

Ali A. Mazrui. Reflections on and by an Africanist, Scholar and Poet.

An annotated and select thematic bibliography, 2003-2018, compiled by Abdul S. Bemath

FRONT FLAP

‘Few figures in political science have produced a lifetime of work that would warrant cataloguing into a reference book. Ali A. Mazrui is one of those few. He (Bemath) has produced a valuable resource for those interested in the ideas of a man who helped shape African scholarship in the twentieth century’. So said Professor Robert L. Ostergard Jr. Associate Director to Professor Mazrui, in his review of *The Mazruiana Collection* (1998). And the late Edward Said stated in his book, *Culture and Imperialism* about Mazrui’s television series, *The Africans*, ‘Here at last was an African on prime-time television, in the West, daring to accuse the West of what it had done, thus reopening a file considered closed’.

Ali A. Mazrui an annotated and select thematic bibliography, 1962-2018 consists of 180 entries. and is a sequel to *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited (2005)* that has 650 entries. Is divided into ten sections: Section 1 and 2 Memorial seminars and Symposiums dedicated to him. Section 3, Ali A. Mazrui publications: books and edited works. Section 4: Ali A. Mazrui Publications: :major academic articles in books, periodicals and select conference papers. Section 5, scholarly discourses with Ali A. Mazrui (Arranged author surname).. Section 6, Works on Ali A. Mazru, Section 7, Ali A. Mazrui and his critics. Section 8, radio, newspaper, .television and videos. Section 9, tributes and awards. Section ten, my interest in Ali A. Mazrui.

This is much a festschrift for Mazrui as a bibliography of his writings, as it contains essays by scholars familiar with various aspects of his writings and includes essays written by Mazrui himself.

As Mazrui puts it: ‘*Many people disagree with me. My life is one long debate.*’ May this, these Mazruiana bibliographies contribute to the debate on Mazrui - the man and his works!

Ali A. Mazrui (1933-2014) and as I came to realize there is no end to him and his works!

Amazing that the conservative Muslim and non-Muslim world has thrown up female leaders before the west did such as Indira Gandhi, Mrs, Bandaranaike, Benazir Bhutto, Khaleda Zia, Hassina Waleda-female accession to male martyrdom.

CONTENTS PAGE

Dedication

Reviews of the Ali A. Mazrui annotated and select thematic bibliography 1962-2018 5-8

Foreword by Hasu H. Patel 9-10

Arrangement; Annotations; Sources 11

The bibliography

Ali A. Mazrui: An Annotated Bibliography, 2003-2018

- Section One:	Memorial seminars to Ali Al'Amin Mazrui (1933-2014)	15-22
- Section Two:	Symposiums in honour of Ali A. Mazrui	23-26
- Section Three:	Ali A. Mazrui publications: Books and edited works	27-40
- Section Four:	Ali A. Mazrui publications: Major academic articles in books, periodicals and select conference papers	41-69
- Section Five:	Scholarly discourses with Ali A. Mazrui (<i>by author surname</i>)	70-71
- Section Six:	Major works on Ali A. Mazrui	72-81
- Section Seven:	Ali A. Mazrui and his critics	82-85
- Section Eight:	Radio, newspaper, television and video recordings	86-88
- Section Nine:	Tributes and awards to Ali A. Mazrui	89-92
- Section Ten:	My interest in Ali A. Mazrui	93-95
- Acknowledgements		96-97
Select Thematic Bibliography of Ali A. Mazrui's writings		98-104
Major Works on Ali A. Mazrui		105-107
Essays on Ali A. Mazrui		103-141
- Mazrui as Debater: Passion, Power and Polemic by Zine Magubane		104-113
- Essay by Burjor Avari		114-115
- Essay by Seifudein Adem: In Pursuit of Excellence: When Ali A. Mazrui Led the Way		116-121
- Essay by Samuel M. Makinda: Eclecticism as one of the Pillars of Ali A. Mazrui's Intellectual Legacy		122-130
- Essay by Etin Anwar: Mazrui and Gender: On the Question of Methodology		131-141
Journals Cited		148-154
Acronyms Used		155-156
Biographical Sketch of Abdul S. Bemath and Hasu H. Patel.		157-158
Index to the Ali A. Mazrui Annotated Bibliography, 2003-2018		159-186

DEDICATION PAGE

I dedicate this Ali A. Mazrui an annotated and select thematic bibliography, 1962-2018 to

Ms Alya Al-Amin Mazrui the sole survivor of her father: Sh. Al-Amin b. Ali Mazrui (1891-1947)

And to my late sister Hajara

To my brother Mohammed Saide Bemath who was a father to us and my late brothers Goolam Hoosen and Abdul Khaled, never seen and always remembered. And to my younger brother Ismail Bemath and his only daughter Zeenat.

And to Shaykh Al-Amin Bin ‘Ali Al Mazrui (1891-1947) teacher, Imam, Mufti and Scholar.

Chief Qadi of Kenya and father of the late Ali A. Mazrui.

And above all who have knowledge is the All-Knowing.

THE QURAN, 12:76

REVIEWS OF Ali A. Mazrui's Mazruiana Collections annotated and select thematic bibliographies 1962-2003. Compiled by ABDUL SAMED BEMATH

Whether one is a supporter or a detractor of Mazrui, Abdul Samed Bemath's book offers an extraordinary resource for academics and policymakers interested in the works of one of Africa's most talented scholars. R.L. Ostergard Jr. SUNY Binghamton, in *African Studies Review*.

This is as much a festschrift for Mazrui as a bibliography of his writings. It is worth adding to any reference collection on Africa. P.B. Freshwater, Edinburgh University Library, in *African Research and Documentation*.

It was one thing for Bemath to source all the publications worldwide, and quite another to read and annotate them. Africans and Africanists owe this devoted professional bibliographer a huge debt of gratitude. James Kariuki in *Afrika Spectrum*.

Mazrui himself, at the launch of the bibliography at the Zimbabwe International Book Fair, said: 'I have rediscovered articles in here that I had forgotten I'd written'. High praise indeed from one of Africa's foremost and most respected thinkers. Tim Sandham in *Mousaion*.

The annotations are informative, providing a summary of content, without attempting evaluation. Competent author and subject indexes enable the user to navigate with ease. It did, however, leave me resolving to read more Mazrui. Terry Barringer, African Studies Centre, Cambridge University, in *African Affairs and Society of Indexers*. The compilation of the bibliography introduces another name, MAZRUIANA, to library collections all over the world. Yemisi Dina, Adeola Odutola Law Library, University of Ibadan, in *African Journal of Library, Archives & Information Science*.

Prince Clemens Metternich is said to have remarked that those who make history have no time to record it. If Mazrui is the one who is making history, Abdul Samed Bemath has proved to be his capable recorder. Seifudein Adem in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*.

...future Africanist historiographers will find this collection most valuable, not least in following up the cited reviews of Ali Mazrui's publications and exploring the controversies they provoked. Charles Armour in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*.

The collection is useful not just for people wanting to research Mazrui's work but to stimulate a re-study of some of the topics that Mazrui has made provocative and stimulating comments on over the last nearly four decades. Owen Sichone in *Politikon*.

The value of this meticulously prepared bibliography...In fact, the 'Mazruiana Collection' is a mine-field, an academic reservoir for any researcher on Africa. Professor K. Mathews, former Head of African Studies, University of Delhi in *Africa Quarterly*.

This is a timely and useful bibliography that will act as an important stimulant for younger, emerging scholars, particularly in the Third World...Muhammed Haron in *Journal for Islamic Studies*.

Bemath should be congratulated for producing such a valuable resource for those interested in the ideas of a man who helped shape African scholarship in the 20th century. Dbdelite in Amazon.com. Customer Review: Five Star.

...many scholars, students, social scientists, and policy makers interested in Africa have dreamt of a fascinating big volume of 'the complete works of Prof Ali Al'Amin Mazrui'. That dream has finally come true. Joseph Were in The Monitor.

Although this book is not directly concerned with publishing, we list it as an example of good co-publishing arrangements (has seven co-publishers). Bellagio Publishing Network Newsletter.

It is time that the compiler should produce a five-year supplement to cover more recent writings of Mazrui. Abdur Rashid Siddiqui in The Muslim World Book Review, 2003.

Abdul Bemath's bibliography is not only an essential guide to Professor Mazrui's works: It is a monumental work of diligence and scholarship by Abdul Bemath, a tribute not only to its subject but an outstanding example of the bibliographer's art. Michael Holman. Former Africa Editor, Financial Times Newspaper, London.

The above title (The Mazruiana Collection) is the best reference work on Africa I remember seeing come out of Indian presses. Africana Librarians Council, USA.

Reviewed by Michael Holman. IN: *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, no. 422, January 2007, pp.168-169.

Mazrui's intellectual energy fizzles through more than 600 annotated entries covering his books, dissertations, and edited works about him, newspaper articles, and audio-visual recordings.

Reviewed by Vladimir Shubin. IN: *Boctok (Oriens)* no. 3, 2006, pp.191-193.

Another point that is worth mentioning here is Mazrui's attitude to Russia. Mazrui who used to criticise the politics of both the West and the Soviet Union is now in opposition to the interests of Russia and defends the Chechen separatists calling them, together with the Kashmiris and the Palestinians, the "Muslim warriors for self-determination" (p.360).

Mazrui's global journey shows a passion for Africa/James Kariuki. *City Press*, May 8, 2005, p.22.

Reviewed by Dr Jacqueline A. Kalley. IN: *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 2, May 2005, p.286-287. Reprinted in, *Africa Insight*, Vol. 35, no. 2, June 2005, p. 71. This bibliography is highly recommended and should be purchased by all libraries with an interest in Africa and the wider world as seen through the eyes of a dedicated scholar.

Reviewed by Ms Elna Schoeman. IN: *Politikon*, vol.32, no.2, November 2005, p.322-324. As a bibliography, it includes some unusual features, such as the essays on Mazrui by fellow academics and even one by Mazrui himself. It falls somewhere into a category of its own-not quite a Festschrift and also not solely a bibliography, but perhaps this is precisely the source of its obvious appeal.

Reviewed by Dr Marlene Burger. IN: *Mousaion*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2005, p. 242-244. Also reviewed the MCR Index in, *The Indexer, The International Journal of Indexing*, Vol. 25, no. 1, April 2006, p.70.

The subject index is one of the best features of the book. It is arranged alphabetically, with references to bibliographic entry numbers and is a two-level index (i.e., only one subdivision(indent) per subject entry is used). This makes the display of the index easy on the eye and location of specific subjects without problems...Bemath is not only an excellent bibliographer but also an outstanding indexer.

Reviewed by Iqbal Jassat. *Media Review Network* Online Page. November 2005. Review also appears in, *The Free Press* Online Page, Columbus, Ohio, USA. November 2005. Also appears in, *Al-Qalam*, Vol. 31, no. 12, December 2005, p. 19. *PalestineChronicle.com* December 28, 2005. *Hot Coals* Online January 26, 2006. *Voice of the Cape* Online, April 26, 2007.

MEDIA REVIEW NETWORK. Press Release, November 29, 2005.

Iqbal Jassat states that "Belonging to the generation that lived through World War 2, the Korean War, Vietnam, the different Gulf wars...and elsewhere, Mazrui continuous to research, write and lecture at a pace unmatched by his peers.

Abdul Samed Bemath receives 'Best Bibliography Award 2004-2005' from the Association of Southern African Indexers and Bibliographers (ASAIB) for his bibliography, *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited*...

Reviewed by Fakir Hassen. Librarian honoured-top award for best bibliography, *Post Newspaper* (Durban), January 11-15, 2006. Literary Award for Lenasia librarian, *The Lenasia Times*, January 2006, p. 31.

Reviewed by Fakir Hassen. Special moment for Lenasia librarian. Professor Ali A. Mazrui presenting the 1st Annual Suleiman Nana Memorial Lecture, April 26, 2007. *Lenasia Times*, p.12.

Lenasia librarian Abdul Bemath compiled a book on the works of academic Prof Ali Mazrui. Caption below photo in article titled: Prof Ali Mazrui launches Islamic Lecture Series. *Laudium Sun*, Mid-May 2007, p.16.

In an e-mail message, Prof Mazrui said to Bemath: "Most sincere congratulations on the award for *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited*. This is a moment of pride for all of us. Your labour of love has now been truly acknowledged. Keep up the good work, my brother!"

ASAIB Award mentioned in *ASAUK*(London) Newsletter, no. 42, January 2006, p.10.

ASAIB Award mentioned in *African Research & Development* (UK), no. 99, 2005, p.78.

ASAIB Award mentioned in *AISA Newsletter*, October 2005-January 2006, p.11.

ASAIB Award mentioned in *The Indexer, The International Journal of Indexing*, Vol. 25, no. 1, April 2006, p. 48.

ASAIB award for: Best Index for 2007. *Euro-Jews and Afro-Arabs: the great Semitic divergence in world history* by Ali A. Mazrui. Compiled by Seifudein Adem. University Press of America, 2008.

ASAIB award for Best Runner-Up index 2011 for: Africa South, Viewpoints, 1956-1961. Edited by M.J. Daymond and Corrine Sandwith. UKZN Press, 2011.

ASAIB award for Best-Runner index 2013 for: *Children of a bitter harvest. Child labour in the Cape Winelands* by Susan Levine. Best Red, 2013.

FOREWORD by Ambassador Professor Hasu H. Patel

I am honoured and very grateful to Abdul Bemath for affording me this opportunity to share some memories of Ali Mazrui. What follows is my recollection of events, encounters and remembrances of Ali Mazrui.

In 1961, with the assistance of the late distinguished historian Prof Terence Ranger, I enrolled at Oxford University for a two-year postgraduate Diploma in Public and Social Administration at Barnett House in Wellington Square, which diploma I completed in one year.

In the first term (Michaelmas term), after some weeks into my studies, I was walking one early evening on St. Giles (street) and stopped to greet a few fellow students, who introduced me to a doctoral candidate at Oxford University.

In the second term (Hilary term), I went to Nuffield College for my tutorial in Political and Social Theory and there he was, the person I had met during the first term; it was none other than Ali Mazrui, who introduced me to the wonder and delight of ideas.

I met Ali again in the mid-1960s, when he was Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), where I was a graduate student. During this time, an interesting aspect of Ali was that after my pleading he performed a male version of a belly dance at a function commemorating Africa; such was the humility and sociability of Ali.

In 1968, when I decided to undertake field work in Uganda for my doctorate at UCLA, I wrote to Ali, who promptly and helpfully appointed me one of his Teaching Assistants in his Department of Political Science at Makerere University in Kampala. During my stay in Uganda until April 1971, Ali also made me Administrator and Research Associate of the African Section of the World Order Models Project (WOMP) of which Ali was the Director. In 1969, Ali made me Conference Organiser of the WOMP's International Conference on "Africa in World Affairs: The Next Thirty Years", resulting in our joint editorship of a book of the same title, which was published in New York and London.

In later years I was fortunate and delighted to meet and interact with Ali in Montreal, Canada, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, Bellagio, Italy, Kadoma and Harare, Zimbabwe, and Melbourne and Canberra, Australia, some of which encounters involved Ali's invitation to me to participate at conferences and seminars.

In sum, Ali was my teacher, mentor, patron and friend, who immeasurably helped me in my academic career; I am forever grateful to him.

Ali became a global media star with his BBC Radio Reith Lectures, "The African Condition", in 1979 and especially with the highly acclaimed, but also controversial, BBC/PBS television series "The Africans: A Triple Heritage" in 1986.

Ali was a workaholic, a prolific writer and a highly visible, well regarded and courageous African and Global academic, a public intellectual and activist, who also attracted some criticism and controversy concerning his essentially liberal discourse, some of his

associations and his public activism. Nonetheless, as I remember, while Ali was always firm in his viewpoints, he was also courteous to his detractors and engaged them with his intellectual leaning and ideas. Indeed, Ali did not shy away from controversy, which, I believe, was “oxygen” for him; after all, he had defined an intellectual as someone fascinated with ideas and with such an orientation there was always room for a dignified and gentlemanly “clash of ideas”.

Yet for all his public exposure, presence and fame, Ali was a very private person who dealt with his personal tragedies with quiet dignity; in essence, I believe, there was a certain shyness about him, which was overlain with his characteristic smile and laughter.

Abdul Bemath has patiently and admirably spent many years on his most welcome odyssey in preserving the legacy of Ali for current and future generations. I extend my congratulations and deepest gratitude to Abdul.

Ambassador Professor Hasu H. Patel

University of Zimbabwe

Harare.

23 August 2018

ARRANGEMENT, ANNOTATIONS AND SOURCES. OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arrangement:

The annotated entries are arranged chronologically from 2018-2003 according to number sequence. The bibliography is divided into ten sections and consists of 180 entries.

Section One: Sixteen memorial seminars to Ali A. Mazrui (1933-2014). There was a memorial seminar held in his honour at the University of Khartoum in February 2019 which I attended.

Section Two: Twelve symposiums in honour of Ali A. Mazrui.

Section Three: Ali A. Mazrui publications: books and edited works consists of 21 books.

Section Four: There are 104 Ali A. Mazrui publications: in major academic articles in books, periodicals, and select conference papers.

Section Five: There are 5 scholarly discourses with Ali A. Mazrui.

Section Six: Works on Ali A. Mazrui consists of 25 entries.

Section Seven: Ali A. Mazrui and his critics consists of 15 entries.

Section Eight: Has 14 Radio, newspaper, television and video recordings.

Section Nine: There are 16 tributes and awards to Ali A. Mazrui. This is a select list and a detailed list on Ali A. Mazrui CV. This is available from his Institute of global cultural studies at the University of Binghamton, web site.

Section Ten: My interest in Ali A. Mazrui.

There is also a detailed author and subject index. The index numbers refer to bibliographical entries rather than page numbers.

Emphasis is placed on his published works with a few important presentations made at conferences. The majority of Professor Ali A. Mazrui's works are in English, and some are in French, Danish, Dutch, German, Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, Turkish and Spanish. These have been translated into English.

Annotations:

The annotations are detailed. A neutral and value-free stance has been adapted and a few of the books have their chapters noted.

Sources:

I have sourced the Ali A. Mazrui publications from South African, American, Indian, British, and other world-wide universities and institutions. *See also* acknowledgements, preface in: The Mazruiana Collection Revisited: Ali A. Mazrui debating the African condition. An annotated and select thematic bibliography 1962-2003. New Delhi, India New Dawn Press, an imprint of Sterling Publishers and Pretoria South Africa, Africa Institute of South Africa who published the Mazruiana collection revisited...for the various world- wide searches I made in tracing his publications.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

**ALI A. MAZRUI. REFLECTIONS ON AND BY AN AFRICANIST, SCHOLAR AND POET. AN
ANNOTATED AND SELECT THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHY, 2003-2018.**
COMPILED BY ABDUL S. BEMATH
**INDEPENDENT LIBRARY CONSULTANT, BIBLIOGRAPHER AND INDEXER. LENASIA,
SOUTH AFRICA**

This is a rejoinder to my bibliography, *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited. Ali A. Mazrui Debating the African Condition. An Annotated and Select Thematic Bibliography, 1962-2003.* New Delhi, India: New Dawn Press, an imprint of Sterling Publishers and Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2005. Has 650 entries.

This rejoinder consists of 180 entries divided into ten sections covering his works from 2003-2018. The annotated entries are arranged chronologically from 2018 to 2003. This bibliography updates *Mazruiana* from his first published work in 1962. Fifty-two years of his works covering the same period as African countries gaining independence from colonial rule in the 60s.

I am greatly indebted to Jennifer Winans from Professor Mazrui's Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS), Binghamton University for e mailing me his articles.

A special thanks to Professor Seifudein Adem, Associate Director of the IGCS and Professor Mazrui's Administrative Assistant Ravenna Narizzano-Bronson. Al'Amin M. Mazrui and Linda Mhando for all assistance.

Many thanks to Northwestern University librarians, Deborah M. LaFond, Marcia Lynne Tiede, Michelle Anne Guittar, David L. Easterbrook, Esmeralda M. Kale and Michigan State Universities Peter Limb and for tracing conference proceedings.

Many thanks to Professor Ali A. Mazrui's nephews Ghalib Tamim and Muhammad Ibn Yusuf for providing me contacts of institutions, organisations and family members.

I thank Ahmed Jooma for computer assistance, and Yasin Tayob as well as to Dilip Bhana (my point man for computer assistance). Also, to Burhaan Haniff and my neighbourhood primary school children Shakeel Singh, Ruth Dimba, Imraan Mdala, Zakkiyya Jada and her sister Zahra Jada, and Nadir Premchand, all of whom assisted in cross checking the index.

A special thanks to the late John Morrison, former librarian at the South African Institute of Race Relations who introduced me to the world of bibliographies.

Other facilitators of Professor Mazrui's articles are acknowledged in the articles concerned.

SECTION ONE:

MEMORIAL SEMINARS TO ALI AL'AMIN MAZRUI (1933-2014)

- (i) **Launch of the Ali Mazrui Centre for Higher Education at the University of Johannesburg, August 3, 2017.**

Professor Michael Cross.

Professor Ihron Rensburg.

Professor Saartjie Gravett and others.

Jozi Book Fair. Lenasia, July 30, 2017.

Participants:

Layla Cassim.

Zeinoul Cajee.

Ashraf Patel.

Rose Francis.

- (ii) **Celebrating the Life and Times of Ali Mazrui, Cape Town November 9, 2015. Seminar organised by the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town.**

Participants:

Ms Felleng Sekha.

Professor Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni. Head: Archie Mafeje Research Institute. University of South Africa.

Dr Adekeye Adebajo. Executive Director: Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town.

- (iii) **International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) Seminar on Professor Ali Mazrui's Scholarship. Held at Herndon, VA, USA, October 21, 2015. This Seminar will be published in a Special of The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 33, no. 3, Summer 2016, dedicated to Professor Ali Mazrui.**

Participants:

Dr Ermin Sinanović.

Pauline Uti Mazrui.

Ambassador Ebrahim Rasool. Ali Mazrui-Beacon at the intersection of Islam and Africa.

Dr Sulayman Nyang. Howard University.

Dr Seifudin Adem. SUNY Binghamton. Honouring the legacy of Dr Ali A. Mazrui.

Bernadette Paolo.

Dr Abubaker Al-Shingieti. Executive Director of IIIT.

Caitlyn Bolton. Making Africa legible: Kiswahili Arabic and Orthographic Romanisation in colonial Zanzibar.

Youssef Carter. Muhajirrun wal Ansar: mobilities and memory among Muslims of African descent.

Dr Naveed Sheikh. Can the Subaltern Act? Mazrui on the Error in 'Terror'

Dr Ahmed Salem. Mazrui's Islamic scholarship: expanding horizons, meeting challenges.

Dr Rachid Mrani. Values between Islamic and Western models: Mazrui's struggle for a system of universal values.

- (iv) **Professor Ali Mazrui Memorial Lecture, August 4, 2015 held at Mombasa, Kenya. Theme: Professor Ali Mazrui and the Kenyan Constitution: A Legacy for Present Times.**

Speakers:

Professor Yash Pal Ghai. Spearheaded the Kenya Review Commission.

Dr Willy Mutunga. Chief Justice of Kenya.

Mr. Pheroze Nowrojee. Senior Council.

- (v) **Celebrating the Life and Times of Ali Mazrui. Organised by The Citizen newspaper and the University of Johannesburg. Mazrui event for Africa Day. May 5, 2015**

Panel:

Dr Adekeye Adebajo, Director Centre for Conflict Resolution.

Professor Chris Landsberg, University of Johannesburg.

Professor Gilbert Khadiagala. University of the Witwatersrand.

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Director of the Archie Mafeje Research Institute at UNISA.

Abdul Bemath. Compiler of The Mazruiana Collection Revisited. Annotated bibliography Professor Ali Mazrui works.

- (vi) **New York African Studies Association 40th Annual Meeting, 3-4 April, 2015. Albany, NY.**

Special Memorial and Plenary Session on the Life and Importance of Ali A. Mazrui to Africana Studies and NYASA.

Chair: Roger Gocking, Emeritus, Mercy College, New York.

Acknowledgement of Mrs Pauline Ali A. Mazrui and family.

Mama Halima Namakula (Chairperson of Women at Work Intl.; Director of No-End Entertainment; Founder of Zimba Youth Africa) with Grace Nakabugo and Drucilla Mbabazi (all of Uganda) performing: a song composed in the memory of Professor Ali Mazrui, “Africa Yetu” (“Our Africa”)-this song earned Halima Namakula a nomination as Best East African Female Artist at the Kora Awards. Zurphar Nsiyona (Uganda) performing a tribute poem to Ali Mazrui.

Partial screening of Ali Mazrui: A Walking Triple Heritage by filmmaker Ali Ndirangu Wachanga. Wisconsin University.

Plenary discussants:

Seifudein Adem. IGCS, Binghamton University (Panel Organizer)

Ndirangu Wachanga, Wisconsin University.

Nuha Mwesigwa, Makerere University and Secretary General, Ali Mazrui Foundation Inc.

N’Dri T. Assié-Lumumba, Professor, African Studies and Research Center, Cornell University.

Makau W. Mutua, State University of New York Distinguished Professor and Floyd H.

and Hilda L. Hurst Faculty Scholar, University of Buffalo, New York.
Ngugi wa Thiongo.
Roger Gocking, Co-Editor NYASA Newsletter.
Tom Nyquist, Co-Editor NYASA Newsletter.

‘Ali Mazrui’s creative imagination: politics and Pan-Africanism in The Trial of Christopher Okigbo’. Joseph McLaren, English Department, Hofstra University.

‘Ali Mazrui and the Study of Sino-African Relations’. Seifudein Adem, Associate Director and Associate Research Professor, Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS), Binghamton University.

(vii) Ali A. Mazrui Roundtable and Reception. Held at the Comparative and International Educational Society 59th Annual Conference, Washington, DC. March 10, 2015.

Chairs: H.E. Oliver Wonekha, Ambassador of the Republic of Uganda in Washington, DC
H.E. Daouda Diabaté Ambassador of the Republic of Côte d’Ivoire in Washington, DC
Julius Bargorett Deputy: Ambassador of the Republic of Kenya in Washington, DC.

Presenters:

Utku Kundakci. Political Officer/First Secretary Turkish Embassy.
Pauline Mazrui, Ali A. Mazrui Foundation.
Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, Cornell University and Wells College.
Kabiru Kinanjui, Chuka University, Kenya.
N’Dri Assie-Lumumba, Cornell University.
Hamidou Boukary, ADEA.
Joan Osa Oviawe, Cornell University.
Martial Dembélé, Université de Montréal.
Lilian Butungi Niwagaba, UT Southwestern Medical Center.
Peter Moyi, University of South Carolina.
Ndirangu Wachanga, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater.
Nuha Mwesigwa. Ali A. Mazrui Foundation

Individual Submissions:

Ali A. Mazrui’s Global Legacy. Calestous Juma, Harvard Kennedy School.

(viii) Ethiopian Academy of Sciences. The Ali Mazrui in Memoriam celebrating the life of an African intellectual. Organised by the Ethiopian Academy of Sciences and Addis Ababa University, Eshetu Chole Hall, College of Business and Economics, February 27, 2015.

Panel:

Professor Masresha Fetene. EAS Executive Director.
Dr Admasu Tsegaye. President of Addis Ababa University.
H.E. Catherine Mwangi. Ambassador of the Republic of Kenya to Ethiopia.
Professor Mohammed Salih. International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University.

Ms. Zenebework Tadesse. Sociologist and International Consultant.
Professor Bahru Zewde.

Keynote Address by Olusegun Obasanjo. The African scientist in a fast-changing world.

- (ix) **The Permanent Mission of Kenya to the United Nations in collaboration with UNESCO, New York Office. Celebrating the late Ali A. Mazrui's contribution to the United Nations. February 24, 2015. Venue: United Nations Headquarters (Conference Room 2CB).**

Speakers:

Dr Moufida Goucha. UNESCO Director at the UNO.
Macharia Kamau. Kenya Ambassador to the UNO.
Professor Abdul Nanji. Columbia University.
Pauline Ali Mazrui.

(Many thanks to Sherwin Bryce-Pease, SABC, UNO correspondent for this link.)

- (x) **Sligo Creek Elementary School, Silver Spring, Maryland, 2015 Black February Month Tribute to Ali A. Mazrui. Professor Mazrui Granddaughter, Nicole, and daughter of his son Jamal Mazrui is a second grader at this school.**
- (xi) **International Studies Association (ISA) University of Arizona (USA) GSCIS Conference, Singapore Management University, Singapore, January 8-10, 2015. Focal Roundtable: In Memoriam: Professor Ali Mazrui.**

Chair: Jacqueline Braveboy-Wagner. City University of New York.

Participants:

Seifudein Adem. Binghamton University.
Jayantha Jayman. St. Lawrence University.
A.B. Assensoh.
Yvette Marie Alex-Assensoh. University of Oregon.

- (xii) **Friends of Africa (FAI), the Permanent Observer Mission of the African Union to the United Nations, Permanent Mission of the Republic of South Africa to the United Nations and the Republic of Kenya to the United Nations. Celebrating the life of Ali A. Mazrui, December 18, 2014. Venue: Permanent Observer Mission of the African Union to the United Nations.**

Programme

Speakers:

Moderator, Ambassador Adonia Ayebare, Permanent Observer Mission of the African Union to the UN.

Opening and Welcome by Ambassador Tete Antonio, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the UN.

Brief Remarks:

Ambassador Kingsley Mamabolo, Permanent Mission of the Republic of South Africa

to the UN.

Ambassador Macharia Kamau, Permanent Mission of the Republic of Kenya to the UN.

Panel discussion Theme: Who killed Pax Africana?

Brief Remarks. Onyeka Obasi, President & Founder, Friends of Africa International

Speakers:

Dr Adekeye Adebajo. Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa. Also see his 'Africa has to raise Pax Africana from the dead'. Business Day (South Africa newspaper), October 20, 2014.

Professor Paul Tiyaambe Zeleza, Quinnipiac University.

Professor Amii Omara Otunnu, University of Connecticut.

Professor Horace G. Campbell, Syracuse University, Maxwell School of Public Affairs.

Reception and Presentation of Africa Vision Awards.

Madam Pauline Ali Mazrui.

- (xiii) **CODESRIA Ali A. Mazrui Seminar held at the Technical University of Mombasa, December 15, 2014. Paper presented by Professor Ali A. Mazrui nephew Ghalib Yusuf Tamim titled: Professor Ali A. Mazrui: The Re-Incarnation of Sh. Ali B. Abdalla Naf'I Mazrui. Re-incarnation in the Mazrui family-a comparative study. 5 pages.**

Tamim poses the question whether Professor Ali A. Mazrui is the re-incarnation of his paternal grandfather Sh. Ali B. Abdalla Naf'I Mazrui and his father, Sh. Al-Amin bin Ali Mazrui? Draws chronological sequences to confirm this and as legendary as they were. And whether re-incarnation runs in the family and will Ali Al'Amin Mazrui, the grandson of Professor Ali A. Mazrui follows in his footsteps?

Programme:

Opening Session. Chaired by Professor Fatima Harrak, President of CODESRIA.

Speeches and Testimonies by:

Dr Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA.

Vice Chancellor of Technical University of Mombasa.

Hon. Hassan Omar the Senator for Mombasa.

Professor Peter Anyang Nyongo, Senator for Kisumu County.

The Governor of Mombasa, Hon. Hassan Joho.

Hon. Dr Willy Mutunga, Chief Justice of Kenya.

A representative of the Mazrui family.

First Roundtable:

Moderator: Professor FEMK Senkoro, Member of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA.

Professor K. Inyani Simala, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.

Professor Helmi Sharawy, Afro-Arab Institute.

Professor Eric Aseka, Africa Leadership University.

Dr Godwin Murunga, University of Nairobi.

Professor Ken Walibora, Nation Media Group.
Professor Felicia Yieke, Laikipia University.

Second Roundtable:

Moderator: Professor Dzodzi Tshikata, Vice President of CODESRIA.
Khelef.
Professor Ahmed Moheddine.
Dr George Omondi.
Professor Eunice Kamaara, Moi University.
Dr Mshai Mwangola.

Third Roundtable:

Moderator: Professor Peter Anyang Nyongo'
Ghalib Tamini.
Dr Carren Nyandiba, MMUST.
Professor Sheila Ryanga.
Dr Ibrahim Oanda.
Professor Maurice Amutabi, Kisii University.

Closing:

A representative of the Mazrui family.
Professor Fatima Harrak.
Dr Willy Mutunga.

(xiv) Mwalimu Ali A. Mazrui 1933-2014. Celebration of Life Held at Binghamton University, December 6, 2014.

Program:

Ricardo René Larémont. Master of Ceremonies. Professor Political Science/Sociology, Binghamton University.
Qur'an Recitation-Suran Ya Sin by Eydid Ali, Muslim Student Association, Binghamton University.

Opening Remarks by:

Michael West. Professor, African Studies/Sociology, Binghamton University.
Anne McCall. Dean, Harpur College of Arts and Sciences, Binghamton University.
Donald G. Nieman. Executive VP for Academic Affairs & Provost, Binghamton University.
Ousseina Alidou. Professor, African American and African Studies, Rutgers University.
N'dri Assie-Lumumba. Professor, African Studies and Research Center, Cornell University.
Locksley Edmonson. Professor, Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University.
Onyeka Obasi. President, Friends of Africa International (FAI).
Betty Wambui. Assistant Professor, Africana and Latino Studies, SUNY Oneonta.
Samuel Quainoo. Professor and Chair, Political Science, East Stroudsburg University.
Micere Mugo. Meredith Professor for Teaching Excellence, Syracuse University.
John L. Esposito. Professor and Director, Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Centre for Muslim Christian Understanding (ACMCU).

Toyin Falola. Jacob & Frances Sanger Mossiker Chair in the Humanities, University of Texas.

Abubaker al-Shingieti. Regional Director, International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT).

Horace Campbell. Professor, Department of African American Studies, Syracuse University.

Kassahun Checole. CEO, Africa World Press, Inc. & The Red Sea Press, Inc.

Seifudein Adem. Associate Director/Associate Research Professor, Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS), Binghamton University.

intellectual teeth as a scholar and Professor.

Speeches by Professor Ali A. Mazrui children and grandchild:

Jamal Ali Mazrui.

Al'Amin Ali Mazrui.

Kim Abubakar Ali Forde-Mazrui.

Harith Ekenechukwu Ali Mazrui.

Farid Chinedu Ali Mazrui.

Ali Al'Amin Mazrui.

Mazrui-Rumi Award Speech. Introduction by Dinesh Sharma. Associate Research Professor (Hon.), IGCS, Binghamton University.

- (xv) **The African and Middle Eastern Division of the Library of Congress, Howard University, The Africa Society of the National Summit on Africa and the International Institute of Islamic Thought Special Commemoration, Ali A. Mazrui and his Works: A Tribute to the Legend. Held in the Thomas Jefferson Building, Washington DC. December 4, 2014.**

Program:

Welcome and opening remarks by:

Dr Mary Jane Deeb, Chief, Africa and Middle Eastern Division (LOC).

Dr Mbye Cham. Director, Department of African Studies, Howard University.

Bernadette B. Paolo, Esq. President and CEO, The Africa Society of the National Summit on Africa.

Dr Abubaker Al-Shingieti, Executive Director, International Institute for Islamic Thought (IIIT).

Her Excellency Jean Kamau, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Kenya.

Presentation of "Ali Mazrui at the Library of Congress" by Eve Ferguson, Reference Librarian for East Africa, African and Middle Eastern Division, Library of Congress (LOC). Presents an overview and periodization of Mazruiana held at the LOC and points out the historical relevance and impact of them.

Documentary: Mazrui's Life and Works by Dr Mbye Cham.

The Scholarship of Dr Ali Mazrui-An Overview of Legendary Achievements:

(This section moderated by Dr Angel Batiste. Area Specialist, African and Middle Eastern Division, Library of Congress (LOC).)

Papers presented by:

Dr Sulayman Nyang. Professor of African Studies, Howard University.

Dr Kehbama Langmia. Professor of Communications, Howard University-states that Ali Mazrui clamoured for an Africa that is not solely dependent on everything from the West, and advocated a common language in Africa for Africans.

Dr Alem Hailu. Professor of African Studies, Howard University.

Tributes by:

Pauline Uti Mazrui-wife of the late Dr Ali A. Mazrui.

Her Excellency Liberata Mulamula-Ambassador to the U.S. from Tanzania.

Dr Jamal al-Barzinji, Vice President and Founding Member of IIIT.

Jane Uti Egbo, Professor Mazrui's sister-in-law.

(xvi) African Studies Association 57th Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, November 20-23, 2014.

Roundtable: In Memoriam: Ali A. Mazrui 1933-2014. November 21 (Sponsored by the ASA Board of Directors)

Chair: Seifudein Adem. Binghamton University.

Toyin Falola. University of Texas at Austin.

Goran Hyden. University of Florida.

Ousseina Alidou. Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

Edmond Keller. UCLA.

Ruth Iyob. University of Missouri-St. Louis.

Second Session: for friends, colleagues, and former students.

Chair: Bereket Habte Selassie. University of Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Ahmed Samatar. Macalester College.

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Adekeye Adebajo. Centre for Conflict Resolution, South Africa.

(xvii) Ali A. Mazrui Memorial Event. Hosted by the Vice-Chancellor and Rector and The Centre for African Studies, University of the Free State, October 30, 2014. Paper presented by Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, titled: "My Life is One Long Debate": Ali A. Mazrui on the Invention of Africa and Postcolonial Predicaments.

SECTION TWO:
SYMPOSIUMS IN HONOUR OF ALI A. MAZRUI.

- (i) **Critical Perspectives on Culture and Globalization: The Intellectual Legacy of Ali A. Mazrui, Nairobi, Kenya, July 15-17, 2016.**

Symposium compiled as a monograph titled: Critical Perspectives on Culture and Globalization: the intellectual legacy of Ali A. Mazrui. Edited by Kimani Njogu and Seifudein Adem. Nairobi: Twaweza Communications, 2017.

Papers:

Culture and globalization: a contextual essay by Kimani Njogu.

Transnational Africa(s): Ali Mazrui and culture, diaspora and religion by Timothy M. Shaw.

Ali Mazrui: transformative education and reparative justice by Horace G. Campbell.

Ali Mazrui and the Trial of Christopher Okigbo by Chris L. Wanjala.

Hamdy A. Hassan. Rethinking the idea of *Afrabia in Ali Mazrui's political and social thought*.

Ali Mazrui and verbal combats by Macharia Munene.

Ali Mazrui's Islamic Studies: defending oppressed Muslims, reforming Islamic thought by Ahmed Ali Salem.

Who is an African? Reflections on Ali Mazrui's notion of the African by Jideofor Adibe.

Ali A. Mazrui and Turkish interests by Mohamed Bakari.

Eclecticism as a theoretical approach: the pillar of Ali A. Mazrui's intellectual legacy by Samuel M. Makinda.

Mazrui and the Whig interpretation of African nationalism by P. Anyang 'Nyong'o.

Ali A. Mazrui: an anecdotal essay by Abdul Samed Bemath.

Was Mazrui ahead of his time? By Seifudein Adem.

Appendix: Triple tropes of triads by Seifudein Adem.

- (ii) **Symposium on the "Life and Legacy of Dr Ali A. Mazrui." Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, September 25-26, 2015.**

Seifudein Adem presented a paper titled: Prediction and fortune-telling in Mazrui's scholarship.

Viewing of the last episode of the "The Africans: A Triple Heritage" Video Series: "Global Africa" Discussion Viewing of the documentary: "Ali Mazrui: A Walking Triple Heritage" (2014) presented by Producer and Director, Professor Ndirangu Wachanga (Univ. of Wisconsin, Whitewater) with follow-up discussion. Professor N'Dri Assie-Lumumba assistance appreciated.

- (iii) **African Studies Association 57th Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, November 20-23, 2014.**

Roundtable: Ali A. Mazrui and reflections on political violence in Africa. Chair: Seifudein Adem. Binghamton University.

- (iv) **New York African Studies Association (NYASA) 39th Conference, SUNY Cortland, NY, April 4-5, 2014**

Panel Theme: Sojourners of South Africa: Apartheid, Mandela & Mazrui.

Chair: Professor Mecke Nagel, SUNY Cortland.

Panel:

Corinne Nyquist, SUNY New Paltz.

Lynn Bergstraesser-Nyquist, Mid-Hudson Medical Group.

Thomas Nyquist, The Nyquist Foundation.

Seifudein Adem Leader Nelson Mandela and Scholar Ali Mazrui.

- (v) **New York African Studies Association (NYASA) 38th Conference, Binghamton University, April 2013 celebrating his 80th birthday.**

Theme of the Symposium: Global Africa, Triple Heritage and Pax Africana: Looking Lumumba

Papers presented:

Edouard Glissant and Ali Mazrui. Rhizomes and triple heritage in the global South by Mũkoma wa Ngũgĩ, Cornell University.

Ali Mazrui, the orate scholar using orature techniques in political science discourse by Micere Mugo, Syracuse University.

Testing the efficacy of Ali Mazrui's gender theory through a qualitative analysis of the ongoing quest for gender mainstreaming in Senegalese politics by Anta Sane, Howard University.

Travels and conversations: Recording Ali A. Mazrui by Ndirangu Wachanga, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater.

Major phases in the evolution of Ali A. Mazrui's scholarship by Seifudein Adem, SUNY Binghamton.

African-centred conceptualizations in Ali Mazrui's work: an analysis of their essentiality by Abdul Karim Bangura, Howard University.

Africa's IR in the 21st Century: lessons from the contributions of Ali Mazrui by Horace Campbell, Syracuse University.

From cultural forces in world politics to theories of black internationalism: Ali A. Mazrui's contribution to international relations theories in the 21st century by Darryl Thomas, Penn State University.

Radical understanding of justice as a precondition for sustained order: Ali Mazrui and E. H. Carr by Jayantha Jayman, St. Lawrence University.

Ali Mazrui a walking triple heritage. Ndirangu Wachanga.

- (vi) **African Studies Association 54th Annual Meeting November 2011. Roundtable in honour of Professor Ali A. Mazrui. Roundtable themes: The Scholar between**

Thought and Action and The Pro-Democracy Movements and the Legacy of Pax Africana.

Paper Presented:

Adem, Seifudein. Ali A. Mazrui and his Triple Otherness: Method, ideology and culture.

Papers presented and discussants at this Round Table:

Abubaker al-Shingieti; Charles Butterworth; John Esposito; N'Dri T. Assie-Lumumba; Sulayman Nyang; Micere Githae Mugo; Locksley Edmondson; James Mittleman; Abiola Irele; Timothy Shaw; Ricardo Laremont;

(vii) New York African Studies Association (NYASA) 2008 Annual Conference, Cornell University, March 2008 celebrating his 75th birthday.

Theme of the Symposium: Reflections on Ali A. Mazrui's Legacy: Global Culture and Africa's Triple Heritage. Chaired by: Ricardo Laremont and Mohammad Hassen Ali.

Papers edited by Seifudein Adem and published as:

Public intellectuals and the politics of global Africa. Comparative and biographical essays in honour of Ali A. Mazrui. London (UK): Adonis & Abbey, 2011. See entry 113.

There is also 5 videodiscs (364 minute) video recording of speakers at this conference and available from NYASA.

(viii) African Studies Association 51st Annual Meeting November 2008.

Roundtable to mark Mazrui's 75th birthday on the theme "Rival Paradigms for Understanding Africa"

Chair: Seifudein Adem, Binghamton University.

Amadu J. Kaba, Seton Hall University.

Ali A. Mazrui, Binghamton University.

Dudley Thompson, Independent Scholar,

Jacob Ade Ajayi, University of Ibadan.

Patrick M. Dikirr, Binghamton University.

(ix) Biennial Congress of the African Association of Political Science, 14th, Durban, South Africa, June 2003. Seminar titled, Ali Mazrui and the study of Africa: visionary or vacuous?

Chair: Luc Sindjoun

Panel Discussants:

Dani Nabudere, Walter Oyugi, Eddy Maloka, James Kariuki.

Abdul Samed Bemath spoke about his The Mazruiana Collection Annotated Bibliography.

Said Adejumobi presentation titled, The Mazrui phenomenon: a celebration of controversy, life and excellence. His papers dwells on Mazrui's controversial scholarship and ingenious creativity. Controversy as in the Codesria Pax Africana Debate between Mazrui and Archie Mafeje. Creativity of scholarship as in his thoughts on globalisation and the implications of this for race, culture and religion.

- (x) **AFRICA'S Triple Heritage Revisited. A Symposium in Honour of the Scholarship and Life's Work of Dr Ali A. Mazrui and his 70th birthday. Binghamton, New York, February 2003.**

Session One: Between Africanity and Islam.

Session Two: Between Africanity and the West.

Session Three: Between Islam and the West (in Africa)

Session Four: Personal reflections in honour of Dr Mazrui.

Abdul Samed Bemath paper traces the Islamigration of Muslims from various parts of Africa to post-apartheid South Africa and the impact that Professor Mazrui has had on various strata of South African society.

(Symposium covered in IGCS Newsletter vol. 4, issue 1, Fall 2003, pp. 1-3)

- (xi) **International Studies Association Meeting, Washington, DC, February 1999. Global Development Panel in Honour of Distinguished Senior Scholar.**

Deconstructing Mazruiana: Some Structural Elements of Ali A. Mazrui's Thought by Ali A. Mazrui. Binghamton University: IGCS, July 2011, 4 pages.

Mazrui defines 25 structural elements of his thought compiled from his different works and drawn from different stages of his career

- (xii) **African Studies Association 35th Annual Meeting, November 1992. Four Panel Discussions celebrating Ali Mazrui works and his 60th birthday.**

Proceedings published as:

The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui. Edited by Omari H. Kokole. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1998. 367 pages.

(See also Mazrui's tribute to Omari Kokole: Black Boswell: a tribute to Omari H. Kokole. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 6, issue 1, Fall 2006, pp. 10)

SECTION THREE:

ALI A. MAZRUI PUBLICATIONS: BOOKS AND EDITED WORKS.

1. **Black Orwell: essays on the scholarship of Ali A. Mazrui edited by Seifudein Adem and Kimani Njogu. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2018. ISBN: 9781569025932**

Divided into eight sections.

Section One: Literature and Politics.

- 1) Ali Mazrui: the accomplished orate scholar who uses African oratory skills and techniques to enhance academic political science discourse by Micere Mugo.
- 2) Literature and politics in Africa: in appreciation of the works of Ali Mazrui by Peter Anyang Nyong'o.
- 3) Ali Mazrui's creative imagination: politics and Pan-Africanism in The Trial of Christopher Okigbo by Joseph McLaren.
- 4) Self, society and story: Ali Mazrui's The Trial of Christopher Okigbo by Peter Thuynsma.

Section Two: Gender and Education: Biography.

- 5) Education and gender in in Ali Mazrui's scholarship and activism by N'Dri T. Assié-Lumumba.
- 6) Ali Mazrui's Triple Heritage and the advancement of gender by Etin Anwar.
- 7) Ali Mazrui's silent and unintended messages to the post-1994 world by Ireno Nanboka.

Section Three: Globalization and Culture.

- 8) Ali Mazrui and transnational Africa(s): towards emerging political economies? By Timothy M. Shaw.
- 9) Ali Mazrui: diaspora and African perspectives by A.B. Assensoh and Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh.
- 10) Ali Mazrui's meditation on Islam, globalization civilization by Darryl Thomas.
- 11) Ali Mazrui: the African globalist by Bill Mayaka.

Section Four: Documentation and Bibliography.

- 12) Documenting a Walking Triple Heritage: conversation with Ali Mazrui by D. Ndirangu Wachanga.

- 13) Ali Mazrui: an annotated bibliography, 2003-2017 by Abdul Samed Bemath.

Section Five: Special Essay.

- 14) Wajibu-Jamii wa Mwanazuoni wa Afrika by Issa Shivji.

- 1(a) The American African Mazrui and the African American Du Bois: by Seifudein Adem and Kimani Njogu.**
ISBN: 978 156 902 5918 (322 pages)

Section One:

1. Reflections on Ali Mazrui: history, biography and life by Tijan M. Sallah.
2. Ali Mazrui: early years by Mohamed Hyder.
3. Ali Mazrui: intellectual trouble maker by Macharia Munene.
4. Ali Mazrui from Palo Alto to Plateau by Isawa Elaigwu.
5. Remembering Ali Mazrui by Richard Falk.

Section Two: Theory and Action.

6. A better intellectual community is possible: dialogues with Ali Mazrui by James H. Mittleman.
7. Diasporism, development, and African realism: Ali Mazrui and international relations theory by Anthony Errol Henderson.
8. African-centred conceptualizations in Ali Mazrui's work by Abdul Karim Bangura.
9. Ali Mazrui (and E. H. Carr): radical understandings of justice as a precondition for sustained global order by Jayantha Jayman.
10. Postcolonial constructivism: Ali Mazrui's theory of inter-cultural relations? By Seifudein Adem.

Section Three: Ideology and Utopia.

11. Ali Mazrui revealed! By Toyin Falola.
12. Ali Mazrui and Kwame Nkrumah by Michael O. West.
13. Ali Mazrui and I: a lengthy and intriguing odyssey by James Karuiki.
14. Ali Mazrui: An encyclopaedic scholar and intellectual pluralist by Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni.

15. The American African Mazrui and the African American Du Bois: A conclusion by Seifudein Adem and Kimani Njogu.

2. ***Growing up in a shrinking world: How politics, culture and the nuclear age defined the biography of Ali A. Mazrui.*** Edited by D. Ndirangu Wachanga. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2017. 323 Pages.
ISBN: 978-1-56902-559-8 (HB). 978-1-56902-560-4 (PB)

In this volume, Ali A. Mazrui's triangulated model is discussed, contested redefined and challenged by some of the powerful and leading voices in African scholarship. (Excerpt from jacket.)

Consists of seventeen chapters.

Foreword: Willy Mutunga.

Introduction: D. Ndirangu Wachanga.

Chapter One: Growing up in a shrinking world: from a Kenyan childhood to the Cuban Missile Crisis by Ali A. Mazrui.

Chapter Two: A tribute to Ali Mazrui, the Global Kenya by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o.

Chapter Three: Publishing Ali A. Mazrui: An eloquent debater by Henry Chakava.

Chapter Four: Orature poems of celebration and healing in honour of Mwalimu Ali Mazrui by Mĩcere Gĩthae Mũgo.

Chapter Five: Mazrui and Achebe: the literary artist and the political scientist by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o.

Chapter Six: Recording Ali Mazrui Documentary biography: lessons and challenges by D. Ndirangu Wachanga.

Chapter Seven: Recasting Ali Mazrui by Macharia Munene.

Chapter Eight: Who killed Pax Africana? By Adekeye Adebajo.

Chapter Nine: Kwame Nkrumah and Ali Mazrui: an analysis of the 1967 *Transition* debate by Michael O. West.

Chapter 10: Global citizen, dialectical thinker: Ali Mazrui and the analytical potency of Mazruiana by Wanjala S. Nasong'o.

Chapter 11: The African impact on American higher education: Ali Mazrui's contribution by Al'Amin M. Mazrui.

Chapter 12: Salient features in Mazrui's thought on education in Africa: critical reflections by N'Dri T. Assie-Lumumba and Tukumbi Lumumba –Kasongo.

Chapter Thirteen: The trial of Ali Mazrui's trilogy, scholarship and the making of a public intellectual in Africa: revisiting his legacy in the world of knowledge by Maurice N. Amutabi.

Chapter Fourteen: Terrorism and counterterrorism in Ali Mazrui's political thought by Oscar Mwangi.

Chapter Fifteen: Paradox of gender in Mazrui's Triple Heritage by Etin Anwar.

Chapter Sixteen: Pan-Blacklist conceptualizations of the Black Power Paradigm: from Cheikh Anta Diop to Ali Al'Amin Mazrui by Abdul Karim Bangura.

Chapter Seventeen: Ali A. Mazrui's meditation about Global Africa: from Otto Von Bismarck to Barack Obama by Darryl C. Thomas.
(Many thanks to Patti A. Waldmeir for this book)

3. *The African intelligentsia: domestic decline and global ascent*, by Ali A. Mazrui and Amadu Jacky Kaba. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2016. 248 Pages. ISBN: 0: 978 156-9024456. 13:978-1569024454

This book explores the multi-faceted effects of globalization-both positive and negative- on Africans and people of African descent. It also offers a perspective on the rise, decline and revival of intellectualism, and the origin and development of pan-Africanism in the twentieth century. (Publishers' excerpt.)

Consists of eleven chapters and appendices.

Section One: The Making of an Intelligentsia.

Chapter One: Pan-Africanism and the intellectuals: rise, decline and revival by Ali A. Mazrui.

Chapter Two: The rise and decline of African universities by Ali A. Mazrui.

Chapter Three. Fewer heroes and more martyrs in post-colonial Africa by Ali A. Mazrui.

Section Two: The brain drain and the African diaspora.

Chapter Four: From the slave trade to the modern skill exodus: two phases of West Africa's brain drain by Amadu Jacky Kaba

Chapter Five: Between the brain drain and the brain bonus: the African diaspora as a nation afloat by Ali A. Mazrui and Amadu Jacky Kaba.

Section Three: The brain drain and effects of globalization.

Chapter Six. Africa's terminal brain drain: HIV/AIDS by Amadu Jacky Kaba.

Chapter Seven. Renewable energy and departing skills: the brain drain and Africa's fuel crisis by Ali A. Mazrui and Amadu Jacky Kaba.

Chapter Eight. Can reverse migration compensate for HIV losses? An East African case study by Ali A. Mazrui and Amadu Jacky Kaba.

Chapter Nine: From sacred to secular intelligentsia by Ali A. Mazrui.

Conclusion:

Appendices:

Appendix to Chapter One.

Appendix to Chapter Four.

Appendix to Chapter Six.

Appendix One: Public intellectuals and comparative recognition by IGCS staff.

Appendix Two: Comparative intelligentsia: a typology by Ali A. Mazrui.

4. ***African Institutions: challenges to political, social, and economic foundations of Africa's development* by Ali A. Mazrui and Francis Wiafe-Amoako. Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. 196 Pages.
ISBN-10: 1442239530. ISBN-13: 978-1442239531**

This book analyses the evolution of and nature of political institutions and their effect on Africa's development. The challenges Africa face in developing viable institutions are not limited to the adoption of foreign institutions, but are also rooted in domestic norms that define society itself. Sometimes, these challenges have to do with incompatibility between foreign and domestic institutions (Amazon.Com Excerpt).

Consists of eight chapters.

Chapter One: Institutions. An introduction by Francis Wiafe-Amoako.

Chapter Two: Democracide. Who killed democracy in Africa? Clues of the past, concerns of the future by Ali A. Mazrui.

Chapter Three: Political ideologies and democratic consolidation in Africa by Francis Wiafe-Amoako.

Chapter Four: Gender roles in Africa: traditional versus contemporary institutions by Ali A. Mazrui and Francis Wiafe-Amoako.

Chapter Five: Legitimacy and rule: Africa in search of political order by Francis Wiafe-Amoako.

Chapter Six. Democracy and the politics of petroleum: comparative African perspectives by Ali A. Mazrui.

Chapter Seven. Uhuru bado kidogo: Africa's condition of "not yet uhuru" by Ali A. Mazrui.

Chapter Eight. "Katiba na Kabila": if African politics are ethnic-prone, can African constitutions be ethnic-proof? By Ali A. Mazrui.

5. ***RESURGENT Islam and the politics of identity*. Edited by Ramzi Badran and Thomas Uthup. Newcastle upon Tyne (UK): Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014. ix, 190 p. ISBN: 13: 978-1-4438-6326-1. ISBN: 10: 1-4438-6326-2**

Discusses how Islam differentiates Muslims from non-Muslims and affects how Muslims view each other. In the light of the upheaval currently occurring in the Muslim world, this collection provides readers with valuable context for the challenges of modernity and multiculturalism faced by Muslims... These essays delve into the complexity of Muslim identity and stratification, and provide contributions to key debates on modern Islamic political ideology (publisher's blurb)

Consists of Twelve chapters:

Chapter One: Islam between secular modernism and civil society.

Chapter Two: Liberal Islam versus moderate Islam.

Chapter Three: Christianity and Islam in Africa's political experience.

Chapter Four: Islam between the Muslim diaspora in Africa and the African diaspora in the West.

Chapter Five: The United Nations and the Muslim world: allies or adversaries?

Chapter Six: Between the pre-democratic *Ummah* and post-democratic United States of America.

Chapter Seven: Is Istanbul a secular Jerusalem? Lessons from Atatürk and Tahrir Square.

Chapter Eight: From Bandung to Benghazi: Muslim nationalists in comparative perspective.

Chapter Nine: The Arab Spring and female empowerment.

Chapter Ten: Political Islam: piety, patriarchy and petroleum in African and comparative experience.

Chapter Eleven: From the old politics of race to the new politics of culture: prejudice in

transition.

Chapter Twelve: The Afrabian awakening in comparative perspective.

6. ***The POLITICS of gender and the culture of sexuality: Western, Islamic and African perspectives.* Edited by Etin Anwar. Lanham, Maryland (USA): University Press of America, 2014. xxx, 350 p.
ISBN: 978-0-7618-6402-8. ISBN: 978-0-7618-6403-5 (eBook)**

Explores how men and women relate to each other in monogamous and polygamous marriage, race rivalries, slavery, miscegenation, cultures of procreation, family planning, and the Islamic view of women's dignity vis-à-vis the Western view of women's liberty, in doing so, the author and editor present a multifaceted and dynamic theoretical discourse of gender (publisher's excerpt)

Consists of an introduction and conclusion and divided into five sections.

Section One: The politics of the human body.

Section Two: The politics of sexuality.

Section Three: The politics of gender.

Section Four: The politics of citizenship.

Section Five: The politics of population.

7. ***AFRICAN thought in comparative perspective.* Edited by Ramzi Badran, Seifudein Adem and Patrick Dikirr. Newcastle upon Tyne, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014. xxii, 369 p.
ISBN: 10: 1-4438-5393-3. ISBN: 13: 978-1-4438-5393-4**

This volume is a collection of the writings of Ali A. Mazrui and spans four decades of his scholarship on Africa's political and social experience. Mazrui focuses on the legacy of the African liberation movements, the convergence and divergence of African, Islamic and Western thought, nationalists' ideologies in Africa, the role of religion in African politics, and the impact of ancient Greek philosophy on contemporary Africa (excerpt from the editors' introduction).

Consists of twenty-six chapters divided into five sections.

Section One: Comparative Africanity: identity and intellect.

Section Two: Abrahamic religions.

Section Three: Western philosophy and Africa's experience.

Section Four: Human culture and the physical habitat.

Section Five: Concluding essays.

8. ***AFRASIA: A tale of two continents.* By Ali A. Mazrui and Seifudein Adem. Lanham, Maryland (USA): University Press of America, 2013. xxv, 407 p.
ISBN: 978-0-7618-4771-7. ISBN: 978-0-7618-4772-4 (eBook)**

This book explores a new scramble for Africa involving China, Japan, and India in completion with each other and the Western world.

Consists of twenty-one chapters and divided into Seven sections.

Section One: Historical overview.

Section Two: Race, religion and diplomacy.

Section Three: Nationalism, decolonization and development.

Section Four: Between war and peace.

Section Five: Migration and diasporisation.

Section Six: Role models in the era of globalization.

Section Seven: Appendices. Has two essays by Ali A. Mazrui. God's omnipotence and human genius: from the Afro-Asian tsunami to Shakespeare's *Tempest* and From Osagyefo Nkrumah to Nana Obama: between the post-colonial and the post-racial.

(Reviewed by István Tarrósy. *African Studies Review*, vol. 57, issue 03, December 2014, p. 220-223; Daniel Large in *E-International Relations*, June 2014.)

9. ***JULIUS Nyerere, Africa's titan on a global stage. Perspectives from Arusha to Obama.* By Ali A. Mazrui and Lindah L. Mhando. Durham, North Carolina (USA): Carolina Academic Press, 2013. xxvi, 390 p. (Africa World Series edited by Toyin Falola)
ISBN: 978-1-61163-085-5**

This collection of essays captures Nyerere's invention of a new indigenous ideology (Ujamaa), his promotion of an indigenous language policy (Kiswahili), his remarkable influence in Pan-African politics, and Nyerere's special place in the history of the 20th century (Publishers excerpt).

Consists of nineteen chapters divided into four parts and a conclusion.

Part One: Encounters of the titan: political ideology and personality.

Part two: Political theory and institutions.

Part three: Politics and political economy in East Africa

Part four: Between Pan-Africanism and prelude to globalization.

Appendix: The African symbolism of Julius Caesar by Ali A. Mazrui.

Has a chronology of major events.

(See also: Julius Nyerere: between socialism and Shakespeare. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 11, Spring 2014, pp. 12.)

(Reviewed by Conrad John Masabo. *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 15, issue 2, March 2015, p. 122-124.)

10. ***Nwalimu Ali A. Mazrui. from palo alto to plateau: my personal reflections* by J. Isawa Elaigwu. Jos, Nigeria: Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR), 2012. 40p. ISBN: 978-978-48340-4-9
and Social Research (IGSR), 2012**

11. **BARACK Obama in comparative perspective: McCain to Mandela: Othello to Pushkin. Binghamton University: IGCS, May 2009, 159 p.**

Based on a series of lectures delivered in four continents over the period 2008-2009 this fourteen-chaptered book compares and contrasts Barack Hussein Obama with such historic political figures such as Kwame Nkrumah, Aleksandr Pushkin and Nelson Mandela. Places Obama in the context of such characters in Shakespeare's plays as Othello and Shylock. More controversial is Ali Mazrui's assertion that Barack Obama is the most powerful Black person in the history of civilization. Mazrui also explores the significance of Barack Obama's presidency for what Mazrui calls 'Global Africa.' (Excerpt).

Has an autobiographical appendix of Mazrui and Address by President Barack Hussein Obama delivered at the University of Cairo, Cairo, Egypt, June 4, 2009 and titled: The United States and the Muslim World.

12. ***AFRICA'S Islamic experience: history, culture, and politics.* Edited by Ali A. Mazrui, Patrick M. Dikerr, Robert Ostergard Jr, Michael Toler and Paul Macharia. New Delhi, India: Sterling, 2009. xxviii, 268 p. ISBN: 978-81-207-4085-3 (cloth)**

This volume explores not just Islam's impact upon Africa but also Africa's impact on Muslim history. The book explores the geographical expansion of the religion, the revival of ancient Muslim rituals, and the politicisation and radicalisation of Islam in both colonial and pre-colonial Africa (excerpt from front sleeve). This monograph is the proceedings of the Islam in Africa conference convened by the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University, April 2001.

Has a preface, introduction and thirteen chapters divided into four sections.

Section One: Africa's religious canvas: an overview.

Section Two: History and spread of Islam in Africa.

Section Three: Political Islam and African politics.

Section Four: Islam and comparative culture.

13. ***GLOBALIZATION and civilization: are they forces in conflict?* Edited by Ali A. Mazrui, Patrick M. Dikirr and Shalahudin Kafrawi. New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2008. x, 412 p. ISBN:10: 1-59267-089-X(paper) ISBN: 13: 978-1-59267-089-5 (paper)**

This book originated in a project entitled- 'Is Globalization A Dialogue of Civilizations?' at a conference held at Binghamton University in April 2002. Addresses two post-Cold War debates about globalisation and whether globalisation is a dialogue or clash of civilisations? Has a preface and introduction by Ali Mazrui titled, 'Globalization and the cultural integration of the world' and his conclusion titled, 'In search of a global agenda'.

Consists of fourteen chapters divided into four sections.

Section One: The universal: between concept and substance.

Section Two: Civilization: between conflict and dialogue.

Section Three: The World: between the sacred and the secular.

Section Four: Towards reforming the global village.

- 14. *The POLITICS of war and the culture of violence: North-South essays*. Edited by Seifudein Adem and Abdul Samed Bemath. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008. xiv, 320 p.
ISBN: 1-59221-584-X(cloth) ISBN: 1-59221-585-8(paper)**

This volume of fifteen essays explores Mazrui's theoretical insights and practical experiences on the politics of war and the culture of violence from the early 1970s to 2007. Analyses conflict ridden African countries and essays ranging from the warrior tradition in Africa to liberation wars as clashes of civilisations-from Nelson Mandela to Yasir Arafat. Looks at the nuclear debate, the politics of oil, Africa before and after September 11 and Africa between ethnicity and religion, to name a few. Has two appendices: Political masculinity and General Amin's image and Black nationalism and Mahatma Gandhi.

(Reviewed by: A. Bretuo and Damien Ejigiri, *African and Asian Studies*, no. 7, 2008, p. 555-566; Preben Kaarsholm, *African Affairs*, vol. 109, no. 435, 2010, p. 337-338; E. M. Mbah, *African Studies Review*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2009, p. 186-187.)

- 15. *EURO-JEWS and Afro-Arabs. The great Semitic divergence in world history*. Edited by Seifudein Adem. Lanham, Maryland, USA: University Press of America, 2008. vii, 468 p.
ISBN-13: 978-0-7618-3857-9 (paper) ISBN-10: 0-7618-3857-0 (paper)**

The impact of European and Semitic peoples upon world civilisation and African history is addressed in this scholarly study. The Jewish wing of the Semitic people converged with the Western world: the Arab wing of the Semites converged with Africa. The three Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam have confronted the racial divide between Caucasian people and people of colour. This book explores the geographical regions of Africa, the Middle East, and the Western world in the context of fragile structures and resilient cultures (excerpt from back cover). Has a preface, twenty-two chapters and three appendices.

Consists of six sections.

Section one: The great Semitic divergence.

Section two: Euro-Jews in world history.

Section three: Afro-Arabs in world history.

Section four: The Semites between sin and virtue.

Section five: Islam in world affairs.

Section Six: Conclusions.

Appendix One: Prosperous minorities as targets of prejudice.

Appendix Two: Is 'Jewish uniqueness' a dangerous doctrine?

Appendix Three: The nuclear club: is there a Judeo-Christian monopoly?

(Reviewed by: C. E. Farah, *Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries*, vol. 46, no. 3, November 2008, p. 576)

(ASAIB awarded me Best Index for 2007)

- 16. *A TALE of two Africas: Nigeria and South Africa as contrasting visions*. Edited by James N. Karioki. London: Adonis & Abbey, 2006. xii, 358 p. ISBN: 1-905068-29-8**

This volume explores the particular ways in which Nigeria and South Africa are exceptional societies of the postcolonial era. Indicates the comparative exceptionalism of these two countries and as contrasting models as alternative visions of Africa, so the preface states. Has a preface, conclusion and twenty chapters. Some of the chapters specifically written for this book, whilst others are based on Mazrui's previous papers and lectures.

Consists of five sections.

Section One: Setting the stage.

Section Two: The African context.

Section Three: Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Religious Africa.

Section Four: South Africa and the Multi-Racial challenge.

Section Five: Comparative leadership.

- 17. *ISLAM between globalization and counterterrorism*. Edited by Shalahudin Kafrawi, Al'Amin M. Mazrui and Ruzima Sebuharara. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press and Oxford: James Currey, 2006. xxii, 331 p. ISBN: 1-59221-325-1 (Hardcover) ISBN: 1-59221-326-X (Pbk)**

Islam in this twenty-first century is caught up in a vortex of three inter-related forces-globalization, international terrorism and the rise of the American Empire. This book examines those forces from the perspective of the rise and fall of civilizations. If Arnold Toynbee and Edward Gibbon could trace the decline of the Roman Empire to the challenge of Christianity, should we now anticipate the decline of the American Empire through the challenge of Islam? This book examines the stresses and strains of relations between Islam and the West in this era of tense globalization. Issues of church and state within societies interact with issues of ideology and power in foreign relations. This book ranges from the creation of the state of Israel to the aftermath of September 11, and the historical forces which led to both those momentous events (excerpt from back cover). Has an editor and author introduction.

Eighteen chapters divided into four sections.

Section One: North-South: the political divide.
Section Two: Occident-Orient: the cultural divide.
Section Three: Domestic-International: the “global” divide.
Section Four: Towards a marriage of civilizations.

(Reviewed by: David Barker, *Islam Daily* (www.islamdaily.org) January 21, 2007;
Terry Barringer, *The Round Table*, vol. 96, issue 388, February 2007, pp. 519-521)

18. The AFRICAN Predicament and the American Experience: A Tale of Two Edens. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2004. xvi, 120 p. ISBN: 0-275-97828-1 (Hardcover)

This book is based on Professor Mazrui’s Macmillan-Stewart lectures at Harvard University in 2000. The book is about Africa as the Eden of human ancestry, America as the Eden of human achievement, and how the two have shared a destiny in history. Autobiographically the book is also a product of my own academic career, which has traversed at least three universities in Africa and at least three others in the United States (Excerpt from the preface)

Mazrui examines the importance of Africa-historically, culturally, and economically in the development of the West, particularly the United States. And he contrasts this demonstrable importance with the combination of neglect, and malice directed at Africa and those of African descent by the West and by the United States particularly (Blurb)

Has an introduction and conclusion and four other essays.

One: African migrations and American diversity.
Two: African nations and American diplomacy.
Three: Africa’s reception and America’s transmission.
Four: American values and African experience.
Conclusion: The Black experience and the American Empire.

(Reviewed by Abdul S. Bemath, *African Research and Documentation*, no. 98, 2005, p. 100-101)

19. POWER, Politics and the African Condition. Collected Essays of Ali. A. Mazrui, volume 3. Edited by Robert L. Ostergard, Jr. Ricardo René Laremont, Fouad Kalouche. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004. xiv, 477 p. (Classic Authors and Texts on Africa Series Edited by Toyin Falola). ISBN: 1-59221-161-5 (pbk)

This book is centred on issues of power and politics at the nexus of Africa’s domestic affairs and its international concepts about the disequilibrium of power in the international system and the problems that Africa has confronted globally because of it (Blurb).

Consists of an Introduction and twenty other chapters divided into five parts.

Part One: The origins and legacy of disequilibrium: state, nation, and ethnicity

in Africa's experience.

Part Two: Africa's underdevelopment and the global economic system.

Part Three: Leadership: from authoritarianism to African unity.

Part Four: Fragmentation and Africa's identity: violence and conflict resolution.

Part Five: Commentary on Ali Mazrui's scholarship.

- 20. AFRICA and other civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest. The Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui, volume two. Edited by Ricardo Ren  Laremont and Fouad Kalouche. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2002. x, 485 p. (Classic Authors and Texts on Africa Series Edited by Toyin Falola). ISBN: 1-59221-011-2 (pbk)**

This volume considers the interaction of Africa with other civilisations from historical, sociological, philosophical and political perspectives, with a special emphasis on the inextricability of conquest and counter-conquest(blurb)

Consists of an introduction and fifteen chapters divided into four parts.

Part One: Africa between culture and civilization.

Part Two: Africa and other civilizations.

Part Three. Africa and the international order.

Part Four: Philosophical and literary perspectives.

- 21. AFRICANITY Redefined. Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui, volume 1. Edited by Ricardo Ren  Laremont and Tracia Leacock Seghatolislami. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2002. viii, 225 p. (Classic Authors and Texts on Africa Series Edited by Toyin Falola) ISBN: 0-86543-994-X**

Redefines the meaning of Africanity across geographical spaces, time, and cultures. Rejects neo-imperialist paradigms and ontologies of what it means to be African (blurb)

Consists of fourteen chapters divided into four parts.

Part One: The (multi)cultural paradigm.

Part Two: Redefining Africa.

Part Three: The Triple Heritage.

Part Four: Modernity and development.

Forthcoming books:

The Muse in African Politics: 'Afriture' from Shakespeare to Senghor. by Ali A. Mazrui and edited by Ramzi Badran.

SECTION FOUR:

ALI A. MAZRUI PUBLICATIONS: MAJOR ACADEMIC ARTICLES IN BOOKS, PERIODICALS, AND SELECT CONFERENCE PAPERS.

22. Blurb for: *The DELAYED revolution: Swaziland in the twenty-first century* by Nhlanhla S. Msibi. Johannesburg: Blu Print Publishers, 2015.

States that Swaziland has been experimenting with a variety of political ideas and while constitutional arrangements have been modified from time to time, the cultural philosophy of Swaziland has remained resilient.

23. GUEST Editor with Seifudein Adem. *The Study of Islam in African Universities*. American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. Special Issue. vol. 31, no. 3, Summer 2014, 178p.

Roundtable discussion at the Annual African Studies Association Conference, Philadelphia, November-December 2012.

24. *AFRO-OPTIMISM from Mahatma Gandhi to Barack Obama: a tale of two prophesies*. *The Global Obama: crossroads of leadership in the 21st century*, edited by Dinesh Sharma and Uwe P. Gielen. New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 89-99.

Discusses the 1936 prophesy of Mahatma Gandhi that it may be through the ‘Negroes’ that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world and the 1968 Robert Kennedy Voice of America interview that the United States will have its first ‘Negro’ President approximately in 2008 and this realised with Barack Obama elected President of the United States on November 4, 2008. Outlines the fate of Gandhi’s prediction and explores the implications of Obama’s election for both prophesies. That this Afro-optimism about Blacks as a vanguard of ‘soul force’ is the phenomenon of Africa’s short memory of hate as exemplified in Africa’s Nobel Peace Prize laureates. Poses will Obama resist the temptation of performing as a warrior President as previous United States Presidents and his greatness be in terms of Gandhi’s soul force and avoidance of Acts of War and not initiating any major conflict. That hopeful signs Gandhi’s soul force on Obama is his changing the nature of United States domestic politics and transcending some of the deep divisions between parties, social classes and generations. That another Obama hopeful sign is in initiating post-racial politics and his background as a product of three civilisations-American, African and Islam. That unlike W.E.B. Du Bois, who sought a unification of the African diaspora in America with Black Africa, Obama is fundamentally an American citizen.

25. *Things Fall Apart* revisited- the poetry and the prose. Chinua Achebe: tributes and reflections, edited by Nana Ayebia Clarke and James Currey. Oxfordshire (UK): Ayebia Clarke Publishing Ltd, 2014, pp. 187-191.

Mazrui states that *Things fall apart* can be placed in differing genres of literature. The genre of post coloniality, and the genre of the clash of civilizations. That *Things fall apart* overlaps with the literature of imperialism and post coloniality. Criticises Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of darkness* as being white racist and overlapping between the literature of imperialism and literature of the clash of civilizations.

Achebe criticises Conrad's novel *The Congo* of Negrophobia and of dehumanising Africans. Poses the question whether *Things fall apart* would have been accused of racism if written by a white man? And that *Things fall apart* saluted as it portrays Igbo culture warts and all and the passing away of traditional society- and compares this passing of traditional society as in the writings of Oliver Goldsmith and George Crabb.

26. Foreword. *AFRO-JEWISH encounters: from Timbuktu to the Indian Ocean and beyond*. Edited by William F. S. Miles. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2014, pp. xi-xv.

Outlines the Jewish presence in Africa from the Arab Jews in Morocco, French-ruled Algeria, British-controlled Egypt and the Jewish presence in North Africa. The "Falasha" Jews of imperial Ethiopia and the Euro-Jews of Southern Africa-the Afro-Ashkenazi. That these Jewish groups had differing vulnerabilities and the least publicised were the Igbo-Jews of Nigeria and referred to as the Jibos and outlines their vulnerabilities during wartime and peace. Mazrui states that this volume does not address the paradox that whilst a significant number of Igbos regard themselves as descended from Israel a large number of Yorubas regard themselves as descended from ancient Arabia. Miles asserts that among Jibos of Nigeria Judaism has not been received by conversion and Mazrui poses the question whether Jibos became Jews by genetic descent and that Miles makes a good case for this.

27. Foreword. *HUMAN security and Sierra Leone's post-conflict development* by Francis Wiafe-Amoako. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2014, pp. ix-xi.

Mazrui states that this volume signifies the fourth wave of postcolonial political literature. Elaborates on the four different phases of political change these being the phases of innovation, destabilization, political collapse and the post-conflict phase. That this book opens up the fourth phase of post-conflict African situations and that Francis Wiafe-Amoako is right that power-sharing without trust is a prescription for failure.

28. *PRO-DEMOCRACY uprisings in Africa's experience: from Sharpeville to Benghazi. AFRICA: the state of the continent fifty years after liberation*. Edited by Olayiwola Abegunrin. NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2014, pp. 43-56.

Examines the different intermediate stages between Sharpeville in 1960 and Tahrir Square in 2011, and between the Soweto uprising in 1976 and Benghazi after Gaddafi's 42 years in power. These phases are the anti-colonial phase, the struggle against racial minority governments, the struggle for a more pluralistic constitutional order, the struggle for full democracy by popular uprising. Describes the Tunisian uprising with women participants in the 2011 pro-democracy movement. The Egyptian uprising of 2011 and its precedents and the involvement of women in the Tahrir Square protests and Libya under Muammar Gaddafi and women as his bodyguards. Significant that Gaddafi considered himself and Africanist first and an Arab second. Examines the gender question in Yemen, Ethiopia and Liberia. And whether successful democratisation in Southern Africa and the Middle East countries would reduce the propensity for warfare in these volatile regions of the world in future decades.

Professor Mazrui 2011 Africa Day Commemorative Lecture at the University of the Free State, South Africa.

29. The FLORAL gap-where are the flowers in African culture? IGCS Newsletter, vol. 11, Spring 2014, pp. 1-2.

Provides explanation for African cultures underutilising flowers for either art or ritual and the underlying social and aesthetic reasons for this. Reasons being that African cultures celebrate the end product, the fruit and not the flower. That the Islamic heritage of flowers spread to North Africa such as the Islamic gardens in Tunisia. Poses the question whether Africa's coolness towards flowers and Africa's warmth towards fruit ecologically friendly? And that aspects of Islamic and African cultures need to be studied and evaluated from the perspective of Mazrui's fifth pillar of ecological wisdom.

30. CULTURAL amnesia, cultural nostalgia and false memory: Africa's identity crisis revisited. African and Asian Studies, vol. 12, issue, 1-2, 2013, pp. 13-29.

The point of departure of this article is Ernest Renan's observation that the secret of nation-building is to get one's history wrong. We critically analyse-in the broader and historical context of the encounters between Africans and Europeans-the role of collective in its four functions of preservation, selection, elimination and invention. We focus on the first function to examine in depth how positive preservation of memory can become a form of nostalgia and how negative selection by memory can lead to elimination and amnesia. We argue that both nostalgia and amnesia can be forms of "getting one's history wrong" in order to get one's national identity right. We also attempt to show how historical invention can be consolidated into false memory-placing something in the past which was never there before. (Abstract)

31. AFRICA between the Baobab Tree and the Owl of Minerva: a post-colonial narrative of memory and learning. African and Asian Studies, vol. 12, issue 1-2, 2013, pp. 140-153.

We argue in this article that the African continent has so far achieved less than it might have done because of three phases of technological constraint: a phase of Ecological impediment, a phase of imperial impediment, and a phase of attitudinal impediment. Just as formal education (both colonial and post-colonial) has played a role in this process, it can be part of the solution, starting with educational policies seeking to overcome technological amnesia. Indeed, Africa needs to recover those aspects of its creativity (in medicine, technologies, etc) which had flourished before, but were destroyed by the colonial regimes. The solution to the impediments includes also reconsidering the interrupted symphony of the Federal University of East Africa and mobilizing pan Africanism in pursuit of greater intellectual and academic cooperation (Abstract)

32. WHO is afraid of human rights? (Co-Author William F. Schulz). The BRILLIANT art of peace. Lectures from the Kofi Annan Series edited by Abiodun Williams. Washington, DC: Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace Press, 2013, pp. 47-55

Argues that there is a universal moral standard, but we do not know it yet and is unfolding slowly. That moral judgements vary across time from decade to decade and

that moral variations across time may be called historical relativism(cross-cultural) and moral variations across societies may be called cultural relativism(cross-societal). Contextualises this in the case of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, the issue of homosexuality, the death penalty, corruption, gender. Mazrui believes that there is a universal moral standard that cuts across cultures and across epochs and revealing itself slowly by human history. Distinguishes between human rights and civil rights and the former valid for the whole of the human species and the latter specific to particular countries.

33. Ibn KHALDUN modernized: between nationalism and globalization. Paper for presentation in Istanbul, Turkey, September 2013. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2013. 14 p.

Mazrui argues that Ibn Khaldun's Al-Muqaddimah analysis is held together by his imaginative concept of asabiyyah (social cohesion) and argues in his paper that the most universalised modern version of asabiyyah is nationalism and the post-modern asabiyyah is the new concept of globalisation. That Ibn Khaldun had taken asabiyyah to the consolidation of civilisation and in this paper addresses nationalism as a modern form of social cohesion and globalisation as the post-modern asabiyyah. Traces nationalism between language and religion and that in Turkey nationalism wearing the garb of secularism and its cultural nationalism faces the dilemma how can Turkey dis-Arabise without risking dis-Islamisation? Elaborates the path from nationalism to globalisation and concludes that Ibn Khaldun was born in Africa-and it was in North Africa that he first dazzled the world with his knowledge. Today asabiyyah has at last gone globalised and so has the legacy of Ibn Khaldun.

34. The ARAB awakening and the Turkish unrest. Part of presentation at the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon, Virginia, July 1, 2013. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2013. 13 p.

This paper compares the original Arab awakening of 2011 with the unrest in the Turkish Republic in the second half of 2013. That the Turkish Republic was affected indirectly by the Arab Spring, and was particularly disrupted by the Syrian Civil War and the flow of Syrian refugees into Turkey from 2012 onwards. Demonstrates that Ataturk's Turkey was a case of a Muslim society democratised from above-whereas Tunisia and Egypt have illustrated attempted democratisation from below. That Istanbul's Institutes of Islamic learning can provide greater understanding in this new phase of Arab history (Excerpts).

35. CHANGING the guard from the O.A.U. to the A.U.: fifty years of change. Presented at the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the OAU/AU, hosted by the United Nations Mission of the Organization of African Unity, New York, June 26, 2013. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2013. 20 p.

Outlines what the O.A.U. helped Africa to accomplish and the A.U. now has to build upon. Offers Pan-African scenarios for Africa to regain its place in the international community, the role of the United Nations in matters affecting African countries and the Islamic world and whether it is an ally or adversary of either African or Islamic values. That Africa, Islam and the UN have one paramount interest in common-to ensure Dar el Harb, the Abode of War, shrinks further and further into the oblivion of

history, and Planet Earth becomes a House of Peace at long last and save the United Nations from being an extension of the State Department in Washington or being the diplomatic face of the NATO. Has a conclusion from Nelson Mandela's legacy to Barack Obama's vision.

36. CIVILIZATION and the quest for creative synthesis: between a global Dr Jekyll and a global Mr. Hyde. Civilization and values: open civilization-Istanbul approach, edited by Recep Şentürk. Istanbul: Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, 2013, pp. 41-52. Keynote address to the conference on "Civilization and Values", sponsored by the Institute for the Alliance of Civilizations and the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul held in Istanbul, Turkey, December 18, 2010.

This paper focuses on Western civilisation and an examination of Islamic civilisation and although the doors of Idjtihad (judicial review) were not formally closed by a legal fatwa in reality Muslim scholars became increasingly resistant to revised interpretations of Islamic dogma. Concludes that if Asia is the mother of all great world religions, and Europe is the mother of all great ideologies, what are the implications for Turkey? After all, Turkey is both Asian and European? That Turkey has become the experimental laboratory testing the balance between the spiritual values of the East and the worldly aspirations of the West. The Ottoman Empire contributed more to the elegance of the Turkish heritage whilst the Turkish Republic has contributed more to secular enlightenments of modern Turkey. That both Jekyll and Hyde have sought supremacy in Turkey.

37. ATATURK in Africa and Arabia: should Turkey join the new scramble for global influence? Civilization and values: open civilization-Istanbul approach, edited by Recep Şentürk. Istanbul: Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, 2013, pp. 293-313.

This presentation seeks to make a case for the Turkish Republic to join that "scramble for Africa". But the purpose should not be to find ways of exploiting Africa unfairly, but to find ways of cultivating new partnerships. We propose to argue that the new "scramble for Africa" may become part and parcel of Turkey's project of Alliance of Civilizations. Concludes that 'the legacy of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk need not be abandoned. It just needs to be updated and reformed. As Turko-optimism gets vindicated, the world may yet bear witness to a new Kemalism. A combination of learning from the West and leading the East may qualify Istanbul once again as the capital of the civilized world'. (Excerpt)

38. EVALUATING the Obama Presidency: African and Muslim perspectives. Paper presented at the University of Pretoria, November 9, 2012. Hosted by the Water Research Commission. Binghamton University: IGCS, October 2012. 31 p.

Mazrui outlines the basis of African and Muslim expectations on Obama Presidency and

these being his existential credentials-his African and Muslim ancestry. His credentials of performance and in his first one hundred days made no spectacular move to either Africa or Black America and expressed concern about the crisis of Darfur in the Sudan. And that his move towards the Muslim world (contradictory policy on Iran) more substantial compared to Africa and appointing George Mitchell as envoy to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict and appointing Richard Holbrook as special envoy to Pakistan and

Afghanistan. Has a section on Obama between global Africa and the global Ummah. Outlines Obama war on terror and that Obama has authorised more specific assassinations through drone attacks in the Muslim countries than any other Head of State since World War Two. Has a section on counter-terrorism and counter-apartheid. And that police custody in apartheid South Africa riskier compared to the United States where police custody has been less physically risky for Muslim terror suspects than the legal void in Guantanamo Bay. That apartheid South Africa developed its own nuclear capability compared to Obama administration has sought to stop Muslim adversaries abroad from acquiring these nuclear weapons themselves. Outlines Obama Africa policy on petroleum and hydroleum. Outlines Obama's credentials of performance to his credentials of pledges in the context of religious affiliation and voting behaviour with President Bill Clinton recognising the fast of Ramadhan and the appointment of Muslim Chaplains in the U.S. military and more Muslim-friendly. That US Muslims be guided by existential credentials and performance and less by pledges. Cites examples of Muslims critical and defenders of Obama.

Concludes that Obama's existential assets of Africanity, Muslim ancestry and personal skills are potentially assets for his policies towards the Muslim world and for his impact upon the Black world. And cautious in his policies towards the African continent to avoid the charge of ancestral bias and racial partnership and that as a Black USA President he has set a precedent for the appointment of a Black Prime Minister and President in the Western world.

(Extract appears in Sunday Independent Newspaper (South Africa), November 10, 2012)

39. WATER in a Triple Heritage perspective: indigenous, Islamic and Western legacies. Paper presented at a conference on "Fresh Water Governance for sustainable Development," hosted by Water Research Commission, South Africa, November 5-7, 2012. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012. 18 p.

Mazrui states that everyday life in Africa is affected by a convergence of three systems of values-indigenous, Islamic and Western. Indigenous culture is conservationist in its use of water, and Western culture is extravagant in its use of water whilst Islam water-intensive in many of its rituals. That policy makers need to address the destructive consequences of hurricanes, floods and future rise of the global sea level as the ice of the North Pole continuous to melt. Addresses issues such as infant mortality and parental immortality, on worship and water, water and identity, and between petroleum and hydroleum- and outlines the Obama administration and Africa's view on water and petroleum and utilising water as a source of energy.

40. FIGHTING evil from Nuremberg to Guantanamo: double standards in global justice. Binghamton University, IGCS, 2012, 7 pages.

Poses the question whether President Barack Obama war on terror and the usage of drone attacks has become a weapon of ethnic-specific targeted assassinations. And Muslim intellectuals are speculating whether Obama has found it easy to authorise the killing of Pakistanis and Yemenis because these people were neither of European nor of Judeo-Christian ancestry. That unlike the Nazis who were given a due process trial at Nuremberg and Adolf Eichmann captured in 1960 and given a fair trial, Muslims

suspected of terrorism are executed without trial under the Obama administration and held at Guantanamo Bay. Both the United States and Israel are suspected of killing Iran's nuclear scientists in contrast to Albert Speer, Hitler's Minister of Armaments, who was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. Distinguishes between systemic political contagion-the Arab spring and episodic political contagion-Muslim rage against Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses. That Muslim protesters should be more concerned with what is done to Muslims, rather than what is said about Islam. Counters Obama's argument that the nuclearisation of Iran would trigger an arms race in the Middle East. And that Obama has resisted pressure by Israel's Prime Minister to move the United States closer to war with Iran and reluctant to be drawn into his fourth war against a Muslim country (after Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya) within four years. Concludes that the heady days of Americo-Muslim and Americo-African solidarity with Obama's June 2009 address to the Muslim world and his address to the peoples of Africa from Accra, Ghana are over and back to a world of tension and banality.

41. POLITICAL Islam: piety, patriarchy and petroleum: African and comparative experience. Prepared for presentation at the Summer Institute for Scholars on "Good Governance in Islam: Classical and Contemporary Approaches," sponsored by the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon, Virginia, July 2012. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012. 23p.

Drawing from examples from oil-producing countries (Nigeria, Algeria, and Libya) and two resource-rich but not oil-based economies (South Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo) illustrates how resource-richness before democratisation reduces the motivation for democratic reforms. Demonstrates that if the natural resources are discovered after democracy has started maturing, the new wealth would help stabilise the democracy. That wealth which is not created but only mined produces an affluent elite of leisure rather than an elite of labour. The system which emerges is closer to a plutocracy (rule by rich) rather than democracy (rule by the people). That while pre-democratic petro-wealth slows down democratisation it does produce opportunities for a welfare state such as Gaddafi's Libya but not in oil rich Nigeria. And that in the Algerian case subsidised energy was one of the benefits of petro-wealth. Distinguishes between coup-prone Muslim countries and coup-proof Muslim states and the issue of meritocracy in various African and Middle East countries.

42. NIGERIA: from Shari'a movement to "Boko Haram". Written for Global Experts Team, United Nations' Alliance of Civilizations. Draft: Binghamton University: IGCS, June 2012. 4 p.

States that the Shari'a movement was an assertion of pride in Islam and non-violent in contrast to Boko Haram's ideology as adversarial towards Christianity and Western civilization within Nigeria. Outlines the disparity between regional, ethnic, religious denominations and economic inequality leading to religious extremism. Distinguishes between the Shari'a movement accused of cultural genocide and Boko Haram's ambition of expelling Nigerian Christians out of Northern Nigeria. That neither the Shari'a movement nor Boko Haram has attempted a full implementation of their exclusion programs. And a need to restore a sense of self-worth and widening of opportunities for disadvantaged young Nigerians and an antidote to political and religious extremism.

(See also: Al Arabia News Online, June 29, 2012
www.alarabia.net/views/2012/06/19/221606.html)

- 43.** BETWEEN the Arab Spring and the African awakening: An Afro-Arab renaissance. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012. 7 p.

States that what has been dubbed “the Arab Spring” should more appropriately be called either “the Afrabian Awakening” or “the Afro-Arab Spring.” That until now the leadership of North Africa in the Arab Spring has been underestimated. Outlines reasons for calling these revolts as “Afro-Arab Spring or Awakening” such as the prodemocracy uprising started in Tunisia and Egypt (later joined by NATO-backed Libyan revolt). The Arab countries outside Africa joined later. That the reasons why Afrabia’s struggle occurred now include the “revolution of rising expectations” in the post-colonial world and the re-emergence of African’s democratic instinct which has inaugurated a second liberation struggle succeeding the first anti-colonial liberation struggle. And will the North African uprising be followed by Islamisation, or democratisation, or both. South Africa telescoped the two liberation struggles-the contextual struggle for collective self-determination and the socio-democratic struggle for individual rights and social justice. Discusses Africa’s gender question and the solidarity of women of Africa, foreign aid for Africa family planning and co-option of African women to Western-style feminist movements. Outlines Western led targets for development of women in Africa.

- 44.** THREE men of colour who made a global difference: an Indian, an African and an African-American. A Draft Appendix to a paper to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa, 1912-2012. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012, 3 p.

A typological description of Mahatma Gandhi of India, Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Barack Obama of the United States of America.

- 45.** IN the shadow of an assassination: Ali A. Mazrui and the legacy of Walter Rodney. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012, 4 p.

Outlines the University of Dar es Salaam debates between Mazrui, Walter Rodney and other leftist academics and the most notable 1970 televised debate between Mazrui and Rodney took place at Makerere university. That Mazrui’s BBC Reith Lectures, The African Condition (1980) compatible with Rodney’s thesis in his How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1974). Mazrui’s Centre of American and African Studies at Michigan University name a distinguished graduate fellowship after Walter Rodney’s assassination and Mazrui appointed the Walter Rodney Distinguished Professor of the University of Guyana for 1997-1998.

- 46.** BETWEEN delayed modernity and deferred democracy: Africa’s troubled take-off. DEVELOPMENT, modernism and modernity in Africa edited by Augustine Agwuele. NY: Routledge, 2012, pp. 13-26.

Distinguishes democracy as ends from democracy as means and that Africa should embrace the same ends (or goals) of democracy as the West-accountable rulers, freely participating citizens, the open society and the pursuit of justice. And that Africa should

explore what democratic means would work for Africa in pursuing these goals. That African constitutions should accommodate check and balances to regulate ethnicity citing examples from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda. That ethnic loyalty in Africa may be a pre-modern phenomenon and yet accommodating ethnic loyalties is probably a precondition for democratization. And that gender equity is both part of democracy and part of modernity and need for gender checks and balances citing Nana Yaa Asantewa of the Ashanti and Uganda's Alice Lakwena. Argues that if pre-colonial 'tribal' societies empowered women more than post-colonial African countries, 'tribal' norms were paradoxically more 'modern' than the gender norms of post-coloniality. And that against all odds pre-democratic African states may reveal layers of democratic resilience which would begin to unfold perhaps long before the 22nd century.

47. IN pursuit of personal excellence: the decline and revival of Ali A. Mazrui. A biographical summary: the first forty years. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2011. 11 pages.

This biographical summary is divided into his youthful years in Mombasa, the Huddersfield years, his Manchester University BA degree with distinction, Columbia University where he obtained his Master's Degree and his Oxford University years where he obtained his Ph.D. Records his exceptional publications, media presentations, books, and his contribution to Transition Magazine. His Makerere University years, meteoric anomalies of his academic career and his domestic and international academic career from 1963-1973 leading him to the Universities of Chicago, Harvard, and UCLA. And his fluctuating relationship with Milton Obote and Idi Amin of Uganda.

48. Foreword: The Politics of Shariah in Nigeria. A foreword in comparative perspective. ISLAMIC law and politics in Northern Nigeria by Ricardo René Larémont. Trenton, New Jersey (USA): Africa World Press, 2011. pp. xi-xvii.

Ricardo Larémont has given us insights into the wider Nigerian society, and not merely the North. He has introduced us to the wider ummah, and not merely to African Islam. But above all Larémont has opened windows into comparative jurisprudence, comparative legal doctrine, as well as comparative religion(excerpt).

49. Foreword title *The Image*, the message and the media: an African overview.IN: CULTURAL identity and new communication technologies: political, ethnic and ideological implications edited by D. Ndirangu Wachanga. Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference, 2011, pp. xiv-xxi

Basic premise of this paper is that Africans learn about the rest of Africa from Western sources of information. Cites Kenya, Uganda and other African countries as examples of this and Idi Amin soldiers invading the Makerere University campus raping women students as reported in the British Sunday paper, The Observer and the Kenya media relying on it for this story. This story was finally refuted that although Idi Amin soldiers invaded the university there was no raping or murders and only slapping and intimidation. That these messages and images are influenced by seven biases of perception across cultures. These are the biases of race, gender, elite, urban, generation, exotic and the bias of negativism. Contextualises the Idi Amin Makerere University invasion in the framework of these seven biases. That the internet operates in Africa in

the context of Africa's The Triple Heritage and outlines the African media's seven functions of culture and seven pillars of wisdom. This paper is partly based on a Keynote Address to the Sixth Biennial Conference of African Broadcasters (AFRICAST 2006), Abuja, Nigeria, October 31-November 2, 2006.

50. IS this Pakistanism in Sudan? The Guardian (UK), February 9, 2011, 3 pages.

States that the Sudanese referendum resulting in the secession of the south is the first redrawing of an African colonial border by popular vote. That Pakistanism has arrived in Sudan, where the Christian-led south has played the religious card, accusing Muslim-majority Northern Sudanese of religious intolerance. Leading to rivalry over petroleum resources and smaller groups in the south resenting Dinka supremacy.

51. Preface: BLACK Berlin and the curse of fragmentation: from Bismarck to Barack. IN: The curse of Berlin: Africa after the Cold War by Adekeye Adebajo. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010. pp. ix-xxviii

Outlines the paradoxes and dialectics that emerge from the juxtaposition of Bismarck and Barack Obama. Outlines the ramifications of Bismarck's 1884-1885 Berlin Conference- from fragmentation and the paradox of racial deficit, the paradox of fatal borders and other paradoxes and the search for Pan-African solutions. The role of the United Nations in offering solutions and concludes with reflections from Mandela's legacy to Obama's vision and Mandela as architect of a post-racism age and Obama helping to foster a post-racial condition.

52. REGIONAL integration and cultural differentiation in the Nile Basin: elite experiments and grassroots experience. Horn of Africa Journal, vol. 28, 2010, pp. 1-16

Distinguishes between organic and strategic solidarity in analysing regional integration and the management of the Nile waters by those who share the resource is organic solidarity. That organic solidarity like the Nile Basin initiative helps regional integration internally among African countries and defuse competition and rivalry among its members. That strategic solidarity occurs when countries unite to confront the outside world. Poses the question whether regional integration can help a country's national integration and analyses dual societies such as Rwanda and Burundi and the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. Cites case studies of elite efforts in regional integration such as British colonial elites in Nigeria, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the prime objective to unite these colonies and rule them. That in the Nile Basin the British promoted 'Closer Union' between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and this regional political integration resisted mainly by Uganda-especially the Baganda. Although the British failed in promoting 'Closer Union' they did construct the East African community and helped Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Uganda construct both strategic and organic solidarity such as a common strategic common market and an organic solidarity such as a shared system of railways, East African Development Bank, university college such as Kampala-Makerere. That the East African leaders Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta and Milton Obote failed in the British vision of a regional political integration of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda-a Federation of East Africa. Cites the African Union as the first sovereign continental integrative organisation born in the Nile Basin city of Ethiopia.

53. AN African half-century. The Guardian (UK), December 7, 2010, 3 pages.

Outlines the impact of European colonialism on Africa and whether it was epic in proportion or just a short chapter in millennia of African history. With the epic school arguing that European colonialism prepared Africa for participation in global affairs such as producing two Secretary-Generals of the United Nations in Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan and Nobel prize winners. Discusses the next fifty years of Africa and its democratisation and dual societies such as Burundi and Rwanda with their Hutu-Tutsi rivalry and countries with nomadic lifestyles and ordered anarchy unlikely to be democratised. That countries such as Ethiopia, Egypt and Libya, which had a history of indigenous dictatorship long before European colonial rule, in the postcolonial era their centuries old pharaonic and dynastic legacies will slow down democratisation. On the relationship between Christianity and Islam and their growing influence on Africa they will be divisive in Africa if they reinforce prior linguistic and ethnic divisions. Cites Nigeria as an example of this with Islam reinforcing Hausa identity, Christianity reinforcing Igbo identity and Yoruba nationalism unites its people regardless of religion. In the Sudanese case, Islam and Christianity divide northern and southern Sudan mainly because the two regions were already divided by even deeper pre-colonial cultural differences. Cites Senegal's ecumenical democracy which is predominantly Muslim and voted for a Christian president after independence and his successor had a Roman Catholic first lady. That Africa has produced a female head of state and unlike the United States, France and Russia that has not elected one.

54. FIFTY years of Africa's independence: gains and losses. IGCS Newsletter, vol. 8, issue 1, Fall 2010, pp. 1-4.

Traces the Congo crisis of 1960-1965 which initiated Africa's involvement in the Cold War. That these newly independent countries were courted by members of NATO (capitalist) and members of the Warsaw Pact (communist) and the Cold War the golden age of Third World influence and leverage in world institutions. Traces Africa's ideological experimentations from Julius Nyerere's socialism to Marxism-Leninism. Warsaw Pact members armed African liberation fighters and speeded up decolonisation especially in Southern Africa and in the Portuguese colonies. Notes the outstanding statesman from Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Nnamdi Azikwe of Nigeria and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. The article traces Africa's literary giants such as Chinua Achebe and other Nobel Prize winners such as Wole Soyinka and Nadine Gordimer, Nobel Peace Prize laureates such as Nelson Mandela and others and gender achievements with Kenya's Nobel Peace Prize winner Wangari Maathai and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the first elected African woman head of state. Besides these heroes of Africa's independence there were its martyrs such as Patrice Lumumba and Sylvanus Olympio. That the most spectacular African diaspora event was Barack Obama's election as president of the United States. Describes the role of African history makers, Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania and Nigerian economist Adebayo Adedeji.

55. A MUSLIM century: myth or reality? In search of modern pillars of wisdom. Paper delivered in Putrajaya, Malaysia May 18, 2010 under the Chairmanship of the Prime

Minister of Malaysia. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2010, 37 p.

Traces the anti-monarchical revolutions in Egypt, Iraq, Libya, and the 1969 Libyan revolution not only anti-Royalist it was also pro-Islamic. Muslims in Black Africa experimenting with ecumenical rotation of presidency as in Senegal, Tanzania and in South Asia female heads of state as in Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Indonesia. The uniqueness of Malaysia managing its cultural pluralism

Classifies the Muslim century as from the 1950s to the 2050s and interprets the history of the relations between the Muslim world and the West as a tumultuous transition from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the end of World War 1 to the rise of the American Empire after the Cold War. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire was in part of fragmentation of the Arab world, its recolonisation by Britain and France, and the demise of the Caliphate. The rise of the American Empire subsequently exploited the Arab fragmentation, Muslims also confronted the alienating consequences of the end of the Muslim Caliphate. Lord Balfour's Declaration of 1917 unleashed forces which culminated in the creation of Israel.

That in face of the new American hegemony there is a new global ethic based on seven pillars of wisdom. These seven pillars of wisdom are a quest for tolerance and minimisation of violence, the optimisation of the economic well-being of the people, the quest for social justice, a basic gender equality, quest for ecological balance, the need for inter-faith dialogue and cooperation and the seventh pillar the quest for wisdom.

Professor Mazrui prepared a paper for this conference titled: Evaluating the work of Ali A. Mazrui: Select international responses and commentaries. Can be traced on his Facebook page.

- 56.** Is GOVERNANCE in Africa democratisable? Lecture delivered at the World Bank, May 24, 2010. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2010. 19 p.

Makes the observation that whether the West is slipping away into a post-democratic era and ethical standards are dictating when post-democracy provides an excuse for torture, detention without trial, for outlawing forms of dress, for outlawing the building of minarets. Poses the question "If African politics are ethnic prone, can African constitutions be ethnic-proof?" That Africa should embrace the same ends or goals of democracy as the West-accountable rulers, freely participating citizens, open society and the pursuit of justice. Outlines democracy resistant countries such Somalia and Rwanda and regional and ethnic dualism in Rwanda and Sudan and the issue of gender between Africanity and Islam. And the need for ethnic checks and balances-as in the case of Ethiopia attempting a federation of cultures and ethnic balance. Cites examples of political ethnicity from the Kenyan 2007-2008 presidential elections, Milton Obote of Uganda's electoral polygamy. That ethnic loyalty in Africa may be a pre-modern phenomenon and yet accommodating ethnic loyalties is probably a precondition for democratisation. That the post-colonial constitution should accommodate women in the political destiny of Africa.

- 57.** AFRICA and other civilizations: conquest and counter-conquest. AFRICA in world politics: reforming the political order. Fourth edition edited by John W. Harbeson and

Donald Rothchild. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2009. pp. 72-106.

Elaborates on Africa's receptivity to Islam, the French language and its culture and its receptivity to Gandhian ideas reinforced by Christian pacifism has given Africa more Nobel Prizes for peace than India. That Africa's response to Nehru's ideas of nonalignment resulted in a plurality of nonaligned African countries. That in the future Africa's cultural receptivity has to be moderated by cultural selectivity and counter penetration of its conquerors. And a futuristic Africanisation of the Arabian Peninsula and Brazil be counted as the second largest 'African country' after Nigeria. And that Africa needs to establish a Pax Africana.

- 58.** Preface: Comparative Africanity: blood, soil and ancestry. IN: WHO is an African? Identity, citizenship and the making of the African-Nation. Edited by J. Adibe. London: Adonis & Abbey, 2009, pp. xi-xv.

Mazrui classified Africans into two categories of 'Africans of the blood' and 'Africans of the soil'. That 'Africans of the blood' are defined by racial and genealogical terms. They are identified with the black race. Africans of the soil, on the other hand, are defined in geographical terms. They are identified with the African continent in nationality and ancestral location.

(This book also has two chapters by Mazrui titled: "Who are the Africans?" - where he argues that it is the one of the great ironies of modern African history that it took European colonialism to inform Africans that they were indeed Africans... Europe's supreme gift was the gift of African identity, bequeathed without grace or design-but a reality all the same. The other chapter is titled, "On the concept of "We are all Africans"- where Mazrui attempts to define the concept 'an African' and what discernible attributes or characteristics make an African an African. That the term 'Africans' has political connotations that are important to Africa in its relations with other countries at the nation-state and continental level in giving a sense of identity and that equality is indivisible as a basis for African nationalism)

- 59.** Foreword to: SOMALILAND: an African struggle for nationhood and international recognition by Iqbal D. Jhazbhay. Midrand and Johannesburg, South Africa: Institute for Global Dialogue and South African Institute of International Affairs, 2009. pp. 13-16.

Mazrui states that Jhazbhay's study has resisted neo-Marxist forms of economic determinism in explaining Somali society and opted for the primacy of culture as the central determinant of Somali behaviour. That the main social forces at work among the Somali are culturally rooted and internally driven. That the Somali of Mogadishu as a case of anarchy without order while the Somaliland of Hargeisa as bottom up nation building rooted in culture and internally driven. That this book does not tap into the comparative colonial policy of Britain and Italy in explaining Mogadishu's chaos and the stability of Somaliland of Hargeisa. Commends this study in contributing to the understanding of the Horn of Africa in the context of wider international forces, the role of radical Islam in the region and the dilemmas between self-determination and regional integration in the Horn.

- 60.** AFRICAN Islam and Islam in Africa: between exceptionalism and marginality. American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 26, no. 3, Summer 2009, pp. i-xi.

Outlines the impact of Islam and the Arabic language on sub-Saharan Africa and that Islam expanded much more widely than Arabic and in time Africa became differentiated between “Arab Africa” and “Black Africa”. What differentiated the two regions were less skin colour than Arabic as a language and a culture and Arabic becoming continentally divisive while Islam became a bond and a shared culture between millions in North Africa and even more millions of Muslims south of the Sahara. Discusses the demography and the politics of religion in Africa, Africa’s exceptionalism and Egypt’s uniqueness, and Africa’s exceptionalism and Ethiopia’s uniqueness and these countries response to Islam. African Muslims may have limited global political influence in contrast to its numerical and cultural impact on Africa.

- 61.** SHARIACRACY and federal models in the era of globalization: Nigeria in a comparative perspective. American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 26, no. 3, Summer 2009, pp-.

Outlines various reasons for the rise of Shariah and Shariah advocacy in Northern Nigeria and this may be a cultural response of self-determination amongst these Northerners to federal decentralisation or as a political bargaining chip by the North.

- 62.** BARACK Obama: between the Muslim Crescent and the Star-Spangled Banner. Presidential Address at a joint IGCS and Association of Muslim Social Scientists of America Symposium: The Obama Administration and US Relations with the Muslim World. American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 26, no. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 151-156.

Argues that as Black president of the world’s most powerful country, Obama was both ‘the most powerful person of colour in the history of civilization and the most powerful son of a Muslim since Saladin, the Iraqi who finally defeated the Christian crusaders in Jerusalem on October 2, 1187.’ That although Obama is more powerful than Ramses II, Menelik II, Shaka Zulu, does not necessarily mean he will be greater than them.

- 63.** NKRUMAH, Obama and twentieth century warfare. Daily Monitor, August 10, 2009 and USA-Africa Dialogue Series edited by Toyin Falola, August 10, 2009. 3 pages.

Compares Kwame Nkrumah and Barack Obama stance towards nuclearisation with Nkrumah quest for nuclear know-how but opposed the French decision to conduct nuclear weapons tests in the Algerian part of the Sahara Desert. With Obama the first American President to campaign for a world free of nuclear weapons seeking China’s help in the dispute about North Korea’s nuclear ambitions and his readiness to talk to Iran whilst respecting Tehran’s pursuit of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. That the outstanding feature of Nkrumah compared to other African leaders of the 60s is his global initiative and foreign policy that local wars should be prevented from escalating into major conflagrations such as his visiting Beijing to ease the calamity of Vietnam and his overthrow by a military coup in Ghana during this visit.

See also: NKRUMAH’S legacy and Africa’s Triple Heritage: between globalization and counter terrorism. Accra, Ghana: Ghana University Press, 2004. 62 p. ISBN: 9964-3-0296-7

This monograph is a revised version of the 2002 series of Aggrey-Frazer Guggisberg Memorial Lectures by Ali A. Mazrui delivered at the University of Ghana, March 11-13, 2002.

Consists of three lectures.

Lecture One: Nkrumahism in the shadow of globalization.

Lecture Two: Nkrumahism in the shadow of counter-terrorism.

Lecture Three: Nkrumahism out of the shadows.

- 64.** AFRICA'S wisdom has two parents and one guardian-Africanism, Islam and the West. African ethics: an anthology of comparative and applied ethics edited by Munyaradzi Felix Murove. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009, pp. 33-59

States that 'wisdom in modern African history has had two parents and one guardian of ambivalent nature'. The parents are African culture and the impact of Islam and the ambivalent guardian is the West and its civilisation. That in the colonial and post-colonial period the two parents of Africa's wisdom have remained intact, but the imperial guardian is asserting a new level of overlordship. And that a dividing point of historical significance for the two parents of Africa's wisdom was the First World War and examines the interplay between parents and the new modern guardian. Elaborates on a new global ethic based on the seven pillars of wisdom-tolerance, economic well-being, social justice, gender equality, environment, interfaith understanding and understanding the seventh pillar.

(Also appears in: IES Bulletin, no. 35-40, 2003-2004, pp. 8-41; Horn of Africa Journal, vol. XXIII, 2005, pp. 1-36)

- 65.** BARACK Obama-between race and civilization. Islamic Horizons, vol. 38, no. 1, January-February 2009, 5 p.

States that Obama sets a precedent of upward Black political mobility not only for the United States, but also for other western countries with White majorities such as Great Britain having a foreseeable Black Prime Minister, a Black chancellor of Germany and a Black president of France. And that Obama has outperformed the Jewish genius in the bid for the White House and the common perception that Jewish Americans have avoided running for the White House with Senator Joseph Lieberman the exception to this. A criticism against his candidacy for the White House was that he has not been endowed with an African-American culture and that although President Bill Clinton has been viewed by Andrew Young U.S. Representative to the United Nations as "at least as Black as Barack Obama and by African-American Nobel Laureate Toni Morrison as "the first Black president of the United States" Obama shares Clinton's underprivileged family background and empathy with Black folks. With Obama African-American support strengthened on the latter realising he had garnered huge support from White Americans.

(Many thanks to Professor Muhammad Haron and Jay Willoughby for obtaining this article.)

66. INDIA has soft power advantage in Africa. *Africa Quarterly* (Indian Journal of African Affairs) vol. 48, no. 4, November 2008-January 2009, pp. 46-48.

In this interview with Manish Chand, Mazrui speaks about issues that will influence the course of African resurgence, the potential of an African renaissance in the 21st century and India's soft power in Africa and the need for India and Africa to move beyond nostalgia and old slogans to fashion a quintessential 21st century partnership.
(Many thanks to Razina Munshi downloading this article.)

67. CAN globalisation be contained? *Africa Quarterly* (Indian Journal of African Affairs) vol. 48, no. 4, November 2008-January 2009, pp. 49-55.

Mazrui writes about the influence of globalisation, particularly in Africa and suggests strategies to contain this globalisation in the interest of the local people. Identifies five strategies of globalisation-indigenisation, domestication, diversification, horizontal inter-penetration and vertical counter-penetration.

Africa soft power relationship with India and China and that China's influence in Africa less soft and less cultural than India's and more economic, more revolutionary and more military than the impact of Nehru's India.
(Many thanks to Razina Munshi for downloading this article.)

68. NATIONALISM, power and Africa at war. In search of Pan-African solutions. Power and nationalism in modern Africa. Essays in Honour of Don Ohadike. Edited by Toyin Falola and Salah M. Hassan. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2008, pp-

States that the relationship between nationalism and power is often conflictual and explores this with a series of dialectical propositions and paradoxes. Outlines the influence that Pax-Americana has on Pax-Africana and suggests ways to avoid the Americanisation of Pax Africana by the African Union and the United states deal with a South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) consisting of African states allied against terrorism and a stop to American military bases in Africa. That Pax Africana should enter the official agenda of the new African Union.

69. DEBATING Archie Mafeje and Wole Soyinka: can Africa colonize itself? *CODESRIA Bulletin*, no. 3 and 4, 2008, pp. 10-11.

Discusses his two debates with Wole Soyinka and Archie Mafeje and the formers misinterpretation of Mazrui's television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* as attempts to facilitate or legitimize a kind of Muslim colonisation of Africa and the latter interpreting Mazrui's concept of Africa's self-colonisation as an attempt by him to facilitate Europe's recolonisation of Africa. Elaborates on the second debate with Soyinka on Louis Gates Jr. *Wonders of the African World* television series and his disagreement with Gates and Soyinka was about whether Africans had enslaved each other in the past. And that inter-African enslavement during the Atlantic slave trade could not have been either benign or benevolent.
(Many thanks to CODESRIA'S Abou Moussa Ndongo for this article.)

70. The POST-ELECTION crisis in Kenya: in search of solutions. *USA-AFRICA Dialogue*

Series edited by Toyin Falola. January 2, 2008. 2p. [*Moderator's note: this was sent as a "draft" which means that portions may be revised*]

Mazrui suggests solutions to the political impasse caused by the Kenya presidential elections of December 2007. That Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga enter into urgent negotiations and the ideal solution will be the recounting of votes in the most controversial of the provincial results for the presidency. That the African Union appoint an independent commission of enquiry into the management of the presidential election and make recommendations. The third option the new parliament consider a constitutional amendment creating a post of Prime Minister (Raila Odinga) accountable to the to the people's legislative representatives, Parliament and Mwai Kibaki as head of state.

71. The POWER of language and the politics of religion. The Tenth Commonwealth Lecture, London, May 15, 2007. The Round Table, vol. 97, issue 394, February 2008, pp. 79-97.

English, the lingua franca of the Commonwealth, is also the World's most influential language in human history. The influence of English as the language of academe may be reflected in the fact that more books about all the religions of the world have probably been published in English than in any other language on earth. This is perhaps because the former British Empire has always had to deal with a multiplicity of religions within its dominions. Today, the Commonwealth of Nations comprises more than a third of the Muslim population of the world-lodged in Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Nigeria, and elsewhere. The Commonwealth also includes about a third of the Christian countries of the world-in Africa, the Caribbean, Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and the Anglophone world of the Pacific. This article addresses such paradoxes as to why Muslims are well represented in the Commonwealth while Arabs are not, and why Christianity is under siege globally while the English language is the dominant international language (Abstract).

Argues that language is more fundamental in human affairs than religion and theoretically a society can function without having any theistic religion, but no society can function without having a language. Outlines India's and South Africa's linguistic experiments and can religion learn a form of ecumenical state craft from these linguistic experiments. Calls for an ecumenical state as an alternative to a secular and theocratic state. That Africa's indigenous religions are less based on the principle of either-or as the Abrahamic religions. Poses the question whether linguistic pluralism helps to promote religious tolerance in Africa citing the case of Senegal and Tanzania where political leadership alternates between Muslim and Christian heads of state. Paper has sections on language and religion, between the sacred and the secular, Jewish exceptionalism and Western history, language policy-national and continental, and Commonwealth membership as a learning experience.

72. Mazrui, Ali A. FROM Obote to Obama: stages towards a 75th anniversary. *Mazrui Newsletter* no. 32, Spring 2008.

States that in his thirtieth year of life (1963-1964) I lived in the shadow of Milton

Obote who was on his way towards becoming Uganda's first Nilotic Head of State...and in his seventy-fifth year of life (2008-2009) I lived in the shadow of Barack Obama, who seemed to be on his way towards becoming the first *son of the Nile* to ascend towards the Presidency of the United States.

73. LIBERATION, democracy, development and leadership in Africa. UNDER the tree of talking: leadership for change in Africa edited by Onyekachi Wambu. London: Counterpoint, 2007, pp. 34-47.

Mazrui provides a comparative typology of African leaders, heroes and martyrs such as Kwame Nkrumah, Yakubu Gowon, Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko; the disciplinarian Murtala Muhammed and technocrats such as Thabo Mbeki and Mwai Kibaki, to name a few. He categorises these leaders along nine styles of leadership drawing on four cultural traditions-the elder, monarchical, sage and warrior tradition.

74. GLOBAL pan-African leadership in the new millennium. UNDER the tree of talking: leadership for change in Africa edited by Onyekachi Wambu. London: Counterpoint, 2007, pp. 252-266.

Calls for and discusses a new African leadership of development, democracy, pan-Africanism and wider transnational solidarity in a globalised Africa.

75. PARADOXES of post-colonial heroism: the African experience. Lecture delivered at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa, April 25, 2007. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2007. 13p.

Discusses male paradoxes and female contradictions in access to leadership citing examples of female accession to male martyrdom in Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Philippines and this has not happened in the African experience. Focuses on Africa's founding fathers as living paradoxes such Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nigeria's Nnamdi Azikiwe and Murtala Muhammed, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Thabo Mbeki and Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko of South Africa, Muammar Qaddafi of Libya, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe and the role South Africa can play in the Zimbabwe issue. That the concluding paradox is between heroes and martyrs and the anti-colonial struggle produced more heroes than has post-colonial Africa. But post-colonial Africa has produced more martyrs than did the last years of colonialism.

76. NKURUMAH'S political kingdom and comparative decolonization. Lecture to mark the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence delivered at Howard University, Washington, DC, March 6, 2007. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2007. 12p.

States that in the 1950s Ghana and Kenya presented Africa with two competing models of decolonization. Ghana as nonviolent struggle and Kenya as armed resistance against colonial rule and how the rest of Africa modelled themselves on these two countries in its fight against colonial domination and white rule. Compares and contrasts Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and the impact they had on their countries. That is The Triple Heritage influenced by Nkrumah's 'Consciencism' and Edward Blyden's book, 'Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race'. Has table comparing Ghana to Nigeria and whether Ghana is the Great Britain of Africa and Nigeria the

United States of Africa. And that Nigeria and Ghana has illustrated the triple heritage in different ways and the impact of Ghana's independence on Africa.

77. MEGA-NIGERIA from Lugard to Gowon: between exceptionalism and typicality. *African Journal of Development Studies*, vol. 1, no. 10, January-April, 2007, pp.92-113.

Outlines the dialectic between the exceptionalism of Nigeria in the African continent and its typicality as mirror of the continent. Its exceptionalism in keeping the peace in West Africa-a kind of Pax Nigeriana vis-à-vis France and its role in democratising Liberia and Sierra Leone. That Nigeria's typicality to other African countries lies in its socio-cultural ideologies and Africa's swings between tyranny and anarchy. Poses a question whether Nigeria is a reincarnation of the United States in Africa?

78. ISLAM between clash and concord of civilizations: changing relations between the Muslim world and the United States. Lecture delivered at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, under joint sponsorship with the Royal African Society, London, England, January 16, 2007. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2007. 16p.

Posits American values and Islamic along three strands. Namely, Phase One: Convergent values, divergent people. Phase Two: Divergent values, convergent people. Phase Three: Divergent values, suspicious people. Suggests strategies to moderate U. S. hegemonic power such as by greater self-reliance by other societies abroad, Americans pay a price for abuse of power and counter-penetrating the citadels of U.S. power. Illustrates Jewish American political influence on the United States as a counter-penetration of Jews into the citadels of American power and that African Americans, Latinos and Muslim Americans can learn from this. Discusses Samuel P. Huntington clash of civilisations debate and a new clash of civilisations between the United States and the Muslim opinion across the world. And that Huntington was wrong in suggesting that a clash of civilisations involving the West was something new as the West has been declaring war on other civilisations from the first genocidal phase of clash of civilisations followed by the second enslaving phase of clash of civilisation, the third imperial clash of civilisations phase and the fourth phase of clash of civilisations is the hegemonic age of the United States as an Empire and sole superpower. And that the ultimate check on America as an empire is its democratic ethos and its multi-racial, multi-religious, multi-ethnic demography will influence its democratic policy choices. Presently American is torn between a domestic philosophy based on rights and foreign policy based on might.

79. AFRICA in a world of disorder: waning racism and waxing culture-conflict. Lecture sponsored by the Royal African Society and School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) held at Brunie Hall, London, January 15, 2007. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2007. 13p.

States that world-wide in the last years of the twentieth century that the salience of race was on the decline and that the salience of culture was on the rise. That it is tempting to attribute Black economic retardation to cultural problems rather than the genes of the

race and that inter-racial wars of Black versus White have almost disappeared and replaced by intercultural and inter-religious wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Chechnya, between Israelis and Palestinians and between Al-Qaeda and its enemies in Africa and the world. Poses the question whether the Darfur civil war is a cultural civil war or a racial one and Somalia poses other cultural variations such as its Islamic Courts. Lists Arab-American members of the U.S. Congress and that Arabs can rise high in the United States, provided the Arab is not Muslim as an example of the salience of culture in the United States. The exception being Minnesota has elected an African-American Muslim to the U. S. Congress. In the post-apartheid South Africa's constitution cites the domination of White values has increased with legislation legalising same sex civil unions for male and homosexuals and lesbians. Argues that that William Shakespeare Merchant of Venice has more anti-Semitism than colour prejudice in his Othello. That in the twenty-first century culture is once again overshadowing colour, civilisation is overshadowing race-for better or worse.

80. AFRICAN history from the dawn of time to the end of the slave trade (co-authored with Dr Wosene Yefru, Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi, Dr Wilhelmina Donkoh and Professor Atieno Odhiambo). Gatesville, Cape Town: A Heritage of Inspiration compiled by Bazmé Adab (Cape) Urdu Literary Society, 2007, pp. 72-104.

Mazrui reminds us that, 'Incredibly, Africa was described as a land without history until the coming of the white man. In reality, the African continent has a rich and varied past stretching back over thousands of years' and this article attests to this from Homo Sapiens-out of Africa, African Kingdoms, early inhabitants and the myth of Arab-Muslim domination of the East Coast of Africa are some of the issues discussed. (*Many thanks to Professor Anwar Mall for this monograph.*)

81. STRANGERS in our midst: in search of seven pillars of wisdom. DISPLACEMENT, asylum, migration: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 2004. Edited by Kate E. Tunstall. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. pp.92-126.

States that in the face of the new American hegemony and it affecting the future of Islam and the African condition. That there is a need for the new pillars of wisdom as a global ethic. These seven pillars of wisdom are the quest for tolerance, economic well-being of the people, quest for social justice, basic gender equality, ecological balance, inter-faith dialogue and cooperation and the quest for further wisdom the seventh pillar of wisdom. That perspectives on these seven pillars have to respond to the Middle East as a normative centre of global culture and to Africa as a challenge to the global conscience. Iftikhar H. Malik responses to this essay.

82. IS development sustainable without modernization? Ufahamu, vol. 32, no. 1-2, Fall 2006, pp. 13-37.

This is a revised version of the Dunstan Wai Memorial Lecture delivered at the World Bank, June 16, 2005 on modernisation and Westernisation. That Africa cannot avoid Westernisation in the modernisation process and looks at how 'modernisation' and 'Westernisation' relate to the substance of development (part excerpt from AISA annotation).

83. WALTER Rodney and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere in comparative perspective. USA-

Africa Dialogue Series edited by Toyin Falola, October 11, 2006, 2 pages. Elaborates on their commonness and differences from Pan-Africanism, socialism, ambivalent feelings about the Western world, Great Britain, race conflict and the class struggle with Rodney believing that race was a derivative of class worldwide and Nyerere believing that race was more salient for Africa than class. Both believed that regional integration as a bulwark against underdevelopment. That whilst Nyerere was the architect of the new Tanzania Rodney was a sympathetic critic from the left and that Nyerere's Arusha Declaration was not scientific socialism according to Rodney.

- 84.** ON OXFORD and Venda: from grand graduation to grand parenting. Address at the University of Venda on receiving an honorary Doctor of Philosophy in African Studies, September 2006. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2006. 3p.

Mazrui celebrates the birth of his first grand-daughter and blessed with a Venda name Vele and named Nicole Molly Vele Mazrui. That South Africa has been a victim, a valiant resistor, a victorious triumph over apartheid. South Africa as a vanguard regional power and threatens to become a villain to the rest of Africa and needs a vision and virtue to fulfil its destiny as Africa's leading country.

- 85.** GLOBAL Africana: fresh ground broken in the struggle against imperialism. USA- AFRICA Dialogue Series Edited by Toyin Falola. June 20, 2006. 2p.

States that the anti-imperial struggle has moved from the soil of the colonised people Into the very heart-land of the imperial powers such as the London bombs of July, 7 and July 21, and the attack on the World Trade Centre in the United States. The strategy of suicide bombers in various countries in its liberation struggle and America and international terrorism is fundamentally anti-American such as the terrorist strikes in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in August 1998. And the 2002 attack on the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa was anti-Israeli which is widely regarded as a protégé of the United States.

- 86.** AFRICA'S bondage of boundaries: can the shackles be loosened? Public lecture delivered at Hargeisa University, Somaliland, March 22, 2006. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2006. 11p.

Distinguishes and cites examples of conflicts caused by borders and conflicts about borders. Cites examples of these from the Ethiopia-Eritrea, independent Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden, secessionist confrontations like the Sudanese civil war (1955-1972) and the Nigerian civil war (1967-1970) the Congo and the Katangese secession. Outlines the paradoxes of fatal borders, conflicts based on identity and resources, African wars caught between modern weapons and pre-modern armies and between civil and interstate wars. Drawing of borders between dual and plural societies, regional and ethnic dualism. The search for Pan-African solutions for these border conflicts and offers various conflict management scenarios. Poses whether Africa is caught between the death of colonial states and the birth of postcolonial nations? And the lessons learned from the splitting of Czechoslovakia, Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the issue of Palestine and can the Republic of Somaliland fall short of statehood and still enjoy at least the same rights and privileges as the Palestinian Authority. And the role the African Union can play in resolving boundary conflicts.

87. POLITICAL leadership and comparative martyrdom: from Lumumba and Kennedy to Sadat and Murtala. Presented at the 30th Anniversary Commemoration of Murtala Muhammad's assassination. Bayero University, Nigeria, February 13, 2006. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2006. 21p.

This paper is about heroism and martyrdom and its political significance, compares Africa's political martyrs, Patrice Lumumba of the Congo, Murtala Muhammed of Nigeria and Egypt's Anwar Sadat. Looks at comparative martyrdom both domestic (Nelson Mandela) and international (John F. Kennedy, Abraham Lincoln), and the impact of male assassinations on female political figures-Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon, Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, and Begum Khaleda Zia and Hassina Rahman Waleda of Bangladesh. And that Africa does not have female succession to male assassination because African cultures are less dynastic than most Asian cultures. Discusses leadership styles of post-independence leaders. The paper concludes with comparative heroism and comparative martyrdom in Nigeria and the United States comparing Murtala Muhammad and John F. Kennedy and Abraham Lincoln and Yakubu Gowon.

88. LIBERAL Islam versus moderate Islam: elusive moderates and the siege mentality. American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 22, no. 3, Summer 2005, pp. 83-89.

Mazrui reflects as a participant commentator on the contribution of John L. Esposito, Graham E. Fuller, Abid Ullah Jan and M.A. Muqtedar Khan in this special issue on moderate Islam and what moderate Islam means in a theological and geopolitical sense. That the debate is rich in diagnosing the nature of Islamic radicalisation and thin on its causes with Fuller's essay the best diagnosis of these causes. That Khan will agree that anti-western sentiment in the Muslim world is not necessarily anti-Christian. Whilst Esposito gives ijtiḥād a wider role Abid Ullah Jan narrows its scope. Mazrui traces the causes and elaborates on three triggers of Islamic radicalisation such as the 'Latin Americanisation of the Middle East and imperial manipulation and military intervention of the Muslim world and the Middle East and American support for Israel. The foreign occupation of Muslim countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Muslim minorities struggling for self-determination such as Kashmir, Chechnya, Bosnia and Kosovo. That there are both domestic and global causes of Muslim radicalisation. States that he regards himself as a liberal Muslim as he is against the death penalty, in favour of gender equality and that ijtiḥād will become increasingly crucial as a solution to Islam's doctrinal problems.

89. The RE-INVENTION of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and beyond. Research in African Literatures, vol. 36, no.3, Fall 2005, pp. 68-82.

Mazrui states in his abstract that Africa has been re-invented in five different stages. From North Africa as part of the classical Mediterranean world to Africa's interaction with Semitic people. The third with expansion of Islam both north and south of the Sahara, European capitalist penetration and colonisation and finally its globalisation. That Edward Said and V. Y. Mudimbe are bulwarks against the exotic 'Orientalisation of Africa' and sought to contain the forces of 'Otherisation' in North-South relations

90. USWAHILI International: between language and cultural synthesis. Delivered at Fort

Jesus, Mombasa, Kenya, July 19, 2005. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2005. 7p.

Paper delivered at the launch of the Swahili Resource Centre which focuses on Swahili culture rather than the Swahili language. Outlines the configuration of Arabic and Bantu African concepts and the creative synthesis between Swahili Indian and Arabic influences. The Centre commemorates the works of Ali Mazrui's father Sheikh Al-Amin Bin 'Ali Al Mazrui, the late Chief Kadhi of Kenya.

91. TOWARDS Post-Colonial pacification-Africa between war and peace. *African Renaissance*, vol. 2, no. 1, January-February 2005, pp. 65-74

Notes which African conflicts are on their way out and which ones are in ascendency. That Black against Black ethnic conflicts are in ascendency and conflict between African states themselves as between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Outlines terrorism in Africa and in the American-led war against international terrorism Africans are caught in the cross-fire in other people's wars. Provides solutions for African conflicts and divides this between national solutions and regional or continental forms of intervention such as redrawing Africa's borders and offers differing forms of intervention. Calls for a Nobel Prize in support of ethnic peace among Black people and that this is long overdue.

92. BETWEEN global governance and global war-Africa before and after September 11. *African Renaissance*, vol. 2, no. 1, January-February 2005, pp. 9-18.

This paper treats September 11, 2001, as both a climax of a long history preceding it and the beginning of a new narrative. We place September 11 in the context of globalized warfare which has its roots in the early years of the twentieth century. In this paper our focus is not on the historic causes of international terrorism or the origins of an emerging clash of civilizations. Our focus here is on the link between governance and war in the era of globalization and how these processes have affected Africa (abstract). Situates governance in the context of World War One and Two and the Cold War leading to African's in positions of leadership in global organisations. Discusses the rise of the American empire, cultivating a doctrine that the best way of defending the United States was to wage war abroad, it establishing a military presence in African countries and pressurising African countries passing anti-terrorist legislation and the American adversary is now disproportionately associated with Islam. Concludes that the fourth global war is the American-led war on terror. Essay has a response by Sanya Osha.

93. PAN-AFRICANISM and the intellectuals: rise, decline and revival. *AFRICAN intellectuals: rethinking politics, language, gender and development* edited by Thandika Mkandawire. Dakar, London and New York: Zed Books and Codesria: 2005, pp. 56-77

Demonstrates that the origins of Pan-Africanism and the origins of modern Black intellectualism are interlinked. Addresses three levels of Pan-Africanism-sub-Saharan, trans-Saharan and trans-Atlantic and elaborates on these. Looks at the integration of ECOWAS and the SADC, Black Africa and Arab Africa partnership, and the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its successor the African Union (AU). Elaborates on the concepts of Afrabia, African Americans and American Africans.

Outlines who killed intellectualism in Kenya, Tanzania and Africa's new intellectual revival. Has an Appendix: Changing the guard in Africa's regional integration: from the O.A.U. to the AU.

94. The TRUTH between reparation and reconciliation-the Pretoria-Nairobi axis. Buffalo Human Rights Law Review, vol. 10, 2004, pp. 3-14.

A comparative essay on South Africa and Kenya's search for truth, justice and reconciliation. Essential to this search for truth and reconciliation is the search for justice. That South Africa chose the path of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission not based on the pursuit of justice but the pursuit of full disclosure leading to reconciliation between the former oppressors and the previously oppressed. That if Kenya does establish a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission, it should follow this up with the establishment of a Native National Ombudsman to protect the rights of citizens in the future. Outlines grievances between individuals and collectivities, racial and religious apartheid in these two countries, and the blood- stained postcolonial Kenya. Discusses the search for reparations in the United States of America and reparations for Africa and that in the Kenyan case recovers the billions stolen by its elites and that it does not need an ethnic governing class.

95. ISLAM and the United States: streams of convergence, strands of divergence. Third World Quarterly, vol. 25, no. 5, 2004, pp. 793-820.

This article identifies four historical phases of relations between Islam and the Western world, as led by the United States. The first phase was a convergence of values coinciding with a divergence of empathy. The second phase reversed the order-Islam and Western values diverged, but intercommunal relations became closer. The third phase is after September 11 when intercommunal relations once again diverged while differences between Western and Islamic values were greater than ever. The futuristic fourth phase of Islam's relations with the U.S.-led Western world is when the power of the new American Empire is circumscribed, Western values become less libertarian, and Islam reconciles itself to modernity (Abstract)

(See also: Looking beyond September 11: Islam in the West and democratic in the Middle East and North Africa, American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 29, no. 1, 2012)

96. NATIONALISM, ethnicity and violence. A Companion to African philosophy edited by Kwasi Wiredu. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, pp. 472-482

Cites how nationalism can re-invent itself beyond the 'nation' and that the armed struggle turning out to be to the advantage of the imperial power than to the freedom fighter. Explains how cause and effect are balanced within the north-south equation. Addresses primary, secondary and cultural resistance and six paradoxes of postcolonial violence to explain how the nationalism of the coloniser and the colonised would differ (part excerpt from AISA annotation)

97. *The Triple Heritage*: the split soul of a continent (co-author Charles C. Okigbo) DEVELOPMENT and communication in Africa edited by Charles C. Okigbo and Festus Eribo. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004, pp. 15-29.

States that Africa's triple heritage of its own rich inheritance, Islamic Culture and the impact of Western traditions and lifestyles can serve as a catalyst for growth and development and this requires a right communication infrastructure. That the mismanagement of the triple heritage has resulted in serious dislocation which makes the degree of independent modernisation impossible to maintain. Defines development as modernisation minus dependency and elaborates on Africa's grandiose and simple past. Suggests two strands of solutions in addressing the development problems of the continent and these are firstly the imperative of looking towards our ancestry, indigenous forms of communication and the second strand the imperative of looking outward to the outside world and devise strategies to tap into the global pool of human capital for development.

- 98.** BLACK reparations in a conservative world: racial aspirations and political realities. STATE of the race. Creating our 21st century: where do we go from here? Edited by Jemadari Kamara and Tony Menelik Van Der Meer. Boston, Massachusetts: Diaspora Press, 2004, pp. 101-117.

States that the paradox of the struggle for reparations in a conservative world is that the case for reparations gets stronger while the prospects for getting reparations is getting weaker. Elaborates on the four ethical revolutions of morally accountable economies, racially egalitarian societies, environmentally sensitive paradigms and to the empowerment of women and that the conservative western world opposed to this. That presently the United States affirmative action policy of the 1960s is under attack and a need for 'Affirmative Action II' in the form of reparations as a reactivation of the Black peoples the world over. This is in contrast to the conservatives next step after affirmative action a free play of market forces. And that in this conservative age the case for Black reparations and the case for America's self-repair may be indistinguishable.

- 99.** The LANGUAGE of 'Francophonie' and the race of the renaissance: a Commonwealth perspective. AFRICA beyond the post-colonial: political and socio-cultural identities. Edited by Ola Uduku and Alfred B. Zack-Williams. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004, pp. 50-65

States that Francophonie was linguistic apartheid based on the French language and apartheid South Africa based on racial apartheid. That the linguistic entry to Francophonie club has been loosened in the 1990s and that the central politics of African renaissance has been the politics of race and that the Commonwealth has been caught up in the politics of race and civil liberties. Traces the Francophonie and Commonwealth African genesis of the African Renaissance and the seven pillars of this renaissance which aspires to transcend the apartheid of language as well as race. Calls for an African hundred best books and that the Modern Library Board of the United States practised a form of English language apartheid on issuing its list of hundred best novels published in the 20th century in the English language.

- 100.** NEO-DEPENDENCY and African fragmentation. The AFRICAN philosophy reader: a text with readings edited by P. H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux. London: Routledge, 2004(paperback), pp. 528-546

Mazrui basic premise is that the end of colonial rule is not synonymous with

independence and that there are degrees of independence. Asks whether there is such a thing as a state of neo-dependency-a status below the level of meaningful sovereign initiative but disguised as something higher? Essay discusses the concept of 'neo-colonialism' in the context of Africa's relationship and criticism of the European Economic Community. Discusses support for an African Common Market and neo-colonial fears of a Commonwealth Africa.

- 101.** VALSE aanspraak op universalisme - Westerse cultuur in het tijdperk van mondialisering (False claim to universalism- Western culture in the age of globalisation) Eutopia, no. 9, December 2004, pp. 39-57.

Starts of from the premise that "the prestige of power clings also to the sins of the mighty". That large parts of the world have been westernised in the context of values, styles and institutions and this westernisation linked to the world's globalisation and its "village-isation". Citing examples from Islam and Africa refutes the claim that western civilisation is universal and that this universalism is undermined by historical relativism, cultural relativism and empirical relativism and lessons learned from Mahatma Gandhi. That an ethical universalism does not exist presently and nor has the western world discovered this but has created the conditions for the search of the universal.

(Thanks to Simon Kuper of the FT Netherlands bureau for the translation).

- 102.** PAX Islamica and seven pillars of wisdom. Hesham Reda Memorial Presentation at the annual meeting of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Washington, D.C. May 28-30, 2004. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2004, 20p.

Mazrui premises that the pursuit of justice is closely related to the pursuit of wisdom and that the pursuit of justice in world affairs is dependent upon seven pillars principles of conduct. Distinguishes between theological Islam and historical Islam and that the seven pillars of wisdom originated in Islamic doctrine and have sought fulfilment in the actual lives of Muslim people across generations. Ultimately, Pax Islamica is attained when the flesh, the spirit and the mind cooperate in a quest for peace. Elaborates on the seven inter-related principles of wisdom and justice these being, tolerance and the minimisation of conflict, optimisation of economic well-being, celebration of diversity and social justice among groups, gender equity, ecological balance, inter-faith dialogue and the seventh pillar of wisdom the pursuit of further wisdom and the enlargement of the scale of justice. Pax Islamica is the fusion of these seven pillars of wisdom and justice.

- 103.** FROM Toussaint L'ouverture to Nelson Mandela: the Haitian revolution and comparative Black experience. Keynote address to "The Unthinkable Event: The Haitian Revolution 1804-2004 Conference organised by the Haiti Bicentennial Committee, held at Binghamton University, March 6, 2004. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2004. 9p.

Traces the racial legacies of Haiti and South Africa and Haiti was the first Black rebellion against Whites and South Africa the last Black rebellion against Whites and Haiti setting the precedent of "revolt towards republic" under Black control. And that the two struggles have historically been symbolised by Toussaint L'ouverture of the Haitian revolution and Nelson Mandela of South Africa's liberation. Illustrates the

commonness of South Africa in 1994 and Haiti in 1804 and how Haiti descended from France's imperial crown to become the most economically retarded of all republics. That both South Africa and Haiti racial gradation has been a central engine of historical change and offers four typologies of miscegenation, descending, ascending, divergent and ambivalent miscegenation-with Haiti exemplified by ambivalent miscegenation. Outlines the consequences of the Haitian revolution on world history such as England abolishing the slave trade to weaken France, dealt a major blow to Napoleon's dream to build an Atlantic empire for France, and the fuelling of slave revolts in the Greater Caribbean in Barbados in 1816, Demerare in 1823 and Jamaica in 1831 and an impact on the debate about slavery in the United States. Concludes that the healing legacy of Nelson Mandela is likely to be more enduring than the revolutionary legacy of Toussaint L'ouverture.

- 104.** TOWARDS re-Africanising African universities: who killed intellectualism in the post-colonial era? Alternatives (Turkish Journal of International Relations), vol. 2, no. 3&4, Fall & Winter 2003, pp. 135-163.

States that the killers of intellectualism in Kenya, were rising authoritarianism, declining academic freedom and the Cold War between Western powers and the Soviet bloc. That in Kenya intellectualism died partly because of the Cold War opposition to socialism and in Tanzania intellectualism died partly because of excessive local enthusiasm for socialism. That African universities, its academia and students are tied to European languages and calls for an Africanisation of the African university. That African development can be achieved by a strategy of the domestication of modernity-relate it firmly to local cultural and economic needs, diversification of the cultural content of modernity-the African university transformed from a multinational to a multicultural corporation, and the counter-penetration of western civilisation.

Jacob Aliet responded to this essay, Convergence and globalization - not counter-penetration and domestication: a response to Prof Ali Mazrui. Alternatives, vol. 6, no. 1&2, Spring & Summer 2007, pp. 1-14. Annotated under Ali A. Mazrui and his critics, Entry no. 141. This paper also appeared in Agritech News, vol. 14, issue no. 26, January-March 2007, pp. 25-27.

SECTION FIVE:
SCHOLARY DISCOURSES WITH ALI A. MAZRUI
(By author surname)

- 105.** Adem, Seifudein interviewed. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 6, issue 1, Fall 2006, p.8-9, 15.

Outlines the elements of Mazruiana that inspired him, his scholarly pursuits, what Africa can learn from Japan, and his contribution to IGCS and Binghamton university.

- 106.** Arellano-López, F. Sonia interviewed. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 8, issue 1, Fall 2010, p. 14.

Elaborates on her academic background, her dissertation based on the historical development of ethically based networks of trade and commerce in Botswana and the IGCS projects she is involved with Professor Ali Mazrui and Professor Seifudein Adem.

- 107.** *Democracy Now*. Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now* interviews Mazrui on the theme: Pan-Africanist scholar Ali Mazrui on the election of Barack Obama as the first Black President in the Western world. *Democracy Now*, February 6, 2009, 6 Pages.

States that Barack Obama is setting a precedent for the white western world in being elected as a Black president. Obama's link with Kenya, his academic career at the Harvard and University of Hawaii and discusses Obama's father. His relations with Britain's Prince Charles, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and his conversations with Libya's Muammar Qaddafi and the latter's dream of a United States of Africa. That Qaddafi was looking for a legacy in his capacity as an African and less for a legacy in his capacity as an Arab.

- 108.** Kalouche, Fouad. Universalism, global apartheid, and justice. Ali A. Mazrui in dialogue with Fouad Kalouche. *Polylog: Forum for Intercultural Philosophy* 4 (2003) <http://them.polylog.org/4/dma-en.htm>

Analysis Mazrui's views from Multiculturalism; universalism: between religion and philosophy; global apartheid; the primacy of culture; African identity: the triple heritage and global Africa; equality, freedom and justice; Edmund Burke, tradition and globalization; epistemology and sources of knowledge.

- 109.** Nelson Mandela Foundation in Conversation with Series to Commemorate Nelson Mandela 90th birthday March 2008. *USA-Africa Dialogue Series* edited by Toyin Falola, March 31, 2008 and a shortened version in South Africa's *City Press* Newspaper, March 30, 2008. 10 pages.

Tara Turkington in conversation with Ali Mazrui around issues concerning Israel, Palestine and United States foreign policy to the Muslim world and pro-Israel stand. That the United States has become less tolerant of religious differences as exemplified

in the case of Barack Obama where his middle name-Hussein is attacked and not his colour.

That Nelson Mandela a world-wide icon and comparing South Africa to the United States. Elaborates on the succession of Thabo Mbeki by Jacob Zuma and the electorate view on this. His take on Kenya 1997 December presidential elections and his options regarding this to Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, and allowed to deliver lectures in Kenya on Mwai Kibaki coming to power. His take on the Zimbabwe issue and Robert Mugabe and influence that South Africa can play on the Zimbabwe issue. His views on a Democrat and Republican candidacy for United States presidency and Barack Obama winning the nomination for the Democratic Party.

- 110.** Tanoukhi, Nirvana. Arab Spring and the future of leadership in North Africa. An interview with Ali A. Mazrui. *Transition*, no. 106, 2011, pp. 148-162.

Mazrui states that the Tunisian, Egyptian and Libyan revolutions are liberal pro-democratic uprisings, rather than either nationalist or socialist or Islamic. Liberal pro-democratic as most of the values articulated are values connected with liberty, open society, and objection to detention without trial. That whoever captures the revolution should have the concern of the welfare of its people. Mazrui addresses questions from the Egyptian revolution not having nationalist undertones, the impact of North African revolutions on black Arabs and north/south relations as reflected in the AU position on Libya's Qaddafi's. his position on this revolt and his Africanist stance rather than Arab. That Qaddafi is a paradox such as Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah being negligent of the immediate domestic constituency but being visionary with regard to continental ambitions. Discusses Muslim-Christian relations in Africa from the Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Tanzania, Senegal and the tensions around Coptic identity in Egypt. That Mazrui is hopeful about what has happened in Tunisia and Egypt and on its way to democratisation and breaking down the gender barrier to democratisation. In the Egyptian case there are impediments to democratisation. That Malawi is showing greater changeability than Zimbabwe. That compared to Libya endowed with great wealth and on its way to democratisation South Sudan may turn out to be a failed state as it has not resolved its quarrel with northern Sudan around oil. And a sharing of oil resources an opportunity for cooperation between North-South Sudan. Outlines the future role of African and Middle East oil rich countries and the democratisation of these countries. Elaborates the impact and convulsions that the 2011 Arab-African Spring has had on reshaping political Islam and that the Turkish Atatürk revolution, the Iranian revolution, and the Arab revolution as the most important events affecting the Muslim world. That the making of North Africa into a cohesive whole would help the Pan-African ideal and reduce its tendency on emphasising its Arab-ness and be committed to the African continent and lead the rest of the Arab world. Outlines the political significance of Egypt's Tahrir Square.

SECTION SIX: WORKS ON ALI A. MAZRUI

(a) BOOKS

111. *Public intellectuals and the politics of global Africa. Comparative and biographical essays in honour of Ali A. Mazrui*. Edited by Seifudein Adem. London (UK): Adonis & Abbey, 2011. xvii, 305p.
ISBN: 978-1-906704-75-9

The essays in this book are thematically arranged and consists of presentations delivered at the New York African Studies Association (NYASA) Annual Conference, Cornell University, March 2008. Symposium celebrating Ali A. Mazrui's 75th birthday.

Has an introduction, conclusion and sixteen chapters divided into five sections -

Section One: Introductory essay.

Section Two: Dialogue of Cultures.

Section Three: Conflict and post-coloniality.

Section Four: Afro-Optimism in thought and policy.

Section Five: The rise of Obama and the politics of identity.

Appendix: A tribute to Ali Mazrui by Mahmood Mamdani.

Has an essay by Abdul Samed Bemath titled: In search of Mazruiana: tracing the writings of Ali A. Mazrui, 1962-2003.

112. *Paradigm lost; paradigm regained. The Worldview of Ali A. Mazrui*. By Seifudein Adem. Provo, Utah: Global Humanities Press, 2002. v, 216p.

Consists of eight chapters and based on the premise that although Mazrui has already reached his pinnacle of fame, his works have not been fully utilised. Adem grapples with the question of why Mazrui's works might have been marginalised, by looking at the substantive features and the scope of his works, against the background of criticism directed at them. Demonstrates why Mazrui's works could be regarded as a seminal contribution to what Adem calls the new International Relations.

Has a useful glossary of Mazruiana terms and relate their meaning, the context of their coinage and/or usage examples.

113. *The scholar between thought and experience: A biographical festschrift in honour of Ali A. Mazrui*. Edited by Parviz Morewedge. Binghamton University, Global Publications, 2001. xv, 358p.
ISBN: 1-58684-061-4

Morewedge states in his Foreword that this book is a fusion of two genres, or two traditions. The tradition of the Festschrift focussing on the subject matter of the person

being honoured, and there is the tradition of the professional biography, focussing on the person being honoured. *Has an introduction by Isidore Okpewho and fourteen chapters divided into two sections and an appendix -*

Section One: The world and work of Ali A. Mazrui.

Section Two: The world beyond Ali A. Mazrui.

Essay by: Abdul S. Bemath titled: In Search of Mazruiana. This essay traces Mazrui's articles in compiling *The Mazruiana Collection: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of the Published Works of Ali A. Mazrui, 1962-1997*. Published by Africa World Press, Trenton, NJ and Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, India.

Appendix One: Mazrui: The teacher at 60. Tribute by Salim A. Salim.

Appendix Two: "Global African": Mazrui in the House of Lords, London. Tribute by Kofi Annan.

(b) ACADEMIC JOURNALS

American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences (Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought) Volume 33, Number 3, Summer 2016, 164 Pages. Special Issue: Ali Mazrui: The Global Muslim Thinker. Guest Editors: Naveed Sheikh and Ahmed Salem.

- (i) Ali Mazrui: beacon at the intersection of Islam and Africa by Ebrahim Rasool. Rasool depicts Mazrui as a tireless agent for change, somebody who embodied the possibility of combining progress, pluralism, and ethnic pride (Excerpt).
- (ii) The Mazrui synthesizer: Africanity and Islam in Ali Mazrui's scholarship by Seifudein Adem.

Adem, a long-standing colleague of Mazrui, suggests that Mazrui would self-consciously seek to synthesize in his works activism and academia, western scholarly credentials with an eastern heritage, and a positivist method with normative commitments. In all of these ways, and more, Mazrui was indeed a "master synthesizer." (Excerpt).

- (iii) Mapping Mazrui's mind: Assessing the Mazruiana through a bibliometric lens by Muhammed Haron.

Muhammed Haron painstakingly charts Mazrui's awe-inspiring publishing career in a bibliometric study of Mazrui's scholarship (Excerpt). His essay focuses partly on Abdul Samed Bemath annotated bibliography *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited*...New Dawn Press (New Delhi) and Africa Institute of South Africa.

- (iv) Localizing Islam in the West: Mazrui's journey from the study of African politics to global cultures by Ahmed Ali Salem.

Salem dissects Mazrui's transition from the study of Africa to the study of Islam, primarily *qua* cultural and political force. In my reading, Mazrui saw Islam as both particular and universal...Mazrui was always adamant about the fallacy of the Lewis-Huntington "clash-of-civilization" prism...(Excerpt).

- (v) Making Africa legible: Kiswahili Arabic and Orthographic Romanization in colonial Zanzibar by Caitlyn Bolton.

Drawing upon archival material in English, Arabic, and Swahili from the Zanzibar National Archives, she shows how European colonialism quite literally sought to rewrite Africa by decoupling it from its Arabic heritage...(Excerpt).

- (vi) Islam, politics and globalization: Mazrui's struggle for a system of universal values by Rachid Mrani. Mrani offers a tribute to Mazrui's efforts to "normalize".

Islam in global political ethics. Writing against the backdrop of increased inter-civilisational militancy and the public equation of Islamic politics with radical violence, Mrani sees in Mazrui's distinct approach an attempt to redeem Islamic politics by anchoring it in a profound engagement with, and revival of, the ethico-moral compass of religion itself (Excerpt).

114. *African Studies Review* (Journal of the African Studies Association). Volume 57, Number 1, April 2014. ASR Focus on Ali A. Mazrui.

- (i) Introduction by Seifudein Adem.

Adem elaborates on the changing themes and unchanging perspectives on Mazrui's scholarship such as the movement away from 'negro-phobia' to 'Islamophobia' and that the first half of his career focussed on the global South and Africa and the defender of Islam in the second half of his career.

- (ii) Ali A. Mazrui, the Postcolonial theorist by Seifudein Adem.

Adem introduces Mazrui's theory of the 'triple heritage' and explains the specificity of his brand of postcolonial theory as well as the complexity and breadth of his thinking about Africa in general (Excerpt).

- (iii) A better intellectual community is possible: Dialogues with Ali A. Mazrui by James H. Mittelman.

This essay examines the role of intellectuals in society and compares Mazrui's intellectualism to that of Antonio Gramsci, Max Weber, Edward Said and Thandika Mkandawire.

115. *The Journal of Oromo Studies* (A publication of the Oromo Studies Association). Volume 16, Number 1, March 2009.

Special Issue: Mazruiana and the Oromo. Guest Editor, Seifudein Adem.

- (i) Mazruiana and the Oromo: In recognition of Ali Mazrui by Ezekiel Gebissa
States that until recently the Oromo as a group did not figure in Mazrui's work and the Oromo unmentioned in his 'The Africans' television series.
- (ii) Towards socio-political reform in the Greater Horn of Africa: ethnicity, religion, language, gender, and cultural convergence by Ali Mazrui.

Mazrui addresses what is unique and exceptional about the Greater Horn of Africa and can be regarded as Africa's grand laboratory of social continuities, constitutional experiments, cultural innovations, and dangerous political gambles pregnant with risks of conflict (Excerpt).

- (iii) Ali A. Mazrui and the Oromo: nationalism, Pan-Africanism and human rights by Seifudein Adem.

Adem analysis Oromo obscurity in Mazrui's television series. '*The Africans*' - reason being when he landed to film in Ethiopia, he was prevented from travelling to certain parts of the country, ostensibly for security reasons. Discusses Oromo obscurity in Mazruiana, Mazrui's Africanist and Pan-Africanist scholarship, Mazruiana and human rights in the Horn of Africa and Mazruiana concepts such as self-glorification and others as applied to discourse on the Oromo. That his contact with the Oromo took place when he was invited to deliver a public lecture at Addis Ababa University in 1973 and his receiving an honorary degree. from Addis Ababa University in 2004.

- (iv) Africans and the audacity of Islamic hope: reflections on the Islamic aspect of Mazruiana by Thomas Uthup.

Uthup analysis seven themes on Mazrui's writings on Islam and these are Islam, conflict and peace; Islam and democracy; Islam and inter-faith relations; Islam and economy; Islam and race; Islam and gender; Islam and education.

- (v) The paradox of gender in Mazrui's Triple Heritage by Etin Anwar.

Etin Anwar explores the ways in which Mazrui's paradoxical theory of gender cultures in the triple heritage converge and diverge with feminism. Discusses Mazrui's paradox of gender and sexual reciprocity and the paradox of gender politics and the politics of masculinity and its vindication. Examines how the male and female partnerships across religions, states, and civilizations produce a convergent world cultures and politics (Excerpt).

- (vi) Black achievement in politics and letters: Barack Obama and Ali Mazrui in a North-South Perspective by Seifudein Adem.

Compares and contrasts Mazrui and President Barack Obama and their Kenyan heritage. Their education from Obama's Harvard to Mazrui's Oxford days and Mazrui's extensive publications compared to that of Obama. Their exposure to the media and the legacy of Chicago serving as a cradle of the careers for both of them. Their contact with Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam in Chicago. Obama

pressured by Hilary Clinton to reject Farrakhan's endorsement for his presidential candidacy. And Obama's relationship with the Reverend Jeremiah Wright in Chicago. That both agree on the goal of nuclear disarmament but differ on the means of achieving this. Obama captured Mazrui's intellectual interest long before his candidacy as Democratic Party presidential candidate. Compares Mazrui to W.E.B. Du Bois and Obama and their common traits.

(c) **INDIVIDUAL PAPERS**

(Arranged author surname)

116. Adem, Seifudein. "The Hedley Bull-Ali Mazrui Nexus as a Metaphor for IR." A presentation at ISA's 57th Annual Convention on the theme of "Exploring Peace", Atlanta, GA, March 16-19, 2016.
117. Adem, Seifudein. "Singer, Strange, Mazrui and the study of Sino-African Relations." A presentation at the China-Africa Knowledge Project Working Group Meeting, Social Science Research Council, New York, NY, June 4-5, 2015.
118. Adem, Seifudein. A tribute to Ali Mazrui. *Transition*, no. 117, 2015, pp. 194-197.

Adem comments on Mazrui's love of writing, commitment to scholasticism and his position on issues of justice in general. Love for writing as Adem has more than 5000 handwritten correspondence with him. Traces his academic career from University of Manchester, Columbia University and his Ph.D. at Oxford. Taught at Makerere University in Uganda, University of Michigan and ended his academic career at Binghamton University.

(Also appears in: *A Giant Tree Has Fallen* see no 166.)

119. Adem, Seifudein. Tribute. Ali A. Mazrui: a great man, a great scholar. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 4, 2015, pp. 792-801.

Outlines Mazrui's love for writing, his commitment to scholarship, his views of power and himself, their relationship and how they saw each other. Mazrui allowed Adem to learn more about him and his intellectual scholarship and gave him the opportunity to develop intellectually. Discusses imaginary dialogues about and with Mazrui. That Nelson Mandela viewed him as "an outstanding educationist and a freedom fighter" and Kofi Annan described him as "Africa's gift to the world". According to Mazrui, Mandela's description is mission-orientated and Annan's description is mission-neutral. That Douglas Martin's *New York Times* obituary of Mazrui titled "Ali Mazrui, Scholar of Africa Who Divided US Audiences, dies at 81", October 20, 2014 committed two sins of the media in the age of globalisation-the sins of commission and omission. The sin of commission in that he erred in who sent Mazrui to study in England. Martin's sin of omission regarding Mazrui's 1986 television series, *The Africans*, in that he omitted that at that time Senator John Kerry in the US Senate spoke in favour of the showing of this series to American audiences in contradiction to Lynne Cheney who objected to the 'anti-Western tone' of this TV series.

(An earlier version published by *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, Journal of the Department of Afrikaans, University of Pretoria, vol. 52, no. 1, 2015; Codesria Bulletin, no. 1&2, 2015, p. 35-38; *See also A Giant Tree Has Fallen* see no 166.)

- 120.** Adem, Seifudein. Postcolonial constructivism: Ali Mazrui's theory of inter-cultural relations? *Africa Review of Books (Revue Africaine des Livres)*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2015, pp.4-7.

- 121.** Adem, Seifudein. A tribute to Ali A. Mazrui (1933-2014). 2014. 3 pages.

Elaborates on Mazrui as a master-classifier and had a special liking and gift for classifying different concepts, events and processes in an original way. Adem classifies Mazrui's scholarship into six overlapping categories or phases: historical, unmasking, ironic, reformist, rebellious and revolutionary. Elaborates on these categories in his writings. That Mazrui's scholarship in the first half of his active professional life show historical, unmasking and reformist orientations, and in the second half, increasingly rebellious and even revolutionary tendencies. Adem provides reasons why Mazrui's scholarship is anti-positivist and a post-positivist body of knowledge. And whilst positivism employs classification as a tool for explanation, Mazrui employed classification as a tool for understanding and intelligibility (Excerpts).

- 122.** Ali A. Mazrui, the futurologist. *Pambazuka.org*, October 23, 2014, 3pp.

Adem poses the question whether Mazrui was a latter-day Nostradamus and that he has done well in predicting some of the major global events of the last half-century. Reviews some of Mazrui's predictions. Elaborates on various themes of Mazrui such as structural power, his theory of structural dependency, his theory of 'mature independence', his social constructivist postulates and on what he called 'horizontal nuclear proliferation'.

(*See also*. Adem, Seifudein. Prediction and fortune-telling in Mazrui's scholarship. Presentation at the Symposium on the Life and Legacy of Dr Ali A. Mazrui. Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, September 25-26, 2015.)

- 123.** Adem, Seifudein. Archaeology of knowledge in Ali A. Mazrui's scholarship. *IGCS Bulletin*, vol. 11, Spring 2014, pp. 3, 9.

States that Mazrui's scholarship is anti-positivist or even post-positivist and provides reasons for this. Classifies Mazrui's scholarship into six overlapping categories or phases: historical, unmasking, ironic, reformist, rebellious and revolutionary and relates these to his works. That the first half of his professional life shows historical, unmasking and reformist orientations; and in the second half increasingly rebellious and even revolutionary tendencies are clearly discernible.

124. Adem Seifudein. Ali A. Mazrui and reflections on the revolutions in North Africa. Paper presented at a Workshop for Community College Faculty on 'Global Islamic Borders, Boundaries and Belongings', Cornell University, November 16, 2013.
125. Adem, Seifudein. Ali A. Mazrui, postcolonialism and the study of international relations. *Journal of International Relations and Development*. Vol. 14, no. 4, 2011, pp. 506-535.

First as intellectual ally and then as adversary...Ali A. Mazrui was embraced by the North American discipline of international relations (IR) in the 1960s and 1970s, neglected in the 1980s and a measure of interest in his scholarship revived in the 1990s and beyond. Adem states that Mazrui has not found a place in postcolonialism and the estrangement between Mazrui and IR was primarily due to the changing nature of the discipline and his unchanging attitude approach to it. And that Mazrui's marginalisation in postcolonialism is ultimately attributable to his image as the cultural and ideological 'Other', so states Adem in his excerpt to this essay.

Adem elaborates on the Mazrui-Samuel Huntington's 'Clash of Civilizations' debate in *Foreign Affairs* Journal and according to Mazrui the central error Huntington made was temporal, the assumption that clashes of civilizations were parts of the future, rather than inseparable from the past and the present of the human condition.

(Shortened version, Ali Mazrui and the study of international relations by Seifudein Adem. IGCS Newsletter, vol. 8, issue 1, Fall 2010, pp. 5-6, 8.)

126. Adem, Seifudein. Africanity, African intellectuals and the study of Ethiopia: thoughts on the relevance of Mazruiana. *Research in Ethiopian Studies*, 2010, pp. 366-377.

Adem outlines the way in which Mazrui's works and dialectical approach and paradoxes could be related to and utilised in the study of contemporary Ethiopia.

(Also appears in *Public intellectuals and the politics of global Africa. Essays in honour of Ali A. Mazrui*. Edited by Seifudein Adem. London: Adonis & Abbey, 2011, pp. 79-93.)

127. Adem, Seifudein. Re-Reading 'Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar'. *African Renaissance*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2009, pp. 33-37. Paper presented at the 50th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, NY, New York, at a Roundtable, "Kwame Nkrumah and the birth of African Diplomacy: A Centenary" February 15-18, 2009.

Adem states that the 'Leninist Czar' heralds a method of analysis which informed Mazrui's scholarship for more than forty years. And that this paper marked an ideological turning point in Mazrui's relationship with Africa's left. Adem interprets 'The Leninist-Czar' as a methodological statement and as an ideological manifesto.

- 128.** Adem, Seifudein. "Ali A. Mazrui: A postmodern Ibn Khaldun?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 23, no. 1, April 2003, pp. 127-145.

Adem poses whether Mazrui could be regarded as the Ibn Khaldun of the twentieth century, the postmodern Ibn Khaldun? Is Mazrui a reincarnation of Ibn Khaldun in our own times? Can we regain the lost paradigm of Ibn Khaldun through the works of Ali A. Mazrui? And that his answer to all of these questions is yes.

(See also Adem's, *Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Regained: The Worldview of Ali A. Mazrui*. Provo, Utah: Global Humanities Press, 2002. 216 pages. Entry no. 112.)

- 129.** Assensoh, A. B. and Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh. Ali Mazrui in history and politics: his contributions to the growth of Africa and the developing world. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 8, issue 1, Fall 2010, pp. 9-13, 17.

Draws parallels between Mazrui, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Ghana's attorney Joseph Emmanuel Appiah, controversy raised by his essay, Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar and also seen as an ardent critic of African socialism and Marxism, brands of which Nkrumah and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere practised. Discusses Mazrui as a public intellectual and utilised his political science expertise to bring Africa and other developing world areas into the focus of the enlightened world. The uniqueness of his nine-part televised documentary, *The Africans*, and that he thrives on controversy in his speeches, writings and classroom teachings.

- 130.** Bangura, Abdul Karim. Treatise of Pan-African comparative analytical paradigms of great African thinkers: from Cheikh Anta Diop to Ali Al'Amin Mazrui. Keynote lecture at the CODESRIA Comparative Research Network workshop, Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, 11-14 October 2011.
- 131.** Bangura, Abdul Karim. Pan-Blackist conceptualizations of the Black power paradigm: from Cheikh Anta Diop to Ali Al'Amin Mazrui. Paper presented at the conference titled: Relevance, and Continuity: Caribbean and Global Perspectives of Black Power, convened at The University of West Indies, Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, 18-19, September, 2010.

Bangura states that Mazrui in his, *Africa's International Relations* (1977:27) provided a general definition of Pan-Blackism as a Trans-Atlantic Pan-African phenomenon constituting links between Africa south of the Sahara and the Black Diaspora-the solidarity of shared blackness is extended to Black/African Americans, West Indians, Black/African Brazilians, and other African/Black people in the Western Hemisphere. That Mazrui distinguishes Pan-Blackism with three other Pan-African phenomena-Sub-Saharan Pan-Africanism, Trans-Saharan Pan-Africanism, and thirdly, Trans-Atlantic Pan-Africanism. And that Mazrui correctly pointed out that Pan-Africanism was birthed by Pan-Blackism and African Americans such as W.E.B. Du Bois, West Indians such George Padmore that helped to make Pan-Africanism globally conspicuous.

132. Dikirr, Patrick M. Africa's linguistic ecology: between homogenising intentions and heterogenous outlet in the works of Ali A. Mazrui, Ngugiwa Thiongo and V. Y. Mudimbe. Round Table on Rival Paradigms of Understanding Africa, African Studies Association Conference, Chicago, November, 2008.
133. Juma, Lawrence. Mazrui's perspectives on conflict and violence. *Africa Quarterly (Indian Journal of African Affairs)*, vol. 46, no. 3, August-October 2006, pp. 22-33. Examines and maps out Mazrui's ideas on conflict resolution and peace-building in Africa. Offers solutions with his eclectic blend of ideas and brings to the discourse on conflict a touch of 'indigeneity' that balances international conceptions against home-grown strategies for conflict-resolution.
134. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. Ali Mazrui on African identity and the African condition. Paper presented at The Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation conference titled: "The Pan-African Pantheon" held at the University of Johannesburg, 16-18 June 2017, 11 pages.

Sabelo focuses on one of the key debates in Mazrui's encyclopaedic archive-that of African and the related question of the African condition. This is a theme that pre-occupied many pan-Africanists, Africanists, nationalists and impinges on the present debates on decolonizing the university...Interestingly, towards the end of his academic career, Mazrui increasingly focused on the equally topical and important question of Islamophobia...What perhaps was missed by Mazrui is that 'negro-phobia' and 'Islamophobia' belonged together to the extent that if indeed the former had de-escalated the latter would automatically de-escalate too. (Excerpt).

See also Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. Ali A. Mazrui: An encyclopaedic scholar and intellectual pluralist. University of South Africa, Archie Mafeje Research Institute for Social Science, 2015. 19 pages.

Sabelo states that this paper is focussed on Mazrui's view on the invention of Africa, contested meanings of Africanity, and the concomitant complex question of the African condition and the postcolonial African predicament. Examines Mazruiphobia and Mazruiphilia and the need to transcend this.

135. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. Ali A. Mazrui on the invention of Africa and postcolonial predicaments: 'My life is one long debate'. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2015, pp. 205-222.

Covers the debates on Mazrui's views on the invention of Africa, meaning of Africanity, the complex question of the African condition and postcolonial African predicaments. That towards the end of his career became identified as a spokesman for the Islamic world and countering Islamophobia. Mazrui justified this shift by arguing that in contemporary history 'negro-phobia' has de-escalated while 'Islamophobia' has escalated to the extent that the colour line has been superseded by the culture line as

evidenced by the election of Barack Obama as the first African American President of the United States. That the de-escalation of the colour line was the election of Barack Obama as the first African American President of the United. Sabelo unconvinced on whether 'negro-phobia' has, indeed, de-escalated enough to the extent of warranting a shift to Islamophobia or whether the colour line and the culture line are not entangled paradoxically? (Excerpt).

SECTION SEVEN:

ALI A. MAZRUI AND HIS CRITICS

(Includes pre-2003 articles)

- 136.** *BLACK Orientalism and Pan-African Thought. Debating the African condition: Ali A. Mazrui and his critics*, Volume three. Edited by Seifudein Adem, Willy Mutunga and Al'Amin M. Mazrui. Trenton, New Jersey (USA): Africa World Press, 2013. ix, 378p. ISBN: 978-1-59221-874-5

This volume is the third in a series on *Ali A. Mazrui and his Critics* published by Africa World Press and continuous his debates with influential world leaders and his critics.

Consists of nine sections -

Section One: Fifty years of post-coloniality.

Section Two: A millennium of identity-formation.

Section Three: Debating governance and policy.

Section Four: Debating ideology and values.

Section Five: Debating the mass media.

Section Six: Between global power and global war.

Section Seven: Theological debates: between history and revelation.

Section Eight: Three schools of contemporary Islam.

Section Nine: Islam in the Twenty-First century.

- 137.** *GOVERNANCE and Leadership: Debating the African Condition. Ali Mazrui and his critics*, Volume two. Edited by Al'Amin M. Mazrui and Willy Mutunga. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2003, vi, 473 Pages. ISBN: 1-59221-147-X

This volume is the second in a series on *Ali A. Mazrui and his critics* and continuous his debates with influential world leaders and his critics.

Consists of three parts -

Part One: On leadership.

Part Two: Policy and governance.

Part Three: Pan-African solutions.

(Reviewed by Paul Banahene Adjei, *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 22, no. 2, Spring 2005, pp. 87-98.)

- 138.** *RACE, Gender, and Culture Conflict: Debating the African Condition. Ali Mazrui and his critics*. Volume one. Edited by Al'Amin M. Mazrui and Willy Mutunga. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2004. vii, 495 Pages. ISBN: 1-59221-145-3

This volume is the first in a series on *Ali A. Mazrui and his critics* and continuous his debates with influential world leaders and his critics.

Consists of three parts -

Part One: The Triple Heritage.

Part Two: On gender and sexuality.

Part Three: Slavery, race and reparations.

(Reviewed by: Paul Banahene Adjei, American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, vol. 22, no. 2, Spring 2005, pages 87-98.)

- 139.** Ahmad, Md Asham. A teacher or a Trojan horse? USA-AFRICA Dialogue Series edited by Toyin Falola, July 1, 2010 and <http://thestar.com>. June 29, 2010. 4p.

Md Asham Ahmad, Fellow, Centre for Syariah Law and Political Science criticises Mazrui interpretation that ALLAH(GOD) reveals revelations in “instalments” across time and space. By new instalments of divine revelation, Mazrui means new findings in science, and based on that we should be able to reinterpret not only Qur’anic verses about astronomy, but also Islamic verses about what he calls “ancient punishments” (hudud). That his interpretation of the companions of the Prophet, his attack on the scholars of Islam(ulama’) is plain ignorance disguised as scholarship and should be seen as a Trojan horse, not a teacher.

(See also: No explanation of why Professor Ali Mazrui is wrong by Mohd Basil Sulaiman. The Star, June 2010.

- 140.** Kwabena, Akurang-Parry.

Kwabena evaluates Mazrui’s article, Nkrumah, Obama and twentieth century warfare, *Daily Monitor*, August 10, 2009. Kwabena states that Mazrui the perennial Kwame Nkrumah-hater is now revising his negative perspectives on Nkrumah.

- 141.** Biney, Ama. The legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in retrospect. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, March 2008, pp. 129-156.

This essay reviews Mazrui’s positive and negative Nkrumahism construct. Biney re-evaluates Nkrumah’s legacy.

- 142.** Aliet, Jacob. Convergence and globalization-not counter-penetration and domestication: A response to Prof Ali Mazrui. *Alternatives (Turkish Journal of International Relation)*, vol. 6, no. 1&2, Spring & Summer 2007, pp. 1-14.

This essay counters Mazrui’s strategies aimed at providing Africans with intellectual and cultural independence through decolonization of the African universities. These are the strategies of domestication, diversification, the relativistic approach to culture and counter-penetration of western civilisation itself-which he outlines in his paper, ‘Towards Re-Africanizing African universities: who killed intellectualism in the post-colonial era? *Alternatives (Turkish Journal of International Relations)*, vol. 2, no. 3&4, Fall & Winter 2003, pp. 135-163(Entry no. 103).

Aliet suggests an alternative globalization and convergence strategy.

143. Horowitz, David. *The PROFESSORS: the 101 most dangerous academics in America*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, INC, 2006.

Mazrui counters Horowitz accusations in depicting the 'Mazrui destiny' as slave traders and that he supported the genocidal conduct of the Sudanese Islamic government which he states is untrue. That at no time was he North American spokesman for the Islamic extremist group Al-Muhajiroun and that his paper entitled 'Is Israel a threat to American democracy' was entirely his own and that Israel and its allies within the United States are indeed, a threat to American democracy. And that Horowitz confuses his *The Africans: A Reader* (co-editor T. K. Levine) with his *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* and mistakenly uses The Reader as a major source of his views. That the Centre for the Study of Islam and Democracy of which Mazrui was once a Chair, has no connection whatsoever with radical Islamic movements.

144. Okoampa-Ahoofe, Kwame. When dancers play historians and thinkers, Part 9. Ghana feature article, August 28, 2006 in www.modernghana.com. Downloaded March 12, 2007.

Kwame evaluates Mazrui's, 'Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar', *Transition* (Kampala), vol. 6, no. 26, March 1966, pp. 9-17. States that Ghana had least need of a Czar as arguably the most advanced monarchical system on the African continent and had least need of a Lenin as they already had Danquah, 'a far better ideologically anchored scholar statesman...which the African show boy, our Leninist-Ersatz [Kwame Nkrumah], could barely fathom.'

145. Liyong, Taban Lo. Let the intellectualism of Ali Mazrui die. *Daily Nation*, February 19, 2006, 4pp.

That Mazrui's definition of intellectualism as a 'fascination with ideas' is dead and welcome the sprouting of the intellectualism of involvement in social transformation of one's country whilst living in the country as done by the intellectualism Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, Wangari Maathai and others. That Mazrui's debate on who killed intellectualism in East Africa is a sterile one.

146. Students [Rochester Institute of Technology] slam pro-Israeli speaker Dr Daniel Pipes- but welcome Ali Mazrui professor with 'terror ties.' *Militant Islam Monitor* (www.militantislammonitor.org), January 21, 2005. 10 pages.
147. Ali Mazrui-lecturer at Bin Laden funded ICPI in South Africa-should be disinvited to speak at Rochester Institute of Technology. *Militant Islam Monitor* (www.militantislammonitor.org), January 3, 2005. 28 pages.

- 148.** Intense airport scrutiny angers Muslim travellers by Caryle Murphy. *Washington Post*, September 14, 2003.

Outlines Mazrui's detention and questioning at Miami airport on August 3, 2003 by U.S. immigration officials, customs representatives and agents from the Department of Homeland Security on his return from Trinidad. Questions included his views on Jihad, whether he was Sunni or Shia and whether he had met with a radical Islamist leader in Trinidad and told them no but tried to meet him as his teaching involves Islam.

- 149.** Habtu, Hailu. The fallacy of the 'Triple Heritage' thesis: a critique. *Issue*, vol. 13, 1984, pp. 26-29.

Habtu criticises Mazrui's article 'The Semitic impact on Black Africa: Arab and Jewish cultural influences', *Issue*, vol. 13, 1984, pp. 3-8.

- 150.** Wanjala, Chris L. Ali A. Mazrui: a pawn in the hands of young critics. The writer and society in Africa. Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, Paper No. 130, presented January 22, 1980. 16 pages.

Chris Wanjala teaches Ali Mazrui's novel *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. Heinemann Educational Books, 1971. He discusses this novel and counters criticism levelled against it by Peter Nazareth and Okello Oculi.

SECTION EIGHT:

RADIO, NEWSPAPER, TELEVISION AND VIDEO RECORDINGS

(This is a select list and more detailed list Ali A. Mazrui CV and includes pre-2003 articles.)

151. Adem, Seifudein. Mazrui's life and legacy. Interviewed by Voice of America, October 24 and 26, 2014.

152. Wachanga, Ndirangu. Documentary: Ali A. Mazrui a walking triple heritage. 2013.

An approximately 70-minute DVD tracing Mazrui's history from his birth-place, his undergraduate days at Manchester university, teaching at Makerere University and his stay in the USA.

153. ISRAEL the loser in Gaza conflict by Al. A. Mazrui. *The Sunday Independent Newspaper* (South Africa), November 25, 2012.

Outlines four casualties of the Gaza Wars and that President Barack Obama seems as subservient to the Jewish lobby as his presidential predecessors. That the Arab sympathy for the Palestinians has been reawakened in the direction of Hamas rather than Fatah.

154. A GREAT man, not yet a great president. *IOL NEWS* (www.iol.co.za), November 11, 2012

Outlines president Obama's existential and performance credentials and during his first 100 days as president has made no spectacular move to either Africa or black America. And that his move towards the Muslim world more spectacular. That we do not know as yet how great he will turn out to be and today the most powerful black man in world politics. And that his policies are bound to benefit millions of African-Americans such as health care and education.

155. Ali A. Mazrui. Islam in Africa, Revival and Radicalization, November 2011. The Harvard University, Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies 2011 inaugural lecture.

Mazrui shares his insights into the development of Islam in Africa and the current trends of the religion in the region, dispelling many common misconceptions (Excerpt).

Lecture available on Vimeo

<http://vimeo.com/39337786>. 54.53 minutes.

<https://vimeo.com/35018137>. 13.34 minutes.

156. DISTINCTLY African-a new way to talk about African diaspora. *Somaliland Times* (www.somalilandtimes.net) Issue 222, April 22, 2006. 3p.

Focuses on Africa's brain gain and brain drain and its consequences. Distinguishes between horizontal and vertical brain drain and a new vocabulary of Diaspora studies

includes the distinction between the Diaspora of post-enslavement and the Diaspora of post-coloniality. In the US distinguish between African Americans and American Africans and whether American Africans can become African American and vice-versa - the answer is yes, and the first African Americans to become American Africans were Americo-Liberians.

- 157.** AFRICA'S bondage of boundaries: it is time to loosen the chains. *Somaliland Times* (www.somalilandtimes.net), Issue 221, April 14, 2006. 5p.

Mazrui in this interview with Sub-Saharan Informer (SSI) Mazrui outlines his involvement in the 'Reparations' debate, his visits to Africa and delivering lectures and David Horowitz listing Mazrui as one of the most dangerous academics in the US in his book, *The Professors: the 101 most dangerous academics in America* and Mazrui's refutation of these allegations. Describes his detention and interrogation at Miami Airport by US security officials.

- 158.** COMPENSATE for workforce, G8 told. Written by Murage Muya. *Kenya Broadcasting Corporation* (www.kbc.co.ke) December 8, 2005. 2p.

Addressing the Brain Gain Conference in Nairobi, Kenya Mazrui says that developed countries should compensate developing countries for their skilled professionals working in western countries.

- 159.** In SA, I have found myself another home. City Press Newspaper (South Africa), June 19, 2005, pp. 21.

Mazrui outlines his discovery that he is a South African when he was detained by United States Terrorism Task Force at Miami airport in August 2003 and if not allowed back into the US considered South Africa as an option as a new home. And the African Heritage Society honouring Mazrui with the African Renaissance Prize and the Society declaring May 20, 2005 as 'Ali Mazrui Day'. Another indication of his South African-ness was the University of Venda for Science and Technology conferring him an Honorary Doctorate.

- 160.** RACIAL and religious terror in the American experience: from the Klan to the Taliban. *Islam Online* (www.IslamOnline.net) interview with Al Mazrui, February 8, 2002.

That Hilary Clinton was under pressure from pro-Israeli and anti-Muslim New Yorkers in her rebuff of Muslim organisations. Outlines the reasons for the intolerant attitude by the US administration towards dissident opinion such as wanting to empower the FBI to spy on churches, mosques, and synagogues. Editors of CNN and other major networks in the USA summoned to the White House and warned against giving Al-Qaida propaganda advantage with what they cover about Osama bin Laden. That the heightened tension towards Muslim in the USA is temporary and a new curiosity to understand Islamic culture and civilisation as attested by schools considering new courses about the Muslim World.

- 161.** SCHOLAR urges for party-less presidency by Odeko Aura. *Kenya Broadcasting Corporation* (www.kbc.co.ke), August 24, 2001. 1p.

Speaking at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre on the ongoing constitutional review process, Mazrui stressed that the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission ensure the new constitution guarantee freedom of expression, a free press, and address the serious issue of tribalism. And that Kenyans elect presidents who do not belong to any political party.

That ten parliamentary seats be reserved for women and urged Muslims in Kenya to allow their women greater freedoms to enable them to participate in political and social development activities.

- 162.** AFRICA: myths and realities. Tape: MAZA0003aT. Transcript: MAZ0003aD. Recorded: Boulder, CO, March 11, 1994. *Alternative Radio* (www.alternativeradio.org)

Africa is reflected through western eyes as poverty stricken and its contribution to civilisation and its accomplishments are ignored or distorted.

- 163.** GLOBAL Apartheid: race and religion in the new world order. CD: MAZA002aC. Tape: MAZA002aT. Recorded: Boulder, CO, March 10, 1994. *Alternative Radio* (www.alternativeradio.org).

- 164.** AFROCENTRICITY and multiculturalism. CD: MAZA001aC. Tape: MAZA001aT. Transcript: MAZA001aD. Recorded: Madison, June 25, 1992. *Alternative Radio* (www.alternativeradio.org)

SECTION NINE:

TRIBUTES AND AWARDS TO ALI A. MAZRUI

(This is a select list and a detailed list Ali A. Mazrui CV.)

- 165.** Establishment of the *Ali Mazrui Centre for Higher Education Studies*, University of Johannesburg (UJ), South Africa. Established in 2017.

- 166.** *A Giant Tree Has Fallen. Tributes to Ali Al'Amin Mazrui*. Edited by Seifudein Adem, Jideofor Adibe, Abdul Karim Bangura and Abdul Samed Bemath. Johannesburg: African Perspectives, 2016. 537 Pages.
ISBN: 978-0-9922363-6-6 (Softcover)

Reviews: Muslim Views Newspaper (South Africa) November 2017; by Anwar Mall; Tribute to a giant by Anwar Mall. City Press Newspaper (South Africa) August 13, 2017; Saluting a giant African by Khaya Koko. The Star Newspaper (South Africa), May 30 2017; Mazrui, epitome of decolonization by Khaya Koko. The Star Newspaper (South Africa) May 30, 2017;

- 167.** *Ali A. Mazrui Memorial Library established at the Muslim Education and Welfare Association MEWA, Mombasa, Kenya, January 12, 2016.*

Presenters:

H.E. Robert Godec. The US Ambassador to Kenya.

H.E. Hassan Joho. The Governor of Mombasa County.

Mr. Salim Ghalgan. The Chairman of the Muslim Education Welfare Association.

Mr. Ghaleb Yusuf Tamim. Mazrui's Family Representative.

- 168.** Bangura, Abdul Karim. Ali Al'Amin Mazrui, the Mwalimu, the Ali. *Codesria Bulletin*, no. 3&4, 2014, pp. 24-25.

States that he has learned three valuable lessons from Mazrui and his writings. Firstly, African scholars must strive to make our work African-centred. Secondly, African scholars must be *âtenu* (Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics) or *mapinduzi* (Kiswahili) or revolutionary (English), as opposed to being *âtenu m'ïen* (Ancient Egyptian/ Hieroglyphics) or *mapinduzi ya malazi* (Kiswahili) or revolutionary-accommodationist (English) or being *kheperu* (Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics) or *kubadilisha* (Kiswahili) or reformist (English). Thirdly, African scholars must be seriously engaged in African and African-Diaspora issues to ensure the development of a *Pax-Africana*.

- 169.** Mazrui, Ali A. The love of beauty and the beauty of love: the song of RUMI. *IGCS Newsletter*, Spring 2014, pp.10.

Acceptance speech upon receiving the RUMI Award presented by the RUMI

Forum at the annual ceremony held at the National Press Club, Washington, DC, October 2013. Chooses two poems of Rumi and William Wordsmith as they are inter-related in their celebration of the fundamental beauty of nature.

- 170.** The Steve Biko Foundation mourns Prof Ali Mazrui-14 October, 2014.
While saddened by his passing, the Foundation celebrates the invaluable contribution Professor Ali Mazrui made to African scholarship and political discourse (Excerpt).

- 171.** Avari, Burjor. Ali Mazrui: friend, scholar, and visionary. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 10, issue 1, Spring 2013, pp. 1-9.

Avari traces his over fifty-year company with Mazrui from there Manchester University days in the 1950s and learnt from him to respect African people, their cultures and civilisations. Influence of his amazing intellectual sharpness and capabilities and moral courage. The depth and diversity of Mazrui's scholarship courting controversy, his Triple Heritage and the impact of Islam and Islamic civilisation on Africa and his views on the Salman Rushdie Satanic Verses affair. And his vision for Africa.

- 172.** Dr Ali Al'Amin Mazrui nominated as the world's most influential Muslim for 2012 and 2013. Nominated by *The Muslim 500. The World's 500 Most Influential Muslims*.
www.themuslim500.com.

- 173.** Agwuele, Augustine. Personal encounter with *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 9, issue1, Winter 2012, pp. 6-7, 10.

States that Mazrui's documentary *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* was for him a journey toward self-evaluation, of discovery, and cognizing of one's own wealth in the form of history, indigenous cultural institutions and social organization.

- 174.** Bemath Abdul Samed. Ali Mazrui: an anecdotal essay. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 9, issue 1, Winter 2012, pp. 20-21.

Outlines the impact of his documentary, *The Africans*, Mazrui and Aca-Media and as his bibliographer-The Mazruiana Collection (1998) and The Mazruiana Collection Revisited (2005) tracing and annotating Mazrui's 650 articles over the period 1962-2003.

- 175.** Namboka, Ireneo Omositson. Ali A. Mazrui: his three greatest successful failures. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 9, issue 1, Winter 2012, pp. 4-5, 9.

These being his father an Arab and mother an African and therefore not person of one "pure race". His marrying an English woman and third failure his invitation to the University of Cape Town and conditioning his English wife Molly accompanying him with the university authorities informing him the apartheid regime would not allow this - and Mazrui's political victory against the racist apartheid regime. Links Mazrui to President Barack Obama and these two blood Kenyans, East Africans, Africans are just

as truly blood brothers to the inhabitants of North Africa and the Middle East and the rest of the world.

- 176.** In 2007 former South African President Thabo Mbeki bestowed on Mazrui the Order of the Companions of O. R. Tambo proclaiming: “Professor Ali Mazrui is one of the greatest minds ever to have been produced by the African continent. His prolific writing, coupled with the variety of fields he has been covering in his academic life proves the versatility of his intellect. He has put the African continent on the pedestal, unearthing and laying bare the grandeur of Africa to a world that had been but paying marginal attention to the intellectual depth of the African continent”.
- 177.** Bin Yusuf, Muhammad. A great thinker- a great uncle Professor Mazrui. February 23, 2008 2pp. Muhammad bin Yusuf celebrates Professor Mazrui on his thoughts and ideas on his 75th birthday. More so because of his television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* and his suggestion of the creation of the position of a Prime Minister and a power sharing government for Kenya. Muhammad bin Yusuf concludes ‘It is such originality, thoughts and solutions that make you a great thinker and a true Pan-African.’
- 178.** Mazrui, Ali A.: Acceptance Speech Living Legend Award, 2007. Bestowed on Ali A. Mazrui by the African Communications Agency and the Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) at the 2007 Africa’s International Media Summit [AIMS 2007], Abuja, Nigeria, February 13, 2007. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2007. 4p.

That he is empowered in boxer Muhammad Ali receiving an award at this function and Africa recognises and salutes those who have served it while they are still around. The year 1957 important for him as he entered Manchester University as an undergraduate student and 2007 the 50th anniversary of that start of his academic career. 1957 also significant for him as the birth of his wife Pauline and Ghana gaining its independence.

- 179.** PUBLIC intellectuals and the African experience: comparative intellectual recognition. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 6, issue 1, Fall 2006, p. 1, 7.

Describes Mazrui’s nomination as one of the top one hundred public intellectuals in the world by United States *Foreign Policy Journal* and UK based *Prospect Magazine*. And the UK based *New African Magazine* voting him as one of the 100 greatest Africans of all time.

- 180.** Kariuki, James. The scholar, the spear and the Medal of Honour: a Kenyan case study. *IGCS Newsletter*, vol. 5, issue 1, Winter/Spring 2004-05, pp. 6, 9.

President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya awarded Ali Mazrui the title of Chief of the Order of the Burning Spear: First Class (CBS). This Order is the highest Kenyan award for scholars and literary figures.

SECTION TEN: MY INTEREST IN ALI A. MAZRUI

I first became familiar with Mazrui's writings in the early 70s when I was a student and worked in the Geology department at the University of Witwatersrand, as a laboratory assistant. Browsing around the universities Africana and International Affairs library, I came across his books, which I read. This contributed to my interest in Africa and led me to pursue academic studies in African Political Studies. What struck me initially was the name Ali Al'Amin Mazrui. Coming from a Eurocentric South Africa, where academia was dominated by White and European scholars, here was a Muslim political scientist with an African base and from Makerere University in Uganda, a university that visiting Professor of Education, Sir Robert Birley, in a public lecture considered to be *the* university in Africa, outclassing South African universities.

I purchased a copy of his book *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. Oxford University Press, 1970 (co-edited with Robert I Rotberg) and took a marked interest in his writings. I also read his book: *A World Federation of Cultures: an African perspective*, The Free Press, 1976. Professor Mazrui considered this book as one of his finest. What struck me about this book (and reinforced my interest in his writings) was the vastness and global vision of his thoughts: a search for a world federation of cultures, a search for global peace, based not on a notion of world government, but, on the concept of world cultures to counteract the domination of the Western mindset.

I found the titles of his books fascinating, such as *VIOLENCE and thought: essays on social tensions in Africa*. Longmans and Humanities Press, 1969, *TOWARDS a Pax Africana: a study of ideology and ambition*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson and Chicago University Press, 1967, *ON Heroes and Uhuru-Worship: essays on independent Africa*. Longmans, 1967, and *The ANGLO-AFRICAN Commonwealth: political friction and cultural fusion*. Pergamon Press, 1967. These three final books were published in one year; as Professor Mazrui put it to me, "I have arrived" in the world of academia. I also read his *SOLDIERS and kinsmen in Uganda: the making of a military ethnocracy*. Sage, 1975.

My interest in his works took a formal structure when I enrolled for a BA Arts degree majoring in Sociology and African Politics in the early 70s. I finally completed a BA Honours degree in Development Administration and Politics, specialising in African Politics, and a further Higher Diploma in Library Science. This academic background gave me the necessary conceptual understanding of his writings when compiling *The Mazruiana Collection*, which is a necessary pre-requisite for any bibliographer. One of the assignments in my African politics I course was based on Mazrui's essay, 'The monarchical tendency in African political culture, which appeared in my assigned reader, *GOVERNING in Black Africa: perspectives on new states*, edited by M.E. Doro and N.W. Stultz. Prentice-Hall, 1970. My BA(Hons) dissertation was on a Somali religious leader, Sayyid Muhammad 'Abdille Hasan, who led a rebellion against European and Ethiopian imperial and expansionist encroachment in Somalia from 1899-1920. I utilised various theories of protest and rebellion and put my essay in a relative deprivation perspective.

In hindsight, I should have utilised Mazrui's ideas on the warrior tradition in Africa in explaining the Sayyid rebellion. Another academic utilisation of his works was his chapter,

‘Toward a theory of protest: a postlude’ that appeared in *Protest and power in Black Africa*. I used this to explain and analyse the Sayyid’s rebellion in my chapter entitled: ‘The Sayyid and Saalihiya tariqa: reformist, anticolonial hero in Somalia’ that appeared in *IN the shadow of conquest: Islam in colonial Northeast Africa*, edited by Said S. Samatar. Trenton, New Jersey: The Red Sea Press, 1992, pp. 33-47. I also reviewed, *AFRICA since 1935*, UNESCO; Heinemann Educational; UCLA Press, 1993 edited by Ali A. Mazrui and C. Wondji, ‘*The South African Journal of International Affairs*’, vol.2, no. 2, Winter 1995, pp. 150-152.

It was Mazrui’s television series, *The Africans: a triple heritage*, that captured the imagination of South Africans and especially its Black majority. For me, this was a different form of exposure to Mazrui, a visual one, encapsulating his perspectives on Africa in a documentary television series, and further reinforced my interest in him and purchasing his book of the same title.

MEETING PROFESSOR ALI A. MAZRUI

I first met Professor Mazrui in December 1990 when he came to deliver the Sixth Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture. I developed a friendship of letters with him, posting references to him in newspapers and local periodicals. Subsequent to this first meeting, I made a point in meeting him or talking to him over the telephone whenever he came to South Africa. At the ‘Wits Spring Festival’ held at the University of Witwatersrand in 1991, he autographed for me his *CULTURAL forces in world politics*. James Currey and Heinemann, 1990. He also autographed my collection of his books.

It was only in the latter half of 1995 when he came to address the opening of The Foundation for Global Dialogue (one of the Co-publishers of *The Mazruiana Collection*), that I suggested to him my compiling an annotated bibliography of his works. His response, “give it a try, but bear in mind that an East African librarian did attempt this but could not keep pace with my publication output!” I came to realise this when I started doing the actual literature search on Mazruiana!

I have outlined in detail the various factors that contributed to my taking an interest in Ali A. Mazrui - the man and his works. Compiling an annotated bibliography on a specific individual, in contrast to various thematic bibliographical studies, an intense labour of love, but one that was well worth the effort. As his Deputy Director Professor Robert L. Ostergard Jr states in his review of *The Mazruiana Collection*, ‘Few figures in political science have produced a lifetime of work that would warrant cataloguing into a reference book. Ali A. Mazrui is one of those few... he (Bemath) has produced a valuable resource for those interested in the ideas of a man who helped shape African scholarship in the twentieth century.’ As one scholar put it, “*The Mazruiana Collection* ...a major accomplishment in African bibliographic work.” These comments underline the importance of a bibliographic study of Ali A. Mazrui’s works, and its contribution to scholastic research on Africa and to the students of Mazruiana.

A week or two after this meeting I received his 54 page long Comprehensive Curriculum Vitae, dated July 1995, from his office at the State University of New York, Binghamton,

where he is Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities and Director of its Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS). This CV is divided into a number of sections. A section outlines his family history, academic qualifications, followed by a section outlining his present university appointments. This is followed by his general professional experience starting from 1963 as a lecturer in political science at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, and also membership of editorial boards of about a dozen academic journals in Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The next section deals with his actual publications list (PL). This PL is divided into four sections: his books, pamphlet articles, major academic articles and magazine articles covering the period 1962 to July 1995. Following this PL are sections covering Mazrui's honours, awards, tributes, fellowships and grants; membership of editorial and advisory boards; Committee Services; visiting professorships; select radio, television interviews and assignments. Finally, the document concludes with his television awards for his nine-part television series: *'The Africans: A Triple Heritage'* and book awards for the print version.

This extensive CV is a bibliographer's dream in that it facilitates research into his writings, an excellent source for tracing and retrieval of Mazruiana. Professor Mazrui indicated to me that prior to the 1980s he compiled this PL himself, and since then it continues to be updated by graduate students as part of their academic duties. The late Omari H. Kokole, was Deputy Director of the IGCS and was also involved in updating Mazrui's PL.

Despite my familiarity with his books over the years, this extensive PL of his publications in major academic journals, astounded me and indicated to me the formidable challenge I faced in compiling this bibliography. A daunting task, to say the least, considering Mazrui's prolific publication output!

*Excerpts from my essay: In Search of Mazruiana that appeared in the book edited by Parviz Morewedge entitled, *The Scholar between thought and experience: a biographical festschrift in honour of Ali A. Mazrui*. Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Global Publications, Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York, 2001, pp.33-62. In this essay I elaborate on the actual literature search process involved in compiling *The Mazruiana Collection*.

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A special thanks to the late John Morrison, former librarian at the South African Institute of Race Relations who introduced me to the world of bibliographies.

Other facilitators of Professor Mazrui's articles are acknowledged in the articles concerned.

NEW SELECT THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALI A. MAZRUI WRITINGS

Various themes and debates on the writings of Ali A. Mazrui are covered by Al' Amin M. Mazrui and Willy M. Mutunga in their edited three volumes, *Debating the African Condition: Ali Mazrui and his critics*, Africa World Press, 2003-2013. I have extracted from the main bibliography certain themes in his writings not covered in *Debating the African Condition*, the exception being the issue of *gender*.

I am focussing on ten major themes of his writings and these are: Oil, the Nuclear Debate, Globalisation, the Gender Debate, Mazrui on Language and Literature and its impact on Africa, his views on the Clash of Civilisations debate, Islam-resurgence of, on Barack Obama, the Arab Spring, Turkey.

- A. Petro-Power and Third World Solidarity. A-F entries from The Mazruiana Collection Revisited
- B. Nuclear Proliferation and Global Disarmament
- C. Globalisation Debate
- D. Afro-Gender and Gender Related Issues
- E. Language, Literature and Governance in Black Africa
- F. The Clash of Civilisations Debate
- G. Resurgence of Islam.
- H. Barack Obama
- I. Arab Spring
- J. Turkey

Have detailed below Mazrui's writings on these various themes. The number alongside each entry refers to the entry number of the article in the main bibliography.

A. PETRO-POWER AND THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY

Recent events in the Middle East such as the United States invasion of Iraq the driving force (amongst others) being Iraq's oil resources, the rise and fall of the price of oil and its control by the Saudis, the recent interest of Africa's oil resources by the Americans; are a reflection of the importance of this commodity in world politics. That this power of oil is a major contributory factor in the rise and influence of the Islamic world and how this has impacted on the relations between Africa and the Arab world.

Mazrui has covered these themes in his writings the period of the 1970-1980s. And have detailed below his major writings on this theme.

4. African Institutions: challenges to political, social and economic foundations of Africa's development by Ali A. Mazrui and Francis Wiafe-Amoako. Rowman & Littlefield, 2015. 196 pages
5. RESURGENT Islam and the politics of identity. Edited by Ramzi Badran and Thomas Uthup. Newcastle upon Tyne (UK): Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014. ix, 190p,
38. EVALUATING the Obama Presidency: African and Muslim perspectives. Paper presented at the University of Pretoria, November 9, 2012. Hosted by the Water Research Commission. Binghamton University: IGCS, October 2012, 31 pages.
39. WATER in a Triple Heritage perspective: indigenous, Islamic and Western legacies. Paper presented at a conference on "Fresh Water Governance for sustainable Development" hosted by the Water Research Commission, South Africa, November, 5-7, 2012. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012. 18 pages.
41. POLITICAL Islam: piety, patriarchy and petroleum: African and comparative experience. Prepared for presentation at the Summer Institute for Scholars on "Good Governance in Islam: Classical and Contemporary Approaches," sponsored by the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon, Virginia, July 2012. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2012. 23 pages.
50. IS this Pakistanism in Sudan? The Guardian newspaper(UK), February 9, 2011, 3 pages

B. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND GLOBAL DISARMAMENT

This has been a major theme in his writings since his 1979 Reith Lectures where he called for a nuclear proliferation of developing nations as a step towards global disarmament. That by having nuclear capability these third world countries can flex their military muscle vis-à-vis the West and act as deterrence. His views on this topic were explored in the Canadian based Vision TV panel discussion as detailed below.

2. GROWING up in a shrinking world: how politics, culture and the nuclear age defined the biography of Ali A. Mazrui. Edited by D. Ndirangu Wachanga. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2017. 323 pages

14. The POLITICS of war and the culture of violence: North-South essays. Edited by Seifudein Adem and Abdul S. Bemath. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2008. Xiv, 320 pages
15. EURO-Jews and Afro-Arabs. The great Semitic divergence in world history. Edited by Seifudein Adem. Lanham, Maryland, USA: University Press of America, 2008. vii, 468 pages
38. EVALUATING the Obama Presidency: African and Muslim perspectives. Paper presented at the University of Pretoria, November 9, 2012. Hosted by the Water Research Institute Commission. Binghamton University: IGCS, October 2012. 31 Pages
40. FIGHTING evil from Nuremberg to Guantanamo: double standards in global justice. Binghamton University, IGCS, 2012. 7 pages
63. NKRUMAH, Obama and twentieth century warfare. Daily Monitor, August 10, 2009 and USA-Africa Dialogue Series edited by Toyin Falola, August 10, 2009. 3 pages
115. The Journal of Oromo Studies (A publication of the Oromo Studies Association) Volume 16, Number 1, March 2009.
122. Ali A. Mazrui, the futurologist. Pambazuka.org. October 23, 2014. 3 pages.

C. **GLOBALISATION DEBATE**

This is a recent theme in his post 1997 writings and relates the impact of this globalisation process on the relationship between Islam and the West, on Africa, on cross-cultural values, on language and gender, to name a few themes on this topic. Mazrui states that although the term 'globalisation' is new, the forces which have been creating it, have been going on for centuries. A useful reader on Global Africanity is his: *The AFRICAN Predicament and the American Experience: A Tale of Two Edens*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. Xvi, 120p. This monograph is his, *The McMillan-STEWART LECTURES 2000* and annotated below.

Studies Quarterly, vol. 21, no. 3, Summer 1999, pp.97-109.

13. GLOBALIZATION and civilization: are they forces in conflict? Edited by Ali A. Mazrui, Patrick M. Dikirr and Shalahudin Kafrawi. New York: Global Scholarly Publications, 2008. X, 412 pages.
33. Ibn Khaldun modernised: between nationalism and globalization. Paper for presentation in Istanbul, Turkey, September 2013. Binghamton University (IGCS) 2013. 14 pages.
67. CAN globalization be contained? *Africa Quarterly* (Indian Journal of African Studies) vol. 48, no. 4, November 2008-January 2009, pages 49-55.

89. The RE-INVENTION of Africa: Edward Said, V.Y. Mudimbe, and beyond. *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 36, no. 3, Fall 2005, pp. 68-82.
101. VALSE aanspraak op universalisme-Westerse cultuur in het tijdperk van mondialisering (False claim to universalism-Western culture in the age of globalisation) *Eutopia*, no. 9, December 2004, pages 39-57.
119. Adem, Seifudein. Tribute. Ali A Mazrui: a great man, a great scholar. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 36, no.4, 2015, pages 792-801.

D. AFRO-GENDER AND GENDER RELATED ISSUES

Mazrui on gender has been covered in Volume one of *Debating the African Condition...* There is also the essay by Roberta Ann Dunbar, *Culture, Religion, and Women's Fate: Africa's Triple Heritage* and Ali Mazrui's writings on Gender and African Women. IN: *Power, Politics, and the African Condition: Collected Essays of Ali A. Mazrui*, edited by Robert L. Ostergard, Jr. Ricardo Renē Laremont, and Fouad Kalouche. Africa World Press, 2004, pp.431-452. There is also the forthcoming edited work by Etin Anwar. Entry no. 48 on Afro-Gender annotated below is not covered in the works by Dunbar and Ostergard, et.al. One can note from the annotations below that he has written extensively on gender related issues from the 1960s.

6. The POLITICS of gender and the culture of sexuality: Western, Islamic and African perspectives. Edited by Etin Anwar. Lanham, Maryland (USA): University Press of America, 2014. Xx, 350 pages.
56. Is GOVERNANCE in Africa democratisable? Lecture delivered at the World Bank, May 24, 2010. Binghamton University (IGCS), 2010. 19 pages.

E. LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND GOVERNANCE IN BLACK AFRICA

This is a major theme in his writings and with his nephew Al'Amin M. Mazrui, has Co-authored several books and essays on the role of language in shaping the emerging African political culture.

As Professor Mohamed Bakari succinctly states in his essay, *Ali Mazrui's political sociology of language*, 'no other political scientist writing on the interplay between language and politics in Africa can claim the same originality of thought as Ali A. Mazrui', IN: *Power, Politics, and the African Condition*, edited by Robert L., Ricardo Renē Laremont and Fouad Kalouche. Africa World Press, 2004, pp.411-429.

1. BLACK Orwell: essays on the scholarship of Ali A. Mazrui edited by Seifudein Adem and Kimani Njogu. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2018. 329 pages.
25. THINKS fall apart revisited-the poetry and the prose. Chinua Achebe: tributes and reflections, edited by Nana Ayebia Clarke and James Curry. Oxfordshire (UK): Ayebia Clarke Publishing Ltd. Pages 187-191.

27. Foreword. HUMAN security and Sierra Leone's post-conflict development by Francis Wiafe-Amoako. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2014, p. ix-xi.
65. BARACK Obama-between race and civilization. Islamic Horizons, vol. 38, no.1, January-February 2009, 5 pages.
119. Adem, Seifudein. Tribute. Ali A. Mazrui: a great man, a great scholar. Third World Quarterly, vol. 36, no. 4, 2015, pages 792-801.

F. THE CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS DEBATE

Mazrui discusses the debate on 'Civilisations in Conflict' as in the writings of Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama. Poses the question whether the world is witnessing a *Clash of Civilisations* between the United States of America and its allies Israel and Britain against Muslim countries and the Islamic world-a new hot war of religion succeeding the old Cold War of ideology?

1. The End of history and the last man. London (UK) Penguin, 1992. 418 pages.
2. Fukuyama, Francis. POLITICAL order and political decay: from the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy. Published Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Year of publication?
3. The ORIGINS of political order: from prehuman times to the French revolution. Publisher: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Year of publication?
4. ANARCHY, order and power in world politics: a comparative analysis by Seifudein Adem. Aldershot, Hampshire (UK): Ashgate, 2002. 182 pages.

G. RESURGENCE OF ISLAM

5. RESURGENT Islam and the politics of identity. Edited by Ramzi Badran and Thomas Uthup. Newcastle upon Tyne (UK): Cambridge Scholars, 2014.
17. ISLAM between globalization and counterterrorism Edited by Shalahudin Kafrawi, Al'Amin M. Mazrui and Ruzimaa Sebuharara. Trenton, N.J: Africa World Press and Oxford: James Currey, 2006.
55. A MUSLIM century-myth or reality? In search of modern pillars of wisdom. Paper delivered in Putrajaya, Malaysia, May 18, 2010 under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Malaysia. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2010, 37 pages...

H. BARACK OBAMA

24. Afro-optimism from Mahatma Gandhi to Barack Obama: a tale of two prophesies. The Global Obama: crossroads of leadership in the 21st century, edited by Dinesh Sharma and Uwe P. Gielen. New York: Routledge, 2014, page 89-99...

38. Evaluating the Obama presidency: African and Muslim perspectives. Paper presented at the University of Pretoria, November 9, 2012. Hosted by the Water Research Commission. Binghamton University: IGCS, October 2012. 31 pages....
62. BARACK Obama: between the Muslim crescent and the star-spangled banner. Presidential address at a joint IGCS and Association of Muslim Social Scientists of America Symposium: The Obama Administration and US Relations with the Muslim world. *American Journal of Islamic Social Scientists*, vol. 25, no. 4, Fall 2009, pages 151-156
63. Nkrumah, Obama and twentieth century warfare. Daily Monitor, August 10, 2009 and USA-Africa Dialogue Series edited by Toyin Falola, August 10, 2009 3 pages....
65. Barack Obama-between race and civilization. *Islamic Horizons*, vol. 38, no. 1, January-February 2009, 5 pages....
- 154 A great man, not yet a great president. *IOL NEWS* (www.iol.co.za), November 11, 2012.

I. ARAB SPRING

43. Between the Arab Spring and the African awakening. An Afro-Arab renaissance. Binghamton University (IGCS, 2012. 7 pages...
109. Nelson Mandela Foundation in Conversation with series to Commemorate Nelson Mandela 90th birthday March 2008. USA-Africa Dialogue series edited by Toyin Falola, March 31, 2008 and a sjrtened version in South Africa's *City Press* newspaper, March 30, 2008. 10 pages. Tararkington in conversation with Ali Mazrui around issues concerning Israel, Palestine and United States forein policy to the Muslim world and pro-Israel stand.
110. Tanoukhi, Nirvana. Arab Spring and the future of leadership in North Africa. An interview with Ali A. Mazrui. *Transition*, no. 106, 2011, pages 148-162.

J. TURKEY

33. Ibn Khaldun modernized: between nationalism and globalization. Paper for presentation in Istanbul, Turkey, September 2013. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2013, 14 pages....
34. The Arab awakening and the Turkish unrest. Part of presentation at the International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon, Virginia, July 1, 2013. Binghamton University: IGCS, 2013. 13 pages....
36. CIVILISATION and the quest for creative synthesis: between a global Dr. Jekyll and a global Mr. Hyde. Civilisation and values: open civilization-Istanbul approach, edited by

Recep Şentürk. Istanbul: Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, 2013, pages 41-52. Keynote address to the conference on “Civilization and Values”, sponsored by the Institute for the Alliance of Civilizations and the Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul, Turkey, December 18, 2010 ...

37. Atatürk in Africa and Arabia: should Turkey join the new scramble for global influence? Civilization and values: open civilization-Istanbul approach, edited by Recep Şentürk. Istanbul: Istanbul Chamber of Commerce, 2013, pp. 293-313.

MAJOR WORKS ON ALI A. MAZRUI

There are numerous publications about Ali A. Mazrui and his works. I have cited only major works about him and his Annual Mazrui Newsletter (now in its 27th edition) and Annual Report is an extremely useful biographical and bibliographical source in tracing his activities, conferences presentations, publications, travels and experiences. The major writings about him are listed below.

There have been seventeen world-wide Memorial Seminars and twelve Symposiums dedicated to him since his passing away in 2014. Various seminars have been held about him and his works. There was the panel discussion on Mazruiana held at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Seattle, Washington, November 1992 and published as *The Global African...* listed above. Another seminar coincided with his 70th birthday held at Binghamton, February 14-15, 2003. Entitled: *Africa's Triple Heritage Revisited. A Symposium in Honour of the Scholarship and Life's Work of Dr Ali A. Mazrui*. I participated at this symposium panel discussion, Between Islam and the West (on Africa). A seminar was held at the 14th Biennial Congress of the African Association of Political Science, Durban, South Africa, June 2003. Entitled: *Ali Mazrui and the study of Africa: visionary or vacuous?* I spoke about *The Mazruiana Collection* at this seminar.

There are five biographical Festschrifts and these are: *BLACK Orwell: essays on the scholarship of Ali A. Mazrui*. Trenton, New Jersey, Africa World Press, 2018. I have a chapter entitled, *Ali Mazrui: An annotated bibliography, 2003-2017*; Perspectives on culture and globalization: *The INTELLECTUAL Legacy of Ali A. Mazrui* edited by Kimani Njogu and Seifudein Ade. Nairobi, Kenya: Twaweza Communications, 2017. My essay is entitled, *Ali Mazrui: an anecdotal essay*. The fifth Festschrift is titled, *PUBLIC intellectuals and the politics of global Africa: Essays in honour of Ali A. Mazrui*, Edited by Seifudein Adem London: Adonis & Abbey, 2011 My chapter is titled, *In search of Mazruiana: tracing the writings of Ali A. Mazrui, 1962-2003*; the other festschrift are- *The SCHOLAR between thought and experience: a biographical Festschrift in honour of Ali A. Mazrui*, edited by Parviz Morewedge. Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, 2001. My chapter is entitled: 'In search of Mazruiana' and covers the literature search involved in tracing of the first edition of this bibliography: *The Mazruiana Collection*. The other biographical sketch is, *The GLOBAL African: a portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, edited by Omari H. Kokole. Africa World Press, 1998. This Festschrift is a collection of papers first presented at four panel discussions on Mazruiana held at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Seattle, Washington, November 1992.

Kokole's, Ali A. Mazrui (24 February 1933-), *TWENTIETH-CENTURY Caribbean and Black African writers*. Second Series. Edited by Bernth Lindfors and Reinhard Sander. Detroit and London: Gale Research Inc, 1993 (Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 125), pp. 82-88 is another selected biographical and bibliographical sketch. The focus of this paper is Mazrui's fascination with paradoxes, contradictions and analogies, his eclectic style of writing and publication output, his emphasis on political culture rather than political science, and his capacity for generating debate and controversy in his writings. Other biographical sketches are: *The MULTIPLE Mazrui: scholar, ideologue, philosopher and artist*, compiled by Chaly Sawere. New York, USA: The Society for the Study of Islamic Philosophy and Science, 1992. 28p. Chaly Sawere is a collective pseudonym of a group of biographers who have put this biographical sketch together in anticipation of his 60th birthday. *Ali A. Mazrui: the man and his works*, by Sulayman S Nyang. Lawrenceville, VA: Brunswick Publishing

Company, 1981 (The Third World Monograph Series) 40p. This biographical sketch of Mazrui examines his views on African identity, African politics, and cultural engineering. This monograph and a postscript are included in *The Mazruiana Collection*.

There was also the House of Lords tribute to him, *The LIFE and works of Professor Ali Mazrui*. Q-NEWS, July 2000, pp. 20-29, 34. This issue covers the tributes and speeches in honour of him at a special book launch function at the House of Lords, London, June 14, 2000. The book launch was hosted by Lord Ahmed of Rotherham and keynoted by Chief Emeka Anyaoku, former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth.

Professor A.B. Assensoh from the Department of Afro-American Studies, Indiana University, has written a piece on the Mazrui dynasty, *The MAZRUIS (of Mombasa, Kenya) and the Islamic faith in Kenya: an intellectual journey or a commitment?* Paper presented by Professor AB Assensoh at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 14, 1999. 21p. The focus is on the Mazrui dynasty of Mombasa and it has a section on Ali A. Mazrui. Scholars interested on East African history and the Mazrui dynasty in particular, an essential read is the book written by Mazrui's father, *The History of the Mazru'i dynasty of Mombasa*, by, Shaykh Al-Amin Bin 'Ali Al Mazru'i, translated and annotated by J. McL. Ritchie. Published for The British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1995.

Chudi Uwazurike and Aba Sackeyfio cover biographical sketches based on his Annual Newsletter in, *ONE year in the life of Ali Mazrui*. African Profiles USA, May-June 1997, pp.11-17 profiles his activities as based on his 1996 Annual Newsletter, and in, *WHO is afraid of Ali Mazrui? One year in the life of Africa's no. 1 global scholar*, by Akeh-Ugah Ufumaka Jr. African Profiles International, April-May, 1994, pp.55-57. This article profiles his activities for the year 1993 and his views on slavery and reparations.

The first comprehensive bibliographical sketch is my, *The MAZRUIANA Collection. A comprehensive annotated bibliography of the published works of Ali A. Mazrui, 1962-1997*. Compiled by Abdul Samed Bemath. New Delhi, India: Sterling, 1998. xiii, 348p. 514 entries. There are six other co-publishers and they are: Foundation for Global Dialogue-South Africa; AHA-Nigeria; Fountain-Uganda; East African Educational Publishers-Kenya; Africa World Press-USA and Eritrea; Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs-London and Jeddah. Section 1 consists of 24 books, Section 2 has six pamphlets, Section 3 consists of 313 of his major academic articles and papers, Section 4 has 157 magazine articles and Section 5 lists fourteen video and film recordings. There is also an annotated bibliography on media coverage, *ALI Mazrui: articles, criticisms and press reports-1970 to date* (2001), compiled by Kezito Mutahi. Nairobi, Kenya: Kezito Mutahi, 2001. 19p. That covers press reports in mainly East African newspapers.

The first seminal study on Mazrui and the New International Relations is Seifudein Adem's, *PARADIGM lost, paradigm regained: the worldview of Ali A. Mazrui*. Provo, Utah: Global Humanities Press, 2002. University of Tsukuba (Japan) based Adem states that the primary focus of this work is on the political science aspects of Mazrui's works and a seminal contribution to Mazrui's views on what Adem calls the New International Relations. The Reparations debate in his writings is covered in: *BLACK reparations in the era of globalisation*, edited with an introduction and conclusion by Al'Amin M. Mazrui. Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, Institute of Global Cultural Studies, University of Binghamton, 2002.

A selected collection of his essays can be traced in the three volume *Classic authors and text on Africa series*, edited by Toyin Falola. These are: *AFRICANITY redefined. Collected essays of Ali A. Mazrui. Vol.1*, edited by Ricardo Rene Laremont, Tracia L. Seghatolislami, Michael A. Toler and Fouad Kalouche. Africa World Press, 2002. *AFRICA and other civilizations: conquest and counter-conquest. The Collected essays of Ali A. Mazrui, vol. 2*, edited by R.R. Laremont and F. Kalouche. Africa World Press, 2002. The third volume, *Power, politics, and the African Condition*, is edited by Robert L. Ostergard Jr; R.R. Laremont and Fouad Kalouche, Africa World Press, 2004. These three volumes consist of selected thematic writings of Mazrui spanning four decades and each of these has been annotated in my bibliography.

Mazrui's 'My life is one long debate' is covered in the three volumes, *DEBATING the African condition: Ali Mazrui and his critics*. Volume 1 and 2, edited by Al'Amin Mazrui and Willy Mutunga. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2003-4. Volume 1: *Race, Gender and Culture Conflict*. Volume 2: *Governance and Leadership*. Volume 3 titled, *BLACK orientalism and Pan-African thought: debating the African condition. Ali Mazrui and his critics*, Edited by Seifudein Adem, Willy Mutunga and Al'Amin M. Mazrui. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2013.

The Islamic side of Mazrui's Triple Heritage is reflected in his *ISLAM between Globalization and Counter-Terrorism*, edited by Shalahudin Kafrawi, Al'Amin M. Mazrui and Ruzima Sebuharara. Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press and Oxford: James Currey, 2004. The Editors state, 'This book represents a sample of the work of Ali Mazrui as a child of Africa's triple heritage who has now gone truly global. His Islamic side is now better represented in both his professional concerns and his commitment to global reform.' Professor Mazrui's books and edited works by others are listed in the bibliography.

ESSAYS ON ALI A. MAZRUI

Essay by Zine Magubane:

Mazrui as Debater: Passion, Power and Polemic in Africanist Scholarship.

Essay by Burjor Avari

Essay by Seifudein Adem:

In Pursuit of Excellence: When Ali A. Mazrui Led the Way.

Essay by Samuel M. Makinda:

Eclecticism as one of the Pillars of Ali A. Mazrui's Intellectual Legacy.

Essay by Etin Anwar:

Mazrui and Gender: On the Question of Methodology.

MAZRUI AS DEBATER: PASSION, POWER, AND POLEMIC IN AFRICANIST SCHOLARSHIP

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Introduction

Throughout his long and illustrious career Ali Mazrui has never shied away from a spirited intellectual exchange. Indeed, over the past decade he has been involved in a series of lively and thought-provoking discussions with his fellow Africanists, ranging from debates over the future of the African university to the issue of Islam on the Continent. In this essay I will explore three sets of debates that Mazrui engaged in with other African scholars over the past decade; the first between Mazrui and Wole Soyinka on documentary representation of Africa; the second between Mazrui and Archie Mafeje on Africa's political future; and the third between Mazrui and William Ochieng on the future of the African University.

Mazrui and Soyinka: The Challenges of Representing Africa on Film

Mazrui has exchanged sharp words with Wole Soyinka twice in his career. Both times their disagreements have centred around the documentary representations of Africa. The first, which occurred in 1991, concerned Mazrui's own series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (BBC 1986). The second, which occurred almost a decade later in 2000, concerned the documentary *Wonders of the African World*, produced by Soyinka's close friend and intellectual protégé, Henry Louis Gates Jr. In the former instance, their disagreement centred on whether or not Mazrui's documentary denigrated traditional African religions while elevating Christianity and Islam. Soyinka charged that although the expressed aim of Mazrui's series was to discuss the triple heritage of Africa, in actuality the series engaged in what he termed "a subtle act of denigration of African 338 339 authentic spirituality" (Mazrui 1991: 165). He further charged the series with being a "lush, expensive, and seductive act of propaganda that should be countered wherever possible" (Soyinka 1991: 179). The crux of Soyinka's criticism was that Mazrui's series, while engaging in superficial rhetorical praise of traditional African societies on the surface, actually, on a more fundamental level, continually subjected these same societies to subtle denigration and abuse. He thus likened Mazrui to "the African rodent that blows soothing air on the wound in the flesh of its human victim after every bite" (Soyinka 1991: 180). Soyinka specifically charged Mazrui's series with having trivialized and misrepresented the meanings of traditional religions, having denigrated the socio-political organization of traditional societies, and having made pre-colonial precepts and social mores the basis of the debilitating corruption and political apathy characteristic of the post-colonial African state. Mazrui's analysis, in Soyinka's view, was nothing short of "racial calumny" with a superficial overlay of "negritudist padding" masquerading as Africanist scholarship (Soyinka 1991: 180).

Mazrui, of course, reacted strongly to Soyinka's critique. He defended the series on the grounds that his intent was to present the three faces/facets of Africa. Thus, the series represented Africa simultaneously as victor — the cradle of civilization with a rich cultural heritage; as a victim — humiliated by European rapacity in the form of the slave trade, the scramble for Africa, and colonialism; and as villain — home to greedy post-colonial rulers, civil war, and the collapse of the African state. He claimed that the series was meant to portray the first of these faces — Africa as victor — as having been strongly conditioned by pre-colonial social formations, particularly indigenous religions. In response to Soyinka's claim that the series denied traditional African culture "substance, depth, and relevance",

Mazrui (1991: 167) pointed out that “the program salutes African indigenous values as the most protective of the African environment — more protective than either Islamic or Euro-Christian mores.” In response to Soyinka’s charge that the series blamed Africa’s current problems on its traditional values and denied pre-colonial cultures any significance for guiding post-colonial Africa out of its political and social morass, Mazrui pointed out that the program “argues that Africa cannot hope to save its ecology unless some of its ancient values are given a new lease on life” (Mazrui 1991: 167). Finally, in response to Soyinka’s charge that the series dismissed African culture and put forth Islam as the foundation for Africa’s future, Mazrui quotes Program 8 of the series, entitled “Clash of Cultures” wherein he stated: “[I]n any fruitful *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited Mazrui as Debater* union of our triple heritage the indigenous legacy must surely be the real foundation” (Mazrui 1991: 167). He further claimed that the series, rather than unduly elevating Islam, called for “the Africanisation of both Christianity and Islam” (Mazrui 1991: 171).

Mazrui further charged that Soyinka had maligned the series by suggesting that it was a thinly disguised attempt at Islamic fundamentalism. Mazrui charged Soyinka with having linked the series with Muammar Qaddafi in a 1988 National Public Radio interview wherein Soyinka allegedly stated: Islam [Qaddafi] declared, was the only authentic African religion. The gratuitous insult offered by his pronouncement to millions of African peoples still faithful to their own authentic religions was clearly lost on him. He was of course acting not much different from yet another alienated African — a historian and intellectual Ali Mazrui who filmed and narrated a television series titled *The Africans* for the Public Television Service of the USA (Mazrui 1992: 137).

Soyinka strongly denied the charge, warning Mazrui to be “more cautious” about quoting edited interviews. He did, however, go on to comment that he had “no apologies whatever to make for decrying the global menace of religious fundamentalism, fanaticism, and general bigotry” while pointing out that “Ali Mazrui’s pronouncements on the affair of Salman Rushdie have demonstrated most clearly on which side he is” (Soyinka 1991: 179). Thus, it appears that whether or not he saw the series as an apologia for Islamic fundamentalism, he nevertheless, accused Mazrui of adhering to a questionable orthodoxy where Islamic fundamentalism was concerned.

Mazrui (1992: 139) responded by clarifying his position on the Rushdie affair, claiming that he was opposed to all forms of capital punishment, and thus opposed to the death penalty passed on Rushdie. Nevertheless, he reiterated his belief that “Rushdie abused Islam and all those who belong to it and that he [had] made millions of dollars out of the anguish of others.” He hastened to add, however, that his denunciation of the contents of *The Satanic Verses* and the content of his series were two separate matters entirely.

The scholars’ disagreements over the status of Islam in the series went far beyond a simple debate about the message of the documentary, however, and included a rather pointed exchange about the “Africanity” of scholars and its impact on their scholarship. Thus, the debate over Islam expanded (some might say degenerated) into a heated exchange over whether or not Soyinka had maligned Mazrui by intimating he was less African because of his Arab heritage. The basis of the argument stemmed from Soyinka’s (1991: 180) charge in the article “Triple Tropes of Trickery” that “*The Africans* was *not* a series made by a black African.” Mazrui responded by accusing Soyinka of having “a long genetic memory and a short factual memory.” Genetic memory, in Mazrui’s account, referring to “the conscious tracing of descent and ancestry for reasons of sentiment, status, or stratification” (Mazrui

1992: 134). In Mazrui's opinion, Soyinka's charge in "Triple Tropes" was no less than an attempt to "dis-Africanise" both the series and its author and he accused Soyinka of being a "champion of racial blood quantification." He went on to point out that not only were some of Africa's greatest leaders and intellectuals of 'mixed' ancestry — including Frantz Fanon, Amílcar Cabral, and Eduardo de Santos, but also that genetics and scholarship have absolutely no relation.

The truth of the matter is that nothing in *The Africans* as a television story has needed to be explained by what percentage of Ali Mazrui's genes were non-African. Similarly, nothing in the works of such great black nationalists as W. E. B. Du Bois and Malcolm X has needed to be interpreted in terms of percentage of Caucasian genes in them. And yet, with all due respect, neither of these great pan-Africanists had as much African blood in them as Mazrui has. Why is Wole Soyinka taking us down this fascist path of racial quantification and genetic explanation? What happened to the Soyinka who exclaimed in a poem published in 1972 ('Ujamaa' from *A Shuttle in the Crypt*): 'Earth is all people'? Soyinka (1991: 180), in turn, denied that his comments were meant to malign Mazrui as an Arab or suggest that he be ashamed of his cultural heritage. "Mazrui is not just culturally Arabised, he is by both blood and vocal identification part Arab. Surely, we who have listened to him proudly speak of his Arab lineage have a right to refer to it in a relevant context.

How does this constitute a prejudice?" He did, however, suggest that the 'Africanness' of Mazrui's scholarship was thrown into question, not by virtue of his genetic heritage, but by virtue of who his financial and intellectual backers were — evidenced by Mazrui's occupying an endowed chair at SUNY-Binghamton named for Albert Schweitzer. Mazrui, in turn, responded by pointing out that the Nobel Prize (which Soyinka was awarded in 1986) had no less a racist history. In Mazrui's own words: Soyinka uses the name of my professorship (Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities) as further evidence that I am not a black African — since Albert Schweitzer was a racist. Soyinka contrasts Schweitzer with the man whose money was used to honour Soyinka with the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Does Soyinka think that racism is the only crime against humanity or the only sin against Africa? The money which Soyinka gratefully received for the Nobel Prize was basically blood money. Alfred Nobel was an arms dealer, merchant of explosives as well as the inventor of dynamite. It is awesome to estimate how many Africans were probably killed by Alfred Nobel's inventions and destructive products.

Mazrui went on to point out that the test of an African scholar's intellectual integrity lay not in the names that graced the fellowships, prizes, or endowed chairs that he held, but rather was better judged by their public pronouncements on the matter. After pointing out that his salary as Albert Schweitzer professor came not from Schweitzer's estate or endowment but from the budget of the state of New York, whereas Soyinka's Nobel Prize "came directly from the blood money of Alfred Nobel's endowment," Mazrui went on to note that whereas he had made public acknowledgment of Schweitzer's racism and the paradox posed by an African scholar occupying a chair in his name, Mazrui had been silent about the Nobel's less than noble history. "[M]y inaugural lecture as Albert Schweitzer Professor before the convocation of the State University of New York at Binghamton was precisely the one that addressed this uglier side of Albert Schweitzer. Did Wole Soyinka's acceptance speech of the Nobel Prize have the courage to address the uglier side of Alfred Nobel?" Mazrui (1992: 142) concluded by accusing Soyinka of having changed from a one-time anti-colonial activist

to an apologist for the West — actively condemning the actions of African tyrants while ignoring equally atrocious violations that occurred in the West.

Wole Soyinka has not seriously criticized the Western political establishment since his early days of anti-colonial youthfulness. He has viciously criticised African tyrants and military rulers. He has gone around the world abusing fellow African writers and intellectuals and demeaning the former heads of state of his own country. But how often does Wole Soyinka point his accusing finger at the Western world as a major culprit of our calamities? He would rather look around Africa and the rest of the Third World for targets of his political wrath — perhaps ranking them in a new racial order, a new chain of being.

Mazrui (1992: 142) concluded that all Africans resident in the West were ‘dis-Africanised’ or ‘alienated’ from their Africanity to some degree, however, “it takes an extraordinary level of alienation for an African to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.”

Thus, we see that the debate over the series was a launching pad for a much wider ranging discussion about the politics of Western patronage of Africanist scholarship, the status of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism in Africa, and the question of what being ‘African’ means. A similar set of issues arose (albeit in a far more acrimonious fashion) when Mazrui and Soyinka debated the merits and demerits of another documentary series on Africa, Henry Louis Gates’ *Wonders of the African World* (PBS 1999). Gates’ series, the first such documentary on Africa since Mazrui’s *The Africans* provoked a storm of controversy (see Magubane and Zeleza 2001; Magubane 2002). Mazrui (2000a: 2) was one of the strongest critics of the series, denouncing it as an example of “Black Orientalism” which he termed a “new Black paradigm, which combines cultural condescension with paternalistic possessiveness and ulterior selectivity.” Soyinka, a long-time friend of Gates, reacted extremely strongly to Mazrui’s critique and used his own review of the series as an opportunity to chastise Mazrui for his comments on Gates and return to his earlier critiques of Mazrui’s own series, *The Africans*. Soyinka (2000: 5) did not mince words, accusing Mazrui, among other things, of being an “academic 007 with a license to libel” and an “ageing minotaur afflicted by muscular dystrophy, thrashing about in a self-created maze of confusions.” In the course of his critique, Soyinka reiterated many of the same accusations he originally made against Mazrui a decade before — that he was an Islamic fundamentalist who, in addition to having supported the attack on Salman Rushdie, had also declared a ‘fatwa’ against Gates; that he was ‘un-African’; and that he denigrated indigenous African beliefs in order to promote Islam.

Soyinka went even further, however, and accused Mazrui of having “a vested interest in the failure of [Gates’] series” because it represented a challenge to his own and, more seriously, of having deliberately endangered Soyinka’s life by having published portions of the 1991/1992 *Transition* debate (wherein Soyinka defended Rushdie) in a prominent and pro-Islamic Nigerian newspaper. Soyinka also took the opportunity to rebut Mazrui’s 1992 accusations that Soyinka was “soft” on the West by pointing to his longstanding commitment to Civil Rights activism in the United States.

Enough of this ‘I am more prepared to criticize the West than you are’ credentials! At the very beginning of the sixties (and much, much earlier for others) some of us, barely out of college, were already in the United States, seeking out our black artist kinfolk embattled for their rights and dignity to demand what help we could offer in their liberation struggle (Soyinka 2000: 11).

Soyinka concluded his attack by insinuating that Mazrui's attack on Gates was motivated not by an honest desire to critically assess the series, but rather, was an attempt to "deflect a background of racial guilt" brought on by the fact that his Arab ancestors "did enrich themselves in the enslavement and merchandising of black peoples" (Soyinka 2000: 12).

Mazrui, never one to retreat from a debate, responded with an equal amount of vigour. After vehemently denying the charge that he had ordered a 'fatwa' against Gates, reminding Soyinka that "Gates and I have been friends without being friendly" (2000b: 8) he then went on to rebut the charge that he had played any part in the reproduction of the *Transition* debate in the Nigerian press. Just as Soyinka had warned him to exercise caution when quoting edited radio interviews, Mazrui reminded his rival that many of the articles he wrote were syndicated and published in different countries without his knowledge and, therefore, "even if there was a 'syndicated' article on Islam in a Nigerian newspaper by Ali Mazrui, it was not specifically written for Nigeria. It follows therefore that your entire charge that I was deliberately fanning sectarian flames in Nigeria falls to the ground! After all the article was written for a global audience and was never targeted at Nigeria" (Mazrui 2000b: 8). Next Mazrui turned to Soyinka's accusation that his shame about his Arab slave-trading ancestors were the root cause of the various 'anti African' intellectual positions he had taken over the years.

I am descended from both slave-owners and slaves. Am I different from Skip Gates? Am I different from half the population of African Americans who have *slave owners* (not just *slaves*) among their ancestors? Am I different from Malcolm X, W. E. B. Du Bois and Martin Luther King Jr.? Each of these had slave owners, as well as slaves, among their ancestors. I do not need Wole Soyinka's stamp of confirmation that I am an African. My identity is in my blood, my ancestry, my history, my commitment, my life (Mazrui 2000b: 11).

Mazrui concluded by suggesting that it was not he that engaged in dubious attacks on intellectual rivals out of feelings of competition and jealousy, but rather, Soyinka who was guilty of such immaturity. Soyinka's initial diatribe against *The Africans*, Mazrui suggested, stemmed from his own feelings of jealousy that, because the series premiered at almost exactly the same time that Soyinka was honoured with the Nobel Prize, Mazrui had 'stolen' some of Soyinka's thunder. "For at least a few months as many people discussed Ali Mazrui's TV series as referred to Soyinka's Nobel Prize. This was intolerable to Soyinka's monopolistic pride, especially since Ali Mazrui was a Muslim. Soyinka did not want to share the limelight even for a few months with an African Muslim" (2000b: 13)!

Although neither scholar was willing to compromise one inch on his intellectual position, nor back off from any of their accusations, each concluded his essay with a call for an end to this intellectual war, not only for the sake of younger scholars, who looked to both of them as mentors, but also because there was far more urgent work that needed to be done on Africa's behalf. Thus Soyinka (2000: 12) concluded his essay by saying: Do stop and take a deep breath, Professor Ali Mazrui. Dry off the phony lather of race indignation. Our continent is burning. Its humility is daily impoverished by bad or indifferent leadership. Its cultures and communities devastated by AIDS. Our peoples could do with a tenth of the energy you have devoted to spreading the gospel of hate against an intellectual colleague and organizing lynch mobs that are reminiscent of the very racial conduct you claim to condemn.

Mazrui, likewise, ended his article with a “plea for reconciliation” and urged “even if you and I cannot be friends, can we at least end this public brawl? I would like to return to the normality which once characterised our relationship. Younger Africans look up to us as intellectual elders. We have lately been disturbing their peace of mind with our quarrels. If you would stop abusing me in public, we could be friends and serve our people better” (2000b: 18). Since their last public debate on the pages of *West Africa Review*, Mazrui and Soyinka have managed to maintain an uneasy truce. Between the 1991 debate in *Transition* and the 2000 debate in *West Africa Review*, however, Mazrui engaged in heated debates with Professor Archie Mafeje in the pages of the *Codesria Bulletin* and Professor William Ochieng in the *Kenyan Daily Nation*. I will examine these debates in the following sections.

The Mazrui-Mafeje Debate: The Meanings Behind ‘Benign’ Recolonisation

The International Herald Tribune of August 1994 published an article by Ali Mazrui entitled “Decaying Parts of Africa Need Benign Colonization.” In the article Mazrui suggested that stronger African states, alongside the United Nations and sympathetic nations in Europe and Asia, might undertake to ‘re-colonise’ their weaker or less-stable brethren. In his own words:

Much of contemporary Africa is in the throes of decay and decomposition. Even the degree of dependent modernisation achieved under colonial rule is being reversed. The successive collapses of the state in one African country after another during the 1990s suggest a once unthinkable solution: recolonisation.

[R]ecolonisation under the banner of humanitarianism is entirely conceivable. Countries like Somalia or Liberia, where central control has entirely disintegrated, invite inevitable intervention to stem the spreading cancer of chaos. The colonisation impulse that is resurfacing, however, is likely to look different this time around. A trusteeship system could be established that is more genuinely international and less Western than under the old guise. Administering powers for the trusteeship territories could come from Africa or Asia, as well as from the rest of the United Nations membership. The ‘white man’s burden’ would in a sense become humanity’s shared burden (Mazrui 1994).

Mazrui’s article generated a storm of controversy. Archie Mafeje, Professor of Anthropology at the American University in Cairo reacted particularly strongly. In his rejoinder, “Benign Recolonization and Malignant Minds in the Service of Imperialism” Mafeje charged Mazrui with being “serviceable to the Americans or the British” — an accusation quite similar to the one Mazrui levelled at Soyinka in 1991 (Mafeje 1995a: 18). He then went on to suggest that Mazrui’s article was written not in the interest of furthering scholarship or enlightening people about Africa, but rather was a cheap ploy to “play up to the Western gallery” (Mazrui 1995a: 19). Although the bulk of Mafeje’s article consisted of a personal attack on Mazrui the Man (which I will not rehash here), rather than a pointed analysis of his article, in the concluding paragraphs he did make some pointed critiques of the position Mazrui took in the *Herald* piece.

He pointed out, for example, that it was under an imperialist ‘trustee system’ such as the one Mazrui proposed, that Patrice Lumumba was murdered. He next pointed to the fact that making Asians a part of this ‘recolonisation’ effort did not take due account of the fact that “the relationship between Asians and Africans still suffers from an unresolved imperialist legacy” (Mafeje 1995a: 19). He also disputed the utility of making nations like Egypt or South Africa “benign sub-imperialist powers” on the Continent, given the fact that

“hegemonic powers are resented or at best treated with suspicion. This is true of South Africa in the SADC region and of Nigeria in ECOWAS” (Mafeje 1995a: 20). The criticisms Mafeje put forward in his opinion piece were reiterated by Said Adejumobi of Lagos State University who called Mazrui’s policy options “dangerous” and his political dream “disquieting” (Adejumobi 1995: 18). Yusuf Bangura of UNRISD likewise agreed that “if the goal of collective self-discipline is a laudable one, the scheme which Mazrui has chosen to operationalize it, unfortunately, has serious limitations” (Bangura 1995: 21). He concluded by expressing his fear that Africa would become a “victim of Mazrui’s colonization program” (Bangura 1995: 23).

Mazrui responded to his critics by further clarifying his position, taking particular care to rebut the claim that he had ever been an intellectual puppet of the Western academic establishment.

My TV series *The Africans* was regarded as ‘anti-Western’ and ‘anti-American’ by powerful forces in the United States. The National Endowment for the Humanities (which had contributed to its funding) condemned *The Africans* as ‘anti-Western’ diatribe and withdrew its name from it. Western media may give me a platform from time to time to express my views. The media may also give a high visibility platform to Edward Said, our Palestinian colleague at Columbia University. Neither Edward Said, nor I, play to the Western gallery. We interpret the world as we see it (Mazrui 1995a: 22).

He then went on to dismiss the idea that the *Herald* piece was an academic publicity stunt, designed to garner attention from the Western media, by placing the idea of recolonisation within the context of his larger body of work, noting it was a concept that had been an integral part of his scholarship since the 1960s. At that time he had used the concept of “self-pacification” to refer to the necessity for Africa to develop “a capacity for effective inter-African control, inter-African pacification, and collective self-discipline” (Mazrui 1995a: 20). Mazrui hastened to add that he was “against the return of European colonialism and the equivalent of Pax Britannica” but that he feared that if Africans did not undertake some form of self-pacification, they would once again be “victims of malevolent colonial force used by others” (Mazrui 1995a: 20). Mazrui countered the idea of Pax Britannica with that of Pax Africana which he defined thus: African countries which are larger and potentially more influential have a special responsibility in a world organized on the basis of nation-states.

There may be occasions when a larger country has to be its brother’s keeper, or even its brother’s guardian. Inter-African pacification can become a form of benevolent self-colonization — a Pax Africana (Mazrui 1995b: 19). Mazrui (1995b: 20) hastened to add that inter-African colonisation should never be considered a permanent state of affairs. “It should happen only in times of desperation ... self-colonisation can only be saved from being malignant if it is not permanent or if it is legitimised by a vote of the colonised people.” He concluded by countering Mafeje’s charge that self-pacification efforts like ECOMOG had failed by pointing to the success of the intervention of the Tanzanian army in Idi Amin’s Uganda in 1979, noting that “the ill trained army of a poor African neighbour was still strong enough to end Amin’s tyranny” (Mazrui 1995a: 21).

Although this debate was more constrained and less vitriolic than the one that occurred between Mazrui and Soyinka, it still included its share of unnecessary name-calling. Mazrui, to his credit, exercised a fair amount of restraint and resisted personally attacking Mafeje, even after Mafeje labelled him with the extremely unfair epithet of “intellectual tourist.”

Mazrui thus concluded the debate by noting that there were “depths of un-professionalism” to which he refused to descend and urged Mafeje to do the same. Mafeje, to his credit, followed up with a response that was far more restrained in tone. In his final rejoinder he expressed his dissatisfaction with the idea of “*Pax Africana*” as being premised on state power rather than people power and pointed out that the failure of ECOMOG could be seen as having partly stemmed from the authoritarianism of the Nigerian contingent. He suggested that the idea of *Pax Africana* might have some utility if it was transformed from a ‘top-down’ militaristic centred solution, to a ‘bottom up’ approach centred on the popular will and democratic participation.

Pax Africana cannot be a matter of individual governments or conspiring presidents deciding, unilaterally, what is good for their neighbours. It must be a collective responsibility including citizens and based on a well-defined code of conduct (Mafeje 1998: 11). He concluded by lamenting the failure of the OAU to have any current relevance to the establishment of a *Pax Africana*, but suggested that Pan-Africanist initiatives and deliberate integration at the regional level were both definite possibilities and had the potential to “create greater scope for participatory democracy than is possible through the ossified structures of the OAU” (Mafeje 1998: 11). To his credit, Mafeje managed to refrain from descending to the level of insults and invective in his final response and, as a result, was able to offer a constructive critique that both expanded upon Mazrui’s views and provided a useful and compelling analysis of Africa’s political past, present, and future.

Mazrui and Ochieng on the Future of the African University

In this final section I will deal with the 1996 debate between Mazrui and William Ochieng, a Kenyan scholar, over the future of the African university. At a lecture to mark the 50th anniversary of the Kenya Fulbright Alumni Association, Ali Mazrui challenged African universities to seek political autonomy from their governments so that they might effectively compete with institutions of higher learning around the globe. He suggested that universities find ways to communicate with governments so that they might make decisions that would lead to improved academic standards. William Ochieng, Principal of Maseno University College in Nairobi, reacted strongly to Mazrui’s comments, claiming that the speech caused him to lose respect for Mazrui. Ochieng (1996: 7) denied that African universities needed to seek greater autonomy from the government, noting that as far as he knew “the only major links between our universities and the Government are at the funding level and the appointment of vice-chancellors.” By Ochieng’s estimation, the main problem facing African universities was not too much government oversight, but rather a lack of funds to buy books and pursue research. He then went on to ask “what wealthy Kenyan scholars in the United States like [Mazrui] were doing to help their home universities. We at Maseno have benefited from book donations from our white friends in America. Which carton of books has Prof Mazrui ever shipped to a Kenyan university?” Ochieng, like Soyinka and Mafeje before him, could not resist mixing a little personal invective in with his academic critique and chided Mazrui for looking “tired” and “old” at the speech. He also (like his forebears) chided Mazrui for having become “more westernised than Westerners” and scoffed that Mazrui “tries to speak better English than the Queen of England.”

To his credit, Mazrui (1996: 16) largely refrained from personally attacking Ochieng, and merely responded to Ochieng’s critique by asking the question, “can the executive headship of a university be a political appointment without compromising the autonomy of the university?” He went on to point out that the poor state of African universities was not due to the poverty of African states, but rather to the mismanagement and misallocation of Africa’s

resources by corrupt civil and military elites. “There is enough money in Africa to give us a sound education system — provided we are prepared to regard education as the fundamental priority which it really is.” Mazrui then went on to suggest that rather than trading invectives in the newspaper, he and Ochieng should debate the topic in an open forum and let their peers be the final judges.

Mazrui’s confidence was no doubt bolstered by the fact that a number of African scholars rushed to his defence immediately following Ochieng’s editorial, criticising not only Ochieng’s views on the relationship between the state and the university in Africa, but also chastising him for having descended to the level of personal insult and rebuke. Professor Ousseina Alidou (1996: 15) of Niger, to quote just one example, agreed with Mazrui that “the general and more current trend in most African countries (Niger included) is that of severe censorship and continued government witch-hunting on dissident academics.” She concurred that the plight of African universities had less to do with the poverty of African societies than the “corrupt African leadership with the collaboration of African ‘intellectual’ opportunists.” Alidou concluded by lamenting that “the type of language used by Prof Ochieng makes one wonder about our sense of mutual respect as decent human beings, and about our understanding of the difference between objective criticism of someone’s intellectual position and obscene attacks against the person.” Similar views were reiterated in five or six letters to the editor of the *Daily Nation* as well as an editorial by Chris Otuma Ongalo (1996: 4) who described how “there is no doubt that there is a direct link between the public universities and the political establishment. Not in development terms but of the latter controlling the former and making sure that it dances to its tune. All this to the detriment of the academic excellence that the university is supposed to stand for.”

Ultimately Professor Ochieng declined Mazrui’s invitation to debate, citing his doubts that the local media would judge him fairly. In light of the overwhelming support that Mazrui received from Kenyan scholars, one wonders if Ochieng was more worried about publicly defending his views in front of his fellow scholars than of what the media might say.

Conclusion: The Pitfalls, Promise, and Perils of Academic Duelling

When a scholar has been around as long as Ali A. Mazrui, they will undoubtedly get into disagreements with their fellows. When a scholar has a wit as acerbic and opinions as strong as those possessed by Mazrui, those disagreements are likely to become quite heated and personal. There is no question that the most distressing and unnecessary attacks in the debates were centred around the issue of ‘Africanity’ and ‘Westernisation’. It is, indeed, a pity that a scholar with as long and distinguished a record as an advocate for Africa as Mazrui has to continually rebut the charge of being ‘Westernised’. Africa’s troubled history, for which no single individual is to blame, has meant that even the most committed Africanist might spend his or her entire life teaching and researching in the West. Furthermore, Africa is home to many cultures, ethnicities, religions, and races — each having equal right to claim the title ‘African.’ It is thus a true pity that the man who popularised the ideal of Africa’s ‘triple heritage’ is continually having his own heritage called into question.

While it is always deeply disappointing to see senior Africanist scholars sink to the levels of mud-slinging, invective, and insult, it is always encouraging to see scholars remain passionate and committed to debating issues of critical importance for Africa’s future. The common thread linking all of these debates is the deep passion that animated the hearts and minds of the debaters. It is clear that what unites all of these scholars is their deep and

abiding desire to see Africa thrive and prosper and the vehemence with which they have defended their respective positions is clearly reflective of that.

Over the past decade we have seen Mazrui locking horns with his fellow Africanists over issues as diverse as religious tolerance in Africa to the future of the African University. Each of these debates has been a lively mix of biting wit, insightful scholarship, and passionate opinion. Mazrui, never afraid to take intellectual risks, showed flashes of true brilliance in each of the debates. His analysis of “Black Orientalism,” for example, was vintage Mazrui — sharp, insightful, and prescient. Even when his analysis was slightly off the mark, as for example his thoughts on ‘recolonisation,’ he still presented a provocative and stimulating argument, which brought out insightful analyses and critiques from his fellow scholars. Indeed, it is this ability to simultaneously bring out both the best and the worst in his opponents that is, perhaps, one of Mazrui’s greatest contributions to Africanist scholarship. It was through his debates with Soyinka and Gates, for example, that the concept of ‘Black Orientalism’ was born. The debate over recolonisation and self-colonisation was immensely productive in terms of scholarship on the options facing African countries in the quest for political stability and economic development.

Likewise, his exchange with Ochieng over the past and future of the African university resulted in a number of interesting ideas and proposals being debated. The vigour of the exchanges further demonstrated that the lack of academic freedom that exists in some African university environments has not successfully snuffed out intellectual life and debate on the Continent. Thus, in the character of Mazrui we have an example of what five decades of committed Africanist scholarship can produce — not only books, papers, and scholarly monographs too numerous to count, but also the passion and ire of one’s fellows, which serves to push them to higher and greater heights of scholarly achievement. Africa and Africanist scholarship has only been the better for it.

ESSAY BY BURJOR AVARI

This book is an eloquent tribute to a modern literary icon of Africa: Ali Mazrui, the political and social philosopher who has perhaps written more in his life than any other African in history. What Boswell was to Dr Johnson in the 18th century, Abdul Bemath is our contemporary guide to the multi-faceted genius of Ali Mazrui. This massive bibliography contains 829 items that not only list just about everything that Mazrui wrote in his lifetime but also elucidates in brilliant little summaries the gist of each item. Abdul Bemath is a scholar of the highest quality: meticulous in his research and wide-ranging in his connections with world's libraries, press offices, publication houses and diplomatic circles. From his humble base in a Johannesburg library he has searched and revealed a vast array of Mazrui's writings between 1962 and his death in 2016. This has been a work of stupendous effort and labour, and scholars and researchers will owe a great debt of gratitude to Abdul Bemath in years to come.

When Ali Mazrui wrote his first public piece in the pages of the Times, London, in 1962, Africa was just emerging out of colonial and imperial dependency and subservience. It was a time of momentous changes in the continent, and young African intellectuals were throbbing with ideas and creativity for the future. Ali Mazrui was the brightest among them; yet, unlike so many who were to move into professions of law, politics or civil service, Ali chose the path of learning and academia. In his first posting at Makerere University in Uganda, then one of Africa's well-known institutions of learning, Mazrui lit up the torch of enlightenment through his perceptive articles, lectures and speeches, stimulating not only young undergraduate minds but numerous sections of the Ugandan and East African populations. A variety of listings of these earlier works are faithfully recorded in this bibliography. It was during his Uganda career that Mazrui reviewed critically some of the policies of two of the most revered African politicians/statesmen of that era: Nkrumah and Nyerere. These two men had done sterling work for their countries, yet Mazrui was bold enough to point out some of their shortcomings, which did not go well with their uncritical followers.

Mazrui's works during the middle period of his life reflect many different dimensions in his thinking: his agony at seeing so many negative things happening in post-colonial Africa, his intense urge to articulate a new and positive reformation in African political thinking and leadership and, above all, his desire to see the best in Africa and her peoples. In works of great range and variety he came to construct a new paradigm in African political thinking and philosophy for the benefit of his students in the USA as well as in Africa. By providing the year by year list of works the Bemath bibliography acts as a signpost to Mazrui's evolving ideas during the most creative period of his life. These works will give the future generations of students of Africa much to think about.

One of the depressing results of the cataclysmic events of September 11, 2001, was the rise of Islamophobic sentiment in the USA, and Mazrui himself partly became the target for those who, on superficial reading of his works on Islam's relations with the Western world and the Muslim predicaments and dilemmas, falsely assumed that he was anti-Western. He was anything but that; in fact, his writings in this later period carry warnings for those in the Islamic world who continue to defend the indefensible and show little imaginations in their dealings with the outside world. Once again, Abdul Bemath has dug out a huge array of works that indicate to us Mazrui's thoughts during the last two decades of his life.

This Mazruiana bibliography has greatly enriched the political and social literature of Africa, and it is my earnest hope that every library in every school, college and university throughout Africa, if not the world, will contain at least one copy on its shelves.

The late Burjor Avari was Visiting Research Fellow in the Department of History at the Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester, UK.

ESSAY BY SEIFUDEIN ADEM

IN PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE: WHEN ALI A. MAZRUI LED THE WAY

An extraordinary tribute by bibliographer Abdul Samed Bemath to an extraordinary scholar Ali A. Mazrui—that is what this majestic volume is. But it is not just a long, comprehensive and up-to-date list of Mazrui’s publications, as important as that is; the volume is also an exhibition of his erudition, his imagination, and his graceful writing style. Bemath’s volume is therefore both an intellectual guide for navigating through Mazrui’s massive supermarket of ideas and an invitation—via its annotations, summaries and outlines—to Mazrui’s stimulating scholarship.

On a different note, it is also tempting for me to say that Bemath’s volume is about *His Majesty* Ali A. Mazrui. I think we could (posthumously) bestow on Mazrui that royal title. He deserves it. After all he expertly wrote, among other things, about the *monarchical* tendency in African political culture; he personally met with *monarchs*; and, perhaps more importantly, he often handled himself like a *monarch*. Furthermore, believe it or not, Mazrui himself had occasionally spoken, half-jokingly of course, about “the enthronement of Mazrui”!ⁱ

On Ali Mazrui and his scholarship, many analytical and celebratory works have been published, both before and after he died (in 2014).ⁱⁱ And he surely deserved them, and more. After reflections on those published works, however, one omission struck me—the omission of Mazrui’s record as a trailblazer. I wish to take a modest step here to fill that gap.ⁱⁱⁱ

I. Ali A. Mazrui was *the first African scholar* to occupy each of the following positions: (a) full professor in any of the humanities in any university in East Africa – beginning in 1965 at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda; (b) full professor of Political Science in any university in East Africa – beginning in 1965 at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda; (c) Dean of Social Sciences in any of the universities in East Africa – from 1966 to 1968 at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda; and (d) Vice-President, International Political Science Association (Headquarters in Paris, France, at the time) from 1968 to 1971. He was also the first young scholar in Africa as a whole to be promoted from Lecturer to full Professor in less than two years – skipping the intermediate ranks of Senior Lecturer and Associate Professor (Reader).

II. On the basis of available records, Ali A. Mazrui was the first African graduate student to publish full-scale scholarly articles in the following professional journals: (a) *The American Political Science Review*, “On the Concept of ‘We are all Africans’”, Vol.57, No.1, 1963; (b) *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, “Edmund Burke and Reflections on the Revolution in the Congo”, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1963; (c) *Political Studies*, “Consent, Colonialism and Sovereignty”, Vol. 11, No. 1, 1963; (d) *International Affairs*, “African Attitudes to the European Economic Community”, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1963; and (e) *International Organization*, “The United Nations and Some African Political Attitudes,” Vol. 18, No.3, 1964. These

journals remain to this day the most prestigious journals of political science and international relations in the English-speaking world.

III. On the basis of available evidence, Ali A. Mazrui was the first African graduate student to be given access to the following high-profile British media: (a) an op-ed article, *The Times*, “Why Does an African Feel African?” (London, UK), 1962; (b) two select radio talks: “The African Innocence” and “The Dress of African Thought” *British Broadcasting Corporation* [BBC], The Third Programme [intended for British intellectual elite], (London, UK), 1963; and (c) chairing radio discussion on British Foreign Policy with Harold Wilson, Leader of the Labour Party and later UK Prime Minister from 1974 to 1976, BBC Overseas Service, 1962.

IV. On available evidence, Ali A. Mazrui was the first African scholar to publish three books within the single year which followed the successful defence of his doctoral thesis at Oxford. The books published were: (a) *Towards a Pax Africana: A Study of Ideology and Ambition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967); (b) *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship* (London: Longman’s and New York: Humanities Press, 1967); and (c) *The Anglo-African Commonwealth: Political Friction and Cultural Fusion* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1967).

V. Ali A. Mazrui was the first African to be invited to Australia to give the Dyason Memorial Lectures and tour the Australian continent. This was Australia’s most distinguished political lecture series which consisted of a lecture tour with extensive media coverage to about half a dozen of Australia’s main cities. The lectures were annual at that time and were administered by the Australian Institute of International Affairs (Sydney and Melbourne). The first Dyason Memorial Lecturer in this distinguished lecture series was the British philosopher Bertrand Russell. Mazrui delivered the lectures in 1972.^{iv}

VI. On available evidence, Ali A. Mazrui was the first African scholar to be appointed both as Fellow of the Centre for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California, and Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace in consecutive years. The two appointments were in two consecutive academic years, 1972–1974. During the same period, Mazrui was appointed Visiting Professor in the Department of Political Science, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Dr Mazrui used his two years in Northern California to complete the following books: (a) *World Culture and the Black Experience* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974); (b) *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda: The Making of a Military Ethnocracy* (Sage Publications, 1975); and (c) *Who are the Afro-Saxons? The Political Sociology of the English Language* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1974).

VII. Ali A. Mazrui was the Senior Representative for Africa within the international team of researchers known as the World Order Models Project (WOMP 1970–1977). The members

of the group met every year in different parts of the world to compare notes about global trends, identify which trends were positive and which negative, and respond with policy recommendations accordingly. Each member of the group was assigned the task of drafting a book which viewed the world from the perspective of his or her own region. Separate books were published that viewed the world from an Indian, Latin American, Middle Eastern, U.S., European, Japanese as well as African perspectives. Ali Mazrui's volume was entitled: *A World Federation of Cultures* (New York: Macmillan/Free Press, 1977). This 508-page volume is Ali Mazrui's most ambitious book. The World Order Models Project was sponsored by the Institute of World Order in New York, and chaired by Professor Saul Mendlovitz of Rutgers University, New Jersey. The other members included Richard Falk of the United States and Yoshikazu Sakamoto of Japan.

VIII. Ali A. Mazrui was editor of the final volume (Volume VIII) of the massive historical project, the UNESCO General History of Africa, whose headquarters was at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris, France. The 1,190-page volume edited by Mazrui was authored by more than a dozen distinguished scholars, and took nearly a decade to complete. Ali Mazrui was the only political scientist entrusted with one of the volumes. All of the other editors were distinguished professional historians or archaeologists. Mazrui served on the International Scientific Committee of this multiple volume UNESCO General History of Africa. Mazrui also served on the Executive Bureau of the Project. Mazrui's own massive volume was entitled, quite simply, *Africa Since 1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Like the other volumes of the project, Mazrui's volume was published simultaneously in English and French, and was later translated also into Arabic. There were abridged editions of the volumes not only in English and French but also in Kiswahili and Hausa.

IX. Ali A. Mazrui was the first African and the first Muslim to be invited by the BBC to deliver the highly prestigious annual radio lectures, named the Reith Lectures, which were named after the Founder Director-General of the BBC, Lord Reith. Mazrui's six lectures were entitled *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis*. A companion book under the same title was published by Cambridge University Press in New York and by Heinemann Educational Books in London, U.K. The companion book has been widely used in college classrooms across the English-speaking world. *The African Condition* was first broadcast in 1979. The BBC Reith Lectures are broadcast on both the world service and the domestic programs. Across the years the Reith Lectures have included multiple Nobel Laureates such as playwright and poet Wole Soyinka of Nigeria. Other historic personalities who gave the BBC Reith Lectures included philosopher Lord Bertrand Russell, philosopher of history Arnold Toynbee, diplomat-historian George F. Kennan, theoretical physicist Stephen Hawking, historian Niall Ferguson, economist Jeffrey Sachs, sociologist Anthony Giddens, literary critic Edward Said, philosopher John Searle and theoretical physicist Robert Oppenheimer. The first Reith Lectures about Africa were given by Mazrui's Oxford tutor, Dame Margery Perham. Her lectures were entitled *The Colonial Reckoning* (1961) which coincided with Mazrui's own years at Oxford as a student.

X. Ali A. Mazrui was the first African to make and narrate a major international television series, shown in dozens of countries and translated into several languages. When the TV series was first shown in 1986, it triggered a national debate in the United States and, to a lesser extent, in the United Kingdom. The Mazrui television series was sponsored and financed by both the BBC and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) of the United States. The title of the TV series was *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, and was first televised in 1986 in Britain. Since then *The Africans* has been shown in dozens of countries, and translated into several languages, and been utilized in classrooms on campuses across the English-speaking world. It is now available in videos and DVDs. *The Africans* was filmed in about twenty countries in Africa and in France, Great Britain and the United States. The filming was done mainly by the BBC, helped by the PBS and the Nigerian Television Authority. The TV project cost about four million dollars in all. The theme was that contemporary Africa was a convergence and synthesis of three civilizations—Africanity, Islam and the West. There were high-profile admirers and high-profile critics of *The Africans*, ranging from Nelson Mandela, Kenneth Kaunda, Kofi Annan, John Kerry, Edward Said and Samuel Huntington to Wole Soyinka, David Horowitz and Charles Krauthammer. The heading of Mazrui's obituary by Douglas Martin in *The New York Times*, too, was a testament to Mazrui's capacity to educate and provoke at all levels: "Ali Mazrui, Scholar of Africa Who Divided US Audiences, Dies at 81."^v

XI. Ali A. Mazrui was appointed in 1989 as the first African and the first Muslim Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities in the State of New York. This Chair, New York's most prestigious academic award,^{vi} was established in 1964 by the late Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, in the 1960s, following the death of the Nobel Prize winner, Albert Schweitzer, in 1965. The Chair was awarded by the Department of Education in Albany competitively to one university within the State of New York which could provide additional research support for the successful candidate. Mazrui was personally encouraged by many people, including by the then Governor of New York, Mario Cuomo, to leave the University of Michigan to accept the Schweitzer Chair at Binghamton University, after the Binghamton campus of the State University of New York made a bid for the Chair with Ali Mazrui as their candidate. In support of the Schweitzer Chair, Binghamton created the Institute of Global Cultural Studies, with Ali Mazrui as its Director. The first Albert Schweitzer Chair was Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Another holder of the Chair was Marshall McLuhan.

XII. Ali A. Mazrui was the first Black person to be appointed Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. The appointments are honorific and each is occupied for six years. The person appointed was at that time expected to visit Cornell once every semester, deliver two or more public lectures, and be accessible to both graduate and undergraduate students. The professor would then return to his or her regular university until the following semester when he or she was due to make another visit to Cornell. Other Andrew D. White Professors-at-Large included journalist Raymond Aaron, economist Kenneth Boulding, philosopher Jacques Derrida, historian Eric Hobsbawm, Islamist Bernard Lewis, novelist Toni Morrison, social anthropologist Chie Nakane, economist Amartya Sen and political scientist Theda Skocpol. Ali Mazrui's Andrew D. White Professorship-at-Large lasted from 1986 to 1992. When it ended, Mazrui became the first Andrew D. White

Professor-at-Large to be made emeritus. Cornell also appointed him Senior Scholar in Africana Studies with effect from 1992. He continued at Cornell in that capacity until 2012.

XIII. Ali A. Mazrui was appointed the very first Walter Rodney Distinguished Professor at the University of Guyana, Georgetown, Guyana, South America. The Chair was created by the Head of State of Guyana in memory of the late Walter Rodney, a distinguished Guyanese historian, who was assassinated about a decade earlier. Mazrui was approached by the Office of the Head of State Cheddi Jagan. By the time Mazrui went to Guyana it was Janet Jagan, the widow, who had become Head of State. Mazrui gave public lectures not just on campus in Georgetown, but also to other audiences in the country as a whole. He was also honoured by both the President of the country and by the Prime Minister.

XIV. Ali A. Mazrui was elected the first Muslim President of the African Studies Association (ASA) of the United States, and one of the first Africans to lead this organization. He was ASA President from 1979 to 1980. ASA is the most important Africanist organization in the United States and the largest association of Africanists in the world, whose annual meetings are attended by hundreds of scholars working on Africa. It publishes scholarly journals, and awards annual prizes for excellence in African studies. As former president, Ali Mazrui subsequently managed to raise \$50,000 for ASA from the Nigerian Chief Moshood Abiola. This became part of an endowment which launched an annual distinguished lecture of the association, named after Chief Abiola. Ali Mazrui was invited by ASA to deliver the very first M.K.O. Abiola Lecture. Chief Abiola himself was elected President of Nigeria, but was prevented by the military from assuming office.

XV. Ali A. Mazrui was elected the very first Chairman of the Centre for the Study of Islam and Democracy, based in Washington, DC. This new organization was designed to promote lectures, conferences and research on the relationship between ancient Islamic values and modern democratic principles. The Centre tried to promote such concerns not just in the United States but also in the Muslim world. The latter effort was mainly through conferences or lectures held in major Muslim cities. Mazrui presided over the Centre for first two years, from 1999 to 2000, a very formative period in the life of any organization.

XVI. Ali A. Mazrui was the founding father of a project to identify the 100 greatest African books of the 20th century. The final list was announced in February of 2002. Mazrui had originally proposed the concept of 100 greatest African books of the 20th century at a Book Festival in Harare, Zimbabwe. Many publishers were in attendance, and they decided to implement Mazrui's proposal. Committees were created to survey the entire corpus of African literature, and evaluate winners in relevant languages. As inventor of the concept, Mazrui's own books were disqualified. But he was given a special role in awarding Prizes to others, including honouring Nelson Mandela for the book he wrote in prison, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1994). The grand ceremony took place in Cape Town, South Africa, in 2003.

XVII. Ali A. Mazrui was invited by the Prime Minister of Malaysia to deliver the very first of special annual distinguished lectures in the capital city of Malaysia in 2010. Ali Mazrui and his wife, Pauline, were received in Malaysia by the then Prime Minister, Najib Razak, and by the preceding Premier, Mahathir Mohamad. Mazrui had been assigned the topic *A Muslim Century: Myth or Reality?* by the Prime Minister's office. Mazrui was to choose the relevant century and write about it. He was to submit the text in advance so that it could be printed for distribution immediately after the delivery. Ali Mazrui fulfilled all the conditions.

XVIII. Special Awards and Honours: a) Mazrui was appointed Chancellor, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Nairobi, Kenya, from 2004 to 2010. He was the first Chancellor of a Kenya University who was not Head of State, and the only Chancellor who was part of the Kenyan Diaspora abroad; b) President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya awarded Mazrui the National Honour of the Order of the Burning Spear, First-Class in 2007; c) President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa awarded Mazrui the National Honour of Grand Companion of Oliver Tambo in a special ceremony in Pretoria in 2007; d) in 2010, President Mwai Kibaki announced the first list of national heroes (Mashuj'aa) of Kenya since independence in 1963. Mazrui was among them; e) in 2005, The Foreign Policy magazine in Washington, DC nominated Ali Mazrui among the 100 greatest public intellectuals alive. Prospect magazine in London supported the nomination; f) in 2007, Ali Mazrui became the first Muslim to deliver the Distinguished Commonwealth Lecture in London, U.K. His topic was "The Power of Language and the Politics of Religion." The lecture was subsequently published in the Oxford-based journal, *The Round Table* Vol. 97, No. 394, 2008. Mazrui's lecture in London was chaired by the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Marlborough House, London, U.K.

In the company of a distinguished class of individuals like the above, Ali A. Mazrui thus pursued a long and colourful career globally, with a rare and original mind to match. In postcolonial Africa, Mazrui was a leader in pursuit of excellence. Quite simply, he was a trailblazer.

About the author:

From 2006 to 2016, Seifudein Adem was in the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS), State University of New York at Binghamton, where, as the Associate Director of IGCS, he was uniquely privileged to work with Professor Ali A. Mazrui. During those 11 years, Dr Adem also served as Professor Mazrui's personal driver between Binghamton and Cornell University. Seifudein Adem currently teaches at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan.

ESSAY BY SAMUEL M. MAKINDA

ECLECTICISM AS ONE OF THE PILLARS OF ALI A. MAZRUI'S INTELLECTUAL LEGACY

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Introduction

This chapter is about two interconnected issues: a theoretical or conceptual framework called “eclecticism” and Ali A. Mazrui’s contribution to it. I examine eclecticism as an innovative and dynamic intellectual tool and what role Mazrui played in its construction and subsequent growth. I argue that while Ali Mazrui’s intellectual achievements have been celebrated, analysed and critiqued widely by both his detractors and admirers, one of his outstanding contributions, that is, eclecticism, has not been closely associated with him. My argument is based on three claims. The first is that from the 1970s, Mazrui’s enormous intellectual output was animated by an inclination towards eclecticism. His publications revolved around the synthesis of various traditions and norms, including a variety of African traditional values, Islamic culture, and Western political thought. This synthesis, which establishes connections among various developments that have been taking place at societal level for many years, falls within eclecticism.

The second claim is that while Mazrui defined eclecticism in an article entitled, “Eclecticism as an ideological alternative: an African perspective” (Mazrui 1976), he did not elaborate on this concept in his subsequent publications. Instead, Mazrui adopted the concept of a “triple heritage” to describe an agenda that he had previously treated under the label “creative eclecticism” in 1976. It is not clear whether he found the term eclecticism unattractive or he was simply more fascinated by the label triple heritage. Whatever the reason, Mazrui failed to nurture eclecticism as an intellectual approach to the point where it would have universal application. Moreover, it is puzzling that Mazrui appears not to have cited the 1976 article in any of his work. A more accurate way of reporting this is that I was unable to find any publication in which he cited this article, but it is possible he cited it in a publication that has not come to my attention.

The third claim is that if Mazrui’s post-1970s publications were stripped of eclecticism, they would appear as isolated pieces of works that lack a coherent intellectual framework. The fulcrum of his research during this period was the synthesis of insights, values and narratives from different traditions. For example, works such as, *The Africans: A triple heritage* (Mazrui 1986) and *The African Condition* (1980), both of which were initially produced for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), can best be explained largely within the framework of Africa’s “triple heritage of values”, which is itself a proxy for eclecticism. As of October 2016, the Google Scholar citation count indicated that Mazrui’s 1976 article on eclecticism had been cited 10 times, whereas *The Africans: A triple heritage* had been cited 740 times and *The African Condition* had been cited 295 times.

Beyond the above claims, this chapter aims at addressing two interrelated questions. Why is eclecticism considered important? And, how significant was Mazrui’s contribution to understanding eclecticism? To tackle these questions, the remaining part of this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides the meanings, significance and history of

eclecticism. The second section discusses Mazrui's contribution to eclecticism through his 1976 article and subsequent publications, most of which were based on the "triple heritage". In the third and final section, I conclude that although Mazrui appears not to have been interested in promoting and elaborating on the concept of eclecticism after his 1976 article, an eclectic epistemology remains one of the pillars of his intellectual legacy.

Meanings, significance and history of eclecticism

Like all social science concepts that have a history, eclecticism does not have a clinical or universally accepted definition. However, in most writings, it is regarded as a process through which scholars combine insights from different research traditions to analyse a given problem. It is an ethic of pluralism, which is basically a defiance of the socio-mental boundaries that have been established by paradigms in our disciplines. For this reason, eclecticism cannot be rigid. It is a dynamic process through which researchers search paradigms for insights to illuminate the issues they intend to investigate. Some scholars refer to "creative" or "analytic" or "principled" eclecticism. Other scholars, such as Kenneth N. Waltz (1959), Michael W. Doyle (1997) and Alexander Wendt (1999), have self-consciously employed an eclectic epistemology without proclaiming it.

The common characteristic of scholars who employ eclecticism, especially in the field of International Relations that I am most familiar with, is their determination to go beyond the boundaries and other constrictions that have been imposed by various research traditions. They believe that social science research traditions are too restrictive and often work to hinder progress in their disciplines. For example, Peter Katzenstein and Rudra Sil (2008: 110-111) argue: "*What we refer to as analytic eclecticism is distinguished by the fact that features of analyses in theories initially embedded in separate research traditions can be separated from their respective foundations, translated meaningfully, and recombined as part of an original permutation of concepts, methods, analytics, and empirics.*" (Emphasis in the original). They believe that eclectic scholarship "can be analytically coherent, intellectually interesting, and responsive to normative concerns and policy debates" (Katzenstein and Sil, 2008: 111). I shall discuss Sil and Katzenstein's contribution to eclecticism later in this section.

In most social science disciplines, supporters of particular research traditions or paradigms and their challengers have one thing in common: they are primarily interested in establishing intellectual hegemony. They often ignore aspects of a phenomenon if it does not fit into their intellectual frameworks. In some cases, they ignore particular subjects because such subjects do not fall within the predetermined theoretical boundaries. However, exponents of eclecticism recognise that the complexity of social, political, and economic issues and phenomena require more than one research tradition. For example, in International Relations, promoters of eclecticism argue that world politics requires more than one research tradition to guide scholars and policy makers, alike. Put differently, eclecticism promotes the view that the intellectual hegemony of one research tradition could be counter-productive because it might result in the poverty of knowledge. Eclecticism also exposes the myth, inaccurately attributed to Thomas Kuhn, that paradigms in social sciences, or International Relations, are incommensurable.

I call the claim of incommensurability in social sciences a myth for several reasons. First, while Kuhn (1962) claimed in his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, that paradigms in "normal" science (meaning natural sciences) were incommensurable, he did not expect this term to apply to research traditions in social sciences. Indeed, Kuhn (1962: 15) appeared hesitant to apply the term "paradigm" to social science research traditions when he stated: "it remains an open question what parts of social science have yet acquired such paradigms at all". To the extent

that Kuhn expressed scepticism about the existence of paradigms in social sciences, it is reasonable to conclude that he did not intend the idea of incommensurability to be applied to the research traditions in social sciences. Second, Kuhn clarified the meaning of commensurability in an essay entitled, “Commensurability, Comparability, Communicability”, in 1982 when he argued that the term incommensurability simply meant that there was no common language between two or more theories. He posited: “The claim that two theories are incommensurable is then the claim that there is no language, neutral or otherwise, into which both theories, conceived as sets of sentences, can be translated without residue or loss” (Kuhn 1996: 36). Kuhn (1996: 36) further argued: “No more in its metaphorical than its literal form does incommensurability imply incomparability”. By so arguing, Kuhn left the space open for eclecticism.

Despite Kuhn’s explanations, there are social scientists who may not have read *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* correctly. Some of these scholars insist that social science, or International Relations, research traditions are incommensurable and, therefore, insights from them should not be combined. Indeed, almost every year I receive referee reports on my articles or research proposals that are strongly opposed to my decision to combine perspectives from different paradigms. While it is difficult to explain why some senior scholars are opposed to eclecticism, it is plausible to argue that they are driven by a sense of fear and insecurity. The way social sciences are taught in some institutions, and the manner in which some senior scholars seek to establish a community of compliant admirers, may hinder junior scholars from adopting eclecticism. The actions of such scholars might stem from a sense of insecurity on the part of both senior and junior researchers. What is needed to alter the thinking of such scholars is an opportunity for them to view eclecticism as a possible alternative to creating knowledge. The only things such scholars will lose are their insecurity and the attendant mental constrictions.

In social sciences, most research traditions have a common language and overlapping epistemological and methodological boundaries. The main differences between these research traditions are based on social, political and normative objectives, which, under favourable circumstances, can be mediated. Indeed, one of the benefits of eclecticism is that it can provide a platform for mediating the competing social and political agendas that underpin social science paradigms.

Interestingly, the first scholar in the field of International Relations to apply eclecticism, Kenneth Waltz, did so before the publication of Kuhn’s book. Waltz (1959), in *Man, the State and War: a theoretical analysis*, applied eclecticism, but he did not describe his approach as eclectic. In this book, he set out to demonstrate that a more satisfactory approach to understanding world politics was to adopt what he called “three images”. The first image focused on how human behaviour, particularly the character of key decision-makers, could impact on world politics. The second image looked at how the internal structures of key states, especially major powers, could affect the course of world politics. And the third image analysed how the character of the international system, particularly anarchy in the international system, could influence the nature of world politics. After applying these three images to provide a richer and more nuanced picture of world politics, Waltz (1959: 230) concluded:

The prescriptions directly derived from a single image are incomplete because they are based upon partial analyses. The partial quality of each image sets up a tension that drives one toward inclusion of the others... One is led to search for the more inclusive nexus of causes...

In the above quotation, Waltz appears to have been frustrated by the boundaries established by research traditions or paradigms and sought to operate above these boundaries. He recognised the

limited capacity of any one research tradition or paradigm to explain world politics adequately. Although he did not use the term “eclecticism”, he engaged in a process, which could be described as self-conscious or principled eclecticism.

While Waltz applied self-conscious eclecticism without naming it, Ali Mazrui (1976) was possibly the first social science scholar to define eclecticism and apply it to the African socio-political landscape. He coined the term “creative eclecticism”, which he explained in terms of synthesising and utilising values from different traditions. Mazrui described eclecticism as “a genius for selectivity, for synthesizing disparate elements, and for ultimate independent growth in the intellectual field” (Mazrui 1976: 465). Unlike Waltz who viewed his approach in terms of the limited capacity of one image to explain the world, Mazrui saw eclecticism primarily in terms of recognising the various cultural, ideological and religious forces that shaped the history and experience of Africa. Mazrui also believed that creative eclecticism was “the only ideological alternative compatible with African autonomy in modern conditions”. In this sense, he viewed eclecticism as a set of ideas that would lead to particular material benefits. There will be a further discussion of Mazrui’s contribution in the next section.

Another contemporary of Ali Mazrui who defined eclecticism and sought to promote it in the analysis of world politics was Susan Strange. While Mazrui explicated eclecticism in relation to the values that shaped Africa’s history and experience, Strange (1991) sought to promote eclecticism as a way of enhancing the newly formed sub-field of International Relations called International Political Economy (IPE). By the late 1980s, Strange was frustrated by the failure of scholars to transcend the three major paradigms in International Relations at the time: realism, liberalism/idealism, and Marxism. Realists were keen to pursue the mercantilist traditions and often emphasised the need for states to control the markets, while liberals promoted the “free” market and competition as a way of enhancing global welfare. On the other hand, Marxists, who were opposed to the free market, saw capitalism as an exploitative system.

In her book, *States and Markets: An introduction to international political economy*, Strange (1988: 16) compared the competing research traditions to “three toy trains on separate tracks, travelling from different starting-points and ending at different (predetermined) destinations, and never crossing each other’s paths”. Consequently, she sought not only to open the field to the concerns and insights of a variety of disciplines and professions, but also to develop “a truly eclectic approach to international political economy” (Strange 1991: 33). In a chapter entitled “An Eclectic Approach”, Strange (1991) argued that the “conventional” way of explaining the International Political Economy through three research traditions was not satisfactory.

Strange (1991: 34) explains that she had three other reasons for taking the eclectic route. The first was that defining “the subject in the conventional way too often meant limiting it, consciously or unconsciously” (Strange 1991: 34). Her second “reason was to introduce into the field a serious discussion of” the ends and means. And the third reason was the need “for some analytical framework that would end the mutual isolation of the three standard paradigms of international relations, which so far had produced only a dialogue of the deaf”. She felt that the field of International Political Economy needed such a formula through which scholars could explain and understand four types of structural power: production structure, financial structure, security structure, and knowledge structure. As with other exponents of eclecticism, Strange’s move towards eclecticism was driven by the failure of any one of the then existing paradigms to provide a broader picture of the international political economy. She sought to transcend the boundaries of the existing paradigms.

It was partly against this background that Michael Doyle (1997), a liberal scholar, embraced epistemological pluralism by analysing conceptions of war and peace from the perspectives of

realism, liberalism and socialism. Similarly, Stephen M. Walt (1998), a realist, declared he recognised the limitations of current research traditions as he claimed: “No single approach can capture all the complexity of contemporary world politics”. He then offered support for eclecticism when he argued: “The ‘complete’ diplomat of the future should remain cognizant of realism’s emphasis on the inescapable role of power, keep liberalism’s awareness of domestic forces in mind, and occasionally reflect on constructivism’s vision for change”. At about the same time, Alexander Wendt published *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999), which was described as “a great work of self-conscious eclecticism” (Makinda 2000a). Wendt used neo-realism, neo-liberalism and constructivism to construct a social theory of international politics. Thus, by the late 1990s, a good number of scholars in the field of International Relations were in agreement that while the proliferation of paradigms had opened up the field to many perspectives, there was a need for reflection, evaluation, and integration. This recognition of the need for cross-paradigm fertilisation helped open space for a more bold advocacy for eclecticism. The earliest scholars to explore this space were Rudra Sil, Peter Katzenstein and myself. In the remaining part of this section, I will discuss Sil and Katzenstein’s approach to eclecticism before explaining mine.

Sil and Katzenstein have done more work than anyone else since the year 2000 to promote, and put in practice, what they have described as “analytic eclecticism”. They call for “the accommodation of eclectic modes of scholarship that trespass deliberately and liberally across competing research traditions with the intention of defining and exploring substantive problems in original, creative ways, selectively drawing upon a variety of existing and emerging research traditions” (Katzenstein and Sil 2008: 110). They emphasise that the goal of eclecticism is not to “subsume or replace” paradigms. Its goal is “to demonstrate the practical relevance of, and substantive connections among, theories and narratives constructed within seemingly discrete and irreconcilable approaches” (Sil and Katzenstein, 2010: 3).

The approach that Sil and Katzenstein have taken highlights at least three important features. The first feature is the capacity to operate across, or to trespass, paradigmatic boundaries. The second feature is the emphasis on the need to shift from paradigm-driven to problem-driven research or scholarship. And the third feature relates to the need to open a dialogue or conversation between academia and the public policy community. Thus, they believe eclecticism will enable scholars to communicate more effectively with the policymakers. Sil and Katzenstein’s (2010: 20) views on eclecticism are encapsulated in the following quotation:

Analytic eclecticism ... does not exist in direct competition with research traditions... Its value-added lies instead in expanding the scope and complexity of questions so as to facilitate a more open-ended analysis that can incorporate the insights of different paradigm-bound theories and relate them to the concerns of policymakers and ordinary actors.

Having shown the evolution of thinking on eclecticism from the 1950s to 2010s, let me describe briefly my own perspectives before I wind up this section. As there are many similarities between Sil and Katzenstein’s views, on one side, and my own views, on the other, I have no need to repeat what I have attributed to them. Suffice it to say that I have previously defined eclecticism in the International Relations field “as a process through which a theorist constructs a coherent analytical approach by utilizing, synthesizing and reflecting on insights from disparate paradigms” (Makinda 2000b: 398). I called this type of approach “principled” or “self-conscious” eclecticism. I stressed that theorists who seek to explore and employ an eclectic

epistemology would need to meet some conditions. “First, they would need to recognise, but at the same time refuse to be confined by, paradigmatic horizons” (Makinda 2000b: 400). I argued that refusal “to be bound by paradigmatic boundaries requires acknowledgement that these socio-mental constructions are not fixed, but contingent” (Makinda 2000b: 4000). I also posited that such theorists need to recognise that balanced growth in the discipline is partly dependent on meta-theoretical reflections, which is the process of evaluation and theorising that takes place above, not within, the discipline’s major paradigms (Makinda 2000a).

It is important at this stage to point out that there could be “genuine” and “false” eclecticists. Genuine eclecticists seriously engage the existing and emerging research traditions before selecting insights from them to apply to the problem they intend to study. False eclecticists, on the other hand, include people who simply declare that they are using eclecticism without first demonstrating that they have engaged existing paradigms and derived particular insights from them.

In recent years, I have gone beyond the Euro-centric research traditions and argued that eclecticism would provide an opportunity for “the incorporation of non-Western traditions into [International Relations] debates” (Makinda 2000b: 399). If we regard eclecticism as an ethic of pluralism, “we should explore the possibilities of pursuing an IR discipline that takes account of the perceptions of us/them, self/other and inside/outside in non-European traditions” (Makinda 2000b: 399). This is part of what Ali Mazrui (1976: 484) described as “vertical cultural integration”. In a field like International Relations, the incorporation of African, Asian and other non-European perspectives is all the more important because the dominant paradigms and their challengers are American, British or European, and they often seek hegemony or domination. For scholars from Africa, Asia or the Middle East, the struggle between the older paradigms and the new ones might appear like a family dispute within the Western dominated discipline. In such a situation, the contenders simply seek to dominate the discourse and academic tools through which the rest of the world should define its identity and interests. Eclecticism, if properly constructed, should provide an opportunity for non-European, including African, perspectives to play a role in shaping the production of knowledge.

Finally, I regard eclecticism as a part of the critical investigation project. One of the primary purposes of the critical investigation project, going back into history, is to challenge hegemony, domination, alienation, and marginalisation. The critical investigation project also seeks to facilitate justice, emancipation and the dismantling of all lines of exclusion. Critical theory, associated with the Frankfurt School and other neo-Marxist traditions, emerged from the critical investigation project. However, once critical theory established itself as one of the competing paradigms with its own boundaries and discourse, it acquired the features of other paradigms, including exclusive practices and hegemonic ambitions. Eclecticism, on the other hand, remains dynamic, inclusive, and emancipatory. Part of its purpose is to point to the limitations of all paradigms, including critical theory. This is why in 2000 I made the following proclamation: “To all IR practitioners I suggest: rise up and embrace eclecticism; you have nothing to lose but your paradigmatic constrictions!” (Makinda 2000b: 400). From this perspective, I regard the version of eclecticism that I subscribe to as the legitimate heir to the critical investigation project. By taking eclecticism in this direction, I believe I have made use of Ali Mazrui’s (1976: 465) claim that eclecticism is a genius “for ultimate independent growth in the intellectual field”.

Mazrui, eclecticism and Africa’s triple heritage

Ali Mazrui adopted eclecticism partly with a view to explaining the multiplicity of influences on Africa’s history and experience. It was to demonstrate that one could not explain the identity of

Africans from a single perspective. Mazrui adopted eclecticism also partly to suggest that Africans did not have to choose one particular path to development. It was intended to illustrate that several ideological approaches were available and Africans were at liberty to derive insights from these ideologies to shape their own future. In doing so, Mazrui sought to remind his fellow Africans of the nature of imperialism and colonialism. In “Eclecticism as an ideological alternative: An African perspective”, Mazrui (1976: 466) claimed that a “critical point to grasp [was] that colonialism was based on both a structure of domination and a structure of damnation”. The structure of domination comprised the entire machinery of colonial control, while the structure of damnation “utilized the sanctions of religious experience as part of the process of obtaining obedience and submission” (Mazrui 1976: 466). Eclecticism was designed to provide a framework to deal with the consequences of these two structures.

Due to my continuing interactions with Mazrui when I was an undergraduate at the University of Nairobi, I had the benefit of receiving from him a draft copy of his article on eclecticism in March 1976. By this time, the article had been accepted for publication by the newly launched journal, *Alternatives*. The article focused on what Mazrui termed “four systems of thought which ... profoundly influenced Africa” in the 20th century (Mazrui 1976: pp. 483-484). These were “the liberal-capitalist system, the complex of nationalism and race consciousness, socialism with special reference to the Marxist tradition, and the resilient forces of traditionalism and primordial values” (Mazrui 1976: p. 484). In the face of these influences, Mazrui (1976: 465) claimed that ideological eclecticism was “the only ideological alternative compatible with African autonomy in modern conditions”. He also suggested other measures, which included “a process of fusion of the multiplicity of domestic subcultures into larger complexes of national and regional cultures” (Mazrui 1976: 484). He also suggested “a new basis of interaction between indigenous cultures and the heritage imported from the outside world” (Mazrui 1976: 484). This would constitute what Mazrui (1976: 484) termed “vertical cultural integration, implying a mobility of African values into world culture as well as an African receptivity to the influence of the global heritage”. Mazrui (1976: 484-5) proclaimed: “Vertical cultural integration implies not merely a relationship between Africa and western civilization, but a relationship between Africa and all major external civilizations – Chinese, Indian, Islamic, and others”. Thus, he conceived eclecticism within the universe of values, norms, cultures, and traditions.

From the late 1970s, Mazrui continued to explore the range of cultures and values that shaped Africa’s past and future, but he appears to have abandoned the concept of eclecticism. In other publications, including *The African Condition* (1980), which was conceived as part of the prestigious British Broadcasting Corporation “Reith Lectures”, Mazrui emphasised Africa’s triple heritage of values. This theme culminated in his British Broadcasting Corporation documentary, “The Africans”, which resulted in a book, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (Mazrui 1986), in which Mazrui described these influences as the three interacting heritages: African traditions, Islamic influence, and Western values. The concept of the triple heritage added enormously to Mazrui’s international reputation, but it also earned him some enemies (Makinda 2005). As Mazrui focused on the triple heritage, he appeared to have collapsed the liberal-capitalist system and the Marxist tradition into one category termed Western or European influences. He also appeared to have collapsed nationalism and race consciousness as well as traditionalism and primordial values into one category of African traditional values.

Mazrui (1976: p. 481) argued that traditionalism “as a system of values is by definition the most African. It mainly implies a continuity with the pre-colonial past, and asserts the primacy of roots”. While many African traditions had experienced the stifling weight of foreign dominance, some of them were resilient and durable. Western influences came through ideas, especially education and Christianity, but they also had a material base, including military technology. In

reference to Africa's rulers who were either well-educated and spoke the European languages fluently or acquired power through military coups, Mazrui (1976: p. 469) observed that "the eligibility as ruler in post-colonial Africa [was] directly dependent on competence in either Europe's heritage of words or Europe's heritage of weapons". The article on eclecticism did not say much about the Islamic heritage, but Mazrui's subsequent publications on the triple heritage emphasised the role of Islam as the third element in the socio-political trilogy.

At a personal level, Mazrui regarded himself as a product of these three influences. Like any other African Muslim growing up in Mombasa, Kenya, the young Mazrui absorbed both African and Islamic values. Moreover, Mazrui's father, Sheikh al-Amin bin Ali al-Mazrui (1891-1947), was the leading Muslim intellectual in East Africa at one time. Yet, Ali Mazrui also received education at some of the leading Western institutions of learning, including the University of Oxford in the UK and Columbia University in the USA. His focus on the triple heritage was part of the continuing process of self-understanding.

It is this self-understanding that, in part, led to his theorising about both eclecticism and the triple heritage. In theorising about eclecticism and the triple heritage, Mazrui saw both material and ideational forces as at work. Although I had several opportunities to ask Mazrui why he abandoned the term eclecticism in apparent preference for the concept of a triple heritage, I never raised the question. It is a question for which we might never get a full answer.

Conclusions

Although Ali Mazrui was possibly the first political scientist to define and utilise eclecticism, he did not adequately promote this concept. Here I would like to distinguish the "concept" of eclecticism from the "processes" that constitute it. Thus, while he may have failed to promote the "term" eclecticism, he did not abandon the "process" that eclecticism represents. Most of Mazrui's publications from the late 1970s applied an eclectic epistemology. In the majority of cases, Mazrui used the term "triple heritage", which, in my view, served as a proxy for eclecticism.

Eclecticism, as defined by Mazrui, need not be limited to ideological engineering or African conditions. To the extent that Mazrui raised issues about domination and damnation, about aggressive dependency and submissive dependency, and about vertical cultural integration as well as horizontal cultural integration in the 1976 article, his view of eclecticism has the potential for universal application. Most of Mazrui's major intellectual output in the last 40 years of his life was based on the synthesis of ideas, values and insights derived from disparate sources. This is why I regard eclecticism as one of the pillars of Mazrui's intellectual legacy.

In a debate that I had with Ali Mazrui in September 2002 entitled "Between Makinda and Mazrui: A reciprocal critique", which was in relation to a chapter I (Makinda 2003) was preparing to publish on him, he argued: "Authors who write a lot run the risk of fluctuating between the profound and the shallow". He further observed that "if the balance between the shallow and the sharp is ultimately on the positive, such an author may be in the tradition of Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin on the Left and Edmund Burke on the Right". In his view, Marx, Lenin and Burke "combined the power of the moment and the profundity of the eternal".

Ali Mazrui's article on eclecticism combined the power of the moment and the profundity of the eternal. It has already been used to explore the possibility of operating above paradigms in International Relations (Makinda 2000a and Makinda 2000b) and other areas of political science.

Indeed, eclecticism has the potential to foster a dialogue between Western-centric perspectives and non-Western contributions to social sciences, something that Mazrui would have applauded.

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ESSAY BY ETIN ANWAR

MAZRUI AND GENDER: ON THE QUESTION OF METHODOLOGY

Etin Anwar

The complexity of the question of gender in Mazrui's writings captures the dynamics of human equality and its peril within the social context in which men and women of different races, nationality, and religions interact. He speaks primarily of African people and the social context in which they interact and how this interaction shapes gender relations. Beyond doubt, however, the way Mazrui formulates the human condition in Africa is also true in some third world countries where males are dominant, while females are subordinate. Embedded in this complicated unequal relationship are the issues of ethnicity, race, class, religion, and politics.

Mazrui's writings on gender not only reflect his remarkable talent to connect seemingly unrelated points, but also his ability to unravel complicated matters. His multiple talent and brilliance lend him a reputation as a scholar, ideologue, philosopher, social scientist, and polemicist. However, his reputation as a theorist of gender and an advocate of women's liberation often makes readers frown. For feminists, Mazrui's works seem to lose touch with women's everyday life in Africa. They may address general readers, but not feminists. While positioning Mazrui as an advocate of women's voices remains controversial, in this writing I will focus on the way in which Mazrui's methodology on gender contributes to the production of knowledge in the field of women's studies.

Mazrui's Theory on Gender: Outsider versus Insider

Mazrui has received less recognition in the field of women's studies, notwithstanding his writings on women and gender¹ Many of his writings in one way or another answer to Kimmel who once posed a question about men: "where are they? Where have they been in women's struggles for equality?"² As Kimmel points out, there are abolitionists, pro-feminists, and supporters of women's equality among celebrated and less celebrated men. Mazrui is among these few celebrated men who have been supportive of women's equality.

¹ See examples: "Phallic Symbols in Politics and War: An African Perspective", *The Journal of African Studies* (Los Angeles) Vol.1 No. 1, (Spring 1974), pp 40-69, "The Poetics of a Transplanted Heart", *Transition* (Kampala, Uganda), Vol. 7, No. 35 (Feb/March 1968) pp.51-9, "Language Planning and Gender Planning," *The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1998), Chapter 6, pp. 85-9; "Monogamy and Descent in Black-White Relations," *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* (New York: The Free Press, 1976) Chapter 5, pp. 81-116; "Gender Roles in Transition", (part of chap. 30 "Towards the Year 2000"), *Africa Since 1935*, Vol. VIII, *UNESCO General History of Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) especially pp. 910-919, "The Economic Woman in Africa," *Finance and Development* (Publication of the World Bank and the IMF, Washington DC) Vol. 29, No. 2, 1992, pp. 42-43, "Gender, Skill and Power: Africa in Search of Transformation", chapter in Jongsuk Chay (ed), *Culture and International Relations*, (New York and Westport, CT, 1990). and "The Black Woman and the Problem of Gender", (Section II on "Gender Debate, Mazrui vs. Ogundipe-Leslie"), *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, ed. O.H. Kokole, (Trenton, New Jersey; Africa World Press, 1998) pp. 225-268.

² Michael Kimmel, "Men and Women's Studies: Promises, Perils, and Promise," in *Women: Images and Reality*, eds. Amy Kesselman, Lily D. McNair, and Nancy Schniedewind (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1999), 25.

Mazrui definitely contributes to the progress of women's studies in the sense that he integrates women's issues into the pursuit of "complete" humanity. Central to human equality is the equal status, interaction, and role of men and women in every aspect of life. Granted, Mazrui does not focus on the anthropological and ethnographical details of women's behaviours, feeling, thought, daily life and experience; instead, he takes women's condition seriously and places it as an integral part of human condition. His theory on gender and women, therefore, cannot depart from his grand theory of the triple heritage, namely Africa, Islam, and the West.

Indeed, Mazrui's greatest contribution to the question of gender is a consistent portrayal of the confluence of Islam, the West, and Indigenous Africa. Growing up in a traditional African Muslim household and reaching maturity in a western household have shaped the way Mazrui theorizes about women's issues. He sees Islam as a liberatory religion in that it offers liberation to people of different background, race, social status and economy as early as seventh century Saudi Arabia. Islam liberates women by introducing equality before God and rights to inheritance, property, education, marriage, divorce, and religious observance.

He further implies the affinity of the Islamic role of women and African indigenous culture in terms of reproduction. His argument of the significant influence of Islam on African women does not accord with a feminist view of African women. Steady argues that even though the patriarchal version of Islam penetrated Africa long before the European colonization, "the impact of Islam on the majority of African women in the diaspora has been minimal."³ For Mazrui, Islam is one of determining factors that shape the female African condition.⁴ One, therefore, immediately sees from this Mazrui's multifaceted analysis when dealing with women's issues.

Interdisciplinary methodology is precisely the nature of women's studies as a literary genre. In the last thirty-five-years, the women's endeavour has been geared to male bias in academic disciplines and addressing the scant resources written by women⁵ into the stage of writing about women's bodies and lives in an attempt to build a novel corpus of knowledge. In this process, women's studies perspectives have made both men and women visible. Men are visible for either their sexist or supportive attitudes. And women are visible for their struggles for equality and their achievements in all aspects of life parallel to men.

In the case of Mazrui, he offers solace to women, but continues to maintain respect for his male cohorts. When talking of sexism, he does not speak of it as a unitary form in that sexism is sexism regardless of how the sexist attitude or institution fits into social, cultural, and political contexts. Mazrui divides sexism into three categories: "benevolent," "benign," and "malignant." He defines benevolent sexism as "a form of discrimination that is protective, or

³ Filomina Chioma Steady, "African Feminism: A Worldwide Perspectives," in *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora*, eds. Rosalyin Terborg-Penn, Sharon Harley, and Andrea Benton Rushing (Washington D.C., Howard University Press, 1987), 10.

⁴ Look at his articles on "Male and Female as an Islamic Dialectic: The Legacy of Ayesha", part of a lecture delivered at Oxford University and sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (Oxford, England, October 1998), "The Black Woman and the Problem of Gender", (Section II on "Gender Debate, Mazrui vs. Ogundipe-Leslie") in *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, ed. O.H. Kokole, (Trenton, New Jersey; Africa World Press, 1998) pp. 225-268.

⁵ Amy Kesselman, Lily D. McNair, and Nancy Schniedewind, "What is Women's Studies," eds. Amy Kesselman, Lily D. McNair, and Nancy Schniedewind (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1999), 10.

generous, towards the otherwise underprivileged gender.”⁶ Being gallant in defence of women, carrying women’s heavy suitcases, paying the restaurant bill, vacating the seat in the crowded bus for women and prioritizing the rescue of women from the sinking ship, are forms of benevolent sexism.

Quite different from benevolent sexism, which shows a male dominant role as a rescuer to the disadvantaged gender, benign sexism “acknowledges gender differences without bestowing sexual advantage or inflicting a gender cost.”⁷ Benign sexism in principle is gender-neutral and is a form of “harmless sexism.”⁸ Naming the baby in a gender-neutral way is an example of benign sexism. However, the harmless nature of benign sexism can variably change depending on the way names are constructed within specific cultures. Mazrui explains that “[w]esternized and Islamized Africans who were traditionally matrilineal are shifting towards patrilinealism in compliance with either Western or Islamic standards.” Both sons and daughters usually receive a masculine family name inherited from their fathers.

Malignant sexism is “the most pervasive and most insidious ... it subjects women to economic manipulation, sexual exploitation, and political marginalization.”⁹ It includes any form of sexism that causes harm and suffering to women. Mazrui adds that “the most fundamental aspects of malignant sexism concern differences in power between men and women, both politically and economically.”¹⁰ This form of sexism is true around the globe in that women are subjected to unequal power relations, the instituted norms and values in their localities, and the political, social, and economic might of men. It comes as no surprise that women relentlessly suffer injustice, inequality, prejudice and discrimination simply because they do not have power within their own family and society.

Central to Mazrui’s theory of gender is the unequal relation between men and women. Women generally accept male benevolent sexist attitude because the existing production of knowledge supports such treatment. Similarly, benign sexism is not quite neutral since certain benign attitude and even naming is appropriated within the male dominated society. It is precisely within this tyrannical mechanism, that women continue to suffer inequality even though they are named with gender-neutral names. In this sense, I would argue that sexism in any form hurts women rather than benefits them.

At any rate, the question is whether or not Mazrui’s paradigm of sexism improves the discourse on sexism? Ogundipe-Leslie answers that¹¹

The paradigm, in fact, draws the discourse backwards while it obscures the crucial fact that sexism is not a joking matter. In other words, it is not a matter of intellectual play. Hierarchizing sexism seems to condone it; it certainly trivializes. All sexism is negative and undesirable because so-called benign and benevolent sexism are often expression of the

⁶ Mazrui, “The Black Woman and the Problem of Gender”, 226.

⁷ Ibid., 228.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 231.

¹⁰ Ibid., 234.

¹¹ Molaria Ogundipe-Leslie, “Beyond Hearsay and Academic Journalism: The Black Women and Ali Mazrui,” in *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, ed. Omari H. Kokole (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1998), 252.

¹¹ Ibid., 250-1.

malignant. “Does not benevolent sexism often merely reinforce the malignantly sexist organization of the society?”

Ogundipe-Leslie’s criticism of Mazrui’s paradigm of sexism stems from her concern that such a perspective will not liberate women if the power relation between men and women is dominated by men. She wants to see a clear-cut discourse on sexism so that benevolent, benign and malignant sexism do not downplay the meaning and the implication of sexism. In her eye, the three kinds of sexism are a form of discrimination; hence, any kind of discrimination—be it malignant, benign, or benevolent—is negative.

Ogundipe-Leslie’s concern of eliminating all kind of discrimination is central to feminists, activists, and feminist minded men. They share the concern of materializing equality in both private and public spheres. Certainly, equality and equal power relations are of concern to Mazrui. He maps his paradigm of sexism in light of that concern. While he does not strongly relate benevolent and benign sexism with men’s abuse of power, he is very aware of the unparalleled power of men over women in malignant sexism. However, this paradigm is, in feminist eyes, too lenient given the fact that he carries within him the power and privilege to advise heads of state and important officials on policy, development, human rights, politics and other issues, including gender issues.

The exchange between Ogundipe-Leslie and Mazrui is precisely what contributes to the discourse on sexism. Mazrui, as a social scientist, draws his paradigm of sexism from the facts available in every walk of life, whereas Ogundipe-Leslie derives her view of sexism from her own life experience as a woman and a black person, who can be subjected to a double discrimination: sexism and racism. The question is whether the two different attitudes in portraying sexism have to do with male-female experience or insider or outsider’s voice. The answer is not as simple as saying male-insider, female insider, male-outsider or female outsider, since both Mazrui and Ogundipe-Leslie ground their vision of sexism within their own perspectives, i.e. social sciences and feminism respectively.

It should be noted that such an exchange makes women’s voices visible. This is precisely the goal of women’s studies, which have been successful in making

women visible through the rediscovery of the long neglected, undervalued, and understudied women who were accomplished leaders, artists, composers, and writers and the ordinary women—the laundresses and the salesgirls, the union maids and the union organizers, the workers and the wives—who have struggled to scratch out of meaning and dignity.¹²

The venture to find the appropriate methods and approaches that convey the long-unspoken women’s experiences and lives emerged along with the development of women’s studies. Similarly, feminism is more accepting and inclusive of differences throughout the globe in so far as it advocates women’s equality, addresses injustice, and liberates women from the shackles of religious, cultural, social, and political oppression. Women challenged not only the way knowledge has been produced, but also the political, social, and cultural apparatus

¹² Kimmel, “Men and Women’s Studies: Promises, Perils, and Promise,” in *Women: Images and Realities*, eds. Amy Kesselman, Lily D. McNair, and Nancy Schniedewind (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1999), 23.

that generate and nurture gender injustice and inequality. It is in this context that women began the venture of creating their own contents of women's studies based on their worldview and experience.

As women's studies emphasize the advantage of learning about women's lives and experience in order to change women's condition,¹³ it is often perceived that a man's voice is overplayed. Men speaking on the power relation in the name of women cannot perceive or understand women's direct experience throughout their life. Thus, men as outsiders miss the experiences that can only be disclosed by women. This experience is not only a matter of living their life as a woman, but also encountering everyday unequal gender relations and power sharing within specific location and culture. Gender as a power is that which Kimmel refers to as the "it" that "men just don't get."¹⁴

Mazrui's work has been categorized as such. Ogundipe-Leslie of Nigeria accused Mazrui's work as being an intervention, that revolves "around conception, perspective, and sociological error; essentialism and reductionism results."¹⁵ In her own words,¹⁶

It is deeply disturbing to see the quest for knowledge about African women thus retrogressed in Ali Mazrui's paper. We African women are fighting for our lives, for our rightful place in the sun, for our inalienable nature-given place in the leaking boats of our African modern states. We are not joking. Reconstructing the archaeology of female gender knowledge should not be reduced to absurdity, intellectual games, or rhetorical play; it should not be a matter for mere academic journalism.

Ogundipe-Leslie regards Mazrui's work as "intellectual disrespect" to Africa, Black people, and women because he writes about gender not from the perspective of "a cultural insider." For instance, "Mazrui's paradox of gender, woman as mother, man as warrior" "is simplistic and reductive because it does not take into consideration the complexity, checks, and gender politics in indigenous culture."¹⁷ For this reason, Ogundipe-Leslie proposes that "knowing and understanding the historical and sociological contexts of one research subjects seem primary—crucial if the scholar is to avoid reduction to superficial and touristic conclusions."¹⁸

Being an outsider to Gender Studies is avoidable if one is a cultural insider to the field. Ogundipe-Leslie argues that a cultural insider¹⁹

...is not biologically constructed. The cultural insider has the epistemological privilege but does not have to be of the female gender. He or she must become a cultural insider through various means: enlightening and enabling research;

¹³ Kesselman, et al, "What is Women's Studies," 8.

¹⁴ Kimmel, "Men and Women's Studies: Promises, Perils, and Promise," 27.

¹⁵ Ogundipe-Leslie, "Beyond Hearsay and Academic Journalism: The Black Women and Ali Mazrui," 252.

¹⁶ Ibid., 252.

¹⁷ Ibid., 254.

¹⁸ Ibid., 257.

¹⁹ Ibid., 256.

showing capability for empathy; understanding, if not taking, the perspectives of one's research subjects; testing the knowledge gained with those who live the culture; living the culture, and learning relevant languages.

Mazrui's works, in Ogundipe-Leslie's account, do not fit the category of a cultural insider. His works on women fail to enlighten about women's lives, experience, and location and to show any empathy with women's suffering and oppression. He does not live the culture of women he is writing about; except for the fact that he visits Africa occasionally for speeches or family. Despite his remote connection to women's oppression and struggles, common people read and listen to his thought and policy makers make use of his ideas on gender. This kind of influence will undermine those women whose life is dedicated to enlighten, support, and empower women.

As a student of Religion and Gender Studies, I have so much "sympathy" for Ogundipe-Leslie's concern for the validity of one's research. The question of "which piece of writing validates human lives, experience, and behaviour" is often challenging. In the study of religion, the primary challenge is to produce works that represent the insider's perspective and the outsiders' task is to interpret these claims in a way that represents the insiders' mind.²⁰ Indeed, researchers may end up interpreting their findings without necessarily complying with the insider's mind due to their agendas, frameworks, and methodologies. But the whole point of researching the religions of others is to sink into the claims and experiences that insider deeply feels in their daily, authentic experience as religious minded people.

Which claim is more objective academically? The insiders or outsiders? Insiders strongly claim that their encounter with religion is authentic, because they have faith as the main constituent of their actions. Yet, their accounts of these encounters are not always easily expressed. On the other hand, researchers are excellent theorists who can be more eloquent in interpreting the insider's mind, but lack of the "taste" of what they actually describe.

This is also true with regard to the issue of the outsider and insider perspective on women. Even though men can be cultural insiders, they remain outsiders to women's biology. In this sense, as a man and a woman have a pertinent biological difference, a man will never be able to 'taste' what it means to be a woman in any given biological structure and culture. Even learned and refined men often do not succeed in expressing and interpreting women's experiences due to the fact that they have been brought up or have cultivated themselves in a way that women live their lives within a specific culture. But being outsider to female bodies, as Ogundipe-Leslie indicates, does not hinder men from advocating gender justice and equality. In fact, men's writing on gender justice is as important as women's scholarship in women's struggle for liberation.

Interpretation on Women's Experience

What is at stake in the production of knowledge is the validity of research outcomes that are approved by and acceptable to the speaking subjects. Having a valid understanding and interpretation of the culture of women, especially other than the researcher's own culture, is

²⁰ An excellent introduction that addresses the insiders and outsiders' controversies can be found in *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion: A Reader*, ed. Russell T. McCutcheon (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), 6.

very challenging. The researcher might be an excellent theorist in their field. However, one's encounter with the culture other than his/her own very much depends on how the author views the dual relations of subject/object, the self/the other, superior/ inferior, modern/backward, civilized/savage, first world/third world, the centre/the marginal, and the West/the East. If the researcher positions himself/herself from the juxtaposition of the subject, the self, the superior, the modern, the civilized, the first world, the centre, and the West, he/she treats the subject matter of his/her research as object, the other that assumes dualism. Despite a variety of methodologies employed, such an approach will not be able to fully interpret the area under discussion, because the method that operates at the level of epistemological production of knowledge assumes the universal inferiority of the culture, the people, the heritage, and the civilization of the other.

The researcher can easily fall into the trap of the universal superiority of his/her own worldview, culture and civilization. There are instances in which Western feminist scholarship on third world women suffers from what Mohanty calls "methodological universalism,"—subscribing to various methodologies that "demonstrate the universal-cross cultural operation of male dominance and female exploitation."²¹ She argues that what constructs the production of knowledge of third world women as a singular and homogeneous group is "the assumption of privilege and ethnocentric universality" coupled with "an inadequate self-consciousness about the effect of Western scholarship on the "third world" in the context of the world dominated by the West."²² The similarity of assumption with regards to the effect of the representation of third world women is so prevalent that

...women are defined as male violence (Fran Hosken); victims of colonial process (Maria Cutrufelli), victims of the Arab familial system (Juliette Minces); victims of the economic development process (Beverly Lindsay and the [liberal] WID school; and finally, victims of *the* Islamic code (Patricia Jeffery).²³

The reductive method of representing African women is not foreign to feminists working on Africa. Cutrufelli, an Italian writer and journalist, in her book *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, promises to

...integrate the various levels of analysis, i.e., the cultural, the economic, the jural, etc, ...to attempt a judicious, general analysis of women's position in African societies. Such a way of approaching the problem allows one to go beyond the ethnographic or merely sociological data and straight to the hearth of the 'feminine question' as a basically political question.²⁴

While her genuine pledge is promising, she begins the premise of her analysis stating "all African women are politically and economically dependent."²⁵ Political and economic

²¹ Chandra Talpade Mohanty "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," *Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism*, eds. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 66.

²² *Ibid.*, 53.

²³ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁴ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.* See also Mohanty's analysis of Cutrufelli's work, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, in "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," 58.

dependency is said to be “a common trait of all African states,” owing to post-colonization and Western capitalism.²⁶ Cutrufelli’s analysis is problematic because, according to Mohanty it presumes “men and women are already constituted as sexual-political subjects prior to their entry into the arena of social relations.”²⁷ In Cutrufelli’s case, her cultural insider’s view fails to “accurately” describe African women.

Central to the accurate description of the researched speaking subject is to mould the self into the other in order to produce knowledge of third world women without centring the Western self and marginalizing the Eastern other. In other words, an attempt to minimize the marginal representation of the peripheral other in order to centre Western men, feminists, humanity and civilization. Mohanty suggests that an adequate self-representation of Western women should be the one that “enables and sustain the other.”²⁸

This method coincides with Bulbeck’s suggestion of challenging “a simple dualism and a simple universalism” “through the notion of the connections of economic inequality.”²⁹ While Bulbeck points to economic inequality as an authentic constituent that connects Western and Eastern women, it is her claim that these connections point to “hybrid subjects” “that is relevant. Bulbeck suggests that we are “neither purely ‘westerner’ nor purely ‘easterner’, but a mixture of both: we are in the other but she is also in us, a part of what constitutes our understandings of ourselves and the world.”³⁰

Fitting into Bulbeck’s category of “hybrid subjects” is Mazrui, who was born in 1933 into a Muslim family in Kenya, but received his education in the West. Despite the wish of his father, Shaikh Al’ Amin bin Ali Mazrui, a Chief Kadi of Mombasa in Kenya, that he study at the centre of Muslim education, al-Azhar University of Egypt, Mazrui pursued his Bachelor’s degree from the University of Manchester, Master Degree from Columbia University, and Doctorate from Nuffield College, Oxford University.³¹ Determined to serve his native Africa to which Mazrui was bonded for five years in Kenya in return of his undergraduate education, he joined Makerere University in Uganda. After moving to the United States to be closer to his children in the 1980s, Mazrui has made frequent visits to various African states.

Without doubt, Mazrui is indeed a cultural insider to African culture. The question is whether or not he is a cultural insider to the women’s question in the sense of understanding and sympathizing to women’s culture and lives? Wai would argue that Mazrui advocates an “understanding of African women, not the repression.”³² Mazrui offers his ‘understanding’ of women in the cultural, political and religious construction of women in Africa. As a political scientist, Mazrui’s writings speak of the intertwine of local African culture, its history, its encounter with foreign power during and post colonization, feminism, nationalism, human

²⁶ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, 13.

²⁷ Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse,” 58.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Chilla Bulbeck, *Re-orienting Western Feminism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

³¹ Chaly Saware, “The Multiple Mazrui: Scholars, Ideologue, Philosopher, Artist,” in *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, ed. Omari H. Kokole (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1998), 269-270.

³² Dunston M. Wai, “Mazruiphilia, Mazruiphobia: Democracy, Governance, and Development,” in *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*, ed. Omari H. Kokole (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1998), 54

rights, democracy, and the effect of development and its impact on the African human condition, including women.

Mazrui's interpretation of women's experience in Africa is analytical rather than descriptive. When he discusses the changes of the centrality of women in the traditional African culture to their "marginal role" during the colonial and post-colonial periods, he interprets the transition women have experienced in terms of economic disadvantage. The whole economic process in the area of water, fire, or earth during the colonial and post-colonial periods has been predominantly male dominated. This is quite different from the roles played by women as the custodians of fire, water, and earth in traditional African culture.³³ As the custodians of fire, women are in charge of finding and carrying the firewood to make the fire available. As the custodians of water, which symbolizes survival and cleanliness, a woman fetches water regardless of the distance. Women's role as the custodian of earth centres on their participation in the cultivation of the soil and the perpetuation of humanity.

The centrality of these roles changes along with colonization and what followed afterward. Men are mostly in charge with the African modern economy, whereas traditionalist "non-westernized" women engage in agricultural production and local market. Some "westernized" African women do secretarial or other professional jobs. Despite female involvement in the labour force, Mazrui criticizes the "westernized" African women who choose typewriter's jobs as "a form of marginalization for African womanhood."³⁴ In general, women, in Mazrui's eyes, are no longer playing a decisive role in both the local and global markets.

Placing women within the social setting of their traditional cultures and their economic activities finds its feminist voice.³⁵ Cutrufelli shows how the transformation of family, tribe, kinship grouping, sexual division of labour, and residential structure as a product of "the violent pressure of the forces of colonization" affect women's life.³⁶ Yet, the colonial pressure was sometimes married to the indigenous culture such as in the case of migration. In pre-1953 Zambia, the colonial capitalist system required men to migrate to the mining areas, while the women were not allowed to do so. Using a similar phenomenon, the tribes had an interest in seeing the men return back to the village and benefited from the women's labour in the village. In her own word,

The new African states have generally adopted utilizing the female labour force in the subsistence of economy, and male in the modern sector. During the Colonial rule, women would be largely kept within rural areas whereas men would be encouraged to migrate to development areas. The situation has now changed, yet many women are still confined to the domain of the subsistence economy.³⁷

Like feminists, Mazrui observes that colonization and education affect men and women differently. The completion of western-style secondary education or post-secondary education in a western-style institution provides men with more opportunities to engage in

³³ Ali A. Mazrui, "The Economic Women in Africa: An African Commentary from A Sociological Perspective," *Race, Gender, and Culture Conflict: Debating the African Condition*, eds. Al'Amin Mazrui and Willy Mutunga (Trenton, New Jersey: African World Pres, 2004), 253.

³⁴ Mazrui, "The Economic Women in Africa", 256.

³⁵ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, 15

³⁶ Ibid., 16.

³⁷ Ibid., 3.

politics, the economy, the military, and other public careers. Some women are indeed privileged to enjoy a greater participation in these areas. However, these women, such as Uganda's Elizabeth Bagaya, Liberian's Elizabeth Brooks, Kenya's Margaret Kenyatta, Zambia's Mutumba Bull, South Africa's Winnie Mandela and Egypt's Jehan Anwar Sadat, reached higher office not only due to their western education and language, but also their relation to men with political, social, and economic power. Other African women experience not only the shift from their role as the custodians of fire, earth, and water, but also the marginalized role in the internationalization of African economies, technology and entrepreneurship. To remedy this situation, Mazrui suggests keeping "women central on the land—and add empowerment to the equation. Increasing rights of hand-ownership, independent credentials for bank loans, improvement of skills, and betterment of equipment for water supply, fuel use and methods of farming."³⁸

Even though Mazrui has voiced the multiple levels of economic, political and social oppression and their instituted machineries which African women have faced during the era of colonization and post-colonization, he is, in many feminists' eyes, voiceless with regard to the cause of oppression itself. Feminists regard the oppression that women experience is a result of discrimination³⁹ in many walks of life. Even women's centrality as the custodians of water, fire and earth as an institutionalised role keeps women away from opportunities outside household responsibility. Cutrufelli argues that

such a policy of sexual division of labour has impoverished women, and not just literally: they have been penned inside a society which rather than traditional, should now be labelled backward and subordinate, and tied to the behaviour and modes of being which impede their efforts for emancipation.⁴⁰

Is it fair, however, to reject men's voicing of female experience because they do not really share the discrimination women have faced? Indeed, the discrimination against women has resulted in the subordination of women in both private and public for centuries. Mazrui offers his interpretation of what women see as discrimination against them within his framework of malignant sexism. He does not only discuss the discrimination toward women within the paradigm of sexism, but also unequal power distribution between men and women in both the private and public spheres. As the impact of discrimination is threatening to women, Mazrui equates it with racism.

Conclusion

The overall question is whether Mazrui does justice in approaching and voicing women's experience. Mazrui certainly shares feminists' concern with the problem of gender inequity, and ways to solve this predicament. Like feminists, he thinks that "liberating women, centring women, and empowering women" is the solution for making women liberated, centred, and empowered. In this sense, Mazrui answers the question of gender in a most profound way. As Mazrui views malignant sexism as creating unbalanced differences in

³⁸ Ali A. Mazrui, "Male and Female as an Islamic Dialectic: The Legacy of Ayesha", part of a lecture delivered at Oxford University and sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (Oxford, England, October 1998).

³⁹ Ann C. Vakil, Addressing Gender Inequality in Africa," in *Race, Gender, and Culture Conflict: Debating the African Condition*, eds. Al'Amin Mazrui and Willy Mutunga (Trenton, New Jersey: African World Pres, 2004), 260.

⁴⁰ Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression*, 3.

power between men and women socially, politically and economically, he proposes a workable solution that can dissolve the multiple elements of women's bodies, culture, lives and experiences through a greater representation of women in politics and the economy both locally and globally.

About the author

Etin Anwar is currently a visiting research fellow in Religious Studies, Temple University, Philadelphia and a lecturer at the State Institute of Islamic Studies, Bandung, Indonesia. She completed her B.A. in Comparative Religion, IAIN Bandung, Indonesia and master's degree from the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. She received her Ph.D., as well as a certificate on feminist theory from Binghamton University. She taught Introduction to Islam, Gender and Sexuality in Asia, Women in Islam, and Multicultural Medical Ethics. Her articles on Ibn Sina, Meister Eckhart, Ibn Arabi, and women's movements in Indonesia have appeared in refereed journals, such as *Islamic Studies*, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, and *Hawwa*. She is currently working on *The Body Politic and the Human Body: Politics, Patriarchy and Procreation* (A Mazruiana Bibliography on the Politics of Gender and Population).

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ACRONYMS USED

AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation.
ECOMOG	Economic Community Monitoring Group.
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community.
IMF	International Monetary Fund.
IGCS	Institute of Global Cultural Studies, SUNY Binghamton
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union.
KANU	Kenya African National Union.
KPC	Kenya People's Congress.
KPU	Kenya People's Union.
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa.
PAFMECSA	Pan-African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa.
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNO	United Nations Organisation.
UPC	Uganda People's Congress.
USA	United States of America.
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army.
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union.
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union.

ZIPA

Zimbabwe People's Army.

ZIPRA

Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army of ZAPU.

NEW BACK FLAP

He represents a positive image of Africa and its people.

Citation on Mazrui's nomination as 100 greatest Africans of all times by *New African magazine* 2004.

Establishment of the Ali A. Mazrui Centre for Higher Education Studies, University of Johannesburg (UJ).

Dr Ali Al'Amin Mazrui nominated as the world's most influential Muslim for 2012-2013. Nominated by *The Muslim 500. The World's 500 Most Influential Muslims*.
www.themuslim500.com

African scholars like Prof Mazrui are at the vanguard of (Africa's) renewal. Their work holds the key to what we all want and need: African answers to African problems. Kofi Annan. Q-News July 2000.

To others Prof Mazrui is the perfect *agent provocateur*: a man who had so much room in his writings and thinking for sacred cows. Others, including myself, believe that if anything Prof Mazrui is a visionary - a man who rightly or wrongly-refused to be held hostage by fashionable trends of the time and had the courage – and the talents-to articulate a perspective of not what life is all about now but what it should be like tomorrow. Lord Ahmed of Rotherham. Q-News July 2000.

Every East African with any intellectual pretensions wanted to be in Kampala. And the main attraction was really Ali Mazrui. They wanted to be witness to this relatively young Professor who was still to complete his doctorate under John Plaminatz at Nuffield College, Oxford. Mohamed Bakari. Q-News July 2000.

His analytical capacity to traverse historical time, to capture the subtleties of multicultural dynamics, and at the same time to remain concrete and comprehensible, is, indeed, outstanding. Salim Ahmed Salim. Q-News July 2000.

In my view, *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited* is the single most important book in terms of its long-term utility that has ever been published about Mazruiana thus far. Congratulations! Seifudein Adem.

What was Prof Mazrui's contributions? Professor Mazrui was a scholar richly endowed in his field of political science. He wrote in and used the English language with more eloquence than English scholars. Issa Shivji.

Discusses Africa's relations with the Arab world, the influence that petro-dollars can have on Africa's economic power on the world's economy, and other related issues.

BIOSKETCH (ABDUL SAMED BEMATH AND HASU PATEL)

Abdul Samed Bemath is a South African based library consultant, bibliographer and indexer. He has compiled several bibliographies on South Africa and contributed chapters to various scholarly books. His 'South African Group Areas Issue' bibliography is a standard reference source both

locally and internationally and appears in Southern African Update: a bibliographical survey, Vol. 4, No. 1, April 1989 - University of the Witwatersrand Library. He was awarded 'Best Runner-up index' for 2013 by the *Association of Southern African Indexers and Bibliographers (ASAIB)* for the book, *Children of a bitter harvest. Child labour in the Cape Winelands* by Susan Levine. Best Red and imprint of HSRC Press, 2013. *ASAIB* awarded him 'Best Runner-up Index' for 2011 for the book, *Africa South, Viewpoints, 1956-1961*. Edited by MJ Daymond and Corinne Sandwith. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011. *ASAIB* also awarded him 'Best Index for 2007' for the book, *Euro-Jews and Afro-Arabs* by Ali A. Mazrui, edited by Seifudein Adem. University Press of America, 2008 and 'Best Bibliography for 2004-2005' for his annotated and select thematic bibliography works of Ali A. Mazrui titled: *The Mazruiana Collection Revisited* which lists 650 entries of Mazrui's writings from 1962 to 2003. New Dawn Press (India) and Africa Institute of South Africa, 2005. He has also compiled three annotated bibliographies on the works of Ali A. Mazrui covering the period 1962-2018. And has a chapter titled: Ali Mazrui: An Annotated Bibliography, 2003-2017 that appears in: *Black Orwell. Essays on the scholarship of Ali A. Mazrui* edited by Seifudein Adem and Kimani Njogu; Bemath and Seifudein Adem co-edited: *The Politics of War and the Culture of Violence: North-South Essays* by Ali A. Mazrui. Africa World Press, 2008. Bemath was a researcher with the South African *Financial Mail* annual *The Little Black Book* Contact Directory and Researcher for the *Financial Mail* Special Obituary supplement on world-renowned African statesman Nelson Mandela which appeared in its December 13-18, 2013 issue.

Ali A. Mazrui (1933-2014 known for his award-winning television series, *The Africans* (BBC, WETA and PBS 1986) was the former Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies and Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities at the State University of New York (SUNY) Binghamton. He was also Albert Luthuli Professor-at Large at the University of Jos in Nigeria, Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large at the University of Jos in Nigeria, Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large Emeritus and Senior Scholar in African Studies, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. In 2003 he was appointed Chancellor, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Kenya.

Professor Hasu H. Patel (1939-) wrote the Foreword for this book. He is Professor Emeritus and Professor of Political Science at the University of Zimbabwe, Harare. He was a student of Ali Mazrui at Oxford University in 1961/2 academic year. He is former Zimbabwe High Commissioner to Australia., New Zealand and Singapore. Amongst his publications is *Africa in World Affairs: The Next Thirty Years*, which was co-edited with Ali Mazrui. New York: The Third Press and London, Julian Friedman, 1974.

Ali A. Mazrui Annotated Bibliography (AMB) 2003--2018.

Index

This index covers the period 2003-2018 and consists of 180 entries.

The index is located at the end of entry number 180 of the bibliography.

The index for The Mazruiana Collection Revisited ... is at the end of the bibliography.

SECTION ONE of the Index.

AUTHOR, NAME and SUBJECT INDEX*

Abegunrin, Olayiwola 28

Abrahamic religions 7, 15, 66,71

Achebe, Chinua 2, 25, 54,

Ade Ajayi, J.F. 80, 81, 171 *see also* Symposiums on the life and legacy of Ali. A. Mazrui

Adebajo, Adebajo 2, 51 *see also* Memorial seminars on the life and legacy of Ali. A. Mazrui

Adem, Seifudein 1,1a, 2,7, 8, 14,23, 105, 106, 111, 112, 113b, 114-20,122-25, 128, 136,151,166 *see also* Symposiums and seminars on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui

Adedeji, Adebayo 54

Adibe, Jideofor 58, 166 *see also* Seminars on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui

Adjei, Paul Banahene 138

Afghanistan 38, 40, 79, 88

Affirmative action as reparation 84, 98, 114

Afrabia 93

Afrabian awakening 43

Africa-anti-imperial struggle 85

Africa between war and peace 14, 91

Africa-birth of post-colonial nation 86

Africa-bondage of boundaries 86, 157

Africa borders-re-drawing of 91

Africa-caught in cross-fire other peoples wars 91

African conflicts-solutions for 91

Africa-contribution to civilisation ignored/distorted 162

Africa-death of colonial state 86
 Africa-exceptionalism of 60
 Africa-female heads of state 53, 75
 Africa-impact of western civilisation on 64
 Africa's international relations 131
 Africa-less dynastic 87
 Africa-linguistic ecology of 131
 Africa-modernisation of 82
 Africa-'Orientalisation' of 88
 Africa receptivity to French language and culture 57
 Africa-receptivity to Islam 57, 64
 Africa-recolonisation/self colonisation of 69
 Africa-reflected through Western eyes as poverty stricken 162
 Africa-re-invention of 89
 Africa-technological restraints on 31
 Africa-united states of 107
 Africa-in the West 85
 Africa-terrorism in 91
 Africa-westernisation of 82
 African-Americans 1a,93, 156
 African Common Market 100
 Africans Communications Agency 178
 African conflicts-solutions for 92
 African constitutions-ethnic proof 57
 African culture 69
 African diaspora 156
 African governments-democratisation of 56
 African half century 53

African Heritage Society 159
 African history 80
 African hundred best books 99
 African independence- degrees of 100
 African Islam and the West 64
 African Journal of Development Studies 77
 African leadership 74
 African politics 113b(Under subject)
 African politics-ethnic prone 56
 African renaissance 66, 99
 African renaissance-seven pillars of 99
 African Studies Association Annual Conference, Philadelphia, November/December2012, 23
 African Studies association Annual Conference, Chicago, November 2008, 132
 African Studies Review Jnl 113i
 African Union (AU) 4, 34, 51, 67, 69, 85, 92
 Africans of the blood 58
 Africans of the soil 58
 Afro-Arab Spring 43, 110
 Afro-Ashkenazi 26
 Afrocentricity and multiculturalism 164
 Afro-optimism 24
 Aggrey-Frazer Guggisberg 2002 Memorial Lecture 63
 Agritech News Journal 104
 Agwuele, Augustine 46, 173
 Ahmad, Md Asham 139
 Alex-Assensoh, Yvette Marie 1, 111, 129
 Aliet, Jacob 104, 142
 Algeria 26, 41

Al-Muhajiroun 143

Al-Qaeda 80, 160

America-military presence in African countries 92

America-war against terror 92, 93

American Africans 95, 158

Americano-Liberians 156

Amin, Idi 111

Amin, Idi invasion of Makerere University 49

Amutabi, Maurice N. 2

amnesia-cultural 30

amnesia-nostalgic 30

anti-colonial struggle produced more heroes 75

anti-imperial armed struggle-moved to western countries 85

anti-mornachical revolutions 55

anti-semitism 79

Anwar, Etin 1, 2, 6, 111, 115v

Apartheid 38

Arab Awakening 34, 43

Arab Spring 5, 34, 43, 110

Arab world-recolonisation of 55

Arabian peninsula-Africanisation of 56

Arabic language-influence in Kenya 89

Arabic language-impact on sub-Saharan Africa 59

Arabs-not represented in the Commonwealth 71

Arabs-in the USA 79

Arellano-López, F. Sonia 106

armed struggle-dis-advantage to freedom fighter 96

armed struggle-advantage to the imperial power 96

Arusha Declaration 83
 Asantewa, Nana Yaa 46
 Ashanti, 46
 Asia-female heads of state 55, 75
 Asia-more dynastic 87
 Assensoh, A.B. 1, 111, 129
 Assie-Lumumba, N'Dri T. 1, 2, 111 *see also* Seminars on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui
 Ataturk, M.K. 34, 37
 Ataturk in Afrabia 37
 Ataturk in Africa 37
 Aura, Ondeko 161
 Azikiwe, Nnamdi 55, 69, 75, 76

 Badran, Ramzi 5, 7
 Balfour Declation 55
 Bandaranaike, Sirimavo 87
 Banghazi 28
 Bangladesh 55, 71, 87
 Bangura, Abdul Karim 1, 2, 130, 131, 166, 168 *see also* Symposiums on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui
 Bazmé Adab 80
 Bemath, Abdul Samed 1, 14, 18, 111, 113, 166, 174
 Biafra, 23, 111
 Biko, Steve, 73, 75, 111, 170
 Bin Ladin, Osama 147, 160,
 Biney, Ama 141
 Bin Yusuf, Muhammad 177
 Bhuto, Benazir 87

Biafra 2

Biko, Steve 73, 75, 111

Bismarck, Otto Von 2,51

Black against Black ethnic conflict-ascension of 91

Black diaspora 131

brain gain-drain 158

brain drain-vertical-horizontal 156

Blyden, Edward 76

Boko Haram in Nigeria 42

Bolton, Caitlyn 113b

Border wars 86, 91

Bosnia 88

Botswana 106

Brazil 57

Bretuo, A. 14

Bull, Hedley 116

Burke, Edmund 108 *see also* Seifuden essay titled: In pursuit of excellence:when Ali A. Mazrui led the way

Burundi 52, 53

Cairo 5

Caliphate-demise of 55

Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy 102

Chakava, Henry 2

Chand, Manish 66

Chechnya 79, 88

Cheney, Lynne 119

China-influence on Africa 67

Christianity 15,17, 42

Christian-Muslim relations 5

Christianity-impact on Africa 53

Christianity-Islam relations- 53

Christianity-under siege 71

civil rights 32

Clarke, Nana Ayebia 25

Clash of civilisations-forms of 78, 125

Clinton, Bill 38, 65

Clinton, Hilary 115, 160

Clinton-Lewinsky scandal 32

Coetzee, P.H. 100

Cold War 55, 92,104

Color line 135

Commonwealth-caught up politics of race and civil liberties 99

Congo Crisis (1960-1965) 54, 86

Constitutions-accommodate ethnicity 46

Constitutions accommodate women 56

Coptics 6

coup prone Muslim countries 41

coup proof Muslim states 41

Crabb, George 25

Cuban Missile Crisis 2

Cultural identity 49

Culture line 135

culture-on the decline 80

culture-overshadow race 81

Czechoslovakia 86

Currey, James 25

Darfur 79

democratic pro-democracy uprisings 111

democracy resistant countries 56

diaspora of enslavement 156

diaspora of post-coloniality 156

Donkoh, Wilhel Mina 80

dual societies 52, 53, 86

Dar-es-Salaam bombing of 85

Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) 41

Dikirr, Patrick 7, 13,132 see also Symposiums in honor of Ali A. Mazrui(1933-2014)

Diop, Cheikh Anta 2,130,131

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1(a),24, 115, 131

ECOWAS 93, 178

Ecumenical spirit 55

Ecumenical State 71

Egypt 5, 26, 53,54,55,60, 110

Egypt-democratisation from below 43

Egyptian revolution 110

Ejigiri, Damien, 14

Elaigwu, J. Isawa 10

Elder tradition 73

elites 41

English language hundred best novels 99

Eritrea 46,86, 91

Espisoto, John L. 88

ethical revolutions 98
 ethical universalism-non-existence of 101
 Ethics-global 64, 81
 ethics-seven pillars of 55, 81
 Ethiopia 26, 28, 46, 52,53, 56,60, 111,
 Ethiopia-and African intellectuals 126
 Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict 86, 91

 European Economic Community (EEC) 100
 ethnic-checks and balances 56
 ethnic dualism 56
 ethnic loyalty as pre-modern phenomenon 56
 ethnicity 46, 56, 96
 ethnicity-political 56
 Euro-Jews of Southern Africa 26
 Europe-colonial impact on Africa 53

 Falola, Toyin 68, 70,83, 85, 109,139
 Farrakhan, Louis 115
 Fatah 153
 Federal University of East Africa 31
 Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland 52
 Female accession to male martyrdom 75, 87
 Flowers 29
 flowers-Islamic heritage of 29
 France 53, 55,65,77, 103
 Francophonie as linguistic apartheid 99
 Fresh water governance for sustainable development 39

Fuller, Graham E. 88

Gaddafi, Muammar 5, 28, 41, 43, 75, 107

Gandhi, Mahatma 14, 24, 44, 57, 101, 111

Gates, Louise 69 *see also* Zine Magubane essay

Gaza 153

Gebissa, Ezekiel 115i

gender 2, 6, 28, 43, 46, 88, 115v

Ghalgan, Salim 167

Ghali, Boutros-Boutros 53

Ghana 76, 107, 110, 129, 144, 178

A Giant Tree has Fallen-tribute book Ali A. Mazrui 166

Gielen, Uwe P. 24

Global apartheid 108, 163

Global culture 81, 113iv *see also* Symposiums on the life and times of Ali A. Mazrui (1933-2014)

global governance 92

global war 92

globalisation and convergence not counter-penetration and domestication 142

globalisation-can it be contained 67

globalisation-strategies of 67

Godec, Robert 167

Goldsmith, Oliver 25

Gordimer, Nadine 54

governance and war 92

Gowon, Yakubu 73, 77, 87

Gramsci, Antonio 114iii

Greek-Turkish Cypriots conflict 86

Guantanamo Bay 38, 40

Habtu, Hailu 149

Haiti-compared to South Africa 103

Haitian revolution 103

Hamas 153

Harbeson, John W. 57

Hargeisa University 86

Haron, Muhammed 113b

Hassan, Salah M. 68

heroism-political significance of 87

Holbrook, Richard 38

Horowitz, David 143

Houphouët-Boigny 54

human rights 32

Huntington, Samuel P. 78, 113, 125

hutu-tutsi conflict 52, 53

Ibn Khaldun 33, 128

Idjtihaad 36, 88

Igbo 53

Igbo Jews(Jibos) 26

Indian languages in Kenya 90

Indonesia 55

India 55

India-soft power on Africa 66

In search of Mazruiana 111

Institute of Global Cultural Studies 29

intellectualism in East Africa-sterile 145

intellectualism in Kenya 104, 145

intellectualism of social transformation 145

Intellectuals 111

International Institute of Islamic Thought 34, 41

Iran and Iranian Revolution 5

Iran-killing of nuclear scientists 40

Iran-nuclearisation of 40,63

Iraq 40, 55, 62, 79, 88

Islam 64

Islam

- and the West-phases of 95
- and USA-phases of 95
- between concord and clash of civilisations 78
- historical 95, 102
- impact on sub-Saharan Africa 60
- in Africa-revival and radicalisation of 155
- Islamic civilisation 36, 171
- study of in African universities 23
- study of in America 160
- theological Islam 88,102

Islamic Courts 79

Islamic Propagation Centre (South Africa) 147

Islamic radicalisation-triggers of 88

Islamism 1 (under subject)

Islamophobia 134,135

Israel 17, 26,38, 40,55, 79, 85, 88, 109,143, 146, 153, 160

Israel-American support for 109

Israel-Palestinian conflict 79
 Israel as threat to American democracy 143
 Istanbul Chamber of Commerce 5, 33, 34, 36, 37
 Ivory Coast 54

 Jan, Abid Ullah 88
 Japan 105
 Jayman, Jayantha 111
 Jewish Americans-avoid running for the presidency 65
 Jewish Americans-influence on the USA 78
 Jews in Africa 26
 Jews-Arab 26
 Jews-exceptionalism of 71
 Jews-Falasha 26
 Jhazbhay, Iqbal D. 59
 Joho, Hassan 167
 Journal of Pan-African Studies 141
 Juma, C. *see* Memorial seminars to Ali A. Mazrui
 Juma, Lawrence 133

 Kaarsholm, Preben 14
 Kaba, Amadu Jacky, Amadu 3, 111 *see also* Symposiums on the life and legacy of Ali. A. Mazrui
 Kalouche, Fouad 19,20,108
 Kamara, Jemadari 98
 Karioki, James 180
 Kashmir 88
 Kennedy, J.F.K. 87

Kennedy, Robert 24

Kenya 46, 49, 52, 56, 76, 93, 104, 107, 177, 180-

- 1997 presidential election 109
- 2008 post-election crisis 70
- Constitutional Review Commission 161
- Truth and Human Rights Commission 94
- Women parliamentary representation 161

Kenyatta, Jomo 52, 75, 76, 145, 161

Khan, M.A. Muqtedar 88

Khartoum 4

Kiswahili Arabic 3, 9, 113v, 168 *see also* Memorial seminars on the life and legacy of Ali. A. Mazrui

Kosovo 79, 88

Kibaki, Mwai 70, 73, 109, 180

Kofi Annan Series 32, 53, 113, 119

Kuper, Simon 101

Kwabena, Akurang-Parry 140

Lakwena, Alice 46

Language-cultural synthesis of 90

language-power of 71

Larémont, Ricardo René 48

leadership styles-post-independence leaders 87

Levine, T.K. 143

L'ouverture, Toussaint 103

Liberia 28, 77

Libya 4, 40, 41, 53, 107

Libyan revolution 1969 55

Lieberman, Joseph 65
 Lincoln, Abraham 87
 Liyong, Taban Lo 145
 London bombings 85
 Lugard, Lord 77
 Lumumba-Kasongo, Tukumbi, 1 see also Seminars on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui
 Lumumba, Patrice 54, 87

 Maathai, Wangari 54, 145
 Mafeje, Archie 69
 Malaysia-cultural pluralism of 55
 Malik, Iftikhar H. 81
 Mall, Anwar 80
 Mamdani, Mahmood, 111
 Mandela, Nelson 44, 51, 54, 73, 87, 103, 119
 Martin, Douglas 119
 martyrdom 87, 110
 martyrdom-comparative of world leaders 87
 martyrdom-domestic 87
 martyrdom-international 87
 martyrdom-political significance of 87
 Mathe, Sam 166
 Mayaka, William P. 1,111
 Marxism 129
 Mazrui, Ali A 1,1a, 2,3, 4, 7, 31, 110,129,130,131
 - Africa Day Commemoration presentation, University of Free State, 2011 28
 - African Heritage Prize 159
 - Ali A. Mazrui library 167

- Ali Mazrui Day 159
- and African politics 112b
- and Archie Mafeje-Wole Soyinka-Louise debate 69
- and Chinua Achebe 1, 2, 25, 54
- and global cultures 113
- and his critics 136-38, 146,147
- and his critics. section six of Ali A. Mazrui an annotated bibliography 1962-2018
- and international relations 116, 125
- and Kwame Nkrumah Transition debate 1, 127, 129, 140, 143, 144
- and new international relations 112
- and North-African revolutions 124
- as anti-positivist scholar 120, 122,
- as defender of Islam 113i
- as futurologist 122
- as liberal Muslim 88
- as master classifier 121
- as post-colonial theorist 114, 125
- as public intellectual 111,129,179
- biography 1,1a,2, 45, 72, 111, 114,177,
- Centre for Higher Education Studies at University of Johannesburg 165
- Chief of the Order of the Burning Spear Award (Kenya) 180
- classification of his scholarship 123
- Commonwealth Lecture, 10th. May 2007 71
- detention and questioning at Miami Airport 148, 157, 159,
- Diaspora-paradoxes of 126
- documentaries 1,49, 152
- festschrift 113 *see also* books and edited works
- focus on global south and Africa 113

- glossary of Mazruiana terms 112
- House of Lords function 113
- intellectualism of 145
- interviewed by Amy Goodman 107
- interviewed by Fouad Kalouche 108
- interviewed by Nirvana Tanoukhi 5, 110
- interviewed by Tara Turkington 109
- life and legacy 151
- Living Legends Award (2007) 178
- marginalisation of in post-colonial studies 125,
- Marxism-criticism of 129
- obituary 118,119
- on African identity 134
- on conflict and violence-resolution of 133
- on gender equality 1, 2, 6, 28, 43, 88, 115v, 138
- on Islamophobia 134, 135
- on Koranic revelations 139
- on Negrophobia 134, 135
- Order of the Companion of Oliver Tambo Award 176

Radio, Newspaper, Television and Videos. Section Seven of Ali A. Mazrui an annotated bibliography 1962-2018

rebellious-revolutionary orientation of his scholarship 123

reformist orientation of his scholarship 123

reparations debate 157

- and The Trial of Christopher Okigbo 1,150,
- role of intellectuals in society 114
- scholarly discourses with- Section Four of Ali A. Mazrui an Annotated bibliography, 1962-2018
- South Africa as his new home 159

- theory of inter-cultural relations 120
- three successful failures of 175

Tributes and Awards to Ali A. Mazrui-Section Eight of Ali A. Mazrui an Annotated Bibliography, 1962-2018

- and his The Triple Heritage 1,1a, 76, 108, 111, 114, 115, 119, 129, 173, 177
- fallacy of 149
- Memorial seminars i-xvii under Section One
- Memorial symposiums xii under Section One
- nominated as world's most influential Muslim 2012-13, 172
- North-South perspectives 111
- on education 1, 111
- On gender 1, 2, 6, 28, 43, 88, 111,115
- on Horn of Africa 115
- on international relations 111
- on the Oromo 115
- on terrorism and counterterrorism 1
- Reith Lectures 45
- Socialism-criticism of 129
- tributes to 1, 111 (*see also* Black Boswell: essays on the scholarship of Ali A. 1, 1a)

Mazrui edited by Seifudein Adem & Kimani Njogu...Entry 1, 1a, 2

Mazrui, Alamin M 1, 111, 136-39

Mazrui, Molly 175

Mazrui, Nicole Molly Vele 84

Mazrui, Pauline 1,178

Mazrui, Sheikh Al-Amin Bin 'Ali Al Mazrui 90

Mbeki, Thabo 73, 75, 109,176

Mbah, E.M. 14

Mclaren, Joseph 1

Media (Africa) influenced by the western media 49

Media (African) seven pillars of wisdom of 49

Media (African) seven functions of culture 49

media-constraints of in America 160

Mhando, Lindah 9, 111

Middle East 28,40,, 41, 43, 81

Middle East-Latin Americanisation of 88

Miles, William F.S. 26

miscegenation-types of 103

Mitchell, George 38

Mittleman, James H. 114iii

Mkandawire, Thandika 93, 114iii

Mohiddin, Ahmed 111

Mombasa 47,90, 167, 85 see also Memorial seminars on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui

Monarchical tradition 73

Modern Library Board of the USA 99

modernity-domestication of 104

Morewedge, Parviz 113

Morocco 26

Moral standard-universal 32

Morrison, Toni 65

Mrani, Rachid 113vi

Msibi, N.S. 22

Mudimbe, V.Y. 89,132

Muhammed, Murtala 73, 87, 110

Mugabe, Robert 75, 109

Mũgo, Mĩcere Gĩthae 1

multiculturalism 164

Munene, Macharia 1
 Munshi, Razina 66, 67
 Murove, Munyaradzi Felix 64
 Muslim century 55
 Muslim countries-foreign occupation of 88
 Muslim Education and Welfare Association (MEWA) 167
 Muslim Minority Affairs Journal 128
 Muslim world and the USA 78
 Muslim world-military intervention of 88
 Muslims-represented in The Commonwealth 71
 Muslims nuclear capability 38
 Mutunga, Willy 136-38
 Muya, Murage 158
 Mwangi, Oscar 1

 Nairobi bombing of 85
 Namboka, I.O. 175
 Nasong'o, Wanjala S. 1, 2
 Nasser, Gamal Abdel 5, 54, 87
 Nation of Islam 115vi,
 nationalism 96
 nationalism of coloniser-differs to that of the colonised 96
 nationalism and power-conflictual relations of 68
 Nazareth, Peter 150
 Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 134,135
 Ndongo,, Abou Moussa 69

 negro-phobia to Islamo-phobia 114, 134,135

Nehru, J. 57
 Nelson Mandela Foundation 109
 neo-colonialism 100
 neo-dependency 100
 New York African Studies Association Annual Conference (NYASA) March 2008 111
 Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1
 Nigeria 41, 52, 53, 54, 57, 61, 75, 76, 77
 Nigerian civil war(1967-1970) 86
 Nile Basin 52
 Njogu, Kimani 1, 1a
 Nkrumah, Kwame 1 72, 73, 75, 107, 127,129, 141, 144, ,
 Nkrumah, Kwame-global ethic of 63
 Nkrumah, Kwame-on nuclearisation 63
 Non-Alignment 57
 North Africa 26, 29
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 43, 54, 68
 North Korea-nuclear ambitions 63
 Nuremberg Tribunal 40
 Nyerere, Julius 52, 54, 75, 83, 129, 145
 Nyong'o, Peter Anyang' 1

 Obama, Barack C. 1, 24, 44, 51, 54, 62, 63, 65, 72, 109, 111, 115, 140, 153,154, 175
 Obama administration view on water and petroleum 39
 Obama Cairo talk 40
 - as first Black President of USA 107, 135
 - on nuclearisation 63
 Obama presidency and African expectations 38
 Obama presidency and Muslim expectations 38
 Obama war on terror 38, 40

Obote, Milton 52, 56, 72,
Oculi, Okello 150
Odhiambo, Atieno 80
Odinga, Raila 70, 109
Ohadike, Don 68
oil producing countries 41
Okigbo, Charles C. 97
Okoampa-Ahoofe, Kwame 144
Okpewho, Isodore 113
Olympio, Sylvanus 54
Organization of African Unity (OAU) 35, 93,
Oromo Studies Journal 115
Osha, Sanya 92
Ottoman Empire 55
Oxford Amnesty Lecture (2004) 81

Padmore, George 131
Pakistan 38, 55
Palestine 86, 109, 153,
Pambazuka Journal 122
Pan-Africanism-categories of 130, 131
Pan-Africanism and the intellectuals 93
Pan-Africanism-types of 93
Pan-Blackism 130
Pax Africana 1, 57, 111, 168
Pax Americana-influence on Pax Africana 68
Pax Islamica and seven pillars of wisdom 102
Petroleum 5, 39, 41

Pipes, Daniel 146

political Islam 41

political leaders 87

post-colonial Africa-produced more martyrs 75

post-colonial heroism-paradoxes of 75

post-colonial violence-paradoxes of 96

post-colonialism and international relations 125

Pretoria/Nairobi axis 94

Prince Charles 107

prodemocracy uprisings in Africa 28

Prospect Magazine 179

public intellectuals 111

race-on the decline 79, 163

Rasool, Ebrahim 113b

Reda, Hesham 102

regional integration 52

religion-politics of 71, 79, 163

Renan, Ernest 30

reparations 94,98, 157

resource rich countries 41

Rochester University of Technology 146, 147

Rodney, Walter 45, 83

Rothchild, Donald 57

Roux, A.P.J. 100

Royal African Society 78, 79

Royal Institute of International Affairs Conference, January 16, 2007, 78

Rumi 169

Rushdie, Salman 171

Rwanda 52, 53, 56

Sadat, Anwar, 87, 111

SADC 93

Sage tradition 73

Said, Edward 89, 114

Salim, Salim Ahmed 54, 113

School of Oriental and African Society (SOAS) 79

Schulz, William, F. 32

Scramble for Africa 37

Senegal 53, 54, 55, 71

Senghor, Leopold 54

Sentürk, Recep 36, 37

September 11/2001 92

Seven pillars of wisdom 55, 64, 81,

Shari'a movement in Nigeria 42, 48

Shariacracy 42,48, 61

Sierre Leone 27,77

Sharma, Dinesh 24

Sharpeville 28

Shaw, Timothy M. 1

Shivji, Issa 1

Sirleaf, Ellen Johnson 54

sins of commission 119

sins of omission 119

Sheikh, Naveed 113b

Sino-African relations 117

slave revolts 103, 143

slave trade 103, 143

slave trade-abolishment of 103

Somalia 56, 79

Somalia-Ethiopia conflict 86

Somaliland 9, 59, 79, 86

South Africa 41, 44, 84, 103, 159

South Africa-nuclear capability 38

South Africa-Truth and Human Rights Commission 94

South Africa-White values dominate 79

South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) 68

Southern Africa 28

Soyinka, Wole 53, 54, 69

Sudan 4, 38, 53, 56,

Sudan-Pakistanism of 50

Sudanese civil war (1955-1972) 86

Swahili 90

Swahili Resource Centre 90

Swaziland 22

Syrian civil war 34

Tahrir Square 5, 28, 110

Taliban 160

Tamim, Ghalib 167

Tanoukhi, Nirvana 5, 110

Tanzania 54, 55, 71, 93

Tanzania-socialism in 104, 129

Tanzaphilia 111

Terrorism 1
 Thiongo, Ngugiwa 132
 Thuynsma, Peter N. 1

 Tarrósy, István 8
 Thomas, Darryl C. 1, 2 *see also* the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui
 The Triple Heritage-mismanagement of 97 *see also* Mazrui-The Triple Heritage
 Tunisia 4, 28, 43, 110
 Tunisia-democratisation from above 34
 Tunisian revolution 110
 Tunstall, Kate E. 81
 Turkey 34, 36, 37, 110
 Turkey and Scramble for Africa 36
 Turkington, Tara 109
 Turkish unrest 34

 Tydskrif vir Letterkunde Journal 119

 Uduku, Ola 99
 Uganda 46, 49, 52
 United Nations (UNO) 51
 United States of America-affirmative action policy 98
 United States of America and the Muslim world 109
 - reparations for Africa 94 *see also* reparations
 - Arab-Americans members of 79
 - pro-Israel stance 109
 Universities (African)-Africanisation of 104,142
 University of Cape Town 175
 University of der-Salaam debates 45

University of Pretoria, Water Research Commission 38
 University of Venda 84, 159
 Uthup, Thomas 5, 111, 115

 Van der Meer, Tony Menelik 98
 Voice of America 151
 Violence 96

 Wachanga, D. Ndirangu 1, 49, 152
 Wai, Dunstan 82
 Waldmeir, Patti 2
 Waleda, Hassina Rahman 87
 Wambu, Onyekachi 73, 74
 Wanjala, Chris L. 150 *see also* Symposiums on the life and legacy of Ali A. Mazrui
 Warrior tradition 14, 72
 wars-intercultural and religious 79
 Warsaw Pact 54
 Water 38, 39
 Water Research Commission 38
 Water Research Commission Conference, South Africa, November 2012 39
 Weber, Max 114iii
 West, Michael O 1
 West Africa 110
 Western civilisation 36
 Western universal civilisation-refutation of 101
 Western culture and globalisation 101
 Wiafe-Amoako, Francis 4, 27
 Williams, Abiodun 32

Wiredu, Kwasi 96

Wordsworth, William 169

World Trade Center-attack on 85

Wright, Jeremiah 115

Yefru, Wosene 80

Yemen 28

Young, Andrew 65

Yorubas 26

Zack-Williams, Alfred B. 99

Zanzibar 52

Zanzibar National Archives 113v

Zia, Begum Khaleda 87

Zimbabwe 109

Zimbabwe-role of South Africa in 75

Zuma, Jacob 109

The index numbers refer to bibliographical entry

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