

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 445 990

SO 032 091

AUTHOR Grossi, Verdiana
TITLE Peace Education: An Historical Overview (1843-1939). Peace Education Miniprints No. 101.
INSTITUTION School of Education, Malmo (Sweden).
ISSN ISSN-1101-6418
PUB DATE 2000-04-00
NOTE 26p.; Revised version of a paper presented at the World Conference on Higher Education (Paris, France, October 1998).
AVAILABLE FROM School of Education, Box 23501, S-200 45 Malmo, Sweden.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Global Approach; Higher Education; *Peace; Social Change; Student Development; Teacher Education; *Teacher Role; *Values
IDENTIFIERS *Peace Education

ABSTRACT

Peace education has come a long way, but its history is not very well known. This text gives an historical overview, focusing on European developments from 1843-1939. Cites the London Peace Conference of 1843 and the Universal Peace Conferences as examples of bridging the principles of peace and the classroom. Glimpses are given of a number of important peace educators and activists. Early educational and psychological research is illustrated with Jean Piaget's work. The text asks these questions of the future: "How can the culture of peace become a world culture?"; "How will the educational system face up to the challenges of an ever-changing multicultural society?"; and "Is it possible to create a world citizen?" (Author)

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Peace Education Miniprints
No. 101
April 2000

PEACE EDUCATION: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW (1843-1939)

Verdiana Grossi

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PEACE EDUCATION: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW (1843–1939)

Verdiana Grossi

Peace education has come a long way, but its history is not very well known. In this text, Verdiana Grossi from Switzerland gives an historical overview, focusing on European developments from 1843 to 1939. At the first London Peace Conference in 1843 the idea that the principles of peace must be instilled into the minds of the younger generation was emphasized. From 1889 to 1939, 33 Universal Peace Conferences took place, most of which addressed peace education. A central preoccupation was to remove the bellicose spirit from education and replace it with a spirit of peace, among other things by revising the textbooks of history. Glimpses are given of a number of important peace educators and peace activists, such as Jean de Bloch, Pierre Bovet, Elie Ducommun, Ferenc Kemény, Odette Laguerre, Jean Macé, Jules Prudhommeaux, and A. Sève. Early educational and psychological research in the area is illustrated with Jean Piaget's work. Finally, the author summarises some of her observations and raises some questions for the future, for example: How can the culture of peace become a world culture? How will the educational system face up to the challenges of an ever-changing multicultural society? Is it possible to create a world citizen?

Peace Education: An Historical Overview (1843–1939)

*And what if badly taught
history should distort
the child's mind?
(Paul Valéry)*

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Peace education has come a long way even though its history is still not very well known. Situated at a cross-road between the history of the pacifist movement and the history of education, it has constantly oscillated between ideals and realities, between a national anchoring and an international openness. From its genesis, peace education had to adapt to the world of politics as well as to that of economics, since the reform of textbooks and programs has had to face the indifference or hostility of the powers in place.

The role of education in the emergence of the European pacifist movement

From the first London Peace Congress in 1843 arises the idea that educating is shaping men and women in morality, ethics and religion.² The principles of peace must be instilled into the minds of the younger generation. Schools as well as Sunday Schools will allow the underprivileged classes to learn to read and write according to the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, and provide an opportunity to serve the cause of God and therefore the cause of peace.³ Books and pamphlets will circulate in

1) A French version of this article was originally presented in: *Guerres et paix. Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur Jean-Claude Favez* (Genève: Georg, 2000).

2) For the contents of the first peace congresses, see W. H. van der LINDEN, *The International Peace Movement 1815–1874* (Amsterdam: Tilleul Publication, 1987).

3) "War is incompatible with the spirit of Christianity and the real interests of humanity". It is this principle which became the maxim of the first Peace Society on the continent, created in 1816 after the Napoleonic Wars.

order to awaken the interest of the youth.⁴ But the biggest change will have to be made by man, for the Scriptures tell him “thou shalt not kill”.⁵ Schools are now largely in the hands of the clergy: with the emergence of compulsory and secular education, political and civil issues will appear.

Victor Hugo contributes to politicize the popular pacifist movement. It is thanks to him that the term *United States of Europe* becomes widespread and the epithet of “gentle dreamers and utopians” is dared. In 1849, he inaugurates the Paris Peace Congress as a “humble and lowly worker.” He is one of those “gentle dreamers” who suddenly opens the golden doorway to a future without war. Their ideas shock since they portray the “impossible and the ideal.”⁶ Nevertheless, they are in the air, and it is at the same Paris Peace Congress that people fight to uproot political prejudice and traditional hatred through a better education based on practical methods.⁷

Since the creation of compulsory, secular schools, the preoccupation of making people sovereign occupies many minds. Jean Macé (1815–1894), “child of the people”, “French Pestalozzi” has practised many diverse professions before teaching in an Alsatian boarding school in Beblenheim in Alsace.⁸ There, he develops his ideas on communicative pedagogy, popular libraries, open-air school, adult education, evening conferences, etc.⁹ He founds the Teaching League in 1863: ignorance being at the root of war, if the people are educated, wars will tend to disappear.¹⁰

After 1870 and the creation of the Nation States, particular attention is paid to bellicosity as an ideology in textbooks. There is a progressive turn towards civic instruction and the development of the patriotic spirit of the youth. Committed peace educators are confronted with books containing heroic scenes, stories and accounts of war. It is now necessary to promote

4) *Résolutions textuelles des Congrès universels de la paix tenus de 1843 à 1911 et des quatre assemblées générales substituées aux congrès de 1898, 1899, 1909 et 1901* (Berne: Büchler, 1912), 95.

5) Clinton FINK, “Peace Education and the Peace Movement Since 1815”, in *Peace and Change*, no 1–2, 1980, 67 ff. and Thomas RENNA, “Peace Education: An Historical Overview”, in *Peace and Change*, no 1–2, 1980, 61 ff.

6) Opening speech by Victor Hugo at the Paris Peace Congress, 21 August 1849, extracts reproduced in *The XXXII Universal Peace Congress* (Paris: Palais de la Sorbonne, 24–29 August 1937), 257–258.

7) *Textual resolutions, op. cit.*, 95.

8) United Nations, Geneva, Library of the International Peace Bureau, Jean MACE, *La Ligue de Beblenheim*, n.d.

9) His work is largely inspired by Masonic ideals. Cf. Daniel LIGOU, *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris: PUF, 1987), 730–731.

10) *National suisse*, 28.6.1896.

a new form of thought reconcilable with patriotism: solidarity between interests and humanity. This will be implemented by the writing of several pacifist education textbooks.

Faced with the breakthrough of a patriotic and nationalist school, one of the responses is the development of a model for inter-state relations based on law. In 1898, Tsar Nicholas II launches a manifesto, inspired by the writings of Jean de Bloch (1836–1902),¹¹ inviting 26 States to participate in an “International Peace Conference”¹². The First Hague Peace Conference is convened, soon followed by a Second in 1907. The most rational path will be that of the construction of a new legal order of a “League of Nations”, of a European federation, of the United States of Europe: in brief, lawful mechanisms allowing the regulation of international life and resorting to the use of an international court when conflicts arise.¹³ Universal morality must apply to international relations the same principles of justice and humanity as those which are applied to private relations.¹⁴

Education is a tool at the service of the newly founded States. It must work to reconcile love of the homeland and a spirit of solidarity. But here arises the question of the training of the teachers, their recruitment, their official instructions, the teaching programs and their content ... What must one instil in children? What accounts of war must be presented in order to awaken in them the heroism and devotion to the homeland threatened by the enemy? Which visions of human sacrifice can be appropriately presented in order for minds to get accustomed to the idea of serving the nation in a spirit of devotion similar to that which applies within the family? Hence the question of the teaching of history and of the use of textbooks becomes of fundamental importance in the education of future citizens. To the nationalist and patriotic spirit promoted by textbooks

11) Jean de Bloch, railway builder in Russia, banker and Polish philanthropist, author in 1898 of six volumes of statistics entitled *War*. Jean de Bloch predicts that if war broke out in Western Europe, several million people would die. Wars would become endless since they would last until the exhaustion of the adversaries. Thanks to his support the Museum of war and peace is created in June 1902 in Lucerne. It will disappear shortly before the First World War. Cf. Peter van den DUNGEN, *A Bibliography of Pacifist Writings of Jean de Bloch* (London: Housman, 1977).

12) Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, the United States, Mexico, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Serbia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and Bulgaria.

13) Jean-Pierre CUENDET, *L'idée d'Europe chez les pacifistes du Bureau international de la paix de 1889 à 1948*, Bachelor of Arts dissertation (under the direction of Antoine Fleury, Département d'histoire générale, Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Genève: summer 1998).

14) Paris (1878) and Glasgow (1901) Congresses, cf. *Résolutions, op. cit.*, p. 2.

which have become classics for generations of citizens, is juxtaposed an international spirit. But this history has to be taught differently than the rhetorical glorification of wars. How should teachers and pupils be motivated? How should its teaching be made easier?

Towards a textbook of peace education

The question of the teaching of history has never ceased to have an important place in official debates amongst the community of historians, but also within the pacifist circles which, from the onset, have understood what is at stake.

Between 1889 and 1939, 33 universal peace congresses take place, most of which address peace education.¹⁵ The central preoccupation is that of removing the bellicose spirit from education and replacing it with a spirit of peace.

In 1889, the first Universal Peace Congress encourages teachers to meet in committees in order to defend the principle of arbitration. Only convinced teachers can convince pupils.¹⁶ An extra step is taken a year later in London by asking parents not to give war toys to their children and to avoid stories glorifying conflicts.¹⁷

But how is history, this discipline so apt to distort children's minds, to be taught?

Jules Prudhommeaux, historian, member of the Editorial committee of the *La paix par le droit* (Peace through Law) journal, secondary school teacher¹⁸, explains how he perceives the teaching of this discipline:

“For the teachers of today, teaching the history of a country consists of reciting its wars; establishing its glory, adding up the number of enemies that its armies have torn to shreds on the battlefield. (...) By force of habit, it is possible to consider war as a rational and normal function of humanity, as a superior and noble means of using human faculties (...) Let us not be surprised after this if, when invited to give advice to an auditorium of young people, the history teacher launches into the world “shield in one hand, sword in the other and if speaking to French people,

15) As far as we know, the only study treating the work of the Universal Peace Congresses is that of Nadine LUBELSKI-BERNARD, *Les mouvements et les idéologies pacifistes en Belgique, 1889-1914*, 3 vol. (Doctoral Thesis: Faculté des sciences sociales, politiques et économiques, Université libre de Bruxelles, 1977), 834 f. and 984-990.

16) *Résolutions...*, *op. cit.*, 97.

17) *Ibid.*

18) Engaged in the international pacifist movement, Prudhommeaux will play an important role in the revision of history books in the interwar years.

will hold up as examples Louis XIV and Napoleon, those illustrious bandits!”¹⁹

Prudhommeaux concludes by recommending the reform of the teaching of history in schools.

If all reform results from science and research, the pacifists still lack the necessary tools enabling them to teach the principles of pacifism. The main preoccupation becomes the creation of educational material. Primary education is a priority²⁰, since it is “everybody’s education”, then secondary education, since it will form the leading elite. Finally, particular attention is paid to the training of teachers in the primary teacher training colleges and to international instruction within the universities with equivalencies in the recognition of titles.

These gaps will be filled thanks to the attention paid to issues relative to education by the International Peace Bureau from its foundation in 1891. It carries out the function of centralizing the links between teachers in Europe and the United States, and it pays particular attention to the question of history textbooks. The latter will be the object of a report written in 1896 by the secretary general of the Bureau, Elie Ducommun.²¹ He insists on the humanitarian nature of education. It is the duty of the peace societies to encourage the writing of “good reading and history books” and to replace chauvinistic and biased textbooks which mould the pupils’ brains from the very first years with textbooks which attach greater importance to political, scientific and artistic development of the people rather than to their wars. Competent people will examine the militarist tendencies of history books and readers²².

The International Peace Bureau sends an appeal to teachers in charge of the teaching of history to make them aware of the benefits of the principles of tolerance and humanity in the teaching of history. It also calls the attention of governments and the directors of public or private schools, to a chapter taken from the dissertation “War and Peace” by A. Sève, a teacher and winner of the prize launched by the Englishman Hodgson Pratt, member of the International Peace and Arbitration Association in 1891.²³

19) Jules PRUDHOMMEAUX, «Comment on enseigne l’histoire», in *La paix par le droit* (P.D.), no 3, May–June 1893, 45.

20) FACELLI-TESO (ed.), *Troisième Congrès international de la paix, Rome novembre 1891* (Rome: l’unione cooperativa, 1892), 89–105.

21) «Manuels d’histoire. Rapport sur une réforme des manuels scolaires au point de vue des idées pacifiques» in *Bulletin officiel du VIIe Congrès universel de la paix tenu à Budapest du 17 au 22 septembre 1896* (written and published by the Peace Bureau, Berne: Michel & Büchler 1896), 57–65.

22) *Ibid.*, p. 61.

23) *Bulletin officiel du VIe Congrès international de la paix tenu à Anvers du 29 août au 1er septembre 1894* (Anvers: Veuve de Backer, 1895), 11, 83 and 126.

This contest for the best textbook on war and peace is financed by Pratt's own means to counteract the rise of chauvinism and nationalism.²⁴ He receives 73 manuscripts in several languages, amongst them, Sève's.²⁵

This teacher who devotes himself to the writing of one of the most interesting textbooks on the principles of pacifism before the First World War, will be a winner of the Narcisse Thibault Prize (1,500 Fr.) launched by the International Peace Bureau in 1907 for a "Handbook which can be of use to educators at all levels to help presenting the principles and applications of pacifism, notably in showing how to reconcile and complete one's duties towards the nation and towards humanity."²⁶

His work, divided into two parts, is destined for the ordinary reader, to teachers and to children. The first part treats the principles of pacifism, the slanders against pacifism, and war, the enemy of pacifism. The second treats the applications of pacifism: arbitration and the Hague conferences. Each lesson is followed by homework for the pupil.

The criticism, written by an author specialized in war, Jean Lagorgette²⁷, loses no time in commenting that pacifism is but a continuation of moral and civic education and must distance itself from antimilitarism. Sève's handbook must be used with caution: "The chair must not resemble a platform, and in the same way, the lecture presented in class must not resemble that of a political meeting (...) The child's soul! What a precious and fragile object... May misfortune fall on those who treat outrage in the soul of the child! (...)"²⁸ Lagorgette urges pacifists to be more moderate "when they promote the lukewarm attitude of these circles, already inclined towards national indifference".²⁹ Sève reacts by explaining that pacifism is neither antimilitarist, nor anti-patriotic.³⁰

24) Another contest for the best peace manual is launched in 1896 during the millennium celebrations in Hungary: Prix millénaire pour la paix; cf. *Résolutions...*, *op. cit.*, 98.

25) A. SEVE, *Cours d'enseignement pacifiste. Principes et applications du pacifisme* (Paris: Giard et Brière, 1910), preface by Frédéric Passy.

26) Cf. Frontispiece of the work cited above.

27) Author of a book entitled: *The role of war*.

28) Cf. Jean LAGORGETTE, «L'enseignement du pacifisme», in *P.D.*, no 9-10, August-September 1910, 536-538.

29) *Ibid.* p. 538.

30) Sève refers back to his work: *Discussions between a teacher and his older pupils. Practical teacher* (educational series which he has directed for 15 years), *On moral education at school*. (Gold medal at the Lyon Universal Exposition in 1894). Cf. A. SEVE, «A propos de l'enseignement du pacifisme. Quelques mots personnels», in *P.D.*, no 12, December 1910, 702-706.

Another prize-winner of the International Peace Bureau is a teacher from the Alger-Bouzaréa primary teacher training college, A. Delassus, secretary of the Algerian Peace Society.³¹ His book enriches the list of pacifist handbooks and also treats war, the ways in which to prevent and resolve it.³² One must also mention a textbook of pacifist doctrine for parents and teachers published by the Austrian Peace Society, which is awarded with a "highly commended" grade by the bureau.³³

The desire to reconcile patriotism with pacifism is one of the recurring themes preceding 1914. This has enabled pacifists' ideas to gain acceptance in civic education. For example in French-speaking Switzerland, *Le jeune citoyen* (The Young Citizen), intended for recruits, contains, amongst its reading matter, texts dedicated to the pacifist movement.³⁴ In a section on current affairs, the works of the two Hague conferences (1899 and 1907) as well as a brief history of the pacifist movement are treated. Further on, we find a biographical note on Elie Ducommun, laureate of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1902 with his compatriot Albert Gobat, the author of these sentences :

"The readers of *Le Jeune Citoyen* will certainly have heard of pacifism and pacifist societies. The idea that the elimination of war between nations must be pursued as progress for humanity has not had a nobler representative in our country than Elie Ducommun. His goal in life was to organise peace, and it is thanks to this great movement pursued in all countries that the Permanent Arbitration Court of the Hague, which *Le Jeune Citoyen* will also be treating this year, was created."³⁵

The International Peace Bureau has put into practice the resolutions voted in the Peace Congresses in favour of pacifist teaching and applied the philosophy of considering pacifism as being a part of civics. Elie Ducommun, in a few years of considerable work, had managed to find a voice even in the most patriotic circles of Switzerland!

31) Delassus (1858–1912), teacher at the primary teacher training college at Alger-Bouzaréa, plays an important role in the development of the peace movement in Algeria. Cf. *Annuaire du mouvement pacifiste pour l'année 1913*, 313.

32) A. DELASSUS, *Précis d'enseignement pacifiste. Ouvrage présenté au Concours ouvert par le Bureau international permanent de la paix à Berne et honoré d'un premier prix* (Monaco: Institut international de la paix, 1910), 165 p.

33) Cf. Arthur MILLER, *Pazifistische Jugendbuch* (Leipzig: Hoeppel, 1910), 84 p.

34) Cf. *Le Jeune citoyen. Publication destinée aux jeunes gens de la Suisse romande et ayant pour but de faciliter l'enseignement donné dans les Ecoles et cours complémentaires* (vingt-cinquième année), Winter 1908–1909 (Lausanne: Payot, 1909), 62–69.

35) Albert Gobat succeeds Ducommun in 1907 at the direction of the International Peace Bureau. Cf. *ibid.*, 86–88. It is he who writes the biographical note on Elie Ducommun.

In order not to trouble young minds and create confusion between good patriotism and love of one's neighbour or between patriotism and internationalism, the pacifist handbook must seem to be a part of moral education and civic teaching.³⁶

Other contests are open to primary school students, aged less than 15 years. They rest on one argument: the choice between a warring or peaceful homeland.³⁷

The International Peace Bureau continues along this line between 1912 and 1913, thanks to the educational commission which launches a contest containing an analysis of one of the chapters of the works of Sève, Delassus and Gaston Moch.³⁸

Several eminent personalities, members of the IPB Committee, work in this commission which, in a certain sense, becomes a precursor of international cooperation concerning education and intellectual exchange. From 1891 onwards, the Rome Congress pronounces itself in favour of the lifting of obstacles preventing students from following their studies in foreign universities, and support for an international education whose advantage would be the recognition of titles beyond international borders.³⁹ Hodgson Pratt proposes an exchange program between students from various universities in order to develop a cosmopolitan spirit⁴⁰. In 1896, a project concerning the creation of an international university giving comparative courses in the domain of the humanities circulates in several European countries. The International Peace Bureau also helps to facilitate the international exchange of youth by finding host families abroad.⁴¹

In 1913, Ferenc Kemény,⁴² president of the Educational Commission of the IPB and author of *L'enseignement International*, highlights the

36) *P.D.*, August–September 1910, 506 and 536.

37) *Bulletin officiel du XVe Congrès universel de la paix tenu à Milan du 15 au 22 septembre 1906* (Berne: Büchler, 1906), 99 ff.

38) Gaston MOCH, *Histoire sommaire de l'arbitrage permanent* (Monaco: Institut international de la paix), 1910, 215 p.

39) Cf. FACELLI-TESO, *Troisième Congrès...*, *op. cit.*, 106.

40) United Nations, International Peace Bureau, Hodgson PRATT, *Projet de conférence internationale et annuelle entre les membres des diverses universités. Mémoire présenté au Congrès international de la paix tenu à Rome*, November 1891.

41) *Bulletin officiel du VIIe Congrès*, *op. cit.*, 72–73.

42) Ferenc Kemény (1860–1944), mathematics and physics professor, headmaster of the Royal School of Budapest, member of the Bern Bureau. In 1894, he becomes a founding member of the International Olympic Committee, of which he will be a member until 1916. The following year, he plays a fundamental role in the creation of the Budapest Peace Society. Cf. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* (ed. Harold JOSEPHSON, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 501.

difference between *Pacifist Education* and *International Education*. If the goals are the same, the ways and means differ. This reflects the Commission's concern to bring together teachers and specialists, enabling certain academic and semi-official circles to pursue their activities without being treated as pacifists.

One of the main achievements of the Commission, which was still trying to reconcile these two positions, was the convention of an inter-governmental conference on teaching planned for the month of September 1914 in the Hague.⁴³

The fact that the International Peace Bureau was able to arouse so much interest amongst the teachers of the various European countries proves the real need for a reform of the teaching of history. It is also the pacifist movement which instigates the reform of manuals before 1914.

The educational instruments necessary for the introduction of pacifist teaching now being available, in 1910 the Stockholm Peace Congress asks the national peace societies to exert all their influence in order for the notions of international justice and arbitration, as well as the history of the pacifist movement and the Hague conferences, to become officially part of the syllabi for secondary education examinations, and if possible in primary education as well.⁴⁴

This represents considerable progress if one considers the fact that these textbooks flourish in a context where patriotism and chauvinism still occupy a large place in society and at school.

Reading for primary school

Sève, having delivered to teachers his *Cours d'enseignement pacifiste*, insists on the importance of developing a reader to complete the course. It is primary education that he addresses first of all.⁴⁵ The teachers become the spokespeople of this modern peace education. This can only be achieved if the teachers are allowed to do so and only if they are trained in the primary teacher training college. A modification of the syllabi, an adaptation of school manuals as well as the endorsement of the national education and training ministers are necessary. The same modifications are true for secondary education.

43) *Bulletin officiel du XXe Congrès universel de la paix tenu à La Haye en 1913* (Berne: Bureau international de la paix, 1913), 235.

44) *XVIIIe Congrès universel de la paix à Stockholm. Du 1^{er} au 5 août 1910*, Stockholm 1911, 102.

45) "After the teacher's tool, one needs the pupil's tool..." . Cf. A. SEVE, «Le pacifisme et l'enseignement primaire», in *P.D.*, no 12, December 1911, 686-689.

Women also have an important role to play in peace education. They are usually guided by the memories that the stories of war awoke in their childhood imagination. The generation of women born in the first half of the 19th century was influenced by a bellicose and militarist education. Madelaine Carlier and Odette Laguerre, authors of a reader for children, were raised to respect the heroes of the Franco-Prussian war, as was Bertha von Suttner, first woman Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1905, of the Austro-Hungarian military.

Odette Laguerre, editor of *La Fronde*⁴⁶, states that she wanted to write a book as a homage to the civilizers, creators and workers, illustrious or obscure, who have furthered human progress. In her opinion, it is not the battlefields and the lives of warrior heroes that serve as rolemodels for humanity. In her work, she tries hard to fight against the prejudices which divide people and races, insisting on the links of solidarity. The book treats themes such as: the hatred of Jews, religious intolerance, colonial conquest, the declaration of rights, Solferino and pacifism. It seeks to prepare the youth for the coming of a European Federation which would not eliminate the nations, but which would guarantee the existence of each of them. It would be the end of anarchy in Europe and the beginning of a real civilisation based on law.⁴⁷

Therefore, with the creation of a compulsory secular form of schooling, women extend their role in education. The pacifist movement receives them in their conferences. They find in the Universal Peace Congresses a forum which listens to, and takes into account, their propositions. The constancy of their voice is felt over the decades. If they are denied political rights yet are at the same time responsible for the instruction of future citizens, how should they perceive this paradox? What interpretation of these republican and democratic values that they are supposed to promote can they have?

Does a debate highlighting the ambiguity between patriotism and militarism exist amongst the teachers?

46) In 1897 *La Fronde* appears, a daily paper created by Marguerite Durand and entirely run by women: from editing to administration to printing. The paper, which will disappear in 1905, demonstrates that women are capable of running political columns as well as scientific and literary chronicles.

47) Odette LAGUERRE; Madeleine CARLIER, *Pour la paix. Lectures historiques à l'usage de l'enseignement élémentaire et des écoles normales* (preface by Frédéric Passy, Paris: Librairie générale de l'enseignement, 1910), 183.

Educating the masses through media

From the beginning of the century, peace education and education through images seem to go hand in hand. Soon after the development of posters, the use of "magic lanterns" is developed, but the necessary material to show pictures is rare and expensive since the use of electricity is still not very widespread. Oxhydric light requires the use of gas, and the transport of oxygen canisters presents a constant danger of explosion. Furthermore, paraffin lamps only allow the projection of smoky and incomplete images. As electricity becomes more common, pacifist propaganda makes more use of the visual.

In schools, the use of "lanterns" is recognized by national education services, which inaugurate a lending service.⁴⁸ In France, for example, a lending service for the French Education League is created in 1882, as is the National Popular Conference Society, founded by the Interior Ministry on February 20, 1892.

In 1902, during the 11th Universal Peace Conference in Monaco, the decision is taken to create a lending service for images destined for projection which could serve as support for peace education. It is thanks to the Jean de Bloch Foundation that a collection is put together with the help of the International Union and the *Paix par le droit* association.⁴⁹ This free lending association comes into service at the end of 1902. In three months, that is, between December 1903 and March 1904, this collection is used for 60 public conferences. It consists of 130 pictures and is open to all outside friends.⁵⁰ Each collection contains thirty images which can be used to treat war, armed peace and arbitration in one conference.⁵¹ It is destined for popular universities, adult classes, Teacher's Societies, old pupils' associations and lecturers. The conception and the choice with which the images were selected clearly show the intentions of the authors.

An important part in the creation of this collection is played by Jeanne Prudhommeaux-Dallet, a descendant of Jean-Baptiste Godin, an industrialist inspired by Charles Fourier in the creation of the «Familistère de Guise» school, in which she was a teacher. It is thanks to her that photographs, graphics, maps and paintings will be reproduced by Moreau

48) W. A. WITTICH & C. F. SCHULLER, *Audiovisual Materials. Their Nature and Use* (New York: Harper, 1968), 355.

49) The members of this association whose activity will last more than fifty years are young lawyers, priests, teachers and philosophers. Cf. R. FABRE, «Un exemple de pacifisme juridique. Théodore Ruysen et le mouvement *La paix par le droit*, 1884-1950», in *Vingtième siècle*, no 39, 1993, 38-54.

50) United Nations, Geneva, Archives IPB, 253/1 Prudhommeaux to Ducommun, 2.3.1904.

51) *La paix par le droit*, no 1, January 1903, 34.

& Cie in Paris. She is also responsible for establishing the catalogue of images.⁵² Their variety shows the plurality of its sources. She obtains the help of the International Peace Bureau, of the Lucerne War and Peace Museum (created in 1902) and of the London Peace Society.⁵³ Several private pacifist and military collections will enrich it. The Franco-German War of 1870 is amply illustrated by the photographic contribution of the French physiologist, Charles Richet (Nobel Prize in Medicine 1913), of the German Count Edouard de Neufville and the Swiss Colonel Heinrich Bircher, surgeon and chief of the Swiss medical corps. Very involved in the Red Cross, Bircher is the author of the maps exhibited at the Lucerne War and Peace Museum.⁵⁴

The choice and the authenticity of the visual sources are of great importance for Prudhommeaux-Dallet, who completely shares the views of the collaborators of the *La paix par le droit* journal. By gathering this series of images composed of paintings, prints, photographs and statistics, and by writing up a detailed catalogue of its contents, she shows the importance of images which will help to explain the contents in greater detail during their projection. She demonstrates this by giving numerous public conferences.⁵⁵ Before the semiologists, she is conscious that "an image can be easier learnt than learning by images."⁵⁶

The Pedagogic Museum, official organ of the Ministry of Public Instruction sends out 38,000 images between 1908 and 1909.⁵⁷ It will later be enriched by the addition of images from *La paix par le droit*. The next step will be cinema, also used in peace education.⁵⁸

Images are therefore an important subject in peace education. Henceforth, particular attention is brought to the illustration of textbooks. Odette

52) This catalogue is to be found in the library of the Nobel Peace Institute in Oslo (catalog 194). Cf. *La propagande pacifique par les projections lumineuses*, Nîmes, Association de la Paix par le Droit (Union internationale et Fondation Jean de Bloch), 1904.

53) *La paix par le droit*, no 5, mai 1903, 203.

54) Cf. *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, Neuchâtel: Attinger, t. 2., 1921, 188 et Peter van den Dungen, "The International War and Peace Museum at Lucerne", in *Revue Suisse d'histoire*, vol. 3, 1981, 185-206.

55) United Nations, Geneva, Archives IPB, 254/10, *Vers la paix. Conférence avec projections lumineuses. Texte de Mme J. Prudhommeaux-Dallet*, n.d.

56) Cf. M. MARTIN *Sémiologie de l'image et pédagogie*, (Paris: PUF, 1982).

57) Cf. J. PERRIAULT, *Mémoires de l'ombre et du son. Une archéologie de l'audio-visuel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 106-108.

58) On 15 September 1925, a film on the *League of Nations Union* (forty minutes), dedicated to peace education is presented in Geneva. Henceforth, cinema is used in propaganda in favour of peace. Cf. «La propagande par les projection lumineuses et par le cinéma», in *P.D.*, no 10, October 1925, 406.

Laguerre notes that the cover illustrations often consist of battle scenes and episodes of massacre. "Prints act on the brain of the child more powerfully than any arguments." As a consequence, efforts are made in the pacifist sense through a collection created in the spirit of human rights with reproductions of works of art from museums and public monuments and pieces chosen from various authors.⁵⁹

Inquiry into education manuals

Towards the end of 1910, Andrew Carnegie, a Scottish emigrant established in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who has made a fortune in steel, becomes a precious ally of the pacifist movement. He decides to give a part of his fortune of \$11,500,000 to the cause of pacifism. He intends to improve the material and moral lot of his fellow man by accelerating the process of the abolition of war through scientific research on the causes of war and the methods with which to prevent it, the development of International Law, of friendship and comprehension between peoples, and the support to any institution useful for the fulfilling of the objectives of the Foundation.⁶⁰

From this moment onwards, Carnegie becomes an important partner for the international pacifist movement.

For this purpose, he creates three divisions, among which the one on education is of particular concern to us. A European headquarters of the Endowment is established in Paris and starts its work just before the outbreak of the First World War. The main achievement of the education division is an inquiry carried out in 1913–1914 on the state of the Balkans. It is made public just before the outbreak of the First World War, ironic when one considers that it starts exactly where the inquiry has taken place.⁶¹ The president of the commission, d'Estournelles de Constant, is sceptical as to the lessons to be learnt from the two Balkan wars. And what if the wars should start up again and for a long time?⁶² The Balkans have

59) «Une intéressante réforme pédagogique», in *P.D.*, no 3, March 1903, 111.

60) It is also thanks to his support that the Hague Palace of Peace is built in 1913. Cf. *Le Palais de la paix. Mémoire publié par la rédaction de «Vrede door recht» à l'occasion de l'inauguration solennelle du Palais de la paix à La Haye le 28 août 1913* (The Hague: Belinfante, 1913).

61) For the Carnegie mission in the Balkans, cf. Verdiana GROSSI, *Le pacifisme européen 1889–1914* (preface by Jacques BARIETY, Bruxelles: Bruylant, 1994), 378–385.

62) *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 1914), 5.

been the victim of European divisionism. If a united Europe existed, it could have, if these countries had agreed, obtained the necessary elements for the developing of roads, tramways, telegraphy, hospitals, laboratories, museums and schools.⁶³ But violence has prevailed. Something completely different from arms is necessary to establish order and peace in the Balkans.⁶⁴ This something different to which d'Estournelles de Constant alludes, is it not education; a culture of peace which is so far from spreading in Europe and at its doorstep?

The European Committee of the Carnegie Endowment restarts its work in 1921. The inquiry concerns, this time, the textbooks of all of those involved in the 1914–1918 war. The object is to detect the spirit in which these manuals were written and to search in history, geography, moral and civic education manuals, and in readers the tendencies concerning international reconciliation and the rapprochement between peoples.⁶⁵ The inquiry deliberately considers only primary school books because in the eyes of the commission childhood, without much experience, needs to be defended against error and immorality. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Bulgaria are chosen.⁶⁶ In each country research commissions are named, which analyze 50–60 works and highlight the most significant features. This enquiry will be completed by a second volume, which comes out in 1927, including the Balkan countries as well as Russia.⁶⁷

The Carnegie Endowment proves in this way that pertinent research constitutes the appropriate tool for international reconciliation. Governments are an essential element in the reorientation of teaching programs, but it is difficult to interfere with their national practices. This inquiry opens the way for a movement of ideas concerning the question of school manuals for all the combatants.⁶⁸

63) *Ibid.*, 8.

64) *Ibid.*, 15.

65) *Enquête sur les livres scolaires d'après guerre* (Paris: Centre européen de la Dotation Carnegie, 1923), 2.

66) *Ibid.*, 2–3.

67) *Enquête sur les livres scolaires d'après guerre*, vol II (Paris: Centre européen de la Dotation Carnegie), 1927, 650 p.

68) The analysis of German and French books is entrusted to Jules Prudhommeaux, historian, European Secretary of the Endowment. For a detailed analysis of the situation of French schoolbooks, cf. Jules PRUDHOMMEAUX, *Pour la paix par l'école. Ce qui a été fait en France pour lutter contre les livres scolaires contraires au rapprochement des peuples* (Nîmes: La paix par le droit, 1926).

Must schools educate for peace?

From the pacifist manuals which many teachers look into before 1914, attention has shifted after the First World War to the revision of history textbooks. A big debate arises amongst historians on the meaning to give to their discipline, a domain which attracts the attention of other social and human sciences such as psychology and sociology. Does history serve peace or does it serve as a justification of war? Should the teaching of history serve peace? Should schools educate for peace?

In the nineteen-twenties, intellectual cooperation is set up⁶⁹, in sometimes difficult and contradictory conditions since it must brave the rise of fascist and Hitlerian regimes and their ideologies concerning teaching and education. From its beginnings, the League of Nations is supposed to coordinate a certain number of intellectual exchanges, but is ill at ease when faced with education. Each country has its own educational policies and is therefore sovereign in the matter. The League of Nations will oversee, but not solve educational questions.

The debate on teaching becomes an issue of society. Will the limits of intellectual exchange be national boundaries, or humanity in its entirety? Science, languages, religions, arts, humanities, all the components of civilization cannot be considered as the work of one group, of one nationality, but the work of humanity as a whole. Each individual culture must be the object of particular protection. The institutionalization of education, based on this assumption, organizes itself, at the heart of which peace education plays an important role.⁷⁰

The development of an international spirit

And yet, school more than ever becomes the place where political stakes are played. If the circles concerned with peace education were able to change the establishment, maybe political culture would also change.

The word "spirit" is found in all political and social ideals of the time: the spirit of the League of Nations, the spirit of Geneva, the spirit of Locarno, the international spirit, the spirit of reconciliation. The term

69) This dimension is a permanent feature of the history of peace education. Between the two World Wars, one of its components will be "moral disarmament". Cf. Elly HERMON, "The International Peace Education Movement, 1919-1939", in *Peace Movements and Political Cultures* (ed. by Charles Chatfield and Peter van den Dungen, Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 130-133.

70) For an overview of the main educative institutions to be found in Geneva's soil, Cf. Fernando VIDAL, «L'éducation nouvelle et l'esprit de Genève. Une étude politico-pédagogique des années 1920», in *Equinoxe*, no 17, spring 1997, 81-98.

“moral disarmament” also appears. As the name indicates, it goes beyond simple teaching to become an attitude that should be instilled at school. It’s the international dimension of education which now tries to find its way into teaching programs. This teaching advocates the ideals of peace, arbitration and disarmament of the League of Nations, which must be propagated through three educational channels: non-governmental, inter-governmental and governmental organizations.⁷¹

All three must be asked to take part in the revision of textbooks, in particular those of history.⁷² In 1922 the Third International Congress on Moral Education takes place in Geneva, its goal to orientate humanity towards justice.⁷³ International spirit, education and the teaching of history are on the agenda.⁷⁴ From this moment, initiatives become more frequent. In 1925, the Stockholm Christian Conference creates a commission on teaching manuals, and presents the continuation of its work at the reunion of the International Historical Science Committee in 1928 in Oslo, with the participation of 1200 historians.⁷⁵

During this congress, Michel L’Héritier’s paper on education and the value of truth in the rapprochement between peoples gives rise to strong opposition from the Italian delegate, G. Volpe. The latter stresses that education must make men fit for war as well for peace; men will be prepared to “live greatly” just as they are prepared to “die greatly” if necessary.⁷⁶ The national commissions are overall rather conservative. The historian, of a careful disposition by nature, finds it difficult to imagine the repercussions of education on the rapprochement of peoples.

71) Elly HERMON, «Aspects du mouvement international de l’éducation pour la paix dans l’entre-deux-guerres», dans *Mouvements et initiatives de paix dans la Politique internationale 1867–1928, Actes du colloque tenu à Stuttgart 29–30 août 1985* (Edited by Jacques Bariéty and Antoine Fleury, Berne: Peter Lang, 1987), 171–196.

72) Jean-Louis CLAPAREDE, *L’enseignement de l’histoire et l’esprit international* (Paris: PUF, 1931).

73) This congress follows those of London (1908) and the Hague (1912). The seat of the conference is in Geneva. Cf. *Répertoire des organisations internationales*, Société des Nations (Genève: SDN, 1936), 165.

74) «Le troisième Congrès international d’éducation morale», in *P.D.*, no 6, June 1922, 255–256.

75) The committee is created in May 1926 in Geneva in order to work on the development of the Historical Sciences by means of international cooperation. Its seat is in Zurich and its secretariat in Paris (Prof. L’Héritier). It is presided over by Prof. Temperley. Cf. *Répertoire...*, *op. cit.*, 124–125.

76) «Actes du sixième Congrès international des Sciences historiques, Oslo, 14–18 août 1928», in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol II, nr 6–10, 1929–1930 (Washington DC, Paris: PUF, 1930), 145.

The Belgian Commission asks itself if it is "not inconsistent to want to prop up a future conception of justice, solidarity and peace with a past set of facts where the moral factor is closely linked with material factors and subject to fluctuations in the contingent reactions."⁷⁷

What approach should one take? It is agreed that primary classes should focus on national history, since it is closer to the realities of the child. In parallel with this debate, that of the universalist conception of history is opened. This conception, which a large number of historians attribute to the pacifist circles, is refuted because school cannot put itself at the service of the reconciliation of peoples.

The Belgian Committee of Historical Science is yet again extremely circumspect when faced with the international inquiry to be undertaken by the National Committees of Historical Science sponsored by the International Commission of Historical Teaching. Its scepticism as to the value of the "universalist conception of history" leads it to reject this vision since it considers that schools must not be at the service of the reconciliation of peoples, which implies a moral reform confusing history teacher with morality teacher. As for the notions of solidarity and progress which are supposed to be found in history, they cannot be absorbed by the child's mind, which is "unable to seize the character and intellect of a foreign nation."⁷⁸

While the internationalist circles attempt to consult each other and to coordinate their efforts concerning peace education and to bring them into line with the League of Nations, with the newly created International Education Bureau and the Office for International Cooperation, the obstacles become bigger and bigger. In international official and semi-official education circles, the constant fear of marginalizing Germany and Italy from the debate reigns, hence the maintaining of relations even if that is difficult. Many pacifist pedagogues, teachers or professors are obliged to go into exile. They pursue their work abroad.

Still, in 1927, a successful conference concerning peace education takes place. It is the fruit of a collaboration between specialists in various disciplines. Peace education becomes "the problem of education as a whole." Organized under the auspices of the International Education Bureau in Prague from the 16th to the 20th of April, 1927 and inaugurated by the Czechoslovak Minister of Public Instruction, Hodza, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Benès. It tackles four principal themes:

77) *Ibid.*

78) It is one of Mr. Gentzer's (spokesperson on the questions of textbooks at the Deutscher Lehrverein) remarks in 1927, cited by Frans van KALKEN «L'enseignement de l'histoire en Belgique et le développement de l'esprit de compréhension mutuelle entre les peuples», in *La Conférence internationale pour l'enseignement de l'histoire*, no 2, 1933, 39.

1. Psychology
2. Teaching and manuals
3. Education
4. Interscholar correspondence.

The general resolution voted at the end of the conference provides for a series of measures allowing the advancement of the cause of peace in schools. The idea of peace and cooperation between peoples must be presented in physics and in science, as well as in classical languages, literature, geography and history.⁷⁹

After the failure of the Geneva disarmament conference in 1932, particular attention is paid to the concept of "moral disarmament at school." It is once again the teaching of history which causes fierce debate. Some consider that the teaching of history must simply be abandoned since it causes children to be confused. Others insist on the importance of going back towards the origins of humanity and on the necessity of training the citizen by teaching him his country's history. Still others want the teaching of history to be reduced to the scientific teaching of facts, respecting the truth. Others see in it a source of moral culture devoid of human passion.

The constant efforts made by the international circles should be noted, in particular by circles close to the League of Nations, in treating the national socialist regimes with care and in maintaining dialogue.

Opposing the efforts tending towards the creation of a school based on the social experience of the child, its autonomy, the development of its sense of responsibilities, independence and solidarity, are those tending towards a school where authority, dependence and subordination are the norm.

In Germany, from 1933 onwards, teaching turns towards the worship of the nation, of the mother tongue, of physical development as well as that of the heroic spirit.⁸⁰ Schools must take into account national-socialist principles, and the study of race and eugenics (*Erbgesundheitslehre*). The German section of the *International League of Mothers and Educators for Peace* protests against military parades of children and adds that women want to see their children brought up in a spirit of peace and harmony

79) Pierre BOVET, *La paix par l'école. Travaux de la Conférence internationale tenue à Prague du 16 au 20 avril 1927* (Genève: Bureau international de l'éducation, 1927), 144-147.

80) *Annuaire international de l'éducation et de l'enseignement 1934* (Genève: Bureau international de l'éducation, 1934), 27-33.

between peoples.⁸¹ The same applies for Italy where schoolbooks celebrate the benefits of Fascism and the glory of the Duce.⁸²

Educators and Psychologists: The era of scientific research

Unable to find the replies within their discipline, historians call on the observations and analyses of psychologists and educators. Research workers spend more and more time looking into the child and his cognitive attitudes, on his "mind's spontaneous spirit". The central theme is still history. But this time, it is the experimental approach which is at the forefront. The child is placed at the center of the observations and all his remarks are noted with the help of questionnaires.

How should one reform the teaching of history? When writing a history textbook, how should abstraction be made of public opinion administrative, scientific and pedagogic influence? Of what shall the history manual be constituted? By whom will it be elaborated? The eradication of war from minds implies a reform of historical science, but also a reform of pedagogy in the sense of the propagation of an "international spirit."⁸³

Many research workers explore the feelings relative to war and peace in the child. The American, Prescott, observes how prejudices arise in the child.⁸⁴ The Czechoslovak, Rudolf Friedrich carries out a survey amongst 143 children and adolescents on the child's feelings towards the military profession.⁸⁵ The director of the International Education Bureau, Pierre Bovet, professor at the University of Geneva, analyzes the psychological dimension which one must consider in peace education.⁸⁶ He observes the instincts of the child: fighting and sexual instincts which appear either in war, education or in sport. Only by channelling these instincts can education be improved.

The fighting instinct and the sexual instinct are subject to social repression. In all individuals, the instincts of repression or sublimation are

81) «L'Allemagne pacifiste contre la militarisation de la jeunesse», in *P.D.*, no 2, février 1933, 74-76.

82) A revision of the books currently in use towards fascism is planned from 1928. Cf. «Les manuels scolaires italiens», in *P.D.*, no. 4-5, April 1928, 219-220.

83) Cf. Jean-Louis CLAPAREDE, *L'enseignement... op. cit.*, 9 and following.

84) D.A. PRESCOTT, «L'étude scientifique des attitudes et des préjugés des enfants. Méthodes et résultats», in Pierre BOVET, *La paix par l'école, op. cit.*, 38-45.

85) Rudolf FRIEDRICH, «Questionnaire sur les sentiments des enfants relatifs à la paix et à la guerre», in BOVET, *La paix par l'école, op. cit.*, 46-49.

86) Pierre BOVET, «Quelques problèmes psychologiques de l'éducation pour la paix», in Pierre BOVET, *La paix par l'école, op. cit.*, 29-38.

present. It is in war that the State can best harness the individual instincts to combat. It is not allowed to fight for personal interests, to attack, but what is repressed on an individual level is considered worthy if the fight is undertaken under the orders of the State. In order to channel these instincts, Bovet proposes a line conducted around the following precepts:

1. One does not attack those weaker than oneself
2. One does not fight for personal interests⁸⁷

It is especially the instinctive tendency towards helping others which must be developed. Luckily, in men and in women, there is a sense of solidarity towards which it is useful to educate a child. According to Bovet, peace education implies and assumes an education which is both moral (the fight against evil) and social (initiation in solidarity and human rights) at the same time.⁸⁸

After the development of a new education, the child and its activities become the center of interest. The school is the site of apprenticeship to social and civic life where *self-government* is developed. Maria Montessori puts the child at the heart of the preoccupations of humanity, "for it is the source and the key to the enigmas of humanity." From "the forgotten child-citizen", Montessori wants to rehabilitate the respect of its fundamental rights, in particular the right to a personal and spiritual life. The child has the right to self-development. Two paths are possible: "one leads to a man who loves, the other leads to a man who possesses. One leads to a man who has won his independence and works harmoniously with others, the other to a man who is servile, who becomes the slave of his own possession by trying to liberate himself, and finishes by hating his companions."⁸⁹

Montessori wants to make of the child a full citizen. To teach humanity is to pursue common goals and to solve the social problems of the world. Freedom of choice, independence of thought and human dignity are the corollaries that Montessori will apply in her approach in favour of peace education.⁹⁰

With the development of child psychology, particular attention is also paid to the way in which it perceives its temporal dimension. In 1933, Jean Piaget, then director of the International Education Bureau, is invited to address the problem of the efficiency of history teaching in primary

87) *Ibid.* 32.

88) *Ibid.* 38.

89) Maria MONTESSORI, *L'éducation et la paix* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1996), 85.

90) Cf. Odette CATULLIC, *La paix par l'éducation selon Maria Montessori*, Bachelor of Arts dissertation under the direction of Daniel Hameline (Université de Genève, Faculté de Psychologie et des Sciences de l'éducation, 1988).

school. He notes from the outset that very little research has been done which will enable us to say how a child perceives un-lived past experiences, a past which goes beyond individual memory. He leads an investigation among Genevan children (boys and girls) on the *Escalade* of 1602⁹¹ and on William Tell. Piaget uses the clinical method to ask schoolchildren “who was right and who was wrong in the story of the *Escalade*” and “why the Savoyans no longer attack Geneva.” For the little Genevans, Savoy no longer does so because, having committed an error and having received just punishment, it has learned its lesson. As for the First World War, certain children think that Switzerland took part in it and that its soldiers shot at all the surrounding territories. The child’s universe seems to be centered on its own country: “Egocentricity is therefore found in the field of history, as it exists in all the representations of the child.”⁹²

Piaget concludes that education in a historical sense for the child therefore goes hand in hand with that of the critical and objective mind. In order to determine a technique for the teaching of history, one must study the spontaneous intellectual attitudes of the child.⁹³

History teachers are also the subject of observation, and become one of the major themes treated during the Third Conference on the Teaching of History in Madrid in 1937, where the effort is made to resolve the question of the perception and interpretation that the history teacher has of his discipline. Should he teach in a personal manner or, on the contrary, does history require that it be taught impersonally?⁹⁴

Torn by his duty to remembrance highlighted by the 1914–1918 war, the historian of this period once again asks the question of the responsibilities of war, a question often kept out of official debate... Is it possible to teach peace and reconciliation between peoples while war is on their minds? To remember, or not to remember?

And what if badly taught history, as Paul Valéry suggested, should distort the child’s mind?⁹⁵

91) In 1602, the House of Savoy unsuccessfully attacks the city of Geneva, henceforth this event passes into popular history and is known under the name of *l’Escalade*, and is the object of a yearly celebration on the 12th December.

92) Jean PIAGET, «Psychologie de l’enfant et enseignement de l’histoire. Rapport présenté à la Conférence de La Haye», in *La Conférence internationale pour l’enseignement de l’histoire*, no 2, 1933, 8–13.

93) *Ibid.*, 13.

94) «La troisième conférence pour l’Enseignement de l’histoire», in *P. D.*, no 5–6, May–June 1936, 257.

95) *Ibid.*

Conclusion

Peace education includes all the intellectual dimensions of man, and is, by its very nature, international. From the start, it implies the creation of social and moral conditions which allow its development, conditions which, for the time being, are unfortunately not yet realized. But peace education is making a strong comeback at the end of the 20th century, where so many hopes are turned towards schools and education to resolve the new problems of contemporary societies which are increasingly multicultural, and in search of a new identity which goes beyond the Nation States.

Peace education would be a possible reply to underlying tensions, to questions of a new citizenship.

How can the culture of peace become a world culture? How should schools deal with programs aimed at maximum achievement from pupils who have to face up to increasing productivity? Is there not here a contradiction between the notions of national programs of productivity and specialization on the part of the teachers and the pupils when the finances of the states are at their lowest, and the will to develop responsible citizens of the world?

Is it possible to reform schools without a profound reform of society and humanity? And why not give to schools the role of social utopia which, so often, enabled it to rely on the qualities of man? Will schools become the last bastion in which it is still allowed to think and dream that globalization will not be able to dictate the supremacy of the economic over the spiritual?

But the fundamental question is the same. What man does one want for tomorrow's society? How will the educational system face up to the challenges of an ever-changing multicultural society? Is it possible to create a world citizen?

"Peace Education Miniprints" are published and distributed by the R&D Group
"Preparedness for Peace" (address: School of Education, Box 23501,
S-200 45 Malmö, Sweden).

ISSN 1101-6418

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EFF-089 (3/2000)