

Message from the Director Ali A. Mazrui



Global-Jekyll and Global-Hyde: Domination versus Compassion in North and South Relations

Robert Louis Stevenson's novel, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, was first published in 1886. The central moral thesis of the novel was that every human being had great potential for both good and evil. Something can tilt the balance to make the person either a good citizen or a social misfit.

We do know that the *environment* in which a child grows up can help to ensure either good citizenship or a future social deviant. The environment can tilt the balance.

What Stevenson's novel asserts is that *science* too can tilt the balance. The brilliant Dr. Jekyll uses his laboratory to seek a chemical formula that would, from time to time, separate the good citizen in himself from the psychopath.

In this article we take the argument further. Just as in every single individual there is both latent good and latent evil, so in every civilization there is a constant struggle between the forces of good and the powers of evil.

Our focus in this article is on Western civilization, which is itself nurtured by the legacy of Western Europe and the United States. Western civilization has certainly reached the dazzling heights of both human achievement and human compassion.

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Fifty Years of Africa's Independence: Gains and Losses

By Ali A. Mazrui

This is the Golden Jubilee, the 50th anniversary, of the independence explosion of 1960 when seventeen African countries attained sovereignty and were admitted to the United Nations (UN) in a single year. It was a year of great euphoria and great optimism about Africa's future.

But there were also rapid signals of what could go wrong in independent Africa. Within weeks of gaining independence, the former Belgian Congo experienced an army mutiny which

escalated into a confrontation between President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba. The mineral rich province of Katanga proclaimed its secession from the Congo. Major Powers were involved and finally supported peacekeeping troops to the Congo. The UN was drawn for the first time into a peacekeeping role in sub-Saharan Africa.

Two spectacular deaths were precipitated by the Congo crisis. One was the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the other was the



Professor Ali A. Mazrui (center) presenting to President Nelson Mandela an award for Mandela's book *Long Walk to Freedom*. The book was recognized by a panel of independent judges as one of the 100 Best African Books of the 20th Century. This award ceremony took place in Cape Town, South Africa, July 2002. On the right is Professor Kole Omotoso, Master of Ceremony.

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... Fifty Years of Africa's Independence: Gains and Losses

seemingly accidental air crash near Ndola in Zambia which killed the Secretary-General of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld.

The Congo crisis of 1960–1965 also initiated Africa's involvement in the Cold War. The newly independent African countries were courted by members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (capitalist) on one side, and on the other, members of the Warsaw Pact (communist). For the following three decades the Soviet Union and its allies, along with the People's Republic of China, had a flirtation with leftwing African governments. These were diplomatic flirtations between states. In terms of command of roles in the world body, the Cold War was the golden age of Third World influence and leverage in world institutions.

But there was also Africa's ideological experimentation during this period. From the 1960s to the 1980s Africa had a love affair with different versions of *socialism*.

But almost none of the African countries ruled by Great Britain went the whole hog to Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, *all* the countries previously ruled by Portugal started their early years of sovereignty with Marxism-Leninism. Countries previously ruled by France had some governments flirting with Marx and Lenin while others were either liberal or socialist only rhetorically. For more than fifty years the UN echoed the concerns of Marxist-Leninist countries.

The Communist world's flirtation with Africa in foreign policy had longer term consequences than Africa's own flirtation ideologically with socialism. The members of the Warsaw Pact were prepared to arm African liberation fighters — and

speeded up decolonization especially in Southern Africa and in the Portuguese colonies. Castro's Cuba even sent troops to engage with South African troops and speed up Namibia's liberation, as well as defend newly independent Angola. The UN pursued the diplomatic path of the struggle for Namibia's independence.

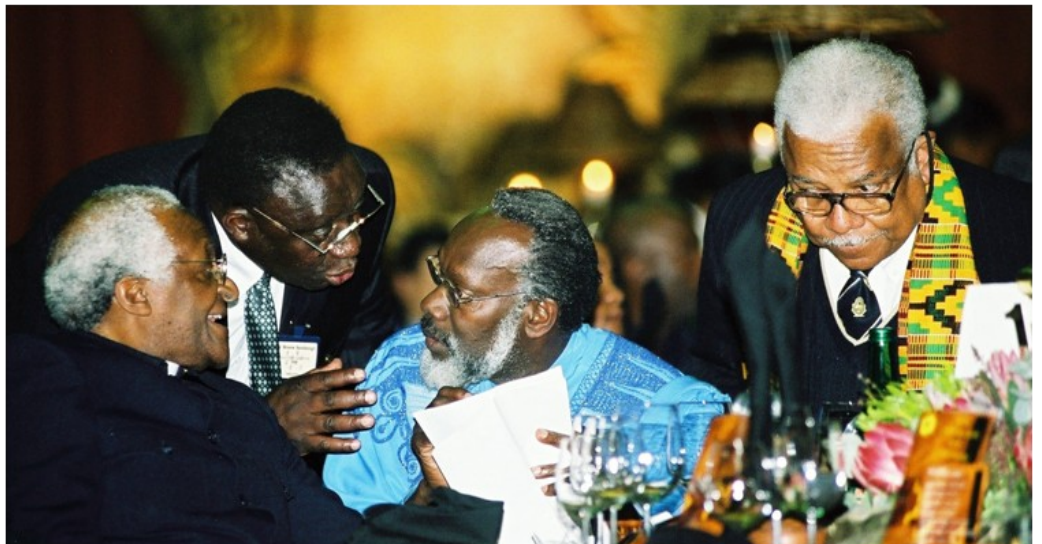
Without the military help of socialist countries abroad the liberation of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa could have been delayed by a generation. Socialist governments abroad had a greater impact on Africa than socialist governments at home.

The big exception was Julius Nyerere's socialist government in Tanzania. The socialist part of Nyerere's efforts was heroic, but not spectacularly successful. But history will judge Nyerere much more as a nation-builder than as a builder of a socialist state. His language policy (Swahilization) and his efforts to open up the rural countryside were major contributions to the building of Tanzania's sense of nationhood.

Tanzania's independence was in 1961 rather than 1960. The independence explosion of that year of 1960 included the largest Anglophone country in population, Nigeria, and the largest Francophone country, what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The flowering sovereignty in 1960 also included countries which were neither Anglophone nor Francophone — such as Somalia. There were rich countries in 1960 as well as poor ones, like Niger.

The most dazzling statesmen of the period included not only Nyerere, but also Kwame



Archbishop Desmond Tutu in consultation with Professor Kole Omotoso, Master of Ceremony (middle, seated) Dr. Ali A. Mazrui on the right. The event was a celebration of Africa's best 100 books of the 20th century, July 2002.

Nkrumah of Ghana, Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt.

But more dazzling than Nigeria's politicians were Nigeria's leaders in culture and the arts. Chinua Achebe became by far Africa's best-selling novelist. Wole Soyinka was making his way toward becoming Africa's first Nobel Prize Laureate in Literature. Senegal, Nigeria, and later Dar es Salaam and Kampala hosted major Pan-African festivals of Arts and Culture.

Other Nobel Laureates in Literature included Nadine Gordimer of South Africa, Najuib Mahfuz of Egypt and J. M. Coetzee also of South Africa.

Africa has been richer in Nobel Peace Laureates. These have been: Albert Luthuli, Archbishop Tutu, Nelson Mandela, F. W. de Klerk, Anwar Sadat, Wangari Maathai (first woman African Peace Laureate), Kofi Annan, and Mohammed El-Baradei.

Bad news in Africa in this period included the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa in 1960, Nigeria's civil war 1967–1970, and the multiple conflicts of the Sudan in the South and in the West. There was also the horrendous genocidal collapse in Rwanda in 1994. The Global Mr. Hyde had exploded into genocide in Rwanda in that year. But in the same year of 1994 the Global Dr. Jekyll ended political apartheid in South Africa.

As the 20th century was coming to an end one happy development was the end of political apartheid in South Africa, but not the end of economic apartheid as yet.

The black man in South Africa acquired the political crown, but the white man successfully retained the economic jewels.

Gender achievements of this half century included not only Kenya's *Wangari Maathai*, as the first black woman to win the Nobel Prize for Peace, but also *Ellen Johnson Sirleaf* in Liberia as the first elected African woman head of state.

The most spectacular African Diaspora event this decade was *Barack Obama* — this son of a Kenyan father was successfully elected President of the United States. Barack Obama has become the most powerful black person in the history of civilization. More powerful than Ramses II of Egypt, Menelik II of Ethiopia, and Shaka Zulu of South Africa. Obama is the most powerful son of a Muslim father since the dynasty of Harun-al-Rashid of the Abbasid over ten centuries ago. But is Obama afraid of his own power? Is he a Dr. Jekyll afraid of becoming Mr. Hyde?

In addition to heroes there have been martyrs. Early martyrs of Africa's independence included the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in January 1961 and of Sylvanus Olympio in 1963. The UN puts its troops in harm's way in conflict

situations. The UN also lost its Secretary-General in Africa's cause, Dag Hammarskjöld in 1961. Was the air crash near Ndola an accident (on a plane called *Albertina*), or was it sabotaged by a nefarious global Mr. Hyde?

There was even a suspicion that Dag Hammarskjöld wanted to die in Africa's cause, "Do I fear a compulsion in me to be so destroyed? Tired and lonely. So tired the heart aches," Hammarskjöld lamented in writing.



IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui being interviewed by African journalists in 2002.

Dag Hammarskjöld was another supreme Dr. Jekyll afraid of turning into a Mr. Hyde.

A tale of two history makers: Salim Ahmed Salim and Adebayo Adedeji

In the earlier years of Tanzania's independence Salim Ahmed Salim became the *second* most important architect of Tanzania's post colonial foreign policy — after Julius K. Nyerere himself. In those initial decades of independence Salim Ahmed Salim served as the most senior Minister of Foreign Affairs and as the Permanent Representative of Tanzania at the UN. Among African ambassadors he often led the way on important issues, including the struggle to get the People's Republic of China admitted to the UN as the proper occupant of the fifth Permanent Seat in the Security Council instead of the fig leaf of Taiwan.

It is widely believed that Salim Ahmed Salim's visible role in the admission of Communist China to the UN cost Salim Ahmed Salim the chance to become the first African Secretary-General of the UN instead of Boutros Boutros-Ghali a few years later.

The US Administrations of both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, in reality misunderstood Salim Ahmed Salim's role in the UN — and became hostile to him.

Salim Ahmed Salim himself has denied that he danced in ecstasy in the corridors of the UN when the People's Republic of China won the vote of admission. But he did play a dignified role in the politics of supporting China's assumption of proper role as a major power in the Security Council.

Subsequently Salim Ahmed Salim was elected repeatedly as Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) — becoming the longest serving Secretary-General of the O.A.U.

He helped to move the O.A.U. towards a more active role in managing African conflicts — including civil wars.

He also helped to sharpen the O.A.U.'s role in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and the effort to liberate Namibia.

With the help of the late Chief M. K. O. Abiola of Nigeria and President Ibrahim Babangida, Salim Ahmed Salim helped create the Committee of Eminent Persons of the O.A.U. with a mission to demand reparations for hundreds of years of African enslavement, colonization and racial exploitation. I was sworn in before Africa's presidents as a member of the Reparations Committee of Eminent Persons.

The debate on reparations is still alive and well in the United States and the United Kingdom. The controversy was recently reignited by Professor Henry Louis Gates Jr., of Harvard in an article he published in the *New York Times*. Professor Gates made the case that the election of Barack Obama to the U.S. Presidency had made the reparations debate moot.

Salim Ahmed Salim is great partly because of what he achieved domestically as Prime Minister as well as Foreign Minister of Tanzania, but also as O.A.U. Secretary-General in the final years of the 20th century.

History will also note that Salim Ahmed Salim nearly became the first African Secretary-General of the UN. He also nearly became President of the United Republic of Tanzania — but for the ethnic politics of Zanzibar.

But he has lived to maintain the legacy of Julius K. Nyerere in his continuing international activities and as leader of the Julius K. Nyerere Foundation in Dar es Salaam.

We salute Salim Ahmed Salim not only as a distinguished Tanzanian — but also as a major architect of Pan Africanism in the first fifty years of postcolonial history.

Adebayo Adedeji

One of the two or three most distinguished political economists produced by postcolonial Africa has been Adebayo Adedeji.

As Executive Secretary (or Secretary-General) of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, Dr. Adedeji became a major role model of the left

... Fifty Years ...

in the passionate debates about structural adjustment which were triggered by the policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund of the 1970s and 1980s.

Adebayo Adedeji helped to shape the Lagos Plan of Action as an alternative strategy to the structural adjustment promoted by the Senior Bretton Woods institutions.

Earlier occupants of the leadership of the UN Economic Commission for Africa were, on the whole, conventional economists who tried to promote development and regional integration. Earlier leaders of the UN Economic Commission for Africa avoided confrontations with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Adebayo Adedeji asserted greater independence of the UN Economic Commission for Africa and developed a kind of economic Pan-Africanism, as well as an eloquent voice of the South in North-South relations.

As his UN Economic Commission for Africa career came to an end, Adebayo Adedeji turned his attention more directly to his native Nigeria. His aspiration was partly to create a think-tank to address strategies of economic reform and how best to deal with such impediments to development as Africa's weak economic motives and work ethics, and Africa's extensive corruption.

At the time of the Lagos Plan of Action there were rumors that the UN Economic Commission for Africa had been nominated for Nobel Prize in Economics. If the nomination had succeeded, it would have been like Mohammed El-Baradei sharing the Nobel Peace Prize with his own UN Atomic Energy Agency, or Kofi Annan sharing the Nobel Peace Prize with the world body of which he was Secretary-General. Adedeji's UN Economic Commission for Africa fell short of being awarded the Nobel Prize. It was even suggested that the Lagos Plan of Action be the basis of a Nobel Peace Prize — instead of the Nobel Economic Prize.

The Nobel Committee in Oslo, Norway was slow to recognize that there were North-South conflicts as well as East-West confrontations.

The Oslo Committee has now recognized defending Planet Earth as relevant for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Future definitions of peace should include such visions as that represented by a future Lagos Plan of Action. ▲

Keynote address at annual meeting of Friends of Africa International, held at the Nigerian Mission to the United Nations, on the theme of "A Golden Jubilee of Seventeen African States," New York City, May 20, 2010. Used, also at the International Peace Institute to launch the book *The Curse of Berlin* by Adekeye Adabayo (October 26, 2010, New York, NY). Another version of the article was published in *The Guardian*, United Kingdom, December 8, 2010.

... Message from the Director

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IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui

However, the same Western civilization has in recent centuries perpetrated more wars, at greater human cost, than any other states have. The civilization which produced ways of saving human lives has also manifested a blood dripping record. The Northern hemisphere has both invented and used worse and worse ways of destroying human beings.

The West in the modern period has shown great power for good and great power for evil. From the point of view of relations between peoples and continents, the United Nations (UN) has been a whistle-blower against different legacies of the Global Mr. Hyde. The world body has been part of the vanguard against colonialism and apartheid. European culture has produced both (a) some of the worst forms of racism in modern history, (b) some of the best forms of charity.

The worst forms of racism led by the North have included:

(a) The large-scale trans-Atlantic African slave trade, often encouraged by the church in order to save Native Americans at the expense of Black Africans.

(b) The rise of Nazism and Fascism in Christian Europe — and the silences of the church towards those trends.

(c) The establishment and consolidation of *apartheid* — often in the name of the Old Testament of the Bible.

But while Euro-Christians score high in the history of modern racism, they have also scored high in the history of modern charity and benevolence.

Of all the religions of the world, Christian missions and Christian organizations have had the most extensive networks of charitable and benevolent activities.

- Christian aid workers are the first to arrive at foreign earthquakes.
- The first to organize relief for foreign famines.
- The first to extend a hand to foreign refugees (although their governments may be less enthusiastic about refugees).
- The first with free medicine, free food, new clinics in poor countries.

The Christianized Northern hemisphere has been at once the most racist in modern history and the most charitable.

Some Christian racists are not charitable at all; while some charitable Christians are not racist at all. The office of Secretary-General of the UN has disproportionately been held by Christians. The world body still awaits a Hindu, Confucian or Muslim Secretary-General.

Of the original five official languages of the UN, four were European (English, French, Russian, and Spanish). Arabic was later partially promoted to select groups.

Nevertheless, the world has had spectacular Chief Executors — from Tryge Lee and Dag Hammarskjöld to Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan.

There is a third category of Christians — those who are at once racist and charitable, at once color-prejudiced and benevolent. Benevolent racism emerges out of this third category. Albert Schweitzer was a benevolent racist. Thomas Jefferson owned slaves. Why is the white world at once the most racist and the most benevolent in modern history?

More recently one branch and version of Western civilization ended the evil of the world war (World War II) by using the war's most evil weapons — the atomic bomb. The invention of these weapons by the Northern hemisphere, and their use in 1945 changed forever the nature of potential warfare. Once again Western civilization has embodied the legacies of both the Global Mr. Hyde and the Global Dr. Jekyll.

Of the five vetoes on the Security Council, four are cast by white majority countries: Britain, France, Russia and the United States. Permanent members of the Security Council are disproportionately Christian — four out of five.

Euro-Imperialism and the Jewish Question

Africans as a people have been on the periphery of global nuclear politics since the middle of the 20th century, but Africans have been at the centre of the politics of race in human affairs. However, thinkers like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana

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Ali Mazrui and the Study of International Relations

By Seifudein Adem

The coming of age of Ali Mazrui as a scholar coincided with the birth of post-colonial Africa in the 1960s. By virtue of his field of training and his political instincts, Mazrui displayed great readiness to rise to the intellectual challenges of the time. Mazrui first made a name for himself by publishing, "On the Concept of 'We are all Africans'" in the *American Political Science Review* in 1963. As it turned out, this was to be an important landmark in Mazrui's own intellectual development.

The article was one of the first major writings in that journal about postcolonial Africa written by a postcolonial African scholar. American political scientist Herbert J. Spiro noted: "Mazrui's article identified him as a perceptive and original student of African political thought."¹ By publishing in the journal, Mazrui declared that he was ready to engage intellectually one of the most vibrant communities of scholars in his field. It was also significant that the article should be published in an influential journal of political science based in an increasingly influential country in the world — the United States. Another significance of the article had to do less with where it was published than with what it was about: identity formation in the postcolonial African context. It may be recalled that theorizing about culture and identity was less fashionable in mainstream American political science in those days.

The mainstream discipline was then relatively more open not only to other issues but also to different perspectives. But why was this so? In the 1960s and 1970s the "Third World" was drawing special attention in the West due partly to its relevance to the strategic interests of the superpowers. This was when the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, competed for friendship with the newly independent African states, when, for instance, Kwame Nkrumah could go to Washington and say: "... I was appealing to the democracies of Britain and the United States for their assistance in the first place, but that if this should not be forthcoming, I would be forced to turn elsewhere."² The Third World also drew attention in this period, because of the relatively unified Southern voice regarding international economic and political issues. Mainstream International Relations (IR), too, sought to reflect the prevailing historical trend, with prominent scholars engaging issues of concern to the Third World. In fact, it was in the context of debating the issue of international justice versus international order with Mazrui that Hedley Bull recognized Mazrui as a formidable intellectual adversary.³ Just after he published his influential *The Anarchical Society*, Professor Bull had this to



Dr. Seifudein Adem at an International Conference in Beijing, China, November 2010.

say: "Ali Mazrui is not only the most distinguished writer to have emerged from independent Black Africa, and the most penetrating and discriminating expositor of the ideology of the Third World, he is also a most illuminating interpreter of the drift of world politics." Bull added, "[t]he issues that interest [Mazrui], the audience to whom he addresses himself, even the values he embraces, are not simply black or African or Third World, but global."⁴ Although Mazrui's focus was both Third World and global, his perspective was, and has continued to be, bottom-up. It was this postcolonial "ideology" which Bull had in mind when he described Mazrui as "the expositor of the ideology of the Third World."

The mainstream discipline of which Hedley Bull was a part picked up Mazrui also because scholars were then more eager to better understand international relations in all its complexities, including by explaining or evaluating what Donald Puchala recently described as: "... the significance of the embittered tone, the complex motivations, the mythological underpinnings, or the historical dynamics of North-South relations."⁵ The relationship between Bull and Mazrui was, however, not a one-way street. If J. D. B. Miller's account is to be relied upon, and there is no reason why not, Mazrui, too, was a positive influence on Bull.⁶ Miller has recorded: "Hedley Bull's contact with stimulating people like Ali Mazrui, caused him to ask questions about the direction in which the Third World might be heading.

Ultimately, however, it was perhaps the same bottom-up perspective about the Third World which, to adapt a phrase from Philip Darby, not only articulates Third World dissatisfaction with its lot but also attempts to change it, that

marginalized Mazrui in the 1970s and 1980s IR.⁷ The external manifestations of how Mazrui's relationship with Bull eventually soured perhaps symbolized the then emerging "paradigm shift" in the mainstream discipline and the nature of its consequences. As Mazrui reminisced recently "Hedley Bull thought that I carried my anti-imperialism too far at a conference in Britain, which addressed international issues in connection with American hostages held in revolutionary Iran in the late 1970s. In my speech I argued that it was a change that Americans were hostages. Most of the time the United States held much of the world hostage to what Americans regarded as their national interest. I spoke with passion and at one stage I stopped speaking in a struggle to hold back my tears and prevent a breakdown. After questions and answers Hedley Bull came to the front and said to me with a twinkle in his eye — you are quite mad!"⁸

In the late 1970s and 1980s a general consensus was emerging among neo-realists and neo-liberals that the Third World required a different set of theories. Mainstream IR was reasserting its identity as "American social science," it was focusing almost exclusively on "the study of great power behavior."⁹ The discipline effectively closed itself off to Mazrui's concerns. This was certainly not the kind of IR Mazrui had in mind when he wrote: "I experienced international relations as a person before I studied it professionally."¹⁰ With the study of international relations thus "provincialized," it was less surprising that the stars of "Third World" intellectuals like Mazrui should begin to dim in the discipline.¹¹

There is another reason why Mazrui was dropped by or became more obscure in the mainstream discipline. When Mazrui later critiqued or challenged some of the core assumptions of IR theory, he rarely deployed familiar "theoretical" concepts. The relevance of Mazrui's contributions in this period to the theoretical debates are therefore invisible unless one laboriously sifts through his sizable intellectual outputs to distill a theory out of his historical analyses.

The 1970s and 1980s also witnessed the gradual marginalization of the "classical" method. Fact / value dichotomy became the order of the day, placing positivism on a solid ground as the dominant method of research in IR. As a consequence of this, Mazrui became the methodological "Other" in the eyes of mainstream political scientists, who were in Mazrui's own words, "... the different shades of behavioralists in the Western world who believe that political science ought not to include normative and value preoccupations."¹² But Mazrui refused to change

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his methodological approach even as he kept relative distance from the theoretical exchanges which characterized this period. Mazrui was conspicuously absent from the so-called "inter-paradigm" debates of the 1980s; apparently he chose to forget the mainstream discourse, by whom he was also seemingly forgotten.

While the values Mazrui had embraced and the issues he had prioritized did not endear him to mainstream political scientists in North America, it was therefore the method he stubbornly clung to, which made him the ultimate "Other." Mazrui's "methodological shortcomings" were indeed apparent even in the mid-seventies although the discipline seemed more willing to tolerate it.¹³ In the 1980s the level of tolerance for "methodological shortcomings" had substantially decreased in the mainstream IR.

Less preoccupied as he was with "meta-theoretical" issues, Mazrui has thus contributed relatively little to *theory* of international relations directly. Maximum preoccupation with meta-theories is likely, in Mazrui's view, to make the relevance of one theory or method loom large. It was thus also a cautionary step for an eclectic scholar such as Mazrui not to dwell on questions like what social theories are, how they should be formulated, and how they should be tested. Mazrui's "problem-driven" approach of the triple heritage which he formulated for exploring the African condition is consistent with such methodological commitment.

The paucity of Mazrui's theoretical contribution had therefore something to do with his position on "theory." The very notion of an all-encompassing theory is anathema to him. To the extent we can define Mazrui in theoretical terms; it is that he is anti-behavioralist. In *Political Science and Political Futurology*, one of a handful of his writings about theoretical issues, his anti-behavioralist stance becomes crystal clear. For instance, he observes: "only a thin dividing line separates scientific prediction from fortune telling"¹⁴ Was Mazrui referring here to the "meta-physical commitment" of science? We do not know the answer to that for sure since he did not develop the notion more systematically as he steadily drifted away from theory altogether.

In line with his approach described above, Mazrui is generally unconcerned about the lack of consistency among his propositions vis-à-vis major tenets of theoretical traditions in IR. He is abhorrent, for example, to the amoral fabric of realist theory. On one occasion, Mazrui described Machiavelli as "the first great rationalizer of hypocrisy and false pretenses as a cornerstone of high policy in diplomacy and politics."¹⁵ But

Mazrui also shares some of the basic propositions of realism such as the idea that nuclear proliferation is not necessarily inimical to global security.¹⁶ It must be noted, however, that Mazrui's argument about nuclear weapons is based on moral calculus rather than on the logic of deterrence. Mazrui is for total nuclear disarmament, but he is also against what he had called "nuclear apartheid." Mazrui's pro-nuclear proliferation argument was premised on the assumption that "a dose of the disease becomes part of the necessary cure."¹⁷ As he elaborated: "Some degree of proliferation may shock the five principal nuclear powers out of their complacency."¹⁸

Mazrui has also advanced arguments which are in tune with neoliberal institutionalism. In fact, it can be argued that Mazrui's scholarship shows basic institutionalist impulse, particularly as it was articulated more fully in his most ambitious book, *World Federation of Cultures*.¹⁹

However, Mazrui parts company with both realism and neoliberalism in important ways such as in his view that cultural groups, flexibly defined, constitute the main units of analysis of world politics and that both hierarchy and anarchy co-exist in and define contemporary inter-

in his framework than a nation-state. Mazrui has argued: "African intellectuals have spent a lot of energy rejecting the concept of 'tribe' for Africa. Why? Mainly because African intellectuals have known that most Europeans despised 'tribes.' Europeans have also often despised the black skin. Should we join them in the same prejudice?"²⁰ However, Mazrui does not limit the usage of the term tribe to Africa and other developing regions. For him, "tribalism can as easily wear a white face as a black one." In another sense, Mazrui had also applied the concept of "macro-tribalization" to the European "stride for regional integration," arguing that "pan-European identity is reasserting itself on a scale greater than the Holy Roman Empire."²²

In general it is impossible to pigeonhole Mazrui in theoretical terms, a fact which did not necessarily augur well for his place in the mainstream discipline, especially as the rule of the game in the North American IR became, in the words of James Der Derian: "without label, a box or a school, one does not exist."²³ But with his emphasis on deconstructing Euro-centrism, with his deep interest in the study of languages and their role in the "construction of subjects," with his



Dr. Seifudein Adem (second from the left in front) with participants of "Africa in Contemporary International Relations" conference, Grand Valley State University, Michigan, September 2009.

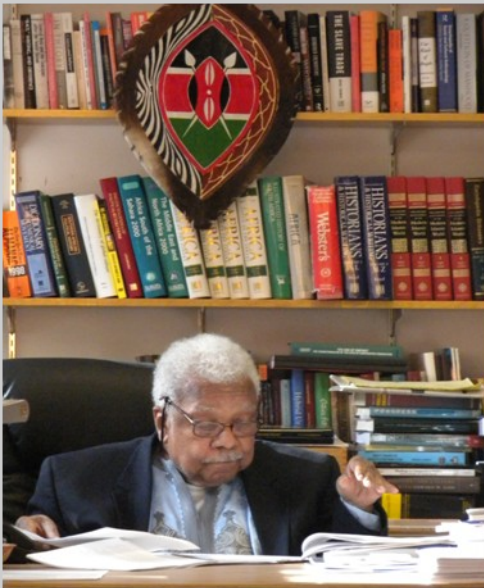
national systems. In Mazrui's framework, the state also ceases to be the primary and unitary actor in world politics. For Mazrui nothing is further from the truth than, for instance, the suggestion that postcolonial African states are "like-units." Mazrui's framework does not privilege the state which is for him just one of multiple players in world politics. Depending on the issue, indeed, a tribe could be a more significant unit of analysis

special attention to intersubjectively shared ideas, norms and values, with his longstanding fascination about the issues of culture and identity formation, and with his preference for transactional methodology, including the reliance on semi-autobiography, Mazrui's scholarship rhymes more naturally with (post-positivist) social constructivism than any other "-ism" in the mainstream discipline.

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IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui, December 2010

regarded the nuclear arrogance of the West as inseparable from its much older politics of racism.

One potential organizing principle is Nkrumah's "*Two swords of Damocles hanging over Africa*," — *racism and nuclear power in hostile hands*. I believe that is a defensible paraphrasing of Nkrumah's thesis. One possible chronological transition is therefore from French Sahara Tests in early 1960s to the nuclearization of apartheid — the latter being a fusion of the two swords of Damocles. Nkrumah's statement should ideally be an author's first quote of a chapter about Africa under siege.

There was also a fusion of race and nuclear concerns in France's choice of sites for testing in the 1960s. France's insistence on choosing colonial sites had surely included a racist motif.

On the other hand, France's nuclear desecration of African soil seemed to bridge the racial divide between Arab Africa and Black Africa. Black Africa's outrage at French nuclear tests was an implicit reaffirmation of the Africanity of Algeria, where France was testing.

In this respect, Afro-Arab relations have in part been a *tale of two Deserts* — the *Sahara* and the *Sinai*. The *Sahara* is sometimes in danger of dividing Black Africa from Arab Africa; the *Sinai* has sometimes linked Arab Africa to Asia.

The Malignant North: Global Mr. Hyde

1. White *capitalism* and the ideology of greed: mother of liberal democracy and mother of imperialism.
2. White *technology* and the corrupting tendency of power.
3. White *nationalism*, the nation-state and the transition to racism.
4. White *secularism* and the search for alternative forms of solidarity (e.g., racial solidarity).
5. White *mobility* and the encounters with other cultures.
6. The *nation-state*: mother of patriotism and sacrifice and mother of war.

The Benevolent North: Global Dr. Jekyll

1. The example of *Jesus* and service among the poor and the sick.
2. Service as a strategy of conversion: from clinic to confession, from school to salvation.
3. Rise of *liberal humanitarianism* in the West: Oxfam, Red Cross.
4. Rise of *liberal democracy*; rise of *Euro-socialism* and other left wing movements: the younger Marx and idealism.
5. *Euro-globalism*: Discourse on world order and global concerns.
6. *Euro-environmentalism*: Planet Earth is One.

But when either the Sinai or the Sahara is desecrated by outsiders, they have shown a capacity to bring Arab Africa and Black Africa together. Hence the Pan African unifying consequences of (a) French tests in the Sahara (b) Israeli occupation of the Sinai. Just as Black recognition of Algeria's Africanity was aided by French desecration of the Sahara so, Black recognition of Egypt's Africanity was aided by the Israeli occupation of the Sinai.

De Gaulle's strategy of strengthening France as a nuclear power was partly to compensate for France's decline as an imperial power. The process of nuclearization was a "power equivalence" in a declining Empire — and to compensate for the new imperative of decolonization.

France as an Imperial power in the old sense was more likely to clash with the Arabs than France as an independent nuclear power. On the contrary, nuclear France could sell arms to independent Arab States — and even try to build for Iraq a kind of Arab "Demon Reactor" (Premier Begin permitting)!

Nkrumah's *racial sword of Damocles* hanging over Africa had itself two versions — the European racism of *color* and the Zionist racism of *culture*. The two converged in the Tel Aviv/Pretoria Axis. The most controversial aspects of that Zionist/Apartheid axis

were: (a) nuclear collaboration between Israel and racist South Africa, (b) collaboration between them on counter-insurgency (so-called "anti-terrorism").

Another juxtaposition which may be illuminating (alas rather disconcerting) is Israel's appeal to Africans as a *religious metaphor* ("Israelites") and Israel's potential alienation from Afrabia as a *scientific and technological model*. A tension between *Biblical* and *Nuclear* Israel converged in African perceptions. Here was the contradiction between Jews at the dawn of Biblical creation and Jews at the dark hour of nuclear destruction.

One can explore these ideas to illustrate different ways of giving this historical phase theoretical *coherence* and *Afrocentrism*.

Further investigation is also needed about how far African uranium has been important not only for South Africa's nuclear program, but also for French and Israeli programs from the 1950s to the 1980s.

There may also be a compelling story about the Congo's nuclear research reactor.

How does this relate to the Congo's military flirtation with Israel and their resumption of diplomatic relations during the Congolese era of Mobutu Sese Seko? This part of the story is for another day. ▲

... Ali Mazrui and the Study of International Relations

(continued from page 6)

But Mazrui's constructivism has, as indicated above, a peculiar strong *postcolonial* accent. That is why I decided to examine in a forthcoming article the issues surrounding Mazrui's complex intellectual relationship with postcolonial theory. Why is Mazrui (at least) as obscure in postcolonial IR as he is in the mainstream discipline? Why did postcolonial IR scholars not pick up Mazrui as one of their own? Why has Mazrui's scholarship not struck a chord with postcolonialism? Where could we find the answers to these questions — in postcolonial theory, in postcolonial theorists, in Mazrui's scholarship, or somewhere else? ▲

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(Excerpt adapted from a forthcoming article scheduled for publication in 2011.)



Dr. Ali A. Mazrui delivering Barbara Ward Distinguished Lecture, at 23rd World Congress of the Society for International Development, and in the presence of the President of Tanzania, His Excellency Benjamin Mkapa, at Karimjee Hall, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, on July 4, 2002.

Ali A. Mazrui in History and Politics: His Contributions to the Growth of Africa and the Developing World

By A. B. Assensoh and Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh*

The observation of the busy as well as fulfilled life and times of Professor Ali Al'amin Mazrui have brought a lot of cogent meaning to our understanding of his well-lived and much-appreciated life, all of which go a long way to confirm the late Morehouse College President Benjamin Elijah Mays' conclusion in his eulogy of the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., his former Morehouse College student, that it is not how long one lives that matters, but how well and meaningful that life has been. Dr. Mays, himself a distinguished Phi Beta Kappa scholar was, in his eulogy, referring to the fact that at Dr. King's assassination on April 4, 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate and Baptist Preacher was only 39 years old. Happily, Professor Mazrui has, comparatively, lived a very long and meaningful life.

Toward the foregoing ends and where one's attributes are concerned, we also agree that, as we complete our co-authored essay about 77-year-old Dr. Mazrui, every human being is deemed mortal. Discussing man's mortality versus his ambition, we remember Shakespeare's prompt conclusion in his published famous play, *Julius Caesar*, as he touched on Caesar's ambition that all of these details evoke universality. Therefore, as we see the gradually-aging photographs of Professor Mazrui, which makes him a meaningful *Mwalimu*, in the true meaning of the accolade, we agree with many other observers of the *Mazuriana* miracle that one day, in the distant future, our beloved Teacher (*Mwalimu*), Mentor (*Nana* as Ghana's *Akan* chieftain), and indeed, our dear friend called Mazrui may not physically be in our midst. That thought, in itself, appropriately prompts us to enlist what Ghana's late British-educated Attorney Joseph Emmanuel (Joe) Appiah aptly noted when he utilized for illustration the following quote from Thomas Moore in his brilliant autobiography, *Joe Appiah: The Autobiography of an African Patriot* (1990):

*When time shall steal our years away
And steal our pleasures too,
The memory of the past will stay
And half our joys renew ...*

Also, when we take the time to observe the sheer productivity in teaching as well as the sheer vol-

ume of the published output and distinction of Dr. Mazrui as a scholar, a teacher, a public-cum-organic intellectual, it seems that he did it in rapid succession with the onerous thought that in the words of Alfred Tennyson, as Ghana's late President Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) quoted in his 1957 published memoirs, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, that there was so much to be done, with very little done in his life, that he (Mazrui) must also hurry with his accomplishments. Dr. Nkrumah, the future Ghanaian President, quoted Tennyson's two-line memorable words in his 1934 application for under-



Professor V. Y. Mudimbe and IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui, April 2010.

graduate admission into Pennsylvania-based Lincoln University, where he had decided to travel from his native Gold Coast (now called Ghana) to acquire higher education, which was obviously to prepare himself for the momentous and historic tasks that were lying ahead of him in his native land (colonial Gold Coast) as part of the nationalist leadership to prompt the British, as the colonial masters, to grant independence to the colony. The words of Tennyson that Nkrumah quoted in 1934, which are important for us to quote as we are writing our essay about Kenyan-born Professor Mazrui, were the following:

*So many worlds, so much to do
So little done, such things to be ...*

With a similar Western type of education, it is very useful that we have drawn brief parallels between Professor Mazrui's life and the lives of Ghana's Nkrumah and Uncle Joe (as Attorney

Appiah was affably called by all and sundry). Of course, it is a truism that Mazrui is from Kenya in East Africa, while Nkrumah and Appiah were Ghanaian compatriots, who were also earlier political collaborators, thereby knowing each other very well. Professor Mazrui, on the other hand, also, knew both men well and has, in fact, written directly and indirectly about both of them. In his many classrooms, Dr. Mazrui has taught an unlimited amount of courses in politics that touched on the nationalist political struggles of both unique men when discussing West African politics. That is why we have deemed it very useful to quote, even if briefly, from their published memoirs. While Dr. Mazrui's significance starts with his birth in East Africa, it is a fact that the two West African political figures, who were much older than Mazrui, lived and took part in the anti-colonial nationalist struggles of their beloved Gold Coast, which became Ghana on March 6, 1957, at independence. Fortunately, the political and business aspects of Attorney Appiah's life has been brilliantly discussed by Professor Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, the Harvard University historian, in a recent publication in USA-based *Journal of Third World Studies* (2010), the flagship publication of the Association of Third World Studies (ATWS) of Americus, Georgia.

To a large extent, Dr. Mazrui — with his versatility — could be seen as a product of British colonial education in the 1950s and 1960s, and he could easily be linked to the colonial history of his native Kenya and the overall colonial political experiences in other parts of Africa. There, are indeed, many reasons for one to do such a comparison even if minimally.

Therefore, before the advent of the active struggles of African nationalists and Pan-Africanists to break the yoke and shackles of colonialism as well as neo-colonialism on the continent, Africa was seen by European and other Western (or non-African) writers as being both mysterious and backward. Toward that end, Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), the Polish-born English writer, had the audacity to pen his book, *Heart of Darkness*, in which he referred to Africa as the “dark continent.” It would take the writings of Professor Mazrui and various progressive African authors to help debunk these stereotypical and condescend-

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ing descriptions. Sadly, some of these writers suffered for their radical or ideological stances and struggles in the interests of Africa as a continent and, to them, as a motherland. For example, Nkrumah, who was himself a prolific writer and a fierce fighter in the anti-colonial struggle in Africa, suffered in a variety of ways. In the end, he had his elected government in Ghana overthrown on February 24, 1966 in a military-cum-police *coup d'état* that was, reportedly, engineered by Western intelligence agencies (as documented in former CIA operative John Stockwell's book, *In Search of Enemies*).

As discussed in *Kwame Nkrumah: Panaf Great Lives* (1974) and in some of Professor Mazrui's writings, Nkrumah eventually died in April 1972 in faraway Bucharest, Romania, from what Amílcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau termed as a "cancer of betrayal" (1974). Several other black leaders and scholars, too, suffered in a variety of ways. For example, *Finally They Killed Him* (1980) was a book written by Nigerian scholars to document several aspects of the brutal assassination of Guyana's History Professor Walter Rodney, who penned *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1968), a forceful indictment of European forces that, in his opinion, kept Africa in the domain of what Conrad saw as a "dark" continent; Dr. Mazrui has an affinity to him, including serving as a Rodney Professor in Guyana. Another black nationalist scholar, who died from a mysterious illness, was Franz Fanon, author of several great works, including *The Wretched of the Earth* (1964).

As the occupier of Albert Schweitzer Endowed Professorship in the Humanities in the State University of New York (SUNY), with residence at Binghamton, New York, Dr. Mazrui has benefitted from several prestigious invitations to college campuses. During such visits, he performs to his best and makes the name of Africa shine, just as he did when, in 2009, his stellar achievements prompted the Indiana University African Students Association (IUASA) to bring him to our campus. He held his large audience spell-bound. It was similar to how both of us had, in an earlier period, successfully nominated and brought on the Bloomington campus of Indiana University (headed today by a stellar philosophy scholar, Provost Karen Hanson) two Nobel Laureates: Nobel Literature Laureate Wole Soyinka of Nigeria and, later on, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate.

In spite of Professor Mazrui's distinguished Pan-African scholarship and his ardent promotion of African culture, customs and ideals, he has



IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui being awarded the Order of the Grand Companion of Oliver Tambo by former South African President Thabo Mbeki, April 2007.

had his share of African and diaspora-based Black critics for varied reasons. For example, some West African scholars, who admire Ghana's late President Nkrumah (the Osagyefo) have never forgiven the famous Kenyan scholar for writing an essay in the early years of *Transition Magazine*, titled "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar," which depicted Nkrumah as a "Czar" of sort in Africa. To such pro-Nkrumah critics of Mazrui, it was a "how dare him" episodic issue. Yet, that did not dent the intellectual spirit or credentials of Professor Mazrui, who had previously been faulted because, to his ardent critics, he first rose to intellectual prominence by being seen as a critic of some of the accepted orthodoxies of African intellectuals between the 1960s and 1980s; he was also seen as an ardent critic of African socialism and Marxism, brands of which Nkrumah as well as Tanzanian ex-President Julius K. Nyerere and others practiced.

Ali. A. Mazrui: Some Essential Details

In the 2005 global intellectual poll, Professor Mazrui was ranked among 99 other distinguished figures, as being one of the world's top 100 public intellectuals by readers of the United Kingdom-based *Prospect Magazine* and the Washington DC-based *Foreign Policy Magazine*. Yet, those who very well know the University of Oxford's Nuffield College-educated political scientist add to the public intellectual description a further description of an "organic intellectual." In political science dictum, it is Antonio Gramsci, who introduced the concept, which has been applied to Rodney in the superb writings of Caribbean's Trevor Campbell (1981); Horace Campbell (1991); and Nigeria's astute scholar, Biodun Jeyifo (1980).

We have a purpose for adding the "organic intellectual" accolade to Mazrui's public intellectual distinction. In fact, we do not want to limit his intellectual precision and importance, hence we have not added "traditional intellectual" as part of the accolade. For, as we understand it from Gramsci's perspective, traditional intellectuals can be seen as literary as well as scientific and religious persons, whose positions in interstices of one's society has a certain inter-class aura about it. However, as Hoare and Smith have been quoted as having underscored in Lewis' book about Walter Rodney (1998), traditional intellectual "derives ultimately from past and present class relations and seals an attachment to various historical (and political) class forms."

Instead, for various reasons, we see Dr. Mazrui as being both, a public intellectual and to a large extent, and an organic intellectual, especially with his contributions to Africa and the Developing (or Third) World. As variously amplified, the organic intellectual — of the Mazruiian variation — happens to be, again in the words of Hoare and Smith (1978), the ever thinking and organizing elements of a particular aura specific fundamental social class, who can be "distinguished less by their profession, which may be any job characteristic of their class, than by their function in directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they organically belong." Unlike Rodney, who Columbia University Professor Manning Marable (1986; 1987) as being part of the black intellectual tradition, Mazrui has a firebrand intellectual prowess as opposed to radical or revolutionary one.

While Rodney and others used both astute and propagandist scholarship in the interests of black people, Mazrui has purposely utilized his political science expertise to bring Africa and other Developing (or Third) World areas into the focus of the enlightened world. In fact, it is due to the crusading writings of Mazrui and other black intellectuals that is why today, we do not continue to hear some of the ridiculous questions of the past about Africa; i.e., whether Africans live in trees, or whether Africans have tails, as depicted in some Tarzan movies. For example, in her excellent memoirs, *Living History* (2003) — published immediately after being America's First Lady — U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Rodham Clinton, pointed out the importance of Americans learning more about Africa. She was, indeed, pointing out several objectives for her fellow Americans (before her departure for Africa, with

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daughter Chelsea), and *inter alia* added: "... the importance of this last objective was illustrated when a journalist asked me before the trip, 'What is the capital of Africa?'" While Mrs. Clinton could afford to make a trip to learn, on the spot, about Africa, several of her compatriots would have to rely on great scholars like the Mazruis and others to get the needed information, distill and use it. That, in essence is why Dr. Mazrui can also be seen as an organic intellectual.

With multi-faceted talents and research agenda, Professor Mazrui's research interests, as can be ascertained easily by following his prolific writings, have always included African politics, international political culture, political Islam as well as North-South relations. Maybe, the political Islam aspect unfortunately made an otherwise nice Indiana-based colleague describe the indomitable Dr. Mazrui as an "Islamic fundamentalist," among other unflattering descriptions. In the foregoing contexts, Mazrui writes about African topics and other issues affecting other areas of the Developing (or Third) World.

Very uniquely, Professor Mazrui has made sure that his writings about these crucial areas of the world do not languish only on the pages of books. Therefore, he has taken steps to provide his admirers and the world televised documentaries, including "The Africans," a 1986 Washington DC-based Annenberg / CPB Project that was a nine-part television series by PBS and narrated by Mazrui himself. The series did provide a historical-cum-political and cultural overview of the continent within the framework of the triple heritage of the traditions of Africa and foreign influences. Interestingly, the series was derived from two of Dr. Mazrui's publication: *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (1987); and *the Africans: A Reader* (1986). There were some critics, who felt that the nine-part series was influenced by Basil Davidson's own "Africa: A Voyage of Discovery," a home television series (1984). Even so, it simply means that Dr. Mazrui is not an arm-chair scholar, who sits around restless and doing nothing because he has attained laurels in academic promotions.

Mazrui and Controversy

According to many admirers and critics of Professor Mazrui, he is a scholar who thrives on controversy in his speeches, in his classroom teachings and, also, in his writings. Often, his audiences wonder how and when he finds controversial but meaningful topics to discuss, and



IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui at a meeting with Ugandan President (first from right) Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, Kampala, Uganda, 2009.

even why so. For example, he was asked to give a major lecture about Ghana's late President Nkrumah, who once invited him to serve on the initial editorial board of *Encyclopedia Africana*. One wonders if it were a mere boldness or sheer arrogance when Dr. Mazrui theorized, in a public lecture in Ghana, that ex-President Nkrumah was a great African, but not a great Ghanaian. He reportedly based his thesis on the pervading Pan-Africanist stature of Nkrumah as opposed to Ghana's internal political conditions, which prompted the public uproar that contributed to his overthrow in the 1966 *coup d'état*.

The Ghanaian citizenry, from which Nkrumah drew his many supporters, wondered how and why Mazrui came to Ghana to tell them that their great *Osagyefo*, after all, did more in the realm of Pan-Africanism, including the sponsorship of very extravagant or expensive projects and even liberation movements externally when, in fact, the economy of Ghana was, as reported, in tatters. Consequently, Mazrui's contention was applauded by several Ghanaians, who saw themselves within the political contexts of the late Oxford-educated Prime Minister K. A. Busia and the earlier University of London-educated opposition leader, Lawyer Joseph B. Danquah. His critics felt that the good he did for liberation movements and countries struggling for decoloni-

zation made outsiders see him as a great leader. Whether that is correct depends on the one making the assessment.

In his writings, Professor Mazrui also had his share of critics, some fairly and others unreasonably. For example, when Heinemann Educational Books and New York's Third Press published his 1971 novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, several Nigerians were divided in the opinions. Igbo from breakaway "Biafra" in the Nigerian civil war saw the book as a bold literary exercise while anti-"Biafra" elements, who supported the Nigerian efforts to re-unite their country, felt that Mazrui was pandering to the other side. Most certainly, these were fascinating contentions. Non-Africans also had their take on the Okigbo story, as told by Mazrui. In *The New York Times Book Review*, George Davis wrote, among other details about the publication, that in spite of the seriousness of the questions raised by the book, there was something detached and also playful about Dr. Mazrui's novel, adding: "it becomes its own best proof that important political questioning and art are not mutually exclusive. *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* is a fine and unusual piece of fiction."

Professor Mazrui's historical-political novel — which marked him as a serious literary figure, was about aspects of the time and untimely

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death of the poet, Okigbo. At the time of his death in the Biafran war, he had published only what critics saw as a slim volume of poems, titled *Labyrinths*. Yet, he was seen in celebrated poetry sense. It was, therefore, not surprising that one of Africa's best writers, Professor Chinua Achebe of *Things Fall Apart* fame, wrote in 1978 that Okigbo was not only the finest Nigerian poet of his generation, but that as his poems become widely known internationally, "he will also be recognized as one of the most remarkable anywhere in our time."

Another African writer, Lewis Nkosi, had the opportunity to interview Okigbo in 1962. Seeing him as a poet's poet, Nkosi saw skepticism of Okigbo's that his true poetic audience in Africa would be limited, adding that he believed he was "writing for other poets all over the world to read and see whether they can share in my experience." It was the unique experience that prompted his older friend, Professor Mazrui, to write the novel.

In retrospect, many African scholars and readers have offered opinions on Professor Mazrui's "Leninist Czar" essay, published in *Transition Magazine* (1966). Many of them discussed the ideological implications, as they wondered if a socialist scholar would have written what Mazrui wrote. They, however, did not look at how well researched and comparative, in conclusions, the piece was, as Mazrui started his essay with a comparison of several aspects of Lenin's works. For example, he wrote that Nkrumah's first book, *Toward Colonial Freedom*, "was inspired by Lenin's theory of imperialism ... Nkrumah's last publication in office is *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*," was inspired by Lenin's theory of imperialism.

All of the foregoing assessments did not cause any ripples for Dr. Mazrui's African readers until they saw his other polemical assertions (of which Mzee Mazrui is famous), including this one: "There is little doubt that Nkrumah saw himself quite consciously as an African Lenin. He wanted to go down in history as a major political theorist, and he wanted a particular stream of thought to bear his own name." Hence the term "Nkrumahism" ... he also sought to be Ghana's Czar. Seeing Nkrumah as an authentic African leader or writer, his supporters or admirers did not take kindly to these assertions. Other critics, who sided with Mazrui's tantalizing essay, also wondered if the award of the Lenin Prize to Nkrumah by the then Soviet leaders did not confirm tacitly that he either wanted to be or enjoyed

to be seen in Leninist terms. All of these discussions, no matter the motives of the writer (i.e., Mazrui) and the discussants, did contribute immensely to African historical as well as political studies, and the originator of the same (Mazrui) should be applauded for the discussions.

It is a known fact that Professor Mazrui is at his best when his writings raise or introduce controversy, as he would handily face his critics with methodical and purposeful debate, very often with a very civilized approach. From that, younger generations of African writers have benefitted and, in the end, grown or influenced to become seasoned scholars, campus professors and writers.

Mazrui's Black Diaspora-Cum-Pan-African Forays; His Contributions to Pax-Africana and Belief in African Cultures and Traditions

In fact, the exemplary and distinguished achievements of Professor Mazrui often remind us of some of the axiomatic anecdotes of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Sr., of Rainbow Coalition fame. Often, when speaking to black youth, the ordained Minister would urge them to leave all distractions as well as family shortcomings behind and, instead, to strive to become "Somebody" in life. In his preacher's voice, he would draw all sorts of analogies for the benefit of the youngsters; he would say to the youngsters; that some of them felt or thought that having been born in a ghetto should be a barring factor toward their growth and aspirations, and urging them further: "You might have been born in a ghetto, but always remember that the ghetto is not in you, just as when a pregnant dog enters an oven to deliver its babies, we do not call them biscuits, but we still see them as puppies." Malcolm X, too, used the analogy of a cat giving birth in an oven: the babies produced by the cat were still kitten but not biscuits. Drawing on the wise words of Rev. Jackson and Malcolm X, therefore, boils down to the fact that Dr. Mazrui was, for example, born in Mombasa, Kenya, an African country that would, in the early 1960s, be known for its violent anti-colonial indigenous organization called the *Mau-Mau* movement. In fact, in his biographical anecdotes, it is often indicated that the young Mazrui (born on February 24, 1933) studied at schools in Mombasa, in Kenya.

No matter the amenities that the Mombasa schools lacked, young Mazrui was so determined that he went on to the United Kingdom, where he enrolled at University of Manchester to earn his

Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) degree in 1960 with distinction, his Master of Arts (M.A.) degree in 1961 from an Ivy League institution (Columbia University) of New York City, USA, followed by his Doctor of Philosophy (D. Phil.) degree in 1966 from Nuffield College, University of Oxford. The immediate query is whether or not Mazrui, upon bagging his terminal Oxford D. Phil. degree (with Molly, an English spouse in tow) made him a "Westerner", abandoned Mother Africa for the greener pastures of the Western World or, in essence, failed to return to Africa to contribute his economic and intellectual quota? No, he did not do so. If anything, he would return to Africa, via Uganda, to begin his great teaching career and distinguished scholarship!

Therefore, we can answer the query that he did not exactly disappoint Mother Africa! Instead, the African Patriot in the young Dr. Mazrui (just like the patriotism of Ghana's Uncle Joe and other nationalist leaders) took over for him to return to the Motherland via Makerere University; indeed, he reminds us a lot of this same serious African patriot, "Uncle" Joe Appiah of Ghana that we mentioned earlier and above. Attorney Appiah — who can as well be described like Dr. Mazrui as a public intellectual — wrote the great memoir, *African Patriot*; the U.K.-trained Attorney (or Lawyer) was so transparently patriotic and African that many of his Ghanaian compatriots very strongly harbor the feeling today that he (Uncle Joe) was one of the best Presidents that Ghana never had the opportunity to have in leadership! Like Dr. Mazrui, he also returned to Ghana with British credentials and, Lady Peggy Appiah, his British spouse, to whom he affectionately dedicated his published brilliant and very useful memoirs.

Upon attaining academic or professional Upon attaining academic or professional laurels, these accomplished African students returned to the Motherland (Africa) to work, mostly out of patriotism and nationalist pride. For example, out of patriotic zeal and also ever ready to serve his fellow Africans in need of high quality education, Dr. Mazrui joined the faculty of Uganda-based Makerere University and, between 1966 and 1973, served as the head of the Department of Political and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. At Makerere, he teamed up with other young scholars to "mint" new and young minds. In fact, in Europe, we encountered Dr. Krespo Muyonga, a former Ugandan diplomat in India, who earned his honors political science degree as "a Mazrui student." At Makerere, Krespo, as a

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mentee of Dr. Mazrui, was elected the President of the Student Government. He, like his mentor (Professor Mazrui) was forced into exile by Idi Amin's regime. That was when, between 1974 and 1988, Mazrui worked for University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, three years of which he promoted Africa and African diaspora studies as Director of the Center for Afro-American and African Studies (1978–1981).

When Professor Mazrui left Michigan in 1989, at the direct urging of then New York Governor Mario Cuomo to accept a New York-based endowed professorship, he followed the proverbial footsteps of Toni Morrison as the Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities and, subsequently, as the founding Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS), through which he brought some of Africa's brilliant minds and public figures to his campus, including Professors Soyinka, Adu-Boahen and several others; Nigeria's former Head of State, Dr. Yakubu Gowon, has visited the campus as well, which adds up to show Dr. Mazrui's eminent stature in African affairs.

To many Mazruian admirers, it was noteworthy that the endowed position he went to occupy at Binghamton University of the State University of New York (SUNY) was named after a medical doctor, who did a lot for Africa and Africans, particularly in the Congo sub-region. Dr. Albert Schweitzer, who was born in Germany on January 14, 1875 and died at 90 years old on September 4, 1965, in fact received the Nobel Peace Prize for his philosophy of reverence for life, which he expressed actively in founding and

sustaining the Albert Schweitzer Hospital in Lambaré, the area in Central Africa that is today called Republic of Gabon. While Mazrui today writes prolifically to make his works available to humanity, it is also a fact that Schweitzer had a passionate quest to introduce a universal ethical philosophy that would subsequently be enveloped in a universal reality.

Apart from his respective full-time positions in Michigan and Binghamton (New York), Professor Mazrui has also held concurrent faculty appointments and other positions that have Pan-African input: as Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large Emeritus in Jos, Nigeria, and Senior Scholar in Africana Studies at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; and until recently, Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Nairobi, Kenya.

Very interestingly, Professor Mazrui does not concentrate his intellectual and professional benevolence in Africa. In fact, when Guyana's educational leaders saw fit to inaugurate Walter Rodney Professorship on the Guyana campus of the University of Guyana, it was to Dr. Mazrui that they turned, thereby making him the inaugural Walter Rodney Professor. He traveled all the way to Georgetown, Guyana, for the inaugural festivities; holding the position for several years, he retired from it in 1999. Also, to propagate African studies and scholarship, Professor Mazrui has traveled far and wide as well as held visiting professorships and lectureships in many countries, including Canada, Singapore, Pakistan, USA, Iran, Ghana, Tanzania, UK and Germany, among others.

As a Muslim, with authentic Islamic credentials that he attained from his Kenyan father, who was in his lifetime a leading Islamic scholar, Professor Mazrui is known as an impeccable commentator on Islam and Islamism. Pointedly and transparently, he abhors terrorism in all of its forms. His numerous honors and honorary doctoral degrees go a long way to show that an African can achieve as much as serious scholars from other racial entities. For example, apart from being honored in 2000 in a Millennium Tribute for outstanding scholarship by the U.K.-based House of Lords, it is very reassuring that Professor Mazrui — as pointed out earlier — has been ranked among the world's top 100 public intellectuals. In fact, during his foreign travels and in his interactions with other Africans, Professor Mazrui received traditional and cultural honors. For example, in Ghana, he was honorifically made (or *enthroned*) as an Akan chieftain, whereby he was given the Akan title of *Nana*, symbolizing reverence. Therefore, several Ghanaians, including his great scholarly friend (the late History Professor Albert Adu Boahen) referred to him as Professor *Nana* Ali A. Mazrui. Many Akan people from Ghana were glad that Dr. Mazrui accepted the chieftaincy title and the Nana accolade. In his published 1990 memoirs, Attorney Appiah wrote, *inter alia*, about Ghanaian chieftaincy: "Chieftaincy is one of the noblest and most sacred institutions bequeathed to us by our ancestors." Also, when our family presented Dr. Mazrui with a piece of Ghana-made *Kente* cloth, sometimes called muffler, he used it very often during impor-

(continued on page 17)



Dr. Ali A. Mazrui with Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, New Delhi, India, November 2008.



Dr. Ali A. Mazrui speaking at a conference in Cairo, Egypt, on "Islam in International Affairs." The session was chaired by an Egyptian scholar, seated next to Dr. Mazrui.

Interview with Professor F. Sonia Arellano-López

By IGCS reporter

Dr. F. Sonia Arellano-López joined the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) in Fall 2010 as a Research Assistant Professor.

Could you please tell us more about your academic background?

I began my academic studies in La Paz, Bolivia in the Sociology and Political Science Department of the *Universidad Mayor de San Andres*. During my second year at the University there was a military coup and the university closed. Many university students were taken in custody. Some spent some time in jail, others were deported, and others looked for asylum at the embassies. As a result, I moved to Quito, Ecuador where I continued my studies at the *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador*. There I obtained my bachelors degree in Sociology and Political Science. Later, I completed my M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Sociology at Binghamton University.

What are your recent research interests?

I have been interested for many years in grassroots social movements, and particularly in the struggles of indigenous people. Many social movements have developed around struggles over land and natural resources, and I am interested in how people's relationships to land, or the relationships they want to have with land, influence how they define their political goals and strategies. My doctoral research was on how trade and commerce in Botswana was organized along lines of race and ethnicity. This has led me to be interested in the roles of race, ethnicity, and culture as sources of identity as well as organizing axes of human productive activities.

How did you come to know about Professor Mazrui and his work?

When I was a doctoral student at SUNY-Binghamton I read Professor Mazrui's work, and many people that I have worked with in southern Africa have been influenced by Professor Mazrui's work. His writing has provided material for many interesting conversations about development issues in Africa.

What are the factors that have shaped your scholarly pursuits?

Two factors have been very important for me. One is that my parents were from modest socioeconomic circumstances, and they believed strongly that education was a key for understanding the world and improving one's situation in it.



They encouraged me to study and do my best, even when circumstances made study difficult. The second is that, while I was growing up, political instability was a defining factor of life in Bolivia. That instability, and the associated conflict, made me want to understand the origin and dynamics of political struggles.

Your dissertation was on the historical development of ethically based networks of trade and commerce in Botswana. Could you please tell us more about your dissertation?

My dissertation research focused on how networks of trade and commerce in colonial Botswana developed along ethnic lines. Africans were largely excluded from entrepreneurial roles by the colonial authorities. However, the Europeans who were there representing colonial authorities were only interested in those aspects of trade and commerce that had to do with generating wealth for Great Britain and extending British power in southern Africa. This left many spaces that were filled by Asians, but with many restrictions. As a result, trade and commerce was organized along ethnic lines, according to a racial hierarchy that was enforced by the colonial government, but which functioned on a day-to-day basis based on informal rules. When Botswana became independent, the ethnic organization of trade and commerce, along with the informal arrangements among different ethnic groups, continued in the new context.

What aspects of your previous work dealt with the issue of culture?

Most of my work has dealt with the issue of culture. Culture underlies the way that people relate to one another, in a context of trade and

market relations, or in social conflicts over land and resources. It often is not explicit, and is embedded in other issues, but it is always there.

You have a wide experience working with NGOs, particularly on issues related to gender, culture and the environment, in what NGOs activity are you currently involved?

I should clarify that I am not working with any NGOs now, and all of my work is with the Institute. I have worked with NGOs and development agencies interested in understanding social conflicts in order to support poor rural populations, particularly populations composed of indigenous people, in improving their quality of life. This work enriched my professional development, because it forces you to confront social theory with empirical reality. This confrontation is usually more messy, and complicated, than most of our academic publications suggest, and it challenges you to reflect and question what you think you know and understand.

You are in the process of finalizing a number of papers as well. Could you please tell us more about your work that is still in progress?

I am currently working on several articles that develop themes from my doctoral research, and I hope to turn my dissertation into a book. I am also working on some Latin American material that has to do with indigenous women and environmental conservation. I am also finishing an entry on Sojourner Truth for an encyclopedia of Great African American Lives, which will be published by Salem Press.

Which of the IGCS projects will you be involved in? Could you please tell us more about your IGCS project plans?

I have been working with Professor Mazrui to help with the editing of some of his manuscripts for publication. I also enjoy teaching and plan to teach some classes looking at cultural issues that complement what Professors Mazrui and Adem are already offering. Since my geographic expertise is different from theirs, I think we have an opportunity to learn from one another. I know I have been learning a lot from them. Of course generating external funding is an important task for any university professor, especially during difficult economic times like we are currently experiencing. So, I hope to be successful in developing some project to bring outside funds to the university that will help strengthen the Institute's program. ▲

Indigenous People and the Promotion of Environmental Conservation and Sustainable Development

By F. Sonia Arellano-López

There is currently great worldwide concern about environmental issues generally, and the specific actions needed to address the impacts of climate change. Developing countries are a focal point of this concern, and numerous donor organizations are providing financial support in the name of improving their capacity to manage natural resources. This may be seen in a variety of areas, including from policy reforms to reduce carbon emissions and manage carbon stocks, local-level projects to make the farming systems of poor families more resilient in the face of climate change, and the promotion of clean energy ranging from the promotion of more efficient cook stoves to support for alternate fuel development. While diverse in their specific content these efforts share stated objectives to promote sustainable use of natural resources. Because efforts to promote environmental conservation and/or environmentally sustainable economic growth challenge explicitly or implicitly models of economic growth that have dominated the thinking of donor organizations until very recently, there is a widespread assumption that poor people will be major beneficiaries of development efforts based on the new environmental consciousness.

This assumption is particularly strong with respect to indigenous peoples in Latin America. Not only are they among the poorest and most oppressed people within many of the states in which they reside, we also tend to regard them as part of the environment we seek to protect. This vision contrasts with our self-image, which tends to view the growth of Western society as a progressive distancing from the limitations imposed by the natural environment. Thus, one feature of our concern with conservation and sustainable development is that we often turn to indigenous peoples for knowledge about how to use natural resources in ways that provide alternatives to the destructive and non-sustainable pattern of resource use commonly associated with the expansion of capitalist production relations.²

A more critical understanding of the costs of particular patterns of economic growth will undoubtedly yield social as well as environmental benefits. Similarly, it may well be that the production knowledge of Native People contains important understanding about the biological bases of sustainable production systems, as well as about the social and institutional relations required for them to function. At the same time, efforts to promote environmental conservation and sustain-

able development and to improve the well being of Native People also need to be subject to important caveats. First, the destructive use of natural resources associated with capitalist economic growth has been closely linked to struggles over access to land and other resources. To the extent that conservation and sustainable development efforts fail to promote institutional arrangements that equitably resolve these conflicts, their results will be disappointing.³

Second, as researchers such as Bartra (1992) have pointed out, Western assumptions about Native People as being close to nature have more to do with our images of ourselves as being separate from nature than they do with any particular understanding of the historical context in which their production systems have developed. If it is true that there are examples of Native People who offer the hope that their knowledge can be the basis of sustainable patterns of land management, and who seek to advance their struggles for land and political autonomy through alliances with international environmental interests, it is also true that there are many more Native People who are both major agents and victims of environmental destruction, where conservation efforts have made environmental destruction worse by ignoring the historical circumstances that have fostered particular kinds of land use.⁴

There are no clear, unequivocal criteria for classifying specific people as "indigenous," in Latin America, or elsewhere. Phenomena associated with changing production relations in the countryside, like rural-urban migration and agrarian reform have often disrupted customs, the use of indigenous languages, and land tenure relations that mark and reinforce the ethnic identity. This has increased assimilationist pressures on all but the most isolated populations. There are no reliable statistics that measure the numbers of indigenous populations, or the degree to which they have been assimilated into the national societies that surround them. National population censuses are no more than rough guide because many governments tend to deny that their countries have substantial indigenous population.⁵

In this context, International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169, on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, provides a description of essential features of indigenous peoples. The declaration defines as indigenous communities, peoples and nations that have a historical continuity with the pre-invasion and pre-colonial so-

cieties that developed on their territories; and consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories or parts of them. The declaration also affirms that indigenous peoples represent non-dominant sectors of the society and are determined to reserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.⁶

The ILO declaration associates indigenous peoples with a strong ancestral attachment to territory and land issues, recognizing that historically most of them were integrated and subordinated to broader economic and social groupings within colonial agricultural and mining systems. The subordination of indigenous peoples as farmers and miners was understood as assimilation to the predominant economic system, and the outcome of it was to deprive them of their sociocultural roots. Such assimilation often became a justification for denying their right to territory defined in terms of their indigenous identity.

The declaration understands indigenous peoples as integral collectivities, existing within territories, where western sociocultural and juridical systems prevail, adapting and modifying some of their patterns in order to survive in an unequal capitalist system. This is especially important in cases where historical references tell us that the process by which their territory was appropriated in the name of "progress" and "development" signified the impoverishment and marginalization of the already displaced indigenous people.⁷

It is the distinction between the individual and collective association of indigenous peoples with economic, socio-cultural and juridical context that determines whom it is possible to categorize as indigenous. Indigenous peoples who have been assimilated by the agricultural system are regarded first as peasants, small farmers or smallholders. By the same token if they were assimilated economically by the mining system they are regarded first as miners by governments and other interested parties. It is the association of indigenous peoples with certain economic activities that results in the loss of their social, cultural and juridical systems, upon which rests their collective identification in the overall society. Understanding the complexity of the definition of indigenous peoples and assuming that they represent a collectivity as well individu-

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als who are participants in an economic system, suggests that it is appropriate to reconsider how they are incorporated into environmental and development projects.⁸

Since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (The Earth Summit), which was held in Rio de Janeiro, in 1992, numerous criticisms of the agreements reached at the conference, and the progress made on implementing them have been published. Many of these point out that it is necessary to empower indigenous organization and their constituencies to achieve the goals that the conference participants set for themselves. However, it is noteworthy that indigenous organizations and their constituencies still are marginal participants in the substantive discussions involving international and national fora. While indigenous people are regular participants in international environmental meetings, their relationships to collective organizations that are actually involved in managing territories and other indigenous lands are weak. This makes it difficult for the people attempting to represent indigenous people in such settings to receive and transmit the views of their constituencies in a systematic way, or to report back to them in a timely and complete way. This problem reflects a combination of scarce financial resources and institutional weakness within the indigenous movement. As a result, indigenous peoples continue to be only marginally important in defining positions about what is to be done in the name of managing and conserving their land.⁹

Thus, the success of environmental policies and programs will require rethinking the role that the people directly affected by them should play in their design and implementation. This issue is especially critical in the case of indigenous peoples, whose continuing existence depends on decisions about conservation and development priorities, and how these are to be implemented. On one hand, they should learn skills to improve the con-

ditions of their participation in the international market. This will require direct strengthening of grassroots indigenous organizations, and the definition of mechanisms for their participation, not only in projects to be implemented, but in the definition of the environmental and development problems to be addressed. Otherwise, the social conflicts that have driven us to the current environmental crisis may be made worse by our efforts at environmental protection. ▲

Endnotes

1. See R. Bartra, *El salvaje en el espejo*. México, D. F.: Ediciones Era y la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992. Published in English as *Wild Men in the Looking-Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1995.

2. See *Indigenous Peoples and Conservation. From Rights to Resource Management*, edited by Walker Palnemilla Kristen, Anthony B. Rylands, Alisa Woofer and Cassie Hughes, International Conservation, 2010.

3. See Painter, M., A.R. Alves, C. Bertsch, R. Bodmer, O. Castillo, A. Chicchón, F. Daza, F. Marques, A. Noss, L. Painter, C. Pereira de Deus, P. Puertas, H. L. de Queiroz, E. Suárez, M. Varese, E. M. Venticinqué, R. Wallace, "Landscape Conservation in the Amazon Region: Progress and

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4. Arellano-López, Sonia "Integrated Development Program; Gender Case Studies Report," Case Studies prepared for International Resources Group, Ltd. Washington, DC. 2008; "The Capitanía del Alto y Bajo Izoqog (CABI)." Technical Report #190, Kaalya Project: CABI and WCS, 2005.

5. For example Chile and Venezuela.

6. See Stavenhagen, R. "Los derechos indígenas: un nuevo enfoque del sistema internacional," In *El levantamiento indígena y la cuestión nacional*. CDDH, ed. Pp. 47-114. Quito, Comisión por la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos y Ediciones ABYA-YALA, 1990.

7. Stavenhagen, R. op. cit., 1990

8. Arellano-López, Sonia. op. cit., 2008.

9. For example, the Peoples World Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth (*Conferencia Mundial de Pueblos sobre el Cambio Climático y Derechos de la Madre Tierra [CMPCC]*) was organized by the Bolivian government. Although the conference had a strong presence of indigenous people, it also served as a political stage for the Bolivian and Venezuelan presidents. See Gallardo Reyes, Hector "Conclusiones y ambiciosos objetivos de la Cumbre de Cochabamba." Biblioteca del congreso nacional de Chile, 2010.



Shipibo indigenous women leaders' meeting / Ucayali-Peruvian Amazon-2009 (S. Arellano-López Archive Pictures)

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tant ceremonies, including his June 2000 historic visit to Great Britain's House of Lords for the public honor that was bestowed upon him.

Professor Mazrui's honors have been so many that he has had several opportunities to spot his Ghana *kente* piece that our family presented to him in Louisiana. In summing up his honors, they have for example included being awarded honorary degrees by USA-based and overseas academic institutions and, also, being selected by the erstwhile Organization for African Unity (OAU) (now known as the African Union or AU) to serve as an Eminent Statesman of Africa, whereby he and other selected eminent Africans meet to dialogue and offer useful pieces of advice on delineated issues to African leaders. Although he is not known to be a radical scholar, with rhetorical socialist bent, Dr. Mazrui has still teamed up with other anti-apartheid and anti-colonialism forces, including the late Professor Dennis Brutus of South Africa to fight against apartheid and other unequal treatment of fellow Africans in colonial and post-colonial Africa. All of these appreciable dimensions have made Dr. Mazrui a true champion of fair-play as well as a meaningful scholar, whose writings and Radio/TV commentaries have contributed immensely to the decolonization struggles of such African nationalist and liberation movements as ANC, SWAPO, FRELIMO, among others.

While, we were collaborating on writing our thoughts about Mwalimu (Nana) Mazrui in this essay, we still had the urge at the back of our minds about him to the point of asking, as Paul Theroux, the expert on travelogues, recently did in *Smithsonian Magazine* (January 2011): "Do I write my life [story], or leave it to others to deal with?" Theroux eventually cited Henry James as describing biographers as "post-mortem exploiters." We wonder what Professor Mazrui too thinks about that because we strongly feel that his autobiography will stay on *the New York Times'* best seller list for a long time, and it will be an essential reading for all. Otherwise, as Theroux wrote in *The Smithsonian Magazine*, we also borrow from Kipling the following poetic words, as we wait for Dr. Mazrui's published memoirs to be shared with us:

*And for the little, little span
The dead are borne in mind,
Seek not to question other than
The books I leave behind*

Very interestingly, Professor Mazrui does not concentrate his intellectual and professional benevolence in Africa. In fact, when Guyana's educational leaders saw it fit to inaugurate Walter Rodney Professorship on the Guyana campus of the University of Guyana, it was Mazrui to whom they turned, thereby making him the inaugural Walter Rodney Professor. He traveled all the way to Georgetown, Guyana, for the inaugural festivities; holding positions for several years, he retired from them in 1999. Also, to propagate African studies and scholarship, Professor Mazrui has traveled far and wide as well as held visiting professorships and lectureships in many countries, including Canada, Singapore, Pakistan, USA, Iran, Ghana, Tanzania, UK and Germany, among others.

Finally, friends as well as admirers alike, colleagues and even critics of Professor Ali Al'amin Mazrui would agree that one day, he will slow down and, in doing so, to reduce his day-to-day work load as a man in his 70s is expected by society to do and, in the process, take time to reflect meaningfully on his overall life's journey in what each aging mortal knows as a retirement. Furthermore, it is also not impossible that he can, as well, become an ancestor at the end of his life's journey. Whenever he faces either of the two occasions or prospects of life, our beloved Dr. Nana (Mwalimu or Professor) Mazrui can still take solace in the words that have befittingly been inscribed on the tombstone of the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who toiled for America's downtrodden as well as the disinherited: "Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty [or Allah] I am free at last." ▲

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Report on Publications and Recent Activities of Director Ali A. Mazrui (2009–2010)

Recent Publications

Africa's Islamic Experience: Culture, History and Politics. Co-editor (Sterling, New Delhi, India, 2009).

Barack Obama in Comparative Perspective: McCain to Mandela; Othello to Pushkin. Lectures delivered in four continents during 2008–2009 (IGCS, Binghamton, NY, 2009).

"Shariacracy and Federal Models in the Era of Globalization: Nigeria in a Comparative Perspective," in *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2009.

"Africa and Other Civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest," in *Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order*. Co-authored with Donald Rothchild, (Westview Press, 2009).

"Between Race and Civilization," in *Islamic Horizons Magazine of the Islamic Society of North America*, Vol. 38, No. 1, January/February 2009.

"Islam in Africa," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Vol. 26, No. 3. Association of Muslim Social Scientists of North America (AMSS)-International Institute of Islamic Thought. Guest co-editor 2009.

Forthcoming Publications

Afrasia. Co-authored with Seifudein Adem, (University Press of America).

The African Intelligentsia: Domestic Decline and Global Ascent. Co-authored with Amadu Jacky Kaba, (James Currey Publishers, Oxford, England).

Julius K. Nyerere, Between Aspiring Socialist and Accomplished Social Engineer, edited by Lindha Mhando et al., (Michigan State University Press).

Barack Obama in Comparative Perspective: From Othello to Nelson Mandela, edited by Seifudein Adem, (James Currey Publishers, Oxford, England).

Books in Progress

The Human Body and the Body Politic: Africa, Islamic and Western Perspectives, edited by Etin Anwar.

Islam and Seven Pillars of Modern Wisdom, edited by Thomas Uthup.

African Thought: Between Ideology and Philosophy, edited by Patrick Dikirr.

Ali Mazrui and His Critics, edited by Seifudein Adem and Willy Mutunga.

Highlights on Recent Activities

Roundtable "AFRASIA: The Asian Diaspora in Global Africa and the African Diaspora in Asia," African Studies Association (ASA) 53rd Annual Meeting: African Diaspora and Diasporas in Africa; San Francisco, California, November 19th, 2010.

Discussant "Shari'a and Post-conflict Justice: Moving Beyond Legal Compatibility Questions" Post-conflict Justice and Islam Conference, United States Institute of Peace (USIP); International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences (ISISC) and Institute for National Security and Counter-terrorism at Syracuse University (INSCT), Washington DC, November 5th, 2010.

Keynote Speaker African Group meeting to discuss the theme of Africa and the United Nations and to learn about the book *From Global Apartheid to Global Village: Africa and the United Nations, African Union*; New York City, NY, October 26th, 2010. Panelist "Between Delayed Modernity and Deferred Democracy: Africa's Troubled Take-Off," Race, Ethnicity and Place Conference hosted by Binghamton University Department of Geography and the Binghamton University Administration, Binghamton, New York, October 6–8 October, 2010.

Chair of Panel "Islam and the West," at the 38th Annual AMSS Conference Islamic Traditions and Comparative Modernities. De Paul University, Chicago Illinois, September 24–25, 2010.

Public Lecture "In the Shadow of Islamophobia: the United States and the Muslim World," Michigan State University, Muslim Studies Program; East Lansing, Michigan, September 23, 2010.

"Is Governance in Africa Democratisable?" Lecture followed by Questions and Answers, Africa Region Capacity Development and Partnerships Unit Presents Speakers Series "Success Despite the Odds." The World Bank, Washington DC, May 24, 2010.

"Historical Perspective / Reflections of Africa the Last 50 Years," Friends of Africa International Benefit Celebration of Africa Day, Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the United Nations, New York City, May 20, 2010.

Lecture: "A Muslim Century: Myth or Reality?" Syarahan Perdana Putrajaya, Putrajaya International Convention Center Malaysia, May 18, 2010.

"From Othello to Obama: Is this the Dawn of a Post-racial Age?" Diversity Lectures Series, University of New England, Biddeford, ME, April 7–8, 2010.

SABC-Channel Africa Interview: "Somaliland by Iqbal D. Jhazbhay (Mazrui forward)," March 4, 2010.

VOA Interview: "Reflection on 50 Years of Independence in Africa," February 17, 2010.

VOA Interview: "Obama's First Year and Africa," January 22, 2010.

BBC World Service Interview: "Biafra Legacy," January 14, 2010.

Keynote Speech: "The Nile Basin in History and Culture: From Akhenaton to Barack Obama," and closing address: "Regional Integration and Cultural Differentiation in the Nile Basin;" Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) 10th Anniversary and SVP Showcase Event, Mlimani City Conference Center. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, December 4–10, 2009.

Re-elected president of the Association of Muslim social scientist of North America (AMSS) for a two year period; November 16th, 2009.

Honored by Mombasa Polytechnic University College of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology; Mombasa, Kenya, 2009.

NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner 100 Year Centennial Celebration "Civil Rights: The Next Hundred Years? Is the civil rights cup half full or half empty?" Binghamton, NY, November 14th, 2009.

Visiting Distinguished Professor, Teaching and Research on the Black Atlantic World and Atlantic Africa; Cultural Forces in World Politics and their Impact on the International System; Islam in Africa and its Diaspora, Penn State University, University Park, PA, November 1–3, 2009.

"The Obama Administration and US Relations with the Muslim World: Prospects, Progress and Lingering Skepticism." Association of Muslim Social Scientists of North America (AMSS) and Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) Regional Conference, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, October 16th, 2009.

Chair Panel I: "Islam and the West." The 38th Association of Muslim Social Scientists of North America (AMSS) Annual Conference, Islamic traditions and comparative modernities, co-sponsored by the Department of Religious Studies and the Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Languages and Cultures of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, September 25–26, 2009.



Report on Publications and Recent Activities of Associate Director Seifudein Adem (2009–2010)

"Africa in Japanese Diplomatic Thought," *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 5, 2010.

"The Paradox of China's Policy in Africa," *African and Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 2010.

"Africinity, African Intellectuals and the Study of Ethiopia: The Relevance of Mazruiana," in *Research in Ethiopian Studies* edited by Svein Ege et al., (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010).

"Obama Effect in Japan," *Black Scholar*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2010.

"Japan in Africa: Diplomacy of Continuity and Change," in *Africa and the New World Era*. Jack Mangala, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

"Ali A. Mazrui and the Oromo," *Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2009.

"Re-Reading the 'Leninist Czar,'" *African Renaissance*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2009.

"Black Achievement in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2009.

Invited and Conference Presentations

"Divergent Perspectives about Afro-Chinese Relations: A Critical Appraisal." Presentation at International Conference on Conflict Management, Peace Economics, and Peace Science. Institute of Defense Economics and Management, Central University of Finance and Economics, Beijing, China, November 18–19, 2010.

"Dialectics of Political Violence in the Horn of Africa: A Theoretical Survey." Presentation at International Workshop on "Intra and "Inter-State Conflicts and Security in the Horn of Africa." The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, May 25–26, 2010.

"Emerging Trends in Afro–Chinese Relations: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives." Keynote Address at the 35th Annual Meeting of New York African Studies Association — Global Africa and Asia in the Age of Globalization. Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, March 26–27, 2010.

"Sino-Optimism, Sino-Skepticism and Sino-Pessimism: The Paradox of China's Policy in Africa." Presentation at the University of Tsukuba.

Research Project about Chinese Development Assistance funded by Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences, Tsukuba City, Japan, February 22, 2010.

"China's Dual Diplomacy in Africa and Its Consequences. Preliminary Assessment." Presentation at Cornell University, East Asia Program, Ithaca, NY, February 15, 2010.

"Conflict Prevention in Japan and Africa: A Cross-Cultural Perspective." Presentation at the International Conference on Conflict Management, Peace Economics and Peace Science, Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), School of Social Sciences, New Delhi, India, January 11–13, 2010.

"A Tale of Two Pan-Africanists: Haile Selassie and Nkrumah." Presentation at a Roundtable in Commemoration of Nkrumah's Centenary "From Osagyefo Nkrumah to Nana Obama", 52nd Annual Meeting of African Studies Association, New Orleans, LA, November 17–22, 2009.

"Obama and Japan." Presentation at a Symposium on "Obama and the Muslim World: Prospects, Progress and Lingerings Skepticism," Mandela Hall, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, October 16, 2009.

"Japan in Africa: Diplomacy of Change and Continuity." Presentation at "Africa in Contemporary International Relations: Contexts, Stakes, Actors and Issues" Conference, Grand Valley State University, Allendale, MI, September 21–22, 2009.

"The Paradox of China's Policy in Africa." Presentation at ABRISA Joint International Meeting, "Diversity and Inequality in World Politics," Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, July 22–24, 2009.

"How Leninist was Nkrumah? Was he also a Czar?" Presentation at Nkrumah's Centenary Panel of 33rd Annual New York African Studies Association Meeting, "Reconstruction, Peace and Transformation in Africa," Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, April 4–5, 2009.

"Japan — Obama: Effect of Obama Phenomenon in Japan." Presentation at the Panel "African and African-American Perspectives on Barack Obama" organized by Black Students Union, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, March 26, 2009.

"Re-reading 'Nkrumah: Leninist Czar.'" Presentation at the 51st Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association at a Roundtable "Nkrumah and the Birth of African Diplomacy: A Centenary," New York, NY, February 15–18, 2009.

IGCS Staff Activities



Standing behind IGCS Director Ali A. Mazrui, from left to right: Seifudein Adem, Patrick Dikirr, Anand Jahagirdar, Sonia Arellano-López, Pauline Mazrui, Barbara Tierno, Jennifer Winans, Al'Amin A. Mazrui, Pauravi Patil, Ramzi Badran and Ravenna Narizzano.

Ramzi Badran is a graduate teaching assistant. He is working on a series of papers that address the relationship between peace agreements and the durability of peace. He investigates how the design quality of the peace agreement, and the structural and procedural provisions it contains, influence cooperation between erstwhile belligerents. The first paper, which examines the durability of peace in the aftermath of intrastate armed conflicts, will be presented at the annual conference of the Midwest Political Science Association. The second paper, which focuses on human rights provisions, will be presented at the annual conference of the American Political Science Association.

Patrick Dikirr is a Research Associate at Binghamton University's Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS). Dikirr's primary area of specialty is in Environmental Ethics and Policy. But he also studies, writes and has broad interests in other fields of study — including the Politics of Decolonization in Africa, the role of International Non-Governmental Organizations in facilitating and/or undercutting Africa's democratic momentum, the Science and Politics of Climate change, Migration and Africa's Global Diaspora, and Islam in World Affairs. He co-edited *Africa's Islamic Experience: History, Culture and Politics* (Sterling, New Delhi, India, 2009).

Anand Jahagirdar is a graduate student at Binghamton University, where he is pursuing a M.S. degree in Computer Science. He began his graduate studies in Fall 2009. Anand joined IGCS in Fall 2010. He is currently working in IGCS under the guidance of Dr. Ali A. Mazrui and Dr. Seifudein Adem.

Ravenna Narizzano joined the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) as Administrative Assistant in 2008. Her primary responsibility is to assist with daily operations of IGCS and overall administrative support of the Schweitzer Scholar/Institute Director and the IGCS team. She feels truly privileged and honored to help Dr. Ali A. Mazrui and IGCS with the important study of culture and cultural influences in the contemporary world.

Barbara Tierno has been with the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) since 1998. She is such an important and valuable member of the IGCS team that when she retired in 2002 she was coaxed back to work part-time. Her positive attitude and "joie de vivre" make her a delight to work with. When all else fails Barbara is our "go-to" person and master problem solver.

Pauravi Patil has completed her B.S. Degree in Computer Engineering from AISSMSIOIT Pune, India and is currently pursuing her M.S. in Computer Science at Binghamton University. Pauravi began working at IGCS in the Fall of 2010. She has been working under Professor Seifudein Adem and Professor F. Sonia Arellano-López.

Jennifer Winans joined the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) as Secretary in 2010. She brings with her a strong publishing background, creativity, and initiative. Jennifer has already proven herself a valuable member of the IGCS team by spearheading important projects including transferring hard copy Mazruiana to electronic files and putting together and maintaining a Mazruiana database.



Makerere Mazruiana Project launch souvenir t-shirt



Roldan Rolands painted, Great Ivory Tower-Makerere, impression of Dr. Ali A. Mazrui's portrait on canvas while Dr. Mazrui was delivering a speech at the Makerere Mazruiana Project launch, Uganda, 2009.



Artist Roldan Rolands stands as Dr. Mazrui signs canvas, Uganda, 2009.



Dr. Ali A. Mazrui and his wife, Pauline, being received by their host, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dato' Sri Haji Rajib Abdul Razak, May 17, 2010, at the Prime Minister's office, Putrajaya, Malaysia.



Dr. Seifudein Adem and Professor Horace Campbell at a symposium on "The Obama Administration and US Relations with the Muslim World: Prospects, Progress and Lingering Skepticism" held at Binghamton University, October 16th, 2009. The conference was co-sponsored by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists of North America.



Administrative Assistant Ravena Narizzano and Graduate Teaching Assistant Ramzi Badran at work, December, 2010.



Institute of Global Cultural Studies

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