THE ORIGINS OF GANDHI'S EMERGENCE AS A WORLD HISTORICAL FIGURE

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Introduction

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) was not just the leader of the independence movement in India, the most populous and most significant colony of the British Empire, but he was also the leading figure and inspiration for a worldwide movement of non-violent resistance. He liberated the most significant colony of the most significant colonizer without a war. His politics and thought are noteworthy by virtue of defining the man who decolonized the largest segment of the Third World from European colonizers. However, unlike other leaders who assumed leading roles in anti-colonial liberation movements, Gandhi is not known through various military, intellectual, or political epithets, but rather as "Mahatma", a Sanskrit word meaning the "Great Soul" referring to his spiritual dimension, which guided him throughout his political struggle. In recognition of Gandhi's singular contribution to the development of non-violent resistance as a political strategy around the world, emulated by Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Lech Walesa among others, on June 15, 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring October 2, the birthday of Gandhi, to be the "International Day of Non-Violence". His struggle was always personal as well as political, and it was the struggle of India's self-rule (*swa-raj*) as well as the self-rule of every individual involved in this struggle, starting with Gandhi himself. Therefore the line between politics, spirituality, and religion are blurred in the case of Gandhi, and one must speak of a religious-political as opposed to a strictly political approach in analyzing his life and work.

In investigating the roots of Gandhi's multicultural, non-violent, transcendental, anti-materialist approach to life and politics, one of the intriguing questions to ask is to what extent his thought is authentically Indian and/or inspired by Hinduism, and to what extent it is the product of Western, and specifically English, intellectual and political history. In answering this question, in this paper, I will argue that, Gandhi's theory of transcendence and his general religious-political approach, which had its roots in the multicultural environment of Porbandar, and was later incorporated into and legitimized

through the New Age discourse in London, soon dwarfed both its traditional Hindu/Indian roots and its "other Western" New age cultivators and became increasingly universal throughout Gandhi's life and in his aftermath alike. Nonetheless, both the multiculturalism of Porbandar and the creative capacities and intellectual resources of the New Age movement furnished a socio-cultural environment that was very conducive to the emergence of a universalized Gandhian theory of transcendence. The emergence of a universally influential Gandhian approach, in turn, elevated Gandhi to the level of a world historical figure.

His Early Life and Formation in Porbandar, India

At the second half of the 19th century, Colonial India was thoroughly multicultural, even more so than the Mughal or the contemporary India. Porbandar was not an exception to this general rule; and thus Gandhi grew up in and through a multiplicity of cultures, cultural understandings and civilizations. Gandhi was aware of the cultural richness and the resulting cultural competition between these cultures when he said that,

> "[T]here was a sort of rivalry going on between the Sanskrit and the Persian teachers... one day I sat in the Persian class. The Sanskrit teacher was grieved. He called me to his side and said: 'How can you forget that you are the son of a Vaishnava father? Won't you learn the language of your own religion? If you have any difficulty, why not come to me? I want to teach you students Sanskrit to the best of my ability."[1]

Bearing in mind Gandhi's tendency to downplay tensions and adversary processes in his narrative, there is reason to suspect that the competition between different cultures was even more pronounced in the India of Gandhi's childhood. Under such conditions of cultural rivalry and competition, Gandhi demonstrated his appreciation for the diversity of his country when he expressed his "opinion that in all Indian curricula of higher education there should be a place for Hindi, Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and English, besides of course the vernacular."[2] It seems that Gandhi was aware of the creative potential of co-existing cultures and cultural pluralism in general. Moreover, further in his discussion about the languages of India, Gandhi recognized the civilizational divide that distinguished Hindi, Gujarati, and Sanskrit (Hindu civilization) from Persian and Arabic (Islamic civilization) much like Samuel Huntington did in his theorizing.[3] Unlike Huntington, however, Gandhi did not conceive a "clash of civilizations"; rather, he sought to reconcile and benefit from such cultural pluralism by having many friends from different cultures

and faiths, and listening to these friends always with respect, and often with interest.[4] "These many things combined to inculcate in [Gandhi] a *toleration for all faiths*."[5] As such, Gandhi's worldview had a multiethnic, multiconfessional, and cosmopolitan character in its inception.

Despite his appreciation for the existence of diverse vernaculars and modes of thinking, Gandhi also had an inclination to find a language, a mode of thinking, an all-encompassing discourse that would overarch all the existing discourses in its "utter simplicity" and sophistication alike.[6] This he found in geometry. In Gandhi's words, "a subject which only required a pure and simple use of one's reasoning powers could not be difficult. Ever since that time geometry has been both easy and interesting for me."[7] Thus, Gandhi's interest in and toleration for all faiths was coupled with his interest to find an utterly simple way to transcend all existing discourses by a pure and simple use of one's reasoning powers, which he supposed, could not be difficult. Nonetheless, Gandhi did not become an adherent of "pure reasoning" or "Cartesian logic" or "rationalism"; rather, he became a critic of all of these philosophical traditions. Yet Gandhi's interest in geometry is significant insofar as it represents one of his earlier attempts to "transcend" and "bridge" all the discourses of humanity through a "simple-yet-profound" [8] way of thinking. In this respect, Gandhi's life as a whole may be viewed as his striving to construct a *moralist geometry*, which would only require a pure and simple use of one's mental capacities. Transcendence, simplicity and the consequent popular accessibility, remained as core concepts of Gandhian morality.

Within this concept, Gandhi also began to form an idiosyncratic conception of religion. Yet his religious conceptions, like his overall morality, were influenced by his surroundings. He recognized the crucial impact of his social surroundings on his religious development when he said that "[at school], being taught all sorts of things *except* religion... I kept on picking up things here and there from my surroundings."[9] Immediately after acknowledging the impact of his social surroundings on his religious development, Gandhi provides us with one of his most direct definitions of religion: "The term religion I am using in its broadest sense, meaning thereby self-realization or knowledge of self."[10]

As being born in the *Vaishnava* faith, Gandhi had to go to *Haveli*, but the glitter and pomp of such religious ceremony and congregation did never appeal to him.[11] As such, Gandhi was not a strictly observant, practicing and adamant Hindu even before he left India for England; or rather, he was significantly less religious and devoted of a Hindu in India than he would later become in Britain. Furthermore, he had already defined religion in its broadest sense, meaning self-realization or knowledge of the self. "But one thing took deep root in Gandhi-the conviction that morality is the basis of all things, and truth is the substance of all morality."[12] Once again, morality took precedence over all the other aspects of daily conduct and life in general. From this point

on, *morality* and *truth* emerged as two complementary central features of Gandhian philosophy, and his sole objective became truth.[13]

As a partial conclusion, Gandhi's mind was already operating within a multicultural setting through a cosmopolitan framework; even in his self-reflection, which we can trace through his *Autobiography*, he referred to multiple religions and different cultural points of view. Thus, according to Gandhi's own claims in his *Autobiography*, even as a child in Porbandar, he was conceptually capable of (and used to) considering and reconciling seemingly divergent approaches from a quasi-universal, or at least, seemingly impartial point of view in order to find *truth*, his sole objective, as he determined it to be.[14]

Gandhi in England

Gandhi's arrival in England provided him with far more opportunities to practice his multicultural tolerance and his emerging universalism than Porbandar could possibly offer. I would argue that it was Gandhi's years in London that positioned Gandhi within a universal discourse while expanding his horizons practically to contain the whole world, thus making him the world historical figure that he is. As Martin Green mentions, "in the very decade of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897... There were 43 governments within the empire, 11 of which were self governing," not including the Crown Colonies and the Protectorates.[15] Altogether, British Empire ruled over 11 million square miles and 372 million people,[16] making it by far the largest and most populous empire of the world for the most of Gandhi's life. Gandhi's ideas and practices had a multi-cultural, multi-religious, cosmopolitan, universal quality to them already in Porbandar, India. However, it was mainly by using Britain's world dominance as a vehicle for communicating his ideas globally that Gandhi became a historical figure well known in the English-speaking world at large. According to Green, during his stay in London "Gandhi was... moving towards politics and towards one particular kind: nation-building within the British Empire."[17] In this process, Gandhi considered the cases of nation-building in the dominions such as Canada, Australia and South Africa,[18] each of which were in a different continent, and all of which were administered by a small island in yet another continent. Ironically, Gandhi's thoughts were oscillating between these four cases from four different continents in order to come up with a resolution that would work in his own country, India, which was yet in another continent. As such, even in his considerations and deliberations that he undertook as part of his contemplated career,[19] Gandhi's thought and discourse spanned all five continents of the world. This is not to say that Gandhi's thought initially and immediately *influenced* the entire world. Rather, at this stage of his intellectual development, Gandhi was influenced by the global intellectual and social discourse.[20] Yet, it is important to note that in order to be influential worldview, Gandhian discourse had to be influenced by

and incorporated into the global discourse in the first place; and Gandhi's years of residence in London served this purpose.

How was Gandhi's worldview incorporated into the global discourse and how, in turn, Gandhi incorporated the global discourse into his own philosophy? First, "curious contrasts existed within the character of the England that Gandhi knew —the contrasts between what (Martin Green) called its black magic and its white magic."[21] As mentioned above, Gandhi was aware of these contrasts and thus, he attempted —with considerable success- to incorporate most of the liberal democratic and constitutionalist ideas into his own discourse, making them an integral and inalienable part of his social thought and philosophy. Moreover, Gandhi was also able to reinterpret Hindu religion and Indian tradition in such a way so that his reinterpretations would allow him to express the white magic of the Empire (democracy, women rights) by using traditional Indian and Hindu religious concepts and symbols (dharma, mokshai, karmayoga, etc).

"Gandhi's politics were always educational and cultural, and if they now seem strikingly traditional, they were then also Westernizing and modernizing. He introduced Western styles of action and Western traits of character into Indian politics...But the New Age traits Gandhi embodied were peculiarly proper to –if also opposed to- modern ideology."[22]

As a quote above indicates, the second aspect of Gandhi's *incorporation* of, or rather, his adaptation to the global discourse has been through his active participation in and alignment with the New Age movement. But what was or is the New Age movement?

"There is no formal definition of the New Age movement. One academic study suggests that those who sample many diverse teachings and practices from both 'mainstream' and 'fringe' traditions and formulate their own beliefs and practices based on their experiences can be considered as New Age. Rather than following the lead of an organised religion, "New Agers" typically construct their own spiritual journey based on material taken from the mystical traditions of the world's religions, also including shamanism, neopaganism, and occultism. New Age practices and beliefs may be characterized as a form of *alternative spirituality* or *alternative religion*. Even apparent exceptions, such alternative medicine or traditional medicine practices, often have some spiritual dimension— such as a conceptual integration of mind, body, and spirit."[23]

New Age was for Gandhi and for many, an "other West" which has to
be taken into account when one makes judgments about the Western
civilization. The other West included very respected and intellectually
established –at a global scale- figures like Leo Tolstoy. John Ruskin and
Bernard Shaw, and London "was the city of experiments in life-style, diet,
creed, sex, clothes, and so on..." [22] and Gandhi was definitely having
experiments in any and all of these fields as part of his overall experiment(s)
with truth. As such, Gandhi was certainly an integral part of 1890s London.
London was overflowing with "the confluence of Tolstoyans, vegetarians, and
Socialists. Gandhi was interested in all of this and sampled a little of each
offering." [23] By doing so, on the one hand he was accommodating and adapting
his Hindu/Indian views to a Western discourse; but on the other hand, by
drawing on these essentially Western sources, he was synthesizing an "other
Western" worldview, which he later adapted to traditional Hindu/Indian
conditions and expressed in traditional Hindu/Indian terms.

New Age, Orientalism, and the Formation of an Eastern Westerner

The examination of the New Age position provides us with helpful
insight about Gandhi's socio-cultural stance as a "Western Eastern" and/or an
"Eastern Western". "One of the features of New Age is Orientalism –
substituting features of Eastern culture for Western equivalents in one's life–
and so in India New Age activities looked like a revived traditionalism." [25]
Therefore, the New Age position, in order to be genuinely new, assumes a
Western point of departure for its followers. In this respect, it seems to me that
New Age was not simply a revived traditionalism for Gandhi, except perhaps
in some of its outward manifestations. In his own words, by the time he
arrived in England, Gandhi was a convinced meat eater and a Western
enthusiast, and he was not a strictly observant and practicing Hindu to begin
with anyways. Likewise, he was willing and eager to adopt what he took to be
a modern way of life, when he took dance lessons and dressed up in Western
attire. For example, "it was Henry Salt's pamphlet, 'A Plea for Vegetarianism',
that persuaded Gandhi of the wrongness of eating meat." [26] Thus, Gandhi's
adherence and belonging to the New Age movement(s) hints at the Eastern
Westerner or "other Westerner" aspect of his life style and character.

Gandhi's close proximity and active involvement with the "other
West" movements legitimized his stance as a socio-political critic and placed
him in an acceptable –yet certainly 'alternative' and not mainstream- track in
Western discourse. And not only that Gandhi allied with the New Age in
London, but he also participated in disseminating the New Age "gospel" in
non-European lands as well. "In South Africa, Gandhi became the
representative of Edward Maitland's Esoteric Christian Union, another example

of the Oriental wing of the New Age."[27] Gandhi became a speaker and a representative for the "other West", and the "other West" was almost completely incorporated into Gandhi's worldview and his social criticism.

On the whole, what Gandhi did through his life was, 1) to carry an essentially Hindu/Indian intellectual "raw" material –that he harnessed- from Porbandar to England, 2) to process it through an alternative ("other West") yet essentially Western discourse of social criticism, 3) and then carry the intellectual/philosophical end-product back to India as well as to South Africa, albeit with some modifications that he did in order to accommodate local conditions, sensitivities and religious traditions. As a partial conclusion, Gandhi "recycled"[28] the pre-modern, religious-cultural concepts of Hinduism and of traditional India, imbuing from them a critical edge that is akin to the postmodern critique of Western civilization, which emerged only after Gandhi's death.

Gandhi's traditionally rooted dissent towards modernity was truly elaborated on –by him and by New Age enthusiasts- in London; and it was reproduced and disseminated through the veins (albeit alternative, New Age networks) of the British Empire and through the medium of English language. Nonetheless, his messages proved to be fatal for the very Empire within which they were inculcated.

Return to India, the *Satyagraha* Campaign in South Africa, and *Hind Swaraj*

By the time Gandhi left London for India, he had already reached a certain level of depth and maturity in his social criticism, and a somewhat specific place within the spectrum of Western thought. Nonetheless, it is in South Africa, where Gandhi undertook his illustrious *satyagraha* campaign, within which Gandhi's moralist politics and social criticism where truly embodied for the first time. In my opinion, it is possible that Gandhi felt as if he was living through *Bhagavad-Gita* while conducting his *Satyagraha* campaign in South Africa. The following quote where Gandhi invokes verses from the Hindu war epic *Bhagavad-Gita* as a means to revive and re-imagine Arjuna's confrontation in the battlefield and Krishna's counsel of war (i.e. the main topic of *Bhagavad-Gita*) in relation to his *Satyagraha* campaign, would demonstrate the plausibility of my claim:

> "But the present fight is epic in character. I have already described our course of unconscious preparation for it... A *dharma-yuddha*, in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought... In a righteous struggle God Himself plans campaigns and conducts battles."[29]

Soon after his campaign in South Africa, Gandhi wrote *Hind Swaraj*, his seminal work, the seed from which the tree of Gandhi's thought has grown to its full stature.[30] As Anthony Parel enumerates in his introduction, Gandhi had –at least- six reasons for writing *Hind Swaraj*:

> "As to why he wrote the book, there was first of all the question of an inner illumination and the consequent urge to communicate... Secondly, he wanted to clarify the meaning of swaraj... Thirdly, he felt it necessary to respond specifically to the ideology of political terrorism adopted by the expatriates... Fourthly, Gandhi was anxious to teach Indians that 'modern civilization' posed a greater threat than did colonialism... colonialism was itself a product of modern civilization... Fifthly, he wanted to contribute towards the reconciliation of Indians and Britons... Finally, Gandhi believed that through *Hind Swaraj* he would be able to give Indians a practical philosophy, an updated conception of dharma, that would fit them for life in the modern world."[31]

All six reasons, even the seemingly India-specific second one (i.e. *Swaraj*, the literal meaning of which is "self-rule"!) may just as well be part of a universal declaration of New Age principles for world liberation, illustrating the high level at which Gandhian and New Age principles fused and became almost indistinguishable. Another example of "other Western" (i.e. New Age) influences in *Hind Swaraj* is exemplified in the list of intellectual sources and "authorities" underlying *Hind Swaraj*. In his *Foreword* to his seminal work, Gandhi claims to "have read much, and have pondered much."[32] When we further look for the list of books that he lists as having read, we see the Bible, the Koran, Thomas Huxley's lectures and the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin, Plato, Thoreau, Emerson, Carlyle, and Mazzini, none of which is neither Indian nor Oriental, with the exception of the Koran.[33] Neither do we see any book that was written by an Indian, with the notable exception of Naoroji's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, among his authorities that appear in the first appendix of *Hind Swaraj*.[34]

Undoubtedly, Gandhi's worldview and social criticism had some Hindu/Indian origins. The striking feature of *Hind Swaraj*, however, is the fact that Gandhi only recognized a single Indian source as one of his 20 "authorities". He could have at least mentioned *Bhagavad-Gita* or another book of *Mahabarata* or even *Manusmirti*; but he did not. Judging on this source-base, one would be led to conclude that Gandhi was thoroughly shaped by the Western/English intellectual debates and traditions, much more so than Indian or any other Asian intellectual tradition. In my opinion, the reason(s)

for Gandhi's relative negligence of Indian sources and on-Anglophonic sources in *Hind Swaraj* may be found in the socio-cultural processes through which Gandhi's thought was incoproated into and became part of the New Age thought in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As mentioned above, by virtue of his inclusion into and legitimation through the New Age movement, Gandhi became more of an Eastern Westerner[35] than a Western Easterner; and thus, he was more representative of the "other West" than of an "other East."[36] As a partial result, by the time he wrote *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi was under the domineering influence of "other Westerners" such as Tolstoy, Ruskin and the Theosophists.

As Gandhi elaborated his religious-political thought[37] thought increasingly more after the publication of *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhian approach subsumed its New Age origins and moved to a higher degree of complexity and political potency that New Agers could not even dream of.

Gandhi after *Hind Swaraj*: His Theory of Transcendence

Hind Swaraj was by no means the end of his career as a "New Age Revolutionary". Later in life, Gandhi elaborated on the premises that he put forth in *Hind Swaraj* and in his other writings and speeches. Ashis Nandy, one of the most astute contemporary Gandhi scholars in the world, thoroughly examined and explicated Gandhi's social, political, and religious thought in its full blown complexity, and highlighted the enduring legacies of Mahatma Gandhi.

As Nandy noticed, "to [Gandhi] a culture which did not have a theory of transcendence could not be morally or cognitively capable."[38] As I mentioned earlier, Gandhi gravitated towards a theory of transcendence since his childhood, partly as a means to overarch the multiplicity of culturally diverse discourses that existed around him while he was in India. Gandhi's relentless adherence to "a [cultural] theory of transcendence" led him to confront one –his own (i.e. Hindu/Indian) and all cultural theories of transcendence (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism; all in their uncorrupted forms) with a due respect, interest, and enthusiasm. Gandhi "knew that a tradition of coexistence between religion and science had grown in his society."[39] However, through his insistence on anti-scientific ideas like soul-force and truth-force (*satyagraha*), Gandhi forced morality back into politics and as such, his moralistic politics emerged as the hope of nations that have long suffered under the secular, technocratic, and modern Hobbesian and Machiavellian "cages of reason", "dictatorships of the *realpolitik*".[40]

In other fields, too, Gandhi's approach dwarfed the former New Age approaches both in its conceptual complexity and its practical influence. At a conceptual level, for example, Gandhi's rediscovery of "a more inclusive maleness, which would include femininity, particularly maternity" or his

rediscovery of "a more inclusive adulthood, which would not shy away from what Kipling called the half-savage-half-child self of the colonized"[41] had no significant predecessor or challenger among the New Age thought of the 19th and early 20th centuries. That is to say, after being incorporated into the New Age thought in the earlier stages of his intellectual development, Gandhi began to make very serious conceptual breakthroughs in his theorizing, which reduced the New Age thought to the level of a subsidiary within the ever-expanding and deepening realm of Gandhian social and political thought.

Conclusion

The practical achievements and popularity of the Gandhian approach, which I did not choose to discuss at length within the constraints of this paper, were at least as groundbreaking as its conceptual breakthroughs. The New Age movements in London, Moscow, and in other European cities, were not able to approximate the unprecedented success of Gandhi's impact around the world. Not only that Gandhi managed to save his country from colonial bondage through a non-violent campaign, but his self conscious non-violent followers, which we may call the contemporary *satyagrahis*, led the Civil Rights movement in the United States (Martin Luther King), the Solidarity Movement in Poland (Lech Walesa), and the successful anti-Apartheid campaign in South Africa (Nelson Mandela).

In conclusion, Gandhi's theory of transcendence and his general religious-political approach, which had its roots in the multicultural environment of Porbandar, India, and was later incorporated into and legitimized through the New Age discourse in London, soon dwarfed both its traditional Hindu/Indian roots and its "other Western" New Age cultivators and became increasingly universal throughout Gandhi's life and in his aftermath alike. Nonetheless, both the multiculturalism of Porbandar and the creative capacities and intellectual resources of the New Age movement furnished a socio-cultural environment that was very conducive and apt to the emergence of a universalized Gandhian theory of transcendence. The emergence of a universally influential Gandhian approach, in turn, elevated Gandhi to the level of a world historical figure.

Endnotes

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[1] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiences with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), p.17.

[2] Ibid, p.18.

[3] Samuel P. Huntington, "Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order," *Foreign Affairs* (1993).

[4] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiences with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999). P. 33.

[5] Ibid, p.33.

[6] Ibid, p.17: "When…I reached the thirteenth proposition of Euclid, the utter simplicity of the subject was suddenly revealed to me."

[7] Ibid, p.17.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid, p.31.

[10] Ibid, p.31.

[11] Ibid, p.31.

[12] Ibid, p.34.

[13] Ibid, p.34.

[14] Ibid, p.34.

[15] Martin Green, *The Origins of Nonviolence: Tolstoy and Gandhi in Their Historical Settings* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986). P.66.

[16] Ibid, p.22.

[17] Ibid, p.100.

[18] Ibid, p.100-102.

[19] Ibid, p.93. "… Tolstoy and Gandhi … were still in some sense contemplating other careers." This remark , which is part of the very first sentence of chapter 6 , is followed and complemented by a sub-chapter /section on p.100 titled "Gandhi and Nation-Building", indicating that Gandhi's contemplated career (his primary career was being a barrister) was that of 'Nation-Building'.

[20] 'Global discourse,' in this sentence and all through this paper, refers to an aggregate of social and intellectual movements and meanings, symbols and signifiers and recognized ways of justifying claims. For example, liberalism; socialism, imperialism, orientalism and New Age were all part of the global discourse in the late 19th and early 20th century in the sense that people from different 'corners' of the world could and did relate to each other through the worldview(premises, propositions, etc.) and vocabulary of one or the other of these discourses.

[21] Martin Green, *Voice of a New Age Revolution* (New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1993). P.67.

[22] Ibid, p.253.

[23] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Age

[23] Ibid, p.65

[24] Ibid, p.65.

[25] Ibid, p.15.

[26] Ibid, p. 106.

[27] Martin Green, *The Origins of Nonviolence*, p.70.

[28] Recycling and re-mergence/revival of the Hindu/Indian tradition is especially meaningful in this context since the Western/modern world, and the Christendom in general, endorsed a (culturally and otherwise) progressive view of history whereas the traditional Hindu/India subscribed to a cyclical view of history whereby old cultures and people were believed to be revitalized and reincarnated, respectively.

[29] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1997). P. xiv.

[30] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*, Anthony J. Parel ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). P. xiii.

[31] Ibid, p. xiv-xvii.

[32] Ibid, p.9.

[33] Ibid, p.9.

[34] Ibid, p.120.

[35] In this context, an "Eastern Westerner" refers to a person who is initially/originally Western in his socio-cultural and/or intellectual orientation and aspirations, who later decides to substitute and Eastern mode of conduct within his/her essentially Western life-style/framework. In sum, someone whose "point of departure" is the West, and whose goal is to arrive at an Eastern destination, some kind of "Easternization of the West."

[36] Instead of *the* "other East", I have chosen to use *an* "other East", since threw was no single other East, but multiple conceptions of the East, what it is or more appropriately, what it is imagined to be. Thus, *an* "other East" appears merely as a possibility and not as a positive, existing reality.

[37] I chose to use the phrase "religious-political thought" instead of "religious" and/or "political" because for Gandhi, "there is no difference between religion and politics."

[38] Ashis Nandy, *Traditions, Tyranny and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987). P. 132.

[39] Ibid, p.132.

[40] Ibid, p.132-133.

[41] Ibid, p.143.

Özet

Tarihsel Kişi Olarak Gandhi'nin Ortaya Çıkışının Kökleri

Bu makalede, Mahatma Gandi'nin, kökleri doğum yeri olan Hindistan'daki Porbandar şehrinde bulunan, transandantal/deneyüstücü teorisinin ve genel olarak dini-siyasal yaklaşımının, nasıl daha sonra Londra'da eğitim gördüğü süre içinde dahil olduğu "diğer Batılı" New Age akımının ve geleneksel Hindu/Hintli köklerinin ötesine geçerek evrensel bir boyut kazandığını açıklıyor. Gandi'nin şiddet karşıtı teorisi ve pratiği ölümümden sonra da ABD'de Martin Luther King liderliğinde siyahların "vatandaşlık hareketi"ne, Polonya'da Lech Walesea liderliğinde komünizm karşıtı "Dayanışma Sendikası" hareketine, ve Güney Afrika'da Nelson Mandela liderliğinde siyahların ırkçılık karşıtı hareketine ilham kaynağı olmuştur. Bu makalede Gandi Hindistan bağımsızlık hareketini şiddet-karşıtı yöntemlerle sürdürürken, Batılı formasyonunu Hint kültüründen ve *Bhagavad-Gita* gibi Hinduizmin dinsel kaynaklardan aldığı ilhamla geliştiren bir "Doğulu Batılı" olarak tasvir ediliyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gandi, Hindistan, New Age hareketi, Britanya İmparatorluğu, Şiddet-Karşıtlığı, Hinduizm, Swaraj, Satyagraha.