



NEWSLETTER

Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University
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Message from the Director,
Ali A. Mazrui

Was Arafat David or Goliath?

I met Yasir Arafat in 1992 when we were both attending a summit meeting of African heads of state in Dakar, Senegal. To many intellectuals from developing countries, Yasir Arafat was a freedom fighter and a hero. He and his people were fighting a regional superpower (Israel) and a global superpower (the United States) simultaneously and against all odds. The United States provided the weapons and the funding for Israelis, while Israel engaged in what most of us regarded as a stubborn occupation of a defenseless people. In such a situation, who was David and who was Goliath?

I was in Dakar to be sworn in before African heads of state as a new member of an African group of eminent persons on Black Reparations for Enslavement and Colonization. Our group consisted of 12 people entrusted by African presidents and the Organization of African Unity to explore how, when and on what basis black people might demand reparations for being exploited and humiliated across the centuries.

We were all aware in Senegal that one precedent of reparations was the money received by the state of Israel and by Jewish Holocaust survivors from the German Federal Republic for the martyrdom of the Jewish people under the Nazis. Was there a chance that black people would one day

(continued on page 11)

Africa's first woman Nobel Peace Laureate: What Ali A. Mazrui said to the Norwegian Nobel Committee in support of Dr. Wangari M. Maathai

The 2004 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Dr. Wangari M. Maathai, a Kenyan environmentalist and human rights activist. A month before the award, Professor Ali Mazrui, director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, was invited by the Nobel Foundation to comment on Dr. Maathai as a Nobel candidate. Supporting her nomination, Professor Mazrui had the following to say to the Nobel judges in Oslo.

I am truly excited that Dr. Maathai has been nominated for the Nobel Prize for Peace. It is an imaginative and worthy nomination. I sincerely hope her nomination moves forward toward eventual success.

Wangari Maathai is a major activist for democracy and human rights. That makes her important, but not unique. Wangari Maathai is a major campaigner for women's rights and gender equality. That also makes her important, but not unique.

But Africa has a painful shortage of activists in defense of the environment. In eastern Africa, Wangari Maathai is almost unique in her readiness to risk her freedom and even her life in defense of forests and the heritage of nature. She has struggled hard to convince Kenyans that their habitat is at risk, and they may bequeath to their children a more damaged and less beautiful country than they found.

Wangari decided early that true environmental activism requires more than preaching about ecological hazards. It also requires implementation and positive demonstrations of what individuals can do, either on their own or in organized partnership with others.

(continued on page 3)

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Message from the Director	page 1
Africa's first woman Nobel Peace Laureate	page 1
IGCS TransAtlantic relations	
TransAtlantic collaboration: Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology	page 2
General Gowon and Binghamton: reciprocal salutation	page 2
The African scholar as a hero in history: does Ali Mazrui qualify?	page 4
Islam and the Prince of Wales: the view from IGCS	page 5
The scholar, the spear and the medal of honor: a Kenyan case study	page 6
Africa's migration and terminal brain drain	page 7
News and research	page 8
Report on IGCS publications: 2004-05	pages 9-10



The African scholar
... see page 4

IGCS TransAtlantic relations

TransAtlantic collaboration: Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology

By IGCS reporters

In 2003, the newly elected President Kibaki decided to hand over the chancellorship of all six public universities to distinguished private citizens of the country. President Kibaki appointed Ali A. Mazrui as chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), located in Thika and Nairobi. The chancellor's role was previously designated to heads of state.

When occupied by the head of state, the chancellorship was primarily ceremonial, with special reference to presiding at graduation ceremonies. Now that the job is performed by a private individual, should there be additional efforts made by the chancellor to help the Kenyan institution?

In the British tradition, the chancellor's distinguished name may be invoked in the process of fundraising, even if he or she is not directly involved in the fundraising

operations. JKUAT has also used the chancellor to strengthen relations with other African academic institutions. Ali Mazrui lectured in Kigali, Rwanda, in 2004, to help strengthen relations between JKUAT and the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology.

What about potential collaboration between JKUAT and this IGCS at Binghamton? The two institutions share Ali Mazrui as a titular head — although Mazrui's role at IGCS is much more than just titular.

The Kenyan university is also encouraging research into not only the brain drain from Africa but also what is increasingly called "the brain gain" for Africa. The argument goes as follows:

Africans leaving home to work in the Western world constitute the brain drain. Monthly remittances, which those Africans

send to their relatives at home, constitute a brain bonus for Africa. Deliberate efforts by overseas Africans to serve their countries across the Atlantic may constitute deliberate brain gain for their countries. Ali Mazrui's role at Jomo Kenyatta University may be brain gain.

The Kenyan University and IGCS are considering other areas of collaboration in the years ahead. National statistics indicate that the largest group of African students studying at U.S. colleges has now become Kenyan rather than Nigerian — in spite of the fact that Nigeria has four times the population of Kenya. The disproportionate Kenyan presence is also reflected in the composition of African students on the Binghamton campus. The fields of study of Kenyan students on this campus range from physics to philosophy and from chemistry to nursing.

General Gowon and Binghamton: reciprocal salutation

By IGCS reporters

The Institute of Global Cultural Studies also has many friends abroad. Among them is at least one former African head of state — General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria. General Gowon has been described as Nigeria's equivalent of Abraham Lincoln. Gowon "saved the union of Nigeria" as he presided over the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970), and helped to stop the disintegration of the country.

Within the last four years, this former head of state has visited this institute twice with his wife, the former first lady of Nigeria, Mrs. Victoria Gowon. In 2002, they came to attend the IGCS conference on the

theme, "Is Globalization a Dialogue of Civilizations?"

In 2003, the Gowons returned to Binghamton to join the celebration of the 70th birthday of Ali A. Mazrui. The Gowons were a special attraction at his birthday extravaganza.

In 2004, Professor Mazrui returned the favor by surprising General Gowon at his 70th birthday symposium in Abuja, Nigeria. The activities celebrating Gowon's birthday were held in several Nigerian cities. After the Mazrui keynote in Abuja, there were other celebratory events in Lagos and Jos.

On this Nigerian trip in October 2004, Professor Ali A. Mazrui lectured at the University of Abuja. He also managed a quick trip to the Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR) in Jos. The founder-president of IGSR is Professor J. Isawa Elaigwu, a former visiting professor at Binghamton University and former affiliate of IGCS. The IGSR under Elaigwu and the IGCS under Mazrui have in the past collaborated on convening an international conference comparing civil-military relations in Africa and Latin America. That comparative conference was held in Abuja, Nigeria, a few years ago.

Africa's first woman Nobel Peace Laureate . . .

(continued from page 1)

Some environmentalists limit themselves to preventive action. Conservation is interpreted as saving the heritage already in existence. Wangari Maathai interprets conservation to include environmental renewal and replenishment. It is not enough to stop the reckless destruction of trees, crucial as that imperative is. Africans must also cultivate the habit of planting new trees to replace some of those we are continuously losing. It has been estimated that Dr. Maathai and the Green Belt movement have helped women to plant up to 20 million trees, sometimes for shade, sometimes to stem soil erosion and sometimes for the sheer beauty of nature.

Wangari Maathai is a woman of her convictions. She has spoken truth to power, has suffered imprisonment and even physical assaults. This is a woman of extraordinary courage and moral convictions.

May I also make a few observations of wider concern? I believe Africa has won about half a dozen Nobel Prizes for Peace. Four of them went to South Africans and focused on race relations. It is about time the Nobel Peace judges looked elsewhere in Africa and went beyond race relations.

Out of the five or six Nobel Peace Laureates of Africa, I believe not a single one has been a woman so far. That is another gap that needs to be filled.

POSTSCRIPT: Toni Morrison, another black woman Nobel Laureate, previously held the Albert Schweitzer Chair that Professor Mazrui now occupies. This was before she left SUNY to go to Princeton. Toni Morrison's Nobel Prize was, of course, in literature.



Front row, from left: Ruzima Sebuharara, Nancy Levis, Ali Mazrui, Barbara Tierno, Goretti Mugumbwa, Patrick Dikirr. Back row, from left: Robert Ostergard, AnnaMarie Palombaro, Amadu Kaba and Fouad Kalouche.



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The African scholar as a hero in history: does Ali Mazrui qualify?

By James N. Kariuki, African Institute of South Africa, Pretoria

Who are the 100 greatest Africans of all time? A London-based magazine invited nominations from its readers. A flood of nominations poured into the editorial offices of the *New African*, a magazine that has been published in London since the early years of Africa's independence in the 1960s. The editors and their advisers then analyzed the nominations. The result is a unique list of some of the most significant Africans in history.

Three biases manifest themselves on the list. One is the *gender* bias. There are very few women on this list of African luminaries. Second is the *political* bias. The people nominated are disproportionately *political* heroes and giants of statecraft. The third bias is *temporal* in the sense that the Africans nominated are disproportionately titans of the 20th century. Not enough heroes of earlier centuries were nominated.

What is most striking about the East Africans who made it onto the list is that Professor Ali A. Mazrui is the only scholar to have earned that recognition. Literary

gaps in the list include Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenya novelist; Shaaban Roberts, the Tanzanian Swahili poet; and Okot p'Bitek, author of *Song of Lawino*, from Uganda. Mazrui shares 50th place with F.W. de Klerk, the white president of South Africa who helped to end the country's political apartheid and shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Nelson Mandela.

East Africa's first presidents, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius K. Nyerere and A. Milton Obote of the post-colonial era, do feature on the *New African* list. Also recognized are some of Africa's martyrs — such as Tom Mboya of Kenya, who was assassinated in 1969, and Dedan Kimathi, who was executed by the British during the Mau Mau war in Kenya. Some of the nominations for historic greatness are obvious, such as Shaka Zulu. Some omissions are inexcusable, such as Menelik II of Ethiopia.

The *New African* ranked Nelson Mandela as the top greatest African in history [see September 2004 issue]. In addition, the London-based magazine is to be congratulated for recognizing the African

Diaspora as part of Africa.

The 100 greatest Africans, therefore, include such African-American giants as W.E.B. DuBois and the boxer Muhammad Ali.

By coincidence, the idea of selecting the 100 greatest Africans of all time follows an earlier proposal by Ali Mazrui. The proposal to nominate the 100 greatest African books of the last 100 years was made at the Zimbabwe International Book Fair in 1988.

International publishers and others acted upon the proposal by accepting international nominations and appointing a distinguished panel of judges. Although the

competition excluded Mazrui's own books since he made the original proposal, Mazrui was officially appointed as "the founding father" of the whole process and was given a special role at the unveiling ceremony in Cape Town in 2002. This special role included presenting an award to Nelson Mandela personally for his book written in prison, *Long March to Freedom*. In 2004, Mandela, Mazrui and Ngugi (one South African and two Kenyans) were honored with honorary doctorates from the University of Transkei in South Africa. (Transkei is Mandela's home country.) Mazrui's acceptance speech for his honorary doctorate in political economy at Transkei was on "The Seven Pillars of the African Renaissance."

Ali Mazrui was commemorated with an additional three honorary doctorates in 2004. Lafayette College in Pennsylvania awarded Mazrui a doctorate of divinity. Mazrui's acceptance speech was entitled "God and Globalization: Religion in the Global Village." His speech was an interfaith sermon at a primarily Christian institution. Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia recognized Mazrui with an honorary doctorate in humane letters. His acceptance speech, "Africa Has Two Parents and One Guardian: Africanity, Islam and the West" has been translated into Amharic. Lastly, from Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Ali Mazrui received an honorary doctorate in science and human resource development. His acceptance speech was on "The Ethics of Professionalism: Seven Pillars of Integrity." At the same ceremony, he was officially installed as the first of the chancellors of the university who was not a head of state. The two previous chancellors were President Daniel arap Moi and President Mwai Kibaki.

Mazrui is so pan-African that not all Africans know which African country produced him. Because of his 10 years at Makerere University in Kampala, many Africans believe Mazrui is a Ugandan.



Dr. Mazrui receiving his honorary doctorate in divinity from the president of Lafayette College.

(continued on page 5)

Islam and the Prince of Wales: the view from IGCS

By IGCS reporters

The big news about Prince Charles recently was his official marriage at long last to Camilla Parker Bowles. But among Muslims in Great Britain, the most significant aspect about Prince Charles concerned his attitude to Islam. Prince Charles is the most Muslim-friendly heir to the British throne in history. He has even campaigned for religiously more inclusive vows for the British monarch on the occasion of his or her being crowned (coronation). Prince Charles has recommended that the British monarch should swear not just to defend the Church of England ("Defender of the Faith"), as has been traditional, but to defend all religious believers in Great Britain ("Defender of Faith"). The Church of England has not yet

accepted such a major change in the vows of the coronation.

Prince Charles is also the patron of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, of which Professor Ali Mazrui is one of the trustees. As a member of the board of trustees, Ali Mazrui was invited to the official home of the Prince of Wales about two years ago in honor of the Oxford Islamic Centre. And Ali Mazrui was invited to Rhodes House, Oxford, England, to a Muslim reception in February 2005, in honor of the Prince of Wales.

At the turn of this century, Prince Charles had given a lecture at Oxford entitled "Islam and the West." It was a constructive inter-faith lecture, which was widely distributed in the Muslim world and

translated into Arabic and other languages of the Muslim world. In June 2004, the sultan of Brunei personally awarded Prince Charles a special Muslim-funded international prize for the promotion of dialog between Islamic and Western civilizations. Prince Charles' acceptance speech was entitled "Dialog between Islamic and Western Civilizations."

Later that year, Ali Mazrui, on a topic that echoed the theme enunciated by the Prince of Wales, gave a major public lecture at Oxford University entitled "A Tale of Two Civilizations: Islam and the West," after being appointed the Oxford Astor Lecturer for the year 2004.

The African scholar . . .

(continued from page 4)

Because of his Swahili cultural background, some Africans believe Mazrui is a Tanzanian. Because of his association with the University of Jos in Nigeria and because he is married to a Nigerian, some Africans see Ali Mazrui as a Nigerian. And because of his residence in the United States for more than a quarter of a century, many Africans believe that Mazrui has become an African American.

The *New African* magazine falls prey to this Pan-African ambiguity of Mazrui. The magazine describes Mazrui as "a Tanzanian intellectual and writer [who] presents a positive image of Africa and its people." Mazrui regards the mistake about his Kenyan nationality as a tribute to his pan-Africanism. The struggle continues.

Poets have argued that when we unreservedly accept true greatness in others, there must be something in ourselves which is obstinately great. In his play about Abraham Lincoln, the American

playwright John Drinkwater captured this thought in the following lines:

*When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate,
And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great!*

(This news-commentary was written with the assistance of IGCS staff.)



Dr. Mazrui delivering his acceptance speech on the award of his honorary doctorate in divinity, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. The governor of Pennsylvania was in attendance, on Mazrui's left.

The scholar, the spear and the medal of honor: a Kenyan case study

By James Kariuki, Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria

One of the main causes of the brain drain from Africa is the inadequate professional recognition accorded to African thinkers and intellectuals, especially if they are identified as critics of particular policies of their government.

When these intellectuals finally settle abroad and become part of the diaspora, they are even less likely to be included among recipients of national honors on Independence Day at home.

One African country that is correcting the old policy of neglecting its sons and daughters abroad is Kenya. Recently, President Mwai Kibaki awarded to Professor Ali A. Mazrui the title of Chief of the Order of the Burning Spear, First Class [CBS]. The award is the equivalent of a Medal of Honor.

The Order of the Burning Spear is the highest Kenyan award for which scholars and literary figures are eligible. Kenya's founder, president and commander-in-chief, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, created the order in April 1966. According to the official criteria stipulated by the head of state, those eligible for such a national honor must be "*persons of proven integrity, whose roles in and contribution to the country and society have been adjudged exemplary, profound, pre-eminent and inspiring.*"

There are other honors, decorations and medals in Kenya's hierarchy which are designed for high distinction in public and civil service (the Order of the Golden Heart of Kenya) and for gallantry and courage in the armed forces (the Uhodari Order). It is ironic that the order for the armed forces is not named after a weapon (e.g., a spear), but is named after a skill (uhodari). On the other hand, the highest order for academics is named after a weapon (the burning spear) rather than a skill (uhodari). Kenya should take advantage of its 50th anniversary of independence in the year 2013 to consider renaming its national awards.

British honors on such occasions as the queen's birthday are often honors of empire. African honors on Independence

Day are often awards of nationalism and resistance. British imperial honors include the Commander of the British Empire (CBE) and the Order of the British Empire (OBE), titles which are still being awarded.

The symbol of the spear has featured prominently in the history of both warfare and hunting. Nor is the spear's role limited to Africa's annals. Alexander the Great's infantry was sarissa-equipped as they conquered the world for the Greeks. Shaka Zulu introduced his own innovation in weaponry when he developed the assegai for closer military confrontations. Shaka also innovated with the first orderly regiments [*impi*] in the history of military organization in Africa.

Jomo Kenyatta started life with the Kikuyu name of Kamau Ngengi in the 1890s. In August 1914 he was baptized as Johnstone Kamau. He later added to his identity the name "Kenyatta," which referred to the ornamental belt he wore. But it was as a result of writing his anthropological book, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), that he experienced a new nearness to the Kikuyu legacy of the spear. Male circumcision was a rite of passage which was linked to the right to carry a spear. Kenyatta's adoption of the first name "Jomo" on the eve of World War II was intended to be a celebration of "the burning spear" as a rite to adulthood.

Postcolonial Kenya subsequently listed the Order of the Burning Spear among, paradoxically, its highest civilian honors. Ali Mazrui may be the first non-resident Kenyan to receive the award, first class.

If the title "the burning spear" is part of Jomo Kenyatta's legacy to Kenya, it is fitting that the award should at last go to a Kenyan resident abroad. After all, Kenyatta first adopted the name "Jomo" (of the burning spear) when he was himself in exile overseas in the 1930s. Kenyatta was in Europe from 1929 to 1946. Except for the two years he spent at the University of Moscow in the Soviet Union, Jomo Kenyatta was an émigré mainly in Great Britain. The burning spear became part of

Kenyatta's identity when he was a non-resident Kenyan.

Professionally, a "shimmering pen" rather than a burning spear better symbolizes Ali Mazrui. In the words of Edward Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*:

The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit Shall lure it back to cancel half a line, Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

Ali Mazrui's "shimmering pen" is not as irreversible as the Moving Finger of Fate described in Khayyam. What is clear is that when Mazrui was recently honored with the *spear*, it was for his achievements of the *pen*.

And yet Ali Mazrui has often used his pen to write about the warrior tradition and the legacy of the spear. In the 1970s he edited a whole volume entitled *The Warrior Tradition in Modern Africa* (The Hague and Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1978).

In another book of his, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda: The Making of a Military Ethnocracy* (Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1975), Mazrui addressed the theme of "the warrior tradition in *African Political Culture: From Shaka the Zulu to Amin the Kakwa.*"

At the turn of this new millennium, Mazrui was invited to identify the two greatest Africans of the last 1,000 years. The invitation came from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC Radio, London). Mazrui's choice reunited the legacy of the spear with the legacy of the pen. His choice of the greatest African of action was Shaka Zulu and his legacy of the spear. Mazrui's choice of the greatest African of thought was the Tunisian Ibn Khaldun, with his legacy of the pen. Perhaps the greatest testimony to Shaka's greatness is the following:

Shaka stands out as the greatest of them all — both Romulus and Napoleon to the Zulu people — and his

(continued on page 9)

Africa's migration and terminal brain drain

By Dr. Amadu Jacky Kaba

Africa is confronting a major development problem in the beginning of the 21st century. I call this problem "Africa's Dual Brain Drain." The first part of the dual brain drain is the massive migration of Africa's educated and economic elites to the West or other parts of the world: "Africa's migration brain drain." The second part of Africa's dual brain drain is the massive deaths of Africans in countries or parts of the continent where not only high proportions of people can at least read and write, have a high school or college diploma, but there are also stronger economies: "Africa's terminal brain drain."

Africa's migration brain drain

Since the 1990s, hundreds of thousands of educated Africans have emigrated to Western Europe and North America seeking better-paying jobs, leaving the continent of 874 million people (as of July 2004) without the adequate human resources needed for any real chance of economic development. The reasons for Africa's migration brain drain include political conflicts, the search for material advantages and professional dissatisfaction. Also, many industrialized countries lack adequate numbers of health professionals and therefore tend to lure doctors, nurses and midwives from Africa and the developing world to work in their countries. An estimated 10 million Africans have left the continent and are now residing in Europe, the U.S., Canada and other parts of the world. An estimated 5 million African entrepreneurs and professionals, as well as 40 percent of top African managers, are residing outside the continent. Of the professionals residing outside Africa, many send remittances home, totaling an amount greater than foreign aid assistance. In addition, once political conditions improve, many Africans tend to return home.

Terminal brain drain

In January 2005, most of the world was shocked and saddened when the former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, announced that his son, Makgatho

Mandela, died of HIV/AIDS. Southern Africa (especially South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe), East Africa and countries such as Kenya and Nigeria are being affected severely by the HIV/AIDS brain drain. The disease now represents over two million of the estimated 10 million annual deaths on the continent.

According to a December 2002 report by UNAIDS, of the 42 million people worldwide who were infected with the HIV/AIDS virus, 29.4 million (70 percent) were in sub-Saharan Africa. While the HIV adult prevalence rate for the world (for those age 15 to 49) was 1.2 percent during that year, it was 8.8 percent for sub-Saharan Africa. A higher proportion of Africans with HIV/AIDS reside in southern and eastern Africa. Within the five regions of Africa, while the estimated HIV/AIDS prevalence rate (for adults age 15 to 49) for all of Africa in 1999 was 8.8 percent, it was 10.18 percent for eastern Africa, 5.40 percent for middle Africa, 0.2 percent for northern Africa, 3.5 percent for western Africa and 24.82 percent for southern Africa. Of the estimated 2,204,200 Africans who died in 1999 of HIV/AIDS, eastern Africa accounted for 1,219,970 (55 percent), 463,410 (21 per-cent) for western Africa, 315,100 (14.3 percent) for southern Africa and 205,720 (9.3 percent) for middle Africa. No figures were provided for northern Africa.

The negative consequences of HIV/AIDS in Africa are now being felt all across the continent. According to one account, 11 percent of all children in Uganda and 9 percent in Zambia have been orphaned. Almost 15,000 teachers by the year 2010 and 27,000 teachers by the year 2020 are claimed to die in Tanzania. In Malawi, it is claimed that by 2009, 25 percent of nurses and other public health workers will die due largely to HIV/AIDS.

South Africa and Botswana are two of Africa's most politically and economically stable countries. As the largest investor in African countries, South Africa is losing citizens to HIV/AIDS, and this loss could directly or indirectly impact the entire

continent. Due primarily to HIV/AIDS, the total deaths in South Africa increased from 272,000 in 1998 to 457,000 in 2003. More than 40 percent of the South African military is reported to be infected with the HIV/AIDS virus.

Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe, with relatively high proportions of citizens who can read and write or who have high school or college degrees, are also affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In Kenya, it is reported that an estimated 100 members (including teaching and non-teaching staff) of the University of Nairobi die every year as a result of HIV/AIDS. As of 2001, the estimated number of people living with HIV/AIDS in Nigeria was 3.5 million. In Zimbabwe, there was a time when that nation was referred to as "an advanced-developing nation," but today it is severely impacted by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. There were an estimated 2.3 million people living with HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe in 2001. The disease killed an estimated 200,000 people in that country in 2001. As of 2002, 90 percent of Zimbabweans age 15 and over could read and write. That is over 26 percentage points higher than the average of 63 percent in sub-Saharan Africa in that same year.

As the examples above have shown, Africa is experiencing a dual brain drain in the beginning of the 21st century. One could at least argue that the migration brain drain might be temporary and those abroad tend to send remittances home to their families and friends. The terminal brain drain, on the other hand, takes the lives of Africans forever, after so many scarce resources have been spent to educate them, only to lose them to HIV/AIDS and other diseases. As a result, this dual brain drain is sapping away most of the development gains in the continent made in the past four decades.

News and research

- IGCS, in collaboration with the Africana Studies Department, hosted the New York African Studies Association (NYASA) 29th Annual Conference, April 29-30, 2005. This year's conference theme was "Global Africa and the Challenges of American Hegemony."
- Dr. Ali A. Mazrui and Ms. Nancy Levis recently celebrated 15 years at IGCS.
- Following his appointment as Astor lecturer for the year 2004 by Oxford University, partly under the auspices of the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies of which he is one of the trustees, Dr. Ali Mazrui gave a lecture titled "A Tale of Two Civilizations: Islam and The West." His title echoed the theme "Islam and the West" enunciated, at the turn of the century, by the Prince of Wales in a lecture he had given at Oxford University. Mazrui's lecture is published under the title "Islam and the United States: Streams of Convergence, Strands of Divergence," in the *Third World Quarterly* (London, 2004).
- Dr. Ali Mazrui also addressed Oxford University, delivering a speech for the Oxford Amnesty Lectures in 2004 on issues relevant to human rights and asylum. The lecture was entitled "Strangers In Our Midst: African and Islamic Perspectives."
- Dr. Robert L. Ostergard Jr. has been working with the United Nations Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa on a continent-wide project that examines the impact of the AIDS epidemic on the multiple facets of African societies.
- Dr. Amadu Jacky Kaba (post doctoral associate/assistant professor) and director Ali Mazrui collaborated on a paper, "From the Brain Drain to the Brain Gain," sponsored by Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) and an NGO in Kenya called Brain Gain, Inc. The statistics cited in the Kaba-Mazrui paper were widely discussed on television, radio and in newspapers in Kenya. Those figures had been collected and computed by Dr. Kaba.
- Senthilkumar Mehalingam, a master's candidate in the Binghamton University Computer Science Department, joined the team of IGCS project assistants in fall 2004. Mehalingam received his bachelor's degree in computer engineering from South Gujarat University, India. His area of specialization is neural networks and artificial intelligence. Mehalingam's major responsibilities include maintaining IGCS websites as well as ensuring the proper working of IGCS computers.
- Romineh Dawood, a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science, joined IGCS as project assistant in fall 2004. Her research interests include human rights and conflict. Romineh's duties at IGCS involve teaching, research and editorial assistance.



Post-graduation reception with students of Addis Ababa University.

The scholar, the spear . . .

(continued from page 6)

legend has captured the imagination of both European and African writers, inspiring novels, biographies and historical studies in several tongues. As a violent autocrat, he is both admired and condemned; admired by those who love conquerors, condemned by those who hate despots [Victor Walter, *Terror and Resistance*, Oxford University Press, 1959 and 1972].

Shaka was the ultimate triumph of the spear — perhaps the ultimate burning spear in black history.

What about the ultimate shimmering pen in African history? Ibn Khaldun's greatest work, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, has been celebrated by Arnold J. Tonybee in the following glowing terms:

Undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever been created by any mind in any time or place . . . the most comprehensive and illuminating analysis of how human affairs work that has been made anywhere.

This review of *Al-Muqaddimah* appeared in *The Observer* of London. The legacy of the shimmering pen had met its match in the heritage of the burning spear. Mazrui's choice of the two greatest Africans of the millennium in the year 2000 helped to reconcile the power of the moving finger with the velocity of the flying spear.

(This news-commentary was written with the assistance of IGCS staff.)

Report on IGCS publications: 2004-05

Dr. Ali A. Mazrui

Books

The African Predicament and the American Experience: A Tale of Two Edens. Westport, Conn., and London: Praeger, 2004.

Monographs

Nkrumah's Legacy and Africa's Triple Heritage: Between Globalization and Counter Terrorism. Accra, Ghana: University of Ghana Press, 2004.

Chapters in books edited by others

"Black Reparations in a Conservative World: Racial Aspirations and Political Realities," in Jemadari Kamara and Tony Menelik Van Der Meer (eds.) *State of The Race — Creating Our 21st Century: Where Do We Go From Here?* Boston, Mass.: Diaspora Press, 2004.

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(continued on page 10)

Report on IGCS publications: 2004-05

(continued from page 9)

Dr. Robert L. Ostergard Jr.

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Dr. Amadu Jacky Kaba

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2. "Africa's Migration Brain Drain: the Costs and Benefits to the Continent." 2004. *Chimera*, 2, (3):19-30.
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IGCS doctoral students

Michael Toler, former IGCS graduate assistant, recently defended his PhD dissertation, "The Nation Rewritten: History, Fiction, Translation and the Francophone Novel in the Maghreb," in the department of comparative literature. Toler is now working as a program director of the Arab, Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies Initiative at the National Institute for Technology and Liberal Education, Middlebury, Vt.

Shalahudin Kafrawi wrote and successfully defended his dissertation, "Supreme Being in Islamic Intellectual Traditions," in the Philosophy, Interpretation and Culture (PIC) graduate program. Kafrawi is currently an assistant professor in the department of philosophy and religious studies, Moravia College, Bethlehem, Pa.

Linda Mhando obtained her doctorate in the department of sociology in 2003. Her dissertation title is "The Making of the Modern World: Comparative and Relational Perspectives in Race, Class and Gender." Currently Mhando is an assistant professor in the department of sociology, St. Cloud State University, St. Cloud, Minn.

On May 2, 2005, Patrick Dikirr (project research assistant at IGCS) successfully defended his PhD dissertation titled "Africa's Environmental Crisis: Unmapped Terrain, Existing Challenges and Possible Solutions."

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Message from Director Mazrui *(continued from page 1)*

be compensated for their own historical martyrdom in a similar manner?

My own brief conversation with Yasir Arafat in Dakar was precisely on this subject of comparative reparations for past injustices. I raised the question of whether the state of Israel and the Jewish people would one day find the political and moral will to pay reparations to the Palestinian people in the spirit in which the Jewish people received compensation from the Germans. I raised the scenario half in jest, since it seemed so improbable. But Yasir Arafat did not laugh or smile. He responded seriously: "The best compensation for Palestinians is land, land, land — and our freedom." It was difficult to quarrel with such a scale of priorities.

Dakar in 1992 was also the occasion when I first met Nelson Mandela, who was attending the same conference of African heads of state as an observer. At that time, neither of them was a head of government. Nelson Mandela had been personally a martyr and a leader of a martyred people (black South Africans). He had only recently been released after 27 years of imprisonment.

Although not physically martyred, Yasir Arafat was certainly a leader of a martyred people. Arafat lived to experience a more dangerous imprisonment in his own home in Ramallah than Nelson Mandela had ever experienced on Robin Island in South Africa. After all, Nelson Mandela never thought the apartheid regime would threaten his prison cell with rockets or with ominous tanks nearby.

Yasir Arafat lived to experience home confinement with constant fear of assassination by Israel through remote control. Paradoxically, the United States probably saved Arafat's life for a while by restraining the more ruthless intentions of some Israelis. Arafat survived long enough to die in a hospital in France.

Until the 1990s, Africans and Arabs were brought together by what were regarded as "the twin problems" of Zionism and apartheid. Both ideologies were based on the premise that different

· ethnic groups could not live together
· without partition. Zionism insisted on
· separating Jews from Arabs into separate
· homelands. Apartheid insisted on
· separating whites from blacks into
· comparable separate entities.

· In the politics of the United Nations
· and of the Organization of African Unity
· in the 1970s and 1980s, Arab states
· supported the African struggle against
· apartheid partly in exchange for African
· support for the Palestinian struggle. There
· were also African and Arab leaders who
· supported both struggles in their own
· right, and not as a quid pro quo. Such
· leaders included Nelson Mandela and
· Yasir Arafat, who were both convinced of
· the innate justice of both the Palestinian
· cause and the anti-apartheid campaign. But
· was not little Israel a beleaguered David
· facing the Goliath of the Arab world?

· When compared with African leaders,
· Yasir Arafat lies somewhere between
· Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Robert
· Mugabe of Zimbabwe. Nelson Mandela
· rose to global greatness initially as a victim,
· and then rose even higher as a magnani-
· mous victor from 1994 onward. Mandela
· had defeated the Goliath of apartheid.

· Robert Mugabe rose to greatness as a
· victim of white minority rule and as a
· freedom fighter for Zimbabwe. He remained
· heroic for the first decade of Zimbabwe's
· independence (1980-1990). Thereafter,
· Mugabe declined as he lost a sense of
· political balance and partially turned on his
· own people in order to remain in power.

· Yasir Arafat rose to prominence as a
· victim in the late 1960s, representing the
· Palestinians as a martyred people. Unlike
· South Africans and Zimbabweans,
· Palestinians are not yet in control of their
· own state. To that extent, Arafat and his
· people have yet to become true victors. Are
· Palestinians a beleaguered David in reverse?

· Like Robert Mugabe, Arafat became less
· heroic and his government more corrupt.
· But, unlike Mugabe, Arafat remained
· popular with his people and continued to
· be a unifying, rather than a divisive, factor
· for as long as he lived.

· It is in that sense that Arafat lies
· between Nelson Mandela (triumphant as



Dr. Mazrui (left) with Muammar Gaddafi (center), the Libyan leader, and Abdalla Bujra, Dr. Mazrui's friend and former senior fellow of IGCS who accompanied Dr. Mazrui to the Libyan state house.

· both victim and victor) and Robert
· Mugabe (heroic as victim, but in partial
· disgrace as victor).

· Let us now turn to compare Arafat
· with Arab leaders. It is arguable that the
· four greatest Arab leaders of resistance
· in the 20th century were Gamal Abdel
· Nasser of Egypt who died in 1970, Hafiz
· Assad of Syria who died in 2000,
· Saddam Hussein of Iraq and Yasir Arafat
· of Palestine. These were not necessarily
· the greatest Arabs in every sense. They
· were the greatest leaders in the Arab
· resistance to Western hegemony and to
· Zionism. Of these four Arab heroic
· figures of resistance, Yasir Arafat was
· the only one who had no tanks,
· airplanes, rockets or army endowed with
· billions of dollars of military hardware.
· Israel had been Goliath; Arafat had been
· the David of the Palestinians. Biblical
· history had staged its ultimate paradox.

· As for Muammar Gaddafi, he has
· been a figure of resistance since 1969,
· but he has not always regarded himself
· as an Arab. There have been times
· when he preferred his African identity.
· In any case, Gaddafi has now given up
· the search for the sling and pebbles of
· mass destruction. The warrior has
· mellowed. Are Palestinians after the
· death of Arafat also giving up the sling
· and pebbles of their own resistance?
· Time will tell.