

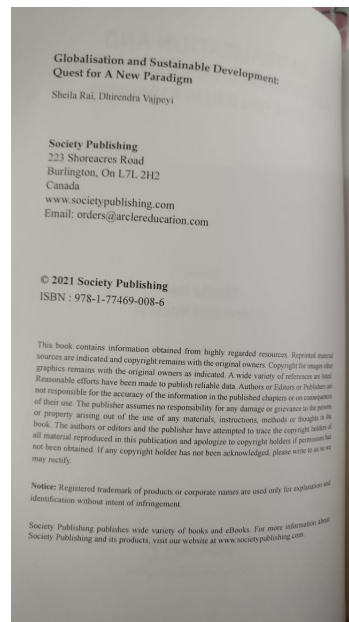
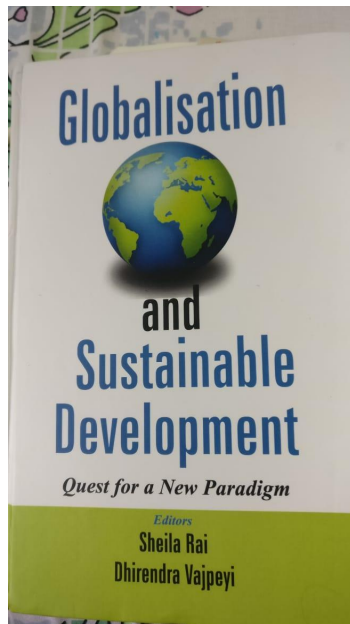
**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Dr. Radha Kumari**

**2020 -21**

**Chapter – UJAMAA – An Alternative Model of Development. (2021)**

**Published in Globalisation and Sustainable Development: Quest for a New Paradigm. Edited by Sheila Raj & Dharendra Vajpeyi. Published by Society Publishing, Burlington Canada. ISBN – 978-77469-008-6**



## Contents

Preface	(iii)
Contributors	(vii)
Introduction	(xv)
1. Globalization, Climate Change, Sustainable Development and Human Security	1
2. Impact of Urban Development on Environment	41
3. Do Women in Government Champion Development Friendly Regulations?	51
4. Corporate Social Responsibility- An Institutional Perspective	66
5. Good Governance as Milestone and Safeguard of Human Rights	77
6. Women as Change Agents of Sustainable Development in South Asia	89
7. Sustainable Development Goals: Integration of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) to Deliver Sustainable Development Goals Myth vs Evidence	109
8. Waste Management as a Key Component of Sustainable Environment	130
9. UJAMAA: An Alternative Model of Development	141
10. Global Governance and Sustainable Development: Emerging, Realities and Perspectives	155
Index	184

( xiii )

## 9 UJAMAA: An Alternative Model of Development

Radhika Kumari

### Abstract

The debate over crisis and limitations of the present model of development has forced scholars to mull over the alternative ways of development. With the growing popularity of post-colonial discourse in academics, attention has now been shifted to study tribal life-styles and their models of society specially indigenous models of African tribes. Tanzania is an African country where 'Ujamaa model' was applied by Mr. Julius Nyerere, who was a political leader and the president of Tanzania. According to him, socialism and democracy are the ethos of this model. Nyerere's claim of this model being indigenous implies that this is rather a unique model in its characteristics, not a copy of any others. In this paper an attempt is made to critically evaluate the success and failures of the model.

**Keywords:** Ujamaa, Socialism, Democracy, Development, Indigenous Model.

The entire discourse around development in nineteenth and twentieth century has been largely euro-centric in which the west represented 'Development, Civilisation and Culture'.

### ABOUT THE BOOK

After the collapse of Soviet Union and its Marxist-Leninist economic and political model of development the Washington consensus inspired model of economic and political development popularly known as Globalization became the new mantra, the panacea to cure all societal ills, and the only option to raise global humanity from poverty, ill health, and political oppression. There is no doubt that it lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty, however its many gains were not equally or even near equally distributed. Economic inequality, human rights suffered specially in China and several countries in Eastern Europe, environmental degradation, unemployment, unregulated and unbridled dominance by multinationals (mostly Western, Americans) brought about unprecedented economic crisis and social fragmentation. These developments raised serious doubts and questions about the viability of globalization model. The "discontent with globalization" forced academics and policymakers to reevaluate other alternatives. The present anthology discusses some of these issues in a comparative context by presenting alternative models to Western unregulated free market Globalization model.

### ABOUT THE EDITORS

**Shella Rai** - Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur and presently serving as Principal, St. Xavier's College, Jaipur has more than 35 years of teaching and research experience. She has also served as faculty for the University of Guelph, Canada, SAAN International University, Nepal and for students from various European countries. With a PhD in Gandhian Philosophy she has supervised many doctoral theses and also published several books and research papers on subjects pertaining to Gandhian thought, Peace Studies and Contemporary Politics both in English and Hindi. Her other areas of specific interest are Indian Government and Politics, Gender, Indigenization and Development studies. Rai has completed Major Research Projects on 'Evolution of Article 370: An Analysis', 'Caste, Party and Ticket Distribution in Rajasthan, 1952-2004', 'Gandhian Paradigm: Quintessence of Real Development'. She is the Editor of 'Rajyashti- Journal of Social Sciences, (biannual journal) of Rajasthan Political Science Association, also has 6 books and 45 national and international research publications to her credit. Some of her measure publications are related to the Gandhian Way: Its Contemporary Relevance (in Hindi); Social, Economic and Political Justice: Constitutional Implications and Practical Dimensions (in Hindi); Role of Party Politics and Caste in the Selection of Candidate (in Hindi); Indian Political System; Gandhian View of State, Individual and Society; Countering the Cult: An Assessment of the Contemporary Women led Movements in India; Article 35A & its implications; Water Disputes in South Asia in Water Resource Conflicts and International Security; Fragmented Responses towards Global Governance; Empowerment of Women through Education; Rashtriya Swasthya Beema Yojna: Panacea for the Poor; Corporate Social Responsibility in India; Globalization, Sustainable Development and Indigenous Technology. At present Rai is the President of Indian Society of Gandhian Studies, General Secretary National Social Science Association and Chair- RC 35, IPSA.

**Dhirendra Vajpeyi** is Emeritus Professor of Political Science and Asian Studies at the University of Northern Iowa. He has authored, coauthored and edited seventeen books, numerous chapters and articles on International security, human rights and environmental policymaking. Noteworthy books include Corporate Social Responsibility and Sustainable Development in Emerging Economies; Climate Change Sustainable Development and Human Security; Environmental Policymaking in the Third world; Technology and Development; Local Government and Politics in the Third World; Indira Gandhi's India; Deforestation: A Comparative Analysis; Civil-Military Relations: Nation-building and National Identity; Local Democracy and Politics in South Asia; Modernizing China; Water Resource Management: A Comparative Perspective; Law, Politics and Society in India; Politics, Technology and Bureaucracy in South Asia; Globalization, Governance and Technology: Challenges and Alternatives; Water Resource Conflicts and International Security: A Global Perspective; Civil-military Relations in Developing Countries; Globalization Reappraised false Oracle or a Talisman. Vajpeyi has lectured at universities in Moscow, St. Petersburg (Russia), People's Republic of China, Nigeria, Chile and Klagenfurt (Austria). He was a senior Research Fellow at Hoover Institute at Stanford University (California). Currently he is emeritus Co-Chair of IPSA.

ISBN 978-1-77469-008-6



**SOCIETY**  
Publishing



# Chapter Gandhi and the Re-enactment of Racism

Published in Economic & Political Weekly

Issn 0012-9976



<b>COMMENTS</b>
■ DNA Database: A Legislative Overreach
■ Towards a Political Etymology of Sedition
<b>FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK</b>
■ Understanding the Concept of 'Sedition'
<b>ALTERNATIVE STANDPOINT</b>
■ The National and the International in Ambedkar's Political Thought
<b>COMMENTARY</b>
■ Women, Priesthood and Religious Rights
■ Proposal for a Closed Coalfield Land Rights and Restitution Act
■ Unravelling of Joe Biden's Promise

<b>BOOK REVIEWS</b>
■ A Place in Cell Home: Women as Agents of Change in Mumbai
■ India in the Interregnum: Interim Government, September 1946–August 1947

<b>PERSPECTIVES</b>
■ Gandhi and the Re-enactment of Racism

<b>SPECIAL ARTICLES</b>
■ Political Economy of Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation Budgets
■ Is Ambedkar's Prejudice against 'Tribe' a Settled Matter?
■ Global Value Chains of MNCs and Indian SMEs: Promoting Linkages

<b>NOTES</b>
■ Private Sector in Solid Waste Management
<b>DISCUSSION</b>
■ A Hundred Years of Israeli Hyper-statehood
<b>CURRENT STATISTICS</b>

<b>Municipal Budgets and Public Goods</b>
Neo-liberal policy-induced budgetary cuts in education and health by the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation have led to the deterioration of public systems and a loss in their credibility. page 68

<b>Besieged Palestine</b>
Crisis produced by the contrasting combination of Israeli hyper-statehood and Palestinian non-statehood can only be resolved through a one-state postnational solution that dismantles the forbidding walls of nationalism. page 102

<b>Women's Rights and Religion</b>
The appointment of women priests can be used to transform the structural inequality within religion, while guarding against the co-option of women's emancipatory politics by the right wing. page 15

<b>Ambedkar on Tribes</b>
Certain popular misconceptions about B R Ambedkar's views on tribes and his writings on the same over a period of time are investigated. page 78

<b>No 'New Deal' in the US</b>
Intensifying systemic contradictions of capitalism pose challenges before the Joe Biden administration, which cannot be surmounted by its centrist status quoist policies. page 23

AUGUST 7, 2021 | VOL. LV NO. 32

## The National and the International in Ambedkar's Political Thought

10 Via an analysis of political sovereignty, the social question, and Buddhism, the article seeks to demonstrate how B R Ambedkar reworks the connections between the national and the international on the common register of human equality. —*Ashit Kanwade, Antipus Bharati*

**Women, Priesthood and Religious Rights in Tamil Nadu and Kerala**  
15 In light of the recent announcement by the minister for Hindu religious and charitable endowments for Tamil Nadu, regarding the government's willingness to facilitate resources and training for women who wish to be priests in temples, the article examines the debate regarding the right of women to Hindu religious realm. —*Aparna Dasgupta, Harpreet K K*

**Preparing for a Just Transition Away from Coal**  
19 The dominance of coal for Indian energy security might, finally, be about to reduce as increasing demands are made for a just transition to cleaner and more community-friendly forms of energy. —*Patrick Odoomson, Vasudha Chhotray*

**Behind the Early Unravelling of Joe Biden's Promise**  
23 The unwillingness of the new United States administration under Joe Biden to adhere to a new deal-like transformative policies, is due to the persistent control of the big business that is endemic to the sociopolitical systems of the capitalist West. —*Satyendra Banjan*

**Gandhi and the Re-enactment of Racism**  
32 Examining M K Gandhi's attitude towards South African natives during his sojourn in South Africa, Ashwin Desai and Gokul Vaid, in their book *The South African Gandhi*, have accused Gandhi of racism as he considered the natives racially inferior and called them Kaffirs. —*Rudra Kumari*

**Political Economy of BMC Budgets**  
68 The paper focuses on the changing trends in budget allocations of the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation, especially since the structural adjustment programme that came to be implemented from 1990 and how it has affected civic services, especially health and education. —*Ravi Duggal*

**Is Ambedkar's Prejudice against 'Tribe' a Settled Matter?**  
78 A challenge is mounted against the widespread assumption that Ambedkar was prejudiced against 'tribe' by revealing acts of academic carelessness that occur in the writings of some scholars through the cherry-picking of quotes and failure to historicise contextualise the same. —*Nishikant Kolge*

**Global Value Chains of MNCs and Indian SMEs: Promoting Linkages**  
86 The rapidly expanding global value chains of multinational corporations are increasingly dominating international trade, while emerging economies like India can hardly afford to ignore. —*M H Rola Subrahmanyam, Marudharan Loganathan*

**Private Sector in Solid Waste Management**  
95 In most developing countries, waste is managed by government bodies who allocate a large amount of resources but rarely obtain the desired results. Taking this problem into account, this article explores the relationship between environmental policy and firms engaged in solid waste management by studying the case of four firms in the own industry in India. —*Rajiv V Shah, Sumpti Gohu*

**A Hundred Years of Israeli Hyper-statehood**  
102 Drawing historical insights from Rashid Khalidi's acclaimed book, *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917–2017*, this article suggests that the unease at Israeli hyper-statehood can only grow in the us and across the world. —*Amir Ali*

## Economic & Political WEEKLY

<b>COMMENTS</b>
■ DNA Database: A Legislative Overreach
■ Towards a Political Etymology of Sedition

<b>FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK</b>
■ Understanding the Concept of 'Sedition'

<b>ALTERNATIVE STANDPOINT</b>
■ Conjoint Effects of Caste: The National and the International in Ambedkar's Political Thought
— <i>Ashit Kanwade, Antipus Bharati</i>

<b>COMMENTARY</b>
■ Women, Priesthood and Religious Rights in Tamil Nadu and Kerala
— <i>Aparna Dasgupta, Harpreet K K</i>
■ Preparing for a Just Transition Away from Coal: Proposal for a Closed Coalfield Land Rights and Restitution Act
— <i>Patrick Odoomson, Vasudha Chhotray</i>
■ Behind the Early Unravelling of Joe Biden's Promise
— <i>Satyendra Banjan</i>

<b>BOOK REVIEWS</b>
■ A Place in Cell Home: Women as Agents of Change in Mumbai—Understanding Housing Resilience through Women's Experiences
— <i>Srinivas Patil Kaur</i>
■ India in the Interregnum: Interim Government, September 1946–August 1947—A Bridge of Transition to the Postcolonial
— <i>Gyanesh Kadiyala</i>

<b>PERSPECTIVES</b>
■ Gandhi and the Re-enactment of Racism
— <i>Rudra Kumari</i>

<b>SPECIAL ARTICLES</b>
■ Political Economy of Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation Budgets: Trends and Consequences for Health and Education
— <i>Ravi Duggal</i>
■ Is Ambedkar's Prejudice against 'Tribe' a Settled Matter?
— <i>Nishikant Kolge</i>
■ A Monument to Academic Carelessness
— <i>Nishikant Kolge</i>
■ Global Value Chains of MNCs and Indian SMEs: Promoting Linkages
— <i>M H Rola Subrahmanyam, Marudharan Loganathan</i>

<b>NOTES</b>
■ Private Sector Participation in Solid Waste Management and Regulatory Strategy
— <i>Rajiv V Shah, Sumpti Gohu</i>

<b>DISCUSSION</b>
■ A Hundred Years of Israeli Hyper-statehood
— <i>Amir Ali</i>

<b>CURRENT STATISTICS</b>
■ A Hundred Years of Israeli Hyper-statehood
— <i>Amir Ali</i>

<b>LETTERS</b>
----------------

Just after the first issue in 1945, *Economic & Political Weekly* (EPW) was established as a journal for economic and political research in the world economy. It was founded by a group of Indian economists, who were then in the forefront of the Indian independence movement. The journal was founded and published by the following group of people:

Editor: GURU GURU

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

Editorial Board: DR. K. V. KRISHNA

## Protecting the Sabarmati Ashram

M K Gandhi's ashram at Ahmedabad, known as Sabarmati Ashram, is an unusual monument of international importance. It was Gandhi's home from 1917 to 1930. He led the famous Dandi March from the ashram and pledged not to return to the ashram until independence was attained.

After the Salt March, Gandhi disbanded the ashram as a part of the freedom struggle in 1931. After independence, Gandhi's associates and followers formed the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust to protect the buildings and archival possessions of the ashram for posterity. This trust looks after the buildings, including Hriday Kunj—the residence of Gandhi and Kasturba.

Hriday Kunj and the memorial museum greet thousands of visitors coming from all parts of the world daily in a truly Gandhian fashion, without frisking or security check or sight of armed persons. The visitors also feel touched and inspired by the aesthetics, openness, and sanctity of the place.

The present government is all set to "reclaim" the "visual wholesomeness, tranquility and undisturbed environment of 1940" and make it a "world-class" tourist destination spread over 54 acres. It has announced a budget of ₹1,200 crore for "Gandhi Ashram Memorial and Precinct Development Project." There will be new museums, an amphitheatre, vip lounge, shops, food court, among other things in the newly created "world class" memorial as per the newspaper reports.

Reports say that the project will be under the direct supervision of the Prime Minister and the chief minister. This is in keeping with the present government's strategy to appropriate and commercialise all Gandhian institutions in the country. The worst example of this can be seen in Sevagram, but the most frightening aspect is government control over all Gandhian archives.

What does this mean effectively? The proposed plan severely compromises and trivialises the sanctity and importance of the present-day ashram,

mainly Hriday Kunj, surrounding buildings, and the museum.

The simplicity of the ashram will be completely lost in a ₹1,200 crore project.

Hriday Kunj, other historical buildings, and present museums, even if they remain untouched, will no longer be central but pushed into a corner by the new museum, amphitheatre, food courts, shops, etc.

Easy access to Hriday Kunj and the present museum will be blocked as the road passing by it will be closed. The new entrance will have at least a vip lounge and a new museum before Hriday Kunj and the current museum.

Lakhs of Indians, specially schoolchildren, as well as foreign visitors come to Sabarmati Ashram every year. The place has never needed a "world class" makeover to attract tourists. The charisma of Gandhi along with the authenticity and simplicity of the place has been enough.

The proposed plan is a bet envisioning a "Gandhi theme park" and at worst "a second assassination."

In short, if the project is going through, the most authentic monument of Gandhi and our freedom struggle will be lost forever to vanity and commercialisation.

We must collectively oppose any government takeover of Gandhian institutions, while ensuring that the government continues to use public money for the proper maintenance and upkeep of such institutions, in consultation with eminent Gandhians, historians and archivists from India and around the world.

Prakash Shah, G N Desai, Anand Parvashankar, Ram Parvashankar, Rajeshwar Gandhi, G G Parikh, and 73 others

## NPs of SHGs in India: Behavioural Aspects

This is in response to the article, "Performance of Self-help Groups in India" (EPW, 30 January 2002). This letter puts light on a few behavioural aspects of loan repayment behaviour of self-help groups (SHGs) in India. The article very neatly elaborates interesting facts about the non-performing assets (NPAs) of the SHGs in India and their

## PERSPECTIVES

## Gandhi and the Re-enactment of Racism

RAJESHWAR GANDHI

Examining M K Gandhi's attitude towards South African natives during his sojourn in South Africa, Ashwin Desai and Godwin Vohra, in their book *The South African Gandhi*, have accused Gandhi of racism, arguing that Gandhi kept his struggle for British concessions for indentured Indians in South Africa separate from the struggle of Zulu people for freedom from colonial rule, because Gandhi considered the natives racially inferior and called them Kaffirs—a derogatory term used against them by the Whites as well as Indians. However, accusing Gandhi of racism indicates a misrepresentation of his ideas in transition, and the word Kaffir does not connote a racial slur.

Gandhi's life and philosophy was, as he himself called it, an experiment with truth, and therefore, it took sudden, unexpected twists and turns before he arrived at a determined course of action on the closest path. These ups and downs in his thought process are interpreted variously by Gandhian scholars and Gandhi's critics alike, and as a result, some of his expressions and actions have acquired a controversial status. Some people have called him a hypocrite (Singh 1994, Lalwala 2012, French 2011), some others have accused him of having a narrow approach towards the downtrodden in India (Gidder 1993), and yet others have even levelled a charge of racism against him (Lalwala 2012, French 2011, Desai and Vohra 2000). However, Vohra and Ridge (2002: 80) believes that Gandhi's middle position avoiding the two extremes—anti-racism as well as financial racism—with reference to South African Blacks is to be interpreted "as a political strategy."

Some of the controversies concerning his approach relate to his formative years in South Africa. Since there are not just offhand remarks against a prominent figure, but based on rigorous research and often add a different, unexpected dimension to the existing body of research in Gandhian thought, they need our serious attention and must elicit a clarification. What is meant by clarification is that in the course of research on such issues, it is often found that such opinions may arise owing to a misinterpretation of Gandhi's ideas on a particular issue or action, though I admit that they may also represent an opinion different from a Gandhian perspective, and it needs to be added as an extra dimension to the study of the relevance of Gandhi's ideas in a post-Gandhian era.

In the present article I discuss one such controversial aspect of Gandhi's personality brought to public debate by Ashwin Desai and Godwin Vohra in their 2000 book *The South African Gandhi*, wherein the authors are accused of holding the view against Gandhi of holding the view against South African natives. The accusation is not, as all one, but more the ideas expressed by the authors seem to have elicited angry responses from people belonging to some African countries, an academic debate and scholarly attention on the issue is in demand.

## Background to the Present Study

The present study is inspired by a recent campaign in some African countries against Gandhi, accusing him of holding racist views during his sojourn in South Africa, especially against the Black South African natives, and by implication, against all African natives. Michael Soti (2011), reporting for the Guardian, with the headline "Statue of Racist Gandhi Removed from University of Ghana," wrote that a Gandhi statue was removed from the campus of the University of Ghana after protests from students and faculty, who argued that the Indian independence leader considered Africans "inferior." The statue was unveiled in 2001 at the University of Ghana, Accra by India's former President Pratibha Patil. Similarly, South Bissau (2011), writing a report for the New York Times, posed a question: Was Gandhi a racist? The question is pertinent in the wake of a position held by the University of Ghana lecturers. A similar campaign was underway in Malawi where the campaigners are trying to stop another Gandhi statue from being erected in the country's second city, Blantyre (the New York Times).

There is no dearth of studies and comments on Gandhi concerning his views on the caste system, varna system and race. For example, Anandharaj Reddy, speaking to students at Kerala University, accused Gandhi of discrimination and raised a question on the validity of the commensuration of the Mahatma in various forms. According to him,

It is time to unveil a few truths about a person whose doctrine of non-violence was

Rajeshwar Gandhi (rdg@agroworld.com) works in the Department of Political Science, Maastricht University, University of Delhi.