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BOOK REVIEWS

Shanghai Bank and the Governor, in that order. He ought to buy himself a new magnifying glass or, at least, remove the speck of dust on the glass of his present one, and then he will see that there is no grain there at all. The Governor-in-Council, with the Legislative Council, rules Hong Kong both constitutionally and in fact.

R. B. B.

Biography and Autobiography

Gandhi. A Study in Revolution. By Geoffrey Ashe. London, Heinemann, 1968. Pp. xvii + 391. Bibliog. Index. 50s.

Mr. Ashe is an Arthurian scholar. Before his present excursion into Indian affairs he wrote three books upon the Arthurian legend. From this he has been led on to the Gandhian legend. He has written a book which is very complete, which balances very well the African period of Gandhi with the Indian period, and which does not emphasize any part of the crowded career disproportionately. He contributes a very satisfactory essay in biography which will please almost everybody, will antagonize none.

To take one example: the description of the incident in the Salt march at Dandi is told with a vividness which, nearly forty years later, makes the well-known narrative extremely dramatic, and recaptures its contemporary significance. Perhaps a reference to an alleged post-mortem communication from Gandhi summarizing his views about his record shows the Arthurian scholar still at work in him.

The book closes with an epilogue which contains Mr. Ashe's reflections upon Gandhi's life. "The Mahatma", he says, "has a special meaning for another nation besides his own. Because of him Britain learned as important a lesson as any country has ever learned. It was not a lesson given entirely from outside, but one which Britain evolved out of her own better conscience, which unwittingly made Gandhi its agent. . . . In response to Gandhi, Britain resigned a world mission which had outlived whatever rightness it had, and turned back to a humbler and saner quest for self-realisation."

Doubtless this is so. The complementary interplay of Gandhi and essential British liberalism made a historical drama which is one of the incidents in recent world history which is satisfactory to everyone who played a part in these affairs. But a book, especially one published so near the Gandhi centenary year, could have advanced much more radical questions. Was Gandhi really necessary? Was it inevitable that the Indian Congress should have come into such conflict as it did with the British power? Did not Gandhi's intransigence, admirable though the methods of civil disobedience were, create an excited state of opinion in India, which would otherwise have been avoided? The transfer of British power was an event very much more dramatic than it should otherwise have been. Might not the transition have been as calm as the passage to maturity of Canada and Australia? And was not the creation of Pakistan, for which Indian nationalism still blames Britain, in fact made necessary by the exacerbation of political feeling, which was Gandhi's great responsibility in India? Questions such as these are the ones which the philosophic spectator of Gandhi's achievement in India should rightly raise in the celebrations of the coming twelve months.

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Gandhi's last letter to Jawarharlal Nehru, written in Hindi:

CHI JAWARHARLAL

18 January 1948

Give up your fast. I am sending herewith a copy of the telegram received from the speaker of West Punjab. Zaheed Hussain had said exactly what I had told you.

May you live long and continue to be the jewel of India.

Blessings from BAPU

GANDE

Prisoner of Hope

Judith M. Brown

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	72519
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MAYIS 2003

DELHI OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS BOMBAY CALCUTTA MADRAS 1992

الصحف. في عام ١٩٧٥ جددت المحكمة العليا الهندية إدانة أنديرا غاندي، فأدى ذلك إلى مزيد من التدهور في أوضاعها. وعندما جرت الانتخابات العامة عام ١٩٧٧ مُني حزب المؤتمر بهزيمة كبيرة، وفقدت أنديرا رئاسة الوزارة ومقعدها في البرلمان. بعد هذه الهزيمة تفرغت أنديرا لإعادة تنظيم حزب المؤتمر، ورأب الصدع الذي تعرض له، وتمكنت من تحقيق النصر في انتخابات عام ١٩٨٠، وعادت إلى رئاسة الوزارة مرة أخرى وأخيرة.

وفي أثناء السنوات الأربع الأخيرة من حكمها (١٩٨٠ ــ ١٩٨٤) واجهت أنديرا غاندي حزب السيخ الهندي المتطرف، الذي نظم مظاهرات في جميع أنحاء البلاد ضد حكومتها مطالباً منح السيخ دولة ذات حكم ذاتى في منطقة خالستان. كما قام بتسليح أفراده، وحوّل المعبد الذهبي في أمريتسار إلى خصن قوى، فأمرت أنديرا القوات الهندية النظامية بمهاجمة المعبد والاستيلاء عليه. وأثارت هذه المعركة حفيظة طائفة السيخ عليها، وانتهى ذلك باغتيالها خارج مقر إقامتها في دلهي على يد حارسها الخاص الذي كان ينتمي إلى طائفة السيخ نفسها.

نجحت أنديرا في أثناء فترة حكمها للهند في إدخال بالادها عصر التكنولوجيا والعلوم، وفي تعزيز قدرتها العسكرية وبناء جيش قوى. وقامت الهند إبّان حكمها بأول تضجير نووي عام ١٩٧٤، كذلك نجحت في تعزيز مكانة الهند الدولية بمواصلة سياسة عدم الانحياز، التي كان والدها أحد أقطابها، ويدعم حركات التحرر الوطني في العالم. وفي أثناء سنوات حكمها تطورت علاقات التعاون بين الهند والبلدان العربية في مختلف المجالات. واتخذت أنديرا موقفاً مسانداً لحق الشعب الفلسطيني في إقامة دولته الستقلة ، وقامت بإصلاحات اقتصادية في الداخل مست فى بعض الأحيان مصالح الإقطاعيين وكبار الرأسماليين. وقد أثارت سياساتها الداخلية والخارجية عداوات شديدة لها في الداخل والخارج، وتعرضت أكثر من مرة لحاولات اغتيال: وأظهرت التحقيقات التي جرت لبعض المتآمرين ارتباطهم بقوى معادية من خارج البلاد.

وبعيد اغتيالها اختار مجلس الوزراء ولدها راجيف Rajiv (اجيف ١٩٩١) رئيساً لوزراء الهند، وشهدت

البلاد بعدها اضطرابات عنيفة بين السييخ والهندوس، استلزمت نزول الجيش إلى الشوارع للسيطرة عليها، قاد راجيف حزب المؤتمر في الانتخابات النيابية وفاز فوزاً ساحقاً (٨٠٪ من المقاعد) لم يسبق منذ الاستقلال، كما نجح في التوصل إلى اتفاق مع زعماء السيخ المعتدلين، وبدأ بانتهاج سياسة اقتصادية طموحة مستعينا بالعناصر الشابة منتهجاً الأساليب الحديثة في الإدارة، لكنه تورط في النزاع الحاصل بين حكومة سري لانكا ومتطرفى التاميل، المطالبين بحكم ذاتي في مناطقهم، حينما أرسل قوات من الجيش الهندي لمساعدة الحكومة على قمع التمرد، كما أنه قمع تمرد مسلمي كشميربشدة.

وفي انتخابات عام ١٩٨٩ لم يحقق حزب المؤتمر الأغلبية اللازمة لقيامه بتشكيل الوزارة، فانتقل إلى صفوف المعارضة ضد حكومة شاندراشيخار Chandrasekhar، وبينما كان يحضر لحملته الانتخابية عام ١٩٩١ في ولاية تاميل نادو Tamil Nadu اغتيل على أيدى المتطرفين التاميل انتقاما لشاركته في قمع ثورتهم في سري

أحمد مكبس

الموضوعات ذات الصلة: جواهر لال نهرو - السبح - المهانما غاندي - الهتاء.

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■ غاندی (المهاتما ـ) (1984 - 1491)

الزعيم الروحي للشعب الهندي وقائد نضاله التحرري ضد الاستعمار البريطاني، وأحد كبار القادة

السياسيين في العالم في القرن العشرين. لقبه شعبه بـ «المهاتما» Mahatma التي تعنى «الروح العظيمة».

نشأته ودراسته

ولد موهانداس كارمشند غاندي Mohandas Karamchand في تشرين Gandi (tork)

GANDHI, MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND (1869–1948)

Gandhi was called Mahatma (the Great Soul) by Rabindranath Tagore and many in the West, while Gandhi's followers often simply called him Bapuji (Father). His confrontation with racism in South Africa provided a challenging context for the development of his idea of satyāgraha (holding fast to the truth), a method of nonviolent, noncooperative resistance to the authorities. Influenced by several religious traditions, such as Hinduism (especially Vaishnava), Jainism, Islam and Christianity, Gandhi was both a religious thinker and practical reformer. While in jail on several occasions, he wrote prolifically. He was murdered on 30 January 1948 by a Hindu zealot.

- 1 Life and career
- 2 Truth, religion and politics

1 Life and career

Gandhi was born on 2 October 1869 in Porbandar, Kathiawad to a politician father, Karamchand Uttamchand and a religiously devout mother, Putalibai. At the age of thirteen an arranged marriage took place between Gandhi and Kasturbai, although he was later to oppose child marriage. Educated in India and London, Gandhi passed his bar examination with ease, enrolled at the High Court on 11 June 1891 and sailed for India the following day. After a brief and unsuccessful attempt at law in India he went to South Africa, initially to represent the interests of a Muslim firm. From 1893–1914 Gandhi struggled against racism in South Africa.

Gandhi returned to India in 1915 to engage in a struggle with the British for swarāj (self-rule). He lived a life of simplicity and renunciation and used the method of fasting to the brink of death as a way of persuading opponents.

The Amritsar massacre of 1919 was decisive in Gandhi's rejection of British colonial rule in any form. Khādī, white home-spun cotton clothes and charkha, the spinning wheel, became Gandhian symbols. Charkhas were difficult to find, as they were rare among the professional elite in Gandhi's time, and the making of khādīs had to be learned.

2 Truth, religion and politics

Gandhi made his first public speech on truth in business dealings in Pretoria, South Africa. He believed in both 'truth of statement' and the notion of 'truth of being'. He was preoccupied with truth and felt it must be expressed in a life of ahimsā, or noninjury (which entails vegetarianism). He always saw
the divine in the less fortunate (for instance by
opposing untouchability). Gandhi believed that a
satyāgrahī, one 'steadfast in truth', ideally must
exemplify celibacy (following the vow of brahmacarya). Only then could the satyāgrahī rise above all
passionate attachments and generate enough internal
'heat' (tapas) to do battle with untruth. Gandhi's goal
was one of serving the public rather than only
achieving his individual salvation. He was motivated
by the ideal of sarvodaya, the welfare of all (see Duty
and virtue, Indian conceptions of).

Gandhi appropriated the term sadāgraha and changed it to satyāgraha (holding fast to the truth), with satya representing truth and agraha firmness. In An Autobiography, or the Story of My Experiments with Truth (1927) Gandhi spoke of truth as an underground mine holding many opportunities for service. Proposing that 'there is no other God than truth', Gandhi understood divinity as immanently realizable through dedicating one's work to God. In Hindu tradition this idea is karma yoga. For Gandhi karma voga meant a dedication to truth in each particular case, rather than in mystical contemplation of an abstract Godhead. He often appealed to 'the Voice' of conscience wherein God speaks. Accepting the principle of karma and the doctrine of transmigration, Gandhi hoped to be reborn an untouchable to be of further service.

In An Autobiography, or the Story of My Experiments with Truth (1927), Gandhi revealed that he was not well-versed in Sanskrit and the Hindu classics at the time when the the role of guru was thrust upon him by the public. His 'philosophy of religion' was confessional in form, not analytical. He thought at a metareligious level, believing that all religions participate in truth. The Sermon on the Mount, the Bhagavad Gītā (which Gandhi himself translated) and the writings of Tolstoi were sources of particular fascination for him. The Jain doctrine of ahimsā (non-injury) was one of his main tenets and provided the background to his vegetarianism (see JAINA PHILOSOPHY). His close friend C.F. Andrews supplied a Christian stimulus in his life, but Gandhi found deeper inspiration in his native Bhagavad Gītā. Selfpurification and dedication to God through service to humanity provided the basis for religiosity according to Gandhi. For Gandhi, religion must bind together humankind and include politics. There were no particular religious images in Gandhi's ashram. With the knowledge that God has many names, several scriptures were recited in the daily routine. In this way Gandhi's practice exemplified the tolerance of Jain syādvāda, the view that all judgments of nonomnis-

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MADDE SONRA GELER DUKÚMAN

Edit. Edward Craig, Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy,

vol. 3 , 1998 London. 5 . 842 - 843

crowd. Many were in serious financial trouble and were struggling to continue in the leagues. It was not hard to discover where the players and spectators had gone. Masses of them were watching star-class players and teams. In addition, relative affluence and the automobile meant for millions of others a new interest in going places. The richer half of the world was on wheels for the day or for the weekend. And if they were not on wheels, they were in the skies visiting foreign countries as a matter of course. London, Paris, Athens, Rome, New York, San Francisco, and Tokyo were available to more people than the available hotels and campsites could accommodate. Youth, too, was mobile as never before; they had something better to do, they thought, than to play games.

The game-conscious world. Nevertheless, games enjoyed greater popularity in the second half of several the 20th century than ever before. Chief among these was golf. Aided by the television cameras to promote interest in the game, the new wealth, the social side in the club house, the individual as well as the team spirit, the fact that the handicapping system made it practically never too late to learn or a player too old to continue, the possibility of a wife and husband belonging to the same club and having something to do in early retirement—all these in aggregate made it possible for golf to meet the needs of a large number of people. Moreover, the professionals, when they were followed on the course, were watched by the most experienced and most willing-tolearn crowd in history.

And for many there was still the winter and what to do with the long hours of darkness. Basketball and bowling gained players and spectators. Skiing and other winter sports attracted new millions. Badminton, squash rackets, and table tennis continued to appeal to millions for keeping fit, making social contacts, and defeating boredom. Just as association football had swept Latin-American countries as well as all Europe, so the games of table tennis and badminton appealed strongly to millions in China, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Japan. All the world was games conscious in the last quarter of the 20th century, but all the world was not playing so enthusiastically as

BIBLIOGRAPHY. No books deal specifically with the area covered in the above article; see the bibliographies of individual games for up-to-date historical surveys. F.R. DULLES, America Learns to Play (1959), is a unique account of one nation's recreational history. Similarly, J. STRUTT, Sports and Pastimes of the People of England . . . (1801 and later editions), provides the most comprehensive description of games played in England before 1800. For background including pictorial reference, G.M. TREVELYAN, Illustrated English Social History, 4 vol. (1949), should be consulted. C.B. Fry's Magazine of Sports and Outdoor Life (1904-17), recaptures at its height the enthusiasm for games at the beginning of the 20th century. Of the many distinguished books on the histories of individual games, M.D. WHITMAN, Tennis Origins and Mysteries (1932), packs a good deal of information into a small

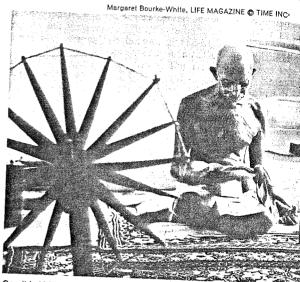
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Gandhi, Mahatma

50 years before.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the preeminent leader of Indian nationalism and the prophet of nonviolence in the 20th century, was born, the youngest child of his father's fourth wife, on October 2, 1869, at Porbandar, the capital of a small principality in Gujarāt in western India under British suzerainty. His father, Karamchand Gandhi, who was the dewan (chief minister) of Porbandar, did not have much in the way of a formal education but was an able administrator who knew how to steer his way between the capricious princes, their long suffering subjects, and the headstrong British political officers in

Gandhi's mother, Putlibai, was completely absorbed in religion, did not care much for finery and jewelry, divided her time between her home and the temple, fasted frequently, and wore herself out in days and nights of nursing whenever there was sickness in the family. Mohandas grew up in a home steeped in Vaisnavism-worship of the Hindu god Visnu (Vishnu)-with a strong tinge of Jainism, a morally rigorous Indian religion, whose chief tenets are nonviolence and the belief that everything in the universe is eternal. Thus he took for granted ahimṣā (noninjury to all living beings), vegetarianism, fasting for self-purification, and mutual tolerance between adherents of various creeds and sects.



Gandhi, 1946.

Youth. The educational facilities at Porbandar were rudimentary; in the primary school that Mohandas attended the children wrote the alphabet in the dust with their fingers. Luckily for him, his father became dewan of Rajkot, another princely state. Though he occasionally won prizes and scholarships at the local schools, his record was on the whole mediocre. One of the terminal reports rated him as "good at English, fair in Arithmetic and weak in Geography; conduct very good, bad handwriting." A diffident child, he was married at the age of 13 and thus lost a year at school. He shone neither in the classroom nor on the playing field. He loved to go out on long solitary walks when he was not nursing his by now ailing father or helping his mother with her household chores.

He had learned, in his words, "to carry out the orders of the elders, not to scan them." With such extreme passivity, it is not surprising that he should have gone through a phase of adolescent rebellion, marked by secret atheism, petty thefts, furtive smoking-and most shocking of all for a boy born in a Vaisnava familymeat eating. His adolescence was probably no stormier than that of most children of his age and class. What was extraordinary was the way his youthful transgressions

"Never again," was his promise to himself after each escapade. And he kept his promise. Beneath an unprepossessing exterior he concealed a burning passion for self-improvement that led him to take even the heroes of Hindu mythology, such as Prahlada and Hariscandralegendary embodiments of truthfulness and sacrificeas living models.

In 1887 Mohandas scraped through the matriculation examination of the University of Bombay and joined Samaldas College in Bhavnagar (Bhaunagar). As he had suddenly to switch from his native language—Gujarati to English, he found it rather difficult to follow the lectures.

Meanwhile, his family was debating his future. Left to himself, he would have liked to be a doctor. But besides the Vaisnava prejudice against vivisection, it was clear that if he was to keep up the family tradition of holding high office in one of the states in Gujarāt, he would have to qualify as a barrister. This meant a visit to England, and Mohandas, who was not too happy at Samaldas College, jumped at the proposal. His youthful imagination