

Ali A. Mazrui
River House
38 Front Street, Apartment 3E
Binghamton, New York 13905, USA

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(For Friends, Relatives and Colleagues)

Themes: The Dual Crusade and Multiple Anniversary

The year in which my oldest son celebrated his 30th birthday was also the year when my youngest son was born. My wife, Pauline Ejimah Maryam (a triple heritage of names) gave us a another son in August 1993. Once again I witnessed the birth in the delivery room, and I was very proud of the mother's courage and endurance. Was I privileged to cut the umbilical cord, as I had done at Farid's birth on January 14, 1992? Alas, Harith Ekenechukwu Mazrui was born at a different hospital in 1993 from that of his brother's birth. The rules were different. In the new hospital the Dad could watch but not directly participate in the delivery! Well, Dads can't have everything all the time!! It is still wonderful to be a father again at the age of sixty.

We shall return to those and other exciting anniversaries of 1993. But this newsletter is also about an entirely different theme - a kind of dual crusade that I waged in 1993, partly on behalf of scholarship and partly on behalf of Africa. Let us examine the dimensions of the dual crusade first before we return to the phenomena of multiple anniversaries.

When William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge published their Lyrical Ballads in 1798, it was partly in the conviction that there were times when a poet had to create the very taste by which he or she was to be enjoyed. An innovative poet may have to create the aesthetic constituency for his or her own innovations. The Lyrical Ballads were a turning point in English literature. Wordsworth and Coleridge were creating not just a new art-form but new art-lovers in their audience.

But how is this related to my dual crusade of 1993? Well, during the year I found myself engaged in two activities in the scholarly and activist world in which new constituencies needed to be created. We needed to create "art-lovers" for the most unlikely "art-forms". We needed to create believers in the cause of Black reparations. And we needed to create a wider constituency for a field of study which we call global cultural studies. In both cases the intellectual level of receptivity was initially at least as cautious and skeptical as that which

initially greeted the Lyrical Ballads.

Even among Black people there is considerable doubt about whether reparations from the West for Black enslavement and colonization is a realistic goal. And global cultural studies suffers from a convergence of similar skeptics. There are on one side those who believe in globalism but do not believe in cultural studies, and on the other those who believe in cultural studies but do not accept a global level of culture. The globalists include Marxists, Western strategists and scholars within the world system paradigm. They do not take cultural studies seriously. The students of culture are pre-eminently anthropologists and art specialists. They tend to be highly skeptical of the globalization of culture. And yet here is Ali Mazrui trying to launch into orbit an Institute of Global Cultural Studies. Was such an institute even more of a contradiction than the concept of Lyrical Ballads? My dual crusade for reparations and global cultural studies was up against many skeptics.

The Reparations Crusade

You will remember that it was in 1992 that Africa's Heads of State empaneled me and eleven others into a Group of Eminent Persons at a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Dakar, Senegal. Our group of twelve was to explore the modalities and logistics of campaigning for reparations to compensate for centuries of the enslavement, colonization and degradation of Black people.

The Group of Twelve elected Chief M.K.O. Abiola of Nigeria as our Chair and Professor Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal as our Co-Chair. You will remember that our first witnesses in Dakar in 1992 were Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Jesse Jackson of the United States.

In 1993 I embraced the reparations cause seriously not only as an assignment of the OAU entrusted to us but also as an intellectual challenge. After all, issues like colonial damage-analysis or comparative slavery were of academic value independently of any activism.

I raised the issue of Black reparations in contexts marked by their very diversity. I spoke on the subject as a guest-speaker of the Zimbabwe branch of the African Association of Political Science (AAPS) in Harare in February 1993. There were other speakers on my panel, but the occasion was the first time I had spoken under AAPS auspices since the Association and I broke ranks in the 1970s in a cloud of political misunderstanding. In a sense, my reparations lecture in Harare was the final act of reconciliation between the Association and myself. The

reconciliation was graciously aided by our Zimbabwean brothers!

I was interviewed live on the phone on reparations by a panel in a studio of Radio Jamaica, in Kingston, Jamaica. The moderator was Beverly Manley, the former "First Lady" (Prime Minister's wife) of Jamaica.

Earlier I had addressed the issue of reparations in a radio phone-in program in Ohio, which had been arranged by Ohio State University. I fielded questions and dealt with irate listeners' comments on the air, live on the radio phone-in.

I also spoke on reparations in a seminar at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. Inevitably the question arose: "What would constitute reparations for apartheid?". The first task was of course to genuinely end apartheid, not merely by giving Africans the vote, but also by giving them a commensurate share of the land and wealth of the nation. Ending electoral apartheid is much easier than ending economic apartheid.

The first Pan-African Conference on Reparations was held in Abuja, Nigeria, in 1993. There were delegates from all over Africa and all over the Black world - vice-presidents, ministers, ambassadors, Pan-African activists, scholars, artists, labour union leaders and, perhaps least expected, a white member of the British House of Lords and a Black member of the British House of Commons. How are reparations to be calculated? Who was liable? Who were to be the beneficiaries? What was the case for reparations? These were some of the basic issues thrashed out before the conference issued its historic Abuja Declaration on Reparations at the end of April 1993. The Secretary-General of the OAU, Salim Ahmed Salim, and Chief Moshood K. O. Abiola were major leaders of the conference. However, the active chairmanship on a day-to-day basis was conducted by Ambassador Dudley Thompson, the distinguished jurist from Jamaica who once helped defend Jomo Kenyatta during the British colonial period in Kenya.

I also attempted to inject the issue of reparations in many of my public lectures in North America. My least successful attempt was at Yale University in New Haven when I was on a panel with three other people, including my compatriot Ngugi wa Thiong'o. For some reason the Chairperson took a dislike either of me as a person or of what I represented. She intervened to make fun of my arguments in situations where I could not answer back. I am still licking my Yale wounds. I hope one day somebody at Yale would arrange a one-on-one debate strictly between my former chairperson and myself! I would like to see if she would be as triumphant in the argument if she did not have the advantage of being chair! There is only one way to find out.

In Kenya I succeeded in generating a national debate on

reparations, when the paper I presented at the Abuja Pan-African conference was published in the Sunday Nation (Nairobi). It triggered off a debate in Kenya newspapers generally both in English and Kiswahili. Perhaps the most contentious issue was whether the Arab slave trade should be put on the same level as the trans-Atlantic slave trade. I took the position that although the Arab slave trade and indigenous African slavery were much older than the trans-Atlantic variety, the Arab and indigenous forms of servitude were of a smaller scale and allowed for much greater social mobility - from slave to Sultan, from peasant to paramount-chief. Indeed, both Egypt and Muslim India had actually experienced the phenomenon of slave dynasties.

One day Arabs and Africans will perhaps have to negotiate appropriate reparations for the Arab slave trade. But those reparations are bound to be of a different scale and based on different criteria from those of the Trans-Atlantic variety, with all its linkages with an expanding world capitalist economy.

In the Kenya Press I debated reparations with a variety of adversaries. But none of the exchanges was more uncomfortable for me than the one with my old friend and colleague, Professor Bethwell Alan Ogot, perhaps Kenya's most distinguished historian. Although elsewhere in his writings Dr. Ogot had argued that Africans were making too much of the issue of slavery, in the debate in the Sunday Nation Dr. Ogot seemed to have decided that Africans were not making enough of the Arab slave trade. The verbal exchanges in the Press were sometimes heated and acrimonious.

What most of these debates indicated was that among those who were most skeptical about the crusade for reparations were many Africans and Black people themselves. The Group of Eminent Persons on Reparations appointed by the OAU would need to win the hearts and minds of Africans themselves, as well as of Westerners, in the coming decades. We need a moral equivalent of the Lyrical Ballads by Wordsworth and Coleridge.

Immediately before the 1993 A.S.A. annual meeting was the Fifth Congress of Somali Studies. I was a keynote speaker at the Somali Congress as we explored what had gone wrong in Somalia and in the intervention by the United Nations. Was Somalia one more case crying for reparations?

When the African Studies Association (ASA) of the United States invited me to launch the newly established annual distinguished lecture named after Chief Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola, I decided that my topic should be a subject connected with reparations. Afterall, that was also one of Chief Abiola's fondest missions in life. I therefore spoke on "Global Africa: From Abolitionists to Reparationists". The audience was substantial, and their standing ovation was instantaneous. The

discussion which followed was often vigorous. The skeptics included Africans. A moral equivalent of the Lyrical Ballads was indeed needed, to create a supportive constituency for this new cause.

In Search of Cultural Globalism

The other part of my dual crusade for 1993 was being a participant observer in global cultural studies. If experts of globalism were seldom interested in culture, and experts on culture were skeptical about globalization, we need to bridge the gulf. Our Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University has been very active in that particular mission through publications, scholarly translations, and our annual conference on "Ancient, Medieval and Modern Thought: Multicultural Perspectives" organized by Parviz Morewedge and Anthony Preus. Omari Kokole and I have also jointly taught a course on "Cultural Forces in World Politics". Mohamed Hyder and I have started work on "The African University in a Global Context".

But I have also been a participant observer in the evolving global culture. In some respects that was symbolized by my role on a ship called the S.S. Universe. The ship was a floating university involved in what was officially called "Semester at Sea". The University of Pittsburgh organized, sponsored and gave credit for courses given aboard a ship which literally sailed around the world in about 100 days. The American undergraduates on board came from different campuses in the United States. I served as an interport lecturer between Cape Town and Mombasa - a sailing period of about a week.

I must say that this was no holiday cruise. In teaching terms, it was a busier week than any I have ever spent in the United States. Basically I lectured in other people's classes. The range included courses on "Revolution", "Comparative Slavery", "Race and Ethnicity", "Political Development" and special lectures when I addressed the whole student body on board the S.S. Universe. Since there was no single hall large enough to accommodate everybody, some students had to watch me on TV monitors in separate cabins. I did find occasion to inject the issue of "Reparations" in one of those plenary ship-wide lectures. The issue of reparations generated considerable discussion on board S.S. Universe.

I used the opportunities of my one week with "Semester-at-Sea" to promote global cultural perspectives among students who were in any case particularly eager to learn about other societies and cultures. The ship finally entered my own hometown of Mombasa. I was entering Mombasa from the sea for the first time in decades. I parted company with my students in

Mombasa. They disembarked to sample Kenya for about one week, before they set sail first for a port in India, and then further east, before returning to the United States via Seattle.

Another symbolically global event in my year was the conference in New Delhi sponsored by the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust. The invitation had come from Mrs. Sonia Gandhi (Rajiv Gandhi's widow), who is chair of the Indira Gandhi Trust. The theme of the conference was also perennial - "REDEFINING THE GLOBAL SOCIETY". The most senior participant from the United States was Robert S. McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense and former President of the World Bank. Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, was expected but did not make it. The most senior African at the conference was former President of Zambia, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. It was also wonderful to catch up with the former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Sir Shridath Ramphal. I was privileged to chair the first session of the conference.

Was the discussion really globalist and worthwhile? At least global differences were often sharply manifested. In a paper circulated at the conference, I had accused the Indian army of atrocities in Kashmir. This provoked a vigorous defence of the Indian army from at least one of our Indian colleagues.

But the moment of high drama in dissent came from Elena Bonner, widow of Andrey D. Sakharov. Quite unexpectedly she called upon the conference not to idolize or idealize Mikhail Gorbachev in any published proceedings. She argued that the great majority of Russians had been outraged when Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel prize for peace. And none of the thirteen parties then campaigning for parliamentary elections in December 1993 in Russia regarded Gorbachev as a hero. She suggested that it was an insult to the Russian people to lionize a Russian leader (Gorbachev) who was regarded as basically a blot on Russian history.

The conference was stunned by her unexpected statement. But the Russian participants at the conference were not united in their evaluation of Gorbachev. A distinguished Russian journalist jumped to the defence of the hero of glasnost. The organizers of our conference rapidly tried to calm down the potential tempers.

While in India I also gave the fourth B.N. Ganguli annual lectures at the Center for the Study of Developing Societies in Delhi. The theme of my two lectures was "The State and Cultural Evolution in Reverse", posing the question of whether cultural evolution was a round trip process, and whether we had just started our journey back towards a world without the state, without racism, and with diminishing separation between church and state and rising re-tribalization. It was wonderful to see

such old Indian friends as Rajni Kothari, Ashis Nandy, and Danish Mohan, with members of their families. The Ganguli lectures in India were certainly part of my Lyrical Ballads in the field of global cultural studies. I was once again trying to promote that field of study and thought. I managed to inject the issue of reparations as well.

On one free-wheeling intellectual evening with Indian intellectuals hosted by Danish Mohan, I was surprised to learn that several participants were familiar with my views about Salman Rushdie and The Satanic Verses. (I hate the book but would protect the author if I could.) Rushdie was only one of the many lively topics we covered that evening.

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, I raised the Rushdie affair from a different perspective a number of times with one distinguished Ayatollah when I was his guest at dinner. I asked: When does a fatwa (a legal opinion) become a hukm (a judicial judgement)? The late Imam Ruhollah Khomeini had given a legal opinion that a person found guilty of the sins attributed to Rushdie would be liable to the death penalty. And yet the Imam's legal opinion had been treated as if it was already a judicial judgement - thus skipping the stages of formal charges, trial, and verdict lying between legal opinion and final judgement. Why had the fatwa - I asked the Ayatollah - been treated as if it was already the definitive hukm?

The Ayatollah answered that they were occasions when an advisory opinion was, in fact, a call to action. He gave the example of an engineer providing an advisory opinion that a dam was about to burst open any minute. This would be a call to action - and normal intermediate stages of decision-making would have to be skipped. It reminded me of the American judicial concept of clear and present danger - which was once invoked to deprive left-wing American citizens of due process and other civil liberties.

But why did a novel pose a "clear and present danger" to Islam? The Ayatollah replied that The Satanic Verses was a novel of subversion against Islam, paid for "in millions" by enemies of Islam, written by someone still bearing a Muslim name, at a time when both Islam globally and the Islamic revolution in Iran were at great risk.

When I enquired if it was not "un-Islamic" to offer five million dollars for Salman Rushdie's head, the Ayatollah replied that the clergy took no responsibility for such financial incentives. The reward was offered by a private foundation in Iran, and not by the Islamic Republic or the clergy. "In any case, millions of dollars are being spent by Rushdie and his side against Islam", the Ayatollah's aide added.

My main purposes in Iran were to learn more about Iranian society and to make a small contribution towards global cultural studies in Iran. My main hosts were the Institute of Political and International Studies in Teheran, but I also lectured in three separate universities and visited four cities in all. I was particularly flattered when I was invited to address the Friday prayers. The congregation consisted of millions of worshippers, since the proceedings were broadcast live on radio and television. I was told that my message could be political rather than theological if I preferred. Since it was International Solidarity Week against Racism, I spoke on the subject of "Islam against Apartheid". I spoke in English and my remarks were translated into Farsi (Persian). When I finished the sermon the congregation before me thundered out "Down with apartheid! Down with racism!" It was one more demonstration of the link between religion and politics in the Muslim experience.

Because the congregation was so large, the Friday prayers were held in an open field at the University of Teheran. When I later met the Foreign Minister of Iran, Ali Akbar Valiyati, I discovered that he had not been at the congregation, but had heard me on the radio.

I spent a good deal of my time trying to explain Africa to Iranian leaders (both lay and clergy) in the hope of promoting better understanding. We also discussed Iran's relations with the West, and whether Clinton's ascent to the U.S. presidency would lead to an improved atmosphere in US-Iranian relations or not.

But my most moving experiences in Iran were religious. I was there during the first ten days of the Muslim month of Muharram, when Shiite Muslims throughout the world celebrate the martyrdom of Imam Hussein, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson. Iran is the center of Shia Islam. The ceremonies to mark the killing of Hussein included anguished lamentations, ritual masochism, repeated recital of the sad story about the brutal slaying of Imam Hussein, special prayers in mosques and homes, candle-lit processions in the streets, rhythmic beating of the chest by men, and a lot of generosity towards the poor. Quite often I was in a mosque long after midnight, surrounded by literally hundreds of other worshippers. Although I am not myself a Shia Muslim, I was deeply moved by some of those unique ceremonies. I acquired new insights into the diversity of the Muslim experience.

My involvement with Islam in world culture included my keynote address to the Association of Muslim Social Scientists held near Washington, D.C. in October 15-17, 1993. My lecture was on "Islam: Between the Clash of Civilizations and the End of History". In 1992 one of the most hotly debated theses in the United States was Francis Fukuyama's argument about "The End of History". In 1993 one of the most hotly debated theses in the

United States concerned Samuel Huntington's article in Foreign Affairs that the end of the Cold War had reduced the chances of confrontations between states or between ideological blocs and increased chances of confrontations between civilizations. My own lecture to the Association of Muslim Social Scientists examined Islam within the contexts of both Fukuyama and Huntington.

I also lectured about Islam when I was in South Africa, and had a conversation with Archbishop Desmond Tutu about the risk of religious bigotry replacing racial bigotry in that deeply divided society. I continue to marvel at the humility and easy accessibility of Archbishop Tutu, another Nobel Prize winner for peace. He was not popular with Christian fundamentalists when he suggested that "Christ was not a Christian". This seemed even more shocking than the older argument in left wing circles that "Marx was not a Marxist".

Archbishop Tutu's argument was more complex. Was Christ not Christian because he pre-dated the Church? Was he not a Christian because the scriptures were not yet in being? Or was he not a Christian because organized Christianity betrayed Jesus? Or because Jesus was a Jew? You will have to ask Archbishop Tutu about these issues.

I was also active in helping the University of Namibia consolidate its international links. I was a keynote speaker at a fundraising banquet in New York City. Ironically South Africa demands reparations (a debt) from Namibia!

Inevitably democracy was one of my items on the agenda of global cultural studies. "Democracy without Violence". This was basically the agenda of an East African symposium in Nairobi sponsored, paradoxically, by a West African former Head of State - General Olusegun Obasanjo. General Obasanjo succeeded in bringing together representatives of most of the political parties of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to explore modalities of political co-existence and peaceful political competition. I was one of the keynote speakers at this symposium. It was an impressively candid exchange of views.

On the issue of democracy and global culture, I also addressed in Abuja, Nigeria, a meeting sponsored by the National Council on Intergovernmental Relations. I spoke on democracy and culture in Nigeria and the rest of Africa.

At the University of Bergen in Norway I discussed my fears about the emergence of "global apartheid" - a new racial polarization of the world after the Cold War between the affluent white world and the deepening indigence of the Black world. I was updating a theme which I had developed at the 90th anniversary of the Nobel Prize for Peace in Oslo two years

earlier. I developed the same theme before a Southern African audience at a meeting sponsored by the World Order Models Project and the Foreign Ministry of Zimbabwe near Harare also in 1993. "Global apartheid" continued to haunt many in 1993 as racism escalated in Western Europe, tribalism deepened in Eastern Europe, and the United States lived under a cloud in which the main cause of death among young Black males was homicide. Are these additional grounds for reparations?

Nostalgia and Professional Anniversaries

If my newest biological child of 1993 was my baby-boy, Harith, my newest editorial child was the appearance at long last of Volume VIII of the UNESCO General History of Africa. As editor of the final volume of a major international cooperative effort, I pay special tribute to my Assistant Editor, Professor Christophe Wondji of Côte d'Ivoire, to the Bureau and International Scientific Committee of the UNESCO General History, and to UNESCO itself. The President of the International Scientific Committee, Professor Adu Boahen, spent several months at Binghamton University to help in the final stages of the editing of my Volume VIII (covering the period of Africa Since 1935).

But does 1993 also stand as an anniversary of something else about Volume VIII? And the answer is yes. The first draft of a table of contents for the volume written by me was circulated among members of the Editorial Bureau in Addis Ababa as long ago as 1973. Of course the present table of contents of the volume bears no resemblance to that preliminary first draft of mine twenty years ago. But, incredible as it may sound, it did take some seven years before this definitive table of contents was eventually agreed upon. Another thirteen years were needed before final publication. The wheels of collective editorial work do indeed grind slowly!!

I must also salute the unsung heroes behind Volume VIII over the years - secretaries, proofreaders, colleagues, research assistants, and members of my family over the years. Without them there would have been no Volume VIII - at least not this particular one! Bless you all, my friends from 1973 to 1993.

One other anniversary I was involved in covered a period of 150 years. Did you know that The Economist magazine of London was that old? They had a special issue to mark their 150th birthday, and they invited me to be one of their special contributors. Other such contributors included global statesman, scientists, literary figures, economists, as well as academics. Upon the publication of the special anniversary issue I rapidly discovered how widely The Economist was read. Within 24 hours of publication I received comments and enquiries from Germany,

Scotland, Zimbabwe as well as the United States. I was invited to write other articles by other publications, and to participate in a BBC programme based on my article in The Economist.

In 1993 I marked fifteen years since I was approached by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to give their annual lectures, named after the founder Director-General of the BBC, Lord Reith. The Corporation approached me in 1978 and gave me a year in which to prepare, complete with a budget for research travel in Africa. My BBC Reith Lectures came to be entitled The African Condition - and were broadcast on both domestic and world services of BBC radio. These were quite independent of the TV series, The Africans, which were first televised in Britain, the United States, Nigeria and Zimbabwe in 1986. My most controversial Reith lecture was the sixth in which I recommended nuclear proliferation in the Third World as a dangerous but necessary incentive towards universal nuclear disarmament. I am still licking the wounds I sustained as a result of the international Western reaction to that recommendation! There was an uproar in Western circles.

In 1993 my second son, Al'Amin, entered the University of California, Berkeley, to begin graduate studies in social welfare. It was a most important new direction in his career. Other campuses of the University of California touched his Dad's life in the course of the year. I gave the 1993 James S. Coleman Distinguished Lecture in African Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). My topic was "Global Changes and the Future of Higher Education in Africa". The late Jim Coleman had played a role in my own early career, as well as in the genesis of the Center of African studies at UCLA. I was delighted to catch up in 1993 with his widow Ursula who was an old friend from our old Uganda days.

I also gave a lecture at UCLA on "Afrocentricity versus Multiculturalism: Are They Rival Paradigms of Education?" Among those in attendance was Professor Maulana Karenga, one of the founding fathers of the Afrocentric movement in the United States, and the architect of the Kwaanza festival in the African-American calendar. Maulana (an African-American) and I had a conversation in Kiswahili before my public lecture on Afrocentricity. We discovered that we had more in common with each other than many observers might still assume.

On an entirely different assignment, the African Studies Center at UCLA wanted me to contribute to a special issue of the magazine African Arts in tribute to the recently deceased editor John Povey. The assignment expanded in size and became my more substantive article entitled "Islam and African Art: Stimulus or Stumbling Block?". This article is about to appear, trailing clouds of controversy. African Arts is of course a UCLA journal.

My fourth link with the University of California system in 1993 concerned the Davis campus. My old friend, Professor Donald Rothchild, is one of the editors of the book Africa in World Politics (Westview Press, USA). I was in touch with him in 1993 about my own chapter in the new revised edition of the book which he and John Herberson originally edited. They are also editing the new revised edition.

When I was in Addis Ababa in 1993, I remembered that the last time I had seen Emperor Haile Selassie was in 1973 when he came to open the International Congress of Africanists. None of us realized in December 1973 that those were Haile Selassie's last months as Emperor. His lavish hospitality to our congress in the midst of the 1973 famine in Ethiopia turned out to be a prelude to a revolution.

In 1973 I also gave a lecture at Haile Selassie I university, attended by literally thousands of students. The issue was not whether I would be censored by the university, but whether the students would censor me through their radical enthusiasm. In reality no sustained censorship of me was attempted, but there was no doubt about the revolutionary radicalism of the students. They listened to my own address on "Africa and the Arabs" politely, but then subjected me to a series of questions about "Western imperialism in Ethiopia" quite unrelated to my lecture! Little did I realize that I was witnessing a creeping revolution in Ethiopia which was already under way. The whole edifice of the monarchical system began to crumble within a matter of weeks.

In 1993 we re-lived the revolution when we met in Addis Ababa for a symposium on "Conflict-Management in Africa", sponsored by the International Peace Academy and the OAU. The participants at the symposium included African policy-makers, soldiers, diplomats, politicians as well as some scholars. The symposium agonized over the causes of conflict and violence in Africa, and made modest recommendations to the OAU about peacemaking. Some of our ideas were successful at the summit meeting of the Organization in Cairo later in the year, but the OAU's capabilities for dealing with Africa's problems are very modest in any case.

In 1973 one of my hosts in Addis Ababa was Professor Negussay Ayele who was then at Haile Selassie I University. In 1993-4 Negussay is a colleague at Binghamton for the year and shares with me a research interest in "the culture of violence".

Nostalgia and Personal Anniversaries

Although the most important scholarly celebration of my 60th birthday was held in Seattle, USA, in November 1992, the most important diplomatic celebration was held in Addis Ababa,

Ethiopia, in May 1993 under the informal aegis of the International Peace Academy and the OAU. Very gracious tributes were paid to me by Mr. Olara Otunnu, President of the International Peace Academy, and His Excellency Salim A. Salim, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity. Equally moving at the same ceremony was the speech by my Kenyan compatriot, Dr. Michael Chege of the Ford Foundation, a fellow political scientist. The feasting at the banquet in Addis Ababa was indeed memorable!

There are occasions when one basks in the achievements of others. It was John Drinkwater who, in his play Abraham Lincoln, wrote the following words:

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

My own professorial Chair at Binghamton is named after one great man - Albert Schweitzer, who devoted much of his professional life to healing the sick in Gabon, without ever recognizing them as his equals. Schweitzer was a benevolent racist. His benevolence was great enough to win him the Nobel Prize for peace in 1952.

Do you know who occupied my Schweitzer Chair before I was appointed to it? The previous occupant was Toni Morrison, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993, the first Black woman to win any Nobel prize. I felt proud of Toni Morrison at many levels, but I also appreciated the semi-personal link that I occupied a professional chair which was once hers:

*And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great.*

I was also proud to make the presentation of the Noma Book Prize to the South Africa literary figure, Mongane Wally Serote. He won it for his long poem, Third World Express, published by David Philip in South Africa. I made the presentation and read out the citation at a special ceremony arranged to coincide with the African Studies Association of the United States in Boston in December 1993. The Chairman of the Noma Prize Committee was Professor Abiola Irele, the distinguished Nigerian man of letters, who presided at the ceremony. The prize is for the best book by an African published within Africa. Mongane Wally Serote was an impressive winner - a poet, a patriot, and what we proudly

used to call a "prison graduate":

*And worship greatness passing by,
Ourselves are great.*

In 1993 I also gave an award to Bryant Gumbel, the anchor man of the NBC Television programme "TODAY" which Americans watch every morning. Gumbel has done a good deal to try and make a major U.S. television network take greater interest in African stories. In the autumn of 1992 he convinced NBC to let him make a series of "TODAY" presentations from different parts of Africa itself. It was partly for these special Africa presentations of 1992 that he was being saluted by the African-American Institute (AAI) in the fall of 1993 (a year later). The AAI asked me to draft the citation and make the presentation at a huge AAI banquet in New York city. Another person being honoured at the same banquet by the AAI was Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Both Gumbel and Boutros-Ghali are controversial in their different spheres, but they are both great individuals in the stream of their respective professions:

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

I have known Boutros-Ghali since his days as a professor when we used to meet at academic conferences. I later interviewed him in Cairo when he was Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. At the AAI banquet in New York City in 1993 we embraced warmly and talked about old times.

Yes indeed, 1993 was a year of many anniversaries for Ali Mazrui - some of them happy, other less so. It was the year when (in February) I became 60 years old - although the academic celebrations began in 1992 when that elaborate tribute was graciously paid to me in November in Seattle at the annual meetings of the African Studies Association (ASA).

The year 1993 also marked 30 years from when my career as an academic formally began, upon my arrival at Makerere campus of the University of East Africa as a lecturer in mid-1963. It was a decade later in 1973 that I was forced to resign from Makerere University in Uganda as a result of the worsening political situation in Uganda under Idi Amin. It seems almost certain that had I not left Uganda, my life would have ended in the 1970s. I would have been killed.

In 1983 the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and I started filming The Africans: A Triple Heritage, in partnership with the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) of the United States. The filming of the television series was spread over three years in all. We were joined by the Nigerian Television Authority as associate producers subsequently.

But 1993 was not only a year of professional anniversaries. It also encompassed some family anniversaries of great significance. My first child, Jamal, was indeed born in December 1963. In fact, he had a race with Kenya's independence as to which one would be born first. My pregnant wife at the time and I were in Uganda in December that year. I could not cross the border into Kenya to welcome the dawn of Kenya's independence because Jamal's birth was imminent. Which one would come first? Would Jamal be a colonial child like his Dad - or one of the first post-colonial Kenyans? Or would Jamal and independent Kenya share the same birthday? For a young and idealistic family like ours those questions were exciting at the time - a cliffhanger. In the end sovereign Kenya was born two days sooner than sovereign Jamal. (Rumour has it that the name Jamal was the nearest Muslim equivalent to the name Jomo - and Jomo Kenyatta was the founder president of sovereign Kenya! But such rumours are purely speculative! "Jamal" also happens to mean beauty).

Nevertheless, 1993 was a celebration of both Jamal's thirtieth birthday and Kenya's thirty years of independence. Technically 1993 was to be the only year Jamal's age would be almost exactly half his Dad's age! (30 years versus 60 years old. All other years in our lives have borne and will bear a less neat relationship in percentage terms to each other!!)

When in 1973 I resigned from Makerere, the decision meant self-imposed exile. It was easier to make that decision after I had lost my most powerful personal anchor to East Africa - my mother. She had died in 1972 in Mombasa, Kenya, adding personal loss to political desolation.

1993 was also the 25th anniversary of the birth of my third son - Kim Abukakar. Of all my children he looked the most like my mother physically. Yet of all my children, he performed the most like my father intellectually. My father had a keen legal mind in the Islamic tradition - and lived to become the Chief Kadhi (or Chief Islamic Justice) of Kenya.

Kim's fascination with the law seemed to be a transmigration of the soul of his grandfather. While my father's interest was in the Sharia, Kim's fascination was with Western law. In 1993 Kim graduated from Michigan Law School literally at the top of his class. A few weeks later he took the bar examinations and passed with flying colours. A new Mazrui intellect had entered the legal profession.

1993 also marked fifteen years since I had briefly served as President of the African Studies Association of the United States. (I was privileged to lead the Association from 1978 to 1979). In 1993 the Association honoured me again by calling upon me to give that aforementioned first Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola Annual Distinguished Lecture in Boston, on "Global Africa: From Abolitionists to Reparationists". Had we come full circle?

I was hoping that Makerere University in Uganda would also constitute "full circle" for me. I was invited to attend the Seventh Pan-African Congress in Kampala scheduled to take place in December 1993. The sixth Pan-African Congress had taken place in Dar-es-Salaam in 1974. The fifth was the particularly famous one of 1945 which included Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, and W.E.B. DuBois, who were at the time virtually unknown internationally. The Kampala conference was going to be not only the 7th historically - but the first after the Cold War. Almost literally at the last minute the conference was postponed until April 3-8, 1994.

For me personally missing the 1993 deadline also meant missing the 30th anniversary of my first appointment as a Makerere lecturer in 1963. That was a sentimental disappointment. I made up for it by helping to raise money for Makerere in a special fund-raising effort in Manitoba, Canada, in the autumn of 1993. Manitoba had a Special Friends of Makerere Committee which invited me as keynote speaker. I was impressed not only by how many Ugandans there were in the area, but also by how many Canadians were prepared to pay for a 50 dollar a plate dinner in honour of an African university.

An unexpected discovery in the audience at one of my lectures in Manitoba was Professor Yash Tandon of my Makerere memories, whom I had assumed to be in Zimbabwe. Professor Charles Olweny was my main host in Manitoba - a Ugandan medical director who had successfully cultivated a Canadian constituency for Makerere. It was a truly fitting celebration of the 30th anniversary of my original appointment as a lecturer at Makerere way back in 1963, the genesis of my career.

Like Wordsworth and Coleridge, we must create new constituencies for causes which are ultimately innovative. We are engaged in our own Lyrical Ballads - be the mission an African University, or a quest for Black reparations, or a fundamental choice between the globalization of culture and the culturalization of globalism.

Reparations need allies; cultural globalism needs converts. The struggle continues, dear friend.

Mazrui: 'Prophet' who is least honoured at home

From KEVIN J. KELLEY,
NATION Correspondent,
WASHINGTON, Monday

Professor Ali Mazrui is no stranger to controversy. During his frequent forays to the land of his birth, the scholar has raised hackles with his pronouncements on political and religious issues. But though his views are derided at home by the powers that be, he continues to be honoured abroad. Professor Ali Mazrui, a Kenyan, will again be honoured by the Africa Studies Association of the United States at its annual conference scheduled to take place in Boston early next month. The Mombasa-born scholar and commentator was similarly feted at last year's conference on the occasion of his 60th birthday. These tributes from his colleagues in the US and around the world attest to his status as one of Africa's most respected intellectuals.

Prof Mazrui's fame rests, in part, on the nine-hour BBC television series entitled, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, that he wrote and narrated. The programme sparked both acclaim and controversy. When the series was shown in the US in 1986, the head of the Reagan administration's arts agency denounced it as "an anti-Western diatribe".

"The Africans" has been generally praised in many countries, however, and the TV series and accompanying book are now part of the curricula in a number of schools in the US. But "The Africans" still has not appeared on television in Kenya — a situation that Mazrui terms "ridiculous."

In an interview with the *Nation* from his office at the State University of New York in Binghamton, Prof Mazrui acknowledged that in some respects, the Kenyan society has become more open in the past couple of years. "The gains are greater transparency, the losses are greater conflict," he said. International donors seem prepared to put emphasis on the gains rather than the losses, he observed.

Referring to President Moi's government's handling of ethnic violence, Prof Mazrui said it is "guilty of neglect, verging on criminal neglect" for failing to put an end to both ethnic and religious violence. He renewed his call for President Moi to step down from office — "not because I hate the man, but because we do need a change." Prof Mazrui submitted that President Moi would do well to announce his resignation at the time of Kenya's 30th anniversary of independence



Prof Mazrui: There's hope for Kenya

(December 12), so that "we could continue to honour him."

In his assessment of Kenya's opposition parties, Prof Mazrui suggested that it is too soon to render a verdict. "It's been less than a year since the election. They're in a learning period. They're having teething problems," he said.

Having established himself as an international scholar-celebrity, the Oxford-educated philosopher does not appear to be planning to reside full-time in Kenya in the near future.

He recalled that officials at the University of Nairobi had made it "quite clear they didn't want me there" after he left his teaching post of 10 years at Uganda's Makerere University during the terror reign of Idi Amin. "There was a get deal of ambivalence" among Kenyan authorities over the prospect of his return to the country, Prof Mazrui remarked. "They were wondering whether I

would rock the boat."

Commenting on Africa's overall situation, Prof Mazrui said that the pro-democracy movement had succeeded in fostering a continent-wide consensus on objectives. "We know the ends we favour: Greater popular participation in government, greater openness, greater accountability of governments to the people, greater social justice. But we don't have the means to achieve them — the actual institutions that would enable the ends to be realised."

"I've been trying to preach the gospel of planning for democracy rather than plunging into democracy," Prof Mazrui noted musingly.

The lack of strong democratic institutions can be largely attributed to the legacy of European colonialism, he argued. Prof Mazrui said he sees no reason to revise his thesis, propounded in "The Africans" series, that Western ex-

ploiteders are mainly to blame for the plight of contemporary Africa.

"Our incapacity to maintain our institutions is part of the inheritance from our history," he said. "It's amazing what small proportion of Africa's current condition is controlled by Africans themselves."

Both the International Monetary Fund and the United States have done little to promote democratic transitions in Africa, Prof Mazrui contended. The IMF and World Bank, he said, are "certainly insensitive to the popular pressures felt by elected governments."

These dominant lending institutions have shown through the implementation of their structural adjustment programmes that they are "often more comfortable with military governments that are better able to ignore or suppress complaints about the effects of austerity policies."

Survive

At the same time, Prof Mazrui conceded that democratic governance probably cannot survive in the absence of a free-market economic system. "You can certainly have a free-market economy without having a free society. China is increasingly demonstrating that," he said "but the facts of history so far reveal that all societies with open and accountable governments do have successful market economies."

Prof Mazrui expressed scant hope that the Clinton administration will prove more helpful toward Africa than did the Reagan and Bush teams.

He agreed that the debacle in Somalia would make the US less likely to become deeply involved in the search for solutions to Africa's problems. Prof Mazrui noted that he had initially favoured the US-led intervention in Somalia, but only as a last resort after the failure of sub-Saharan or Muslim nations to impose a *Pax Africana* or *Pax Islamica* on the strife-torn country.

Clinton is responsible in only "a very indirect" way for one significant improvement in US relations with Africa, Prof Mazrui maintained.

The Democratic President, he noted, is "facilitating the involvement of African-Americans in Africa to an unprecedented level". And that, Prof Mazrui declared, "is definitely good news for Africa."

Inside

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Vol. 15, No. 14 December 9, 1993

In this issue:

■ **IN RECOGNITION**

Cinema professor receives national award, page 3

■ **IN REVIEW**

Undergraduate produces historical review, page 2

Mazrui explores liberty issue at Indira Gandhi conference

There is no question that censorship infringes upon liberty. But some forms of censorship are more covert, more insidious and therefore more threatening to liberty than inadequate laws. Ali A. Mazrui, Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, raised this issue among others as chair of "Liberty in a Modern Society," at the opening session of the Fourth Indira Gandhi Conference held in New Delhi last month.

The conference, held every two years, is described by organizers as "a tribute to a person who cared deeply not only for her own people but for all people." To discuss this year's theme, "Redefining the Good Society," Shrimati Sonia Gandhi invited scholars, diplomats, scientists and authors from around the world.

Notable among the participants were Robert S. McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense and former president of the World Bank; Elena Bonner, writer, human rights activist and wife of the late Andrei Sakharov; Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia, and Bernard Lown, the American cardiologist who founded International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, an organization which won

the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.

Drawing from his work experience in both countries, Mazrui said that, although the United States has better legal protec-



Ali Mazrui

tions against censorship than Great Britain, the power of advertisers and their interpretation of public opinion creates a virulent strain of censorship in our culture. He cited different reactions to material in his acclaimed 1986 television docu-

mentary, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, which was perceived to be problematic to corporate interests or ethnic groups. Mazrui said he also discussed distinctions between passive and active liberty. Passive liberty, he said, means a lack of restrictions by government. Active liberty—"when you are able to do what you

MAZRUI *continued from page 1*

are free to do"—is achieved by empowering people, Mazrui said. "Freedom of mobility, for example, has no meaning to people who have no access to mobility."

Other sessions during the five-day conference focused on equity in a modern society, national community and world community, science in society and a non-violent and human world order.

Moments of surprise occurred at the conference, said Mazrui, when Elena Bonner strenuously criticized the prevailing view of Mikhail Gorbachev outside of Russia. "She said that two-thirds of the Russian population didn't support his receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. She also said that out of 13 political parties in Russia, not one regards him as a hero."

In the coming weeks, Mazrui will speak at the 7th Pan-African Congress and then hopes to speak in his native land Kenya on the occasion of its 30th anniversary of independence.

See MAZRUI, page 2

'India may forsake position'

HT Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Nov. 25

India may be forsaking its position as a champion of African nations at a global level in view of its tilt towards the right and deradicalisation of its foreign policy.

Expressing this fear Director, Institute of Global Cultural Studies and Albert Schewitzer Professor in the Humanities, State University of New York at Binghamton, USA, Ali. A. Mazrui hoped "trends may change by the end of the 20th century."

He was delivering the sixth series of B. N. Ganguli Memorial Lectures at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies on the theme "The State and Cultural Evolution in Reverse".

If Indians were in the intermediate category (neither white nor black though Japanese qualified as whites) in South Africa's apartheid and yet many decided to fight against the injustice of the system as a whole (going back to the precedent set by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa) he asked, "will India play a comparable role in the face of global apartheid?"

"When we look at the re-emerging global apartheid, it is true that the Japanese are to all intents and purposes honorary whites, even at the global level. They may soon be joined by other countries of East and South-East Asia", he added.

"Other Asian countries may be intermediate between the top table of the ultra privileged and the bottom doormat of black experience".

Perhaps one of the more basic "cultural returns" to the past concerns the issue of collective compensation for the historical process which led to the Black destitution in this new situation of global apartheid.

Prof. Mazrui suggested three

modes of possible payment of reparation, capital transfer from the West to the black world comparable to the grand precedent of the Marshall Plan to Europe, skill transfer in the form of major international effort to help build the capacities and skills of Africa and rest of the Black world, power sharing by enabling Africa to have a greater say in global institutions.

He asked "is there not a case for giving Africa a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council — not because Africa is powerful but because it is not."

It may take a generation to crusade for reparations — but a start has to be made. This will be one more aspect of the reverse evolution towards ancient ways of settling moral debts between tribes.

He said Social evolutionary theories — from Social Darwinists like Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner to political economists like Karl Marx have tended to see change as being essentially in one direction. Both economies and cultures basically evolved from the simpler to the more complex ones. Change was essentially unilinear and teleological. "History was a journey on a one-way ticket, with an assured destination, but not without bumps on the way."

But is it conceivable, he asked that, social evolution is a round trip ticket rather than a one-way adventure? We did move from small-scale societies to large-scale States. But are we now slowly finding our way back, epoch by epoch to smaller and simpler scales? Is the coming of the 21st century the beginning of the journey back? Will it take as long for us to return to human simplicity as it has taken us to get to these dangerous human complexities?

There were several important signs of early human societies like they being classless, without racism,

without State, with no distinction between sacred and secular, giving greater role to women.

He said "Westphalian sovereign state is under siege" as the twentieth century comes to a close. In Western Europe the State is getting nationalised on a macro scale, while Eastern Europe is getting ethnicised on a micro-scale retreating to more basic primordial allegiances.

Although countries like Britain and Denmark are more circumspect than some of the other members of the European Community, the direction of change is towards greater loss of sovereignty by individual States over tariffs, immigration prices, the environment, human rights and monetary policy. The Westphalian State is on the retreat in Western Europe, he added.

What should be borne in mind is that the supra nationalisation of the State in Western Europe carries the risk of a subtle transition from a solidarity of Europeans to a solidarity of the white world. Is the journey back through time not only towards the Holy Roman Empire but also via the era of the White Man's Burden? Are we witnessing the globalisation of apartheid?, he asked.