

INTRODUCTION: EDUCATION, WAR AND PEACE

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ISCHE 36 was held at the Institute of Education London in July 2014. Its theme was 'Education, war and peace', and it took place in the centenary year of the outbreak of the First World War – the 'Great War' – in Europe. It also marked a somewhat less widely noted anniversary, the bicentenary of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) which met to provide a long-term peace plan for Europe following the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars. The conference aimed to address relationships between education and war, and also the role of education in fostering peace. War includes armed conflict between nations, but also other forms of belligerence between rival forces within and across states such as civil wars, culture wars, cold wars, and types of warfare for example ideological warfare, economic warfare and physical combat in all its forms. We recognised too the experiences of people living under colonial and neo-imperial regimes as being subject to a form of warfare. Peace includes a formalized state of harmony, and also embraces reconciliation and collaboration towards shared goals. Education in many forms, institutional and informal, contributes to war and to peace through formal systems at all levels from school to university, military training, through civics and citizenship, museums, peace movements, art, the media and official propaganda.

Insufficiently researched in education history, though a topic of increasing attention in the later 20th and 21st centuries, forms and definitions of education, war and peace have been increasingly subject to cultural, technological and political change. Under four broad sub-themes the conference drew together historical scholarship from all parts of the world to represent a global range of geopolitical contexts and chronological periods. At the same time it promoted a creative encounter of the increasing range of methodologies that inform historical research, with attention to historical insights offered by anthropology, sociology, geography, literary theory, and to linguistic, visual,

emotional, sensory, and other 'turns'. Transnational and intercultural flows, influences and confluences, comparisons and contrasts, were particularly evident in these proceedings.

The first sub-theme of the conference was 'education for war', or the role of education in preparing for and promoting war, including through particular forms of curriculum and organised propaganda.

The second was 'education for peace', specifically the role of education in preparing for and promoting peace or non-violent action, including through particular forms of curriculum and organised peace movements. The third concerned the impact of war on education, in particular the experience of war and its direct impact on children, schools, teachers and education systems, and the longer term consequences and legacies of war for education. Finally, it encompassed the representations of war and peace: war and peace in media, textbooks, culture, and organised memory such as museums and official memorials.

The conference was naturally dominated by the powerful Tolstoyan binary drama of war and peace, and especially the two global military conflicts of the twentieth century. The centenary of the First World War has been accompanied by a surge of historical interest in its origins, characteristics and consequences. The most comprehensive work produced has been Jay Winter's three-volume *Cambridge History of the First World War*.¹ This massive collection surveys first the spread of the conflict into a global war, secondly the role of the State, and last the position of civil society during the War. Much of Winter's earlier work has also addressed the lasting consequences and legacies of the Great War.² Other recent major contributions to historical reinterpretations of the Great War include Margaret Macmillan's *The War that Ended Peace*, a detailed reconstruction of the origins and outbreak of the War, and Adam Tooze's *The Deluge*, which takes a longer-term view on the role

¹ J. Winter (ed), *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

² E.g. J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

of the War in the remaking of the global order.³ Like Winter's collection, this new set of works brings together the military and domestic features of modern war, the 'total war' formulated by Erich Ludendorff in his memoir published in 1935,⁴ and thus raises questions about the importance of education both as an area of policy and in terms of its experience during the War.

The Great War itself was marked by an outpouring of memorials, literally in the form of museums such as the Imperial War Museum in London, monuments like the Cenotaph, halls, ceremonies, and war grave sites. It was also notable for the literature that it evoked, such as the poetry of Wilfred Owen., killed in action in 1918. A Canadian physician, John Macrae, wrote the poem 'In Flanders Fields' in 1915, a work that with its references to red poppies inspired these flowers becoming an international symbol of the sacrifices of war in Remembrance Day ceremonies around the world.⁵ Memoirs such as Robert Graves' *Good-Bye to All That* (1929) and Vera Brittain's *Testament of Youth* (1933) were also to become universally recognised.

The Second World War has also been exhaustively studied in its international military dimensions, for example by Anthony Beevor.⁶ Similarly, the literature of the Second World War has attracted widespread attention.⁷ The Jewish Holocaust is well established in historical research,⁸ while the

³ M. Macmillan, *The War that Ended Peace*, London, Profile Books, 2013; A. Tooze, *The Deluge: The Great War and the Remaking of Global Order*, London, Penguin Books, 2013.

⁴ E. Ludendorff, *Der Totale Krieg*, 1935. See also A. Marwick, C. Emsley, W. Simpson (eds), *Total War and Historical Change: Europe, 1914-1955*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 2001.

⁵ See also e.g. V. Sherry (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the First World War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005; and B. Murdoch, *German Literature of the First World War: The Anti-War Tradition*, Ashgate, Ashgate Books, 2015.

⁶ A. Beevor, *The Second World War*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2012.

⁷ E.g. M. Mackay (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of World War II*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009.

⁸ E.g. N.E. Rupprecht, W. Koenig (eds), *The Holocaust and World War II: In History and in Memory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012; P. Hayes, J. Roth (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011. See also D. Bloxham, A.D. Moses (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

experiences of Anne Frank in Nazi-occupied Amsterdam, originally recorded in her diary, are now fully represented in a museum, play and film of her short life. Other conflicts have also been the focus of historical scrutiny. For example, the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 has increasingly become a subject of detailed historical research, and was well represented at the conference.⁹ The 'Cold War' of the second half of the twentieth century is also the focus of a three-volume Cambridge history collection edited by Leffler and Wested.¹⁰

There is a clear risk of the history of peace becoming submerged in these dramatic events, but there is also a burgeoning historiography of international peace movements and post-war reconciliation within which we can also seek to locate our historical study of education, war and peace. This includes, pre-eminently in Britain, Martin Ceadel's work on the history of peace movements, pacifism and international relations.¹¹ The work of the League of Nations Union in the 1920s and 1930s has also attracted detailed attention, for example from Helen McCarthy, in the broader context of transnational ideas and movements.¹² Post-conflict reconciliation is perhaps still in its early stages in the international historical literature, but there are interesting studies such as the work of Sarah Maddison.¹³

⁹ E.g. P. Preston, *The Spanish Civil War*, 2nd edn, London, HarperCollins, 2006.

¹⁰ M. Leffler, O.A. Wested (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010-2012.

¹¹ See M. Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980; M. Ceadel, *The Origins of War Prevention: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1730-1854*, Oxford, OUP, 1996; M. Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International relations, 1854-1945*, Oxford, OUP, 2000.

¹² H. McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918-45*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2011; H. Summy, 'Countering war: the role of the League of Nations Union', *Social Alternatives*, 33/4 (2014); D. Laqua (ed), *Internationalism Reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2011.

¹³ S. Maddison, *Conflict Transformation and Reconciliation: Multi-Level Challenges in Deeply Divided Societies*, London, Routledge, 2016. See also e.g. C. Gagnon, K. Brown, *Post-Conflict Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, London, Routledge, 2014; and J. McMullin, *Ex-Combatants and the Post-Conflict State: Challenges of Reintegration*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2013.

Education has played an often pivotal mediating role in relation to war and peace. To some extent it has been a significant influence in avoiding war and finding peaceful solutions to social and international problems; as the British intellectual H.G. Wells put it, civilisation is in a race between education and catastrophe.¹⁴ Yet it is important to avoid idealising the historical connections between education, war and peace. In many cases, education has played a significant part in promoting and preparing for war. Recording the human suffering caused by war has been a key contribution of education over the longer term, and this has been enabled by teachers, schools, museums and memorials.

John Rury and Derrick Darby open the double special issue with a wide-ranging paper examining war, 'race' and education in the USA in three historical periods: the Revolutionary Era, the Civil War and the Second World War. Rury and Darby describe a 'colonizing regime of unequal and inadequate education for African Americans and other oppressed groups' that has historically prevailed in the United States, but argue that, at key moments, war has created periods of openness to the advancement of these groups. Gaining greater access to educational opportunity during conflicts and in their aftermath was a tangible benefit for such groups – from the foundation of schools for African Americans as an outcome of the anti-slavery impulse of the Revolutionary era to substantial improvements in Black education from the Second World War onwards.

Our second article by Parimala Rao takes a fresh look at education and the 1857 Revolt in India. Rao challenges colonial discourses that blamed English education for the revolt, arguing that English schools were valued by local people – including the poor and those from lower caste backgrounds – and that they were largely protected during the Revolt. Rao's paper is a welcome attempt to apply the methodological approaches of history of education to a study of conflict in a colonial setting. We move from India under the British to colonial Madagascar for a paper by Ellen Rosnes and Monique Rakatoanosy on the role of education and especially language in maintaining colonial power. Rosnes

¹⁴ H.G. Wells, *The Outline of History*, New York, P.F. Collier and son, 1920.

and Rakatoanosy show how France as the colonial power in this case saw education as a key instrument in a civilising mission and for the establishment of elites that would serve its own position, through the institutionalisation of the French language. Political and educational issues were intertwined, with elitism and ethnicity as compounding factors, so that even after independence was gained in 1960 and the Malagasy Republic came into existence many of the established features of pre-independence Madagascar remained in place.

Nancy Beadie's paper examines the period of reconstruction in the USA after the Civil War of 1861-5, looking at the role played by education in constructing state power in Hawaii, Alaska, Indian Territory, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico. She shows that the adoption of literacy and language restrictions on voting, citizenship and office holding for these new states was aimed at restricting the civil rights of marginal groups including African Americans but also Mexican-Americans and other Spanish speakers, Asians and native Alaskans and native Hawaiians – a story less well known than that of the extension of 'Jim Crow' laws in the South.

Katharine Kennedy's paper addresses the theme of education for war through an examination of singing about soldiers and war in German schools from the end of the nineteenth century until the Second World War. Kennedy bases her paper on close reading of primary school song books, identifying two key groups of songs; those which survived into the mid-twentieth century from late imperial Germany and those newly created or adopted by the Nazis. Through these songs, school children received a barrage of propaganda which upheld sacrifice for one's country as the highest good and perhaps made it possible for Germans to accept suffering and death on an unimaginable scale. Joachim Scholz and Kathrin Berdelmann also highlight education for war in the context of German schools by developing a nuanced appraisal of 'war pedagogy' during the First World War. They base their analysis on school records, including school chronicles and exam protocols from the war years.

Marcella Sutcliffe considers the impact of the First World War on long-standing debates about culture and education through an examination of various voluntary and semi-official programmes that organised the provision of books to British soldiers on the front. Sutcliffe describes the pivotal role of what she calls 'humanities activists', middle-class volunteers who supplied books to the war libraries established in France and elsewhere. Many of these women volunteers were trained librarians, and later in the war some of them were sent to France to deliver educational lectures to soldiers at the front. The war libraries located in YMCA huts became important centres of associational life and adult education.

We move from Sutcliffe's study of reading during the First World War to two papers that foreground writing about war and peace. First, we have Ann McLennan's exploration of Vera Brittain's publications on gender, war and university education, including her 1923 novel *The Dark Tide* which focusses on the different choices of two women students during and after the First World War. Second, Stephanie Spencer uses popular juvenile fiction to explore the themes of education, war and peace in her paper on W. E. Johns' series of wartime stories about female pilot Jean Worrals. Taken together these papers suggest that fiction read alongside other evidence can offer valuable insights for historians of education and gender, and offer explorations of shifting female professional identity in the early to mid- twentieth century. Spencer shows that teenage fiction can contribute to our knowledge and understanding of informal education during wartime, and that through his novels Johns was able to educate girls about hidden areas of military life. Thus fiction provides a way for the historian to navigate around some of the many 'silences of the secret world of the classroom'.

The next two papers examine different aspects of education and childhood in Spain during the Spanish Civil War, the Franco-era and the transition to democracy during the 1970s and 1980s, topics only now receiving serious academic attention after decades of secrecy and silence. Amparo Gomez Rodriguez and Antonio Canales look at how the emergent disciplines of child psychiatry and psychology were placed at the service of Francoism with consequences for the development of

pedagogy in Nationalist Spain. Notable here was the desire to 're-educate' children whose parents had supported the Republican cause and who were deemed at risk of mental breakdown or delinquency. Although the context is very different, there are interesting parallels between the separation of children from Republican families for re-education and to prevent so-called 'contagion' of liberal and democratic ideas, and the children of slaves in Rury and Darby's paper on the USA, who were subjected to a moral education that would prevent them inheriting 'the vices' of their parents. The second article on Spain by Kira Mahamud, Tamar Groves, Cecilia Milito Barone, and Yovana Hernandez Laina looks at competing visions of war and peace in the education system during the transition to democracy after the death of General Franco. Arguing that concepts of war and peace are inextricably linked to ideas of citizenship and democracy, Mahamud et al show that they are useful tools with which to examine changes in education policy and practice. Like several other papers in the collection, this looks closely at textbooks among other educational documents, in this case demonstrating how by the late Franco period a more neutral, 'fact-based' tone began to replace earlier emotionally-charged depictions of war.

Fabio Pruneri's contribution to the collection presents a case study of an unusual pedagogical experiment undertaken in Italy immediately after the fall of fascism. It details the creation of 11 *Convitti scuola della Rinascita* (Boarding Schools of Rebirth), an experiment in anti-fascist adult education which was cut short by the new geo-political considerations of the Cold War, and growing fear of the spread of Communism. Although educating relatively small numbers, these schools had a broader cultural impact and a legacy in the lives of former Italian resistance fighters (partisans). The final paper of this special issue by Zvi Bekerman and Michalinos Zembylas is, in their own words, an attempt to turn a keynote presentation delivered at the conference 'into a written paper hopefully true to its fleeting oral source.' The article presents three vignettes drawn from the authors' ethnographic research into bilingual schools in Israel and multicultural schools in Cyprus, which show pupils and teachers engaging with topics of memory and history. In these pioneering integrated schools discussions of historical events or commemorations of episodes of war and peace are

considered potentially 'risky moments' for teachers and pupils and must be carefully planned.

Bekerman and Zembylas suggest one way forward is both to understand identities as 'negotiated performances' but also to recognise in research that children often order the world through more flexible understandings of identity than those dictated by national paradigms, whether Jewish or Palestinian, Greek or Turk.

It is evident that in our contemporary world the problems of war and peace have not abated, and indeed that the challenges posed by events such as the attack on the Twin Towers on 9/11, 2001, and by issues like nuclear disarmament, refugee crises and cyber-terrorism, are in many ways greater than ever before. According to a report by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in 2015, despite fewer wars taking place the number of deaths caused by war had trebled since 2008. Whereas 63 armed conflicts had led to 56,000 fatalities in 2008, 180,000 people died in 42 conflicts in 2014, notably in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Libya, Yemen and the Central African Republic. The number of people displaced by conflicts exceeded 50 million in 2013. The World Bank estimated that 1.2 billion people, about one-fifth of the world's population, were affected by some form of violence or insecurity.¹⁵

The articles in the current collection demonstrate the key mediating role of education in issues of war and peace, in particular in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Might it be that in the twenty-first century we can learn from this historical experience to become more strategic in the ways that education can be brought to bear? Perhaps our historical memories may be directed through our history curriculum and other representations of war and peace to inform government policies.¹⁶ Popular movements might also support a constructive engagement of educational groups

¹⁵ R. Norton-Taylor, 'Global armed conflicts becoming more deadly, major study finds', *The Guardian*, 20 May 2015.

¹⁶ See e.g. G. McCulloch, 'The cause of nowadays and the end of history?: School history and the centenary of the First World War', *FORUM*, 55/3 (2013), pp. 473-84.

with difficult conflict situations.¹⁷ Histories of education, war and peace do not preach a counsel of despair, but provide an accumulated record of human experience on which we must seek to build.¹⁸

¹⁷ See e.g. G. Brewis, 'Student solidarity across borders: students, universities and refugee crises, past and present', *History and Policy*, 20 October 2015, www.historyandpolicy.org/policy-papers/papers/student-solidarity-across-borders-students-universities-and-refugee-crises

¹⁸ We should like to take this opportunity also to thank the large number of delegates who presented papers at the 2014 ISCHE conference and the many authors who submitted papers for this collection, as well as the referees who have provided us with independent external advice.