid dissolution.

The perception of the civil war is split in both Apartheid and post-Apartheid era textbooks. In the Apartheid era textbooks both Book A1 (1974) and A2 (1987) depict the civil war as tyrannical on the part of the Bolsheviks. Book A2 (1987) expands on this tyrannical description by describing the behaviour of the Bolsheviks as predatory as well as tyrannical. The perception of the tyrannical Bolsheviks is in keeping with the anti-Communism discourse and anti-liberation movements in South Africa that is prominent in Book A1 (1974) and Book A2 (1987). The result of the civil war brought about an establishment of the Communist Regime which plunged the world into a Red Scare which created a level of uncertainty. However, Book A3 (1989) reminiscent of changing political times in South Africa provides a less harsh view of the Bolsheviks by providing little detail of the civil war and therefore providing little information of the violence that incurred thus lessening the blame on the Bolsheviks which could be reminiscent of the violence conducted during the Apartheid struggle by the Umkhonto We Sizwe. The perception of the civil war is also split in the post-Apartheid era textbooks. Whilst Book B2 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) discuss the violent methods of both sides, Book B1 (2012) omits the violence altogether. Book B2 (2012) discusses the violent methods used by both sides during the civil war however, Book B3 (2012) whilst also discussing the violent methods used by both sides, slightly favours the

Bolsheviks by highlighting the brutal attacks of the Jewish population by the White group. As many Eastern European/Russian Jews made up the SACP at first (Ellis & Sechaba, 1992; Israel & Adams, 2000), this could perhaps be the reason for the favouring of the Bolsheviks. Whilst Book B2 (2012) details the large amount of Western opposition, Book B1 (2012) provides limited detail as to who was involved in the war thus creating a distorted image of the civil war as the concept of anti-communist factions during the civil war are omitted thus negating the anti-communist perspective and discourse. Two of the three post-Apartheid textbooks provided a new image – albeit limited in detail – which could lend itself to the discourse found within history textbooks that historical perception is changed to suit the needs of the new dominant power (Stojanovic, 2001).

In both Apartheid era and post-Apartheid era textbooks the depiction of War Communism policy is different. In Book A1 (1974) it is displayed as tyrannical under the Bolsheviks however, it is described as courageous under Lenin so there is a contradictory perception of the policy. The reason for this perhaps could be as Book A1 (1974) wants the Bolsheviks to act as a warning against Communist which is why they are portrayed negatively however, there is a common discourse throughout all six books of Lenin being portrayed as a hero. This recycled image of a historical character could be the reason as to Lenin's (the leader of the Communist group) positive portrayal as he is considered a big powerful man which was politically normative in the two eras. In Book A2 (1987) the policy is described as necessary and the violence incurred is considered justified because of the counter-productive resistance; this perception mirrors the two post-Apartheid textbooks, Book B2 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) which additionally overlook the violence incurred. Both Apartheid and post-Apartheid eras argued this way against each other and could be a reason as to why there is a general consensus of violence justification. Book B1 (2012) is critical of War Communism as it was reminiscent of Tsarist behaviour however, the policy, as perceived by the book, allows Lenin to be portrayed as a hero. The perception of Lenin saving Russia is also found in the one Apartheid textbook, Book A3 (1989) as the terror and violence is omitted and the policy is deemed more of a saving act by Lenin than a violent policy. This again is a reiteration of the Big Men discourse as, the concept of big men and a patriarchal entrenchment is normative of the era.

The image of the Bolsheviks and subsequently their policy of War Communism as symbols for Communism are treated negatively in only two of the three Apartheid textbooks – Book A1 (1974) and Book A2 (1987). These two books fall into the height of Apartheid and thus still view Communism as a threat. The concept of Communism is a very real threat to the Apartheid Regime as South Africa had been fighting in the border wars of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s thus creating a tangible perception of fear which would permeate through the textbooks. Book A3 (1989), being written nearing the end of the Soviet Union Communist ideology and the Apartheid ideology offers a less critical opinion on the Bolsheviks this could be reasoned in the thawing relationship between South Africa and the Soviet Union since Gorbachev came to power and he instituted reforms known as *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* – restructuring and openness (Kalashnikov, 2012). The sudden change in political and economic freedoms led to the softening image of the Soviet Union and ultimately led to the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Kalashnikov, 2012). Because Russia was adopting a more Western approach, their more ‘westernised’ persona could be supported by the Apartheid Regime as they were supporters of Western ideals which is perhaps why there is a sudden shift in the perception of Communism. The post-Apartheid textbooks provide a far less critical opinion of the Bolsheviks, perhaps to keep the negativity away from such revolutionary parties as the ANC and the SACP were both considered illegal revolutionary parties. War Communism is only portrayed wholly negative in Book B2 (2012) whilst the other two mention the negative, they use it to generate a hero-like status for Lenin. The Provisional Government is portrayed in the same way in both era textbooks. The reason for this recycled image could be because the image of the Provisional Government will not necessarily affect the socio-political timeframe of the textbook and neither can it be adapted to suit the changing socio-political background of the textbooks.

6.2.3 Communist Russia under Vladimir Lenin

The perception of Lenin is much the same across all six textbooks. Although, Book B2 (2012) is the only book to offer a broader perception of Lenin, the positive perception of Lenin in the book is found much the same in the remaining five textbooks. This adds to the aforementioned discourse of textbook content often remaining unchanged especially in terms of hegemonic masculinity in a patriarchal society. The

characterisation of Lenin would fall under the discourse of Big Men as he, alongside others, are formally acknowledged as the key players in the Russian revolution with little to no attention going to any other key players, or perhaps the involvement of women in the revolution. Thus the same image of Lenin is perpetuated in all six books as the dominant masculine hegemony transcends eras and is thusly perpetuated in all six books. In all six textbooks of Apartheid and post-Apartheid there is some degree of admiration for Lenin. In all three Apartheid textbooks he is seen as a good leader with good policies. Book A1 (1974) begrudgingly admires Lenin's good leadership by counteracting it with a reminder of his revolutionary behaviour. Book A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) describe Lenin as having a hero-like status which extends to two of the post-Apartheid textbooks, Book B1 (2012) and B3 (2012). All three Apartheid textbooks and Book B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) of the post-Apartheid textbooks view Lenin's adaptation of the Marxist ideology as not only sacrificial but something that was for the betterment of Russia.

The discourse of perpetuating historical myths remaining largely the same in history textbooks continues with Lenin's New Economic Policy as all six books perceive it to be successful because it provided economic stability. Book A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) extend this successful image by viewing the NEP as an act of heroism on Lenin's part as it not only saved Russia but the Bolshevik Regime. All three of the apartheid era textbooks claim that Russia was saved because of the NEP which allowed for Capitalism to appear in the system. The idea of Capitalism being a positive principle was supported by Apartheid South Africa which reinforces the positives of Capitalism and by extension the West over that of Communism. However, South Africa had plans for large scale economic growth, which led to the forming of two parastatals: South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corp (Iskor – now Arcelormittal South Africa) and Eskom (No Author, n.d.). The creation of Iskor led to the large growth of South Africa's heavy industry sector prior to World War War One which led to South Africa becoming a regional industrial economic superpower (Nishino, 2006). This surge in heavy industry helped foster the initiation of low-cost electricity supply to the nation which led to the creation of Eskom. These parastatals contribute to government controlled (whether partial or wholly) industries which is contradictory of the Capitalist ideals of the West and so South Africa's reinforcement of the positives of Capitalism can be considered contradictory. Book B2 (2012) is the only textbook in both eras to note that

the return to Capitalism was a retreat for Communism. Although Book B2 (2012) acknowledges the move to the NEP was a retreat however, it considers Lenin's admission of failure as honourable thus reinforcing the image of admiration.

The perception of Lenin in both eras remained largely the same with one exception. This deepens the discourse of historical characters or heroes remaining the same within history textbooks, whether they have remained in circulation or are returning to the circulation, the concept of unchanging historical heroes or myths is perpetuated in the continued image of Lenin. History textbooks can represent the change and continuity in history education and often historical myths or characters are recycled to perpetuate a certain image (Engelbrecht, 2006; Foster, 2011; Pratte, 1977; Zajda, 2007). The continued perception of Lenin being represented as a Big Man of history could also be an extension the concept of hegemonic masculinity in a patriarchal society. This is reflected in all six textbooks as Lenin's dominant position in history is highlighted and maintained. The history surrounding Lenin and the revolution remains largely unchanged thus emphasising the masculine hegemony of Apartheid South Africa is continued through to post-Apartheid thus suggesting the unchanging perception of masculine identity over feminine identity is still eminent in post-Apartheid South Africa (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012).

6.2.4 Communist Russia under Joseph Stalin

Stalin is depicted as a tyrannical leader in both Apartheid and post-Apartheid era textbooks however, the degree of criticism differs. Although the perception of Stalin as leader is perpetuated throughout both era books thus contributing to his status as a Big Man of history, his status is different from that of Lenin. The perpetuation of Stalin as a dominant historical figure lends itself once more to the dominant hegemonic discourse being that of patriarchal perpetuation, his figure is enlightened as much as Lenin's possibly due to his violent actions which are deemed quite negative and not to be emulated. Book A1 (1974) harshly criticises Stalin's character which provides the foundation for a warning against succeeding revolutionary leaders. Apartheid South Africa was against revolutionary parties and was against Russia as it espoused contradicting ideologies as well as aiding the Umkhonto We Sizwe and the South West African Border war (Byrnes, 1996; Kamalakaran, 2013; Slovo, n.d.); thus uses Stalin's

character to mirror the dangers of revolutionary parties and leadership in South Africa. Stalin's character in Book A2 (1987) is offered a dual place as he is noted as despotic but also modernised Russia. This is the same perspective held in the post-Apartheid textbooks of Book B1 (2012) and B3 (2012). Book A3 of 1989 provides a less harsh view of Stalin, although he is still viewed as being Tsar-like, he is also considered progressive which the Tsar was not, which is a view shared by one post-Apartheid book, Book B3 (2012). Barring Book B2 (2012) the post-Apartheid textbooks offer a debate about Stalin's character thus creating an image of Stalin not necessarily being completely tyrannical. Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) admire Stalin's ability in transforming Russia however, both note the human cost as a result but Book B3 accepts the cost as ultimately worth it. The admiration of Stalin's almost single-handed transformation of Russia can be deemed an extension of the patriarchal discourse of Big Men. It is Stalin's contributions alone that led to the transformation of Russia thus emphasising his dominant role in history. Book B2 (2012) openly criticises not only Stalin's character but also his policies which is unlike Book A1 (1974). Book B2 (2012) openly discusses the human cost in the transformation process and condemns such losses whereas the other five books acknowledge the greatness of this process. The SACP had had close ties to the Soviet during the time of Apartheid however some scholars claims that South Africa started to question the viability of the Communist approach of the Soviet Union and with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the SACP started to structurally reform (Adams, 1997; Ellis & Sechaba, 1992; Milazi, 1987). This could be perhaps why Stalin's character is questioned and why he is considered brutal in two of the three post-Apartheid textbooks as his rule is juxtaposed against those of the post-Apartheid ANC leaders.

Both Apartheid era and post-Apartheid era textbooks portray Stalin's two economic policies (Collectivisation and the Five Year Plans) in two different ways. Apartheid South Africa and post-Apartheid South Africa had comparable economic plans respectively which could lead to the different or supporting perspectives of Stalin's economic plans. Under Apartheid South Africa, Iscor and Eskom were large industrial sectors that led to large economic growth which were also nationalised under the National Party much like Stalin's Industrialisation being nationalised. Under post-Apartheid South Africa, a reconstruction and more integrated socio-economic approach was needed which led to the establishment of the Reconstruction and

Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (No Author, 2014a). The Apartheid era Book A1 (1974) and the post-Apartheid era Book B2 (2012) emphasise the human cost incurred during these two policies. However, there is a difference because although Book A1 (1974) details the hardships of the people it also justifies the human cost because it served a purpose. This perspective is mirrored in the remaining two Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. Books A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) of the Apartheid era textbooks view these policies as transformational and justifies any violence incurred as begrudging because the resistance was counter-productive to Russia. In the Apartheid South African context, resistance to the Apartheid regime and therefore the betterment of the South African society was considered counter-productive and therefore justifiably punished. This perspective is mirrored in the post-Apartheid era textbooks Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012). This mirroring could be extended to the post-Apartheid socio-political context as the new South Africa had to undergo various reconstruction programmes to generate more integration, thus any resistance would also be characterised as counter-productive. Book B3 (2012) does detail the short term effects of the two policies as being detrimental to the people however, the overall image is that it was beneficial as well as being able to impress the West. Book B2 (2012) depicts the two policies as being terror-filled and filled with Industrial Terror which highlights the fact that ordinary people did not benefit from these policies. All six books note the transformation that Russia underwent, however in Book A1 (1974) and Book A2 (1987) it is displayed as cautionary as Russia, a Communist country, now has industrial strength whereas the Books A3 (1989), B1 (2012) and B3 (2012) greatly admire Stalin's ability to industrialise Russia and debate whether he is good or bad. This could show how the change in the socio-political context of South Africa allows for a positive outlook of a man like Stalin. Book B2 (2012) is the only book to openly criticise Stalin's transformation of Russia which establishes an anti-totalitarian discourse from Book B2 (2012) perhaps because his behaviour was reminiscent of the Apartheid regime.

The purges under Stalin are described as tyrannical and detrimental in all three post-Apartheid textbooks however, the perception of the purges is different in the Apartheid era textbooks. The possible reason for all three post-Apartheid textbooks condemning the purges is because the violation of Human Rights is something that is understood and acknowledged as a result of South Africa's oppressive past under Apartheid. Book

A1 (1974) mirrors the post-Apartheid books in one aspect when it views the purges as tyrannical however it views them as such because the deaths served no purposes thus the condemnation. Books A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) justify the purges however, as the purges responded to treasonous acts, even if not all of them may have been true. This perhaps could be because under Apartheid, people who committed acts against the National Party government were charged with treason were imprisoned thus reiterating Stalin's justification against the treasonous acts. The post-Apartheid era textbooks go into a little more detail regarding the purges however, in Book B1 (2012) and Book B3 (2012) Stalin is still admired for his modernisation of Russia despite Book B3's (2012) notation of the purges acting as acts against humanity. The reason for this is possibly because, although Stalin did do many terrible things, he did bring about some good, and this concept can be paralleled to the Apartheid struggle as some sacrifices had to be made in order for some good to occur.

The Russia under Stalin is perceived as being modernised and transformed in all six textbooks thus a reiteration of the large economic development in South Africa under both eras. Book A1 (1974) has a begrudging admiration for Russia's modernisation because of the character of Stalin. Apartheid South Africa condemned any connection to the Soviet Union because of its Communistic link to the SACP and thus to show Russia as having an ability to become a great industrial strength is a begrudging notion (Byrnes, 1996; Kamalakaran, 2013; Slovo, n.d.). Book A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) note the rise of Russia's status to superpower status however, Book A2 (1987) claims that Russia was still short of the West's achievements. In the post-Apartheid textbooks, all three textbooks acknowledge Russia's transformational process to superpower status however, not all agree on the human cost that occurred as a result was necessary. The new constitution under Stalin is viewed differently in Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989). Book A2 (1987) states that Russia's new constitution was a façade whereas Book A3 (1989) sees it as pragmatic and necessary. This continues the changing discourse of Russian history nearing the end of the Apartheid regime.

6.2.5 General Findings

In both Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks, there are several common themes that run through both eras. These themes that run through the areas and the select

few themes that only appear in a specific era textbook, do not specifically fit into the broader historical eras.

6.2.5.1 1905 Revolution

The 1905 Revolution's importance is portrayed unevenly between the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. In Book A1 (1974) the 1905 Revolution is merely mentioned but no detail is proffered thus insinuating that nothing important happened but supplying no detail of exactly what did happen. The complete lack of detail could be because constitutional changes were made to Russia as a result of protest action. Perhaps the Apartheid Regime did not want that successful protest action manifesting in the minds of the readers. Both Book A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) describe the importance of the Russo-Japanese War in bringing about the 1905 Revolution but little detail is revealed about what actually happened in the revolution. Despite the mention of the protest and the subsequent constitutional changes, very little is mentioned about the brutality of the actual revolution outside of the protestor shooting. This could be because an extension of the perpetuation of old historical images that remain unchanged for a period of time.

All three post-Apartheid textbooks note the importance of the Russo-Japanese War as the catalyst for the revolution as well as emphasising the link between the 1905 revolution and the 1917 one which is something the Apartheid textbooks fail to do. Book A2 (1987) and A3 (1989) and Book B1 (2012) and Book B2 (2012) highlight the brutality of the Tsar's image during this Revolution marked by the shooting of the protesters. Both books omit the Tsar's absence which emphasises the Tsar's image as brutal and creates an inaccurate historical image of the event which is a commonality found between the two era textbooks. However, Book B3 (2012) is the only book to mention the Tsar's absence, however it claims that the Tsar ordered the shooting of the protesters, thus highlighting the brutality of the Tsar. The brutality of the Tsar as discussed under the section "Russia under the Tsarist Regime" is a theme that is prominent throughout the era textbooks and remains unchanged. This unchanged image of the Tsar and largely unchanged perception of the 1905 Revolution stands out as examples of historical events and characters remaining unchanged through various era textbooks.

6.2.5.2 World War One and the February Revolution

World War One is portrayed as playing a pivotal role in the cause of the February Revolution in all six textbooks however, only Book A1 (1974) describes in detail the effects of World War One on the soldiers and the people. All six books, if not specifically stating, note the downfall of the Tsar as a result of this revolution. All three Apartheid textbooks describe Russia's unpreparedness for the war and Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) note in some detail the consequences of the war for the Tsar. The post-Apartheid textbooks stipulate the worsening conditions for the people because of the war which led to the February Revolution. Book B2 (2012) sympathises with the revolution as the grievances of the people were not being addressed. This can be mirrored in South Africa's situation where the grievances of the marginalised black people in South Africa were not being addressed which lent itself to revolutionary-style action against such oppression. The February Revolution as a result of the war is agreed upon by all six textbooks in their blatant acknowledgement of the catalyst however, all three Apartheid textbooks offer very little detail of the revolution itself. Book A3 (1989) declares the revolution as more of a popular revolution which detracts focus from the revolution itself. Of the post-Apartheid textbooks, Book B1 (2012) claims the spontaneous revolution was more of a Socialist uprising rather than an uprising of the ordinary people thus highlighting the book's political focus. The concept of reused historical events is continued here, as World War One is still largely acknowledged for the downfall of the Tsar therefore remaining a dominant feature of study that is found in both era textbooks.

6.2.5.3 Image of the Soviet Councils

The image of the Soviet Councils, specifically the St Petersburg Soviet (Petrograd) still remains largely unclear despite more detail being apparent in the post-Apartheid textbooks. In the Apartheid textbooks there is very little about what the Soviet Councils actually are and what they actually entailed. Perhaps this was to deter the readers from the organisational abilities and strength and alleged democratic nature of the Soviets away from the key focus, the Bolsheviks. Book A2 (1987) and Book A3 (1989) make the connection to the Bolsheviks, the same as the Apartheid textbook, but in Book B1 (2012) however, there is still no real connection between the two. The

connection between the Bolsheviks and the Soviets and how the Bolsheviks gained control of the Soviets is omitted from Book A1 (1974) and Books B2 (2012) and B3 (2012). However, the power of the St Petersburg Soviet is noted in all six of the textbooks although, only the post-Apartheid offer a little more detail into its competing role with the Provisional Government. Although there is some additional information provided by the post-Apartheid textbooks about the Soviets, the concept of the Soviets still remain largely unclear which perpetuates the discourse of certain historical figures myths remaining unchanged.

6.2.5.4 Communism

The perception of Communism is notably different in the Apartheid and post-Apartheid era textbooks. South Africa under Apartheid portrayed an anti-Communist sentiment which was seen in the banning of the SACP, severing all ties with the Soviet Union as well as the South African Border Wars supposedly fighting against the insurgency of Communism in Africa (Baines, 2004; Byrnes, 1996; Saunders, 2011). The positive perception of Communism or any real balanced information on it as an ideology would be something that the Apartheid Regime avoided as it espoused egalitarian policies and it was this ideology that garnered support for Communism by many of the oppressed black workers (Israel & Adams, 2000; Milazi, 1987) which is perhaps why the Apartheid regime did not want the policy detailed in the textbooks, therefore saw brevity as necessary not to promote the ideology. Under the post-Apartheid regime the union between Russia and South Africa was redeemed and also the Red Scare had ended so there was no need for the fear. Under Apartheid, the ANC, SACP and COSATU joined forces to form the Tripartite Alliance in solidarity against the oppressive Apartheid Regime and the ANC continued such a strong relationship with the two after the dissolution of Apartheid. This is perhaps why there is a notable difference in the description of Communism as it was deemed illegal from 1950. In all three of the Apartheid textbooks, Communism is detailed scantily. The only mention is that Communism was a class struggle against the ruling class. There is no mention of an egalitarian society in the Apartheid textbooks however, the opposite can be said about the post-Apartheid textbooks. All three textbooks detail Communism as an egalitarian system, Book B3 (2012), however extends this by commenting on the fact that the Communist ideology was invaluable to 20th Century history. Books B2 (2012)

and B3 (2012) did acknowledge that Communism did not survive in Russia however, Book B2 (2012) is more harsh in the depiction of this failure. The mention of Communism not surviving and the detailed mention of the ideology emphasises the redundant fear of Communism. Post-Apartheid South Africa had a re-established relationship with Russia since the fall of the Soviet Union and Apartheid. This can be seen in the current politics of South Africa as the SACP has a prominent role in politics as well as South Africa having made economic deals with Russia like that of BRICS and the nuclear agreement. The relationship that the SACP had with the ANC continues today, which is perhaps why the concept of Communism is explained in detail in the post-Apartheid textbooks. Another reason could be that since the fall of the Communism bloc and the almost overnight ending of the universally known 'Red Scare', it was considered 'safe' to learn about different ideologies such as Communism as they no longer posed a supposed threat.

6.2.5.5 Trotsky

The role of Trotsky is emphasised more in the post-Apartheid textbooks than the Apartheid. Although the three Apartheid textbooks acknowledge Trotsky's role in the revolution and do describe him as having good leadership abilities, the main focus is that of Lenin as he is considered the face of the revolution and therefore appears as the more prominent Bolshevik. In post-Apartheid South Africa, more key characters in the Apartheid struggle are being emphasised which can be paralleled to Trotsky's role in the revolution as his role in the set-up of the St Petersburg Soviet is emphasised, his role in the October Revolution as well as his role in the Red Army during the civil war is emphasised thus establishing a new discourse of other key figures involved in historical events. Trotsky's role as a Big Man in history is also emphasised more in the post-Apartheid textbooks thus once again highlighting the masculine hegemony present in the history textbooks of both eras. Trotsky is noted in all six books as having some key influence in the revolution however, the post-Apartheid books emphasise his role more but this does not change the Trotsky discourse as his contributions in all six books remain the same, just more emphasis is placed on them in the post-Apartheid textbooks.

6.2.5.6 Comintern

The concept of world revolutionaries or the Comintern, appears differently in each of the era textbooks. Book A1 (1974) fails to mention the concept of the Comintern. The reason for this is probably the little the Apartheid regime wanted to mention Communism the better in terms of the ideology becoming understood. Book A2 (1987) mentions it however, Book A2 (1987) espouses a sense of warning against the Comintern and the world revolutionaries. The world, and South Africa, were still at the height of the Red Scare and Cold War thus the perception of world revolutionaries would have been viewed with caution. Book A3 (1989) however, not only comments on the Comintern but it justifies the world revolutionaries because of the fear the West had of the Soviet Union. This relaxed perception of Comintern adds to the perception of Book A3 (1989) creating a sympathetic view of Communism in the light of the changing political landscape worldwide. In the post-Apartheid textbooks the concept of the Comintern is not mentioned in any of the three books, however, what is mentioned is international Communism and permanent revolution, however no detail is provided alongside it. This could perhaps be because of the new relationship South Africa has with a new post-Communist Russia by means of for example BRICS and does not want to perceive South Africa as world revolutionaries. Neither of the books in any of the eras mention that South Africa was a member of the Comintern. The Apartheid textbooks perhaps did not want to advertise the involvement of South Africa outside of the National Party in international communist affairs and the post-Apartheid South Africa perhaps did not want the SACP be considered on the same level as world revolutionaries, especially after the atrocities of Stalin came to light.

6.2.5.7 Women

The perception of women in Russia under Lenin and Stalin is detailed only in the post-Apartheid textbooks. This expands the image of Russia and the various voices within Russian history. After the end of Apartheid more voices were being realised and thus more narratives were being espoused which is perhaps why the post- Apartheid era textbooks contribute a different narrative to Russian history. However, this narrative is also used to espouse the same old adage as aforementioned of Lenin being considered the better leader of Russia. There is a general consensus in the post-

Apartheid textbooks that women fared better under Lenin's progressive ideas and regressed under Stalin's backward ideas. This notation of women's lives being better under Lenin because he was a campaigner of women's rights lends itself to the perpetuated discourse of Lenin as good leader. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is considered to have changed after 1994 as this particular discourse was normative under that of the Apartheid regime and so women as historical agents is not acknowledged. Post-Apartheid South Africa sees a difference in historical agents and women are now seen as such historical agents thus reasoning why women in general and their involvement in the revolution and Russia itself are noted only in the post-Apartheid textbooks.

6.2.5.8 Big Men

There certain prominent characters that are made evident throughout both era textbooks and these characters dominate the Russian history narrative. Tsar Nicholas II, Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky are all key players in the Russian Revolution. The perception that is created as a result is that there were other characters involved of such prominence. Other characters in the story of the Russian Revolution play a cameo role such as Rasputin and Stolypin however, neither of whom play a decisive role in the Russian Revolution. The premise of such a discourse is that the historical characters of history are just recycled and reused where necessary and no in-depth search into changing said characters occurs. As aforementioned earlier, this discourse only became apparent during the period of analysis which is why, the discourse on Big Men, has only really been discussed and come to fruition in the analysis section.

6.3 Explaining the Depiction of Russia in Apartheid and post-Apartheid Textbooks

There are a number of reasons as to why Tsarist Russia is perceived the way it is in the Apartheid and post-Apartheid era textbooks. The perception of Russia under the Tsars maintains the same image of backwardness and oppression as what other scholars have noted about the representation of Tsarist Russia in textbooks as it offers an extreme form of anti-democracy thus implying that the Tsar equates to anti-democracy (Anderson, 1954; Paddock, 1998). This is perhaps why the two era

textbooks have chosen to continue the perception of Tsarist Russia as this has been the perception of the past and there is no need to change it. The second reason could be that this recycled image of Tsarist Russia however, also allows for flexibility as it can be adapted to suit the needs of whatever new social order is at play which is perhaps why the two era textbooks have both not changed the perpetuated image of the Tsar but used to symbolise the similarities between South Africa thus perpetuating an anti-Tsarist discourse. In the Apartheid textbooks, perhaps the reason for the anti-royal sentiment to describe Tsarist Russia is because of the Boer and British relations of the past. The Apartheid Regime was a strong Afrikaner Nationalist force and so they still had icy relations with Britain since the Boer Republics lost to them in 1902. However, in the Apartheid textbooks, Tsarist Russia can be metaphorically mirrored to that of the Apartheid Regime as both were oppressive, both had a small Capitalist class and a large working force. This could be why Tsarist Russia under the post-Apartheid textbooks perpetuates the old, recycled image of Tsarist Russia.

Communist Russia is portrayed differently under each era. The Apartheid era books spread from 1974 to 1989 thus displaying both extremities of the Apartheid rule. Books A1 (1974) and A2 (1987) are written during the height of Apartheid which is why Communist Russia is perpetually viewed as a threat. South Africa under Apartheid had severed all ties with the Soviet Union by 1956 and had made the CPISA illegal. During this time period, South Africa was experiencing the Cold War thus a heightened sense of fear for Communism as well as the war in South West Africa against the African Communists, which were being supplied arms by the Soviet Union. Thus the fear of Communism was quite real for many South Africans and thus is perhaps why Communist Russia in Books A1 (1974) and A2 (1987) is perceived as being ruled by violent terrorists. However, Book A3 (1989) is written nearing the end of Apartheid and also at the time when the Eastern Bloc disintegrated with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, thus written under a politically changing climate. South Africa's relationship with Russia was thawing too, and so perhaps the perception of Communist Russia being written harshly and almost sympathetically is reasoned alongside encouraging a new-found relationship with Russia. Often, textbooks and their content need to assimilate to the changing socio-political climate to suit the standards of the new social order and so perhaps that is the reason behind the changing perception of Russia (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2004; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

The post-Apartheid books perceive Communist Russia differently. There is no real negativity surrounding the concept of Communism and the focus lies more in the transformation of Communist Russia instead. The ANC has had a long standing relationship with SACP who, in turn, have had connection to Russia from its inception. Russia currently has an economic relationship with South Africa and so the perception of Communism is no longer a fearful one. The depiction of Communist Russia is transformation and all three books note that Russia progressed into an industrial superpower, and so Communist Russia, and subsequently Stalin, are admired in Book B1 (2012) and B3 (2012). Book B2 (2012) is the only book to condemn the human cost involved to make Communist Russia a superpower thus depicting a tyrannical leader of Russia.

Communist Russia is depicted as having two leaders who transformed Russia. One leader's image is immortalised as a good leader in all six textbooks reiterating the perception of continued recycled historical characters. Stalin's reign, however, in the two Apartheid textbooks A1 (1974) and A2 (1989) is viewed as warning for the negative possibilities of a revolutionary party coming to power. The reason for this perception is mirrored in the Apartheid struggle as the ANC is viewed as a revolutionary party seeking to take power. However, his transformation of Communist Russia is begrudgingly admired and instilling a sense of fear for the newly industrialised Communist Russia. From Book A3 (1989) to Books B1 (2012) and B3 (2012), Stalin's image, in terms of the transformation of Communist Russia is admired, and often the Purges are underplayed in order to highlight the positives of the transformation of Russia.

The portrayal of Russia seems to mimic that of the socio-political content in which it was written however, at the same time using the same recycled ideas but these ideas are merely adjusted to suit the needs of the socio-political context. This portrayal strengthens the discourse of historical textbook content suiting the needs of the current socio-political system and that the historical myths or content never truly changes, merely is adapted to the new social order (Anyon, 1979; Apple, 2004; Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991).

Although a change in history curriculum occurred post-Apartheid, the historical content and what needs to be known about Russia, remains largely the same as under

Apartheid. Merely the connotations behind such historical content is changed. This perpetuates the idea of history textbooks pedalling a desired national history and as a result the re-representation of history is transmitted through the history textbook (Engelbrecht, 2006; Foster, 2011; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Porat, 2004; Pratte, 1977). The depiction of the recycled historical content is a notation on socio-political influence on the history textbooks thus re-establishing the political motivation behind textbook information (Apple, 2004; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Repe, 2001).

The comparative nature of my study helps to reflect the concept of change and continuity within textbooks as a comparison was the only way in similarities and differences of each era representation could be identified (Cavalli, 2016; Nishino, 2006). There are no studies identified on the comparative representation of Russia in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. There is also very little comparative textbook literature on the perception of Russia within foreign textbooks as well as South Africa being compared with other countries. This gap is where my study can be placed as my study offers a comparative look into Russia based on the contending ideologies of South Africa.

What can be taken away from this study, is the perpetuation of the nature of the history textbook and how historical content is merely moulded to suit the needs of the current social order. This emphasises that historical content very rarely changes, just the connotation of the historical narrative. The unchanging historical background of Russia as portrayed in both the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks is cognisant of the concept of unchanging historical content in history textbooks. The changing connotations behind the recycled historical background of Russia in the era different books is also mirrored against the influence of the socio-political order. What we do know as result of this study, is that the portrayal of Russia in both era textbooks is reminiscent of the perpetuated ideology of the nature of the history textbook and that the content of Russia has remained largely the same, thus remaining unaffected by the socio-political upheaval in the dissolution of Apartheid. The historical content of Russia has remained largely the same however, the representation of Russia lies in the socio-political context of the era textbooks.

6.4 Review of the Study

This study sought to ascertain if the two ideologically different eras of Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa had an impact on the representation of Russia within the Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. Each chapter within this study brought with it certain challenges that needed to be addressed and overcome.

Chapter one reflects the background and content of the two nations, Russia and South Africa, as well as their relationship through the ages. I found this section quite fascinating because the extent of the relationship between South Africa and Russia was largely unknown to me, so this particular chapter was my overall favourite as I learned much from it. However, in saying this, this was also one of my most difficult chapters because of the extent of the relationship between the two nations, I constantly found myself realising that I did not have enough background information to support arguments within my study. As result of the overflow of information a back and forth system developed between me and chapter one.

The literature review in chapter two, I found was abundant in information regarding textbooks and history textbooks. The difficulty in this abundance was to sift through all this information and to generate my argument based on multiple perspectives of textbooks and history textbooks. Another challenge for me was the comparative nature of textbooks. I love research but I often found it difficult to find relevant comparative articles for my study. As my study did not have any comparative literature on the representation of Russia in South African textbooks nor many articles on South Africa and other countries, I had to make up my study in other comparative examples, which was not always easy.

Chapter three was by far my most challenging chapter. Understanding all the methodological jargon and the sheer variety of methodology and methods available was truly overwhelming. Sifting through the information and remaining focused was one of the most difficult aspects. Another difficulty arose when applying my methods to my data. Once I had read an Apartheid textbook, it was difficult for me to remain objective as I had this pre-determined idea in my mind about the next book and so forth. To counteract this pre-determined image was difficult at first however, I had to

consciously remove myself from the text in order to view it as objectively as possible which required a number of reads.

In chapter four and five the themes found in the textbooks and the formulation of the reasons behind the themes began to take shape in this chapter. Before the themes were disjointed, however, when I started to add them in, the penny dropped so to speak and themes and the connections all started to make sense. The most challenging part of these chapters was the cutting back of the firm findings. I tend to over-explain concepts as I feel that I have not reiterated them enough, and so this is what was needed to be cut back. Once I had started to cut back on firm findings, it became much easier and again the understanding of what the firm findings needed to entail became quite clear.

In chapter six I had to bring the findings into conversation with the literature. In this chapter, I was able to clearly see the answer to my second research question as to why Russia was depicted the way it was. This was an enlightening moment for me because not only did it signify the beginning of the end for this study but also the realisation of the association between the socio-political context of South Africa and the impact it had on the representation of Russia. It was very interesting to see this unfold.

6.5 Methodological Reflections on the Study

The focus of my study pertained to a how and why question: How is Russia represented and why is Russia depicted in Apartheid and post-Apartheid history textbooks. In order to answer these questions, I used the qualitative approach using the interpretivist paradigm thus using the methods of qualitative content analysis to analyse my data.

As aforementioned, this was the most difficult chapter due to the sheer volume of methodological information out there and the associated jargon. Understanding the qualitative approach and the interpretivist paradigm was the easiest for me. Since I knew what my study was going to entail, the concept of the reality being socially constructed pertained to my study and thus I had no real difficulty with understanding

the approach and the respected paradigm. Where my confusion arose was in the methods used.

Initially my study started out as using content analysis and then branched out into qualitative content analysis. The information regarding the latter was lacking in comparison and so to identify that as my method was difficult at first. The next issue arose with my open-coding. Although this tool worked quite effectively as it is assumed that each textbook would have some differing themes, it was still a difficult concept for me to practically apply at first. The problem lay in my understanding of data analysis and what needed to happen there. Also, the aspect of me having to create my own open-coding sheet was something that was difficult for me as I had relied on other people's work and opinion for so long. Now that I have a clear understanding of how themes emerge from the textbook, perhaps next time, this aspect would not be too difficult for me to begin however, next time, I hope to be a little more organised in my analysis. There was a constant shuffling of back and forth, and so next time I need a more organised way of dealing with the influx of information.

Overall, my chosen methodology worked well as my study pertained to how the representation of Russia was socially constructed thus working hand in hand with the interpretivist paradigm. My methods, despite my slight disorganisation in dealing with my emerged themes, worked well as although most of the textbooks had similar themes, there were notable differences and thus a pre-determined structure would not have been beneficial to my study.

6.6 Personal and Professional Reflections on the Study

The biggest aspect I can take away from this experience both personally and professionally is the need for support. I feel that this needed to be made clear from the outset because of its absolute important contribution to my study. I found that it was vital to have a supportive scaffolding of not only friends and family but from your supervisor and work colleagues, especially in the final push of this study. The support I received really helped me through the three years of this study, especially at the end.

Personally, the study has influenced me immensely. At the start of the study, I thought that I had had a more than decent understanding of Russia, specifically Imperial

Russia however, after concluding this study, it has been made abundantly clear that I have only scratched the surface and in doing so only scratched the surface of my fascination with Russia. Aside from remaining love for Russia and its history, I feel that I have grown personally from this study. It took three years to complete and in that three years I relocated to Vietnam and managed to squeeze in travels – which is one of the reasons as to why it took so long. In the three years, I have realised how difficult it is to juggle full-time work as well as a dissertation without isolating myself from some society in the process. What I took away from this difficulty, aside from the aforementioned support, is that I could actually *do* this study. I had had my doubts over the three years, more arose the closer I got, not because of the time crunch but because I was doubting whether my study was any good and whether or not I could actually articulate an opinion. That for me was the biggest challenge, putting my voice down on paper and trusting my voice and opinion, was the biggest wall I had to overcome during this process.

Professionally, I feel that this study has helped immensely, especially with regard to my teaching History and me as an educator. Although at times, my brain could only speak “Russian”, I found that the need for multiple perspectives in the history classroom was vital. This has been something that has remained with me since the textbook research which forces me as the educator to look beyond the textbook and beyond the syllabus to find different interpretations of the historical event. This prevents me from being a lazy teacher who only relies on the textbook to relay the information to the students, despite the syllabuses’ heavy reliance on the textbooks.

6.8 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to seek an answer to the question: how and why is Russia depicted the way it is in the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks? In this chapter I have clearly laid out the firm findings under each of the key sections as well as conversing with the literature in order to understand the contextual aspect of the findings.

In this chapter I have clearly outlined the key themes that emerged from both era textbooks as well as providing details from the literature that generate possible reasons for such a theme emerging. This can be seen by my subsection noted as

“Explaining the Depiction of Russia in Apartheid and post-Apartheid books.” In this subsection I outline the depiction of Russia under the Tsarist Regime and Russia under the Communist Regime and I provided reasons for such a depiction based on my background and context and literature.

South Africa and Russia have had a long-standing history, and the relationship between the two is considered new ground and a new era. History textbooks are often found to be susceptible to the socio-political climate of society. This changing relationship between Russia and South Africa as well as the changing socio-political climate of South Africa is what has made my study possible as well as viable. The perception of Russia within the era textbooks has changed in accordance with the socio-political context however, due to the nature of history textbooks, the information portrayed and events noted remain largely unchanged thus commenting on the perpetual nature of historical myths. History textbooks often recycle certain characters and event descriptions, often not changing them or investigating these images further however, what may change is the perception of these events or people. Often the perception of the historical myths is changed to suit the new socio-political order, the event may not have changed but how it is perceived has. This has become evident in the Apartheid and post-Apartheid textbooks. Many images found in the era textbooks remain unchanged however how they are perceived is changed in accordance to the dominant power group however, there were certain images that sprouted anew in the post-Apartheid textbooks, such as the representation of Communism within the textbook. This can highlight that although, most of the textbook content has been repeated; there can be *some* new additions to textbook knowledge. Overall, what can be taken away from this study is the largely unchanging nature of historical content within history textbooks however, at the same time the historical content perception is often changed in accordance with the socio-political climate.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE



8 July 2015

Ms Tarryn Chanel Halsall 2055.14009
School of Education
Edgewood Campus

Dear Ms Halsall

Protocol reference number: HSS/0796/015 M

Project title: A comparative investigation into the representation of Russia in Apartheid and post-Apartheid era History textbooks

FULL APPROVAL-NO RISK

In response to your application received 26 June 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Professor JM Wassermann
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Mbrojele
Cc School Administrator: Ms T Khumalo

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Faculties/Colleges: ■ Edgewood ■ Hlengiwe College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

APPENDIX B: TURN-IT-IN

The screenshot displays the Turnitin Feedback Studio interface. The main document area shows the title "A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION INTO THE REPRESENTATION OF RUSSIA IN APARTHEID AND POST-APARTHEID HISTORY TEXTBOOKS" by Tarryn Chanel Halsall. A submission note at the bottom reads: "Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in Education (History Education)".

The right-hand side features a "Match Overview" panel with a total match percentage of 3%. Below this, a list of sources is shown with their respective match percentages:

Source ID	Source Name	Match Percentage
75	scholarworks.waldenu... Internet Source	<1%
76	publications.theseus.fi Internet Source	<1%
77	clonk.uclan.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
78	dalspace.library.dal.ca Internet Source	<1%
79	dspace.lboro.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
80	theses.bham.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
81	openarchive.cbs.dk Internet Source	<1%

At the bottom of the interface, the page number is 1 of 239 and the word count is 87300. The system tray shows the time as 12:39 PM on 2017/01/15.