

# THE PRO-INDO-ARYAN ANTI-BLACK M.K. GANDHI AND GHANA'S #GANDHIMUSTFALL MOVEMENT

**Obádélé Kambon and Kwadwo Appiagyei-Atua**

*Dr Obádélé Kambon and Dr Kwadwo Appiagyei-Atua were key signatories in the successful petition to have a statue of Mahatma Gandhi, erected at the University of Ghana in mid-June during a visit to the country by India's President at the time – Pranab Mukherjee – removed. Though Gandhi was famously a key figure in the movement for Indian independence from British rule, he held many views which were unrepentantly anti-Black during his time in South Africa, which he never explained nor revoked. The following piece, therefore, explores Gandhi's anti-Blackness, demonstrating that the racism that colonialism mobilises and utilises is not always black and white.*

**THE EXPORTATION AND IMPOSITION OF  
STATUES AND WHY GANDHI STILL MUST FALL  
IN GHANA – INTRODUCTION**

They must find it hard to take Truth for authority who have so long mistaken Authority for Truth.

Gerald Massey.<sup>1</sup>

Afrikan=Black people have experienced and continued to experience genocide, as defined by the UN.<sup>2</sup> Along with this genocide are racist theories, doctrines, ideologies which are 'scientifically false, morally reprehensible, socially unjust, and contrary to the basic principles of international law; they therefore seriously undermine international peace and security'.<sup>3</sup> Gandhi held just such theories and acted on them to the detriment of Afrikan=Black people throughout his life.

Afrikan=Black people comprise a heterogeneous group with diverse histories, experiences and identities who are united by common genotype, common phenotype (Blackness), and the common enemies (pale 'white' Eurasians) who perpetrated the enslavement experience of their ancestors and the subsequent imposition of colonial rule, neocolonialism and neo-enslavement. Afrikan=Black people continue to experience the consequences of the past misdeeds perpetrated against their forebears by these Eurasians.<sup>4</sup>

These injustices faced by Afrikans=Blacks are influenced by racism, which is defined as consisting of 'any theory, doctrine, ideology, or sets of ideas that assert a causal link between the phenotypic or genotypic characteristics of individuals or groups and their intellectual, cultural, and personality traits, including the false concept of racial superiority'.<sup>5</sup>

A number of initiatives have been undertaken by the United Nations (UN) to end racism and promote racial tolerance among peoples of different racial backgrounds. The most recent engagement in this praxis is the declaration of 2015–2024 as the ‘International Decade for People of African Descent’ by the UN General Assembly on 23 December 2013 through its resolution 68/237. The Decade is proclaimed under the theme: ‘People of African descent: recognition, justice and development.’

Yet, in the midst of celebrating this Decade, the University of Ghana, as a citadel of knowledge and an avenue to promoting the ideals of Pan-Afrikanism, did the unthinkable by, at the behest of the Indian government, allowing the erection of a statue of Gandhi, the virulent anti-Afrikan/anti-Black racist, on the university campus. One may wonder if in actual fact, placing the statue there should not be seen or recognised as promoting observance of this Decade because of the application of Gandhi’s concept of non-violence by many Afrikan=Black nationalist leaders for the continent’s independence due to them not being aware of his virulent anti-Black/Afrikan racism as expressed through his thoughts, words and deeds. Most just accepted his pathological lying hook, line and sinker.

In this chapter, we hope to shed light on Gandhi’s pro-Indo-Aryan, anti-Afrikan/anti-Black agenda first against the indigenous Afrikan=Black people of uMzantsi Afrika and second against the Dalits: The Black Untouchables of India. This will make the first part of the rationale for #GandhiMust-Fall clear. We argue here that Gandhi’s statue is a neocolonial public relations gimmick by the Indian government to cover Gandhi’s pro-Indo-Aryan imperatives at the expense of Black dignity. As a reconstructive alternative to our deconstructive

proposition to let Gandhi fall, we will lay down arguments to support our proposal that Gandhi be replaced with one of our Afrikan=Black heroes/sheroes (none of whose statues can currently be found on campus at UG, only a few assorted busts). In conclusion, #GandhiMustFall is necessary so that future generations can be inspired by heroes/sheroes in their own image to be emulated and so that the collective psyche of conscious Afrikan=Black people is not assaulted daily by the insult of seeing this implacable foe of Afrikan=Black people soiling our soil. This is in line with the objectives of the Decade which are, among others, to promote respect, protection and fulfilment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by people of Afrikan descent; and to promote a greater knowledge of and respect for the diverse heritage, culture and contribution of people of Afrikan descent to the development of societies. This cannot be accomplished by insulting the intelligence of a people by foisting images of their enemies upon them.

This chapter of the book seeks to unravel this other side of Gandhi and to justify the call of the authors and other scholars/activists for Gandhi's statue to be removed from the campus of the University of Ghana.

## **GANDHI'S SURREPTITIOUS ARRIVAL AT LEGON**

In early June 2016, the University of Ghana Public Affairs Directorate placed an announcement on its website informing the university community of a lecture by His Excellency Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Honourable President of India to the university. According to the notice, his lecture on 13 June 2016

was to be entitled ‘India’s Partnership with Ghana: Youth and Education’.

A few days before the visit, in a related but unpublicised move, a statue of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was erected at the Recreational Quadrangle of the university’s Balme Library and before the lecture, the Indian President unveiled the statue. This groundbreaking event was not given the banner headline befitting the assumed status of the figure in question.

The sequence of events took most people by surprise, which obviously provoked a lot of questions about the alacrity and the surreptitious manner in which the statue found its way to the university campus, especially at a time when the University had not made any effort to erect any statue of an Afrikan=Black historical figure on its soil.

Consequently, following a petition prepared by the authors and other academics with the strong backing of some civil society activists and students, a petition was put online on the University of Ghana campus calling for Gandhi to fall. Following the overwhelming support for the endeavour which received headlines across the globe and was reported in the major international media such as Aljazeera, BBC, *The Guardian*, a number of prominent India newspapers, among others – and following the stealing of the statue’s spectacles by an unknown party – the government ultimately stepped in to say that it would remove the statue from the university campus as an insincere strategy to quell the firestorm. This decision by the government clearly shows its complicity in the plot and also exposes it as violating the university’s institutional autonomy as guaranteed under the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana which recognises academic freedom.

Outlined and discussed below are the reasons for Gandhi Must Fall. This is followed by the foreign policy rationale,

summed up in Modiplomacy promoting Gandhiplomacy, as being responsible for the exportation and imposition of Gandhi statues across the globe.

### **FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH: GANDHI'S ANTI-AFRIKANNESS IN THOUGHT, WORD AND DEED**

Gandhi took his place as champion of Indo-Aryans in their millennia-long war against Afrikan=Black people through his thoughts, words and deeds. Included among these are his:

1. Virulent racism and racist terminology;
2. Introduction of Hindu-caste-like segregation of the Durban Post and Telegraph Offices;
3. Role in the British military fighting against the amaZulu before, during and after the Bambatha Rebellion, rising to the rank of Sergeant Major; and
4. Coercion of the Dalits, the Black Untouchables of India, out of their constitutional safeguards and the double vote.

We will first turn our attention to Gandhi's virulent racist rhetoric. By way of exhibit A, in 1894, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi infamously wrote:

A general belief seems to prevail in the Colony that the Indians are little better, if at all, than the savages or the Natives of Africa [ . . . ] with the result that the Indian is being dragged down to the position of a *raw Kaffir*.<sup>6</sup> I venture to point out that both the English and the Indians spring from a common stock, called the *Indo-Aryan* [ . . . ] The Indians were, and are, in no way inferior to their *Anglo-Saxon brethren*.<sup>7</sup> [Emphasis added]

Gandhi not only used objectionable words with regard to Afrikan=Black people, he also objected to being placed ‘in the same category as the half-heathen Native’.<sup>8</sup> In his view, being classed with Afrikan=Black people degraded the Indian to the ‘level of the raw Kaffir whose occupation is hunting, and whose sole ambition is to collect a certain number of cattle to buy a wife with and, then, pass his life in indolence and nakedness’.<sup>9</sup> He complained that, for the British, ‘the policy is to class the Indian with the Kaffir whenever possible’<sup>10</sup> and that ‘The Boer Government insulted the Indians by classing them with the Kaffirs’.<sup>11</sup>

Gandhi made his view in no uncertain terms in 1899 saying that Indians are ‘undoubtedly infinitely superior to the Kaffirs’.<sup>12</sup> Per his own words on 15 February 1904, ‘Why, of all places in Johannesburg, the Indian Location should be chosen for dumping down all the kaffirs of the town passes my comprehension’.<sup>13</sup> He went on to state that ‘About this mixing of the Kaffirs with the Indians, I must confess I feel most strongly. I think it is very unfair to the Indian population and it is an undue tax on even the proverbial patience of my countrymen’.<sup>14</sup> By the same token, the statue of Gandhi is a tax on the patience of Ghanaians. Clearly, Gandhi was not interested in mixing with Black people in life, so why is his statue imposed upon us in death? While in uMzantsi Afrika, Gandhi made it clear that he was *not* fighting for Afrikan=Black people without equivocation time and time again:

The Court has declared that *the Kaffirs have no legal right to travel by the trams* [ . . . ] *Thanks to the Court’s decision, only clean Indians or Coloured people other than Kaffirs can now travel by the trams.*<sup>15</sup> [Emphasis added]

He made clear his thoughts on racial differences in his statement on 3 July 1907 that ‘Kaffirs are as a rule uncivilised [. . .] They are troublesome, very dirty and live almost like animals’.<sup>16</sup> He reiterated that the ‘natives’ were ‘only one degree removed from the animal’.<sup>17</sup> Gandhi’s penchant for hypocritical double standards reared its ugly head early given that, despite the fact that he had no problem referring to the Afrikans=Blacks as kaffirs, he railed against a similar pejorative hurled against Indians:

The Indian [. . .] is indiscriminately dubbed ‘coolie’. One hears even in official circles such expressions as ‘coolie lawyer’, ‘coolie doctor’, ‘coolie merchant’. His women are ‘coolie Marys’ [. . .] He is even denied the not always obvious privilege of riding in the same municipal tramcars and Government railway carriages as *his white fellow-colonists*. *His children are afforded no facilities for education except they attend the schools set apart for Kaffirs*.<sup>18</sup> [Emphasis added]

The idea that he saw himself as a ‘fellow-colonist’ speaks volumes. Adopting the same segregationist rhetoric, again, writing on 12 December 1907, a year after his supposed life-changing *brahmacharya* vow, he stated that ‘Compulsory registration is recognised as signifying nothing less than the reduction of British Indians to the status of the Kaffir’.<sup>19</sup> Again, in 1908, expressing his disdain for Afrikan=Black people, Gandhi has this to say: ‘The British rulers take us to be so lowly and ignorant that they assume that, like the Kaffirs who can be pleased with toys and pins, we can also be fobbed off with trinkets’.<sup>20</sup> But he was not done complaining about being classed with indigenous Afrikan=Black people, as on 3 July 1908 he stated, ‘We could understand not being classed with



the whites, but to be placed on the same level with the Natives seemed too much to put up with'.<sup>21</sup> Even when Gandhi's famous agitations began, it should be clear that his views vis-à-vis Black people did not, stating in 1909 that 'I have, though, resolved in my mind on an agitation to ensure that Indian prisoners are not lodged with Kaffirs or others'.<sup>22</sup> In terms of various hardships, he lists that Indians must 'wear coarse and ungainly dress, eat food which is hardly food, starve ourselves, suffer being kicked by the warder, *live among the Kaffirs* [ . . . ] *Better die than suffer this*' [Emphasis added].<sup>23</sup> Again, if in life Gandhi viewed *death* as a way to escape having to be among Afrikan=Black people, why, then, in death is his statue placed among us? Thus, while Gandhi is known as a civil rights activist during his time in uMzantsi Afrika, the real question remains 'for whose civil rights was Gandhi fighting?' Clearly it was not the Afrikan=Black indigene as he opposed Afrikan=Black people at every turn, as we will demonstrate below.

**ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS:  
SEGREGATIONIST TACTICS APPLIED AT THE  
DURBAN POST AND TELEGRAPH OFFICES**

While we have focused our attention on Gandhi's words throughout the course of his time in uMzantsi Afrika, it is incumbent upon us not to lose sight of his even more pernicious actions against the indigenous Afrikans=Blacks while there.

Here, we are looking at Gandhi's concerted actions not only *for* Indians but *against* Afrikan=Black people. The point is that we are not focused solely on his vitriolic anti-Afrikan/

anti-Black words, but his intentional malicious *actions* against Afrikan=Black people. As a case in point, in his August 1895 'Report of the Natal Indian Congress' Gandhi wrote:

A correspondence was carried on by the late President with the Government in connection with the separate entrances for the Europeans and Natives and Asiatics at the Post Office [ . . . ] The result has not been altogether unsatisfactory. Separate entrances will now be provided for the three communities.<sup>24</sup>

He later reported on 14 August 1896:

I may further illustrate the proposition that the Indian is put on the same level with the native in many other ways also. Lavatories are marked 'native and Asiatics' at the railway stations. In the Durban post and telegraph offices there were separate entrances for *natives and Asiatics* and Europeans. We felt the indignity too much and many respectable Indians were insulted and called all sorts of names by the clerks at the counter. We petitioned the authorities to do away with the invidious distinction and *they have now provided three separate entrances for natives, Asiatics, and Europeans.*<sup>25</sup> [Emphasis added]

Later, when provided with an opportunity to actually engage in warfare against Afrikan=Black people, Gandhi jumped at the opportunity, writing in the November 1905 Indian Opinion:

If the Government only realised what reserve force is being wasted, they would make use of it and *give Indians*

*the opportunity of a thorough training for actual warfare.*<sup>26</sup>  
[Emphasis added]

In the *Indian Opinion* of 5 December 1905, Gandhi appealed to laws providing for the armed Indians to join in the war against the amaZulu, writing:

If the Government only wanted the Indian immigrant to take his share in the defence of the Colony, which he has before now shown himself to be quite willing to do, there is legal machinery ready made for it.<sup>27</sup>

Later, when he was not afforded the opportunity to massacre amaZulu directly in warfare, he looked for any ways and means possible to work against the interest of the 'Kaffirs' of whom he held such a low opinion:

The substance of it is that the *Indians are not able to go to the battle-field, but that they can assist the men at the front with the requisite amenities.*<sup>28</sup> [Emphasis added]

Gandhi also mobilised funds for the execution of the war against the Blacks who were fighting for their homelands. Thus, he pleaded:

The Durban Women's Association has started a special fund for the soldiers who have gone to the front to fight the Kaffirs [. . .] It is our advice that more Indians, traders and others, should subscribe to the Fund [. . .] Those, therefore, who do not go to the front should, in order to express their sympathy, raise a fund for the purpose of sending the soldiers fruits, tobacco, warm clothing and other things

that they might need. It is our duty to subscribe to such a fund.<sup>29</sup>

The above quote shows that, although Gandhi was not able to physically fight against Afrikan=Black people, he was willing to fight against them using any means available. Similarly, Gandhi published 'A Plea for Indian Volunteering' on 17 March 1906 begging the British for the opportunity to *fight against* Afrikans=Blacks upon whose stolen land he was treading, stating:

The Natal Native trouble is dragging on a slow existence . . . There is a population of over one hundred thousand Indians in Natal. It has been proved that they can do very efficient work in time of war . . . Is it prudent for the Government to allow a source of strength, which always lies at its disposal, to run to waste?<sup>29,30</sup>

In addition, Gandhi was not interested in nursing wounded amaZulu as he later lied about in his autobiography. Rather, he lamented not getting the opportunity for training with the rifle:

The pity of it is that the Government . . . have not taken the elementary precaution of giving the necessary discipline and instruction to the Indians. It is, therefore, a matter of physical impossibility to expect Indians to do any *work with the rifle*; or, for that matter, to do any work in connection with war with much efficiency.<sup>31</sup> [Emphasis added]

Later, on 9 June 1906 Gandhi reported that after relentlessly harassing the British about the matter, Indian

‘fellow-colonists’ were finally allowed to at least be stretcher-bearers. Nonetheless, a bloodthirsty and relentless Gandhi was not satisfied with that and again asked for arms to fight against Afrikan=Black people and to defend the colony, stating:

*The Government have at last accepted the offer of the Indian community, and put it upon its mettle. By way of experiment, they want a corps of twenty stretcher-bearers [ . . . ]*

*The acceptance by the Government synchronises with the amendment of the Fire-Arms Act, providing for the supply of arms to Indians [ . . . ] to give Indians an opportunity of taking their share in the defence of the Colony.*<sup>32</sup>  
[Emphasis added]

Relegated to being a stretcher-bearer, yet still desiring to shed ‘Kaffir’ blood, Gandhi made the following diary entry of 10 July 1906, stating: ‘However, at about 12 o’clock we finished the day’s journey, *with no Kaffirs to fight*’<sup>33</sup> [Emphasis added]. One wonders whether Gandhi would have expressed this same level of zeal if the shoe was on the other foot and it was the amaZulu helping to colonise the land of the so-called ‘Coolies!’

### **GANDHI’S ‘WHITE’ LIES**

Gandhi played no mean role in the proliferation of lies about his life, which we term as ‘impropagandhi’.<sup>34</sup> In his autobiography he wrote ‘I bore no grudge against the Zulus, they had harmed no Indian. I had doubts about the ‘rebellion’ itself’.<sup>35</sup> Pathological liar that he was, he wrote later, ‘At any rate my heart was with the Zulus, and I was delighted, on reaching headquarters, to hear that our main work was to be the nursing of the wounded Zulus’.<sup>36</sup>

Again, in 1927, Gandhi lied that ‘the work of my Corps consisted *only in nursing the wounded Zulus*. I could see that but for us the Zulus would have been uncared for. This work, therefore, eased my conscience<sup>37</sup> [Emphasis added].

However, at the actual time of the war, in his 27 June 1906 diary entry, he wrote:

*The stretcher party had to assist Mr. Stokes, of the N. M. C., in treating the wounded trooper, and others, who had received slight injuries through accidents or otherwise, requiring medical help [ . . . ] The latter had to be carried on a stretcher, as his wound was very delicate. The work of carrying Trooper Forder proved to be much heavier than we had thought.*<sup>38</sup>  
[Emphasis added]

Thus, while in 1927 he lied that he *only* nursed wounded Zulus, at the time of the war he documented nursing British soldiers in their fight *against* the amaZulu. So much for his heart being with the Zulus!

Another dubious claim is that of Gandhi’s supposed epiphany in 1906 where, again writing in 1927, he claims to have taken a life-changing vow, referred to in the Hindu religion as *brahmacharya*. He wrote, ‘brahmacharya which I had been observing willynilly since 1900, was sealed with a vow in the middle of 1906’.<sup>39</sup>

This supposed vow is interesting in light of the fact that in 1907 he was once again calling for his Indo-Aryan brethren to wage war against the amaZulu in very next year! In his own words:

There is again a rebellion of Kaffirs in Zululand. In view of this, hundreds of white troops have been dispatched. The

*Indian community must come forward at such a time without, however, thinking of securing any rights thereby [. . .] We assume that there are many Indians now who will welcome such work enthusiastically. Those who went to the front last year can do so again.*<sup>40</sup> [Emphasis added]

Gandhi's pathological lying has been taken up by other dupes from the notable list of those he fleeced in the improper-gandhi tradition:

He soon realised that he was on the wrong side, that this was no rebellion but stark repression, that justice was on the side of the Zulus who were treated with inhumanity for doing no more than resisting a poll tax similar to that imposed on the Indians. The Indian stretcher-bearers redeemed themselves by nursing the Zulu prisoners of war abandoned by the British. For Gandhi, the brutality against the Zulus roused his soul against violence as nothing had been done up to then; he sought answers and found them in his traditional scriptures. He returned from the war determined to give himself wholly to serving the people.<sup>41</sup>

We have already shown that just a year after Gandhi's imaginary epiphany of 1906, he was again calling for Indians to go to the warfront in the British war on the amaZulu. Later, during the First World War, his supposed aversion to violence was nowhere to be found, as on 17 June 1918 he was among those exhorting Indians to be 'ready to go to the war if the people would come forward'.<sup>42</sup> He stated that 'Home Rule without military power was useless' and that 'Full assistance should be given in order to overthrow the Germans'.<sup>43</sup> At

that time, he appealed 'to the whole country for the national army' saying they should 'think well, and then get themselves enrolled'.<sup>44</sup> Direct and/or indirect support of every major war of his lifetime makes for a poor track record for someone whose soul was supposedly roused against violence in 1906!

### **GANDHI'S WAR ON THE DALITS: THE BLACK UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA**

Once Gandhi returned to India, he continued his war on Black people by fighting against the Dalits – the Black Untouchables of India. In 1927, Dr B.R. Ambedkar started a satyagraha movement towards the ultimate annihilation of caste itself and Hinduism's 'divine' sanction of intergenerational caste oppression via the imprisoning concept of 'karma'. Ambedkar would later write that:

The Untouchables were not without hope of getting the moral support of Mr Gandhi. Indeed they had very good ground for getting it. For the weapon of satyagraha – the essence of which is to melt the heart of the opponent by suffering – was the weapon which was forged by Mr Gandhi [...] Mr Gandhi however did not give his support to the satyagraha. *Not only did he not give his support, he condemned it in strong terms.*<sup>45</sup> [Emphasis added]

Ambedkar, a Dalit himself, in his work *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*, would rightly pose the question, 'for whose freedom is the Congress fighting?'<sup>46</sup> What Congress and Gandhi did to them can be seen in their opposition to Dalit demands for their rights, with Gandhi writing that:



*Congress will be no party to the special electorates for any other minorities [ . . . ] And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the Untouchables that separate electorates, and separate reservation is not the way to remove this bar-sinister.*<sup>47</sup> [Emphasis added]

Indian writer Arundhati Roy rightly noted that the root of Gandhi's argument was on the basis of majority rule in the democracy that was to come with independence and Gandhi's understanding that losing the Dalits as an electorate from the Hindu fold would be potentially disastrous to the maintenance of the oppressive Hindu-majority status quo.<sup>48</sup> Gandhi made numerous speeches against the aspirations of the Dalits and one view was expressed by Ambedkar thus:

*Everybody felt that Mr. Gandhi was the most determined enemy of the Untouchables. So much of his energy and attention did Mr. Gandhi concentrate on the question of the Untouchables that it would not be unfair if it was said that the main purpose for which Mr. Gandhi came to the Round Table Conference was to oppose the demands of the Untouchables [arguing there was] no reason to give them political safeguards.*<sup>49</sup> [Emphasis added]

Gandhi's machinations were under the guise of speaking for the Dalits, saying 'I want to save them against themselves'.<sup>50</sup> In actuality, Gandhi was really just protecting his Hindu majority.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, asking a Hindu to guard the rights of the Untouchables is akin to the Tamil proverb பால் சட்டிக்க பூனை காவல் வகைக்கிறதபோல் (Asking a cat to guard the pot of milk.)<sup>52</sup> Surely the cat does not have the milk's best interests at heart.

It also came to light that Gandhi also brokered underhanded backroom deals to turn Muslims against the Untouchables and to prevent Dalit escape from the torture that is caste Hinduism since, 'To the Untouchables, Hinduism is a veritable chamber of horrors'.<sup>53</sup> Gandhi even agreed to the 14-point platform of the Muslims, which he had initially refused as a bargaining chip 'to dissuade the Muslims from lending their support to the Untouchables'.<sup>54</sup>

In his dogged fight against the demands of the Untouchables for self-representation, Gandhi stated '*I would resist it with my life*' [Emphasis added].<sup>55</sup> He later backed up his statement with his notorious 'fast unto death' culminating in the Poona Pact – all to prevent the Dalits from having the safeguards that self-representation would engender.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, when the Dalits were actually awarded special seats, Gandhi wrote:

*I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do so is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death [ . . . ] This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government [ . . . ] withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the Depressed Classes'.<sup>57</sup> [Emphasis added]*

To stop the violent backlash against Dalits if Gandhi died from the fast, Ambedkar was coerced to sign the infamous Poona Pact, reflecting later that:

There was nothing noble in the fast. It was a foul and filthy act . . . [I]t was the worst form of coercion against a helpless people to give up the constitutional safeguards of which they had become possessed under the Prime Minister's Award and agree to live on the mercy of the Hindus. It was a vile and wicked act. How can the Untouchables regard such a man as honest and sincere?<sup>58</sup>

We are of the view that the only people who can regard Gandhi as honest and sincere are those who have been duped by impropagandhi.

## **EXPORTATION AND IMPOSITION OF GANDHI STATUES**

Nowadays, Gandhi's statues are being exported as the most recognisable face of India. This is part of a concerted effort using the mythical Gandhi in order to promote India's economic and foreign policy in its proxy war with China to get a foothold in Afrika. In the words of Desai, this is tantamount to 'new forms of colonialisms dressed up as anti-imperialism'.<sup>59</sup> However, this Gandhiplomaticy is backfiring as the world is gradually coming to know what a pathological liar and virulent racist Gandhi was. Indeed, it has been noted in India that:

African Americans who looked up to Gandhi, as Martin Luther King Jr. did, have been robbed of the real narrative. South African historians Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed place Gandhi in history as someone who prioritised his bargain with power over moral and ethical values.<sup>60</sup>

Secondly, Gandhi, despite his own sordid past is being used to cover up the unsavoury human rights record of the current Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, including the wholesale massacre of Muslims.<sup>61</sup> Datta-Ray writes that 'though it may seem paradoxical, the most prominent leader of the rival Congress Party, Gandhi, is palpable in all that Modi does. *He has unveiled statues of the Mahatma around the globe, paid rich tributes to him, and put into practice many Gandhian ideas*

such as the campaign to “Clean India”. Regardless of the political party in power, Gandhi is inescapable<sup>62</sup> [Emphasis added]. Perhaps, in reality, this thrust is hypocrisy in truly Gandhian proportions just as India has been the world’s leading importer of arms truly in the spirit of its warmongering symbol of peace – Gandhi.<sup>63</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to discuss Gandhi’s discourse and praxis on racism, colonialism, segregation, violence and armed struggle, the reality of which go against the grain of what he is portrayed as in the dominant discourse of rampant impropagandhi—a genre that he himself played no small role in creating. The events of June 2016 on the University of Ghana campus which led to a revolt against the planting of his statue on the campus, became a ‘teachable moment’ to provide the counter-narrative about Gandhi and to justify why the statue has to fall. The reason of the Indian government of Narendra Modi to pursue the policy of foisting Gandhi statues throughout the world all in the name of promoting Modiplomacy via Gandhipplomacy were discussed; and realpolitik behind this policy and the contradictions inherent in it were also unmasked. Not only was Gandhi in the wrong to start with, he committed a double error by trying to cover up his past with a veneer of blatant lies and half-truths.

For the University of Ghana, one of the best ways to celebrate the UN Decade is to expose the other side of Gandhi, for as it is quoted *supra*, that ignorance or concealment of major historical events constitutes an obstacle to mutual understanding, reconciliation and cooperation among peoples.<sup>64</sup>

In closing, in the words of an Akan proverb, *Nyεε ɔkraman pε dompe kyene nam pa, na deε εso ne so ara ne no* (Dogs do not actually prefer bones to meat; it is just that no one ever gives them meat.) It is high time for Afrikan=Black people to celebrate our own luminaries first because if you don't know your own heroes and sheroes, your enemies will not hesitate to give you theirs.

Proof for use by  
authors only

**SEVENTEEN**

- 1 <https://soasunion.org/liberation/campaigns/justiceforcleaners/>
- 2 <https://soasunion.org/education/educationalpriorities/>
- 3 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2017/01/08/university-students-demand-philosophers-including-plato-kant/>
- 4 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2017/01/08/university-students-demand-philosophers-including-plato-kant/>
- 5 <http://www.sunypress.edu/pdf/62458.pdf>
- 6 [https://sites.sas.upenn.edu/educationglobal/files/ebooksclub-org\\_the\\_racial\\_contract.pdf](https://sites.sas.upenn.edu/educationglobal/files/ebooksclub-org_the_racial_contract.pdf)
- 7 <https://www.dukeupress.edu/sylvia-wynter>
- 8 [https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/wp-content/themes/cgsh/materials/WKO/v2d2\\_Lugones.pdf](https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/wp-content/themes/cgsh/materials/WKO/v2d2_Lugones.pdf)
- 9 Benjamin, Walter (1940). *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, VII. [first published, in German, 1940, in English, 1955].
- 10 <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/752279/Kehinde-Andrews-Enlightenment-racist-BBC-Newsnight-SOAS>

**TWENTY**

- 1 Massey, G. (1992). *Gerald Massey's Lectures*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, p. 223.
- 2 United Nations (nd). Genocide. United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect [online]. Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/genocide.html>
- 3 OAS (nd). Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination and Related Forms of Intolerance. OAS [online]. Available at: [http://www.oas.org/en/sla/dil/inter\\_american\\_treaties\\_a-68\\_racism.asp](http://www.oas.org/en/sla/dil/inter_american_treaties_a-68_racism.asp)., Article 4.
- 4 Kimya Pearl Barden (2013). 'Remembering the cultural trauma legacies of slavery: African American young adult perceptions on racism, ethnic identity, and racial socialization', Dissertation.
- 5 Thornberry, P. (2016). *The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: A Commentary*. Oxford: OUP, p. 91.

## NOTES

- 6 A 'Kaffir' is a derogatory term used to describe the indigenous Afrikan=Black people of uMzantsi Afrika, the use of which has been subject to legal action in the courts of law there, even since the heyday of apartheid. See Willem Adolf Joubert and T. Johan Scott (1981). *The Law of South Africa*, vol. 6. Cape Town Berea: Butterworths, pp. 251–254.
- 7 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. I, p. 193.
- 8 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 224–225.
- 9 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 409–410. Ironically, Gandhi spent the latter part of his life in indolence and nakedness, sleeping naked with young girls, including his own relatives, to test his commitment to celibacy.
- 10 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 435.
- 11 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 59. Also, refer to his remarks when he returned to his whining in November of the same year, railing that: 'When the British Indians immigrated there, the latter were immediately lumped together with the Kaffir races and described under the generic term "Coloured people". Gradually the Boer mind was habituated to this qualification and it refused to recognise the evident and sharp distinctions that undoubtedly exist between British Indians and the Kaffir races in South Africa'. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 95.
- 12 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 270.
- 13 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 428.
- 14 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 429.
- 15 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 235.
- 16 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 199.
- 17 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 183.
- 18 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 445–446. It should be noted that while Gandhi liberally applied the incendiary term 'Kaffir' to the indigenes of uMzantsi, he vehemently opposed the use of the term 'Coolie' for Indians in a typically Gandhian hypocritical double-standard.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 *Ibid.*

## NOTES

- 22 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. IX, p. 257.
- 23 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 292.
- 24 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 266.
- 25 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 336–337.
- 26 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 11.
- 27 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 33.
- 28 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 251.
- 29 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 258–259.
- 30 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 124.
- 31 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 211.
- 32 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 258.
- 33 Ibid., Vol. V, p. 280.
- 34 See Singh, G.B. and Watson, Tim (2008). *Gandhi under Cross-Examination*. Lathrop, CA: Sovereign Star Publishing. Portmanteau of ‘improper propaganda about/by Gandhi’.
- 35 Gandhi, Mohandas K. (1927 [1957 reprint]). *An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Boston: Beacon Press, Ch. 101.
- 36 Ibid., Ch. 101.
- 37 Ibid., p. 227.
- 38 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. V, p. 277.
- 39 Gandhi, Mahatma and Desai, Valji Govindji (1927 [1972 reprint]). *Satyagraha in South Africa*. Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad, pp. 90–91.
- 40 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. VII, p. 397.
- 41 Meer, Fatima (1995). The making of the Mahatma: The South African experience, *Mahatma Gandhi* 125, p. 125.
- 42 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. XVII, p. 76.
- 43 Ibid., Vol XVII, p. 76.



## NOTES

- 44 Ibid., Vol XVII, p. 76.
- 45 Ambedkar, Babasaheb (1945). *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*. Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, p. 223.
- 46 Ibid., p. 183.
- 47 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. LIV, p. 158–159.
- 48 Roy, Arundhati (2014). *The Doctor and the Saint, Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Critical Edition*, Brooklyn, NJ: Verso Books.
- 49 Ambedkar, Babasaheb (1945). *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*. Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, p. 68.
- 50 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. LIV, p. 83.
- 51 Ibid., Vol. LIV, p. 83.
- 52 Ibid., Vol. LIV, p. 83.
- 53 Ambedkar, Babasaheb (1989). *Speeches (Baws)*, Bombay, Government of Maharashtra, Education Department, Vol. 9, p. 296.
- 54 Ambedkar, Babasaheb (1945). *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*. Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, p. 70.
- 55 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1999). *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Electronic Book). New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, Vol. LIV, p. 159.
- 56 Ibid., Vol. LV, pp. 113–114.
- 57 Ibid., Vol. LVI, p. 347.
- 58 Ambedkar, Babasaheb (1989). *Speeches (Baws)*, Bombay, Government of Maharashtra, Education Department, Vol 9, p. 259.
- 59 Ashwin Desai, 23 September 2016.
- 60 Suraj Yengde, Perils of Gandhiplomacy: Why there are protests against Gandhi's statue in Ghana University, *The Indian Express* [online]. Available at: <http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/perils-of-gandhiplomacy-mahatma-gandhi-statue-india-independence-3058820/>
- 61 Aditya Chakraborty, Narendra Modi, a man with a massacre on his hands, is not the reasonable choice for India. *The Guardian* [online]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/>

## NOTES

- apr/07/narendra-modi-massacre-next-prime-minister-india; Sanjoy Majumder, Narendra Modi 'Allowed' Gujarat 2002 Anti-Muslim Riots. *BBC News*, Delhi [online]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-13170914>
- 62 Datta-Ray, Deep K. (2015). *What does India think?*, ed. F. Godement. London, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Rome, Sofia, Warsaw: European Council on Foreign Relations, p. 29.
- 63 Rama Lakshmi, India, is the world's largest arms importer. It aims to be a big weapons dealer, too, according to *Washington Post*, 16 November (2014); PTI, India, is world's largest arms importer, according to Sipri, *Hindustan Times* [online]. Available at: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/india-is-world-s-largest-arms-importer-sipri/story-Ahi6LhqR7WcZStOyDuIRKL.html>
- 64 UNESCO (nd). The Slave Route. UNESCO [online]. Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/slave-route/>

### TWENTY-ONE

- 1 <http://www.royallhouse.org/slavery/belinda-sutton-and-her-petitions/>
- 2 <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2016/3/15/corporation-hls-seal-change/>
- 3 <https://reclaimharvardlaw.wordpress.com/why/>

### TWENTY-THREE

- 1 Fanon, Frantz (1967). *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*. New York: Grove Press.
- 2 Williams, Eric (1944). *Capitalism and Slavery*. Richmond, VA: University of North Carolina Press.

### TWENTY-FOUR

- 1 <http://www.oxfordafricanetwork.org/speaker-list/>
- 2 Rodney, W. (2012 [first published 1972]). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Cape Town, Dakar, Nairobi, Oxford: Pambazuka Press.
- 3 <https://www.facebook.com/RhodesMustFall?fref=ts>