

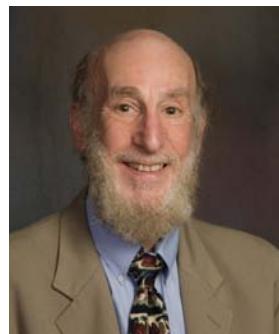
Introduction to the *Patanjali* Lecture Series

The Center for Indic Studies has been hosting a *Patanjali* Lecture series annually since 2002. The Lecture Series was established in part by contributions from the Center's faculty members, and was named as *Patanjali* Lecture in recognition of the teaching contributions of *Maharshi Patanjali* in a true tradition of Indian teachers over 2,500 years ago (Teachers were known as *acharyas* who taught student through their own conduct). In 2005 the Center decided to publish these lectures so that these become reference records, as the lectures brought out substantial new thoughts and debates. This Lecture delivered in May 2007 is third in that series. The Center will also make the recordings of the *Patanjali* Lectures and will make them available through the Center's office for public use.

Douglas Allen's Lecture on Mahatma Gandhi on Violence and Peace Education

Many people are quite vocal against violence, particularly religious violence so rampantly common throughout the world today. However, when a professor of philosophy, who has been arrested for defying civil laws in a Gandhian manner to oppose violence in Iraq, raises his voice against state sponsored violence it suddenly looks more real.

Professor Douglas Allen of University of Maine, arrested in September 2006 in front of Senator Olympia Snowe in Bangor, ME, described his experience at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth as part of *Patanjali* Lecture series of the Center for Indic Studies on May 10 and 11.



Dr. Douglas Allen

Professor Allen's evening lecture on Thursday, May 10, 2007, entitled "Religion and Violence: Why is Contemporary Religion So Violent and Does Mahatma Gandhi Provide a Relevant Alternative to Religious Violence?" outlined the current concept of dominant religions which advocate exclusives. That eventually leads to rightist approach in confrontational dealing with people of other religions. Dr. Allen singled out right wing Christian groups, along with President Bush, to be responsible for the current situation in Iraq.

Pointing out Gandhian approach, Dr. Allen, whose education includes a Master's degree in Philosophy from Banaras Hindu University in 1964, outlines a series of

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violence that Gandhi opposed. Gandhi considered economic exploitation, political manipulation, and educational contriving as much part of a violent society as the physical or emotional violence. In Dr. Allen's opinion, the non-violence approach of Mahatma Gandhi is assertion of truth, which if practiced properly is overpowering. Gandhi believed it to be courageous to be non-violent, which ultimately disarms the aggressor. Professor Allen, however, maintained that Gandhi was not an absolute pacifist. In fact, Gandhi believed in having a state coercive force to protect the freedom of people.

Many questions were posed to Professor Allen from the audience, including under what conditions Gandhi would condone violence. Dr. Amrut Patel from Providence, RI, suggested a model of predator, prey/victim, indifferent, and obstructionists, in which even Gandhi or India was a victim of British predators. Professor Allen questioned the very premise of the model, as Gandhi had always refused the concept of victimhood.

In his second lecture on Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy and peace education delivered on Friday, May 11, Dr. Allen emphasized a need for Gandhian view of education. "Central Gandhian ethical, cultural, spiritual, social, and humanistic priorities regarding peace and nonviolence, love and compassion, character and virtue, are usually ignored, occasionally attacked as unrealistic, and sometimes acknowledged but then unfunded and marginalized."

He posited that "In Gandhi's education perspective, most of our "successful" students and professors, even those with PhDs and numerous publications, as well as those in society with positions of wealth and power, are morally and spiritually undeveloped. In a deeper Gandhian sense, they are uneducated human beings."

Dr. Allen's lectures were received with rapt attention, and left deep and long lasting impression. Professor Raymond Laoulache of Mechanical Engineering said, "that lecture will keep me mentally engaged for at least next 20 days." Professor Allen pointed out "although Gandhi's peace education is not without its weaknesses or limitations, I conclude that it has great value in critiquing other models of education, serving as a catalyst allowing us to rethink our normal assumptions and dominant concepts and positions, and offering new, creative, positive alternatives."

In our opinion Dr. Douglas Allen is closer to the ideals of ancient teachers like *Maharshi Patanjali* after whom the lecture series is named. Scholars like Dr. Allen inspire us as professors to think anew about education, and we must design an education system that promotes sustainable life both socially and environmentally.

- Bal Ram Singh, Director, Center for Indic Studies

Mahatma Gandhi on Violence and Peace Education

Douglas Allen

Department of Philosophy, University of Maine

At first reading, Mohandas Gandhi's writings on nonviolence, peace, and education seem uncomfortably naive and simplistic. Those familiar with philosophical literature may be stunned by Gandhi's seemingly oversimplified, uncritical, and inadequate treatments of difficult, complex, metaphysical, ethical, cultural, and other philosophical concerns relevant to Gandhian views on education.

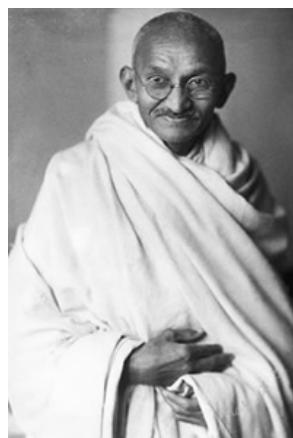
My own view is that Gandhi's simplicity, as evidenced in his seemingly inadequate philosophical positions on peace education, can be misleading. It is true that Gandhi is not a philosopher in any specialized sense, and he has little concern for highly

abstract and technical philosophical formulations. Nevertheless, beneath the apparent surface of oversimplified, naive, and inadequate philosophical affirmations, one often uncovers surprisingly complex, subtle, enigmatic, and contradictory aspects of Gandhi's philosophy. Most important, Gandhi's reflections on peace education serve as a challenge and a catalyst for rethinking dominant positions and have more value for significant philosophical reflection than most mainstream "academic" philosophy.

My approach to Gandhi on peace education is necessarily selective. Because of the sheer volume of Gandhi material, the limited contextual situatedness of any interpreter, and the phenomenological insight that

all knowledge is perspectival, any scholar is necessarily selective in one's focus. This means ignoring or devaluing other Gandhi data, structuring and privileging data in terms of significance, and formulating and arguing for one of a number of possible interpretations of Gandhi on peace education.¹ One is necessarily selective not only in terms of Gandhi's writing, but also in comparing Gandhi with other philosophical approaches and assessing their respective contributions.²

With regard to violence, nonviolence, peace, and education, Gandhi does not have all of the answers. My position is that a highly selective approach to Gandhi, when integrated with compatible non-Gandhian approaches, provides invaluable insights



and potential for creative and more adequate formulations of peace education.

Before turning to Gandhi's analysis of peace education, I offer several qualifications and clarifications. First, I comment on texts, contexts, and interpretations. Second, I comment on the inadequacy of antithetical essentialist and anti-essentialist interpretations. Third, I clarify my use of Gandhi's "peace education." And finally, I emphasize that Gandhi is misleadingly simplistic by citing his approach to such normally overlooked phenomena as educational violence.

After these introductory clarifications, I submit that Gandhi serves as a valuable catalyst allowing us to rethink our positions on violence, nonviolence, and peace education. This is followed by consideration of Gandhi's valuable insights about peace education as long-term preventative education and socialization. Gandhi's approach to education is then seen to focus on character building and values and on the educational dangers of separating means from ends and becoming trapped in endless cycles of escalating violence. A brief formulation is given of Gandhi's key distinction between relative and absolute truth and how this shapes his approach to peace education. After noting the importance of Gandhi's analysis of self, self-other relations, and *swaraj* or "self-rule," I conclude by suggesting that Gandhi's approach to peace education faces many significant challenges and formidable difficulties. Nevertheless, his approach has much of value in challenging dominant philosophical approaches and offering creative alternatives.

Qualifications and Clarifications

Texts, Contexts, and Interpretations

A difficulty in interpreting and applying Gandhi's writings to peace education arises from complex relations between texts, contexts, and interpretations. Much of this challenge arises from the sheer volume of writings by and about Gandhi. Although he never wrote a lengthy book, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* comes to 100 volumes of very diverse and highly fragmented newspaper articles, correspondence, speeches, and other writings.

One cannot understand Gandhi's various concerns, specific use of language, and diverse formulations without understanding specific economic, political, cultural, and ethical contexts within which he lived, read texts, and struggled with opponents and alternative approaches. For example, Gandhi describes the *Bhagavad-Gita* as his favorite scriptural text, and he arrives at his central interpretation of the activist path of *karma yoga* through a very unusual, nonviolent, political reading of the *Gita*.

This has to be situated within a context of positive and negative Jain, Buddhist, Hindu,



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Refreshments: 11:

and Western influences, including a contextualized political struggle for national independence from British colonial domination. True, his formulations of peace education are shaped by his commitment to absolute ideals of *ahimsa* (nonviolence) and *satya* (truth), but also by his changing conflicted reactions to specific contextualized structures of a British colonial education.

These had socialized “modern” Indians to adopt Western models and to devalue or feel ashamed of traditional Hindu and other Indian values.

What this means is that in formulating Gandhi’s views on peace education, we must become aware of complex, dynamic interactions of texts and contexts and the creative, open-ended project of interpreting meaning. This is true of the interpretative horizon of meaning within which Gandhi lived, provided linguistic formulations, and interpreted meaning; and it is true of our own linguistic interpretative horizon within which we are contextually situated, read Gandhi’s writings, and formulate our own interpretations of meaning. Our reading of Gandhi’s texts on peace education, our symbolic and other linguistic formulations, and our interpretations of meaning involve the complex, dynamic, often contradictory interactions and mediations between these two horizons of meaning: Gandhi’s contextualized textual world of meaning and our own.

This leads to my hermeneutical orientation in which there is not one static or absolutely true Mahatma Gandhi view of peace education. In fact, there is not one static or absolutely true view of the “real” Mahatma Gandhi. What we select, privilege, interpret, and write about Gandhi and his views of nonviolence, truth, and peace education is mediated and shaped by our own contextualized situatedness and our linguistic and interpretive horizons of meaning. This unavoidable contingency in our interpretative projects means that we are presented with multiple Gandhis and multiple Gandhian views of peace education. Every reading of Gandhi is a rereading; every interpretation is a reinterpretation; and every formulation is a reformulation as integral

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to dialogue and a complex, dynamic, open-ended, evolving process of the constitution of meaning. We are involved in a creative, dynamic, open-ended process of contestation in which we consider and argue for different Gandhian views of peace education in terms of consistency, adequacy, significance, and contemporary relevance.

Essentialist and Anti-Essentialist Interpretations

My position can be contrasted with dominant essentialist and anti-essentialist approaches to Gandhi's writings and interpretations of meaning. Most interpreters have presented essentialist versions of the real Mahatma Gandhi and his universal, ahistoric, absolute philosophical values and positions. The debate is over the real Gandhi and his true philosophy. Many essentialist interpretations uphold a very rigid, conservative, reactionary Gandhi, who idealizes pre-modern societies and uses absolute ethical and spiritual norms to reject alcohol consumption, meat eating, materialism, consumerism, modern medicine, technology, industrialization, globalization, and other features of a violent modern West. Other essentialist interpretations uphold a very radical, forward-looking Gandhi, who is engaged in a revolutionary project of using absolute ethical and spiritual norms to transform human relations in the direction of nonviolence, compassion, love, peace, and truth.

Essentialist interpretations have characterized diametrically opposed pro-Gandhi and anti-Gandhi approaches. On the one hand, pro-Gandhi essentialist interpretations, whether conservative reactionary or revolutionary, present an idealized, even at times deified, larger-than-life Mahatma, who possesses the truth and gives us the true formulation of peace education. On the other hand, anti-Gandhi essentialist interpretations present an equally rigid, absolute, decontextualized Mohandas, who possesses little or no truth, is uncompromisingly dogmatic and irrelevant to the contemporary world, and gives us false or useless formulations of peace education.

Although I am more sympathetic to certain pro-Gandhi formulations of a revolutionary Gandhi, all essentialist versions fail to do justice to a more open-ended, contextualized, flexible, dynamic, modest Gandhi. A more nuanced and adequate approach to Gandhi, consistent with his title *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, approaches Gandhi and his writings as continually engaged in "experiments with truth." Such experiments lead to successes or verifications, as well as to failed experiments, often very instructive, and to reformulations of Gandhi's views on peace education.

In recent decades, many scholars have adopted certain anti-foundationalist, anti-essentialist, more contextually sensitive approaches. This orientation can be seen in various approaches described as cultural relativism, postmodernism, deconstructionism, multiculturalism, much of feminism, and versions of pragmatism. Using such an anti-essentialist approach, I would typically submit that I am constructing my Gandhi narrative on peace education. You may accept or reject my Gandhi narrative on aesthetic or other grounds, but there are no objective, absolute, or essential criteria for evaluating the truth or falsity of my account.

Although I am sympathetic to approaches that avoid interpretive closures of rigid essentialist interpretations and that are more contextually sensitive and open to new creative interpretations of meaning, there are problems with such anti-essentialist orientations.

Interpreters are rarely satisfied with claiming that their narratives are simply works of fiction or simply their own personal reflections. They usually claim that their anti-essentialist writings are more truthful or adequate in terms of interpreting Gandhi's writings. In addition, the dynamic of texts, contexts, and interpretations of meaning is very open-ended and flexible, but Gandhi's texts are not completely malleable, and interpretations of his writings are not completely subjective and arbitrary. An interpreter can give an inadequate or "false story" of Gandhi's philosophy of peace education. While avoiding weaknesses and inadequacies of essentialist approaches, we still need criteria for assessing the truth or falsity, adequacy or inadequacy, of competing formulations of Gandhi's philosophy of peace education.



Peace Education

Gandhi wrote extensively about education. His writings include hundreds of pages of critiques of the evils and deficiencies of British and other modern educational models and his proposals for positive alternative approaches. Throughout his adult life, he was involved in innovative and sometimes controversial educational experiments, and he learned from their successes and failures. His specific formulations can be found in numerous articles, pamphlets, and other publications contained in his *Collective Works*. His many experiments and reflections finally led to his Wardha Scheme of Education, formulated at the educational conference held on October 22-23, 1937 in Wardha, and this became known as the *Nai Talim* or New Education of Gandhi. The most emphasized part of this New Education was Gandhi's Basic

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Education that focused on eight years of elementary education. New Education was an essential component of Gandhi's famous Constructive Program that presented his positive moral and spiritual vision for a new independent India.³

Gandhi offers many valuable insights about education. Educators can benefit greatly by studying his formulations of the true goal of education as liberation: providing means for service to meet the needs of others, for liberation from all forms of servitude and domination, and for one's ethical and spiritual liberation. Gandhi presents

challenging insightful formulations of basic and new education with regard to character building as the goal of education,⁴ the centrality of work and productive manual labor, the focus on real needs and simple living, the development of nonviolent relations, and a holistic approach that involves the integrated training of body, mind, and spirit.⁵



Many of Gandhi's specific educational proposals are valuable, but others, in my view, seem very idiosyncratic, provisional, outdated, and in need of radical revision or complete rejection. There may be valuable insights, as well as serious weaknesses, in, say, Gandhi's specific formulations about the need for local "mother tongue" as medium of instruction, the role of technology, the centrality of crafts in the educational process, the focus of education in reviving village life, and limited state support for universities and higher education. In many cases, Gandhi's specific educational views were clearly directed at his specific Indian contexts, and, consistent with his dynamic, open-ended, pragmatic approach, he would have revised his views in terms of contemporary developments.

In any case, such specific writings by Gandhi on education are not my focus. Instead, I shall focus on what I consider Gandhi's major contribution to peace education by examining his larger philosophical orientation and framework. It is within the larger philosophical, ethical, and spiritual orientation, grounded in such concepts as nonviolence and truth, that we can best comprehend what is of lasting value and significance in Gandhi's approach to education.

Misleadingly Simplistic

Gandhi's seemingly simplistic, naïve, and inadequate formulations can be misleading. For example, it is tempting to identify Gandhi with a common view that "peace" is simply a particular example of "nonviolence," whereas "war" is simply a particular example of "violence." Nevertheless, as one becomes immersed in Gandhi's writings, it becomes increasingly evident that Gandhi is often very subtle, flexible, and complex. For Gandhi, nonviolence is more than the absence of overt violence; peace is more than the absence of overt war; and most human beings who affirm their commitment to peace and nonviolence are in fact very violent.

As we shall show, such misleading simplicity is exposed when one recognizes Gandhi's focus on the multidimensional nature of violence and the violence of the status quo. This is central to Gandhi's analysis of peace education. Most interpreters of violence focus on overt manifestations, such as killing, injuring, rape, and human rights violations, and, if they include education at all, focus on overt violent conflict in schools. By way of contrast, Gandhi focuses on economic, psychological, cultural, ethical, and other multidimensional characteristics of "normal" educational violence and on how status quo education, business as usual, even when free from overt violent conflict, is indeed very violent and must be challenged by peace education as true education.

Another illustration of such misleading simplicity arises from Gandhi's repeated focus on "peace."⁶ In Gandhi's cosmocentric philosophy, "peace" functions on at least three levels: peace with oneself where Gandhi usually emphasizes that I must start with my individual self; peace with other human beings which always involves social, economic, cultural, and other relations; and peace with nature. All three of these levels of peace interact, mutually defined each other, and must be integrated as part of a dynamic, harmonious, peaceful whole. But Gandhi is not interested in peace in itself or as such. His analysis of peace grows out of his commitment to truth and involves active engagement. Education is concerned with how the person of peace should structure one's life in terms of the nonviolence of thoughts, feelings, judgments, and actions. In this sense, most readers and interpreters of Gandhi who claim to endorse his view of "peace" will be seen to be very unpeaceful human beings.

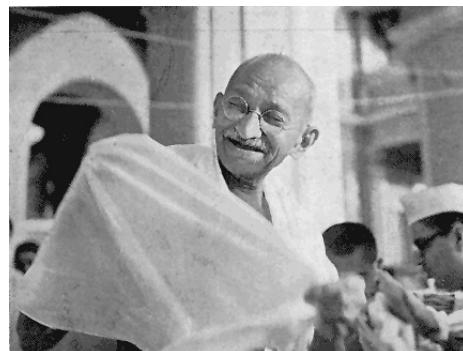
Gandhi as Catalyst for Rethinking Views of Violence

Although Gandhi provides valuable formulations of peace education, he is even more valuable in serving as a catalyst challenging us to rethink our views of violence

and nonviolence. Such a rethinking, broadening, and deepening of our assumptions, concepts, and perspectival orientation has a profound effect on how we approach peace education.

Gandhi, of course, is very concerned with violence in the more usual sense of overt physical violence. He devotes considerable attention to identifying such violence,

trying diverse approaches to conflict resolution, and providing nonviolent alternatives. This is evident in his many writings and struggles directed at war, overt terrorism, outbreaks of class and caste violence, and Hindu-Muslim communal violence.⁷ However, for Gandhi, such serious overt violence constitutes only a small part of the violence that must be addressed.



Gandhi's approach to education emphasizes both the multidimensional nature of violence and structural violence of the status quo. Educational violence cannot be separated from linguistic, economic, psychological, cultural, political, religious, and other forms of violence. These many dimensions of violence interact, mutually reinforce each other, and provide the subject matter and challenge for peace education.

For example, language, within or outside the classroom, can serve as a violent weapon used to control, manipulate, humiliate, intimidate, terrorize, oppress, exploit, and dominate other human beings. "Peaceful" situations, free from overt violent conflict, may be defined by deep psychological violence. If I am filled with ego-driven hatred, manifested as self-hatred and hatred for others, I am a very violent person.

This will be manifested in how I relate to myself and to others, even if I repress or control my desire to strike out violently at the targets of my hatred. In his analysis of "normal" British colonial education in India, Gandhi frequently analyzes how structures, values, and goals of such educational models inflicted great psychological and cultural violence on colonized Indians.

Unlike most philosophers and others who adopt ethical and spiritual approaches, including traditional Indian philosophy and religion, Gandhi places a primary emphasis on basic material needs and the "normal" state of economic violence. Repeatedly, Gandhi uses "violence" as synonymous with exploitation. Gandhi is attentive to

unequal, asymmetrical, violent power relations in whom some, who possess wealth, capital, and other material resources, are able to exploit and dominate those lacking such economic power. Gandhi identifies with the plight of starving and impoverished human beings and with the plight of peasants, workers, and others who are disempowered and dominated. He emphasizes that such economic violence is not the result of supernatural design or immutable law of nature. It involves humanly caused oppression, exploitation, domination, injustice, and suffering, and, hence, we as human beings are responsible. If I could change conditions and alleviate suffering, but I choose either to profit from such structural violence or not to get involved, I perpetuate, am complicit, and am responsible for the economic violence of the status quo. Obviously, incorporating such concerns of economic violence broadens and radically changes the nature of peace education.

In pointing to Gandhi's radical challenges and value as catalyst, we may focus briefly on a few aspects of educational violence in typical modern university settings. While focusing on universities, we must keep in mind that Gandhi submits that peace education must emphasize the formative training and socialization of young children. Most people do not think of universities and classroom teaching as violent, but Gandhi argues that "normal" university education is very violent, both in terms of multidimensional violence and the violence of the status quo.

From Gandhi's perspective, the "peaceful," seemingly nonviolent classroom can be a very violent place, even when there are no outbursts of violence. A professor may use the grade as weapon to threaten, intimidate, terrorize, and control students, including those who raise legitimate concerns questioning the analysis of the teacher with institutional power over their futures. A teacher may use language, or even facial expressions and other body language communication, in a violent way as when ignoring,



humiliating, or ridiculing students who ask questions. Most often, such students will become silenced and will not subject themselves to dangers of such further terrifying humiliation.

In more general terms, Gandhi would emphasize that universities educate students and do research in violent ways. Modern universities have increasingly become commodified and corporatized. Education is a good investment. Commodified students, as a means to some corporate end, are our most important “product.” Through education we increase their market-driven exchange value. Central Gandhian ethical, cultural, spiritual, social, and humanistic priorities regarding peace and nonviolence are usually ignored, occasionally attacked as unrealistic, and sometimes acknowledged but then are unfunded and marginalized.

Gandhi views many courses, departments, and colleges as violent even if this is taken as the status quo in no need of justification. Economic and business courses assume a framework and orientation in which students are educated to calculate how to maximize their narrow ego-defined self-interests and how to defeat opponents and win economically in a world of adversarial win-lose relations. For Gandhi, we are “educating” our students to such dominant economic models in which economic success is synonymous with maximizing economic exploitation, and exploitation is always violent.



Similarly, Gandhi’s peace education would analyze most political science or government courses as inherently violent since they claim to be value-free but actually assume, as an immutable given, a status quo framework in which we live in a violent world of antagonistic adversarial relations. The goal is to win by amassing greater power and dominating those

challenging one’s power interests. Similarly, public relations and communications courses usually adopt a violent framework in which the goal is to use language, images, and media to manipulate and control others, to get one’s way, and to maximize one’s narrow interests in winning in a world of violent relations. In terms of his own professional background, Gandhi was a barrister, and he makes the same kinds of criticisms of the adversarial, violent, legal system in which the goal is not cooperation, reconciliation, and peaceful relations, but to exacerbate and exploit multidimensional violence and to win at any cost by defeating the other.

To provide one other, disciplinary illustration, Gandhi's peace education points to the normal violence of the status quo reflected in most disciplines of the sciences, engineering, and technology. Scholars uncritically adopt models of instrumental rationality in which they provide the means allowing for ends of control, domination, and exploitation of other human beings and of nature. Gandhi is not focusing on individual professors or students who are rewarded for acquiring and applying such scientific and technological means. His more fundamental and radical critique is of the unacknowledged structural violence that defines such disciplines and that has devastating violent economic, military, political, and environmental effects on most of humanity and on nature.



One of the most valuable contributions of Gandhi's approach to violence is to broaden our focus so that we are able to situate our peace education concerns in terms of larger, dominant, multi-dimensional structures of the violence of the status quo. For example, we uncritically accept the existence of a permanent war economy as just the way things are.

We do not critique how the permanent war economy was created, is maintained, and flourishes most under conditions of insecurity, terror, violence, and war. We do not critique how it removes resources that could be provided to meet vital human needs and to provide nonviolent alternative ways of relating. Instead we accept a view of jobs and economic security dependent on a permanent war economy of insecurity, and we train students to become functionaries and contributors to a more effective war economy based on the perpetuation and domination of structural violence.

Similarly, Gandhian peace education raises awareness of how universities have increasingly become integral parts of what President Eisenhower called the military-industrial complex and what Senator William Fulbright reformulated as the military-industrial-academic complex.⁸ Universities increasingly approach transnational corporations, the military, the government, and other funding sources and promote themselves as valuable places to invest. Universities, as institutions of educational violence, provide means, in terms of applied research and educating students, to further ends of the structural violence of the military-industrial complex based on

hierarchical, multidimensional, violent relations of control, exploitation, and domination.

Peace Education as a Long-Term Preventative Approach

In this section, we focus on the greatest strength of Gandhi's peace education: preventative measures for gradual long-term changes necessary for identifying and transforming root causes and causal determinants that keep us trapped in escalating cycles of violence. However, it is important to emphasize that Gandhian education also has profound short-term benefits.

Gandhi's peace education approach offers possibilities for conflict resolution when contradictions become exacerbated, and individuals, groups, or nations are on the brink of overt violence. Gandhi's own life is replete with illustrations of how he was able to intervene through listening, sympathizing, engaged dialogue, fasting, willingness to suffer, and other forms of nonviolent intervention and resistance in order to defuse very tense, violent situations. Peace education can teach us how to empathize with what the other is feeling, change our language, and practice nonviolent interventions that can break escalating causal cycles of violence about to explode.

If someone intent on inflicting violence confronts me, Gandhian peace education offers many responses that may prove effective in preventing violence. If I manage to limit my ego, achieve a larger perspective, and empathize with the other's feelings, this may allow for dialogue and for creating nonthreatening relations with the other.

In addition, Gandhi repeatedly emphasizes that intellectual approaches with rational analysis often have no transformative effect on the other, but approaches of the heart, involving deep personal emotions and feelings, often have profound, relational, transformative effects. If I refuse to strike back and am willing to embrace sacrifice and suffering, this can disrupt expectations of the violent other, lead to a de-centering and reorienting of an extremely violent situation, and touch the other's heart. Throughout his writings on *satyagraha* and other methods for resisting and transforming violence, Gandhi proposes numerous ways for relating to short-term violence and moving toward conflict resolution grounded in truth and nonviolence.

Nevertheless, it must be conceded that there are situations, when we are on the brink of exploding violence, in which Gandhian peace education has limited or no effectiveness. One thinks, for example, of the rapist engaged in an act of rape; the pilot

about to drop napalm on Vietnamese villagers; the suicide bomber about to inflict violence on innocent civilians; the insane person about to shoot anyone in sight. In these extreme cases, considered in the next section, even Gandhi concedes that it may be necessary to use violent force to stop the greater violence.

The much greater strength of Gandhi's peace education approach to violence is in terms of preventative socialization, relations, and interventions so that we do not reach the unavoidable stage of explosive overt violence and war. For Gandhi, at least ninety percent of violence is humanly caused, contingent, and hence preventable. The greatest challenge for peace education is to identify root causes and basic causal determinants of violence and to propose alternative nonviolent determinants. This allows us to break escalating causal cycles of violence and avoid violent effects.

Key to this preventative approach is Gandhi's famous analysis of means and ends. Gandhi rejects utilitarianism and many other contemporary positions, including various models of education, which assume or maintain that economic, political, and other ends justify the means.⁹ Peace education must emphasize both means and ends and their integral, mutually reinforcing relations. Although Gandhi describes himself as a pragmatic idealist who is concerned with ethical and spiritual results, he places even more emphasis on means. This is because we often have much greater control over our means. Noble ends may be unattainable either because of unintended consequences or because they express ideals beyond our power of realization.

Although we may be tempted to use violent means for short-term benefits, Gandhi repeatedly emphasizes that we cannot use violence to overcome violence and achieve nonviolence. If we educate students to use violent and impure means, these will shape violent and impure ends regardless of our moralistic self-justifying slogans and ideology.

In language similar to formulations of the law of *karma*, Gandhi repeatedly warns us that economic, psychological, and other forms of violence lead to more violence, and we become entrapped in endless vicious cycles of



escalating violence. For Gandhi, as for the Buddha, most violence has a moral character and involves intention and choice. It is this moral character of volitional *karmic* intention and choice that binds us to the vicious cycles of violence and suffering. The only way to move toward more nonviolent ends is to introduce nonviolent causal factors through the adoption of nonviolent means. Such nonviolent factors will begin to weaken the causal factors that produce violent chain reactions. They will undermine the mutually reinforcing causal relations that keep us trapped in destructive cycles of violence. This is the rationale and major task for peace education.

In many respects, Gandhi's means-ends preventative analysis is similar to the Buddha's formulation of the Doctrine of Dependent Origination (*pratitya-samutpada* or Pali *paticca-samuppada*).¹⁰ Through his formulation of the 12 links or factors, Buddha analyzes how we become imprisoned in this cyclical world of existence (*samsara*), the world of suffering (*dukkha*). *Samsara* is the world of dynamic, impermanent, interdependent relativity. There is not one, independent, absolute cause to our entrapment in this world of suffering. Each relative and contingent factor is conditioned as well as conditioning; caused by antecedent causal conditions and is itself a causal factor shaping future conditions. The Buddhist path involves identifying these causal factors and gradually weakening the causal links that keep us trapped in cycles of ignorance and suffering by introducing more ethical and spiritual causal factors.

Gandhi's preventative approach shares much with this particular Buddhist orientation. Violence, terror, exploitation, and war are not independent, eternal, absolute, or inevitable. They exist within a violent phenomenal world of impermanent, interdependent relativity. Historical, psychological, economic, social, religious, and other forms of violence are caused and conditioned, and they themselves become causes and condition other violent consequences that then become new violent causal factors. The path and goal for peace education involves focusing on the means that allow you to de-condition such violent causal factors and conditions and to introduce nonviolent causes and conditions; that will lead to more nonviolent results that will then become new causal factors. The means-ends relation involves mutual interaction, since the adoption of nonviolent ideals as ends will also have a causal influence on shaping appropriate means.

In this way, peace education aims at transforming the causally connected, means-ends, interdependent whole, of which you are an integral part, from one constituted through ignorance, violence, and suffering to a more moral and spiritual relational whole. This very process of means-ends causal transformation, by which one transforms relations with others in order to serve their needs, is the very process by which one transforms one's own self toward greater freedom and self-realization.

The need for peace education to focus on the larger picture in order to formulate preventative approaches should be evident from previous formulations of Gandhi's deeper and broader analysis of violence, including educational violence, and his analysis of means-ends relations for getting at roots causes and conditions underlying multidimensional violence. As Gandhi repeatedly warns us, if we do not understand and respond to the larger framework of complex, multidimensional, interrelated structures and relations of violence, if we do not address root causes, conditions, and dynamics of violence, then our short-term responses will not be sufficient for dealing with escalating violence that creates such widespread suffering and threatens human survival.

This is why Gandhi devotes so much time and effort to a radically different model of education with emphasis on character building and moral and spiritual development. This is why education must focus on psychological awareness and analysis of how we constitute and must de-condition ego-driven selfishness and greed, defense mechanisms responding to fear and insecurity, hatred, aggression, and other violent intentions and inner states of consciousness. This is why education must focus on political, cultural, social, economic, linguistic, religious, and other aspects of overall socialization that contribute to, tolerate, and justify violence, oppression, exploitation, and war.

In this peace education perspective, most of our “successful” students and professors, even those with PhDs and numerous publications, as well as those with positions of wealth and power, are morally and spiritually undeveloped. In a deeper Gandhian sense, they are uneducated human beings. Lacking deep moral character and not motivated to live according to ideals of truth and nonviolence, we use unethical and violent means to achieve ego-driven ends. We detach theoretical knowledge from moral and spiritual practice, and we justify, profit from, or simply adjust to the violence of the status quo. We are ignorant or unconcerned about real freedom and self-development. Instead, egoistic desires, attachments, selfishness, and aggressive and violent relations dominate us, with little development of care, love, compassion, selfless service, and other forms of peace and nonviolence. From the perspective of Gandhi's peace education, such human beings are products of multidimensional educational violence and are really educational failures. One hesitates even to call them Gandhian “failed experiments with truth,” since the status quo educational system precludes or deemphasizes any sense of Gandhi's ideal of Truth that shapes his view of the human potential for moral and spiritual development of truly educated human beings.¹¹

The Absolute and the Relative in Peace Education

Gandhi's often overlooked analysis of dynamic relations between the absolute and the relative is essential for providing a more nuanced, complex, and adequate approach to peace education. The key absolute-relative distinction and analysis challenges contemporary antithetical responses in education and other philosophical matters that emphasize either unlimited relativism of values or narrow intolerant absolutism. Such antithetical responses are at the heart of heated contemporary debates in U.S. approaches to education, especially as formulated by conservatives with considerable political power.

Aggressively on the attack, conservatives charge that recent approaches to education have been promiscuous and falsely tolerant of what is ignorant, immoral, and evil. Such approaches have failed to educate our students about the permanent values of the traditional Western canon and the absolute truths of the American and Christian experience.

They have failed to uphold such truths by resisting challenges and attacks by those committed to anti-Western approaches that are dangerous, immoral, irrational, and a threat to true education and modern civilization. Others, usually liberal educators, respond that such a claim to exclusive absolute truth is narrow, intolerant, ideologically driven, and a threat to any adequate model of modern education. Gandhi, by way of contrast, submits that such common, dichotomous formulations of absolute or relative truth are both inadequate, and that a more adequate dialectical analysis of the relative and the absolute has much to offer peace education. Gandhi sometimes conveys the impression of a simple, rigid, uncompromising absolutist with respect to education, violence, nonviolence, war, peace, vows, principles and rules, and other ethical and spiritual concepts and values. A comprehensive examination of Gandhi's writings reveals a more subtle, nuanced, and flexible Gandhi who addresses the complexity of violence, struggles with linguistic, psychological, and other forms of violence, and recognizes the difficulty of resolving violent conflicts and contradictions in human relations.

Such recognition of complexity in real situations of conflict must not minimize Gandhi's commitment to such absolutes as nonviolence, love, and truth. It is in terms of such absolute ideals that Gandhi resists fashionable, modern, educational approaches of unlimited facile relativism or complete subjectivism. Gandhi, for example, would never agree that an educational approach tolerating or promoting the infliction of terror and terrorism, whether expressed through individual suicide bombers or

corporate and military policies and actions, is wrong in terms of his peace education, but may be justified by some other educational perspective.

Elsewhere I have written at length about Gandhi's formulations of the absolute, especially his two major absolutes of *satya* (Truth, often equated with God and the spiritual Self) and *ahimsa* (Nonviolence, benevolent harmlessness, often equated with Love).¹² Expressed very briefly, Gandhi has a view of ultimate reality formulated in terms of *satya* or Absolute Truth. Such truth, often formulated in terms similar to key passages in the Upanishads, is experienced as a spiritual "Power" or force that is infinite, unconditioned, and beyond language and rational conceptualization. It manifests itself in terms of permanence underlying change, unity underlying diversity, and the most profound ethical and spiritual realization of the indivisible oneness and interconnectedness of all of reality. This is sometimes expressed as the identity or unity of Truth, God, and Self. Peace education must analyze how we are socialized and educated in ways that prevent us from realizing the reality or truth of the unity and interrelatedness of life

Gandhi is most famous for formulations and experiments in truth focusing on the other major absolute of *ahimsa* or Nonviolence and Love. As I have noted, nonviolence and violence, love and hate, have very broad and deep meanings, as evident in their multidimensional forms and structures of the status quo. Peace education must analyze how we are socialized and educated in violent ways that prevent us from realizing and living consistent with the reality of nonviolence and love.

For Gandhi's peace education, *satya* and *ahimsa* must be brought into an integral, dialectical, mutually interacting and reinforcing relation. Most often, Gandhi presents *satya* as the end and *ahimsa* the means. As previously seen, we cannot use violent means to achieve ethical and spiritual ends. In the means-ends analysis, immoral violent means lead to immoral violent ends. However, Gandhi is also making a major ontological claim that goes beyond this ethical analysis. Nonviolence is a powerful bonding and unifying force that brings us together in caring, loving, cooperative relations; that allows us to realize and act consistent with the interconnectedness and unity of all of life. Violence, by way of contrast, maximizes ontological separateness and divisiveness, and is based on the fundamental belief that the other—whether individual, ethnic, religious, or national target of my hatred and violence—is essentially different from me or us. In other words, in Gandhi's peace education, violence and hatred are not only unethical, but are also inconsistent with the absolute truth of reality, whereas nonviolence and love are the ethical means for realizing the truth of reality.

Gandhi also states that the absolute ideals of *ahimsa* and *satya* are convertible or interchangeable as means and ends. As just seen, nonviolence is the means for realizing the truth. As we are educated to become more nonviolent, we become more truthful. However, truth is also a means for becoming more loving and nonviolent. As we become more educated and enlightened as to the true nature of reality, we resist living under false illusions of violence and hatred. Focusing on the truth and living more truthfully serve as a means for allowing us to become increasingly more nonviolent in our relations with others and with nature.

With this foundation of absolute truth, it is tempting to formulate Gandhi's peace education in oversimplified and false ways by ignoring or devaluing his repeated emphasis on the following essential methodological and ontological claim: All of us exist in this world as relative, finite beings of limited embodied consciousness. Our knowledge is always conditioned, imperfect, and perspectival. As Gandhi repeatedly tells us, he at most has limited "glimpses" of absolute truth and nonviolence.¹³ Our peace education approach, commitment to nonviolence, and ethical and spiritual paths of human development and self-realization, all express the attempt to move from one relative truth to a greater relative truth closer to the absolute regulative ideal.

Here we can see the central place of empathy, care, mutuality, cooperation, and tolerance in Gandhi's approach. One of the most arrogant and dangerous moves—as seen in the ethnocentrism of modern, post-Enlightenment, Western models of education and of recent fundamentalist, anti-Enlightenment models of education—is to make what is relative into an absolute. Recognizing the specificity and complexity of our contextualized situations, we recognize that peace education allows us to grasp relative, partial truths. Our approach should be tolerant and open to other points of view; others have different relative perspectives and different glimpses of truth that we do not have. With relative limited knowledge, we often misjudge situations and even misjudge our motives, and that is why we must learn from our errors in the movement toward greater truth and nonviolence.

At the same time, we must not reduce Gandhi's peace education to some theological, descriptively phenomenological, or completely relativistic educational models. Such approaches emphasize religious or value-free commitments to empathy, uncritical acceptance, and nonjudgmental tolerance of other points of view. Gandhi is always concerned with moral and spiritual truth. His peace education emphasizes empathy, mutual understanding, cooperation, and tolerance, but it does not advocate uncritical absolute tolerance and passive acceptance of educations based on multiple forms of violence and the violence of the status quo.

How does such an approach help us to analyze and deal with the most difficult cases previously noted? I refer to cases of violence in which Gandhi's long-term and even short-term preventative measures for nonviolent conflict resolution have no possibility of success. How does peace education guide us in dealing with the rapist, the suicide bomber, the insane person, or expressions of corporate and military violence at the explosive point of inflicting terror and extreme violence? How does peace education guide us in dealing with perpetrators of violence who reject Gandhi's inclusive, tolerant approach, claim that they possess the absolute truth, and are in the act of inflicting extreme violence on innocent human beings?

In contrast to a common stereotype, I do not think that Gandhi is rendered passive and reduced to inaction. He does not simply allow such violent acts to take place. In some extreme cases and for variety of philosophical principles and contextual reasons, Gandhi uses the absolute-relative distinction to advocate that the enlightened proponent of nonviolence and truth should absorb the violence and suffering. This is an active response, requiring the greatest courage and ethical and spiritual development, and it keeps open the hope of raising awareness, introducing nonviolent causal determinants, and transforming future violent situations.

More surprising, in terms of Gandhi's absolute commitment to *ahimsa*, is his view that in such extreme unavoidable cases, we may sometimes be required to use necessary relative violence in the cause of nonviolence. We act, using violent means if necessary, to prevent the extreme violence because that is the least violent, most effective, contextualized, relative response possible.

We must not confuse this peace education orientation with the usual, dominant justifications of violent actions and policies as necessary for dealing with crime, terrorism, and other forms of violence. First, Gandhi would only advocate such violent means as a last resort, when preventative measures have failed and there are no remaining nonviolent alternatives. For Gandhi, ninety-nine percent of the time that we resort to violence, there are nonviolent options and means that we have overlooked or are unwilling to consider.

Second, even in extreme cases in which we have exhausted nonviolent options and are forced to use violence to avoid much greater violence, Gandhi's approach is radically different from usual proponents of such violent means. Even when engaged in relative violence, we must always uphold the absolute truth, the ideal of absolute nonviolence. We must never glorify violence, even when it is necessary and we have no nonviolent relative options. When we use violence, what we do is tragic. It may be necessary, but

it is not moral. That we live in a world of violence, terror, hatred, exploitation, and injustice is an indication of human failure. That we are forced to use violence is also an indication of human failure. We have failed to create preventative nonviolent structures, relations, and conditions and to take nonviolent actions that could have avoided the need for such violence. Rather than extol and celebrate such violence, we should be saddened, seek forgiveness, and work toward reconciliation.

Third, we approach the use of necessary violence with an attitude, intentions, and goals informed by a commitment to the absolute ideal of nonviolence. This means that we severely limit the need for violence, and we restrict to a minimum the intensity and extent of such relative violence. This means that even when we engage in such tragic relative violence, we are committed to doing everything possible to change conditions and human relations to avoid the repetition of such violence.

Self-Other Relations and *Swaraj*

With more time, I could present other key aspects of Gandhi's view of peace education. For example, elsewhere I have formulated Gandhi's complex, challenging, and insightful analysis of the multiple nature of self, with the construction of multiple selves and the creative tension and potential for constituting and reconstituting dynamic self-other relations.¹⁴ Gandhi presents a radical critique of the dominant, post-Cartesian view of self that is assumed in most of our modern educational approaches. In such a modern orientation, we assume and privilege the existence of our own, individual, separate self, and we become educated in ways that allow us to calculate how to maximize the fulfillment of our egoistic desires and ego-defined interests. By way of extreme contrast, Gandhi's education has the ideal of reducing such an ego-oriented self to zero and inverting the modern self-other relation in order to privilege the needs of the other.

It is only by aiming for this egoless asymmetrical relation of privileging and responding to the needs of the other that our true, ethical, social, relational self and deeper spiritual self emerge. And only by aiming for such ethical and spiritual self-other relations can we establish broad and deep relations of nonviolence, compassion, love, and peace grounded in the truth of the unity and interconnectedness of all of life.

Another undeveloped topic is Gandhi's key concept of *swaraj* that is essential for getting at the true purpose of education. Usually translated as "self-rule," *swaraj* is often used as equivalent to "freedom" and "independence." It functions on all levels from individual self-rule or freedom, to village and community *swaraj*, to national

swaraj, and even to international or global *swaraj*. And these different levels of *swaraj* interact and are interconnected. The purpose of true education is to allow for the development and realization of *swaraj*. False education leads to human beings who are least free, trapped in their selfish egos, enslaved to false created needs and to materialistic commodification, and with little control over their lives and destinies. True education leads to human beings who become aware of their real ethical and spiritual needs and are most free when they develop a disciplined and compassionate nonviolent will. As we become more educated, we lessen our ego-desires and attachments, we simplify our needs so we have greater freedom, self-determination, and control over our lives and destinies, and we place primary emphasis on serving the needs of others. We maximize *swaraj* through the realization of the unity and interconnectedness of all reality.

Difficulties and Challenges to Gandhian Peace Education

Although I have presented many insights and strengths of Gandhi's peace education, we must not minimize difficulties and challenges facing such an educational approach. How does a Gandhian educational approach deal with anti-Gandhian views of truth, violence, and education? How does a moral and spiritual Gandhian approach deal with anti-Gandhian approaches that embrace radically different views of the moral and religious nature of education? How does a Gandhian educational approach deal with those who view education as providing the means for analyzing, resisting, and defeating dangerous, antagonistic, irreconcilable alternatives and who do not favor Gandhian nonviolence, peace, and reconciliation through education? How does a contextualized Gandhian approach maintain a peace education perspective that is dynamic, open-ended in its experiments with truth, transformative, and relevant to our contemporary concerns?

I'll provide only two brief illustrations of such challenges and difficulties. First, there are very good reasons that modern, Enlightenment thinkers felt the need to separate post-medieval, nontheological, rational, scientific, secular education from approaches grounded in religious and ethical assumptions, purposes, and agendas. It is true that modern educational approaches need to be contextualized, and they are not as value-free and universally or rationally objective as they often claim, but this does not minimize legitimate, modern, educational concerns. Many educators may be sympathetic to Gandhi's critiques of dominant modern approaches as perpetuating multidimensional forms of violence and the violence of the status quo, and they may be sympathetic to his nonviolent, tolerant, inclusivistic approach. However, once one grants an ethical and spiritual rationale for education, one may weaken protections

against dangerous attacks on modern education. One need only think of serious attacks on modern secular education by Christian, Muslim, and other fundamentalists with their own aggressive, militant, violent, intolerant, exclusive models for moral and religious education.

Second, how does peace education deal with the wide variety of non-Gandhian or anti-Gandhian educational approaches that reject Gandhi's ontological and ethical framework? On the one hand, we find religious and philosophical approaches that claim that they possess the truth and understand reality. They argue that other positions are false, illusory, evil, and lack reality. They do not accept Gandhi's grounding of peace education in an orientation of legitimate, diverse, relative perspectives and paths to the truth. To use a common image, we are not all climbing a Gandhian mountain to truth with our diverse legitimate paths reflecting our ethical, cultural, and other contextual situatedness. Other paths lead us astray, and only our true path allows us to reach the summit of the mountain. Or, put differently, others are climbing different mountains, and only our mountain, with its one true path, allows us to realize ultimate reality. Education allows us to refute and defeat, not to reconcile with and tolerate, other relative approaches that are false, immoral, evil, and lack reality.

On the other hand, we find numerous approaches that reject all absolutes, including Gandhi's absolute ideals, as ethnocentric, hegemonic, and even a violent imposition restricting diversity and differences. They argue that Gandhi's tolerant ethical and spiritual approach is not sufficiently tolerant. Yes, there are many legitimate, relative paths or educational approaches, but we must stop thinking of some ontological grounding in "the truth" and "reality." Put differently, Gandhi's ontological, ethical, and spiritual framework is based on specific Hindu and other unifying inclusive orientations; such peace education is not really peaceful since it reformulates, distorts, and does violence to the non-Gandhian assumptions, concepts, goals, and approaches of diverse others.

Acknowledging that Gandhian peace education is not without its weaknesses or limitations, I conclude that it has great value in critiquing other models of education, serving as a catalyst allowing us to rethink our normal assumptions and dominant concepts and positions, and offering new, creative, positive alternatives. Our education approach must be selective, especially in revalorizing and reformulating basic Gandhian values, in new, more relevant ways and in integrating Gandhian and other compatible insights and contributions. Such a peace education approach must be flexible, dynamic, and open-ended as it develops in response to new textual and contextual variables. There is much of value in such an educational approach that

focuses on our insecure world of multidimensional violence and the violence of the status quo and on the centrality of nonviolence, love, compassion, cooperation, mutuality, service, unity with a respect for diversity, and the sustainability of human beings and the planet earth.

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NOTES

(Endnotes)

1 The best resource for Gandhi's writings is the 100 volumes of M. K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (CWMG. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1958-1994). This is also available as M. K. Gandhi, *Mahatma Gandhi* (interactive multimedia CD, loaded with resources, including the 100 volumes of *The Collected Works* (Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1999). Other good resources for Gandhi's writings include. Raghavan Iyer, ed., *The Moral and Political Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986, 1987) and Richard L. Johnson, ed., *Gandhi's Experiments with Truth: Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2006).

2 I shall not provide extensive documentation from Gandhi's writings regarding his formulations and analysis of truth (*satya*), violence (*himsa*), nonviolence (*ahimsa*), means-ends relations, absolute-relative relations, and other major topics in my Patanjali Lecture. For my documentation of major aspects of Gandhi's philosophy, see my "Philosophical Foundations of Gandhi's Legacy, Utopian Experiments, and Peace Struggles," *Gandhi Marg* 16, No. 2 (July-Sept. 1994): 133-60); "Gandhian Perspectives on Self-Other Relations as Relevant to Human Values and Social Change Today," in *Human Values and Social Change*, Vol. I, ed. by Ishwar Modi (Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2000), pp. 283-309; "Gandhi, Contemporary Political Thinking, and Self-Other Relations," in *Contemporary Political Thinking*, ed. by B. N. Ray (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2000), pp. 129-70, reproduced in Richard L. Johnson, ed., *Gandhi's Experiments with Truth: Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi*, pp. 303-29; and "Gandhi After 9/11: Terrorism, Violence, and the Other," *Gandhi Marg* 26, No. 3 (Oct.-Dec. 2004): 261-81. A revision of this last article appears as Douglas Allen, "Mahatma Gandhi after 9/11: Terrorism and Violence," in *Comparative Philosophy and Religion in Times of Terror*, ed. by Douglas Allen (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2006), pp. 19-39. The original version of my Patanjali Lecture was published as Douglas Allen, "Mahatma Gandhi on Violence and Peace Education," *Philosophy East and West* 57, no. 3 (July 2007): 290-310. A revised and expanded version was published as "Mahatma Gandhi's Philosophy of Violence, Nonviolence, and Education," in *The Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Douglas Allen (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), pp. 33-62.

3 There is an extensive literature of writings by and about Gandhi focusing on his particular approach to education and his challenge to dominant educational models. Over the years, Navajivan Publishing House in Ahmedabad published Gandhi writings with titles such as *Constructive Programme*, *Basic Education*, and *True Education*. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* contains hundreds of pages of Gandhi's specific views on education. See M. P. Mathai, *Mahatma Gandhi's World-view* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 2000), especially the informative section entitled "Educational Order" (pp. 214-25), for an extensive bibliography and numerous citations from Gandhi's writings and from the vast secondary literature on Gandhi's approach to education. See also "On Education" (pp. 283-98) in *Selections from Gandhi*, ed. by Nirmal Kumar Bose (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1996 reprint).

4 One of Gandhi's famous seven major social evils is "knowledge without character," sometimes presented as "education without character." In various formulations, he presents the goal of education as character building that focuses on the development of courage, strength, fearlessness, virtue, and the ability to engage in selfless work directed at moral and spiritual aims.

5 In terms of contemporary fragmentation and alienation and the nontraditional philosophical emphasis in recent Western philosophy on the body, feelings, and embodied consciousness, the following Gandhi formulation (published in *Harjan*, May 8, 1937; CWMG, Vol. 65, p. 73) may be instructive. "I hold that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g., hands, feet, eyes, ears, nose, etc. In other words an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lop-sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds *pari passu* with education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another."

6 I'm indebted to Bhikhu Parekh for this distinction of levels of peace and for

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other suggestions. During his visit to the University of Maine in April 2007 as Distinguished Visiting Philosopher, Bhikhu Parekh and I had the rare opportunity for extended interactions regarding our research, and he made invaluable suggestions for revising this lecture and for other research projects.

7 I shall not focus on the specific forms of violence classified as “terror” and “terrorism” that have been the focus of much contemporary concern and analysis, especially since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. I have attempted to apply Gandhi’s approach to terror and terrorism in other publications. See “Gandhi After 9/11: Terrorism, Violence, and the Other,” *Gandhi Marg*, pp. 261-81 or the revised version, “Mahatma Gandhi after 9/11: Terrorism and Violence,” in *Comparative Philosophy and Religion in Times of Terror*, pp. 19-39.

8 See, for example, Senator J. William Fulbright’s comments in the *Congressional Record* of 13 December 1967 in which he charged that universities, corrupted by money and power, had “joined” the military-industrial complex and thus betrayed a public trust. In a speech at Dennison University in 1969, Fulbright developed this theme and concluded that many universities, especially the big and famous ones, had in effect become “card-carrying members of the military-industrial complex.” For more analysis and documentation, see Douglas Allen, “Scholars of Asia and the War,” in *Coming to Terms: Indochina, the United States, and the War*, ed. by Douglas Allen and Ngo Vinh Long (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 211-49.

9 For examples of Gandhi’s rejection of utilitarianism and the principle of utility, see *CWMG*, Vol. 32, p. 71 and *CWMG*, Vol. 32, p. 401-402. With his emphasis on intentions and good will, it is tempting to classify Gandhi’s approach as Kantian or purely deontological, but this would be a mistake. In Gandhi’s approach to peace education, one must focus on both intentions and consequences. Sometimes Gandhi has the best of intentions, but he evaluates well-intended experiments with truth as moral and spiritual failures because of negative results.

10 See, for example, S. Radhakrishnan and C. Moore, eds., *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 278-80.

11 Instructive is the fact that my Patanjali Lecture was formulated in

terms of “peace education,” but I later realized that it was usually more revealing and appropriate to eliminate the adjective “peace.” It gradually dawned on me that for Gandhi “peace education” is synonymous with “education.” “Peace education” has advantages of emphasizing key aspects of Gandhi’s philosophy, but also disadvantages of miscommunicating that this is something one does in peace studies courses, through conflict resolution workshops, or through specific, special, supplemental additions to the educational process. In Gandhi’s philosophy, institutions that do not have peace education as their central mission are not proper educational institutions; students who have not been educated to embrace peace education are, in the full and deepest sense, uneducated and are educational failures.

12 For example, see the section “Gandhi’s Metaphysical and Spiritual Framework” (pp. 146-52) in “Gandhi, Contemporary Political Thinking, and Self-Other Relations,” in *Contemporary Political Thinking* (reproduced in Johnson, ed., *Gandhi’s Experiments with Truth*, pp. 313-17).

13 See, for example, M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1993), xi-xii (Gandhi’s autobiography was first published in two volumes in 1927 and 1929); CWMG, 84:199 (published in *Harijan*, June 2, 1946).

14 I have written at length about Gandhi’s multiple views of self and self-other relations, and this analysis is essential to any Gandhian approach to peace education. In most of his writings on self, Gandhi endorses a dynamic, social, relational view of self in which there is no ethical and spiritual self without the other, and the other is an integral part of who I am as self. However, there are other writings in which Gandhi emphasizes “the inner voice” of an autonomous, nonsocial, individual self that is distinguished from and contrasted with any relational other. Finally, there are still other writings in which Gandhi accepts a deeper, ultimate, metaphysical, spiritual self (or Self), often identified with the Hindu, Upanishadic, nondualistic *Atman* but also capable of other formulations in Gandhi’s inclusivistic approach. These self and self-other formulations are often complementary, but they also express ambiguities, tensions, contradictions, and unresolved philosophical problems and issues. See, for example, my sections “Self-Other Relations: A Radical Inversion” (pp. 152-57) and “Key Questions Regarding the Self and Self-Other Relations” (pp. 157-65) in “Gandhi, Contemporary Political Thinking, and Self-Other Relations,” in *Contemporary Political Thinking* (reproduced in Johnson, ed., *Gandhi’s*

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Experiments with Truth, pp. 317-25).

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