

Second Draft:
December 2008

CAN GLOBALIZATION BE CONTAINED? TOWARDS AFRO-ASIAN STRATEGIES

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Keynote Address under a different title at the International Conference on “Engaging with Resurgent Africa”, sponsored by the Observer Research Foundation, New Delhi, India, November 20-21, 2008.

Africa in this twenty first century is likely to be one of the final battlegrounds of the forces of globalization – for better or for worse. This phenomenon called GLOBALIZATION has its winners and losers. In the initial phases, Africa has been among the losers as it has been increasingly marginalized. There are universities in the United States which have more computers than the computers available in an African country of twenty million people. This has been the great digital divide. The distinction between the Haves and Have-nots has now coincided with the distinction between Digitised and the “Digi-prived”.

Let us begin with the challenge of a definition. What is globalization? It consists of processes that lead toward global interdependence and the increasing rapidity of exchange across vast distances. The word globalization is itself quite new, but the actual processes toward global interdependence and exchange started centuries ago.

Four forces have been major engines of globalization across time: religion, technology, economy, and empire. These have not necessarily acted separately, but often have reinforced each other. For example, the globalization of Christianity started with the conversion of Emperor Constantine I of Rome in 313B.C.E.. The religious conversion of an emperor started the process under which Christianity became the dominant religion not only of Europe but also of many other societies later ruled or settled by Europeans. The globalization of Islam began not with converting a ready-made empire, but with building an empire almost from scratch. The Umayyads and Abbasids put together bits of other people’s empires (e.g., former Byzantine Egypt and former Zoroastrian Persia) and created a whole new civilization. The forces of Christianity and Islam sometimes clashed. In Africa the two religions have competed for the soul of a continent.

But there are paradoxes of hope. Senegal, overwhelmingly a Muslim country, had a Roman Catholic President for twenty years (1960-1980). When President Leopold

Sedar Senghor stepped down in 1980, he was succeeded by President Diouf, a Muslim, but Diouf's First Lady was a Roman Catholic.

The United Republic of Tanzania has been unique in a different way. Tanzania has had a religiously rotating Presidency – beginning with Roman Catholic President Julius K. Nyerere, succeeded by a Muslim Ali Hassan Mwinyi, followed by Christian Benjamin Mkapa, and now once again succeeded by Muslim President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete.

Where else but in Africa can such rotation occur at the highest level of government? Actually there is one other area of the world which has been prepared to experiment with rotation at the pinnacle of power, though not as consistently as Tanzania. India is the nearest rival to Africa in religious rotation of power. India's current Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, is a Sikh – in spite of the fact that it was a Sikh who assassinated a Hindu Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, in 1984. In the past India has also had a Muslim President – though the Presidency in India is titular rather than an executive role. India has also had an Italian-born Head of the ruling party – Sonia Gandhi of the Congress Party. It is conceivable that Sonia Gandhi may one day agree to become the first European Prime Minister of the Indian Republic – having seen across the world the first African American with a Muslim father become President of the United States after a heated election in 2008.

It is one of the ironies of globalization that while it does consolidate the pre-eminence of the Northern hemisphere in the global power equation, globalization has also begun to open doors of reciprocal penetrations between the North and the South.

Voyages of exploration were another major stage in the process of globalization. Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus opened up a whole new chapter in the history of globalization. Economy and empire were the major motives. There followed the migration of people. The Portuguese helped to build Fort Jesus in Mombasa, Kenya. The migration of the Pilgrim Fathers to America was in part a response to religious and

economic imperatives in Europe. Demographic globalization reached its height in the Americas with the influx of millions of people from other hemispheres. In time, the population of the United States became a microcosm of the population of the world, for it contained immigrants from almost every society on earth. The making of America was the making of a globalized society or universal nation. Similarly, South Africa had Dutch settlers three centuries ago – a potential universal nation on the African continent was initiated.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe represents another major chapter in the history of globalization. This marriage between technology and economics resulted in previously unknown levels of productivity. Europe's prosperity whetted its appetite for new worlds to conquer. The Atlantic slave trade was accelerated, moving millions of Africans from one part of the world to another. Europe's appetite also went imperial on a global scale, and one European people, the British, built the largest and most far-flung colonial empire in human experience, most of which lasted until after the end of World War II.

The two world wars were themselves manifestations of globalization. The twentieth century is the only one to witness globalized warfare: during 1914-18 and again during 1939-45. The Cold War (1948-89) was yet another manifestation of globalization, for it was a global power rivalry between two alliances: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. While the two world wars were militarily the most destructive, empirically the Cold War was potentially the most dangerous, for it carried the seeds of planetary annihilation via nuclear warfare. At that time Africa was being courted by the Soviet bloc, by China as well as by the West. But China was a minor player. However, China and India are now emerging as newer global players.

The final historical stage of globalization came when the Industrial Revolution was joined with the new Information Revolution. Interdependence and exchange became dramatically dependent upon the computer. The most powerful country by this time was

the United States. Pax Americana mobilized three of globalization's four engines: technology, economy, and empire. Although in the second half of the twentieth century this Pax Americana apparently did not seek to promote a particular religion, it did help to promote secularism and the ideology of the separation of church and state. On balance, the impact of Americanization probably has been harmful to religious values worldwide, whether intended or not. Americanized Hindu youth, Americanized Buddhist teenagers, or indeed Americanized Muslim youngsters in Kenya or Nigeria are far less likely to be devout adherents of their faiths than their non-Americanized counterparts. The United States has been a secularizing force in Africa, Asia and elsewhere.

In the new millennium the forces of globalization are likely to continue, against the background of the meaning of the twentieth century in world history. As the twentieth century came to a close, scholars interpreted globalization in three distinct ways. These three prisms still classify globalization in the following terms:

- I. Forces which are transforming the global market and creating new economic interdependency across vast distances. Africa is affected, but not centrally.
- II. Forces which are exploding into the information superhighway - expanding access to data and mobilizing the computer and the Internet into global service. This tendency is marginalizing Africa.
- III. All forces which are turning the world into a global village - compressing distance, homogenizing culture, accelerating mobility, and reducing the relevance of political borders. Under this comprehensive definition, globalization is the gradual villagization of the world. These forces have been at work in Africa long before the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

As we have indicated, the twentieth century was the only century which had world wars - 1914 to 1918, and 1939 to 1945. This was the only century which created world diplomatic institutions - the League of Nations and the United Nations.

This was the only century which created a World Bank - the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) with the International Development Association. The twentieth century also issued a Universal Declaration of Human Rights - adopted by the United Nations in 1948. This was the only century which established a global university - the United Nations University in Tokyo, Japan. Some of these institutions have affected Africa more deeply than others. China was marginal for much of the second half of the twentieth century. Unfortunately these well intentioned organizations were not always helpful to Africa.

This was the only century which had a world health institution - the World Health Organization (WHO). The twentieth century also created a global mechanism to moderate trade relations - the World Trade Organization (WTO). The Seattle meeting of WTO at the end of the last millennium illustrated the depth of feelings about the organization.

This was the only century which had a part-time global policeman - the United States of America. And, of course, this was the only century which developed a genuine world economy - or at least a close approximation to it.

All these were indicators of globalization. Although the term “globalization” is indeed new, the forces which have been, as we indicated, creating it have been going on for generations. It is only now that we have realized that the forces at work have had global repercussions and have been sometimes global in scale. The creation of the African Diaspora as a result of the African Slave trade turned out to be another major manifestation of globalization.

Towards Taming Globalization

But is a globalized Planet Earth really a global village? The world may be globalized - but what would make it villagized? There is something missing - the

compassion of the village has yet to be globalized. It is the cruelties of globalization which create a need for arresting or containing the process. What strategies are available for post-colonial Africa and Asia to arrest, tame or contain globalization? It is to these strategies that we must now turn.

The Southern hemisphere especially has to strike a careful balance if it is not to be marginalized by globalization. In spite of all the foreign forces at work, and perhaps because of that foreign intensity, the South (or Third World) must pay special attention to the strategy of indigenization. This includes protecting major areas of indigenous culture, retooling indigenous skills for use in modern contexts, and making sure that indigenous human and natural resources are utilized in the optimum interest of the local people.

Another approach that the South needs in order to save itself from the negative consequences of globalization is the strategy of domestication. This involves making imported foreign institutions or imported technologies more relevant to the needs of local populations and societies. At the beginning of the twentieth century indentured Indian labourers were used by the British Raj to build a railway line from Mombasa in Kenya on the Indian Ocean to the great Lake Victoria in otherwise landlocked Uganda. Both the Indian labour and the railway line were being exploited in the interest of the British Empire. The Indians had helped to build a key part of East Africa's infrastructure – the railway system. But it took a while before the rail system was “domesticated” in the sense of making it serve the interests of local populations rather than primarily the British Empire. It was like “domesticating” a wild elephant in India to make it a beast of burden relevant to serving the interests of Indians.

Much later the British built a university college in Kampala, Uganda (Makerere College). In concept, syllabus, purpose and design, Makerere was for a long time a foreign institution. It took decades to Africanize the syllabus, localize the orientation, and “domesticate” the college.

If and when Sonia Gandhi becomes independent India’s first European Head of Government, would that constitute the return of the Viceroy of India? The Viceroy was of course the white Governor-General who had once presided over India on behalf of the British Raj.

What would prevent Sonia Gandhi from becoming a latter-day Viceroy is that she has indeed become almost completely Indianized. The British Viceroy had been a symbol of the attempt to Westernize India. Sonia Gandhi, on the other hand, has become an embodiment of the Indianization of a Europe within the Indian Republic. She represents the process of “domestication” at a human level. Is she part of the globalization of India, or part of the Indianization of the European legacy in South Asia? Perhaps Sonia Gandhi represents both those phenomena.

The third strategy of containing the consequences of globalization is the strategy of diversification. The purpose is partly to ensure that globalization is not just another name for, or another face of Westernization. Africa must ensure that it learns not just from Western culture, but also from the Indians, the Japanese, from Muslim history, from Chinese economic and social experiments. In other words, globalization should really try to “go global” in its diversified impact.

But Africa has needed to diversify not merely its sources of foreign cultural influences, but also its’ trading partners, its foreign-aid benefactors, the commodities it

produces, and the very foundations of its economies. In addition, Africa has to learn how to make the best use of the diversity it already possesses – including the ethnic diversity of its indigenous populations and the racial diversity of its immigrant communities. Instead of treating its ‘tribal’ and racial diversities as problems to be resolved, Africa needs to see them as resources for Africa’s enrichment and challenges for Africa’s creative response.

The fourth strategy for taming globalization is the strategy of horizontal interpenetration. This involves cultivating partnerships with countries at approximately the same level of development as that already attained by one’s own society. For Africa the first stage of horizontal interpenetration is the cultivation of greater cooperation with other African countries. The ambition is for better trade relations, joint projects in developing such shared infrastructures as roads, railways and hydroelectric dams, and greater Pan-African readiness to invest in each other’s economies. Regional integration among African states could develop into not only enlargement of economic unions, but subsequently monetary unions and eventually federal unification of African countries.

But horizontal interpenetration for Africa should go beyond relations among African countries themselves, and encompass relations with partners in Asia and Latin America. The postcolonial phase of Afro-Asian solidarity goes back at least to the Bandung Conference in 1955 which brought together a number of African and Asian countries to consolidate an alliance against imperialism, colonialism, racism and the dangers of an unfolding rivalry between the big powers. The Cold War between the communist world and the forces of capitalism had already led to the Korean War in the early 1950s just a few years before the Bandung conference.

Comparative Soft-Power: India and China

But relations between Africa and Asia were of course centuries older than they were during the Cold War of the second half of the twentieth century. Particularly interesting were the contacts and influences between India and Africa across the ages, as compared with relations between China and Africa historically. India has over time become a soft power in Africa, influencing important areas of African cultures and lifestyles.

India is more of a cultural force in Africa than China is. India's civilization has exerted a soft impact beyond its shores, creating a wider global cultural constituency. An obvious leverage emerges out of India as a power for global entertainment. The Indian film industry rivals Hollywood in production and in number of people who view the movies. Hollywood has a larger overseas constituency than India does. However, India has a much larger domestic constituency than Hollywood does.

There is no Chinese equivalent of "Bollywood" – a movie-producing force from India whose products are seen by people of vastly different cultures, from central Asia to Northern Nigeria, from Eastern Africa to the West Indies.

Then there is the related influence of Indian popular music. This amounts to more than the popularity of Indian film songs. There is also the impact of Indian musical styles and rhythms on the music of other cultures and countries.

Sometimes it is difficult to identify where the Indianization of African music ends and the Africanization of Indian music begins. A particularly striking example is the

Mombasa singer called **Juma Bhalo**. This vocalist turns to Indian films extensively – sometimes blatantly plagiarizing and sometimes rendering honest translations.

There are occasions when Juma Bhalo attempts to capture the theme of an Indian movie or the mood of an Indian song. There are also examples of musical influence rather than direct musical borrowings. As for direct translations of Hindi songs into Kiswahili, these include the following very loose renderings:

A:

Hindi: *Ye Mere Dilme Pyar Lagtahe*

Kiswahili: **Muhibu pulika utuze mtima**

English: Listen beloved: A stormy heart seeks a calm shore.

B:

Hindi: *Mere Ishkime Mairja yenge Kahili*

Kiswahili: **Kwa kutoonana mwana usife moyo**

English: Though our faces have not met, let our hearts communicate.

C:

Hindi: *Satiyamshi vam Sundaram*

Kiswahili: **Nisitiri Mola Wangu**

English: Give me cover and protect me, my Lord!¹

While the verses of songs may be very loosely translated, not all India's linguistic influence in Africa comes from the world of entertainment. The word for "vehicle" in Kiswahili is *gari* which seems to be a direct borrowing either directly from Hindi or indirectly through Gujarati. There are also words which both Indian and African languages have independently borrowed from Persian (Farsi) or Arabic. The name Taj

Mahal is borrowed from Persian. The word “*Taj*” means crown in Hindustani and Urdu. The word for crown in Kiswahili is also “*taji*”.

One of the words for “love” in Kiswahili is “*mahaba*”. It is borrowed from Arabic. Words like *mahabat* for “love” also occur in a number of South Asian languages.

In the world there may be more Chinese restaurants than Indian, though this may not be true of the United Kingdom. However, even if we could absolutely prove there were more Chinese restaurants than Indian, it would still be true that Indian cuisine is more influential on other cuisines than Chinese is. It is certainly true that a variety of Indian dishes have had a greater impact on African cuisines than anything from China. Samosas as a snack are on the verge of getting universalized. The chapati has become part of the African cuisines in Tanzania, Kenya, Mozambique and South Africa – though what Africans call “chapati” may be more like the Indian paratha. Weddings in Eastern Africa often have banquets of “biriani” or “pilau”. The term shish-kabob is disaggregated in African cuisines. *Kababu* is one dish made of minced meat, and mshakiki is an entirely separate snack made of larger slices of roasted pierced meat.

Even in those African cuisines which have been greatly influenced by the spiced styles of India, there are a lot of other dishes which may be either indigenous or influenced by the Arabs. But in the context of our current comparison between India and China, the Indian impact on African food culture has been much more extensive than China’s.

With regard to comparative diasporization, the Chinese Diaspora on the Asian continent may be larger than the Indian Diaspora. But on the African continent Indians

have settled in the much larger numbers than Chinese – especially in Eastern and Southern Africa.

In coastal Tanzania Indians have sometimes been assimilated to such an extent that some Indian families speak Kiswahili at home among themselves. In Southern Africa large numbers of Indians have been so Anglicized that they have interacted well with the Anglicized African elites. In post-apartheid South Africa many Indians rose high in government because they had once been prominent in the struggle against apartheid. The first Speaker of South Africa's Parliament in Cape Town after political apartheid ended in 1994 was an Indian woman, Dr. Fran Ginwalla.

Indian settlers were less assimilated or integrated in either Kenya or Uganda. In Idi Amin's Uganda the Indians paid a high price. They were arbitrarily expelled by President Idi Amin in 1972, though some have started returning to Uganda under the more hospitable policies of President Yoweri Museveni.

India's Diasporization in the Black world outside Africa has also been much more extensive than the Diaspora of China. In both Guyana in South America and Trinidad and Tobago in the West Indies the total populations are almost half and half between people of Indian descent and people of African ancestry. Indian music and even Indian languages have survived better in the Caribbean than have either African musical styles or African languages. Since the Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean was more recent than the African, and since Indian workers were imported as indentured labour rather than outright captives of enslavement like the Africans, Indo-Guyanese and Indo-Trinidadians have saved much more of their ancestral culture than have their African compatriots saved theirs. Indeed, aspects of the Indian cuisine like roti and curry have become staple

for both Indians and Africans in the Caribbean. Movies from India and film songs from South Asia are very popular in the West Indies.

Indian cultural soft power must therefore be regarded as a fascinating aspect of horizontal interpenetration within the Third World. Indian influence helps to prevent globalization from being excessively Eurocentric or Americocentric. Indian influence does not reverse globalization, but it helps to diversify globalization.

More directly political influences from India in recent history came when India became the vanguard of anti-colonialism within the British Empire in the twentieth century. Some of the ideas of Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi became quite influential in the Black world. In South Africa Nobel Laureates for Peace, Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, combined Christian ideas and Gandhian principles in their political worldviews. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia were professed Gandhian disciples during the struggle for independence. They later became Presidents of their respective countries after independence.

In the United States the most famous Gandhian in the civil rights movement was the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. King's Gandhism was publicly professed and implemented as a strategy of passive resistance and nonviolence. Ironically, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated almost exactly twenty years after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Both leaders have left behind great moral legacies.

Gandhi's impact on Africa does qualify as horizontal interpenetration (South-South). However, Gandhi's impact on the Civil Rights Movement in the United States was more a case of vertical counter-penetration (from South to North) to which we will shortly turn for further examination.

Horizontal interpenetration also includes the whole diplomatic stance of nonalignment to which postcolonial India was a major contributor. In the middle of the Cold War (from the end of World War II to the late 1980s) almost all independent African countries claimed to be nonaligned as between the Western bloc led by the United States and the Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union. India's first Prime Minister after independence, Jawaharlal Nehru, was one of the top leaders of the nonaligned movement until his death in 1964.

The Cold War itself was one of the political forces which fostered globalization, but nonalignment in Third World countries helped those states to maintain a semblance of diplomatic independence. Nonalignment was mainly a South-South movement encompassing postcolonial Asia, Africa and parts of Latin America. The few European members of the nonaligned movement were led by Yugoslavia under Marshall Josip Broz Tito. The nonaligned movement helped to tame competitive ideological globalization fostered by the Cold War.

The People's Republic of China did regard itself as part of the Third World for much of the second half of the twentieth century, and sometimes even professed to be nonaligned on grounds that it was not a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Mao's China even had ideological influence on some African nationalists and intellectuals. But while Gandhi's influence in Africa was disproportionately in the struggle for independence, Mao Tse Tung's influence in Africa was disproportionately postcolonial. While Gandhi's influence was a convergence of ethics and politics, Mao's influence was a convergence of revolutionary ideas and politics. Gandhi's worldview

was more clearly rooted in Indian culture; Mao drew his inspiration not from Confucius but from Marx and Lenin.

Gandhi's ideas were never banned even in British colonial Africa, whereas Mao's books were actually outlawed under such regimes as Jomo Kenyatta's government in postcolonial Kenya.

In the struggle against white minority rule in Southern Africa, the People's Republic of China could lend the hard power of weapons and not merely the soft-power of ideology. While India's most distinctive contribution to Africa's struggles were passive resistance and nonviolence, the contribution of Mao's China to nationalists in Southern Africa were weapons of war and military training.

In terms of horizontal interpenetration China's relationship with some of the nationalists in Southern Africa at times came close to a military alliance. The enemies were Portuguese colonialism and white minority rule.

China's most expensive foreign aid project was the building of the Railway Line between Tanzania and Zambia (popularly known as TAZARA -- or Tanzania – Zambia Railway). The rail system was designed to give Zambia (which was landlocked) an alternative route to the sea – avoiding both apartheid South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique and Angola. China also contributed to health projects even in less hospitable Kenya, and expanded trade with countries like Tanzania and Sudan. India's trade with Africa fluctuated but remained significant.

Both India and China have also made efforts to contribute towards Africa's higher education. Their offering scholarships to African students to study in India and China

started before Africa's independence. Scholarships for India were not banned by the colonial powers, but Chinese scholarships did not flourish until after independence.

More recently India has moved towards helping Africa close the digital divide. India is not only giving priority to African students seeking to study science and technology. India has also begun a scheme to help computerize Africa's own educational institutions at home. On the one hand these technological trends are themselves a contribution to globalization. On the other hand, they reduce the marginalizing consequences of more Eurocentric versions of globalization in African societies. The struggle to tame or contain globalization has its paradoxes and contradictions. China and India contribute towards further globalization in Africa, but they also help to stem the tide of Westernization and Eurocentrism in African societies.

Towards Vertical Counter-penetration

The fifth strategy for taming globalization is the strategy of counter-penetrating the citadels of power. Since the days of European colonization of Africa and Asia, Western power and values have penetrated non-Western societies. The strategy of counter-penetration reverses the direction of leverage and influence. Africa and Asia have been seeking to penetrate Western institutions and attempt to exert counterinfluence.

Oil producing Third World countries were among the first to acquire counter-power among their oil consuming Western customers. The Arab oil boycott of the United States and the Netherlands in 1973 was a particularly dramatic illustration of how the oil producing South could punish the oil consuming North if the occasion required it.

China has used more diverse forms of trade to counter-penetrate the Western world. Chinese textiles, toys, pet foods, calculating machines, video players have

penetrated American supermarkets in their millions. The terms of trade between the United States and China are heavily tilted in China's favour. As the United States has gone deeper and deeper into debt, one of its principal creditors has been the People's Republic of China. Many nationalistic and protectionist Americans have become more and more resentful of China's counter-penetration into the American economy.

Here is another contradiction of globalization. Reciprocal economic dependence between China and America is both an example of globalization and a trend towards reducing the link between globalization and Westernization.

India's counter-penetration of the Western world is more complex, partly because the population of India includes a huge English-speaking elite. Technically highly qualified Indians have found relatively easy access to the job markets of the Western world. Indian names and faces have become more and more regular on American television – with expertise which ranges from surgery to the world economy. South Asian Americans like Dr. Sanjay Gupta and Fareed Zakaria have hosted television programs of their own every week.

This is quite apart from widespread South Asian researchers, professors, engineers, doctors, and entrepreneurs. Per head the Indians may be the most prosperous immigrant minority in the United States.

A more unusual form of counter-penetration by Indians is the contribution of their skills without migrating their people. These are Indian skills used by American corporations by remote control. A customer may pick up the phone in Chicago to place an order on an American firm. The customer in Chicago may be speaking to a salesclerk based in Mumbai, India. Are American jobs being exported to South Asia? At election

time this is often a bone of contention between protectionist Americans and those who have reconciled themselves to the globalization of labor. India has counter-penetrated the United States both through the migration of its qualified personnel and through the hiring of skills in India to serve Westerners by remote control.

Demographic counter-penetration by Africa into the United States can be traced back to the Atlantic slave-trade. The Diaspora of post-enslavement in the United States consists of African Americans like Colin Powell, Condeleeza Rice, and Jesse Jackson, all of them descended from the enslaved. On the other hand, the Diaspora of post-coloniality consists of Africans who have moved abroad as a result of the disruptions and dislocations of the colonial experience in Africa. Many African engineers and professors currently working in the United States constitute a post-colonial form of demographic counter-penetration.

Barack Obama is a particularly spectacular manifestation of demographic counter-penetration. The son of a Kenyan father who studied in the United States long enough to produce a son, Barack Obama is definitely not part of the Diaspora of post-enslavement. He is not descended from the survivors of the Middle Passage (the trans-Atlantic slave route).

But is Obama a product of the Diaspora of post-coloniality instead? Since his mother was a white American from Kansas, and his father returned to Kenya and died there, Barack Obama is not fully a product of the Diaspora of post-coloniality either. It is perhaps the very ambiguity of his identity which helped him to attract such large numbers of White, Black, Hispanic and indeed many South Asian Americans to rally behind his presidential candidacy. Obama's multicultural and ambivalent racial backgrounds turned

out to be an electoral asset. He was born in multicultural Hawaii, had a Luo father from Kenya, an American mother from Kansas, a step-father from Indonesia, a brief education in South East Asia, a Muslim middle name, and a spectacular academic career at Columbia University and from Harvard Law School. Barack Obama is more than a case of Africa's counter-penetration into America's citadel of power. Obama is also the only U.S. President who has ever been close to being *globalization incarnate*. The struggle continues.

Conclusion

We have tried to demonstrate that both Africa and Asia were caught up historically in a process of globalization which extended over centuries, and which acquired a name only recently. We described the four engines of globalization as religion, empire, economy and technology. In the twentieth century the two World Wars and the Cold War became derivative engines of globalization affecting not only the main antagonists in Europe, but also the colonized peoples of European empires in Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

The literature of globalization in the second half of the twentieth century focused on economic globalization (enlargement of economic interdependencies across vast distances), informational globalization (inclusive of the internet, the computer revolution and the Information Superhighway) and comprehensive globalization (all forms of integration and interdependency which have been converting the world into a global village. In this third sense globalization becomes the villagization of the world.)

Are the forces of globalization either reversible or irresistible? Or can globalization be tamed or even contained? In this paper we have identified five strategies

of globalization. The strategy of indigenization maximizes utilization of native skills, talents, and the pursuit of the welfare of indigenous peoples. The strategy of domestication converts contributions from foreign sources into greater relevance for local needs. Gandhian techniques of resistance were “domesticated” or Africanized to serve African anti-colonial struggles. Colonial universities established in Africa have gradually been “Africanized” in syllabus, orientation, and purpose to become more relevant for Africa.

The strategy of diversification seeks to diversify not only trading partners and crops cultivated, but also diversifying the cultures from which Africa should be prepared to learn. African societies should be more responsive to relevant models of development from India, China, Japan and the Muslim world.

The strategy of horizontal inter-penetration would encourage not only partnerships among African countries themselves (Pan-Africanism) but also Africa’s economic and diplomatic alliances with India, China and the Arab world (including the nonaligned movement and Afro-Asian solidarity).

We have also drawn attention to India’s historic soft power in Africa, manifested in comparative music, cuisine, political ideas, and the impact of Indian films on the world of entertainment in Africa. In the twentieth century there was also the impact of Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi on anti-colonialism in Africa and on the civil rights movement, in the United States. Jawaharlal Nehru’s India was also a vanguard of the nonaligned movement when the big powers were divided between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact. Former African and Asian colonies tried to avoid entanglement.

China's influence in Africa was less soft and less cultural than India's – and more economic, more revolutionary and more military than the impact of Nehru's India. Mao's China helped to provide weapons for Africa's armed struggle, as well as Maoist ideas of Leninist struggle. Indian labourers at the beginning of the twentieth century helped build a railway line between Kenya and Uganda under the auspices of the British Raj. Mao's China in the second half of the twentieth century helped to build a railway line between postcolonial Tanzania and postcolonial Zambia.

Both India and China have cultivated trade with Africa. In more recent years China has been particularly energetic in pursuing African's natural resources, especially petroleum in countries like Sudan. On the other hand, China has been reluctant to put pressure on Sudan about the conflict in Darfur, or otherwise to interfere on issues of human rights and civil liberties in countries with which China has trade relations.

As for the strategy of vertical counter-penetration, this involves the reverse flow of influence and leverage from the South to the Northern powers. China's counter-penetration of the United States has tilted the balance in trade, and made China a creditor to the United States. India has counter-penetrated America more with skills, partly aided by a shared English language.

Indians are becoming more and more visible as part of the educational elite of the United States. And even from Mumbai Indians sell their skills to American corporations by remote control.

As for Africa, its demographic counter-penetration goes back to the Atlantic slave trade. There are now more people of African descent in the United States than there are Jews in the whole world added together. Africans who have migrated more recently to

the United States have produced the Diaspora of post-coloniality, as contrasted by the Diaspora of post-enslavement as symbolized by Martin Luther King Jr. and Colin Powell.

As for Barack Obama, he is the most spectacular case of counter-penetration by Africa into America's citadel of power. But Obama is more than Africa's presence in the Oval office. His multicultural background of Hawaii, Africa, Indonesia, Kansas, Muslim father and grandfather, and Christian upbringing, have made Obama perhaps the only Head of State worldwide who can be described as globalization incarnate – hopefully in the spirit of optimism and human solidarity. Amen.

ENDNOTES

¹ I am grateful for these very loose translations to one of Bhalo's closest disciples, called Jugnuu, who was interviewed on my behalf in Mombasa by my Research Assistant, Huda Mazrui in November 2008.