

The pedagogical founding fathers of Europe: foundational education discourses for European integration, one hundred years after the First World War¹

Los «padres» pedagógicos de Europa.

*Discursos educativos fundacionales para la integración europea,
cien años después de la Gran Guerra*

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Abstract:

This article starts by examining the roots of the European Union, the first manifestation of which was the «Europe of Six», conceived by a group of people nowadays known as the «founding fathers of the EU». It then moves on to consider the educational discourses that supported the establishment of democracy in countries where this supranational political agreement was developing. The end of the First World War (1914-1918), one hundred years ago this year, saw the start of a process of peaceful reconstruction in which the foundations of a European federation to maintain internal peace were laid. From this perspective, Europe has not only been a superlative example of political understanding but also, and predominantly, a pedagogical success story. This is why Europe is, has been, and will always be, a pedagogical project above all. In light of the new challeng-

es we are facing today (break-up as a result of *Brexit*, citizens' mistrust of its institutions, the constant threat in markets from emerging powers, and multicultural societies, to name but a few), the solution must be educational. The pedagogical «founding fathers» of Europe tried to consolidate democracy by putting the citizen at its centre. Returning to and updating its foundational educational discourses could reposition our educational actions for reformulating the European Union.

Keywords: European Union, international solidarity, civic education, peace education, history of education, European education.

Resumen:

El presente artículo navega desde las raíces fundacionales de la Unión Europea,

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cuya primera manifestación fue la «Europa de los Seis» ideada por los hoy denominados «padres de Europa», hasta los discursos educativos que abogaron por la instauración de la democracia en los países gestacionales de este acuerdo político supranacional. Al final de la Gran Guerra (1914-1918), de la cual se cumplen cien años, se inicia un proceso de reconstrucción pacífica en el que se establecen los cimientos de una federación europea para el mantenimiento de la paz interna. Europa, desde este punto de vista, no ha sido únicamente un ejemplo superlativo de entendimiento político, sino además, y principalmente, un éxito pedagógico. Por este motivo, Europa es, ha sido y será, ante todo, una vía pedagógica. Ante los nuevos retos que hoy se

plantan —el desmembramiento a través del *Brexit*, la desconfianza de los ciudadanos en sus instituciones, la constante amenaza para el mercado de las potencias emergentes, además de la realidad multicultural, por citar algunos—, la solución es necesariamente educativa. Los «padres» pedagógicos de Europa intentaron consolidar la democracia poniendo al ciudadano en el centro. Retomar y actualizar los discursos educativos fundacionales puede reorientar nuestra acción educativa para la reformulación de la Unión Europea.

Descriptor: Unión Europea, solidaridad internacional, educación cívica, educación para la paz, historia de la educación, educación europea.

1. Introduction

In 2012 the European Union was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize and in 2017 it was awarded the Princess of Asturias Award for Concord. These awards commemorate a long and difficult process of peaceful reconstruction. The old continent, with its bloody past as the stage for two world wars, has, in the hundred years that separate us from the end of the First World War (1914-1918), been able to rebuild political relationships without belligerence. Education has played a crucial role in this complex journey and will continue to do so. In response to the first politicians who tried to forge an inter-governmental agreement —the so-called «founding fathers of Europe»— a series of pedagogical discourses were proposed to accompany the construction of European citizenship, or rather the attempt

to strengthen parliamentary democracy to enable Europe to be a community of peaceful coexistence. This article offers an in-depth examination of the people who, through pedagogy, made this process possible, drawing attention to their decisive role in establishing unitary public education systems.

2. The «founding fathers of Europe»: from the «Europe of Six» to the «European Union»

The process of construction of the European Union was not without difficulties or disagreement and arguments. While the final push for this development came after the Second World War, before then —in fact, after the First World War— there had been an attempt to restore peace through the intergovern-

mental agreement to create the League of Nations in 1920. This Geneva-based organisation was a result of the application of the Treaty of Versailles. Inspired by the ideas of the Woodrow Wilson², the president of the USA, this new organisation with its global mission was principally dominated by the victorious European powers of France and Great Britain.

In this context, coinciding with the interwar period, and in relation to forging European integration and preventing new armed confrontations, it is worth noting the contribution by Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi who published the work *Pan-Europa* in Vienna³ in 1923. Raised in the cosmopolitan capital of the Republic of Austria, this visionary argued that the old continent's crisis and the waning importance of its states on the world stage were not due to an advanced biological age but rather politics. According to Coudenhove-Kalergi, the division into twenty different states created an international anarchy that undermined the fraternity between them⁴. Far from leading to a solid, strong, coherent, and united Europe, this phenomenon was the cause of the end of European hegemony in the international sphere, in contrast with its position of leadership in the nineteenth century. The early years of the twentieth century saw the start of this decline, above all after the extremely violent clash of the First World War which resulted from nineteenth-century imperialisms and nationalisms. Faced with this dimming, for the Austrian author, the solution was to establish a political union among European countries to alleviate the breakup of that time. This is,

essentially, the central idea behind the title of his work *Pan-Europe*, which is the first modern project for a united Europe. Pan-Europe is a political concept of Europe instead of a geographic one. For its author, Europe's frontiers extended as far as the democratic political system. His focus on this permanent political union was intended to be the answer to future intra-European wars, which were civil wars at the end of the day. If the source of Europe's evils was its division into states, nationalism was its main pathology. Nationalism, as a sort of secular religion, established impassable borders between states. In light of this diagnosis, he prescribed a separation of state and nation intended to dissolve nationalist borders while respecting linguistic and cultural minorities. Pan-Europa was envisaged as a synthesis of the European nation, the product of the unity of Western culture with peaceful coexistence between different traditions and linguistic-cultural minorities. Coudenhove-Kalergi's idea derives from a first attempt at intergovernmental understanding in Europe at a time when this was no more than a utopian dream (Becerril, 2016), as well as being the only possible means of maintaining its standing in the international stage. For this reason, among others, this author has been regarded as one of the «founding fathers of Europe».

The pursuit of European integration was not taken up again until after the Second World War. At the end of the war, and given the catastrophic position the continent found itself in, divided, discredited, and impoverished, there was a need to foster political rapprochement

between the thirty sovereign states, overcoming the anarchy and incomprehension that had led to these two armed conflicts. This important objective had the enthusiastic backing of the man who had led the British Government during the Second World War, Winston Churchill, who in 1947 founded the «United European Movement» (Churchill, 2016, pp. 78-87). One year after the foundation of this movement, the event that has been called the «Congress of Europe» was held in The Hague. From 7 to 10 May 1948 this meeting, opened by Princess Juliana and by Churchill himself, was held in the Dutch city and at it the first foundations of the European Union were laid. The delegates and speakers who reached an initial agreement are regarded as the «founding fathers of Europe»: Konrad Adenauer, Paul-Henri Spaak, Jean Monnet, Alcide de Gasperi, Robert Schuman, and the aforementioned Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi⁵. The debates at this first congress featured disagreements between the «unionists» — mainly consisting of the British representatives, led by the Victorian Churchill — and the «federalists» — including the French, Italians, Belgians, and Dutch.

At an official level, this congress's immediate achievement was the creation of the Council of Europe, whose statute was signed in London in 1949. The Council of Europe, based in Strasbourg, comprised two organisations: a Committee of Ministers and a Parliamentary Assembly. This Council played an important role in the European plan. This was because it promoted European unity based on «the principles of individual liberty, political

liberty, and the pre-eminence of the law, on which true democracy is based» (Truyol, 1972, p. 35).

These principles, which were regarded as the common denominator of the shared heritage of the countries of Europe, were the foundations on which the nascent international cooperation in the old continent would be built. Indeed, thanks to the birth on 4 April 1949 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and given the institutional fragility of the Council of Europe, the determined pro-Europe proposed a supranational organisation covering a smaller geographical area of European communities in the strict sense, establishing in Geneva the new «Consejo de Municipios y Regiones de Europa» in 1951.

Economically, the years following the Second World War were especially favourable. People speak of three «economic miracles» in the period between 1945 and 1963. Three states played a leading role in the growth of Western Europe: Germany, Italy, and France. Of the three «miracles», the German one was the first and most impressive. Under the leadership of the Christian Democrat Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (1945-1963), West Germany soon started to enjoy an economic boom. Thanks to strong export flows and an economy supported by a solid currency (the Deutsche Mark) it soon became one of the world's leading economic powers. This country, which had been weakened and devastated after the war, became an opulent state that was the envy of others, rising like a phoenix from the ashes. The German miracle was followed by the Italian one, which was different in nature

and not as impressive. The northern and central regions of Italy saw the consolidation of industrial sectors such as the manufacture of automobiles and domestic appliances. After 20 years, this progress had earned Italy a strong leading position in international markets. The Italian boom was followed by the «French miracle» that saw this country grow without interruption from 1945 to 1973⁶. Almost thirty glorious years of unstoppable progress saw France become the hyper-specialized power in the aeronautical, agri-food, and biomedical industries that it is today.

These economic conditions would help establish a true Europe. The group of people known as the «founding fathers of Europe» are of special relevance here. Midway between integration and disassociation, the Council of Europe's activities were restricted to interesting debates since the UK had categorically opposed any loss of national sovereignty. After this false start, Jean Monnet decided that, to complete the construction of Europe, it was necessary to get used to working together in the framework of specific achievements in particular sectors. Alongside this proposal, on 9 May 1950 Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister —inspired by Monnet's declaration— suggested placing all of France and Germany's coal and steel production under a common high authority. The German Federal Republic, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands backed this proposal and on 18 April 1951 —after brief negotiations— the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was launched. Its founding charter was the

Treaty of Paris. With the foundation of the ECSC, the «Europe of Six» was born. For the first time its six member states ceded certain sovereign rights to a common body empowered to take care of the new body's interests. This High Authority, with supranational powers, was based in Luxembourg. The ECSC, whose first president was Monnet, operated very successfully despite the United Kingdom's refusal to join. In light of this triumph, and after the abortive attempt to establish a European Defence Community, the idea of Europe was relaunched at the meeting of the six foreign ministers of the ECSC in Messina on 1 July 1955. The boost given to the European Economic Community at this meeting has been called the *relance européenne*. The EEC was finally established by the Treaty of Rome which was signed on 25 March 1957 and has now celebrated its seventieth anniversary. Consequently, the period between 1955 and 1957 has been referred to as the «European Spring». This agreement's aim was to guarantee free circulation of people under the protection of common citizenship and of goods by gradually erasing the national borders of the six members. The council of ministers inherited from the ECSC was joined by a «European Commission» with its headquarters in Brussels. This was an early version of a supranational power (Carpentier; Lebrun, 1994).

Naturally, creating a European common market was a strong step towards making a united Europe viable. General de Gaulle played a decisive role in this process, although, as he recalled in his memoirs, while he was not opposed to European construction, he would have fa-

voured a Franco-German consortium. De Gaulle warned that British interference in the organisms of the EEC could open the door to American influence⁷. This was the main reason for the repeated refusal to allow the United Kingdom to join the Common Market, something he opposed twice (1963 and 1966). It was a matter of strengthening continental Europe. The *entente cordial* led by de Gaulle and Adenauer appeared to regard «consolidating» the Community as more important than «expanding» it with new members, especially if expansion could endanger the internal cohesion between these members when faced with the exterior, and in particular the USA in light of its close ties to the Commonwealth. This fact, as well as the British Empire's constant transatlantic gaze prompted de Gaulle to veto the membership of the United Kingdom. General de Gaulle proposed a «Europe of nations», in other words, a Europe of inter-state cooperation, in accordance with idea of the nation state.

Meanwhile, the repeated requests by the United Kingdom, led by the Labour prime minister Harold Wilson, to be allowed to join the Community caused intense internal discussions between the six members. In the central debate, the differences between the model of an «Atlantic Europe» with more centrifugal relationships and a «European Europe» that would prioritise the centripetal agreements of the continental line were settled. While de Gaulle opposed the United Kingdom's membership of the Community, others, and in particular the avowed supporters of supranationality Luns and Spaak backed it. Eventually

after prolonged hard struggles concerning the economic questions – and helped by Churchill's absence from the political panorama – on 28 October 1971 the House of Commons approved the United Kingdom joining the Community. Following applications by two other candidates on 22 January 1972, the «Europe of Six» became the «Europe of Nine» in 1973 when the United Kingdom, Denmark and Ireland joined. This moment of expansion consolidated the second stage in European construction. The «Europe of Peoples» gave way to the «Europe of Nations», the shortfalls of which would soon become apparent. It was not until 1981, with Greece joining, that the «Europe of Ten» was discussed. In 1986, the Community expanded with the entry of Spain and Portugal, becoming the «Europe of Twelve», and so on successively until the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 which formed the basis of the European Union (Carpentier et al., 1994; Pérez Casado, 2017).

In summary, this long and complicated history saw the laying of the first foundations of the European Union, a process featuring Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the pro-European Austrian author of *Pan-Europa*, Jean Monnet, the first President of the High Authority of the ECSC, Konrad Adenauer who was German Chancellor in the post-war period and the promotor of the German miracle, Paul Henri Spaak who was the Belgian President representing the Socialist Party, Robert Schuman who was French Foreign Minister and the founder and inspiration of the ECSC, Alcide De Gasperi of Italy who was President of the Council of Ministers, and, of course, Charles de Gaulle,

the president of the French Fifth Republic which came into being after the colonial crisis of 1958. These people are regarded as the «founding fathers» of Europe.

3. The pedagogical founding fathers of Europe

In addition to these authors who made the construction of European unity possible on a basis of peaceful coexistence, democracy, and inter-governmental solidarity, there was a plethora of others who through pedagogical discourse accompanied this process of formation of the citizenry to consolidate these agreements. The educational traditions of the countries when the founding of the Europe of Six was founded were very different. Indeed, in the 1920s, after the end of the First World War, democracy had been established in some European countries while in others it was yet to be founded. Democracy was linked to three countries in particular: France, the United Kingdom, and Germany. In the first two, democracy only had to follow the long trajectory that the war had not stopped (Carpentier et al., 1994); their democratic heritage was already deeply rooted. This was not the case in Germany, where democracy was yet to be established. Its situation was different and it had initial limitations, deriving from its history. Following failed attempts at revolution in the first few months after the end of the First World War, in 1919 a Constitutional Assembly had founded a parliamentary republic defined by the Weimar Constitution that came into effect that August. The early years of this new republic were marked by clashes that underlined its political fragility. As

well as successive attempted coups by the far-left and far-right, there were political assassinations, separatist movements in the Rhineland, hyperinflation in the post-war period, the Munich Putsch in 1923, led by Adolf Hitler, and the occupation of the Ruhr from 1923 to 1925 by French and Belgian troops. In contrast, from 1925 onwards the course of the nascent Republic would follow new lines. The country was stabilised under the presidency of Marshal Paul von Hindenburg who governed with a conservative majority, until he was succeeded by Hitler in 1933.

At the same time that democracy was being introduced to these countries, in the 1920s and 1930s a wave of regimes spread across Europe, ranging from authoritarian and semi-authoritarian to the fascist extreme adopted by Mussolini in Italy after the march on Rome (1922). This wave mainly hit Mediterranean and Central Europe after a brief experience of parliamentary democracy. This was the case in Hungary under the leadership of Admiral Miklós Horthy (1920), in Austria under Monsignor Ignaz Seipel (1922), in Spain under General Primo de Rivera (1923), in Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1923), in Poland under Marshall Józef Pilsudski (1926), and in Portugal under António de Oliveira Salazar (1926). The Russian Revolution of 1917 and, especially, the subsequent Cold War, added to this complicated political framework. The Europe-USSR opposition during this period undoubtedly accelerated European construction, dynamizing education regarding its democratic foundations and their contrast with communism. This particular phenomenon meant

that the first pedagogical «founding fathers of Europe» came from the democratic countries. Consequently, this first generation of pedagogues after the First World War, and affected by the events that had happened, focused their educational discourse on civic training to consolidate democracy in the state. Nonetheless, as we will see, their proposals went beyond the strictly national order and aimed connect citizens with humanity in the broader sense.

At the risk of omitting some figures, two generations of «pedagogical founding fathers» of Europe can be cited. The first generation formed the root of peaceful European construction and aimed to consolidate democracy through the autonomy of the student. This first generation, who mainly worked in the interwar period, includes Kerschensteiner, Spranger, and Natorp from Germany, Bovet, Claparède, Dottrens, and Ferrière from Geneva with their internationalist aims, Gloeckel from Austria, and the Viviani reform and Langevin-Wallon plan from the period after the Second World War in France. Once democracy had become established in these countries after the Second World War and following the establishment of the ECSC, a second generation of «pedagogical founding fathers» appeared who went beyond these early initiatives and strove to encourage continental unity through cultural exchange between their countries, giving speeches in favour of European integration through education. This is the case —with Guido Gonella, the Italian Minister of Education at the time of De Gasperi, Denis de Rougemont who was the head of the European Centre

for Culture, and the definitive boost that Friedrich Schneider, a comparative educationalist, offered in his work *European education* of 1963. It is also worth noting a number of institutions related to these pedagogic discourses that were launched with the aim of jointly and cooperatively constructing European culture. These include the European Centre for Culture (1950) with its headquarters in Geneva and the College of Europe (1950) in Bruges, as well as the European Association of Educators, based in Darmstadt and founded in 1956.

Within this first wave of initiatives to consolidate democracy, and almost everywhere in Europe at one time or another, the ideal of state reconstruction involved establishing a unitary model of public education that had already started to be implemented before the First World War but was restarted with more enthusiasm after it. One author observes that:

The educational reform movement, which had started long before the outbreak of war, regained strength during this period, perhaps owing to the same flaws that had become apparent in the education of citizens from the belligerent countries, flaws that were attributed to shortcomings in their educational systems. Therefore, one of the first concerns of the post-war period was to reform and improve these systems (*La reforma escolar en Alemania*, n.d., p. 7).

As a result, educational reforms came in quick succession in the interwar period in Europe. It was noted that rebuilding intracontinental understanding would require a new model of education⁸.

Consequently, it is possible to speak of the first «pedagogical founding fathers» of Europe.

We will attempt to clarify who these «pedagogical founding fathers» of Europe are to understand the role they play in forging democracy and peaceful coexistence within and between states. In reality, the long line of pedagogues who tried to establish democracy in Germany dates back to George Kerschensteiner, whose contribution formed the prelude to the educational reform that would be implemented under the Weimar Republic from 1919. According to him, educational intervention should focus on civic education with the aim of turning the democratic state into a moral community (1934, p. 33-34). This is the main mission that the public education system and education in general must undertake. It is no coincidence that changes in Germany in the years following the First World War, were based on the vocational school from Kerschensteiner's work. Public education reforms in Germany were rooted in the unified school —*Einheitsschule*— movement whose main supporters were the democratic and socialist parties, as well as the associations of teachers and pedagogues with liberal tendencies which included Kerschensteiner himself as well as Natorp, Fischer, and Spranger, among others. The first manifestation of this movement was in June 1914 in Kiel at the Deutsche Lehrerversammlung assembly where the association of German teachers adopted Kerschensteiner's thesis:

Under the rule of law, in other words, in a state that automatically regulates relationships between its members ac-

cording to the principles of justice, public schooling creates a duty to give every child, without exception, the education they are entitled to in accordance with its provisions (Luzuriaga, 1964, p. 105).

To put this another way, a desire to establish public and democratic schools in Germany was taking shape, a project that would be delayed from the start of the First World War until the coming of the republic in 1919. Paul Natorp's ideal of Social Pedagogy, a project which also helped lay the foundations for educational democracy based on a social proposal stands out as well as Kerschensteiner's contribution, as does the work of Eduard Spranger, who argued that the aim of education was cultural pedagogy.

If pedagogy in Germany was concerned with laying the foundations of democracy owing to its lack of a parliamentary tradition, in Switzerland, with Geneva as its pedagogical capital, its interest was instead in coordinating inter-governmental mediation to re-establish peace in Europe. It is possible that the internal division of the Swiss population and the differing attachments of its citizens —some backing the French while others backed Germany— led this state to remain neutral in the First and Second World Wars. As required by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations was founded in Geneva in 1920 to lead European reunification. However, it would fail in its attempts owing to the different interests of the victorious powers. Pedagogically, Geneva tried to lead educational reform by spreading the New School movement and active pedagogy. Pedagogues of the status of Ferrière,

Claparède, Bovet, and Dottrens among others formed the Geneva School, which opted to develop experimental pedagogy without rejecting universalist ideals. Adolphe Ferrière himself ran through internationalist initiatives ranging from the *Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles* (1899) and the *Institut Rousseau* (1912) up to the foundation of the *International School of Geneva* (1924-1950), and including the *International League of the New School* (1921). In so doing, he established a political-pedagogical theory that brought together the parameters of Europeanism, internationalism, pacifism, neutrality, intellectual cooperation, moral puritanism, and trust in education as the builder of the future society. Symbolising the spirit of Geneva, he shared the desire for a permanent peace based on disarmament, international cooperation, and the will to construct a political and educational utopia (*l'Ere Nouvelle*) under the principles of moral and intellectual independence and an active and central role for the child. Similarly, Claparède and Bovet were the true drivers of the *Institut Rousseau*. Furthermore, Bovet established an international observatory of the state of education in the world with the foundation of the *Bureau International d'Education* (BIE) which would become a body for documenting and promoting scientific and objective studies into educational matters. The BIE enabled the promotion and consolidation of comparative pedagogy as an epistemological, cognitive, and academic discipline (Schneider, 1966) with a clear pro-Europe mission.

These initiatives and institutions, created under the influence of the spirit

of Geneva, tried to establish a European union around the principles of international understanding, collaboration, and cooperation. During the interwar period, following the break-up of the central empires, the aim was to establish peace through moral weaponry for which the New School was regarded as the most appropriate means. The active educational method was chosen to make the child an active and participatory citizen in future through self-governance and the ideal of autonomy. Ultimately, the aim was to establish a European citizenry to lead to ensure peace in the continent through active teaching and the New School movement.

The Republic of Austria was not exempt from this reforming process⁹ after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a result of the First World War. In effect, the cultural, social, and economic decadence of the final years of the House of Habsburg obliged the nascent social-democratic republic to rebuild a society in the grip of a crisis. From 1919, when the socialists took power, the question of how to make Austria into a state with a new social structure in accordance with the political-social philosophy of the new republican order was considered. As part of this social transformation, which affected all areas, educational reforms were planned. To implement them Otto Gloeckel took on the role of Minister for Public Instruction (1919). Six hundred teachers associations were formed to study and practice the principles of the reform and introduce them into the Republic of Austria across all regions without exception. The two pedagogical cornerstones that sup-

ported it were the idea of concentration, based on centres of interest, and diffusion through global learning. As can be seen, active teaching again took centre stage in establishing the republic and forming citizens. The aim was for each child to work independently. It was no coincidence that the *Lernschule* —school of learning— was replaced by *Arbeitschule* —school of work— without neglecting civic and moral education as well as ensuring religious freedom, respecting Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish schooling.

The French case is different. Under the Third Republic (1870-1940) there was a series of educational changes, from the Viviani Reform led by the pacifist prime minister René Viviani at the start of the First World War, through to the Langevin-Wallon plan (1944-1945) immediately prior to the establishment of the Fourth Republic which had Robert Schuman as president. The Viviani project (1914) was part of the reforms that introduced unitary education and extended compulsory technical elementary education and obligatory post-school training, as well as implementing the principle of free schooling and of democratising secondary and higher education, without ignoring moral and character education. This plan imposed obligatory post-school professional training for boys aged thirteen to seventeen and domestic training for girls from thirteen but only as far as sixteen. On similar lines, the Langevin-Wallon plan aimed to democratise secondary education through comprehensive schooling. Its solution was an integrated, polyvalent, and comprehensive school. This ambitious plan

envisaged a school that was unitary and lay, but above all offered moral and civic education.

Alongside these Initiatives that underpinned democracy in schools, a series of notable personalities were involved in the development of the «European spirit» through pedagogy. We refer to the second generation of «pedagogical founding fathers» who, once democracy had been consolidated through education, took a step towards encouraging specifically European citizenship through educational institutions. Stefan Zweig should also be mentioned as a forebear to this generation as in 1932 he insisted on the pedagogical route to cleansing Europe of the ills of the interwar period, a total crisis that was not just economic but also epistemological, political, and philosophical, in other words, a crisis of meaning (Zweig, 2017, pp. 65-84).

In view of the obvious intra-European tensions, Guido Gonella, the Italian Minister of Education under the presidency of De Gasperi called for a return to the unity of European civilisation based on its tradition. Gonella argued for the possibilities of unity without denying plurality. His aim was not uniformity or cultural homogenisation, but rather the rediscovery of the tradition of Europe and its shared civilisation. On these lines, he said in a speech in 1961:

The European tradition is intellectual thanks to the dignity of a common way of thinking, it is legal thanks to the heritage of a shared legal system, it is spiritual thanks to the internal affinities of a common civilisation. [...] Let us then return

to the three sources of European civilisation: Greek, Roman, and Christian. [...] The unity of Europe rebuilds itself by first restoring the intellectual and social order (Gonella, 1961, pp. 19-20) [Own translation].

The aspiration to rebuild Europe pedagogically and humanistically underlies this project. Thanks to this, Gonella can be regarded as one of the second generation of pedagogical «founding fathers of Europe». Only the cultural path, and with it the educational one, could safeguard European unity. Conscious of the violent conflicts that had overrun the continent, he expressed the urgency of espousing, through schools, active solidarity between citizens and countries. A solidarity that would be based on a new international justice that reconciled the concept of nation with that of humanity, as called for by many of the pedagogical discourses of the first generation (Gonella, 1961, p. 21). Faced with nascent anti-European fascist forces, it was necessary to seek peace through democracy rooted in an Europeanism based on patriotism.

As well as Gonella, Denis de Rougemont deserves a special mention as one of the pedagogical «founding fathers of Europe». The European Centre for Culture was launched in Geneva after the end of the Second World War, and from 1950 it was led by this convinced pro-European. It encouraged cultural exchange, emphasising what was «shared by Europe» and bringing together people and groups with similar roles. The aim of this institution was «to awaken the spirit of European solidarity in public schools, universities, and centres of popular education» (Schneider,

1963, p. 139). Supported by this centre, the AIEE was founded in 1951. This published a *Bibliographie européenne* with the aim of disseminating the achievements and noting problems relating to the unification of Europe.

Rougemont's impetus was decisive for the pedagogical integration of Europe. As director of the European Centre for Culture he undertook a great deal of work training an elite group of pro-European politicians and educators. He was aware that a customs union was not enough to achieve a united Europe, and from the founding moment he called for a continental political, social, cultural, and economic federation. In his writing he underlined the importance he gives education for this inter-government understanding.

To say that everything depends on education is to say that everything depends on educators and their training. The future of the united Europe is at stake in teacher training centres. Until there is an antinationalist and pro-European shift in them, and until the effects of this change are felt in the secondary education of our countries, the very foundations of the union will seem to have developed in step with the demands of politicians and economists. *And so before «making Europe» we have to «make ourselves European».* And this fundamentally happens in spirits: without a prior «cultural revolution» there can be no revolution in the socio-political institutions, or it will not really get started (Rougement, 1975, p. 72) [Own translation].

In short, beyond the Europe of markets, Rougemont emphasised the need

for a Europe of citizens. It was necessary to forge a European citizenry through education. First of all by training teachers in this way at teacher training colleges, so that, like a chain reaction, this change would be subsequently felt in primary and secondary schools in each member state. Rougemont was aware of the need for a «cultural revolution» to strengthen the European spirit. Education alone, and no other possible means, was the instrument for achieving European unification in the minds of citizens. People had to come to idea of Europe through education, with a sense of pro-European citizenship awakening in each person, freeing them from the chains of nationalism that had led to the two intracontinental wars.

Nonetheless, the decisive push for European education came from Friedrich Schneider, who can be regarded as another of the pedagogical «founding fathers» of Europe. He argued for the need for a discipline called *European education* which as well as being the title of one of his works, was also a curriculum proposal.

The aim of European education was none other than to ensure this European heritage –we call it European civilisation or the European spirit– and make it known as much as possible to many of the members of peoples of Europe; in other words, to form a European feeling in them, a European conscience, is an eminently important task at present. Therefore, as well as political and economic integration, a cultural integration is also required to consolidate these two types (Schneider, 1961, p. 56).

As Rougemont had previously stressed, the European tradition had to be supported through education, that is, training European citizens. Accordingly, he proposed an educational curriculum that contained, among other aspects, a history of pedagogy in the European sense. His intention was, as his predecessors has already stated, to encourage Europeanism through patriotism, always respecting national ties. This is the form a European education had to take; its sense of cohesion could not be at odds with the national community but instead had to be compatible with it. To this end, Schneider examined European educational systems, emphasising what they had in common. Their common features included: the duration of the period of compulsory education (this varied from six to ten years and was an achievement of the first generation of pedagogical founding fathers), the belief in continuous education (beyond primary level and professional training education in European countries continues throughout life), and, finally, education had a tripartite structure in almost all countries with primary, secondary, and higher education. If educational problems, as he himself would find, were shared, the solution also had to be shared by all of the member states of this union. Therefore, pedagogical research also had to be supranational. Ultimately, all efforts should be focussed on seeking out the European spirit, both with regards to its problems and its solutions, neither more nor less.

4. In conclusion

Having seen this overview of the origins of Europe, there is no doubt that

efforts have been made since its earliest days to express it as a pedagogical project (Vilanou, Prats, Longares, 2016, p. 17). In accordance with the cultural and spiritual dimension of the old continent, Europe has been an educational reference model, from the German and Swiss proposals to the Austrian and French ones in favour of constructing a supranational state of peaceful coexistence and citizen solidarity. Nonetheless, it is now at a crossroads. In the year of the sixtieth anniversary of its establishment it faces the break-up of its unity with the exit of the United Kingdom and the start of the so-called Brexit process with its possible impacts on the Eurozone. Anticipating its possible decline, Pérez Casado (2017) affirms that faced with the threat of the emerging countries and of its most powerful competitor, especially since the electoral triumph of Donald Trump, the alternative is a bigger and better Europe. It is necessary to rethink it, avoiding technocratic pitfalls and a generalised loss of confidence in its institutions and returning the central role to its citizens. On the same lines, he maintains that «these in-depth reforms require the construction of a democratic pedagogy that involves citizens in its objectives, making them partners in a new stage of European construction» (2017, p. 33). Consequently, the reestablishment of the united Europe or the European Union, respecting and returning to the original principles of co-operation, will go through the educational route. As Jean Monnet would lament: «If I had to do it again, I would begin with culture». Today, more than ever, it makes sense to reread the pedagogical «founding fathers of Europe» who introduced dem-

ocratic pedagogy and European citizenship, conditions that make integration possible.

In this new Europe that we now find —post-industrial, postmodern, post organic, and multicultural— pedagogical discourse must follow new paths to confront the challenges that affect European reconciliation, achieved during this 100-year journey since the First World War. Therefore, if Europe is one thing now, or will be, it involves the pedagogical and educational project. Javier Solana notes that the European Union is the most innovative and successful process of integration in the history of humankind (2015, p. 9). If we wish to maintain the levels of shared prosperity as well as the freedom and equality of citizens, European integration is vital. Peace, prosperity, the rule of law, respect for difference, solidarity, liberty, democracy, and social justice are the values that today shape European identity and are our «common heritage». As such we must protect them and they must be strengthened through education. Today more than ever, Europe is a pedagogical project.

Notes

- ¹ The research this article is based on was made possible by RecerCaixa.
- ² Veyenne notes that Wilson, an avid reader of Kant, dreamt of the «philosophical project of perpetual peace». The League of Nations, inspired by Wilson, comprised the triumph of law over Germany's aggressive attempts at establishing hegemony in Europe. In other words, the victory of democracy, justice and peace over Germany's ambitions for military dominance in Europe (1965, p. 165).
- ³ Prior to the attempts at European construction or reconstruction, after the First World War, there

had been a series of works known as literature of crisis. One example of this is *The decline of the West* by Oswald Spengler, who in 1918 denounced the crisis of linear evolutionism and of the progressive designs of social development (Esquirol, 1994, p. 34).

- ⁴ Coudenhove-Kalergi (1923). *PanEuropa*. In Truyol (1972), pp. 81-83. *PanEuropa* was republished in 2010 in Madrid by Encuentro.
- ⁵ Vuyenne has stated with regards to this congress: «For the first time, all of the men who were determined to build Europe were together. This resulted in an atmosphere of exceptional enthusiasm. However, after this first contact, it could be seen that two trends, at least, seriously divided the European forces. On the one hand, the unionists remained as solidly opposed to anything that could limit the sovereignty of the states as they had previously been. [...] On the other hand, the federalists, called for an effective federation, with its own powers» (1965, p. 188).
- ⁶ De Gaulle in his memoirs recounts the successive investments made in France during the period from 1958 to 1962 in trade, agriculture, and electronics, as well as aeronautics and industries relating to gas. All of these processes of modernisation gave a strong boost to the French regions that specialised in certain sectors (1970, pp.183-184).
- ⁷ De Gaulle himself in his memoirs recalls the difficulties of building a European Europe faced with the threat of the Atlantic Trojan Horse that the early integration of Britain would have involved (1970, pp. 202-203).
- ⁸ It should be no surprise that Comparative Education became established as an academic discipline in this period. As Schneider notes, «at the end of the First World War, several circumstances favoured the development of the comparative science of education. States with developed school systems felt the need to submit them to a rigorous assessment; the new states saw education as the essential means for their foundation and consolidation. And, above all, the desire to achieve civic democratic opinions and humanity led them to concern themselves with educational plans» (1966, p. 46).
- ⁹ On the Austrian educational reform, Luzuriaga writes: «The First World War was to stop this development of the new public school and only with

the end of the war could it be pursued. Accordingly, the second stage, the 'federal educational institutions' in Vienna were true 'new schools' but these were public and national in character» (2002, p. 53).

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