

Traces of tolerance in European history: A student-oriented and educational approach.

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Hugo Verkest (Editor)

VIVES, University College, Belgium

Jane Carter

University of the West of England, England

Paula Cowan

University of West of Scotland, Scotland

Nicolae Hurduzeu

Senior Lecturer, Teacher Training Department, West University, Timisoara, Romania

Despina Karakatsani

University of the Peloponnese, Greece

Eleni Karamanoli

University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Henry Maitles

Emeritus Professor of Education, University of West of Scotland, Scotland

Antonio Petagine

Roma Tre University, Rome, Italy

Karmen Trasberg

University of Tartu, Estonia

Sarah Whitehouse

University of the West of England, England



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Annemie Van den dries
VIVES, University College, Belgium

Introduction

The teacher support materials found in this book are based on the work of an interdisciplinary group with expertise in teacher education, pedagogy, philosophy, social studies, ethics, didactics and of course history. The materials focus on one of the foundational European Values, that of *tolerance*.

Tolerance is a concept with a long historical and philosophical basis. The materials provide a detailed overview of the concept of tolerance and how it has been understood and theorised through time, up to the present day. It is a concept of Tolerance is now enshrined as a European Value, and so is a key idea for teachers across Europe.

The first chapter introduces the complexity of the idea of tolerance, exploring medieval to modern paradigms. It outlines some of the UNESCO principles of tolerance in that it is not “concession, condescension or indulgence” or “toleration of social injustice, nor the abandonment of one’s convictions,” but it is clear that without a society that understands tolerance and is tolerant, there cannot be peace and democracy “between individuals, and at family and community levels”.

This introduction provides the context, basis and lens for the subsequent chapters that provide case studies from different countries in Europe. Each chapter draws on historically significant events in the country, with examples ranging from the Balkans to Bristol. These are further framed by a chapter that considers the importance of using significant and often controversial historical events to support children and young people’s developing citizenship education. In doing so, we argue that only through reflecting on the past and addressing the sensitive issues they can raise, do children have the opportunity to both learn from the past and to reflect on their wider implications for future individual, community, and society well-being.

In these chapters, the reader will find each historical event outlined with reference to useful sources. Many of the historical events included are only usually found in a few lines in history books, but they provide a fertile opportunity for learners to understand and reflect on the idea of tolerance. Some chapters also include a wide range of practical activities which are designed to encourage discussion and debate in the classroom and will guide the teacher on how to organise and facilitate teaching and learning opportunities. A range of pedagogical approaches are used in many of the chapters. These include:

- Creating the climate for open and honest discussion (Karamanoli). Identified were specific actions for teachers e.g. establishing of shared rules, deliberate identification of heard and unheard voices.
- Generating discussion through activities that encourage the consideration of viewpoint e.g. Diamond 9 approach: use of photographs with guiding questions/statements (Whitehouse and Carter).
- Using contexts/events that students are already familiar with as a springboard for discussion of the 'big questions' - universal human values: honesty, caring, respect for life, justice, human dignity, respect for oneself and others (Oja, 2021 cited by Trasberg).
- Providing contexts for learners to engage empathetically with historical events or people (Hurduzeu)
- Using role-play and empathetic strategies – with roles assigned (Trasberg) whilst demonstrating and awareness when this is not appropriate e.g. holocaust (Maitles and Cowan)
- The use of children's literature to prompt analysis and critical discussion (Maitles and Cowan)
- Decoding memorials and monuments to discover the values by re-enacting and re-contextualisation (Verkest and Van den dries)

This book has been framed with tolerance at the heart of active citizenship education.

Chapter overviews

Chapter 1: Rethinking Tolerance

This chapter presents a philosophical overview of Tolerance, and gives a strong theoretical basis from which to understand the concept, and frame teaching and learning activities. It charts conceptual understandings of tolerance from medieval times, when it was conceived as the patient endurance of evil in pursuit of a greater good and stressed freedom of faith, to more modern understandings associated with the defence of pluralism and the rights of the individual conscience.

Chapter 2: Teaching and learning about controversial issues in History.

This chapter argues that History teachers should focus on helping students understand the ways in which historical facts and narratives are used in the present society; and that addressing controversial issues helps students develop important abilities related to democracy, respect, and citizenship and civic behaviour. Whilst recognising the many constraints on schools, it stresses the importance of teaching and learning around controversial issues. In doing so, it reflects on how controversial issues may be conceptualised, problematised and presented, and offers overarching guidance on teaching and learning about controversial issues in History.

Chapter 3: Learning about the Holocaust. Some considerations from Scottish experiences.

This chapter contends that Holocaust education can be of great importance in developing citizenship awareness amongst school students, but emphasises that issues of pedagogy are of key importance. It provides a critical reflection on the use of both historical fiction and role-play exercises, stressing that these should be used with caution, forethought and deep reflection.

Chapter 4: Occupation and resistance in the post-war period

This chapter provides background to the situation after World War II in Europe, with a substantial section that has particular focus on Romania. This notes the role of the Securitate (Romanian secret service) and highlights the experiences of Gherghe Nichifor, who experienced the realities of the communist prisons. The narrative is laced with numerous teaching and learning activities, that aim to help students to empathetically engage with the history presented, and that could be used by teachers as a basis to develop a series of connected lesson plans around the subject.

Chapter 5: National Pride, Child-Cities and indoctrination during the post-civil war period in Greece

In the aftermath of World War II, a civil war ensued in rural Greece that impacted profoundly on every strand of educational and cultural life. This chapter gives background to the conflict with focus on the so-called Child-Cities (Paidopoleis), which housed children taken away from their home villages during the war (1946-1949). In doing so it suggests activities that present-day students might engage in, to explore the pedagogical discourse and education practices used for national indoctrination; to evaluate how tolerance could be achieved in such a difficult political and social period; and to consider how education could help in the pursuit of this goal.

Chapter 6: The Baltic Way and the consequence for the Baltic States

This chapter focuses on one of the key events of resistance against Soviet occupation in Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) – the Baltic Way (or Baltic chain), when in 1989, up of two million people formed 600 km long human chain in a peaceful political demonstration. The chapter considers how this event can be used in history teaching in Estonian schools today, as a topic develop civic competences and democratic values, with activities designed to stimulate pupils' interest in history, and to support their participation as an active and responsible citizens.

Chapter 7: The Toppling of the Colston Statue: a perspective on tolerance from England

This chapter outlines the background and events of 7 June 2020 when the statue of a controversial historical figure, was pulled down. The chapter includes a wide range of practical activities to enable children and young people to develop a personal viewpoint of the event and their relationship with tolerance, linking past, present and future.

Chapter 8: Teaching and learning for democratic education: a case study in history subject in the context of graduate training.

This chapter is based on a research study in the department of Philosophy and Education at the University of Thessaloniki, exploring how university students understand the concepts of

humanism, empathy, democracy, freedom. Focus is on, with reference to the Balkan Wars, the cultivation of pluralistic and tolerable national identities. The chapter argues that History as a subject, undoubtedly has an important role to play, not only in the development of active and informed citizens, but also in the formation of citizens who possess moral values.

Chapter 9: Christmas Truce, a momentum of tolerance

This chapter make a re-contextualisation in time and space of this unique peaceful event of tolerance at the eve of 24th December 1914 and on Christmas Day. For mapping and facing tolerance you can use archives, diaries and letters and nowadays animation films and children's books about this informal moment of fraternisation. What was the impact until today of this silent night at the Western Front including Ploegsteert, a village nearby the French-Belgian boarder?

Chapter 10: Tolerance embedded in Belgian monuments, memorials and textbooks

This chapter investigates the contribution of monuments, memorials and textbooks to the understanding of tolerance as a European Value. It illustrates points with reference to Belgium, and discusses the 'reading' of monuments alongside historical texts, arguing that the decoding of monuments in relation to remembrance and value education, both enriches the learning experience as well as student understanding.

Chapter 11: Remembering the past for the future. Recommendations

This concluding chapter offers some final thoughts and advocates for reflexive judgment in teaching, encouraging students to critically examine historical narratives.



Chapter 1

Rethinking Tolerance

Antonio Petagine

Roma Tre University, Rome, Italy

Introduction

What unites the peoples of our countries, making them European citizens? Neither common economic interests nor the simple fact of inhabiting the same continent binds them, not even some vague, abstract sharing of European political institutions. Federico Chabod (1960) observed that the origin of the idea of Europe, more than on geography, depends on sharing the same history and values: the ancient Greeks, the first "Europeans", represented themselves as the inhabitants of a land of free men.

Therefore, it is especially important to know the facts and ideas that generated that interweaving of peoples and countries we call "Europe". Furthermore, we should take into serious consideration the fact that the European history of the last few centuries has been characterised by wars and traumatic events, which had their tragic epilogue in the Second World War. Over the last few decades, after the Second World War, European culture became aware of the importance of spreading a culture of peace, based on the dignity of individual human beings and their fundamental rights. Among the virtues and practices that make this possible, a central role is attributed to tolerance.

The idea that an education in human rights needs to be anchored in tolerance is the basis of the solemn declaration approved by UNESCO in 1995, during its twenty-eighth general session. The document contains 4 articles: the meaning of tolerance (a. 1), its application at state level (a. 2) and at that of society (a. 3), the urgency of educating people in tolerance (a. 4). The declaration establishes that "tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human" (1.1). Then, it adds that tolerance is "harmony in difference" (1.1) and "the virtue that makes peace possible" (1.1). Furthermore, tolerance is considered the responsibility that upholds human rights, pluralism (including cultural pluralism), democracy and the rule of law (1.3); it is fostered by "knowledge, openness, communication, freedom of thought, conscience and belief" (1.1) and it implies "the development of independent judgement, critical thinking and



ethical reasoning" (4.3). Coherently, tolerance is related to the rejection of any form of dogmatism and absolutism (1.3).

The UNESCO document also points out that tolerance should not be confused with "concession, condescension or indulgence" (1.2); neither is it "toleration of social injustice, nor the abandonment of one's convictions." (1.4). Rather, it declares that States, inspired by a tolerant attitude, should promote political action directed towards impartiality (2.1), equality (2.2) and respect for "the multicultural character of the human family" (2.3). Generally, peace and democracy are impossible without tolerance; more specifically, the new challenges of a globalized world need mandatory tolerance "between individuals, and at family and community levels" (3.2). Finally, the UNESCO declaration affirms that education in tolerance is "an urgent imperative" (4.2). The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the 16th of November as the International Day for Tolerance.

Indicated by these international documents as an indispensable civic virtue, tolerance has been placed at the core of various historical and philosophical-political studies since the 1980s. These studies have shown that the notion of tolerance is by no means trivial or univocal. What exactly does being tolerant mean? Does tolerance presume the acceptance of given truths or values or something else? How can it be established when being tolerant is good and when, on the contrary, it is necessary to prevent the spread of certain opinions or behaviour (for example, racism or anti-Semitism)? Some studies have pointed out that tolerance is a "paradoxical" and "elusive" virtue (Heyd et al. 1996): we cannot live in peace, nor can we guarantee respect for human rights without tolerance, yet it seems impossible, if not downright harmful, to be always tolerant and in all situations. How can we emerge from this impasse?

As we shall see, the study of history can give us a big hand in our quest for good answers to these questions. Indeed, when we use the term "tolerance", we bring into play concepts that come from different, even conflicting, historical, cultural, religious, and philosophical traditions. The complexity of such a notion is a feature of which we are not usually aware. For this reason, the first part of this chapter will be dedicated to a historical overview, which should permit us to grasp the main elements of this complexity. In the second part, we shall try to propose a definition of tolerance, illustrating why and how we can consider it a virtue of great importance to the development of our citizenship. In the last part, we shall indicate the enemies of tolerance, especially those of today.

A Historical Overview of the Idea of Tolerance in Europe

In a very schematic way, we can say that European history produced two fundamental conceptual paradigms of tolerance. The first is the medieval paradigm which emerged

between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. During that period, tolerance was conceived as patient endurance of evil in order to pursue a greater good. The second is the modern paradigm which arose between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. It associated tolerance with the defence of pluralism and the rights of the individual conscience.

The medieval paradigm

As Istaván Bejczy wrote, “as a social and political concept [...] *tolerantia* is an invention of the Middle Ages” (Bejczy 1997, p. 368). Medieval Europe, starting from the foundation of the Holy Roman Empire, took the form of a *societas christiana*. For a Christian, faith was not authentic unless it was the fruit of a personal choice made with the heart and in complete freedom. St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) wrote: “*crede non potest [homo] nisi volens* – [a man] cannot believe unless he is willing” (Augustine of Hippo 1990, tr. 26, § 2, p. 260,14).

However, a difficulty arose when it came to the safeguard of this principle: how can we harmonise freedom of faith with the duty to fight against evil and avoid error? Should erroneous opinions or reprehensible behaviour not be prevented? Starting from the 12th century, Medieval canonists and theologians, responded to a difficulty like this by developing an initial idea of tolerance: it was true that error needed to be denounced and evil fought against, but if this meant forcing non-Christians to become Christians, an evil greater than that to be fought against would be produced. In these cases, the desire to eradicate evil would result in greater evil or more serious harm to society. According to this view, Christians should be tolerant of non-Christian people and their cults (in particular Jews and Pagans), not because they are lukewarm or confused, but since they acknowledge that the Christian faith should not be imposed on others (Condorelli 1960; Bejczy 1997; Laursen and Nederman 2000; Nederman 2016a, 2016b).

Hood (1995) and Boguslawski (2008) showed that the medieval theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) offered a paradigmatic philosophical and theological justification of this notion of tolerance. Aquinas conceived tolerance as a form of patience displayed towards something evil, which one decides not to prevent, for the sake of good. The source of inspiration of this attitude is God himself. Indeed, God, who created and governed the world with his providence and wisdom, did not prevent evil from happening. It certainly could not be thought that God willed evil or approved of it. However, we should become aware of the fact that a world where one is capable of enduring certain evils generated greater good than one where evil was impossible. Was there not more love where patience, self-sacrifice, repentance, and forgiveness were exercised than where there was no opportunity for deeds of this kind? Thus, God is tolerant, because he sees the good of the whole beyond the evils affecting certain parts (Thomas Aquinas [1888], I, q. 22, a. 2; [1961], III, c. 71). According to this view, rulers, who

deal with the common good of political society, should take inspiration from the wisdom of God, who promotes the common good of the universe.

Medieval masters gave an impetus to the later development of the notion of tolerance also by debating the issue of the relationship between personal conscience and moral obligation. Grellard (2020) showed that medieval debates on the value of erroneous conscience were a first step towards the idea of the autonomy and freedom of the individual conscience, developed in Modern times. Indeed, thinkers such as Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, William of Ockham and the so-called "nominalist theology" of the fourteenth century, accepted the idea that everyone is obliged to follow his/her own conscience above any form of human authority, even when conscience is erroneous.

In conclusion, the medieval notion of tolerance was characterized by three essential elements:

- 1) tolerance became a specific juridical and political notion. It was applied to various cases, the most important of which is that of the non-Christian cults. Tolerance implied "the self-restraint of political power, and abstinence from correctional or destructive force by the authorities governing society" (Bejczy 1997, pp. 369-370).
- 2) tolerance was conceived as patient endurance and permission of evil, of erroneous opinions or objectionable behaviour. This was based on the principle of freedom of faith (no one should be forced to become a Christian) and on the fact that a more attentive view of the common good led good rulers to permit behaviour or beliefs which they disapproved of to persist for the sake of the achievement of a greater good.
- 3) within the theological debates of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the importance of following personal conscience, even when erroneous, began to emerge. This element was to constitute one of the necessary conditions for the further development of the notion of tolerance.

Tolerance for the Humanists and at the time of the Reformation

The sixteenth was a decisive century for European history. During that period, in fact, the religious unity of medieval Christian society was compromised. Martin Luther gave rise to the Protestant Reformation. So, starting from the first half of the 16th century, the European states were involved in wars of religion, destined to continue right into the following century. Although the Middle Ages had established and fostered tolerance of non-Christian cults, those who professed the Christian faith in a manner dissonant from that of the Church were considered "heretics". During the Middle Ages, the attitude towards them was marked by intolerance and harshness. Heresy was seen as a form of betrayal and heretics were judged as people who endangered the civil and religious unity of society. Therefore, it is not surprising

that between Catholics and Protestants intolerance prevailed, especially during the first half of the sixteenth century when the clash was particularly hard.

However, despite a climate of confrontation and violence of this kind, authoritative voices urging the promotion of peace and a restoration of unity emerged. The most influential ones, in the 15th and 16th centuries, belonged to the ambit of humanistic culture. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) opposed all forms of radicalism. He emphasised that the fundamental message of the Gospel was love, not violence and conflict (Lecler 1960, vol. 1, pp. 113-133; Zagorin 2013, pp. 49-56). Erasmus, therefore, exhorted both Catholics and Protestants to put aside their most intolerant, violent attitudes and choose listening and mutual condescension over aggressive opposition and conflict (Erasmus 1988). The tolerance that Thomas Aquinas had applied to Jews and pagans, he held, should have been extended to Christians of different confessions too: although the division into different sects of Christians was an evil, mutual tolerance would have avoided greater evils, like civil war (Erasmus 2016, p. 28).

Some scholars have pointed out that it would be anachronistic to attribute to Erasmus an ideal of tolerance: he aimed, rather, at concord, urging Christians to restore religious unity among them. Furthermore, it is true that Erasmus conceived tolerance only as a temporary stage of a process aimed at achieving the unity that had been lost (Turchetti 1991; Lecler 1960, vol. 1, pp. 107-110). However, it remains clear that good Christians, according to him, should shun what caused division, conflict, and favour what brought about peace and accord (Erasmus 2008a, pp. 572-573; 2008b, p. 197).

Other modern currents that favoured tolerance

Besides humanism, some groups of Anabaptists, Socinianists and the so-called "mystical spiritualists" of the sixteenth century favoured tolerance. Several Catholic theologians, probably Pope Paul III himself, attempted conciliation during the Conferences of Worms (1540-41) and Regensburg (1541 e 1546). The so-called French Politiques favoured civil tolerance, considering it the legal permission it was necessary to grant a cult dissident from the State religion. Within this current, the basis of tolerance was considered the loyalty of citizens, their respect of the law and a demonstration of their willingness to coexist peacefully with others. The application of these principles permitted France (by virtue of the Edict of Nantes, 1598) and Poland (with the Confederation of Warsaw, 1573) to adopt, at the end of the 16th century, the most solid legal measures oriented towards civil tolerance within the European continent (Lecler 1960, vol. 1, pp. 147-308, pp. 385-424; vol. 2, pp. 99-136; 478-479).

A key text that undoubtedly marks a new phase in reflection on tolerance is *De hereticis* published in 1554 by Sébastien Casteillon (1515-1563). This is considered the first document

where the principles of the modern notion of religious tolerance were set down clearly. At the origin of this work is the indignation that the execution of the anti-Trinitarian Michael Servetus by the Calvinists of Geneva in 1553 had aroused. According to Casteillon, it was not right to punish a man with death for the mere fact of having professed his ideas, however, false one might judge them (Castellio 1935; Zagorin 2013, pp. 93-144).

Towards a new notion of tolerance

Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a new doctrine of tolerance was drawn up, which questioned the pillars upon which the medieval notion was based.

Iacopo Aconcio (1492ca-1567ca.), John Goodwin (1594-1665) and John Milton (1608-1674) observed that error was by no means something to be "endured". Error performed a positive role, because it helped us to progress along the pathway of knowledge and, on a religious level, of salvation. These authors claimed that humans were incapable of reaching any truth: the plurality of different and conflicting opinions concerning any sphere of life and knowledge was inevitable. Therefore, no one, within the context of any free discussion, had the right to impose his/her opinion or belief on others, nor to judge the moral conduct of others (Zagorin 2013, pp. 213-224; Lanzillo 2001, pp. 48-50).

Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) consolidated this point of view in his famous essay on tolerance, entitled *Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ "Contrains-les d'entrer"*. He defended the "right to an erroneous conscience" since no one should be forced to have a particular religious belief. It implies accepting the presence of a variety of religious positions within the same society. This means that the State needs to be tolerant, mediating between different positions, to avoid social conflicts and wars. According to Bayle, peace requires not only the guarantee of religious freedom, but also of the freedom to have no religion at all (Bayle 2005, Lanzillo 2001, p. 79).

According to this perspective, tolerance is grounded in two elements:

- 1) no person is capable of reaching the truth;
- 2) all human beings have a fundamental right to freedom of opinion and religion.

This opened the way to a new vision of tolerance, based on a sceptical conception of human reason and respect for freedom of conscience.

The modern notion of tolerance

The development of the modern notion of tolerance is owed particularly to John Locke (1632-1704), Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873).

Locke wrote several works on tolerance: *An Essay concerning Toleration* (1667) and various Letters, the most famous of which is the *Epistola de tolerantia* (1685). More than on scepticism, however, Locke based his view of tolerance on two fundamental theses:

- 1) mutual toleration among Christians is the principal mark of the true church;
- 2) the separation between religion and politics: the churches have no right to use force or induce the State to use it against those they consider heretics; likewise, the State has no right to intervene with regard to the religious choices of individuals or different social groups. The purpose of the State is the promotion of peace and civil good: "life, liberty, physical integrity, and freedom from pain, as well as external possessions, such as land, money, the necessities of everyday life, and so on" (Locke 2010, p. 7). The magistrate, that is the civil ruler, must be tolerant since he must refrain from intervening in anything that goes beyond the task of guaranteeing peace and these rights.

For these reasons, Locke indicated three types of opinion and action that needed to be tolerated:

- 1) those that did not concern society at all, that is, "speculative opinions" and "divine worship". By "speculative opinions," Locke meant those ideas people held about any religious option, and which had no bearing on political life. In this ambit, freedom of conscience was unlimited;
- 2) indifferent actions or opinions, i.e., all those actions or opinions concerning, for example, the way people intended to bring up their children or dispose of their estates. Here tolerance is not absolute: they needed to be tolerated to the extent that they did not upset the peace of the State;
- 3) moral vices and virtues: the State needed to be disinterested when it came to the good of souls, but it was required to think only of security, peace, and the guarantee of the civil good. Therefore, even in this case, moral vices had to be tolerated, except when they caused harm to society. Not surprisingly, according to Locke, no regime was entitled to punish all moral vices (Locke 2006, pp. 271-277).

Locke's perspective laid the foundations for the liberal notion of tolerance, based on the neutrality of the State in religious matters and on the limits that the government was obliged to recognise and respect, vis-à-vis the citizens. Furthermore, Locke linked the practice of tolerance to respect for individual rights. He was aware that not everything could be tolerated and that the principle of freedom of conscience could not be absolutized. However, he was

very careful to clarify the criteria by which to establish what deserved to be tolerated: only opinions and behaviour that endangered peace and social order, or that caused harm to other citizens deserved to be excluded from tolerance.

In Montesquieu's writings as well, tolerance plays a crucial role in the construction of good governance. Montesquieu found a remarkable example of good government, capable of keeping different peoples together peacefully, in ancient Rome. This was possible thanks to the adoption of civil and religious tolerance. Unlike Locke, who clearly separated the State from religion, Montesquieu argued that, on the contrary, the State needed to favour religion, since it motivated people to do good, to respect the laws and be virtuous. However, he held that historical religions are responsible for discord and conflict. Therefore, the State ought to favour a natural religion, to which all human beings might adhere using their rational powers. This form of religion had arisen during the eighteenth century, especially in England and was known as deism. Using reason and living religion within its realm, people could develop peaceful coexistence with each other. Within a context like this, tolerance is much more than a useful political practice: it is a real facet of civilisation, one which needed to be safeguarded in the name of the common nature of human beings (Montesquieu, 1999).

Bayle, Locke, and Montesquieu favoured the development of the notion of tolerance during the Enlightenment. Its most eloquent supporter was Voltaire (1694-1778). He considered tolerance the moral and civic virtue par excellence, without which it was impossible to foster civil coexistence. Compared to the other authors mentioned Voltaire attributed a strongly anti-religious connotation, above all anti-Catholic, to tolerance, since for him religion was the source of all forms of obscurantism, fanaticism, and dogmatism. Moreover, more clearly than Locke and Montesquieu, Voltaire founded tolerance on scepticism: since every human opinion is fallible, no position has the right to be imposed. This implies the acceptance of pluralism in matters of religion and politics. Every human being is equal to all others because everyone possesses reason equally, and he/she is the subject of universal and inalienable rights (Voltaire, 2000).

After Voltaire, the modern notion of tolerance was no longer based on tolerating any kind of evil, opinions or forms of behaviour considered objectionable by political or religious authorities, but on the respect for individual freedom and rights.

We can find the final stage in the determination of the modern paradigm of tolerance in John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (first edition in 1859). This work deals with civil liberty and the right way not only to promote it but also to safeguard it. Freedom, Stuart Mill held, needs to be defended from the new forms of despotism that the society of his time was generating: the State and society tended to interfere more and more forcefully in the lives of citizens. Indeed, a "dictatorship of the majority" drives individuals towards social, cultural, and moral homologation. Therefore, the development of a just and orderly society needed autonomous

and open-minded individuals and implied diversity of opinion. Only comparison between different visions fostered moral and intellectual growth. This emerged clearly from two great examples of the past that Mill provided: Socratic dialectic and Medieval disputation. According to him, the regime best able to favour this approach is representative democracy, since it is based on the consent and mutual agreement between free and equal individuals, each of whom respected the freedom of all the others. Therefore, the democratic State can promote the coexistence of a plurality of points of view and models of life, enabling citizens to fulfil their individuality (Mill, 1977).

Mill's *On Liberty* may be considered the last, decisive piece of the mosaic of the modern notion of tolerance. It is this work that more than any other provides us with features that we usually associate with the notion of tolerance: the value of diversity, the duty to respect individual freedom of opinion, the development of democratic citizenship, favouring pluralism, peace, and mutual respect. It is easy to find these characteristics in the UNESCO declaration of 1995. Yet, Mill's work itself seems to undermine the notion of tolerance. Considered an indispensable text for an understanding of tolerance, *On Liberty* does not deal directly with tolerance, nor does it explicitly promote it. What Mill cared about was the promotion of freedom. However, tolerance and freedom are not one and the same thing. Interpreted through the lens of Mill's philosophy, tolerance risks evaporating, becoming a weak synonym for other semantically more powerful and conceptually more stringent notions, like respect, reception and acceptance of differences, recognition, freedom, and rights.

Reconsidering tolerance

The historical overview we have presented here has shown us that our culture contains two fundamental paradigms, so different from each other that they are, in many ways, rivals. The modern paradigm has tried to oppose the negative tone typical of the medieval notion of tolerance, which conceived it as a form of concession. The modern philosophers did their utmost to transform tolerance into a positive attitude, marked by an appreciation of individual freedom and pluralism.

Although the modern paradigm predominates in grand informational campaigns and in the educational promotion of tolerance, the medieval paradigm is far from defunct. It re-emerges when one questions the "limits" of tolerance: is it right to tolerate the behaviour or opinion of others when they convey negative values like racism, discrimination, and antisemitism? Asking this question means reconsidering the relationship between tolerance and objectionable opinions and behaviour, typical of the medieval account of tolerance. Furthermore, the medieval notion had the advantage of being closer to the common significance that the verb "to tolerate" has maintained in European languages. When, in everyday life, we say we "tolerate" something or someone, we are not saying that we accept

it, or that we rejoice in the difference with which it brings us into contact. On the contrary, we are saying that we tolerate what, to some extent, we disapprove of.

Indeed, if we were to consider tolerance a sort of weak synonym of "respect", "receive" or "acceptance", we would be doing considerable injustice to the true mission of tolerance, a mission which we urgently need today, and which does not appear easy to accomplish. In the following pages, I shall propose the following point of view: being tolerant does not mean being able to respect others in a generic sense, but, rather, trying to behave properly towards those who think or do something that we cannot share or accept. Only by starting from here can we conceive tolerance in the proper way, focusing on its specific characteristics. True tolerance urges all of us to exercise a virtue which - if conceived correctly – is anything but elusive.

Defining tolerance

Lois M. Eveleth (2007, pp. 17-18) has collected various definitions of tolerance, proposed in recent times, these are:

John Horton (1996, p. 28): “[Tolerance is] the refusal, where one has the power to do so, to prohibit or seriously interfere with conduct that one finds objectionable”.

Thomas M. Scanlon (2003, p. 187): “Tolerance requires us to accept people and permit their practices even when we strongly disapprove of them”.

Alex Tuckness (2002, p. 288, note 2): “A theory of toleration will give reasons why we should not put a stop to some action or state of affairs that we think wrong and which we have the power to affect”.

Andrew Cohen (2004): “[Tolerance is] an act that is an agent’s intentional and principled refraining from interfering with an opposed other (or their behaviour, etc.) in situations of diversity, where the agent believes she has the power to interfere”.

Andrew Fiala (2005, p. 18): “When I tolerate something: I have a negative judgment about this thing (usually a person or his activities, where activity is broadly conceived to include the actions, attitudes, and habits of persons). I could negate this thing. I deliberately refrain from negating this thing”.

To Eveleth’s list we can add Paul Vogt’s and John Bowlin’s definitions:

Paul Vogt (1994, p. 280): "Tolerance is intentional self-restraint in the face of something one dislikes, objects to, finds threatening, or otherwise has a negative attitude toward—usually in order to maintain a social or political group or to promote harmony in a group".

John Bowlin (2016, p. 118): "[tolerance is] the patient endurance of another's objectionable difference".

What these definitions have in common is the idea that the object of tolerance is something of which we disapprove. This prevents us from confusing it with other civic virtues like "recognition, respect, and equal standing across various lines of difference, status, and power" (Bowlin 2016, p. 134). Bowlin (2016, pp. 117-119) explains that those who decide not to thwart something they find false or unseemly are tolerant, but they are not such due to weakness, passivity, or indifference. Indeed, they are driven by the assumption of a deeper vision of the common good, which leads them to recognize the primary importance of two fundamental goods:

- 1) the peace and well-being of the community/society that the tolerant shares with the tolerated;
- 2) the autonomy that each enjoys with respect to the difference in any sort of dispute.

To understand an attitude of tolerance, we might take the relationship between a parent and a teenager as an example. A parent is not tolerant because s/he allows her/his child to do anything (this would not be tolerance, but a simple renunciation of education). However, the good parent understands that there are times when it is better not to hinder a child's behaviour s/he does not approve of, to avoid conflict that would significantly worsen her/his relationship with the teenager and the general climate of family life. At the same time, good parents do not want their children to base their behaviour on constraints and prohibitions, but on autonomous, conscious choices. In this sense, a tolerant parent is he/she who understands when his/her victory regarding the prevention of a certain behaviour would turn into a defeat at a deeper level: the child might become more obdurate in the face of his/her parent's intolerant attitude and move further away from the good the parent was seeking to convey. The child might yield to his/her parent, but s/he would do so only as a response to coercion while developing attitudes of duplicity, hypocrisy, or pure lip service.

We chose an example of this kind to illustrate the idea that the practice of tolerance can favour not only political coexistence, but relationships at all levels, as Fiala (2005) pointed out:

- in intimate relationships it permits people to enhance affection and friendship by learning not to base a relationship on approval/disapproval. There is no lasting relationship where one approves what the other thinks or does, totally and continuously;
- *in educational relationships*, tolerance permits learners to live in an environment where they do not feel crushed by punitive, censorial attitudes. In this kind of relationship, students should develop autonomous and free modes of thinking, which prompt them to behave in a certain way due to conviction and not simply in observance of external and superficial acceptance of rules imposed from without;

- *within the religious sphere*, tolerance is based on the principle according to which people should not be forced to adhere to a religion different from their own or forced to follow if they are atheists or agnostics. We have already seen the role this principle has played in the course of the historical development of the notion of tolerance;

- *within the civil and political sphere*, the attitude of tolerance fosters concrete, realistic commitment favouring both peace and the promotion of citizens' right to independent judgment, speech, thought and expression. For a tolerant ruler, peace and the autonomy of citizens are primary assets to be pursued and respected. Being tolerant is particularly important in times of emergency and crisis: in similar circumstances, it is easy for rulers to yield to the temptation to act coercively and intolerantly towards those who disagree or conscientiously object to what the government demands. A sure sign of tolerance in politics, is, for example, legal recognition of conscientious objection towards certain laws, the observance of which might lead to conflicts of conscience. In Italy, for example, law no. 772, of the 15th of December 1972, made conscientious objection to compulsory military service legal, while article 9 of law 194/1978 permitted health personnel to exercise conscientious objection to the practice of abortion.

The practice of tolerance is a clear sign of first-rate democratic life. Democracy could not exist without recognition of a qualified, though not scarce pluralism of opinions, of views of the world and life ⁽¹⁾. Within the democratic debate, citizens need to be permitted the right/duty to express their opinions not only freely, but also responsibly. The right of free speech and expression alone is not sufficient for the implementation of positive democratic dialogue. It is also necessary to develop an ethic of discourse (Habermas 1998, Apel 2001), marked by respect for the people involved in the public debate, by commitment and the ability to support one's positions with arguments and reasons, rather than by recourse to manipulative and aggressive methods. Furthermore, there can be no dialogue without the will to listen and a serious attempt to understand the positions and reasons of others.

Tolerance as a Virtue

Once we have clarified what tolerance involves and what its purposes are, we can deal with a crucial issue. Is tolerance simply a strategy, or an attitude? Considering education to tolerance an "urgent imperative" (4.2.), the 1995 UNESCO declaration does not intend to impart a technique, but to spread a stable attitude, upon which to base coexistence and citizenship. In the language of philosophy, to develop a stable attitude capable of enabling one to face different situations on the basis of a similar outlook means cultivating a virtue. As Aristotle (2009 II.3-6) claimed, a virtue is a form of human excellence (aretè in Greek), as it stabilizes our ability to give the best of ourselves, both for ourselves and others. According to Bowlin (2016), Horton (Heyd et al. 1996) and Fiala (2005), genuine tolerance is a stable disposition,

which structures our character by favouring the cultivation of relationships based on respect and peaceful coexistence. Tolerant people can avoid reacting unjustly and aggressively towards what they disapprove of. From an educational point of view, a tolerant attitude helps to foster independent judgment in learners.

Furthermore, Aristotle indicated virtue as a means, while “excess and defect are characteristic of vice” (Aristotle 2009, II.6, 1106b25-34, pp. 30-31). Actually, we can distinguish tolerance from other attitudes which we can describe as a defect or excess when dealing with objectionable differences. Perhaps, it is easier for us to recognize the defect of tolerance, that is intolerance. Intolerant people are those who, in the face of what they disapprove of, habitually were blinded by the evil they see in the opinion or behaviour of others, losing sight of the real common good.

However, it is not only intolerance that opposes tolerance. There exists another attitude, that might appear tolerant though it really is not. It is distant from true tolerance "by excess", and it occurs when certain opinions or modes of behaviour are accepted not because of a view of the common good and for the sake of respecting the autonomy of the choice of others - i.e., the motivations of true tolerance - but out of laxity, indifference, weakness, cowardice. We might call this attitude “bad tolerance”, which dramatically broadens the spectrum of what is tolerated by placing all behaviour and opinions upon the same plane. This attitude is not only incorrect but dangerous, too, for several reasons. First of all, it is not realistic. No relational or social context tolerates everything: in every relationship, there are boundaries beyond which the moral, psychological, and physical integrity itself of the people involved in the relationship can come up against serious dangers. So, for example, at domestic level, one might - and should - tolerate certain divergences of views and behaviour, though not verbal or physical violence. A simply lax, passive, or cowardly attitude towards objectionable differences favours neither peace nor the development of independent judgment of others. Furthermore, it is evident that a form of tolerance based on unconditional acceptance of all and every difference prevents us from identifying reasonable criteria by means of which to establish actions or opinions to hinder or oppose. Finally used the expression qualified, because no society is founded on an absolute and unconditional form of pluralism, where everything and the opposite of everything is accepted.

Hypocrisy has often been presented as a critique of the modern notion of tolerance, considered an expression of the duplicity of bourgeois morality (Adorno 2005, Part II, § 66, pp. 102-103; R.P. Wolff, B. Moore, Jr., H. Marcuse 1965). If what we are saying is true, criticism of this kind can be directed legitimately against what we call here “bad tolerance”, rather than against tolerance as a genuine relational, social, and civic virtue.

Furthermore, “bad tolerance” is often accompanied by hypocrisy. It is not uncommon for those who demand tolerance for themselves to ask that it be very broad, practically unlimited;

however, the same openness is not maintained when the behaviour and opinions disapproved of are those of others⁽ⁱⁱ⁾.

Tolerance as a Form of Justice

John Bowlin (2016, p. 118) makes it clear that tolerance is a virtue associated with justice. Indeed, we should pose the question about tolerance in the following way: what is it right to do when the other expresses an opinion that we find wrong or when s/he behaves in a way we resent? People can be profoundly unjust when they pursue - or believe they are pursuing - a just cause or when they claim to oppose evil. Genuine tolerance arises from the intention of understanding what is due to the other, even in situations where being just can be difficult, as in the specific case where the other adopts a mode of behaviour or defends an opinion we cannot accept. If we conceive tolerance as a form of justice, we can easily understand its link with the promotion of human rights. This feature, as we have seen, has been underlined by the declaration of UNESCO. There can be no justice without respect for the dignity of every human individual, in every sense.

Taking into account that the object of tolerance is an objectionable difference, we can say that the tolerant are those who are permanently sensitive to the following aspects:

- 1) the fight against evil, even in the face of a crisis or an emergency, never renders respect for human rights secondary;
- 2) peace is always a goal to be aimed at primarily;
- 3) education, sensitization, and dialogue conducted with respect for individual consciences are to be preferred at all times to actions where coercion, imposition and paternalism are predominant.

Tolerance and Truth

The link between tolerance and respect for the dignity of every human being also permits us to understand the connection existing between tolerance and truth. As we have seen, some modern thinkers like Voltaire associated tolerance with scepticism. It is true that tolerant people do not impose their beliefs in a dogmatic way. However, fighting against dogmatism is not the same as fighting against truth. On the contrary, as Michael Lynch (2005), D'Agostini and Ferrera (2019) have pointed out, the link between truth and democracy is crucial, for the following reasons:

- 1) Human rights and values must be considered true if they have to measure the justice found in actions and rules;

2) beneficial attitudes such as integrity and authenticity are related to the fact that we are interested in the truth;

3) the development of intellectual virtues associated with tolerance - such as mental openness and freedom of thought - would be incomprehensible if detached from a sincere desire for truth;

4) in an authentic democracy, citizens must have the possibility to speak the truth to whomsoever possesses power; they need to have the right to demand the truth from rulers and magistrates. No one should be considered totally incapable of bringing truth within the public debate.

Hence, tolerance is linked to the quest for truth because it prompts us to listen carefully and without prejudice to the arguments that others bring to the public debate. In this sense, Michael Sandel (1996) is right to believe that "judgemental toleration" is more effective than "non-judgemental toleration", meaning an attitude grounded in empty indifference towards truth and values.

Finally, although forms of extremism and fanaticism have always existed and still do among groups that profess the historical religions, it is certainly a simplification to affirm that practising Muslims, Christians, or Jews are necessarily dogmatic, intolerant, or incapable of being loyal to a non-confessional state, as Voltaire claimed. Certainly, we cannot minimize some controversial issues, linked to ways of life or customs that do not appear immediately compatible with the values typical of European and Western culture (Walzer 1997, Lacorne 2019). However, we should avoid generalizations and simplifications, which spread prejudice and produce distrust and hostility towards those who adhere to a historical religion.

The Enemies of Tolerance

The UNESCO declaration holds that tolerance does not mean abandonment of one's convictions or denial of the cultural or religious groups to which one belongs. Similarly, one is not intolerant simply because one expresses clear disagreement with the opinions, beliefs, and behaviour of others. We shall indicate and briefly describe three main enemies of tolerance:

Fanaticism

We can define it as the claim to impose, at all costs and by any means whatsoever, one's point of view or that of one's reference group. It is an attitude typical of ideological militancy and radicalized political and religious beliefs. Unfortunately, in various areas of Europe, fanaticism is fuelled by nationalism, which has brought war back to our continent, as was the case with ex-Yugoslavia during the 1990s, and today, with the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Today,

fanaticism is present also among activists who adopt a "Jacobin spirit" to support their opinions concerning ecology, anti-racism and anti-discrimination. They have the dangerous idea that good causes need to be pursued even by recourse to shocking methods, by demanding coercion and favouring the spread of contempt for those who think differently.

Paternalism

As Gerald Dworkin (2020) said, "Paternalism is the interference of a state or an individual with another person, against their will, defended or motivated by a claim that the person interfered with will be better off or protected from harm". It is undeniable that those who have roles of responsibility in a family, in society and in politics must, under certain circumstances, assume the onus of acting for the good of all (Sartorius 1983). For this reason, Scanlon (2003 pp. 20, 30, 96-98) distinguishes between a justifiable kind of paternalism and a strong variety of paternalism, pointing out that only the latter is an obstacle to tolerance. However, it remains clear that paternalism as such clashes with tolerance. It leads inevitably to an overshadowing of the importance of individual independence of judgment. A paternalistic attitude tends, inevitably, to diminish the value of voluntary and conscious choices. Rizzo and Whitman (2020) claim that paternalism inherently runs the risk of treating individuals as "puppets" rather than as people. For these reasons, a paternalistic decision-making style tends to debase a sense of active citizenship, smother active participation in the public debate and favour mutual intolerance among those who justify the paternalistic choices of the authority and those who disagree with them. It is no coincidence that, in Italy, for example, after the restrictive and coercive measures adopted to counter the Covid-19 pandemic, the 2022 elections recorded one of the greatest decreases in electoral turnouts in Europe between 1945 and the present (Emanuele and Marino 2022).

The use of the language of emergency

Since the attack against the Twin Towers in New York on the 11th of September 2001, international politics has often been characterised by a reaction to emergencies: terrorism, the economic crisis, the pandemic, the war. Under these circumstances, a political language based on emergency breeds and fuels intolerance in four ways:

- a) it fosters the idea that there is no time to be lost. In a similar context, tolerance risks being perceived as an unaffordable luxury. This is dangerous because it leads to the belief that respect for human rights and democratic values are not valid in themselves, but only when there is no need for resolute and immediately effective action.

b) it favours generalization: in situations of emergency, fighting against the evil cause of the emergency becomes a moral absolute. Starting from this, with the grave complicity of the media, dangerous generalizations are created, and an image of the “enemy” is built. Labels are generated to polarize positions within the public debate; these increase distrust and hostility towards people and groups roughly associated with the enemy to combat. So, for example, media communication regarding the Islamic origin of the terroristic acts of the early 2000s fomented indiscriminate suspicion and distrust of the Muslims present in Europe.

c) it feeds fear in order to legitimize the implementation of exceptional measures. In situations of emergency, political and media communication can foment - rather than control - feelings of fear. The aim may be to make the population take a certain danger seriously. However, the idea may spread that, for the sake of the greater good, it may be right for governors to suspend even democratic rules and respect for certain rights. Furthermore, leveraging fear and issuing anxiety-provoking communiqués inexorably produce greater tension, increasing levels of conflict and intolerance among people and social groups with different opinions and behaviour.

d) it produces limitations of freedom. Friedrich von Hayek (1981, p. 124) said: “'Emergencies' have always been the pretext on which the safeguards of individual liberty have been eroded – and once they are suspended it is not difficult for anyone who has assumed such emergency powers to see to it that the emergency will persist“. In times of emergency, governments tend to oppose the pursuit of the common good to the practice of individual freedoms. In such a situation, the power of the state and supra-individual institutions increases and foments intolerance, spreading the feeling that dissenters threaten the safeguard of the whole of society. For this reason, we should be especially vigilant during emergencies (military, health, climate, social, etc.): the understandable need to cope with difficult situations should never become a reason to foment intolerant attitudes.

Conclusion

In 1995, UNESCO promulgated a declaration solemnly affirming that tolerance is a fundamental attitude for promoting human rights and a necessary principle upon which to build democratic citizenship.

In Europe, the juridical, philosophical, and political development of the notion of tolerance developed from the pursuit of a complex pathway, which, starting from the Middle Ages arrives at the present day. Awareness of the complexity of this course of history permits us to understand why it is not easy to establish what exactly tolerance is and what distinguishes it from other principles and values, such as respect for differences or acceptance of others.

So, in the first part of this chapter we acknowledged, in a schematic manner, the presence of two fundamental paradigms: the medieval paradigm, which emerged between the 12th and 16th centuries, according to which tolerance meant patient endurance of a given evil in order to pursue a greater good; the modern paradigm, developed between the 17th and 19th centuries, that associated tolerance with the defence of pluralism and the rights of the individual conscience.

In the second part, we argued that tolerance is a virtue linked to the practice of justice, which answers the following question: what is the right thing to do when the other expresses an opinion we find wrong or when s/he behaves in a way we resent?

Tolerance springs from a certain view of the common good, which leads us to pursue two kinds of human good:

- 1) the peace and well-being of the community/society;
- 2) the autonomy of judgement of the people belonging to the community/society.

Tolerance is beneficial at all levels of relationships, not only at those of a religious and political nature. It favours the construction of intimate ties and educational relationships as well. Tolerance stimulates the right/duty to listen and be heard, even when dissonant positions arise.

We have presented tolerance as a virtue associated with the exercise of justice, which distinguishes it not only from intolerance but also from what we have called "bad tolerance", an attitude based not on a deeper conception of the common good but on indifference, weakness, cowardice, even hypocrisy. We have also seen that its link with the practice of justice permits an understanding of its association both with the safeguard of human rights and the quest for truth.

What we have said permits us to establish what the enemies of tolerance are, especially today: fanaticism and nationalism; paternalism, and every form of communication based on the "emergency talk", since they foment conflicts, fear, and mistrust. Tolerance implies a deeper vision of the common good, that produces peaceful coexistence and respect for human rights. Such a result can be achieved not regardless of the disagreement we find in our societies but, to some extent, thanks to them, when they are viewed with justice.

Notes

(¹) I used the expression *qualified because* no society is founded on an absolute and unconditional form of pluralism, where everything and the opposite of everything is accepted.

(ⁱⁱ) Hypocrisy has often been presented as a critique of the modern notion of tolerance, considered an expression of the duplicity of bourgeois morality (Adorno 2005, Part II, § 66, pp. 102-103; R.P. Wolff, B. Moore, Jr., H. Marcuse 1965). If what we are saying is true, criticism of this kind can be directed legitimately against what we call here “bad tolerance”, rather than against tolerance as a genuine relational, social, and civic virtue.

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Chapter 2

Teaching and Learning about Controversial issues in History

Nicolae Hurduzeu

Senior Lecturer, Teacher Training Department, West University, Timisoara, Romania

Henry Maitles

Emeritus Professor of Education, University of West of Scotland, UK

Why it is important to study history?

“Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it”, George Santayana

People live in the present and plan their future but, to do this, they must know their past and understand their origin, and for that they need History. Stearns (1998), for example, considers that the study of history makes people able to better understand the world they live in, become better citizens, make better decisions, and, by analysing the events of the past, can change society for the better. By studying History, we learn that the past influences the present and implicitly, the future.

History can thus help us learn from past mistakes to avoid them and find better solutions for the societies in which we live today. History is studied in schools all around the world. It is a story that reveals how people and societies functioned. Some stories can be inspirational, others appear more chaotic, but all past experiences and events give important life lessons, referring to times of suffering as well as of joy, and can all be applied to the personal life experiences of the readers. Personal moral principles and values can be tested and verified against the events and experiences of the past (Kitson et al, 2007). Sometimes it takes just one extraordinary story, carefully selected from the pages of history, to stimulate the imagination of children and encourage them to want to learn more. The study of critical historical periods can encourage students to develop their system of moral and human rights values. In this way, history can enable a better understanding of ethnic, religious, social, cultural, and political differences. It can show the best in humans and the worst.



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Why develop learning about controversial (contested) issues in history?

A controversial issue can be defined as an issue that elicits conflicting views from individuals or groups *'for which society has not found a solution that can be universally accepted'*, that *'arouses protest'*, and in short, *'divides teachers, pupils and parents'* (Stenhouse, 1969). In the UK, the TEACH report (Historical Association, 2007) p3 stated that:

The study of history can be emotive and controversial where there is actual or perceived unfairness to people by another individual or group in the past. This may also be the case where there are disparities between what is taught in school history, family/community histories and other histories. Such issues and disparities create a strong resonance with students in particular educational settings.

The importance for central and eastern Europe has been further stressed by historians such as Misco (2011), arguing the importance of developing citizenship through inquiry into contested history.

Contested issues are there from all current affairs and historical events -- from mass movements that strive for democracy and human rights, to wars and devastation and destruction (such as Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Ukraine), the dangers of climate catastrophe, the global pandemics, mass migrations of desperate people through history to today, linked to everyday issues relating to racism, immigration and social injustice and the calls in the West for decolonizing of the curriculum in the light of imperial histories. In this era of media saturation and social networking, these have a particular impact on the lives of young people. This has become more problematic in the social media age, where the issues of 'fake news' and conspiracy theories abound and where rival 'experts' give views not in the cosy atmosphere of the tutorial but in the often-hostile world of the dark web.

History teachers should focus on helping students understand the way in which historical facts are used in politics, mass media, and society and the way in which these narratives are used in the present society. At the same time, they should develop empathy in students as well as introspection and investigation grounded in multi-faceted historical sources (Stradling, 2001). Addressing controversial issues help students develop important abilities related to democracy, respect, and citizenship and civic behaviour.

Key pedagogical issues - learning *about* and *from*, through interdisciplinarity.

The benefits of teaching controversial issues include developing students' independent critical thinking with a growing awareness of multiple perspectives.

Many controversial topics do require a level of maturity for worthwhile discussion to take place but the essential groundwork, whereby young people learn to assess the difference between fact and opinion, to appreciate the importance of gathering evidence from diverse sources, to listen to and respect views that may differ from their own, should begin early. Teaching several perspectives is grounded on primary and secondary sources and involves interactive teaching, research, and work on projects. One practical reason for teaching controversial issues to younger, some might argue primary/elementary age, students include the primary school offering more opportunities to adopt a cross-curricular, multi-disciplinary approach, than the secondary. This method is advocated by, for example, Holocaust education scholars such as Supple (1993) and Cowan and Maitles (2018). It is argued that there needs the co-ordination of Holocaust teaching between subject departments to be effective. It seems obvious that learning will be much deeper if students study the Holocaust for example, as part of a History unit, through English Literature (*The Diary of Anne Frank*, or a novel in the Holocaust context such as *Number the Stars*), or some artistic films like *Schindler's List* (1993), *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* (2008), although they have to be used with some care (Cowan and Maitles, 2018), through Religious and Moral Education (Judaism and social justice), Modern Studies and Citizenship Education (human rights). Although primary teachers may allow their students to reflect on what they have learnt in a history lesson through, for example, the Expressive Arts, this integrative teaching strategy, is not common practice in secondary schools. Here teaching can be often disjointed and fragmented. In some schools, historical topics provides a context for learning activities in art, drama, maths, technology, history, and English. In these cases, students learn both **about** and **from** the events. While this type of teaching is more widespread than it was, there is no indication that this approach is gathering critical momentum across Europe. Furthermore, many secondary teachers do not have the flexibility to seize the moment and respond to students' responses instantly, or if necessary, follow up their lesson the next day. Secondary students, whose learning is dominated by the subject timetable, may not see the relevant teacher for a few days or more.

The role of the teacher and rules of debate

Few teachers of History and/or Citizenship Education can avoid contested issues, especially when discussing issues such as human rights and racial prejudice. However, not all teachers will approach controversial issues with enthusiasm and confidence as facilitating classroom discussions, and managing lively discussions on conflicting issues, can be particularly challenging. Findings from the TEACH report indicated that it was not uncommon for teachers to be uncertain about the best strategies to apply when addressing emotive and controversial historical topics. Research in Scotland into student primary teachers' perceptions of teaching about war (in this case the Iraq war in 2001) in schools demonstrates the caution some

teachers and schools take towards controversial issues, but also the benefits from doing so, in terms of student learning and understanding (Maitles, 2013).

There is no easy strategy. There are many constraints on schools which mitigate against the discussion of controversial issues. Firstly, there are teacher worries about their skills to handle open-ended discussions, which they might not be able to control or direct. The IEA study of political consciousness in 28 European countries (Schultz et al, 2011) found that in many countries secondary teachers are afraid to tackle controversial issues because, almost by definition, the discussion becomes multi-disciplinary and they are uncomfortable in that zone. Ruddock and Flutter observed that, if teachers lack confidence in the mastery of teaching controversial issues then this content will often be avoided for fear of handling the content insensitively or incorrectly and thus being labelled prejudicial (Ruddock and Flutter, 2004) ; secondly, there are structural constraints in schools from the lack of tradition in discussion to the physical layout of classrooms, which might not be conducive to group work or active learning approaches; thirdly, there are external constraints ranging from the assessment driven agenda in schools to worries about what parents might think about controversial discussion, to the influence of the mass media and politicians to what might be perceived as influencing pupils one way or another. Yet it is vital that these kinds of issues are not avoided. Smith (2003) points out that it raises an absolutely crucial issue: can a concept of citizenship *'based on equal rights and a shared sense of belonging...moderate, transcend or displace identity politics and concepts of nationality'*. And, as if this isn't problematic enough, there is the point of limitations to compromise and consensus. Learning in this area suggests to pupils that there is not always a compromise available no matter how hard we try, and it is this inability that leads to the kind of violent scenes we see on our TV screens and, sometimes, on our streets. This itself is a valuable lesson and can be extrapolated to other conflicts (such as Afghanistan) across the world.

The role of the teacher in this becomes crucial. In the case of high school students, teachers should consider the interest of the students (Historical Association, 2007) in history and provoke them to find an answer to the issue. The teacher needs to be confident enough and have the honesty and confidence to suggest to pupils that they are not just independent observers but do have a point of view, which also can and should be challenged (Agostinone-Wilson, 2005). There are studies that show that students who are educated in a democratic and fair environment, in which they can trust themselves and each other, become well versed in involving themselves in group work as well as taking a stronger interest in the learning (Kendra et al, 2019). Whilst this is an area of some discussion in Britain, Wrigley (2003) points out that in Germany, teachers are encouraged to allow discussion around controversial issues, present a wide range of views and be open about their own standpoint whilst allowing for all views to be challenged. In the very slim curriculum guidelines in Denmark, teachers are encouraged not overload so that, in discussion with their pupils, issues deemed relevant for

discussion can be included. However, it is crucial, according to Ashton and Watson (1998), that teachers understand their pro-active role, where necessary, otherwise backward ideas can dominate the discussion.

Throughout the process, professional judgement is vitally important. For example, the presence of both Jewish and Muslim children in the classroom will call for particularly delicate handling of both learning about the Holocaust and events leading to the formation of Israel. However, the process of working through that confusion, within a supportive environment, can stimulate serious thinking and serve as the basis for deep learning. The notion that all learning can be smooth and unproblematic is one that misrepresents the nature of the process. Engaging with challenging subjects can be disturbing but it can also be intellectually liberating.

Among the risks for the teacher in including controversial material in the curriculum, perhaps the most serious are allegations of biased presentation and, in extreme cases, attempted indoctrination. Bias can be countered first by ensuring that the resources used are sufficiently varied and, where appropriate, bringing in outside speakers with particular expertise who represent different perspectives. Indoctrination is a more serious charge and usually relates to attempts to influence thinking on matters that are likely to affect the whole way of life of the victim, such as religious or political ideology. In this sense indoctrination produces a 'closed' mind. Teaching, by contrast, is about opening minds to new evidence, new arguments, new perspectives. It always leaves open the possibility that learners will alter their views in the light of fresh insights. This suggests that, for some particularly sensitive topics, it might be prudent to have more than one teacher in the classroom and to use the debate with the opponent as a teaching method, in some cases with the opponent being the second teacher: if that is not possible, ensure that the teaching input is shared by two or three members of staff over a number of lessons.

Does this mean that teachers should never declare their own position on contested topics? If controversial issues are considered important and worth teaching, it would be illogical to conclude that teachers should pretend to have no views on them. By including difficult contested historical subjects in the curriculum, the implicit message is that they merit serious reflection and the development of a considered position. But teachers do need to reflect very carefully about when and how they might reveal where they stand and whether, in some cases, they should only do so if asked directly. Their role as authority figures means that any views they might express are likely to carry particular weight, perhaps especially for pupils who lack confidence in their own capacities.

There is also the matter of fairness in the assessment of students' work. Here again trust comes into the picture. Students should feel able to trust teachers to assess their work fairly, even if they express views that may not accord with the teachers' own. This suggests that

teachers should certainly not state their position 'up front' at the start of a lesson since that might short-circuit the learning process. Their principal role is to promote learning through engaging as many students as possible in serious thinking about the topics under discussion. Anything that might undermine that – such as a premature disclosure of a preferred stance – is to be avoided. But that is not the same as saying that the teacher should pretend to a degree of impartiality that is actually dishonest. Procedural neutrality is not to be confused with indifference to the substantive issues which the controversial topic raises. What is important, however, is that where teachers do reveal their own thinking they should be careful to emphasise that students are not expected to follow suit and that new knowledge may require a revision of thinking, from both the students and the teacher. All this reinforces the point made earlier that mutual trust and respect in the teaching/learning relationship is not something that can simply be willed or commanded. It depends on daily acts of commitment that gradually create a climate in which teachers and students develop enhanced understanding of not only the complex issues they are exploring, but also of each other as human beings with different perspectives on the world.

In particular, the teacher needs to consider the following :

Communication - The educational activity involves a permanent dialogue with the students, asking questions and granting students the freedom to express themselves and structure their answers. It involves mutual respect.

Guidance – managing activities in the classroom, guiding the teaching and learning process by watching over the rules of the process and suggesting sources to be examined.

Motivation – stimulating the activity of the students to emphasize positive behaviour and diminishing negative tendencies in students' behaviour. All students must be involved in the debates to express their opinions, feelings, and reasons for behaving in a certain way about a particular subject. It means encouraging all in the debate and not allowing one point of view to dominate.

Counselling – ensuring support and advising students during the education process. Teachers should intervene in cases of behavioural issues (negativity, stubbornness, egoism, emotional and relational problems).

This is not an easy option for most teachers. Our Teacher Education programmes should develop these skills. And courses should be offered to practicing teachers to develop their understanding.

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Chapter 3

Learning about the Holocaust: Some considerations from Scottish experiences.

Henry Maitles and Paula Cowan, University of West of Scotland, Scotland

Introduction

It was outlined in Chapter 2 that the Scottish Government claims that Scotland's 'needs led' and 'rights based' educational system, underpinned, it is argued, by a set of values aligned to social justice and commitment to inclusive education and human rights is designed to be an inclusive for all children and young people in Scottish schools. Whilst the word 'tolerance' is not used in the policy documentation, the overall emphasis on respect, rights and inclusion is clearly similar to the understandings of tolerance developed in this book.

Some issues in teaching the Holocaust

Unlike some other European countries, the Holocaust is not mandatory in Scottish schools. Nor is any examination of either the roots of antisemitism nor antisemitism per se a requirement. Nonetheless, it is common practice for schools to commemorate Holocaust Memorial Day. Primary schools may teach the Holocaust as part of a unit on World War 2

(often with either cross curricular or IDL elements) while many secondary schools in citizenship and/or history and/or RME. The issue though is one of effective pedagogy. There are three key problems with choosing to teach either lessons about or from the Holocaust: firstly, that it is something that happened in the past and is consigned exclusively to history; secondly a lack of understanding about the events which can diminish the historical narrative of the Holocaust and make it primarily a moral event; and thirdly it often leads to learning where antisemitism is either not mentioned or minimised, or taught within the framework of racism within Nazi ideology. It is our contention that it is vital that teachers use the actual word 'antisemitism' when describing events in the Holocaust. There is some evidence that teachers avoid using the word, preferring to describe the actions as racism or persecution. Maitles and Cowan (2006) found that after lessons about the Holocaust a large majority of their sample of primary school students in Scotland aged 11–12 could define the Holocaust, Human Rights and racism, but only 5% could define antisemitism. In their discussions with teachers, it became clear that they were all committed to Holocaust Education, Human Rights Education and Citizenship or Civics Education, but did not use the word 'antisemitism'. On reflection, they said they would do so in the future. Foster et al. (2014), in their study of 80,000 teenagers who had studied the Holocaust in secondary History classes in England, found that only 37% could define antisemitism. Whilst it is true that Nazi policies and actions were clearly racist and full of persecution, we feel it important that young people are able to recognise what antisemitism means if and when they hear it on the news or see the word on social media platforms.

Nonetheless, there is now much evidence from around the world that learning about the Holocaust has a positive effect on the values of young people (Short and Carrington, 1991; Carrington and Short, 1997; Short, 2015 ; Cowan and Maitles, 2007, 2015 and 2017; Eckmann, 2015; Maitles, 2012; Davies, 2012;; Claus-Christian et al, 2019) and therefore should help in combatting its recurrence.

Problematic Pedagogy in Holocaust Education

Whilst it is positive that teachers want to develop and use new and innovative fiction and role-playing strategies, in this area they can be problematic. We want to highlight the pedagogical issues with two examples.

The Boy in The Striped Pyjamas

One recommendation that is commonly agreed in using fiction in school-based Holocaust education is that teachers require to be judicious in their selection of the text. Such judgement relies upon teachers' views as to what constitutes the 'best' novel. For some, the

criteria will be the text that achieves the greatest participation and/or enjoyment of students; for others, the extent to which the text informs students of this historical event, will be more important. Either way, teachers require to support students in their understanding of the Holocaust. If the fictional text contains incorrect information, then the teacher's role is crucial in ensuring that students are not misinformed and that they understand key facts of the Holocaust. Some authors (e.g., Gleitzman, 2006; Morpurgo, 2008; Palacio, 2019) assist in this by inserting a note or letter at the end of their novel that clarify the elements of truth in their story.

The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas is a bestselling novel, and DVD (2009), which are popular resources in primary and secondary classrooms. The popularity of this novel amongst secondary students is supported by Gray's findings (2014:114) that 75.8% of 298 secondary students had either read this book or watched its subsequent film; this percentage was considerably higher than those who had engaged with *Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl* (2007) or *Schindler's List* (1993). In a piece of unpublished research involving induction year primary teachers in Scotland's largest local authority, we found that more of them were using *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* than *The Diary of Anne Frank*.

We consider that *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas* is a piece of historical fiction, as Boyne's character development and setting does indeed bring this period of history alive to the reader *and* it can be argued that Boyne uses history to stimulate readers' imagination. We consider this book to be an original, well-crafted book that can be an effective resource to teach English. However, because of its historical inaccuracies, we do not consider that it is a novel that teachers should be using in their students' study of the Holocaust, as it involves too much work from the teacher to challenge some of the assumptions in the book. Further, we consider that secondary teachers require to exercise caution when using this novel with their students and consult or work with History colleagues to seriously facilitate students' engagement with a range of informational texts, and historical enquiry alongside their fictional reading.

This book has received a great deal of criticism from academics in the literary and historical worlds. Gray (2014: 133) concludes that it is a "curse" for Holocaust education. Ruth Gilbert (2010:361) describes the book's climactic sequence of events as "contrived" and "implausible," and reports that Boyne "admitted that he changed many facts (of the Holocaust) to suit the story." Eaglestone (2007:52) claims that this novel conveys "Auschwitz as 'real' as a fantasy context such as Harry Potter's Hogwarts School." Cesarani (2008:4) accuses Boyne of a lack of knowledge of the Holocaust and of Auschwitz-Birkenau in particular, of distorting history, and writes that it is, "fiction in the worst sense of the word." In addition to this, there are concerns over the theme and messages of this book.

Rather than inform the reader of something new about the Holocaust, Boyne uses the Holocaust as a setting to explore the friendship between two nine-year-old boys, one the son of the Camp Commandant and the other a Jewish prisoner in the camp. As Auschwitz-Birkenau had guarded electric fences and nine-year-old Jewish children, were usually murdered on arrival at this camp, this novel misinforms readers about the Holocaust. One of the messages of this book is that Camp Commandants were respectable individuals and loving fathers, who had to do their job. The actual Commandant of Auschwitz–Birkenau, Rudolf Hoess (1900-1947), was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to ten years in prison in 1924, for his part in the killing of Walter Kadow, a Party member who was suspected of betraying another member. Kadow had been beaten with clubs before his throat had been cut (Harding, 2013). Hoess (voluntarily) joined the SS in 1933, trained as a supervisor in Dachau concentration camp in 1934, was appointed adjutant of Saschenhausen concentration camp in 1938 where he was responsible for camp discipline and executions; he was not in any sense, a model citizen. Hence this too is misleading.

Perhaps, the most controversial point about this novel, however, is the emotional journey on which the author takes the reader. At the end of the book, the reader feels sympathy for the son of the Camp Commandant who is mistakenly murdered in the camp, and his grieving family, and NOT for the primary victims of the Holocaust. This empathy for the perpetrators does not sit easily with Holocaust survivors or ourselves. One's first lessons of the Holocaust should focus on understanding of what the Holocaust was, and this cannot be achieved unless students have a clear understanding of who the victims and perpetrators were. Indeed, it can be argued that if used in the primary school, the young learners would need to 'unlearn' its lessons if/when the Holocaust is discussed in the secondary school. This is another reason why we recommend that this novel is not used in the primary classroom and treated with caution in the secondary.

Our worry is that this book is currently leading to distorted perceptions of the Holocaust, which presents serious challenges to History teachers but is welcomed by those who deny or trivialise the Holocaust. Boyne's insertion that this book is "a fable" is also concerning, as setting such a genre in Auschwitz-Birkenau, the iconic symbol of the Holocaust, arguably diminishes the reality of this terrible place. We agree with the advice of US educators who comprise the Holocaust Educators' Consortium in urging teachers to "Avoid this book" (Holocaust Educators' Consortium, 2014:127).

This is not to suggest that fiction should not be used. There is fiction which develops a stronger understanding of the Holocaust and an empathy with the victims (e.g., Morpurgo, 2008; Gleitzman, 2006; Palacio). Further, alongside fiction, we suggest that teachers choose informational texts such as true-life stories that are written by real children (e.g. Holliday, 1996; Leapman, 2000; Zapruder, 2002), and non-fiction books that are written in a narrative, "fictional" style (e.g. Levine, 2003) for experiences of child victims of the Holocaust.

With the inevitability that more novels will be published that teachers and students will enjoy and adore, that contest the reality of the experiences and events of the Holocaust, and the lessening of living evidence of the Holocaust, there is an urgent need for teachers and educators to give this greater consideration. One approach is to use (non-fictional) informational texts in conjunction with fictional texts.

Bracey, et al, (2006), investigated the use of historical fiction with students between 11-12 years in teaching the Second World War, and controversial issues, such as the treatment of refugees and displaced children. This study unit approach focused on the selected novels, *Safe Harbour* (Conlon-McKenna, 1995), which tells of the experiences of the London Blitz, and *Faraway Home* (Taylor, 1999), which focuses on the experiences of two kinder who fled Vienna for Northern Ireland, and a range of informational texts. This approach is based on the rationale that students should read historical fiction alongside researching its context, thereby relating informational context from fiction to actual evidence and contributing to historical enquiry. This responds to the concern that students who do not have a firm grounding of the historical context of the Holocaust will be unable to distinguish between fantasy and reality (Brabham, 1997).

Role play and simulation

Role play and simulation strategies can be tremendously powerful classroom teaching strategies for deeper learning, but need to be used with caution, forethought, and reflection. Whilst aimed at developing pupil empathy for victims of Holocaust experience they can lead to distressing students. For example, in an attempt to show the dangers of prejudice, discrimination and isolation, one class teacher in Scotland was reported to have told her p7 (aged 11) students that she had received a letter from the Scottish Government saying that nine children were to be separated from their classmates because they were born in January, February and March, and had lower IQs as a result of a lack of sunlight in their mother's womb. These students were told that they had to wear yellow hats and would need to go to the library (*Mail Online*, 2010). Lasting about 15 minutes, several students were in tears while one boy demanded to speak to someone in charge (*East Kilbride News* 2010). As well as the disruption this caused in the classroom, one parent called for the teacher to be suspended and the local council issued an apology, advising parents that this activity would not be repeated in the school (*The Telegraph* online, 2010). While one may applaud the efforts of this student to exert his rights, this example raises issues concerning the ethical use of classroom simulations in this context, teachers' skills in using this approach in the classroom, and parental communication.

In another case (Maitles, 2010) found that a simulation to explain 'othering' – this time with students aged 12 -- led to distress with some students very upset and feeling that '*the school*

has turned against us'. Interestingly, Maitles found that many students (15 of the 120 students involved) complained about the treatment of their peers, although most felt they could do nothing about it. Should teachers deliberately seek such an emotional response from students? Perhaps students would benefit from learning when taken from their comfort zone. Yet we would argue that it is inappropriate and/or unethical for teachers to be quite so deceptive. Quite apart from the hysterical responses it may yield from students, it can cause serious damage to teacher-student relationships and to school-parental partnership.

However, teaching controversial areas such as the Holocaust, genocide, and the abuse of children's rights, **is** upsetting for many students. It is, indeed, a matter of debate as to whether these areas can effectively be taught to students without some level of distress. Role play can be used to develop empathy by for example, giving students a choice of scenarios or allowing students to devise their own scenario where they can apply what they have learned about racist Nazi policy. One common example used in primary schools is when students role play a scenario where an employer interviews an applicant with the required skills and experience but does not give him the job because he is Jewish. This example arouses emotions in the students and can develop their empathy for victims of prejudice in an appropriate way.

Teaching in this way about the Holocaust and genocide can thus be tremendously valuable but it is also tremendously difficult. Nowhere is this clearer than in using simulations. The most famous simulation is that of Jane Elliott (Peters, 1987). Known as *Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes*, the experiment was designed to show the impact of discrimination on both victims and bystanders. In response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. over forty years ago, Jane Elliott devised the controversial exercise. This, now famous, exercise labels participants as inferior or superior based solely upon the colour of their eyes and exposes them to the experience of being a minority. It is still in use and has been the subject of much debate, discussed below. Similarly, the Gestapo Holocaust simulation, devised by Raymond Zwerin and Audrey Friedman Marcus in 1976 has been the subject of controversy (Fallace, 2007). And the controversy surrounding using simulations has continued since (Narvaez, 1998) and indeed is still a live issue in the present day (Short News, 2006; Elliott, 2009).

The critique is that simulation debases the memory of the Holocaust and does not reflect what really went on. As one example, an 8th grade teacher in the US called upon his colleagues to be involved in the experiment on discrimination as *'a day of sheer pleasure for the staff being themselves as Nazi officers and becoming Adolfs...because staff need the stress relief and entertainment'* (Elliott, 2009). Critiques come from individuals and organisations heavily committed to Holocaust education. Dawidowicz (1990) and Totten (2000b) for example argue that simulations reflect poor pedagogy and oversimplify Holocaust history. Totten (2002: 122) is particularly critical. He argues that:

For students to walk away thinking that they have either experienced what a victim went through or have a greater understanding of what the victims suffered is shocking in its naivety. Even more galling is for teachers to think that they have provided their students with a true sense of what the victims lived through.

The Anti-Defamation League in the USA is one organisation that claims that simulations can trivialise the experience, stereotypes group behaviour, distorts historical reality, reinforces negative views, impedes critical analysis, and disconnects the Holocaust from its historical context. It cites one simulation (in Florida), where children were very distressed, crying and one child reported that *'The only thing I found out today is that I don't want to be Jewish'* (ADL, 2006). In other words, this approach can have exactly the opposite impact than teachers want. Further, there is a fear of psychological scarring shown by the blue eyes/brown eyes children experiencing stress and disengagement for a period afterwards (Smetana, 2006; Power et al., 2007). One parent in the primary school mentioned earlier in Scotland, thought the simulation activity was 'cruel' and 'traumatic' (Mail Online 2010). Nonetheless, there are those who argue that using simulation is an issue of pedagogy and, if done well, can encourage students to consider the Holocaust from the perspectives of bystanders, victims and perpetrators (Ben-Peretz, 2004; Drake, 2008; Maitles, 2010; Narvaez, 1987; Pederson, 1995; Ruben, 1999; Schweber, 2003;). Further, there is a case for their being a 'pedagogy of discomfort' and an active empathy in the classroom as these complex and unsettling issues are unpacked (Boler, 1999; Zembylas, 2015).

Jane Elliott, an advocate of such simulations, expresses caution. She argues that it needs experienced teachers, extensive debriefing, experienced facilitators and a strong rapport between students and teachers for it to work (Drake, 2008). Maitles (2010) also found the debriefing to be crucial. In this case, the students were much more empowered to speak out when it became clear that the adults in the room were both encouraging them to do so and were themselves reflecting on and sometimes disagreeing about some of the issues. The discussion, for example, on organising to challenge the discrimination involved a large number of students, encouraged by the teachers themselves disagreeing on how to interpret that 15 students had approached members of staff unhappy about the discrimination but had not had the confidence to go beyond the complaint. This was a confident, questioning debrief; it was what was required to draw some lessons from the day. However, a caveat must be made here: this pedagogy does not challenge the wider issues relating to institutional discrimination within a school. The parameters were set tightly in that discrimination was seen in a narrower focus with the emphasis on personal responsibility rather than challenging an overall ethos.

Whilst being critical of simulations, the United State Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) in Washington DC does point out that simulations and role play can develop thinking around areas such as fear, scapegoating, and conflict. However, the museum does raise problems with trying to simulate situations about the Holocaust in that complex events and actions are over-

simplified and students are left with a skewed view of the Holocaust (USHMM, 2009). In addition, the simulation strategy can be used without giving the students either the historical understanding of the rise to power of the Nazis or an understanding of antisemitism (Hammond, 2001). The Jews are seen solely as victims, leading to patronizing feelings of pity (Illingworth, 2000). Alternative strategies to simulation tend to involve survivor and eyewitness testimony, primary source material, reflective writing experiences, in class discussions and incorporating the Holocaust into a wider study of, for example the Second World War or contemporary world problems. (ADL, 2006; USHMM, 2009). To expand, teacher can, for example:

- Provide ample opportunities for students to examine primary source materials, including photographs, artwork, diary entries, letters, government documents, and visual history testimony. Such an exploration allows for a deeper level of interest and inquiry on a range of topics from many perspectives and in proper historical context.
- Assign reflective writing exercises or lead class discussions that explore various aspects of human behaviour such as scapegoating or making difficult moral choices. These activities allow students to develop compassion and empathy, share how they feel about what they're learning and consider how it has meaning in their own lives.
- Invite the voices (through a variety of strategies) of survivors and other eyewitnesses to share their stories with students.

Conclusion

It is our contention that Holocaust education can be of great importance in developing citizenship awareness amongst school students. However, issues of pedagogy and strategies are of key importance. The experiences in Scotland where the Holocaust is not compulsory is thus of some interest. Teaching and learning about the Holocaust is not mandatory for all students, but because the teachers are volunteers and cross curricular learning is an important strategy in Scottish schools, there is scope for deeper learning than in a single subject area for a few periods. In terms of pedagogy, we argue that there are some fictional texts, which whilst interesting in their own light, can make effective teaching more problematic and can harm young learners' understanding of the Holocaust. Likewise, as we argue above, with role play strategies. Not that role play per se in schools is not valuable, but that it is not necessarily positive in Holocaust education, that it can lead to young people having a distorted understanding of the Holocaust simply because their lessons *about* and *from* the Holocaust lacked the appropriate pedagogical consideration.

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Chapter 4

Occupation and resistance in the post-war period.

Nicolae Hurduzeu

The post-war period started in Europe at the end of the Second World War in 1945 marking the beginning of a new era for all the countries involved in the conflict. During the Second World War, the utter brutality of the eastern front was of an apocalyptic scale and brought unprecedented destruction. After the war, the majority of the countries involved in the war were left in destruction and dereliction. Houses, schools, roads, hospitals, fabrics, and agricultural terrains needed a considerable amount of investment and a lot of work in order to be rebuilt and reused.

But the human tragedy caused by the war was incomparable to any other region of the world. Forty million Eastern Europeans died in the massacre of the war, including more than five million Jewish Europeans who died in the Holocaust. The Second World War mobilized for the first time the European countries at full capacity in order to conquer and exploit other Europeans (Judt, 2008, p. 28), with some countries exhausting all their resources in this pursuit. The period which followed the war was characterized by poverty and desolation (Dreyfus, Jourcin, Thibault, Milza, 2006, p. 471-473). The pictures and documents of the time show helpless civilians, ruined cities, barren fields furrowed by bombardments, and despaired children near groups of exhausted women rummaging in ruins (Judt, 2008, p. 27). The Europeans were exhausted.

The survivors did not care as much about the loss of profit or of industrial activities, but rather about the destruction of communities and of the environment (Berstein, Milza, 1998, p. 214-216). As most European cities, with very few exceptions, were destroyed, a staggering amount of people became homeless: 25 million in the USSR, and 20 million in Germany – are only two of the more representative images of the humanitarian tragedy of those times, complete with destroyed factories, compromised infrastructure and high inflation generated by the war. Besides the material losses, the loss of human lives is daunting, with 36.5 million people losing their lives between 1936-1945. The most shocking is the number of non-fighting civilians who lost their lives in the war - at least 19 million, i.e. almost half of the total number of victims. Most civilians died in the USSR (approx. 16 million), Poland (5 million), Yugoslavia (1.4 million) Greece (430.000), France (350.000) Hungary (270.000), and Romania (200.000). Of the total victims, 5.7 million were Jewish and 221000 Roma, most from Poland and Hungary (Judt, 2008, p. 31). During the war, the Soviet population fell by approx. 27 million; 8.7 million dying on the battlefields. The Germans took 5.5 million Soviet war prisoners, 3.3 million of them dying of cold, emaciation, or malnutrition in the concentration camps. On the other hand, the majority of the 3.5 million German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Romanian prisoners of war taken by the Soviets returned home after the war (Judt, 2008, p. 32). In Germany, two out of three people born after 1918 did not survive the Second World War. There were some villages in

Yugoslavia where all men, including boys over 15 years old, were executed by the Nazis. The 19 million deaths outside the battlefield had various causes: emaciation during the assault on Leningrad; the bad conditions in the German prisons and concentration camps; mass executions of civilians, hard working conditions in the German factories; famine and diseases; the bad conditions in the Soviet camps; and the conditions of military service in the units controlled by Germans, or the fighting conditions of the Germans fighting against the Soviet Union. It will take 30 years for the population to return to the conditions prior to the war.

Imagine that you are a middle-aged woman. Your husband died at war and you are alone with two children. You must take care of the household, work in the fields, and in the local school. Tell us about how you feel, what worries you, and what makes you happy.

Many of the survivors had fled from the war, becoming **refugees** (Berstein, Milza, 1998, p.218) in their own country or in other countries (e.g. the Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia fled to the two German states, the Romanians from Bulgaria migrated to Romania, etc.). By becoming **refugees**, they needed dwelling spaces and workplaces.

Imagine that you are a soldier who survived the war. You had been wounded many times and are depressed. You have walked hundreds of kilometres to return to your home village. You heard rumours that your village was bombed and you are not sure whether your family survived. Tell us what you feel, how your return journey was, and your concerns about the future.

Imagine that you are a refugee and you must rebuild your life after the war. Tell us 3-4 priorities for you and your family after the peace was proclaimed.

At the end of the Second World War, the borders remained relatively the same as before the war, while people were forced to move, 13 million people were expelled from their countries and settled in Western Germany (Judt, 2008, p. 39). The shift in the balance of force generated a massive transfer of population in 1945 (Gaillard, Rowley, 2001, p. 352-354): the Jewish population fled from Poland where they were not wanted, the Italians left Istria Peninsula, and other minorities who collaborated with the occupying forces, such as the Hungarians in northern Transylvania, the Ukrainians from Western USSR, were fleeing from the Russian army; 160.000 Turks were moved from Bulgaria to Turkey, there were changes of minorities between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, in Yugoslavia, the 600.000 Germans and Italians from the north were replaced by 400.000 people from the south (Judt, 2008, p. 37). There were highly dramatic times for the refugees, especially for the Russians and Ukrainian Partisans who did not live in the USSR but were included among the approx. 227200 soviet citizens who were forced to flee from the west and were pushed into the arms of the NKVD and the Red Army deported them in mass to the East (Judt, 2008, p. 42). By 1953, 505 million Soviet citizens were deported, 1/5 of them being shot or sent to the Gulag (Dreyfus, Jourcin, Thibault, Milza,

2006, p. 503). The cold war stopped these forced repatriations saving more than 1.5 million Eastern Europeans from a tragic destiny.

The war changed the face of Europe and nowhere in Europe could the situation prior to 1939 be restored. In all countries, left or centre-left governments came to power. Communists, socialists, and liberal or radical groups took centre stage on the political scene of Eastern Europe occupied by the soviets, besides Christian democrats (Judt, 2008, p. 74). The political stability of Europe relied on the economic recovery of the continent, especially as the infrastructure system had almost totally been destroyed, and the economies of the belligerent parties were in collapse, except that of the USA, which will become the first commercial and technological world power, and of the countries who did not take part in the conflict – Switzerland and Sweden- who took an economic head start. The economic infrastructure of eastern Europe would be rebuilt by 1947, a turning year for Europe, marking the beginning of an economic crisis in Eastern Europe due to the food shortage and poor crops of 1945 and 1946, backed by the historical winter of 1947. All these would increase the spread of communism in Europe and become part of the governing coalitions in France, Italy, and Belgium by May 1947.

Economic recovery was the main problem of the countries barely emerging from the Second World War. Reconstruction meant rebuilding the destroyed production units for electricity, metallurgy, petrochemical, transportation, and agriculture; returning to the production of civil goods; relaunching commerce; strengthening national currencies; decreasing inflation; efforts to pay war debts and compensations. Governments had to work hard and generate work opportunities for ex-soldiers, especially in major **infrastructure projects** (building roads, bridges, dams, railways, tunnels, harbours, etc.). A great number of war prisoners had to be released and repatriated. During the war, in order to give larger resources to the army, governments imposed **restrictive measures** on the civil population such as confiscation of some goods (fuel, wood, paper) or food (meat, sugar, bread). The restrictive measures included a system of ration cards that mentioned the monthly amount of goods meant for a family. In other words, the population was subject to an **austerity** regime that continued for several years even after the war due to the insufficient resources of the countries impoverished by war.

People felt shortages in every aspect of their lives: there were not enough trains, tramways, busses, or automobiles to get people to work in due time (not to mention to take them to holiday); there was not enough flour to bake bread, which was also insufficient for the heavily working, there was not enough paper to print newspapers, which only wrote about a fraction of what was going on in the world; there were not enough seeds to plant and not enough fertilizers; there were not enough houses and not enough glass to put in the broken windows: there was not enough leather to make

shoes, wool for clothes, gas for cooking stoves, cotton for diapers, sugar for jam, lard for cooking, milk for babies soap for washing.

Imagine that you are a married man and you have three children. You live in a city destroyed by the bombardments during the war. You must work all day long and you don't have sufficient means to support your family. Tell us how you feel, what are your worries, and what makes you happy.

The transition from the war economy to a peace economy brought about a shortage of workplaces, leaving many people without any source of income. In some factories, women were fired to employ soldiers returning from the front.

The American government was worried about the post-war social and economic situation of the European continent, fearing that the unemployed, veterans and impoverished population would vote for communist political parties in the following elections. After the end of the conflict, economic production, specializing in the production of weapons and military equipment during the war, had to be reconverted to the needs of the society, to offer a peaceful and prosperous life for the population. Factories turned from the production of tanks, shells, and machine guns to the production of television sets, cars, and consumer goods. Both winning as well as losing states had to fit into the economy the soldiers, former prisoners, and refugees in positions held up to that point by women, the elderly, or, sometimes, prisoners of war.

There was the risk that the failure of economic recovery and reconstruction would lead to the emergence of new totalitarian parties, as it happened after the First World War and the great inter-war economic crisis. To avoid that, it was important to bring economic stability to impoverished Europe. The United States created a plan for the reconstruction of Europe thorned by the War. Western Europe and Asia were rebuilt according to the Marshall Plan, while Central and Eastern Europe fell under the influence of the Soviet Union behind an "iron curtain". The Marshall Plan (1948-1952) was designed by American state secretary George Marshall and involved granting 13-billion-dollar worth of financial help to all European countries for reconstruction and industrial development (Berstein, Milza, 1998, p. 229) (to employ the surplus of workers with communist sympathies) with the condition of eliminating protectionist barriers among states and creating free market economies.





The Marshall Plan was a real opportunity for western Europeans and helped them forever lose chauvinism and totalitarian regimes and open a new page in European history after the American model. The plan was built as part of a political agreement in which the French and Germans played a crucial part together.

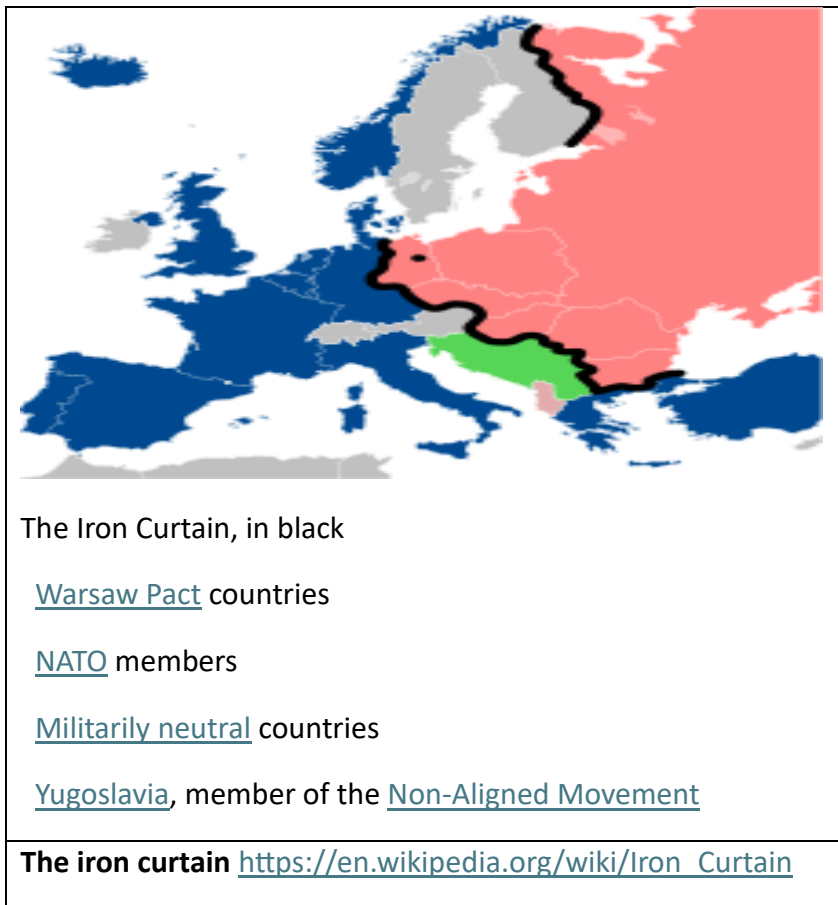
After the end of the second world war, the leaders of the great winning powers present at the Peace conference in Paris (1945) made decisions for the reorganization of the post-war world.

The period immediately following the war was dominated by the famous *percentage agreement* (Judt, 2008, p. 105) negotiated by Churchill and Stalin in Moscow and which involved the annexation by the Soviet Union or the conversion to Soviet Socialist republics of the countries invaded and annexed by the Red Army and the chasing of the ethnic Germans from the Centre and Eastern Europe. The Soviets created new satellite states in Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Albania, and Eastern Germany; the last country was created in the Soviet-occupied region of Germany. Yugoslavia emerged as an independent communist state, allied to Russia but not subordinate, due to the independent military victory of the Partisans led by Josip Broz Tito during the Second World War. This led to the division of the world into two spheres of influence, one controlled by the USSR, which imposed

communism in several countries and turned them into its satellite states, and the other under the influence of the USA, leader of the democratic western European countries.

For almost half of a century, the two opposed systems were political, economic, and ideological rivals, in the so-called Cold War. The ideology of the cold war was a confrontation between democracy and totalitarianism.

The communist states isolated themselves completely from the rest of the world to keep total control over the system, the separation line between the two groups of states being known as the iron curtain.



There had been some very tense moments during the cold war, such as the Berlin blockade (1948 – 1949), the division of Germany (1949) into the Federal Republic of Germany (a democratic state) and the Democratic Republic of Germany (a communist state), the Cuban missile crisis (1962) the wars of Korea and Vietnam. The cold war ended in 1991 when the USSR and the Treaty of Warsaw were disbanded.

The victory of the Soviet Union, and the control of its army in the largest part of Central and Eastern Europe, led to the instauration of communism in countries such as Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Eastern Germany. Communists

came to power, with the direct or indirect support of the USSR, in other countries as well, such as China, Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba.

In communist Europe, soviet soldiers had specific behaviour toward the “liberated” people from eastern Germany. 15 million Germans were chased away from their historic land situated east of the rivers Oder and Neisse. The impact of this massive displacement of the population was largely disregarded by the economic history of Eastern Europe. The number of inhabitants in Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia stayed stable between 1939 -1950. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union lost 10-12% of their population in the same period. Czechoslovakia and Poland did not recover from this demographic crisis until 1960. The lack of workforce, especially the highly qualified workforce was devastating. The eastern provinces of Prussia turned to Poland and USSR in 1945, the Sudeten temporarily depopulated and their industrial regions lost most of the labour force from before the war. In Eastern and Central Europe, the war left a highly distorted demographic structure, with an acute lack of a young workforce who were the traditional backbone of the industrial labour force in the region. In the USSR, the rural economy had to rely totally on women, and men, as well as horses for work, were absent. Women had been also victims of the barbaric behaviour of the soviet soldiers on their march through Romania, Yugoslavia, Slovakia, and Hungary. The women of Austria, Poland, and especially Germany, had suffered most from the atrocities committed by the Nazis on their bloody retreat from the invaded territories. Between 1945-1946, 150.000-200.000 Russian babies were born, without considering the number of secret abortions resulting in the death of the mothers.

On the international level, the alliances between the two blocks gradually shifted, with some nations, such as Yugoslavia trying to stay out of the Cold War. In Greece, a civil war started in 1946 between the royalist forces supported by the Anglo-Americans and the communists, with the royalists winning. The block of the communist states was characterized by a centralized political system, unique ideology, unique party, censorship, political police, lack of freedom of speech and human rights, and state control over public and private life.

The communist regime, installed by force, election fraud, and demagoguery and crushed by a deepening crisis, gradually became contested. Strong guerilla fights started after the war (Clark, 2020) in all the territories occupied by the USSR (Berstein, Milza, 1998, p. 223-224), from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, in which more than 20000 partisans were involved in Ukraine, 30000 in Estonia, same in Lithuania, focusing in the forest areas and highly supported by the peasants (Soulet, 2008, p. 90). The army provoked horrendous retaliations against the supporters of the partisans, with entire villages being deported, forests burnt down and young men forcedly enlisted in the Red Army (Soulet, 2008, p. 91). The guerilla fights were extremely dramatic and took place up until 1958 in Bulgaria and, sporadically, until 1964 in Romania (Soulet, 2008, p. 93).

https://www.google.com/search?sa=X&rlz=1C1GCEA_enRO983RO983&tbn=vid&sxsrf=ALiCzsb8Mo4Uq6aRuJKm9nXt6_RxuleJaQ:1669755997823&q=memorialul+durerii+%E2%80%93+film+documentar+online&ved=2ahUKewiXjPLopdT7AhUOS_EDHQFVAIkQ8ccDegQIDBAD&biw=1536&bih=754&dpr=1.25

Imagine that you are a partisan followed by the soviet army or by the communist secret police. You are hiding in the mountains together with other pupils, students, militaries, and intellectuals. Explain in 3-4 sentences why did you choose to hide in the mountains.

In Romania, the Communist Party took all necessary measures to ensure a complete submission to the USSR. This was achieved by the cooperation between the political party that was really a puppet of the USSR, the trade unions, and the educational system. The party aimed to destroy existing all social structures and forced King Michael I to abdicate on December 30, 1947. Consequently, the Romanian Popular Republic was declared on the day of the abdication, in a meeting that lasted for only 45 minutes, without consulting the wish of the people.

Thus, was laid the foundation for the installation of totalitarianism in Romania. During the first stage, Romania was militarily enrolled in the Soviet Block. During the second stage, all opposition parties were abolished, and the Communist Party was strengthened. It was the only party and consisted of an elite of devoted members. During the third stage, the Soviet totalitarian model was imposed by adopting in April 1948 the Constitution of the Romanian Popular Republic, after the model of the USSR constitution of 1936. After this, the opposition press was abolished, all the books that were inappropriate to the new political orientation were removed from libraries and bookstores, and journalists, writers, artists, and musicians were put under the control of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda. Nothing was published, played, or staged without a permit from the party.

In the educational system, all foreign and religious schools were closed. Professors and students were purged, and experienced professors were replaced by Stalinist indoctrinators, such as the activist Mihai Roller, who re-wrote the History of Romanians in the interest of the communists. Textbooks were filled with Marxist-Leninist precepts and Religion as a course subject was banned.

The Communist Party was aware that the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania had millions of faithful followers who could become useful to the new regime through manipulation. The Greek Catholic Church was abolished. The Orthodox Holy Synod was filled with members of the Communist Party and bishops were chosen by the state organs. The state could thus control the Church more easily. All church properties were nationalized, confessional schools were closed, the education of priests was strictly controlled,



and the public celebration of Christmas and Easter was strictly prohibited. The Roman Catholic church was also persecuted but survived as the majority of the followers were ethnic Hungarians (Hitchins, 2015, p. 288-289) and the communist regime avoided taking actions that could be interpreted as hostility by Hungary.

You are a bright student in the final year of high school and you are from a rich family. You are expelled from school, arrested, and sent to Jilava prison where you are questioned and tortured by a semi-educated investigator. How are you feeling? Tell us about what you feel.

You are an intellectual; arrested for being a member of a certain political party. You are questioned by an illiterate investigator who doesn't know how to count to 100 so that he pronounces the number 135 as one and thirty-five.

How do you feel? Tell us your feelings.

Use these links.

<http://hartagulagului.ro/>

<http://fototeca.iicr.ro/fototeca/>

<http://memorialuljilava.ro/>

Between 1948-1958, Soviet counsellors were sent to Romania to supervise and coordinate the activity of the oppressive authorities. During this period, the repression was extremely violent.

The people chosen by Moscow to run the Romanian Securitate had all a common trait – brutality. The behaviour of Pintilie Bodnarenko, an N.K.V.D. of Ukrainian origin (he Romanized his name to Gheorghe Pintilie), and of Alexandru Nicolski, is narrated by the survivors of the brutal crimes committed by them in the communist prisons. Romanian communism was severe and repressive, the prisons in Pitesti, Sighet, and Jilava, the prison camps in the Danube Delta or the forced-labour camps at the Danube- Black Sea canal, surmounting by far the atrocities made in Poland or Czechoslovakia (Judt, 2011, p. 213). Gheorghe Pintilie killed the former general secretary of the R.C.P. (Romanian Communist Party), Ștefan Foriș, by smashing his head with an iron rod, following a death sentence. He also commanded the killing of the mother of Foriș by drowning her in Cris River with millstones tied to her neck. Nicolski became famous outside Romania. In January 1949, Adriana Georgescu Cosmovici, a 28-year-old woman, who had been arrested in Bucharest in July 1945 for belonging to a resistance movement, gave a testimonial in Paris. She presented how “the investigators of the communist secret police” beat her repeatedly with a little leather bag filled with sand,



smashed her head against the wall, and punched her in the face and chin until she was left with only six teeth on her jaw. She named three of the investigators, who threatened her at gunpoint: Stroescu, Bulz, and Nicolski (Bărbulescu et al. 1998, p. 497). The secret service and the political police arrested, deported, and condemned to death a great number of intellectuals, priests, peasants, politicians, and students in the name of the class fight against the enemies of the people (the bourgeoisie and landowners). The nationalization of industrial units, banks and insurance agencies, mines, and transport companies in June 1948 not only led to the introduction of centralized quantitative planning but also to the destruction of the economic basis of those considered class enemies (Bărbulescu et al., 1998, p. 493).

Statistical data show that almost half of a million people fell victim to the oppressive regime between 1948-1964: more than 400.000 people were jailed, more than 100.000 people were at house arrest, and more than 50.000 families were deported to Baragan. Highly illustrative of the mountain resistance is the movie *Undeva in Est (Somewhere in the East)* (<https://latimp.eu/undeva-in-est-film-romanesc-vechi-drama-1991/>).

In March 1949 private ownership of land for private persons was abolished. The communist regime annihilated the former class of *chiaburs*, an equivalent term for the Soviet *kulak*, meaning “*wealthy peasants*”. Chiaburs were considered all rich peasants who were able to hire workers or rented their agricultural machines, regardless of the size of their properties. The land, animals, and machines of landowners who had owned land up to 50 hectares, according to the agrar law of 1945, were expropriated without compensation. The Militia acted overnight and took 17000 families from their homes and deported them to relocation areas.

Landowner peasants were arrested and forced to take part in the collectivization, with more than 80.000 peasants being forced to give their land to this process. Among the victims were also young men of unhealthy origin who were sent to labour camps.

There were numerous workcamps, the majority being situated in the steppe of Baragan (Săgeată, Damian, Mitrică, 2021), at half the distance between Bucharest and the Black Sea. During the '50s, this harsh and underpopulated region knew an increase in population after the mass deportations of Romanians, but especially ethnic Serbians and Germans from the western part of Banat, who were considered a liability due to the increasing tension between Yugoslavia and Romania, following the exclusion of the first from the Kominform in June 1948. The deportations from Banat started *on June 18/19, 1951, on the night of Whitsuntide when 12.791 families, 40.230 persons, 2.656 train carriages, and 6.211 lorries were deported to the barren fields of Baragan.*





Left in the middle of the plain, the deportees first built brothels, homes of poverty - <https://historia.ro/>

Ileana Mateescu: "*I never had a Christmas tree in my entire childhood*"

The documents of the Securitate show that the rumour of imminent deportations determined numerous persons to attempt to flee to Yugoslavia, while others left their children with friends and relatives outside the area of deportation. The deportees were allowed to take with them only what they could carry, the rest of their possessions being bought by specially formed committees, who only paid insignificant sums of money for them. The insufficient number of trains meant that many deportees had to wait for two or three days in the burning heat. In order to prevent the deportees to interact with other people the special trains were guarded by the military and were assigned special routes so that they would avoid stoppings and main stations. The population was informed not to interact with those on the trains and not help them as they were extremely dangerous. Upon arrival, the luckier deportees were given adobe huts with thatched roofs, in special locations with Soviet names. Others, as even the Securitate admitted, "*were simply thrown into the unknown, in the burning light of the sun without any means to fend for themselves*"(Bărbulescu et al., 1998, p. 506), with the interdiction to move beyond 15 km of that particular location. All deportees were mobilized to build their own houses, as well as to provide "volunteer work" to erect the "official buildings": The Popular Counsel House, the school, the Militia, the Dispensary, and the Cooperative. One of the slogans of the communist dictatorship was: "*You don't do volunteer work you don't receive bread!*".



Imagine you are a Romanian peasant who managed through honest work to have 15 ha of land. You are announced at midnight that you must leave everything you have and take your family (parents, wife, and two children of 1 and 3 years of age) because you are being deported 1000 km away. You may take as much as you can put in a horse carriage. You have 10 hours to pack your things.

Write a short essay about how you feel and mention 3-4 priorities for you and your family, what are you planning to take with you and why?

The same sources mention the lack of drinking water and the irregular provision of bread and the multiple cases of children suffering from sunstroke. The activity of the deportees was directed and controlled. There were cases in which families and relatives would sell everything they had or would send underaged children to work in order to provide medicine for their sick family members. The toll of the deportees: 1731 deaths, from which 175 children died due to improper living conditions.

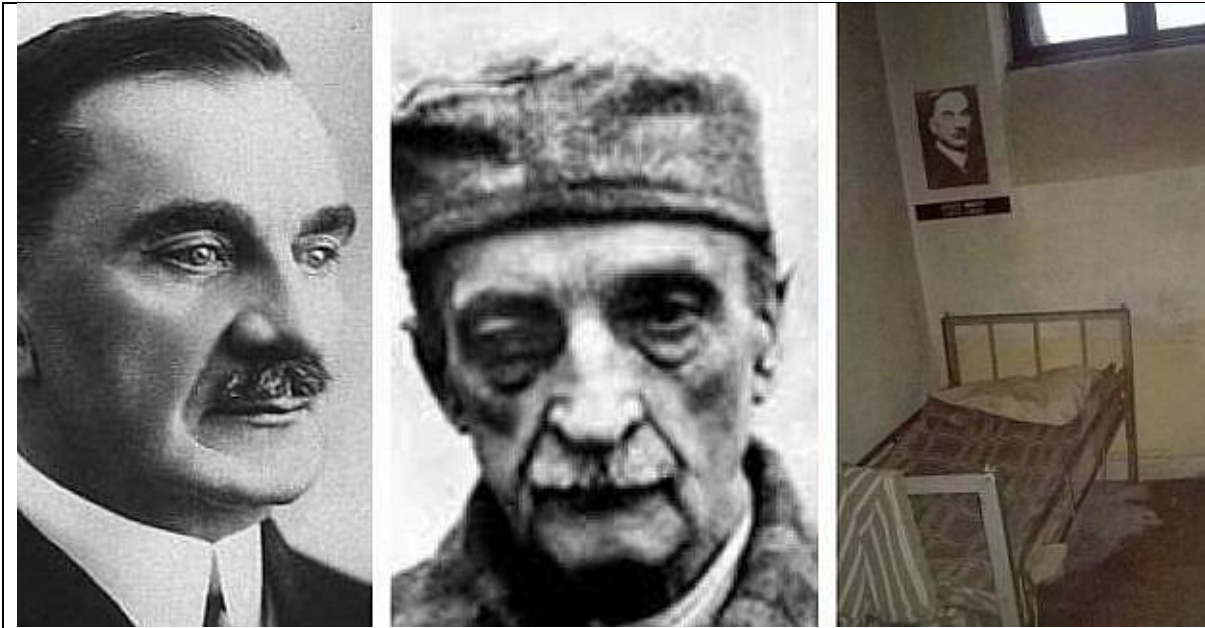
Imagine that you are a 12-year-old child of a family of peasants deported to Baragan. The authorities of the summer of 1951 settle you and your family on a plot of 1ha of land full of weeds and thorns and tell you that is your home, i.e. there you have to build your house. You don't have any building materials or drinking water and sometimes you have to drink the stale rainwater gathered in the footprints of animals (cows, horses) in the ground. Due to the improper conditions, your mother and grandmother fall sick.

Write an essay about how you feel and present 3-4 priorities for you and your family.

Between 1948-1953 60.000 people were arrested on suspicion of treason, fascism, or being legionary. Former political leaders, artists, intellectuals, and other members of the civil society were prisoned in Sighet, Arad, and Râmnicu Sărat or were exterminated in the forced-labour camps at the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

The city Sighet was chosen to become a centre for the imprisonment of those considered the most dangerous enemies of the regime due to the "proximity to the Soviet Union". The 72 cells of the prison held hostage 4 former prime ministers such as Iuliu Maniu, the leader of the National Peasant Party, Constantin Bratianu, the leader of the National Liberal Party, as well as to the bishops of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. Approx. 180 senior members of the former ruling elite of pre-war Romania were imprisoned there, most of them being over 60 years old, and several of them, such as Iuliu Maniu being over 70 years old.





Prime Minister Iuliu Maniu. He died on February 3, 1953, in Sighetu Marmăției prison, his body being thrown into a mass grave <https://www.svnews.ro/68-de-ani-de-la-moartea-lui-iuliu-maniu/233138/>

Most of those imprisoned never went to trial for any guilt but had been simply arrested by the orders of the Minister of Internal Affairs and were taken directly to Sighet. The prisoners were usually held two in a cell and were forced to do hard labour, such as cleaning the corridors and carrying water from a hand water pump in the yard to the upper floors of the prison. They were severely punished for the slightest misconduct from the rules of the prison, which prohibited, among other things, conversation during the walks in the prison yard. Those who broke the rules were whipped and forced to sit on a wooden sawbuck while guards would jump on them. The former members of the iron guard were concentrated in Aiud prison, and countless teachers, professors, lawyers, and priests finished in Gherla prison. The members of the National Peasant Party were sent to Galați, and former police officers were imprisoned in Făgăras.

A prison from the city Pitești, situated approx. 120 km from Bucharest, became renowned for an original sadic-grotesque experiment, applied there for the first time on December 6, 1969. Called “re-education”, the experiment had been conducted several months prior in the prison of Suceava. This involved the use of psychiatric abuse directed to inoculate terror in the mind of the opponents of the regime as well as to destroy the personality of individuals. The nature and the monstrosity of the experiment, performed by the prison officers under the command of Alexandru Nicolski from the Securitate, placed Romania on a different level from the other Eastern European regimes, although the details of the phenomenon are still largely unknown in Western Europe. The experiment from Pitești must be considered apart from other programs as it was considered “re-education”. This process was meant to impose coercive

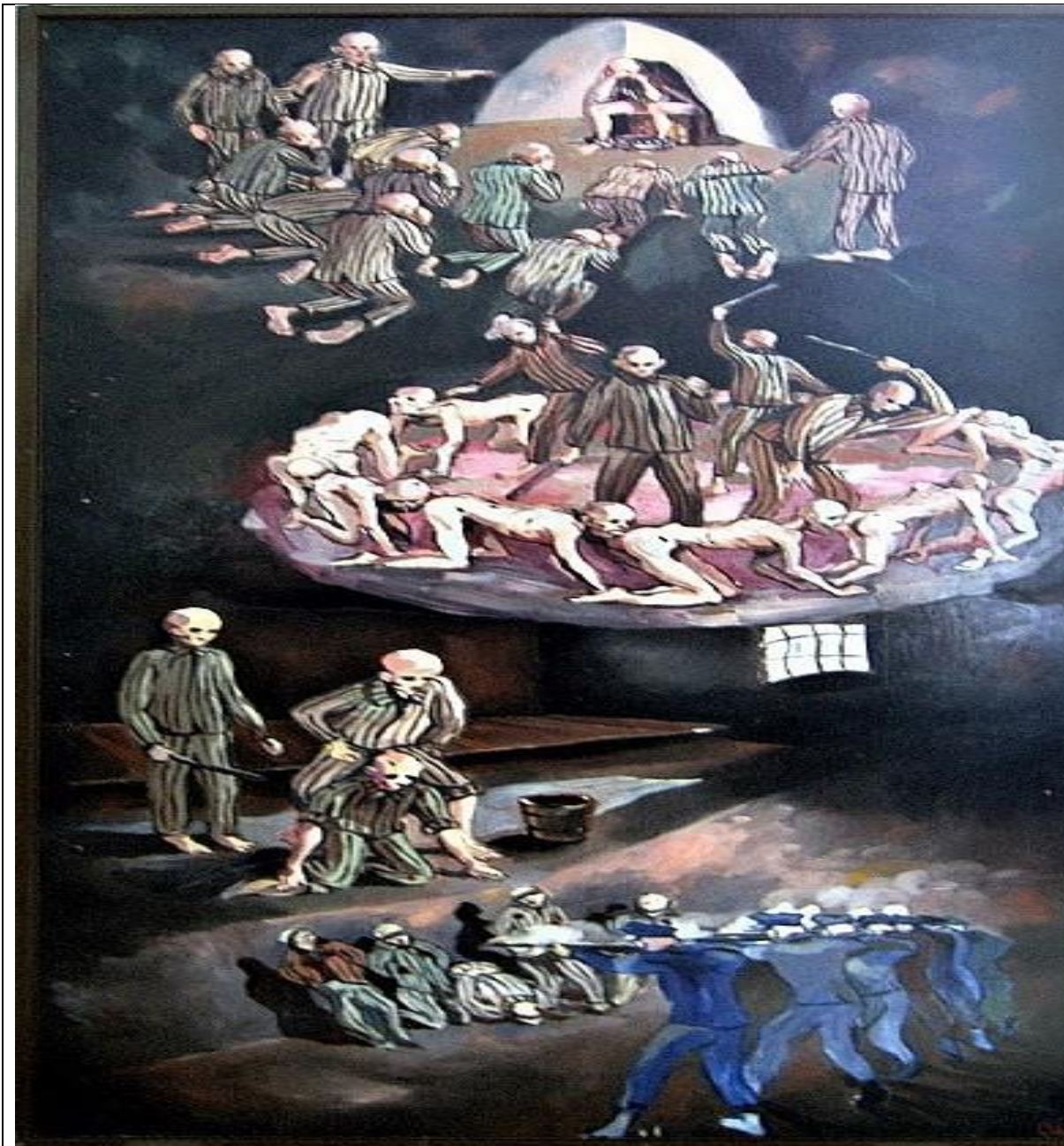
submission through forced labour or substance abuse. It was euphemistically called “re-education” by the Ministry of Internal Affairs throughout the entire period of the communist regime, and, consequently, the word continued to be used even after Pitești about different forms of punishments. Their drama was later presented in artistic movies such as *Între chin și Amin (Between Pain and Amen)*. The subject was presented in numerous literary sources, as well as in documentary films, such as *Memorialul durerii (The Memorial of Suffering)* which sums more than 200 documentary films presenting the testimonials of the persons who had been prisoners in the Romanian death camps from Jilava, Sighet, Pitești.

The “re-education” program conducted by the authorities in the communist prisons in Romania was one of the best-kept secrets of the regime. This was mainly because the victims of the program were forced to become the tortfeasors of other prisoners, and they were afraid to admit to their crimes. After the fall of the communist regime, testimonials on the re-education program emerged in memorialistic literature.

The programme was based on the theories of the Soviet educator Anton Makarenko (1888-1939) on common law criminals. According to Makarenko, “re-education” was achieved through collective labour, but, in Romanian interpretation, “re-education” was achieved by perpetual physical torture together with brainwash. In order to absolve the regime of any guilt from the re-education program, tortfeasors were described as the agents of Horia Sima, the former leader of the Iron Guard. In 1949 Horia Sima gave orders from his exile in Spain to Turcanu to create a torture program at Pitești to compromise the communist regime.

Some of the prisoners of Pitesti mentioned that they were subject to electric –shock treatment, but there is no mention of the unjustified medical use of neuroleptic medicines and of the shock treatment with insulin as part of the re-education process. The memorialist prison literature clearly mentions the use of medicines as a punishment method in several high-security prisons, such as Jilava and Aiud. The small amount of testimonials makes it difficult to say how often and how long this practice was carried out. It is also unknown the extent to which psychiatric methods were abusively used for political reasons after the end of the Pitesti experiment - so-called the ***Genocide of the souls*** (<https://www.filmedocumentare.com/genocidul-sufletelor-experimental-pitesti/>) .





THE PITEȘTI EXPERIMENT. *"And tonight, Lord, I am knocking at your door/, with a broken heart, as yesterday./ I gathered myself today from the ashes,/ to witness another Resurrection"* - <https://www.activenews.ro/cultura-istorie/EXPERIMENTUL-PITESTI.-%E2%80%99ESi-n-seara-asta-Doamne-Ti-bat-la-usa-cu-inima-tot-franta-ca-si-ieri.-M-am-adunat-si-astazi-din-cenusa-ca-sa-fiu-martor-altei-Invieri-150218>

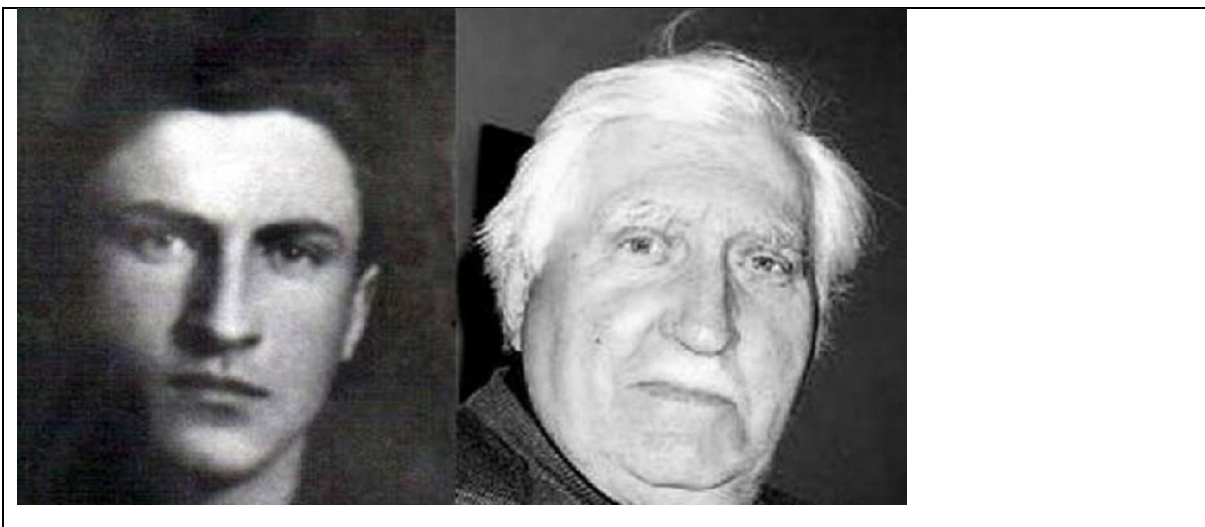
The establishment of the communist regime, the Soviet occupation, the Sovietization of the country, the abolishment of private property, and the later crisis of the communist regime determined the emergence after the war of the Romanian anti-communist resistance movement.



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In Romania, the anti-communist resistance had different manifestations:

The armed Resistance (Dobrincu, 2009, pp. 305-342) was organized between 1949-1956 in the Carpathian Mountains (Banu, 2006, pp. 299-314, Ciobanu, 2014, pp. 1452-1481, Ciobanu, 2015, pp. 105–123) and consisted of armed groups (10-40 persons) of former members (Budeancă, 2020, pp.282-308) of the liberal and peasant party, intellectuals, peasants, former army officers, legionaries, lawyers, doctors, students, etc. This “*armed anti-communist army*” was a spontaneous movement, without any connection to one another, although they all had the same purpose, to oppose the communist regime (Moldovan, 2003). These armed groups were formed in villages situated at the foot of the hills and in the mountains. They were poorly armed, with a mix of guns, revolvers, and machine guns left from the Second World War and were often short of ammunition. The groups were supported by peasants who brought them food and clothes and often sheltered them. The communist propaganda of the time called these anti-communist partisans “legionaries”, i.e. members of the far-right movement known as the Iron Guard, and, indeed, some had been members of this movement. Nevertheless, according to the statistics of the Securitate, partisans were not exclusively former legionaries. A 1951 report of the General Directorate for the Security of the People states that the political affiliation of 804 arrested either for belonging or for helping 17 “mountain brigades” was, as follows: 88 former members of the National Peasant Party of Iuliu Maniu, maker of the Great Union of 1918; 79 members of the Ploughers Party; 73 former legionaries, 42 former members of the Communist Party, 15 members of the National Liberal Party, etc. The resistance brigades were active in Maramures, Apuseni Mountains, Banatului Mountains (under the command of Uță), Oltenia, Vrancea, Făgăraș Mountains, Neamt, and in Dobrogea. Some of the resistance leaders (Nicolau & Niță , 2012 , Ogoranu, 2009, Petrescu 2013, Țăranu & Dobre 2006), were: Gh. Arsenescu, Arnăuțoiu brothers, Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu, Tubulea brothers, Croitoru brothers, army general Al Aldea, army general Gh. Moșoiu. The brigades were supported by the inhabitants of those regions (Ursu, 2020, pp. 332–352).



Ion Gavrilă OGORANU (1923-2006) – the Resistance fighter who for 30 years could not be caught by the Security

The opposition was scarce and diffuse during the Stalinist terror regime but increased between 1956-1958 when the Hungarian revolt of 1956 and the Czechoslovakian revolt of 1968 took place. These were suppressed by the military intervention of the USSR and some of the communist countries.

The opponents of the regime who had been condemned to forced labour according to the new rules were sent to the work camps in the swamps of the Danube Delta, especially Periprava, to gather reeds for the newly erected pulp mills near Brăila, co-financed by Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Democratic Republic of Germany.

The lecture presents the testimonial and life lesson of a former high-school student who has experienced the realities of the communist prisons and who, at 87 years, emphasizes the importance of RESPONSIBILITY in education.

Gheorghe Nichifor was born in 1931 in Bessarabia (present day republic of Moldova) in the family of an aviator. He finished the military high-school and, after the instauration of the communist regime, he organized a clandestine resistance unit called the National Guard consisting exclusively of high-school students from Bucharest. The organization aimed to fight against the Soviet occupation and the communist regime. The members of the organization manufactured a machine for multiplying manifestos and printed thousands of anti-communist flyers and distributed them in Bucharest and other Romanian cities. The members of the organization planned to get in contact with the partisans from the southern part of the Făgăraş mountains and joined the armed resistance. They didn't get any more, as were arrested by the Securitate. Gheorghe Nichifor was the last one arrested, on October 28, 1949. The entire group was held in the underground cells of Fort 13 from Jilava where they were investigated and sent on trial by the military tribunal.



<p>Gheorghe Nichifor (the first one from the top) and a part of his members of the National Guard</p>	<p>Gheorghe Nichifor (1931-2020) speaking to young people in Fort 13 Jilava - https://razboiulinformational.ro/site/2020/11/gheorghe-nichifor-prezent/</p>

For almost 4 years, Gheorghe Nichifor was sent to various prisons and camps, such as Fort 13 in Jilava, Văcărești Prison, and the work camp from the Danube- Black Sea Canal. After release, he studied at the Polytechnic University but was expelled due to his record as a political detainee. He earned his living by working as an energy technician. In 1987 he was fired for the last time from his workplace for his anti-communist background.

There is one episode that stands out in the testimonials of George Nichifor. He said about his torturer:

"He would call all of us 'Yo!'. This is how he talked in his family, this is how he talked to us: 'Yo, come here!' I stood up and walked to him. He said: 'Yo, I am a hammer from Malaxa factory. I better beat you than the hammer'. It was this in his primitive brain. How much schooling do you think he had? How many books do you think he read? And he was a lieutenant, 15 years my senior. He opened a drawer where were numerous different-sized cobbler's needles. He told me how he would make the prisoners talk: 'I stab them in the calf until I reach the bone. I do that just to give them an infection and to cause them pain'. This is not from my imagination. I tell you word by word what he said and how the thought! They were uneducated primitive persons! This is why I say that my parents' generation was, to some extent, guilty for what we went through, for 50 years. My parent's generation is guilty of neglecting the underprivileged categories of society, who were left uneducated, and who offered their services to the Soviets

because precisely these people, the uneducated and primitive, got at the leadership of the country".(<https://adevarul.ro/stiri-locale/pitesti/interviu-gheorghe-nichifor-fost-detinut-1892253.html>)

Whose fault was it? Of the educational system, of the society, of the politicians? It does not matter anymore. What is important is the lesson? They say that history repeatedly teaches you the same lesson until you learn it. Hopefully, this lesson will never repeat itself, although it has the tendency to repeat itself... it repeats itself when people are incapable to learn from the mistakes of the past. Let's hope it is not too late to be responsible and that there will never come another moment for our children to say *the generation of my parents is guilty*...and that, at least in the 12th hour, we acknowledge the importance of value-centered education.

The collapse of the system of value gives individuals the opportunity to justify to themselves violence as a behavioural pattern (Rakadjiiska, 1996, p. 219).

The topic for debate:

Starting from the quote above and analyzing what Gheorghe Nichifor said - *Debate what the consequences of the lack of education in society can be!*

Although numerous intellectuals and peasants were sent to these work camps, the majority of the labourers were young opponents of the regime, aged between 16 and 25 years. A large part of them died due to malaria and tuberculosis.

A former inmate described the living condition in these work camps in a journal at the beginning of 1960. The Work camps were situated in four areas of the Danube Delta. The largest of them, such as the one from Salcia, situated in Balta Brăilei, held 6000 inmates. It is believed that the total number of prisoners sent into the camps from the Danube Delta reaches 40 000. The prisoners were forced to work exclusively manually, standing mid waist in water, and reap reed with a scythe. They had to form bundles of 50 kg to carry them on their backs for several kilometres without letting the reed touch the ground. Specially trained dogs would bite those who stumbled. The daily norm for each inmate was 15 bundles, and those who could not achieve it had their food ratios reduced and would often be beaten on the soles of their feet. The inmates who wore the letter CR on their arms, standing for "counterrevolutionary" (Bărbulescu et al., 1998, p. 524) were particularly abused. The food consisted of several slices of bread and marmalade and a cup of coffee substitute in the morning, a piece of cold mamaliga, and vegetable soup at lunch and for dinner. The area that had to be harvested was surrounded by electrified bobbed wire and was guarded by mounted patrols accompanied by dogs. Machine guns and reflectors were placed all around the

perimeter. The prisoners returned each evening after they had worked in water all day, to unheated and uninsulated wooden barracks. The great number of malaria cases and other diseases came as no surprise. Medical assistance was inexistent, and medicines and bandages were completely missing. The high mortality rate leads to the idea that the authorities wanted to exterminate the inmates, but this idea is hard to be accepted, as the tasks had to be accomplished. Working and living conditions in the camp were proof of the belief that the prisoners were treated as slaves who did not deserve more than the minimum required to ensure their working abilities but were denied any care that could increase or protect their working capacity.

In February 1959 almost 2000 students had been brought to this camp in Balta Brăilei, together with 1400 peasants who had opposed collectivization. Many students were caught while they tried to defect the country. They were held in three sheep shelters, each 6 meters wide and 8 meters long, with the roof only 1 meter high. They were improperly dressed for the cold winter weather and were deprived of running water and proper sanitation, thus many students got sick with dysentery and typhoid fever. Despite their condition, they were forced to build a dike at temperatures below 0°C. Within 3 weeks, more than 400 inmates had to be deployed to Galați for medical treatment, 40 of them dying on their way. A medical commission was sent to the camp, and it concluded that more than 1500 prisoners required hospitalized treatment. But, instead of sending them to Galați, the authorities relocated them to Periprava where many prisoners died within days. The number of prisoners increased at the beginning of April 1960 with the transfer of more than 1000 prisoners from Gherla Prison. These were crammed in railway carriages on the night of April 2/3 and were held for four nights without proper sanitation or food before being sent to Periprava. Some did not survive the journey.

Another decree from 1958 announced a new wave of cleansing, this time among the former army officers from the royal armed troops, former landowners, persons with political backgrounds, and the children of these categories. Annie Samuelli was detained for 12 years, between 1949 and 1961. She remembered how the behavior of the guards changed overnight: *“They were suddenly given a free hand to apply the regulations literally, and this meant the apparition of a new range of punishments distributed with malice”* (Bărbulescu et al., 1998, p. 525). The severity of these punishments convinced Romanians that the terror regime was not going to ease and the fact that these new regulations were not made published or broadcast by radio (it was only printed in “Monitorul Oficial” – the official legal publication of the Romanian Government) generated a state of uncertainty and fear. The random observance of the law by the state police served to strengthen the control of the state through terror at a historical moment when, ironically, the most famous symbol of the Soviet power, the Red Army, had been withdrawn.

The dissidence movement was formed by several intellectuals such as lecturer Doina Cornea (Cesereanu 2006, p. 284), philosopher Paul Goma, poet Ana Blandiana, historian Vlad Georgescu, mathematician Mihai Botez, poet Mircea Dinescu, etc. who had openly expressed their opposition to the political regime. Others were Silviu Brucan, deputy chief editor of the party newspaper “Scanteia” between 1944-1956 and ambassador to the United States (1956-1959) and the United Nations (1959-1962); the wife of poet Mihai Botez, Mariana Celac, architect, who criticized the program for urban and rural systematization; Ion Puiu, a veteran of the National Peasant Party; Radu Filipescu a young electrician who had been sentenced to 10 years in prison in September 1983 for printing and spreading anti-communist manifests, but was released in April 1986; Nicolae Stăncescu and Ion Fistioc, members of the communist party, who forwarded reform suggestions to the leadership of the Communist Party and to the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest, to be sent to Mikail Gorbachev; Nelu Prodan, a young Baptist, and Gabriel Andreescu, a 36 years old geophysicist, who sent an open letter in 1988 to a human-rights conference organized by the “Solidarity” movement in Krakow, demanding that the Romanian people should adopt a policy of non-collaboration with the regime. The members of the dissidence wrote letters and memorandums, some read at the Voice of America and Free Europe Radio stations. They were arrested, questioned, and expelled from the country or placed under house arrest. Doina Cornea wrote a protest against mail censorship, cutting phone conversations, and the following by the Securitate of her friends and family. She remained for seven years a withdrawn person and, as her opinions emerged from her life everyday experience, an experience familiar to everyone, her message became even stronger. She considered that the most serious crimes of the Ceausescu regime had been stripping people of their human dignity, bringing them to an animal state in which their main preoccupation was the daily struggle to find food, the institutionalization of misery and poverty, the displacement and homogenization of the population. **The rebellions** started during the collectivization period (<https://satulromanesc.iicmer.ro/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/4.pdf>), in the winter of 1949-1950, in Gorj, Ialomița, Suceava, Bihor, and Arad counties, where, according to the documents of the Securitate published in 1993, after the destruction of a state economy complex on July 31, 1949, the border patrols restored the order by arresting 98 persons and shooting on the spot 12 peasants. The Reports of the Securitate from Timișoara offer details on this rebellion, mentioning that other two peasants were shot dead while “they were trying to escape the escort” (Bărbulescu et al., 1998, p. 504) in 1958-1959 in Olt, Teleorman, Vrancea as well.

You are a 12th-grade student and your parents are wealthy peasants who had been declared chiaburs. They refuse to join the CAP, being persecuted by the militia and the Securitate. Your brother is an eminent 3rd-year law student who is expelled from the university and you are not allowed to finish high school due to your parents’ decision.

What would you do in this situation? How do you feel?

Strikes and protests occurred also during the communist regime. In 1977, 35.000 miners went on strike to protest against the abolition of disability pensions for miners and the increase of the retirement age from 50 to 55 years. An investigation was opened to find the organizers of the strike, and, in the following months, hundreds of miners were relocated to other mining areas while others were sent to work camps at the Danube Delta-Black Sea Canal. At the beginning of 1980, the miners from seven metal mines from Maramureş went on strike in September 1983 to protest against the wage cuts introduced by the new salary law. The Securitate was sent to crush the strike. In November 1986, Romanian and Hungarian ethnic workers from the heavy machines Factory and the refrigerators factory from Cluj, as well as from the glass factory in Turda, went on strike to protest against the reduction of the daily ratio of bread to 40% for not fulfilling the work norm. Bilingual flyers circulated in Cluj demanding “meat and bread” and “milk for our children”, proving inter-ethnic solidarity. Party officials hastily sent food to the factories and promised to solve the workers’ demands, making the workers return to work. In Valea Jiului, in 1977, the Securitate started an investigation into the strike, and several workers were relocated to other regions. Within three months, the unrest moved to the eastern part of the country, involving for the first time in decades, both workers and students. The spark that lit these riots was the reduction of salaries due to the unfulfillment of working norms and the shortage of food. On February 16, 1987, approx. 1000 workers from the “Nicolina” rolling stock workshops from Iaşi, marched to the party headquarters protesting against the cuts in wages. Their demands were quickly satisfied. The following day, several thousand students from the University and the Polytechnic University, marched to the centre of the town in what appeared to be a spontaneous movement against the cutting of the electricity and heating in the students’ dormitories shouting, “We want water to wash and light to study!” (Bărbulescu et al, 1998, p. 551). The authorities gave in and this time there were no repercussions on the students. At “Nicolina” workshops nevertheless, 150 protesters were fired after the usual “investigation” by the Securitate.

In Brasov, on November 15, 1987, more than 20.000 workers went on strike shouting “Down with the dictatorship!” and “We want bread”. They were joined by the workers from the “Tractorul” Factory (25.000 workers) as well as many other citizens on their march to the city centre where they forced their way into the party headquarters and devastated the building. Many arrests were made after the riots.

Another revolt took place in Poland in 1980 (Soulet, 2008, p. 89), formed around the union movement called “Solidarity”. These movements determined the Soviet leader of the time, Mikhail Gorbachev to generate a series of reforms in the communist regime starting in 1985.

The deepening of the crisis within the system led to the fall of the communist regime in 1989 and the beginning of a period of transition to democracy within the eastern European countries. Although communism failed as a system on the European continent, it is still

present today in some parts of the world, such as in northern Vietnam, North Korea, and China.

You are a 14-year-old student, and you live in Romania during the '80s. It is January, your parents are at work and you must wake up at 4 o'clock in the morning to go to the store and buy on the ration card 3 butter packages and 3 liters of oil. There are -6°C outside. Work in a team with other 2 or 3 colleagues and make a media product (presentation or application) to illustrate everyday life in communist Romania. Show your presentation to the class.

What do you feel?

What do the rest of the colleagues feel?

Tell us your feelings.

Compare your childhood with the childhood of the children of that time.

The year 1989 saw the collapse of the Berlin wall and of the communist regimes in Europe, and, one year later, of the Soviet Union. The Romanian revolution in 1989 was one of the bloodiest, with numerous dead and injured. The peaceful division of Czechoslovakia will be in strong contrast to the events that would happen in Yugoslavia during 1990, which would culminate with a civil war and horrible mass executions (Judt, 2008, p. 606). The Yugoslavia of Tito was an ethnic and cultural mosaic shaped during 1980, with numerous benefits perceivable within the society and supported by the fact that history manuals carefully omitted to mention the bloody civil wars of the past. The younger generation, educated according to the new textbooks, considered itself to be Yugoslavian and not Serbian, Croatian, Albanian, Bosnian, etc., and did not take into consideration cultural, ethnic, or religious differences, culminating during 1980 with numerous mixed marriages (Judt, 2008, p. 610). But stereotypes such as ideas that the southerners, Albanians, and Macedonians, were lazy, were still vivid for the older generation. Tito managed to annihilate these stereotypes by force, but after his death, the situation in the country would deteriorate and the economic crisis from 1980 and the launching of a nationalist policy by President Milosevich would open Pandora's box of secessionist movements in 1991, culminating with five civil wars during the 1990s. These wars were of utmost cruelty and atrocity for Europe since the end of the Second World War, culminating with the massacre of Srebrenica (Judt, 2008, p. 618). The ferociousness and sadism of the Yugoslav wars were a consequence of the manipulation of the young who were pushed to hatred and cruelty by local leaders. The decision of such characters to stir the sufferings of the past generated unimaginable humanitarian catastrophes. These wars did not start spontaneously but were aroused and provoked and pushed Yugoslavia into the chaos of war and division, and the states of Europe and the UN did not react with sufficient strength to stop these conflicts at their beginning, being unwilling to interfere (Judt, 2008, p. 623).



Role play:

In the beginning, students are given a balloon of the same colour. All students write their names on their balloons, then, all the balloons are gathered in an adjacent room, which is filled afterward with balloons of the same colour.

After having all the balloons in the adjacent room, students are asked to go in and retrieve their own balloons, having only 5-minute time to do so.

They will all become agitated and panicked, bumping into each other, and complete chaos settling in.

Almost nobody retrieves their balloons after 5 minutes, so, in the following 5 minutes are asked to find all balloons with names on them and return them to their owners. In this way, all students find their own balloons with the help of their colleagues.

The play is followed by a discussion on the first situation and on the second situation so that the students come to the following conclusion:

“This is what happens in everyday life. We all desperately seek happiness without knowing where to look for it. Our happiness depends on the happiness of the people around us. If we give them the happiness they deserve we shall receive the happiness we deserve.”

Instead of conclusions we want to end with a quote of American actor Jessica Lange.

Acceptance, tolerance, and forgiveness, these are the lessons that change the course of life.

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Chapter 5

National Pride, Child-Cities and indoctrination during the post-civil war period in Greece

Despina Karakatsani

University of the Peloponnese, Greece



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This chapter aims to determine the strategy of civic education and history teachers in integrating the role of national values and tolerance in High School. For this reason, we are going to use the example of the so-called Child Cities (Paidopoleis) in Greece during the post-civil war period. Tolerance includes values of respect and recognition. Tolerance can be understood as a positive belief in the absence of prejudice, racism, and ethnocentrism.

Nationalism and tolerance in the Greek society after Civil War

Although Greece found itself at the winners' side in the aftermath of World War II, the country had suffered serious damages and losses; as a result, the situation was tragic and the country's financial and social fabric was irreparably ruptured (Svoronos 1990: 145). The ensuing civil war, which lasted three years (March 1946-October 1949), resulted in a social and political setting quite distinct from the prewar one (Meynaud 1996: 39). It was an extremely crucial historical period characterized by growing social tension and violent conflicts, during which sweeping social and financial changes took place and impacted profoundly on every strand of educational and cultural life.

The Greek Civil War was a countryside war; at no time were the big urban centers threatened by the guerilla army that is the Democratic Army of Greece. In the span of a decade (the 1940s), warfare was raging in the countryside for a second time; hence, the countryside was constantly in a situation of mobilization, as an unprecedented movement of populations took place. Apart from protecting civilians, the transport of farmer populations from war zones aimed mainly to deprive the guerillas of food supplies, human reserves and access to information about the movements of the National Army. One of the most disputed aspects of these transports was the children's transport by both rivals; the guerillas transported children to the Eastern European countries while the Greek government transported children to the Child- towns through the Fund of the Northern Provinces and with the help of the Army. The issue of children took unprecedented dimensions and became the object of severe conflict between the two rivals (Kliafa 2016: 3).

Our contribution looks into the Child cities which operated across Greece during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949) when at the initiative of the government, as is evident from documents of the Royal Institute of Welfare (General State Archives 1948), approximately 18,000 children were taken away from their home villages to be placed in fifty-two (52) Child Cities. The majority of the children were orphans or had been deprived of their parents and their homes due to the political conjuncture. Poverty and hardships in the post war Greece hit mostly children. In many cases, the war had dissolved family ties and thus deprived children of protection. Many children were orphans of either or both parents and many parents were

disabled or severely sick and could not work; in a few cases, children had been given to relatives so as to survive, thus cut off from their family and their familiar surroundings. Most children were aged between 7 and 14 years old (Paidiki Pronoia 1947: 446). Following the end of the Civil War, the majority of the Child Cities closed, and most children returned to their home villages.

It is interesting to explore the role of the Child Cities and the role in the instruction of children in the values of nation-mindset (ethnikofrosyni) which at the time was the dominant state ideology. Based on the premise that the instruction of the young aims to help them internalize a common culture, which teachers ought to imbue children with, we follow the picture of the Greek nation as was drawn in the official national ideology during this period, and the ways it was attempted to instill this ideology in children through pedagogical means. Five exercises were important in relation to our topic.

- Analyse with students the main political changes after the end of World War II and their impact on Greek society.
- Check the role of the triptych: Nation, Homeland and Religion during the Post-war period.
- Investigate the role of the educational system in time of crises.
- Study the pedagogical discourse and the education practices used for national indoctrination.
- Evaluate how tolerance could be achieved in such a difficult political and social period and how education could help this goal.

In short, we unravel the way pedagogical action created and determined the dominant and acceptable codes, setting the framework within which children developed their thinking, emotions, and feelings for their homeland along with the expected behaviors. Our exercise is based on the premise that discourse does not illustrate passively what exists but shapes actively what it describes; presenting it from a certain perspective, in a way, discourse constructs and signifies it. Words and meanings employed in pedagogical discourse are perceived within a particular context of common meanings and references and presuppose it. Words and meanings are established within a social signifying context and characterize values, ideas and practices which are more or less socially acceptable and recognizable. In this regard, words and terms about the nation deployed by contemporary pedagogues reflect, to a certain extent, contemporary cultural conditions, and social and scientific limitations; hence, their study contributes to their profound understanding.

It is very useful to study the official pedagogical discourse about the homeland and the nation as illustrated in the Archives of the former Royal Family, the Archives of the Royal Welfare and

the Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, periodicals and newspapers along with published testimonies of children who lived in these institutions. Four key-questions were selected to investigate for our research.

- Which was the role of Child Cities for education and indoctrination?
- What happened inside the Child Cities, which were the practices and the lessons offered?
- How the specific approach attempted to shape the children's feelings for their country?
- Which were the expressions and values to influence the children's mindset?

The following sections provide a framework for study.

Introduction

With almost no exception, children selected to be sent to the Child Cities came from farmer families; no testimonies exist about destitute or orphan children from big towns placed in institutions run by the Fund. As already mentioned, the civil war was a war fought in the countryside. Many of the children at these institutions came from the forcible movement of local populations by the National Army from the areas deemed as dangerous. No substantial evidence exists that would allow us to argue for an explicit order to move children to the Child Cities by force; however, it is certain that children were placed in the Child Cities without either their or their guardians' consent, especially in cases where the Army displayed excessive zeal.

Besides, a considerable number of children ended up in the Child Cities at the will, or even at the request, of their relatives who could not meet their basic needs and believed that the children's placement in the Child Cities would secure them a better future, as there they would be provided with accommodation, food, running water, healthcare and education; in other words, they would be provided with goods which were not taken for granted in the Greek countryside in the 1940s.



1948, Childtown 'Agios Georgios', Kavala Greece

The selection of children was made on the basis of their family status and the living conditions in the settlements of the Civil War refugees. Priority was given to the orphans who had lost either both their parents, or their father, because of the action of the Democratic Army, as well as to the children who had escaped from villages under the control of the guerillas (Hasiotis, 2013). Another category of children whose admission to the Child Cities was also given priority were children from the Slavic-, Turkish- (though not Muslim) and Albanian-speaking communities of the Northern provinces as it was considered that the Child City could “serve as a station, as a springboard of learning the Greek language, our History and the Ideals of our Race” (General State Archives, 1948).

As was often stated in the discourse of the Child City leaders, their operation served the instruction of children in the “healthy” values of the nation and their protection from communist indoctrination. The repatriation of children was decided in the summer of 1949; only the offspring of leftist parents, the executed, the exiled and the imprisoned were exempted as it was thought that their family environment could lead to anti-national action (Benaki Museum 1949). It was expected that children would contribute to the reconstruction of the countryside and spread the ideology of nation-mindset in their birthplaces, an ideology which they had possibly adopted during their stay in the Child Cities.





1949, *Children in Child Cities*, photographer Dimitris Charisiades, Archive of D.Charisiades, Benaki Museum

Analyse the ideology of nation-mindset and anti-communism

The ideology of nation-mindset was the only coherent ideology promoted by the post-civil war state in its attempt to unify its populations and shape the “nation-minded” front (Elefantis 1993: 645). Nation-mindset was to delineate the limits of legitimacy in Greece for more than three decades. It was an ideology defined mostly in negative terms as anti-communism, which fostered and demanded the internalisation of a set of values promoted by the country’s ruling classes (Alivizatos 1984: 392). Anti-communism as a political lens was common in the entire “free world.” In Greece, though, anti-communism permeated every aspect of social and political life, as the post-war authoritarian regime chose to “legitimize” the rules and practices of the Civil War and render them part of a democratic authoritarian and continuously violated political system.

The attempt to create a positive signifying system led to a blend of pro-capitalist values and values which supported the existence of a disciplined society (Theodorou, 2019). Many of the thinkers of the nation-mindset accused the industrial culture of “prosperity” and this in itself is an interesting contradiction; although their discourse served a ruling class which attempted the country’s industrial transformation, anti-materialism and Greek-Christian idealism in their thinking was in sharp contrast with the utilitarian values of the capitalist societies of abundance (Meletopoulos, 1993) The discourse of nation-mindset neither converged with nor satisfied the needs of a developing society.

The contemporary dominant pedagogical discourse promoted and served this ideology explicitly. At the same time, this ideology permeated indirectly and implicitly every strand of social life. The structure and the operation of the Child Cities serves as a characteristic example of the way the nation-mindset dominated the children's everyday reality and created images and views of the homeland.

Everyday practices for preparing little soldiers with national pride

The Child Cities were run according to semi-military regulations. Children wore uniforms inside and outside the institution. Uniforms, however, were also worn by the entire student population within the school units. Yet, alternative attire was not an option for the children at the Child Cities. The children's uniform was linked with their general instruction in discipline; it further signified hierarchical relations within the institution. Wherever they went, they walked in file; during their fieldtrips, during visits to the cinema, to the theatre or to some sights, as well as inside the Child City. They walked in file to get to school or to the dining-room, singing a march or patriotic songs. The ring of a bell constantly regulated their time, and there were neither clocks nor calendars. They spent time on their assigned duties or on team games, always supervised by the group leader. The entire day was reserved for group activities while personal time was almost absent (Dalianis and Mazower, 2000).

They were "little soldiers" at any moment of their daily routine. Not only did they have to be removed and take their distance from the historical conjuncture, but their instruction also led them to take action for the reconstruction of the countryside where they came from. The state assigned them with a "national mission": to defend and disseminate the values of the Greek-Christian culture in their wider social circle, to take part in the battle of Hellenism against its adversaries. Their mission was associated with feelings of duty and honour and their education in the Child Cities served the development of such feelings. National pride was considered to be the ultimate value, which ranked higher than family pride in a country where family bonds at the time were so strong and family pride ranked so high on the scale of virtues that one of the steps adopted by the government during the Civil War was the establishment of collective responsibility for family members (Vervenioti, 2000).

The notion of pride was elevated to a social value associated with certain feelings; "When it manifests itself it is perceived as a feeling and when suppressed, it triggers off emotions" (Avdela 2006: 29). The defense of national pride in the post-war era caused feelings which were given significance and meaning through their performance, within the particular historical and political framework in culturally defined ways. Within a historically and socially defined perception of the nation, it signified the individual's personal and national identity; it determined the acceptable public practices and actions that individuals had to undertake

when they felt that their identity was targeted, and it confirmed or disputed power relations. In the discourse of nation-mindset, the Greek nation was a messianic nation which stood out because it was assigned with a special mission. It was a civilized nation surrounded by barbarians and its mission was to “civilize” them. Neighbouring peoples, especially the Slavs, were described as incapable of creating “a superior human culture” (Kalliafas, 1949).



February 1951, The Visit of Queen Frederica in the Childtown 'Kali Panagia', Dovra Veroias-Greece, photographer Dimitris Charisiades, Archive of D.Charisiades, Benaki Museum

The Greek Civil War was the first episode of the Cold War in Europe. During this period, the country was one of the flaming theatres of the global antagonism between the socialist and Western countries. In the defense plans drawn by NATO, Greece was a frontier country, a valuable link in the defense of the West in case of an attack launched by Eastern European countries (Meletopoulos, 1993). The American financial aid which the country needed urgently so as to reconstruct its infrastructure as well as the ensuing asphyxiating foreign control were closely related with the specific role reserved for Greece in the post-war world.

In the nation-minded discourse, the defense of the homeland also signified the defense of the Western world. Feelings of pride, superiority and uniqueness accompanied the perception of Greece as an outpost of Western culture and were linked with nationalism. The nation was perceived as a community of people sharing the “same blood”, namely of people with the same racial characteristics which determined their potential as well as their weaknesses and were passed on from one generation to another, impacting the historical destiny of the race (Kalliafas 1949). It was an entity surrounded by enemies that transcended time and remained unaltered with a cultural mission to fulfill. This transcendental nation, which drew its origin from Ancient Greece and found its continuation in Byzantium, was called in contemporary times by the Superior Transcendental Authority, the Divine Providence itself to defend

civilization on the edge of Europe with the assistance of the rest of the civilized nations (Kalliafas, 1949).

Analyse the role of feelings in Child Cities

As a couple of opposites, as a dipole, feelings of honour and pride were linked with feelings of fear and threat. In the nation-minded discourse, the country appeared to be surrounded by bigger and unfriendly nations who sought to eliminate the Greek nation biologically. The nation fought a survival battle, for life and death (Kalliafas, 1953). Its members as defenders of culture on the far edge of the Western world were cautioned to be alert. It was a state of continuous precarity and widespread concern which transcended individuality. Individual feelings and passions were linked with and included in the passions of the nation. The needs and the dictates of the nation prevailed and were imposed upon its members. Personal space and time were shrunk and erased in view of the historical destiny of the race.

Notwithstanding the official rhetoric on the unaltered perennial values defended by the Greek nation, the meaning assigned to “national pride” as a socially and culturally defined value had gender connotations. At a time when the need to return to pre-industrial values was dominant in the nation-minded discourse, the patriarchal family was considered the foundation for the rebirth of the nation, the safe space within which a new generation was to be raised so as to defend, preserve and lead the nation to its rebirth (Kalliafas, 1959). In the dominant code of values, the pride of the traditional-patriarchal family was connected with the pride of the nation and secured it.

Feelings of merit and demerit, pride and shame were linked with the fixed and predetermined role reserved for each gender in the traditionally patriarchal society. In this way, the semi-military character of life in the Child Cities was more prominent in the case of boys. It was thought that an education of a military character with the values it presupposed and the feelings it generated was more appropriate for boys. Bravery, faith, pride, and self-confidence were some of the feelings “required” of the gender, which was called to dominate family life and society, and possibly to defend the homeland with arms in hand (Hasiotis,2013)

For girls, social life was limited mainly within the family since the role reserved for them was mostly that of the mother who raised her children according to traditional pro-industrial values. Women were considered to have the power to preserve and pass on the traditional agricultural culture and its values. Changes in the role of women in the family jeopardized family unity and by implication the values that supported the nation. In this context, women were called to defend the pride of the nation by remaining pure, uncontaminated from the new ethos of the industrial culture, faithful to those values thanks to which the family as the

cradle of the nation was preserved. The slightest suspicion that a girl had sexual relations was enough to get her corporally punished and expelled from the Child City as the attitude of the authorities was especially strict in relation to what was perceived as an issue of “morals” and “honour” for girls, which in many cases meant that children from the Child Cities had a delayed sexual life (Dalianis and Mazower, 2000)



1950 Childtown 'Kali Panagia', Dovra Veroias-Greece, photographer Dimitris Charisiades, Archive of D.Charisiades, Benaki Museum

In the rhetoric of a developing nationalism, the patriarchal family is linked with the nation which is presented as an extended family with strong ties between its members and undisputed unity (Gazi, 2011). In this context, the ideology of paternalistic monarchy was developed. The withdrawal of the royal family from the country and its absence during the Occupation when Greeks suffered a lot had as a result to reduce the acceptance of the royal institution by Greek society; by contrast, the action of the National Liberation Front against the occupying forces led to the prevalence of democratic values in a considerable part of the Greek society. After the enthronement of King Paul in 1946, the monarchy attempted to promote its legitimization and acceptance among the Greeks and its active participation in the political scene. The royal couple was presented as the head of the national family through social welfare programmes (Karakasidou, 2000).

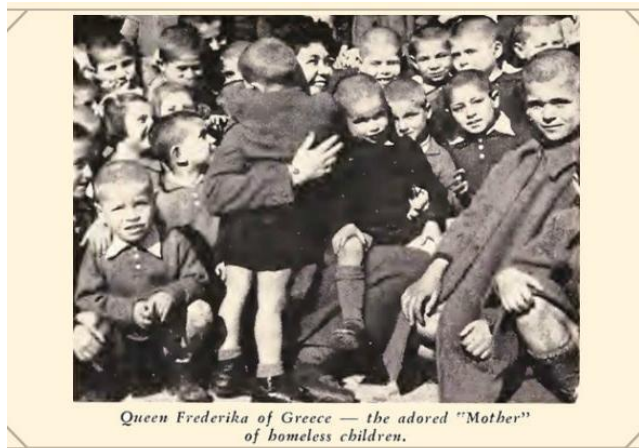
The protection of children and the maternal care of the Queen

The protection of children in the countryside, their “salvation” from a possible transport abroad by the guerillas had become an issue of prestige for the national government; it also

served as evidence of its capacity to control the countryside as in post-war Greece governments had a limited control over the provinces as compared to the interwar period. In general, in the mid-1940s, there took place an unprecedented crisis of legitimacy of the post-war order across Europe, at times leading certain areas to break free from the central state mechanism and come under the control of guerillas, local elites, or foreign powers (Mazower 2000).

Queen Frederica herself was in charge of the “work of rescuing the populations and especially children” (Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive). On 10/07/1947 a royal decree established the Queen’s Fund named the Fund of Northern Greece under the aegis of her royal highness. Through this Fund, Frederica acquired a powerful means of political, social and economic influence, and was promoted as the “Mother of the Nation.” She appeared to take care of civilians, especially of children, she intervened in state welfare policy, especially on child-related issues, and co-shaped it (Kliafa, 2016). In the nation-minded discourse, the prolonged and extensive praising of the queen aimed to confirm the institutional and national role she had undertaken but mostly to legitimize the monarchy itself in moral and political terms (Hasiotis, 2013).

Monarchy and the nation were equated with maternal care in the face of Queen Frederica. Attempts were made to cultivate in children at Child Cities feelings of familiarity, love, and devotion for the “Mother of the Nation.” Children were the living proof that the Greek nation had fought its enemies, prevented them from forcing children to exile, cutting them off from the national family, and destroying “their soul and even their education” (Vivliothiki Ethnikis Diafotiseos: 60). State power and nation were equated in the face of the queen. Frederica had saved the children to put them physically and mentally healthy in the service of the nation. Therefore, children ought to have feelings of gratitude to the royalty and the nation. The Palace promoted the Queen’s maternal public image and due to the familiarity, this entailed, children communicated with the Queen through thank you letters. These letters, widely circulated at the time, were part of a centrally driven “mass production” of letters addressed to Frederica; they were part of the atmosphere created to make citizens declare their faith, conformity and “remorse” towards the country’s post-war regime (Hasiotis, 2013)



«Test of Time» Near East Foundation (1953), T. Kostopoulos

Children ought to reciprocate the service and measure up to the “History of Hellenism” (Empros, 1949) They had to foster feelings of love for the monarchy, the homeland and the nation and do service to them. Their protection was not the state’s obligation; it was the result of the Queen’s generosity and benevolence. In fact, children were at a disadvantageous position; they were not the future citizens of the state with the same rights and obligations as the rest of the citizens. They had been provided a service and ought to reciprocate. The rhetoric of nation-mindset at the Child Cities reminded children that they should be forever grateful and taught them how they would prove these feelings with their actions, accepting their predetermined destiny as frontiersmen-defenders of the Greek countryside (General State Archives, 1948).

As the children were far from their familiar surroundings either because they were orphans or because they were forcibly cut off from their biological parents, their education at the Child Cities attempted to present the nation as their wider family and the royal couple in loco parentis. The aim of the Child Cities was to protect children from the guerillas and by implication from the influence communist ideas could exert on them, especially on children who came from families with leftist leanings.

Analyse the Greek-Christian culture: values and practices in Child Cities

At the beginning of the Cold War, whose first episode was the Greek Civil War, the Western world highlighted the elements that unified and turned it against the socialist regimes. The values and principles of the Greek-Christian culture were promoted as a counterweight to the socialist theories and were thought to be able to unify the peoples in the West (Vassiloudi 2014). The attempt to unite western societies materialized through the movement of a common Christian culture which characterized the 1950s both at a national and international level (Goussidis, 1993).

In 1948 Alexandros Tsiridanis, the leading member of “The Christian Union of Scientists” and professor at the School of Law in the University of Athens, established under the protection of the King Paul the society “Hellenic Phos” and alerted everybody to socially develop in the context of a Christian culture (Siganou, 2018). The idea of a Greek-Christian culture was addressed to the nation and constructed a new ideology which linked Hellenism with Christianity. In the post-war era, the re-organization of the society according to the Christian worldview was sought. It aimed mainly to render the Christian faith the foundation of the state (Maczewski, 2002). Christianity would be the basis and the leading power in the socio-political evolution of Greece.

Christian organizations and Sunday schools participated in the everyday life in the Child Cities (Hasiotis, 2013) and the children’s institution in the values of the Greek-Christian culture fell in line with an extreme anti-communist propaganda. In most institutions, “political” and “religious” instruction took place twice a week (Dalianis and Mazower, 2000) Christianity and anti-communism were closely related as the anti-communist struggle was endorsed as a crusade in defense of faith.

Children who came from families with leftist leanings faced extreme dilemmas as regarded their emotional attitude towards the nation. On the one hand, they were constantly reassured that they were under the protection of the royal family, the supreme authority of the homeland; on the other hand, they were taught that their parents and relatives were criminals and traitors. Guerillas appeared in the nation-minded rhetoric as suspicious internal enemies of the nation, agents of the Slavs, sworn adversaries of Christian and Hellenic values. Children had to renounce their parents; to betray those who had betrayed the nation.

Another extreme emotional dipole prevailed in their instruction, causing in some children serious emotional conflicts. Gratitude for the protection offered to them was accompanied by feelings of guilt for the actions of their own people. According to the official discourse, their parents were considered a miasma which had contaminated the national fabric. Children, as their descendants, were to undergo katharsis; to renounce them, to take their distance from them so as to be accepted in the arms of the nation, to which they owed their existence and protection. In the case of bilingual children, the prohibition extended to the use of their mother-tongue. In the context of the plan to eliminate “barbarian dialects”, children had to renounce part of their identity so as to be accepted in the arms of their homeland (Van Boeschoten and Danforth, 2015). It was as if they were tainted with an Original Sin from which they had to be cleansed, thus professing their faith and their devotion to the homeland and religion. “When the nation becomes the parent, real parents disappear” (Van Boeschoten and Danforth, 2015). As becomes evident from the official contemporary rhetoric, which caused reactions abroad in institutions and groups not otherwise related to socialism as a totalitarian inspired ideology, children belonged “first and foremost to the nation” and not to their families (Hasiotis, 2013).

Children at the Child Cities attended school in nearby school units. In case there was a primary school within the institution, teaching followed the primary school curriculum which was in effect across the country. Admittedly, the nation-minded rhetoric permeated all the subjects in contemporary school textbooks. Yet, indoctrination and emotional identification was more efficient in public speeches, on celebratory occasions and in public ceremonies which children took part in.

The feelings that connected children with the national community and led them to accept their mission were cultivated and strengthened indirectly and implicitly through ceremonies. Leisure time in the Child Cities included, among others, lectures with national, religious, and moralizing content as well as theatrical plays and cinema screenings (Hasiotis, 2013). Children participated in national celebrations and ceremonies in honour of the royal couple, took part in parades, demonstrations and events, and recited speeches and poems (Hasiotis, 2013). Through these uniform and repetitive ceremonies that honoured the homeland, psychological and emotional identification with the nation and acceptance of the national identity, through the formation and manipulation of emotional and spiritual relationships, was sought (Karakasidou, 2000).

Analyse with pupils the following questions:

To what extent did the instruction of children in the Child Cities attain its goals?

To what extent were the values and ideology of the nation-mindset internalized by children through a process of psychological identification?

How did they shape their attitude and choices in adult life?

Final activity

This activity considers the important of chronology and significant events. Ask students to put the different events in order. Then give them the dates so that they can see the emergence of chronology. Ask pupils to choose the most significant events from timeline and justify their decisions. The three events can then be used to consider what else was going on in society at this time that enabled these events to take place. Ask pupils to find events that happened in the same period in the European and international context. This will help pupils make connections between local, national, and global issues.

Timeline for important events - from world war to civil war:

- **1940** Greeks declare neutrality in WWII. Fascist Italy invades Greece but is beaten back.
1941 Nazis and their allies invade. They defeat Greeks and Allied armies, divide country into three zones.
400,000 Greeks will die during brutal occupation, including 100,000 from starvation
- About 76,000 Jews in Greece. 57,000 Salonika Jews are trapped in German Zone
6,000 Jews in Thrace under Bulgarians. 13,000 in Athens and elsewhere under Italians
Germans begin arrests, execution of Jewish leadership, plunder of community resources
- **1942** Fierce resistance from Greek partisans, including opposing royalist & Communist groups
- **1943** Salonika Jews forced into ghettos. Over 40,000 deported to Auschwitz, nearly all perish there
Some Salonika Jews survive through protection by Greek citizens or by joining partisans
4,100 Jews in Bulgarian zone deported to Treblinka and murdered
Jews in Italian zone generally protected. Italians refuse to allow deportations
1944 But after Italy surrenders, Germans take over zone and 5,000 Jews are sent to Auschwitz
60-70,000 Greek Jews die in the Holocaust, about 85% of the Jewish population
Post-war Jewish population at 10,000.
- **1944** Germans withdraw, but Greek communists and royalists begin civil war
- **10 July 1947** *A royal decree established the Queen's Fund (Fund of Northern Greece)*
- **Summer July 1949** *Decision for Repatriation of children.*
- **1945** Britain intervenes to ensure Greek royalists take control
- **1946** After unsteady truce, civil war breaks out again. 50,000 killed. Communists defeated by 1949
- **1949** A shattered society. Since 1938, population has dropped by 1/8th, 1000 villages obliterated
Greek economy in tatters, 20% of nation homeless

From civil war to military junta:

- **1949** A conservative, repressive, royalist govt takes power backed by anti-democratic army

Many communists imprisoned. Leftists and their families discriminated against for many years

1952 Greece joins NATO. During Cold War, Greece is a staunch supporter of US
Constant tension with Turkey and also with Slav population in Macedonia
But with massive US aid, economy recovers from free fall although remains stagnant
Mass migration. In next 20 years, one million Greeks settle in north Europe, Australia and elsewhere

1961 A flawed “democracy.” Conservatives stay in power after rigged election
The beginning of mass tourism in Greece

1964 Center-left party win election, raising army fears

1967 Supported by king, army seize power. Opponents imprisoned, culture stifled
Military government’s anti-modern attitude includes banning long hair, mini-skirts
Migration to Israel sees Jewish population drop to 6,500
Athens has largest Jewish community (2,800)

1969 Greece banned from Council of Europe, but tourism continues

1973 Military violently squashes demonstrations by anti-junta students in Athens

1974 Seeking nationalist boost, military encourage coup in Cyprus, and Cyprus uniting with Greece. A Greek humiliation: Turks respond by capturing Northern Cyprus. Cyprus divided.

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Chapter 6

The Baltic way and the consequence for the Baltic states



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Introduction

In teaching sensitive and controversial issues in history, social studies and civics, teachers face many pressures ranging from the local (objection from the community, parents, students), to issues in broader social and political fields that may be manifest in educational policies and curriculum documentation (Kello, 2016). Throughout this publication, many ways of dealing with divergences between collective memories, and of dealing with the past are presented. In this chapter focus is on one of the key events against Soviet occupation in Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) – Baltic Way (or Baltic chain). It was a human chain from Tallinn to Riga and Vilnius where two million people joined their hands in a peaceful political demonstration in 1989. It became the wake-up call for restoration of Baltic independence.

This chapter presents ideas that can be used with children from the age of 10 years to fifteen years and may also be adapted for older ages, adding sources and video materials. The Baltic Way is presented as a topic in history teaching to develop civic competences and democratic values, with activities that aim to stimulate pupils' interest in history, and to support a willingness to participate as an active and responsible citizens in society. Teaching sensitive and controversial issues enables pupils to develop:

- debating skills and an understanding that controversy is not to be feared,
- analytical and critical thinking skills in evaluating sources and recognising bias.
- universal human values: honesty, caring, respect for life, justice, human dignity, respect for oneself and others (Oja, 2021).

Context of the issue

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (Baltic states) became independent in 1918. Independence wars (1918-20) were followed by a nation state building for 20 years period. In 1940, the Soviet Union occupied the Baltic states, having previously agreed to do so with Nazi Germany. The

agreement was signed on 23 August 1939 in Moscow and is known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (after the names of the signatories, Vyacheslav Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR and Joachim von Ribbentrop, Foreign Minister of Germany). The people of the Baltic States lived under the dictatorship of the Communist Party for fifty years. In the 1980s a broad popular movement emerged to express dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union.

The Baltic Way, also known as the Baltic Chain, was organised in order to draw the world's attention to the existence of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact – a treaty signed 50 years prior. The people of the three Baltic states demanded public recognition of the pact's secret additional protocols and the restoration of Baltic independence.

On 23 August 1989, at 19.00, about two million people from the Baltic States joined hands to form a 675 kilometres (420 miles) human chain that ran from Tallinn (Estonia) through Riga (Latvia) to Vilnius (Lithuania). It was a peaceful protest against the illegal Soviet occupation and also one of the earliest and longest unbroken human chains in history (Wright & Tambur, 2021).

The impact and consequences of the Baltic Way were exceptional. This event became one of the most important steps towards the restoration of Baltic independence.

The Baltic Way brought the common struggle of the three countries into the international spotlight. It gave impetus to the democratic movement in other parts of the world, and served as a positive example for other countries' efforts to regain independence, as well as for German reunification.

The Baltic Way showed that the people of the Baltic States were united by their belief in democratic principles. The sense of brotherhood, unity and common purpose thus strengthened became an important factor in securing the political participation that led to the restoration of Baltic independence in 1991 (The Baltic Way, 2021).

The Baltic Way was the first sign of an emerging civil society. The Baltic states first experimented - how to join forces with agencies, communities and colleagues, to stand together for something. The organisation of the Baltic Way can be seen as a success story that encouraged future demonstrations and standing up for democratic society. Although the documentary legacy of the Baltic Way is in museums and archives, its emotional impact is hard to overestimate (Noorte Vabamu, 2021). Collection of documents recording this peaceful political demonstration were added to UNESCO's Memory of the World Register 20 years later (in 2009).



Participants with posters Baltic Way, Võrumaa Museum photo collection <https://blog.erm.ee/?p=12817>

Guiding questions for teachers to use to support teachers in making the links to their own city/country context:

What happened in your country in (August) 1989? Check online sources.

Through which channels did information about the Baltic Way spread in your country?

Try to find at least two websites in your native language about the Baltic Way!

Key events linked to the issue

Teaching topic Baltic Way in primary school

[All Around This World](#) is a dynamic world cultures program for primary school pupils. The program core curriculum consists of 12 individual courses, one of them is dedicated to the topic *Baltic Way*. In this online class the author Jay Sand celebrates „the Baltic nations’ strength, bravery and pride by linking arms in class while singing choral music to revisit this important moment. In this video we mumble through the Estonian national anthem and don’t do much hand-holding, but at home feel free to enjoy any song from any Baltic nation and link arms with all your friends“.

Source: All Around This World (2022). <https://www.allaroundthisworld.com/learn/eastern-europe-2/the-baltics/baltic-way/#.YxGjn3ZBw2w>

Teaching topic Baltic Way in secondary school



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The Project Baltic Way enables participants to share what they experienced on the Baltic Way or join the virtual Baltic Way and invite others to participate by sharing on social networks. The project's objective is to provide public awareness regarding the Baltic Way events by means of a living history – through stories of the inhabitants of the Baltic countries collected in collaboration with museums, schools, libraries, and other participating institutions. These narratives are available on the website www.thebalticway.eu (Project Baltic Way (2021) <https://www.thebalticway.eu/>)

Memory of the World is a documentary heritage of the Baltic Way and consists of a significant collection of different text, video and photo documents. The national commissions for UNESCO of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania started to work on the nomination in collaboration with respective memory institutions in the Baltic countries and different documentary heritage experts. In July 2009 the decision was adapted to include the documentary heritage of the Baltic Way in the International register of UNESCO program 'Memory of the World'. The significance of documentary heritage of the Baltic Way lies in acknowledgement of this event in the collective memory of the whole world as a mutual non-violent act of people striving for independence, justice and freedom and thus enhancing the understanding of solidarity and the value of togetherness (The Baltic Way, 2021, <https://www.thebalticway.eu/en/>)



Human chain in Baltic Way, photo by Aivars Liepins (Courtesy Image)

Role play activity: time travel to august, 23, 1989

The Time Travel is a role-play of an historical event, to create reflection on a contemporary issue, staged at a local site within the community. Every Time Travel event has a specific objective, when schools are involved the objective is connected to the curriculum.

The topic explains the focus of the event, an important issue of today and of the past. The key questions formulate these issues, to be discussed in the dialogue of the event from different perspectives, in order to find common solutions.

The pedagogy is based on a relational and experiential learning process, reflective dialogue, and using of the whole brain (Bridging Ages, 2022).

The Time Travel event scenario

Objectives:

- Gain first-hand experience of a key event in the restoration of Baltic independence - the Baltic Way (23 August 1989).
- Analysing the event from different perspectives (organizers of the event - representatives of „Rahvarinne“), the Baltic people (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians who enthusiastically participated in the event; sceptics - participants who are fear of repressions.
- Seeing the impact of the Baltic Way in European context, its role in the break-up of the Eastern bloc.

Preparation of the time travel event

Preparation includes: making flags of the Baltic countries, making posters with authentic slogans: „No country is alone!“; „There is no alternative to our independence, our hope will not end, our truth will not retreat!“; „One day we will win anyway!“; „Freedom“ in Baltic languages: Vabadus! (in Estonian) Briviba! (in Latvian) Laisve! (in Lithuanian). Authentic clothing, food and music will give an added value.

Time travel to August, 23, 1989: Baltic Way

Watch the video (4 min) and discuss with students why the event was taking place and what were the consequences.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hyM7e_Yo96c&ab_channel=Saeima

Pupils from the three Baltic countries gather in a long chain (for example around a school building) with national flags, posters etc.

The roles are derived from the memories of those who participated in the Baltic Way:

Initiators, organizers (manage the event, give speeches)

The Baltic Way was organised by the popular front parties from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – the first non-communist political movements since the annexation of the three states by the

Soviet Union. The organisers mapped out the chain, designating specific locations to specific cities, towns and villages to make sure that the chain would be unbroken. In 1989, there were no mobile phones in the Baltic states – walkie-talkies were used instead by the organisers. The exact timing of the demonstration was coordinated by special radio broadcasts, and participants carried with them portable radios to be kept in the loop and listen speeches by popular front activists and politicians (Source: Wright, Tambur, 2021)

Positive minded participants (with posters, flags)

Standing there holding hands and listening to the patriotic speeches, knowing that the other end of this human chain was in Vilnius, I suddenly realised that we were organising something unprecedentedly revolutionary here. Standing on that human chain, I realised that we were changing the world. It was standing there that I first had the feeling that the Soviet era was coming to an end – Sten <https://nova.vabamu.ee/portfolios/balti-kett/>

Sceptics, hesitators, participants who are fear of repressions

It was a day of mixed emotions – excitement, but also fear and confusion. Many people, especially the elderly, feared that such a large-scale undertaking would be followed by sanctions. These were people who remembered the repression and the deportation of people to Siberia in the 1940s.

Was I afraid? Yes, I was afraid, the wagons were waiting in the railway station, the army was ready... those who remembered the deportations knew fear... but we were close to Finland, and the border with Europe was the same. We had made ourselves known to the world. The reunification of Germany gave us courage. Even there, the people may have been afraid. We know the history of the events in the Czech Republic and Hungary, which were very bloody and brutal - Mati <https://vabamu.ee/virtuaalnaitus-balti-kett-30>

Conflicting views

Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow called the Baltic chain a 'nationalist hysteria' (Hiio, Lippus, 2018). The Soviet authorities responded to the event with intense rhetoric, but failed to take any constructive actions that could bridge the widening gap between the Baltic republics and the rest of the Soviet Union. For discussion: Why the USSR feared the impact of the Baltic chain on the other republics and what role it played in the collapse of the Eastern bloc.

Reflection, evaluation:

- The Time Travel event is always followed by an evaluation, to find out about the learning that has taken place, if the goals have been achieved and compare the key questions/ topic with today.

- Questions for reflection:
 - a) What was the importance of the Baltic Way in the process of regaining independence in three Baltic countries?
 - b) What emotions remain predominantly in the memories of the Baltic Way participants – initiators/organizers and participants?
 - c) What can today's young people learn from the Baltic Way?
 - d) If the Baltic Way were to take place again today, what message would you write on a protest poster?
- To mark the 30th anniversary of the Baltic Way, a song was created in collaboration with Baltic musicians – a gift to Baltic people. The Time travel event will end with listening this song (Music: Reinis Sejans, Lyrics: Marts Pujats) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ORO7nDAKERo&ab_channel=airBaltic

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Chapter 7

The Toppling of the Colston Statue: a perspective on tolerance from England

Sarah Whitehouse and Jane Carter
University of the West of England, England

Chapter 1 outlines a number of definitions of tolerance and this chapter puts into practice two of these definitions. Paul Vogt (1994) defines tolerance as, "Tolerance is intentional self-restraint in the face of something one dislikes, objects to, finds threatening, or otherwise has a negative attitude toward—usually in order to maintain a social or political group or to promote harmony in a group" and John Bowlin (2016) stated "[tolerance is] the patient endurance of another's objectionable difference" .

This chapter will focus on a key historical incident in Bristol, England. A statue, erected in 1885 of Edward Colston in Bristol, was toppled and thrown into the nearby harbour, during a demonstration linked to the 'Black Lives Matter' movement in 2020. The practical ideas and approaches in this chapter can be used with young people from the age of nine years to thirteen years or can be adapted for older or younger children.

Statues and society – an introduction



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As in many cities around the world, statues play a significant role in making visible the values, history and cultural priorities of places and spaces. Statues, monuments, and memorials are often erected to honour a particular person or to commemorate an event in history. Whilst many are considered to be 'public art' they all represent the socio-political values of their time, as well as the aesthetic preferences of the age. It is hard to navigate around modern cities without referring to monuments and statues that punctuate every route. In England and many European cities there was a proliferation of statues in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and in England this was particularly evident when Queen Victoria reigned from 1837 to 1901, known as the Victorian era. This period saw 'statuemia' across many European cities, with a proliferation of statues often commemorating 'the great and the good'. It is perhaps therefore, not surprising that when we look around at the statues in our cities today, we see a reflection of the values of the period of history in which they were commissioned. We also see a reflection of those responsible at the time, for making decisions about who and what would be immortalised or commemorated in a statue or monument. Looking around the city of Bristol in England, statues are generally of white men from the past or commemorating men lost at war. Women and women's contributions to society are largely missing and people of colour are mostly invisible.

Activity/guiding questions

Ask students to think about the statues they have seen in their local towns and cities. If you are able, collect together some photographs of statues and monuments from your capital city (or your local area) to support this activity.

- Who are the statues of, or what do they show?
- Who is being represented and why? What is their role in history?
- Do any of the statues represent a 'general theme' rather than a specific person?
- When were the statues created? Consider the date of the statue and also if they were created in the lifetime of the person represented or following their death or many years after.
- Where is the statue situated in the town or city? Think about why statues are placed in different parts of the city.
- Who commissioned the statues? This might not be easy to find out but think about who was in power in the country or city or town during this period of time.
- Who is missing from the statues you have looked at? Are there groups of people missing e.g. women and children?

- Which people of significance are missing?
- Are there any values that your town or city has that are not represented in statues, monuments, or perhaps other forms of public art? For example, how could the value of tolerance be represented in a statue or monument?
- Consider the information on the plaques - what does this indicate about the person? Is it biased? A one-sided interpretation?

Students may wish to design their own statue or monument to the values that they feel their town or city represents and write the wording that would appear on the plaque.

The statue of Edward Colston

One statue in Bristol, England became world renowned in the summer of 2020 when it was toppled by protestors and then dragged through the city and thrown into the harbour waters. The statue was of a man named Edward Colston who was born in the city of Bristol in 1638 and died in 1721 in London, the city in which he had lived for most of his life. Many years after his death, in 1885 a statue was erected to his memory to celebrate Colston's charitable giving. Colston, having amassed a huge wealth (and how he did this will be explored later), established schools and other educational provision for the poor as well as other charitable giving over many years to his death. 1885 was a period of history when there was great poverty alongside great riches. It was a time when there was no state support for the poor and a prevailing attitude amongst the ruling classes (supported by the interpretation of religious texts at the time) that there would always be poor people and that the poor were often responsible for their plight. It was not an uncommon idea that the poor could be divided into the 'deserving and undeserving poor'. Alongside this view was the value placed on philanthropy, the donation of money by the rich to charitable organisations. A promotion of this individual approach to supporting the poor meant that governments did not have to consider a more systemic approach to alleviating poverty. At a period of rapid industrial growth and colonial expansion, the poor were a useful 'commodity' to work in factories, work the land and fight in any colonial wars. Promoting philanthropy and philanthropic men like Colston, were therefore useful tools.

It may appear that a statue to a man that set up schools, alms houses for the poor and who established many charitable organisations, is quite an appropriate subject for a statue but we need to explore a little more deeply how Colston made his money before being able to make any judgements.

Colston built a prosperous business from 1673, trading largely in textiles and wine but in 1670 he, along with other family members, began working with the Royal Africa Company which

provided ships for the transportation of slaves from West Africa. He became a governor of the company which oversaw its ships transportation of over 84,000 people from Africa, many from Sierra Leone. 19,000 died enroute. The Royal Africa Company (RAC) was the main and often only company engaged in the West African slave trade. It burnt into the skin (branded) the initials RAC on people it captured, and then sold them as slaves. Colston was an active member of the Royal Africa Company for eleven years and it is thought that he used the sale of his shares in the company to establish further businesses as well as his philanthropic giving.

The statue of Edward Colston is made of bronze and was created in 1895 by the Irish sculptor John Cassidy and placed on a plinth in the city centre. The monument originally consisted of a 2.4 metre high statue of Edward Colston made in bronze set on top of 3 metre high plinth. The statue depicts Colston in a flowing wig, velvet coat, satin waistcoat, and knee-breeches, as was typical in his day. The plinth is made of Portland stone and is adorned with four bronze plaques – one on each face of the plinth. Three of the plaques were relief sculptures in an Art Nouveau style: two depicting scenes from Colston's life and the third was a maritime fantasy. In each corner, there is a figure of a dolphin to represent Colston's maritime connections. The plaque on one side bears the words "Erected by citizens of Bristol as a memorial of one of the most virtuous and wise sons of their city AD 1895".

In 1977 the statue was designated a grade 11 listed structure – which means under British law, it is (or was) protected. The statue was erected to acknowledge and commemorate Colston's reputation as a philanthropist. However, the statue did not acknowledge his involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade. From the 1990s onwards there was continued debate about the underlying morality of commemorating a slave trader in this way. In 2018 a Bristol City Council project sought to add a second plaque to better contextualise the statue and acknowledged Colston's role in the slave trade. This never materialised and discontent around the statue within the city continued.

The people of Bristol had long debated the place of Colston in its city. It was not just the statue that commemorated him, but his name was visible in the names of the schools he established as well as concert halls and streets that were named after him. How should a modern and diverse city relate to a figure such as Colston?

Ask students to consider these big questions:

1. Should Colston's statue have been left standing to recognise the 'good' he did with his charitable giving, or should we not separate his philanthropy from the way his money was made?
2. Should we be tolerant of the actions of those in the past who had a set of values that were linked to the socio-political context of the day, or should we judge those actions by their impact on the lives and deaths of the people sold as slaves and the

consequences in the lives of people today, including slavery's legacy of racism, displacement and inequality?

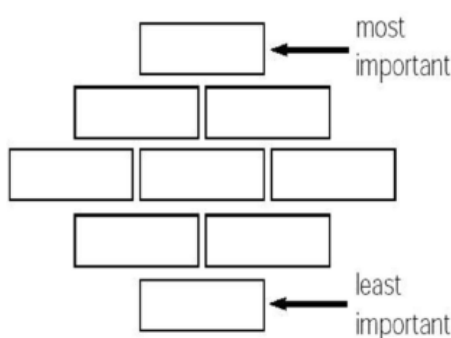
3. Are there universal codes of morality that extend both into the past and the future that should guide our judgments and understanding of tolerance?

The activity below is designed to help students discuss and share their ideas and consider what tolerance means in a context such as this.

Diamond Nine Activity

Colston, good or evil? What does tolerance mean in this context?

There are nine statements below about Colston. Cut up the statements and then ask students, working in pairs or small groups, to discuss each statement and then 'rank' the statements in a diamond formation (as below). Students should put at the top of the diamond the statement they most agree with and then place the other statements in descending order, with the statement at the bottom reflecting the statement they most disagree with. Encourage groups of students to view the Diamond Nine of others and see where similarities and differences are evident. This can be used as the basis of a class discussion. Teachers may also wish to provide students with some blank cards as well as the ones provided so that students can write their own statements for consideration on the Diamond Nine.



Statements to use for the Diamond Nine activity.

Edward Colston was a product of his time and so cannot be judged for his role in slavery.	Edward Colston was a good man because he gave lots of his money away to charity.	Edward Colston did a lot of good by giving to charities and so it doesn't matter how he earned his money.
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Edward Colston had a significant role in the slave trade, and this cannot be ignored – it was an evil trade in people.	Edward Colston did not treat the people of West Africa as fellow humans and so he should be recognised as a murderer and people trafficker.	It does not matter that it was the past when Edward Colston profited from the slave trade – he still made money out of the enslavement of people, and this is evil whenever it happens.
Edward Colston did as much good as he did evil, and these things have to be balanced out when we make judgements about him.	Edward Colston’s legacy was racism and so we need to judge him by this.	Edward Colston’s legacy was the schools and other charitable organisations he set up. We should value the legacy of man who has done good things.

The unveiling of the Colston Statue in 1895

The picture below shows the ceremony at which the statue was revealed.



The unveiling of Colston's statue- source Wikipedia

Guiding questions to use to support the discussion about the unveiling

- Why did so many people attend the unveiling of the statue of Edward Colston?
- Why was the ceremony in Bristol and in 1895?
- What does this tell us about how important Edward Colston was at this time?
- Who would have attended the event?
- How would this event have been recorded in newspapers at this time?
- What questions could you ask about this image?

Pick up a role based on this photo. You are part of the audience as the mayor of Bristol, the sculptor, a female worker in a factory, a harbour worker, or a pupil of the local school,

Make your story based on the information that have collected.

The 'Black Lives Matter' movement and the City of Bristol

Black Lives Matter (abbreviated BLM) is a decentralized political and social movement that seeks to highlight racism, discrimination, and racial inequality experienced by Black people.

Its primary concerns are incidents of police brutality and racially motivated violence against Black people. The movement started following the killings of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Pamela Turner, and Rekia Boyd, among others- all Black civilians living in the United States. The movement and its related organizations typically advocate for various policy changes considered to be related to Black liberation. Despite being characterized by some as a violent movement, the overwhelming majority of its public demonstrations have been peaceful.

The movement began in July 2013, with the use of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter on social media after the acquittal of the US police officer George Zimmerman in the shooting of African-American teenager Trayvon Martin 17 months earlier in February 2012. Participants in the movement had demonstrated against the deaths of numerous African Americans by police actions or while in police custody. The movement returned to national headlines and gained further international attention during the global George Floyd protests in 2020 following his murder by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin. An estimated 15 million to 26 million people participated in the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests in the United States, making it one of the largest movements in the country's history. The popularity of Black Lives Matter has shifted over time. The movement was supported around the world including in the United Kingdom.

Some guiding questions

- What do you know about the Black Lives Matter movement?
- Are you aware that some people use the phrase 'all lives matter'?
- Why do you think some people are saying this?
- How would you respond to this?
- How does this relate to the toppling of Colston's statue?

The toppling of the statue

In June 2020 there were protests around the world after the filmed murder of George Floyd, whilst being arrested in America. All Black Lives Bristol organised a protest against police brutality and racial inequality in the City of Bristol and on 7 June 2020, an estimated 10,000 people gathered in Bristol. The protest was peaceful but there were clearly strong feelings held by the protestors who were from a wide representation of the city in terms of age, gender, and heritage.

A group of protestors surrounded the bronze statue of Colston and tied ropes to the statue around the stone monument and it was pulled to the ground. It was then dragged a short distance and thrown off the quayside into the water. Bristol City Council later retrieved it from

the water, and it was taken to a local museum MShed which is located in the harbour. Museum conservators worked with the statue to stabilise the condition and preserve the graffiti that has been daubed on the statue.

Watch this clip from the BBC that was broadcast on the day of the protest and then use the questions below to generate discussion. Continue to reflect on how the value of tolerance can be applied in this real-life dilemma.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cs36SAytfuE>

Guiding questions

- How was the event portrayed?
- Do you think the report was presented as balanced?
- Were other viewpoints considered?
- What factual information was presented and what was left to the reader to interpret?
- Was the report tolerant of views presented?

Pick up a role based on this event. You are the mayor of Bristol, a journalist, a sculptor, a refugee, a female activist, a pupil of the local school.

Make your story, your poster or your speech based on the information that have collected.



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Statue of Colston falling to the ground

"Toppling of Colston Statue" by Greenhill22 is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0.

The picture is a great source for discussion. To organise the discussion, start by asking students to use the inference square below to organise their thinking about the picture.

Start by students recording at the centre of the inference square words and phrases to show 'what they can see' e.g. crowds of people; a man stamping on the statue; ropes around the statue.

Ask students to take each of the things they have recorded as things they can see to infer meaning e.g. I infer from the crowds that many people felt the same anger about the statue.

Once students have done this, ask them what questions they still have about the image.

Each of the elements of the square can be used as a basis for discussion as we will each notice different things about the photo and will make different inferences based on our values and perspectives.

Use an inference square to analyse the above image.

Inference

What questions could you ask?

What can you work out from the picture?

What can you see in the picture?

What would you have done?

The next activity focusing on what happened after the toppling of the statue. This four minute clip

<https://www.facebook.com/bbcnews/videos/history-needs-to-be-re-interrogated/264067328141759/> is a debate about differing perspectives on the toppling of the statue and what should be done about other similar statues and historical monuments. Watch the clip and ask students to consider:

- Who do you most identify with in this debate and why?
- What would you have done if you were a police officer?

Now ask students to watch this clip of the police officer in charge of the policing of the event. <https://www.facebook.com/pointswest/videos/police-on-edward-colston-statue-toppling/3025418320870315/>

- What part does 'tolerance' play in his viewpoint?
- Do you agree?

What has happened now?

Following the toppling of the statue the Mayor of Bristol established the 'We Are Bristol History Commission'. Their role is to build an improved shared understanding of the city's story. A survey was the focus of the display which asked citizens what should happen to the statue next. Nearly 14,000 people responded to the public survey. Four out of five people from Bristol said that the statue should go on display in a Bristol Museum. The statue is now in one of the city's museums, M Shed.



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KY0GkS2W8zE&t=47s>

Guiding questions

- What would you do with the statue now?
- Should it be on display in the museum in its original condition?
- Should it be on display in its current state?
- How would you as a museum curator create an atmosphere of tolerance for people wanting to view the statue?
- Why do you think this is important?
- Which written comment would you add nearby this statue?
- Try to find an explanation of the current position of this statue!

What happened to the people who toppled the statue?

Following the toppling of the statue four people were charged with criminal activity and this led to a trial in a Bristol court. The Bristol four as they became known had a lot of support within and beyond Bristol. The trial was significant because it further divided opinion in Bristol about the Colston. The four were acquitted at trial and there were mixed opinions on the outcome, and this has led to more debate about which statues should remain standing across the UK.

Final activity

This activity considers the importance of chronology and significant events. Cut up the timeline and give to pupils without the dates first- and ask them to put the event in order. Then give them the dates so that they can see the emergence of chronology. Ask pupils to choose the three most significant events from timeline and justify their decisions. The three events can then be used to consider what else was going on in society at this time that enabled these events to take place. This will help pupils make connections between local, national, and global issues.

Appendices

Timeline of events (Radical History Group Bristol)

1638 Edward Colston is born into a merchant family in Bristol.

1680 he becomes a leading shareholder in the Royal African Company, which has a monopoly in the trade in enslaved people.

1721 Colston dies having donated about £70,000 – equivalent to millions in today’s money – to Bristol, helping to establish a number of the city’s oldest institutions.

1895: A statue of Colston is erected in Bristol “by popular subscription”. A plaque attached to its plinth says: “Erected by the citizens of Bristol as a memorial to one of the most virtuous and wise sons of their city.” Attempts to raise money for the memorial from Bristolians are largely unsuccessful and the monument ends up being financed by the wealthy Bristol publisher James Williams Arrowsmith.

1921: Rev H J Wilkins publishes a short book based on archival research that acknowledges Colston as a slave trader. Wilkins is the first in the modern era to question the image built around Colston and to ask if such veneration is appropriate for a man who traded in human beings.

1973: In response to historical silence surrounding the 600th anniversary of Bristol as a city and county, Derek Robinson writes *A Shocking History of Bristol*, exposing Colston as a leading financier of the slave trade and drawing attention to his continued celebration in annual rituals.

May 1996: Complaints pour in after Bristol’s Festival of the Sea fails almost entirely to mention the city’s role in the slave trade, with multicultural arts groups launching a counter Anti-Festival of the Sea. The Bristol trip hop band Massive Attack announce they are boycotting Colston Hall over its association with the slave trader.

January 1998: The first direct action against the Colston statue takes place, with “fuck off slave trader” painted on the statue overnight in red paint. Days later a Bristol councillor, Ray Sefia, said he could understand why the statue was targeted. “It’s like having a monument to Hitler,” he told the Bristol Post. “We have to be very clear about Colston’s role in the slave trade.”

September-October 2007: Protests outside Colston Hall are orchestrated by activists angry at the venue being used to host events celebrating the bicentenary of the end of the slave trade. The protests, some months after renewed calls by civil rights campaigners to rename the hall, come as a number of public debates are held re-examining Colston’s legacy.

July 2018: Bristol council agrees to attach a new plaque to the Colston statue to make clear his “active role in the enslavement of over 84,000 Africans”. However, after an intervention by Bristol’s Society of Merchant Venturers, the wording of the plaque is watered down. Bristol’s mayor, Marvin Rees, responds to the re-wording by blocking its installation.

October 2018: The Bristol MP Thangam Debbonaire calls for the removal of the statue of Edward Colston. Days later an art installation made up of concrete figures depicting enslaved Africans packed into a slave ship appears in front of the statue of Colston.

25 May 2020: A Minneapolis police officer, Derek Chauvin, kneels on the neck of George Floyd, an African American man, for eight minutes and 40 seconds until Floyd is dead. The murder, which is captured on video, sparks worldwide anti-racist protests under the banner of Black Lives Matter.

7 June 2020: The statue of Colston is pulled from its plinth, rolled to Bristol harbour, and thrown into the River Avon by a crowd of thousands taking part in a Black Lives Matter protest. In the following days, Colston girls' school removes a half-size replica of the statue, his name is removed from buildings in Bristol and his likeness taken from church-stained glass windows. In London the mayor, Sadiq Khan, orders a review of statues connected with slavery in the capital.

25 January 2021: Jake Skuse, Rhian Graham, Milo Ponsford, and Sage Willoughby are charged with damaging the statue and plinth "with each other and others unknown without lawful excuse".

13 December 2021: The Colston 4 go on trial at Bristol crown court accused of criminal damage.

5 January 2022: All four defendants are cleared of criminal damage after jurors are urged by the defence to "be on the right side of history".

Conclusion

In this chapter we have provided a number of activities that should shape discussions around the important value of tolerance. We encourage pupils to reflect on their learning as you work through the activities.

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Chapter 8

Teaching and learning for democratic education: a case study in history subject in the context of graduate training

Eleni Karamanoli
University of Thessaloniki, Greece

Introduction

Historical thinking and consciousness in democratic and multicultural societies

Modern democratic and multicultural societies require, through education policy, citizens with developed historical thinking and consciousness. The history subject is appropriate to respond to this challenge as it offers a breeding ground to improve historical thinking and consciousness as they articulate through the interrelation with the second order concepts (historical significance, cause-effect, continuity-change, ethical dimension, and historical perspective) (Seixas & Morton, 2016). The emergence of significance of acquisition democratic spirit with the utilization of humanistic and democratic values within the context of educational process. According to the research methodology it's a case study, the analysis of the research results will be carried out with quantitative method. It took place at the faculty of Philosophy, at department of Philosophy and Education at the University of Thessaloniki. during the graduate training. The participants were 300 university students and were above 5th semester at history lesson. The historical event that the research was focused on was the Balkan wars.



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The educational process is necessary to encourage the freedom of express and the fertility of a dialogue by creating and cultivating a relevant school environment in the class. In that point some survey questions arise: which pedagogical practices are concerned necessary to be adopted in order to be promoted the cultivation of educational and social awareness to create a school which will be distinguished for its empathy, democratic and humanistic characteristics? How the diversity will be exploited and how the discrimination will be avoided, the exclusion and the marginalization of children that come from different cultural environments will be avoided? The reveal of the multicultural of past societies can lead to the conformation of positive notion of diversity, pluralism of opinions and the confutation micro theories and of stereotypes (Rosenthal & Burroughs, 2003).

By the time that democratic consciousness does not exist naturally is necessary to be taught and this is the first and basic lesson of democracy assessment. Some of the main disciplines and aims which traverse the educational process are at first the educators to help students improve their understanding of the differences in values, interesting, priorities and opinions which apply in a different society from theirs. To make clear that the differences which are detected, are normal in a democratic society and deemed necessary to be acceptable and respected by society as a whole. Furthermore, to help students cultivate the familiarization with different methods which are used in conflict resolution between values, interests, priorities, and opinions in democracy.

Educational practice ought to support students to acquire and appreciate the elements of a democratic and human culture which means that they should be able to know and express their interests and their opinions with trust in educational environment and self-esteem. Moreover, to behave with mutual respect, that involves empathy, the willingness and the ability to change perspectives. At the same time to be ready to settle the eventual conflict by peaceful means, which is negotiation and compromise. Furthermore, to appreciate the functioning of the institutional frameworks which they protect them and limit the civil rights of liberty. Alongside, is important to be educated so that they will take responsibility for their decisions and choices, taking into account the impact for themselves and the others. Finally, it is appropriate for them to know that if they do not participate in the decisions that affect them, others will take them, and the result would be unfavorable for them. If students are educated to be active citizens of the world is necessary to implement democracy and civil rights to their daily life not just to talk about them (MacMath, 2008).

Guiding questions for teachers to achieve a democratic class-society

Teacher aims at a democratic environment in classroom in order to achieve this goal is necessary to set some guiding questions in order to decide which class desires to have:

- What kind of social norms, values, expectations are you going to introduce in your classroom? Are you going to reflect and apply values as aiming success, justice and common good?
- Do students comprehend their individual role and the value of proper function of society?
- Who conducts the class? Is it a democratic classroom (many conduct), an oligarchy (some conduct), more tyrannically (one conducts) or are there moments of anarchy (no one conduct)?
- Are there any rules? Are the pronounced rules enough transparent?
- Who decides or take the final decision which rules will be applied in the classroom?
- Which voices are present/absent?
- Is equal representation a reality?
- Do students see variety of perspectives by sex, age, race etc. Do they comprehend these perspectives and practice advocacy?
- Do they exercise dialogue or discussion in such way that their ability to cooperate in different aspects is improved?
- Are they able to conduct debates and arguments to construct and gain understanding?
- Is their space and time to introduce various perspectives and deal with different ideas ([Van Benthuyzen, 2018](#))?

A key question arises at this point is what the teacher can do to support the way that democracy arises in life and daily tasks at class. Firstly, a good practice would be to collect and evaluate information that comes from the Curriculum, teaching, learning, and the educational level of the teacher in relation to the improvement of the democratic consciousness of the citizen, the position of the lesson to the educational system, and its significance in relation to the other lessons. In addition, to recognize and evaluate the variety of approaches in relation not only to the students' level to the history lesson, but also the skills which deal with the concept of the democratic consciousness of the citizen. In the end, to collect examples of practices in order to define the way with which the historical education can help better young people to think the Multi perspectivity positively, to learn how to live together, to fight against the manipulation and violence and to develop cooperative climate (Vinterek, 2010).

Teachers' ought to analyse national history, give prominence to the complexity of national identity, and focus on the concepts of continuity, change, empathy, democracy. The question that arises here is why do we teach history? Teaching history aims at cultivating a pluralistic and tolerant national identity combined with the cultivation of democratic consciousness, at cultivating human values and overall, at cultivating democratic consciousness.

The humanitarian character of the course demands the value cultivation as responsibility, mutual respect, solidarity, freedom. Moreover, the constant critical processing, refraction of stereotypes and prejudices, ethnic, racial, religious, social, gender, political and cultural. Fundamental principle of humanitarian education is: "To understand that the things which unite people are more and stronger than those which separate them despite their historical and cultural differences."

Academic history can be also used as a mean of cultivation attitudes and values for society and democracy. In other words, history lesson has to cultivate values and attitudes in order to form frameworks for social interaction, to produce patterns of behavior, to mobilize human action and to operate as instructional principles in the decisions that are called to take for how to act. A key question that arises at this point is what the teacher can do in order to support the way that democracy appears in life and in daily duties at class. At first a good practice would be to collect and check information which comes from the Curriculum, teaching, learning and the education of the educator in relation to the improvement of democratic citizenship, the role of the lesson in the education system, and its importance in relation to the other subjects. In addition to recognize and evaluate the variation of approaches in relation not only to the students' level in history subject but also the skills which deal with the concept of democratic citizenship. Finally, to collect examples from effective practices in order to determine the manner in which historical education can help young people to think positively about multiculturalism, to learn how to live together, to combat manipulation and violence and to create a climate of cooperation (Vinterek, 2010).

The last years many researches carried-out in theoretical and empirical level regarding didactics of history and is developed a common acceptance all over the world for what is necessary to be included to the teaching and learning. For instance, some basic elements are that the didactics of history is necessary to move beyond simple transmission of what historians know and to give emphasis on historical method, on how the historians know, this is always referred as historical thinking. The historical education should give emphasis on historical consciousness and the way in which history and memory interact in order to shape the way we think about ourselves, society, and our position in the world. There are many places where history lesson can be taught except from classrooms, historical places, museums, family events etc. historical education is necessary to guide students to think elements of the past, how they are evaluated and concepts about the past are constructed.



Researching the elements proves that students, even at the primary school, can be trained to think with more complex and complicated ways about the past and its relation with the present and the future. Most people “consume” public memory uncritically, supposing that the reconstructions of the past are the “truth” about the past. They are not aware that narratives that are uncompleted are expressed by certain perspectives and usually open to important disagreements. Those who do not agree with these narratives, whose presence and motivations aren’t explained, are constantly at risk of being silent or to be excluded from their right to be in democratic places. On the other hand, the real stories that people have lived, their relationships are hidden and finally forgotten (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003).

History is the subject that provides the society the ability to adjust the core values that they have, to preserve the values through realization of the protection so that they won’t lose them and help people understand the past and the present. History constantly protects its significance providing people the opportunity to come to conclusions from experiences, certain values prevail, transfer human values, and emphasize negative attitudes such as injustice, malice, negative but also positive attitudes like justice, honesty, rectitude, and goodness. Teaching democracy in the classroom means to incorporate the values of democracy by utilizing a democratic approach which provides the opportunity to the students to practice democracy and to create a safe environment where students take risks and can actively participate to the educational procedure (Davis, 2010).

Last but not least it is important to mention the multicultural character of the past. The emergence and the study of the multicultural character of societies of the past can contribute to the conformation of positive attitudes towards the cultural diversity and the pluralism of practices and perspectives and the foundation of values that the cultural diversity is an advantage for a society, that people can learn and benefit from different perspectives of other people, that the diversity should be promoted and protected, that people should be encouraged to interact each other regardless of their cultural differences. Purposes of history lesson are connected to the ideals of a society, that future a society envisions, and the type of person and citizen society wants to form through education. The formation of genetic historical consciousness, the cultivation of historical thinking, democratic consciousness and humanistic values and the composition of a pluralistic and tolerable national identity are key purposes of history subject in modern democratic and multicultural societies.

Formation of historical consciousness

Historical consciousness is defined as the relation that people in every age (each time present) shaping with regard to the meaning and the sense that attribute to the past, but also the expectations that cultivate for the future or the fears that they have for it. It follows, therefore, that the special articulation of present-past-future is the differentiator feature of historical

consciousness in every society. There are four types of historical consciousness that could follow one the other or co-exist in contrast with the social groups or persons: (a) in traditional historical consciousness past functions normatively and binding in relation to the other two grades of historical time. (b) In paradigmatic historical consciousness past continues to have normative meaning in combination to the idea that the nature of the man remains unchangeable. In that frame the belief that is cultivated a belief that human can be taught by his/hers faults and troubles of the past in order to prevent the perpetual recycling of historical time (historical prudence). (c) In critical historical consciousness history is approached by two opposite angles which form asymptotic representations and interpretations about past: either the one of the winners-powerful, or the one of lowers-powerless. (d) the genetic historical consciousness is absolutely clear with historical thinking and its characteristic attributes refer to the multidimensional, critical, and reflective approach of the modern historical discourse. Taking into account the above categorization history subject must seek the formation of genetic historical consciousness.

Teaching history pursues cultivation of democratic consciousness on the one hand encouraging pluralism of opinions, dialogue, and the interaction and on the other hand challenging authority and renouncing doctrinal singularity of historical truth. A common belief to the international organizations for education is that history subject can play a critical and decisive role to the cultivation of historical consciousness of young people and be a deterrent barrier to xenophobia, hatred, intolerance, ethnic and cultural entrenchment. Democratic culture of young people at current circumstances shapes a set of skills, which are improved with the historical education such as empathy, the need for documentation, understanding, respect and tolerance of the cultural diversity, the feeling of responsibility, the analysis and the critical understanding of different perspectives facing the same event, the discovery of logical sequence of events, the deconstruction propaganda rhetoric's, the evaluation based on logical criteria and substantiated arguments, the critical processing of stereotypes and prejudices.

Case study: the Balkan Wars

According to the research methodology it's a case study, the analysis of the research results will be carried out with quantitative method. It took place at the faculty of Philosophy, at department of Philosophy and Education during the graduate training. The participants were 300 university students and were above 5th semester at history lesson. The historical event was the Balkan wars.



Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Balkan Wars". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 30 Dec. 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Balkan-Wars>.

The research was an experiment and the purpose of the teaching was to provide trigger for the cultivation of pluralistic and tolerable national identity. The purpose of the research was to examine how students understand the concepts of humanism, empathy, democracy, freedom, secondly how they manage these concepts and whether the utilization of specific strategies in order to understand these concepts is effective. The research questions concerned how students perceive these concepts, what problems and difficulties students face to the understanding of these concepts, and to find out if they are sensitized and aware of these issues. As far as research assumptions concerned the cultural diversity is advantage for a society, people can learn and benefit from the others different perspectives and that people should be encouraged to interact despite their cultural differences. Combined with the cultivation of democratic consciousness, cultivation of humanistic values which promote a new dimension and perspective in history subject. To be more specific, the aim of the intervention was to clarify concepts such as democracy, tolerance, freedom, empathy.

This specific subject has been chosen because the humanistic character of this subject enforces the cultivation of values like responsibility, mutual respect, solidarity, and freedom, the constant critical processing, undoing national stereotypes and prejudices, racial, religious, social, gender, political and cultural. So this research sought to highlight and study the multicultural character of past societies, to the possibility to form positive attitudes and respect the cultural diversity and the plurality of practices and perspectives and to the establishment value assumptions that: (a) cultural diversity is an advantage for a society, (b)

people can learn and benefit from different perspectives of other people, (c) diversity should be promoted and protected, (d) people should be encouraged and interact regardless their cultural differences.

More specifically, the aim of this survey was to investigate: (a) how students comprehend the concept of humanism, empathy, democracy, tolerance (b) how they handle these concepts, (c) if it is efficient the use of special strategies for the deeper understanding of these historical concepts. The research questions are: (a) how students comprehend these concepts? (b) what kind of problems and difficulties students face in understanding these concepts? (c) are students sensitized and informed in such issues? Teaching intervention deals with the historic event of Balkan wars based on second order concepts, sources were given to students and some questions were posed in order the research questions to be answered. At the beginning of our research students watch some videos in order to have an overall view about the facts of Balkan Wars:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V-RIpt7Tknc>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Evwq4wR3bKM>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0LvLr1UjCVw>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3n0cQXNEEw>

Also, a timeline of the most important events in Balkan wars:

- October 1912 First Balkan war begins
- May 1913 Treaty of London End of First Balkan war
- June 1913 Second Balkan war begins
- August 1913 Treaty of Bucharest End of Second Balkan war

1st source: “A Serbian soldier helps the children of Turkish. What is the attitude of the Serbian soldier? Compassion for the enemy”

“The big cities of the areas that were currently liberated filled with miserable, naked and barefoot, hungry and thirsty poor Turks. Their tutelary, those who brought bread to families, enlisted in the army in order to defend the empire, while the women, the elderly and the children stayed behind without any protection. Their fear for the enemy lead them to leave their house and all their belongings and to escape to the cities with the hope that there would be easier to find protection. Hunger makes them to beg for a piece of bread. In that way, in the newly liberated cities, no one can walk to the roads without being disturbed by the poor Turkish who were begging for anything edible. An officer described to me the following scene

that took place in Kavardacy: Kavardacy is full of poor Turkish who starving to death. In a corner a Serbian soldier, a simple soldier, that was sitting on a stone, kept two boys that were Turkish. The one was standing to one of his knees and the other to the other one while he was hugging them with both his hands. In one hand he held the bread allotted to him, and in the other the bayonet. He cut the bread with the bayonet and gave a bite to one boy and then to the other and he ate the third one. I was observing them sitting aside and I felt pain to my heart, because I didn't have a camera to capture this wonderful scene- the gesticulation of love of the Serbian soldier to the children of the defeated enemy and the compassion he showed for their misfortune”.

(Balkanski rat u slici i reči 12, 7(20) April 1913)

2nd source: “The meeting between Turkish and Montenegrins soldiers in Scodra after the surrender of the town in 24 April 1913”

“As they were walking down to the Montenegrins they met Turkish soldiers that headed to the bridge from which they would depart. They stopped and talked to each other for a while. Montenegrins offered them white bread and the Turkish accepted it with thankfulness, and they used to exchange cigarettes. Often yesterday's enemies shook hands. Short episodes like these were often repeated, in public view of the citizens, who were not meddled, nor did they show the slightest sign of any emotion. Later, after the noon, the Turkish soldiers went down from the Tepe in formation and abandoned the city permanently.”

(Berri, p. 252)

3rd source: “Efforts for money gathering for the “South Slav brothers” in Croatia Zagreb for the Red Cross of the Balkan Nations”

“In the today meeting at the city hall at 4 p.m., will be proposed to give Zagreb, the metropolis of the Kingdom of Croatia, from the cash desk the amount of 20.000 crunas for the Red Cross of the Balkan Nations. The proposal will be accepted. It is about the greatest amount which has been gathered until now by any city council. Zagreb will give more money if it was in better shape the economy of Kolo 46. “ On Thursday in the practice of our Croatian Music Company “Kolo,” its vice-president, Mr Prilepits, announced that a fundraiser will be organized soon to gather money for the Red Cross of Balkan Nations and the company “Kolo” must definitely participate. The news was received with great enthusiasm. Everyone applauded and cheered. Afterwards, it was decided to take place a concerto on Thursday , 7 November and to be given to the Red Cross the total amount which will be raised”.

“Kolo = circular dance. Kolo became immensely popular during the national awakening. Expressing their support to South Slavs, Croatia and Slovenia organized many events to raise money. The news of these events were usually published at the front page of newspapers. Apparently, no area of Slavic territory of Austro-Hungary remained which did not raise aid in favor of the “South Slav brothers”

(Newspaper, Hrvatski pokret, 4 November 1912).

Responses

1st question: *Do you think these sources are representative and these moments are characteristic of one specific nation?*

Student A: “I think that during difficult situations all people should show humanism above benefits, yes I can draw information from these sources”

Student B: “I think that in a war people should care only about themselves because their life is in danger, these sources are indicative and representative”

Student C: “people should never lose their humanism because we are all humans after all and this is above all, I draw plenty information from the sources”

2nd question: *Do you think that there could be similar moments of humanism in time of war?*

Student K: “I believe that it depends on the person and the way they are educated to respond in such situations”

Student L: “I believe that no one is so hard to stay untouched in front of the other person who is in need especially when someone’s life is in danger”

Student N: “I wish there are because in my opinion life is above all”

3rd question: *Have you ever read in textbooks and especially in history textbooks for human presentations across opponents namely do you detect continuity or change?*

Student L: “no, I don’t remember to have read similar moments, so I detect change”

Students K: “I know that there couldn’t be sympathy and humanism in war because are human emotions so I detect continuity”

Students N: “I haven’t read so they don’t exist if they are not reported in the textbooks, so this is change”

4th question: *Do you think that the everyday life in the war makes the enemies friends?*

Student M: "it is that moment that you understand that all people are the same and you have nothing to separate from your fellow man"

Student P: "I think that enemies become friends because they face the same difficulties and these difficulties unite them"

Student D: "when you are during a war you understand that you can die at any time, so you understand that there is no reason to hate your fellow man"

5th question: *Which were the causes and the consequences that led to this charitable movement in Zagreb?*

Student E: "charity movements whatever motivation may have helped and are precious for the people that suffer"

Student Z: "by this movement many people were benefited"

Student A: "the participation in such activities was a matter of social prestige and of humanity"

6th question: *Do you think that we use our current knowledge and beliefs to interpret people, events and practices of the past?*

Student B: "yes I think that we usually do this because it's difficult to set the fact in its historical context"

Student E: "we should always take into account the circumstances of the past in order to draw our conclusions"

Student Z: "no, that is wrong we have to judge the past by its own rules"

7th question: *Do you think after all that Balkan Wars is an event with historical significance?*

Student A: yes because many people and societies were affected for many years

Student C: yes, of course many countries got their freedom after these wars

Student X: yes, Thessaloniki is free due to these wars, people get rid of Ottomans"



8th question: *Do you detect ethical dimension to the sources we examine?*

Student A: all sources involve ethical dimension sometimes however is difficult to detect it but really helps us to draw conclusions

Student D: yes, I detect ethical dimension but I am trying to find out the necessary information and make up my mind about the facts

Student X: yes, there is no impartial source but we have to judge despite it

Research Results

In the first question students found out that sources provide them information about this specific event. Furthermore, they try to find the necessary information and draw conclusions about the historical event. Despite the fact that sources gave specific details students realize that they have to draw only the useful ones.

In the reactions on the second question regarding if moments of humanism can exist they involve the education of every person in the way of his/hers reaction as a result without mentioning it clearly they consider that the reaction of each person correspond and reflect his/hers education. In addition, they recognize the violence of the war and they think that people in tragic situation like these they recognize the significance of the universal value of the universal good of life. Moreover, there is a distinction in opinions in promoting the personal and common good.

In relation to other mentions of showing humanism in textbooks the answers on the third question are negative, to be more specific they highlight that if there are no mentions in textbooks then there are not exist. At this point textbooks are displayed as authorized opinion which insinuates and highlights the students' stereotypes. At this point is important to understand the temporal succession and understand the periodization of historical time.

Students present in their answers on the fourth question the point of view that in front of war circumstances diversity is left behind, similarities connect people, they are not separated due to the differences. Furthermore, in front of the possibility of death differences are set apart and human life is a priority. At that point is given emphasis not only to the idea of humanism but also the right of every person to life.

Students evaluate in the fifth question positive human actions on the condition that they are held to give help and they have beneficial action. Moreover, they realize that these actions reflect not only the social power but also the humanism that is showed in a society. Respect to be the human existence is highlighted which leads to the charitable movements that are necessary to be supported and strengthened by the society. In this question students are

focused on the common good and the benefit of society with respect to the diversity. What is important at this point is to find-out what cause this event and what were the consequences by this event. They are trying to detect the continuity in history as it is depicted to historical textbooks.

In the sixth question students comprehend that they are able to use data from the sources so that they can make references which are based on evidence according to the thoughts and emotions of history characters. They understand that they should always judge the facts in their historical context.

The outcomes on the seventh question comprehend that there is increasingly interest for some facts because they affect many people/nations in various ways. Moreover, they face critically the facts and distinct why some facts are more interesting in comparison to others.

In the eighth question students are trying to detect the ethical judgments for actions through narratives of historians. They also try to distinguish what they should remember, praise and judge and which is the appropriate reaction for the present.

Analysis of data

In analysing data of this survey, it arises that students recognize humanistic actions however without mention this specific word. In some more general questions they projected the defense of the common good, the oversight of differences and the defense of human life, considering that when human is in special circumstances like war set aside things that separate them and give emphasis to those that connect them. At the same time, is mentionable similar actions of humanism aren't detected by students neither in textbooks nor in history textbooks and as a result this concept is not cultivated through them. What is more, they have a positive eye on humanistic actions on the condition that they focus and aim at the common good. In more personal questions some of them differentiate themselves and they consider that they will set criteria which will determine if they will help someone or not, while others effortlessly respond that they will react to everyone who will ask for help.

This research turns out that students realize the humanistic actions, however without mentioning this specific word. It is characteristic that similar humanistic actions are not detected by students in textbooks and that has as a result these concepts not to be cultivated.

Teachers have to design their teaching from one side by orienting themselves to the fundamental concepts of historical thought, consciousness and identities and on the other side to follow the teaching principles which are organized in two axes: (a) the first axe is about the epistemological – historiographic assumptions which deals with the content, the structure and the planning of the historical material and the second (b) is about the epistemological

particularity, the social role and the didactic methodology of the school history and deals with the cultivation of historical thinking.

Taking into account the modern principles of historical science students should comprehend the development of human societies in time not as a linear development to the progress but as a process of challenges, adjustments, reversals, and sometimes even regressions and in any case interactions and osmosis. Moreover, to emerge the depth, they should understand the extension and the diversity of human history and experience and the contribution of all societies and civilization of the past to the present. In addition to become familiar with the multifaceted historical, archeological, cultural, and artistic heritage of Greek area as it is shaped through the interaction of indigenous elements, foreign dominions, population movements and cultural loans, counter loans, and transfers. What is more to comprehend how the modern physiognomy of Greek society was shaped and to cultivate the national consciousness and the consciousness of a democratic citizen.

Role plays in history classroom

Role-plays in the history classroom can enhance historical consciousness and bridge the gap of differences. Role-plays can enhance student awareness of the impact of historic events, people, or ideas by allowing them to make connections between their personal experiences and the lives of people in the past. It can also be a way of encouraging them to explore multi-perspectives that they would not otherwise understand. Finally, role-plays can help students develop empathy and enrich their social consciousness (Beidatsch & Broomhall, 2010; Parker R, Thomsen, BS. & Berry, A., 2022).

There are some indicative guidelines for teachers in order to achieve effective role-plays:

- The context and roles should be clearly defined, while allowing creativity on the part of the students.
- The role-play should have a designated time frame (not more than five minutes).
- The situation should be defined as a “problem” or controversy so that students are encouraged to take a position.
- Students should be allowed time to prepare and to access any preparatory information they need.
- The setting or context should be clearly described to help students enter into their roles.
- Role descriptions should provide enough information to help students “enter into” the character they are to portray (general characteristics, beliefs, and values) without

conveying a pre-determined script. Students may use their historical knowledge to develop their own role descriptions, or they may base their character on a historical figure.

- Students may fill out a role-play outline to help them prepare their characters.
- The role-play should be structured so as to reach a conclusion or a resolution.
- Allow time for a group debriefing, including the audience, after the role-play.
- Caution students to be realistic, and to avoid anachronisms, oversimplifications, or stereotypes.

Allowing students to choose a topic for their individual responses enables them to draw on their areas of expertise and connect them to the real-world situation at issue. Economics students, for example, may discuss how Japan’s economy expanded at the time, whereas sociology students may be intrigued by its social class structure. During the group exercise, they engage in peer-to-peer learning, discussing concurrent developments and seeing how these developments interacted with one another and, together, contributed to the unrest.

The range of issues - social, economic, and political - covered in the primary sources encourages students to take the sort of holistic view that real-life advisors would have had to when evaluating their options. One of the greatest challenges of policymaking is deciding how to weigh the costs and benefits of a decision across variables that may not be commensurate. By testing the interaction of these variables—e.g. political gain against economic costs, social welfare against political risk—students develop intuitions about what historical figures most valued and most feared when they decided the way they did. As a result, they come to find history more intelligible.

Role-Play: Outline

List the important facts and plan how you will approach this role-play. Divide in groups, do not write a script, as you do not know how the other characters will play out this scenario. Be creative but realistic.

When where does this scenario take place?	Who am I?
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Describe my character (age, culture, gender, situation)	What are my basic attitudes, beliefs, values?
What other information do I need to prepare my role?	What will I do to express this character?
What type of resolution to this situation would my character like to see?	Points to remember:

Conclusions

This survey shown that students oscillate between defense of individual interest and the advocacy of human existence realizing the emotion of humanity. It is characteristic that they include the display of humanity in social context in which the source is referred.

More specific, they react in relation to the prevailed every time social circumstance (war-peace) so it is noticed that students do not have crystallized view whether they will show humanity to the “enemy” while being in a war. They set as a criterion the personal intuition and a personal value code. Research results are consequence of the event that they have not been in contact with such sources in which the sense of humanity is appeared as they are absent from the History textbooks. On the other hand, they think that when a situation is at the last level and there is danger for human life hate is set apart at that point is clearly that they judge the situation more emotionally and less logically when it comes to human life translation. Regarding, the show of humanistic movements are skeptical for the reason they make it happen however they realize their significance as they help people who are in need. Finally, despite the fact that they realize the significance of giving help to people that are in need when the question is personalized, they face with skepticism and reluctance to provide assistance.

Consequently, education is necessary to be focused on the empowerment of democratic, humanistic attitudes and to the promotion of actions that they work supportively for humanitarian attitudes. History subject, as it is arised by the research can be a suitable subject for the development of empathy, dialogue, and interaction. When educators and students co create educational process, young people are educated to be “critical readers” of their society, active and thoughtful citizens of a democratic society. When students and teachers recreate educational process, young people are educated to be “critical readers” of their society, active and thinking citizens of a democratic society. In that way they are encouraged to set some questions: “who told what he/she told? Why? Why we should believe it? (Apple & Beane, 2007, LaRoche, 2015)

Cultivating values in the frames of education and beliefs of values which are multiples despite the fact that is commonly accepted as inherent to the public education, is necessary to be taught (Aspin, 2003; Halstead, 1996; Lovat, 2005; Pascoe, 2002; Prencipe & Helwig, 2002). However, learning ethical values is always integrated to the official education, historical research allows the examination of social and complicated relations which they compose and are composed by them. History is focused on the interpretation of facts, relations, and structures in ways that offer visuals and perceptions of the present (Halbert, 2009).

Taking into account the results that were highlighted through this research is necessary some strategies to be followed in order the democratic consciousness to be cultivated in students. At first is necessary to students to understand the differences in values, interesting, priorities and opinions in a multicultural society. At the same time to comprehend that the existed differences are natural and should be respected. Moreover, to be familiarized with different methods that can be used to utilize for solving the conflicts among values, interests, priorities and opinions in a society. To be more specific, methods which can be followed are conversations, negotiations (including compromises) and taking decision with the procedure of voting. In addition, to develop students' understanding that various differences between people and the ways of solving them through discussions, negotiations and voting there are not exist only in contemporary political life but are detected over time in personal life, family, school, and work. There are also in historical events as it was presented in this survey.

Finally, history undoubtedly has an important role to play to the development not only active and informed citizens but also to the formation of citizens who possesses moral values. It is widely accepted that teaching and more specifically history teaching is directly linked to the consideration of values and this is expressed through the structure, the content of the course, the evaluation, the pedagogy and the relationships between students and teachers (Arthur, Davies, Wrenn, Hayden, & Kerr, 2001; Barker, 2002). History lesson is necessary to be connected with the present and the future of our societies by cultivating values and attitudes. Values form frameworks of social interaction and produce patterns of behavior; they mobilize people's action and function as guiding principles in the decisions they are asked to make for how they will act. In this sense, if historical past studied in terms of scientific validity and with methodological tools and empathy, can be a field for cultivating humanitarian values, such as responsibility, mutual respect, solidarity.

The emphasis on social history and its various manifestations, the illumination of the effects of "big" events to the lives of simple people but also the analysis of attitudes that they developed in limit states like wars, persecutions, and devastations, can contribute to the deep realization of the value of fundamental ingredients of human dignity. In any case, highlighting and studying of multiculturalism and intercultural character of societies of the past – either is about periods of peaceful coexistence for conflict phases – can contribute to the configuration of positive attitudes across the cultural diversity. That way aims at constant critical processing

and undoing of stereotypes and prejudices (national, racial, religious, social, gender, political and cultural). That does not mean that they should be silenced or be degraded the differences and historical conflicts between people or not to approach the disputes and traumatic historical events. However, educators and students should bring them out, handle them with responsibility and with sufficient knowledge, to analyse and understand them calmly and methodically, avoiding nationalist or populist rhetoric, as well as ideological dogmatism.

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Chapter 9

The Christmas Truce. A momentum of Tolerance?

Hugo Verkest

VIVES University College of Applied Sciences, Belgium

Introduction

This chapter is based on a remembrance project, entitled 'Outdoor & Indoor', organized by VIVES University College, for students in education, particularly those in primary education. The project commenced in 2013 as part of the preparations for commemorating the Great War (1914-1918) in Flanders, and has continued ever since. At the start of each academic year, students receive input from lecturers from various disciplines: music, media, IT, peace education, religion, history, and geography. Then teams of six students collaborate with a primary school, working with children aged 10-12, who engage in preparatory lessons, a one-day excursion, an evaluation session, and a public presentation for their friends and families.

Teaching and Learning Approaches

One of the topics covered in the peace and value education course is the 'Christmas Truce' (Dutch: Kerstbestanden) of 24-25 December 1914. This section reports how this topic was presented, using the following approaches:

The practical approach

On the blackboard and later on *Padlet* (a digital collaborative platform), the words 'Christmas Truce' appeared, together with an instruction to generate as many associations as possible with this concept. Students noted down various words linked to both the English and Dutch terms, including trust, armistice, ceases fire, 25 December, Christmas, gifts, Christmas trees, Holy Mass, Christ, and peace. Additionally, staff then added - *football, exchange, Stille Nacht (Silent Night), No Man's Land, Ploegsteert, cigarettes, and burial*. Working in groups, students crafted sentences incorporating these additional inputs, with 'exchange' emerging as a focal point for many.

Soldiers exchanged cigarettes and played football in No Man's Land.



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On Christmas Eve, they sang songs such as 'Stille Nacht' nearby Ploegsteert.

They also conducted burials in No Man's Land during Christmas while singing songs like 'Stille Nacht'.

Following the construction of these sentences, and with reference to reading around the Christmas Truce, the second step was to formulate a set of 'open' questions on post-its:

- Who played against whom?
- What is the significance of No Man's Land?
- When did it occur?
- Where did the cigarettes and the ball come from?
- Why did they play football?
- Could they understand each other?
- Was there a referee?
- Was there a moment of silence?
- Where could they find Christmas trees?
- Was this action accepted?

In the third step, staff provided students with various excerpts from letters, diaries, newspapers, and references to websites to investigate further details. Initially, they skimmed through the text quickly, marking relevant sections to ensure efficient reading. This was followed by scanning key data and delving deeper into the material. They collected specific details from the texts (e.g., unique words related to military strategies) and selected images from both fronts, examining how these elements interconnected to form a comprehensive concept. From our library, they received children's books, cartoons or movies related to the topic.

Lastly, they embarked on a WebQuest based on research and audience questions related to a significant event of the Great War. To answer the research questions, they consulted supplementary materials available in local libraries. The IT and media colleague guided them in developing a WebQuest as an example of game-based learning combined with virtual reality, aiming to promote guidelines for digital exploration. Over the past four years, we have increasingly utilized digital tools such as Padlet, Canva, and Tricider, fostering project-based and collaborative learning in conjunction with blended and flipped learning methodologies.

More and more information illustrated the content of the Christmas Truce. They integrated drama activities based on testimonies and illustrations. For the students it was a 'visual' way to express values as solidarity, mutual respect, and tolerance.

Some comments from the students:

The initial activities in the classroom and at the field were very specific to the storyline of the Christmas Truce, however the session took on a global significance, which reflected on the war in Ukraine. (Amber, 21)

We observed that children aged only 11 years old were given the opportunity in which they could express mature, sympathetic opinions on the issues of war and battlefields on a complex level beyond that of the fictional story-line and characters of the animation film 'war games'. (Thomas, 23)

With drama you are often reacting to the unknown. You know what your starting point is going to be, but the input comes from the children, and their perspective or view on the stimulus might be very different to how you anticipated it (Ruth, 20)

The kids just become so involved in the task to move from enemies to comrades and back. (Marie, 21)

I enjoyed talking to and supporting the children when they are working in small groups to gather ideas or working together to create a still image or tableau-vivant. (Bo, 22)

Some children who are quiet in the classroom or not so confident come out with brilliant ideas (Brian, 22)

The children really enjoy the drama sessions and especially the still images. I felt they are more motivated and interested in the activities when taught in this way. Solidarity and tolerance got faces (Rune, 21)

The students' findings on the Christmas fraternisation.

Every year, students add new sources to 'furnish' the activities. To illustrate this, some of the findings of what happened in December 1914 at the front, are presented below:

The only soldiers who returned home during the Christmas period were the seriously wounded ones. During the first summer of the war, the Germans continued to advance rapidly, but everything came to a halt in the autumn. The front was virtually fixed, and the soldiers had dug in. Those who were not driven into No Man's Land as cannon fodder fell prey to the endless misery of the trenches. The landscape consisted of corpses and barbed wire, mud, and rats. They were infested with and bitten by lice

and fleas, while gangrene, dysentery, pneumonia, and trench fever were rampant. The situation was so dire that there was even some sympathy for the enemy. In some places, the trenches were only 100 meters apart, close enough to hear the ever-increasing moaning and wailing. British newspapers and magazines urged their readers to boost the morale of the boys at the front.

The students collected fragments from letters available in the different museums in and around Ypres. We supported them to integrate different perspectives based on the fact that on Christmas Day, Allied and German troops met in No Man's Land (Sillis, 2014). Some of their findings were told to the children in a re-enacting activity.

I remember very well Christmas, I remember the Christmas Day when the German and the French soldiers left their trenches, went to the barbed wire between them with champagne and cigarettes in their hands and had feelings of fraternisation and shouted they wanted to finish the war and that lasted only 2 days 1 and a half really and then strict order came that no fraternisation was allowed and we had to stay back in our trenches.

(German artillery officer Mr Rickner described celebrating with French soldiers)

When we were on the line at Sailly, Christmas 1914, there was a bit of a truce there you know and the Germans stopped firing, we stopped firing. And we came out of the line and they came out of the line. And we were swapping tins of bully for their tins of meat and the padre was out having a talk with them, they were burying any dead that was there and we were burying any dead – this carried on for about a couple of days.

(J. Reid from 6th Gordon Highlanders took part on the Truce)

After months of rancorous attacks with snipers and grenades, this brief episode feels like a refreshing tonic. It is a welcome change from all that monotonous hostility'.

In the trenches near Ploegsteert Wood the Royal Warwickshire regiment heard the sound of Christmas carols from the German trenches. There was the call of a German soldier 'He! Kommt hierher!' and British ones retorted 'You come here'. A brave soldier A.E. Rea took the initiative and stood up and step into the darkness. The tensions were high in the British trenches. They heard an awkward conversation. Rea was smoking a cigarette in No Man's Land with two Germans. Two tins of Maconochie (thin soup of sliced turnips, carrots, and potatoes- and a jar of Capstan tobacco were exchanged for German cigarettes and cigars. Apart from the tobacco products, the British sergeant also came back with something else: a request for no more shooting until Boxing Day.

(Bruce Bairnfather, 27, famous British war cartoonist)

The diplomatic approach of the Christmas Truce.

Several groups of students collected background information about the details in the letters and from the movies 'Joyeux Noël' (2005) and 'War Game' (2002). They reconstructed how the gifts and trees came to the front and how it was part of a propaganda campaign. Most the information came from interviews with the guides and curator in the museums. All the details were integrated in their project.

As the first Christmas of the war approached, the German Crown Prince Wilhelm sent thousands of small Christmas trees adorned with candles to the Western Front.

Princess Mary, the 17-year-old daughter of the English King and Queen, spearheaded efforts to provide packages for soldiers. The Committee she convened arranged for over 350000 packages, consisting of embossed brass boxes containing items such as pipe tobacco, cigarettes, a pipe, a tinder lighter, and a Christmas card with a photograph. Recognizing the diversity of the recipients, the Committee made adjustments to cater to different preferences and needs. Strong representations were made early on for non-smokers to receive alternative gifts. Consequently, non-smokers were provided with a brass box containing acid tablets, a khaki writing case with essential stationery, and the Christmas card and photograph.

Additionally, the Committee considered the dietary restrictions of minority groups, particularly Indian troops. For instance, Gurkhas received gifts similar to British troops, while Sikhs received boxes filled with sugar candy and spices along with the Christmas card. Other Indian troops were provided with cigarettes, sugar candy, spices, and the card. Authorized camp followers known as 'Bhistsis' received tin boxes of spices and the card.

Students concluded that the act of filling brass boxes with essential and different items could be seen as an expression of solidarity and tolerance in relation to the several groups involved in the conflict. The fact that on both sides the young royals were related to the gifts was for our students a sign of 'connectedness with peers'. One student said that 'the gift was a present to represent the presence of a loving princess'.

They gathered several publications about the event, including an advertisement from Sainsbury's related to the Christmas Truce. Through comments in *The Guardian*, they learned that the advertisement was based on discussions with historians and members of the Royal British Legion, aiming to retell the story of Christmas Day. The profits from a £1 chocolate bar were dedicated to veterans' charities responsible for poppy sales, conveying the message, 'Christmas is for sharing.' Additionally, they investigated two other clips with the group: the making-of and the true story.

The social and artistic approach: Re-animation of the football match

A group of students visited villages that were situated at the Western Front to hear more about the commemoration to bring the people from both sides together for promoting tolerance.

In Mesen (Messines), the Flanders Peace Village, has established a commemoration program centered around their former football field, creating a space for remembrance where young people from around the globe can convene, participate in sports activities, and contemplate the tragedies of World War I together. Since 2013 workshops on the Christmas Truces has been offered to support schools and youth groups. Two schools, one from Germany and one from Britain, which have been meeting for years during their exchanges at the Peace Village Hotel, constructed a joint memorial for the Christmas Truce. Subsequently, additional monuments were erected to commemorate the events of December 24, 1914.

One hundred years later, the British artist Andrew Edwards and his team created a monument related to the Christmas Truce. Before the unveiling of the monument in Mesen on December 22 in 2015 a polyester version made a European tour. A group students who are fan of football discovered that the statue was seen during Stoke City's football match against Chelsea and the British Cup final at Wembley Stadium. On 7 June 2015, the statue would end its European tour in Dublin on the occasion of the international football match between Ireland and England. Unfortunately, a few weeks before the match, it was decided that it was not appropriate to display the statue at this match, on the one hand because the German aspect of the symbolism was missing, and in view of the fan riots caused by the previous match between Ireland and England. In the presence of Flemish Minister-President, the German and British Ambassador the statue was unveiled by taking away the European flag. For the audience and the public opinion, it was an expression of tolerance. Focusing on the football was also the trigger for the Peace Village to support social projects. The students could interview the curator about his intentions. Bringing action to support sport organisations

working vulnerable young people and give them space and time to develop their skills at the Peace Village. The award was a red football, the so-called poppy ball.



<https://www.hln.be/mesen/the-peace-village-zendt-poppy-ballen-de-wereld-rond~ae905df0/103630814/>



With the support of the
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Mesen, The Christmas Truce Statue. <http://www.wo1.be/nl/jewaserbij/8565/onthulling-christmas-truce-standbeeld>

The ecclesiastic approach of the Christmas Truce

In the Remembrance project of 2022 and 2023, we spent extra time to talk about the war in Ukraine and give some background information and emphasizing values such as peace, respect, tolerance, and reconciliation. Instead of immediately focusing on the Great War of December 1914, we explored an event linked to the war in Ukraine, particularly President Zelenski's visits to the United States in December 2022. Faith leaders of various denominations drafted a petition calling for a ceasefire at Christmas.

"As people of faith and conscience, believing in the sanctity of all life on this planet, we call for a Christmas Truce in Ukraine. In the spirit of the truce that occurred in 1914 during the First World War, we urge our government to take a leadership role in bringing the war in Ukraine to an end through supporting calls for a ceasefire and negotiated settlement, before the conflict results in a nuclear war that could devastate the world's ecosystems and annihilate all of God's creation." [Christmas Truce in Ukraine.PR.12.18 \(forusa.org\)](#)

We provided students with a fragment of the press release and later the petition (in English), tasking them with uncovering facts, figures, political terms, and theological concepts. It was the occasion to search information about the role of religious leaders during the Great War. Students got the task analyse the Pastoral Letters of the Belgian Cardinal Désire-Joseph Mercier (1851-1926) available on the internet, the diary of Chaplain De Wyels (Verleyen,2012) the outcomes of Belgian researchers working at the Vatican Archives (De Volder, 2014; Ickx, 2017). The Belgian prelate became the incarnation of the patriotic resistance and published also in English his Christmas letter. The publication was disseminated worldwide and got the heading ' *Patriotism and endurance – Christmas 1914* '. Researcher De Volder discovered in the episcopal archives that the cardinal didn't receive any support of his confrere's bishops. None of them wanted to sign the Christmas letter. (De Volder, 2014)

We must delve into history and focus on a particular place: Vatican City. On September 3, 1914, Cardinal Giacomo della Chiesa was elected and took the name Benedictus XV. His predecessor, Pius X, died on August 20, coinciding with the entry of German troops into Brussels, a few weeks after the German invasion of Belgium. The new pope, formerly a member of the Vatican diplomatic service, was trained to initiate negotiations. One of his first actions was a wake-up call to stop the war. It was the Belgian rector of the Catholic University of Leuven, Paulin Ladeuze, who informed a selected group of five close associates, who had excellent contact with the Pope, in a 'secret report' about the tragedy. In this report, he mentioned in detail the executions of civilians during the invasion, the premeditated

destruction of the University Library and that several professors had lost all their research papers and private libraries (Ickx, 2017).

One student asked us during our lecturer about the reason of this secret report. Here we could give some 'inside information' (Ickx, 2017). The Nuncio in Brussels, Giovanni Tacci, at that time was closer to the Germans and did not provide accurate information, although it was his diplomatic duty. He was not so neutral in relation to the German occupier.

The destruction of Leuven sparked international outrage. The Dutch newspaper, the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, wrote: "It is so terrible that the whole world must take note of it with the greatest sadness." Intellectuals in Italy condemned the "cultural atrocities," and 40 journalists publicly protested against the "barbarity." This term can be translated as cruel, wild. Originally it means not Greek, not Roman, not Christian, and without civilization (De Volder, 2014)

Benedict XV attempted to exert his influence. At the beginning of December, he proclaimed a request: 'Do not allow the weapons to clash during the Festival of the Redeemer, please. The Vatican did not receive any response (Devolder, 2014). However, the soldiers stuck in the trenches on 24 December were warned by their superiors of surprise attacks on both sides of the line of combat. The guards at the Belgian-French border did not see or hear anything. No planes, no observation balloons. What the Pope had not been able to achieve with his authority was achieved spontaneously by the soldiers themselves. (De Volder, 2014)

In the Consistory address of January 22, 1915, Benedict XV outlined the meaning of impartiality, which he called papal "neutrality." *He affirmed that the head of the Church "must not belong to any party" and "must embrace in the same sentiment of charity all the combatants" because, as the common father of Catholics, he has "very many sons" in each of the warring parties. Any other attitude "would expose the peace and internal concord of the Church to great disturbance."* (Ickx, 2017)

In 1917, he worked out as a diplomatic duty his "Peace Note" for arranging a final ceasefire. In this Note, the pope asked the belligerent powers for:

- A simultaneous and reciprocal reduction of armaments.
- Institution of international arbitration with a pacifying function.
- Reciprocal amnesty for damages and war expenses (according to the requests of the Central Powers).
- Reciprocal restitution of the territories currently occupied: hence, "on the part of Germany total evacuation both of Belgium, with the guarantee of its full political, military, and economic independence of any Power, and of the French territory," and "on the opposite side restitution of the German colonies." The other issues in

dispute between the nations were then, the pontiff continued, to be resolved "in a conciliatory spirit."

The Note closed with that famous definition of war as 'useless slaughter', which was to arouse much controversy in European chancelleries and nationalist presses. (Boniface,2014, Ickx, 2017)

After the war, Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier played an important role on the political and ecumenical stages. In 1919, the American President Wilson, in Europe for the Versailles Peace Conference, came to Malines to see the Cardinal. Later the same year, the Cardinal travelled to the USA, where he assisted the Belgian government by using his popularity to raise funds to rebuild Louvain. He was also an important supporter of social and ecumenical movements within the Church. When he called the Anglicans "brethren in faith" in 1919, he was severely criticized by some cardinals in Rome, but a few years later, he had the backing of the Vatican for the Malines conversations and the Lamberton talks (1921-1926) between Catholics and Anglicans (De Volder, 2014)."

In his introduction of the Christmas letter Cardinal Mercier referred to his stay in Rome for electing a new pope when the riots in several towns in Belgium took place.

After the war, Pope Benedictus XV appointed the rector of Leuven's University as member of non- episcopal college of prelates in the Roman Curia as 'protonotarius apostolicus' for his strong resistance. The Treaty of Versailles (1919) included a paragraph stipulating that the library had to be 'restituted' with German money.

A spiritual approach of the Christmas Truce.

Was the Christmas Truce a momentum of Tolerance? If we translate momentum with the Greek word Kairos than we viewed it as a moment of depolarization, signifying the convergence of the right time and circumstances (Hermsen, 2017). In ancient mythology, Kairos represented Zeus' youngest and most rebellious son, symbolizing inspiration, change, and reversal.

Traditionally, Kairos was associated with 'sacral time,' an attentive and inspired period that transcends worldly, chronological time. This interval prompts us to contemplate eternity, offering unexpected insights beyond conventional temporal constraints (van den Berg,2017).

In this context, waiting also implies emptying oneself, creating space for new ideas to emerge. Just as a new work of art requires a blank canvas before it can express its brilliance, the process of waiting involves deceleration and a willingness to withhold judgment.

Only when the clock ceases to dictate our experience does time truly come alive. Marinus van den Berg (highlights that the opportune moment, known as Kairos, can manifest not only

through introspection but also through external conflicts unfolding on the world stage (van den Berg, 2017). When faced with critical situations, Kairos compels us to intervene and devise responses to the crises at hand. While the conventional clock governs the duration of time. The inner time (Bergson,1950) encompasses all the moments we have lived through, containing our accumulated impressions, sensations, feelings, and experiences.

Kairos signifies a rupture with prevailing viewpoints, an interruption of history, and the anticipation of something new. It entails being fully present amidst chaos, maintaining a calm demeanour amidst turmoil.

Conclusion

In the evaluation sheets about the project students mentioned that working on one unique day of 24 hours gave them a special opportunity to analyse the 'players', the circumstances, and the details of this 'unknown' moment of peace. They recognized that the one-day event had any consequences for the course of the war, but was inspiration for novels, cartoons, movies to pronounce exceptional values as tolerance and respect that are important ones nowadays. Linked the Christmas Truce not only with soldiers' diaries but with the pastoral letter of a Belgian Cardinal and the role of Pope were eye-openers. Doing interviews and organising drama activities to empower empathy gave them a boost to work out multiperspectivity in history and citizenship lessons. The digitization of sources has benefited for our students, providing access to materials that were previously only available in 'stale' archives.

Commemorating events related the Christmas Truce statues serve as symbolic pauses, inviting our students into a state of tranquillity and reflection, propelling us towards transformation or repentance. Learning students the value of patience and silence, allowing their minds to cleanse themselves of clichés and make way for new insights is an ongoing process to bring the past into the future.

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Sainsbury's Christmas advert, 1914. (retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NWF2JBb1bvM> on 27.09.2023)



Chapter 10

Tolerance embedded in Belgian monuments, memorials and textbooks

Annemie Van den dries and Hugo Verkest

VIVES University College of Applied Sciences.

In this chapter we investigate the contribution of monuments, memorials and textbooks to the understanding of tolerance as a European Value. It is not only books that are read, but monuments can also be read in relation to tolerance and intolerance during guided tours. Most memorials are expressions of suffering or trauma, but are ceremonies and rituals able to empower a collective memory or to defuse evil or terror? Is it possible to read a monument as an expression of a value? How can we deal with textbooks working with monuments? Are monuments able to promote an authentic attitude of European values? With these questions we started up a journey through school manuals in Flanders' region and the unique monuments situated in Belgium.



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A new phenomenon: a historical Canon of Flanders!

In 2023 the Canon of Flanders was launched. Nine experts - historians, philosophers, journalists and art historians - compiled this chronological list, following the example of the Canon of the Netherlands and the Danish Canon.

From more than 500 possible topics, 60 so-called windows were eventually chosen. Though the assignment was commissioned by the Flemish government (and the Flemish nationalist party N-VA in particular attaches great importance to this list), the committee stresses that the Canon was created without political interference. A website by the Foundation Canon of Flanders made the content accessible. The Canon was accompanied by a book and a TV-series (paid by the Flemish government). These tools were accepted by all stakeholders, despite initial criticism from political and academic circles. The Flemish Association of Teachers of History and Cultural Studies opposed at the announcement by Flemish Ministers of Culture and Education the idea of a canon in Flanders:

"No, the past cannot be captured in lists. The past is not unambiguous and history is changeable, depending on the questions we ask. The same goes for a canon, by the way. Quality history education can be of great service to students: by allowing them to grow up to be critical thinkers who can build their own multi-layered identity. A canon wants to lock people into one identity, while it always consists of multiple layers. Why can't we trust and respect students in the choices they make themselves? Because that is another major problem of the canon: the distrust that it expresses." (website VVLG)

The evolution in Flemish history books in 21st century

In Flanders individual teachers or publisher houses have the flexibility to develop their own syllabus based on the curricula of the various educational networks and based on the final targets voted by the Flemish Parliament. These Final Targets (eindtermen) are subject to review by the inspection board. The Minister of Education declared that the Canon will never replace the manuals.

Engaging with some teachers and examining the history and religion education textbooks from the last 20 years, a significant evolution has been observed. There is a shift away from simply presenting facts and figures toward incorporating more sources with visual data. In addition to learning about history events and current themes, there is now a greater emphasis on fostering a research-oriented attitude among students. Promoting historical literacy is a challenge for teachers.

While there was previously more interest in 'global tragedies' and 'religious conflicts', there is now a trend towards including more local testimonies, encouraging students to explore

their regional historical environment. We see also more interest for the cultural heritage and remembrance education. Historians initially had doubts about the new approach of remembrance education. However, it is now seen as an enhancement of historical understanding, bringing history closer to students and illustrating how local history is interconnected with national or even global history. Local history societies can play a significant role in helping pupils and students discover their local history, especially at the primary school level, by providing sources (e.g. newspapers, posters,...) linked with local events. The digitalisation of archives has also been beneficial for secondary school students. However, the application of historical criticism remains challenging for some students. Promoting different kinds of literacy is not an easy job for teachers. Pupils and students struggled with basic reading comprehension.

The pillars for a history manual encompass both didactic and content analyses. Didactic analysis focuses on the methodological approach and pedagogy behind the text, while content analysis examines the accuracy and relevance of the text itself. Collaboration between academic experts and teachers is crucial to ensure that textbooks reflect current research and provide diverse perspectives.

The evolution of schoolbooks reflects a shift towards a more dynamic and diverse approach to education, particularly in the teaching of history. The spiral movement within a moment of time, as some describe it, emphasizes moving from general knowledge to more highlights in depth or from launching data and concepts to establishing deeper relationships. Bloom's taxonomy, especially focusing on analysis and application, plays a vital role in promoting critical thinking skills in the new textbooks.

The role of textbooks nowadays

Textbooks are not just repositories of facts and figures anymore. They play a crucial role in shaping students' understanding of history, religion and societal issues. In the context of history textbooks, recent editions have incorporated Belgian monuments that symbolize tolerance or intolerance during period of war, terror or crisis.

Monuments such as the Lion of Waterloo, the Congress column with the Unknown Soldier's Grave in Brussels, the Peace Tower IJzertoren in Diksmuide and the Holocaust Memorial in Mechelen have been featured in manuals. Additionally, the canon now includes the mourning parents sculpture by German artist Käthe Kollwitz, reflecting on the losses of World War I.

Moreover, newer editions of textbooks integrate core topics related to the Final Targets accepted by the Flemish Parliament, such as radicalization, polarization, migration, emancipation, crises in Europe and terrorism. Textbook publishers show interest in monuments that advocate for justice and peace, incorporating exercises that encourage

students to recontextualize these monuments and understand their historical significance. Primary sources from archives and newspapers, as well as interviews with artists, are now more readily available in digital textbooks, thanks to initiatives by institutions like the Royal Library in Brussels.

The approach to teaching history has incorporated anthropology, psychology and sociology to explore themes and understand the underlying mechanisms of conflicts and events related to intolerance. This shift presents a challenge for teachers, who must engage students in critical thinking and understanding complex societal issues. Paul Vandepitte, author of several textbooks and research projects, mentioned in a personal talk that:

'it's essential to be cautious about the values embedded in textbooks to avoid moralism and manipulation of students' perspectives. There's a broader emphasis on understanding the causes and consequences of events, as well as exploring values like tolerance, health, safety, and connectedness explicitly and have a philosophical dialogue with the students.'

Textbooks and dealing with diversity.

Author Paul Vandepitte highlights the increased diversity in textbooks by encouraging students with different background to become researchers of history. Educators face the challenging task of presenting diverse perspectives on history and culture, enabling students to understand and shape their world by listening to stories of victims, perpetrators, and those affected by crises and war. Providing newcomers and refugees in the classroom with opportunities to discover and contribute to the culture of their new home is also emphasized.

Regarding tolerance and intolerance, a multidisciplinary perspective is essential. For example, the iconoclastic fury in the 16th century can be explored through written sources from various stakeholders, such as testimonies from Catholic tradesmen, Protestant believers, and city rulers, highlighting feelings of anger, pride, and fear. Empathy is no longer taboo in history lessons, encouraging students to understand historical events from different viewpoints and use role-playing and to be in present of the other (Verkest,2010)

Historical textbooks have evolved over time, with past approaches often neglecting certain periods or themes. Encouraging critical reading and dialogues on contemporary issues, such as the pandemic and societal debates about the role of Europe in crises, helps students develop a deeper understanding of history and its implications on politics and society.

Reading and decoding monuments and memorials

Memorials and monuments hold significant value as resources for visual researchers, offering insights into the intersections of semiotics, power dynamics, and cultural ideas through

material culture (Van Goethem, 2012). These structures are intentionally crafted to communicate messages, often by dominant societal groups. Decoding these messages is a crucial educational endeavour, alike to analysing statues related to collective memory. Memorials can be studied for thematic content and contradictions therein, and observing how people interact with them adds another layer of understanding (Reynebeau,2007).

The public location of memorials allows for observational studies to explore public responses and the evolving meanings they hold over time. Many monuments in the public sphere serve as indicators of shifting cultural values and beliefs, reflecting social and cultural processes (Wils, 2023). Interactions with these monuments provide insight into public priorities and perspectives.

Memorials are not just relics of the past; they are contemporary political projects with specific agendas, using historical representations to further present and future objectives (Didden, 2017). They exist within a cultural circuit, where promotion and propaganda play roles in shaping their meanings. The media can either support or challenge the negotiation of these meanings, contributing to the dissemination of hegemonic or counter-memories(Van Goethem, 2012).

Memorials have become part of the cultural industry, intertwined with tourism, hospitality, and creative promotion. While some may have been neglected in the past, they regain relevance as generations pass, serving as platforms for storytelling, reenactments, and fiction based on historical records (Winter, 1995).

The actions and reactions around monuments

In contemporary society, there are various modes of action concerning monuments. These include performing rituals such as unveilings and gatherings, ignoring or forgetting monuments, rejecting them through symbolic degradation or demolition, and transforming them through additions or relocation (Verkest, 2010).

In the Belgian context, this is evident in discussions surrounding monuments related to King Leopold II and his policies in Congo. Alternatives to iconoclasm, such as transforming monuments to reflect changing societal values or contextualizing them within museums, offer avenues for addressing contentious historical legacies. For example, the transformation of the Congress Column (1859) dedicated to the Independence of Belgium into a monument commemorating the Unknown Soldier (1922) highlights the potential for reimagining memorials to better align with contemporary values and understanding. It was the answer after riot on the Belgian Parliament done by veterans. Belgian politicians, especially veterans, announced 'big problems' if the government didn't recognise the families of the fallen soldiers and to establish a place of mourning for the families who were missing their relatives

(Services of the Belgian Senate, 2022). After showing some images from the archives of the Belgian Senate we read an excerpt from the speech of King Albert I in French.

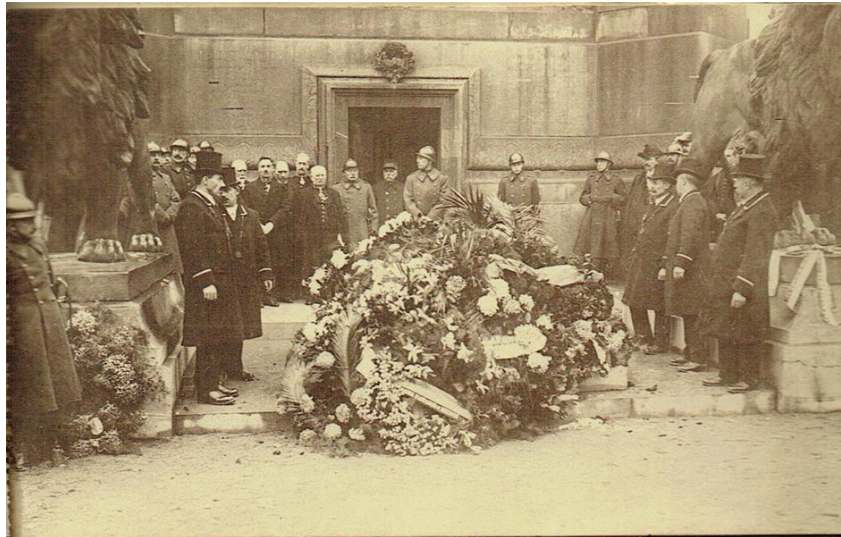
Devant ce symbole de tant de sacrifices et d'héroïsmes inconnus j'ai la vision de toutes les larmes et de toutes les souffrances ignores des mères, des épouses, des familles éprouvées qui on été frappées dans leurs affections, dans leurs espoirs les plus chers. Je leur adresse à toutes l'expression de ma profonde sympathie.

Before this symbol of so many sacrifices and unknown heroisms I have the vision of all the tears and all the unknown sufferings of the mothers, wives and tried families who have been struck in their affections, in their dearest hopes. I extend my deepest sympathy to them all.



Le Patriote Illustré 38e année N° 47, 19 Novembre 1922 (Archives Belgian Senate)

Translation of the French comment: The King giving his speech. It was in a firm voice, in a tone vibrating with intense emotion, that His Majesty delivered, a few steps from the tomb of the unknown hero, the speech in which he paid tribute to the self-sacrifice and sacrifice of all those who suffered and died for the homeland.



Archives Belgian Senate.

Dealing with collective memory involves navigating complex processes of construction, representation, and interpretation, often influenced by authorities and organizations seeking to shape narratives to reflect particular perspectives or agendas (Reynebeau, 2007). Collective memory, or social memory, extends across generations and is comprised of individually-experienced biographies that become part of the broader societal memory when shared beyond three generations. In multi-ethnic societies, social memory becomes intertwined with national narratives and ethnopolitics, with various groups asserting their identities through reclaiming their pasts (Naegels, 2022).

The universal content of monuments and memorials

Following the insight of the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (Groot, 2017), we can list some universal characteristics that have to do with memorials. Memorials use materials that must be durable and sustainable. Ricoeur called it the *cosmic dimension*. There is always an *existential dimension* at the source of the memorial. It is called a contrast experience related to pain, suffering that that is contrary to its personal scale of values of justice and freedom. Memorials has a *communicative dimension*. Behind the memorial there is a silent narrative of many narratives that find his externalisation in a sculpture. The memorial established on a specific day a gathering with (local) authorities and relatives of the victims to commemorate the tragedy. Ricoeur called it the *community dimension*. The memorial embedded a dream of hope and peace. Ricoeur called it the *oneiric dimension*. The object is a window to these narratives and wakes up some questions: Why here? Why these symbols? Why this material? Why this size?

When memorials are erected the victims and their relatives were overwhelmed by grief. In the past there was no space nor time to express their feelings. Women were in black, used a veil to cover their face and that was the non-verbal expression of their loss. In one of the

pictures we can detect widows and orphans. Emotions that arise in a crowd during significant events, when a large number of people experience the same or similar emotions. There is emotional noise around memorials. The sound of nose blowing, weeping and holding each other (van den Berg, 2007). Here we can introduce the term 'emotional contagion'. Its roots are found in psychology studies analysing non-verbal communication as facial expressions and postures (Prager, 2000).

The emotional impact of memorials is significant, with ceremonies often evoking collective grief and emotional contagion among participants. However, individual experiences and perspectives vary, highlighting the complexity of collective memory and the interpretative process of remembering. Memory is both embedded and embodied, influenced by present-day contexts and bodily sensations that shape our interpretations of the past. We selected a memorial situated in the European quarter of Brussels.



Jean-Henri Compère. Blessés mais toujours debout face à l'inconcevable [Wounded but still standing in the face of the inconceivable].2017

This memorial, 20 meters long and two meters high, was placed on the central pedestrian axis, located on Petite Rue de la Loi, between Schuman roundabout with the European Institutions and the statue of Robert Schuman one the Founding Fathers of Europe. The structure consists of two twin plates made of satin stainless steel. In an interview with a Brussels' magazine the artist Jean-Henri Compère explained his creation: *"Two plates facing each other and joining by standing up, like two opposing magnets, marking with a strong gesture the rejection of violence and leaving through the space that separates them, room for dialogue and hope"*. The artwork was officially inaugurated by Prime Minister Charles Michel, Brussels Minister-President Rudi Vervoort, and the Mayor of the City of Brussels Yvan Mayeur, after a speech by the King, as well as testimonies from relatives of victims of terrorist acts in Brussels and around the world. The sister of one of the victims of 22 March, the father of the

Belgian victim of the New Years' Eve attack in Istanbul, also spoke briefly, as did someone who spoke on behalf of the emergency services. A wreath bearing the inscription "Homage from the Nation"; was laid in front of the monument by King Philippe, before a minute of silence was observed. The European and Belgian anthems then resounded, marking the end of the ceremony. The royal couple and the Prime Minister left the venue to go to a place where they would privately meet with victims and their families away from cameras (Bruzz,22.03.2017).

Reading a fragment of the King's speech is one of the activities that we have done with students. They have to stand around the installation with closed eyes and have to listen to a few sentences. Afterwards they can pronounce a sentence to express their feelings or thoughts. Some quotes expressed by the students of the Teacher Training College VIVES (Torhout):

Two wounded hands opposing each other. marking with a strong gesture the rejection of violence.

Leaving space for dialogue and hope to come together in heaven.

Highway to hell or heaven?

Polished stainless steel reflects the moods of the time. When it rains, the rain will be visible like tears on the sheet metal.

When it is a sunny day, it's going to glow. And that's life, that's hope.

This statue with the speech can be used to apply Ricoeurs' dimensions of a symbolic memorial.

"No one can claim to fully understand the ordeal you are going through. Those of you who have lost a loved one and those of you who carry in your body and mind the aftermath of terrorist attacks, we want to listen to your suffering and respect your trial. The Queen and I have met many of you. To hate and violence, you responded with dignity. To doubt and fear, you countered with courage and a magnificent will to rebuild. This morning, you once again demonstrate this movingly. It is an example for us. "(22.03.2017)

Suffering is a central theme in collective memory, often associated with physical experiences, social degradation, and material deprivation. Memorials serve as tangible manifestations of this suffering, providing spaces for mourning and remembrance. However, creating a unified memory and memorial is challenging, as different groups may have divergent experiences and perspectives. Memorials can also serve to halt discussions about group suffering, providing a symbolic space for collective grief when physical graves or bodies are absent. After the pandemic, monuments (Onumenten) were erected in various municipalities to give

grieving people a place of consolation or to give the opportunity to talk with someone (by coincidence). The shape was an open circle in a quiet landscape of a forest.



Inauguration of the Onument in Lommel (Belgium) 03.11.2022

An educational approach to memorials

Memorials aim to refresh moral judgments by invoking existential experiences rooted in contrasts between personal values and experiences of pain and suffering. They communicate narratives through durable materials and silent storytelling, prompting viewers to question their significance and meaning. In the context of educating students about tragedies related to memorials, analysing images from the information society becomes essential, given the prevalence of digital media consumption among young people.

In navigating collective memory, it is crucial to recognize its dynamic and multifaceted nature, shaped by various social, political, and cultural factors. Understanding the complexities of memory construction and interpretation allows for a more nuanced and empathetic engagement with historical narratives and the legacies they require.

Interactions with memorials can take various forms, each providing insights into how individuals engage with and interpret these monuments. Some common interactions observed at memorials include:

- **Making photos or a drawing:** Visitors often capture images of the memorial as a way to document their experience or share it with others.

- Comparing with 'old postcards: Visitors investigate differences and the position of the photographer
- Climbing: Some memorials may allow for physical interaction, such as climbing stairs or touching certain elements for doing a wish.
- Discussion: Groups may engage in discussions about the significance of the memorial, its historical context or personal reflections.
- Explanation: Guides or educators may provide explanations or interpretations of the memorial to enhance visitors' understanding.
- Going around: Visitors may walk around the memorial to view it from different angles or examine its details.
- Reading in a guide: Visitors may consult guidebooks or informational materials to learn more about the memorial and its significance.
- Reading a part of a speech: Visitors may listen to a fragment of the inauguration speech done by the authorities .
- Listening to a Podcast: Visitors may download a story with special sounds and testimonies.

These interactions offer valuable insights into how people engage with and interpret memorials, reflecting their personal perspectives, cultural backgrounds and emotional responses. By observing these interactions, educators can gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which memorials function as sites of remembrance and collective meaning-making. Additionally, employing educational grids or strategies can help guide discussions and interpretations, avoiding potential pitfalls and enriching the learning experience for visitors. Making connections to current events, using humour or metaphors, and incorporating multiple sources of information can further enhance engagement and understanding during guided visits to places of remembrance. By way of example, during guided visit with students, to places of remembrance in Brussels, Flanders, and Ukraine, we worked with an educational grid for the teachers, trainees, and guides. When using this participants found it useful to avoid certain pitfalls (Marthe, teacher 31), to understand that you need several sources as an introduction to the themes (Jolien, student, 21), and that, trying to make links with the actuality or using jokes and metaphors gave a boost to our tour (Chris, guide, 45)

The location, moreover, allows us to conduct observational studies which explore how people respond to them and what they might therefore mean. It is also worth remembering that many public monuments and memorials are literally 'dated'. They can be used to index changes over time in cultural values and beliefs. Statues and monuments are indicators of social and cultural processes.

<p>Initial situation</p> <p><i>Preparation before the visit?</i></p> <p><i>Prior knowledge?</i></p> <p><i>Age?</i></p> <p><i>Size of the group?</i></p> <p><i>Which textbook are they using in the class?</i></p>	<p>Objectives</p> <p><i>What do you want to achieve?</i></p> <p><i>What does the teacher want to achieve?</i></p> <p><i>Head, heart and hands?</i></p>	<p>Subject matter</p> <p><i>Which sources? Written? Oral?</i></p> <p><i>Diary excerpts?</i></p> <p><i>Focus on a special theme?</i></p> <p><i>Checking the background of the audience?</i></p>
<p>Didactic teaching methods</p> <p><i>Teach? Tell? Read aloud? Showing pictures? Re-enacting?</i></p> <p><i>Using humour?</i></p> <p><i>Introducing a metaphor?</i></p> <p><i>Working with a mascot?</i></p>	<p>GUIDED TOUR</p>  <p>Commonwealth War Graves Commission Cemetery Hooghe Crater Ieper</p>	<p>Media</p> <p><i>Which kind of sources can be used? Audio? Visual data? Visible for everyone? On an iPad?</i></p>
<p>Organization</p> <p><i>Meeting with experts?</i></p> <p><i>Stops at the venue?</i></p> <p><i>Itinerary?</i></p> <p><i>Circle time?</i></p> <p><i>Indoor and outdoor moments?</i></p>	<p>Context</p> <p><i>What current events do I bring in?</i></p> <p><i>Meeting with occasional visitors? (interview)</i></p>	<p>Evaluation & Feedback</p> <p><i>Do you have any questions?</i></p> <p><i>Process and product evaluation? Worksheets, tests...</i></p> <p><i>Was the guided tour successful and interesting?</i></p>

Conclusion

If we want to communicate about and from the tragedies related to our monuments with pupils and students we will have to analyse the images of 'the information society'. Our teenagers and even younger are screenagers. There is a growing concern about society's moral and historical condition, which can be seen in various trends in young people's attitudes. Monuments can be explored for themes and contradictions between themes. Important is how (young) people responded to the memorial. Using recontextualization is more and more common not only in textbooks but also during guided tours to discover memorials. Learning pupils and students to go back in the past and discover new perspectives is for teachers a real opportunity to understand better the point of views of their audience and to create a pedagogy of hope.

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Chapter 11

Remembering the past for the future

Recommendations

Hugo Verkest
VIVES University College Belgium

The casebook 'Traces of Tolerance' illustrates the challenges teachers face when helping pupils and students confront past wrongdoings. It provides evidence that issues of tolerance and democracy necessitate broad public debates on interpreting a country's history. Studies on post-communist countries' approaches to their complex pasts contribute to understanding the intricate relationship between memory and justice in fragile democracies.

Our team of teacher trainers and researchers focused on tolerance as a foundational value in a democratic society, stressing the importance of historical context and local perspectives, with an aim to activate historical awareness through experiential learning and empower students to engage critically with media and visual material.

Tolerance is not quantifiable but is embodied in individual stories. Understanding the histories of those who suffered intolerance is crucial. European states' experiences of dictatorship underscore the importance of the European Dream, which addresses both past and future challenges. Our study on tolerance in Europe should primarily be used to develop systematic thinking about the present and its main characteristic: respect.

Every value has a significant history that can be told through stories. European values are rooted in traditions around the Mediterranean Sea. Cities like Jerusalem, Constantinople, Athens and Rome were not only metropolises of trade but also of intellectual exchange. To understand a European value, one must delve into the genesis of the concept, expressed in letters, philosophical treatises, testimonies and archives.

In the past, history education aimed to promote 'nation-building' and national heritage, often reinforcing the ideology of the majority. Today, globalization, social media, migration and climate change present new challenges. Information no longer comes solely from official textbooks but also from flashy infotainment and enigmatic website titles. History education is evolving towards working with (primary) sources, including the history of victims and bystanders, not just winners or occupiers

Our contributions that were student-oriented confirmed that remembering past behaviour sharpens our moral standards in Europe. The drama activities in and out the classroom

related to several historical events in Europe enhanced moral sensitivity and was an antidote to the narrowing and distorting of our self-understanding. Our work in different corners of Europe empowered our understanding of other people, as remembering the past can provide us with rich, imaginative and critical insights into different cultures.

Drama exercises in school and institutes combined two powerful learning processes: story and role play. 'Becoming the story' needed extra time and space in the curriculum. We can see this form of play, in which children and students imagined themselves as adults, with adult responsibilities, in the battlefields, in prisons, in child towns or being part of a silent protest event as the Baltic Way. At the heart of drama is this opportunity for imagining oneself in the role of victim, bystander or perpetrator. This self-other recognition is of course important to developing empathy and tolerance of differences.

What happened in the past can be discovered only under conditions of diversity and discourse, by relying not only on a single narrator, but rather on a plurality of contending voices speaking to one another. In studies of memory trauma, public debates about the past focus on the meaning of traumatic events, arguing that revealing and acknowledging the truth about the past is essential for preserving moral order.

There is a Dutch saying, that once you have truly listened to another person's story you cannot then harm her or him. In our good practices of drama we take this one step further by giving the young people the floor. They experience another person's story for themselves, as if it was their own personal story. Through taking on the roles of soldiers, partisans, deportees or protesters, children and students may also realise that they can lead, be assertive and change the actual world in which they live and cultivate values as solidarity, tolerance and peace.

There are always stories at the heart of every drama. Sometimes the drama will be based on an existing and well-known story. Sometimes, the students will construct a story based on historical sources. The story provides a familiar framework for pupils and students; which links school-learning with the new challenges of academic learning. Because stories related to historical and traumatic events appeal to our emotions as well as to our intellects, The combination of cognitive and affective learning allow our young audience to engage with the strangeness of the facts and figures of the world.

Teachers now have the responsibility to foster critical engagement and collect diverse perspectives to avoid polarization. Skimming and scanning are only initial steps in source evaluation; full comprehension and additional background reading are more critical than ever.

Our work emphasizes the moral imperative of remembering past injustices to restore unity within traumatized communities. We aim to avoid merely engaging in the heritage industry and instead support genuine memory work.

We advocate for a reflexive judgment in teaching, encouraging students to critically examine historical narratives. Through this, social remembering combined with history lessons can

counteract distortions of intolerance. Our students, in drama sessions, were often asked to take on roles in order to solve problems or dilemmas. They were asked to imagine themselves differently, to reframe or to re-create themselves as others.

Remembering or re-enacting the past for shaping the future shows that meeting people's demands for tolerance, justice and authentic historical information is a crucial step in further democratization in Europe, while also revealing the negative consequences of partial, politicized and ineffective implementation of educational policies dealing with past injustices in (new) democracies, such as growing public distrust.

We hope for more collaboration between history, remembrance education, and citizenship education, fostering 'historian literacy.' We also encourage educators to use Erasmus projects or eTwinning to frame local histories within the framework of fundamental EU values pronounced in the publication 'The European story'. Last but not least we can recommend to visit The House of European History in Brussels or book a virtual tour workshop for teachers.

May we conclude with a fragment of Vaclav Havel's meditation on hope, emphasizing its transcendent nature and its power to inspire action even in the face of despair.

"Hope, in this deep and powerful sense, is not the same as joy that things are going well, or willingness to invest in enterprises that are obviously headed for early success, but, rather, an ability to work for something because it is good, not just because it stands a chance to succeed. The more unpropitious the situation in which we demonstrate hope, the deeper the hope is...."

<https://www.havelcenter.org/havel-quotes/disturbing-the-peace/>

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