

Spring 2006
MAZRUI NEWSLETTER No. 30

General Theme: Public Intellectuals in Africa's Experience



Ali Mazrui with the third President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, just before Mazrui gave the Barbara Ward Memorial Lecture, in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Ali A. Mazrui's U.S. address

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ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 30

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme: Public Intellectuals in Africa's Experience

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This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. In drafting and editing I was helped by Ruzima C. Sebuharara and Seifudein Adem, colleagues at the Institute of Global Cultural Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton.

Attached to this Newsletter are two Appendices:

APPENDIX I: Mazrui: A Short Biography

APPENDIX II: Acknowledgments

To my utter astonishment, I learned that I had been nominated as one of the top one hundred public intellectuals in the world. The nomination had been made by a leading American journal, FOREIGN POLICY, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C., in September 2005. The British magazine, PROSPECT, in London, had associated itself with the same choice of the top one hundred public intellectuals – a choice which did include Ali Mazrui.

But what is a “public intellectual”? He or she has been defined as “a person who has shown distinction in their own field along with the ability to communicate ideas and influence debate outside it.”

Ironically, I myself publicly defined the term “intellectual” for the first time in East Africa as long ago as the 1960s. I was, at the time, a professor in Uganda. In the Town Hall of the City of Kampala, Uganda, I debated a leading member of the Uganda Government on “The Role of the African Intellectual in the African Revolution.” My debating adversary was Uganda’s Head of Security and Intelligence, Mr. Akena Adoko, who was at the time the second most powerful civilian in Uganda, after President Milton Obote. The moderator of the debate was the Mayor of the City of Kampala. The Town Hall was packed to overflowing. I ventured to offer my definition of an intellectual, which was destined to capture the imagination of East Africans for decades:

An intellectual is a person who has the capacity to be fascinated by ideas, and has acquired the skill to handle some of those ideas effectively.

This was, of course, more than a quarter of a century before I was myself designated as one of the world’s top “public intellectuals” by a journal published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

But is Ali Mazrui a “scholar” or a “public intellectual”? In the 1960s, President Milton Obote of Uganda asked me a related question: “Professor Mazrui, are you sure you know the difference between being a political scientist and being a politician?” The Head of State, of Uganda, was getting irritated with my political activism. Obote was often angry with my readiness to criticize major public policies openly, often challenging Presidential pronouncements. This was long before the term “public intellectual” was coined! With or without such a term, was I evolving into “someone who had demonstrated distinction in one’s field, combined with a capacity to communicate ideas and influence debate beyond his or her professional field”?



Ali Mazrui in Alexandria, Egypt (January 2006). See “Cape to Cairo”, page 33 below.

The new list of one hundred great public intellectuals offered by FOREIGN POLICY and PROSPECT magazine suffers from some of the recurrent flaws of such lists. There are not enough women among the top stars. There is also disproportionate representation of not only the Western world, but also the English-speaking world.

Among Black Africans on the list, there is one novelist (Chinua Achebe), one playwright (Wole Soyinka), one social scientist (Ali Mazrui) and one plant pathologist (Florence Wambugu). Only three African countries are represented in this list of the top public intellectuals – Nigeria (Achebe and Soyinka), Kenya (Mazrui and Wambugu) and South Africa (J.M. Coetzee).

Between Secular and Religious Intellectuals

A woman of African and Muslim ancestry is also included in the list, although she is now a Dutch citizen and a strong critic of her ancestry. This Euro-critic of Islam is Ayaan Hirsi Ali, of Somali origins. She is a heroine among Westerners, but sometimes regarded as an “Islamophobe” by fellow Somali and fellow Muslims.

An Egyptian associated with militant Islam has been given due recognition in the list. Sheikh Yusuf al-Qadarawi, whom I have known at Oxford University, has since fallen foul of Tony Blair’s government. Yusuf al-Qadarawi has refused to condemn Palestinian suicide bombers. But al-Qadarawi is still a public intellectual of immense international influence.

In the previous year, I was voted by another Western magazine in London among the one hundred greatest Africans of all time. The London magazine, THE NEW AFRICAN, had invited its readers to nominate the towering one hundred Africans in all history. I was again astonished to learn, in September 2004, that I was among those

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nominated by readers for distinction in the entire span of African history. Although I was flattered by the tribute, I dismissed the selection as “exuberance”!

Needless to say, I have found it easier to cautiously believe that I am among the top public intellectuals alive in the world today than to believe that I am among the top one hundred Africans (dead or alive) of all time!! Africa deserves better!

But, at the minimum, I am humbled and grateful for this new wave of international recognition, however hyperbolic!

By coincidence, Africa World Press, a publishing house in Trenton, New Jersey, may be publishing before the end of 2007 a book entitled THE PUBLIC INTELLECTUAL IN THOUGHT AND ACTION. The book is about my work and career - evaluated by a dozen other professors and edited by Professor Parviz Morewedge, an Iranian-American scholar.

As for non-African public intellectuals in the top list selected by FOREIGN POLICY, these include Noam Chomsky of MIT, Samuel Huntington of Harvard, Vaclav Havel, former Czech President, Kishore Mahbubani of Singapore, Paul Wolfowitz, the new President of the World Bank, Salman Rushdie of the SATANIC VERSES controversy and Pope Benedict XVI, the new leader of the Catholic Church.

Scholar Activists: From Condoleezza Rice to Al-Arian

Scholars become political activists, either on the side of power or on the side of the underprivileged. Let us look at the dynamics.

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice invited some of the leading Muslims, within the United States, to dine with her at the State Department in Washington, D.C. But this

was no ordinary dinner: it was iftar, the breaking of the fast during Ramadhan. I was among the invited guests. Condeleezza Rice was a professor-turned-politician.



Condeleezza Rice and the Fast of Ramadhan.

The Secretary's invitation included a request that we should arrive at the State Department in time for the sunset Islamic prayers (maghrib) prior to the dinner. There was a special room marked "PRAAYER ROOM" close to the dining hall. I wondered if this was compatible with the constitutional requirement of separating church from state, but I fully approved of the arrangement.

According to a centuries-old tradition, one begins the iftar by eating a date or two and drinking a glass of water. Very delicious dates were served at the State Department, as well as water and juice.

We then transferred to the dining hall proper. A guest Imam opened the proceedings with prayers and verses from the Qur'an. Secretary Rice welcomed us briefly before dinner was served and spoke more substantially about inter-faith dialogue as the last course was being served.

It was during Bill Clinton's presidency that the Federal Government started making gestures to U.S. Muslims in connection with the fast of Ramadhan. Clinton used to send us letters, from the White House, with his signature, wishing us a blessed fast. Hilary Rodham Clinton, as First Lady, also entertained Muslim women, during Eid el Fitr, at the White House. President Clinton himself also held a special reception on another Muslim festival. His right-wing critics in the Wall Street Journal accused him of socializing with Hamas supporters!!

It has been under the administration of George W. Bush that Federal gestures for Ramadhan have been taken over by the State Department. This is a bit of a demotion of Ramadhan in two senses. Firstly, the White House as a host has a higher status than the State Department. Secondly, the State Department is the Foreign Ministry of the United States. Entertaining American Muslims primarily in the Foreign Ministry is tantamount to treating Islam as an alien religion in America and treating U.S. Muslims as foreigners in their own country.

The Clinton idea of celebrating Ramadhan at the level of the White House was a more inclusive gesture than at the level of the State Department, though Condoleezza Rice was a very gracious hostess, and the Muslims in attendance felt very well received.

If I was advising the U.S. Government, I would recommend institutionalizing the annual Federal iftar at the level of the Vice-President, even if the venue is still the White House. The annual iftar need not be a presidential event, nor should it be hosted by "the Foreign Minister" of the country. But the Federal iftar could be accommodated within the annual schedule of the Vice-President of the United States.

Of course, with this particular Vice-President, Dick Cheney, there would be sharp contradictions. We know he is a hawk towards Muslims abroad. Can he really be a dove towards Muslims at home, in America? Can he, in good conscience, bomb Muslims abroad and embrace Muslims in the United States? It would certainly be a challenge.

Twenty years earlier, his wife, Lynne Cheney, had denounced me and my television series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage (BBC/PBS, 1986). She was a hawk at the time towards Libya, and regarded my TV series as having been too soft towards the Libyan leader. Mrs. Cheney was, at the time, the Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which had contributed \$600,000 (U.S.) towards the making of The Africans: A Triple Heritage. After viewing the final product, Mrs. Cheney withdrew the name of the National Endowment from the list of credits, but she was advised against demanding the Endowment's money back! We would have fought her in court and she would almost certainly have lost.

The Bush Administration's decision to try to reassure Muslims in America makes good sense, both ethically and from the point of view of the security of the United States. So far, the American Muslims are far less radicalized than Muslims in Western Europe. The United States has produced home-grown Christian terrorists, like those who bombed Oklahoma, but has, so far, not produced home-grown Muslim terrorists.

On the other hand, Great Britain, Spain, the Netherlands and France have all experienced terrorist actions from Muslim militants who were their own citizens. It is in the interest of the United States to ensure that its own Muslim population is not similarly radicalized.

The Bondage of Boundaries

Throughout my career as a political analyst of the African condition, I have emphasized the artificial nature of the colonial borders of African countries, but have been opposed to any large scale effort to revise them.

Then came the 1967 Igbo bid to secede from Nigeria and create a separate state of their own called Biafra. I was really torn apart by the ensuing Nigerian civil war. My pain approached a nervous breakdown. I was in sympathy with anguish of the Igbo after the deadly riots against them, but I was against their decision to secede from Nigeria.

In a bid to deal with my own pain over the issue, I wrote a novel about the most important literary casualty of the Nigerian civil war – the death of Christopher Okigbo in combat.

I put Christopher Okigbo on trial in the Hereafter (in a place called After-Africa). He was accused of having sacrificed his genius as a poet to the “tribal” cause of the Igbo. He was accused of having subordinated his unique talent to his collective identity. Was he justified in being an Igbo first and a poet second?

Christopher Okigbo was killed in 1967. 2007 will be the fortieth anniversary of his martyrdom. Chris Okigbo’s family have approached me to be a major participant in the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary. In raising money for the commemoration, the family is planning to auction not only the early edition of Okigbo’s own poetry, but also early editions of my own novel about him. I may autograph copies of The Trial of Christopher Okigbo before they are auctioned.

By coincidence, in the year 2006, my new book, Islam Between Globalization and Counterterrorism (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006), was auctioned in Los Angeles

to raise money for the legal defense of Professor Sami Al-Arian (a Palestinian) who had been charged with a variety of alleged terrorist activities by the Federal Government of the United States. In the auction, one of the autographed copies of my Islam book was bought for a thousand dollars; two others fetched hundreds of additional dollars for Sami Al-Arian's defense.

In some of the charges leveled against Sami he has since been found innocent, in spite of the Federal Government's disproportionate effort to prove him guilty. In some of the other conspiratorial charges, the jury(a hung jury) was split, resulting in a mistrial.

The prosecution finally persuaded Sami to plead guilty to one charge, serve a prison term, and then be deported from the United States. I was asked by his family to submit to the judge my testimony as a character witness. It is now a matter of public knowledge that I submitted the following letter in support of the most lenient sentence on Sami Al-Arian in the new situation of pleading guilty to a single count. The following is my testimony to Judge Moody through the defendant's attorney:

*Judge James Moody
Sam M. Gibbons U.S. Courthouse
801 North Florida Avenue
Tampa, Florida 33602*

Your Honor:

I write in support of the most lenient of sentences for the accused scholar, Dr. Sami Al-Arian.

I have known Dr. Al-Arian for well over a decade. We have read each other's writings and listened to each other at academic conferences in this country over the years. We also used to have long conversations about scholarly matters and world affairs. I was even considering going to his university in Florida to give a lecture under the auspices of his program. He had suggested it on more than one occasion.

I am convinced that Dr. Al-Arian, though a person of passionate convictions, is a man of peace and of high moral integrity. It is because of my confidence in him that I have even participated in fundraising events to help him with his legal fees. I felt he deserved the best legal defense we could help him obtain.

If his political rhetoric was at one time immoderate, he has already suffered enough for it. So has his family. Your Honor: Sami's fate is now in your hands. Please enable this brilliant scholar to return to his profession and to his family as soon as possible.

He is no doubt a wiser man now, and has many years in him of potential service to his family, his people and to the human race.

Let me conclude by introducing myself. I am Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities at the State University of New York, Binghamton; Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large Emeritus at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; Chancellor, Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Nairobi, Kenya; Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large, University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria; and Director of this Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York. All the above titles are current.

I hope this information helps to clarify my credentials in judging fellow scholars.

We thank you, Your Honor.

Yours sincerely,

*Ali A. Mazrui, D.Phil. (Oxon), C.B.S.
Director
Institute of Global Cultural Studies*

Somalia versus Somaliland?

In 1960, former British Somaliland and former Italian Somaliland united into one country called the Somali Republic or Somalia. This was supposed to be the first step towards the reunification of all the five components of the Somali people, who had been fragmented by imperialism. It was hoped that eventually the Somali people of Northeast Kenya, the Somali of the Ogaden in Ethiopia, as well as former French Somaliland (now renamed Djibouti), would be integrated into Greater Somalia.

After a while, the people of former British Somaliland began to feel discriminated against and marginalized by their brothers and sisters of former Italian Somaliland. As relations deteriorated further, separatist sentiment in the former British sub region began to grow. Conflict escalated, including the central government's air raids on Hargeisa, the regional capital of former British Somaliland. Finally, this Anglophone part seceded completely and named itself the Republic of Somaliland. They have since established a government and have held democratic parliamentary and presidential elections.

Unfortunately for this new "Republic", the international community does not recognize it as a legitimate state. The African Union and the United Nations still regard it as part of the greater Somalia, which was created in 1960. The new separatist entity has received some sympathy from neighbouring Ethiopia and from the Republic of South Africa, but even these two friends have not extended diplomatic recognition.

The Republic of Somaliland needs friends and allies primarily from among other states. But it also needs friends and allies from international organizations, from prominent citizens of other African countries and from high profile individual celebrities of other societies.

This is where I came in. For about two years, the Republic of Somaliland had been trying to get me to visit their part of the Somali nation. In the year 2005, I finally agreed to go, especially after the precedent set by the visit of former President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. It was finally agreed that my own visit to Hargeisa would occur in March 2006.

What I had not expected was the high level of protocol accorded to my visit. I was received almost like a Head of State!! Four senior members met me on the tarmac as

I descended from the plane. There was a guard of honour, consisting of women singing praise songs. I inspected the guard of honour, accompanied by the Foreign Minister, a distinguished medical woman called Edna Aden Ismail. I was also expected to address a joint session of the two Houses of Parliament the next day, followed by a dinner with the Head of State, President Dahir Rayale Kahin.



Ali Mazrui in conversation with the President of Somaliland, Dahir Rayale Kahin, Hargeisa, March 2006.

On the gender question, I was greatly encouraged that Somaliland had a woman as Foreign Minister when it had taken the United States more than two hundred years to have a woman Secretary of State (Madeleine Albright) under the Administration of Bill Clinton. Minister Edna Aden Ismail spoke four languages fluently (English, French, Arabic, as well as her native Somali), and was manager of a special maternity hospital of her own when state affairs permitted. It was an awe-inspiring performance.

On the gender question, the Legislature was less impressive than the executive branch. Out of the dozens of members of the two Houses of Parliament, women members could be counted on the fingers of one hand at the most. I took the liberty of encouraging both Parliament and the Head of State to set an example to Africa and the Muslim world, by pursuing more enlightened gender policies.

My other main lecture was given at the University of Hargeisa under the chairmanship of the President of the University. Although my visit to Somaliland was the nearest thing to a state visit, my official hosts were an academic institution - the Somaliland Academy of Peace and Development (APD), assisted by the African Renaissance Center.

In my two lectures (to Parliament and to the University), I referred to other states which had started as one and have since become two separate countries – such as Senegal and Mali, Pakistan and Bangladesh, Czech Republic and Slovak Republic and Malaysia and Singapore.

I also discussed the name of their Somaliland Republic. They could retain the historical name of Somaliland (although the suffix “land” was too English and too colonial). Or they could call themselves The Republic of Northern Somalia (similar to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus). But, in solidarity with a dozen other Muslim societies, they could call also themselves *The Republic of Somalistan* (such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and potentially Kurdistan).

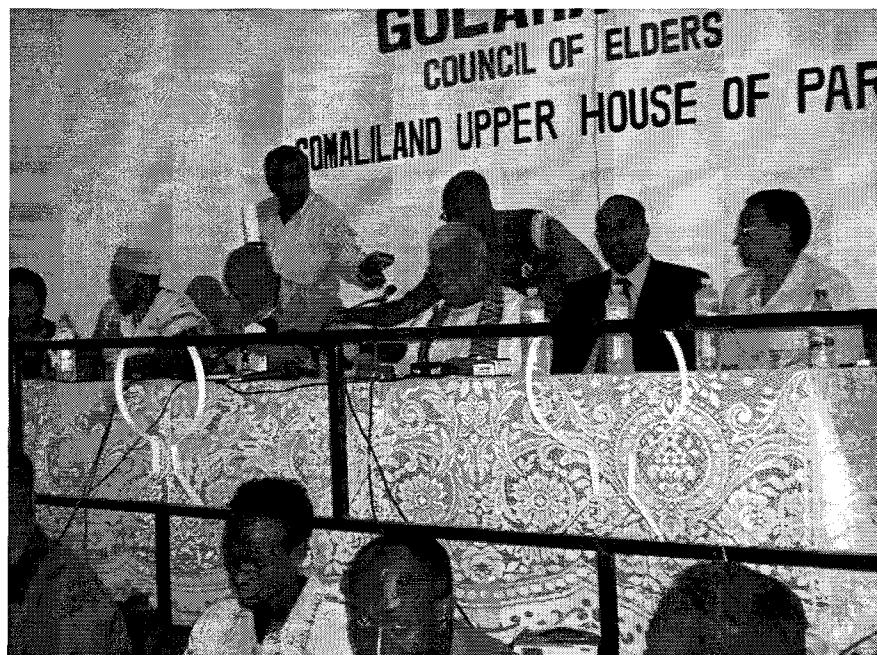
I had a separate session with intellectuals of Hargeisa. We debated the concept of “clash of civilizations” and whether or not the Somali people were caught up in it. I was

also driven to Somaliland's second city, the Port of Berbera. When restored to full operation, the Port would be invaluable, not only to Somaliland, but also to neighbouring Ethiopia. The people of Somaliland are probably already the most Ethiopia-friendly Somalis in centuries! I was introduced to Ethiopia's official representative in Hargeisa. He was not yet called "Ambassador". I believe his title at the time was "Liaison Officer for Ethiopia". He seemed quite popular in Hargeisa.

On my way back to the United States, I stopped for an extra night in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Professor Iqbal Jhazbhay of the University of South Africa had helped to arrange my program in Ethiopia, as well as my trip to Somaliland. In Addis Ababa, I had consultations with senior civil servants of the African Union. The main items on the agenda were (a) the future of Somaliland; (b) the future of the Group of Eminent Persons on Reparations for African peoples. This latter group (of which I am a member) was created at a summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in 1992. The new African Union [created ten years later] seemed to be ambivalent about financing this group. I was recently seeking clarification from the African Union. I was assured that the work of our Group on Reparations was still valid, but the African Union was short of resources. I was promised further clarification later.

Since I returned from Somaliland I have been paying the political price for my visit to Somaliland. I have been receiving hostile e-mails from pro-unity Somalis, denouncing me for "lending legitimacy to secessionism and tribalism". In replying to one of the e-mails I politely suggested that since Hargeisa was peaceful and Mogadishu was conflict-ridden, should not Mogadishu try to learn something from Hargeisa

(Somalis learning from Somalis)? Unfortunately, my suggestion was regarded as adding insult to injury!



Ali Mazrui(Center) addressing the Joint Session of the two Houses of Parliament, Hargeisa, Somaliland, 2006.

Between Sudan and the Summit

In January, 2006, I was in Khartoum to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Sudan's independence. I was the guest of the International African University, specializing in attracting students from all over the African continent.

I arrived at Khartoum airport, from Dar es Salaam, in the evening. My Sudanese hosts were waiting for me on the tarmac as I descended from the plane. I was rushed directly to the conference, where I was supposed to give the final closing address to an international audience of at least two thousand people. There was simultaneous translation into Arabic and French. My topic was "AFRABIA" – based on the thesis that Africa and the Arab world were gradually converging into a single region.

On another day, I gave a lecture at the University of Khartoum on “ISLAM AND MODERN PILLARS OF WISDOM”. There were a lot of lights in the room, although it was a daytime lecture. There were also a lot of cameras. I was told that my lecture was being televised live on Al-Jazeera, the international Arab television channel.

My Cornell University Sudanese colleague, Salah Hassan, happened to be visiting his country during my own days in Sudan. He had previously been in exile for a couple of decades. Salah was in great demand for speeches at almost the exact times when I was speaking elsewhere! But at last he and I did connect in Khartoum. He took me to dine with his friends and to visit with his family in Omdurman. Salah and I had a great day together revisiting some of the historic sights in the two cities.

The southern University of Juba has a branch in Khartoum, including an Institute of Peace and Development. I addressed a very distinguished audience in the evening on the subject of “SUDAN’S DILEMMA BETWEEN MODERNIZATION AND WESTERNIZATION”. I took advantage of the venue and the subject matter of my lecture to pay tribute to the memory of Dunstan Wai, the Oxford and Harvard trained Southern Sudanese scholar who had died in 2005 after a very distinguished career at the World Bank. We observed a one minute silence in his honour among such eminent assembly of Southern and Northern Sudanese at the Khartoum campus of the University of Juba. My Juba lecture borrowed heavily from my World Bank lecture delivered in memory of Dunstan Wai in Washington, D.C., in the summer of 2005.

On another evening, in Khartoum, I was the personal dinner guest of Dr. Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi, the controversial, but distinguished, philosopher activist of Sudanese politics. He had been in and out of jail, as well as in and out of government and

parliament. Over the years he has been closely associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. As scholars, he and I exchanged gifts of books, and discussed both African politics and Islam in world affairs.

Throughout my few days in Khartoum, I kept on hearing that I was expected to address Africa's Heads of State scheduled to meet in Khartoum the following week. But I kept telling people that I had received no such invitation, and I could not force myself on Africa's Heads of State. It turned out that my office in Binghamton, New York, had received such an invitation from the Chief Executive of the African Union and had put it in my "PENDING" tray, awaiting my return from Khartoum!!

We now know that my schedule coordinator, Nancy Levis, was more seriously ill than she realized. She was no longer at the peak of her professional performance. She did not realize she was depriving me of the opportunity of addressing some fifty Heads of State on my favourite topic – "Culture and the African Condition". I was in the same city as the African Heads of State and could have remained in Khartoum an extra three days to address them.

It turned out that Nancy Levis's health problems were much more serious than my own professionally missed opportunity of addressing African Presidents. Nancy was hospitalized within a month of the Khartoum mishap. She died a few weeks after that. I feel guilty for having complained to her about her lapse of judgment over the invitation from the African Union. I had no idea she was so ill. I may get another opportunity, in the future, to address African Heads of State, but I will never get another chance to make Nancy Levis laugh again. May her soul rest in peace. Amen.

The Chair of the African Union, at the summit conference in Khartoum, was President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria. His speech was distributed to the press before its delivery. The speech assumed that the Director-General of UNESCO and myself were present as guests at the summit meeting. President Obasanjo said:

...I welcome our invited guests, Professor Ali Mazrui and Director General of UNESCO, whose presence here with us is an affirmation of our collective resolve to work with renewed vigor and determination to focus attention on important issues of education and culture.

Alas, I was not in that audience after all. In the words of a great global poet:

*Whither is fled, the visionary gleam?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream?*

A great opportunity had been missed. Let us hope there will be another chance, in the future.

“Who Is Afraid of Ali Mazrui?”

David Horowitz, the right-wing American militant and extreme Zionist, has published a book entitled, *THE PROFESSORS: THE 101 MOST DANGEROUS ACADEMICS IN AMERICA* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2006). Horowitz’s list of dangerous scholars includes myself.

Horowitz has received considerable media coverage in the United States with this book. He has been repeatedly interviewed on television about his list of classroom villains!!

My inclusion in this book has reminded me of an earlier paper by the Nigerian magazine editor, Akeh-Ugah Ufumaka, Jr. Ufumaka’s article was entitled, “Who Is Afraid of Ali Mazrui?”. Fortunately, for me, Ufumaka was a fan of my work, rather than a sarcastic critic. His article about me was first published in *African Profiles*

International (New York: April-May 1994, pp. 55-57). It has since been republished in Parviz Morewedge (ed.), The Scholar between Thought and Experience (Binghamton, NY: Global Publications, 2001).

I was once accused of being truly dangerous by another Nigerian – Wole Soyinka, the Nobel Prize playwright. In one of the passionate debates he and I used to have, he accused me of trying to instigate his own assassination by Northern Nigerian Muslims. I was shocked and puzzled by Soyinka's accusation. Where was that coming from?

The closest I came to an explanation was an article I wrote criticizing Soyinka, which I sent to one newspaper in Southern Nigeria and another paper in Northern Nigeria. Only the Northern paper published my article. Soyinka concluded I had chosen to publish only in Northern Nigeria in order to arouse popular resentment against him. He had once been threatened by Northerners because of his public defense of Salman Rushdie, the author of the Islamophobic Satanic Verses. I had also spoken against Rushdie's "Satanic novel".

Soyinka genuinely believed that I was trying to manipulate Northern Muslim opinion specifically against him. Wole was letting the dramatist in him run away with him! Why should I have defended Salman Rushdie against the Ayatollah's death sentence and then seek to eliminate Wole Soyinka through media manipulation? In any case, I did not have that kind of influence in Nigeria – or indeed anywhere else in the world! Fortunately, my relations with Wole Soyinka have now improved a lot.

But why has David Horowitz included me among "the 101 most dangerous academics in America"? Horowitz accuses me of having been "formerly the North American spokesman of the Islamic extremist group, Al-Muhajiroun". This is totally

false and at least as absurd as Wole Soyinka's deadly accusation. While I know what the Arabic word "al-Muhajiroun" means (migrant survivors and migrant martyrs), I know almost nothing about an "extremist group" by that name.

Horowitz also accuses me of having "defended terrorist Professor Sami Al-Arian as 'a victim of prejudice and popular ill will'." I am not sure where Horowitz got that Mazruiana quotation, but it does represent my opinion about Al-Arian's fate as a victim. I have even participated in trying to raise funds for Al-Arian's legal defense. I do not believe he is a terrorist.

On one such fundraising occasion, the American Muslim Alliance auctioned one of my books. My new book, Islam Between Globalization and Counterterrorism (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press and Oxford: James Currey, 2006), fetched a thousand dollars for an autographed copy. Three other copies fetched hundreds of dollars each. It was part of the effort to help this Palestinian scholar obtain the best defense he could. For most of the charges against him, the jury in Florida found Sami Al-Arian innocent. For other charges, the jury was split. He is still going to serve a prison term – and then be deported.

The Federal Government wanted some kind of triumph, however contrived. In the end, Sami agreed to a "guilty" plea to one of the charges so that he could be deported after a few more months behind bars. I do not think justice has been done.

Let us now return to Horowitz's list of dangerous academics. In Horowitz's own charges against me he spends a lot of space discussing my 2002 paper, "Is Israel a Threat to American Democracy?". My central thesis in that paper was as follows:

If Israeli atrocities and repression cause revenge terrorism in the United States, and terrorism in turn threatens civil liberties in America, a chain of causation is

established. The behavior of the State of Israel threatens not merely democracy within the Jewish State. Israel threatens democracy in America as well.

David Horowitz's book, The Professors, has been so well advertised by the right-wing media that it is likely to be a best seller. My only consolation for being included is that I rub shoulders in the book with my heroes like Noam Chomsky, Manning Marable and [guess who?] Sami Al-Arian!

Let me now turn to an event when I saved a person from being assassinated [instead of being accused of the reverse!!]. This year, of 2006, marks the 35th anniversary of that frantic event in Idi Amin's Uganda. So vivid in my mind is the event that I believe I can rely on my memory for even the smallest details. So please indulge me. Let me commemorate the incident by narrating it in detail.

Averting the Death of a Poet

There is a major American movie under the title of SAVING PRIVATE RYAN [directed by Steven Spielberg]. It is a movie of realism about World War II. This short report is about "SAVING PRIVATE OCULI". Let us go back some thirty-five years.

My secretary at Makerere, Anna Gourlay, entered my office and said anxiously, "They are taking Okello Oculi away!"

"Who is taking Okello away?" I asked in puzzlement rather than alarm. "A couple of soldiers!" she replied.

By the second half of 1971, the political atmosphere in Uganda under Idi Amin had become particularly dangerous for members of Milton Obote's ethnic group, the Langi, the people from Lango. Okello Oculi was a Langi. The gravity of Okello's situation began to hit me. We already suspected that hundreds of Langi soldiers had already been killed by other soldiers in Idi Amin's army.

I emerged from my office to face the two soldiers holding Okello. I enquired on whose authority they were picking up a member of my staff. "Ask Captain Ochima!" one of the soldiers replied. Ochima was the soldier who had announced Idi Amin's coup in January, 1971, on the radio.

When I failed to reach Ochima on the phone, the soldiers took Okello away. My heart sank. There was no time to lose.

I next tried desperately to connect with President Idi Amin's private secretary, Henry Kyemba. Ethnically, the powerful private secretary was neither a Kakwa (Idi Amin's group) nor a Langi (Okello's group). I hoped the Secretary would therefore be sufficiently detached to handle the problem rationally.

I explained to him that two soldiers had just picked up Okello Oculi. Fortunately, I had the presence of mind to write down the names of the soldiers. I also mentioned to Idi Amin's secretary the name of Captain Ochima, to whom the soldiers had referred. I emphasized the gravity and urgency of the situation. Idi Amin's secretary promised to pursue the matter vigorously.

In 1971, my own standing with Idi Amin's regime was high. After all, I had been a critic of Milton Obote when he was president. I was also a high profile Muslim intellectual in postcolonial Uganda. Idi Amin's office did pursue the ominous capture of Okello Oculi urgently. We waited anxiously for feedback.

Finally, Idi Amin's private secretary called me to say that Okello Oculi had been located and would be returning to Makerere within the hour. I was asked to call back the President's office if Okello did not return within a reasonable time. To our very great relief we were reunited with Okello in reasonable time.

I then started negotiating with the Rockefeller Foundation to get a postgraduate fellowship for Okello in order to get him out of Uganda, to the United States, as soon as possible. A Langi intellectual in Idi Amin's Uganda would continue to be at risk unless we got him out of reach. With the help of the Rockefeller Foundation we succeeded in transferring Okello Oculi to a major American institution – partly for a degree, but more importantly to save his life.

Okello Oculi's talent was definitely worth saving. *All life is sacred, but some lives are more sacred than others.* Okello Oculi's was one such sacred life. He has combined political sensitivity with poetic sensibility.

What does Okello Oculi have in common with Ali Mazrui? Okello and I were two political scientists, who combined political concerns with literary pursuits. From Idi Amin's Uganda, we both finally sought academic refuge in the United States. We both reconnected with Africa through affiliation with Nigerian universities. We both got married to Nigerian women and promoted Pan-Africanism through our own personal lives. We both became East Africans in exile who met more often abroad than in East Africa.

Like most young African scholars of his generation, Okello Oculi started as a critic of Ali Mazrui ideologically. It was an inter-generational rebellion. But history reconciled Oculi with Mazrui in the crucifix of shared risks in Idi Amin's Uganda. I was privileged to play a part in saving Okello Oculi's life. I was humbled by Okello's own courage under dangerous adversity, his philosophical resilience in a world of conflict and creative challenge. Does the struggle continue? Private Okello Oculi has been more than just saved. He has now triumphed as a poet and as an academic in Nigeria.

A Tale of Two Assassinations

Since my last Newsletter (No. 29) I have been involved in commemorating two historical assassinations. We have commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the murder of Walter Rodney, the Guyanese historian, who wrote How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Rodney was killed in Georgetown, Guyana, in 1980 – apparently with an explosive device he was given to carry by someone he trusted, but who was acting probably on behalf of Rodney's enemies within the Guyanese regime of the day.

The other assassination we commemorated recently was the thirtieth anniversary of the murder of Murtala Muhammed, Head of State of Nigeria, killed on a Lagos street in 1976. General Murtala was being driven in his official car and was caught up in a traffic jam. The killers coolly approached the car and opened fire on those inside. General Murtala Muhammed had been in power in Nigeria for less than a year, but in that brief period he had embarked on the most sustained war on corruption and indiscipline that Nigeria had ever experienced. Murtala is now widely regarded in Nigeria as a heroic national reformer, who paid the ultimate price for his courage. Lagos International Airport is named after him, and so have a variety of other institutions and an annual commemorative lecture.

In February, 2006, I was one of the keynote speakers at a mammoth event in a stadium in Kano. The audience consisted of between two and three thousand people, including former Heads of State, State Governors and Emirs. The event was sponsored by the Centre for Democratic Research and Training of Bayero University in Kano. I lectured on the following topic:

*Political Leadership and Comparative Martyrdom:
From Lumumba and Sadat to Kennedy and Murtala*

We took advantage of the occasion to informally “launch” my new book:

A Tale of Two Africas: Nigeria and South Africa as Contrasting Visions

It was orally reviewed by a Nigerian scholar before that audience of many hundreds of people.

Since I was in Nigeria, I made it a point also to visit my old campus of the University of Jos in Plateau State. In Jos I had meetings with the Vice Chancellor, with Deans, professors and, of course, students. I also gave a lecture, at the University of Jos, on the following topic:

“Comparative Exceptionalism: Nigeria and South Africa”

Fortunately, I was in Jos on a night when I could have dinner with my dear friend, Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, and his dear wife, Vivian, and catch up with their children. Elaigwu’s friend and assistant, Galadima, was invaluable throughout my brief stay in Jos. Galadima also helped me connect with my in-laws in Jos, my wife’s relatives, the Lord be praised.

As regards commemorating the 25th anniversary of Walter Rodney’s assassination, I participated in the big conference in Georgetown, Guyana, in 2005. Rodney’s fans came from different parts of the Black world. His widow, Patricia, also came to Georgetown for the first time since she settled in Canada after the assassination. She came with Rodney’s children. Apart from the academic papers and speeches, we also visited Walter Rodney’s grave in a moving ceremony. A more cheerful event was breakfast with the Head of State of Guyana.

It was great to be back in Guyana. After all, I had been the first Walter Rodney Distinguished Professor when the Chair was created at the University of Guyana under the late Ched Jagan's administration. I regarded my appointment, as Walter Rodney Chair, as a great honour, though somewhat ironic since Walter and I had been ideological adversaries when we both lived in East Africa in the 1960s.

In January, 2006, the 25th anniversary of Rodney's assassination was commemorated in Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania, sponsored by the University of Dar es Salaam (with Haroub Othman as the organizer) and the Development Planning and Management Forum (DPMF, under the leadership of Abdallah Bujra in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia). Again, Walter Rodney's fans came from different parts of Africa and the Diaspora. And, once again, Rodney's widow and children managed to attend.

Haroub Othman had an additional assignment for me. For years he had wanted me to give a public lecture in Zanzibar. At last, Haroub got his way in January 2006. He flew me to Zanzibar, from Dar es Salaam, to give a public lecture about Islam and democratic values in a multicultural society. My main lecture was delivered in the English language, but the discussion and questions and answers were almost entirely in Kiswahili.

I discovered that there was a hotel in Zanzibar called Mazrui-Sons (or Mazrusons), owned by the Tanzanian wing of the very large Mazrui clan of Eastern Africa. I was invited by the management to have breakfast and lunch at this Mazrui-Sons Hotel. I was also given a nice bedroom for my siesta. However, I was not able to spend the night there since we needed to get back to Dar es Salaam on the same day, according to the conference schedule.

I had not been to Zanzibar since the BBC/PBS team and I went there to film it, in the 1980s, for my TV-series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage. But my memories of Zanzibar were even longer than that.

My first visit to Zanzibar was in the late 1930s when I was a small child. My father had departed for his pilgrimage to Mecca, and he entrusted his son to his Zanzibari friend. Much later, I acquired Zanzibari in-laws when my sister Aisha married a man from the sister island of Pemba and bore him half a dozen sons. Alhamdu Lillah.

As for my most recent Dar es Salaam memories, they go back to the 80th birthday of Julius K. Nyerere in 2002 after his death. For that event I was well received by President Benjamin Mkapa, the third Head of State of Tanzania. I was one of the keynote speakers on Nyerere's birthday. On that occasion I also presented to President Mkapa my small book entitled The Titan of Tanzania: The Legacy of Julius K. Nyerere (a special limited edition for the occasion).



Ali Mazrui being received by Benjamin Mkapa, the third President of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam.

The Head of State, President Mkapa, also made it a point to attend my evening lecture. The lecture was named after Barbara Ward, the distinguished British economist, who had devoted her professional life fighting for economic justice in the world system. I took the liberty of recommending that the annual lecture should be renamed "The Barbara Ward and Julius K. Nyerere Annual Distinguished Lecture".

My recommendation was received with great applause – given that the audience was mainly Tanzanian! But I have not checked to see if my recommendation has been implemented. Probably not! There might have been legal problems in renaming that particular distinguished lecture.

Between the Academy and the Intelligentsia

In 2005, I once again presided at the annual graduation ceremony in Kenya of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, of which I am Chancellor. It is always an awesome responsibility to award hundreds of degrees in one momentous ceremony, but I got a lot of support from the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Nick Wanjohi, and his team, and from the Chairman of Council, Adan A. Mohamed, the Chief Executive Officer of Barclays Bank (East African branches).

Since our university specializes in technology and agriculture, my Chancellor's speech, in 2005, focused especially on ecological balance. The fanciful title for my address was as follows:

"GREEN EYES ON THE PRIZE: FROM SOFT WESTERNIZATION TO HARD MODERNIZATION"

I emphasized that our graduates should not only be accomplished in their scientific and technological fields. They must also be sensitized to the environmental

implications of their professions. I cited Kenya's Wangari Maathai as role model for us all. She won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 2004 – Kenya's only Nobel Prize in any field so far. I was delighted that the Nobel Committee had broadened its concept of "peace" to include environmental protection of Planet Earth.

My interaction with Africa's natural scientists was not limited to my Jomo Kenyatta University duties. I was also invited to be keynote speaker at the international conference on the theme "The Energy Situation in Africa", to mark the 20th anniversary celebrations of the African Academy of Sciences. My own topic was as follows:

*"RENEWABLE ENERGY AND DEPARTING SKILLS:
THE BRAIN DRAIN AND AFRICA'S FUEL CRISIS"*

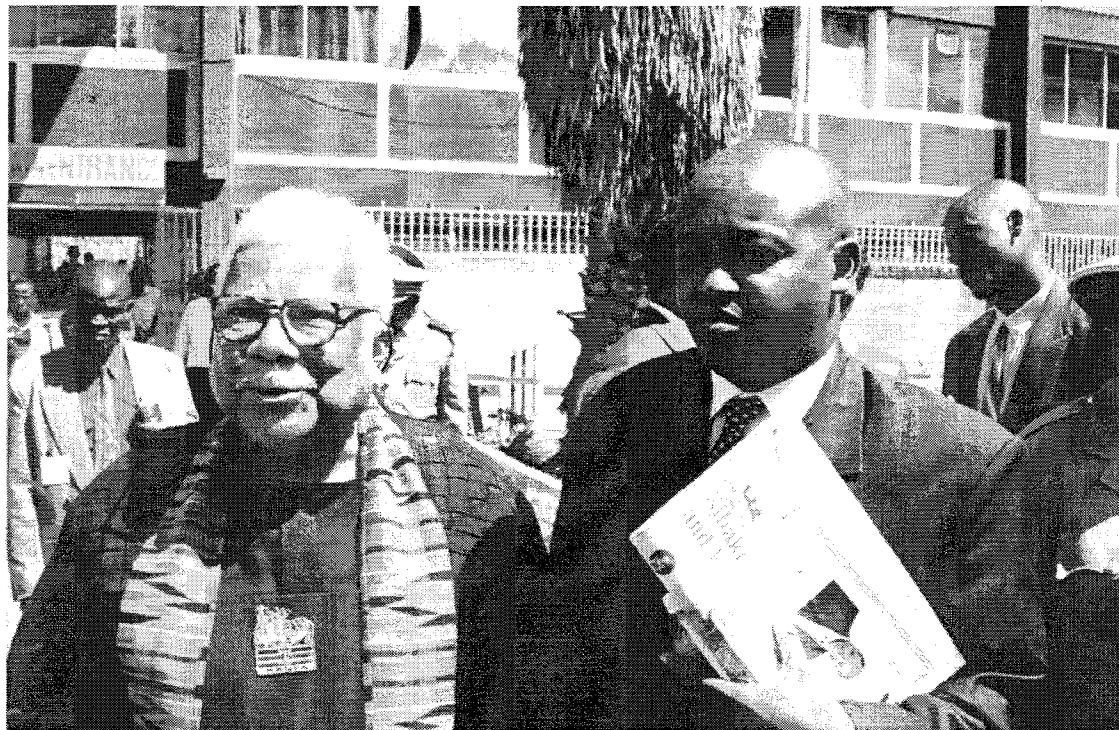
It was a nice change for me to be professionally interacting with physicists, botanists, chemists, zoologists and mathematicians – rather than sociologists, economists, historians and fellow political scientists.

However, within the same week, in Nairobi, I did attend a more social science oriented conference. This was the second annual conference on the theme, "From Brain Drain to Brain Gain" sponsored by Brian Gain, Inc., and Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. My own keynote contribution was on the following sub-theme:

*"CAN THE REVERSAL OF THE BRAIN DRAIN COMPENSATE
FOR HIV LOSSES?"*

Throughout my days in Kenya, I am now constantly helped and served by Michael Ngonyo Hindzano, my Protocol Officer, in my capacity as Chancellor. Michael coordinates my engagements, arranges my dealings with the media, deals with airlines, and keeps me company from conference to conference, and even from city to city. Jomo

Kenyatta University also assigns me a car with a driver. My usual driver is Peter Njiraini, who is excellent as a driver, professionally smart in his field and good company.



Chancellor Ali Mazrui of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Kenya, with his Protocol Officer, Michael Ngonyo, Nairobi, Kenya, 2005.

Another major Kenya assignment was my launching the First Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Lecture, in Nairobi, in memory of one of Kenya's most distinguished sons, who once served as Vice President and, even more significantly, served as the political conscience of the nation. My keynote address was on the following subject:

“NOT YET UHURU: THE BALANCE SHEET”

Oginga Odinga had written a book entitled Not Yet Uhuru [Not Yet Freedom] in the early years after Kenya's independence. I took the liberty of elaborating on this thesis that Kenya's struggle for freedom had not yet ended.

In my hometown of Mombasa I gave a lecture in support of a particular draft of a new constitution for Kenya, which was to be voted on later in 2005. I was in favour of what was called “the Boma draft”. If the referendum had been on the Boma draft, it is almost certain that it would have been accepted by the electorate.

Unfortunately, the Kenya Government held a referendum on an alternative draft. The government favoured draft was rejected by the electorate. Kenya is still constitutionally in limbo. I hope President Mwai Kibaki draws the right conclusions and puts the right draft to a referendum next time.

Meanwhile, President Kibaki had graciously honoured me with the national title of Commander of the Order of the Burning Spear (C.B.S.), First Class, which is the equivalent of a British knighthood. Because of my profession as an educator, the award was given to me in the Ministry of Education by the Minister of Education and Technology at the time, and former Vice-President of Kenya, Professor George Saitoti.

For once, I was in Kenya at the same time as my old friend, James N. Kariuki, a Kenyan who normally lives in South Africa, but who was visiting his mother during my own visit to Kenya. When I visit South Africa, James serves as my unofficial and honorary Protocol Officer – dealing with my engagements, my relations with the South African media, my contacts with government and with the South African elite, and my ground transportation. James is my Michael Ngonyo of South Africa, or Michael is my James Kariuki of Kenya!! But while Michael is both a friend and an employee, James is only a friend! A labour of love, God bless them both.

Several months before I went to Kenya I was approached by some Mombasa folks about an event they were planning -- to celebrate my late father's contribution to the

Swahili culture in East Africa. My father had died way back in 1947. Why were these folks celebrating his work in 2005?

It turned out that they wanted to launch a Swahili Resource Center at a special ceremony within Fort Jesus, a historic monument hundred of years old, from within which the Mazrui family had once ruled the City State of Mombasa at about the time of the French Revolution. The ceremony in Fort Jesus, in July 2005, included an exhibition of the works, handwritten letters, and family photographs of Sheikh Al-Amin bin Ali Mazrui (my old man). The Fort Jesus event was followed by a formal launching of the Swahili Resource Center and a magnificent banquet at the old home of the late Sheikh Mbarak Ali Hinawy, a contemporary and colleague of my father, who served as the Liwali of the Coast of Kenya, and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II before he died.

From Cape to Cairo?

Two of the most memorable events of 2005 occurred in the southern part of our continent (South Africa) and in the Northern part of the continent (Egypt). In their eagerness to reestablish strong ties with the rest of the African continent, some South Africans are motivated by economic considerations (the bottom line); others by political considerations, seeking to influence diplomatic trends across Africa. I, personally, have been particularly affected by those South Africans who are in quest of exploring cultural relations between South Africa and the Black world as a whole.

In this context, I have been helped by three institutions and one particular individual. The three institutions have been the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA), the Institute of Global Dialogue (IGD) and the University of South Africa (UNISA). The

single individual was James N. Kariuki as the overall coordinator of my schedule. But the South African who is best informed about the whole corpus of my writings is Abdul S. Bemath, my bibliographer par excellence. His new book, THE MAZRUIANA COLLECTION REVISITED, is invaluable. It was published in 2005 by New Dawn Press (U.K.) and Africa Institute of South Africa.

There was a stupendous event in Johannesburg organized by the African Heritage Society. At a great banquet in the city, it was decided to award me the African Renaissance Award for 2005. A dazzling event in the evening had enlisted the participation of the South African elite. It was a salute to cultural Pan-Africanism. God bless them all!

We also celebrated the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, which occurred in Manchester, England, in 1945 – bringing together Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, W.E.B. DuBois, George Padmore and other giants of Pan-African history. The South African television programs and the radio talks were all ready to engage me about the African condition and the post-colonial aftermath in these terms.

In 2006 South Africa is, at long last, broadcasting my TV series THE AFRICANS: A TRIPLE HERITAGE. Apartheid South Africa had refused to show it twenty years ago. I am grateful for this new viewing audience.

One of my most cherished North African events of early 2006 was a trip to Egypt with my dear wife, Pauline. On this tour we focused on classical Pharaohnic Egypt, rather than Islamic Egypt. (Both have spectacular monuments.) More about that in another section of this Newsletter.

In Alexandria I gave a Distinguished Lecture at Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the huge new library in Alexandria, Egypt. The Library is dedicated to the memory of the ancient classical library of Alexandria, which was burned down by the Romans approximately during the era of Cleopatra. But the new library is a state of the art in advanced equipment and in global status among the libraries of the world. The Director-General is my old Egyptian friend, the versatile Ismail Serageldin, formerly a Vice President of the World Bank in Washington, D.C.

The new Library of Alexandria has also offered to translate into Arabic my book, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, the companion book to my 1986 television series of the same title (PBS/BBC). The TV series is already available in Arabic (video), but the book is not. The Alexandria Library may also translate into Arabic the huge book which I edited and co-authored for UNESCO, Africa Since 1935 (UNESCO General History of Africa, Paris, France, Vol. VIII, 1993).

So far there has been only one year when I have published not just two books, but three in a single year. This was in 1967 when I published Towards a Pax Africana: A Study of Ideology and Ambition (University of Chicago Press), On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship (Longman Publishers) and The Anglo-African Commonwealth: Political Friction and Cultural Fusion (Pergamon Press). At that time three books in a single year was unprecedented by any African or Africanist author in modern times.

As I indicated, in 2006 I have so far published two books – one on Africa and the other on Islam. In a public flamboyant gesture I did present my latest books to the Director-General of Bibliotheca Alexandrina – to great applause from the audience at my lecture on “AFRABIA”!!

Family in Transition

One of the most exciting things for a grandparent is to be actually living with a grandchild. From that point of view, this has been a wonderful year! Little Ali is a joyful, lively, intelligent and highly inquisitive five-year-old. He has bonded exceptionally well with Pauline and with my two youngest children, Farid and Harith. Little Ali also cracks jokes with Pauline's mother, and pokes fun at Grandpa [actually he calls me "Papa" instead of Grandpa]!

Those of you who read my Newsletter 29 will know that little Ali lost his mother through cancer in 2004. Pauline and I offered to look after Ali while his Dad (Al'Amin, my second son) sorted his life out as a widower. Al'Amin still lives in Berkeley, California, but comes east to visit his son every three or four months. When he is in California, the two of them talk on the phone several nights a week. I would not know how to conduct a one-hour conversation with a five-year-old – but Al'Amin and his little boy manage to have hilarious games on the phone several hours every week. I am full of admiration!

Our dear friend, Goretti, has returned to Binghamton University to pursue her third degree – this time pursuing a social work degree. Of course, we welcomed her back to our home full-time. We have known Goretti for about a quarter of a century now – going back to the days when Pauline and I were discreetly dating in Jos, Nigeria. Goretti and her daughter, Maria, are now our family. [Maria is away at Howard University in Washington, D.C., as a pre-medical student.]

Although Maria is away, Goretti still has a lot of mothering to do in Binghamton – as "Aunt Goretti" to our three Binghamton boys, Farid, Harith and little Ali!

Because of Goretti's presence, Pauline was able to join me when I left for Egypt on New Year's Eve. Our first stop was Alexandria, where I was scheduled to give a public lecture at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. The library is both modern physically and ancient in its pedigree. It is supposed to be a reincarnation of the ancient Library of Alexandria, which was burned down by the Romans approximately at the time of Cleopatra – to the best of my memory!

The Director-General is a versatile Renaissance friend of mine – going back to the days when he was a Vice-President of the World Bank and I served on the Bank's Council of African Advisors in the late 1980s and early 1990s. My lecture at the new Library of Alexandria was on the topic, "AFRABIA". The Library will publish it as part of the Distinguished Lecture Series.

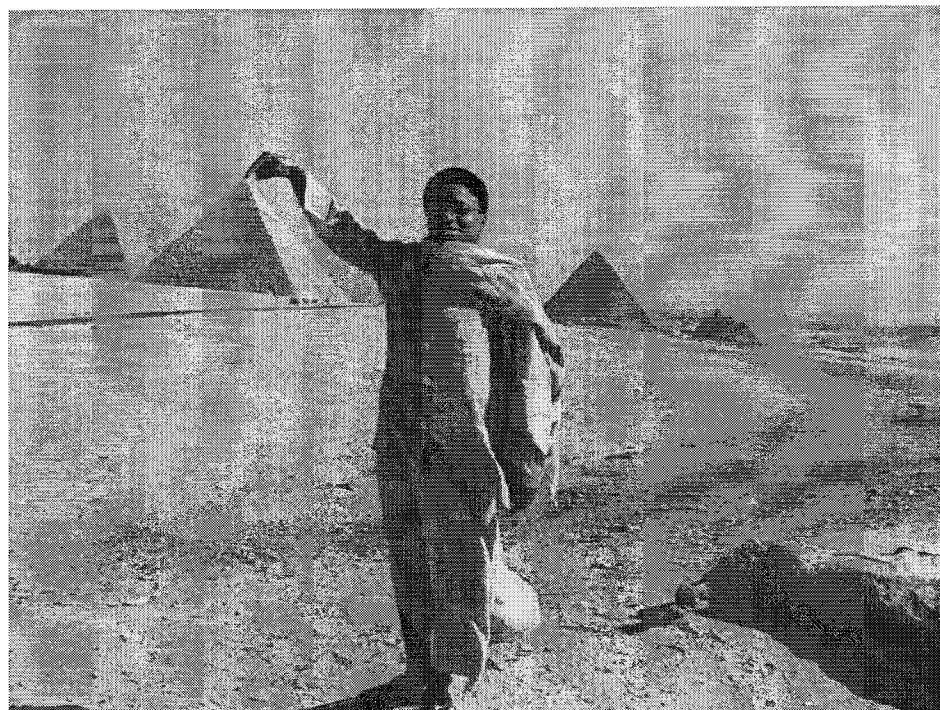
Once Pauline and I were out of Alexandria we became good old-fashioned tourists in Egypt. We did the pyramids and the Sphinx, the Valley of the Kings, a Nile cruise, endless monuments from Ramses II to Hatshepsut, from temples to dams. We went as far as Abu Simbel. I saw a reproduction of the tomb of Tutankhamun. Pauline went to the museum in Cairo to see the real Tutankhamun dazzle! Together, we also visited a village based on the ordinary lives of ancient Egyptians.



The Legacy of Tutankhamun



Pauline Mazrui at the tomb of Tutankhamun (Egypt, 2006).



The pyramid in the shadow of Pauline!. Mrs Mazrui's first visit to Egypt, 2006.

Now we need to make a special trip in the future to admire the Islamic heritage of Egypt, from the tomb of Hussein to Al-Azhar University. Egypt is full of great Islamic architecture of palaces, forts, as well as mosques. I have seen some of them on my previous trips to Egypt – but sharing Egypt with Pauline will, once again, be a special experience.

In Mombasa, I still have one older sister (Nafisa) and one younger sister (Aliya). Every time I go to Mombasa, there is a banquet in my honour. Believe me, the Swahili cuisine is superb. A thousand nieces and nephews salute me! Amen!

For Thanksgiving 2005, Kim, my third son, and his wife, Kay, had a brilliant idea. They invited the whole Mazrui family in the U.S.A. and their relatives to spend Thanksgiving with them in Charlottesville, Virginia. I found myself surrounded by my sons, my two grandsons, my two wives (!), my mother-in-law, and friends. The reunion was a great success! It was a stupendous Thanksgiving!

I wonder if in the future we should rotate the Thanksgiving celebration from one branch of the family to another from year to year? Should we meet in Binghamton in November 2007?

Let me now break the latest news to the family. My oldest son's wife – Susan – is expecting their first baby this year. Isn't that wonderful? Although Jamal is my first born, he took his time over the issue of marriage. He dated different women over the years – some sighted and others blind like himself. But nothing really clicked into a potential wedlock until Jamal met Susan Palmer – a young American lady who is part white and part Japanese! My next grandchild will, therefore, be multicontinental in genetic ancestry – African, European, Asian and North American! The Lord be praised.

for such diversity! The grand design of the human race may be captured in the Mazruiana experience.

Jane, my sister-in-law, visited us again from Nigeria. Since she is a dressmaker in Jos, she always arrives in Binghamton with beautifully embroidered shirts and dresses. Jane has enhanced my wardrobe terrifically! Alhamdu Li Llah!

My eleven-year-old son, Harith, joined a school group to go to Hawaii during the summer of 2005. Since Harith is fascinated by the history of World War II, he was particularly excited by the prospect of visiting Pearl Harbor. He wanted to learn more about the most serious attack on the United States prior to September 11, 2001. Once Harith arrived in Hawaii he realized how much more there was to see in the 50th state than war memorials!!

When Farid (my fourth son) went to Australia and New Zealand the year before, (2004) with another school group, our African friends in Canada invited Harith as compensation for the summer holidays. When in 2005 Harith went to Hawaii, again our African friends in Canada came to the rescue and invited Farid to Toronto. As for this coming summer of 2006, we are taking Farid, Harith and little Ali to Kenya. We may be joined in Kenya by my third son, Kim, and his dear wife, Kay. It will be Kay's first visit to Africa.

Mama Alice, my mother-in-law, may be going home to Nigeria while the rest of us travel around in the rest of Africa! I may reconnect with Mama Alice in Jos, Nigeria, when I attend a conference in Nigeria in October 2006, Insha Allah.

My nephew, Alamin M. Mazrui, and his wife, Ousseina Alidou, have been professors at different universities – separated by hundreds of miles (Alamin at the Ohio

State University and Ousseina at Rutgers in New Jersey). They have yearned to be at the same institution for years.



Across generations: Pauline's mother (Alice Uti) and Salma Mazrui (daughter of Ousseina and Alamin).



Ali and Alamin Mazrui are collaborating on their third book on language in Africa. The younger Mazrui is at Ohio State University.

At last, their prayers are about to be answered. Rutgers has given Ousseina tenure and has offered Alamin a professorship on the same campus, with special attractions. On hearing about this, the Ohio State University has made Alamin a counteroffer, including a tenured position for his wife, Ousseina! Embarrassment of riches! The two of them have been given a year to decide between the two offers. I am proud to belong to a family of achievers!! The torch has been passed to a new generation! *Alhamdu li Llah!*

Let me conclude with the departure of a colleague who was not biologically related to me, but who served me for well over fifteen years and got to know many different members of my family. Nancy Levis joined me as my secretary almost from the very beginning of my Binghamton career. Another early member of my professional family in Binghamton was Omari H. Kokole, whom I had brought with me from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, to become my Associate Director.



Omari H. Kokole: 1952-1996. Tenth Anniversary of His Death.

By a sad coincidence, Nancy's death in 2006 at the age of 59 was almost exactly ten years since Omari Kokole died suddenly in 1996 at the age of 44. Nancy – always temperamentally tearful – was particularly weepy when Omari passed away. They had been great friends in their six years together with me.



A Tale of Two Ali Mazruis! The late Nancy Levis playing with Ali Mazrui's grandson of the same name.

I have five sons scattered in different parts of the United States. They were all fond of Nancy. My three adult sons have called with their condolences. Other members of the Mazrui clan, on hearing the news, have also communicated their heartfelt sympathy from different countries in the world.

Of course, Nancy will continue to live in our memories. She lives in the books she helped me to write. She lives in the different capitals of the world to which she helped to send me. Above all, she lives in our hearts, embraced by all who loved her.

In my travels, Nancy was my wings – enabling me to traverse the world from Tanzania to Malaysia, from Switzerland to New Zealand. She was my map and my compass.

As we were growing old together, she fixed appointments for me with my increasing number of medical specialists – my heart doctor, my foot doctor, my eye doctor, my arthritis specialist, my general physician. She dealt with my pharmacist. Nancy Levis played her part in keeping me alive, as well as keeping my career vibrant.

Nancy helped to focus me on earthly destinations. It is significant that among the messages of condolences I have received is a letter from Lord Ahmed of Rotherham of the British House of Lords. Lord Ahmed remembered both Nancy and her daughter, Maria. Lord Ahmed had visited Binghamton as a guest of our Institute and I had previously visited the House of Lords as a guest of Lord Ahmed. Nancy Levis had been part and parcel of those international transactions.

Nancy leaves behind a widower, Alberto, and two daughters, Rena and Maria. She is also survived by two grandchildren, Devona and Charles, and by three sisters and their families.

Ancient Egyptians believed that to die was to change one's address. Wherever you are, Nancy, we shall try to forward your mail to your new address, with love and fond memories.

APPENDIX I.

Mazrui: A Short Biography

2006-2007 Academic Year: Short Resume

ALI A. MAZRUI was born in Mombasa, Kenya, on February 24, 1933. He is now Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities and Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University, State University of New York. He is also Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large at the University of Jos in Nigeria. He is Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large Emeritus and Senior Scholar in Africana Studies at Cornell University. Dr. Mazrui has also been appointed Chancellor of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya – an appointment made by Kenya's Head of State. Mazrui was Ibn Khaldun Professor-at-Large, Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, Leesburg, Virginia (1997-2000). He was also Walter Rodney Professor at the University of Guyana, Georgetown, Guyana (1997-1998). Mazrui obtained his B.A. with Distinction from Manchester University in England, his M.A. from Columbia University in New York, and his doctorate from Oxford University in England. For ten years he was at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda, where he served as head of the Department of Political Science and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. He once served as Vice-President of the International Political Science Association and has lectured in five continents. Professor Mazrui also served as professor of political science (1974-1991) and as Director of the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies (1978-1981) at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He has also been Visiting Scholar at Stanford, Chicago, Colgate, Singapore, Australia, Malaysia, Oxford, Harvard, Bridgewater, Cairo, Leeds, Nairobi, Teheran, Denver, London, Ohio State, Baghdad, McGill, Sussex, Pennsylvania, etc. Dr. Mazrui has also served as Special Advisor to the World Bank. He has also served on the Board of Directors of the American Muslim Council, Washington, D.C., and served as chair of the Board of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy, Washington, D.C. He is also on the Board of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and is a Fellow of the Institute of Governance and Social Research, Jos, Nigeria.

In 2005 the American journal, FOREIGN POLICY (Washington, DC), and the British Journal, PROSPECT (London), nominated Ali Mazrui among the top 100 public intellectuals alive in the world as a whole. FOREIGN POLICY is published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York. Mazrui was earlier elected an Icon of the Twentieth Century by Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

His more than twenty books include *Towards a Pax Africana* (1967), and *The Political Sociology of the English Language* (1975). He has also published a novel entitled *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* (1971). His research interests include African politics, international political culture, political Islam, and North-South relations. His most comprehensive books include *A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective* (published by the Free Press in New York in 1976) and *Cultural Forces in World Politics* (James Currey and Heinemann, 1990). Among his books on language in society is *The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in Africa's Experience* (co-author Alamin M. Mazrui) (James Currey and University of Chicago Press, 1998), which was launched in the House of Lords, London, at a historic ceremony saluting Mazrui's works. He and Alamin M. Mazrui have also been working on a project on *Black Reparations in the Era of Globalization*. His most recent books include *Islam Between Globalization and Counterterrorism* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press and Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2006) and *A Tale of Two Africas: Nigeria and South Africa as Contrasting Visions* (London: Adonis-Abbey, 2006).

Dr. Mazrui has also written for magazines and newspapers. He has been published in The Times (London), the New York Times, the Sunday Nation (Nairobi), Transition (Kampala and Cambridge, Mass., USA), Al-Ahram (Cairo), The Guardian (London) and (Lagos), The Economist (London) and the Cumhuriyet (Istanbul and Ankara), Yomiuri Shimbun (Tokyo and Osaka), The Standard (Nairobi) International Herald Tribune (Paris), Elsevier (Amsterdam), Los Angeles Times Syndicate (USA) and Afrique 2000 (Brussels and Paris), City Press (Johannesburg).

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Dr. Mazrui's most influential articles of the last forty years have been republished by Africa World Press in

three volumes under the overall editorship of Dr. Toyin Falola of the University of Texas. Mazrui's Millennium Harvard lectures have been published under the title, The African Predicament and the American Experience: A Tale of Two Edens (Westport and London: Praeger, 2004).

Dr. Mazrui has been awarded honorary doctorates by several universities in disciplines which have ranged from Divinity to Sciences of Human Development, from Humane Letters to Political Economy. He is also a former research fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, and the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California. The President of Kenya has awarded him the National Honour of Commander of the Order of the Burning Spear [C.B.S.], First Class.

Professor Mazrui is married and has five sons (Jamal, Al'Amin, Kim Abubakar, Farid Chinedu and Harith Ekenechukwu). Dr. Mazrui is a Kenyan. One of his sons is also Kenyan and four are U.S. citizens.

Dr. Mazrui was President of the African Studies Association of the United States (1978 to 1979) and Vice-President of the International Congress of African Studies (1979-1991). He is also Vice-President of the Royal Africa Society in London. Dr. Mazrui has been elected an Honorary Fellow of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, and member of the College of Fellows of the International Association of Middle Eastern Studies. In 1979 Dr. Mazrui delivered the prestigious annual Reith Lectures of the British Broadcasting Corporation (named about the founder Director-General of the BBC, Lord Reith). The lectures (entitled *The African Condition*) have since been repeatedly reprinted by Cambridge University Press. Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland, has extended to him the DuBois-Garvey Award for Pan-African Unity. In 1999 he gave the Eric Williams Memorial lecture sponsored by the Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago. Dr. Mazrui has been received by Heads of State in Africa and elsewhere.

In 1998 Professor Mazrui was elected to the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, England, and to the Board of Directors of the National Summit on Africa, Washington, D.C.. The year 1998 also marked the publication of the first comprehensive annotated bibliography of all Mazrui's works (printed and electronic) from 1962 to 1997 [The Mazruiana Collection, compiled by Abdul S. Bemath, and published by Sterling in New Delhi and Africa World Press in New Jersey]. An enlarged edition of Bemath's book has been published under the title of The Mazruiana Collection Revisited (New Dawn Press and Africa Institute of South Africa, 2005). Another book entitled The Global African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui, edited by Omari H. Kokole, had also been published by Africa World Press in 1998.

Dr. Mazrui's television work includes the widely discussed 1986 series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, (BBC and PBS). A book by the same title has been jointly published by BBC Publications and Little, Brown and Company. In 1986 the book was a best seller in Britain and was adopted or recommended by various Book Clubs in the U.S.A., including the Book of the Month Club. Dr. Mazrui has also published hundreds of articles in five continents.

The wide range of journals in which Dr. Mazrui has been published since 1990 alone include International Affairs (London), Internationale Politik (Bonn), East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights (Kampala), Kajian Malaysia (Penang), International Journal of the Sociology of Language (Berlin), Islamic Studies (Islamabad), Foreign Affairs (New York), Revue Africaine de Développement (Abidjan), International Journal of Refugee Law (New York), and International Political Science Journal (Oxford).

Ali Mazrui is widely consulted on many issues including constitutional change and educational reform. Dr. Mazrui has been involved in a number of UN projects on matters which have ranged from human rights to nuclear proliferation. He is also internationally consulted on Islamic culture and Muslim history. He is editor of Volume VIII (*Africa since 1935*) of the UNESCO General History of Africa (1993). He has also served as Expert Advisor to the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations. Professor Mazrui has served on the editorial boards of more than twenty international scholarly journals. He won the Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award of The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and the Distinguished Africanist Award of the African Studies Association of the USA. He is a member of the Royal Commonwealth Trust and the Atheneum Club (London) and the United Kenya Club (Nairobi). Dr. Mazrui's services to the Organization of African Unity and the African Union include membership of the Group of Eminent Persons appointed in 1992 by the O.A.U. Presidential Summit to explore the issues of African Reparations for Enslavement and Colonization. He was also among the Eminent Personalities who advised on the transition from the OAU to the African Union (2002).

APPENDIX II.

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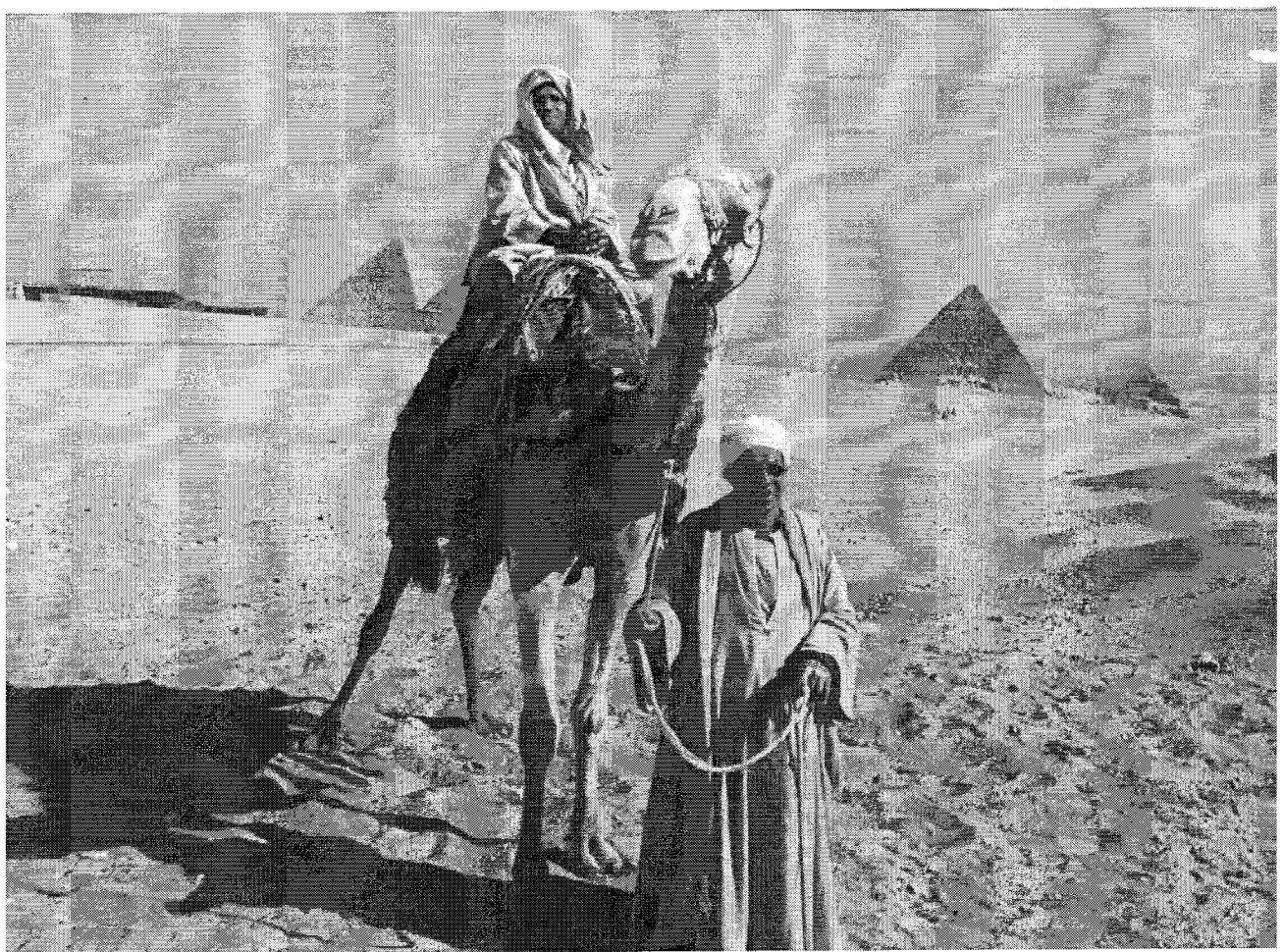
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Pauline Mazrui as Lawrence of Arabia on a camel (Egypt, 2006).