

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA**

**Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy**

**(LECIAD)**

**THE GANDHI STATUE CONTROVERSIES AND IT IMPLICATIONS  
FOR GHANA-INDIA RELATIONSHIP.**

**BY**

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**LEGON**

**AUGUST 2018**

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of my original research work which I am submitting to LECIAD in consideration of the award of a higher degree in MA International Affairs. I have taken reasonable care to ensure that the work does not breach copyright law. Sources of my research have been cited and acknowledged. I, Jewel Okraku Mantey declare that this work is through my own personal effort.

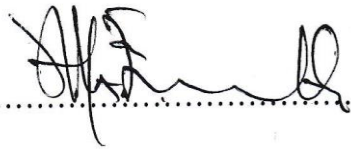


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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to God Almighty the source of my strength, knowledge and understanding. I am also dedicating it to my family who have encouraged and supported me through this journey. You have taught me the spirit of perseverance and how to accomplish what you put your mind to. Thank you for the love you continually show me. God bless you.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AFRICA	Action for Resisting Invasion Colonialism and Apartheid
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
BASIC	Brazil South Africa India and China
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BRICS	Brazil Russia India China South Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
IBSA	India Brazil South Africa Dialogue Forum
ITEC	India Technical and Economic Cooperation
MFARI	Ministry of foreign Affairs and Regional Integration
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAM	Non Aligned Movement
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NPP	New Patriotic Party
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PRC	People's Republic of China
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
UG	University of Ghana
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America

USSR      Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

## ABSTRACT

Calls for the removal of monuments that represent anti-Black racism and in some instance its disguised “ultra-nationalism” have become common in parts of the world. From the Rhodes Must Fall campaign in Oxford to South Africa to the Charlottesville incidence, through to the Gandhi Must Fall campaign, a public consciousness on such racist representations seems to have been awakened. The #Gandhi Must Fall campaign in which some professors from the University of Ghana galvanized the support of about 1500 online petitioners to call for the removal of Gandhi’s statue from the university grounds rather informed this study. Through the theoretical lens of international cooperation where the tenets of cooperation among states allows for the execution of the national interest of states, the study adopted the qualitative research design to examine the possible implications that calls for the removal of Gandhi’s statue from the University of Ghana might have on the diplomatic relations between Ghana and India. The study proceeded on the alternative hypothesis that the long standing harmonious relationship between Ghana and India might be affected by the campaign to remove the statue (especially as the countenance of the statue had suffered some damage). The research findings revealed that there is more to the dominant or single popular story of pacifist, non-violent Gandhi that is not told and that while in South Africa Gandhi’s attitude towards Black people was condescending and racist. In almost the twenty two years that he lived in South Africa the study found that he was full of disdain for the Black race and casted racial slurs on them by referring to them as Kaffirs or savages. Evidence to this was provided by Gandhi’s own direct words. The research also found that regardless of the grounds or justification for the removal of Gandhi’s statue from University of Ghana there is a very strong diplomatic relationship between Ghana and India that could be affected if the controversy surrounding the study is not handled diplomatically. The study found that while the relationship between the countries benefits both it is the interest of Ghana to maintain such relationship as it is most affected if such relationship is severed. More crucial is the fact that India is Ghana’s second largest foreign investor.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Overview

This chapter deals with the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study and the hypothesis. In addition, scope, rationale and the study methodology are also dealt with. The theoretical framework, literature review, as well as sources of data collection, and the organization of the study are also presented.

#### 1.2 Background to the study

This work was inspired by two developments in 2017. One was the “Gandhi Must Fall” issue and *the relatively recent one was the Charlottesville incidence which was a protest over the removal of the statue of the Confederate army General, Robert Lee.*<sup>1</sup> Whilst it was the contagious or the rippling effects of the campaign for pulling down statues of people who were racist, pro-slavery and colonialist, that fascinated me, I also took interest in the possible implications on Ghana-Indian relations considering calls made for the pulling down of the statue of Gandhi, a bust presented by the president of India upon his arrival in Ghana on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016. This bust was presented because of the friendly ties the two countries share and also to promote the legacy of Gandhi internationally<sup>2</sup>

The world is undergoing a “cultural battle over the legacy of slavery, imperialism and race that are on the daily basis reflected in monuments or statues scattered across North America and Europe which were the capitalist headquarters and orchestrators of racism, slavery and colonial rule”. Whiles statues offer golden opportunity to preserve history and culture, some historical preservation are offensive and are almost likely to be exploited to maintain a certain status-quo. Issues over statues and the campaign for their destruction

are not recent development.<sup>3</sup> They have been used as symbolic representation to the defiance and toppling of authorities in medieval politics.<sup>4</sup>

However, such calls seemed to have canvassed for support and attracted international attention. It must be mentioned that, the clamor for the destruction of these monuments as relics of Western racism, slavery and oppression have been mainly the call of the oppressed and in some instances not only by Africans or descendants of Africans. The first monument to Christopher Columbus, the Italian explorer, was erected in 1792 in Baltimore, Maryland to mark the 300th anniversary of Columbus' so-called "discovery" of America. Dozens of Columbus monuments exist across the U.S.<sup>5</sup> In this development, it is interesting to note that Native Americans view Columbus as the man who opened the door to the genocide of their ancestors and they have and continue to clamor for the destruction of monuments of Christopher Columbus.<sup>6</sup>

Statues of Lenin have been toppled in many countries that have rejected communism. Equally symbolically, a statue of Lenin in Odessa was turned into Darth Vader.<sup>7</sup> According to the dictates of modern international politics, it is morally unjust and an aberration to glorify any statue or existing relics of the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and the same goes for his Fascist counterpart, Benito Mussolini. On 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2016 the Telegraph newspaper reported that the Italian government had banned inhabitants of the village of the former Italian dictator Mussolini from selling his paraphernalia which have been ongoing for decades. The argument of the government was to prevent any neo-fascist incitement and motivation likely to be generated by such sales particularly among the youth.<sup>8</sup>

Africans on the continent and people of African descent in the diaspora (African Diaspora) have had to grapple with the intent and actions of toppling monuments and relics that

continue to be a perpetual reminder of the injustices perpetuated against the Black race home( on the continent) and abroad (diaspora).

Clashes between the ‘Alt-right’ and ‘Antifa’ (Anti-Fascist Movement) over the statue of General Robert lee led to the sad incidence of the death of one protester who was run over by car driven by a far right activist who supported maintaining the statue.<sup>9</sup>

Some of such relics could be found in the Southern African region precisely in South Africa. Lesotho, one of the areas designated by Amin as Africa of the labor reserve was an untouchable site for the West for the greater part of their period in Africa.<sup>10</sup> The economic importance of South Africa in particular (the strategic location and importance of the Cape of Good Hope, discovery of Gold and diamond in 1868 and 1888, the fertility of the soil and the vast amount of land) and the Mediterranean breeze of the region made the region a conspicuous preference for white Settlement as a Settler Colony.<sup>11</sup> It was along these lines that Cecil Rhodes, the British imperialist and White Supremacist forcefully annexed ancient Zimbabwe occupied by the Shona and Ndebele to the British Crown as Rhodesia, named after himself.<sup>12</sup> In recent times South African students have succeeded in bringing down his statues and similar calls have been made by students of Oxford University in London.<sup>13</sup>

Similar to the adage that the apple does not fall far from the tree, calls have been made in Ghana to remove or pull down the statue of the Indian icon, Mohandas Gandhi, from the University of Ghana Campus. This petition was began by some Scholars from the Institute of African Studies and the School of law of the University of Ghana. They were eventually able to canvass for support from people nationwide who signed to make the petition worthwhile. In the end, the University Council in connection with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed to remove the statue from the University campus.<sup>14</sup>

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Indo-Ghanaian relations have traditionally been warm and friendly. The strong relations between the two countries were laid by Ghana's first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and India's first Prime Minister, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.<sup>15</sup> The close friendship these countries enjoyed found its roots in the South-South cooperation and the common aspiration both leaders shared during the Cold War era into what later crystalized as the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>16</sup> Bilateral relations between the countries exist on various levels, but the visit of President Pranab Mukherjee of India to Ghana from June 12-14, 2016, which was the first-ever State visit by an Indian Head of State, was the highlight of the year.<sup>17</sup> The high-level visit helped further strengthen the bilateral ties between India and Ghana.

Whilst the relationship between the countries has not yet reached the nadir of deterioration, it is quite unclear of the possible future repercussions of calls for removal of the Gandhi statue and anonymous attempt to deface it on the longstanding harmonious relationship between the two countries. Intellectual energy has been expended on the appropriateness or not of erecting Gandhi's statue on the University of Ghana campus. However, proper intellectual exercise, one besides journalistic responses that offer an analysis of the future implication of such calls on Indo-Ghanaian relationship has yet to be done and this necessitate a study such as this.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

In undertaking this study, an attempt would be made to answer the following questions as a guide to the study.

- a. What is the historical relation between Ghana and India?

- b. How has India's growing influence and power manifested overtime particularly under the Modi Doctrine?
- c. To what extent do the Gandhi statue controversies affect Ghana-Indian relationship?

### **1.5 Research Objectives**

The study generally examines Gandhi's statue controversies in Ghana and its possible implications on Ghana and India's bilateral relationship. To do this however, the specific objectives would be:

- a. To provide a historical overview of the relationship between Ghana and India
- b. To examine India's growing influence in international politics and particularly under the Modi Doctrine.
- c. To investigate the extent to which the Gandhi statue controversies are likely to impact Indo-Ghanaian relationship.

### **1.6 Rationale of study**

The study is first and foremost conducted as a prerequisite for the award of Master of Arts Degree in International Affairs and diplomacy. It however, has two main purposes. The first is research oriented and is to provide findings that will enhance or serve as a guide to any further research that seeks to explore the relationship between the two countries. Significantly too, the findings of this study could inform or provide an insight to the foreign policy relations between Ghana and India.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

This study analyses the possible implications of the Gandhi statue controversies on the Ghana-Indian relationship. The work is situated within the time frame of 1960 to 2017. The year 1960 has been selected by the author as the opening date for this study because it

has very historic and political essences which are both relevant to this study. It is considered to be the year of Africa because in that year alone 16 West African countries got independence.<sup>18</sup> Coincidentally, it was the decade for which the most important embodiment of Pan-Africanism (OAU) on the African continent came into existence in 1963. Particularly important to this study is the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961.<sup>19</sup>

This movement laid down the foundation for the Indo-Ghanaian relationship that still exists today. It was the able leadership of countries like India, Ghana, Egypt, the former Yugoslavia, and Indonesia that gave life to the Non-Aligned thoughts. There could not have been any better date as the terminal date for this study than 2017 for two main reasons. The first is that 2017 allows for an evaluation and examination of the longstanding relationship the two countries have witnessed and how they have manifested over decades. It is also in 2017 that most of the topical issues concerning statues controversies in the United States, England, South Africa and Ghana occurred.

### **1.8 Hypothesis**

The calls for the removal of the Gandhi statue from the University of Ghana campus can negatively impact the longstanding harmonious relationship between Ghana and India.

### **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

This study is conducted under the theoretical framework of International Cooperation. In an inexhaustible list Robert Keohane, Joseph M. Grieco, Peter Haas, Helen Milner, John Ruggie and Robert Axelrod are some of the scholars in international relations whose works have provided fundamental intellectual understanding of international cooperation. International cooperation is part of the larger broader school of thought of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Enlightenment, 19<sup>th</sup> Century Liberalism and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Wilsonian Idealism.<sup>20</sup>

From the realist point of view, Stein has argued that states cooperate only to deal with a common threat and as such states see cooperation, as “unusual, fleeting and temporary.”<sup>21</sup> In furtherance, he maintained that the realist notion of cooperation is based on the perception that the international system is characterized by anarchy, chaos, conflicts and a constant struggle for survival.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, along such arguments, Grieco sees international cooperation as “the voluntary adjustments by states, of their policies so that they manage differences and reach some mutually beneficial outcome.”<sup>23</sup> Grieco, like Stein, also maintains that ‘the anarchical nature of the international system, makes international cooperation imperative in regulating the anarchical potential of a realist world.’<sup>24</sup>

Cooperation in international relations has been defined by Robert Keohane as “a process through which policies followed by governments come to be regarded by parties as facilitating the relations of their own objectives as a result of policy coordination”.<sup>25</sup> Motivated by the classic work of Keohane (*After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*) in which this definition is found, a number of scholars have defined cooperation as occurring when actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others , through a process of policy coordination.<sup>26</sup> Under this circumstance, policy coordination means that the policies of each have been adjusted to reduce their negative consequences for other state.<sup>27</sup>

International Cooperation is the establishment of a set of relations or grading behavior between states or other non-state entities which is not premised on coercion or force, but on mutual consent and necessitated by mutual benefit.<sup>28</sup> International cooperation may occur as a result of adjustment in behavior by actors in response to or in anticipation of,

the preference of other actors. Cooperation can be negotiated in a bargaining process that is explicit or tacit.<sup>29</sup>

In international relations, cooperation, according to Milner, is premised on two features. The first is the assumption that each behavior is directed toward some goals. These goals must not necessarily be the same, but must reflect their rational interest. The second feature is that such cooperation needs to provide the actors with rewards and gains. Once again these gains must not be of the same magnitude, but they must be mutual. The cooperation is such that the various actors help each other to realize their own goals by adjusting policies in anticipation of their own reward.

The theory of international cooperation has however come under criticism just the same way most theoretical frameworks have. Most of such criticisms have usually come from the Realists and positivists. Their ideal thought of the possibility of international cooperation impairing the anarchical nature of international politics has largely been elusive. As long as states with military capability continue to remain the most important key actors in the international system and their “rational decision making” is characterized by their national interest, international cooperation may be hampered.

In other words, international cooperation cannot transcend anarchy. As Stanley Hoffman argued:

“the essence of liberalism is self-restraint, moderation, compromise and peace whereas the essence of international politics is exactly the opposite: troubled peace at best or the state of war”.<sup>30</sup>

Scholars like Mershiemer in his work the *Failed Promise of Institutionalism* have expended a lot of intellectual energy to critique institutionalism and international cooperation.<sup>31</sup> Realists have described advocates of international cooperation as wishful thinkers. If this were not the case, Israel will not continue to show disdain to international law concerning forceful occupation of Palestinian lands, Russia would not have invaded

Georgia and Crimea in 2008 and 2014 respectively, US would not have attacked Iraq in 2003 against a clearly established prohibition from the United Nations, and China would not continue developing the South China Sea even though that country by international law, is expected to stop.<sup>32</sup>

However the critique, an appreciation and application of the theory to a study such as should be clearly elucidated as it remains in the opinion of the researcher the most suitable theory for a study such as this. The point is that Ghana and India have found the need to cooperate on a number of levels. The theoretical discussion of international cooperation encompasses relationship between two states or relationship among larger numbers of units known as Multilateralism. That of Ghana and India finds essence in the former. Bilateral relations between the two countries have been existence for decades with its zenith reached when the president of India made a state visit to Ghana in 2016. Beyond the economic, trade and political relations that exist between these two states on a bilateral level, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed by the Government of Ghana and the Multibillion dollar Bollywood industry.<sup>33</sup> This development that occurred in 2017 demonstrated the growing cooperative ties that exist between Ghana and India and therefore the suitable applicability of a study such as this.<sup>34</sup>

### **1.10 Literature Review**

Realist perspective has been diffused as the only dominant epistemology of international relations. Countries must therefore find their way out through cooperation, regardless of the keen competitive environment. It is for an imperative reason that the Montevideo Convention of 1933 for instance, noted that entities that clamor for international recognition of statehood must have the ability to enter into relations with other states.<sup>35</sup> The impetus for this criterion is that it is imperative for states to relate with other states for

survival, since no state is an Island, but in one way or the other interconnected through the global intricacies of globalization. Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) said it better in his own words:

*“Competition has been shown to be useful up to a certain point and no further, but cooperation, which is the thing we must strive for today, begins where competition leaves off.”<sup>36</sup>*

If the above situation is correct, then states must always ensure that in order to survive by asserting their rightful place in international politics, they enact clear policies and strategies that allow them to deal or relate with the outside world. In the conviction of Hedley and Adam, cooperation is essential to the existence and survival of any state.<sup>37</sup> It is practically impossible for states to function in a vacuum or isolation in this contemporary global political landscape of interdependence. States must necessarily have interactions with other states in the international system for survival.

Milner noted that cooperation exists in myriad forms. To this scholar, cooperation could be tacit and in this case occur without communication or explicit agreement.<sup>38</sup> What it means is that explicit agreement may not be necessary in this regard, but rather what matters is cooperative behaviour that emerges as expectations of the actors converge. Cooperation could be achieved through the very popularly known outlet which is negotiating in an explicit bargaining process.<sup>39</sup> This happens to be the very common type of cooperation in international relations as studied by Keohane and Oye.<sup>40</sup> Then there is also imposed cooperation. When a stronger party forces the other side to alter its policies that cooperation in the opinion of Milner is forced.<sup>41</sup> In some instances, the stronger party may adjust its own policies in an attempt realize to mutual gains.

Interaction amongst countries could take place at numerous levels (mostly through trade). This idea of trade relations brings to fore the idea of bilateral relations. Hedley and Adam

noted that “the emergence of a single global system and a common international system has brought about a vast increase in the number of international interactions among nations and an end to the isolation of countries”.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, inasmuch as nations may cooperate internationally, bilateral links represent the fundamental base of interactions or relations among countries. It is right to suggest that the relationship between Ghana and India emanate from the belief that global interactions are imperative in making countries avail their respective experiences to others, for the purpose of knowledge sharing.

Stein is of the conviction that because states act autonomously and self-help is the fundamental ethos from the realist perspective, cooperation is sometimes rare.<sup>43</sup> In a more detailed analysis, Stein maintained the realists’ position that, states cooperate only to deal with common threats and thus, see cooperation as temporary or inconsequential since self-interested rationality forms the basis of cooperation.<sup>44</sup> Stein further notes that cooperative agreements would emerge naturally from exchange. International cooperation is therefore embedded within a structure of competition, rivalries, and insecurity among states.<sup>45</sup> Liberals and realists agree that states cooperate because it is in their finest interest to do so, a situation which has been described as relative gains in international cooperation theory.<sup>46</sup> As a result, self-interested interaction leads to international cooperation and provides opportunities for economic growth and development among nations.

It is important to mention at this stage that Ghana and India’s relationship take different forms from common political struggles in the 1960s, educational exchange programs to trade and investment as would soon be explored in the Second chapter. It is therefore, in the interest of both countries to cooperate in order to satisfy the needs of their respective citizens.

In their book *International Economics: Theory and Policy*, Krugman and Obstfeld dedicated their intellectual energies to an analysis of international cooperation through trade.<sup>47</sup> In doing this, they brilliantly adopted David Ricardo's model or law of Comparative Advantage. As a model, the underlining argument is that a country is said to have comparative advantage in producing a good or service if the opportunity cost of producing that good in terms of other goods is lower in that country than it is in other countries.<sup>48</sup> Put differently, a country will export goods which it has relative productive advantage and then import those it is relatively inconvenient to produce. The model indicates that the basis of international trade is the factors of relative endowments between countries. Under the circumstance, trade between two countries can benefit both countries if each country exports the goods in which it has a comparative advantage/its comparative advantage is greatest and import goods in which its comparative disadvantage is greatest.<sup>49</sup> The relevance of this model to the understanding of international cooperation theory is that through the exchange of goods and services, countries will cooperate.

In *Cooperation and International Regime*, Keohane and Williams noted that, "states formulate policies with the aim of achieving objectives, consistent with their overall national interest. They further explain that "cooperation occurs when actors adjust their behaviour to actual or anticipated preferences of others, through a process of policy coordination".<sup>50</sup> States agree on stipulated policies to help each other for mutual understanding and benefit. While state sovereignty reigns supreme theoretically in the international system, both sovereign nations of Ghana and India adjusted their respective behaviours and preferences, with the view of achieving development in a mutually beneficial manner.

Ghana is a potent force in the West African sub-region and indeed, the African continent. Ghana's role in contemporary African affairs is still cherished against the backdrop of its democratic credentials, peace and tranquility. For Ghana, to adjust this position vis-à-vis its national interest means it believes in cooperation. Similarly, the gradual, but growing influence of India particularly under India's current Prime Minister Narendra Modi is worth mentioning and so India's attempt to reaching out to Africa and Ghana in its bid to becoming a recognizable force in Africa plays a crucial role in its foreign policy.

Foreign policies are designed to help protect a country's national interest, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. Simply put, a country's foreign policy may be said to be the policy which governs its relations with other nations. Thus, programs, policies and actions or behaviour are set in motion by a state to exhibit in its relations with other countries. Foreign policy ensures the maximization of opportunities offered by the international community and the utilization of such opportunities for development in the national level. It is one of the vehicles through which international politics functions. According to Hugh Gibson, foreign policy is

*“a well-rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interest of the nation”.*<sup>51</sup>

Asante remarked that in Ghana's foreign policy relations, peace, friendship and treaties are enshrined in the constitution. In the case of Ghana, the Directive Principle of State Policy which provides the constitutional imperative that sometimes set the national interest parameter is found in Chapter VI, Article 35, 40 and Clause 2 of the 1992 Constitution.<sup>52</sup> The implication of this is that in the execution of all national assignments, Article 35 and 40 should be the standard yardstick of measurement as far as foreign policy is concerned.

Therefore in protecting and promoting the national interest of Ghana, the Constitution also encourages “establishment of a just and equitable international economic, social order, respecting international laws, staying obliged to international treaties, using peaceful means to resolve international disputes and adherence to objectives and ideals of the charters of U.N; and any other international organization of which Ghana is a member of and signatory to”. All these had over the years, guided Ghana’s relations with all states whether continental or transcontinental. In furtherance, Asante explained that economic development is crucial to the formulation of foreign policy in Ghana. He also emphasized that the improvement in agriculture and industrial sector is possible through foreign investment. Therefore, Ghana, in an attempt to develop the industrial sector, will fashion her policy to attract foreign assistance from advanced countries including India which has made mechanized agriculture and other means of soft power its trump card to Africa. Obadele Kambon and Kwadwo Appiagyei-Atua in the Pro-Indo-Aryan Anti-Black M.K Gandhi and Ghana’s #Gandhi Must Fall Movement have also thrown light on the same topic being discussed. They have made indepth analysis as to why Gandhi is undeserving to have a monument erected in his name.

### **1.11 Study Methodology**

The research design employed in the conduct of this research is Qualitative method. The researcher employed this design as the main research approach for the investigations of this study as well as to test the validity or otherwise of the hypothesis. Qualitative research design remains suitable for a study such as this because the researcher seeks to conduct a descriptive and detailed study in which reference and emphasis are placed on understanding the rationale behind the respective pro and anti-supporters of the Gandhi

statue. This understanding of issues is much more emphatic in qualitative analyses. This is much against Positivist approach which is more interested in validating or disproving measurement to establish causal relations.<sup>53</sup> Qualitative approach also allows for a grasp of a people's actions, beliefs and values of people. It allows for a consideration of the emotions and symbolic gestures people attach to their behaviors. `

### **1.12 Sources of data**

The study made substantive use of secondary data for the research. It was mainly through critical content analysis of secondary data. Therefore the secondary data used for this study was retrieved from published books, journals articles, news reports, as well as multiple internet sources. News reports from both local and international media outlets were also used. Some of these local media outlets include *Myjoyonline* and *Citifmonline* which gave wide coverage to the issues surrounding the topic under discussion as it unfolded. The New York Times, BBC, the Guardian were some of the international media outlets that also reported on the Gandhi statue controversy in Ghana

### **1.13 Organization of Study**

Essentially this research is structured into four chapters. Chapter one is the Introduction which gives the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study and the hypothesis. In addition, the scope, rationale as well as the study of methodology is addressed. The theoretical framework, literature review, as well as sources of data collection, and the organization of the study are also presented.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the relationship between Ghana and India. It begins with the common struggle for South-South cooperation in the 1960s, through to 21st Century bilateral ties between India and Ghana (what both countries get from cooperating with each other). This chapter brings out the possible agency of Ghana and India as

underrepresented in international relations. This will be done by comparing the characters of Nkrumah and Nehru as great political thinkers who could be of great importance in the bid to forging Africa's international relations. It is part of examining the common struggles of India and Ghana as South-South cooperation. It will also examine the sudden rise of India in Africa.

Chapter three examines Gandhi's statue controversies in Ghana and the likely implications for Ghana-Indian relationship. This begins by placing Gandhi at the centre of discussion and examining his personality as opposed to the dominant single story of a pacifist which has been the daily mantra and slogan in what has been referred to as 'Gandhiplomacy'. 'Gandhiplomacy' is how the Brahminical governments portrayed Gandhi on the international arena in exchange for soft power. It is an effort by the Indian government to make Gandhi more popular globally. Of course 'Gandhiplomacy' cannot and will not be discussed here if not for the new influential role India has cut itself in global politics with the help of the incumbent Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, in what had been referred to as 'Modi Doctrine' or also 'Modiplomacy'. 'Modi Doctrine' is the foreign policy initiatives directed towards foreign states after Modi's government came into power in 2014. The chapter will then finally examine the implications on Ghana-Indian diplomacy if calls for pulling Gandhi's statue are achieved. Chapter Four which is the final chapter provides a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### INDIA'S AFRICA POLICY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE; THE CASE OF GHANA

#### 2.0. Introduction

At present, there is arguably a gradual shift in an attempt to reorient Africa's international relations away from the linkages of the West established under colonialism. African leaders in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, in the opinion of some scholars have the opportunity to alter the continent's marginal place in global political and economic power, and to shift from a post-cold-war US-led unipolar to a multipolar global order – in which the emerging powers of the global South will be key players.<sup>54</sup> It is now an uncontested fact that the Western powers no longer maintain exclusive leverage over the future of Africa's development. This argument will unveil the presence of a new set of developing, albeit powerful actors on the continent besides the West. It has become conspicuous that the North–South relations which have created a periphery core relationship are being superseded and replaced by the South–East and emerging Africa–Gulf–Asia triangular relations, with profound implications for Africa's development or for want of succinct explanation South-South cooperation.<sup>55</sup> Some of these powers making inroads into Africa include South Korea, Malaysia, Vietnam, but most significantly China and India.<sup>56</sup> This chapter focuses on the evolution of India's Africa policy. It provides a historical overview of India in Africa. It does so however by placing Ghana at the centre of the discussion. Again, whilst providing an overview of India's presence in Africa, specific Indo-Ghana relationship would be examined. This is largely because India's modern presence in Africa is inextricably linked with some aspect of Ghana's foreign policy particularly under the leadership of the founding father of modern Ghana (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah).

## **2.1. India and Africa: A Historical Overview.**

It is almost tempting to discuss Indo-Africa relations within the emergence of the Cold War and India's independence in 1947. The burgeoning literature that speaks to the precolonial Indo-Africa relations should also be mentioned in a study such as this. Harris remarked that the largest numbers of enslaved Africans in Asia were settled in India (p. 9).<sup>57</sup> These Africans known as "Siddis and Habshis served as administrators, guards, sailors, and farm hands. Large numbers of enslaved and free Africans served in Muslim armies in Gujrat during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and in India today there remains the Habshi Kot, an Ethiopian fort with tombs of African soldiers and nobles".<sup>58</sup> Supporting this argument, Zeleza revealed that the trans-Indian ocean diaspora that predates trans-Mediterranean and Atlantic diaspora saw both voluntary and forceful movement of Africans from Northeastern Africa to Asia specifically South Asia including India and Sri Lanka.<sup>59</sup> Material evidence like the "Mohenjodaro coins have been unearthed in Egypt, and the discovery of the port of Lothal in Gujarat, dating back to the fourteenth century shows some form of seaborne trade of a sort going on between India's coast and that of ancient civilizations in Africa as early as 4,000–5,000 years ago".<sup>60</sup> It therefore appears that there have been some forms of movement of Africans and Indians across each other's geographical space overtime.

This century old long range Indo-Africa relations experienced an abrupt end within the European colonial expansion. European expansionist expedition through the manipulation of international law (first through terra nullius and later territorium nullius) also coincidentally incorporated both the Indian subcontinent and large swaths of Africa into the British Empire.<sup>61</sup> This in turn facilitated the establishment of substantial communities of people of Indian origin in Africa. The point is that Europeans, in this case, British colonial expeditions in the end inextricably linked the political fate of both Africa and

India together as they were both subjugated to colonial rule by a common western power, Britain.<sup>62</sup> The “British East Africa Protectorate for instance that included Kenya and Uganda was originally administered from Bombay, which had been given to the British as part of a royal dowry by another European power” (p.64).<sup>63</sup> The common denominator that India and some part of “Africa shared as having the same colonial master (British) facilitated India’s presence in Africa as the British sent thousands of Indians as indentured labour to work in plantations in South Africa, Mauritius and other African destinations” (p.64).<sup>64</sup> It was Britain’s control of South Africa and India simultaneously that provided the bridge for Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi, (father of Indian independence) to come to South Africa.<sup>65</sup> He accepted a position as a legal counsel with an Indian law firm in Natal in 1893 and remained in South Africa until 1914.<sup>66</sup> Accordingly, information from the government of India in 2001 reveals that there are over approximately two million Indians in Africa.<sup>67</sup>

## **2.2. Decolonization and the Cold War: A Turning Point in Indo-Africa Relations**

The period of industrial revolution in Europe championed by the British and tenets of mercantilism compelled not only the British, but other Western European countries to move out of their comfort zone in search areas beyond Europe whose markets could provide them exclusive monopoly. There was also the need for raw materials to sustain the newly industrial system of the time, whilst at the same time providing a comfort zone for the surplus European labour kicked out of work because of the industrial revolution. In this analysis, Africa and the pacific of Asia proved suitable. In the particular case of India, British presence as a colonial power just like in other areas began with “trade” and much later in 1858, India officially became a British colony as British crown took control of India from East India Company.<sup>68</sup> This political history of India meant it could identify with the colonial struggles of other colonies. This only made sense as India realized that

the political intricacies that held them in colonial rule were a mammoth force that needed to be tackled collectively.

Therefore during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century when the British economy was in shambles because of decades of massive involvement in the wars of Europe, that country like other European countries was politically fragile and some colonies under them sought to strike for independence at the weakest moment of the British Empire.<sup>69</sup> The weakening of the British Empire can be traced to World War two (1939-1945) when Britain was defeated in Europe and Asia. This led to the loss of some of its territories and colonies putting a strain on its financial and economic capability. An end to Raj was one of its biggest blow since this colony provided most of Britain's military prowess east of Suez. The British authority and wealth had been reduced significantly at this point. It was the beginning of the end of Pax-Britanica. Accordingly, in 1947 India gained independence from British colonial rule.<sup>70</sup> This was made possible partly by the largely pacifist role played by the "founding" father of India's independence (Mahatma Gandhi). Gandhi's adoption of civil resistance (1930-1931) and the Salt March united the Indian population thus posing a threat to the British government. The Indians also engaged in public demonstrations which led to men and women being arrested. In the end, the independence struggles of India was realized and Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India. It is recorded that at the time India got independence in 1947 there were only four sovereign states in all of Africa and they were Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa (which was still under white minority rule).<sup>71</sup> India's engagement with Africa took a new turn following decolonization and in this regard Bhattacharya, Sanjukta have even noted that perhaps the independence of India struck a chord with at least some of the nationalists who wished for freedom in Africa.<sup>72</sup> The anticolonial posture assumed by India's first Prime Minister crystalized the political relationship between Africa and India.

### **2.3. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Global Campaign against Imperialism.**

Whilst Gandhi is known to have been the founding father of modern India and had a huge impact on some African nationalist leaders as would soon be found in the next chapter, it was also the political activism and thought of the Prime Minister Nehru (a thought which was largely rooted in freedom of the oppressed) that gave Indo-Africa relationship its political structure during his long tenure as India's first prime minister (1947-64).<sup>73</sup> Even before independence, he had actively participated in the Brussels Congress of Oppressed Nationalities organized by political exiles and revolutionaries from Asian, African and Latin American countries as far back as February 1927, and had from that time began to think in terms of a common struggle against colonialism and imperialism.<sup>74</sup> Its main purpose was to dissuade imperialists from oppressing weak states. Consequently, after India's independence in 1947, Nehru "emerged as the post-colonial world's leading voice against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony – ideals that mirrored the views and aspirations of the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa".<sup>75</sup>

The point which has already been mentioned is that India identified with the common colonial struggles of the oppressed people (they were all victims of colonial rule) not only in Asia, but Africa and this is very much evident in Nehru's own speech when he declared that albeit Africa and India are separated by the Indian Ocean, Africa is "our next door neighbor" and that "in historical perspective, Indian interests are likely to be bound up more and more with the growth of Africa".<sup>76</sup> Nehru realized that it was practically impossible for India to sustain her independence meaningfully, whilst other countries in the Asian region languished in colonialism. This position was captured in the speech he delivered on the eve of India's independence when he stated that "India could not be a

mere hanger-on any country or group of nations; her freedom and growth would make a vital difference to Asia and therefore to the world”.<sup>77</sup>

Therefore, right from the time India became independent and under Nehru, it availed it privileges as a member of the Commonwealth to post commissioners, often also accredited as consuls general, who not only looked after the interests of their fellow citizens but also established ties with local African leaders. In fact, it is reported that the first Indian commissioner in British East Africa, the Nairobi-based Apasaheb Balasaheb Pant, was so supportive of the nationalist aspirations of the African population that the colonial authorities demanded his recall.<sup>78</sup>

#### **2.4. The Non-Aligned Movement; the beginning of Indo-Ghana Relations**

If India and Africa have had a political relationship as aforementioned, it was the ideological polarization of global politics between the East led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the West led by the USA in what ensued as the Cold War (1945 to 1989/1990) that brought the continent and subcontinent ever closer to each other.<sup>79</sup> This laid the foundation for the most concrete relationship between Africa in general and Ghana in particular with India. The independence of India was also coincidentally, the nascent stage of the Cold War politics where every meaningful thing in international politics was reduced to the crude simplicity of superpower rhetoric of the iron curtain and so as was expected, India was also expected to declare its stand declaring which of the superpowers it supported at independence.<sup>80</sup> When Nehru was asked what was going to be India’s foreign policy after independence he responded that India foreign policy was going to be one of “Non-Aligned”.<sup>81</sup>

This then became the fulcrum of India’s foreign policy after independence. By being non-aligned, Nehru meant that India’s foreign policy was envisaged to freely interact or not

with either of the superpowers of the Cold War in the sole national interest of India and not any of those superpowers. India envisaged staying away from the superpower entanglement, in order not to compromise the hard won independence of that country.<sup>82</sup> Nehru's views and thought in this regard was akin to the aspirations of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa who also wanted to hold on to their independence and stay away from the bipolarization politics of the day.<sup>83</sup> As it were, this idea of a foreign policy incubated by Nehru grew to become a very important movement called Non-aligned Movement (NAM) with membership spanning from Africa, Asia, Middle East, and Latin America.<sup>84</sup> Non-aligned became a cornerstone foreign policy for many African countries.

### **2.5. Nkrumah and the Foundations of Ghana's Foreign Policy of Non-Alignment.**

The relationship between Ghana and India has its foundations in the formation and function of NAM. This is because non-alignment became a significant foreign policy of Ghana under Nkrumah. He is the main figure for fighting for Ghana's independence and was a founding member of NAM.<sup>85</sup> This was the most essential reason for the close relationship between Ghana and India as this agenda brought the leaders of the two countries (Nkrumah and Nehru) together on several occasions and platforms. It is based on this historic relationship that several visits of Ghanaian presidents to India including President Nkrumah in 1961, President Limann in 1981 and President Rawlings in 1993 took place.<sup>86</sup> On several grounds, Nkrumah and Nehru shared similar political traits. It is very important at this stage to understand that Nkrumah's role in the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement formed a cardinal feature of his foreign policy which was also largely reflective of his unity agenda.<sup>87</sup>

Nkrumah was influenced by Casely Hayford from whom he drew so much inspiration.<sup>88</sup> Casely Hayford was the founder of the National Congress for British West Africa, a body

that advocated for a federation of four British West African colonies (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia).<sup>89</sup> Nkrumah also wrote that Marcus Garvey also had a significant influence on him. These two great men of history had something in common which shaped Nkrumah's vision for Africa. This was the need for a united Africa and Africa for Africans.<sup>90</sup> It is only then that from a united front Africa can fight for complete independence collectively. It therefore comes as no surprise from this deduction that on the eve of Ghana's independence in 1957, Nkrumah declared that:

*“The Independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African continent. ...”*<sup>91</sup>

Nkrumah's statement encapsulated his thoughts and aspirations which proved to be the mainstay of his foreign policy. This statement of Nkrumah also mirrored earlier one quoted by Nehru as aforementioned. For one thing, both Nkrumah and Nehru were great thinkers who thought alike. They were both liberationists who realized the magnified power of all the oppressed people of the world when unison and cooperation amongst them is achieved.

Just like Nehru, Nkrumah too committed Ghana's resources at independence into facilitating the independence of other African countries at independence. Mention could be made of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute (presently University of Education, Winneba) which trained African nationalist leaders such Robert Mugabe to fight against colonialism in their respective countries and the Black Star Line that conveyed freedom fighters to and from Ghana at no cost.<sup>92</sup> Nkrumah committed an annual subvention to the tune of 400,000 pounds from Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board to support this bureau. He organized the Conference of Independent States of Africa; the All Africa People's Conference and began the formation of a nucleus of West African states.<sup>93</sup> It comes

therefore as no surprise that Nkrumah was voted as the Greatest African Personality of the second Millennium<sup>1</sup>.

It should also be mentioned that whatever India was doing was in the interest of that nation's foreign policy or what is known as the national interest. This is because within India's foreign policy of non-alignment inherently, was the idea of resisting any form of interference that compromised India's independence, an idea that coincidentally resonated with majority of African countries in search of independence. However, Nkrumah also realized that the situation in Africa was more precarious than ever because the existence of the Cold War and its effects threatened the very independence of African countries and indeed the Third World. While it was in the interest of Ghana and the Third world countries to stay out of this dangerous polarization, it was equally important for such emerging states to be able to carry out their foreign policies in their ultimate interest. If such an objective was to be achieved Nkrumah's 'Africa Must Unite' agenda was never going to be enough to withstand the communist and capitalist forces of USSR and USA. This required the unified voices of other Third World regions of Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean to form a third voice of reasoning.

Against this background, Nkrumah made it part of Ghana's foreign policy to pursue a policy of Non-Alignment. In fact, this idea of non-alignment found expression in Nkrumah's words when he said

*"we look neither to the East nor to the West, we look forward".<sup>94</sup>*

Although the idea of non-aligned was a brain child of Nehru's India, Nkrumah of Ghana, Abdel Gamel Nasser of Egypt, Josip Broz Tito and Sukarno of Indonesia are all credited as the founding fathers. The need for the concerted efforts of the regions with a common

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<sup>1</sup> SKB Asante (2011).

destiny triggered the Afro-Asian solidarity which ensued as an Afro-Asian Conference in 1955 at Bandung in Indonesia. On September 6, 1961, NAM organized its first Summit of Heads of States in Belgrade. This conference, spearheaded by Nehru and Tito, officially launched the Movement. The Membership comprised ten African countries headed by Nasser and Nkrumah, Fourteen Asian countries headed by Nehru and then Cuba; the only representative of Latin America. These countries communicated that the future of a global lasting peace was at stake due to East-West hostilities and therefore advocated for the need to safeguard peace<sup>2</sup>. NAM is a movement whose aim is to support independence from power blocks and reflect the voice of the developing countries.<sup>95</sup>

The relationship and the hopes of a longer brighter cooperation between Africa and India experienced some hiccups when “China and India had disagreements over border disputes and the Sino- Indian War of 1962 left the PRC in possession of the contested areas.<sup>96</sup> The result was not only a setback for India’s standing among the NAM nations (only Egypt stood firmly behind India), but also led policymakers in New Delhi to adopt a less ambitious national policy, focusing instead on building their country’s defense sector and securing its immediate neighborhood”.<sup>97</sup> Regardless of this India continued to generously support national liberation movements in Africa. At the Eighth NAM Summit in Harare, Zimbabwe, in 1986, “Rajiv Gandhi was chiefly responsible for the establishment of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism, and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund to aid the “frontline” states in supporting the victims of apartheid and was elected as its first chairman. India contributed \$40 million of the Fund’s initial capital of \$70 million”.<sup>98</sup> This largely constituted the `Indo-Africa/Ghana relations in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

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<sup>2</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Summit of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement", 6 September 1961. Retrieved from [www.cns.miis.edu](http://www.cns.miis.edu). 4 January 2016

## **2.6. From Idealism to Pragmatism: India–Africa relations at the Turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

India's involvement with Africa particularly within the first four and a half decades was therefore based on ideological and idealistic principles and was mainly political. Events however, took a different turn in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and the nascent years of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. With the vestiges of naked colonialism and apartheid dismantled and the Cold War ended, India's engagement with Africa was no longer based on ideological and political praxis.<sup>99</sup> One of the effects of the end of the Cold War on India was the introduction of India's economic liberalization programme early in the 1990s. The implication of this was that the country was faced with the economic realities of the day and so had little space for the hitherto Nehruvian non-alignment and Gandhian idealism.<sup>100</sup> Ideologies were no longer the rallying cause of interaction with Africa.

There was a paradigmatic shift to more pragmatic policies of attracting investment and expanding trade and investment with the African continent. The point is that once the global political landscape of the world changed at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, India also needed to change its nature and scope of relationship with Africa. It should also be mentioned that India has a dying need for ample supply of critical energy and raw material from Africa in order to fuel its growing economy and reduce poverty in the long term. This is against the background that India is now deemed to be an emerging economic power with enormous potential, and is viewed as a 'BRIC' country. This term was coined by Goldman Sachs for what it perceives as the four largest emerging markets of the future: Brazil, Russia, India and China.<sup>101</sup>

Under the circumstance, India needed to practice a foreign policy that resonated with its growing economic ambition. India's Africa policy is now redirected away from its former

ideological basis to a more pragmatic one, with national interest being defined more in 'realistic' terms. Just like China's Africa Policy, India is also moving at a faster pace to consolidate its growing presence in Africa. In the words of the former Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh's, "our concern for energy security has become an important element of our diplomacy and is shaping our relations with a range of countries across the globe, in West Asia, Central Asia, Africa and Latin America".<sup>102</sup>

In the case of Africa, India's pragmatic and realist foreign policy have manifested in the three major India-Africa Summits held so far. The blue prints by the Indian government establishing an enduring economic and political relationship with the continent of Africa were announced at the April 2008 India-Africa summit. Some other initiatives by the Indian government to establish an economic stronghold in Africa "include the Focus Africa Programme, launched in 2001, the Techno-Economic Movement for Cooperation with nine African countries and India (TEAM 9), and training and technical assistance to African countries provided through the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme (see chapters by Naidu and Bhattacharya, this volume)".<sup>103</sup>

One must also not lose sight of the fact that India's pragmatic relationship with Africa is not only cloaked in economic realities of the day embedded in it the search for energy security, raw materials, but also has a geopolitical flavor to it. The point being made here is that India clamors as the world's largest democracy and an emerging economic power to be a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and in this bid the diplomatic support of Africa is substantive.<sup>104</sup>

On another level, there is a significant presence of an Indian diaspora in Africa who have made huge investment in the country's economic sector. In the specific case of Ghana, the Indian community is estimated at about 10,000. Some of them have been in Ghana for

over 70 years.<sup>105</sup> The business activities of Indians in Ghana have significantly contributed to Ghana's economic development. Indian investors are the second highest in Ghana in terms of number of projects. Indian Associations are active in organizing Indian festivities.<sup>106</sup> There is a Hindu temple, a Gurudwara, and a Hindu Monastery in Ghana. The Indian diaspora in Africa has been assimilated into the culture and socio-economic milieu of many African countries. This reinforces the strong social and cultural bonds between Africa and India.<sup>107</sup>

India's engagement with Africa from idealism to pragmatism takes shape on three levels. There is the engagement at the continental Pan-African level in which case is the AU, on an individual state level, and the third being at regional level. Particularly interesting in recent years is India's engagement with African countries on a regional level. The country has opened dialogue with the regional economic communities and has acquired observer status in a number of regional organizations in Africa such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of West African States.<sup>108</sup> India's partnership with Africa extends beyond the Regional Economic Communities on the continent. There is BRICS (already mentioned) and two other subgroupings that are also used in the context of Africa: India Brazil South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA) and the BASIC group comprising Brazil, South Africa, India and China (BASIC) as well as the continental India Africa summitry process.<sup>109</sup>

So far, a picture is painted as if Africa is only at the receiving end of Indo-Africa relations. The relationship is not just one way. It has been stated that "Mauritius has emerged as the largest African offshore investor in India. African companies are gradually entering into joint venture enterprises in India. For instance, Mumbai's international airport is being

modernized in a million-dollar joint venture between India's GVK Group and the Airports Company of South Africa".<sup>110</sup>

## **2.7. The Indo-Africa Summits; a Reflection of India's Pragmatic Foreign Policy in Africa**

The institutionalization of India's relationship with Africa manifested through the India-Africa summits. The first of the summits envisaged to take place every three years, was held in Delhi in 2008. The summit which was hosted by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, witnessed the presence of fourteen African heads of state and the leaders of eight African regional groups. The hallmark of the summit was that India offered 5.4 billion dollar credit to Africa.<sup>111</sup> The co-operation framework adopted at the India-Africa Forum Summit outlines the priority areas of future co-operation, which range from capacity building, agricultural infrastructure development, health and food security, energy security and technological co-operation.<sup>112</sup> In the words of Bhatia "the first summit succeeded in creating a new architecture for India- Africa engagement. It highlighted New Delhi's hope that the 21st century should be the century of Asia and Africa".<sup>113</sup>

The second Africa India Forum Summit, held in Addis Ababa from May 20 to May 25 2011 was attended by fifteen African Heads of State. It saw the Indian government take significant steps towards building ties with Africa.<sup>114</sup> The focus was on trade and development. India also offered \$5 billion of credit over three years and increased development aid for Africa projects making a statement that India is continuing to engage with Africa seriously.<sup>115</sup> It was largely the second summit that saw the crystalized the idea of forging a India's links with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) of Africa, and the agreement on 'Africa-India Framework for Enhanced Cooperation' in order to supplement the 2008 framework.<sup>116</sup>

The biggest and ambitious of all the summits took place in 2015 under the leadership of the dynamic leadership of Narendra Damodardas Modi. This was Modi government's biggest diplomatic outreach involving delegates from a large number of African nations.<sup>117</sup>

The third summit saw India hosting the Heads of State and Government of 41 African countries and representatives of all 54 African states in New Delhi.<sup>118</sup> The participation in this third summit was much higher than the earlier ones which witnessed a range between 10-fifteen African leaders. Several far reaching decisions were adopted during the third India-Africa summit. The Delhi Declaration which was unveiled made provision of a concessional credit for development of \$10 billion for a period of five years.<sup>119</sup> This included a grant assistance of \$600 million which comprised an India-Africa Development Fund of \$100 million, an India-Africa Health Fund of \$10 million, 50,000 scholarships in India over next five years and the continuation of Indian support for, and expansion of the Pan African e-Network project.<sup>120</sup>

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## CHAPTER THREE

### GANDHI'S STATUE CONTROVERSIES IN GHANA AND THE LIKELY IMPLICATIONS FOR GHANA-INDIAN RELATIONSHIP.

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the likely implications the Gandhi statue controversies could have on the relationship between India and Ghana. It is recalled that on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2016, which was a day before the arrival of President Pranab Mukherjee of India, the statue of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was erected on the University of Ghana campus.<sup>121</sup> It was mounted specifically at the Recreational Quadrangle behind the university's Balme Library. Within a time space of three months in September, after the statue was mounted, some scholars of the University of Ghana (notable among them Adomako Ampofo, Akosua Adoma Perbi, Appiagyei-Attua and Obadele Kambon) triggered a successful online petition with the massive support of some students into what culminated in the #”Gandhi must fall” campaign.<sup>122</sup>

The online campaign was to petition the University Council to pull down Gandhi's statue from the University of Ghana campus. Within two weeks after the online petition, the campaign garnered almost 1,500 petitioners who clamoured for the removal of the statue from University of Ghana (UG).<sup>123</sup> The issue attracted the attention of some major international media outlets like the BBC, Al Jazeera, and The Guardian and calls for pulling down the statue perhaps motivated the defacing of Gandhi's statue wherein the spectacles and his eyes being damaged.<sup>124</sup> In this development, no identified individuals were found responsible.

However, in response to these demands, the Government of Ghana represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration promised to relocate the statue stating that whatever allegations levelled by the campaigners was an “unfortunate verbal attack” and that such comments were “attack on an Indian Nationalist Hero and icon who is revered and cherished by over one billion people who are either citizens of India or persons of Indian descent”.<sup>125</sup> Clearly, the government of Ghana at the time was more concerned about the cherished diplomatic cooperation between Ghana and India at least largely due to the benefit of the former than to the latter and how such controversies in Ghana might affect that relationship. More clearly, this was demonstrated in a statement in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that “such comments and agitations against the situation of the statue on the University campus had the potential of creating disaffection for Ghana at the level of Government relations and Ghanaians across the world”.<sup>126</sup>

It is against this background that this chapter sets out to answer the last research question which is to what extent does the Gandhi statue controversies affect Ghana’s Indian relationship? To do this however, the chapter begins by situating the character in question (Gandhi) at the centre of the discussion by examining what the claimants for pulling down the statue reveal he is as opposed to the dominant single story of a pacifist which has been the daily mantra and slogan in what has been referred to as ‘Gandhiplomacy’. This is done vis-à-vis the calls for pulling down the statue of Gandhi from the University of Ghana campus. Of course, ‘Gandhiplomacy’ cannot and will not be discussed here if not for the new influential role India has cut itself in global politics with the help of the incumbent Prime Minister, Narendra Modi, in what had been referred to as ‘Modi Doctrine’ or also ‘Modiplomacy’. The chapter will then finally examine the implications on Ghana-Indian diplomacy if calls for pulling Gandhi’s statue are achieved.

### **3.1. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: What he is known to be as against what he has done.**

Pick any book, journal article or an online publication that discusses Gandhi and one is sure to find to a larger extent issues that are full of praise and mellifluous news about him. Often the name of the Indian born, British trained lawyer which is mentioned is “Mahatma” Gandhi even though he was born and named Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Yet very few ask why he is popularly known as Mahatma and not his name at birth. It must be mentioned here that Mahatma is a title that means “great soul”. This is a title he acquired when he returned from South Africa to India in 1915. Gandhi has largely been portrayed as a pacifist, social reformer, non-violent and non-cooperation practitioner and a political strategist by his disciples and loved ones. His strategies of boycott and civil disobedience are widely eulogized.

Born on October 2, 1869, into a family of merchants, he moved to England to study law at the age of 19.<sup>127</sup> He returned to India in 1891, but shortly left to South Africa in 1893 where he served as that country’s first colored lawyer to be called to the bar.<sup>128</sup> After almost two decades Gandhi would leave South Africa to India in 1915 where he would later begin implementing the Satyagraha translated in English as “firmness in truth” which became one of the founding principles of non-violent resistance as he was set on the path of fighting for India’s independence from the British.<sup>129</sup> Albeit Gandhi’s non-cooperation posture towards the British started in the 1920s, it was his organized and led “Salt March” that was a political campaign of civil disobedience that scored him considerable political points.<sup>130</sup> On 30<sup>th</sup> March 1930, Mohandas Gandhi led thousands of Indians to the Arabian Sea Coast defying the British Salt Act of 1882.<sup>131</sup> In the end Gandhi and 60,000 others were arrested.<sup>132</sup> It was Gandhi’s continued strife through Satyagraha that culminated into the independence of India from the British in 1947. Practically, Gandhi won independence

for India and for that he has often been referred to as the “Father of the Nation” with reference to India.<sup>133</sup>

Gandhi almost suddenly came to be perceived as a political strategist whose tactics of non-violence, civil disobedience, non-cooperation, and passive resistance was viewed by the broader colonial world fighting to free themselves from European imperialism as the way forward. “Gandhi’s political activities in India were a factor that contributed to the quickening of political events in certain parts of Africa. It was soon after the end of the First World War that Gandhi’s name became known in West Africa too”.<sup>134</sup> The point is that if such a strategy had worked in India it could work for other oppressed regions of the world like Africa and the global African family which some would like to call African diaspora. “In 1931 having sailed from India for Europe (specifically London) to attend the second round-table conference called by the British government to discuss the constitutional development of India, Gandhi was asked if he would object British continued rule of Gold Coast and he answered in the affirmative.”<sup>135</sup> Both the personality and strategy of Gandhi became exemplary, an epitome of hope and beacon of light for the oppressed world.

The idea of non-violence and civil disobedience were very much favorable to Africans who otherwise would have had to fight bloody wars of independence like the devastating one fought between Algeria and France in 1954-1962. Ultimately, the odds were against the majority of African countries who would have been going up against military and powerful Western powers (whose powers although were limited after the Second World War).<sup>136</sup> The non-violent approach was therefore seen as more practical yet effective than its alternative use of force and violence, which the European imperialist had in abundance. Zunes makes a point that this was one of the reasons the ANC anti-apartheid movement in South Africa changed tactics from violent to non-violent and civil disobedience to the

apartheid regime which was in part successful.<sup>137</sup> Very famous African nationalist leaders have made very conspicuous the manner in which the personality and strategy of Gandhi inspired their own liberation struggles. It is recalled that in the Black diaspora during the Manchester Conference of 1945 when the continental African nationalists like Kwame Nkrumah, Nnamdi Azikwe, Jomo Kenyatta, Peter Abraham, Obafemi Awolowo as well as the Caribbean born George Padmore were at the forefront of the organization of the conference, Gandhi's Satyagraha was brought up and affirmed as the "only effective means of making alien rulers respect the wishes of an unarmed subject people".<sup>138</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that Nkrumah who was a decade later to become Ghana's first president adopted Gandhi political strategies of civil disobedience, strikes, boycotts and in essence non-violent approach in what culminated and commenced as "Positive Action".<sup>139</sup> Nkrumah himself wrote upon the death of Gandhi that "We too mourned his death, for he had inspired us deeply with his political thought, notably with his adherence to non-violent resistance".<sup>140</sup> The father of Pan-Africanism W.E.B. Dubois was never short of appreciation for the political strategist and his methods as applied in India in his newspaper the *Crisis*. Nnamdi Azikwe, Leopold Senghor, and much later Nelson Mandela as is already mentioned in the particular case of South Africa were leaders who averred that they were significantly motivated by Gandhi.<sup>141</sup> The Civil Right Advocate Martin Luther King Jnr., even took it to the next step when he in appreciating Gandhi and his strategies mentioned that "Christ gave us the goals and Mahatma Gandhi the tactics".<sup>142</sup>

### **3.2. In the Shadows of Mahatma Gandhi: "Gandhiplomacy" and the Modi Doctrine**

This has been the dominant knowledge of the globalist Gandhi which has been projected as a single story and consumed by most people who on the average read and digest such one sided story of him. This has very much also been the argument of those opponents to the "Gandhi must fall" campaign in the University of Ghana. It has already been

established in the second chapter that India's engagement with Africa at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and much so at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was one of pragmatism than the previous ethos of idealism.<sup>143</sup> It should be mentioned here that this change in India's foreign policy was not only peculiar to Africa, but was largely reflective of India's global posture. At the turn of the Century the name associated with gathering momentum for India as a global power and a force to reckon with through pragmatic application of that country's foreign policy is Narendra Damodardas Modi. His tenure has witnessed a strong posture of India to assume supposedly, its rightful place as an indispensable player on the international scene in what has culminated in the Modi Doctrine or for want of a better word what this study refers to as "Modiplomacy".<sup>144</sup>

The aura of expectation around Modi and what his tenure might do for India's foreign policy was not lost to the Indian scholar Rajesh Basrur, when he argued that "the advent of Narendra Modi to the Indian premiership aroused considerable expectations about India's place in world politics".<sup>145</sup> Modi's charismatic and authoritative persona as compared to his predecessor Manmohan Singh was infused with his love for "identification with the ideology and politics of *Hindutva* (or Hindu-ness)".<sup>146</sup>

Put differently, this sense of Hinduness (also translated as a form of nationalism, and also the cherished religion of Gandhi which he strived to maintain) could only manifest through stronger and tougher India, which alone can be realized on the basis of true national security and global recognition of India's prominent place in the world.<sup>147</sup> Therefore since Prime Minister Modi came to power in 2014, he has sought to project India's soft power through the pursuit of both cultural and economic diplomacy and in seeking to achieve these aims, the 'Modiplomacy' has found solace and an accomplice in a personality already known to the world as a social reformer and a pacifist (Mahatma Gandhi) and has courted this personality. As Jawaharlal Nehru said "the policies and

philosophy which we seek to implement are the policies and philosophy taught to us by Gandhiji”, so has Modi sought to do.<sup>148</sup>

Since Modi came to power, he has in the words on Ray and Deep “unveiled statues of the Mahatma around the globe, paid rich tributes to him, and put into practice many Gandhian ideas”.<sup>149</sup> These monuments of Gandhi have been used to diffuse India’s soft power, but have firmly been mounted in developing countries where India seeks to assert its impact as a growing economic power. Since independence, India has been exporting Gandhi and with the utmost support of privileged caste Congress leadership, Gandhi’s writings have been disseminated across the globe, cloaked under moral spiritualism.<sup>150</sup> In that same vein, “post-Independence, Brahminical governments have traded in Gandhi and accrued the soft power dividends that come with it which is visible in the deployment of ‘Gandhiplomacy’ as a cornerstone of India’s foreign relations”.<sup>151</sup> This soft power of India’s foreign policy has been given a boost by Narendra Modi’s leadership.

### **3.3. Unveiling the Mask of Divinity: Gandhi’s anti-Black Racism Exposed**

This is a very crucial aspect of this study. A person’s life can not only be judged based on a one sided popular story. This is so because as Socrates once popularly remarked “an unexamined life is not worth living”. It therefore suffices to mention that if the mellifluous knowledge of Gandhi has been told then as a researcher, it is incumbent on me, to also delve into the other side of Gandhi’s aberrational character that makes him unbecoming as a monument worth being mounted in Ghana’s Ivory tower which is the University of Ghana as is the argument of the “Gandhi must fall” campaign. Two books which greatly inspire this section are the works of G.B. Singh *Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity* and Arundhati Roy’s *the Doctor and the Saint*, the former which also inspires the title of this section. It is said that actions speak louder than words, but the other side of the coin that

places enormous emphasis on the imperativeness of words is the adage in Akan cosmology that a person's tongue does not rot even in their death.

Therefore, in the death of Gandhi, his very clearly disdain and racist remarks he made about Black people and his love for oppressive and exploitative imperial elements during his time in South Africa still haunt him.. Quotes directly from the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi would be used to demonstrate this assertion. It should also be mentioned here that these arguments are also the foundation upon which the ““Gandhi must fall”” campaign from the University of Ghana is established.

In the almost two decades that Gandhi lived in South Africa, he was full of anti-Black racism for the autochthones. He always referred to the indigenous Black South Africans in derogatory terms and implied that they were sub humans below the Indo-Aryan race and the two should never be compared.<sup>152</sup> Gandhi referred to the Black South Africans as “Kaffirs” or savages.<sup>153</sup> **Kaffir** is strictly a derogatory term. Time and again, he never missed the opportunity to claim affinity with the British (seeking an imperial brotherhood with the British) while showing disdain, resentment and contempt towards the Black race. Gandhi demonstrates this better in his own words when in 1894 he wrote that

“ 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. 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, if I may venture to use the word, in the various departments of life-industrial, intellectual, political ...”<sup>154</sup>

It was simply beyond acceptable limits in the view of Gandhi as he wrote in 1896 that Indians<sup>3</sup> in South Africa should be placed “in the same category as the half-heathen Native” less the Indian be reduced “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>155</sup> Gandhi remarked that the Boer Government insulted the Indians by classing them with the Kaffirs”.<sup>156</sup>

His disdain and contempt for Black people in South Africa was not conscripted in words but in deeds as well and a very clear exhibit of this was his first political victory in 1894 when he lobbied and won a solution to the problem of the Durban Post Office.<sup>157</sup> In this development, Gandhi had the British authority open a third entrance for the Indians because he did not want them and the “kaffirs” to use the same entrance in the post office at Durban.<sup>158</sup>

In fact, much later in 1904 in the exact words of Gandhi, he asked

“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>159</sup> “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>160</sup>

The foregoing proves that one does not need rocket science to reveal the fact that Gandhi despised Black Africans and detested the idea of sharing public spaces with them. It is therefore not out of place for the “Gandhi must fall” campaigners to question Gandhi’s monument in such Black space of Ghana if he never wanted to be with them and fought so hard against it in all the years he lived in South Africa.

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<sup>3</sup> It is recalled that the British who had arrived in South Africa by 1795, like Dutch also imported indentured labour, but from India and thus added to the complex mix of population in that area. So through the British India’s established a strong presence in South Africa. This makes sense as India was a one of Britain’s most successful colonies.

The fact is that Gandhi's anti-Black racism quotes directly made by him are numerous and one is sure to be dazzled by them if one visits this site <http://www.gandhiserve.org/e/cwmg/cwmg.htm>.

Then there are also his deeds and actions that challenged him later to acquire a persona of a non-violent, pacifist political strategist. In this regard, the online article of Obádélé Kambon, one of the campaigners to bring Gandhi's statue down from the University of Ghana proves useful. His work "Should Gandhi's Hypocrisy Be Taught in West African Schools? – A Dissenting View" carefully provides evidence that "Gandhi – through his words and/or deeds – supported every war in his lifetime, including the Second Boer War (1899-1902), the Bambatha Rebellion (1906), World War I (1914-1918) and World War II (1939-1945)".<sup>161</sup> In the Boer War and especially the Bambatha Rebellion in which the British imperial power murdered thousands of Zulus, Gandhi clamored enthusiastically for himself and the Indians to be allowed to fight on behalf of the British against the African people.<sup>162</sup>

In 1905, in reference to the above, Gandhi advocated that

"If the Government only realized 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>163</sup>

Much later in that same year, he would confirm his desire to join the British imperial army to massacre the Zulus when he remarked that

"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>164</sup>

When his calls for the conscription of Indian immigrants into the British army fell on rocky grounds, he quickly jumped to the opportunity offered them as stretcher-bearers in

the rebellion mainly dedicated to the removing injured British soldiers from the battle field.<sup>165</sup>

Not only did he advocate and provide men to fight the “Kaffirs”. Even more damning to Gandhi’s reputation was his determination to do everything possible to exterminate the Zulus to such an extent that he would mobilize funds for the British and “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 ...The soldiers’ life is a hard one.... 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>166</sup>

Gandhi would much later leave South Africa to India and while he is popularly known as the father of India’s independence perhaps his relentless efforts to maintain the caste system and particularly his campaign against the efforts of the Dalits, The Black “Untouchables” of India, right up to his death should also mentioned. This is well documented in Singh and Roy’s work which have been aforementioned.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, while Gandhi was effectively fighting for the independence struggle of India from the British through Satyagraha, he was denying a deprived section of the India community known as the Dalits the same freedom.<sup>168</sup>

These facts presented above represent a truly villain character and an “itinerant warmonger”<sup>169</sup>, of a supposed non-violent, pacifist political strategist worthy of emulation. The point is that you cannot compartmentalize your life in such a manner as Gandhi did as he would later project a “Mahatma” and expect his past deeds and actions to be erased. These things he did and said cannot just be thrown into the proverbial dustbin for the annals of history are a constant path of reminder waiting to always explode.

As Suraj has argued and it is the opinion of the researcher, it is possible that those Black liberators who have looked up to Gandhi as an inspiration have probably done so because they have been robbed of the real narrative<sup>170</sup> and many have been deceived of the real personality of Gandhi because they have failed or lacked the will or the capacity to research what Gandhi himself wrote at the time.<sup>171</sup> These are in sum, some of the basis for the campaign to bring down the statue of Gandhi on the University of Ghana campus.

Besides the personal deeds of Gandhi, Professor Adomako Ampofo, one of the lead campaigners, in a petition to the University of Ghana Council, wrote that the University of Ghana aspires to reach the status of a world class university, yet some of the exemplary world class universities have taken significant steps into removing names and monuments of statues of individuals who assumed an affirmative posture towards Black enslavement in the slavery era.<sup>172</sup> Yale University in April 2016, announced that it would remove the name Calhoun College, after John C Calhoun, a 19th-century vice-president, South Carolina senator and Yale alumnus who was a staunch slavery advocate from the school.<sup>173</sup> A month later, the Ivy League school announced that “it would name a residential college, set to open in 2017, for Anna Pauline “Pauli” Murray, a black Yale Law School alumna and civil rights activist”.<sup>174</sup>

At the Harvard Law School a committee has been set up and tasked with reconsidering the School’s “seal in light of its connections to slavery and the recommendation was that the Harvard Corporation revoke the emblem’s status as the school’s official symbol. This is due to the fact that the seal bears the crest of the former slave-owning Royal family, whose donation helped establish Harvard’s first law professorship in the late 18th century”.<sup>175</sup> It is also the case that “Georgetown University renamed two buildings on campus, Mulledy and McSherry Hall, that honour former presidents who organized the sale of slaves to a Louisiana plantation to help pay off the school’s debt.<sup>176</sup> (The school has not yet chosen

permanent names, but Mulledy Hall will be called Freedom Hall, and McSherry Hall will be named Remembrance Hall, according to the Washington Post). On the African continent we have seen how students led protest compelled the senate and then the Council of the University of Cape Town to remove of statue of Cecil Rhodes in 2015.<sup>177</sup>

The petition presented by the Professor Adomako Ampofo to UG Council calling for the removal of Gandhi's statue also included the reason that "if there should be statues on our campus then they should first be African heroes and heroines, who can serve as examples of who we are and what we have achieved as a people."<sup>178</sup>

### **3.4 Gandhi's Statue Controversies in Ghana: What is at Stake?**

In India's pragmatic quest to assume importance in the international political arena, Africa and for that matter Ghana has featured in this dream prominently. In the BRICS conference to be held in Africa, India revealed that it has plans to establish eighteen more embassies across the African continent.<sup>179</sup> The theoretical framework of international cooperation adopted for this work explains the relationship between these two countries as both countries have realized the need to cooperate on a number of levels and in this cooperation Ghana's government stands to gain significantly. Put differently, it is in Ghana's national interest to maintain a very good diplomatic relationship with India.

The point is that "according to Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) India is the second largest foreign investor country in Ghana in terms of number of projects and ranked 9th in position according to value of FDI in Ghana. There were 57 projects registered under Indian companies in 2013 and have invested in more than 600 projects with total investment of US\$ 998 million between September 1994 and September 2014".<sup>180</sup> In simple words, they provide substantial employment to ordinary Ghanaians and help to absorb the pressure on the public sector.

In 2017, when the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) in partnership with Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), met in a programme hosted in Ghana, India brought in a 200-strong business delegation to Ghana in India's quest to boost its economic capacities in West Africa.<sup>181</sup> The total volume of trade between the two nations hit US\$3604 million in 2015. India's exports to Ghana stood at 623 million dollars. Ghana also benefited from the trade by exporting goods worth three billion dollars.<sup>182</sup> It is also recalled as stated in chapter two that there are about 10,000 Indian diasporans living in Ghana.<sup>183</sup> It is reported that

“Ghana was included as one of the nine West African countries under the GOI's TEAM 9 initiative launched in 2004. India has been supporting Ghana's development by providing assistance in setting up projects through provision of Lines of Credit and grants. So far, Government of India has extended Lines of Credit amounting to about US\$ 230 million to Government of Ghana for various developmental projects. Some of the projects have been completed while a few are in various stages of implementation. Amongst the recent projects are the India-Ghana Kofi Annan Centre of Excellence for ICT; the Flag Staff House (Presidential Complex); the Pan African E-Network Project and Rural Electrification Project. Two projects under EXIM”.<sup>184</sup>

The report continued that

“the Bank of India Line of Credit were successfully commissioned in 2016 – Komenda Sugar Plant on 30 March 2016 and Elmina Fish Harvest & Processing plant on 29 November 2016. A Line of Credit facility for supply of 104 fire tenders to Ghana National Fire Services was also completed on 3rd December 2016. Other projects which are in the pipeline are in diverse sectors, *inter alia*, waste management, railway equipment, agro-processing, supply of potable water etc. Government of Ghana signed a Buyers' Credit agreement with Exim Bank of India for US \$ 398.33 million for the Tema-Akosombo railway line & Line of Credit of US\$ 24.54 million for sugarcane cultivation and irrigation development project on 22 November 2016”.<sup>185</sup>

There is also a growing African and for that matter Ghanaian student population pursuing their educational dreams on the scholarship schemes of the Indian government. It should also be mentioned that the incumbent government of Ghana has received an amount to the

tune of I million dollars from the Indian government to renovate the Flagstaff House.<sup>186</sup> This so far is the crucial role India plays in Ghana's economy. It has also been established in the first chapter that a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed by the Government of Ghana and the Multibillion dollar Bollywood industry.<sup>187</sup>

From the analysis, it adds up to make the assertion that it is for these significant benefits that accrue to the Ghanaian government and its economic ambitions from India that urged the then Ghanaian government of the day represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) to come to the defense of the mounted monument of Gandhi. Perhaps it feared it might lose such relationship and in tandem the economic benefits that come with it if opinions at the public and state level in India is not favourable towards Ghana. In a statement issued in response to the calls for the removal of Gandhi's statue and importantly after the monument was damaged, MFARI issued a statement in which it stated that the situation could create disaffection for Ghana across the world. MFARI swiftly promised to relocate the statue from the University of Ghana. However, at the time this study was conducted, the statue still remained where it was and a new dimension as if to communicate to the Indian government that Ghana was doing everything it could to protect the decades of good bilateral relations between Ghana and India, a 24/7 daily security protection is now provided to the statue. The following are the exact words from the statement issued by MFARI

“While acknowledging that human as he was, Mahatma Gandhi may have had his flaws, we must remember that people evolve. He inspired movements for civil rights and freedom across the world. The government would, therefore, want to relocate the statue from the University of Ghana to ensure its safety and to avoid the controversy on the Legon Campus being a distraction of our strong ties of friendship that has existed over the years. To this end, the Ministry is urging Ghanaians to look beyond the comments attributed to Mahatma Gandhi

and acknowledge his role as one of the most outstanding personalities of the last century....”<sup>188</sup>

This was a diplomatic nicety (comity) to try to salvage the controversy around the “Gandhi must fall” campaign from degenerating and affecting the relationship between India and Ghana so the latter’s economic benefits from the former are protected. The relationship with India from the foregoing is very crucial for Ghana’s government. It is for this same reason that the political scientist and lawyer who was once the Ghanaian High Commissioner to India and currently the Speaker of the House of Parliament, Professor Mike Ocquaye, remarked that the decision to demolish the statue “might have implications on diplomatic ties between Ghana and India”.<sup>189</sup> According to him “It will be most unnecessary, most uncalled for and not in the supreme interest of Ghanaians and we must know what serves our interest best. Some people in India wanted diplomatic relations to be broken in Ghana over the way we sometime back treated them, but caution prevailed and they kept their cool to show that they understand diplomacy and the ups and downs of international relations and today the relationship is a bit better and we look forward to it being better still.”<sup>190</sup>

The view expressed by the MFARI and Ghana’s former high Commissioner to India is very much reflective of the likely implications the controversy of the Gandhi statue might have on the diplomatic relationship between Ghana and India as calls to demolish the monument would send wrong signals of Ghana to the Indian government.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an analysis of the possible implication the Gandhi statue controversy in Ghana could have on the diplomatic relationship between Ghana and India. The personality (in this case his monument) at the centre of this whole controversy is Mahatma Gandhi and so the chapter examined by way of demystifying the single peddled

story of Gandhi that only portrays him in a positive limelight. His anti-Black racism, his support for the inhumane war against the autochthones of South Africa and his support for maintaining the Caste system that reduces the Dalits to the level of nothingness were discussed. In fact, in a more detailed damning work on him by Jad Adams (*Gandhi: A Naked Ambition*), he revealed how Gandhi spent the latter part of his life in sleeping naked with young girls including his own relatives to test his commitment to celibacy.<sup>191</sup> These and other reasons were the premises for the campaign to pull down the statue of Gandhi from the UG. The chapter also provided the argument of Gandhi as a political strategist and a social reformer which his admirers claim makes him a gift to humanity. The image of a cherished Gandhi has been a cornerstone soft power foreign policy significantly courted by the current Prime Minister of India in what this chapter termed ‘Gandhiplomacy’ in the Modi Doctrine. Having provided the Janus face perspective and opinions of Gandhi the chapter ended by providing the substantial benefits to Ghana borne out of the diplomatic relationship between Ghana and India and how that relationship is likely to be affected by calls for the demolishing of the statue.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 4.0. Introduction

Calls for the removal of monuments that represent anti-Black racism and in some instance its disguised other “ultra-nationalism” have become common in parts of the world. From the Rhodes Must Fall campaign in Oxford to South Africa to the Charlottesville incidence, through to the Gandhi Must Fall campaign, a public consciousness on such racist representations seems to have been awakened. The call for the removal of Gandhi’s statue has also been global as such demands have been made in the states of Michigan, San Francisco, California and Texas. Similar campaigns were introduced as far back as 2008 in London and in 2015 in South Africa. The #Gandhi Must Fall campaign in which some professors from the University of Ghana galvanized the support of about 1500 online petitioners to call for the removal of Gandhi’s statue from the university grounds rather informed this study.

Through the theoretical lens of international cooperation where the tenets of cooperation among states allows for the execution of the national interest of states, the study adopted the qualitative research design to examine the possible implications that calls for the removal of Gandhi’s statue from the University of Ghana might have on the diplomatic relations between Ghana and India. India which is the largest democracy of the world has sought to pursue a rather grandeur foreign policy that makes it important in international politics and in this calculation Africa and for that matter Ghana has lot to benefit. India is Ghana’s second largest foreign investor and the two countries have had very stable relationship for decades. The study proceeded on the alternative hypothesis that the long standing harmonious relationship between Ghana and India might be affected by the

campaign to remove the statue (especially as the countenance of the statue had suffered some damage).

#### **4.1. Summary**

The purpose of the data collected was in the end to validate or disprove the hypothesis and so to do this the specific objectives were first to discuss India-Africa relations while narrowing down to the cooperation between the countries of India and Ghana. The rest of the objectives and chapter were dedicated to examining actions, and deeds of the man who even though in his death his statues continue to generate controversies the world over. This was done to amplify the pro ‘Gandhi must fall’ campaigners and those who insist he was a gift to humanity.

The study found that India’s relationship with Africa is pre-historic, but the significant space and time within which the relationship was cemented was when India provided the ideological nourishment together with Africa, Latin America and Asia in what became known as the Non-Aligned Movement. It was this than anything else that brought Ghana’s president, Kwame Nkrumah, ever close to India’s Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. It was also found that India provided Africa with a glimpse of hope and motivation in their struggle against the colonial government of the day.

It was found that by the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, the foreign policy of India had metamorphosed from one based on ideological leanings to one of pragmatism. This was a necessary change to reflect the political landscape of the day and such changes also had impact on the Indo-Africa relations as India strove to establish a much stronger footprint on the African continent like its Chinese counterpart. This would culminate in the India-Africa Summit, three of which has already taken place. Among the three summits already held, it is the last summit held in 2015 under the leadership of Narendra Damodardas

Modi that was considered most ambitious. It was also India's biggest diplomatic outreach to Africa. This summit culminated into the Delhi Declaration in which India committed an amount to the tune of \$10 billion for a period of five years as concessional credit for development to Africa and 50,000 scholarships in India for African students over the next five years and the continuation of Indian support for, and expansion of the Pan African e-Network project.

It was found that India's relationship and involvement with Africa takes place on three different levels ever since its foreign policy changed course to pragmatism. The first is at the continental level in this case with the African Union, the second is the regional level with the Regional Economic Communities (RECs). In this regard, India has acquired observer status in a number of regional organizations in Africa such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of West African States. The third level is at the state level in which India deals with respective African countries of which Ghana is included. There is also BRICS (already mentioned) and other two other subgroupings that are also used in the context of Africa: India, Brazil, South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA) and the BASIC group comprising Brazil, South Africa, India and China (BASIC).

The study found that it is the tenure of the current Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi that India's foreign policy really gestures towards pragmatism and thus he has given momentum to the aspiration of that country to assume its rightful place in the international political arena. His foreign policy aspiration has been called the Modi Doctrine or "Modiplomacy". In doing so however, Prime Minister Modi has courted the personality of the father of India's independence (Mahatma Gandhi) by exporting the monuments to the world as a form of India's soft power. It was part of this agenda that a monument of

Gandhi would be erected by the government of Ghana on the University of Ghana campus upon the visit of the President Pranab Mukherjee of India in June 2016.

It was found that Gandhi was an inspiration to some of Africa's nationalist leaders and his ability to win independence for India made him a beacon for the other oppressed people of the world and Africa at the time could identify with that. Gandhi was seen as a political strategist whose style of antagonizing imperial Britain was through the non-violent, civil disobedience approach. He was considered peace loving, pacifist and a social reformer. His strategy would much later inspire Nkrumah of Ghana's Positive Action and Martin Luther King Jr's., Freedom March. Black people on the African continent and the African diaspora and oppressed people of the world were inspired by Gandhi, the study found and it is this personality that India seeks to export to consolidate its soft power on the world stage. This is also very much the argument of those who maintain the position of keeping Gandhi's statue on the UG premise.

The study also found information to debunk the single mellifluous story of a positive image Gandhi sold to the world. This information was damning as it empowered the campaigners of #'Gandhi Must Fall' to make a forceful claim and in fact, garner the support of 1500 online petitioners to support the campaign. Before Gandhi became a "Mahatma" he was known as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. It was found that Gandhi was a racist whose words and deeds conspicuously demonstrated racial hatred for the Black autochthones of South Africa. In almost the twenty two years that he lived in South Africa the study found that he was full of disdain for the Black race and casted racial slurs on them by referring to them as Kaffirs or savages. Evidence to this was provided by Gandhi's own direct words.

The study also found that contrary to his peace loving and pacifist status, he supported the British in every step of the way to massacre thousands of Black South Africans or the Zulus in the Bambatha Rebellion and the Boer War. In fact he practically lobbied for himself and the Indians in South Africa to be given arms so they could join in the massacre of Black people and when that had failed he would gladly accept the offer that the Indians should perform the role stretcher bearers in the British army.

Away from South Africa and India in 1915 while many are aware of his independence struggle, very few study found are aware of how he thwarted the efforts of the Dalits also called the untouchables (descendants of Black people in India who are at the bottom of the Caste System in India) to break from the bondage of caste and exonerate themselves from the enslaved situation. Gandhi would fight tooth and nail to ensure that the Hindu inspired caste system and the position of the Dalits is perpetual. Therefore while he was fighting for freedom from the British, Gandhi was fighting to keep the Dalits in perpetual bondage. This was the same time when he was now referred to as a “Mahatma” the great soul. One wonders how he was able to compartmentalize his life in such a way that he was able to live with this image of holding a section of the Indian population in perpetuity while projecting an image of a pacifist to the world simultaneously. Those who campaign for his statue to be brought down have an answer to this question and that is hypocrisy.

The Gandhi must fall campaigners also argued that most of the world class universities that University of Ghana aspires to be have all taken steps to remove or are in the process of removing monuments and names of people whose words and deeds connote a pro-slavery attitude and so UG must do same. They also argued that there are a lot of options for personalities of African descent whose statues could be mounted than “racist Gandhi”.

The study found that calls for the removal of the statue from the University of Ghana premise was followed the defacing of the statue and that triggered a quick response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration (MFARI) which promised to relocate the statue.

The study found out that more than anything else, it was the position and response of MFARI to the calls for the removal as well as that of a former Ghanaian Ambassador to India that strongly demonstrated how the Ghanaian authorities cherished the diplomatic relationship and cooperation with India. This is because MFARI quickly moved in defense of statue stating that such calls from Ghanaians could create disaffection for Ghanaians across the world. The study found that India is Ghana's second largest foreign investor. It was found that the total volume of trade between the two nations hit US\$3604 million in 2015. India's exports to Ghana stood at 623 million dollars. Ghana also benefited from the trade by exporting goods worth three billion dollars. This is in addition to some of the very huge investment India has in Ghana as identified in the third chapter. It is therefore apparent that the calls for the removal of the Gandhi's could anger public opinion as well and at the state level of the Indian government. The repercussion of this might be that the Indian government' could then respond by restricting its level of cooperation with Ghana. This could affect the enormous economic benefits that accrue to Ghana from India.

#### **4.2. Conclusion**

Calls for the removal of the monuments of Gandhi as has been demonstrated are not only confined in Ghana. Such campaigns have been launched in other parts of the world. In the case of Ghana demands for the removal of Gandhi's statue triggered a response from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration which promised to relocate the statue from the University of Ghana campus to elsewhere. This move in the opinion and analysis of the researcher to protect the relationship and cooperation between Ghana and India in

order to ensure the continued flow of Foreign Direct Investment from India into Ghana. This is also against the background that a number of Ghanaian students in India also study on the scholarship packages of the Indian government and so once Indian public opinion is unpleasant towards Ghanaians over the controversies surrounding calls for the removal of the Gandhi's statue, the comfort and safety of these Ghanaian students are endangered as they are likely to incur the hostilities of some really offended Indians. This case was strongly echoed by the former Ghanaian ambassador to India (Professor Mike Ocquaye). It should be mentioned that the government in power during the time of the #Gandhi Must Fall campaign in 2016 was the President Mahama led NDC administration which never relocated the statue as it promised. It rather added a new dimension by ensuring a 24/7 daily security protection to the statue of Gandhi at the University of Ghana. This was in the humble opinion of the researcher an attempt to communicate to the Indian government that Ghana was doing everything it could to protect the decades of good bilateral relations between Ghana and India. Under the circumstance the hypothesis of the study as set out in the first chapter is validated.

### **4.3. Recommendations**

This study is an intellectual analysis of the possible implications of the calls for the removal of Gandhi's statue on decades of harmonious levels of cooperation between Ghana and India. Accordingly, the following are some recommendations made after a thorough engagement with the topic under study.

- The government of Ghana should make frantic efforts to address the plight of the Gandhi must fall petitioners. It must marshal all the diplomatic skills at its disposal to responding to the demands of the Gandhi Must Fall campaigners and not behave in a way as to mean it sympathizes with the Indians more than Ghanaians. Ghana would not be the only country to have made such calls as discussed in this studies.

This comes at a crucial time in international politics when the incumbent President of the Republic of Ghana (Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo) has gestured as a Pan-Africanist with the interest of Africans at heart. This he demonstrated when African leaders met with France over the issue of modern day slavery of Africa.

- However, the reality is also that Ghana-India relationship is very crucial and strategic for both countries but more crucial for Ghana. It is an undeniable fact that India's economic investment in Ghana is critical for the strength of the Ghanaian economy and so caution must be taken not to derail or jettison the harmonious relationship Ghana has forged with India over decades. The incumbent New Patriotic Party (NPP) led administration has ambitious plans of strengthening the private sector and embarking on plans of industrialization in the programme known as "one district, one factory" and in this development agenda all potential foreign investors including the significant one from India remain imperative. Therefore in as much as this work makes the first recommendation, the government must strike a balance and not throw the baby away with the bathe water, for as the popular Akan adage goes if your child drowns in a river it does not mean you cease to drink water in your thirst.
- The University Council and the government of Ghana must take practical steps to erecting statues of great historical personalities of African descent on the University of Ghana campus whether male or female to inspire the current generation of Black people. There are innumerable great personalities of African descent whose statues could be mounted on the UG campus to arouse the sense of racial pride as Black people. It will provide a sense of self love for African students and the larger university community as whole to demystify the misconception, miseducation and Afro-pessimism of the day. This way even if

people are too lazy to read of the great past of the African people whether on the continent or in the diaspora, such statues on the UG campus would be a constant visual impression and reminder on the minds of students. This is important especially at a time when the UN has declared the year 2015-2024 as the “International Decade for People of African Descent” under the theme: “People of African descent: recognition, justice and development.”

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