

Compilation of 31 Newsletters by Ali Mazrui

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Newsletter 01, Last Week of 1979

ALI AND MOLLY MAZRUI
1517 Wells Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
U.S.A.
Last week of 1979

Dear Friends and Relatives,

We wish you a delightful and happy 1980. Indeed, we hope the decade as a whole will be kind to you.

On balance 1979 was somewhat cruel to us. One child (Kim) lost central vision and is now legally blind, and another child (Jamal) is now one-eyed. But they are both wonderful children, full of courage and vitality and good humoured. Ali is always reminded of the day he came downstairs to find Kim with

a lip severely torn and bleeding profusely after a fall. Ali was so shocked that he felt faint. The injured child came to the rescue - and carefully guided his father to a settee where he could sit down and recover from the shock!

In his new and more serious affliction eleven year old Kim has shown similar courage - which has helped his parents enormously. Jamal is more philosophical, but equally tough. Even in times of such distress, the parents in turn discover that there is always something to be grateful for.

1979 was a busy year in other ways also for Molly and Ali. Ali was busy with the B. B.C. Reith Lectures, which involved a lot of travelling to both Africa and Europe, sometimes accompanied by his B. B.C. producer, Michael Green. The lectures (entitled The African Condition) were broadcast on both the domestic and the World Services of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Early in 1980 the lectures will appear as a book under the same title, published jointly by

Heinemann Educational Books and Cambridge University Press. (Cambridge has the American rights).

For Molly 1979 was exceptionally busy because of her work at the English Language Institute of the University of Michigan where she has been training as a teacher of English as a foreign language. She has been both a graduate student and more recently a teaching assistant. In the latter capacity she taught two classes of foreign students every day of the week. She is about to complete her M.A. in Linguistics.

It was a godsend to both Molly and Ali that the year was so busy. The

family crisis would have been harder to handle otherwise.

Jamal still plays tennis. He remains a great tennis enthusiast. There is also a chance that this sixteen year old young man will be a licensed car driver before very long. That is a skill that has eluded his father to the present day. We do fervently hope that the family will at long last have two drivers when Jamal takes his tests.

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The visit of Molly's parents to Ann Arbor in the summer was an unqualified success. It was the Vickerman's first trip outside the British Isles. The children greatly enjoyed their grandparents. And we of course enjoyed them all.

Al 'Amin is making good progress with his Spanish. There may be another linguist in the Mazrui family, with a bit of luck. Kim is learning typing, as well as braille.

Ali served out his year as president of the African Studies Association of the U.S.A. . It was a hectic year with a crisis or two! He was also actively involved in the UNESCO General History of Africa - a project which took him to Ougadougou as well as Paris. Thirdly there was Ali 's usual involvement in the World Order Models Project. In 1979 he crossed the Atlantic at least once every month!

Molly had hoped that Ali 's appointment as Director of the Center for Afro- american and African Studies at the University of Michigan would reduce his traveling. It did not work in 1979. But is there hope in 1980? Let us wait and see!

The news of Uganda 's liberation from Amin's misrule was exhilarating. We celebrated that event, though the country's recovery from the tyranny and its aftermath may take a while. In June Ali spent about ten hours with Milton Obote, the former president of Uganda. This was at Dr. Obote 's residence in Dar es Salaam. It was good to see him, his wife and the children again. Mr. Akena Adoko, Obote's former Chief of Intelligence, was also very helpful to Ali during the same trip. Akena now practices law in Dar es Salaam. Other highlights of 1979 for Ali were his interview of President Leopold Senghor of Senegal and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. The two presidents were both very gracious.

Kim is still a swimming enthusiast . He goes swimming regularly and is now a "porpoise" . Al has joined Jamal in tennis. The fact that we are in the midst of winter does not seem to make any difference to them!

When you receive this the Mazruis may be on a family holiday in the Caribbean. Molly is a fanatic about rounding us all up once every year for a relaxed week or two somewhere in the world. She usually has her way! What 's more it works - everybody has fun!

We do hope you are having fun too. We wish you and your loved ones every happiness in the 1980's.

Yours warmly

Newsletter 02, January 1980

Ole univerit% o/ LC wan
en roamerican an rican u ieJ
909 MONROE ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48109, U.S.A.
TELEPHONE (313) 764-5513
January ,

Dear Friends ,

You wrote to me a little while ago , I apologise for not responding sooner, but the last twelve months have easily been the most hectic of my entire life.

I had both professional obligations and rather serious family problems . On the family front two of my children were threatened by blindness. We were all kept rather busy with medical and related concerns. We are still worried about the children's problems . Professionally in the last twelve months I had long-standing commitments with UNESCO, the African Studies Association of the USA (of which I was presi- dent), the British Broadcasting Corporation (of which I was the 1979 Reith Lecturer), the World Order Models Proj ect (of which I was Director of the African section) and the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies of this University (of which I was a newly appointed Director) .

As a result of some of these commitments I crossed the Atlantic at least once every month throughout 1979, This travelling load was quite apart from the actual business I had to conduct for each of the above organizations.

Some of you wrote to me with a specific request in mind. It may now be too late to do anything about your request. You may have made other arrangements already. If I let you down in any way, I do apologise most sinc erely

A few of you wrote to enquire about scholarships and fellowships in the United States . You may already have got fixed up by now. I certainly hope so. If you are among the lucky ones, I congratulate you heartily. But if you still have problems, let me confess that I have been having problems too in my efforts to help aspiring students get financial sponsorship. Funds are rather tight in the United States right now. I sorry I cannot sound more optimistic.

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But some of you wrote to me about other things. If your business is still pressing, and you think I may be able to help, by all means write to me and say so I '11 see what can be done. If nothing can be done, I will see what else to sugges,t.

Meanwhile, please forgive me for not responding sooner. Forgive me also for this standard reply. As a result of the volume of work and worry these last twelve months I am now so far behind in my correspondence that I have had to resort to this standard letter. Please be tolerant.

With best wishes for the rest of 1980 and beyond.

Yours sincerely ,

Ali A. Mazrui, D.Phil. , (Oxon)

Director, and

Professor of Political Science

AAM:vw

Newsletter 03, Eve of 1981

1517 Wells
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U.S.A.
The Eve of 1981

Dear Friends and Relatives ,

Permit me to take liberties with an illunortal line - "The curfew tolls the knell of parting year"! We wish you an enj oyable festive season and a fulfilling new year .

This season letter is partly personal and partly professional . Some of you may have written to me in connection with the B. B.C. Reith Lectures , or with the death of my uncle, or with the visual tragedy of my children or with some other bus iness. Your concerns may vary considerably . Please forgive me for sending you all the same response. I am flattered that you cared enough to write a letter or send a card. In response I am sending you a Mazrui newsletter ! Please for- give me.

Those of you who are especially close to my wife, MQ11y, may conceivably re- cleve a supplementary separate letter from her. I am keeping her news to a mini- mum in this letter on that assumption. But I know you will be pleased to know that she has an academic appointment at Eastern Michigan University, teaching English as a second or foreign language. And yet this has not prevented her from being as active as ever in the Alliance Francais - promoting the fortunes of the French language and culture in the Mid-West of the United States ! I have never been sure about Molly's cultural patriotism. Is she English or French? , Cod knows! Or did I mean to say "Gaul knows" ?

I have been trying to cope with the fallout and reverberations of my B. B.C. Reith Lectures! The lectures have turned out to be the most controversial thing I have done since my evaluation of Kwame Nkrumah after he was overthrown in 1966. ("Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar", Transition, 1966) . The Reith Lectures have been rebroadcast in entirety in several countries - including Canada, Australia, the United States and parts of the Caribbean. The most controversial was the sixth lecture recommending nuclear proliferation in the Third World as a necessary strategy if the Big Powers are to be shocked into taking universal nuclear disarmament seriously.

I have had to defend those views before audiences from Canberra to New York, from Oxford to Yokohama, from Lisbon to Denver . My critics have been almost entirely Northerners (West.ern Europeans, North Americans and Japanese). Most Third World commentators have shared my concerns on this nuclear issue.

I have just arrived back from Yokohama. My most moving experience in Japan was being introduced to hibakusha , survivors of the atomic martyrdom of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Sitting with them round a table at a symposium of the International Peace Research Association at Yokohama, discussing the weighty issues of war and peace, was one of my more memorable moral experiences of any year . Hiromu Morishita, beari.ng visible scars of the nuclear event of August 6, 1945 in Hiroshima, was particularly evocative as he quietly told us about his efforts in peace education in Horoshima schools. What was once said of Auschwitz might well be said about the barbarity of 6 & 9 August, wonder if, after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, poetry is possible again?"

We must find ways of shocking ourselves out of false security and complacency , If nuclear proliferation will not create the necessary sense of urgency, let us pray for a miracle of moral conversion.

But not all death is apocalyptic. There is also a routine side to death in our lives. This year we lost our beloved uncle, Sheikh Abu Suleiman, who had shared with Sheikh Muhammad Kassim Mazrui the leadership of our extended family in Mombasa. Abu Suleiman, my mother's brother, helped to bring me up as a child. He and I loved each other dearly. For - me Mombasa will never be the same again without him. He leaves a void. No single death since my mother passed away some years ago has shaken me more.

Right up to the end Abu Suleiman used to send my children first day stamped covers from Kenya. I explained to him that since two of the children were now blind, they were no longer stamp collectors - and could not enjoy the beautiful colours of the stamps he sent them. Abu Suleiman ignored my explanations - clinging to his hope for a miracle which he thought would one day give back to the children their eyesight.

Actually a minor miracle has indeed occurred . Kim, inspite of being almost

blind, has a new interest in stamp collection. He has teamed up with his brother Al 'Amin, who helps him in identifying the names of countries on the different stamps. This gives a clue about the morale of the afflicted children.

Jamal 's morale in the spring and early summer was somewhat low. This was his first summer without tennis - and he felt the deprivation deeply. He then agreed to go to a special summer camp for the visually handicapped. He came back refreshed, with renewed self-confidence. He had intermingled at camp with fellow blind people, some of them much more self-reliant than he was at the time. He developed new targets of performance for himself ,

Almost immediately afterwards we took a risk. Jamal joined me and the other two boys at an ordinary camp where he and Kim were likely to be the only blind people. And since Kim still had some vision left, Jamal was likely to be the only person at camp who was completely blind . Would this experience undo the self-confidence he had acquired at the previous camp of the visually handicapped?

Fortunately the risk paid off. Jamal took horse-riding lessons . So confident was he that he even cleared an obstacle on horse-back - when the instructor gave him the signal when to jump . Watching him on horse-back in his new condition was a moving experience. He is now a resolute young man.

Kim has enough vision not to need a walking stick. He can even ride a bicycle though it scares me when he does! But his vision is low enough to have been classified as "blind" by the visual measurements of the State of Michigan.

Al 'Amin is devoted to his two brothers, and is certainly a godsend to Jamal. They all help each other. Al 'Amin's vision is perfect. He can help the other two in some things. They in turn help him in his studies and on his newspaper route. Psychologically, the three kids seem to be exceptionally well-adjusted which is perhaps a little more than one can say about their parents with their own unresolved special problems !

We consulted the former Chief Kathi of Kenya, Sheikh Muhammad Kassim Mazrui, if there were any religious objections to the use of a guide dog by a blind Muslim. We were assured that if either of our children needed a dog, there be no religious objection. Indeed, Sheikh

Muhammad observed that while Muslims were almost unanimous in regarding the pig as unclean, there was far less consensus among Islamic jurists as to the unclean status of the dog.

Kim has joined Al t Amin in Junior High School. They share a class for seventh and eighth graders. Jamal is in his last year of secondary school before going to college. He is agonizing about which college to explore. Because of his visual condition we have abandoned the scenario of his going to a British university or to the University of Nairobi. We have been given to understand that American universities are better equipped to handle the blind. In any case Jamal would prefer to remain in the United States for his college education - and his preference. must prevail in this instance!

This year I also “discovered” a significant Muslim community scattered across the Caribbean. The “discovery” was made when I gave lectures on “Islam in World Affairs” in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad . The audiences included both Indo- Caribbean and Afro-Caribbean Muslims, some of whom introduced themselves to me after the lectures. Some months later I received an invitation asking me to address the annual meeting of the Missionary Guild of Islam in the Caribbean and Latin America.

I was very curious about the organization, but unfortunately the dates clashed with the summer camping I had promised the children. I had to say ‘No!’ to my Caribbean co-religionists. Maybe there will be another opportunity in the future.

(Incidentally, whenever I go to the West Indies I am exceptionally well looked after by such old Makerere friends as Locksley and Dorothea Edmondson and Joy and Selwyn

Ryan. Dhiru and Laura Tanna are more likely to be Abroad themselves!)

This letter is already much too long. But I should mention other makerere l’re-unions” I have had this year in places which have ranged from Adelaide (Australia) to Bellagio (Italy) , from Calabar (Nigeria) to Tobago (West Indies) , and from Paris (France) to Philadelphia (U.S.A.) . It is always delightful to meet former Makerere colleagues and former students. What now remains is to visit Makerere itself - which I am planning to do before long. We have been trying to follow Uganda’s fortunes with both hope and anxiety. Meanwhile, we wish you and your loved ones all the very best in the coming year . Yours warmly,

AA.M;

Newsletter 04, Eve of 1982, Redesigning Life

Ali A. Mazrui
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Eve of 1982

Dear friends and relatives ,
Redesigning Life

1. Perhaps I should begin by warning you - this is another Mazrui newsletter! You are about to be bombarded with varied bits of Mazruiana! If you are only a friend - and not a fan - let us limit ourselves. to greetings of the season! We wish you and your loved ones a happy and rewarding 1982! And if, in anticipation of such rewards, there are seasonal festivities around, please enjoy them moderately! We of course think of you in our own festivities. Bless you!

The theme of this seasonal letter is "REDESIGNING LIFE" - a kind of leit-motif Molly and I did not live together this last year, though we kept in constant touch about the children. She and the children continue to live in our house, but I have taken a separate apartment on campus. Those of you who are close to Molly will no doubt be getting further news about her directly from her,

3. Perhaps not surprisingly, living alone has increased my nostalgia for Africa. Partly to compensate for my not being in Africa, I have tried to create an African world around me right here in Ann Arbor. Two of my Ugandan wards (people whose education I have supported) have come to visit me . Sam and Brenda are helping to give me a sense of family again. I also have a network of other African friends and students around. But as part of my new design I have also wanted a link with an African university, It now seems fairly certain that, at least for a while, I will have a link with the University of Jos in Nigeria, which is extending its professional hospitality to me, with effect from early 1982. I will still retain a base at the University of Michigan but I hope to spend several months in Jos both in 1982 and 1983. It is an experiment to see if I can survive trans- Atlantic commuting of this order! I am deeply grateful to both universities (Jos and Michigan)

4. But if I feel so nostalgic for Africa, why not move back to the ancestral continent on a full-time basis? Cannot my new design be a "Return of the Prodigal Son"? I have not ruled out that possibility, But a new problem I have to face concerns the wellbeing of my two blind children. Can I in fairness invite them to join me in Africa for their education when African schools and universities are so poorly equipped to deal with blind children and students? Molly and I have been truly impressed by the facilities for the visually handicapped available at schools in the United States, and from State authorities and local organizations of the blind themselves .

5 . As an alternative design I have considered going to Africa and just leaving- the children at American schools until they finish. But who will pay for them if I have an African salary and have to face African foreign exchange regulations? [Fees and maintenance for Jamal alone at Princeton University cost nearly \$12,000 (U.S.) a year!] .

6 . All in all, this has been a year of considerable agonizing on my part about redesigning my future and the future of the children. Please wish us wisdom when it comes to making decisions !

It seems like ages ago, but 1981 dawned on me when I was in Uganda. It was my first New Year's Day in Uganda since I scrambled for safety from Idi Amin, seven years previously. (I celebrated New Year's Eve last year with

President Milton Obote at the presidential suite at the Nile Mansions in Kampala) e Now 1981 is coming to an end. We continue to wish that dazzling but unhappy country a speedy recovery from its varied torments.

8 . Some of you may know that my lecture at Makerere University a year ago was on the theme "CAN UGANDA BE RE-DESIGNED"? This was given in December 1980 in the Main Hall at Makerere. You may be interested to know that I repeated the lecture at Howard University in Washington, D.C. in 1981. The central argument was that a devastated society presented not merely a calamity but also an opportunity. Because so much had been destroyed, it was possible to be selective about what was to be rebuilt . It was possible to pick and choose about redesigning a new order - instead of trying to go back to the situation before an Idi Amin abolished the old order. Instead of reconstruction, a society could restructure itself .

9 . Meanwhile, Jamal, our oldest boy, has been busy redesigning his own life and career . Indeed, the biggest booster in 1981 for the family was our oldest boy's remarkable academic adjustment . Jamal's last year in secondary school was his first complete year as a blind person. In academic performance it turned out to be his best year at school, complete with school prizes. He did so well that major universities in the United States were falling over each other trying to attract him - Harvard, Michigan, Princeton, M.I.T. , North- western, Stanford. After a good deal of agonizing Jamal made up his mind and accepted the Princeton offer . He thought that Princeton was best for the kind of undergraduate training in engineering he had in mind . His mother and I were also reassured by Princeton's credentials as a place for a blind student.

The town was small enough and the university was sensitive enough to help Jamal settle down quickly. Jamal has no regrets so far! Neither have we!

10. Kim became a teenager in November 1981 - Big Thirteen. Perhaps longing for a new design of his own life, he was somewhat rebellious and difficult earlier in his twelfth year . But he rallied back into a more sociable frame of mind after the summer holidays. I took Kim and his brother Al Amin to the Michigan family summer camp. I also took the Uzoigwe children with us. (Godfrey Uzoigwe was away at the University of Calabar in Nigeria, and Pat Uzoigwe and my wife Molly were taking a break from the children on a separate expedition in rural Michigan) . The Michigan camp was, as always wonderful for the kids They swam, rode horses, canoed - and dragged poor Daddy around ! It was wonderful to see Kim in complete command of his visual handicap It was not easy to tell that the child was legally blind G (Kim has in any case significantly more vision left than Jamal has But they are both adept at making the most of what they have) .

110 There are signs that Al Amin, our fourteen year old, is developing renewed interest in sports This would be a return to an older design. He was in some ways the best sportsman in the family before his two brothers went blind Jamal -especially had been Al Amin's regular tennis partner, and had also been a role model in other activities Jamal's blindness drastically reduced Al Amin's interest in lawn tennis and other outdoor sports. But there are signs that Al Amin is rediscovering the sportsman in himself e His mother and I are watching the change with excited interest.

120 Professional news from us includes Molly's dual career - teaching English as a second

language at Eastern Michigan University and teaching French at the prestigious private school in Ann Arbor, Greenhills Molly has also increased her participation in the world of academic conferences - her latest was attending a conference of teachers of the French language which was held at Cincinnati during the Thanksgiving university break in November

13 e Academic life here in the United States has had other memorable moments for us. I was appointed University Distinguished Visiting Professor of Ohio State University - and gave a major lecture there on "Nationalism, Sexism and Race in the Nuclear Age." It was about redesigning the world system, I also gave seminars and served as consultant to the Department of Black Studies at Ohio e I was well looked after at Ohio State - in spite of my association a rival institution in college football, the University of Michigan! Isaac and Bobby Mowoe especially went beyond the call of duty in looking after me in Columbus 140 Jamal and I attended a special meeting in New York to honor Raul Prebisch This Latin American economic architect has sought to produce a design for a new world economic order. Dr. Prebisch received the 1981 Third World Award from The Third World Foundation (which is based in London) e 1 managed to introduce Jamal at the ceremony to some of the dignitaries on the platform including the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim,' and the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth , Shridath Ramphal Jamal seemed to be enjoying the evening immensely .

15, In the course of the year I continued to serve as Chairman of the special committee appointed to help the Secretary-General of the United Nations in drafting a report for the General Assembly about Israel's nuclear program and its implications for the Middle East. I presided over a group of experts consisting of one American scholar, one Soviet scholar, one Indian scholar and one Lebanese. We met a number of times in New York and Geneva. Some of the sessions were quite heated - but on the whole the group acted as a team entrusted with a special assignment, discharging its responsibilities with a sense of professional commitment

Our report, which included recommendations for a new nuclear order in the Middle East, was presented to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General in the autumn of 1981. (Our report also confirmed the widespread impression that if Israel is not already a nuclear power militarily, she can put together a military capability at short notice) .

16. Al ! Atnin and Kim decided half-way through the year that they no longer wanted to have a newspaper route each. So they dropped one route - and started sharing the other route between them. The two children now have less money - but more time! (The extra time does not seem to have speeded up their homework in any way whatsoever - as Molly will confirm with some feeling! !)

17 . The African country I visited most these last twelve months was Nigeria. I went to Nigeria three times during the period - with academic assignments at Ibadan, Calabar, Jos and the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in Lagos. These visits were a useful preparation for my projected design of future links with the University of Jos .

18. I referred earlier to a lecture on Uganda that I gave at Howard University. I was invited to Howard again to give the 1981 Rayford W. Logan Lecture. My lecture was about redesigning the Black World as a whole - against the back- ground of the Nuclear Age . It was an attempt to look at the future of the Black World, but in a historical perspective.

19. Incidentally, my earlier lecture on Uganda at Howard was tape-recorded professionally,

and subsequently broadcast on Voice of America and Voice of Kenya . I later received a letter from a senior civil servant in Zimbabwe - who commented that what I had said about devastated Uganda could be said about war-ravaged Zimbabwe; the devastation was an opportunity to redesign Zimbabwe also!

20. In another part of the world more than half a century earlier a society had been re-designed. The country was Turkey . The designer was Mustafa Kemal [Ataturk] . 1981 was the hundredth anniversary of Ataturk's birth. I was forced to become an instant authority on this great man - and his significance for Africa! I was asked to write two papers on the subject, and attended a fascinating symposium on Ataturk in Istanbul organized by Professor Suna Kili and her colleagues.

210 I learnt a lot about Turkey and Ataturk both in the course of the symposium and in researching for the two papers I wrote for the Ataturk centenary . I hazarded a number of comparative (and controversial!) propositions before Turkish audiences . I suggested that while Mustafa Kemal was indeed a hero of Turkey's political liberation from Western Europe, he might also have been at the same time the architect of Turkey's cultural dependency upon the West. This was partly because he thought the road to economic modernization was through cultural Westernization - in contrast to the Japanese belief after the Meiji restoration that economic modernization could be accomplished without too much cultural Westernization. (Hence the Meiji slogan "Western Technique, Japanese Spirit. .

22. As for Africa, is it not conceivable that post-colonial Africa is drifting toward cultural westernization without solid economic modernization? The debate was sometimes heated in Istanbul,

23 . Finally, let me confess that I had mixed feelings about stepping down as Director of the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies (CAAS) at the University of Michigan, But it is great to have Professor Niara Sudarkasa as my Successor 0 She is already putting her own stamp on the identity and orientation of CAAS Things look really promising for the Center a new design for a lively institution 0

24 Congratulation's if you have got to the end of this prolix newsletter!

I am greatly flattered if you have persevered! This is a season of goodwill and you are it!

With best wishes for 19820

Yours sincerely

Ali A. Mazrui

AAM : vw

Newsletter 05, Eve of 1983, Old Ties and New Connections

Ali A. Mazrui
2104 Pauline Blvd. Apt. 307
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Eve of 1983

To : Friends :

Re: Old Ties and New Connections

It was the year I got betrothed to Nigeria--and got divorced from Molly! That is certainly one way of describing 1982!

But I am going too fast. The first thing should indeed be to wish you and your loved ones all the best for the festive season and all the best for 1983. We shall be thinking of you all as we welcome the New Year. Bless you all!

As this is going to be a long Mazrui Annual Newsletter you will be forgiven if you stopped right now and looked for other bedtime reading material. No hard feelings, just keep in touch later on.

If you are still with me, let me confirm that the deed is done. I filed for divorce about a year ago and, barring the paperwork, the divorce is nearly through. But you thought Molly and I had lived separately for more than a year? Yes, you are quite right. Sorry for the confusion. Molly filed for separation (not divorce) in 1980 in the hope we would get together again on her terms. As I was unable to accept her terms, I filed for divorce instead; Now each is about to become single again, though of course still sharing the bond of our three children. It has been a momentous twenty years for both of us. Molly and I first witnessed the disintegration of Uganda before we experienced the disintegration of our own relationship. We suffered the tragedy of physical blindness in two of our children before we capitulated to moral blindness in ourselves.

We left Uganda in the wake of the country's political disintegration. I remain convinced of a causal link between Uganda's disintegration and the breakup of our marriage. The tragedy of Uganda resulted in a life of semi-exile for us elsewhere, in a new cultural environment notorious for its "divorces!" and "legal separations." In ten years on the faculty of Makerere University in Uganda I only saw two marriages on the campus breaking up. In the last three years only here in Ann Arbor, Michigan, some six marriages in the Department of Political Science alone have already collapsed. Is it any wonder that I believe that one cause of the breakup

of my own marriage is the cultural environment of the United States? From 1971 onwards Uganda became a graveyard in a literal sense, but Makerere was less of a graveyard for marriages than American campuses seem to have become.

But all was not agony for me in 1982. There was also a lot of ecstasy and excitement as I attempted to re-create an African world around me. Sam Sebina and Brenda Kiberu, wards from Uganda, were particularly exciting members of my new world. They lived with me for part of the year, and were wonderful companions to me and to my children. Brenda celebrated her twenty-second birthday in Ann Arbor. She goes to school here in or in business administration. She has an aunt in London whom I have met and with whom I have had a number of conversations. Brenda's mother is in

Kampala. The mother and I use Kiswahili when we talk on the telephone. Sam accompanied me when I left for Nigeria in February . My new Nigerian connection (or "betrothal 't) was another major aspect of my effort to recreate for me an African world. Until 1982 my two African homes were Kenya (where I was born) and Uganda (the cradle of my academic career) . This year I have added Nigeria. as my third African home. I have accepted an appointment as Research Professor at the University of Jos in Plateau State, combining the position with my Professorship at the University of Michigan. For half of 1982 I was based in Jos and for the other half in Michigan, I am repeating the agreement this coming year. And so from January until June 1983 please use the following address:
Department of Political Science
University of Jos
Private Mail Bag 2084
Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria

After June 15, 1983, it may be safer to resume using my Michigan address, though my stay in Nigeria may be affected by the 1983 general and presidential elections there.

Al 'Amin and Kim, my two younger children, joined me in Jos in 1982 for part of my stay there. I thought that in the absence of the new video games which were the craze in the U.S . A. , the two boys would be in danger of getting bored in Jos! Not a bit of it! They found alternative pastimes , ranging from catching colourful insects to observing the Fast of Ramadhan, from swimming in the pool of the local luxury hotel to negotiating taxi fares with local cab-drivers I insisted to the boys: ' IBut please do not pat any stray hyena!" For Kim a particularly memorable experience was taking part in Nuruddin Farah 's play, Yusuf and His Brothers. Nuruddin was having difficulty with the 13-year-old Nigerian boy who was supposed to play the part of Raageh, Yusuf 's step-son. The young Nigerian actor was good when he came for rehearsals—but he did not always turn up. The playwright, Nuruddin, came to our home to investigate if Kim could and would take Raageh. 's part instead of the Nigerian boy. Nuruddin gave the script to Kim to look at (with Al 'Amin's help) . Nuruddin was not asking Kim to memorize the lines . Yet in less than half-an-hour Kim recited to Nuruddin from memory a whole passage from one of Raageh 's speeches. The playwright—somewhat taken aback— exclaimed: "You are hired, Raageh!" A new theatrical colleague was promptly recruited . But it was not only Kim who had his debut on the live stage. Kim's father was also hired as the Narrator in the same play. However, Kim managed to outshine his Daddy quite convincingly. A star was born on that dimly lit stage at the University of Jos in 1982.

Fifteen-year-old Al 'Amin was very supportive throughout the theatrical experience. He helped Kim read his lines in preparation for each rehearsal. And he helped his father memorize some of the Narrator's lines, though the father was given poetic licence by the playwright to improvise if and when necessary. Al 'Amin also helped with back-stage arrangements .

Meanwhile, eighteen-year-old Jamal was doing his own thing thousands of

miles away on another campus . Jamal completed his first year as an undergraduate in engineering at Princeton University. His academic performance in his first year was most impressive but he still had reservations about social life at Princeton. However, he says he is enjoying Princeton a little more in his second year than he did as a freshman—by no means a rare experience for sophomores "recollecting in tranquility" the morning after the

night before!

It was while Al 'Amin, Kim and I were at the University of Jos that we heard about the detention by the Kenyan Government of the other Al-Amin in the family, my sister's son, Al-Amin Muhalmnad Mazrui. (Both young men were named after my father—but my sister's son spells his name with a hyphen while my son spells his with an apostrophe after the "Al R.) We were all absolutely shattered by Al-Amin t s detention. ME t conceivable threat could he possibly have posed to the Kenyan Government? One theory was that the Kenyan authorities had been offended by a play Al-Amin (a young lecturer at Kenyatta University College) had written, entitled A Cry for Justice. Another theory refers to Al-Amin's reported popularity among students at Kenyatta University College, Since the Kenyan Government was aoparently unpopular with the students, did Al-Amin t s popularity arouse the suspicions of the authorities as to his role In class? Was he suspected of being a "comrade" in the ideological sense?

I have met thousands of young Africans of Al-Amin's generation all over Africa and in the Western world. Most of them are Indeed a bit to the left of their elders. Al-Amin is the same, but only moderately so . I would not include him among the passionate firebrands of Africa t s emerging generation. He shares the anger and disenchantment of his generation—but purely as an intellectual and not, repeat not, as a political activist. That is why we are all totally mystified by the actions of the Kenyan authorities. This young man is no danger to anybody. I hope our Government will reconsider its actions. Al-Amin's health poses a further risk to him—he has asthma, high blood pressure and a heart condition. Conditions in captivity could endanger his life, or expose him to the peril of paralysis . If you share our concern for Al-Amin, you may like to make a plea on his behalf to our President, His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi, State House, Nairobi, Kenya.

Al-Amin's father, Sheikh Muhammad Kassi-m Mazrui (a cousin of mine) , died a couple of months before Al-Amin was detained . Sheikh Muharnmad was probably the most learned Mazrui of his generation, and one of the leading Islamic jurists in Africa -south of the Sahara. Like my father before him, he served for a while as the Chief Kadhi (Chief Islamic Judge) of Kenya. Also like my father before him (of whom Sheikh Muhammad was a disciple) Sheikh Muhammad was a prolific writer and a very active editor. Most of the two men's work was in Kiswahili, though the two Mazrui jurists also wrote in classical Arabic. In addition, they translated parts of the Qur 'an into Kiswahili. Sheikh Muharnrnad survived my father by thirty-five years almost to the day, but the two scholars constituted a strong scholarly continuity in Islamic jurisprudence. Islam in Africa as a whole mourns the passing of its great scholars. And we in the family feel the anguish and emptiness left behind by Sheikh Muhammad , just as we once mourned my father's departure thirty-five years ago .

Professionally, the saddest thing that happened to me during the year was the retirement of my friend and secretary, Valerie Ward. Valerie had worked for me for most of my period at the University of Michigan, including the three years when I was Director of the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies at Michigan. She has retired for health reasons . I still do not know how I am going to manage without her . I had come to rely so overwhelmingly on her skills and sense of organization. Still, we all wish her a happy and restful retirement . She deserves a more relaxed life after the pressures of working for me!

I visited Zimbabwe three tims this year. At this rate, Zimbabwe will soon become my fourth African home! During two of the visits Vice-Chance110r Walter Kamba and his wife

Mrs. Angeline Kamba were very gracious—as were some old Makerere mates like Hasu Patel, Yash and Mary Tandon, and other friends .

My involvement with the UNESCO General History of Africa has continued . The project aspires to bring out eight volumes of Africa 's history (I am editor of Volume 8) So far two volumes have appeared in English and French, and a third volume is about to be published. My own Volume 8 is just beginning to be drafted by multiple scholars.

Will there be translations into indigenous African languages of these volumes? This is what took me to the Institute for Swahili Research at the University of Dar es Salaam in August. We had an excellent planning meeting with Director Temu of the Institute, his Institute colleagues, and representatives of the UNESCO Project. Yes, there will be translations in Kiswahili, as well as Hausa and Arabic, but in the case of Kiswahili and Hausa the volumes will be abridged.

Dar es Salaam this year is also memorable because of the lectures I was unexpectedly asked to give at the Institute of Diplomacy for Mozambique and Tanzania and at the University of Dar es Salaam. I also greatly enjoyed my subsequent conversation with Foreign Minister Salim A. Salim. I still think he would have made an excellent Secretary-General of the United Nations .

And now some television news In 1982 I made my first television documentary—a 50-minute programme for BBC Panorama evaluating two years of Zimbabwe's independence. Was Zimbabwe another Mozambique, committed to revolution and a state-controlled economy? Or was it another Kenya, committed to racial reconciliation and private enterprise? After the first two years of independence, Zimbabwe seemed to me at that stage closer to being another Kenya than to being another Mozambique, But Prime Minister Robert Mugabe disagreed with my conclusion—he saw the new Zimbabwe simply as another Zimbabwe. I raised other issues in my conversation with Joshua Nkomo, who insisted he was not “Mugabe's chicken” but had a “big neck” (presumably not easily wringable!) . These two Africans are both remarkable personalities, yet so startlingly different in style and demeanor . It was a privilege to chat with them.

I was also privileged to meet a number of Prime Minister Mugabe's Ministers—including such old friends from pre-independence days as Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira (in charge of Information), Dr. Bernard Chidzero (in charge of Economic Development) , and Dr. Edison Zvobgo (in charge of Constitutional Affairs) .

This entire experience of doing a documentary for television has opened up a whole new medium for me. The BBC has expressed an interest in my doing further documentaries for them. My Zimbabwe documentary was shown twice in London and was also televised in the USA on the MacNeil/ Lehrer Report. My BBC producer, David Harrison, was a tower of strength in the production. If all goes well, I shall look forward to working with him on other television projects in the future.

Meanwhile, I am getting ready to return to Nigeria in January . I was privileged this August to meet and chat in Lagos with the Head of State, President Shehu Shagari. We discussed mainly two subjects—the crisis within the Organization of African Unity and problems of stability in East Africa. I shall be watching keenly Al-Haji Shagari 's election campaign this coming year. Will he have another term of office as President? His chances are good—but 1983 has the secret definitive answer hidden in its temporal bosom .

Our guest-house at Jos in 1982 was called the White House! Less grand than its name-sake but it was fun: We had great company there. I look forward to a re-union with our White

House friends in Jos . I have also missed Isawa and Margaret Elaigwu, Nuruddin Farah and his theatrical group, colleagues in the Department of Political Science, the Vice-Chancellor and his wife, the students of Jos, Bolaji Akinyemi of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs and Gerald Moore, who once taught Molly in a graduate course at Makerere University in Uganda. Gerald is now professor of English at the University of Jos. It is a small world!

Yes, enjoy this festive season while it lasts. And best wishes for this coming year to you-and to your mates and colleagues of all descriptions !

Yours warmly ,

Mazrui

Newsletter 06, Eve of 1984, A Triple Heritage - Phase I

Ali A. Mazrui

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Eve of 1984

Dear Friends and Relatives,

A TRIPLE HERITAGE: PHASE 1

Here is the annual Mazrui Newsletter once again! Take your time-you don't have to take your dose of Mazruiana in one gulp.' Try it at bedtime on three consecutive nights if you can stand it!

But, first, Brenda, my three sons and I send you and your loved ones our very best wishes for the festive season and for the whole of 1984! May you all prosper in joy. Amen.

If you have not met Brenda Kiberu, you will remember her from my previous annual newsletters She arrived from Uganda in 1981 with Sam Sebina and both stayed with me at my place. It was later agreed that Sam would accompany me to Jos in Nigeria, while Brenda remained in Michigan pursuing her bachelor's degree in business administration at Cleary College. Now Sam looks after me whenever I go to Nigeria, while Brenda helps me whenever I am in the United States. My children get on exceptionally well with both Ugandans-Sam serving as a big brother when the kids are in Nigeria, while Brenda is the big sister right here in Ann Arbor. The relationships have worked out very well.

I have had a third Ugandan assistant in recent years. That has been Omari Kokole. Omari's support has been academic and his help has ranged from teaching my courses at the University of Michigan to editing some of my manuscripts! We shall return to these young Ugandans later :Ln this Newsletter.

Talking of "three Ugandans, my life has operated in triads from time to time ! 1983 has been another stage In that triadic experience. I now have three "masters"-the University of Michigan, the University of Jos, and a television project called "The Africans" sponsored and financed by the British Broadcasting Corporation and W. E.T.A. Television Channel in Washington, D.C.

It all started when I was moulded by three cultures-African, Islamic and Western. I grew up in an East Africa which was conscious of a special relationship among three countries-Kenya, the land of my birth; Tanzania, the leading country of my language (Kiswahili) and Uganda, the cradle of my academic career.

I was educated in three Europe, and North America. I ended up with three degrees from three different universities. I then joined the University of East Africa, which consisted of three constituent colleges in three different countries a The head of the niversity of Nairobi wanted me to be at Nairobi because I was a Kenyan. The head of the University of Dar es Salaam wanted me to be in Dar es Salaam because (he argued) Dar was my cultural capital. The head of Makerere University in Uganda wanted ze to remain in Uganda because I was what I was. And so I remained at Makerere.

Academic life is partly concerned with publishing. In 1967 I published my first book. But I also published two other books In the same year-just to make it three! Three separate publishers were involved,

A few years previously I had acquired one wife. But because she was English I was unable to add another two! However, I did make my English woman bear me three sons before it

was all over! Needless to say, it was not all over before we had cohabited together as man and wife in three separate continents.

My life has not been a dialectic. It has in fact been a trialectic. Perhaps even In Hegelianism and Marxism the term "dialectic" is a misnomer. After all, the so-called "dialectic" consists of three parts—thesis, antithesis and synthesis ,

All this is by way of alerting you that I am working on a series of nine television programmes concerned with the triple heritage in Africa's cultural experience—the indigenous inheritance, the legacy of Islam and the Impact of the West upon Africa. The television series will be shown on the B. B.C. towards the end of 1985, and on public television In the United States (led by We E.T.A.) at the beginning of 1986. Because the Africa envisaged in the series Is Ali Mazrui's Africa, you can be sure that the trialectic will be a major part of the method! If there is no method In the madness, there must at least be madness in the method!

More seriously, the B. B.C. and its allies have asked me to do about Africa what Alastair Cooke did about America—a personal interpretation of public events in a given civilization. Cooke produced both a television series and a companion book. I have been asked to do the same. The book and the television series are to come out at about the same time. We still have two more years before completion. I will give you a progress report in my next annual newsletter at the end of 1984

From the cradle of my academic career (Uganda) I have here with me in Ann Arbor Brenda Kiberu, my ward and companion. In 1983 she switched colleges - from Cleary College to Eastern Michigan University. Also at Eastern Michigan Is the mother of my children, Molly Mazrui, teaching English as a foreign language. Because Brenda's subject as a student is business administration, she has not found herself being taught by Molly! Indeed, the ladies have never run into each other at Eastern Michigan University. But behind my back the two women have had meals together comparing notes about my children, as well as about me. (Molly has custody of the children, but sometimes the boys move in with Brenda for a weekend or two, treating her as a big sister) .

Al 'Amin celebrated his sixteenth birthday in March 1983 and Kim celebrated his fifteenth in November. There were the usual teenage excesses during the year— excessive exuberance on weekends and excessive macho when Daddy was not around; Had we still been in Africa we might have had to find alternative initiation ceremonies for the two younger boys .

Kim continued his Karate lessons and was doing very well when he concentrated on the art. Al Amin dragged me out swimming from time to time. The two of them even managed to drag me out screaming and kicking to a sauna or two on exceptional evenings !

Jamal, the eldest of my three boys, celebrated his 20th birthday this December in Baltimore where he spent most of 1983. But you thought he was studying some branch of engineering at Princeton? You are quite right 0 Jamal will Indeed be returning to Princeton shortly. He was granted leave to go to

Baltimore to study a special kind of technical Braille. He needed it for his Engineering, and Baltimore is apparently the best place in the country for it. t s more he seems to have. made many good friends in Baltimore. The bigger city's attractions notwithstanding, Jamal is definitely returning to Princeton.

The University of Jos in Nigeria is (as I said) one of my three "masters.

My Research Professorship at the University of Jos continues at least until 1985. It has been an exciting experience. Ever since I resigned from Makerere in 1973 I had dreamt of re-establishing an academic base in Africa. Indeed, In my negotiations with the University of Michigan way back in 1974, I had made it a condition of my appointment at Michigan that I should be free at any time to have a joint appointment with an African university. Michigan very graciously agreed. And yet the idea of a joint appointment was for almost a decade "purely academic" in more senses than one! My children were too young to permit my being absent from them for more than a couple of weeks at a time. And Molly was unhappy enough about my multiple International conferences without my imposing on her a dual academic career involving Trans-Atlantic commuting.

Then in 1980 I heard from Dr. Jonah Isawa Elaigwu of the University of Jos. I had taught Isawa when he was a graduate student at Stanford—and I was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences and later a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford. Isawa and I had maintained contact after his return to Nigeria. By 1980 he was curious to know if I would consider spending a year at the University of Jos as a Visiting Professor.

On receiving his invitation I examined my wider circumstances. My eldest child was about to go to college. My other two sons were in their mid-teens and seemingly more self-reliant than they were in their younger days. My marriage was breaking up. The University of Michigan could spare me for half-a-year at a time. I thought the time was ripe to re-establish contact with Africa in a big way.

I wrote to Elaigwu to say that while I would consider a Visiting Appointment at Jos, I would prefer a longer term research association with the University of Jos—an appointment which would permit me to regard Jos as my African base while simultaneously retaining my appointment at the University of Michigan.

The idea was big enough to require the involvement of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jos, Professor Emovon. Careful three-way negotiations between the Vice-Chancellor, the Head of the Department at Jos, and myself, finally produced my Research Professorship at the University of Jos. I am sincerely grateful to those who were prepared to gamble on an innovative idea. I am also grateful to the University of Michigan for its willingness to share me with an African university!

It was good to be back in Egypt in 1983 for the first time since the death of that greatest of Arab singers, the Star of the East, Kulthum. One of my eternal regrets will remain my failure to attend one of her concerts before she

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retired. I have listened to her voice on record since I was a child. But I never saw her perform in person except on the screen. (Some Egyptian films used to come to Mombasa when I was a child.)

During the Nigerian Civil War, I remember putting on Umm Kulthum's new record at the time entitled *Wa Darat el Ayyam* ("And the Days Touched and Passed"). It was so beautiful, and seemed so related to my agony over the Nigerian Civil War, that I knelt down and wept. I thought I was alone in that sitting room in Kampala. But Molly happened to come into the room and saw me kneeling in tears. It was the triple

confluence of cultures at work.

Anyhow, when I was in Cairo again in 1983, Dr. Salwa Labib, a colleague at Cairo University, took me out to the cassette shops to purchase some of Umm Kulthum's songs. Dr. Labib and I had great fun comparing notes on Egyptian singers. She ended up buying some cassettes herself.

By the strangest of coincidences, I discovered that her brother was a Professor at the University of Jos, my Nigerian home', Can you imagine?

There was an academic side to my visit to Egypt as well. I gave a series of lectures at the American University in Cairo under their Distinguished Lectures programme. I was flattered to learn that I was the only person who

had been invited twice to give the Distinguished Lectures at A. U. C. (On the first occasion I went with Molly and our base at the time was still Uganda.)

On both occasions I also lectured at Cairo University. I also addressed the long-established Economic Society of Egypt.

About six months later in the same year I was back in Egypt—this time under the BBC/WETA auspices, Dr. Salwa Labib at Cairo University and Dr. Gail Gerhart at the American University in Cairo once again went well beyond the call of duty in helping us. It was also very pleasant to meet Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, now a Minister in the Egyptian cabinet previously an academic. He and Molly have remarkable memories. The two of them accurately described each other and the exact circumstances when we all first met in Kampala fifteen years ago! Boutros-Ghali talked about Molly (not realizing we were now divorced) with precision. A few days later I telephoned Molly in Michigan from Cairo about another matter and mentioned what the Minister had said about her. Then Molly astonished me with her own precise description of Boutros-Ghali whom she met only once so long ago. (I personally saw him on other occasions abroad before President Anwar Sadat appointed him a Minister and took him on that momentous journey to Jerusalem.)

My BBC/WETA preliminary research work in 1983 also took me to Zanzibar. It was my first visit there in about thirty years. To some extent the visit was very nostalgic. My first visit to Zanzibar was when my father went on pilgrimage to Mecca in the 1930s. I was only a few years old. My next visit was during the second World War. Mombasa as a major port was regarded as vulnerable to Italian bombing. Some Swahili families in Mombasa decided to evacuate their wives and children and send them to Zanzibar. My father was among those who decided to evacuate the families (while the men remained in Mombasa).

Curiously enough, we sailed on a Japanese ship from Mombasa to Zanzibar with the ship's lights ablaze and glaring and the flag of the rising sun flying.

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was before Pearl Harbour and Japan's entry into World War II. Although I was only about six years old, I remember the sailing and the ship quite clearly.

I made other visits to Zanzibar when I was a young man. But 1983 was, as I said, my first visit in about three decades. It is virtually certain that Zanzibar will be featured in my television series on Africa's Triple Heritage.

Also important for the Triple Heritage is Lamu, that beautiful neo-Biblical town on the northern Kenyan Coast. My nephew, Adil Muhammed, was a superb help to me and my B.C. colleagues. Our visit was for pre-filming research,

We visited many other cities in connection with the Triple Heritage, but I must not give the game away by mentioning them all. Please be satisfied with Zanzibar and Lamu.

I gave the 1983 Distinguished Millennium-Chase Lecture at the London School of Economics in April. My topic was ostensibly "The Political Economy of the State and the Political Culture of Nationhood." But in reality I ended up discussing "The Legacies of Lenin and Lugard in Africa. At least one of the previous lecturers in the same series was a fellow B. B. C. Reith Lecturer (John Kenneth Galbraith). During my stay in London in the Spring, I also gave a lecture sponsored by the Royal African Society at the Royal Commonwealth Society. It was good to see a number of old friends from the two Institutes at the lecture.

A triple heritage marriage has occurred in Ann Arbor. A Muslim Kaka has married a Westerner! Omari Kokole, a Ugandan favourite of mine, has at last been captured into holy matrimony. We wish him and Kay all the very best.

(Kay is a young American in her twenties; Omari has just entered his thirties. They look great together side by side—both tall, but Omari towering over us all very, very convincingly!) . Omari comes from Africa's tall Nilotic stock! !

I have known Omari since he was a secondary school pupil in Jinja (Uganda) many moons ago . Since he arrived in Michigan a few years ago he has been . an excellent asset to me personally and to African Studies in Ann Arbor, He may be leaving Michigan for greener pastures in New York in 1984. We hold our breath while he agonizes over the decision. But we, of course, wish him well whatever he decides.

Brenda and I are mobile again—catching up with the Western side of the Triple Heritage, I never learned to drive. So for awhile, after Molly and I broke up, I joined the bus culture. But Brenda is now licensed in Michigan and we have bought a car. I continue the tradition of letting my women drive me around—often only short of the bend! Is this part of my life Islamic, African— or Western? Maybe it is a confused mixture of all three. I have never made my women carry firewood for me! But they are jolly well going to carry me! (In any case the "automobile" is a misnomer. There is nothing "auto" about it at all!)

Nuruddin Farah, the Somali novelist and playwright, tried to have me taught driving in Jos. A Canadian friend of his—Monique—went as far as to give me my first lesson. Indeed, I drove my first "mile" (a slight exaggeration!) . But then I left town—almost in panic! Now Nuruddin has resigned and left Nigeria for the Gambia—and nobody else in Jos is likely to put moral pressure on me to learn to drive.

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Maybe Sam Sebina, my other Ugandan ward, will add driving to the many skills he has mobilized in my service, Sam spends half his year in Uganda and half with me in Jos . I have come to rely on him enormously when I am in Jos. His skills range from basic bookkeeping to negotiating with Nigerian shopkeepers, from research assistance to house-management. He is also a better cook than I try my hand in the kitchen also from time to time, The Western side of my own tricultural background has never included spying! Robert Molteno, the white South African "radical," has withdrawn without reservations the libelous suggestion he made in a book that I was connected with the C . I . A. I took the matter to my lawyers, who threatened him and his publishers (the Zed Press) with legal action. Both the author and the publisher have apologized publicly in a number of publications , Now somebody else in the United States (an institution called "Center for World Security")

is asserting that I am connected with the KCB (the Soviet secret service) . I am looking into the implications of these new charges also !

One of the happiest moments of 1983 was when I was woken up by the telephone at about 3 O'clock in the morning in Ann Arbor! I picked up the phone (as yet not realizing that happiness was at hand. On the contrary, I was feeling distinctly cross!) . Two voices at the other end transformed the remainder of the night for me. One voice was that of my nephew, Al-Amin Mazrui, newly released from detention by the Kenya Government. The other voice was that of our mutual friend, the painter Ibrahim Sharif f, who was by Al-Amin's side at that moment of exhilaration. We are all greatly Indebted to all those who appealed to Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi on Al-Amin's behalf. The President responded in the end with magnanimity. We hope that other political prisoners in Kenya will also be treated generously and their jobs back. President Moi may have had wrong advice before. His readiness to review such cases is an encouraging sign for his second administration. May his second term be even more historic than his first.

Looking at Africa as a whole, there is a triple heritage of human rights in the continent—Indigenous, Islamic and Western approaches to issues of rights and duties . But I am sure all three cultural approaches are reluctant to hurt the innocent. Let us hope our leaders all over the continent bear that In mind.

You will not believe it, but I have two New Year resolutions -a-cutting down on publications with immediate effect and cutting down . on travel ling with effect from 1986 (I am already committed to a lot of travel ling until 1986!) .

Actually, the policy of cutting down on publications has already been in operation. I write much more than I publish these days. In the old days I used to dispatch my products to journals or the publishers as soon as they seemed publishable. I have decided to slow down. Cutting down on travel ling may be tougher from 1986!

Meanwhile, I continue to reflect on Africa's triple heritage—the indigenous , the Islamic and the Western forces at work. Wish us luck in our search for the images of television, for the concepts of analysis, and above all for the truthfulness of interpretation. With Africa as the subject matter, we stand in awe. We can only hope Africa reveals its secrets in all their trialectical dynamism!

Good luck, dear friends, for 1984. Yours warmly,
Ali A. Mazrui

Newsletter 07, Eve of 1985, A Triple Heritage - Phase II

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Eve of 1985

TO: Friends and Relatives

A TRIPLE HERITAGE: PHASE 11

Here I am again, with my Mazrui newsletter! Boy! Do I have news for you! Brace yourself! But first, our felicitations to you and your loved ones. My children, Brenda and I wish you a stunning holiday and a most rewarding 1985 ! Please keep in touch.

As I indicated in my last newsletter, I now have three “bosses” – the University of Michigan in the United States, the University of Jos in Nigeria, and a television project called “THE AFRICANS” being jointly produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation and Public Broadcasting Service in the United States (through WETA in Washington, D.C.). My! Have they kept me busy! I have been crossing the Atlantic and the Mediterranean multiple times throughout the year. We have been filming all over the continent. The range is from the castles of Ethiopia to the camels of Somalia, from the wheat of Tanzania to the wines of the Ivory Coast – some would say from the wilderness of exile to the wildness of the domestic scene. The theme is Africa(s Triple Heritage–indigenous, Islamic and Western influences. The television series will tell the story of Africa through my eyes, but certainly the range of experiences we have had is wide. In one West African village we asked for a menu at a canteen. We were told that there was no paper menu, but monkey stew and bush rat soup were available. I then discovered that strictly on food I was more Muslim than African, perhaps simply more East African than West African or Zairean. I could not make myself order either monkey stew or bush rat soup. But my English producer put me to shame! “May I have rat soup with a cold beer, please? I ’ He ordered. I knew then what breed had built the British Empire–the tough and the unflappable! My producer’s beer was not cold–but his soup was decidedly rat soup! He consumed it without ostentation–just an aspect of the local cuisine. I was almost ashamed of my own Islamic inhibitions on diet ! My West African and Zairean brethren have almost as wide a range of “meat” dishes as the Chinese have. And yet, if on the issue of food, I am more Muslim than African, am I, on the issue of drinks, more African than Muslim? Good question for the triple heritage.

At my most ambitious and arrogant, my only hope has been to offer Africa occasionally some food for thought in compensation! ! This ambition has from time to time created headaches for the BBC and WETA. I have on occasion been ready to give public lectures at local universities at times when the film-makers preferred to have me available for television work instead! Some passionate debates have occurred, but with a lot of goodwill to go round. I did win the battle to give a lecture at the University of Addis Ababa–but Ethiopian political prudence resulted in the indefinite postponement of my lecture. On the other hand, Somalia authorized a somewhat controversial lecture on “African-Arab Relations The Somali were prepared to debate my thesis about “Somali expansionism’ , as well as my thesis that the Amhara were closer to the Arabs linguistically than the Somali. The world of dialogue is full of surprises, I was impressed by the candour in Mogadishu.

My BBC/WETA filming tour also took me to Kenya. In Mombasa we visited some of my old haunts – including the little playfield by the side of Fort Jesus where I used to play soccer as a boy. They are still playing soccer on the same little patch of land, with the Fort on one side and the Indian Ocean on the other. It was a nostalgic visit. It was also wonderful catching up with my brother Harith, with my sisters in Mombasa, and with my friend, Sharif f Kimwinyi. Many friends and relatives helped with the BBC filming of Mombasa.

Incidentally, the television series will be on the screen in Britain and the U.S.A. in 1986.

My 1984 visit to Zanzibar was surprisingly even more nostalgic for me than Mombasa.

Being in Zanzibar during the fast of Ramadhan took me back decades. My most startling experience in Zanzibar in 1984 happened on I dd el Fit r, the day of breaking the month-long fast. I was walking out of the official celebrations, which had been held in one of the palaces of the Sultan in the ancien regime. A man dressed in full Arab regalia–colourful and resplendent - -was looking at me intently. He could then bear it no more. He came towards me and said in Kiswahili t ‘I am sorry, Sir, but who are you?’ “My name is Ali Mazrui, ’ t I said.” Ali Al I Amin Mazrui? tl he enquired. “Yes,” I replied.

And then, to my astonishment, the man burst into tears and embraced me like a long lost brother. It turned out that I was indeed a “long lost brother” . His father–Sheikh Abubakar Bakathir–was my father’s best friend when I was a child. Sheikh Abubakar looked after me in the 1930s when my father left on a slow pilgrimage to Mecca. I was then only a tiny child. The Sheikh also looked after me during World War II when women and children were evacuated from Mombasa (under threat as a major port) - -and Zanzibar played host to my family. As a child I grew so fond of my Zanzibar i “uncle” that when he died suddenly towards the end of the war, I wept for three days. And now in 1984–right there in front of me and my BBC colleagues–was Sheikh Abubakar’s son, Abdullah, in tears at finding me again! It was a moving experience .

My other rediscovery in Tanzania was of a very different kind. I was in the audience in Moshi on the mainland awaiting a speech by President Julius Nyerere . The president arrived and sat down. As he was being introduced his roving eye caught mine. I was surprised that he recognized me at once in spite of my grey hair (he had not seen me for more than a decade). Later on, at another ceremony, he interrupted what he was doing, and rose to come and say hello. It was very pleasant to chat with him again. In fact, I thought I was in disfavour because of my reservations about some of his policies, but I was reassured. Later on I heard Nyerere give one of the most eloquent speeches I have ever heard in Kiswahili. He had no notes. It was an impressive exercise in the oral tradition. I am delighted he has since been elected Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

In the course of my travels in East Africa I also came across former students of mine from the old Makerere days. This wonderful experience happened several times in both Tanzania and Kenya. T was amazed by how much they remembered from lectures and speeches that I gave years ago! Their memories scared me a little! Who wants every opinion of yesterday to be so carefully remembered today?

I got into trouble at parliament building in Dar es Salaam when I tried to say hello to Prime Minister Sal im Sal im without clearance from Security! The fact that he was an old friend did not make any difference! I should have known better! Anyhow, it was all cleared up in the end, and the Prime

Minister and I were able to meet with the blessing of Security! The fact that it was Ramadhan may have contributed to some of the earlier sensitivities on the part of Security

– tiny things loom rather large in daytime during Ramadhan! But everyone was very gracious “at the end of the day”!

My particularly special Eastern African re-discovery was Maureen, Brenda Kiberu’s sister. Maureen, and the rest of Brenda’s family, still live in Kampala. I called them on the phone when I was in Nairobi. Maureen decided to travel from Uganda to come and see me. It was wonderful seeing her. I introduced her to my nephew, Al-Amin, who had just arrived on leave from his new job at the University of Port Harcourt in Nigeria. Being with Maureen and Al-Amin in my last few hours in Nairobi was one of the highlights of my East African visit.

Back in the United States Brenda was helping me look after the other Al’Amin (my son) and Kim. But Brenda this year has also had a rendezvous with a very demanding and compelling stranger the computer! She has been taking serious lessons in the use of the computer, and seems to be making excellent progress! I am terrified of being programmed by her when she becomes truly proficient—but I could always report her to her younger sister, Maureen, in Kampala!

We in the family noted and celebrated a few Mazrui anniversaries during 1984, Jamal celebrated his twenty-first birthday this December. Alas, he was away at Princeton on the great day itself - -but we compensated with delayed festivities on his arrival home the following week. It seems like yesterday when I was running around from neighbour to neighbour in Kampala proclaiming the good news—“It’s a boy!” Jamal and independent Kenya had had a race as to who would be born first. Independent Kenya had won the race by two days. For us in the family it was a great week—the week when my first child was born and when I was for the first time a citizen of a free country. Jamal himself missed the historical experience of being a colonial by less than forty-eight hours! Unlike me, he was born free!

Kim celebrated his sixteenth birthday—as Al’Amin was impatiently awaiting his eighteenth the following March (1985). These two younger boys spent the whole of this autumn with Brenda and me at our place. Ours is a flat (condominium)—so we have been a little crowded. But the boys have been superbly cooperative on most days - -and the months with them have simply flown. Al Amin and Kim return to their mother in time for the new year.

Al’Amin accepted a job as a dishwasher for three nights a week at a local vegetarian restaurant. The new responsibility has done him a lot of good. He has gained in maturity and sense of self-reliance. His skill in handling dirty dishes has stood the rest of us in good stead at home. With a little prodding Al’Amin can clear and tidy up the kitchen fast! Blessed are the dishwashers!

Kim was a courier of the Center for Population Studies at the University of Michigan. Kim a courier of “population”? No, I don’t mean that Kim played a stork - -carrying babies from mother to mother. He merely carried messages and documents concerning the demography of babies. Later on Kim took on a related assignment—he became a regular baby-sitter for one of the medical families of Ann Arbor! He has spent many hours looking after their two kids. Again, I think these responsibilities have been good for Abubakar (Kim’s Muslim name - -meaning a father of a kind, in anticipation!).

Talking of anniversaries, my most memorable one in 1984 was the Silver Jubilee off the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences in Accra. I was invited to give the Anniversary Address on “The Social Responsibility of Scholarship”. I was also elected Honorary Fellow (meaning non-Ghanaian Fellow)—a great honour. Kwame Nkrumah and the Duke of

Edinburgh were—by a curious alliance—the founding dignitaries of the Academy way back in the early years of Ghana's independence. As Honorary Fellow I was joining the ranks of Prince Philip! By another curious coincidence, the Duke and I met at the University of Manchester in England precisely in the year when the Ghana Academy of Sciences was born (1959). Why was I being introduced to His Royal Highness so long ago? Simply because I was President of the African Students' Association of the city of Manchester at the time. But neither the Duke nor I knew at the time that the Ghana Academy's honorary fellowships would one day be one of the accidental bonds between us! ! He was the first Honorary Fellow ever elected!

I believe 1984 was also the twenty-first anniversary of my own first visit to Ghana. If my memory serves me right, it was in 1963 that I arrived in Accra as one of the young scholars invited to Ghana by Kwame Nkrumah, W. E. B. DuBois and Willie Abraham to discuss the proposed project of launching an Encyclopaedia Africana. It was a vision of Pan-Africanism at the academic and intellectual level. Nkrumah did not last long enough in power to see the project through, but a real start has now at last been made towards that old visionary goal of twenty years ago. The Organization of African Unity has also given its blessing to the project, I understand. The baby is in the process of being born, but more help is needed. No, I did not celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of my own birth in 1984. That was last year in 1983—but I did not share my birthday experiences with you in my last newsletter. As you know, I am a product of Africa's triple heritage—indigenous, Islamic and Western cultures. My 50th birthday was celebrated in different forms in Nigeria, Egypt and the Western world—a triple heritage! My friends at the University of Jos in Nigeria and friends at Radio Plateau made fuss with coverage and merry-making. Nuruddin, Magdalen, and the Eligwus had a lot to do with marking the event. But the actual birthday itself fell when I was in Cairo. Colleagues at the University of Cairo, the American University in Cairo and the Kenyan Embassy in Cairo all organized festivities in my honour. It was a deeply moving experience—in the shadow of the pyramids, sometimes literally! My friends in Britain and the United States were also considerate on my first half-century! God bless you Sam Sebina has continued to be a tower of strength in Jos – becoming a more experienced assistant in a variety of roles. He has added driving to his many skills. He is now a chauffeur—as well as researcher, office assistant, chef, butler, valet and secretary! Amazing man!

In Jos we have a small East African community. We meet in each other's homes and entertain each other. The countries represented in the East African group have included Zaire, Rwanda, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and (largest group of all) Ugandans. Of course we also invite Nigerians to our little parties. We now have a baby member (a boy) of the East African group—Eve Munene has born John a handsome young Muganda! Heartiest congratulations! Terrific !

In Ann Arbor, Michigan, I also belong to an emigre dining club! We also take our turns in entertaining each other in each other's homes. The nationalities represented in the Ann Arbor group include Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Uganda, Ireland, Kenya, Central African Republic, West Germany, Egypt, as well as the United States.

In September I resumed my teaching functions at Michigan for a semester. Omar i Kokole has once again been a tremendous help. He was appointed for me by the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies as an aide of all trades and master of them all! ! I could not have coped with the multiple pressures on me (teaching, television, publishing, public

lectures, etc.) without Omar i t s broad shoulders to lean on! From a selfish point of view, I am glad he did not leave for a job in New York City, as he originally planned . But I assure you - -my Juju had nothing to do with Mrs. Kay Kokole 's broken leg--the main reason why the couple cancelled their New York plans' On the contrary, my Juju probably helped Kay's leg heal faster! At least I hope SO !

Michael Tidy and I were delighted to see the publication in 1984 of our joint book, *Nationalism and New States in Africa* (London: Heinemann Educational). The launching of the book in London was memorable because there were so many old friends--including old Makerereans at the reception. The book is more political history than political science--covering precisely the period (1935 to the present) which my Volume 8 of the UNESCO General History of Africa is intended to cover. (I have started editing this UNESCO volume.)

My head of department at the University of Jos, Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, visited us at Michigan in October. He made a stimulating presentation in Michigan on "African Soldiers as Social Reformers and Economic Managers: The Case of Nigeria' . He and I have had our differences on the role of soldiers in Africa, but our differences are in the best academic tradition, and are of course between good friends. What was harder to forgive Isawa for was the fact that he had not arrived with Margaret, his wife! Anyhow, I caught up with them both in Jos when I got there the following month!

Dunstan Wai got me involved in a special seminar in Italy to help advise two new Vice Presidents of the World Bank about Africa's problems. It was a stimulating experience. It was also great meeting Abdulrahman Babu of Zanzibar again after an interval of fifteen years.

Both the University of Jos and the University of Michigan have been very generous about my BBC/ WE TA television series. I have been allowed a lot of time to go filming all over Africa. But whenever I have touched base at Jos or Michigan I have joined the academic fray with a seminar or public lecture.

Sometimes there have been fireworks in response. My last public lecture in Jos was on the subject "Is Africa Decaying? Is Modernization Reversible?" The lecture caused an uproar - - especially from the Left.

In Michigan one of my recent public lectures was on "The Racial Factor in American Foreign Policy: The Case of the Middle East". This also caused an uproar - but from the Right and from Israeli supporters! Both the Jos and the Michigan lectures were covered by the media - -with more fireworks to follow! But I hope once again these debates are in the best academic tradition of give and take, of challenge and response.

I could tell you a lot more about my 1984--ranging from perspectives on Jerry Rawlings and Mobutu Sese Seko at close quarters to my lecture at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London on the subject "Liberal Democracy in Black Africa: Has It a Future?" But I may save some of these reflections for a future Newsletter.

I do appreciate your resilience if you have persevered to this paragraph.

Once again, best wishes to you and your loved ones for 1985 from Brenda, Jamal, Al 'Amin, Kim and me. God bless you!

Yours warmly,

Ali A. Mazrui

Newsletter 08, Eve of 1986, A Triple Heritage - Phase III

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Eve of 1986

TO: Friends and Relatives

A TRIPLE HERITAGE: PHASE 111

Yes, here we are again ' . Another Mazrui Newsletter - to keep friends and relatives informed about our own twelve months .

But first things first! We wish you and your beloved circle all the very best in this festive season. May 1986 be a prosperous and joyful year for you and your loved ones. Amen.

I am drafting this Newsletter in Jos, Nigeria. Last week I was in the Western world (New Orleans, Ann Arbor and London) . The week before that I was in the Muslim world (multiple cities in Algeria) . As you can see, my triple heritage (African, Islamic and western traditions) continues to affect my movements profoundly. The fact that the three traditions often overlap only helps to make my triple pilgrimage the more deeply challenging.

If you have read my last two or three Newsletters, you know by now that. Africa 's Triple Heritage of indigenous, Islamic and western Legacies is what my television series The Africans is all about.. The TV series is being produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation and the WETA channel in Washington, D.C. , (a channel of the Public Broadcasting Service of the United States) . The series will be shown late spring and early summer in Britain and in the autumn of 1986 in the United States.

The filming has had its own adventures all over this vast continent. of Africa. We have been arrested many times in different countries usually because of some misunderstanding about our credentials as to where we happened to be. Sometimes we have been arrested by soldiers - fully armed and on the ready . But matters have always been sorted out in the end - and there have been lots of smiles and handshakes to go round at the end of the day.

On the other hand, we have also been helped and entertained many times by scholars, administrators, journalists , farmers, and indeed soldiers. In Southern Sudan we had to be accompanied by fifty troops to "protect" us from a possible guerrilla attack. We were never sure whether fifty government troops would invite a guerrilla attack or discourage it. We just hoped for the best.

Nature also has its hazards. Our cameraman in West Africa seemed to be sinking In quick sand! We were not even watching when it happened. The poor man was being sucked in while the rest of us were discussing trivialities, unawares. The victim's first concern was to save the camera . He raised it as high as he could. I then raised the alarm " Andrew is sinking ! We rushed towards him - first rescuing the camera! ! We then pulled him to safety. No, it was not quicksand afterall . was mud sucking him in on the sea shore. It was certainly alarming enough !

I had my own share of accidents - usually tumbles and falls.

A graceful rural African woman crossed a bridge consisting only of a couple of slippery logs. She did it with an elegant sense of balance, while we filmed her. I was following the filming crew behind her. What an African rural woman could accomplish turned out to be well beyond the urban boy from Mombasa. I slipped and took my plunge into the stream - a case of wounded dignity!

What about political accidents? There were those as well. Sudan 's Minister of Information at the time introduced me to President Nimeiri after one of Nimeiri's press conferences. The President and I started walking towards his garden, and continued to chat as we walked. The world press - which had been present at the press conference - followed Nimeiri and me as we chatted across the garden. The American television crew on behalf of one of the major networks in the USA used their footage on American television in the week before Nimeiri was overthrown! Being seen in the company of Nimeiri just before he was overthrown was not one of my best planned sequences!

Other political accidents in the TV series also concern the number of coups in Nigeria. This project, this television effort has filmed two Heads of State in Nigeria - neither of them any longer in power ! A triple heritage of coups?

An intellectual experience like this television series generates its own triple heritage of thoughts - not all of them incorporated into the television series. These witticisms on location include the following propositions

(a) "If Africa invented man at Olduvai gorge, and the Semites invented God at Jerusalem, Nazareth and Mecca, Europe invented the world at Greenwich."

(b) "The most successful Semitic religion is Christianity, the most successful Semitic language is Arabic, the most successful Semitic people are the Jews ."

(c) "No culture is an island entire unto itself. And therefore never send to know for whom the muezzin calls; he calls for

(with apologies to John Donne)

(d)"A little modernity is a dangerous thing; Drink deep or taste not the western spring"

(with apologies to Alexander Pope) .

"The world is divided into men of inspiration and men of information, men of ideas and men of facts. The men of ideas make history; the men of facts record it. "

Two of the great events of the year were Al ' Amin' s eighteenth birthday and Brenda Kiberu ' s graduation with a bachelor ' s degree in economics and business administration. Al Amin started his undergraduate career at Western Michigan University while Brenda completed hers at Eastern Michigan University. Although I was not present for all the festivities because of my television travelling, I certainly did catch up with some of the fun whenever I breezed through Michigan .

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With Al Amin 's departure in search of a college education, Molly Mazrui 's home in Ann Arbor had one less member of the family in residence. Only Kim was now at home with his mother - awaiting his own eighteenth birthday in 1986. Both parents miss the older boys very much.

On the other hand, Ali Mazrui 's and Brenda Kiberu 's shared home had one new member of the family . No, it is not what you think! It is a sister!

Maureen, Brenda 's younger sister, has arrived from Uganda to join us. In the conflict of the triple heritage, Maureen has so far moved firmly into the Christian fold. Before I knew what was happening , Christian ladies (white) were calling upon Maureen to take her for special religious events.

Since the United States was founded by "Pilgrim Fathers" it may be appropriate for Maureen to be embraced by these "Pilgrim Mothers . " At any rate Maureen seems to be having a fascinating time . She begins her formal college studies in the New Year - decidedly more secular! Meanwhile, Maureen has enriched our family life in Ann Arbor adding new

depths to our triple heritage.

Sam Max Sabina, my Ugandan assistant in Jos, spent the first three quarters of the year in Nigeria in my home there. His Tanzanian girl- friend, Tonia, was with him all the time. But nostalgia for East Africa was growing in them both, inspite of the fascinating challenges in Nigeria. They finally left for East Africa together. They are sorely missed by all their friends in Jos and especially by me.

The East African community in Jos also lost N.D. Koya of Modern Languages and Apollo Rwomire of the Department of sociology. We wish them all the best in their new careers. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan invited me to make a presentation at a conference in Geneva on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) . The conference turned out to be exceptionally star-studded. Among those who addressed the conference were the Swedish Prime Minister , the Vice-President of the United States, the younger Gromyko from the Soviet Union, Senator Edward Kennedy of the USA, Lord Brockway the Veteran British socialist, Dr. David Owen, the leader of the Social Democrats in Britain, and a whole galaxy of International scholars. It was

Interesting to meet so many famous people in a couple of days. But more to the point was the enormous importance of the theme of the conference how to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. From that point of view, the conference was, of course, impotent and frustrating .

I went to Denmark in the course of the year, partly to participate in celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Karen Blixen, the Danish Baroness who lived in Kenya earlier this century and wrote so beautifully (sometimes condescendingly) about Africa. She remains one of Denmark' s leading prose-writers of the modern era. I was interviewed by Danish Television and by a Danish magazine, partly about politics and partly about literature.

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Even more engrossing in my short stay in Denmark was a special workshop not on Kenya but on Uganda . From the point of view of experts on Uganda, that was also star-studded. There were Ugandanists there from at least three continents (Africa, Europe and North America) - many Of them former Makerere colleagues of mine from the old days. The workshop on "Crises of Development in Uganda" was sponsored by the University of Copenhagen and the Institute of Commonwealth studies at the University of London . The driving forces were Holger Bernt Hansen of Copenhagen and Michael Twaddle from London. The workshop was one of the most successful events of the year in my time-table . Omar i H. Kokole jointly edited with me a special edition of the journal called ISSUE, a publication of the African Studies Association of the USA. Omar i was in fact the senior and more active editor.

African-Arab relations featured prominently In the issue.

Jonah Isawa Elaigwu and I are still struggling to write a joint book which can be used as an introduction to political science in Africa.

As you can see, one cannot disengage entirely from the rest of one's academic career simply because one is making a television series . I have had to give lectures, attend conferences, and complete prior publishing obligations at the same time, Without the overall support of my two universities (University of Jos and University of Michigan) such a heavy professional timetable could not have been sustained for long . I am greatly Indebted to my Heads of Department, my Deans and the top authorities at the two universities for their

flexibility and support .

Two events (which were both professional and personal) I was very sad to have to miss because of the television pressures . One was the Memorial Service for Jim Coleman, who died of a heart attack in

Los Angeles. Jim played a major part in helping to launch my career at Makerere in Uganda in the 1960s. He was a personal friend and a model scholar . He was an outstanding political scientist.

The other sad event I had to miss was the Memorial Service in tribute to Hedley Bull at Oxford. Hedley was one of the towering figures in the study of international relations and world politics . Although our views about the world differed widely, and sometimes we disagreed publicly, there was an unmistakable affection between us which we both felt. Oxford, Australia and the world will miss him.

As I write this News letter my book, which is to accompany the television series, is in galley proofs. I am not sure if you realise that the BBC has at least three branches of activity radio, television and publishing. I have been involved with BBC radio since my student days at Oxford, I have been involved with BBC television much more recently. But this is the first time I am involved with

BBC Publications as such (I decided to publish my Reith lectures with Heinemann and Cambridge instead) . The speed of BBC publishers can be quite remarkable . These galley proofs were ready within six weeks of my submitting the final manuscript . Can you imagine? In getting the manuscript ready and pruned (I had written 35 , 000 words too many!) . I was greatly aided by Michael Tidy and Valerie Buckingham.

In the United States the book will be published by Little, Brown Publishers in the autumn of 1986 to coincide with the American transmission of the TV series. The title of the book is THE AFRICANS: A TRIPLE HERITAGE. It is dedicated to Valerie Ward, who was my Secretary for so large a part of my career in the United States. I am greatly indebted to her for support at a critical period in my general international career. (See postscript.)

Toby" Levine and I edited a collection of essays by distinguished professors, to be published by Praeger in 1986, and to accompany my TV series. This is quite apart from my own book on the subject. Toby bore the brunt of the editorial chores . Bless her!

In Paris I attended my first I PSA triennial conference since

1976 (meetings of the International Political Science Association) . It was exciting to see so many old friends, from different lands. I had once served for nearly a decade on the Executive Committee of the Association - including three years as Vice-President. It was good to re-establish contact with I PSA. One of the most memorable incidents at the meeting was a casual remark by Dan Nabudere, who had once served as a Minister in Y. K. Lule's government in Uganda, and was now in exile. Outside a Paris cafe Dan predicted to me that there would be a military coup in Uganda "within days, not weeks The prediction was made in the second half of July 1985. He was proved right. My opinion of Dan Nabudere as a political meteorologist has shot up!

I was in Nigeria when the Buhari Administration was overthrown and Ibrahim Babangida took over power. Did I have a Nigerian equivalent of Nabudere to alert me about the coming of the Babangida coup? Actually I am not permitted to answer that question. I do know a wide range of Nigerians - and some are better meteorologists than others!

Meanwhile , I have been introduced to the new President and Commander-in-Chief of Nigeria, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida. He was very gracious when we met. I was

particularly impressed by the

President's taste in political literature - since he confessed to having read some of my works ! We wish him wisdom and effectiveness as he confronts Nigeria's formidable problems .

I had to interrupt my participation in the television filming in Nigeria in order to dash to Mombasa. One of my sisters was seriously ill . But she has been making superb recovery since then. I returned to Nigeria to continue the filming. We all wish Aisha all the best.

The triple heritage and its concerns about culture conflict continues to affect other aspects of my family life. In one of my conversations with my son Kim, he wanted to know why I had made it a point to arrive from abroad as late as possible before every Christmas when I lived with the rest of the family. Was I trying to keep the family on tenterhooks? I was not aware of such a grievance when I did live with the rest of the family. The facts did not correspond with the complaint, I suggested to Kim. In any case, did I get any credit for celebrating Christmas at all when my household (including my wife) were supposed to be Muslim? Kim decided to let that challenge pass. Was a Muslim arriving as late as Christmas Eve for Christian festivities guilty? No comment !

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Kim's next line of enquiry concerned the Christmas tree. Why had I not permitted a Christmas tree at home when I lived with the family? After all, the Christmas tree was pre-Christian. I replied that was precisely the point. As a Muslim I could not be faulted for taking the birth of Jesus Christ seriously - since Islam recognised even the Virgin Birth of Jesus . But why should my household celebrate a symbol of pre-Christian

European "paganism" like the Christmas tree? If any form of "paganism" was to be celebrated in my home, It should be African, surely! Since we were not celebrating pre-Christian African rituals, why should we be celebrating European versions? Had I not compromised enough with the heritage of Kim's mother (British) by accepting some degree of Christmas festivity? Kim smiled enigmatically.

I was not sure if I had made a genuine convert away from European "paganism" or not! The triple heritage remained ambiguous.

Kim's elder brother, Al Amin, raised different issues of the triple heritage. It went all the way back. Al 'Amin celebrated, as we noted, his eighteenth birthday in the course of 1985. One of the ironies was that at eighteen he was involved in a branch of the food industry. He had become a cook in a flourishing restaurant. He was himself a kind of gourmet fascinated by a variety of cuisines. But why was Al Amin's fascination with food at the age of eighteen such an irony? Because of the crisis we had about feeding him when he was born at Mulago hospital in 1967 in Uganda. Al 'Amin was so sleepy that his mother could not keep him awake long enough for breast-feeding. He just dozed off . In the end he was literally fed through the nose with pipes which were inserted through the nostrils to his stomach. It was a desperate move to compensate for his lack of interest in being fed. Eighteen years later Al' Amin was the gourmet of the family! Can you imagine? What is more,

Al 'Amin seemed to enjoy the entire triple heritage of cuisines (African, Islamic and Western) as well as Indian and Chinese food. A man for all seasons - and for all cuisines !

As I said before, Al 'Amin later in the year moved on to

Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo for his undergraduate education. He showed keen interest in aspects of the social sciences. He was particularly intrigued by the human mind.

Jamal , my eldest son, raised a more fundamental issue concerning the triple heritage and its relevance for us . Ours is a family with hundreds of years of recorded history. We know there are Mazrui who are African. We know there are Mazrui in the Gulf who are Arab (an overlapping category) . Both the Arab and the African branches of the Mazrui are Muslim. But is it time there were also Mazrui who were Western? Were my sons to be among the pioneers of Mazrui westerners? It has been an uncomfortable dilemma for me. I am used to African and Arab Mazrui. My mind is not yet comfortable with western Mazrui. And yet, why not? It was after all my career which had made my children so westernized. The whole process is full of bewildered ambivalence.

But Jamal t s concerns have not been merely with the triple heritage.

He has been very active in the National Federation of the Blind in the United States, including a leading role in his relevant branch near

Princeton . And yet the triple heritage is not far away. Jamal cannot visually read, but he can write. The Prophet Muhammed could neither read nor write. And yet Islam' s holy book, the Qur P an, is today read more widely in Its original language than any other book in human history. (The Bible Is read more widely but only in translation) .

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In some ways the Prophet Muhammed dictated the Qur t an the way

John Milton dictated Paradise Lost blind to the written page.

Milton was actually blind; Muharnmed was Illiterate. Of course, Muhammed is read rnuch more widely than Milton.

But Jamal ' s concerns were not merely with the blind. Jamal organized at Princeton a conference on AIDS (Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome) as a disease. Jamal was eager to promote wider public education of AIDS as a social concern. So far AIDS has been a dual heritage problem. Its most dramatic homosexual manifestation has been in the western world. The ailment' s most dramatic heterosexual manifestation seems to be in central Africa, especially Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. On the whole, neither the African nor the Western habitat of

AIDS so far has been Islarnic. To that extent AIDS until the end of 1.985 has been a case of a dual heritage - though the disease seems to be spreading relentlessly. Jamal ' s preoccupation has been with public education about the disease - what has been misleadingly described as "the leprosy of the twentieth century. ' Ignorance about these diseases has caused untold suffering to its victims. I am proud of Jamal ' s sense of compassion and active concern. (Incidentally, I lived for two years with a friend who was still taking medication for leprosy.

We cooked together, ate together and shared the same bath tub. No harm)

the African political events which moved me the most deeply in the course of the year were two very different occurrences - the courageous anger of young people in South Africa and the voluntary retirement of Julius K. Nyerere as Head of State in Tanzania. Both events were pregnant with meaning and hope . The young people of South Africa may not yet know what alternative social order they want to see in their country. But they can certainly recognize a rotten system when they see one. As Yeats put it in response to the anger of the Irish uprising,"A terrible beauty is born" !

As for Nyerere' s voluntary retirement from the pinnacle of power , it was probably the most heroic act of a career which was already full of periodic eruptions of heroism. A small step for an individual a giant stride for Africa! Now Nyerere joins Leopold Senghor among

the immortals of humility the heroes who refused to believe they were indispensable to their own societies .

I wish Nyerere's successor, Ndugu Ali Hassan Mwinyi all the best. It was a privilege to have met him when I was in Zanzibar in 1984. I was doubly flattered when I heard him refer to some of my books. His own wealth of experience is of course a much richer book.

Partly to help promote my television series in the United States ,

I gave a major lecture at the annual meeting of the African Studies

Association (ASA) of the United States. My theme was "Africa's Triple

Heritage under Siege: Indigenous , Islamic and Western Tensions'

A draft Programme 4 of the television series (on the theme of

"Exploitation") was also shown at the ASA meeting in New Orleans (I had to fly to the

conference direct from our filming in Algeria) . Both the lecture and the television

programme seem to have provoked a lot of serious discussion which is what we hoped for.

WETA in Washington and the ASA worked superbly together to give the project a chance at the New Orleans conference.

The Fifth International Congress of African Studies met at the University of Ibadan in

December 1985 . The first congress was launched by President Kwame Nkrumah In Ghana

way back in 1962. That was the only one I missed (I was still a graduate student at Oxford

at the time) . But I have not missed the subsequent ones in Dakar, Addis Ababa,

Kinshasa and now Ibadan. The congresses are supposed to meet once every five years - but

sometimes these global events are delayed by a year or two . The theme at Ibadan was

"Education and Identity in Africa" under the Presidency of Professor Jacob Ade A jay i, the

distinguished Ibadan historian .

How would you feel if you travel led thousands of miles to attend a conference and on your way back on the plane you suddenly discovered that at that same conference a paper had

been presented about your own father without your knowing it? That Is what happened to

me after attending the New Orleans conference of the African Studies Association. My short

stay at the conference had been so hectic (after my arrival from Algeria) that I did not have

time to study the comprehensive programme converging the joint meetings of both the ASA

and the Middle East Studies Association. It was on the plane back from the meetings that I

studied the programme for the first time . Suddenly a familiar name stared at me from the

printed page " Shaykh al-Amin al-Mazrui (1893-1945) and His History of the Mazrui Clan "

. The author of the paper about my father was Professor Bradford G. Martin of Indiana

University, a distinguished Is lamist . I must remember to write for a copy of the paper

when I get back to the USA. (Incidentally, my father died in 1947 and not 1945, but that

was probably a printing error in the programme)

My editing of Volumes VI and VII of the UNESCO general History of Africa is continuing in spurts

- partly depending upon the Incoming chapters and partly upon my endless filming trips.

But we should have the volume with the publishers by the time you get my next Newsletter

.

I was in England when Margaret Thatcher's government at last confirmed Its decision to

withdraw from UNESCO, inspite of appeals from most of Britain's friends (apart from the

United States) . It was a sad day for Britain's role in the world - and indeed for Britain's

independence .

Outside the Government , UNESCO still has a lot of friends In Britain. And the media tried to

be even handed. BBC radio confronted me with one of the Editors of The Daily Telegraph (a

right-wing newspaper) to debate UNESCO. The gulf between the two panelists was very wide Indeed!

BBC television (BBC-2) put me on another panel to discuss "violence: When is it ever Legitimate?" There was a fellow Reith Lecturer on the panel, Edward Norman, whose own Reith Lectures were at least as controversial as mine (but from the other side of the ideological spectrum whatever that may mean ! I was more sympathetic with wars of liberation than were the other panelists on the television programme .

If I go on like this, I shall soon need Valerie Buckingham of BBC Publications to help me prune this Newsletter just as she helped me cut out 35, 000 words from my latest book! I had better stop before Valerie's services become necessary . (Incidentally, the main reason why we had to get rid of 35,000 words from my book was to make room for more than 200 pictures! Not a bad bargain at all!)

Enjoy yourselves during the festive season. And have a tremendous 1986 !

Yours warmly,

Ali A. Mazrui U.S. Address:

2104 Pauline Blvd. , No. 307, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103 , USA.

U.K. Address:

Project "The Africans t' ,

BBC Television,

Lime Grove Studios , LONDON W1 2 7RJr England .

Postscript:

Since I drafted this letter in Nigeria, Valerie Ward - one of my dearest friends - has died of cancer in Michigan. I feel a great sense of personal loss. My profound condolences to her bereaved husband, John, and to her children. My most sincere condolences also to Ursula Coleman and Mary Bull whose own separate anguish is referred to on page 4 above. It has been a costly year.

Newsletter 09, Eve of 1987, A Triple Heritage - The Finale

Ali A. Ivhazru

No. 307

2104 Pauline Blvd. Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103

U.S.A.

Eve of 1987

To Friends Relatives:

Dear Valued Ones,

A Triple Heritage: The Finale

Here is the Mazzui N4E1 letter once again. It's been a year of pain and pilgrimages, of fame and infamy! I will tell you all about it, but let me first wish you and your loved ones all the very best of the festive season. Relax for a As for 1987, may it be a successful and experience for you all. Arran.

Did you know that my first job in the Western world was a busconductor on a trolley bus in Huddersfield, Yorkshire? It's been thirty years to the month! The BBC wanted to use that 1956 event for public relations in 1986. So all went to Huddersfield, posed in front of an antiquated HE, and a lot of taken for local newspapers in the North of

That side of the event was artificial - a mere exercise in television the other the eve-it was a genuine pilgrimage for me because Huddersfield was my first job in the Western world.

Huddersfield was also the place of my academic in secondary education after doing poorly in high school in Pakistan. At Huddersfield College I had my second chance - a turning in my academic career!

But above all it was in Huddersfield that I met Betty - the who became my wife and mother of my three sons. was therefore a turning - point in my private life as well. It is therefore true that my 1986 visit to Huddersfield I met Betty's in the street! Nostalgia caplet! It to see Ethel so

In spite of the visit to Huddersfield, the "pramtion of Africans" as a series in Britain - compared to later took place in U.S. - relatively limited. Again as compared with Americans, the British reacted to the series. The in the United States was, if anything, over-reaction. But shall return to that later.

On the other hand, I lost my privacy in the streets of London more decisively than in American streets. In the summer in London I got stopped so many times by enthusiastic viewers (believe it or not) I resorted to dark glasses to minimize recognition! For a brief nine I

film stars felt like! Black people rarely embraced me, or even their cars if they spotted me through the window. British whites were more restrained in their encounters! All these street encounters tested my morale even when I was wearing dark glasses!

I was honoured this year by Cornell University when it made me At-large D. I. Professor-at-large. The is for six years. (Arden, D. "I am the first president of Cornell.) But what is a "Professor-at-Large"? Basically, it is a non-residential professorship. I have become one of Cornell's resources - available from time to time as public lecturer, senior to students, and general consultant. The recommendation to the Trustees from the Arden. D. I. Committee for my appointment was a unanimous recommendation. I feel greatly

I look forward especially to with Africana Studies and Research Center with political scientists

at Cornell. Locleley Ednnndson was a vital force in the whole schane. I am much
Jal, our oldest gZz..Eted fran Princeton - a-rd turned up in strergh at the to cheer. I fle,q in
fran London for tl ocasion - Phureen ard Kiberu also joined the &zruis in Princeton for tlE
festivities. It was a proud nunent for us all. Janzl then won a Kennedy scholarship to do at the
John F. Kennedy School of Government - ard lzs chosen to focus especially on p.ublic policy
aspects of technology at Harvard University.

Kim (our ya.mgest) celebrated his eighteenth birthday in the middle of his first year as a pre-
law student at The University of Michigan (his pnrlqlace!) . Al t Amin also decided to transfer
fran Western

Michigan University in }1anzzoo to the University of Michigan here in Ann Arbor. Al 'Amin
specialize in Fortunately neither Iren has as yet decided to register in one of classes. Should I
refuse to lzve than in my class? does the law of nepotism apply here? k&'be the boys have klad
enotilecturesatI – mefromDadovertlEyears! kybetheythinkenoul is enough! In lich case
I will spared the dilemmas of nepotism in class! !

Brada reent honE to (Zanda for the st..umer holiday. in the autum, Brerda started her
programe for a Whster*s degree in business Administration at iayne State University in
Detroit. The camutirg by car is one hour each

- particularly when it snoaz in the evenirgs! But is bearing vell - "Izrgirg in there"! She also
nzny in the library! Forturztely her sister Whueen I-es able to help in looking after me! !
(Looking after "&ee".) &ureen t s skills in the kitchen I-Eve dranEtica1ly improved since
her arrival from Ugarda last year, She was spoilt a little by her in Kampala - doirg almst
cooking. N09Zdays in Michigan she en even attempt Seahili dishes and Irdian Ocean cuisine
including chapatis ard mchuzi! Can you inzgine?

But all cooking studies is bad in the age. Fortunately kureen is getting sorre excellent fran
Cleary College near here, studyirg for a Bachelor's in Business Administration.

Our little East African ccnmmtty at the Unisrdsity of Jos seems to be shrinkirg. When Viarmey
Bu.kyana (from Rer) p..s gralted asyll.m in Canada, ard left us, his brother, Berthas Gasana,
in with in my house. He turned out to as good as Sam Sebirz in looking after lfare. Gasana
for me, sent cooked, xeroxed doctlEnts, dealt with the library entertained distrguiszyed
visitors from abroad. I was extremely lucky. He did all these thirgs still rlEnaged to to his
homeork as in science at tYE University of Jos.

Tie Okeniyi family (Zeke ard Liz) vere the leg of my Jos domestic The third ses Goretti
rmgamW, a Ugardan, always eager to cane to the rescue. Pauline Uti helped with stperb hot
pepper soup!

Zeke and Goretti also in aninstrative netters at the thiversity - bit the central pillar of my
entire stay at Jos raained Jorxah Isaba,a Elaigvaa.i and his family. Through him I was also in
touch with the rest of the paer structue at Jos am irdeed in the larm

last big event of the year at Uriversity of Jos in Nigeria was the Pan-African caxference on
Rights aryl Africa's Triple Heritage: Irdigenous, Islamic Pkstern Perspectives. " factors gave
the conference a strikirg politi.l relevance. the full participation of General, also Doctor,
Yakubu Gaen, Nigeria's leader during the Civil of 1967 to 1970 ornards mtill 1975. by Gaen,
he ves with us at almst every session of the conference as a full academic

Go.nn's assumed sig-dficance from the fact tl-zt

Nigeria's current of State, President Ibrah,im B. Babargi&, graciously ca to Jos to open
conference. horn-ars 'sere conferred on Gos"nn. Tie of State addressed him as "General -

thus restoring the rank he lost. Gowan was in disgrace in mid-1970s. Secondly, the University of Jos appointed Gowan a Research Professor in the Sciences of Islam. I was greatly privileged to have been involved in all those fascinating events.

A surprise for me at the conference was the arrival of Abacha, Minister of Information and in President Museveni's government in Nigeria. I had him to the Jos meeting when he was in exile in Kenya as a political attorney. When Museveni captured power, included Abacha in his government, thought Abacha not have time to come to Jos. You can imagine my astonishment when - as I about to sit down to breakfast at my house in Jos - Abacha knocked and entered! embraced in breathless excitement.

Other East Africans at conference included Nuruddin Farah, the Somali novelist, to whom Jos had once been hostile. Heold friend. Like a true Muslim, Nuruddin refused an incorrigible. After Jos he went to the Gambia. His latest Pan-African veterinary hole is Zartoum in the Sudan. We do miss him at Jos.

Other old friends who to join us at Jos for the Human Rights included George Kanyeil-zir*, Lennel Jomson, Davidson Nicol, Nike Adebisi, as well as Orari H. Kokole. The central theme was how the three legacies of Africa, Islam and the best of the whole idea of human rights. also the issue of Africa could monitor its own performance in human rights. We certainly had some lively moments.

And yet my most apologetic moment of the year at Jos occurred when I gave a lecture in April on Ibrahim decision to make Nigeria a full member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Nigeria is probably half Muslim and 35% Christian, Before 1986 Nigeria was just an observer of the Islamic Conference. lecture at Jos was interpreted by a predominantly Christian audience as wholly sympathetic to Babarida's move about the OIC. Without realizing it, one Christian lecturer reaffirmed my even-handedness by claiming that a Muslim conference in Sokoto had earlier burnt another of mine in protest views! ! The Sokoto paper had apparently been a little too favourable to Karl Marx for the liking of Islamic fundamentalists! According to the Jos Christian lecturer, my paper was consigned to the flames of a bonfire as a heretical exercise! ! I which paper he referring to. But I have not yet got of the alleged Sokoto ceremony of consigning my "Marxism to the bonfire. I certainly was not present when the incident

I am skeptical about the story, but I am intrigued by the fact that it was circulating even if entirely false!

In America charges my alleged 'Marxism' from "radically" different sources. television series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage interpreted by so American right-wingers as "Marxist" or "neo-Marxist." Some of my critics called themselves "Citizens for Reagan. Others identified themselves with "Accuracy in the Media." In reality both were inclined to attribute to my television series a Marxist inclination. I am sure that genuine African Marxists would be amused by this absurd rightwing equation! !

On the other hand, the television series in America seemed to be me closer to Muslims than anything else I ever done before. I travelled from city to city nationwide the series. met surprised how often at the end of each lecture, Muslim of the audience would come to the front to introduce themselves. Most of these were Black American Muslim families, complete with Muslim names and often to mainstream denunciations of Islam. I often deeply moved when I encountered Africa's Triple Heritage in Black America.

Some of the Black American a special gesture in honour - ranging from presenting me with a

golden plaque of tribute to me special religious books for my library.

The positive side of the American response to my TV series went beyond sectarian considerations. I greatly privileged that the State of Michigan decided to treat me as a son. Both Houses of the Michigan Legislature paid a special tribute to me and to The Africans. the City of Detroit

(Michigan's largest city) saluted and the series at a special reception in Detroit.

In Chicago Mayor Harold declared October 6, 1986, "the day of the Africans." He saluted me at a special celebration of the series in

He also provided me with a special police escort to accompany to O'Hare Airport. I was greatly honoured, not least because Chicago was my first base as a professor in Africa (I was a Visiting Professor at the University of Chicago in 1965).

Senator Kerry of Massachusetts drew the attention of the U.S. Senate in

Washington to the series. Mr. Kerry said inter alia to the Senate: "While I cannot endorse all of the conclusions made by the participants in the film, its shGding has provided a revealing look into the history of the continent of Africa, and has provided the American people with an all-too-rare look at Africa from an African's perspective."

The rest of my tour for the television series ranged from Honolulu in

Hawaii to the Virgin Islands stops included York, Washington,

Los Angeles, Denver, Houston, Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Philadelphia, Flint, Providence, Portland, Oregon. It was a tremendous opportunity to meet such a diversity of viewers audiences. At every place I delivered a lecture on Africa's triple and gave interview to television and it has been exhilarating - but also utterly

Soon after the of the last episode of "The Africans,

Jesse Jackson, the African American leader, phoned me at Inne. "Ali, you did it, net-I! Great program! You did it, Buddy! He from Washington leaving for Japan not long afterwards, I i.'s flattered by his enthusiasm and by the fact that he found time to call in the midst of preparing for a long trip! Bon voyage!

three universities of Michigan, Jos, and Cornell were very tolerant about all this excitement and mobility. It was agreed with Cornell that my first visit to the campus 901-1-ld be postponed until 1987. The University of Michigan hosted a conference on the theme of "Ali : s Africa" with scholars invited from outside, President Harold Sknpiro of Michigan also held a major reception in my honour The Africans. The Vice-Chancellor of J, Professor O.C. Onazi, continued to be supportive helpful even from afar.

teaching units at Michigan and Jos were very cooperative as I traversed the world. The of Political Science in Ann Arbor and Jos and the successive Directors of the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies at Michigan were all exceptionally supportive - as were my Deans in Nigeria the United States. The secretarial staff also contributed their share to The Africans. The four-time president of my country, Jomo Kenyatta, once gave us a national radio address. He proclaimed Harambee, which means "let us pull

" Believe me, there were a lot of Harambee heroes heroines the scenes of 'The Africans! My gratitude to them all.

Joe Nye and I rediscovered each other when he invited me to go to the Kennedy School at Harvard to make a presentation on "Superpower Ethics: A

Third World" Our television project seriously considered the

me at that seminar at Harvard. But in the end we

decided it would be more authentic if I had filmed at either Jos or Ann Arbor instead. I filmed

both in the library at Jos am in class at Michigan.

'I're a strange reaction to the TV series an.org sone "Professional bhzrui-Bashers It (mos) in They thought the British Broadcasting Corporation had camissioned nee to do "The Africans" as a response to Basil Davidson's serie called "Africa" transmitted on CFE.nne1 4 the previous year! Can you imagine? In fact, the idea of nv doirg a series for the B first raised when I the BBC Reith Lectures (Radio) pay back in 1979. 'I'm years later David Harrison and John Reynolds wrote to nnre directly about a BBC series on Africa with myself as the story teller. The tvo of then subsequently came to the U.S.A. to discuss the netter further. The true stimulus of my series ses therefore not Basil Davidson's "Africa." It vas my BBC Reith Lectures (The African Cordition) . Irxfleed, sane of television programmes in the series bear emctly the same titles as satE of Reith lectures ("A Garden of Eden in Decay," "A Clash of Cultures") .

As for tYE stgestion t%zt my TV series is a response to Ba.sil t s, that is probably the preposterous c}Erge of them all. any alert vier Yes tched series could arrive at such a conclusion the mird. Did the Professionnl Phzrui-Bashers (Ptss) just switch off volume on tlr 'N sets and refused to listen to wret I saying?

Lynne Cheney, QEirn of tkE Natorzl for the Hunanities in the USA, reacted in the oppite extrane. She hit roof wYien she previed the series denounced it as "anti-kstern diatribe" and "pro-dafy." Although the contributed nore \$600,000 tov,.rds production, bfS. Cheney (a appointee wife of one of President Reagan's in Corgress) insisted tlEt the rearre removed fran the credits of the series. me American Right Wirg as a whole vas ara..tsed to new levels of irxiigrntion Rablic in the U.S.A. "The Africans" b<hibit A in the Rightwing's case against the Public Broadcasting Service (as "too liberal" and t hx-patriotic") .

decidai to sell the family house in Ann at 1517 C*lls Street.

For all of us it nnrked the eryfl of an era. We the I-iouse in Burns Park first settled here in 1974. The divorce settlement in 1982 harded over the ln.zse to b611y since she also lzd custody of our three sons. 'I%iis year the last of the boys out - ard ly decided to rove to a 3'1E11er pla. shall all miss 1517 Is - once a nest for all our children, once a Flabitat for a family in its last years together.

Saul Order bdels Project I have rediscovered each other. I the team at Princeton on "World Order and the Leisure Revolution." Doz the epansion of leisure hours help or prospects for a viable sorld order? do yau think?

A lot of &kerere fria-ds Izve resurfaced as a result of my TV series.

I-eve rediscovered each other. Particularly razrkable is the

Of an old dear partner at &kerere, Gwen Ptlntosh. She Bill were frierxis of for years. Q,len also yorked for re as a secretary until the stork arrived with a baby one day. Providence gave tYE McIntoshes children. Gen decided to be a full tine after tet - I lost professiorzl pillar.

If Gn McIntosh ses the first persorzl American secretary I had in nv career, Judy Baugrm has the latest. I Izve been fortunate in the secretarial quality I have enjoyed osxer the years - high standards indeed.

r.hfortunately there is a scanble for excellent secretaries! Judy has received an offer carmot refuse - not fran a stork (she already has children) but in terms of within tlE tmiversity structure. We wish

her continuing success. I still miss not only her sterling secretarial skills - but also her enormous reserves of good will and good humour. When her employer phoned me for a confidential report on Judy, I told the truth - would hurt me! The truth concerned Judy's impressive secretarial career. I was doing myself out of a partner by praising Judy! I lost out to the rivals!

Michael Tidy Qizri Kokole gave me considerable research help with my latest book *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. Michael particularly crucial in the final critical phase of the book. The book quite a success in Britain. It sits on the best-seller's list of the fortnightly *Observer*. I was shocked to learn that it was the first book by an African to have been on the bestseller list! Can you imagine?

The book has also been released to the U.S. market as well. At the time of writing this seasonal letter I had no idea how the book is doing in America. I do that the publishers have run out of copies for retail distributors. But I hope a lot of people send it out as a Christmas gift!

Onze and I are collaborating on piece of right - a chapter about the rise and fall of democracy in the past and prospects for the future. The chapter is for a project set at Stanford University.

The target is a book about in developing countries, edited by Larry Seymour Ivhrtin Lipset. The African section will include an experience, written by Kokole and Zube.

Zimbabwe decided to show *The Africans* series during the visit of some of the northerly countries in Harare in August 1986. The

Ministry of Information of Zimbabwe had informed me about this plan well in but I did not get a confirmation until I was on a plane with Jesse Jackson and his entourage after their Southern African tour. I joined the flight in Lagos, bound for New York. It was from Jesse Jackson's colleagues that I learnt that "*The Africans*" was being shown in Zimbabwe when they themselves there.

As far as I know the only other African country to have actually shown the series so far is which has itself been of assistance with the

The series would have been shown in countries by now but for some legal problems that the BBC to sort out finally before further

distributing the film. I think that the countries which are negotiating for the series is in spite of the language barrier. Their interest is

One of my deepest regrets of 1986 is that I did not call on Cheikh Anta Diop, the great Senegalese thinker, when I was in Senegal earlier in the year.

I was in Dakar at a meeting of the I-NESCO Project on the Scientific and Cultural History of the continent. Cheikh Anta did not himself attend the meeting, but he sent a personal message of greetings. I gave a reciprocal back. If I knew he had died a few weeks later, I could have had a point to call on Cheikh Anta personally to pay my respects. Alas, an opportunity to say farewell to a great man!

However, I must still be grateful for the fact that Cheikh Anta Diop and I met either in Africa or in France almost esoterically in the last ten years of his life. He a great Renaissance figure - philosopher, historian, physicist and general ran of letters. His death leaves a major void in the world of scholarship. It also creates a void in Africa's possibilities. Cheikh Anta had an capacity to us proud of our past. On one occasion, after a lecture at the University in Kinshasa, the students in the audience were so ecstatic in proud enthusiasm that they carried Cheikh Anta (a big man) shoulder high! ! Sheer exhilaration!

"Ali in a wheel" Yes, that is one of the tries of 1986! I travelled all over Africa, hills, rivers, scrambling on rocks. I had a tumble or in "wildest" Africa! But it was at Columbus Airport, Columbus, Ohio, that I had my first accident - a "mini-disaster" on an escalator! The pain was so great on my foot and ankle that I was convinced the damage was truly serious.

Fortunately the thought me to a *Eelclzir for a while*, permitted me to finish the RE30r speaking across the country. Airline and hotels to be alerted about my wheelchair needs.

And in a number of cities discovered they had to be fit enough to carry huge wheelchair physically steps! I discovered helplessness can be. But I also discovered what friends are truly for. Bless all other friends. I am on my feet - I returned to give lectures from a wheelchair. \ One of the things about the end of a project is the dispersal. \ Members go their different ways. On the British side I am already nostalgic for the of David Harrison, Peter Tim Copestall, Jenny Cathcart and Judy (as a researcher the "Judy-a-Christian" authority). There of course also the effervescent Caroline Pemble, the member of our team. Destiny brought us together for a number of years on a single project - became dear friends & the project lasted. Many of the camera, sound editing members of the team are also genuinely missed.

In African team I worked longest with several (Norman Hobson and Diana Farrel on location Ellen Casey Toby Lee. Were in Washington. Christon'ler (Kit) Roberts at Michigan a member of the team in a different sense. In the final production of the series I was especially by Rann Han Jan DuPlain. I remain truly and deeply indebted to all.

V'rd Clznerberlin, President of ETA, was a tower of strength in the face of the Rightwing onslaught - in the U.S.A. He stood to counted - at some risk to his channel. I full of animation. Elliott Skimer at Columbia University also most supportive.

The Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) was deeply involved in the

We all got close to Allaji Adegbayega Arulogun - a great Nigerian television expert. Very lively too! Bless him! On location were also helped by Soji Oyinsem, also an NEA producer. Partly as a gesture to the BBC partly in support of the Africans, Bassan Abdullah permitted me to live for several months in his flat in London. It was an arrangement negotiated between him and the BBC. His mother kept a friendly supervisory eye. The family is partly Egyptian and partly Lebanese. Bassan's library was most useful for our Triple Heritage theme in the TV series. The beautiful flat needed an enormous difference to my morale in London at a time when hours of work were very long and very arduous.

But in the midst of all these exertions, my responsibilities to the UNESCO General History of Africa were suffered. I am behind in my editorial duties. I am acutely embarrassed - and must make speedy apologies to all concerned.

If you are still this "post-natal" on a year, let me

congratulate you on your resilience, It you have a resplendent year ahead of you and your loved ones.

Yours

Ali A.

AAM/jeb

is an encouraging sign. I am sure - God willing. Best wishes to you

Warmly,

Whizru

Newsletter 10, Eve of 1988, The Morning After

Ali A. Mazrui

2104 Panine Blvd. , N

Ann Arbor, Michigan

RAZRUI NEWSLETTER EVE OF 1988

To Friends and Relatives:

me Morning After

In 1987 I covered greater distances east/west and north/ south than I had ever done before! According to some stories about my experiences, I nearly crossed the border into the Hereafter! Rumour had it that I was shot! Literally! But more about that shortly. First, let me extend to you on behalf of all in the family our very best wishes for the festive season and for the New Year. We wish you and your loved ones a truly enriching and rewarding 1988,

Yes, rumours did circulate in Nigeria that I had been shot and wounded, One version said that it had happened in London – and I had been rushed to the hospital. The other version located the attempted assassination in the United States, I received letters of concern from Nigeria.

Don't ask me how the rumour started. One plausible theory connects the story with the right-wing reaction to my TV series, The Africans, especially in the U.S.A. Whole page advertisements appeared in some American newspapers saying "If you hate America, you will love The Africans Right-wing activists fought the TV series not only in the media but also in Congress - and by threatening the Public Broadcasting System of the U.S.A." Had the lunatic fringe gone to the extent of taking a shot at Mazrui? The rumour specialists asked! The relatively sympathetic treatment given to the Libyan Leader, Muammar Qaddafi, in my TV series could have fanned the flames of Rightwing fury!

Another version of the story blamed the "attempted assassination" on the politics of Black Islam in the United States. Like Malcolm X before me, I was supposed to have fallen victim to intra-Black Islamic sectarianism.

Well, I have glad tidings for all my friends! Like Mark Twain before me when confronted with his own untimely obituary, I wish to reassure all men and women of good will that the news about my demise is premature! There has been no attempted assassination on me either in Britain or the U.S.A, – except perhaps the usual verbal -assassinations to which I am routinely subjected by more extreme P.M. B.'s (Professional Mazrui Bashers) in any case! Questions have been asked as to why we did not film in Uganda for my TV series. Was it out of fear of assassination? Actually, the decision not to film in Uganda was in the end made by the BBC to protect its own staff from what were regarded as "unnecessary

I spent considerable energy and time trying to persuade the BBC to change its mind, and the Corporation was about to relent when two expatriates were killed in Uganda under the second Obote Administration, It was then more definitively decided by the BBC that it would be asking for trouble to have ten white people running around the Ugandan countryside, equipped with cameras and accompanied by a greying middle-aged African! We would be an obvious target - it was thought!

And so, in spite of my plea that Uganda had taught me more about politics than any other single country in the world - and in spite of my ten happy and wonderful years in that country – the television project finally over-ruled me about filming in Uganda.

After all, when we were filming in Southern Sudan, fifty Government troops accompanied us for protection! We were never sure whether the fifty troops would attract an attack from

it the as Sudanese necessary People to film 's Li in beration "too CEny Army dangerous (SPLA) situations" or discourage for it! a cumentary The BBC did series not regardlike (Of course BBC news crew are expected to take greater risks, but different rules apply to documentaries.)

Omari Kokole went to Uganda in September to present on both our behalf our joint paper entitled, "Uganda: The Dual Polity and the Plural Society" at a conference on "Internal Conflicts in Uganda", The conference had support from the Uganda Government and Makerere

University and was sponsored by a London-based charitable organization called International Alert, I was sorry to have to miss the conference because of a clash with a meeting in Paris of the Bureau of the UNESCO General History of Africa, (At the UNESCO meeting we were at last able to approve 27 out of the 30 chapters of Volume II the volume of which I am editor,)

In August I managed to take my three sons Jamal, Al 'Amin and Kim - to their Kenyan ancestral home, Mombasa. Kisauni, Takaungu, and Malindi were also featured in the coastal itinerary. It was a superbly successful trip, The boys had not been to Mombasa in nine years. Everybody was excited to see them. Although much of our time in Mombasa was spent in the old city where our extended family is concentrated, my nephew Adil insisted on our spending a few days in rented chalets on the beach. We did some swimming in the sea - and were later fed some exotic creatures from the ocean (including octopus

and shark steak), I had no inhibitions about eating these sea creatures. It reminded me of the day in West Africa when I was unable to eat land creatures (monkey stew and

bush rat soup) - while my BBC producer (himself English) ordered rat soup with a cold beer. However, as a guest of my Kenyan publisher Henry Chakava in Nairobi this last August I did enjoy zebra steak.

My second trip to Kenya in 1987 was in connection with an interesting professional association called Organization of Young Presidents (meaning corporate presidents of business firms). This organization is mainly Western and heavily American. Membership is open to people who become presidents in their thirties, Membership ceases for those who reach the age of fifty. Every year the organization holds something like summer or spring courses which they call "University of Presidents", This year the summer course

was being held in Africa for the first time. I gave the Keynote Address for the Academic opening of the "University for Presidents". His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya gave the Opening Speech at the State Opening of the University the next day. Moi had just arrived back from the Commonwealth Conference of Heads of State and Government in Vancouver. Rumour has it that when he emerged from his jet at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi, the Kenya Head of State said at a Press Conference: "I hear that a thousand young Presidents have descended on Nairobi! 't let that confuse you. You all know there is only one real president! 't Other celebrities who later

addressed the young presidents in Nairobi included the glamorous socially-committed actress Stefanie Powers. I was delighted to meet her and to chat with her.

But while it was stimulating to be exposed to a new concept of “university”, I did miss the University of Jos a lot in 1987. My next visit to Jos was originally intended to coincide with an audience to be arranged with the Head of State, President Ibrahim Babangida. I was then to see the President in Lagos and then proceed to Jos – or the other way round. But for a number of reasons, both events have been postponed,

Meanwhile, I do wish all Nigerians and my friends in Jos success and happiness in 1988.

I am not sure how much of my TV series President Babangida has seen. However, when we first met in 1985 he did say he was familiar with some of my written works. The TV series had indeed been debated by others in Nigeria – as it has also been debated in neighbouring Cameroon. Over twenty countries have far bought *The Africans: A Triple*

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Heritage from BBC television. What has hurt the most is that my own country (Kenya) is not among those countries that have sought it. I am told that the Kenyan television authorities have decided that *The Africans* is “politically too hot” (whatever that may mean). I hope the authorities find it possible to reconsider that decision. After all, the series has been shown in neighbouring Uganda. I understand it has also been shown in neighbouring Zanzibar, Zaire was the first African country to show *The Africans*. Let us hope Kenya will soon join those ranks.

The former Princess Elizabeth of Toro is now Uganda’s Ambassador to Washington, D.C.. are in touch once again. We were all saddened by Gertrude’s tragic death in an air crash. So youthful and dynamic. A sad and abrupt end. I knew him also, but more briefly than I have known the Princess.

The Kibiris were also plunged into grief towards the end of this year. Maureen Kiberu had travel led with me when I went to Kenya for the “University for Presidents”. But her real purpose was to cross the border into Uganda and go home. Her grandmother (on her father’s side) was very ill. Maureen managed to see Grandma before the old lady died. Maureen represented Brenda, as well herself, in these poignant farewells. We are all greatly saddened by Grandma’s death.

In her studies in the United States Maureen has transferred from Cleary College to Marygrove College. From Marygrove it will be easier for her to transfer to the University of Michigan subsequently. Meanwhile, her sister, Brenda, had entered her second year of her programme in Master of Business Administration at Wayne State University. Brenda sounds so sophisticated these days in computer-lingo! I feel positively “innumerate”! My second son, Al’Amin, did have the temerity to register for my course on Current Problems in World Politics! We were not sure what university rule against such a teacher-student relationship was violated! We did not ask! We just made sure I did not have to grade his examination. Fortunately the course had nearly 250 students – and Al’Amin was almost lost in the crowd! I let my teaching assistant do the grading.

After Al’Amin was successful in the course I am pleased to report from a detached distance!

Kim, my youngest son who is also at the University of Michigan, decided to leave Dad’s courses well and truly alone!

Al’Amin and Kim have shared courses taught by another professor – a favourite teacher in philosophy and logic. The boys are getting exposed to the rich inheritance of the world of

ideas . It is reassuring to hear them debate philosophical issues

Manreen, Al 'Amin and Kim helped me entertain Munir and Huda Mazrui when the couple visited us from Mombasa. It was the couple's first trip to the Western world. Jamal and Brenda joined us later before the visiting couple departed for Washington D.C. (and from there for New Jersey). Munir (my nephew) and Huda (my cousin) had looked after us so often in Mombasa it was lightful to entertain them for a change here in Michigan.

Jamal, my eldest son, continued his graduate work at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University – and once again won a Kennedy scholarship. He remained active in a number of students' activities at Harvard. He met a number of public figures who made

presentations at Cambridge, Ms., including the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

I was rather upset to hear of the sudden death of the Mayor of Chicago, Harold Washington. In 1986 he held a special reception in my honour and in tribute to The Africans . He declared October 6, 1986 "The Day of The Africans ". And he gave a police escort to O'Hare Airport when I was leaving Chicago. Hanging proudly in my office is his signed tribute to me and to The Africans. We shall miss him.

Curiously enough, many people thought Harold Washington and I looked alike. Once on a plane in the USA, a white American passenger left his own seat to come and ask me if I was related to the Mayor of Chicago. The passenger held a newspaper with Harold Washington's photograph! Some of my BBC colleagues who filmed in Chicago also thought the mayor could - if need be - substitute for the presenter and narrator of The Africans : A Triple Heritage!

In the spring of 1987 I was honoured by Bridgewater State College in Massachusetts with a doctorate in political science (honoris causa). The honorary doctorate was again a tribute to both my television work and my university career. I was flattered by the gesture .

Professor Vernon Domingo from South Africa had a lot to do with the nomination. I am grateful to him and to the college authorities for this positive response.

My association with Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, has begun. Different parts of the University have regarded me as a resource person. I was delighted to give the Keynote address at the annual meeting of the African Literature Association of the United States held at Cornell. My theme was on "The African Writer and the African Epidemic" . I also had dinner with Carl Sagan and Ann Druyan at their elegant home - and compared notes about the state of the world and of film-making with them. A great evening ! Another part of Cornell invited me separately to a conference on Islam in World Affairs . I gave a lecture on "Islam: Between Theology and Technology" Actually, it is amazing how quickly I have been identified as a specialist on Islam, as well on Africa. The BBC flew me into London from the USA specifically to take part in a television programme on "Politics, Nationalism and Religion; The Case of Islam". I was the only Muslim on the programme. It was part of a series of intellectual programmes under the general heading of "THINKING ALQJ".

A separate invitation came from Third World Quarterly (London) asking for an article on Islam in sub-Saharan Africa. It will appear in April 1988. I have also been invited by the Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies to give the 1988 Manzur Qadir Memorial Lecture in Lahore, Pakistan, in November 1988.

A separate invitation from the University of Jordan in Amman has also arrived. (The Africans has indeed been televised in Jordan) .

On the other hand, my visit to Beijing in China in 1987 had nothing to do with the television series. I was taking part in a massive international conference in the Great Hall of the People. The theme was "Advertising in the Third World". There were about a thousand participants. The conference was co-sponsored by the Government of the People's Republic of China (foreign trade departments) and South Magazine in London, I was among those chosen to be introduced to the Head of State of China a war hero in the struggle against the Japanese. In addition to these academic and ceremonial events, I did manage to sample the tourist attractions the Great Wall, Forbidden City, etc..

But the most unexpected thing that happened to me in China was running into a childhood friend of mine. No, he was not Chinese! In Beijing he was the Ambassador of His Majesty the Sultan of Oman! But when we were children we were Swahili boys swimming in the Indian Ocean along the coast of Kenya. Much later Farid Hinawy migrated to Oman where he joined the foreign service. In Beijing in 1987 he took me to his house for a good meal. No, not Chinese cuisine, but authentic Swahili cuisine in the middle of China! Can you imagine? We enjoyed the excitement of incongruity. Also at lunch was another East African, This one had lived in China for over twenty years - partly involved in China's Swahili Broadcasting service. Ndugu Said's children spoke Chinese more fluently than

Kiswahili !

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I had gone to China almost directly from Oxford, where I had the privilege of giving four lectures on "Islam in African Society" under the sponsorship of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. The Center and St. Cross College were superb hosts. Farhan Nizami, the Center's Director, along with his family and staff, were simply tireless in looking after me. Oxford being what it is, I was not allowed to get away with only four lectures in two weeks! The Oxford Africa Society wanted its share of me so we had a showing of something from The Africans and I answered questions. The Alastair Buchan Club of World Affairs invited me to give an evening performance and I spoke on "Superpower Ethics:

A Third World Perspective". There was also a Pan-African conference in the Oxford Union which I addressed. Seven public performances in two weeks (apart from Press interviews) were Oxford's pound of flesh from one of its own sons! A cruel but lovable place !

Even at my age one still comes across one's own old teachers! It was particularly pleasant to see Kenneth Kirkwood (now Professor Emeritus) and Kenneth Robinson (back at Nuffield College). Robinson was a less direct mentor. Each took me to his college for dinner. (Nuffield was my own college also). As for former students of mine, Abisi Sharakiya (once at Michigan) provided an especially memorable reunion. He and his Israeli wife gave me a splendid dinner at their home - and lots of food for thought as well! They are probably in Israel by now - at least for a while. But they had aspirations to settle in the United States eventually.

Apart from Britain and France my European ventures during the year included a lecture at the University of Amsterdam, Holland, sponsored by their Centre for Race and Ethnic Studies. I spoke on "Racism, Resistance and Underdevelopment". I had earlier attended a meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, of the International African Institute (IAI). I was elected Vice-President of the Council of the Institute a great honour indeed. Our next meeting of the IAI may be in Zambia in 1988.

In the course of the year I started my work as an expert advisor to the United Nations

Commission on Transnational Corporations. We had a valuable meeting at the United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations in New York City. I have been busy trying to catch up with the documentation.

Nike and Kunle Adebisi, Ron Scott and myself spent a lot of time in 1987 discussing forming an Agency called Legacy Productions, Inc. The idea is to try and market African cultural and artistic talent to the World Media. In our small way this could be the cultural side of the New International Information Order.

I have accepted an invitation to serve on the Council of Advisors on Africa newly created by the World Bank, The Council's first meeting will take place in Washington in January 1988. It is an interesting opportunity, hopefully effective. Wish us luck.

I had two trips to Canada in the course of the year. The first one was to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Canadian African Studies Association at their convention in Edmonton, Alberta. The organizers originally intended by bringing Basil Davidson and myself together to engage in a dialogue on Africa in relation to our two television series. Considering that many people regarded the two TV series as rivals, the dialogue could have become quite exciting. Unfortunately Basil could not make it for some reason. So the Canadians cast me in the role of closing the conference after all – along with two other speakers. Of course, I met many Canadians at the conference. But I was impressed by how many East Africans were also there – some of them either former students at Makerere in Uganda or former colleagues, Ahmed an important presence in Edmonton.

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My second visit to Canada in 1987 was for a one-day Conference on "Peace, Food Security and Development" held in - of all places - the House of Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. The conference was sponsored mainly by non-governmental organizations such as the Canadian World Food Day Association but also by the Canadian International Development Agency. In a sense, it was liberal democracy at its best.

demonstration was going on outside the House of Commons against Canada's policy towards Haiti. Within the House was our conference, full of denunciations of Canadian sale of arms to Third World countries and Canadian policies on food to poorer countries. And yet we were doing all this as guests of the Canadian legislature within their own buildings. The impressive situation struck M&iddin also, who once again was a major presence at a Canadian event. He seemed to have made many friends among Canadians.

We were all shocked by the tragedy which hit his former wife and mother of his children, Lisa. Lisa had brain hemorrhage and brain damage while she slept and went into a terminal coma. At the time that I was with M&iddin at the House of Commons early in December, Lisa had not recovered consciousness and was hooked up to a machine for breathing in an Edinburgh hospital. When I went to Scotland the previous summer (of 1986) to address a meeting at the University of Edinburgh, Lisa had taken the initiative to take me home to see the M&iddin children and to meet her new husband, Frank. I shall remember her on that farewell afternoon with her children. It now seems more poignant than ever.

Although all my children are products of three civilizations (Africa, Islam and the West), they had been Kenyan in nationality. However, one of them has now decided to be an American. We have had African Mazrui and Arab Mazrui across the centuries, but now we are just beginning to have American Mazrui! Needless to say, this change in citizenship will not make any difference in family relationships. It will simply mean that one

of us, Jamal, will now be able to participate in choosing the next president of the United States in 1988 - for better or for worse! We extend our prayers and best wishes on this special occasion of naturalization.

Did you know that when young Kwame Nkrumah was applying for admission to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in the 1930s he quoted the following words from Tennyson in his letter to the Dean?

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

Well, the first woman president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania is Niara Sudarkasa, a former colleague at the University of Michigan and a distinguished anthropologist. Her installation as president was a truly grand affair which included a star-studded colloquium on the theme of relations between Black America and Africa. The ghost of Nkrumah must have nodded in approval. I was delighted to participate in the colloquium. Godfrey Uzoigwe came from Calabar University in Nigeria - but in order to represent his alma mater, Oxford University, in the presidential procession! Anyhow, it all a great celebration! Earlier in the year I was briefly a Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia where I was enthusiastically received. There too I was in Kwame Nkrumah's shadow - for he was educated there, as well at Lincoln. Professor

Jacqueline Wode was the driving force behind my visit.

In November I gave the Keynote Address at the annual meeting of the National Council on the Social Studies in Houston, Texas. My theme was “Teaching and Learning for the 21st Century: A Third World Perspective”. The audience included a very wide range of teachers. Brenda Kiberu had a chance to accompany me to New Zealand in October but she blew it! I had been given a choice by the University of Otago in New Zealand between one first-class ticket and two economy (or coach) tickets. I let Brenda decide. At first she was tempted - but then her midterm examinations at Wayne State University assumed greater priority! I went to New Zealand on my own.

The trip had its mishaps. The airplane pilot at the San Francisco stop discovered a fault in the aircraft after she had started accelerating on the runway. She aborted the take off in a thunderous crescendo (Yes, the pilot was a woman, as I later discovered from another member of the crew.) She was right to have aborted the takeoff - for 214 hours later they had still not managed to repair the fault. I had to take another flight to New Zealand rather late for our meeting. But at the meeting it was particularly pleasant to catch up with old friends such as Rajni Kothari from India, Carl Freiherr von Weizsacker (distinguished physicist and philosopher and brother to the President of the Federal Republic of Germany) and Inga Thorsson (former Swedish Ambassador to the United Nations), I had seen Rajni earlier in the 1980s, but I had not seen either Carl or Inga in more than fifteen years. Although Carl is more than 70 years old, he is still capable of going for a six-mile walk. He did just that while we were in New Zealand. I bowed my head in both shame and admiration! Ashamed of myself and dazzled by Carl!

I was told in New Zealand that *The Africans* was going to be televised early in the new year. In anticipation of the showing I agreed to give advance interviews to both radio and television. The TV series will also be shown in Australia.

At the African Studies Association meetings in Denver this year, there were two panels explicitly and exclusively devoted to my TV series, Isaac Mowoe of Ohio State

University and his colleagues were at the centre of this initiative. I am only sorry I was not able to go to Denver for the annual ASA meetings, but I do look forward very much to reading those papers on The Africans. One was on religion and how I had treated it in the series; another seems to have been about my concept of "rhythm" and my literary style, a third was on the impact of the series in the U.S.A., etc.

My children's maternal grandmother, Ethel Vickerman, celebrated her eightieth birthday in

Yorkshire. Jamal, Al 'Amin and Kim managed to join her for the event on our way back from

Mombasa. It seems to have been a grand Yorkshire occasion involving three generations Ethel, the young Mazrui, and Ethel's other daughter, Rita, with her husband, Gerry, and their children. Molly Mazrui had seen her mother earlier in the year.

The Southwark Black Workers Group entertained me to dinner in London. I followed it with a lecture at Southwark Town Hall on "The AIDS Epidemic and Africa's Triple Heritage: Some Cultural Implications". My talk was co-sponsored by the International Association of African Lawyers. The Southwark Town Hall was packed to capacity - mainly (but not exclusively) by Black Londoners. After my lecture the debate was intense - with more

than one conspiratorial theory about AIDS and the racial question. I learnt a lot at the meeting. Errol Reid was my conscientious and committed host for the Southwark occasion. Earlier on the same day I had addressed the Royal Africa Society. The event could not have been more different, The Society's luncheon at the centre of London (with George Bennett as my gracious host) was very middle class, sedate, somewhat academic, and held in an elegant room, I was impressed by the very different kind of social and intellectual interaction.

In Rio de Janeiro the following month I gave a lecture on "A Triple Heritage of Education in Africa; Indigenous, Islamic and Western Approaches". I was addressing a plenary session of the 6th World Congress of Comparative Education. It was good to be back in Brazil, but I was alarmed when I discovered that I had not brought my high blood

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pressure medication! I phoned Michigan. An alliance between Brenda and my Secretary, Mary Breijak, ensured that the Brazilian Airline brought the medication urgently from the

USA to Rio! All was well for the rest of the conference!

My lecture at the State Department, Washington, D.C., in September unfortunately coincided with the visit to Washington of the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze. My lecture was in the Open Forum Series of the Secretary of State, but the Soviet visit was too much competition for me! There were only a handful of people to listen to - as I complained bitterly about "Superpower Ethics: A Third World Perspective". My complaint assumed additional poignancy in the large almost empty lecture hall at the State Department. And yet the meeting which left even more bewildered was held at the Eleanor Roosevelt Center in Hyde Park in New York. It was sponsored by the New York State Martin Luther King Jr. Commission, But although the conference was on the central issue of "The Roots of Racism", I was not quite sure what I was doing there. Somehow the format and chemistry of the conference did not suit me in the least. My only compensation was meeting Harry Belafonte and chatting with him over lunch. Otherwise I was like a proverbial fish out of

water - with no identifiable role to play. All very surprising considering the theme of the conference.

Old friends who visited me in Michigan during the year included J&In Chick, who was with us at Makerere nearly twenty years earlier. has since spent years in the South Pacific and is now based in Australia, It was wonderful to see him again - and to listen to his account of events and trends in the South Pacific, especially Fiji. Another visitor w Nuruddin Farah, the Somali novelist and former colleague at the University of Jos. He came to Michigan with his Canadian friend, Monique. Needless to say, Nuruddin had probably written two novels and one play since we were last together in (It is just conceivable that Nuruddin is the one East African writer who is more prolific than me!)

Old friends I stayed with during the year included Mari ce East and his wife. It w lovely to stay with them at their home when I lectured at George Washington University and George Mason University in Washington in April, Kim Baalawy in Mombasa, was, usual, a tower of strength when I and my children were in Kenya in August. I saw Babu Naaman for what turned out to be the last time when he said goodbye to me at Moi International Airport (Mombasa) also in August. In our late teens Babu was my closest friend in Mombasa, and remained a dear friend all his life. He died in November of a heart attack, I was deeply shaken when I got the news in Michigan, May his soul rest in peace . Amen

Last - but decidedly not least - I aust acknowledge basic debts of the year, My work du ring the year relied on a strong supporti ve team, Mary Brei jak, my new secretary, has had her ordeal by fire - and emerged She has been coping with my endless output surprising even herself by what she could get through! Judy Baghn has continued to assist me with aspects of my travels and complicated itinerary. I cannot take a step withoat checking with Judy fi rst! Research help has come, as always, from my indefatigable friend, ONri Kokole. This last year help has also come from Nike Adebiyi, especially in relation to the UNESCO General History of Afri cas With my teaching obligations at Michi gan I have been helped by Scott Anglemeyer, Dale Tatum, as well as by Omari and Nike, Leonard Suransky was also gracious enough to give some

guest lectures to my classes. The Departnt of Political Sci ence and the Center for Afroamerican and Afri can Studies have provided the financial support, The secretarial staff of the two uni ts - especially Shalane Shelley and Vanessa Si - also often came to my rescue, Bless them all,

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Walter Allen, Nesha Haniff and (a little earlier) Shirley Clarkson were invaluable advisors about proposals for research grants. Nesha has been espec ially active in the latest proposal. As the Christian saying goes, we have our fingers crossed!

At home Brenda Kiberu and her sister Mm reen did much more than keep the house ticking. They helped to send cables abroad, reassure irate creditors, deal with varied phone ca IIS, drove me around in the car - as well do their own work as stu dents! Why did Maureen and Brenda have to drive me around? Because, after all these years, I still can't drive a oar! Can you imagine? What is more, it is not out of fear of assassination! ! Are you still reading this letter? If so, you tm.ast have read many postgraduate theses and dissertations in the past! (Also undergraduate theses ?) Bless you for your patience ! With all good wishes for the festive season and for the new year to you and your loved

ones.

Yours warmly,

Ali A. Maz ru i

Newsletter 11, Eve of 1989, The Glory and the Sadness

Ali A. Ylazrui
2104 Pauline Blvd. , No. 307
Ann Michigan 48103
U.S.A.
E'...e of 1989
FAZRJI
To Friends and Relatives :

Dear all:

The Glory and the Sadness

Here is the Mazrui Navsletter again! friends have been to debate whether newsletters will help or hinder future biographer! SO)IE people write a daily diary; I write an annual naqsletter. Vtlich is the more revealing of the author? A daily recording of experiences or an armual distillation of inpressions? Of course both are forms of conceit and both are rooted in the sin of pride what

John Milton called "that last infirmity of the noble mind."

In sorre ways 1988 was the rrnst painful year since t-vn of children lost their eyesight and their parents broke-up, But 1988 was also a year of netA1 *professional recognition and a widening intellectual constituency in the vorld. ffhe anguish was personal and familial; the recognition was in the public dojnain. ffhe glory and the sadness intertwined.*

Since the festive season is upon us, let me begin with some items of family joy. My eldest son, Jannl, graduated handsoly from Harvard with a nester l s degree in public policy. Brenda Kiberu graduated with a ster/s degree in business administration from Wayne State University, Detroit. My middle son, Al 'Amin, bought and drove his car at last (albeit a used car) . Kim, my youngest ceased to be a teenager - hitting Big-Tnty in November 1988! Al r Amin became a full adult hitting twenty-one in Ph.rch. And Maureen Kiberu succeeded her sister as the boss in humble abode in Ann Arbor. (Brenda Kiberu has nc%a,' taken a job in Detroit and lives there, but she visits us from time to time.)

My own happy nev,E includes receiving the University of Michigan's highest academic recognition - the Distinguished Faculty Achievement Award. The award was made by President Duderstadt of the University at a nEjor official cereny)ny which included the President's own Inaugural Address about "The State of the University. It was a proud monent for By coincidence 1988 vvas the 25th anniversary of the start of my academic career as a lecturer at Makerere University in Uganda way back in 1963. ffherefore the Michigan Award was in a sense a Silver Jubilee celebration of the launching of nry academic career. I am greatly indebted to all those who wrote strongly to The University of Michigan in support of my being given the award. I am also grateful to my Michigan students for their support, especially Dale Tatum for leading the student initiative in support of nomination. Mary Breijak and Lili Kivisto vere martyrs in putting together the nzssive doc-unentation needed. It was indeed a mont of glory for IIE.

But 1988 was also the year when sister Biasha (Aisha) died. She was the only one of my siblings close enough to been playmate when vre little.

All my other siblings vere either too old or too young to have been playmates. was the youngest of nry' mther's children but not the youngest of father! s. We all had only one father;

but had different mothers. father was polygamous, but mother had only one son.
last conversation with Aisha was on the telephone. I was in Ann Arbor and she was dying in
hospital. She passed away days later. All our games together as children came back to in a flood
of nostalgia. I broke down several times and wept. She was not the first of parents' children to
die. But she was the first to die in my lifetime. Will be next? I have a point in response to that
hypothetical question also! May her soul celebrate in peace as she joins our parents. Amen.
A very different agony for me in 1988 was Brenda's departure from our home in Ann Arbor. She
completed her education. That was a happy conclusion, But she was also about to begin her
career in the job market. That was a mixed blessing. It meant her leaving our home. There were
also other reasons she had to leave home. I understood the necessity for the departure. Indeed, I
encouraged her departure. But it was very painful all the same.
Fortunately, her sister, Aureen, decided to stay and look after me. And since the two sisters are
close friends, the links between Brenda's home in Detroit and our home in Ann Arbor have
remained strong. The two sisters speak on the phone every day of the week, and visit each
other at least once a week. And whenever I am out of town or out of the country, Aureen spends
some of the nights at her sister's apartment.

In addition to Aisha's death and Brenda's departure, I experienced a political agony in 1988.
This concerned the uncertainty about my political status in my own country, Kenya.
Periodically there are rumors that I am in disfavor with my government. In 1987 there were
even rumors that I might be detained if I arrived in Kenya. But President Daniel arap Moi
gave a categorical assurance in 1987 that there was no substance to the rumors. I went to
Kenya on a visit in 1987, and nothing untoward happened.

But something unusual happened in March 1988. It took place in Harare
Zimbabwe. I was giving a keynote address at a conference on the children of
Southern Africa. The meeting was sponsored by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
and Mrs. Robert Mugabe, the First Lady of Zimbabwe. Also at the meeting was Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o,
the Kenyan novelist and dissident. Ngũgĩ and I had attended other international conferences
together before, and had even been photographed together. Indeed, when Ngũgĩ was detained
in Kenyatta's era, I took part in a demonstration outside the Kenyan High Commission (i.e., the
Kenyan Embassy) in London. And yet until March 1988 the Kenyan authorities had
distinguished style of public criticism of the Kenyan government (which focuses on policies
and actions) from Ngũgĩ's mode of public dissent (which focuses on the entire system). The
Kenyan authorities until March 1988 also distinguished between criticism by an individual
citizen (like myself) and the opposition of an organized political movement (like Ngũgĩ's).
But in March 1988 the Kenyan High Commission in Harare protested to against both Ngũgĩ's
aid my participation at the meeting. The High Commission also instructed other Kenyans at the
meeting to withdraw from the conference - thus ordering the withdrawal of the "Kenyan
delegation" except Ngũgĩ and myself. Never before had the authorities taken such an overt
and officially negative position against me.

If this was March 1988, and I had been in Kenya less than five months before that (October
1987), what had happened between the dates? In March 1988 I had given a keynote address in
Harare following President Mugabe's speech to a conference. In October 1987 I had given a
keynote address in Nairobi before President Moi's speech to a similar international conference.
roles in the two conferences were almost identical. And yet role in Harare provoked an
official protest from the Kenyan authorities; role in Nairobi received full official legitimacy,

VQ-xat had happened in those five months to strip me of official acceptability?

I subsequently wrote to the Kenyan authorities seeking clarification. I never got an official explanation for what happened in Harare. But I have got an unofficial reassurance through the informal net-work that the Harare incident was a "I am relieved by this naqs. While I am indeed a critic of many of government's actions and policies, and have written to the President himself in protest from time to time, I do not see myself as an enemy of Irw government. commitment is to moral reform rather than to political overthrow.

In October I went to Uganda only for the second time since I resigned from &kerere. You will never guess the topic of my public lecture in Kampala - "Banking and Money"! My host was the Central Bank of Uganda. The governor of the Bank is old friend a-Id forrper student, Suleiman Kiggundu. I was invited to give the first Joseph Mubiru Annual Dkmorial Lecture, named after the first governor of the Bank. Joseph Mubiru was murdered, apparently on Idi Amin's orders, in the 1970s. In the early 1960s I did Joseph Mubiru were both students in N3N York City. We got to each other at International House on Riverside Drive. His subsequent tragic fate (disappearance, probably torture and then murder) wounded us all spiritually.

lecture in Mubiru's honour in 1988 was attended by one of the largest audiences I have ever had. The lecture took place at the International Conference Center in Kampala, the largest such hall in the country. The conference hall was filled to capacity - with outside still struggling to come in. I was deeply nn.zed by the interest I still aroused in Uganda. was a prodigal son coming back home. I was humbled by this expression of enthusiasm. I a legend in Uganda? I certainly felt as if I re on that eve of independence day in Kampala in 1988. God bless Uganda. Anen.

President Yoveri Museveni was nnst gracious the previous night 9hen I went to State House in Entebbe to have supper with him and the First Lady. I had a very stimulating conversation with the Musevenis on a wide range of issues, from agriculture in Uganda to my theory of the "winter gap" as a partial apla.nation for technological underdevelopment in tropical Africa (see chapter eleven in book The Africans: A Triple Heritage) . On the basis of television series, President

Museveni observed I had "moved to the left" ideologically since my old Plakerere days. I countered by jokingly suggesting that he had himself 'tilDved to the right" as a result of holding state responsibilities! We teased each other on ideology.

The next night I had dinner with Nalongo Edith Kiberut Brenda's and &ureen's mother. That was indeed one of the highlights of visit to Uganda. Nalongo (the title means "mother of twins") cooked a wide range of terrific dishes for Ire . I fully indulged myself . I loved that special family evening. The conversation was in Kiswahili, Luganda and English. third major dinner in Uganda was Makerere-related. It was hosted by Governor Kiggundu and his wife Remi at their home. &kerere friends present at the dinner included Vice-CYEnce1Jor George Kirya and Head of the Political Science depart11Ent Apolo Nsibambi. An even older friend of mine, Abu &yanja is Deputy Prine Minister, also graced the occasion, accompanied by his charming new wife. Issa Lukwago, a former student of mine from old &kerere days, had taken charge as guide and local planner since I arrived in the country. As my guide he was assisted by Rveyemarn.l Reikiza. Issa and his wife re also at the dinner hosted by Suleiman and Remi

that night. It was wonderful to catch up with Makerere gossip before visit to the campus the following morning.

But what is a former British colony without some afternoon tea? I had tea with Ugandan royalty - old mzee, Prince Badru Kakungulu, uncle of the late Kabaka. There are other people in the Prince's Court. Prince Badru and I indulged in a lot of nostalgia about the old days. He knew a lot of relatives (some of them dead) in the old part of Mombasa.

In November 1988 I gave the fourth Manzoor Qadir Memorial Lecture in Lahore, Pakistan. Manzoor Qadir was a distinguished jurist, internationalist, and advocate of civil rights. My common lecture was on "The Nuclear Option in the Third World".

Some African and Islamic Perspectives. Previous lecturers in the series included Michael Manley, the former Prime Minister of Jamaica, and Nadia Hujab, the distinguished Palestinian intellectual.

I also gave a lecture in Islamabad on the subject of "Africa, Islam and the West: A Confluence of Cultures". The lecture in the capital city was sponsored by the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad and by the Third World Foundation. Both lectures included a discussion of women as political leaders - which was very topical in Pakistan so soon after Benazir Bhutto's party emerged as the largest party after the first multiparty elections in the country in eleven years. Ms.

Bhutto became the first woman prime minister of a Muslim country.

Before going to Pakistan I had considered the possibility of seeking an interview with Benazir Bhutto - perhaps even arranging to have the interview fixed for one of the networks in the United States. But who was to host for the Manzoor Qadir Lecture in Lahore? Ijaz Hussain Batalvi, the Iran who prosecuted Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on a murder charge in 1977/8.

case for the prosecution was successful. The former Prime Minister was sentenced to death by the courts. General Zia, the military ruler had Bhutto, refused to commute the sentence. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was executed. Then in 1988 his daughter was elected to lead the government of the country. I could hardly ask the prosecutor of her late father to help get an interview with Ms. Bhutto.

Mind you, Ijaz Batalvi is an impeccable professional jurist. His role in the prosecution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto before the High Court of Lahore was strictly in the line of legal duty, not political vendetta. After all, Bhutto was charged with the crime of murdering a particular individual. He was not tried for such vague political offenses as "endangering national security" or "conspiracy". Ijaz Batalvi presented the prosecution's case of homicide - and won. the judges' verdict was justified or not is another matter.

I was in Islamabad I did see Zulfikar Bhutto's widow, Begum Nusrat Bhutto (Benazir's mother), But that was a casual encounter at the hotel where they were both staying. There was no interview of Begum Nusrat Bhutto by Mazrui, alas!

(Incidentally the Begum and her daughter are joint Chairpersons of the Pakistan People's Party).

Have you ever been in a section of an aeroplane when you were the only passenger? That is what happened to me on my way back from Pakistan. The portions of the journey from Karachi to London straightforward. It was the final segment from London to Detroit which really elevated to a splendid isolation. I was the only passenger in first class. This was the first time it had happened to me on an international flight.

I was assigned a stewardess exclusively to myself. It was up to me to say when

I was ready for dinner. theoretically, I could even decide whether the film in first class should be shown or not. (Logistically it was less easy, and so I had to put up with an aging Burt Lancaster on the screen) . Again theoretically I had the first class lavatories entirely to myself - but a few intruders from the business class kept on spoiling my monopoly - a kind of unofficial anti-Trust law (or did I mean anti-Trust "Law"?) Although my airline was Pan-African, flight attendant, as Gertrude, she knew much about Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu, all of which she had visited. sense of isolation in flight was mitigated by her readiness to combine formal service with informative conversation. Bless her .

My membership of Pan-African frequent travel scheme has benefited me handsomely. By 1987 I had accumulated so much mileage that three sons and myself received free roundtrip air tickets from Michigan to Mombasa and back. This year flew to Jamal Mazrui's graduation at Harvard mainly on the free tickets I had earned from Northwest Airlines. The system on the basis of number of miles accumulated. I travel so many thousands of miles every year that these free family tickets are among real I-earned fringe benefits! Jamal's Harvard degree was a Master's in Public Policy studies. We were all so proud of him. After graduation Jamal took a job involving computers in a telephone company in Massachusetts . His salary as a beginner was almost half present salary at The University of Michigan and more than his mother's salary as a language teacher with more than 25 years experience. Molly and I should have gone into the computer business - and averted this humiliation by our son in his first job ever ! Can you imagine? I wonder to go no. When I cannot make ends meet (a constant crisis in life!) .

Does this mean that Jamal has finished his education? He has not made up his mind about that yet. He may go back to Harvard or some other university for a doctorate. Or he may decide he has had enough as a student - and just continue as a self-paid computer expert ! Kim is getting to be more deeply interested in philosophy as preparation for legal studies. His ambition is to go to law school after his bachelor's degree here at Michigan. I have reminded him often enough that law is part of his family's tradition. But Kim will be the first Mazrui to practice Western law instead of Islamic law. Kim's grandfather (i.e. , father) was, after all, the Chief Kadhi or Chief Judge of Appeal under Islamic Law for the whole of Kenya during the colonial period.

Al : Amin, my middle son, does not seem to have made up his mind yet about his future career. His latest interest is business; but before that it was psychology. At his age there is still room for trial and error, for thinking out different possibilities in one's life. At the age of 21 Al or Amin is now a full adult. But at the age of 21 his father had not even gone to college yet. I 22 when I left Mombasa for Britain at last. So Al 'Amin still has time to make up his mind!

Psychology remains one of his favourites .

In the spring of 1988 Ohio State University honoured me again with an appointment as Distinguished Visiting Professor . I was more impressed than ever by how active on Africa the campus in Columbus was. There was a conference on Africa during my stay there, another conference on Black poetry-recital by Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel Laureate, and a debate between myself and Chester

Crocker, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs under the Reagan Administration. In addition I gave a public lecture on a separate day on "The AIDS Epidemic and World Order: An African Perspective. I ' During my stay I lived with Isaac and

Bobbie Ybwoe. They were wonderful and committed friends. Isaac's young sister, Rita, joined us from school before I left Columbus.

The Commonwealth Caribbean celebrated the 150th anniversary of effective emancipation from slavery. The Republic of Guyana in South America invited me to give the keynote address in the presence of the Head of State, President Desmond Hoyte. Also in attendance was General Yakubu Gowon, former Head of State of

Nigeria. The theme of address was "Collective Suffering in Caribbean History: From the Mandingo to the Enslaved. I took advantage of the opportunity to request

President Hoyte to restore to national legitimacy the name of the late distinguished Guyanese historical and political activist, Walter Rodney, (Rodney's most popular role internationally is though that is not necessarily his most important work as a historian.)

Walter Rodney (whom I knew when he was a lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam) was killed in 1980 by a bomb. Members of the ruling party of Guyana were suspected of this apparent assassination. My decision to raise the issue in 1988 in the presence of the leader of the party and Head of State was therefore tricky - not least because my keynote address was being broadcast live on the radio nation-wide. My appeal for restoration to national legitimacy was greeted by a thunderous applause from a large proportion of the immense audience at the meeting. Fortunately the President did not show any displeasure or embarrassment, but embraced warmly when I completed presentation. I was most impressed - and relieved - by the graciousness. But the real thing is reconciliation and national consensus in Guyana itself. I do hope President Hoyte continues to give consideration to persistent but sincere advice about restoring Rodney to national legitimacy.

General Gowon's participation in the celebrations in Guyana was given a high profile. He was treated virtually like a Head of State. He came to Guyana, leading a Nigerian delegation which was 50-strong (scholars, artists, dancers, actors, officials, etc.) . I believe this was the General's first international official mission on behalf of Nigeria since he was as the Head of State back in 1975. I was delighted to see the General again, although had in any case been keeping in touch over the years .

Trinidad and Tobago also marked the 150th anniversary of emancipation from slavery.

General Gonsalves and I also participated in the Trinidadian festivities. I hit the event as celebrated in Trinidad "paled" when compared with its national visibility in Guyana. The Trinidadian authorities seemed so anxious to avoid offending Indo-Trinidadians that they handled emancipation from slavery as an "Afro-

Trinidadian" event, instead of treating it as a national occasion. I believe the Nigerian delegation was offended by the casual way in which their former Head of State was treated. Of course, Gonsalves is not Head of State now. But neither is Prince Charles or the Duke of Edinburgh. There is a suspicion that the Trinidadian authorities would have treated the Prince and the Duke with something closer to the dignity of a Head of State than they apparently did with the former Head of State of Nigeria. But all these reservations concern the authorities of Trinidad rather than the people there. Privately individual Trinidadians showed great courtesy and hospitality. I was delighted to catch up with Selwyn Ryan professionally and to meet his new wife. They have a beautiful, large, on a hill overlooking the ocean. Lunch with them was against a spectacular setting. Justice Patricia Barnes was also most gracious in inviting me to dinner and assembling some distinguished Trinidadians to meet me. Also in was old friend, Sir Fred Phillips, former

Governor of St. Kitts. I met him first in the 1960s when he was a roving diplomat, who helped us in our diplomatic training at Makerere University in Uganda with the dawning of the era of independence. Fred and

the Carnegie for International Peace were pillars of strength in the diplomatic training. In Trinidad I met another old West Indian friend previously worked for the Carnegie - Reggie Dunne. It was good to catch up with Reggie. I met him briefly at Jamal's graduation from Princeton in 1986. One of Reggie's kids was also graduating then. I believe Reggie is now, Trinidad's Ambassador to the United States. Our best wishes to him in his new role.

A curious thing about visit to the Caribbean in 1988 was the degree of security protection I was provided in Guyana. Locksley Edmondson and I were accommodated in a special presidential guest house. That was closely guarded. But in addition I was assigned a kind of guide to accompany me whenever I left the safety of the guest house. Before long it began to appear that the guide was more like a security officer to protect than just a companion. Fortunately he was pleasant, sociable and intelligent. If he carried a weapon, it was very discreetly done.

Did Guyanese hosts feel that I needed special protection? I discussed the issue with some friends in Guyana. One theory was that my views about Walter Rodney were vulnerable from both the right and the left in Guyana. Another theory was that lecture about "Islam in Africa" was sponsored by one group of Muslims in Guyana who had adversaries elsewhere in the Guyanese Muslim community. Lecture about Islam was entirely different from the national assignment as keynote speaker. According to this theory, the authorities in Guyana did not want to be caught up in some sectarian feud. The third theory to explain the protection I was getting was that it was merely an extension of the security Guyana was giving to General Gorn. Until Miriam Makeba arrived, General and I were the most visible African guests to the national event in Guyana. Fortunately for us, Miriam Makeba came late - otherwise she could have been in popular in-age both Gorn and me! It would be helpful to have much security and protection Miriam Makeba received. Perhaps that would help to explain Guyana's security policy towards me as well.

I was in Guyana the Leader of the Opposition, Cheddi Jagan came to see at the Presidential Guesthouse where I was staying. Later on one of the newspapers in Guyana speculated that Cheddi had come to persuade on behalf of his party to intercede with the Head of State, President Desmond Hoyte, on specific matters of policy which the opposition was concerned about. The newspaper's speculation was entirely without foundation.

When he came to see me, Cheddi was simply but graciously visiting an African visitor to his country. We had in fact first met in Canada way back in 1966 when we were both speakers at a huge Toronto meeting on the theme of "Revolution and Response." Cheddi Jagan was already a world figure by then; I was only just beginning to attract international attention. It was great to see Cheddi again in 1988 - so spritely, alert and very well!

I visited in October 1988 under the auspices of the Soviet Institute of Political Economy and the World Order Models Project (VQ4P). The agenda focussed on the concept of sovereignty in the emerging global civilization. It was fascinating to enter into such deliberations with Soviet scholars in the era of glasnost. It was also gratifying to be with former colleagues of the World Order Models Project.

Gennadi Gerasimov, who is now the foreign affairs spokesman of the Soviet Union, used to be one such colleague in the 1970s. He is constantly on the television screens of the

explaining this or that aspect of Soviet foreign policy to the world press. We used to call him "Gene" in our old days thus Americanizing his more interesting Russian name. It was good to see him again in town this last October. It was particularly impressive to watch him perform at a press conference, answering questions from journalists of the world.

But perhaps most interesting experience in my life in 1988 concerned an encounter which sent me back in time. It was in 1971 that I attended a doctoral defence in Moscow. The candidate was a young woman who had written about Nigeria.

The defence was open to the public, and I was taken there with an interpreter of my own. I was impressed by the nature of the proceedings. Questions could be addressed to the candidate from the floor by any of the spectators. And the dissertation itself had been made available at a library prior to the defence so that the public could consult it in advance. The young scholar seemed to be answering the questions confidently - though I remember wondering why she was quoting Lenin so often the thesis was about Nigeria.

What has all this anecdote about an event in 1971 got to do with visit to Moscow in 1988? Well, at our conference on sovereignty in 1988 I got a message.

The messenger asked: "Do you remember attending a doctoral defence in the Soviet Union seventeen years ago?" I confirmed, the messenger told that the 1971 Ph.D. candidate would like to meet me. I had no idea that the candidate at that time even knew my name.

Admittedly, I might have been the only African in the audience at the doctoral defence. But it never occurred to me that the candidate would know my identity, let alone remember it for seventeen years afterwards. Anyway, we finally arranged in 1988 to have lunch together. It was delightful. Of course the candidate and myself were no longer mature scholars. I was delighted that she too was still involved in African studies (including Nigeria). She told that the community of Africanists had expanded in the USSR. Her Institute of African Studies consisted of three hundred scholars.

The Head of the Institute of African Studies is Professor Anatoly Gromyko, the son of the Soviet President who retired in 1988. The younger Gromyko and I have met at international conferences in both Europe and Africa. A colleague at the University of Michigan is a specialist on the Soviet Union told a year ago that Anatoly Gromyko had criticized in Pravda, apparently because I seemed to treat the Soviet Union and the United States with equal suspicion as superpowers, and have accused both countries of insincerity in the politics of disarmament.

The last time I met Professor Anatoly Gromyko was at the Fifth International Congress of African Studies held at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria in 1985.

Talking of Nigeria, I have missed it a lot lately. My appointment with the University of Jos has come to an end. It was with great reluctance that I bowed out of the arrangement, partly for family reasons here. But I hope to have a looser linkage with the University of Jos on some future date if the University would still be interested.

I am delighted to meet some Jos colleagues at conferences from time to time. And old departmental boss at Jos, Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, manages to telephone me occasionally, especially when he comes to the United States on one official business or another. I saw A. T. Gana and other friends at the World Congress of the International Political Science Association in Washington, D.C.,

In August I was in Lusaka, Zambia, to give the keynote address at the Sixth Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference on the theme of "Africa - Our Responsibility." President Kenneth Kaunda officiated at the opening ceremony and was the

Guest of Honour. Later on at State House the President paid me the supreme compliment of life - he thanked God for "giving Africa Ali Mazrui." The tribute was televised .

In addition to keynote address the conference organizers asked to give the 1980-81 lectures at the J.M. Mulungushi Conference Hall . The other lectures were similarly attended on a big scale. final lecture on conflicting ideologies in Africa provoked a lively debate in Zambia newspaper long after I had left the country.

I enjoyed a lot of Zambian hospitality during few days there, and was particularly looked after by Yusuf Limbada and his family. It was also great to see old educational ward, Obi Jackson Njovu. He is a soldier in the Zambian army, and was recently promoted. My best wishes to all Zambian friends, and to all the participants at the Islamic Youth Conference. I was delighted that series, The Africans, had been seen by so many people in Southern Africa.

Zambia, Zimbabwe and at least one of the South African so-called "homelands" had the series. The Africans was also televised in Libya in 1988. What is more, the country in Libya was in Arabic. The TV series needed enough of an impact on Libya that I was specially invited officially to visit Tripoli I went there in June, and was impressed by the Libyan version of and many political prisoners were released in March. And Qaddafi declared an open door policy for Libyans to come and go. Many Libyans actually packed their bags and left. On the other hand, many other Arabs decided to come to Libya and take over some of the jobs vacated. There has been a genuine relaxation in Libya - including readiness to resume diplomatic relations with neighbouring Chad.

While I was in Libya I also participated in a workshop on "The African Social Situation", sponsored by the African Centre for Applied Research and Training. The Centre is under the leadership of Dr. Duri Mohamed, the former President of the University of Addis Ababa. It was so good to see Duri again. His Centre in Libya is under the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, its head, Professor Adebayo Adedeji, also joined us at the workshop in Tripoli . I had not seen Adebayo for a while either. So Tripoli became a major reunion centre this June for old friends. In addition to the events directly connected with the workshop, were entertained to a feast by the Nigerian Ambassador to Libya.

Do you remember the minute-and-a-half of Qaddafi that I included in programme 9 of The Africans? That brief sequence caused a lot of controversy in the United States when the TV series was shown here. Indeed, that minute-and-a-half in nine hours of television was enough to have the TV series denounced as "pro-Qaddafi!" by the Head of U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities. Well, believe it or not, the brief sequence about Qaddafi was not, repeated shown in Libya! It had been deleted, On the other hand, the United States had attempted to distort my message about Libya by inserting a negative picture on terrorism into my Qaddafi sequence.

conclusion are to draw from this? That neither the United States nor Libya have gone far enough yet in either or

On the other hand, the 1980-81 TV series was honoured in 1988 by an American charitable organization dedicated to Africa. The organization is called Africare. The award was in recognition of my series' role in enhancing African awareness and understanding of Africa. The ceremony took place in Washington, D.C. . A number of African ambassadors to Washington attended the event, including the new Kenyan ambassador, Hon. Denis D. Afande, and the Ugandan ambassador at the time, Princess Elizabeth Bagaya (Nyabongo) . Later on the Princess invited to her official residence for a private lunch. I appreciated the opportunity

to catch up with her news, including fuller details about her husband was tragically killed in a plane crash in North Africa. I was later sorry to learn about Elizabeth's disagreements with her colleagues in government in Kampala. She ceased to be Uganda's ambassador. In addition to the Africare Award, The Africans won a number of other prizes in the course of 1988. Although the series has done very well in North Africa, Africa, the Caribbean, the Arab world and other places, it has not done so in continental Europe. The primary reason could be that European television had decided that one series on Africa was quite enough - and they had already bought the series called Africa, narrated by the distinguished British Africanist historian, Basil Davidson. The two series are entirely different from each other (partly because Basil and I, though friends, are two very different observers of Africa). This is quite apart from the distinction between a sympathetic outsider like Basil and a native of the continent like myself. Nevertheless, many continental European stations seem to have decided that one series about Africa was quite enough!

One result is that although my series has probably been shown in more countries of the world than has Basil Davidson's series, mine has been televised in fewer countries than Basil's. (Africa was available in the market earlier than The Africans, and seems to have therefore been bought sooner in Europe).

My work for the World Bank has got me more diverse. In addition to my membership of the World Bank's Council of African Advisors, I have had a number of invitations to address separately the bank on varied aspects of the African condition. I see my role with the World Bank in terms of my concept of counterpenetration - Africa's reverse influence on those whose decisions affect Africa's own destiny.

I went to Canada twice in 1988. First, I was to Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia where I gave one of the three prestigious annual Killam Lectures. My theme was futuristic - "Independent Africa: Does It Have a Future?" I also gave a short talk at the University's annual Africa Night festivity. In addition to host Tim Shaw, I met a lot of other old friends and made a few new ones. I also gave a lecture on human rights off campus - at a conference of young Black Canadians. One topic of conversation at Dalhousie was Onyiah Kokole, my young colleague at the University of Michigan. In 1988 he had at last defended his Ph.D. thesis at Dalhousie University. Everybody at Dalhousie was discussing what a superb defence it had been - a first-class occasion for all who were there. Congratulations, dear Kokole!

My second visit to Canada was made under the auspices of the African

Resource and Communications Centre in Toronto. Apart from making new Canadian and West Indian friends, I met a wide variety of Africans, including former colleagues of the University of Jos. Particularly exciting was seeing Goretti Mugambwa, who had just arrived in Canada from Jos. Vianney Bukyana - had arrived in Canada much earlier and who was also formerly of Jos - seemed to have truly settled in Ontario at last. While in Toronto I was also entertained by the African Workers Association of the city.

You will have noticed that all the lectures I have referred to have been outside the United States. In fact, I gave a very wide range of public lectures all over the USA. But precisely because of that they are too many to enumerate. The lecture provoked the latest debate was given right here at the University of Michigan, sponsored by the Palestine Solidarity Group. My topic was "Israel and South Africa: Strange Bedfellows or Natural Allies?" My lecture was debated on this campus for weeks after that. A militant pro-Israeli rightwing students' group even printed and distributed leaflets denouncing me as anti-Semitic. For an "anti-Semite" I certainly make strange choices! My private doctor is a Jew; my private lawyer is also a Jew. Of

course I did not choose them because of their ethnic origins - but the point is, I did not have to choose them at all! They have been highly valued doctor and lawyer for years. I wonder how many pro-Israeli Jews have an Arab doctor or an Arab lawyer by choice?

I have avoided invoking the statement "Some of our best friends are Jews", but that also happens to be true! I get disgusted with people cannot take criticism of Israel without resorting to the charge of "anti-Semitism."

Friends from Africa who visited the USA in 1988, and spent many hours with me, included nephew* Al-Amin Plazui, Negussay Ayele from Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia, and Nuruddin Farah, Somalia's distinguished novelist. It was to see them again and to catch up with their news. At the annual meeting of the African Studies Association of the United States I met a lot of other friends from Africa as including Abdulrahman Babu and Issa Shivji of Tanzania. Elsewhere in 1988 I also met William Julius K. Nyerere - but on a plane rather than on land! We were on the same flight from to Addis Ababa. It was our first meeting since he retired from the Presidency of Tanzania. William was very gracious on the plane I am sure he would have been equally gracious had he known that I had just described his entire socialist experiment as a "heroic failure" in lecture to thousands of people at the International Conference Centre in Kampala the day before. But in lecture I did emphasize the heroism even more than the failure.

I stressed William's honest effort and integrity.

Legacy Productions, Ltd., the ambitious enterprise have set up to promote African talent in the United States, has only just started to be active. We had serious discussions about projects with such African artists as Nuruddin Farah and such leading African businessmen as Chief Abiola. Under Legacy auspices I was also interviewed on television by the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in the USA. I also participated in a Philadelphia television project entitled "From Slavery to Space: The Black Experience." In Detroit I took part in a television debate about a futuristic but flawed TV series, Shaka Zulu.

With regard to this tradition of writing seasonal letters, Yash Tandon once theorized (half in jest) that my biographer would face the challenge of cut-and-paste! The biographer could cut and paste together paragraphs of Newsletters juxtaposing them from year to year. Unfortunately Newsletters belong to the post-Makerere phase of my life. I wonder what I would have said about Yash Tandon were both at Makerere in the 1960s? In 1988 I was delighted to see him and Mary and Hasu Patel and his wife, Diana, when I visited Zimbabwe for the UNICEF meeting. It is worth noting that I am now a member of the Pan-African Council of Advisors of the United Nations Children's Fund. Council was scheduled to meet again in Zimbabwe in December 1988, but unfortunately I could not go this second time.

I have a lot more to report about experiences in 1988. But I must bring this missive to an end! Was I able to do so many things in a single year? Because I had a very strong team at home base. Professionally, The Department of

Political Science and the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies at Michigan were very supportive. Plaxty Breijak and Judy Baum often went well beyond the call of duty in their spare time to help me secretarially. Onyiah H. Kokole is still a major presence in both my professional and my family life, Allah be praised.

research and teaching assistants this year included Dale Tatum, Nike Adebisi, Scott Angleyer, and Michael Coyne. And domestic life continued to depend overwhelmingly on the twin Kiburu women. This year it was Karen first and Brenda second, with their mother in

Kampala giving strong support . deepest gratitude to all members of team - mth near and far, including the temporary but enthusiastic assistants that Ohio State gas...ye in the spring.

We wish them, and you all, a very prosEERous and happy nevi year !

Yours warmly ,

Ali A. Idazrui

Newsletter 12, Eve of 1990, A Pentagon of Fate - A Self-Portrait

Ali A. Mazrui

River House

Apartment 3E 38 Front Street Binghamton, New York 13905 U.S.A.

Eve of 1990

MAZRUI NEWSLETTER

A SPECIAL EDITION!

For friends, relatives and colleagues:

A Pentagon of Fate: A Self -Portrait

The first thing you will have noticed on this page is my new address . I have moved! I am now in Binghamton, New York state! This is my most important move since I resigned from Makerere University to join the University of Michigan in the 1970s.

I need the prayers, good wishes and support of all my friends .

I am now Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities at the State University of New York (SUNY) at Binghamton. To mark this special event in my life, I am making this annual newsletter particularly comprehensive! Biographically, the letter may also be particularly revealing - for better or for worse! I do hope you have the stamina to read it through!

Whatever you decide to do with this newsletter, I do wish you and your loved ones a joyful and wondrous year ahead.

Because of my television series, *The Africans*, and my general obsession with the triple heritage, most of you probably believe that my favourite number is three - what I called "the trialectic" in a previous newsletter. I am indeed intellectually fascinated by the "trialectic" at work, as well as by Africa's triple heritage. However, my life has also been in the shadow of the numeral 5. In this sense, mine has been a pentagon of fate. This past year has been particularly illustrative of this pentafate. But in reality it all began with my being my mother's fifth born!

For much of my young life as a child I was also one of my father's five children. I was brought up a Muslim. Islam has five pillars of faith,

(a) Faith itself (the Shahada as witness)

(b) Prayer (five times each day)

(c) The Fast of Ramadhan

(d) The Tax of Zakat

(e) The Pilgrimage to Mecca.

I lived in the majestic shadow of these five pillars. I was indeed brought up to pray five times each day.

On the five fingers of my hand, I first learnt to count in an African language, Kiswahili: Moja, Mbili, Tat u, Nne, Tano. These first five are perhaps the most purely Bantu of all Swahili numerals . (Six, seven and nine are definitely Arabic. Eight though much changed could be Arabic.) In reality Swahili civilization (as distinct from Swahili language) is a product of five different civilizations. The primary basis of Swahili civilization is African and Islamic. These two are the deepest foundations . But Swahili cuisine and food culture have been profoundly influenced by the cuisines of India and South Asia. Swahili music has also felt the Indian impact in addition to the African and Arab influences.

Europe influenced Swahili civilization through both the

Latin and the Germanic streams of Western culture. The Portuguese arrived in East Africa with the Latin stream and ruled my home town of Mombasa for a while. At about the time of the American revolution in the New World, there was a small Mazrui revolution in Mombasa! My family took on the Portuguese militarily and succeeded in evicting them from their fortress, Fort Jesus. My family then ruled Mombasa as a city-state from the Portuguese fort for about a hundred years. Fort Jesus is now a museum. Portuguese influence on the Swahili language survives in such Swahili words as pesa (money), meza (table), sapatu (slippers), and shimizi (a woman's undergarment). Latin culture has also come through the French language in Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi.

The fifth culture which helped to forge Swahili civilization was the Germanic stream of the Western heritage encompassing German rule in Tanganyika until the end of World War I and

British rule in the region until the 1960s. I grew up when Mombasa and the rest of Kenya were under British rule. My anglicization began at school. I completed the Cambridge School certificate in Mombasa with passes in five subjects a mediocre performance. I finished high school in England and took five advanced level subjects in the General Certificate of Education well above average in effort. Two subjects would have been enough to get me admission to a university. I was subsequently educated in five different universities sometimes just taking courses, at other times taking degrees: University of Manchester (England), Columbia University (New York), University of Mexico (Mexico City), University of California (Berkeley), University of Oxford (England). A pentagon of educational fate.

Five countries I have lived in have profoundly affected my life and thought: Kenya (where I was born), Uganda (where I first became professor), Nigeria (where I have learnt much about

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Africa), Great Britain (where I got my first and final degrees), the United States (where I have learnt, taught and raised my children). A pentagon of national affiliation and nurturing.

In 1988-89 three universities in the State of New York independently considered me as a possible nominee for the Albert Schweitzer Chair - at a time when I was affiliated to two other universities (Michigan and Cornell). The number five was fractured in this case.

I have taught as a visiting professor in many places. But so far I have held non-visiting professorships only in five institutions: Makerere University in Uganda, The University of Jos in Nigeria, The University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Cornell University at Ithaca, and now my fifth university, the State University of New York at Binghamton. A pentagon of academic destiny.

As a Schweitzer unit we aspire to study or teach cultural forces in at least five major areas: (1) Race in North-South relations, (2) Religion in North-South Relations, (3) Language in North-South Relations, (4) Gender in North-South Relations, (5) The Culture of Production in North-South Relations. A pentagon of intellectual agenda. Although this appears to be an agenda resting on five pillars, in reality each is a compound of many forces.

I am superstitious about my links with Albert Schweitzer too. The year Schweitzer died in Central Africa is the year I became a full professor in East Africa. Was this a semblance of

reincarnation? The year Schweitzer died was also the year I first visited the United States as a professor. Was this a semblance of prophecy? The year Schweitzer died was exactly ten years after I left Africa for the first time to study abroad. Was there destiny in that? The year Schweitzer died had the figure five in it so did the year I left Africa for the first time. Schweitzer died in Africa in 1965. I left Africa for the first time in 1955. Was there fate in this?

Schweitzer's moral philosophy was based on the concept of reverence for life. Not long after Schweitzer's death I wrote a novel entitled *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* (published in 1971). The action was set in the Hereafter. The novel was predicated on the concept of reverence for the dead. At the end of the novel, an accused in a court of law in Heaven is sentenced to exile. A woman who loves him offers to accompany him into

exile.

the exile? It was back on earth! But where on this earth did Hamisi and Salisha spend their sentence? In a baobab tree in Africa. But where in Africa? My novel places the exile in Gabon where Schweitzer too spent his years in medical exile. His philosophy of reverence for life and my principle of reverence for the dead converged on the baobab tree in Gabon. And so it is that in a desolate part of Gabon, near a baobab tree, children sometimes hear voices reciting poetry to each other. It sounds like a man and woman, descended from heaven punishment.

"Then we must sing Tongue-tied, without name or audience, Making harmony among the branches."

I did visit five cities in Africa in 1989. My first African city of the year was Tripoli in Libya where I attended an international conference on "Ethnicity, Stability and SocioEconomic Development in Africa" sponsored by ACARTSOD, a subsidiary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Our main host was Dr. Duri Mohammed, whom I first met in 1983 when he was President of the University of Addis Ababa. Our other host was Professor Adebayo Adedeji who heads the ECA.

Unfortunately Colonel Muammar Qaddafi was unable to open our conference, partly because of the competing pressures of the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the Libyan revolution (Qaddafi overthrew King Idris in 1969).

My second African city in 1989 was Kampala where I addressed a Joint Seminar of Ministers and Permanent Secretaries. Apart from the fact that President Museveni was touring the North of the country, accompanied by at least five ministers, almost every other ministerial figure in Uganda, and almost every top civil servant, attended this remarkable seminar. The agenda was to discuss how to make the government more effective in its efforts to deal with the enormous problems of the country. I was one of five speakers brought from abroad to address what was otherwise an entirely Ugandan conference. The speakers from outside included Ghana's de facto Prime Minister, the Rt. Honorable Comrade Obeng.

The Press Club in Kampala also invited me to address it and then answer questions from the nation's journalists. The English language newspapers publicized my remark that although Yoweri Museveni was probably the best speaker of Kiswahili of all the presidents Uganda had had, Museveni was less committed to the promotion of Kiswahili in Uganda than Idi Amin had been.

The Uganda Press in Kampala preferred to publicize my remark that the fall of the Kabaka

in 1966 was not a revolution because the “Bastille” was torn down by ethnic “foreigners” rather than by the Baganda themselves. The King’s palace was attacked by Northerners under the leadership of the Kakwa, Idi Amin, rather than by the Kabaka’s subjects themselves.

My third and fourth African cities in 1989 were Nairobi and Mombasa. I had not been home to Kenya since my beloved sister

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Aisha, died in 1988. And in March of 1989 my best friend, Sharif f Abdalla Abubakar Baa lawy (Kim) had also died. To some extent I dreaded my visit to Mombasa after those deaths fearing that it would be a traumatic emotional experience. When another close friend of mine in Mombasa had died twenty years earlier in a road accident, I was emotionally so torn apart that I hovered over the brink of a nervous breakdown. I had actually needed psychiatric therapy from a doctor at Mulago Hospital in Kampala.

But fortunately by 1989 I was a much older man. I had also been disciplined by other tragedies in the intervening years from the death of my mother in 1972 to the anguish of my children going blind in 1979. These previous cruelties of life were, in a sense, a preparation for the agony of Aisha’s and Kim’s departure in 1988 and 1989. Every tragedy is a painful discipline which helps to prepare us for future anguish. Sister Aisha and Brother Kim, please rest in peace wherever you are.

My fifth African city in 1989 was Khartoum. I had a political mission as well as an academic one. The political mission was to address a national conference on problems of peace, consisting of Sudanese drawn from all regions and all walks of life, and held in the Great Hall of Friendship in the capital. The conference (officially known as “the National Dialogue”) subsequently submitted a Report to the Head of State, General Omer el Bashir, with a specific agenda for national reconciliation. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter was involved the following month in a pre-mediation effort to bring General El-Bashir into direct negotiations with John Gorung of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army in a neighbouring country. Prospects were not good.

I was delighted that President El-Bashir gave me an extended audience in October. Actually I had two separate sessions with him, covering a wide range of subjects about Sudan. I also added my voice to the appeals both for peace and for the release or fair trial of political prisoners, including the former Prime Minister Sadig el Mahdi. The President gave me a patient and gracious hearing. Some detainees were later released, but other forms of repression persisted.

But all was not politics on my 1989 visit to Khartoum. I also participated in an international symposium on “Cultural Dimensions of Relations Between Africa and the Arab World”. The conference was sponsored by the Association of African Universities, the Association of Arab Universities and the University of Khartoum. The symposium had a more substantial response from the Arab world than from Black Africa. There were a number of reasons for this imbalance. But was one of those reasons the sheer austerity and enforced sobriety of the city of Khartoum? Non-Muslim members of the jet-set prefer venues of conferences with lavish restaurants, carefree nightclubs and availability of alcohol in the evenings. Has Sudan’s capital become too austere for non-Muslims since President Numeiry initiated the neo-Islamic September laws? I am just speculating. Let us check the hypothesis against the level of attendance at the next session of the International Congress of African Studies, scheduled to take place in Khartoum in December 1990. I hope that I am wrong in

my fear that Khartoum has become too austere for the international academic jet set, including non-Muslim Black Africans .

The Angola Peace Fund, based in Washington, D.C. invited me to a one-day symposium on "Reconciliation in Angola:

Perspectives on Africa's Future" . Guess how many people were scheduled to speak? Yes , five in all . Andre Franco de Sousa, one of the founders of MPLA (now the ruling party of Angola) , made a moving case for genuine reconciliation. Ambassador Herman Cohen, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, tried to explain the Bush Administration's approach to the problems of Southern Africa. Kwadwo O. Akpan spoke as the Executive Director of the Angola Peace Fund, a private organization, led by African-Americans . The Fund is committed to the search for reconciliation in Angola. Jonas Savimbi (leader of UNITA) was expected to turn up at the symposium, and was in the programme as one of the five speakers . Strict security precautions were taken towards the time of his scheduled arrival . At the very last minute he sent his apologies. He was indeed in Washington, D.C. but the pressure of official business kept him from our symposium. The participants and journalists at the symposium were of course most disappointed.

My own speech to the symposium included a sub-section on

"Heroic Villains in Recent African History' I compared the Moise Tshombe of Zaire with Jonas Savimbi of Angola. Perhaps it was just as well that Dr. Savimbi was not present to listen to what I had to say! There might have been an explosion.

On the other hand I did try to be fair and even-handed in my analysis .

I was involved in a variety of World Bank activities in the course of 1989 definitely more than five activities . They can be classified into five different categories.

An important role in the World Bank remained that of membership of the Bank's Council of African Advisors . As usual the Council met twice in the year in intense interaction with the Bank's senior officials in charge of its activities in the A :

Vice-President Jay Cox of the Bank brilliantly chaired the sessions throughout .

Another role I played for the Bank involved participation as a speaker - I organized for its staff.

in his department's retreat-conference on the theme of "Cultural

Identity, Social Change and Modernization" . This was a particularly lively conference.

Somewhat smaller in scope was the retreat for the Bank's West Africa division, led by Director Caio Koch-Wester. Again my task was to alert Bank staff to the cultural and political implications of such Bank policies as structural adjustment.

My third Bank role was an open lecture at the Bank's headquarters, unconnected with any conference or retreat . The Bank advertised a lecture by Mazrui on the theme "Is Africa Decaying?" My chapter on the same theme which had been published in the book *Uganda Now* (edited by Twaddle and Hansen) was made available by the Bank at the lecture. The attendance at the lecture was excellent (standing room only) . I also greatly appreciated the hospitality of Senior Bank officer Agarwala, assisted by Ndugu Kariya.

My fourth category of World Bank activity was membership of the Bank's External Review Panel on the Social Dimensions of Structural Adjustment . This project too was led by Ismail Serageldin. Unfortunately I had to miss the meeting of the project which was held in Yaounde, Cameroon in December. The Yaounde meeting promised to be particularly significant and lively. The Bank allowed me to be represented by Dr. Omar i

Kokole, my colleague in the Schweitzer team at SUNY - Binghamton.

My fifth category of World Bank activity moved from the oral tradition to the written. I was encouraged to put some of my thoughts down in writing for the Bank. Dr. Dunstan Wai, Special Assistant to Vice-President Jaycox, has been crucial in encouraging me to write papers for the Bank. It is part of my philosophy of counterpenetration - Africa's effort to exert counter-leverage on the citadels of power in the global system. Fortunately the World Bank has become increasingly attentive.

Yes, I was indeed invited to all the five inhabited continents in 1989. One of those I missed was South America. Cheddi Jagan's party in Guyana was organizing an international symposium on "Race and Class in Society". I was strongly tempted to go but the dates seemed too close to my return from Jordan.

In the end I did not go to Jordan either. Jordan has had the at least from my point of view. The invitation from the University of Jordan came more than a year ago as a direct result of the showing of my TV series, *The Africans*, in Jordan in Arabic. The Jordanians sent me a ticket in 1988 with the invitation to turn up in Amman in person. Unfortunately the dates clashed with the invitation from the Central Bank of Uganda for me to give the first Joseph Mubiru Memorial Lecture in Kampala on "Banking and Money" in October 1989. I turned down the Jordanians in order to go to Kampala, for both personal and political reasons. This year Amman seems to have had its revenge. They got confused about my new dates and did not send the ticket time. And so I missed the pleasure of not only visiting Jordan itself - but of touching base in 1989 with yet another inhabited continent! (Of course I had been to Asia, as well as South America, a number of times in previous years.)

I attended five different conferences in Europe in 1989. My first European conference was the World Congress of the International Association for Philosophy of Law and Social Philosophy held in Edinburgh in August. My own presentation was on "Post-Colonial Society and Africa's Triple Heritage of Law: Indigenous, Islamic and Western Tendencies." I believe this was the first conference I have ever attended at which the actual published proceedings of the conference were already available in the form of a printed book at the conference itself. Another pleasant aspect of the conference was that it was scheduled to coincide with the Edinburgh Festival of Arts and Culture.

Edinburgh during the festival was certainly far less austere than Khartoum has been since the adoption of the September laws.

My second European conference of 1989 was a special international UNESCO symposium to mark the centenary of the birth of Jawaharlal Nehru. The meeting was held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris. A sensational participant at the symposium was the former Director-General of UNESCO Moukhtar M'Bow. It was his first return to his former kingdom, I was told. For alphabetical reasons, Mr. M'Bow and Mr. Mazrui sat next to each other!

easier for us to chat and catch up with each other's news during coffee intervals! Mr. M'Bow (a Senegalese) is currently based in Morocco as a guest of both the Moroccan Academy and King Hassan.

Another prominent participant at the Nehru symposium was the former Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Whitlam. In a private conversation I was amazed by how much he knew about the UNESCO General History of Africa. He knew precisely which volumes had already appeared and which particular volume was next. It was He had once chaired a presentation I made in Australia on the subject of "Australia and the World". It seemed like ages ago.

My third European conference in 1989 was in Denmark the subject was "Uganda: Structural Adjustment and Revolutionary Change" sponsored by the University of Copenhagen and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. reality the symposium was organized by Holger (Denmark) and Michael Twaddle (Britain) , both of whom were once our co 1 1 Maker ere able to bring in about ten scholars directly from Uganda plus one Minister . It was superb being able to catch up with so many old friends from my Makerere past Ugandans and friends of uganda , former colleagues and former students . A previous meeting on Uganda held in Denmark had resul ted in an important book entitled Uganda Now: Between Decay and Devel opment.

may also result in a book, hopefully published once again by old friend, James Currey, in London.

My fourth European conference in 1989 was held in London, and was commissioned mainly by the British Commission for Racial Equality. The theme was freedom of expression in relation to Salman Rushdie's The Satanic Verses. Even for me, who fully understood the reasons behind the outrage felt by Muslims, the depth of feeling shown at the conference against Rushdie was awesome . Especially strong were the emotions of British Muslims of South Asian origin. They reminded me of the powerful anal ogy I had heard in Pakistan when I visited Lahore and Islamabad in November 1988. "It is as if Rushdie had composed a brilliant poem about the private parts of his parents, and then recited the poem in the market place to the cheers and laughter of strangers ! These strangers then paid him money for all the jokes about his parents' genitalia" . It was a concept of treason in a special sense.

My fifth European meeting of 1989 was a combination of a committee meeting and an international workshop . This was sponsored by the International African Institute, of which I am a Vi ce-Chai rman , In this December event of 1989 the 62nd Meeting of the International African Institute was joined by African Studies Cent res in the United Kingdom and a number of British publishers with strong African links . The agenda ranged from the book famine to Africanist museums . In many ways this meeting was the most Pan-African in scope of all the five meetings I attended in Europe in 1989, although only a few Africans were there.

As for the Pan-Islamic part of my heritage, that also was a five-apart equation apart from my participation at the London meeting under the Comrnission for Racial Equality. It started with what turned out to be my "momentous" lecture at Cornell University on Salman Rushdie's novel , The Satanic Verses . The lecture was tape-recorded, before long was distributed on tape world-wide from Sweden to South Africa.

I was invited to repeat the lecture soon after at Columbia University in New York. At Columbia I delivered the I ecture outside in the open air. One white member of the audi ence kept on chanting "Freedom of Speech" in the course of my address . Three black brothers in the audience decided to drag the white man outside the assembly. I got alarmed and asked the brothers to leave the saboteur alone. the Col unbia University police in the background took my cue and rescued the white heckler. The man continued to be a nuisance little more cautious in the level of shouting he used in a bid to disrupt my I ecture! He made his dissident point softly without disrupting the entire proceedings.

My third presentation of my Rushdie lecture was at my own basic base at the time, the University of Michigan. In Ann Arbor my Rushdie lecture was sponsored by the Pakistani students . Again there was an ugly moment at question time, but all was well in the end.

Perhaps my most unexpected Islamic opposition came at another meeting in New York city. It was at a conference on "Islam and Majority -Minority Relations" sponsored by the City College of New York, the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs in London and by the Association for the Study of Nationalities (USSR and Eastern Europe) .

My own speech was at the final banquet . I was supposed to be the main speaker, and my subject was "Islam in World Affairs . But because of the presence at the banquet of a Saudi prince, royalty was given the last word for reasons of protocol To almost everyone's surprise, the Saudi prince used the opportunity to criticize the presentation I had just made. Since my presentation was in the tradition of progressive Islam, the Prince's objections came from the right. At the end of the evening many in the audience came to support me. Even the Prince came to assure me that his remarks had been misunderstood. As for my fifth Pan-Islamic presentation, this took the form of a purely literary presence without oratorical support , In November 1989 Abuja in Nigeria hosted an international conference on "Islam in Africa" . Alas, I could not attend myself, but my colleague, Omar i Kokole, presented my paper on my behalf entitled "African Islam and Competitive Religion: Between Revivalism and Expansion ." Dr. Kokole also tabled his own paper at the conference .

With regard to the UNESCO General History of Africa of which I am editor of Volume VI II , one central issue in 1989 was whether more than five chapters in the volume or less would be written by volume editor Mazrui ! The volume was scheduled to contain exactly thirty chapters Four of the chapters were already by volume editor Ali Mazrui. In 1989 he had drafted two more chapters, mainly because of lapses by other designated authors . One question which faced the Editorial Bureau in 1989 was whether they would allow five chapters by the volume editor, let alone SIX! The year was coming to an end without a resolution of this Pentagon di . The additional chapters still in limbo were on the history of philosophy and science in Africa and the history of ideologies since independence. The Mazrui nuclear family which arrived in the U.S.A. in the 1970s on the run from Idi Amin consisted of five members the two parents and three children. The mother was a woman who celebrated her birthday on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of each Gregorian Christian year. In 1989 Molly celebrated her fiftieth year of life. Our eldest son, Jamal , was twenty-five years old through most of 1989, having first reached that age the previous December. Kim, the youngest member in age of the original Mazrui family in Michigan became the fifth to reach adulthood in 1989 - Biq twenty-one! His university grades were particularly good this year.

In 1989 I had three sons and two "daughters" - five dependants in all ! Al 'Amin and Kim, my two younger sons, were completing their undergraduate work at the University of Michigan . Both boys were partly earning their way through school . Jamal , my oldest son, had completed his first degree from Princeton and his Masters in Public Policy from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. He got a new job in time for his birthday in 1989. My most active adopted "daughter" was preeminently Maureen (Maurier) Kiberu. I supported her education at Marygrove College in Michigan, and she in turn helped to look after me even when I moved from Michigan to Binghamton, New York. Maureen has visited me in Binghamton two or three times every month and then gone back to school in Michigan. I am expecting the three Mazrui boys to visit Binghamton soon.

As the year was coming to an end, my fifth dependant seemed likely to be Christine Kiberu, yet another "daughter" from the Kiberu family (Brenda was the first) . Christine was

scheduled to spend up to a maximum of three months visiting her sisters, Brenda and Maureen. However, everything is tentative at the time of writing. I hope Christine will also spend time at Binghamton. Does she have a driver's licence? If so, she is hired! !

Within the United States of America, I have received 1 nvitations from at least five sub-regions (east, west, north south and mid-west) . The University of Virginia in the south involved me in their series of lectures on the American Constitution. My own 1 ecture concerned the influence of the American constitution on political engineering in Africa. On the eastern seaboard the lecture which aroused the most local interest was perhaps my convocation address at SUNY Binghamton. It was a kind of Inaugural lecture after my appointment as Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities gave it as a keynote address at the annual convocation of the university. My topic was "Who was Albert Schweitzer? An African perspective" . I divided racism into three categories mal ignant, d banevolent. I examined the career of Albert Schweitzer as a case of "benevolent racism."

In the mid-west of the country one address I gave was

Chicago, sponsored by the Center for Arts & n ducation and the Illinois Humanities Council . My topic was "Image and Information in North-South Relations' I argued that the most dangerous

image since 1945 had been based on the fallacy that the ideological divide between East and West was more important than the technological divide between North and South. The Gorbachev revolution and the changes in Eastern Europe had demonstrated how shallow the ideological divide was.

The nearest to the west I got in the United States in 1989 was Montana. I had a good audience on a snowy night . I was proud that I had once been addressed as "Professor Montana. " It happened in Chicago in 1986 when I was expected at a Museum. The receptionist had been told to expect a visitor called "Professor Mazur i" (sic) ! The receptionist translated it into the name of the state of Missouri. By the time I arrived at the museum, the receptionist could only remember that my name was the same as the name of a distant state which began with the letter And so the receptionist smiled and extended her hand, saying "Welcome , Professor Montana" ! I wonder if she knew that the capital of Montana was also Missoula - which is where I lectured in 1989!

Al though Ann Arbor could be counted as northern United States (we could go for lunch in Canada from Ann Arbor and come back the same afternoon by car) , perhaps I should choose for my northern sub-region Buffalo in New York state. My theme at the Buffalo Museum of Science was "The Arts and Africa's Triple Heritage: Indigenous, Islamic and Western Influences . " lecture was part of the background to an exhibition they had at the Museum of African art and artifacts - including a special Kenyan selection. The event made me feel more guilty than ever that my TV series The Africans had not paid more attention to African art. I apologise to our ancestors for that omission.

Let me return to my new appointment as Albert Schweitzer Professor at SUNY-Binghamton. These special professorships were created by New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller and the New York State Legislature in the mid -1960s in order to attract distinguished talent to the state of New York. Some of you may remember the appointment of Conor Cruise O'Brien (To Katanga and Back) and Lady Barbara Ward Jackson to two of these professorships more than twenty years ago. Diaspora friends may also be aware that the chair I now occupy w_as Toni Morrison's, the African-American writer, until she moved to Princeton in

1988 .

When Governor Mario Cuomo of New York telephoned my home in Ann Arbor in 1989 to persuade me to accept the Chair, Maureen picked up the phone. When the Governor introduced himself, Maureen laughed and said "Hello Kim!" She was sure the whole thing was a joke by my youngest son. When the telephone receiver was at last passed on to me, the Governor asked:

Kim who is mistaken for a Governor? "I replied, 'Kim is my youngest son who is capable of introducing himself on the phone as the Maharajah of Jaipur. The Governor laughed and confessed that he had a similar offspring. Then Cuomo proceeded to persuade me that the State of New York was the cultural, theatrical and intellectual vanguard of the nation. New York retained that leadership only by continuing to recognize and import talent from outside its own frontiers. If this man Cuomo one day becomes President of the United States, I for one will not be surprised! He is an eloquent persuader on the telephone, for one thing!

I was deeply flattered when the University of Michigan put such a spirited fight to keep me in Ann Arbor. In the final analysis Michigan was prepared to give me a two-year leave of absence in which to decide whether or not to return to Michigan.

On the other hand, the President of SUNY-Binghamton was convinced that during those two years SUNY would convince me to stay put in Binghamton! Both universities have been most tolerant and most gracious. Let us keep our fingers crossed!

But what are these Albert Schweitzer Professorships? They are state professorships rather than positions in any particular university. When a Schweitzer professorship falls vacant by resignation, retirement or death, all the relevant 36 universities (both private and public) of the State of New York compete for the Schweitzer vacancy. This time SUNY-Binghamton won in the competition as the location for the Chair. And I was SUNY's nominee proposed. The Lord be praised!

But how many Schweitzer Chairs are there in the State of New

York? You will not believe it. Governor Rockefeller and the New York legislature chose a number in the 1960s pregnant with destiny! That figure has distributed the Schweitzer Chairs among such private institutions as Columbia University and Cornell, and such public institutions as SUNY-Albany and SUNY-Binghamton. Yes the number of Schweitzer Chairs in the New York State system is FIVE - no more, no less. The writing is on the wall!

While the Schweitzer professorships are for the humanities, the State of New York also created separate chairs for the natural sciences. These are called Albert Einstein professorships. How many are they? You have guessed it! Five!

But I must now bring to an end this pentagon saga. One thing is certain. My career in 1989 needed many more pillars than five. The Center for Afroamerican and African Studies and the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan were of course crucial. By the autumn support came increasingly from SUNY-Binghamton - including direct presidential backing. I was deeply moved.

The two universities between them provided me with five graduate assistants in all in the course of 1989, for either teaching or research. The young colleagues made an important contribution for this concluding year of the 1980s.

Administratively and secretarially I could not have coped without the unstinting dedication of Mary Breijak and Judy Baughn in Ann Arbor. They often went beyond the call of duty giving of themselves as friends. They continued to help me even after I left Michigan.

My administrative pillars in Binghamton were Ben Surovy and Nancy Levis. Ben was brought back from retirement by SUNY to help me set up shop. His familiarity with my new university was an invaluable asset. Nancy came to us from the UNICEF headquarters in New York city. Her long experience in an international organization was a different kind of asset for someone in my team especially since I also happen to be a member of the Pan-African Advisory Council of UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) .

My main intellectual pillars at SUNY so far have been Omar i H. Kokole and Abisi Sharakiya, academic members of my Schweitzer team. Abisi is an African-American philosopher who was once a graduate student at Michigan, and then went to Oxford University for his D.Phil . Darryl Thomas and his wife, Laverne, have been exceptionally helpful all along even before I actually arrived at SUNY. In fact Darryl (a professor of political science at SUNY) had a lot to do with my original nomination as a candidate for the Schweitzer Chair. He helped to compile the dossier, a crucial stage in the entire process. Since I arrived in Binghamton Darryl and Laverne have had me at their home a number of times (Laverne is a superb and enthusiastic cook in addition to being a computer wiz at Cornell .)

Immanuel Wallerstein and his Fernand Braudel Center here moved faster than almost anybody else at SUNY to give me an intellectual platform from which to introduce myself to the campus community. My first academic presentation at SUNY as Schweitzer Professor was in fact at a special colloquium at the

Braudel Center. My Convocation Address came about a week later.

When Mary Breijak was on leave in Michigan, Rose Chinnock was my secretary. And in the fall after I had left Michigan Marcy Toon came to the rescue as my Michigan secretary in a transitional semester . Both Rose and Marcy picked up the essentials of the Mazruiana industry pretty fast ! Shalane She ley of CAAS was always there to help in times of crisis ! You must have noticed that my year at Michigan was administratively aided by five women (Mary, Judy, Shalane, Rose and Marcy) . You will also have noticed my Schweitzer team at SUNY in our first semester has so far been a team of five (Omar i , Abisi , Ben, Nancy and Ali) ! I rest my case!

I wish you

a prosperous 1990 (a number, incidentally,

which

is divisible by

Fare thee well , dear reader!

A pentagon five seconds!

of fate! This tape will not self-destruct

in

Newsletter 13, Eve of 1991, A Professorial Silver Jubilee

Ali A. Mazrui

River House

38 Front Street, Apartment 3E

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Eve of 1991

MAZRUI NEWSLETTER

"A PROFESSORIAL SILVER JUBILEE"

Another Special Edition

For friends, relatives and colleagues

It was in 1965 that I first became a full professor. privately, I regarded the whole of 1990 as my own Professorial silver Jubilee - a piece of personal vanity!

In reality the year did re-capture some important points in my career . It also opened up new professional experiences. The most important moment of nostalgia was a visit to Makerere University in Uganda - which was where I first became a professor twenty five years earlier. My newest experience of 1990 was the drama of a visit to the Republic of South Africa - a visit with its own moments of excitement and anxiety! I shall return to the emotions of Uganda and South Africa shortly.

Spain in 1990 was a different kind of pilgrimage. Returning to Spain recently was a celebration of something even older than my professorial career. I first went to Spain in my pre-undergraduate days in the 1950s - when I had just begun courting Molly (or was she courting me?) !! Molly and I had a memorable time in Spain as part of a group of student-tourists from Huddersfield Technical College where Molly and I were preparing for university entrance in Britain. As an African student in Valencia I was such an unusual sight in those days that the local press got interested - and arranged to have me interviewed! Perhaps that was the beginning of my flirtation with the Western press!

When Molly and I walked on the beaches of northern Spain in the 1950s (young black male, young white female) there was no hostility - but there was a lot of unabashed and open curiosity. children followed us in wonderment! They were far less threatening than the children in Tennessee Williams' play Suddenly Last Summer! Molly and I had fun chatting with the racially curious Spanish children on the beaches.

My visit to Spain in 1990 had of course an academic side also,

I was attending the World Congress of Sociology sponsored by the International Sociological Association, and held at the University of Madrid and opened by His Majesty King Carlos. There were some four thousand sociologists from around the world. I chaired one session on "Comparative Ethnicity" and presented a paper on another panel on "Religion and Politics". Although I was supposed to be co- convener of the panel on ethnicity, in reality most of the work before the Congress had been done by Professor Marshall Murphree of the University of Zimbabwe. All I had to do at the Congress itself was to make some last-minute decisions about panelists - and then preside at the session. My deepest gratitude to Professor Murphree. At the Congress itself I was elected to the Research committee on Religion and Politics.

A face in Madrid from the early days of my Makerere years was that of T. V. Sathyamurthy, now at the University of York in England. We had a delightful dinner together in Spain - and reminisced about the old Africa days!

Origins East Africa

In 1965, when Makerere made me a full professor, I was 32 years old. I was being promoted in a meteoric rise after less than two years as a lecturer. To the present day I have never been a Senior Lecturer, or a Reader, or an Associate Professor. That portion of my career which was below the rank of a full professor has remained less than two years long in all.

Makerere expressed its supreme trust in me in 1965 - and the United States confirmed Makerere's judgement in the 1970s with offers of tenured appointments from varied universities. In 1990 the Makerere community turned up in multitudes to help me celebrate 25 years of continuous professorial activism. What an exhilarating moment! What a humbling experience!

What took me to Uganda in 1990 in the first instance was a conference in Kampala on "Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility in Africa", sponsored by a Pan-African organization called CODESRIA based in Dakar, Senegal, and by Makerere University and the Center for Basic Research in Uganda. The conference was opened by president Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. In his speech the President quoted my definition of an intellectual which I had first used in a debate in the Town Hall in Kampala with Mr. Akena Adoko, who was then the Head of Intelligence under the first administration of Milton Obote. I had defined an intellectual in 1969 as "a person who has the capacity to be fascinated by ideas and has acquired the skill to handle some of them effectively"

In November 1990, President Yoweri Museveni got the first part of my definition correct - that an intellectual was "a person who has the capacity to be fascinated by ideas". The President then added and "one who can juggle ideas". In the discussion which followed I promptly corrected President Museveni! I also asked him whether he permitted only ideas expressed verbally (i.e. in words) or whether he would permit opinions experienced behaviorally, like burning the flag or a student's boycott of classes. President Museveni (like President Bush) advised against burning the flag! What was particularly impressive about Museveni was his readiness to make himself available for such a prolonged and frank discussion with academics after his speech opening the conference. The entire debate about academic freedom in 1990 was a worthy celebration of my own humble Silver Jubilee. After all, my confrontation with Akena Adoko in the Town Hall in 1969, chaired by the Mayor of the City of Kampala, and televised at the time, had indeed been on the related subject of "The Role of the African Intellectual in the African Revolution". The question of intellectual freedom had also been central in the 1960s.

Nuruddin Farah seemed properly integrated at last into the Makerere community in 1990. The dinner at his flat was not to mark my Professorial Silver Jubilee - but it did remind me strongly of the party he held on my 50th birthday seven years earlier in Jos, Nigeria. The Makerere dinner in 1990 included among the guests Minister of State Tarsis Kabwegyere and his dear wife. It was

wonderful to find a relaxed social moment with the Kabwegyeres. was almost like ancient days when we all still lived in Uganda. Other old friends at Nuruddin's dinner included Mahmood Mamdani (Uganda), Achie Mafeje (South Africa), David Rubadiri (Malawi) truly Pan-African event, held in a Somali's home!

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One ironical aspect of my Silver Jubilee year was the dis-Ugandanization of my domestic

life. Almost continuously since my first son was born, my household had always included a Uganda-born member. Until my marriage came to an end, the Uganda-born members of my family were my own sons (Kenyans by nationality but Ugandans "by birth")

And then my marriage broke up, and Molly had custody of the children. After a brief gap my household had Uganda-born members once again - but this time Ugandans themselves. The Kiberu sisters filled the Uganda gap in my Michigan life; and Sam Sebina and later Gasana Berthas looked after me on the campus of the University of Jos. Of course my Ugandan wards did not replace my Uganda-born sons in life. This wider Ugandan connection enriched my entire existence ,

And then came 1990. Brenda Kiberu got married in Minneapolis, Minnesota. And her sister Maureen, left to attend the wedding - and stayed put in Minneapolis. Christine, another sister, also left for Minnesota . For the first time in many years my home was truly de-Ugandanized. There was a new emptiness, sad and bewildering, at home - precisely when, professionally, I was celebrating my Silver Jubilee as a professor. I shall always remember my Kiberu years, with love and poignant gratitude. Will they return?

Mind you, I still am in constant telephone contact with the Kiberu sisters and in correspondence with them. I have even visited them in Minnesota, and had a wonder dinner with their mother Nalongo in Kampala in November. But I no longer live with any of the Kiberus - and that's the difference!

Before going to dinner at Nalongo's in Kampala I gave my Silver Jubilee Lecture at Makerere University in Kampala. The turnout for the lecture was truly enormous. There was no lecture hall at the university large enough to accommodate the crowd. The Main Hall was dangerously packed and overflowing. In the end the event took place in the open air, almost like a political rally. My topic was "The Gulf Crisis: Some African and Islamic Perspectives Among the dignitaries who attended was Deputy prime Minister Abu Mayanja, a very old friend of mine, who held a dinner in my honour the next day .

As part of the celebration of my Professorial Silver Jubilee at Makerere I presented to Vice-Chancellor (President) Senteza Kajubi a copy of my latest book Cultural Forces in World Politics. In reality, that was the launching of the book in East Africa. I was deeply moved when the crowd burst into a thunderous applause.

It would have been nice to celebrate my Silver Jubilee not only at Makerere but also at a university in my country of birth, Kenya, But in reality I have not lectured at a Kenyan university since the mid-1970s! Can you imagine? But private sponsorship of my lectures in Kenya has been forthcoming from time to time. In 1990 it was the Muslims of Mombasa who sponsored my lecture on "The Gulf Crisis" .

The Mombasa branch of the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) , originally agreed to let the lecture take place in KANU Hall, Mombasa, which had recently been opened by President Daniel arap Moi. But at the last minute KANU changed its mind about my giving a lecture on the Gulf Crisis in their own Hall. So we switched venue to the Mombasa Islamic Center. Nevertheless, the men's section of the auditorium at the Islamic Center was filled. It was the women's section which was - unfortunately - sparsely attended .

Kenya television has still not shown my BBC/ PBS series The Africans : A Triple Heritage - almost the only English-speaking country in Africa yet to do so. On the other hand, I was puzzled to learn that there were two different Arabic versions of The Africans - one in standard Arabic and the other in Algerian Arabic. If the two versions helps

the television series to reach a wider and more popular public al harndu li Llah (praise the Lord!) .

It is quite possible that Kenya television is waiting for a Swahili version of the TV series before airing it. If so, the prospects are promising. Ohio State University at Columbus is seriously considering such a Swahili translation. Why Ohio State? Their Swahili credentials are impressive. Their courses on Kiswahili in 1990 attracted more than 300 students. Al 'Amin M.

Mazrui, a professor at Ohio State, is likely to take a leading role in the Swahili translation of The Africans: A Triple Heritage. (I wonder how he would translate into Kiswahili my subtitle "A Triple Heritage"? How would Al 'Amin say that in Kiswahili?)

Destination South Africa

My most memorable Kenyan event in 1990 concerned the issue of whether I would be permitted to go to South Africa. I had already checked in my luggage for Johannesburg on a Swiss Air flight. When the emigration officer asked me my destination, and I gave Johannesburg, he figuratively heard alarm bells - in spite of the fact that South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Bhota, was on that very day in Nairobi talking with President Moi. The emigration officer at Nairobi airport referred my case to his superior officer at the airport. I was then taken to meet the commanding officer.

He regretted to say that I could not leave for South Africa without permission from the President's office - which was closed until the following Monday. When I explained that I was expected in

Johannesburg on Sunday night - and I showed the officer Archbishop Tutu's own letter to me on the subject, Officer Peter Gichuru tried to reach by phone higher authorities in town to see if they would authorize my departure . But it was Saturday afternoon - and the emigration officer had no luck.

In the end, the Swiss Air flight had to leave without me (but with my suitcase on board, bound for Johannesburg) . I returned to downtown Nairobi, and with the help of Ambassador Umar Fekih (an old friend) we managed to contact higher authorities in Nairobi. Instructions were given to airport officials to let me go on the next flight out to South Africa. I did manage to leave on a Royal Swazi flight the next day - and arrived in Johannesburg within two or three hours of the scheduled time for my lecture.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu was there to welcome me - and he greeted me warmly. The Lecture Hall was packed. My Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture was to be the keynote address of an inter-faith conference sponsored by the World Council on Religion and Peace. The topic of my Desmond Tutu lecture was "The Pro-Democracy Movement in Africa: Indigenous, Islamic and Christian Tendencies . When I finished the address there was a spontaneous and instantaneous standing ovation - and a warm embrace for me from Archbishop Tutu. I was deeply moved.

I had waited for so long to come to South Africa. When I received invitations from the Republic in my old Makerere days, I used to stipulate three minimum conditions to my prospective South African hosts - that I had to address racially mixed audiences, I had to be able to say what I wanted, and had to have the option of taking my English wife with me to South Africa. I added the last condition to test the system at its most absurd. My prospective hosts would write back to say that they could guarantee racially mixed audiences, and were prepared to take the risk with whatever I wanted to say. But coming to South Africa with my English wife would make us liable to their so-called Immorality Laws

and Mixed Marriages Act - imperil Mrs. Mazrui and me. So I never went to South Africa. On one occasion I was giving a lecture on "Academic Freedom: The Dual Tyranny" at the Royal Commonwealth Society in London. I made the point that academic freedom can sometimes be curtailed because of the absence of other freedoms - including freedom to mate across the racial divide. The freedom of the University of Cape Town to make academic appointments was restricted because South Africa at the time had laws against mixed marriages.

When my lecture on academic freedom was published, I heard from the private secretary of Prime Minister John Vorster. The Prime Minister wanted me to know that the laws against mixed marriages

(and mixed mating) did not apply to me. I later discovered that the Prime Minister also reprimanded the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town for "misleading a foreign scholar". It seemed that the unjust laws were only intended against local mixed marriages - and not against foreign visitors ready to break the sanctions against the Republic. I therefore continued to boycott South Africa.

Then came 1990. The African National Congress was unbanned. This gave me a new authoritative body which could confirm whether or not any visit of mine to South Africa would violate sanctions or compromise the struggle against apartheid. There was also the de-facto democratic authority of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Both the A. N.C. and Bishop Tutu gave me the green light for the visit in December 1990.

There was one major regret in December. Because the Nairobi airport authorities had delayed my departure for South Africa by some twenty-four hours, I missed the opportunity to meet Nelson Mandela. South Africa being what it is, we were supposed to meet at the funeral of the first Black man to be buried at a previously white cemetery. Both Nelson and Winnie Mandela attended the burial of David Tshoga, the Black man killed in a demonstration and now destined for a white graveyard. Mandela gave a moving speech at the funeral. But thanks to the Nairobi airport authorities, I arrived in Johannesburg too late for this particular integrative event. The racial integration of the graveyard in South Africa was almost as significant as the racial integration of matrimony.

The ANC official I met at Headquarters was the Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo, with whom I had a fascinating discussion about the ominous policies of some of the new Eastern European governments towards the Pretoria regime. The President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, was expected back in South Africa later in December after 30 years in exile. (I was privileged to have met Mr. Tambo abroad in the past.)

The coordinator of my visit to Durban was my old dear friend of Michigan days, Leonard Suransky, who was now Senior Lecturer at the University of Durban-Westville. He and his wife Carolina hosted a major biryani dinner in my honour. My lecture at the University did not go down very well with the local left. I discovered that South African campuses are among the last surviving beehives of pro-Soviet Marxism left on the African continent. My lecture was too critical of Soviet communism.

In Durban I was pressured to give a talk to a huge congregation at Friday prayers in what was described as the "largest mosque in the Southern hemisphere". No, mine was not a sermon. It was a report to South African Muslims about Islam elsewhere in Africa and Islam in the United States. The congregation seemed fascinated by the news. They had been so isolated from the rest of Africa. Then the Imam gave the khutba proper, the sermon.

That night I was also the guest speaker of the Muslim Doctors Association of Durban at

their fund raising dinner. There were about a thousand diners, at least 75 rand a plate! My topic was "Islam and the Politics of the Gulf Crisis". Unlike my lecture at the University of Durban-Westville, the Banquet address was very well received. Earlier in the day officers of the Association had driven me to one of their charitable clinics and one of their charitable schools.

My third lecture in Durban was a repeat performance of my Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture. The audience was very disappointing in size - a far cry from the Johannesburg original! But it was delightful to have Mahatma Gandhi's grand daughter in the audience. It was after all in South Africa at the beginning of the century that the Mahatma first experimented with his technique of civil disobedience. With the ANC leaders in Natal I had discussed with anguish the inter-Black violence - such a sad departure from Gandhi's satyagraha (soul force).

The Cape gave me different memories. Ecologically I shall always remember the car drive to Cape Point where the Indian Ocean meets and intermingles with the Atlantic. The route to Cape point was a continuous "spectacular" of mountains and water. In fact the actual intermingling of the two oceans was an anti-climax as compared with the superior spectacles on the way.

Not long after Makerere made me professor in the 1960s the University of Cape Town invited me to South Africa. It was the first South African institution to do so. It was not until 1990 that I was at last able to visit the campus briefly as a guest of the Department of Anthropology. In the course of my coffee hour with the academic staff at Cape Town someone referred to a report about my Desmond Tutu lecture which had appeared in an Afrikaans newspaper. The newspaper had referred to what I had said about gender relations in Africa. That simple reference during the coffee hour provoked a serious debate about whether African culture was more or less liberating for women than Western culture was. The multi-racial group at the coffee hour in my honour was split down the middle on that issue.

My last evening in Cape Town was a dinner with some ANC activists. Again the subject of gender dominated the discussions. The subject had also erupted when I visited the home of an ANC official earlier in the day near a squatter's camp. In many ways there was more disagreement about gender within the ANC than about race. Not altogether surprising, perhaps.

My public lecture in Cape Town was on the topic "Is There a New World Order?". At the end of the lecture I was astonished when a member of the audience brought for me to autograph two copies of my latest book, Cultural Forces in World Politics. I had launched it in London only the previous month. I did not expect to see it so soon. But actually it was indeed available already in a local Cape Town bookstore. I checked that out personally - and bought myself a copy from the shop as a memento. It was a mark of the changed situation in censorship that my book was available so promptly in South Africa. In the old days the Censorship Department would presumably have taken months to decide whether or not the book should be banned! The book that accompanied my BBC Reith Lectures, The African Condition, was banned in South Africa when it first came out.

My new book, Cultural Forces in World Politics, has even stronger things to say against the government in Pretoria. But the game of censorship is no longer predictable in South Africa. Anti-apartheid books are freely available - whereas Salman Rushdie's novel, The satanic Verses, remains banned.

While I was in South Africa the BBC World Service discussed my latest book in their arts programme, Meridian. The BBC described me as a "Ugandan writer". In the year of my Professorial Silver Jubilee, I was delighted by this description. Although legally I am indeed a Kenyan national, there is a sense in which Uganda is as much my country as Kenya. The BBC had therefore not really made a mistake after all by describing me as "a Ugandan writer" when reviewing cultural Forces in World politics. I belong to both countries. What were my final impressions of South Africa? At least at a casual level the races seemed to mix a little more than I had expected. I attended multi-racial drinks parties, stayed at multi-racial hotels and ate at multi-racial restaurants. But at other levels the races still seemed fundamentally segregated. The Group Areas Act took its toll - separating people's homes by huge distances. Even more fundamental was the apartheid of power - the difference between powerful whites and still basically powerless Blacks.

Am I optimistic about South Africa's immediate future? The answer is NO. I do not believe the worst is over yet for that unhappy country. What is more, I met so many South Africans of all races who agreed with me - though the scenarios of what was coming differed markedly. Some expected a social revolution of young Blacks; some expected a general moral breakdown as the violence of Natal spread elsewhere; and still others simply expected the ANC to be forced to resume armed struggle. Almost all ANC activists I spoke to thought the Government was dragging its feet even on such minimal issues as the release of political prisoners and amnesty for those in exile to enable them to return. Never was a country so incredibly beautiful faced with such ugly scenarios about its future!

Between Oalam and Kaduna

In Washington D.C. before I left for South Africa there had been a conference on the subject of "Muslims Against Apartheid" sponsored by the American Muslim Council. I gave the keynote address at their Banquet. The Washington conference had included Muslims who had come especially from South Africa - including Fatima and Ismail Meir and Farid Eysack. Indeed, Farid was filmed for my TV series and features in Programme 3 of The Africans: A Triple Heritage, But I was meeting him for the first time in Washington D.C. in the autumn of 1990. It was a delightful "re-union".

Apart from the Inter-Faith conference in Johannesburg, my most ecumenical event of 1990 was the Calamus Distinguished Lecture I gave in London, sponsored by the Calamus Foundation. The word Calamus is Greek for pen. How many of you Arabists recognize the link with the Arabic word Oalam (also meaning "pen" of course)? The name of the Calamus Foundation was chosen deliberately to emphasize the ecumenical link.

The annual Calamus Lecture itself is intended to emphasize the links between the Abrahamic religions - Judaism, Christianity and Islam (ahle kitab, people of the Book). My own Calamus lecture in November 1990 had three official discussants - a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim. My topic was "The Resurgence of Islam and the Decline of Communism: Are They Causally Connected?" I was later given the Annual Calamus Award for Distinguished Scholarship in Ecumenical Studies. As if sensitized to my Professorial Silver Jubilee, the Annual Calamus Award plaque was indeed made in beautiful silver!

The African Students' Association of Harvard University also gave me a plaque for Distinguished service and attracted an impressive Harvard audience to come to the ceremony. My lecture for the occasion was on "Africa's contributions to World Civilization". The lecture and the award were preceded by a large and memorable dinner in my honour.

After the Cambridge event I proceeded directly to a Dartmouth sponsored workshop on Uganda. The workshop was the brainchild of Nelson Kasfir of the Department of Government at Dartmouth.

Participants included scholars who had come especially from Uganda. We examined the politics of Yoweri Museveni and his movement in power against the background of momentous global changes. Once again I was re-united in 1990 with faces from my Makerere past of the 1960s.

Like Uganda, Nigeria has had a special meaning in my life. My silver Jubilee would have been incomplete without a Nigerian component. My Albert Schweitzer Research Unit at SUNY-Binghamton was graced by the involvement of colleague Jonah Isawa Elaigwu from the University of Jos, Nigeria. As a visiting member of my team he worked on a book on Nigerian politics and was editing another book on Human Rights and Africa's Moral Order. Jonah Elaigwu kept abreast of constitutional developments in Ibrahim Babangida's Nigeria. In March I went to Nigeria myself. There was a chance of my seeing President Babangida again. A tentative appointment had in fact been explored in advance, but I was squeezed out of the President's schedule partly by the sudden visit to Lagos of Eduard Shevardnadze, then Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. However, it was good to be back in Nigeria and to see other old friends. I was also honoured to give the keynote opening address at a World Conference on Comparative Slavery held in Kaduna, sponsored by Ahmadu Bello University and Arewa House, Kaduna. Thanks partly to

The Africans I was a celebrity in Kaduna. A newspaper called The Democrat made me an even bigger celebrity with sustained coverage of Mazruiana in the weeks that followed. Pauline Uti, an old friend of mine from my days at the University of Jos (UNIJOS) came to visit me in Kaduna. I took the opportunity to invite her to come and visit me here in Binghamton.

She said she would consider it after finishing her Bachelor's degree at UNIJOS. Well, believe it or not, she has indeed come to visit me in Binghamton. This is truly an additional celebration of my Silver Jubilee. Welcome to North America, Pauline!

On my way out of Kaduna airport the plane was overbooked - and there was a lot of pushing and shoving round the plane on the tarmac. I would not have got onto the plane but for the intervention of an army officer whom I once taught at the University of Jos. He made the airline take me on. I was so grateful. A

month later my benefactor at Kaduna airport was a fugitive after an unsuccessful military coup against Babangida's government. He was accused of having been implicated in the attempted coup. His picture was all over the Nigerian media. Africa insists on its surprises - whether or not Ali Mazrui has a Silver Jubilee!

Between Michigan and Binghamton

If 1965 was the year when I first became full professor, it was also the year when Albert Schweitzer, the medical philanthropist, died. In 1990 I completed my first year as Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, State University of New York (SUNY) at Binghamton. What a fitting celebration of my Silver Jubilee as full professor!

It was a very active year at SUNY-Binghamton. The President who had negotiated my coming to SUNY - President Clifford Clark - promptly resigned upon my arrival on his campus! What is more, he then appointed me on to the Search Committee for his own successor! The process of evaluating candidates to head a university was fascinating. An even more absorbing experience was interviewing the short list. In the end it was a

privilege to have played a part in the appointment of Professor Lois DeFleur as the new President of Suny-Binghamton, the first woman-president in the history of the university . Our Albert Schweitzer team included Professor A. Adu Boahen who came to us immediately after launching a pro-democracy movement in his native Ghana. There were widespread rumours before he left that he was about to be detained by Jerry Rawlings. The rumours were unjust to Rawlings - Boahen was even given an exit visa to come to SUNY-Binghamton to finalize for the publishers Volume VI 11 of the UNESCO General History of Africa. A great silver Jubilee scholarly assignment.

Cornell University gave Adu a joint appointment. Fortunately Cornell is less than one hour away by car from Binghamton. And so Adu could live in Binghamton and commute to Cornell once a week. Getting Boahen to America had been a successful joint project between Africana studies at Cornell and the Schweitzer Unit at SUNY.

On my recommendation SUNY-Binghamton appointed Dr. Diana Frank as a consultant to help me formulate a future television project. Diana and I had worked together before - when she was one of the producers of *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. What will my next TV project be about? It could be about Islam in World Affairs, or about changing gender-relations world-wide, or about the African Diaspora . But can funds be raised for such ambitious projects? The economic situation does not seem propitious at the moment. But at least Diana and I have worked out a couple of potential projects in readiness for a more responsive television market. If you have any funding advice to give us, please drop me a line. I am serious.

My continuing relations with the University of Michigan (U of M) took a variety of forms during my Silver Jubilee professorial year. Perhaps the most appropriate was the invitation I received not from the Department of Political Science, not from the Center for Afroamerican and African studies but from the Department of Classics at the U of M! Why was classics particularly appropriate? Because my Inaugural lecture as full Professor at Makerere in Uganda in the 1960s had been on the subject of "Ancient Greece in African political Thought" (republished as a chapter in my book *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*) . The classicists at Michigan had read my Inaugural Lecture and invited me to speak on a related topic to mark the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1990. My topic at Michigan was "Ancient Greece and the Black Experience : In Search of the Universal" . It was a fitting celebration of my Makerere Inaugural lecture a quarter of a century earlier. To my surprise the lecture at Michigan attracted a large audience inspite of the fact that there were many other competing events on campus to mark King's birthday. What was even more unexpected was the explosive discussion which followed my lecture, with feelings running high between members of the audience themselves shouting at each other. Who would have thought that a lecture on ancient Greece would generate such heat? The Chair of Classics at SUNY-Binghamton, upon hearing about my Ann Arbor lecture, asked for a copy. It was available at the time only on audio-tape, as recorded at the presentation. My first conference at Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio Italy, was just before the time of my appointment as professor at Makerere in the 1960s. In 1990 Omar i Kokole and I worked with Population Studies at U of M in connection with their February conference. Guess where? At Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, on "The Politics of Induced Fertility Change" . Omar i t s paper was on population and political culture in Africa. My paper was on Islamic doctrine and population policy. It was good to be back at this spectacular and elegant Rockefeller Foundation conference center in Italy. Some traditions of the center were

unchanged since my first conference there in the mid-1960s. But the warden in 1990 was new - younger and Italian (the first one had been American and elderly) . However , I was shocked to learn later in 1990 that the new Italian warden had died suddenly. He was only about 50 years old.

comparative civilization

When I was first appointed at Makerere, the syllabus was truly “Eurocentric” Makerere in Uganda was still basically an extension of the University of London. I prepared my students in class for a degree of the University of London. “Eurocentrism” indeed!

In my Silver Jubilee Year in the United States I was appointed by the State of New York to a special State Committee. The agenda of the committee was to investigate whether the syllabus for elementary and secondary education within the state was indeed “Eurocentric” , and whether this bias could be avoided. There had been widespread feeling among minority groups in the United States as a whole -that American schools underplayed the contributions of non-whites to building the nation. The schools also “neglected or undervalued” civilizations and cultures other than those of the West. Our task on the New York Committee was to scrutinize the syllabuses for social studies and history in elementary and secondary schools in the State of New York, estimate the degree of Eurocentric bias and make recommendations to the government of the State , Our whole assignment was highly controversial within the State. And whatever findings emerged from our committee in 1991 were bound to be hotly debated state-wide if not nation-wide. Indeed, the committee itself was far from like-minded.

A vitriolic chapter by Lord Bauer, the British economist, attacking me viciously was distributed to members of the Committee by a conservative educator at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. Was the distribution of this document a deliberate attempt to discredit me? Was Lord Bauer’s attack on me being distributed more widely than the committee? I wrote to the scholar at Columbia to seek clarification. At first she denied having anything to do with the distribution of Lord Bauer’s attack. But when I provided proof that the document was being distributed with the Columbia professor’s own printed name-card and in envelopes of Teacher’s College, Columbia, the educator wrote back to say that her secretary had distributed Lord Bauer’s attack on me by mistake. She apologized. It’s a strange world, isn’t it?

My first visit to Toronto in Canada was in 1966 - the year after my appointment as professor. I was one of the speakers in a major public rally on “Revolution and Response” . Other speakers included Cheddi Jagan, the distinguished Marxist opposition leader from Guyana and Zbigniew Brzezinski, who later became President Jimmy Carter’s National Security Advisor, The mid-1960s were years of big debates about politics and cosmic issues about the future - and that Toronto rally was one of my most memorable illustrations. My assignment in Toronto in 1990 was not about re-designing the future . It was about re-interpreting the past. The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto invited me to give a special public lecture on “Africa’s Contributions to World Civilization” . It was part of a programme surrounding a controversial exhibition on Africa at the museum. Although the Museum charged a hefty admission fee to my lecture, there was clearly enough Canadian interest in Africa ’s contribution to civilization that the lecture hall was filled.

Not to be outdone by the Museum, the East Africans of Toronto got me to give a separate lecture for them. The topic we agreed on was “Migration, Asylum and Exile” - a condition affecting most of us at the meeting. Vianney Bukyana (of Rwanda and Uganda) and

Muhammad Tarnirn (of Kenya) were the main organizers of the East African re-union. Also present were Africans from other parts of the continent, as well as Canadian friends of Africa.

Toronto was a kind of family re-union in a more literal sense as well. I met for the first time in North America my sister's son Sharif f Muhammad Tamim and my brother's son, Zeid Harith Mazrui. Goretti Mugambwa and her little daughter, Maria, were "family" in a different sense. It was wonderful to see them too. Goretti and Maria reciprocated by visiting Binghamton later in the year to welcome Pauline Uti to North America.

Remember Cheddi Jagan, the Guyanese revolutionary co-speaker at the Toronto rally in 1966? Well, in 1990 I was privileged to be in fairly regular correspondence with him about world affairs. We have remained in touch since we met again in Georgetown, Guyana, in 1988.

The Mazrui Sons

My two younger sons (Al I Amin and Kim) helped me celebrate my academic silver Jubilee by doing very well themselves in their final year at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1990. Kim did so brilliantly in his Bachelor's degree that he was offered scholarships by distinguished law schools which included Harvard, Yale, Stanford as well as Michigan. Kim decided to accept the very generous offer of the Law School of the University of Michigan, effective from the autumn of 1990. Kim was of course born in the country which first made me professor, Uganda.

Jamal, my oldest son, helped me celebrate my Silver Jubilee by getting a job as an administrator at a distinguished center of learning - Harvard University (the Kennedy School of Government) . Jamal also got a mention in the New York Times in a news report about braille and the computer. I telephoned Jamal upon seeing the report in the Times. "Who is this new celebrity in the Mazrui clan?" I enquired with a sense of competitive insecurity! We both laughed! Jamal was also born in Uganda - less than two years before my professorship.

Upon getting his Bachelor's degree Al 'Amin, my middle son, decided to accept a marketing job with the biggest telephone company in the land, A. T. and T. He started work on the basis of a commission - a challenging experience for him. Until then Al 'Amin had a prehistoric motor-car, which coughed along on Ann Arbor roads . Al Amin decided that his marketing credibility would suffer enormously if he arrived at a prospective customer's shop driving his old jalopy! So Al 'Amin invested in a new car. He did not know it, but he was celebrating not my first professorship but my last driving lesson in Uganda in 1965 - before I left to go on sabbatical leave in the U.S.A. , never to resume driving lessons for the rest of my stay at Makerere! Incidentally, Uganda, the cradle of my professorial career, was also Al 'Amin's birthplace. All my sons were born at Mulago Hospital in Kampala.

One of the most important Mazrui family events of 1990 was the wedding of my son, Kim Abubakar, to Kay Forde. Although he is my youngest, Kim became the first of my children to tie the knot! Representatives of the Mombasa side of the family at the wedding included Nabila Mazrui and her husband Abdul Nabhan, and Al 'Amin M. Mazrui and his wife Elizabeth. Unusual features of the wedding programme included a song sung by the bride. The actual formalities of the wedding ceremony were both Islamic and Western - a dual heritage . (Kay is an American, brought up as a Christian.)

During the Christmas Holidays in 1990 Kim suggested that I should visit Ann Arbor again instead of he and his brothers visiting Binghamton . For one thing, one round-trip airfare

for me was cheaper than three or five round-trip airfares for my sons and possibly for Kay and Will (Will is Kay's adopted child and now also Kim's) . I accepted Kim's recommendation and went to Ann Arbor to celebrate the end of 1990 with my three sons. Kira, the youngest of the four of us, decided to foot the bill for our first dinner together at our favorite Chinese restaurant in Ann Arbor. Al 'Amin extended hospitality after dinner at his apartment.

From Soyinka to Rushdie

What made my Professorial Silver Jubilee more complete was the decision at last to resurrect Transition magazine, under the dazzling editorial troika of Wole Soyinka, Henry Gates and Kwame Anthony Appiah. As many of you know, the magazine was started in Uganda by Raj at Neogy at about the time of Uganda's independence in the early 1960s. Transition rapidly developed into the most scintillating and successful intellectual magazine in post-colonial Africa. When the editor was detained by President A. Milton Obote and then stripped of his Ugandan citizenship, Transition was briefly in limbo. Obote tried to persuade me to run the magazine - but I refused to do so while its owner and editor was in detention.

On being released Neogy moved to Accra, Ghana, and started the magazine again. He later handed Transition over to Wole Soyinka, who was himself in exile in Ghana. The magazine died when Soyinka changed its name to a pseudo-African one (Cindaba) ! !

It was great news in 1990 to learn that Gates, Appiah and Soyinka were reviving the magazine after a lapse of some 15 years or so. I was flattered to be invited to resume regular contributions of articles to the magazine. I have agreed to do so - provided that one of my first articles in Transition is allowed to be a vigorous rebuttal of Wole Soyinka's attack on my television series, The Africans : A Triple Heritage. Soyinka had accused me of being an apologist for Islamic fanaticism. He has also accused the TV series of being contemptuous of African indigenous culture. Both charges are so palpably false that I would like to answer Wole Soyinka in his own magazine. Vigorous debate was the spirit of the old Transition at its best, when it was based in Kampala. It would be appropriate for Wole and I to thrash out our differences in the new Transition. (The new Transition is partly based at Duke University in North Carolina, USA.)

There is no doubt that 1990 witnessed the continuing expansion of my Muslim constituency. I received more and more invitations to be the keynote speaker at Islamic conferences. I have now received an invitation to a conference on the Gulf crisis to be held in Teheran, Iran. Exiles from Kashmir have also been educating me about the problem of Kashmir in the hope that I would begin to speak up against Indian repression there. On the other hand, I have received a letter from Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India, inviting me to a special conference in New Delhi about problems of the 21st century. Where does my Muslim-ness end and my universalism begin?

In 1989 and 1990 I was approached to join a delegation to Teheran to appeal against the death sentence on Salman Rushdie for his novel, The Satanic Verses. I had given a lecture at Cornell University the year before attacking, on one side, The Satanic Verses, and disagreeing, on the other side, with capital punishment itself for any offence in the 20th century. My qualifications for the Peace Delegation to Teheran hinged on this apparent contradiction. Unfortunately both Teheran and Rushdie were rather intransigent in the earlier part of 1990. Rushdie became much more conciliatory by December 1990. Unfortunately for him, the authorities in Teheran remained uncompromising. The

Ayatollahs retorted "What is done cannot be undone by saying I am sorry" ! The Ayatollahs insisted that "To forgive is divine" - only God could forgive Rushdie (after Rushdie's death) ! But if "to forgive is divine" , isn't "to err still human"? Perhaps the Ayatollahs should reconsider their judgement.

On the other hand, is there no hope of persuading Rushdie to surrender the millions he has made out of the satanic Verses for some worthy cause like an endowment to promote ecumenical and inter- faith understanding in human affairs? Perhaps Rushdie should recount his earnings, and repent financially (belated Zakat) .

Food as History and Myth

When we were filming for my TV series I was keen on including a sequence about "the First Supper" - the first time human beings converted the satisfaction of a biological need (i.e. eating) into a social occasion (a time-specific meal) . In Tanzania we did film pre-historic stone remains which could have provided pictures for my story of "the First Supper" - but in the end we did not use those pictures or tell that story in the TV series. What is clear is that meals have become occasions for more and more social business in human affairs. working lunches are common in the twentieth century - and Americans are leading the world in business breakfasts!

My most memorable breakfast in 1990 was an occasion called the Harpur Forum at SUNY-Binghamton. (The original nucleus of the University was Harpur College, Binghamton.) The institution of a breakfast forum was formed by influential friends of Harper College within the Binghamton community. Instead of a dinner-club they formed a breakfast club. At each of their breakfasts a major speaker is invited. I am told that speakers of the past included Henry Kissinger - clearly adding "shuttle breakfasts" to "shuttle diplomacy" !

The Harper breakfast I addressed in December 1990 was attended by 260 influential members of the Binghamton community - a record attendance . They were welcomed by the new President of SUNY- Binghamton . I was then introduced by the President of Harper Forum. My topic was "The United States and Three Contradictions of the Gulf Crisis: Religion, Royalty and Gender". Harper Forum then presented me with a SUNY-Binghamton sweat-shirt and a SUNY-Binghamton necktie! Guess where the necktie was made! It said boldly "HUDDERSFIELD" which is where I finished high school in England and where I met Molly, who later became my wife and the mother of my three sons. Long live Harper Forum - and their breakfast institution! A recording of my Harpur Forum lecture has since been broadcast on the radio here.

My worst professional meal of the year was perhaps the fund raising dinner which the West Africa Health and Educational Research Project in Minneapolis, Minnesota, hosted with me as the magnet. They charged a big amount per plate. Nobody came to the dinner! Was Ali Mazrui not enough of a magnet? Was Africa not compelling enough as a fund raising cause? Was it because the organization was inefficient in advertising the dinner? Or was it because the organization was ill-advised in separating Ali Mazrui 's lecture (given earlier in the day for only \$5 admission) from the Ali Mazrui fund raising banquet (at six times that amount per plate) ?

However, my hosts did their utmost to cover the dinner fiasco with moving tributes to me and my contributions to African scholarship. The biggest surprise of all was when Maureen Kiberu got up to give a speech at this "banquet" . I was deeply touched when she thanked the West Africa Health and Educational Research Projects for their aspirations and for

honouring me - even if the "banquet" was a disaster! Bless her! She had guts.

My most memorable luncheon of 1990 took place at the United States' Congress on Capitol Hill - Washington, D.C. . I was addressing TransAfrica Forum's Ninth Annual Foreign Policy Conference under Randall Robinson's chairmanship. The audience was also diverse - including scholars, diplomats, members of the U.S. Congress, business people and others. My topic was a startling one - "African Origins of Eastern European Revolutions? : A Study in Interdependence". My lecture has since been published in TransAfrica Journal, Vol. 7 No. 2 Summer 1990. When delivered at the luncheon on capitol Hill, my TransAfrica address received an instantaneous standing ovation.

My most memorable dessert of 1990 was an unusual theatrical experience with the Provost of SUNY-Binghamton, Peter Wagner and his dear wife, Caryl. They graciously invited me to join them for an evening at The Cider Mill Playhouse, Endicott. The theatre was presenting Charles Dickens' A Christmas Carol. At the theatre people booked tables (with four seats per table) rather than individual seats. You could then order cider, or wine, or soft drinks with cheese and biscuits while you watched the play. As a species we have come a long way from "the First Supper"! - (though alas the human race is still full of Scrooges!) .

After the dessert at the theatre Peter and Caryl Wagner took me to their pleasant home for post-dessert refreshments. We compared notes on Christmas legends . Did you know that Dickens wrote Christmas Carol in the same year that J.C. Horsely designed the first Christmas card? The year was 1843. The first edition of the Christmas card was one thousand copies and the design was that of a Christmas family party. Perhaps this constituted a true meeting point between "the first supper" as a prehistoric myth and "the Last Supper" as a Christian legend.

CONCLUSION

I have not included all my professional activities in this Newsletter. There is a separate Report of the Albert Schweitzer Unit, SUNY-Binghamton, which is even more detailed. It is available to other institutions upon request - but alas we cannot afford to send it to individuals on request. What I have attempted to do in this Newsletter is to recapture a little of the flavour of my career as I have celebrated the career's silver Jubilee in 1990.

I have omitted many things in this Newsletter - such as my work for the World Bank, my involvement with UNESCO, my commitment to the International African Institute, my role with the United Nations

Commission on Transnational Corporations, my Vice-presidency of the International Congress of African Studies, my Vice-Presidency of the Royal African society. I have omitted dozens of lectures which I have given and many conferences that I have attended. But it is worth mentioning the annual meeting of the African studies

Association of the Head of the Soviet president.

For the first former educational United States where I debated Anatoly Gromyko, Institute of African studies and soon the late time on my visit to Uganda, the response of my wards was minimal . I knew that Sam Sebina had

got married, but was surprised he did not get in touch with me at all. On the other hand, John Ken-Lukyamuzyi was as active as ever.

He acted as my liaison officer with the Ugandan Press. Neither Muhammad Ddungu nor Roscoe Minge got in touch with me in Uganda. But Headmaster Idd Mukalazi did call on me at my hotel before my departure from Kampala. I suspect Bonnie Ntagozera did not know that I was in town at all. Indeed, it was probably my fault that I did not alert the whole team in advance that I was about to descend on Kampala. I took it for granted that my conference would be adequately publicized in Kampala. However, it was good to see Isa Lukwago and Suleyman Kiggundu, who were my Central Bank hosts in 1988 .

My former Jos contacts did find out about my coming to Kampala one way or another. John Munene of the Department of Psychology at Jos was now at Makerere. Florence left me messages of greetings in Kampala - echoes from Jos. I saw a lot of Nuruddin. We looked for a Jos reunion in Kampala.

My domestic and family life in the U.S.A. was also rich. At the beginning of 1990 my sons visited Binghamton for the first time. In both love and anguish on one long night of debate we even reduced each other to tears! At the end of the year it was my turn to travel to Michigan in quest of their companionship. We reduced each other to laughter, in merriment and joy. These fluctuations are what love is all about.

My few days in Mombasa in November 1990 were simply packed with both events and feeling. My sister Salma and her children, my sister Nafisa and her offspring and my brother Harith went all out to bid me "Welcome Home!" The children of my late sister, Aisha, were also close at hand - dedicated and, as always, loving. My fourth sister, Aliya, is the only one who is younger than me. No, I did not bully her as "Junior"! I only let her kiss my hand deferentially as always! She was as beautiful as ever. I am only sorry I was not able to go and see her mother. (Aliya's mother was my father's second wife in his last days. The mother is not only still alive but my own children will testify that my father's second wife looks younger than their own father, Ali Mazrui! Bad for my morale, but good for the morale of my second mother!)

You all know that very little of my professional life would have taken place without a stable domestic life in the United States and a stable office life. For most of 1990 my domestic life in the United States depended on Maureen Kiberu and Christine Kiberu JJuko, who looked after me in Binghamton with gusto and youthful exuberance . From September 1990 Pauline Uti took over after Maureen and Christine left Binghamton to join their sister Brenda, in Minneapolis, Minnesota. When Goretti came visiting us in December 1990 she re-organized half the apartment at Binghamton. Goretti has an incorrigible sense of order. I had to keep her from my study at the point of "the gun" - otherwise she would have thrown out half my conference- papers with impunity, in a tidying-up spree! !

Other special family visitors to Binghamton were my nephew Al Amin Mazrui and his wife Elizabeth. It was touch and go if we would have a bed for them - considering that at the time my apartment accommodated not only Pauline Uti from Nigeria but also Goretti Mugambwa and Maria from Toronto, in separate rooms .

Jonah Elaigwu, my Visiting Professor from the University of Jos, decided at the last minute before his departure to bequeath his own personal bed, to me personally. He also decided to bequeath his TV set to my office at SUNY-Binghamton. The bed was a godsend for Al I Amin Mazrui and his wife, Elizabeth. We had to buy more sheets and a comforter before our guests arrived.

My office pillars at SUNY-Binghamton were Gloria Hopkins and Nancy Levis. There would have been absolute chaos in my career without them. Gloria was my administrative assistant theoretically - but also she was my travel agent, conference negotiator, lecture organizer, as well as rapporteur to unit-meetings and (most important of all) accountant and book-keeper.

Nancy was my secretary during the year - but always ready to go beyond the call of duty, even dealing with my creditors! ! Can you imagine?

Mary Breijak in Michigan dealt with more than my mail. She also rose to the occasion on issues which ranged from I. R.S. stipulations to enquiries about my condominium in Ann Arbor. In some of these issues she was helped by Judy Baughn, especially earlier in 1990. Where would I have been in 1990 without these women? Allah bless them all, for more than my Silber Jubilee! !

My graduate assistants at Binghamton were crucial for tasks which ranged from research to grading, from proofreading to advising students . These younger pillars of my career included Chakaran Komolsiri (from Thailand) , Thomas Uthup (India) , Andrey Ponomarev (USSR) , Festus Ngaruka (from Namibia) and our undergraduate assistant Angela Washington (USA) .

How do you view your own 1991? May you realize the rest of year aspirations for 1991. Best wishes to your own future Jubilees as well! Amen!

NEWS Jc//n

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Professor Ali Mazrui Is welcomed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu In Johannesburg last night before the Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture.

African quest for democracy
'rooted in religious heritage'

By Carina le Grange

South Africa has telescoped two liberation struggles into one: the first being that for collective political self-determination and the second for a new independence towards individual rights, Kenyan professor Ali Mazrui said in Johannesburg last night.

Professor Mazrui, considered the doyen of African academics, but now a lecturer in the US, delivered the annual Desmond Tutu Peace Lecture at the opening session of the National Interfaith Conference (NIC) held by the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). He said the quest for democratisation in Africa could be found in the religious heritage, which was one of tolerance. "There were no religious wars in Africa until creeds from outside were introduced into the continent.

"Only in Africa could we have found a Muslim country Senegal who accepted a Christian head of state for two decades. The ecumenical spirit is alive and well. "Only in Africa - also in Senegal could we find a Muslim president who has as his first lady a Roman Catholic. He said there was in Africa a link between religion and democracy. It was only in Africa that the first Nobel prizes had been won for the most fundamental of all the values of survival that of peace (won by Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Tutu).

"Religion is the probable midwife to the new African democracy," said Professor Mazrui.

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The Makerere Conspiracy

A View From Within

The lecture was at Makerere University College in Uganda in the 1960s was at once a great African institution and a great internal crossroad. There was a constant traffic of scholars from all parts of the world. But the 1960s were also a decade of optimism in Africa. After all, more than fifteen African countries had become independent in 1960 alone. Tanganyika and Uganda had followed suit in 1961 and 1962 respectively. Kenya was approaching freedom in 1963. There were in-

by Professor Ali Mazrui

evitable reverberations of Africa's euphoria along the corridors of learning at Makerere. I entered those reverberate academic corridors in 1963 young lecturer newly returned from post-graduate work at Oxford. Four men were to play a decisive role in shaping my career at Makerere. One was a British radical (neo-Marxist), Colin Leys, who was the first professor and head of Political Science at Makerere at the time, The second was an American liberal, James S Coleman, who was then Director of African Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. The third figure who influenced my life was an African conservative, Yusuf K Lule, who was at the time an influential public figure in Buganda. The fourth was a soldier, Idi Amin, later destined to become President of Uganda and "outstanding expert in demolishing institutions."

his article is about one of the meeting points between personal biography and institutionbuilding. How are great institutions like Universities built? Are they built in response to inexorable historical forces - or the intervention of outstanding individuals?

A British radical (Colin Leys), an

American liberal (James Coleman), an African conservative (Y K Lule), and an African soldier (Idi Amin) all played a part in one such dialectic which transformed my life.

A Liberal Worldview

I first met James S Coleman in Nigeria. The year was 1964. To me, as a newly appointed lecturer in political science at Makerere University College in Uganda, Coleman as a political scientist seemed larger than life already even as long ago as that. After all some of his ideas had featured prominently in my graduate training at Columbia University in New York a few years previously, and later in my doctoral work at Oxford University in England. He was already an outstanding Africanist and political scientist. When I was introduced to him at Ibadan in 1964 there was an element of hero-worship in my response. His book, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, was already a classic. What I did not realise at the time was the special role he was indeed destined to play in my own career in Africa. What he did not know was the special role I was to play in some of his social and political theories.

It turned out that as a social scientist Coleman was torn between belief in individuals and belief in social forces. His micro-theories about the state and political development tended to emphasise the importance of social forces and the relative marginality of the personality factor in social process. On the other hand, his micro-theories about university-development tended to zoom on potentially creative personalities.

Coleman was quite sure that the history of states was not really made by emperors, kings and presidents. It was made by social and political processes with a deep ancestry of their own. On the other hand, Coleman was inclined to believe that the history of great schools was made by great headmasters and great teachers. Distinguished universities were the product of gifted scholars and inspired academic administrators. Coleman's micro-theories of the nation were basically democratic; his microtheories of education were basically

elitist. When he joined the Rockefeller Foundation his ideas about what he called “centers of excellence” were predicated on existing talent and outstanding individuals in educational institutions.

In time I was to be caught up in this special dialectic of Coleman’s worldview - the tension between institutions as products of social forces and institutions as products of gifted individuals. Partly through the Rockefeller Foundation and partly through scholarship, Coleman was interested in helping newly independent Africa construct viable institutions which would be relevant for what he thought of as “political development.” Should Coleman continue to study the basic social forces in Africa - and then participate in responding with relevant institution? Or should Coleman seek to identify potentially creative personalities - and serve Africa through them? As an academic himself, he was tempted to accord universities a special role as institutions - whether or not that was the real message spelt out by the wider social forces. And once he focussed on universities the personality bias of his micro-theories tended to gain the upper hand.

It is against this background that we should understand Coleman’s readiness to cooperate with Colin Leys, the distinguished British academic, in subordinating the sanctity of academic tradition to the promise of individual performance. Academic tradition demands that the rank of full professor be a recognition of extensive experience in research and teaching, a deep contribution to the wider world of knowledge, and clear evidence of scholarly originality and intellectual integrity. On the other hand, the ‘promise of individual performance’ could be no more than youthful brilliance and intellectual dazzle.

Colin Leys had himself been a brilliant and dazzling young British academic. In his own initial years he did not become a professor in Britain but he did become a fellow or don of Balliol College, Oxford, one of the more coveted positions in British academic life.

And then - to the astonishment of British academia - Colin Leys resigned his Oxford Donship to take up a position in a Trade Union College (Kivukoni) in newly independent Tanganyika. In due course he was persuaded to resume university life by becoming Makerere’s first professor of political science. That virtually coincided with Uganda’s independence.

Colin Leys was later to write a book on underdevelopment and neocolonialism in Kenya. This Englishman’s belief in the power of social forces turned out to have something in common with Jim Coleman’s worldview. They both had a weakness for what they regarded as “outstanding personalities” provided the criteria were rational and intellectual. Both of them tended to distrust “exceptional personalities” in politics but, at least within the Third World, they tended to have a soft spot for “outstanding personalities” in scholarship. The stage was set for a conspiracy which helped to transform my own life.

One day Colin Leys invited me to go for a walk with him along the elegant pathways of the campus of Makerere University College in Kampala. The year was indeed 1964 - not long after my encounter with Jim Coleman at Ibadan. Leys came straight to the point. He wanted me to succeed him as professor of political science at Makerere as rapidly as possible, preferably in 1965. He was a professor conspiring to end his own career. I was supposed to be the means for its termination. Jim Coleman could help for a year.

I said it was absurd. I had been appointed a mere lecturer in political science only the previous year. Surely, it was impossible for me to rise from lecturer to full professor without ever becoming Senior Lecturer or Reader. In any case I still did not have my

doctorate in philosophy from Oxford. How could I possibly replace Colin Leys as professor at Makerere the following year in 1965'?

Colin Leys kept on referring to Jim Coleman's cooperation - although at first I was not sure how that would help resolve the apparently insurmountable problems of succession.

Then Coleman himself visited Makerere from California, fully briefed by Leys. Here were two Western individuals deeply committed ideologically to the paramountcy of social forces as against individuals. And yet both social analysts here engaged in the process of not only identifying a particular individual (as it happens called 'Mazrui') but also in promoting

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him against all tradition and previously institutionalised rules. Leys and Coleman wanted me promoted to full professor from mere lectureship without ever experiencing the status of Senior Lecturer, Reader (or Associate Professor). Leys and Coleman were clearly subordinating traditional institutional procedures, to the promise of individual 'excellence'. Given their macro-ideologies they were contradicting themselves. Indeed, Colin Leys was on his way to becoming a Marxist. Jim Coleman was a liberal.

But what role was Jim Coleman supposed to play in the conspiracy? The incredible scenario was that I was to be appointed full professor before getting my PhD. But I was then to be given leave of absence for a year to complete my doctorate - while Jim Coleman was Acting Head of the Department of Political Science at Makerere in Uganda. Coleman was to be the one-year interval between the era of Colin Leys at Makerere and the era of Ali Mazrui.

These believers in social forces seemed to be "selling out" to the premises of sheer and undiluted individualism. Were Colin Leys and Jim Coleman "hypocrites" or merely inconsistent?

Leys vs Lule

By a strange coincidence the whole conspiracy was nearly sabotaged. Suddenly the competition for the principalship of Makerere as a whole was between Colin Leys (an expatriate) and Yusufu Lule (a Ugandan). We were no longer discussing a professorship in political science or a headship of a single department. We were now discussing a choice about who should head the university college as a whole, and not merely who was the leading political scientist. The former British principal of Makerere had retired and the battle for succession was between Leys and Lule (the same Lule who was indeed destined to become President of Uganda when Idi Amin was overthrown in 1979),

Initially, the Uganda Government under Obote in the mid-1960s was inclined to favour Colin Leys, an expatriate. On the other hand, almost every expatriate at Makerere favoured Y K Lule, who was deemed by expatriates as a safe black conservative. Obote regarded Leys as an innovator; local expatriates regarded

Amin: rustic warrior

Leys as a threat. But in the end Obote chose Lule as Ugandan to head Makerere - the triumph of nationality over innovativeness.

But where did this leave Leys-Coleman effort to get Makerere to change its own rules and promote a lecturer to full professorship? Was the new Head of Makerere - Y K Lule - going to support a protégé of his rival, Colin Leys? Would it not be more natural for conservative Lule to thwart the unprecedented innovation that Leys was plotting - the conspiracy to install me into his own professional chair in opposition to all precedent? Indeed, the

Registrar and Secretary to Makerere Council at the time made it a point to pronounce that Makerere was not in the habit of requesting departing professors to nominate their own successors: Would social forces then win out against the conspiracy of 'exceptionalism'? Would Makerere's traditions prevail over daring innovation?

Professor James Coleman went to see the new conservative and traditionalist Principal of Makerere University college, Y K Lule. Their precise conversation is now buried with them - but Coleman later saw me and encouraged me to apply for the Chair of Political Science at Makerere. If I was appointed, I would be given leave to go to Coleman's university in California (University of California, Los Angeles) or to any other American university to complete the writing of my doctoral thesis and then fly to Oxford to submit and defend it. In my year's leave abroad, Coleman would probably serve as

Lule: 'conservative academic'

Acting Head of Political Science at Makerere. None of this was certain at that stage, since the applications for the Chair had not yet been processed and the appointments committee had not yet been assembled. But in Coleman's estimation, Principal Lule was going to be open-minded about my candidacy and was going to consider it entirely on its merits as an innovative proposal. The fact that the whole idea had been the brainchild of his rival for the Principalship of Makerere - Colin Leys - would apparently not enter into Lule's consideration.

Academic Proximity?

Why had Coleman fallen in with Colin Leys' plans? Why was he apparently mesmerized by an innovation based on "individual promise" rather than solid social analysis? Coleman did not even know me then the way Colin Leys did.

Part of the explanation for Coleman's conversion went back to a particular day in 1963.

Coleman opened his copy of The American Political Science Review (APSR). The competition by professors to be published in that journal was immense. Hundreds of distinguished professors over the years had had their manuscripts rejected by APSR. Coleman himself had indeed succeeded in publishing in APSR, but he knew of many colleagues who had not made it.

On this occasion in 1963 there was an article on Africa by somebody else "On the Concept of 'We are all Africans'." This was the title of the article. It is possible that APSR had MAY

sent the article (without the name of the author) to Coleman to evaluate. Coleman probably noticed that the spelling was British but otherwise the style of the writing and analysis was entirely unfamiliar. Coleman presumably sent in his evaluation to the journal.

Now, in the spring of 1963, he was looking at the name of the author on the printed page of APSR for the first time. It was not a familiar name "Ali A N'lazrui, Nuffield College, Oxford". Was the author a Don at Oxford? With Coleman's usual thoroughness, it did not take him long to discover I was a mere post-graduate student publishing in the most competitive political science journal in the world. He also discovered that I had already published in the most competitive political science journal in the Commonwealth at the time Political Studies, the journal of the Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom. Coleman's interest in the emerging intellectual elite of Africa had already been kindled by his research into the growth of nationalism in Nigeria a few years previously. Now he was taking an interest in

emerging intellectuals elsewhere on the African continent. The basic dilemma of his theories was at work in his mind - Was history made by social forces or by exceptional individuals? Cultivating an intellectual elite could be one of the meeting points of the two ideas - a fusion of social development with "exceptional individual performance."

By the time Colin Leys wrote to Coleman about what Leys claimed were "Mazrui's intellectual powers" Coleman was ready to move to these new areas of commitment helping Africa to develop what he hoped would be a progressive intellectual vanguard. I was simply one of his earliest case studies, one of his earliest experiments. (Perhaps by mistake some of the correspondence between Coleman and Leys was left behind on the files in the Department of Political Science at Makerere. I saw part of the correspondence when I became Head of the Department)

The immediate purpose of the Leys-Coleman conspiracy worked. The Appointments Committee at Makerere met. All the academic members of the Committee, including the external assessor, voted in favour of the Lecturer's promotion to full professorship right away - without waiting for his PhD. (The external assessor was Professor David Kimble, then at the University of Dar es Salaam).

The only negative vote was cast by the representative of the Government of Uganda. But since in those years the government had only a vote and not a veto in Professorial appointments, the appointment was confirmed early in 1965 - less than two years from when I was first appointed as lecturer. The Leys-Coleman conspiracy had "triumphed" against tradition, against all precedent. Makerere had never permitted such a meteoric promotion before and was not likely ever to do it again.

But had the conspiracy really worked on second thoughts? In retrospect did it serve the purpose it was supposed to serve? It is to the contradictions of this question that we must now turn.

In Idi Amin's Shadow

The immediate phases of the Leys-Coleman strategy went according to plan. Soon after being appointed professor, I left for the

(School of Fine Art

(Makerere Gallery (Faculty of Technology

I (Sports Field

(Mary Stuart Hall

Lumumba Hall

Kasubi View Faculty & Institute of Education

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United States - first to the University of Chicago as a visiting scholar and then to Coleman's home University, the University of California, Los Angeles, to write up my doctoral dissertation or thesis. I completed the dissertation in a matter of weeks over the summer of 1965. I still had the rest of the 1965-6 academic year as leave from Makerere. I spent it at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University - knowing, that the Department of Political Science at Makerere was in Coleman's good hands.

When I returned to Makerere in

1966 I had already defended the doctoral thesis at Oxford. Colin Leys had left for the University of Sussex in England. Coleman was already a major presence on the campus of

Makerere University. After a few months I inherited the Chair of Political Science from Jim Coleman and assumed also the Deanship of Social Sciences at Makerere. The Leys-Coleman Kingmaking seemed to have succeeded at a remarkable speed. But was it destined to vindicate their apparent faith in “exceptional individuals” in defiance of their own theories about the potency of wider social forces?

One of the cruel jokes that Africa had in store for Coleman’s dilemma was that it was at the macro-level of the state that a single individual at the top appeared to make considerable difference - while at the micro-level of the University the wider social forces held an institution captive. Coleman’s theories, as we have noted, had put the emphasis in the reverse direction exceptional individuals making a difference in building a University but being relatively marginal in state-building or political development.

Three African countries which Coleman had tried to serve (Uganda, Kenya and Zaire) told that same story in their own different ways. But here we shall focus on Uganda. Uganda had of course produced Idi Amin, a single individual who turned out to be adept at demolishing one major institution after another. Uganda remains one of the most striking illustrations of the proposition that in Africa it makes a difference how “bad” the top man is. Idi Amin was indeed an “exceptional individual” and not entirely in the negative sense either. He fascinated millions of people all over the world because of his rustic charisma and his skills in acting out Shakespeare’s proposition that “all the world’s a stage.” He brought theatre and humour to international politics.

However, Idi Amin was also a brutal and merciless man who directly or indirectly caused the death of many thousands of his compatriots. On the one hand, Idi Amin was indeed a product of the social interplay of Uganda’s history. On the other hand, almost single-handedly Idi Amin seemed to unleash new social forces which were to bedevil the politics of Uganda for years to come. Uganda under Idi Amin experienced both tyranny (centralised violence

from the top) and anarchy (decentralised violence at the grass roots). Tyranny is too much government; anarchy is too little. Thousands of people died both because of orchestrated brutalities by those in authority and because neighbour was turning against neighbour as the wider moral order of the society was collapsing. A single individual at the top - Idi Amin Dada - had apparently served as the decisive initial “germ” for the moral and social decay of a whole society.

Among those who watched helplessly were the “exceptional individuals” at the country’s sole University Makerere. Far from being able to save even their own institution, they saw themselves being inexorably drawn into the political disorder that Idi Amin had helped to unleash.

One day the soldiers came to fetch the Vice-Chancellor Frank Kalimuzo, from his home. He was Lule’s successor at Makerere. They caught him in front of his terrified wife and took him away. She was never to see him again, nor was his body ever recovered. There is little doubt that Kalimuzo was killed on the direct orders of the Head of State, Idi Amin. In other words, Kalimuzo had fallen mortally wounded to the new forces of tyranny in Uganda.

Next to the Vice-Chancellor (or head) of Makerere at that time, the most politically-visible figure on campus was the Leys-Coleman protege of yester-years, Ali Mazrui. Idi Amin had initially patronised me partly because I had a public reputation as a major intellectual critic of the man Amin had overthrown, Milton Obote.

Curiously enough - and in spite of contrary evidence - Idi Amin shared for a while the Leys-

Coleman belief that I was an “exceptional individual”. So Amin considered sending me to the Republic of South Africa as Exhibit ‘A’ to the proposition that “Black Africans can think”. I was unwilling to be used as an exhibit to convert racists to the obvious. I managed to persuade Idi Amin to pursue alternative strategies and challenges towards the racists of South Africa.

But in any case the evidence was accumulating that the exceptional individual was not the academic at a head of a department at Makerere but the new rustic at the head of the state in Uganda. Coleman’s dilemma was indeed entering a new theoretical crisis. It was not at the micro-level of

the University that outstanding personalities made a dramatic difference; it was apparently at the macro-level of the state. The professor at Makerere was more obviously a captive of the wider societal trends in Uganda than was the big man at State House _ who had helped to unleash those trends. Bowed and humbled by someone physically and historically larger than himself, the Leys-Coleman protege joined the exodus of intellectuals out of Uganda. Three intellectuals had attempted to shape my academic life - a British radical called Leys, an American liberal called Coleman, and an African conservative called Y K Lule. But it was a rustic African warrior called Idi Amin who had had the last word.

A dilemma was still unresolved an enigma unclarified. Deep in the mists of social history lies a secret yet to be opened by social scientists - the mysterious relationship between special individuals and wider evolutionary forces, between human exceptions and the universals of history. O

Ali Mazrui, Professor, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and Andrew D White
Professor-at-Large, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

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Newsletter 14, Eve of 1990, A Pentagon of Fate - A Self-Portrait

Ali A, Mazrui River House, Apartment 3E 38 Front Street

Binghamton, New York 13905, USA

Eve of 1992

MAZRUI NEWSLETTER (ABRIDGED)

For Friends , Relatives and Colleagues

Summary of a Year

This year I am experimenting with two versions of my Annual Letter - a shorter version which goes out to all my regular recipients, and a full-blown version which will be sent later, but only to those who send me a postcard to ask for it! Clearly there are degrees of Mazruiphilia (and Mazruiphobia) ! Only a few friends and colleagues are masochistic enough to want to know almost every professional detail in a Mazrui year! Other friends and colleagues are offered this version - which, long as it is, is only a fraction of the full document!

Professionally, the four most important events of my year were as follows:

I resigned from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, after more than 16 years as a professor there.

(b) I confirmed my commitment to the state University of New York at Binghamton as Albert Schweitzer Professor in the

Humanities and as Director of my newly established Institute of Global cultural Studies.

Please note my new official address in this text.

(c) I accepted a new academic commitment at Cornell

University not only as Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large but also as a regular teaching faculty of the Africana studies and Research Center, Ithaca, New York.

(d) I was appointed Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large by the University of Jos, Nigeria a new relationship with an old university-base of mine.

The saddest event of my year was the death of Maureen Kiberu in June. Maureen was Brenda 's sister. When Brenda left my household in 1987, Maureen remained behind to look after me first in Ann Arbor and later in Binghamton. When her blood disorder became very serious, she moved to her sister's in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Maureen and I spoke often on the phone. I visited Minneapolis when I could. Her death at the age of 27 was absolutely shattering. something in me died that night. I know it. But I am still not sure of the scale of the damage.

The Central Bank of Barbados invited me to give the 1991 Sir Winston Scott Annual Memorial lecture. An old West Indian friend of mine - Sir Fred Phillips - acted as a liaison between the Bank and me. My lecture in Barbados was entitled "The World with One Superpower: Is it a More Dangerous Place?" It was exceptionally well received by the large audience, but almost totally ignored by the local Press! Did you know that Barbados has the oldest continuous parliamentary tradition in the Western hemisphere? The tradition goes back some 350 years, (The U.S. parliamentary tradition was interrupted and later transformed by the revolutionary war of independence in the late eighteenth century. Barbados is therefore ahead of the United States in uninterrupted parliamentary history) ! Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka and I brutalized each other in the pages of the newly revived Transition magazine (edited by Henry Louis Gates Jr. , Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Finder from Harvard University and published by Oxford University Press) . Soyinka had

been irrationally attacking my TV series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* for several years - seemingly without ever having looked at more than one part of one programme. (There are 9 programmes in all) ! At last I have answered his attacks. He has since answered back! ! Can you imagine? However, in spite of my very precise challenge, he has failed to provide the evidence ('chapter and verse') for his charges against my TV series. No evidence at all! The State University of New York at Binghamton had to investigate a vastly different kind of attack on me - an anonymous circular using lavatory language, denouncing and threatening me in extremely racist terms . I was supposed to be "nigger shi t"! The campus rallied to my defence - with letters and oral expressions of support. The Dean and Provost came personally to my office to affirm their solidarity with me. And a public meeting on campus denounced such racism, and gave me an applause of support . I was deeply moved. In an unrelated move, the state-wide system of the State University of New York (SUNY) invited me to address the several dozen Presidents of the SUNY campuses at the Chancellor's Forum in Cooperstown, New York. My lecture was on the controversial subject of the Gulf Crisis, which was a very hot subject at the time. I was a strong critic of the military action against Iraq. The diverse presidents of the SUNY system gave me an enthusiastic applause, in spite of differences of opinion. This liberal event more than compensated for the odious racist circular distributed on the Binghamton campus and at Cornell against me earlier in the year!

The Committee on Syllabus Review and Development of the State of New York, of which I was a member, submitted its report to the State's Board of Regents after a year of research and deliberations. The report basically concluded that education in U.S. schools was still too Eurocentric, even Anglocentric. We recommended specific steps towards making both syllabus and curriculum in New York schools more multicultural in the future. The Report had a national impact, and was widely debated. My own personal appendix to the Report was entitled "Multiculturalism and Comparative Holocaust, I argued that U.S. children needed to be taught at school that holocausts did not simply occur in distant Nazi concentration camps, but also occurred on American soil with genocide committed against native Americans and with the brutal enslavement of African-Americans. The word "Holocaust", I argued, should not be restricted to the Jewish experience under the Nazis only.

The Chairman of the Republican Party of the State of New York, Mr. William T. Powers, was so angry with me that he called upon the State University of New York and Governor Mario Cuomo of New York to have me dismissed from my job. So much for Mr. Powers' concept of freedom of speech. Fortunately his call for my dismissal was ignored .

Politically, an even more momentous event occurred in Kenya.

The authorities stopped me in July from giving a lecture in Mombasa, my hometown. In response, I gave a Press conference in Nairobi where I asked President Daniel arap Moi to step down and hand over to a new pluralistic constitutional order by 1993 . This precipitated a political storm in Kenya - but I was allowed to leave the country unmolested after a few days I was nevertheless roundly abused in parliament, by ministers, and in the Press. December 1991 Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and I jointly opened a pro-democracy African conference in London, sponsored by King Moshoeshe II and the International Institute for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa.

I gave the annual lecture of The Guardian newspaper in July in

Nigeria. My topic was 't The Black Woman and the Problem of Gender. " It was a highly

publicized event. I was also able to have an audience with the Head of State of Nigeria, General Ibrahim

Babangida, and to have lunch with the former Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo. I was also warmly received by Chief Bashir M. K. O. Abiola in Lagos.

I made two trips to South Africa during the year - both authorized by the African National Congress. In August I was a guest of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry. I addressed a meeting of approximately two thousand Black entrepreneurs in Sun City, the "Las Vegas" of Southern Africa.

My second trip to South Africa in September 1991 was sponsored by the University of the Witwatersrand and the Weekly Mail newspaper. I was a keynote speaker for the University's spring Festival on Culture and Ethnicity. For the Weekly Mail I was one of the book-authors who spoke at their Book Festival. It was a triple heritage trip I went for advice to a Sangoma (indigenous diviner), addressed large Muslim audiences, and gave Western-style Press and radio interviews. I met Mrs. Winnie Mandela for the first time on this trip, and renewed old friendships with other South Africans. What did I consult the sangoma about? It was personal, rather than professional. I needed to know what the ancestors had to say about a particular aspect of my future.

I went to Denmark to give the closing address to a six month Cultural Festival entitled "Images of Africa", sponsored mainly by Non-Governmental organizations in the main cities of Denmark. I was impressed by how much interest there was in Africa, especially Kenya. I was interviewed for television, newspapers and magazines. My main lecture was on "The Changing Frontiers of World Culture" held curiously at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I also lectured at the University of Copenhagen and elsewhere.

In Norway I was the guest of the Norwegian Nobel Committee and the Norwegian Nobel Institute, but I had occasion also to meet a few old friends from my Makerere days. I also met Norway's Prime Minister, Ms. Gro Harlem Brundtland. When in an excited sentence I accused her country (Norway) of having broken off diplomatic relations with mine (Kenya), she promptly corrected me! She said it was Kenya which finally broke off the relations! I was one of the official speakers at the 90th Anniversary Nobel Jubilee Celebrations in Oslo, Norway. The Nobel Prize for Peace was first awarded in 1901. The celebratory symposium this year was on the theme "BEYOND THE COLD WAR: FUTURE DIMENSIONS IN

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS". Papers presented at the symposium came from scholars like me and from Nobel Peace Laureates like the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Former

Chancellor Willy Brandt of Germany and former President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica. I spoke on "RACE AND RELIGION IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER".

Other celebratory events held in Oslo to mark the 90th

Anniversary Jubilee included a Royal Gala performance of Henrik Ibsen's play THE WILD DUCK, which was attended by the King and Queen of Norway at the National Theatre in Oslo. We were hosted to special banquets by the Norwegian Parliament and by the Norwegian Nobel Committee which selects the Peace Laureates. (Members of the Nobel Committee are appointed by Parliament in Norway).

The 1991 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Aung San Suu KYI of Burma (Myanmar). We were to attend the Award Ceremony of the prize to her. Unfortunately this courageous

woman-laureate was under house arrest in her country and was prevented by the military government from going to Norway to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. At the ceremony the Prize was received by her son, Alexander, and his younger brother Kim. Her husband also came to Oslo.

Pauline Uti has started her graduate work at the University here in Binghamton. She is specializing in the education of the hearing-impaired children. She spends long hours studying. When I was in Jos in June 1991 I visited her mother, grandmother and other members of the family.

Visiting professors at the Office of the Schweitzer Chair (i.e. my unit) during the year included A. Adu Boahen, Jonah Elaigwu, Abdalla Bujra and Diana Frank. We inaugurated a new Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton, with myself as Director and Omar i H. Kokole as Associate Director. We hope to explore the impact of such cultural forces as religion, race and gender on world affairs. ur official address is as follows:

INSTITUTE OF G OBAL CULTURAL STUDIES
STATE UNIVERSII Y OF NEW YORK AT BINGHAMTON
BINGHAMTON, NE YORK, 13902-6000
Telephone: (60) 777-4494
Fax: (607) 777-2642

Other family news inc udes the extremely happy possibility of a ydung Mazrui being born in January 1992. The prospective mother and the little "tenant" in her body are doing very well. It is all hush-hush until the great vent itself, but we shall need your prayers for the health and happiness of the mother and child.

Al 'Amin, my middle son, is planning to drive over in his own car from Ann Arbor to Binghamton for the Christmas holidays. We look forward very much to catching up with his news. His younger brother, Kim, is doing very well in Law School at the University of Michigan - including Kim's editorial involvement in the Michigan Law Review. I saw Jamal, my oldest son, when I went to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to pay public tribute to Reverend Leon Sullivan, author of the famous (and controversial) Sullivan principles which once governed the behavior of American corporations trading with South Africa. It was wonderful to see both my son, Jamal, and this old civil rights crusader, Leon Sullivan. Indeed, both the young man and the old veteran were fighers for public causes. My visit to the Mombasa side of the family in July 1991 was, as usual, a great social success - thanks mainly to my very hospitable family members. My brother Harith came down from his farm in Takaungu, and my sisters and their children spread out the proverbial red carpet to the returning relative from Binghamton, New York! ! It was deeply gratifying. From all of us to all of you - may you prosper in joy and happiness . Amen.

Newsletter 17, Eve of 1993, On Ancestry, Descent And Identity

Ali A. Mazrui,

38 Front Street, Apt. Binghamton, New York 13905, U.S.A.

Eve of 1993

To Friends , Colleagues and Relatives:

Mazrui Annual Newsletter No. 17

ON ANCESTRY e DESCENT AND IDENTITY

This year's Mazrui Newsletter is partly a report about ancestry and descent, about identity and authenticity. On one side I have looked more closely at my origins. Where does my Africanity end and my Islamicity begin? What are the dynamics between ethnicity and religion in the African experience? And what are my Omani origins?

Then comes the other side of destiny - not ancestors but descendants, not forebears but one's own children. Let me begin with this other side of destiny. My father was 58 years old when he died in 1947; I was 58 years old when my fourth son was born in January 1992. Was this a miracle of reincarnation from the previous generation to the next? That is one puzzle of the inter-generational equation, one mystery in the Mazrui karma. We shall return to my latest son later. He has been my supreme delight of 1992.

Just about the time when Alex Haley died in 1992, I was planning my own quest for roots - but almost in reverse. I had no doubts about my African roots . They were deep, familiar and truly internalized. It was the Omani side of my ancestry which was in danger of being lost in the mists of antiquity. Although I had visited other parts of the Arab world many times, I kept on missing the one part of the Arab world which had produced some of my forebears . In 1992 this long gap was at last filled. I visited Mazrui villages, not my usual villages along the Kenya Coast but in the Sultanate of Oman. Many goats and lambs were killed in lavish hospitality in honour of the arrival of the African Mazrui (Some of my Omani hosts thought of me as an African-American Mazrui which was also "cool" !) . We shall return to those issues of ancestry later also.

Three other themes converged in my agenda in 1992 - prodemocracy movements in Africa, Christopher Columbus as "the Black Man 's Burden, and Francis Fukuyama's thesis about "the end of history." According to Fukuyama in his seminal essay entitled, "The End of History" published in the summer of 1989, all historical change in human history was not leading to socialism and a classless society - as Marx had predicted. Historical change had been leading towards capitalism and liberal democracy, The purpose of history was not the final destruction of capitalism. It was the final democratization of capitalism - how to make capitalism the most productive system in human ingenuity, and yet accountable enough and humane enough.

Assassination and World Order

In 1992 I was invited by the news magazine Africa Events in London to reflect on "The Culture of Assassination." Although my article for the magazine was primarily about Africa, the assignment made me reflect on my close encounters with victims of assassinations more widely. I did meet Malcolm X in New York in 1961 did he know that an assassin's bullet awaited him? I met Martin Luther King Jr. in the same year . I discussed with Dr. King another great Black political figure at the time - Tom Mboya of Kenya. Only the gods knew that both King and Mboya were destined for assassination.

In 1990 I was invited by Rajiv Gandhi to a special meeting in India in February 1991 to

examine the special problems of the 21st century, bringing together what the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust regarded as some of the finest minds of the 20th century. I accepted the invitation,

Subsequently Rajiv Gandhi wrote to me to say that, because of the war in the Arabian/Persian Gulf, the conference in New Delhi had been postponed until November 1991. But before we could reconvene in November, Rajiv Gandhi himself (a former prime minister of India) was the victim of a special kind of assassination. In the West they talk about "the kiss of death." In India since Rajiv Gandhi's death they talk about the "garland of gunpowder." There was a bomb in the flowers surrounding the woman-assassin. The bomb killed her as well as Rajiv Gandhi. Did he belong to the same gallery of martyrs as Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., and Tom Mboya - martyrs to social justice?

Personally, I do believe Rajiv Gandhi did so belong. As Prime Minister he would probably have prevented the destruction of the mosque at Ayodhya and saved hundreds of Indian lives. But Rajiv needed more time to mature as a politician. He was cut short.

What do you do when you are invited to pay homage to a Head of State whom you admire but at a time when his government is in a bitter dispute with the entire academic community of his country? That is the dilemma I faced when I was invited to a special ceremony in Abuja, Nigeria, intended to pay tribute to President Ibrahim Babangida in August 1992, I wrote back to say that while I greatly admired many of the tough decisions which President Babangida had had to make since he became Head of

State, it would not be appropriate for me to participate in a special event to pay tribute to him at a time when his Government was virtually at war with the academic community of Nigeria. I did hope that President Babangida would understand. I had met him a couple of months earlier in Dakar, and he had been very gracious (as usual) !

On the other hand, in the course of the 1992 year, I did also hear by mail from one of the rebel military officers who had tried to overthrow Babangida in April 1990. My correspondent is widely regarded as having been the brain behind the attempted coup (the "Godfather"). The officer had once been my graduate student at the University of Jos, in Nigeria. I liked him very much, and I was quite astonished when he was implicated in the attempted coup in 1990. But Nigerians have a record of letting bygones be bygones. I do hope that my former student at Jos (now in exile) buries the hatchet with his former Commander-in-Chief, President Babangida. They are both Nigerians of considerable talent, who should address their skills to the problems of their country in the remaining years of the twentieth century.

I was so pleased that an African Boutros Boutros-Ghali was elected Secretary-General of the United Nations. As fellow academic Africanists, Boutros-Ghali and I had known each other since the 1960s. And when I was doing my television series, *The Africans*, in the 1980s, Boutros-Ghali gave me an extensive interview as Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in Cairo.

It was not until the summit meeting in Senegal of the Organization of African Unity in 1992 that I was able to congratulate Boutros-Ghali personally on his election as U.N. Secretary-General. I also congratulated him on looking so young when he was some ten years older than me. He put his finger vertically on his mouth to command that I kept his secret!! We both laughed!

He may turn out to be a stronger Secretary-General than anybody since Dag Hammarskjöld. I

am in agreement with him about most issues concerning Somalia. I think he is less tough on Bosnia . I salute him for his courage so far but not always for his judgement. He is wrong on Bosnia. He may also be wrong on Iraq.

In December 1992 I addressed the Second Committee of the United Nations on issues connected with development and economic recovery. I was astonished to learn that I was the first African to address the Second Committee in this new decade . Even more astonishing was the discovery that I was putting Africa more firmly on the agenda of the United Nations' Second Committee.

My address to the Second Committee of the UN provoked responses from delegations as diverse as the People's Republic of China, Sierra Leone, Australia, and Algeria. The debates were wide-ranging.

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education invited me to be one of the Keynote speakers at a conference which was originally intended to be an exercise in Sino-Canadian relations . What then was an African scholar doing there? Although SinoCanadian relations were still central, the concept of the conference expanded to encompass the theme "Knowledge Across Cultures: Universities East and West." This brought in Africa, India, Islam and other intellectual traditions. My own address was on, " The Challenge of Cultural Dependency: An African View.

The most distinguished Chinese speaker had been flown in especially from Beijing for a couple of days - and needed to be back in Beijing soon after for some high-powered consultations on national policy. Her presentation to the conference in Toronto was in impressively fluent English, to the relief of those of us who were ignorant of Chinese! We look forward to a follow-up conference in China itself in 1994 . It is a real possibility.

Religion, History and Democracy

At a conference on Post-Marxian thought in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, I gave a lecture on, " Islam and the Debate about the End of History. " Did Islam constitute the end of religious

history? I also lectured at Penang University. The reaction from Muslim Malaysians was more clearly supportive of my thesis than was the reaction of some of the other members of my audience . Particularly memorable in Penang was the gracious time and hospitality extended by the non-Muslim Deputy Vice-Chancellor Dr. Ratnam (equivalent to Provost in the U.S.A.) , who personally showed me some of the sights and drove me to the airport at the end of my visit. He was an old friend.

In the capital city Kuala Lumpur I was officially received by the Minister of Finance of the Government of Malaysia - an exceptionally sophisticated intellectual in his own right. The Minister showed familiarity with my TV series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, and discussed with me the possibility of another TV series on *The World of Islam*.

The sponsors of my visit to Malaysia were primarily a cultural movement called Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (committed to language and culture) and centered in Kuala Lumpur . At Ohio State University (O. S. U.) later in the year I lectured on, "The Black Experience and the Debate about the End of History." Some of the issues had also been touched upon in my address in the Bahamas in August on, " The Black Holocaust: 500 Years of Resistance. "

Fukuyama and Columbus had converged in our preoccupations in 1992 . Dean Isaac Mowoe's annual conferences on

Africa at O.S.U. in Columbus were becoming one of the major

Africanist events of the year in the United States as a whole. The O. S. U. conferences have certainly been star-studded. This year the stars included President Niara Sudarkasa of Lincoln

University, Pennsylvania, for the whole period of the conference.

My lecture on higher education at the University of Lesotho, in Roma, and my lecture on democratization in Africa at Maseru, Lesotho, made no reference to either Francis Fukuyama or

Christopher Columbus . But the issues of capitalism and democracy cast their shadow on our deliberations. We had lively debates .

Lesotho itself was at the time confronted with, 't A Tale of Two Kings . " King Moshoeshoe II had been deposed by the military and temporarily exiled to Britain. His son had agreed to succeed not because he was against his father but because he wanted to safeguard the institution of the monarchy. By the time I arrived in Lesotho in September 1992 the father had insisted on coming back home - partly to reclaim his throne. I was separately received by both kings father and son. The issue was still unresolved . I tried my best to be neutral, inspite of the fact that I had known King Moshoeshoe II (the father) when he was in exile in London. I prayed for a happy resolution of this Royal Tale of Two Kings . Both were exceptionally attractive personalities .

I was privileged to be the keynote speaker at the annual convention of the Uganda-America Association of the State of New York . The meeting was held in New Jersey. I thought the convention would be a modest one of less than one hundred

Ugandans . To my pleasant astonishment, some six hundred Ugandans from different parts of the United States turned up. The topic assigned to me by the organizers was "Prospects for Democracy and Development in Uganda." There were royalists, republicans and radicals at the conference.

"Democracy and Development" more widely in Africa was my theme at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, sponsored by the Ghana Association of Ottawa and the African Students Association. And at the Harvard Center for International Affairs in Cambridge, Massachusetts, my seminar was on "Explaining Patterns of Liberalization in Africa," a subject I was later to address also in a paper commissioned by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Democracy and liberalization followed me to other audiences as well. Mine was the second Copeland Lecture of the Institute of African Affairs, Washington D.C. (The first Copeland Lecture was given by Robert McNamara, former President of the World Bank and former U.S. Secretary of Defense) . My own topic in 1992 was "Planning for Democracy and Development: The African Experience."

At the 1992 summit meeting in Dakar of the Organization of African Unity, two African Foreign Ministers (one from Southern Africa and the other from North Africa) asked me if it was really true that I was going to lead the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) . The North African Foreign Minister who asked me that question was none other than that of the Republic of Algeria. His President had at that time just been assassinated, My reply to the Foreign Ministers was that there was no foundation to the rumour that I was about to lead the I PK in a bid for political office in Kenya. But how did the rumour arise?

When I was in Tanzania and Kenya in May and early June 1992 I argued publicly that

religious parties like the Islamic Party of Kenya had a right to exist in a pluralistic society provided those parties accepted the rules of the democratic process. Since the Kenya Government had refused to register the I PK as a legitimate party, my statement in defense of democratic religious parties made me an instant hero of supporters of I PK. I was due to give a public lecture in Mombasa a few days later on the wider theme of relations between Africa and the Arab world, Public interest in my forthcoming lecture rapidly escalated - not only from mouth to mouth but also from mosque to mosque. Hundreds if not thousands of people were expected to turn up for it. The Kenya government panicked. They banned my lecture. For the second year in succession I was prevented by the Government from giving a lecture in my own hometown.

The executive committee of the Islamic Party of Kenya fuelled speculation further by coming to see me en bloc at my hotel in Mombasa. Had they come to ask me to lead them into the Kenyan national elections? In reality they came for consultation and advice, rather than to ask me to lead them. But the local Press in Kenya and the British Broadcasting Corporation in London started speculating. That is how the rumour found its way into the informal conversations of African Foreign Ministers at the Sununit meeting in Dakar. While the Kenya Government has not permitted me to lecture there in recent times, it has ironically permitted me to hold Press conferences in Nairobi to protest about being silenced. I have reached larger audiences through the Press conferences of protest than I ever would have through the banned lectures .

An additional thing has happened. I have accepted an invitation from The Sunday Nation newspaper in Nairobi to resume a role I once used to play for them - writing feature articles from time to time on issues of interest to East Africans. In 1992 they published an average of one article per month from me, 1992 also witnessed my return to Arusha, Tanzania, to attend a conference jointly sponsored by the National Chamber of Commerce of Tanzania and Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung Foundation.

My own paper for Arusha was entitled "The Liberal Revival, Privatization and the Market: Africa's Cultural Contradictions. '

A version of the paper is appearing in the Cornell Journal of International Law. In the course of my stay in Tanzania I was interviewed for both radio and the print media. To Tanzanian audiences my two most controversial statements were, firstly, that the country's policy of ujamaa (African socialism) pursued since 1967 had been a "heroic failure;" and secondly, that religiously-based political parties were legitimate provided they accepted the democratic rules of the game . This second statement of mine from Arusha was also picked up by the Press in Kenya in the middle of a national debate as to whether the Islamic Party of Kenya was to be officially registered,

Black Suffering and Reparations

"The beginning of wisdom is to know who you are. Draw near and listen. Long before slave-days we lived in one huge village called Africa. And then strangers came and took some of us away. . . . Today we are scattered so widely that the sun never sets on the descendants of Africa. The world is our village; and we plan to make it more human between now and the day after tomorrow."

Those were the concluding words of my television series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage (BBC and PBS, 1986) . Slavery was the mechanism of the African dispersal. But is Africa owed reparations and compensation for that entire traumatic experience? In June 1992 1

and eleven others were officially enpanelled (" sworn in as members of a Group of Eminent Persons appointed by the Organization of African Unity to explore the modalities and strategies of an African campaign for restitution similar to the compensation paid by the Federal Republic of Germany to the State of Israel and to survivors of the Nazi Holocaust . The ceremony which enpanelled us took place in Dakar, Senegal, before the Heads of State of Africa at the O. A. U. summit meeting. In the Chair was President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria. After the " swearing in" our Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) held its first meeting also in Dakar. Our first visitor (who provided us with a photo opportunity) was veteran liberation fighter, Nelson Mandela from South Africa. Our first witness before our committee was veteran civil rights fighter, Jesse Jackson from the United States, As a reparations committee, our work in Dakar in June 1992 was mainly symbolic and supportive. But we did choose the main officers of our own committee. We elected as our Chairman Chief Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola, the Nigerian publishing magnet and crusader for African reparations , We elected as Co-Chair Professor Amadou Mahtar M' Bow, former

Director-General of UNESCO. And we elected Ambassador Dudley J . Thompson, Jamaica 's High Commissioner to Nigeria, as the Rapporteur-General of the GEP .

It was not until the GEP's second official meeting in Abuja, Nigeria, in September 1992 that we began to address more substantive issues of reparations for Africa' s enslavement and colonization. We met with the Nigerian Head of State again, and he contributed \$500, 000 to our preliminary budget as a committee.

We have only just begun our work. Who is to pay reparations? Who is to be beneficiary? In what form should it be paid money, service, debt-forgiveness, or other? Does the crusade stand a real chance of success?

Members of the GEP like myself can so far attempt to answer only the last. We would not be serving on the committee if we were not convinced that it was a viable campaign over a long period. But just as the campaign against slavery and the slavetrade took generations before it prevailed, the new campaign for reparations for that enslavement may take at least a generation. This GEP can only prepare the ground work for the next stage of the campaign .

In the course of the year I included the issue of reparations in a number of public lectures I gave. Particularly appropriate was my lecture in the Bahamas where Christopher Columbus first landed. My hosts were a Pan-African organization in the Western Hemisphere called Caribbean African American Dialogue - describing its membership as 'l survivors of the middle passage. " At the conference I met people of African descent not only from the West Indies and North America, but also from such Latin American countries as Venezuela, Costa Rica, Brazil and

Nicaragua. My keynote address was on the theme of the conference "The Black Holocaust: 500 Years of Resistance."

I also discussed the issue of "Black Holocaust" or "African Reparations" at major presentations at Ohio State University, Cornell University, Old Dominion University, University of Georgia, University of Lesotho in Southern Africa, and on radio interviews and talk shows .

I have sometimes got into trouble in Jewish circles in the United States for using terms like "Black Holocaust." In a lecture in Columbus, Ohio, I tried to put this debate in a wider context , I discussed what I called "the dual plagiarism" in Jewish-Black verbal heritage. The

Jews borrowed from the Greek language the word "DIASPORA," meaning dispersion. The Africans have since borrowed from the Jewish experience the word "DIASPORA" to describe a comparable condition of dispersal.

Similarly, the Jews borrowed from the Greek language the word "HOLOCAUST" - connoting destruction by fire. The Africans have more recently borrowed from Jewish experience the same word "HOLOCAUST" (though not necessarily with a capital E) . This borrowing from borrowers without attribution is what I call "the dual plagiarism." But this plagiarism is defensible because the vocabulary of horrors like genocide and enslavement should not be subject to copyright-restrictions , Yet there are Jews who believe that it is all right for the Jews to borrow from the Greeks such words as "DIASPORA" and "HOLOCAUST," but not all right for Blacks to borrow the same concepts from the Jews . The Jews are particularly possessive about the concept of Holocaust - insisting that it must be uniquely Jewish. Yes, when the concept is from Greek to Jew but No if it is from Jew to Black.

Some of you may remember that I wrote a short paper entitled "Multiculturalism and Comparative Holocaust" as an appendix to a syllabus review report of the State of New York. The main report of our Syllabus Review and Development Committee was entitled One Nation, Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence. The subtitle of the full report was proposed by me and accepted by my colleagues .

The full report was bound to be controversial anyhow. But even more controversial in some New York circles was my appendix, pleading that the word "holocaust" should not be reserved for the Jewish experience but should be applicable to such catastrophes as the genocide against Native Americans and the brutal enslavement of Africans .

In 1991 there were demands that I should be dismissed from my job as a professor at the State University of New York at Binghamton . In 1992 there were renewed demands that my appendix on "Comparative Holocaust" should be expunged from the official report of the Syllabus Review Committee. The Weisenthal Centre urged the Board of Regents of the State of New York to "reject" the appendix on the grounds that any denial of Jewish uniqueness was a denial of the very diversity and multiculturalism which our Syllabus Report sought to promote.

To the best of my knowledge, my appendix has not been expunged from the Report. Nor have I been dismissed from my job. The voices of intolerance and censorship have not so far

prevailed .

Zionism

An Israeli student came into and asked me to write a reference programmes and law schools on her and I

my office at Binghamton in 1992 for submission to graduate behalf . She confessed that

some of her friends had expressed surprise that she wanted the most outspoken campus critic of Israel as one of her referees. Please remember that this was not a pro-Israeli American Jewish student . She was a foreign student from Israel itself , But she had decided that I was the kind of teacher who would not confuse my attitude to Israeli policies with my evaluation of my students, wherever they came from. Of course she was right. She was confident enough about herself to be able to trust a critic of her country.

While the overwhelming majority of Jewish students on campus continue to trust me (as indicated by those who enroll in my courses) there have been Zionist extremists in 1992 who wanted to incite people against me. When Professor Leonard Jeffries came to give a lecture at Binghamton University, many local Jews were alarmed. After all, Jeffries (an African-American scholar) was on record as a major proponent of the thesis that Western Jews were much bigger participants as financiers of the trans-Atlantic slave trade than had been adequately acknowledged. But what had Jeffries' visit to Binghamton campus got to do with me?

The ultra-Zionists on campus held a meeting very close to my office at which I was described as a "cancer in our community. . . . a man who compares Israel's defending its right to exist to the Nazi regime. . . . We fully expect President DeFleur [of Binghamton University] to assist us in having Mazrui removed from his position. "

An anonymous caller telephoned my unlisted home number and left a message advising me not to attend Leonard Jeffries' lecture that evening. When I told a concerned graduate student that I had every intention of attending the Jeffries lecture, and refused to call the University Security to protect me, the concerned graduate student took the initiative to assemble several other graduate students to accompany me to the lecture hall. The bodyguard took me completely by surprise ! I nearly refused to go to Jeffries' lecture because of the bodyguard! But that would have been a surrender to those who did not want me to go. What a dilemma! In the end I did attend Leonard Jeffries' lecture . He fuelled the suspicions of the ultra-Zionists by making repeated polite acknowledgements to my presence in the audience . Fortunately the Jeffries lecture did not result in the kind of Black/ Jewish clash which many people had feared. Indeed, Leonard Jeffries tried to be quite conciliatory to the Jewish members of the audience, without surrendering his intentions to pursue further research into the Jewish role in the transAtlantic slave trade. Later in the year I gave a lecture at Old Dominion University in Virginia, Again the local ultra-Zionist organization tried to arouse the hostility of the local press against me. Material was distributed about what I had said in the past about Israel. Local Jewish leaders were invited by the president of the university to a special colloquium before my main lecture. Local Jewish leaders were also invited to the Presidential Banquet before my lecture. This Jewish leadership also attended my main lecture on "Race and Religion in the New World Order. " In spite of the efforts of the ultra-Zionists, no major cleavage emerged at Old Dominion either between Jew and Black or between Jew and Muslim.

From a Zionist point of view, my more controversial lecture was given earlier in 1992 at the University of Michigan on the theme "Apartheid is Dying, but Zionism Persists" The thesis was that both Zionism and apartheid had been ideologies of macro- segregation creating a Jewish state separate from Arabs, and a white state separate from Blacks . The separatist ambition of white South Africans is in the process of collapsing. The separatist ambition of Jews to maintain a distinct "homeland" from Palestinians is still powerful. Both forms of "macro- segregation" have inevitably entailed a degree of what is now called "ethnic cleansing" - sometimes taking the form of outright collective deportation of groups or population transfers . (When I gave the lecture in Michigan I had no idea that the Israeli government would be deporting more than 400 Palestinians before the end of the year in defiance of international law and world opinion) .

But how much of my sense of outrage against apartheid is due to my being Black? How much of my anger against Israel comes from my being Muslim or from my Arab blood? Who

can ever know about such matters? Is every Jewish critic of Nazism primarily outraged as a Jew first and foremost? Or is there a human sensibility which transcends the feelings of being victim?

The Shadow of Soyinka

Can I have Arab blood and still be an African? One distinguished African who did not seem to think so was Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel Laureate in Literature. In an article in Transition magazine (Oxford University Press, U.S.A. , No. 54, 1991) , Soyinka declared that my television series, The

Africans: A Triple Heritage “was not a series made by a black African.” Elsewhere in print and on the radio he kept on referring to my Arab ancestry.

In my reply in Transition No. 57, I have reminded Soyinka that his own ethnic group, the Yoruba, have a myth of ancestry which traces Yoruba origins to Mecca in Arabia; and that the word Yoruba and the word Arab may be etymologically linked. ” The Arab side of Mazrui ‘s ancestry goes back to the Sultanate of Oman hundreds of years ago . Parts of Oman were once ruled by a dynasty called the Yaaruba. Soyinka and Mazrui may yet discover

a level of shared genealogical fraternity that neither of them suspected before they decided to challenge each other to this deadly duel

In my reply I went on to argue that Soyinka’ s standards of racial purity would dig-Africanize or deprive of Black identity the late president of Angola Agostinho Neto, the present president of Ghana Jerry Rawlings, the former Prime Minister of Jamaica Michael Manley, the retired justice of the U.S. Supreme

Court Thurgood Marshall, as well as such great Pan-Africanists as W. E. B. DuBois, Malcolm X, Frantz Fanon, Denis Brutus and a host of others. All of these, and millions more, were racially mixed.

Why is Wole Soyinka taking us down this dangerous path of racial quantification and genetic explanation? What happened to the Soyinka who exclaimed in a poem published in 1972 (“Ujamaa”) “Earth is all people?”

Alongside my latest reply in Transition No. 57 entitled “The Dual Memory: Genetic and Factual” , Soyinka has published what he calls, “A Footnote to a Satanic Trilogy. I’ This time his accusations against me are even more startling! He accuses me of trying to incite Northern Nigerian Muslims against him! ! On what evidence does he make these”diabolical” charges? You may have to read Transition No. 57. Needless to say, the charges have no foundation whatsoever. Nor do I regard Nigerian Muslims as fanatics waiting to be incited, though I do recognize that Nigeria as a whole has a sectarian problem.

In case you are concerned about this blood-letting between two African intellectual elders, I have written a letter to Wole offering an olive branch. But that would only work if he stopped making false charges against me in public.

The debate between Soyinka and Mazrui generated sufficient interest (and pain) in the academic profession that The Chronicle of Higher Education in the U.S.A. carried a report about it on December 9 , 1992 describing it as “The Battle of the Titans” !! The Transition phase of the battle is now over. I hope Soyinka and I soon return to the normality which once characterized our relationship, We could be friends and serve our people better.

The Seattle Salute

One opportunity for a reconciliation which was missed was at the 1992 annual meetings of

the African Studies Association of the United States. A "conference within a conference" was organized. The mini-conference consisted of four panels (about fifteen papers) on the works of Ali A. Mazrui! The event was an enormous tribute in anticipation of my 60th birthday in February 1993. However, the papers were not intended to be praise-songs. On the contrary, some of them were highly critical - in some cases generating angry exchanges. Perhaps within this format the Soyinka-Mazrui disagreements could have been thrashed out with less personalized passion than in the pages of a magazine. Wole Soyinka was originally scheduled to come to the conference - but subsequently decided against it. Those who did participate in the mini-conference on Mazrui at the A.S.A. annual meetings came from diverse disciplines literature, history, philosophy, banking, law, television production, classics, sociology as well as political science. The most explosive issue was on gender. Did Ali Mazrui as a man have a right to discuss women in his academic work? This was the sub-text of one of the critiques. My reply was based on two principles. First, I regarded the empowerment of women as fundamental to the survival of the human species, as I had indicated as far back as *The African Condition* (1979) and *A World Federation of Cultures* (1976). Secondly I do regard the study of Africa as incomplete without the study of African women. In any case, if the empowerment of women is relevant to the very survival of the human species, the issue is too important to be entrusted to only one gender. It can certainly not be entrusted to men on their own. We all have a stake in human survival. so I reiterated emphatically in that heated exchange in Seattle between me and the distinguished West African feminist.

After the exchange a number of other women came to lend support to my spirited defense. A number of them agreed with me that the struggle for the empowerment of women did require an alliance between genuinely progressive men and women. On the other hand, one distinguished Ghanaian feminist was very frosty towards me after the gender session. She seemed more offended than was the Nigerian feminist with whom I had directly clashed. But when all was said and done, both my critics and my supporters at the A.S.A. conference in Seattle paid me a supreme compliment by their participation in those four panels. And my former Makerere student, now at Holy Cross College, Professor Hussein M. Adam, and my colleague at Binghamton, Professor Omar i H. Kokole, are to be congratulated on their immense organizational and coordinating efforts, jointly with the African Studies Association (A. S.A.) and its programme officers.

It was purely by coincidence that it was also in 1992 that I was successful in raising \$50,000 for the Association. As a former president of the A.S.A. , I had been asked to help in their fund-raising campaign. In September 1992 I was in Nigeria, and spent some time with Chief Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola, the owner of the Concord newspapers and publications. He took me to his home and introduced me to both his first wife and his fourth, both exceptionally powerful personalities.

Upon my return to the United States it suddenly occurred to me that Chief Abiola was the type of person who could respond to an appeal from the African Studies Association of the United States. I wrote to him explaining the importance of the Association as a bridge between African scholars and U.S. scholars, and emphasizing how vital it was that Africa be understood in the United States,

I then faxed my plea to Chief Abiola. You can imagine my astonishment when within little more than twenty-four hours I received a phone call at home from Chief Abiola. "What is your bank account number?" he snapped! I reached for my cheque book and dictated the

number to him. Before long my bank account was \$50,000 richer. It was an unfamiliar feeling, but it was also a very brief experience. The money was soon transferred to the African Studies Association!

When Chief Abiola's first wife died soon after, he phoned me personally at home to let me know. I was deeply saddened. At the African Studies Presidential Banquet of 1992 in Seattle I proposed a minute of silence in honour of the late Mrs. Abiola. It was in solidarity with a great Nigerian woman and in sympathy with her distinguished family. I remembered my conversation with her in her home when I was a guest of Chief Abiola's in September 1992. May her soul rest in paradise. Amen.

Somalia : Pan-Africanism and Pan-Islam

I was involved during the year with raising money for Somalia in its hour of crisis. At a fund raising banquet in

Philadelphia, sponsored mainly by African-American Muslims (Masjidu ' Llah, Philadelphia) , I was the main speaker and boxer Muhammad Ali ("The Greatest") was the Guest of Honour. My lecture was a mixture of academic explanations of Somalia's crisis and an impassioned appeal for "putting Somali society back on its feet." Thanks to Muhammad Ali's presence, to the efforts of the organizers, to my own impassioned appeal, and to the generous responsiveness of the diners, we managed to raise about \$16, 000 that night for Somalia. This was a triumph for three forms of solidarity - Pan Africanism, Pan-Islam and human solidarity .

Also exciting for me was simply spending about six or seven hours in the company of the most exciting boxer of all time. Since Muhammad Ali's face is one of instant recognition, we attracted a lot of attention in the streets of Philadelphia and at the railway station. On one occasion, in the hotel lobby, I was standing alone with the great boxer. Other hotel guests assumed that I was either Ali's uncle or secretary, or agent, or bodyguard! They came to me to ask for permission to be photographed with Ali. I consulted Ali - and then I gave permission with all the authority of Ali's uncle or agent! Hundreds of photographs were taken of Ali and with Ali that evening!

He kept on distributing autographed brochures about Islam to the hotel-guests. Ali has become a missionary for his religion. He did missionary work of distributing autographed Islamic leaflets also at the Philadelphia railway station. Perhaps conscious of the fact that Malcolm X was converted to Islam when he was imprisoned, Muhammad Ali's weekly routine these days includes missionary visits to prisons in different American cities . I was most impressed.

At one o'clock in the morning Muhammad Ali wanted to be taken to a house in which he had lived in the 1960s . The elegant house probably now had white residents . I must say I was less than comfortable with the idea of four Black men turning up in a white neighborhood at one o'clock in the morning, uninvited. I remembered the visiting Japanese student in 1992, who had gone to a house early in the evening to ask if that was where a Halloween party was being held. He was shot dead as a result! That was early evening, the student was Japanese! In our case, the time was 1 a.m. , and we were four black men in a white area! I did not like the scenario!

However, we did decide to humour Ali. We took him along memory lane to his house of the 1960s. I held my breath. But Allah was on our side. The white folks slept peacefully while the Black folks examined their home from the outside. Alhamdu li Llah. The white folks did not have to call the police as they would have been justified in doing in the circumstances .

One other memorable fund-raising event for Somalia was at Cornell University, this time sponsored by an organization called MECA (Muslim Educational and Cultural Association) . The leaders in the effort were Muslim students at Cornell . I was their main speaker . I am not sure how much money they managed to raise in the end, but their target was also several thousand dollars for Somalia . Less direct forms of my support for Somalia came through media interviews (newspapers, television and radio) . Perhaps one of the most memorable of these was my being interviewed longdistance by the Australian Broadcasting Commission. I was in Binghamton, New York, and my interviewers were in Sydney, Australia. Two events had triggered off considerable Australian interest in the Black world - one was indeed the crisis in Somalia and the other was Spike Lee's film on Malcolm X. The Australians interviewed me on both Somalia and Malcolm X, whom I happened to have met in 1961 in New York City and with whom I had once discussed religion and race.

In Search of Omani Roots

I still cannot believe that it has taken me until the eve of my 60th year to visit the Sultanate of Oman. This Sultanate constitutes the Arab side of my mixed Afro-Arab ancestry. How could I have delayed for so long my visit to it? I have been trying to psychoanalyze myself. Clearly mine has not been an attempt to suppress the Arab side of my ancestry - otherwise I would not have retained the name Mazrui as my Western-style surname . Since my Swahili culture allows me the option of using my father's name (Al Amin) as the family name, why did I adopt the clan name (Mazrui) for a surname? (A few other members of the family chose to drop the Mazrui clan name,)

If I had adopted Al 'Amin, that would have declared by being Muslim but not my being Arab. But I decided to use the clan name Mazrui - which is a clan which has been of Afro-Arabian significance . Those Mazrui who were in Africa were indeed definitely African, but with Arab relationships .

I still have no adequate answer as to why my visit to the Sultanate of Oman was so late in my life. But I am deeply grateful that it has happened at last. It was absolutely wonderful, and was pre-eminently due to the initiative of my friend Khamis Al-Hashar in 1992. Khamis is an Omani who was partly educated in Kenya in the 1950s. He embraced it as a personal mission to (a) introduce Ali Mazrui to Muscat and Oman and (b) to introduce this African Mazrui to the people of Oman, including the Mazrui of Oman.

In Muscat I gave a lecture on "Afrabia: Africa and the Arabs in the New World Order." There was short-circuit television to accommodate the large audience which had turned up for the lecture. The whole experience was a remarkable example of the political culture and the political economy of Afro-Arab relations from a Gulf perspective.

During my brief stay in Oman I was repeatedly exposed to the interplay between Arab culture and Swahili culture. Shopkeepers could unexpectedly negotiate with a customer in Kiswahili out of the blue e Policemen giving directions would suddenly break out in Kiswahili instead of Arabic. Clearly there had been considerable migration and cultural contact between Oman and East Africa over the centuries. Recent immigrants to Oman include some first cousins and nieces of mine from Mombasa, Kenya. Muscat my relatives entertained me lavishly.

I met two retired Omani ambassadors who captured the historic interaction between East Africa and Oman. Farid Hinai (alias Hinawy) was born in Mombasa, and was a playmate of mine when we were children. He lived to become, first, Kenya's ambassador to Zaire and

later, Omani's ambassador to the People's Republic of China. I met him both in Kinshasa, Zaire, and in Beijing, China, when he was ambassador of the Republic of Kenya and the Sultanate of Oman respectively. And in 1992 we were briefly reunited in Muscat.

The other retired Omani ambassador I met in Muscat was Ahmed

Humud Al-Maamiry who was born in the old Sultanate of Zanzibar (now part of Tanzania), became politically influential in

Zanzibar, subsequently migrated to Oman and served as Omani Ambassador to India. He wrote a number of books and pamphlets, including some on Oman's relations with East Africa. He held a lunch in my honour in his home in Muscat. He said he planned to spend more time in Zanzibar and Pemba now that he had retired. Unfortunately he died before the end of the year.

During my visit to Oman I was taken to the Mazrui villages and townships, and introduced as a member of the African branch of the family. Six goats and lambs were killed for lunch in my honour. I was profoundly moved by the local enthusiasm for a returning relative and was deeply impressed by the lavish hospitality of these Omani kindred. Was I Alex Haley in reverse - an African re-discovering the non-African part of his origins?

Among my Omani kith and kin I was accepted as a "Mazrui" (pronounced in a more Arabized way). But in dress, speech, manners, looks, and sense of bewilderment, no one was left in any doubt that I was an African Mazrui!

In my ancestry, was I a Muslim before I became an Arab? I am curious to know whether, in my genealogy, my Islamicity is older than my Arabness. Was my first Muslim ancestor an Arab or an African? Was my first Muslim ancestor the first Omani in my genealogy? Or was it an Islamized Mdogo in Kenya or someone from among the Mijikenda of Mombasa? How does one do research about these origins? My African side might have been Islamized before mixing genes with Omanis. After all, there were Africans who were Islamized before they intermarried with the Arabs. All I now realize more clearly than ever is that all Mazrui are a bridge between East Africa and the Arabian Gulf, hopefully a bridge of solidarity between two Third World regions.

My visit to the United Arab Emirates (U. A. E.) next door was less of a pilgrimage since I had been there before. But I got more media coverage in the U. A. E. than in Oman, and was entertained to lunch by the Emir of Sharjah, His Highness Sheikh Sultan bin Mohammed Al-Qasimi, member of the U. A. E. Supreme Council. His Highness has a PhD from a British University and has published scholarly works in English as well as Arabic. Our discussions were scholarly and wide-ranging. Elsewhere in the U. A. E. I gave a seminar to the Cultural Club of Dubai. My U. A. E. patrons included the Cultural Association of Dubai and the distinguished elder, Mr. Seif Al-Ghurair. My deepest gratitude to them all.

Towards Global Multi-Culturalism

I continued as Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University. But the work of the Institute was still impossible to separate from the work of the Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities, which I occupy. The Schweitzer Professor's global activities still constitute a disproportionate share of the international work of the Institute. Even the joint colloquium with the Braudel Center at Binghamton on "Culture and the World System" began as a Schweitzer Chair joint project.

But thanks to the planning strategies developed, firstly by Dr. Abdalla S. Bujra and Dr. Omar i H. Kokole and more recently by Dr. Parviz Morewedge, new Institute activities more independent of the Schweitzer Chair are now being developed, In 1992 these included the

publication of the Institute's first Research Papers, and the sponsoring of an ambitious conference on

"Multicultural Intellectual Traditions in Africa, the Middle East and Ancient Greece" which we decided to hold in New York City with the help of the Middle East Institute of Columbia University ,

From 1992 the Binghamton Institute of Global Cultural

Studies also started co-sponsoring The Journal of Neoplatonic Studies . Dr. Diana Frank continued to explore the possibility of a new TV series involving the Institute. The theme of the new series could be either "The World of Islam" or "The African Diaspora" or a synthesis of the two concepts .

With regard to the TV project about Islam, we have been in touch with Muslims and Islamicists in such diverse countries as Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, United Arab Emirates ,

Sultanate of Oman, Turkey, Nigeria, the People's Republic of China, as well as Islamic scholars in the Western world. But obviously this is just the beginning. These are still ideas on the drawing board,

My own contacts in the African Diaspora are the most immediate in Black America and in the English-speaking Caribbean. But I have also had some exposure to the African Diaspora in parts of the Arab world. Again this is a project in formation still very tentative indeed. If you have ideas about funding, please help us.

Even in our brief life-span our Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton has already produced one alumnus who nearly became President of a country! Dr. A. Adu Boahen was a visiting professor at our Institute, then went back to Ghana to agitate for the restoration of multiparty democracy, helped to form a political movement, and was then promoted as his party's presidential candidate. In the hotly contested electoral campaign in Ghana in 1992, Adu Boahen lost to the incumbent Head of State, Jerry Rawlings . (However, not everybody agrees that Rawlings won fairly. Many Ghanaians believe that the real winner was indeed Adu Boahen) .

One alumnus of our Institute continues to shy away from a high-profile political appointment in his own country. Dr. Jonah Isawa Elaigwu is still a professor at the University of Jos in Nigeria . However, his scholarly expertise on federalism has found a very practical application in his additional job as official peace-maker in intergovernmental disputes within Nigeria (disputes between local, state and federal levels of authority) .

He was appointed to this crucial role by the President of Nigeria . It was wonderful to catch up with Jonah Elaigwu and his family when I was in Nigeria in September.

In 1992 we sent to the publishers at last Volume VI II of the UNESCO General History of Africa. The help of A. Adu Boahen, President of the International Scientific Committee of the project, was indeed crucial. We hope to see this final volume published in 1993 at long last.

But as my work as editor of this immense Africa volume came to an end, I have been asked to edit another volume in a series on the history of Islam, commissioned by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, University of Oxford, England. While the eight volumes of the UNESCO General History of Africa took well over twenty years to complete, the volumes of the Oxford History of Islam will no doubt be completed in less than half that time . The Oxford editorial machinery and bureaucracy is far less cumbersome than was that of the

UNESCO General History of Africa.

Although I was no longer a member of the World Bank's

Council of African Advisors, I continued to be involved in some of the Bank's new concerns about governance and culture. I was invited by the magazine Finance and Development (World Bank and IMF publication) to contribute an article. I submitted a piece on, "The Economic Woman in Africa," Since the magazine is published in a dozen languages, this piece of Mazruiana is already available in languages which range from Japanese to Spanish! (Alas, no Swahili edition yet!). In addition, I maintained working relationships with such old friends at the World Bank as Dunstan Wai and Ismail Serageldin.

In the course of 1992 I was involved with a number of events connected with syllabus review, diversity and multiculturalism.

In the United States I am a member of two minorities racial (I am Black) and religious (I am a Muslim) . Are Blacks and Muslims fairly portrayed in syllabi and curricula in the United States? The Council on Muslim Education in California invited me to join them in discussions with American publishers about how Islam and Muslim history are portrayed in U.S. text books . The idea was to help the publishers and U.S. education towards a more accurate and less stereotypical presentation of the Islamic experience and the World of Islam. It was the beginning of what we hope would be a continuing dialogue with publishers . Earlier I also participated in a fund-raising event sponsored by the San Francisco Muslim Community, partly with Muslim education in mind.

Friends of the Broome County Public Library, who are themselves lovers of books, were curious to know why some books were hated. So they invited me to address them on Salman Rushdie's novel, The Satanic Verses . I described the novel as the most divisive book in world affairs since Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf. When a report about my speech appeared in the local Binghamton newspaper, The Press and Sun-Bulletin, it provoked a sustained public debate in the correspondence columns, in the leader column, and with special features on the subject.

Earlier in the year the Canadian newspaper, The Toronto Star, commissioned me to write a feature article as part of a debate in the newspaper under the heading Salman Rushdie: The Last Hostage. My article for the Toronto newspaper coincided with the debate in Israel about whether there should be a public performance of Richard Wagner's opera Tannhuser (1845) by the Israeli Philharmonic . Since 1948 the works of Wagner had been effectively banned off the stage in Israel because of Wagner's anti-Semitic views. Wagner died in 1883 . Salman Rushdie is still alive, and yet many Westerners claim they do not know what all the Muslim fuss is about .

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison in June I addressed teachers at almost all levels of education on, "Afrocentricity and Multiculturalism: Are They Rival Paradigms of Education?" There was a conference at the University which involved teachers from other levels of education. My lecture was recorded .

I do not remember signing away the rights of the lecture, but a few months later I happened to hear the whole lecture on National Public Radio! At the end of the lecture the audiocassette and transcript of the lecture were offered for sale! Although I will not have any share of that money, I am glad to know that my views on Afrocentricity and multiculturalism are reaching a wider audience.

At Binghamton later in the year I gave a lecture on a comparable theme to a gathering of

Upstate New York regional network of faculty and staff of colour. And at the Smithsonian Institution's international conference in Washington D.C. to mark the Columbia Quincentenary, I spoke on "Global Africa in Flux: The Dialectic of Diversity in the Black World." My lecture was sponsored by the National Museum of American History. The Broome County Martin Luther King Jr. Commission hosted its second annual Martin Luther King Jr. dinner. I was the keynote speaker. My topic was, "Martin Luther King's Dream: Is it Approaching or Receding?" The evening was adequate rather than outstanding - but I was honoured by the central role given to me. The real drama happened a couple of weeks later when the main organizer of the evening MLK celebration just collapsed and died. Although not assassinated, Dorothy B Garner died as suddenly as Martin Luther King Jr. had done a decade and a half earlier. May their souls rest peacefully in Africa's bosom. Amen .

At the University of Georgia, in Athens, my advice was sought on precisely the issues of multiculturalism and

Afrocentricity. For a Friday evening, when there was a football game, I got a surprisingly large audience for a lecture by an African speaker. However, the subject was indeed "The World after the Cold War: An Afrocentric Perspective." We did so well that some faculty at the University of Georgia have expressed interest in a longer Mazrui visit. On the other hand, I have a lot to learn about Georgia and the South generally. Mutual need? Let us wait and see. I was so well received in October 1992 that a poem in my mother-tongue (Kiswahili) was specially composed in my honour . I was deeply moved.

Sentimental journeys of the year included my visit to my

British alma mater, the University of Manchester where I got my Bachelor's degree in 1960. In May 1992 I participated in a special international symposium at Manchester on "Rethinking National and Collective Security after the Cold War." My friend and contemporary as an undergraduate, Burjor Avari, is still in the city of Manchester - but now as a senior lecturer at the Manchester Metropolitan University. He invited me to give two lectures at his own institution in the city. My reunion with Avari and his family, and the entire setting of the University of Manchester, unlocked the floodgates of undergraduate memories from the late 1950s. Burjor Avari's dedication to multicultural education in Britain had earned him the recognition of the British Queen, who awarded him the MBE (Member of the British

Empire) in the 1980s at a special ceremony at Buckingham Palace.

My other British trip of 1992 was to the University of

Bristol where I presented a paper at the Colston Research Society

Research Symposium. The theme of the conference was "Language,

Culture and Education. My own paper was on "Language in a Multicultural Context : The African Experience" (co-author Alamin M. Mazrui) .

In 1992 I concluded my tenure as Andrew D. White Professorat-Large of Cornell University - a six-year appointment which began in 1986. My final week in residence at Cornell in that capacity included public lectures, discussions of The Africans: A Triple Heritage, informal interactions with students and faculty, and a star-studded farewell dinner. I am told that I was the first Black person to serve as Andrew D. White Professorat-Large . If that is correct, it is more a criticism of Cornell than a compliment to me . I hope Cornell will now respond more actively to all that Black talent available in the wider world.

Nevertheless, I remain deeply indebted to Cornell University for the tribute it paid me with

this particular appointment . More over, it would not have happened without the support and solidarity of the Africana Studies and Research Center and without the support of my old and dear friend, Locksley Edmondson (who later became Director of the Africana Center) . Salute to you all!

Although I have now ceased to be Andrew D. White Professorat-Large, my link with Cornell continues in another form. I am a Senior Scholar in the Africana Studies and Research Center, and can now teach regular courses at Cornell. I have already taught one undergraduate course on “Government and Politics in Africa” and one graduate course on “Global Africa: Comparative Black

Experience, I’

When the former Head of State of Nigeria, General Olusegun

Obasanjo, was a”distinguished statesman-in-residence” at Cornell, I was given an hour of tte-tte with him. We discussed a wide range of issues, from pro-democracy movements in Africa to the future of Africa Leadership Forum. In passing, General Obasanjo and I also discussed our shared critic, Wole Soyinka! ! (The General and I are kindred victims of Soyinka-

Return to Parenting

Rumour has it that in the 1980s I issued an ultimatum to my first three sons (Jamal, Al ‘Amin and Kim) . They were in their twenties . I declared:

“You had better give me grandchild by 1990, or I will proceed to make my own grandchild!”

This story is probably apocryphal! But I did indeed make what is, in age, my own “grandson” (alias my fourth son) , Of course, I had ” incidental” help from Pauline (Maryam) Uti, the mother! ! If I had once made such a threat to my previous sons about making a grandchild, the baby’s arrival has been a supreme pleasure! !

A number of coincidences surrounded Farid’s birth. He was born on the 14th of a particular month. So was Jamal, his eldest brother and my first born. So was Albert Schweitzer, after whom my professorship is named. So was Brenda Kiberu, an important background factor in our previous lives. And Molly, my first wife and mother of my first three sons was born on the 15th. Will numerology meet with karma and affect young Farid’ s fortunes ? Indeed, Far id Mazrui and Albert Schweitzer were both born on January 14th. So was Schweitzer’s daughter, Rhena.

At any rate, the full name of my fourth son is Far id Chinedu Mazrui . I was present at his birth, and was even allowed to cut the umbilical cord myself . I personally gave him his first bath in the hospital. He has been a joy ever since.

But there was something else which remains memorable about Farid’s birth. His mother did not scream even once during the entire process. She pushed, shoved and grunted - but she never screamed ! It was a remarkable demonstration of courage, stamina and endurance. And this was Pauline’s first baby. I was proud of her (and indeed of her gender) !

The first of the relatives to come and see the new-born were Alamin M. Mazrui and his wife, Elizabeth (Nail a) Orchardson.

They stuck around for a couple of weeks to help us adjust to the new household routines . (Al amin is normally based at Ohio State University as a professor of Linguistics and Black Studies) .

My son, Kim, and his wife, Kay Forde Mazrui, soon followed with the same mission. They

arrived with their little boy, Will. It was wonderful having all of them here at Binghamton. Kim and Kay had once offered to bring up Far id for us as his additional parents (not alternative parents) , This kind of offer is not uncommon between relatives in Swahili culture, but it is almost unknown in mainstream American culture. (Western parenting generally tends to be monopolistic. A child is normally allowed only one set of parents. Not so in Swahili culture where my brother could offer to rear my child without my renouncing my own parenthood.)

Anyhow, Kim and Kay made the offer in the Swahili tradition. But since Far id was Pauline's first child, Pauline wanted to bring him up herself (with my help) ! Nevertheless, Pauline and I were deeply moved by the offer from Kay and Kim.

We did consider having Far id brought up by my family in Mombasa, Kenya . But the purpose there would have been to ensure that Far id grew up as a real Swahili-speaking person, steeped in Afro-Islamic culture. But in the end Pauline and I decided to bring up the child ourselves even at the risk of producing another Westerner.

As some of you know, I have two Al ' Amins in my life my nephew, the professor at Ohio State University, and my son in Ann Arbor, Michigan . Should the younger Al Amin do graduate work at an African university - such as the University of Nairobi in Kenya or the University of Jos in Nigeria? Or should he join a graduate programme within the United States? My son Al ' Amin knows the cities of Nairobi and Jos already. He has lived in each briefly. Should he now go to study in one of those African cities? Al 'Amin's dilemnas are yet unresolved.

My oldest son, Jamal Mazrui came to Binghamton for the Thanksgiving holiday in November . He was accompanied by his lady-friend, Bonnie O' Day. During their stay in Binghamton they beat us to Spike Lee's film Malcolm X, which they both enjoyed enormously. How do blind people like Jamal and Bonnie " see" a film? I asked that question, They answered that, after the first few minutes, two skills come into play - sensitivity to the logic of the plot and heightened sensitivity to voice and sound,

Jamal wanted to know. why Spike Lee's version of the Honourable Elijah Muhammad spoke with such a strong foreign accent . I was surprised to hear that, since I knew that Elijah Muhammad was born in Georgia, U.S.A. . I transmitted Jamal ' s question to one of Elijah Muhammad's own children - my colleague Akbar Muhammad, a professor of history at Binghamton . Professor Akbar Muhammad was impressed by Jamal ' s sensitivity. Akbar explained that his father's accent was regionally mixed rather than foreign. Spike Lee exaggerated the unusual features of the accent in the film, Malcolm X.

Whatever happens, we wish you and your loved ones a truly satisfying 1993, a truly rewarding new phase in your lives .

Newsletter 18, Eve of 1994, The Dual Crusade and Multiple Anniversary

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ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER (No. 18) EVE OF 1994
(For Friends, Relatives and Colleagues)

Themes : The Dual Crusade and Multiple Anniversary

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

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

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

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

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

crusade for reparations and global cultural studies was up against many skeptics .

The Reparations Crusade

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I also attempted to inject the issue of reparations in many of my public lectures in North America. My least successful attempt was at Yale University in New Haven when I was on a panel with three other people, including my compatriot Ngugi wa Thiong'o. For some reason the Chairperson took a dislike either of me as a person or of what I represented. She intervened to make fun of my arguments in situations where I could not answer back. I am still licking my Yale wounds. I hope one day somebody at Yale would arrange a one-on-one debate strictly between my former chairperson and myself! I would like to see if she would be as triumphant in the argument if she did not have the advantage of being chair! There is only one way to find out, In Kenya I succeeded in generating a national debate on reparations, when the paper I presented at the Abuja Pan-African conference was published in the Sunday Nation (Nairobi). It triggered off a debate in Kenya newspapers generally both in English and Kiswahili. Perhaps the most contentious issue was whether the Arab slave trade should be put on the same level as the trans-Atlantic slave trade. I took the position that although the Arab slave trade and indigenous African slavery were much older than the trans-Atlantic variety, the Arab and indigenous forms of servitude were of a smaller scale and allowed for much greater social mobility - from slave to Sultan, from peasant to paramount-chief. Indeed, both Egypt and Muslim India had actually experienced the phenomenon of slave dynasties.

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

In the Kenya Press I debated reparations with a variety of adversaries. But none of the exchanges was more uncomfortable for me than the one with my old friend and colleague, Professor Bethwell Alan Ogot, perhaps Kenya's most distinguished historian.

Although elsewhere in his writings Dr. Ogot had argued that Africans were making too much of the issue of slavery, in the debate in the Sunday Nation Dr. Ogot seemed to have decided that Africans were not making enough of the Arab slave trade. The verbal exchanges in the Press were sometimes heated and acrimonious.

TAT + mna+ A F h r' a A who were most skeptical about the crusade for reparations were many Africans and Black people themselves. The Group of Eminent Persons on Reparations appointed by the OAU would need to win the hearts and minds of Africans themselves, as well as of

Westerners, in the coming decades. We need a moral equivalent of the Lyrical Ballads by Wordsworth and Coleridge.

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

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

discussion which followed was often vigorous. The skeptics included Africans. A moral

equivalent of the Lyrical Ballads was indeed needed, to create a supportive constituency for this new cause.

In Search of Cultural Globalism

The other part of my dual crusade for 1993 was being a participant observer in global cultural studies. If experts of globalism were seldom interested in culture, and experts on culture were skeptical about globalization, we need to bridge the gulf. Our Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University has been very active in that particular mission through publications, scholarly translations, and our annual conference on "Ancient, Medieval and Modern Thought :

Multicultural Perspectives" organized by Parviz Morewedge and Anthony Preus. Omar i Kokole and I have also jointly taught a course on "Cultural Forces in World Politics".

Mohamed Hyder and I have started work on "The African University in a Global Context",

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

I must say that this was no holiday cruise. In teaching terms, it was a busier week than any I have ever spent in the United States. Basically I lectured in other people's classes.

The range included courses on "Revolution", "Comparative Slavery", "Race and Ethnicity", "Political Development" and special lectures when I addressed the whole student body on board the S.S. Universe. Since there was no single hall large enough to accommodate everybody, some students had to watch me on TV monitors in separate cabins, I did find occasion to inject the issue of "Reparations" in one of those plenary ship-wide lectures. The issue of reparations generated considerable discussion on board S.S. Universe.

I used the opportunities of my one week with "Semester-at-Sea" to promote global cultural perspectives among students who were in any case particularly eager to learn about other societies and cultures. The ship finally entered my own hometown of Mombasa. I was entering Mombasa from the sea for the first time in decades. I parted company with my students in Mombasa. They disembarked to sample Kenya for about one week, before they set sail first for a port in India, and then further east, before returning to the United States via Seattle.

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

Was the discussion really globalist and worthwhile? At least global differences were often

sharply manifested. In a paper circulated at the conference, I had accused the Indian army of atrocities in Kashmir . This provoked a vigorous defence of the Indian army from at least one of our Indian colleagues .

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

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

While in India I also gave the fourth B. N. Ganguli annual lectures at the Center for the Study of Developing Societies in Delhi . The theme of my two lectures was 'i The State and Cultural Evolution in Reverse " , posing the question of whether cultural evolution was a round trip process, and whether we had just started our journey back towards a world without the state, without racism, and with diminishing separation between church and state and rising re-tribalization. It was wonderful to see such old Indian friends as Raj ni Kothari, Ash is Nandy, and Danish Mohan, with members of their families . The Ganguli lectures in India were certainly part of my Lyrical Ballads in the field of global cultural studies. I was once again trying to promote that field of study and thought . I managed to inject the issue of reparations as well.

On one free-wheeling intellectual evening with Indian intellectuals hosted by Danish Mohan, i was surprised to learn that several participants were familiar with my views about Salman Rushdie and The Satanic Verses . (I hate the book but would protect the author if I could.) Rushdie was only one of the many lively topics we covered that evening. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, I raised the Rushdie affair from a different perspective a number of times with one distinguished Ayatollah when I was his guest at dinner . I asked: When does a fatwa (a legal opinion) become a hukm (a judicial judgement)? The late Imam Ruhollah Khomeini had given a legal opinion that a person found guilty of the sins attributed to Rushdie would be liable to the death penalty. And yet the Imam' s legal opinion had been treated as if it was already a judicial judgement - thus skipping the stages of formal charges, trial, and verdict lying between legal opinion and final judgement. Why had the fatwa - I asked the Ayatollah - been treated as if it was already the definitive hukm? The Ayatollah answered that they were occasions when an advisory opinion was, in fact, a call to action. He gave the example of an engineer providing an advisory opinion that a dam was about to burst open any minute. This would be a call to action - and normal intermediate stages of decision-making would have to be skipped. It reminded me of the American judicial concept of clear and present danger which was once invoked to deprive left-wing American citizens of due process and other civil liberties .

But why did a novel pose a "clear and present danger" to Islam? The Ayatollah replied that The Satanic Verses was a novel of subversion against Islam, paid for 't in millions" by enemies of Islam, written by someone still bearing a Muslim name, at a time when both

Islam globally and the Islamic revolution in Iran where at great risk.

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

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

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

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

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

My involvement with Islam in world culture included my keynote address to the Association of Muslim Social Scientists held near Washington, D.C. in October 15-17, 1993. My lecture was on “Islam: Between the Clash of Civilizations and the End of History”. In 1992 one of the most hotly debated theses in the

United States was Francis Fukuyama’s argument about “The End of History”. In 1993 one of the most hotly debated theses in the United States concerned Samuel Huntington’s article in Foreign Affairs that the end of the Cold War had reduced the chances of confrontations between states or between ideological blocs and increased chances of confrontations between civilizations. My own lecture to the Association of Muslim Social Scientists examined Islam within the contexts of both Fukuyama and Huntington.

I also lectured about Islam when I was in South Africa, and had a conversation with Archbishop Desmond Tutu about the risk of religious bigotry replacing racial bigotry in that deeply divided society. I continue to marvel at the humility and easy accessibility of Archbishop Tutu, another Nobel Prize winner for peace . He was not popular with Christian fundamentalists when he suggested that “Christ was not a Christian” . This seemed even more shocking than the older argument in left wing circles that “Marx was not a Marxist” . Archbishop Tutu’s argument was more complex. Was Christ not Christian because he pre-dated the Church? Was he not a Christian because the scriptures were not yet in being? Or was he not a Christian because organized Christianity betrayed Jesus? Or because Jesus was a Jew? You will have to ask Archbishop Tutu about these issues.

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

Inevitably democracy was one of my items on the agenda of global cultural studies. “Democracy without Violence” . This was basically the agenda of an East African symposium in Nairobi sponsored, paradoxically, by a West African former Head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo. General Obasanjo succeeded in bringing together representatives of most of the political parties of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to explore modalities of political co-existence and peaceful political competition. I was one of the keynote speakers at this symposium. It was an impressively candid exchange of views . On the issue of democracy and global culture, I also addressed in Abuja, Nigeria, a meeting sponsored by the National Council on Intergovernmental Relations , I spoke on democracy and culture in Nigeria and the rest of Africa.

At the University of Bergen in Norway I discussed my fears about the emergence of “ global apartheid” - a new racial polarization of the world after the Cold War between the affluent white world and the deepening indigence of the Black world. I was updating a theme which I had developed at the 90th anniversary of the Nobel Prize for Peace in Oslo two years earlier . I developed the same theme before a Southern African audience at a meeting sponsored by the World Order Models Project and the Foreign Ministry of Zimbabwe near Harare also in 1993 “Global apartheid” continued to haunt many in 1993 as racism escalated in Western Europe, tribalism deepened in Eastern Europe, and the United States lived under a cloud in which the main cause of death among young Black males was homicide. Are these additional grounds for reparations?

Nostalgia and Professional Anniversaries

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

But does 1993 also stand as an anniversary of something else about Volume VI II? And the answer is yes . The first draft of a table of contents for the volume written by me was circulated among members of the Editorial Bureau in Addis Ababa as long ago as 1973. Of

course the present table of contents of the volume bears no resemblance to that preliminary first draft of mine twenty years ago . But, incredible as it may sound, it did take some seven years before this definitive table of contents was eventually agreed upon. Another thirteen years were needed before final publication. The wheels of collective editorial work do indeed grind slowly! !

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

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

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

In 1993 my second son, Al Amin, entered the University of California, Berkeley, to begin graduate studies in social welfare . It was a most important new direction in his career. Other campuses of the University of California touched his Dad ' s life in the course of the year. I gave the 1993 James S. Coleman Distinguished Lecture in African Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) . My topic was "Global Changes and the Future of Higher Education in Africa" . The late Jim Coleman had played a role in my own early career, as well as in the genesis of the Center of African studies at UCLA. I was delighted to catch up in 1993 with his widow Ursula who was an old friend from our old Uganda days . I also gave a lecture at UCLA on "Afrocentricity versus Multiculturalism: Are They Rival Paradigms of Education?" Among those in attendance was Professor Maulana Karenga, one of the founding fathers of the Afrocentric movement in the United States, and the architect of the Kwanzaa festival in the African- American calendar. Maulana (an African-American) and I had a conversation in Kiswahili before my public lecture on Afrocentricity. We discovered that we had more in common with each other than many observers might still assume,

On an entirely different assignment, the African Studies Center at UCLA wanted me to contribute to a special issue of the magazine African Arts in tribute to the recently deceased

editor John Povey. The assignment expanded in size and became my more substantive article entitled "Islam and African Art: Stimulus or Stumbling Block?" This article is about to appear, trailing clouds of controversy. African Arts is of course a UCLA journal.

My fourth link with the University of California system in 1993 concerned the Davis campus. My old friend, Professor Donald

Rothchild, is one of the editors of the book *Africa in World Politics* (Westview Press, USA). I was in touch with him in 1993 about my own chapter in the new revised edition of the book which he and John Herberson originally edited. They are also editing the new revised edition.

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

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

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

In 1973 one of my hosts in Addis Ababa was Professor

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

Nostalgia and Personal Anniversaries

Although the most important scholarly celebration of my 60th birthday was held in Seattle, USA, in November 1992, the most important diplomatic celebration was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 1993 under the informal aegis of the International Peace Academy and the OAU. Very gracious tributes were paid to me by Mr. Olara Otunnu, President of the International Peace Academy, and His Excellency Salim A. Salim, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity. Equally moving at the same ceremony was the speech by my Kenyan compatriot, Dr. Michael Chege of the Ford Foundation, a fellow political scientist. The feasting at the banquet in Addis Ababa was indeed memorable!

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

When the high heart we magnify,
And the sure vision celebrate, And worship greatness passing by, Ourselves are great.
My own professorial Chair at Binghamton is named after one great man - Albert Schweitzer, who devoted much of his professional life to healing the sick in Gabon, without ever recognizing them as his equals. Schweitzer was a benevolent racist. His benevolence was great enough to win him the Nobel Prize for peace in 1952,
Do you know who occupied my Schweitzer Chair before I was appointed to it? The previous occupant was Toni Morrison, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993, the first Black woman to win any Nobel prize, I felt proud of Toni Morrison at many levels, but I also appreciated the semi-personal link that I occupied a professional chair which was once hers:

And worship greatness passing by, Ourselves are great.

I was also proud to make the presentation of the Noma Book Prize to the South Africa literary figure, Mongane Wally Serote.

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

And worship greatness passing by, Ourselves are great.

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

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

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

Yes indeed, 1993 was a year of many anniversaries for Ali Mazrui - some of them happy, other less so. It was the year when (in February) I became 60 years old - although the academic celebrations began in 1992 when that elaborate tribute was graciously paid to me in November in Seattle at the annual meetings of the African Studies Association (ASA) . The year 1993 also marked 30 years from when my career as an academic formally began,

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

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

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

Nevertheless, 1993 was a celebration of both Jamal's thirtieth birthday and Kenya's thirty years of independence. Technically 1993 was to be the only year Jamal's age would be almost exactly half his Dad's age! (30 years versus 60 years old. All other years in our lives have borne and will bear a less neat relationship in percentage terms to each other!!) When in 1973 I resigned from Makerere, the decision meant self-imposed exile. It was easier to make that decision after I had lost my most powerful personal anchor to East Africa my mother. She had died in 1972 in Mombasa, Kenya, adding personal loss to political desolation.

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

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

1993 also marked fifteen years since I had briefly served as President of the African Studies Association of the United States (I was privileged to lead the Association from 1978 to

In 1993 the Association honoured me again by calling upon me to give that aforementioned first Bashorun M. K. Oe Abiola Annual Distinguished Lecture in Boston, on "Global Africa: From Abolitionists to Reparationists. Had we come full circle?

I was hoping that Makerere University in Uganda would also constitute "full circle" for me. I

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

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

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

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

Reparations need allies; cultural globalism needs converts.

The struggle continues, dear friend,

SPECIAL REPORT DAILY (NB/RoA/) Novem/“er- / b p Mazrui: ‘Prophet’ who is least honoured at home

From KEVIN J. KELLEY,
NATION Correspondent,

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

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

“The Africans” has been generally praised in many countries, however, and the TV series

and accompanying book are now part of the curricula in a number of schools in the US. But 'The Africans' still has not appeared on television in Kenya - a situation that Mazrui terms "ridiculous." In an interview with the Nation from his office at the State University of New York in Binghamton, Prof Mazrui acknowledged that in some respects, the Kenyan society has become more open in the past couple of years. "The gains are greater transparency, the losses are greater conflict," he said. International donors seem prepared to put emphasis on the gains rather than the losses, he observed.

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

Prof Mazrui: Here's hope for Kenya
(December 12), so that "we could
would rock the boat."
continue to honour him."

Commenting on Africa's overall
In his assessment of Kenya's
all situation, Prof Mazrui said
opposition parties, Prof Mazrui
that the pro-democracy move-
suggested that it is too soon to
ment had succeeded in fostering
render verdict. "It's been less
a continent-wide consensus on
than a year since the election.
objectives." "We know the end goals
They're in a learning period.
In favour: Greater popular partici-
They're having teething prob-
pation in government, greater
learning," he said.

openness, greater accountability
Having established himself
of government to the people,
an international scholar-celebrity,
greater social justice. But we
that, the Oxford-educated philosopher
don't have the means to achieve
philosopher does not appear to be plan-
them - the actual institutions
ning to reside full-time in Kenya
that would enable the ends to be
in the near future.

realigned.

He recalled that official at the University of Nairobi had made gospel of planning for democracy it "quite clear they didn't want rather than plunging into democracy there" after he left his tenure there," Prof Mazrui noted during his 10 years at Uganda's Makerere University.

The lack of strong democratic institutions during the terror reign of Idi Amin. "There institutions can be largely attributed to the legacy of European colonialism among Kenyan authorities over the years," he argued. Prof Mazrui the prospect of his return to the said he saw no reason to revise his thesis, propounded in. "The 'They were wondering whether I Africans' series, that Western ex-

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

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

Both the International Monetary Fund and the United States have done little to promote democratic transitions in Africa, Prof Mazrui contended. The IMF and World Bank, he said, are "certainly inimical to the popular pressures felt by elected governments." These dominant lending institutions have shown through the implementation of their structural adjustment programmes that they are "often more comfortable with military governments that are better able to ignore or suppress complaints about the effects of austerity policies."

Survive

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

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

He agreed that the debacle in Somalia would make the US less likely to become deeply

involved in the search for solutions to Africa's problems. Prof Mazrui noted that he had initially favoured the US-led intervention in Somalia, but only as a last resort after the failure of Arab-Saharan or Muslim nations to impose a Pan-African or Pan-Islamic, a on the strife-torn country.

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

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

MAZRUI continued from page 1

are free to do"-is achieved by empowering people, Mazrui said. "Freedom of mobility, for example, has no meaning to people who have no access to mobility." Other sessions during the five-day conference focused on equity in a modern society, national community and world community, science in society and a nonviolent and human world order.

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

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

independence.

BINGHAMTON UNIVERSITY
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Inside

Mazrui explores liberty issue at Indira Gandhi conference

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

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

Notable among the participants were Robert S. McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense and former president of the World Bank; Elena Bonner, writer, human rights activist and wife of the late Andrei Sakharov; Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia, and Bernard Lown, the American cardiologist who founded International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, an organization which won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.

Drawing from his work experience in both countries, Mazrui said that, although the United States has better legal protections against censorship than Great Britain, the power of advertisers and their interpretation of public opinion creates a virulent strain of censorship

in our culture. He cited different reactions to material in his acclaimed 1986 Ali Mazrui television documentary, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, which was perceived to be problematic to corporate interests or ethnic groups.

Mazrui said he also discussed distinctions between passive and active liberty. Passive liberty, he said, means a lack of restrictions by government. Active liberty—"when you are able to do what you see MAZRUI, page 2

NEW NOVEMBER 3

'India may forsake position'

mpdes oEossible payment of repa- without.. State, with no distinction ration, capital transfer frm the betWff sacred and secular, giving

NEW DELHI? Nov. asu Westo.the black world comparable igreater role,to women.

India may be forsaking its posi(ion as a champion of African nations at a global level in view of its tilt towards the right and de. radicalisation of its foreign policy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prof. Mazrui suggested three to the grand precedent of the Mar- He Said"" Westphalin sovereign shal Plan to Europe, skill transfer instate is under siege" as the twentieth the form of major international century comes to a close. In Western effort to help build the capacities Europe the State is getting national and skills of Africa and rest of the ised on a macro scale, while Eastern

Black world, power sharing by Europe is getting ethnicised on a enabling Africa to have a greater say micro-scale retreating to more basic in global institutions. primorsial allegiances.

He asked c 'is there not a case for Although countries like Britain giving Africa a permanent seat on and Denmark are more circumspect the United Nations Security Council than some of the other members of - not because Africa is powerful the European Community, the but because it is not." direction of change is towards grealt may take a generation to cru- ter loss of sovereignty by individual sade for reparations - but a start States over tariffs, immigration has to be made. This will be one prices, the environment, human more aspect

of the reverse evolution rights and monetary policy. The towards ancient ways of settling Westphalian State is on the retreat moral debts between tribes. in Western Europe, he added.

theories - from Social Darwinists like Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner to political economists like Karl Marx have tended to see change as being essentially in one direction. Both economies and cultures basically evolved from the simpler to the more complex ones. Change was essentially uniinear and teleological. "History was a journey on a one-way ticket, with an assured destination, but not without that the supra nationalisation of the State in Western Europe carries the risk of a subtle transition from a a solidarity of Europeans to a solidarity of the white world. Is the journey back through time not only towards the Holy Roman Empire but also via the era of the White Man's Burden? Are we witnessing the lobalisation of apartheid? , he aske

He said Social evolutionary What should be borne in mind is bumps on the way."

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

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

Newsletter 19, Eve of 1995, Between Clash of Civilizations and Knowledge across Cultures

Eve of 1995

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 19

General Theme :

BETWEEN CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS AND KNOWLEDGE ACROSS CULTURES

Subthemes :

Between Campus and Career

Civilizations in Collision?

Between Peace and Power

Between Ethnicity and Pan-Africanism

Between Africa, Islam and the West

Between Family and Profession

by

Ali A. Mazrui

This newsletter is addressed to friends, colleagues and relatives. As most friends know, the author's home address is as follows :

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I have titled this newsletter after two major themes which affected me in the course of 1994 one was the debate about whether the world was heading for a clash of civilizations and the other was the perennial process of knowledge across cultures . The debate about "a clash of civilizations" was precipitated the previous year by Professor Samuel P.

Huntington of Harvard University in an article published in the American policy journal, Foreign Affairs . (Summer 1993) . The theme of "knowledge across cultures" was symbolized in a project which took me to Yuelu Academy, Hunan University in China, one of the oldest centers of learning in the world. Most of my professional activities during the year did in reality touch upon either civilizational conflict or cross-cultural knowledge in one sense or another .

But more about those matters shortly. Let me first join you in celebrating the mid- 1990s in the hope that the remaining five years of the 20th century would be an improvement) on what has gone on before. Amen. We wish you and your loved ones success and happiness in these new times .

Between Campus and Career

Was my Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) at Binghamton University going to be a vanguard of "knowledge across cultures" ? Or was it going to be an arena of "a clash of civilizations" ? Was this the contradiction hanging over the Institute?

The Institute has begun as a convergence of the activities of three units the Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities , the activities of the Society for the Study of Islamic Philosophy and Science (SSIPs) and the activities of the Society for Global Africa (SGA) . The Schweitzer Chair programme consists mainly of the myriad areas of involvement of the incumbent

Mazrui . The SSIP's activities include an annual meeting on " Philosophy and- Malt i

cultural Paradigms ” with an agenda which ranges from Plato and Aristotle to the politics of Afrocentrism. The SIPPS agenda also includes translating works in Islamic philosophy and theology from Arabic and Persian into English . The Institute also hosts the. Journal of Neoplatonic Studies .

The activities of the Society for Global Africa concern those issues which touch Africa and the Black world as a whole. Negussay Ayele organized a conference in February 1994 on “Africa after the Cold War: The Tensions of Left, Right and Center” .

it was in the midst of winter with a bad snow storm, attendance was devastated. Some unused tickets were never refunded by the airlines since the cause was “an act of nature ! But two friends braved the elements and difficult re-routings to be with us Timothy M. Shaw all the way from Nova Scotia in Canada and

Hussein M. Adam, from deceptively near Massachusetts . Hussein also had to traverse long re-routings to get to Binghamton . Hussein and Tim meant a lot to us that dismal winter gettogether. On the other hand, some participants from as near as New York City never made it . Other “Global African” activities included our research and publications. Negussay himself was hoping to get a book out of the conference on “Africa after the Cold War” He is also working on a book-length enterprise about the violence of culture and the culture of violence. I may be a co- author .

Omar i , Kokole at our Institute has been working on the concept of time in African languages and within African experience. He has already published on that subj ect and is hoping to publish more . I have also been drawn into the discourse about time in the African experience . I made a presentation at the African Studies convention in Toronto in Novernber on “Time and Africa E s Triple Heritage” .

Maria Grosz-Ngat at our Institute has been working on gender-related issues in Mali, West Africa. She has also em.barked on a wider proj ect of editing studies on the issue of gender in the Black experience in a socio-economic context . Since Maria is ethnically German, she is part of the German leit motif in my own 1994 experience. More about that later.

Our Institute’ s linguistic studies have been partly in collaboration with the Department of Black Studies at The Ohio State University in Columnbus . Ali A. Mazrui of Binghamton and Al amin M. Mazrui of Ohio State have collaborated on a number of articles on language and society which have been published in Britain, the United States and Canada. The two Mazruis. are also about to publish a jointly-authored book entitled Swahili Society and the State, which is scheduled to be released in Nairobi and London in 1995 .

The Ohio State University has pAaye4 host to me in other ways over the years when I have been a . visiting professor, or given an ad hoc lecture or participated in a conference. A central bridge between me and The Ohio State University has been Professor Isaac Mowoe, a genuine believer in “knowledge across cultures” . He has consistently sought to tap my expertise in pursuit of that goal . He and I have become close and mutually respectful friends as a result. We hope that a historic partnership in the service of scholarship has been forged.

The Institute of Global Cultural StUdies does not plan to limit itself to being an arena of convergence between the activities of the Schweitzer Chair, SSI PS and SGA. At the moment the most global ist element is the Schweitzer Chair (the breadth of geography) , the most far- reaching into the past is SSI PS (the depth of history) , while the activities of the Society for Global Africa try to combine the depth of history with the focus of geography (the

Africana world) .

What about the wider composition of our team at our

Institute of Global Cultural Studies? Are we ourselves multi-cultural enough? Among graduate students working for the Institute, Samuel Quainoo (from Ghana) has served mainly the Schweitzer Chair; Ruzima Sebuharara (from Zaire) has served mainly the activities which are jointly sponsored with the Society for Global Africa; and Darwin Davis (from the USA) and Fouad Kalouche (from Lebanon) have served mainly the activities jointly sponsored by the Society for the Study of Islamic

Philosophy and Science (SIPPS) . Thomas Uthup (from India) on the other hand, has served global cultural studies more generally, traversing the frontiers of all the subfields .

Nancy Levis (Italian-American) remains the secretarial pillar of both the Schweitzer Chair (i.e. Mazrui) and of the Institute as a whole.. Gloria Hopkins (African American) is the administrative pillar of the Schweitzer Chair and the Institute . So you see how multicultural in national origins our Institute of Global Cultural Studies really is . Our faculty included people who were born in Iran, Ethiopia, Germany, Uganda as well as Kenya !

Our undergraduate assistants during the year included Joy Barrett (Jamaica) and Lauren Berk (European/ American) . Are we a microcosm of the world? Well, perhaps not yet! !

The Golden Key National Honor Society elected me as a faculty honorary member . I was installed accordingly on October 30, 1994, at the Golden Key assembly at Binghamton. The Golden Key National Honor Society is a nation-wide students' alliance committed to both service and scholarship. It was a students' vote of confidence in me . I was delighted.

The Association of Muslim Social Scientists held its annual meeting at our campus at Binghamton this year jointly with the meeting of the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers . I was a member of the local organizing committee but most of the real work locally was done by my colleagues in the Programme of Middle Eastern and North African Studies. At the conference itself I chaired a plenary session on the theme "Law and Society: Problems and Prospects of the Muslim Community" . I also gave a short presentation from the Chair on "Islam and Crime in the United States" .

The sister academic unit at Binghamton which comes closest to being also concerned with issues of civilizations in world history is perhaps the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations under the leadership of Immanuel Wallerstein. The Braudel Center and our

Institute of Global Cultural Studies have continued our joint colloquium on "Culture and the World System"

Our Institute has also had close relations with the

Department of Africana Studies and with the Department of Political Science. We hope to cultivate areas of cooperation with other units of the university as well .

My continuing appointment as a Senior Scholar at the

Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University in Ithaca has provided me with an inter-university linkage, which was deepened in 1994 when Parviz Morewedge at our Institute also held a joint Cornell appointment . Cornell is within driving distance of Binghamton. Since I am still not licensed to drive, Parviz was my driving benefactor throughout! We held lively debates and discussions between Binghamton and Ithaca .

My professorship-at-large at the University of Jos in Nigeria has suffered recently partly because my visits to Nigeria have been quite brief and partly because Nigerian universities have continued to be affected by the wider instability in the country. Many of the institutions (including Jos) have been closed down repeatedly. Let us hope the situation improves significantly in 1995 .

Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell has begun to celebrate the 25th anniversary of its lively existence, and we all are j oining in the salutation in one way or another. Africa Report, which is widely regarded as the United States! leading news-magazine about Africa, celebrated its fortieth anniversary and invited me to write the lead article on political changes in Africa in the last forty years I was delighted to write for them "The Independence Era: A Griot' s Tale"

Save the Children Fund in London celebrated its 75th anniversary. It was a very pleasant surprise to be asked to be the keynote speaker -for Save the Children on- such an occasion. More about that later in this Newsletter .

Islam in South Africa celebrated its 300th anniversary. I was invited to a number of events in South Africa in the course of the year marking the anniversary.. I was only able to go to the conference at the University of South Africa on the theme " Islam and Civil Society in South Africa" - More about my visit

to South Africa later in the Newsletter.

In Malaysia in December I was once again involved in the Salman Rushdie debate - but this time with a fellow Muslim. It took me back to the first time i went public on Rushdie at Cornell University way back in 1989 .

I was Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large at Cornell University before I became Senior Scholar at the Africana Studies and Research Center at that university. As A . D. White Professor my academic agenda at Cornell was more culturally diverse than as Senior Scholar in Africana Studies . It was in the former capacity that I gave what has become my most famous (or infamous) single -lecture of my career "Is The Satanic Verses a Satanic Novel? : Moral Dilemmas of the Rushdie Affair" . The Rushdie affair was indeed a case of a clash of civilizations .

My lecture has been translated into other languages, has been published in three different academic journals, has been included in anthologies of the Rushdie debate, and has been otherwise widely circulated in the world. I have met people who have read it, or listened to it on tape, in countries as diverse as India, Norway, Nigeria, Malaysia, South Africa as well as the United, States. Did my lecture contribute to "knowledge across cultures" ?

Ope additional thought. Although my Rushdie lecture was given before I became Senior Scholar at Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell, the Rushdie lecture was sponsored by the Africana Center, and chaired by the Center. In both my capacities at Cornell (A.D. White Professor-at-Large and as Senior Scholar) the Africana Studies Center colleagues have been my primary sponsors and supporters. Bless them all .

Is Hong Kong a case of synthesis of civilizations rather than a clash? Certainly the capitalist credo has flourished dazzlingly on that astonishing island. But is it really western capitalism? Or is it married to Chinese values?

In 1994 I visited Hong Kong for the second time in my life. It was more overcrowded than ever. It was also much more modernized in the infrastructural sense. Excellent facilities in most of the parts I had time to visit, though, I knew there were still areas of squalor and poverty. My main hosts in Hong Kong were the Asia Society for whom I was asked to give a presentation on "How Modernization Affects Development: The Impact on Politics". I also gave a seminar at the University of Hong Kong on the equally sweeping theme Political, Social, and Gender:

Some Recent Global Trends. By a curious coincidence; the University of Hong Kong was founded by the same Lord Lugard about whom I was to lecture at the University of London later in the same year. More about my Lugard lecture later.

On the social side of my visit to Hong Kong I am deeply indebted to my old and dear friend, Yash Ghai, who was a contemporary of mine when we were both graduate students at Nuffield College, Oxford, more than thirty years ago. Yash is now a distinguished law professor at the University of Hong Kong, and has also served as constitutional advisor to many countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific. He and one of his closest colleagues showed me the sights in Hong Kong and helped me in my shopping spree. Among my Hong Kong purchases was a transistor radio a fundamental instrument for any one wishing to understand either knowledge across cultures or the likelihood of clash of civilizations in the coming decades.

Civilizations in Collision?

To return to the thesis of Samuel Huntington's article, he argues that the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in what was once the Warsaw Pact had probably inaugurated a new era in which conflict will be less and less between states and ideological blocs and more between civilizations and cultural alliances. I may have oversimplified the central thesis, but I believe that is the gist of it. (I first got to know Sam Huntington when I was a Research Associate of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard way back in 1965-6. We continued to be in touch for a while after that, but we later lost direct contact except through each other's writings).

Huntington's article unleashed a debate, initially in the journal in which it was first published, *Foreign Affairs*, and later on campuses and magazines in different parts of the English-speaking world, and probably beyond. In terms of impact his article has often been compared with Francis Fukuyama's article "End of History?" which was published in 1991 and sparked off a comparable international debate.

I began to tackle Huntington's thesis in my own course entitled "Cultural Forces in World Politics", given at Binghamton University, State University of New York, at both undergraduate and graduate levels. I had invented the course myself, and designed it to explore the impact on world affairs of such cultural forces as religion, language, ethnicity, nationalism, race and sexual division of labour. The Huntingtonian debate became one useful tool in teaching that course.

I also addressed the thesis of "clash of civilizations" in a lecture I gave in Malaysia in June 1994. One of Huntington's fears for the future was an alliance between the world of Islam and the countries of the Commonwealth Legacy an alliance which he regarded as potentially damaging to Western interests. As it happens, the population of Malaysia is partly Malay (and of Muslim - faith) and partly Chinese (of Confucian descent at least culturally). In a

sense, Malaysia is a microcosm of an alliance between political Islam (with Malays in power) and econo-cultural Confucianism (with the Chinese still controlling much of the economy). Far from being a threat to the West, this particular Islamo-Confucian configuration is for the foreseeable future a friend of the West.

Of course, the population of Malaysia includes smaller groups also who are neither Malay nor Chinese. Among these smaller groups the Indians are perhaps the most noteworthy. However, their numbers and relative power do not affect the above argument. Nor does the fact that many Chinese in Malaysia are both culturally Confucian and religiously Christian. After all, many Chinese in China are culturally Confucian and religiously Buddhist, and many Japanese combine Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism. Huntington's thesis overstates the potentialities of

conflict between cultures and civilizations and underestimates the possibilities of cooperation, compromise and cultural synthesis.

In a sense this is where that other theme of "knowledge across cultures comes into play. Under this theme cultures not only get to know about each other but also permit and facilitate exchange of knowledge across each other's cultural boundaries.

In May 1994 I was in Changsha in the People's Republic of China, visiting one of the oldest centres of learning in the world, the Yuelu Academy in Changsha. I was also participating in an international symposium which had grown out of a SinoCanadian project precisely by the name of "Knowledge Across Cultures" and partly designed by Professor Ruth Hayhoe of Toronto in collaboration with her colleagues in China.

The conference in Changsha in 1994 was bilingual (Chinese and English) and was attended by scholars from different parts of China, as well as those of us who came from abroad. I was delighted to discuss affirmative action with a young Tibetan scholar, and to compare notes about Islam with a woman-scholar from a Muslim part of China. (I believe she and I and a Malaysian scholar were the only ones who were meticulously protected from pork dishes at every meal. Our hosts were careful to point out which dish contained pork.) There were a number of cross-cultural papers presented at the conference, ranging from language in education to the history of science. My own paper was on portrayals of the Third World in

2nd within the Western world. What was remarkable was that in spite of the fact that the symposium was being held in the People's Republic of China, and in the geographical region of Chairman Mao Tse Tung's own birth, our symposium had almost no papers focussed on socialism as such, or devoted to the role of ideology. A surprising omission indeed. Did it confirm Huntington's thesis that ideology was down - the coming agenda was civilization?

We visited Chairman Mao's birthplace. The commercialization of the Mao complex was also remarkable - Mao T-shirts, Mao-key

rings, other Mao trinkets, with hundreds of tourists milling around. You could even have your photograph taken sitting at Mao's desk. There was little pretence at solemnity. The Mao complex was offered as a tourist attraction rather than as a shrine. Was this a clash of civilizations?

More impressive was the eagerness of Chinese scholars to learn from the outside world and to facilitate this whole process of knowledge across cultures. Since I returned to the United

States I have heard from a university in another part of China inviting me there . I need to be educated about this great civilization, and I am in negotiations with the Chinese. My old friend Sam Huntington need not be worried too much about this particular Islamo-Confucian bit of cooperation!

Between Peace and Power

What about “peace across cultures ? I suppose the Desmond Tutu Annual Peace Lecture in South. Africa was partly intended to promote peace across cultures . In 1994 Archbishop Desmond Tutu himself was scheduled to give the 10th Desmond Tutu Peace

Lecture So all the previous Tutu Peace lecturers were . specially invited to attend this singular occasion not least because President Nelson Mandela was scheduled to respond to Bishop

Tutu’ s presentation. Since I had been the 1990 Desmond Tutu Peace Lecturer I was also invited, and I was delighted to accept .

All the previous peace lecturers were on stage with Archbishop Tutu and President Mandela I was delighted to meet them both again and to catch up with a little of their news (what I had missed in the Press!) . We were certainly all relieved that President Mandela’ s eye-operation had been so successful .

In the audience of the Tutu lecture were a number of South African friends . But also in the audience was my long- standing Jamaican friend, Locksley Edmondson, whom I had once hired at Makerere University in Uganda as a lecturer and who now is my Cornell “boss ‘t in his capacity as Director of the Africana Studies and Research Center on that Ithaca campus . It was wonderful to see Locksley 1 n Johannesuurg . exsewhere in Johannesburg I visited. another old friend - Es’ kia (Ezekiel) Mphahlele, bless him.

In Pretoria I was the guest of the University of South

Africa and of the conference held there on “ Islam and Civil Society in South Africa after Apartheid” . This year 1994 was the 300th anniversary of the arrival of Islam in South Africa with Sheikh Yusuf Abidin Tadia of Macassar, the Malay religious figure who had been sent into exile from the Dutch East Indies in 1694 . Our 1994 conference in Pretoria was, in part, a recognition of the anniversary. Apart from the Desmond Tutu Lecture, I spent much of my 1994 visit to South Africa with Muslims of different races . I was their guest in Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town as well as Pretoria.

However, among South African Muslims, my visit was overshadowed by the visit of Sister Wadud, the distinguished African American Islamic scholar . Professor Wadud definitely stole the limelight. This was not simply because such women- scholars in advanced Islamic studies were rare from Black “arica. As public figures they were still relatively rare from any part of the Muslim world.

In South Africa Sister became even more exceptional when she gave one of the serrnons in a mosque at Cape Town at the Friday congregation. This was absolutely unprecedented. Perhaps never before in any part of Africa or the Middle East had a woman given a lecture or sermon to a Muslim congregation before Friday’s prayers. The event sparked off a

debate among Muslims in South Africa which continued to the end of 1994 . The conservatives were horrified; the liberals were optimistic about the significance of Sister Amina' s sermon for the future role of women in Islam more generally. Was she a Black American initiating an Islamic social revolution? Did Sister symbolize knowledge across cultures or a clash of civilizations? Or was she simply acting out God's will in different parts of the Muslim world?

The next time I met Sister Amina Wadud in 1994 was in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, where we were both major speakers at a conference on the theme "Rethinking Human Rights" , which was opened by the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohamed. The conference concerned the issue of whether human rights had been excessively defined in Western terms in a period of Western global dominance . By coincidence Sister Amina chaired the session at which I made my own presentation entitled "Human Rights between Rwanda and Reparations: Global Power and the Racial Experience" Much of this particular conference was perhaps a case of " clash of civilizations " over the issue of

human rights . But was our conference also a case of "knowledge across cultures" waiting to be learnt?

In our short conversation with the Prime Minister of Malaysia I congratulated him on his winning the battle of wills with the Sunday Times newspaper in London. The newspaper had accused the Prime Minister of having accepted a particular bribe . Malaysia decided to move not just against the newspaper but against Britain' s economic interests. British companies were denied new contracts and new investment opportunities. The British made a number of conciliatory ministerial visits to Malaysia but the Prime Minister of Malaysia stood firm.

Eyeball to eyeball ! In the end the Sunday Times blinked.

The editor of the newspaper was removed. His employers

apparently made it worth his while to keep his mouth shut on Malaysia. Was this a bribe? Was this corruption? Was the former editor of the Sunday Times (London) a prey to the corruption he had once himself claimed to be exposing? The Malaysians think that the editor had accepted a "bribe" . Is this a clash of civilizations or knowledge across cultures?

My African agenda during the year also included human rights issues and comparative culture. Maryam, my wife, received a call from Chief Moshood Abiola of Nigeria. The Chief wanted to speak to me. I was away at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, honouring the first President of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe . Chief Abiola tracked me down at my hotel near Lincoln University:

ABIOLA:

"I am going to Nigeria to become President

IAZRUI :

"What is going on, Chief? 'E

ABIOLA:

"I will see you at the Inauguration"

You will remember that most people agreed that Chief M. K. O. Abiola had won the June 1993 presidential election of Nigeria but the military government of Nigeria refused to confirm or announce the results. At first Chief Abiola had attempted to fight the Nigerian

military by seeking support in London and Washington. That crusade was basically a failure . In 1994 Chief Abiola embarked on a Nigeria-focussed strategy, which should have been his option in the first place . In July 1994 he was at last ready to declare himself at a public rally as president of Nigeria . In the end his Nigeria-focussed strategy had resulted in his being charged with treason and being held behind bars . Were the reasons for preventing Abiola from becoming President ethnic? Was the Northern Hausa-Fulani political establishment in Nigeria unwilling to see a Yoruba elected President? Is interethnic conflict a special kind of “clash of civilizations?”

When I visited Nigeria in September 1994 as a guest of the

Yakubu Gowon Center for the Promotion of National Unity and International Co-operation, I was granted an audience by the Head of State in Abuja . General Yakubu Gowon himself a former Head of State of Nigeria, was the one who took me to General Abacha and he introduced me to his fellow General . I expressed concern to the Head of State about the political situation in Nigeria and about the damage it was doing to Africa . I also asked for the release of Chief Moshood Abiola both on my behalf and on behalf the Group of Eminent Persons appointed by the Organization of African Unity in 1992 to explore the modalities of campaigning for reparations for African enslavement and colonization. Chief Abiola was elected Chairman of that Group of Twelve (of whom I was also a member) .

In September 1994 at our Abuja meeting I asked General Abacha to maintain Nigeria's commitment to the crusade for reparations in spite of his differences with Chief Abiola. I also requested the Head of State to “give us our Chairman back” Although General Abacha was not expecting me to raise such sensitive issues, he was very gracious when I did so. It was almost as if he recognized that there could not be knowledge across cultures unless there was honesty within cultures . But in practical terms, the Head of State was non-committal about both the release of Chief Abiola and his Nigerian policies more generally . The next day General Abacha, General Gowon, and myself were three of the opening speakers at the conference sponsored by the

Yakubu Gowon Center on the theme of “Nigeria in the 21st

Century” . Participants had come from all over Nigeria to attend . One of the driving forces behind the scene was my old friend and former student, Professor Jonah Isawa Elaigwu. His National Council on Intergovernmental Relations (of which he is Director) was as usual most helpful to me, as well as to the conference. I have always had friends at that institution.

The independence of mind of Nigerians continues to be resilient The very conference which was opened by General Abacha included papers critical of military rulers and urging the recognition of the results of the presidential elections of June 1993 (which had been aborted by the military) . Secondly , although General Abacha had closed down a number of newspapers , the remaining newspapers continued to publish articles critical of governmental policies and of military rule as a whole. And when Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka was stopped at Lagos airport as he was about to board a plane for Sweden, and was then deprived of his passport, he was soon recording a telephone interview with the BBC World Service within hours, and condemning the military regime in very strong terms . Soyinka was at the time still in Nigeria. Wole has since escaped” to Europe through the

forests, probably via the Republic of Benin. I met Wole Soyinka in Caen, France in December 1994 after his Scape

The first of all Nigerian Presidents was Nnamdi Azikiwe (Zik) . In 1994 he was ninety years old - and yet strong enough one of his son's graduation. Since Lincoln was also Zik's alma mater, the University decided to honour him not only with an honorary degree but also with a colloquium about his works and contributions to Nigeria and the world. I was deeply flattered when President Niara Sudarkasa of Lincoln invited me to be the keynote speaker on " Zik of Africa, Zik in History" . The old man was in attendance throughout the whole-day colloquium. What is more, he was alert .

When Azikiwe finally spoke at the end of the conference, his voice was at first frail as befitted his age. And then, out of nowhere, energy flowed into that voice . It got stronger, firmer, younger and more resilient. We were in the presence, truly and magnetically, of 't Zik of Africa, Zik in History" . I was privileged to have participated in that celebration .

Between Ethnicity and Pan-Africanism

The issue of whether ethnic conflicts were clashes of civilizations in miniature followed me into Kenya in June 1994 . I was asked to be the keynote speaker at a conference on the theme of "Democracy in a Multi -Ethnic Society: The Kenyan Case" . In my address I suggested that the principle of the unitary state might have failed in Kenya . Indeed, in Africa as a whole, it might have cost us three to four million lives since independence. By treating ethnic loyalty as a kind of political pathology, and constructing unitarist constitutions without adequate relevance to socio-cultural realities, we had created settings of conflict rather than structures of concourse .

In any case, since ethnic loyalty was still powerful , unitary Kenya had enabled strong ethnic groups with leverage at the center to " colonize" weaker ethnic groups in the vulnerable provinces . I designated this phenomenon as- " internal colonization" . For example, the Coast of Kenya generated millions of dollars from its tourist attractions, but very little of that money went to the people of the Coast. The best hotels and the best beach homes and chalets were owned by non-Coastal Kenyans, sometimes in alliance with foreigners. Again, was this a case of internal colonization?

In the light of these considerations I recommended a possible devolution of power to the provinces of Kenya a neofederal system of government known in Kiswahili as maj imbo. As a former unitarist myself, I urged that we abandon the unitary state as a god that had already -fa-i-led .

When I was giving my keynote address, I did not realize that I was in the process of sparking off a national fire-storm. The issue of ma-i irnbo was debated not -iust for weeks but for months on end. The issue divided opinion within political parties, within families, and within the national government itself . When President Daniel arap Mi was pressed to express his own opinion, he simply said: t' Let the people debate. " And the people continued to do so into the new year .

I had in fact been brought into Kenya in June 1994 to participate in another conference an international conference sponsored by African Social and Environmental Studies Programrne (ASESP) . The general theme of this other conference was Social

Studies Education e The conference discussions here were, in a sense, a convergence between concerns about "knowledge across cultures" and concerns about "clash of civilizations". In my own address to this other Nairobi conference I returned to the theme of "Multiculturalism versus Afrocentricity: Are they Rival Paradigms of Education?" I had addressed that before in the United States, but this was the first time I was raising it in such terms at a conference held in Africa. Issues of knowledge across cultures were certainly at stake.

I was in Uganda earlier in the year when the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were killed in an air crash at Kigali airport across the border. This was the event which helped to trigger off the appalling mainly of Tutsis by Hutus, in Rwanda from mid-April onwards. The shadow of Rwanda followed us in one way or another for the rest of the year. That shadow was there when I attended a meeting sponsored by the United Nations High

Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Organization of African

Unity- (OAU). The meeting we held in Addis Ababa in September.

My own paper and presentation were on "The African State as a

Political Refugee: Institutional Collapse Displacement and Human

The shadow of Rwanda was there when I testified before one

of the sub-committees of the U.S. House of Representatives about

the African situation more generally. And Rwanda was there when

I participated in a symposium sponsored by Peace, Washington D.C. . the U.S. Institute for

Rwanda and most other African issues were present at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) of the United States which this year was held in Toronto, Canada. (This was only the second time in its history that the ASA has met outside the USA. The last time was in Montreal in 1969.)

As the ASA convention in Toronto Omari Kokole and I, had organized and chaired two Round Tables on "Reparations"

Reparations-for Africa 's Enslavement and Reparations for Africa' s colonization. Our Round Tables were star-studded. But U. S. Congressman John Conyers, Jr. of Michigan, who was expected at our Round Table, could not make it in time because of the pressure of the 1994 election campaign in the United States. But Ambassador Dudley Thompson and Professor Jacob Ajayi travel led all the way from Nigeria specially to participate in our Round Tables. Was reparations an outstanding debt from an earlier clash of civilizations? Or was it compensation for a continuing clash of the races?

Perhaps my most unusual Africanist conference of 1994 was at Central State University in Ohio, USA. The invitation asked only for papers with good news about Africa.

"Afro-pessimism" was virtually "outlawed" at this conference. Was this selectivity defensible in terms of "knowledge across cultures"?

I was one of the keynote speakers. My own topic was entitled "Afrenaissance: Post-Coloni-

al Trends of Hope I had coined the world n Afrenaissance” partly in the spirit of this conference and partly in continuation of a theme I had developed earlier in 1994 when I was honoured by the New York African Studies Association at their annual meeting at Cornell University. I was honoured at Cornell as the Distinguished Africanist of the Year . Another “Afro-optimistic” conference I attended in 1994 was the Seventh Pan-African Congress held in Uganda in April 1994 . Some colourful and controversial figures were in attendance, including General Muhammad Farah Hassan Aydeed of Somalia, Colonel John Garang of Sudan, Leonard Jeffries of the USA and (briefly) , the Foreign Minister of Iran, Ali Akbar Valiyati were supposed to be addressed through satellite by Colonel Mu’ arunar Qaddafi of Libya, but there were ’t technical difficulties” Rumours circulated that the CIA had sabotaged thetransmission! True or false? The conference was opened by the President of Uganda, Yoweri K. Museveni .

If this was the seventh Pan-African Congress, when was the sixth? That was held in Dar es Salaam in 1974, basically hosted by President Julius K. Nyerere. The fifth was held in 1945 in Manchester, England, and was attended by such relative nonentities at the time as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, W. E. B. DuBois of the USA and, astonishingly the same Dudley Thompson who attended our Reparations Round Table in Toronto in November 1994, and indeed attended the 7th Pan-African Congress in Kampala with me .

In Kampala in April 1994 it was my turn to be a relative nonentity. The organizers of the conference, in their infinite wisdom, had decided to relegate almost all scholars to relatively obscure workshops, and leave the plenary sessions to foreign ministers, diplomats, and high-visibility warriors like General Farah Hassan Aydeed and Colonel John Garang. Indeed, I saw few

scholars from Makerere - UnlverSfEy; at all at the Congress-.

What. would be the consequences for Pan-Africanism if scholars were either kept out or marginalized? Kwame Nkrumah used to - say “Socialism without science is void” ” Pan-Africanism without science? Is that equally void? The organizers of the eighth Pan-African Congress (wherever that will be held and whenever) would do well to ponder that question well

in advance .

Issues of technology and science touched me and my family in a different way also. I was invited by the Office of Technology Assessment (OTC) of the U.S. Congress to participate in a workshop about the social implications of new advances in the technology of communication .

One of the issues I raised concerned changes in computer technology and their effect on the needs of the blind. As some of you know, Jamal - my oldest son is blind, and is at the same time very much involved with computers both personally and in his work at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Carnbridge, Massachusetts. Jamal has argued forcefully, both privately and in print, that while previous computer advances had been blind-user- friendly, some of the most recent computer changes were (from the point of view of the blind) socially retrograde e They were widening the gap between the needs of the sighted and the needs of the blind. The “Windows” model especially demanded sightedness in the computer-user to a large extent. A clash of cultures can sometimes be

between the subculture of the sighted and the sub-culture of the blind. raised this issue with the OTC of the US Congress in the hope that Congress would encourage, if not demand, variations of new computer-models which would once again reduce the gap between the needs of the sighted and the needs of the blind in computer technology. Knowledge across sub-cultures would thus be facilitated. I was assured that the issue would be raised in appropriate Congressional circles . Let us keep our fingers crossed in this new Republican age .

One of the important fringe benefits of my visits to Washington. DC these days is to be able to meet Kim Abubakar, my third son. Sometimes we have a dinner together in the capital ; sometimes he comes for breakfast at my hotel before he goes to work. Kim joined a distinguished Washington law firm earlier in 1994, and his wife, Kay, and their son, Will, moved with him to one of Washington's suburbs in the suburbs . I see more of Kim these days than I have done at any time since I left Ann- Arbor, Michigan, in 1989 . It's great for Dad, who is in any case still basking in Kim's achievement in Law School at Michigan in graduating in 1993 at the top of his class .

Al ' Amin, my second son, may have found his preferred career now. ' He wants- to be a social worker, and is within a short period of achieving his goal. He is due to graduate with a

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California, Berkeley, in May 1995 . I am planning to go to Berkeley for the occasion. Insha Allah.

Between Africa Islam and the West

I was in California for another reason in 1994, but not close enough to visit Al t Arnin. I was in Orange County in October for another mission concerning "knowledge across cultures 'E . 1 and a number of other Muslim educators, historians and pedagogists met with a number of American publishers to discuss ways of presenting Islamic history in school text-books in such a way so as to reduce the risk of bias and inaccuracy. The workshop was sponsored by the California Council on Islamic Education. The issues were discussed in great technical detail, from appropriate periodization: of Islamic history to the problem of how best to introduce American high school children to the basics of Islamic doctrine .

In. addition to my role within the workshop, I was asked to give the luncheon address which was open to the wider public . 1 spoke on Islam and Islamophobia " a topic to which I returned in my paper for a conference on the other side of the globe two months later on " Islamic Political Economy in a Capitalist World " held at University Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang. The most controversial section of my Malaysian paper was a part sub-titled Islam: The First Protestant Revolution?" The central thesis was that Islam had anticipated Martin Luther and John Calvin as reformers of Christianity by eight to nine hundred years. Why then did not Islamization result in a Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism? Those. were some of the questions debated at my session in Malaysia in December 1994. Were we debating 'I knowledge across cultures" special kind of "clash of civilizations across nine centuries?

My December trip to Malaysia was through London and Caen, France .. In London I was privileged to be the keynote speaker to mark the 75th anniversary. of Save the Children

Fund (SFC) . Did you know that SFC went back to 1919? My anniversary address was originally to have been chaired by the Princess Royal (Princess Anne) who is President of Save the Children. But then she had to go to South Africa on SFC business. Almost in reciprocity, South Africa gave my session its distinguished son, - Mr. Donald Woods , to preside at, my anniversary lecture. A decade earlier Sir Richard Attenborough had turned Mr. Wood' s book Cry Freedom, into a major movie about Mr. Woods and the late Mr. Steve Biko. of Soweto . My lecture in London in November 1994 in London included the argument that the "Cry for Freedom" in South Africa should not yet stop - for while political apartheid had been dismantled, economic apartheid (the mal distribution of wealth along racial lines) was still intact. Mr.' Woods (who is of course a white liberal) took it all In his do 2 s a splendid chairman ,

topic to mark the SCF' s 75th Anniversary was "Africa between the 20th Century and the Third Millennium: The Political Culture of Transition' . *(The topic was sometimes publicized more succinctly as "Understanding Africa at the Turn of the Millennium" .)* The event was jointly sponsored by the Royal Society for the Arts (RSA) . My lecture was held at the RSA's fascinating lecture hall, and a version of the text was to be published in the April 1995 issue of the RSA Journal. The lecture was, in a sense, a moral portrait of the twentieth century - and touched upon issues of comparative civilization and knowledge across cultures .

My other main event in London in the autumn of 1994 was at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London . I was giving the 1994 Lugard Lecture, named after the architect of British Indirect Rule in Africa and the unifier of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 . Lugard was a practical philosopher about how to avert a clash of civilizations in colonial policy.. He was arguably the greatest British administrator in British colonial Africa. My own topic for the Lugard lecture was "Religion and the Ethnic Revival in Africa: Has Lord Lugard Been

Vindicated? The sponsors of the annual lecture were the International African Institute, London . (I believe recent

Lugard Lecturers in the series included v: Y Y . Mudillbe and Kwame Anthony Appiah)

After London I went to Caen, France, where Wole Soyinka and I were virtually the only major speakers who spoke in the English language at a conference about African problems sponsored by the Les Rencontres Internationales du Mémorial Prévention des Conflits . On the whole, the conference was mainly a conversation about Africa among French people and Francophone Africans . The rest of us were incidental. Nevertheless as a political observer, I was fascinated by the interactions between the French and the French- speaking African participants in the dialogue . was radically different from any conference involving Anglophone Africans with scholars from Great Britain. In the latter situations there may be a greater clash of civilizations, but there is definitely also greater equality between Africans and Britons. The conference in Caen was more definitely within a single culture (French culture) and relatively little conflict .

On the other hand, the Francophone event was less egalitarian. The white French scholars were definitely the senior partners .

My life in 1994 also had a German leitmotif . I was invited quite early by__ the Pennsylvania State to Emepare to open a conference later in the year about relations between Germans, Africans and Black people across the centuries sometimes a case o. - a clash of civilizations and

sometimes a case of knowledge across cultures. The conference included papers about images of the Black in German literature, African impact on German art, German loan words in African languages and so on. My own keynote address was entitled "The German Factor in the Black Experience : From the Berlin Conference to the Berlin Wall

The Kenya Conference on "Democracy in a Multi-ethnic Society" at which I had given that explosive lecture about maj illibo, was funded by a German Foundation - Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. The Germans paid for my airfare from Nairobi back to Binghamton. The outgoing fare from Nairobi to Binghamton was paid by African Social & Environmental Studies Program (ASESP).

The German leitmotif in my life in 1994 continued when I went to Berlin in August to attend the XVI World Congress of the International Political Science Association. It was my first visit to Germany since the fall of the Berlin wall . every second tourist I visited the notorious wall, and even acquired a piece of the wall, officially authenticated.

The German leitmotif continued when the BBC television booked me a studio in East Berlin so that I could participate by satellite from Berlin in an international television debate, coordinated from London about the future of the United Nations in a world of multi-ethnic conflicts . That was my first encounter with television specialists from the former German Democratic Republic . The participants in the debate were located in London, New York, Ottawa, and (myself) in Berlin. Satellites have turned the world into a global Oxford Union ! The German leitmotif followed me to a conference in Addis Ababa when I discovered that the Acting Ambassador of Germany had been a former graduate student of mine in Uganda in the 1960s . The Chargé d' Affaires graciously took me out for old times' sake .

The German leitmotif continued in my life in 1994 when a

German magazine Focus translated into German and published my syndicated article for the Los Angeles Times on the theme "The African Crisis: Is Recolonization the Answer?" Such translations are almost always aspects of knowledge across cultures .

The German leitmotif was more ambivalent in Geneva in November when I addressed a meeting of Europeans with economic interests and concerns in Africa. Many of them were in fact German, though the working languages at the conference were English and French. The Geneva conference was sponsored by Centre de Recherches Entreprises et Sociétés (CRES) .

One delightful interlude in Geneva- was dinner with my old friend Dharam Ghai, whom I have known since we were both graduate students in the United States in the early 1960s, and who is now the Director, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Earlier in the year Dharam had involved me as one of the speakers at his conference held at the United Nations in New York on the theme : "Ethnic Diversity and Public Policy" . My topic at the New York conference was on "Ethnicity in Chains, Ethnicity Unbound" Was I dealing once again with a clash of civilizations in miniature?

Also at the United Nations in 1994 had been a conference on

"African Futures 2025" sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme with special reference to its Abidjan-based

Project on African Futures. We grappled with three scenarios for Africa for the next 30 years the Afro-pessimistic (expecting major upheavals) , the Afro-optimistic (expecting rapid solutions to African problems) and Afro-realistic (arguing that all is not lost if there is

the will and the wherewithal) . I have oversimplified the themes of the conference in my own vocabulary , but that was the gist of our discourse. This workshop then tried to work out . strategies for the success of the Afro-realistic scenario .

It was not just the United Nations which had a claim on my time . It was also the Organization of African Unity (OAU) . I have referred to my role as a member of the Group of Eminent Persons for African Reparations, appointed by the OAU. I have also referred to my role at the conference on refugees which was held in Addis Ababa and was sponsored by UNHCR and the OAU. Indeed, the conference was in part to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the OAU's enunciation of principles governing the treatment of refugees . Our Addis Ababa conference was opened by both the Secretary-General of the OAU and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees . Our audience consisted of ambassadors, technocrats, policy-makers and representatives of humanitarian organizations . A figure from my earlier days in East Africa who turned up in Addis Ababa was Canon Burgess Carr, the Liberian scholar, humanitarian and religious leader who once headed the All-Africa Conference of Churches in Nairobi . It was wonderful to see him again.

My other OAU role was earlier in Cairo. It was at a conference jointly sponsored by the OAU, the International Peace Academy and the Egyptian Government . Our task was to evaluate the nature and implications of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution which had at last been approved by the OAU Meeting of Heads of State which was also held in Cairo the preceding June 1993 . My old friend and former student, President Olara Otunnu of the International Peace Academy, was central to the organization of this conference . I was given almost unlimited time in my presentation to address the

painful topic of "The Failed State and political Collapse in Africa" Olara Otunnu and I were later extensively interviewed by the leading Egyptian newspaper, Al-Ahram which published our remarks in a two-page spread with pictures . (The interviews were of course translated into Arabic.) Knowledge across cultures was at work.

If translation is a bridge between cultures, then another newspaper which translated my words was a major Turkish newspaper in Ankara. This was on entirely separate issues and topics. The Cumhuriyet was publishing a series of specially commissioned international articles about major trends in the world as the 20th century was coming to an end. I was among those they commissioned to write . I discovered that I was in very good company. Other people who wrote for the series included

Elizabeth Taylor, the actress; Baroness Barbara Castle of the old British Labour Party; Jane Goodall who has taught humans so much about their cousins in the animal world; the Dalai Lama of Tibet; Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations ; and Federico Mayor Director-General of UNESCO. A surprisingly mixed group each reflecting on "The Coming Third Millennium" !

My work on the issue of reparations for Africa and the Black world continued during the year in other fora . I gave television and radio interviews on the subject . I gave a lecture at New York University on the topic of "Black Reparations as a Philosophical and Moral Issue" My lecture was in a series sponsored by the University on "Black Thought in Progress Ohio State University, Columbus, I gave a lecture on "Between

Rwanda and Reparations: Moral Dilemmas in the African Experience" The issue of reparations also arose in the

discussions which followed my lecture at the City College of the City University of New York (CUNY) . My topic was "Africa in the United States and the United States in Africa . I was a keynote speaker at a conference on "African Nationals in the United States". The issue of reparations was among several which were thrashed out. The questions persisted as to whether reparations were indeed a debt incurred by the Western world towards the Black world after a massive clash of civilizations involving enslavement, colonization and exploitation .

What about the Arab world? Should it pay reparations for the Arab slave trade? I personally think the Arabs should. But the nature of the Arab slave trade was so different from the scale of the trans-Atlantic commerce that the demands on the Arabs should be postponed until we reach a settlement with the West one day.

Was there a clash of civilizations within the United States between Islam and Western culture? There were indeed many enemies of Islam who did not want Muslims to be recognized as a legitimate and-peaceful minority within the United -St-ates . Among such enemies of Islam in the 1990s was a man called Steve Emerson who among things did a television documentary in 1994 entitled Jihad in America. The documentary alleged that much of the

terrorism in the Middle East, and in the West; including the bombing of the World Trade Center, was financed by Muslims in the United States. The documentary was shown on the Public

Broadcasting Service (PBS) TV in November 1994 .

Many Muslim organizations in the United States were

outraged. They were also alarmed about the possible impact of the TV documentary on the attitudes of non-Muslim Americans towards their Muslim neighbours. The American Muslim council was in the forefront of trying to rebut this kind of negative propaganda against Islam.

Where do come in? I have been involved in the work of the Muslim Council for a number of years now. And at a special retreat organized by the Council to discuss how Muslims should adjust to living in America, and make America adjust to the Muslim presence in its midst, I was called upon to be one of the main speakers. This is becoming an important part of my annual agenda .

In the spring of 1994 I . lectured at Clark Atlanta University (where W. E. B. DuBois once taught) I was also honoured by the Africanists of Georgia at a special ceremony in Atlanta . I was also welcomed to the University of New Orleans, Louisiana where I gave a provocative lecture on " Culture Change and Sexual Habits in Africa: From Circumcision to Sexual Preference the topic of the lecture had been chosen months in advance in consultation with the hosts, the subject acquired additional topicality when a Yoruba woman who was about to be deported, applied to a US court for asylum in the United States on the grounds that her two young daughters would be forcibly circumcized if they were sent back to Nigeria . She won her case, and was granted what was in effect " cultural asylum the Yoruba woman's allegations about forceful circumcision were correct, was this a peculiar case of clash of civilizations? I discussed female circumcision"

and the Yoruba woman's allegations in my lecture in New Orleans, leading on to a lively debate. Was knowledge across cultures facilitated that evening?
Finally, a word about my partial return to the World Order

Model's Project (WOE) I first joined WOE in the late 1960s when I was still a professor at Makerere University in Uganda. The project sought to identify major trends in world affairs, evaluate which trends were healthy and which ones were detrimental, and then work out strategies for facilitating the healthy trends and arresting the detrimental ones. I am of course oversimplifying the WOViP agenda, but our efforts did nevertheless result in major volumes about global reform. My own WOBQ volume was entitled A World Federation of Cultures : An

African Perspective. This was published - by the Free Press (Macmillan) in New York in 1976 long before Huntington's article in Foreign Affairs about "Clash of Civilizations" ! just goes to show how long I have been in this business of global cultural studies ! I remained with the World Order Models Project for about a decade and a half - and then my relationship with WOViP quietly fizzled out/ although WOBQ itself was still alive and well. I suppose my old friend, Saul Mendlovitz, the Director of WOE, wanted to experiment with other people as new members of WOViP. I became a distant but friendly resource person.

But in 1994 WOE has sought me out again and involved me in a WOIQ project about the United Nations. In fundamental values WOE and I still seem to be in step. But in culture are we still compatible? Is there a WOVE culture which has changed since I left it? Is the World Order Models Project yet another arena of a clash of civilizations? Let us wait and see.

Between Family and Profession

Some of my friends have been asking whether I have stopped publishing books and resumed producing babies? They argue that the last Mazrui book was in 1990 (Cultural Forces in World Politics), and yet there was a Mazrui baby in 1992 (Farid Chinedu) and another baby in 1993 (Harith Ekenechukwu). Had I put the pen aside and resumed family-creating activities? !

Such earthy and intimate jokes came more often from my African male friends than from my other friends! ! Fair enough as bantering between intimate males.

In reality I have written some sixty journal articles and conference papers on culture, politics and civilizations since 1990. If I had wanted to turn them into at least two books (as I used to do in the past) I could easily have done so. But I spent part of the time since 1990 co-editing and co-authoring Volume VI 11 of the UNESCO General History of Africa, which has at last been published under the title of Africa Since 1935 (London : Heinemann and Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). It is an immense volume of 30 chapters, six of which have me as either author or co-author. I now have to write the abridged edition on my own. This shorter edition will be particularly intended for "knowledge across cultures". It will

be translated not only into French, but probably into Arabic and into Kiswahili and Hausa. We hope there will eventually also be editions in Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese. We have our fingers crossed.

As for my beloved babies, Farid and Harith, fathers are always junior co-authors. authors-

are of course -the mothers . My wife, Pauline (Maryam) has interrupted her career as a teacher not only to give birth to them but also be the main parental sustainer. Pauline got her Masters' degree from

D i ngxxamton D has in teaching children with special needs. But she has been

delayed in practising her career partly because of the responsibilities as a mother of very young children and partly because of the bureaucracy of visa applications .

During the Christmas holidays of 1994 Pauline was also briefly mother to two of the children of my first marriage

Jamal and Al ' who came to visit us in Binghamton. It was wonderful having four of my five boys around me the two oldest

(one over 30 years old and the other in his late twenties) and

the two youngest (one under 3 years old and the other under 2) . The bridge between the two oldest and the two youngest is Kim Abubakar, who is now a lawyer in Washington D.C. and is my third son chronologically. Perhaps at next New Year' s celebrations I shall have all of my five sons around me, Insha Allah ; along with Pauline, Kay (Kim's wife) and Will (Kim's and Kay' s son) .

As you know, my wife, Pauline is a Nigerian. When I was in Nigeria in Septernber 1994, I had planned to go to Jos to visit my university and my in-laws. Unfortunately the university was closed down, and my mother-in-law had left Jos to accompany her own mother to their ancestral village. However, Pauline t s sister, Jane, and her husband, Edmond (Garba) Egbo, kindly took the trouble to drive down from Jos to meet with me in Abuja. They spent the night in my suite at the Nicon Noga Hilton Hotel (my host, General Yakubu Gowon, had booked for me a huge multiroom suite at the Hilton. So it was wonderful to be able to make good use of the acconmodation with my Nigerian relatives, if only

briefly) .

Jane, Garba and I went to pay our respects to General Gowon in his own suite. It was a very pleasant reunion with part of my Nigerian family .

Jane was pregnant when she came to visit me in September

1994 . Soon after Christmas she delivered twin-boys. Wonderful ! Twinning seems to run in the family. My wife, Pauline, is one of twins . Pauline' s twin brother passed away as a baby . The Mazrui family in Kenya is more than an extended family . It is a large clan. The younger men-bers in Mornbasa are considering setting up a Mazrui Cultural and Welfare Society to promote interest in Mazrui and Swahili history and culture and a sense of solidarity among the Mazrui . Ethno- cul tural welfare organizations have a long history in 20th century Africa . I was consulted by my younger ethno-cultural compatriots about the proposed Mazrui association.' When I visited Morn.basa I addressed the- leadership-. I sa& that promoting- mutual- he-I-p among- the Mazrui was commendable provided it was not a declaration of hostility towards outsiders, and provided it did not stop the Mazruis from becoming pure philanthropists . I also supported the aims of encouraging areater awareness of the role of the Mazrui

in East African history and greater appreciation of Swahili culture as a whole. I urged caution against tribalism in the negative sense .

When I am in Mombasa my two oldest sisters (Salma and Nafisa) are, by tradition, in charge of my stay. They are usually represented by their children who drive me around. The children of my third sister (the late Aisha) have always been equally supportive, bless them. My fourth sister, Alya, is the only one who is younger than me . Can you imagine? As for my older brother Harith, he is still a gentleman-farmer in Takaungu, less than forty miles from Mombasa . I try to visit him also every year .

I also have an aunt in Mombasa, the last surviving sibling of my mother's I suppose she is the nearest thing to a matriarch of our family today. But she is so gentle and caring that she is more maternal than matriarchal, bless Mama- Ena.

When I was in Toronto, Canada, in November, one of the highlights was meeting at last my nephew Muhammad Tamim's bride from Guyana, Khyrul . Incredible as it may sound the first Guyanese I ever met was Cheddi Jagan, who is now President of the country. I first met him in the same city of Toronto as far back as 1966! We were both major speakers at a symposium on the theme Revolution and Response .

But while the 1966 event was loud and public, the 1994 event was quiet and private. I was a guest at dinner at the Tamims . Excellent Caribbean cuisine and great company. The Tamims had also invited Zeid Harith Mazrui, my brother's son, to dinner. was a great reunion .

On the next day I met more East Africans at a Toronto mosque and later at a Halal meat Indian restaurant . The whole experience added immensely to my visit to Canada in 1994 .

Are we starting a clan of North American Mazrui? I do believe the process *has started*. *Four of my five sons are already U.S. citizens; and the fifth is a permanent resident (like his Dad) ! In Canada I already have one nephew recognized as a landed immigrant ; and another nephew hopefully on his way there .*

My older nephew, Alamin M. Mazrui, a professor at The Ohio State University in Columbus, is already a permanent resident of the- USA, -though the _ niece_ he is looking (Lubria Mazrui) still has a mere student ' s visa.

Yes, a Mazrui clan is in the process of formation in North America

Within the United States does the Mazrui clan stand a chance of overshadowing the Kennedy clan before the end of the 21st

century?! Who knows? We may have a more ecumenical America by that time. We may have transcended a clash of civilizations , Insha Allah .

Newsletter 20, Early 1996, A Destiny in Five Dimensions

Early 1996

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 20

General Theme :

A DESTINY IN FIVE DIMENSIONS

Subthemes :

1 . On Anniversaries in History

11 . On Islam and Ali Mazrui

111 . On Martyrdom and Politics

IV. On Jane Austen and the Cold War

Between Profession and Family

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues . Friends will know that the home address is as follows :

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First and foremost, a million apologies for keeping you waiting for your friend's annual Newsletter! ! So sorry!

It was the Million Man March on Washington D.C. on October 16, 1995, which began to give a numerological meaning to 1995 as a whole. Why a million? Did a million men turn up? As the English poet put it in another context :

And the little more

And how much it is

And the little less

And what miles away

It was a measure of the racial divide of the United States that most white observers believed that only 400 , 000 people turned up, and most Black observers believed there were more than a million and a half . The num-bers ' game had once again been racialized. When Louis Farrakhan, the author of the concept of the Million Man March, gave his speech at the March, he took numerology even further. He found meaning in the precise height of the Washington monument (the obelisk which the marchers were looking at) . He found significance in the precise dimensions of the Jefferson and Lincoln monuments. Nun-ber 19 particularly fascinated Farrakhan. And when I and three other colleagues subsequently visited Minister Farrakhan in Chicago and spent five hours with him, he elaborated further on his fascination with nun-bers and destiny. But more about Farrakhan later.

But first this is supposed to be Ali Mazrui t s newsletter. So how did numerology affect Ali Mazrui's 1995? The No. 5 was once again organizing my life. You will remember from a previous Newsletter that I was my mother's fifth child, and that many of the critical calendar years in my life were divisible by five. I now also have five sons, the Lord be praised. In 1995 five children of my father's were in loving contact with each other my brother, my three sisters and myself . I visited Mombasa in 1995 and saw them all . I also launched while in Kenya two books .

One was Swahili, State and Society jointly authored by me and Al amin M. Mazrui. The other

was Islam in Kenya edited by Mohamed Bakari and Saad S. Yahya .

I have lived in five countries Kenya, Uganda, Engl and , Nigeria, and the United States. While in 1994 I visited all five of them (of course I still live in the U.S.) , in 1995 I was unable to visit either Uganda or Nigeria. However, I did give a keynote speech at the 7th annual meeting of the Uganda NorthAmerican Association held in Chicago. The 1995 convention attracted about a thousand Ugandans from different parts of North America . It was a scintillating reunion. I met many old students and old friends, including Brenda Kiberu and her children. I also made new friends .

I have been on the regular faculty of five universities so far - two of them African (Makerere in Uganda and Jos in Nigeria) and three of them (Michigan, Binghamton, and Cornell) Cornell has a new president and a new Provost . I have been to pay my respects to the new Provost. We discussed subjects which ranged from the role of culture in development to the voice and songs of Umm Kulthum, the greatest Arab singer of the 20th century. I was taken to meet Provost Don M. Randel by Locksley Edmondson, the Director of Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell, and a very old friend of mine .

I return to the shadow of the Nurnber 5 on my destiny . I am glad to report that for the first time ever all my own five children were under the same roof in Binghamton, New York, at Thanksgiving in November 1995 . It was a wonderful reunion. In the past one or another of my sons was missing, but this time all the five boys were together at last .

Although my own birthday is not divisible by five, have I been proposing marriage on the basis of divisibility by five? It is true that my first wife, Molly (Muna) was born in May (the fifth month) and on the 15th of that month. Her date of birth (May 15) though intriguing, had very little to do with our decision to get married! !

My present wife, Pauline (Maryam) was born on the 10th of another month. Like her husband, Pauline was born in February but unlike her husband, Pauline's precise day of birth is divisible by 5 . Did I check on that numeral before proposing marriage? ! I am more likely to have checked if she could drive a car before proposing marriage (since I cannot) !

On Anniversaries In History

1995 was a year of anniversaries divisible by 5 ! Binghamton University of the State University of New York celebrated its fiftieth year of academic life. A number of events marked the occasion, but in the shadow of gloomy news about budget-cuts and belt-tightening as a result of the new political mood in the United States .

The United Nations celebrated its fiftieth year, also in the shadow of budgetary problems and a crisis of confidence arising out of its performance in Bosnia and Rwanda . In Vienna, Austria, I took part in a special international seminar to mark the UN's anniversary. Both Boutros-Ghali, the present Secretary-General , and Kurt Waldheim, a former Secretary-General attended the Vienna Seminar . (Waldheim attended only the social events. He did not speak even at the social events, partly because it was thought that his alleged association with the Nazis in the past would have disrupted this 1995 international occasion) .

Vienna was only the first of the five cities in which I personally took part in celebrating the UN's 50th anniversary . In 1945 the UN had been launched in San Francisco. In 1995 the celebrations in San Francisco were the most central . I attended some of the San Francisco events, and presented a paper at a conference sponsored by the World Federalists .

In Boston I had earlier given a solo lecture at Tufts

University and the Fletcher School of Diplomacy on "The United Nations at 50: Has it

Outlived Its Purpose?" The thrust of the argument was that the UN had found additional purposes since it was formed, some of which were more efficiently fulfilled than was the world body's original peace-keeping role .

Of all my five personal celebrations of the UN, my lecture at the Fletcher School was, relatively speaking, the most quiet and least dramatic . It was just an ordinary campus event .

The biggest celebration of the UN's 50th anniversary in the Southern hemisphere took place in Melbourne, Australia, sponsored by La Trobe University and other Australian institutions . It was a major international event, launched by Australia's Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, who is widely discussed as a potential future Secretary-General of the UN. I was privileged to be cokeynote speaker alongside Evans at the opening ceremony, though the whole event became almost inaudible on one occasion because of very loud students' demonstrations against Evans for his policy towards Indonesia in relation to East Timor . (Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 and has denied the people of that territory self-determination. Australia was regarded as being insufficiently critical of Indonesia) . At any rate Melbourne was my fourth UN city of 1995. In Australia I was also reunited with my old colleagues of the World Order Models Project .

There were some anniversaries in my own personal life also in 1995. The year marked the 30th anniversary since I was catapulted from lecturer to a full professor at Ivhkerere University in 1965 a crazy speed of promotion which I'cerere had never done before me, and has never been repeated since . I have never been sure whether to be humbled or shocked that I have never been Senior Lecturer, or Reader, or Associate Professor or without tenure !

In 1995 the African Studies Association of the United States and the National University of Lesotho independently helped me celebrate my thirtieth year of full professorship by voting me Distinguished Africanist for a lifetime of service to African Studies. The Lesotho University honoured me with a Distinguished Service Award as part of their own 50th anniversary, and I was given the U.S. Distinguished Africanist Award at the U.S .

Association's annual meeting in Orlando, Florida .

In my acceptance speech in Orlando, I dedicated that moment to Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Nigerian writer and human rights activist who was at the time on death-row. Within a week Ken Saro-Wiwa was executed by the regime of General Sani Abacha, in defiance of much of world opinion. I had just arrived in Oxford, England, when my wife, Pauline, phoned me to let me know about Saro-Wiwa's execution. I staggered out into the Oxford streets looking for newspapers. All the British papers carried banner headlines about the Saro-Wiwa tragedy. I read the accounts both avidly and in pain.

This brings me to my fifth celebration of 1995. What was I doing in Oxford? I had been invited to Oxford to give the annual Evan Luard lecture by the Oxford United Nations Association. In 1995 the lecture was to mark the 50th anniversary of the United Nations . I was also a guest of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. The combined sponsorship of my Oxford visit required my giving a lecture which was of relevance to both the UN and to Islamicists . So I lectured on 'I THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MUSLIM WORLD: ALLIES OR

ADVERSARIES? t' . The turnout was overflowing, and the subsequent discussion lively. In the Chair was my old mwalimu at Oxford, Professor Kenneth Kirkwood, still active on campus .

Later I gave a seminar at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies on the theme of "The Islamic Face of Africa". The Director of the Islamic Center, Dr. Farhan Nizami, had been immensely supportive throughout my Oxford stay.

On Islam and Ali Mazrui

Since 1986 Islamic studies have been demanding more and more of my time and attention. There was a time when people thought of me purely as an Africanist trained in political science. Before the 1980s nobody thought of me as anybody who had anything significant to say about Islam. Since then I now get invited to Islamic conferences from Kuala Lumpur to San Francisco, from Ditchley to Khartoum, from Riyadh to Chicago. What has brought about this semi-Islamization of my professional agenda?

The critical year was 1986, the year of the first telecasting of my BBC television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* in which I discussed Africa as a convergence of three civilizations indigenous, Islamic and Western. Because the series examined Islam, I was suddenly discovered as an Islamicist by a whole new constituency. The discovery gathered momentum from then on.

But something must have happened to me also when I was filming *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* over a period of three years. I studied more closely than ever the religion of my birth within my own ancestral continent. Something in me was affected during those three years.

During 1995 ten major presentations of mine stand out concerning Islam, including my Oxford University events. At the University of Hong Kong I had been invited to give the Distinguished Li Ka Shing Lecture. Vice-Chancellor Wang Gungwu himself had proposed that I spoke on Islam in Africa. It was a memorable event, not least because of the involvement of my old friend and contemporary from our Oxford days as students, Yash Ghai, who is now a distinguished professor of law in Hong Kong.

Although the invitation had been for me to give only one lecture in Hong Kong, I ended up giving five presentations in all on different subjects and to different audiences (linguists, lawyers, political scientists, Hong Kong Muslims as well as the audience of my Li Ka Shing Distinguished lecture).

In San Francisco later in the year I addressed a conference of mainly African American Muslims on the theme "Islam between Afrocentricity and Multiculturalism". I met colleagues who were working on more fascinating multicultural subjects. My own mother tongue (Kiswahili) was once written in the Arabic script, and is now written mainly in the Roman (or Latin) script. But have you thought of writing the English language in the Arabic script instead of its present Roman alphabet? Well, I met a couple of Muslim scholars in San Francisco who were working on such English texts in the Arabic orthography. I also met an African American who was translating into English the works of the nineteenth century Nigerian Muslim crusader, Usman Dan Fodio.

The largest audience on Islam which I addressed was at the annual meeting of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) in Columbus, Ohio. These days the ISNA meetings attract some ten thousand people every year. The audience at my own session was nowhere near that large, but since it was a plenary meeting there was a large turnout. I spoke on the special problems of Muslims in North America.

I gave a similar lecture later in the month in Toronto, Canada at a fundraising meeting of Islamic Media Awareness Group.

My host managed to raise thousands of dollars at the meeting. The trip to Canada was

memorable for two other reasons my reunion with some former students of mine at the Mombasa

Institute of Muslim Education going back to the 1950s. Now these former students are distinguished engineers, businessmen and men of affairs in their new adopted home of Canada. These former

East African Asians have not lost their command of their Swahili language. One or two spoke better Kiswahili than I did. As for the food they served me at a lavish luncheon, the cuisine was a merger of East Africa and South Asia. What a reunion! God bless them all . There was also a separate family reunion in Canada a pleasant time with my nephew Mohamed Yusuf Tamim and his wife Khyrul. Khyrul 's cooking was another marvel the Caribbean wonders! My evening with them was also highly intellectual and theological for Mohamed is constantly challenging me about my interpretation of Islamic precepts and doctrine. Normally in the Muslim world older people are more traditional in their interpretations than younger ones . So usually when young people challenge older people, it is the older people who are defenders of tradition. In my relationship with Mohamed these roles are reversed. I am the less orthodox of the two and I am being challenged from the side of tradition. But it is all in good family spirit.

I do have another nephew in Canada - Zeid . Unfortunately he failed to establish contact with me when I was in Toronto, although he tried. I had better luck with Goretti Muganbwa, a Ugandan Canadian who was once a colleague at the University of Jos in Nigeria. She and I (and her daughter Maria) had plenty of time in 1995 to talk about our old days in Jos and about new developments in Africa and North America! ! Yes, catching up with each other ! I continued to serve on the Board of the American Muslim Council based in Washington, DC. The Council seeks to influence

Congress and the U.S. administration on matters of concern to

Muslims in the United States. My own activities on behalf of the Council during 1995 included participation in a delegation to meet Anthony Lake, the National Security advisor to President Clinton. Our agenda was the crisis in Bosnia and U. S. policy towards it. By the end of 1995 U.S. policy on Bosnia was closer to the view of American Muslims than the policy had been in the preceding three years of Clinton' s indecisiveness .

Incidentally, I was delighted to learn from Anthony Lake that he had seen my television series, The Africans . So had Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam and Ben Chavis, the former Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) . We met with Ben Chavis in December 1995 and with Farrakhan in January 1996, as I have indicated elsewhere. The TV series has earned me more name-recognition and more face-recognition than anything else I have ever done. We also met with Imam Warithu Deen Mohammed in Chicago, leader of mainstream African American Islam.

I also collaborated with another Muslim body in the United

States the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) , which publishes books on the Islamization of knowledge and supports Islamic journals in the United States. At one of their conferences I spoke on Islam in a More Conservative Western World" While many colleges and research institutes of all kinds in the United States are cutting down their activities for budgetary reasons, the IIIT is still expanding its scope of operations, alhamdu li Llah (praise the Lord) .

Under entirely different auspices I wrote a paper entitled

“The Imperial Culture of North-South Relations: The Case of Islam and the West” It was for a conference on “Disintegration and Reconstitution of Empires: The USSR and Russia in Comparative Perspectives”, sponsored by the University of Maryland at College Park and John Hopkins University. Strangely enough the conference was held at the University of California in San Diego! ! The choice of venue turned out to be doubly fortunate when the east coast was devastated by a snow storm including Washington, DC . It was also fascinating that a project about the disintegration of the Russian and Soviet empires should have solicited papers about so many other empires and imperial experiences the Hapsburgs, the Ottomans, the British, the French and, in the global sense, Pax Americana . I also gave the keynote address at a conference at Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, England on the theme “The West and the Muslim World in the Era of Globalization . The conference was sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies in England . Participants included not only scholars but also diplomats, international civil servants, Arab princes, and other policy makers . Sometimes I found myself in the eye of a debating storm about relations between Islam and the West .

On Martyrdom and Politics

1995 was the year of my five martyrs . Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the Chair of the OAU’ s Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) on Reparations, was still detained by General Sani Abacha of Nigeria . I happen to be a member of that group. Our task force was to work out the modalities and logistics of campaigning for reparations to compensate for Black enslavement and colonization . Our group has been deeply frustrated since the arrest of our Chairman Abiola .

At Ditchley Park in Oxfordshire I met Professor Amadou Mahtar M’ Bow, former Director General of Unesco who is also a member of the OAU Group of Eminent Persons on Reparations. He promised to try and get the work reactivated. At the African Studies meeting in Orlando, Florida, I also joined forces with Professor Jacob Ade Ajayi and Ambassador Dudley Thompson, two other members of the GEP group. We are trying to get the mission off the ground. The martyrdom of Abiola has affected the Reparations Movement in Africa .

There has also been the martyrdom of General Olusegun Obasanjo, who is in detention in Nigeria ostensibly because he plotted to overthrow the military regime . (General Obasanjo is best known in the world as the soldier who plotted to restore democracy in Nigeria in 1979 and did indeed hand over power to the freely elected government of Shehu Shagari in that year) . Is Obasanjo now really supposed to serve a quarter of century in jail for the alleged plot against Abacha?

third martyr of 1995 was, unfortunately, still a Nigerian. He was Ken Saro-Wiwa, who paid the supreme price of execution for fighting for the Ogoni people against the human and environmental degradation perpetrated by the oil companies and the political elite in Nigeria.

My fourth martyr of 1995 was more controversial. He was O.J. Simpson. Did he kill his former wife, Nicole Brown Simpson? I have no idea . I do know that the police never seriously entertained any other scenario or pursued any alternative evidence . I also know that the police investigators included a man who not only had used racial epithets but had bragged about cooking and manufacturing evidence to compromise African suspects, and who had declared his genocidal predisposition against Blacks. Mark Furman, the racist, was also the man who was supposed to have discovered some of the most damning evidence

against O.J. Simpson.

Nevertheless, white never regarded this racism as relevant and was quite shocked when most of Black America celebrated the "not guilty" verdict of the jury .

I still do not know whether in reality O.J. Simpson did actually kill Nicole or not, but I am convinced that no case against him was proven in a court of law. I regard him as a martyr because the system is so hypocritical. The system claims that a man is innocent until he is proven guilty. But when the system fails to prove O.J. Simpson guilty, he is hounded in other ways . Civil cases are lodged against him to reprove him guilty under standards looser than the original ones. And even if he won these civil cases, I am sure he would be hounded in other ways. What kind of just society is this?

I should mention that my own children have not been united on the O . J. Simpson issue. They range from the son who found O.J. Simpson guilty within the first two weeks of the saga to a son who found the jury's verdict of "not guilty" at least understandable if not justified. I personally found that the jury had reasonable doubt and the verdict was therefore justified.

Did O . J. actually kill Nicole? I personally have remained an " agnostic" on that issue. There are many factors which suggest strongly that he did it. There are other factors which imply that it was most unlikely. I simply do not know.

Did O . J. Simpson affect my work professionally? He did. My paper at the annual meeting of the African Heritage Studies Association was on the subj ect of "O.J. Simpson and Shakespeare ' s Othello : An Afrocentric Perspective" . Simpson in 1995 repeatedly forced me back to Shakespeare .

Later in the year I was a guest of the Foundation for Global Dialogue in Johannesburg, South Africa . I was invited to launch the Foundation. My launching address was on the following theme :

"THE EROSION OF THE STATE AND THE DECLINE OF RACE:

BISMARCK TO BOUTROS; OTHELLO TO O.J. snsor.l"

I presented the comparison of Simpson with Othello at the socially glittering event . Later I received an autographed copy of Nelson Mandela's book, Long Walk to Freedom. Nelson Mandela said the following about me in the inspription:

To Prof. Ali Mazrui,

Compliments & best wishes to an outstanding educationist & freedom fighter.

Mandela had himself been a martyr, but he was not one of my five martyrs for 1995, much as I adlilire him.

My fifth martyr of 1995 was Raj at Neogy, the founderpresident of Transition magazine from its Kampala days. Raj at died in California at the age of 57 in December 1995 . My most poignant memory of him was as a martyr to freedom in Uganda more than a quarter of a century ago in Kampala. President Milton Obote had locked up Raj at Neogy in 1968, and subsequently put him on trial. Although Raj at won the trial, yet he was by that time a broken man. He was already a martyr. I attach my obituary of Raj at to this Newsletter my last salute to him.

My five Binghamton public presentations included my presentation during Black History month on campus as part of our annual conference of my Institute of Global Cultural Studies and the Department of Africana Studies .

In June I addressed the Broome County Urban League' s 27th annual dinner on issues of change, conunitment and compassion . The host was Derrick L. Span, then President of the

local Urban League .

In October I was one of the keynote speakers at our annual conference on ancient and medieval thought from a modern perspective. We managed to include illustrative material from Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the Orient .

Earlier in the year I was a guest of the SUNY-Binghamton

Graduate African Students . I addressed them on the subject of

“African Americans and Africans” . My sons are African Americans . I am still an American African, with roots still firmly placed in the ancestral continent of Africa .

My fifth Binghamton presentation was at the Braudel Center as a discussant in a session on conflict and violence in Africa. I tried to provide a comparative perspective to the issue of violence .

1995 shocked me back to Jane Austen in English literature who was such a central part of my education as a colonial student some forty years earlier. Where did Jane Austen fit in the grand equation of North-South relations on the eve of the 21st century?

On Jane Austen and the End of the Cold War

In the Western world after the end of the Cold War Jane Austen symbolizes the aspiration to return to a culture of decorum and civility. In Africa Jane Austen symbolizes the aspiration to escape the culture of dependency. Western hegemony has led to a culture of international rudeness and violence and seeks release in the civility of Jane Austen's novels. Africa's dependency has led to a culture of imitation and deference and African nationalism now seeks liberation from Jane Austen .

With Ian McKellen in the lead role, Shakespeare's Richard III has been used to depict the rise of fascism. Can Jane Austen be used to depict the end of the Cold War? (Director: Richard Loncraine?)

In the West there is a new nostalgia for the literary classics and for a bygone age of civility and good manners. Had the Cold War numbed some Western aesthetic sensibilities? Were these now to flourish afresh?

In the 1990s three different films of Jane Austen's novels were shown - Sense and Sensibility and Persuasion for the cinema and Pride and Prejudice for television (PBS) . Shakespeare's Richard III was modernized into a portrait of fascism in the 1930s. And Othello became a new cinema production more than half a century after the Othellos of Orson Welles, Laurence Olivier and Paul Robeson. On the U . S. television channel Arts and Entertainment a six-hour television production of Pride and Prejudice by Jane Austen was watched by nearly 4 million viewers. Many more millions are reported to have flocked to see Austen's Sense and Sensibility and Persuasion. What is going on? Is this a post-Cold War yearning for decorum and civility?

In the context of the Cold war, someone ought to modernize the novel Northanger Abbey by Jane Austen in the near future . It is a satirization of false alarms, of the Gothic novel and the haunted house. A modern satirist could score high with analogies of the false alarms of the Cold War and the unfounded fears of ideological haunted camps. Northanger Abbey could be turned into a portion of the Kremlin, cornered and searched by the C. I. A. . The futility would be compelling in the satire .

I was in New York as a graduate student when Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev used his shoe to bash the top of a desk for attention at the United Nations in 1960 in the midst of a speech by Harold Macmillan. In the sensibilities of Jane Austen was offended. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, with a remarkable British understatement, said he awaited a linguistic

translation of Khrushchev's behaviour . It brought the house down in laughter .

But in reality this seemed to be not merely a confrontation of ideologies . It was also apparently a confrontation of manners. Time and again the difference was apparently not merely ideological but also fundamentally aesthetic. More recently President Yeltsin was portrayed as being not always sober at public events. And the international media cameras had a field day when he was seen seemingly pinching the bottoms of female state employees. Jane Austen would have had an interesting eye for such behaviour .

In reality U.S. President Lyndon Johnson was very vulgar in behaviour towards his staff behind the scenes. And U . S.

President Richard Nixon was very vulgar in speech behind the scenes (expletives deleted) . The difference between Russian vulgarity at the highest level and American vulgarity at the highest level was that the Russians were more honest about it to their own people. Russian leaders were often publicly vulgar!

On the other hand, Jane Austen in Africa has a different meaning. Africa in the years since 1986 has won three Nobel prizes for literature its first Nobel literary prizes ever . The winners were Wole Soyinka of Nigeria, Nequib Mahfuz of Egypt, and Nadine Gordimer of South Africa. Their achievements were influenced by the anti-colonial struggle but were not directly related to the Cold War. On the other hand, pro-democracy movements in many African countries have reduced inhibitions in writers and artists and these pro-democracy movements have definitely been helped by the end of the Cold War .

Kenya's most distinguished novelist is Ngugi wa Thiong'o who is also regarded as one of the most neo-Marxist of all the leading African creative writers. His novels got more and more ideological as he moved from *Weep not, Child* and *The River Between* to *Petals of Blood*. A combination of anti-colonialism and the Cold War radicalized Ngugi in a leftist direction.

But it is possible to argue that Ngugi began as a Kikuyu nationalist who evolved into a neo-Marxist nationalist. What the political failure of communism in Europe has done has been to force Ngugi back to Kikuyu nationalism with paradoxical PanAfrican connotations .

When New York University (NYU) was trying to attract Ngugi onto the faculty, Ngugi insisted that NYU help him inaugurate a Kikuyu language journal although the number of readers of the Kikuyu language in the USA is extraordinarily small .

NYU, out of eagerness to recruit Ngugi, accepted his terms about the journal. When he asked me to ask my library to subscribe to the journal, I sent him my own personal subscription but urged him to make his journal bilingual (Kikuyu and Swahili languages) . In the United States I knew that the addition of Swahili articles in the journal stood a chance of quadrupling its subscriptions .

Ngugi was polite but firm. There was a need for more journals in Kiswahili. But the Kikuyu language also needed to demonstrate its own independent literary viability .

In Africa Jane Austen was a symbol of literary colonization rather than a symbol of a return to civility. A Malawi poet, Felix wrote a poem about English literature in Africa in which he described it as a stranglehold - and Jane Austen as " the heart of the matter"

Your elegance of deceit,

Jane Austen, lulled the sons and daughters of the dispossessed into calf-love with irony and satire around imaginary people .

When history went on mocking the victims of branding irons and sugar plantations that made Jane Austen's people wealthy beyond compare !

Eng. Lit, my sister, was more than a cruel joke It was the heart of alien conquest . I
Is this a clash of cultures in the class room? Is it racism in disguise? Or is it Cold War
incarnate? Or a hopeful beginning of cultural convergence? At the 1995 meeting of the
African Literature Association held in Columbus, Ohio, Alamin M.

Mazrui had reminded us that three of Shakespeare's plays had been translated into
Kiswahili - Julius Caesar, The Merchant of Venice and Macbeth. 2 Shakespeare was being "domesticated" . The Swahili translation of The Merchant of Venice was influenced by the
Cold War: Mabepari wa Vanisi meaning The Capitalist of Venice " !

But what has not been translated is at least as significant .

What has not been translated into Kiswahili is the only play by Shakespeare with a Black
hero, albeit a tragic hero. Why has it not been translated? Because in the play a Black man
was married to a white woman, Desdemona. What is more, the Black hero killed the white
woman in a fit of jealousy. The villain of the play is a white man, Iago, who manipulated
Othello's jealousies. The play is, of course, Othello. Are there echoes of allegations against
O.J. Simpson and the fair Nicole?

Why did not Julius Nyerere translate the only Shakespearean play with a Black hero into
Kiswahili? Why was not Nyerere's compatriot, Samuel Mushi fascinated by Othello's wife,
the fair Desdemona?

We are still in the shadow of colonial dependency . The Malawian writer, Felix would
answer that :

You elegance of deceit Jane Austen

Lulled the sons and daughters of the dispossessed English Lit. , my sister, was more than a
cruel joke It was the heart of alien conquest .

I raised these issues in 1995 at the conference in Columbus of the African Literature
Association (ALA) . Without realizing it, neither Julius Nyerere nor Samuel Mushi had
confronted what colonial education had left out of their Shakespearean agenda Othello.
This play virtually never featured in the syllabus of Cambridge School Certificate for the
coloured British Empire .

Nyerere and Mushi did not translate it mainly because it was not part of the Shakespeare to
which they were exposed in their colonial textbooks .

English Lit. , my sister was more than a cruel joke It was the heart of alien conquest .

Yes, I cited all this at the ALA conference in Columbus . Much of Jane Austen is a comedy of
manners! Would she have been out of her depth in a real tragedy of manners?

The Jane Austen revival continues in the English-speaking world. In a strange way Africa is
involved much more than she would even have expected :

You elegance of deceit Jane Austen

Lulled the sons and daughters of the dispossessed English Lit., my sister, was more than a
cruel joke It was the heart of alien conquest .

Between Profession and Family

I am sure all mothers will sympathise with this story. My wife, Pauline, had completed her
morning chores of getting our children ready for school, dressed them, and got them to go
to the car. Before she started fastening their seat-belts, she put a large envelope on the roof
of the car. She got the children secure in the car, got in herself, and drove off without
retrieving the big envelope on the roof. The bulky envelope was from me to my Secretary
and it contained the only copy of a major reinterpretation of Uganda's post-colonial history
that I had just tried out on Ugandans in Chicago. Pauline was supposed to take the draft to

my Secretary for typing. The draft was never recovered. Of course, I swallowed hard, kissed my wife and told her that I loved her .

When some weeks later I told the story to a Ugandan ambassador who was a friend of mine, the ambassador said I was lucky that Pauline did what she did. I exclaimed " lucky? " The ambassador said: "Yes, suppose Pauline had been an absent-minded professor . Instead of saving the children and losing the envelope, she had saved the envelope and forgotten one of the children on the car-roof, and driven off! ! Where would you be now?" ! We both burst out laughing! ! Talk of looking at the brighter side of things !

Kim, my third son in order of birth, who is now a lawyer in Washington DC, seems to have decided that he would rather teach law than practice law! I think he is too much of an intellectual to be constrained by the chores of the early years of legal practice. Kim has an excellent offer from the University of Virginia, an institution which has the same creator as the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson. The law school is one of the best in the country. The family is proud.

Jamal, my oldest son, was affected by disruptions caused by the repeated closures of the Federal Government of the United States. Jamal works for the U. S. Federal Government . Al my second son chronologically, is still at the University of California, Berkeley, registered for a Masters degree in Social Welfare. His ad hoc jobs in the Bay Area have included working in a theatre. No, not as an actor, although I believe he has potential for the stage . In our immediate family only Kim and I have acted on the stage within the last fifteen years. Kim and I featured in a production of Yusuf and His Brothers, a play by the Somali playwright Nuruddin Farah, which was produced in Jos, Nigeria, in the 1980s .

My two youngest sons are Farid (four years old) and Harith (two and a half) . They were introduced to Mickey Mouse in person in Disney World, Florida, when we all went to Orlando for the annual meeting of the African Studies Association. Gloria Hopkins accompanied us . Pauline, Gloria and the two children did some sightseeing while I was condemned to ASA-related business! !

My wife Pauline almost never orders me concerning what clothes I should wear! But when I was going to Columbus, Ohio, to honour Isaac James Mowoe at a special ceremony of Ohio State University, Pauline instructed me to wear a special resplendent shirt which her sister had made for me. It was an aristocratic shirt for an aristocratic occasion. It was a salute to a great brother, Isaac Mowoe, former Associate Dean of Ohio State and founder-Director of the African Studies Center on that campus . Felicitations .

Earlier in the year I had been invited to violence-torn Karachi, Pakistan, for a conference about Islam. My family here was relieved when the Karachi conference was postponed precisely because of the security situation. We pray for peace in Karachi .

The Karachi cancellation made it even easier for me to participate in the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago which had been scheduled close to the Pakistani dates. At the AHA conference in Chicago I was one of the speakers at the opening plenary session on the theme of whether in the 1990s "the Post-World War II era" had come to an end. It was one of the highlights of my year, thanks especially to my colleague Robert Harris at Cornell .

The number Five continues to follow me . It is the five fingers of my hand which help to make me a writer . It is the five pillars of my religion which help to make me a Muslim Shahada, prayer, fast of Ramadhan, pilgrimage to Mecca, and tax of Zakat .

It is the five regions of my continent which help to make me an African (east, west, north,

south and central Africa) .

It is the five universities of my academic affiliation which have helped me to become a scholar (Makerere, Michigan, Jos , Binghamton, and Cornell) Before that it was the five universities which helped to train me into a political scientist

(Manchester, Coluia, the University of Mexico, UC-Berkeley, and Oxford) .

And then there are the five children who have helped me to learn how to be a good parent . I have been blessed.

There is one five I neither desire nor is permitted by my wife or my religion. Even as an African I do not aspire to the experience of becoming the husband of five wives !! Pauline is my second wife . Shall we leave it at that, please? God bless my beloved Maryam. Amen! I am too old and too much in love for wider adventures anyhow !

NOTES

1 . "The Stranglehold of English Lit ." in Modern African Poetry edited by Gerald Moore and UI li Beier (London : Penguin, 1989 edition) pp. 139-140.

2 . Al amin M. Mazrui , " Shakespeare in Kenya: Between English and Swahili Literature , paper presented at annual meeting of the African Literature Association of the United States, Columbus, Ohio, March 17, 1995.

APPENDIX I

November 1995

Acceptance Speech

ALI A. MAZRUI: DISTINGUISHED AFRICANIST AWARD.

THE AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Upon receiving the Distinguished Africanist Award for a lifetime of service to African Studies, Ali A. Mazrui gave a short speech of thanks and appreciation. This is the text of that speech, delivered at the 38th annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Orlando, Florida, November 3-6, 1995 .

2

I am deeply honoured by this tribute from my peers of the Association. It comes almost exactly 30 years since Makerere University in Uganda appointed me in 1965 as full professor. This award comes some fifteen years since I served you as President of this Association.

When you made me President that was the first great honour which you paid me. When you allowed my colleagues like Omari Kokole and my former students like Hussein Adam to organize a conference within a conference in Seattle in 1992, with multiple panels entirely about my works, that was another great tribute you paid me . The fruit of that conference within a conference in Seattle is a new book entitled The Global African: A Portrait of Ali Mazrui just published by Africa World Press.

When you invited me to launch the Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola Distinguished Lectures, that was another great honour you paid me. It was a great privilege to be the first speaker in that series .

And now you have topped it all by paying me the Distinguished Africanist tribute . Since this is an award for a lifetime of service to African studies, the list of people to whom I am indebted is too long to be recited here. The list does include colleagues and students, fans and critics, teachers and learners, my publishers and lecturing agents and my staff. Above all it includes my family over the years. These are the people who made me possible. If a

Distinguished Africanist resides in me, these are the people who brought him out, who cultivated him into a living agent .

On such an occasion, it is sometimes in order for the

Distinguished Africanist to dedicate this event to another Africanist, the way I have in the past dedicated some of my books to important friends or relatives. Well, tonight I dedicate this singular honour to another Africanist thousands of miles away from here a person whose political lights have dimmed, but whose moral courage shines brighter than ever .

I dedicate this singular moment to a writer, poet, environmentalist, playwright and champion of human rights . I dedicate this moment to an intellectual on death-row. I dedicate this honour to KEN SARO-WIWA. May he live long. May he live long . Amen .

APPENDIX II

CORNELL AFRICANA STUDIES

CELEBRATION OF ALI MAZRUJI'S AWARD

On November 5, 1995, African Studies and Research Center of Cornell University held a reception at the African Studies convention -in Orlando, Florida, to celebrate Mazruji's award as Distinguished Africanist. In his reply speech at the Cornell reception Ali Mazruji had the following to say:

On the evening of the award of Distinguished Africanist, there were details I felt I could not enumerate. The award was for a lifetime of service to African Studies. Gratitude needed to be expressed to the three universities which trained me - Manchester University in England, Columbia in New York and Oxford University back in Britain.

It is also important to express my gratitude to the five great universities which built my professorial career. Two of those have been African universities - Makerere University in Uganda and the University of Jos in Nigeria. Three of them have been American universities the University of Michigan, the State University of New York at Binghamton, and of course, Cornell University. I am greatly indebted to these five pillars of my professorial career. My career has also been built by publishers in at least three continents, colleagues and students in five continents, staff and assistants wherever I have been. My career has also been built by the dialectic between critics and admirers, adversaries and friends, Mazruji-phobes and Mazruji-philes .

Above all, my career has been built in partnership with my family. One major intellectual partnership was with my first wife, Molly, and the three boys I had with her. There has also been the partnership with my second wife, Pauline, and the two boys I have had with her. And of course there has also been my extended family still based mainly in Africa, but with extensions in the West and in the Arab world.

What makes a great Africanist? He or she needs a commitment to Africa, a capacity to interpret it, and a spirit of congeniality towards fellow Africans and Africanists. These are the three basic C's of the Africanist-paradigm.

But behind the scenes there are a lot of other actors who have helped the Africanist attain stardom. Let us salute those unsung heroes especially.

Z

NORLID REPORT

By ALI MAZRUI It's a transition of

Before I tell you about Rajat, Islam and me, let me first give you the sad context of this

report. Rajat Neogy,
the Uganda-born founder-editor of a kind for veteran
Transition magazine, is dead at the age of 57 in California.

In the 1960s, the Kampalabased
lating intellectual magazine in editor Rajat Neogy
Transition became the most scintil-

Black Africa and Neogy's brilliant editorship was central to that success. People like Tom
Mboya, The magazine moved to Accra, the disapproval of its founder, Rajat Chinua Achebe,
Henry Louis Gates Ghana, under his editorship. He lat- Neogy!

Jr., Wole Soyinka and the secretary er handed it over to the editorship of I have many.
memories of Neogy. to President Kwame Nkrumah were Wole Soyinka, who recently won
the The jokes with him, the arguments among the authors who featured in Nobel Prize for
Literature. Soyinka and debates, the intellectual diathe pages of the magazine. made the
mistake of changing the logues, the frivolity, the pain and Neogy was educated in London
name of the magazine to Indaba. the friendsh ip.

before he returned to Uganda to The change of name promptly killed And then there was
his magazine. start the magazine. He was not part it. I have been associated with many of
Makerere University, but the Since then, Transition has been publications, in five different
contimagazine inevitably needed literary revived under its original mame in nents, during
my three decades as a talent on Makerere hill. Before the United States. with Soyinka as
professional academic, but none of long, I was heavily involved in the chairman of the
editorial.board and them played as big a role in shaping work of Transition. I became its As-
under the editorship of Henry Louis my career at Transition. My contro sociate Editor and
its main contrib. Gates Jr, the African-American man versial Transition article "Nkruuting
editor. of letters, and Kwame Anthony Ap- mah: The Leninist Czar" has be.

President Milton Obote later de- piah, the Ghanaian philosopher. come a classic in African
studies. tained Rajat Noegy and subsequent The publisher now is Oxford Uni- How can I
forget that early Tranly put him on trial. Neogy was ac- versity Press. The editorial base is
sition?

quitted, but by-that time, he was a Harvard University in Cambridge, But I would now like
to devote the broken man, and the Uganda phase Massachusetts. Transition has be, rest of
this report to a single inciof Transition was over. come mainstream - somewhat to dent in
my relationship with Neogy.

I would like to recount the day I stopped him becoming a Muslim.

Neogy had returned to Uganda from Ghana for a visit after the fall of Obotc in 1971. It was a
Friday morning when he walked into my office on Makerere Hill. In the course of the
conversation he asked if I was "coming to Kibuli mosque" for Friday prayers. I was startled.
Rajat's childhood might have been Hindu, and his adulthood was totally secular; where did
the mosque come into

He abruptly said he would see me at the mosque. And as he was walking out of my office, he
said: "It is a submission, not a conversion!" It was then that it dawned upon me, most with a
shock, that he planned to join the Islamic faith that day!

I was even more shocked when I detected a compelling desire in me to stop him. I of all
people - descended from a long line of devout Muslim Ulemaa, son of the late Chief Kadhi of
Kenya - why did I want to close the doors of Islam against Neogy as a new supplicant?

There was no time to reason why. At midday, I rushed to the Kibuli mosque. Rajat was

waiting for me
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Neogy in a 1968 picture: After a turbulent but rewarding intellectual life, dead at 57

Literary magazine editor Neogy dies

FROM PAGE 7

outside. The Friday prayers were about to begin. We rushed in together.
After the prayers, Buganda's Prince Badru Kakungulu, who

was serving as the Imam at the mosque, stood up to enquire if Prof Mazrui was in the congregation. When I confirmed, the Imam asked me to move to the front. That was the first time I knew that Rajat had made advance preparations for his public conversion. I whispered urgently to Rajat at my side that this was not the right way of making such a momentous transition. As we walked towards Prince Badru, Rajat fortunately whispered the reassuring words: "I will do whatever you say".

When Imam Badru handed the microphone to Rajat expecting him to request the rituals of conversion, I snatched away the microphone and gave a different message. I recounted that Rajat had suffered in Uganda under the regime of Milton Obote and that he considered me as the friend who had risked the most to stand by him.

Now that Obote was gone and Rajat was back in Uganda, he had decided to join his old friend, Ali Mazrui, in a prayer of thanksgiving at our mosque.

I therefore called upon the congregation to pray for Rajat and me in that new post-Obote era. Prince Badru was greatly perplexed but the congregation swallowed my story quite happily.

I later convinced Rajat that even if he wanted to convert, it did not have to be in public, in the presence of hundreds of worshippers. A private conversion, I argued, had greater solemnity.

In reality, I also felt that a private conversion was easier to retract if he had a psychological change of mind. Neogy did convert privately to Islam subsequently.

Why did this complex character seem so intrigued by Islam from the 1970s onwards? Was it because Bangladesh was born in 1971 - at a time when Rajat was losing his African roots? Bangladesh was a Muslim country. Was this young Bengali (originally Hindu) seeking a new identity in the wake of his dis-Africanisation by Obote?

Or was Rajat attracted to Islam by its doctrinal sobriety? As he struggled to overcome his alcoholism, did he see Islam as a sanctuary of sobriety - however, difficult to attain?

Or was he influenced by the fact that the forces which had overthrown Milton Obote in January 1971 were Muslim-led?

It is true that political Islam under Idi Amin in Uganda turned sour. But Amin had helped to destroy the best years

Dr Milton Obote: Detained Neogy

Prof Wole Soyinka: Took over 'Transition' as editor

of Obote, just as Obote had helped to destroy the best years of Rajat Neogy. Had this been a third factor behind Neogy's flirtation with Islam?

Fourthly, egocentric as it may sound, had I personally influenced Rajat in the direction of Islam?

Apart from his exceptionally strong wife, Barbara, none of Rajat's other friends in Uganda had stood up for him the way I had. I had risked my freedom, my Ugandan career, and conceivably my life, to protest his detention.

In Parliament at the time, President Obote threatened to detain me or throw me out of the country.

Islam as Bengali identity, Islam as sobriety, Islami as a political ally in Uganda and Islam as friendship. That restless soul called Rajat Neogy was constantly in transition. This pun is fully intended!

In all probability, Neogy was looking for a reconciliation between a culture of freedom and a culture of submission.

His fascination with Islam was part of this dialectic of anvuish, part of his restless soul.

Newsletter 21, Early 1997, The Legacy of Life, Death and Debate

Early 1997

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 21

General Theme :

THE LEGACY OF LIFE, DEATH AND DEBATE

Sub - Themes :

1 . Flames of Controversy

1 1 . Between Wedding Drums and Passing Friends

1 1 1 . The Pits and Pinnacles of Conferences IV. Omar i Kokole : A Triple Heritage

Ali Mazrui: An Islamic Agenda

Kingship, Kinship and the Cold War

by

Ali A. Mazrui

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. My home address is still as follows:

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My sincere apologies for the delay in sending out this Newsletter. The last few months of 1996 were especially difficult. Particularly devastating for me personally was the sudden death of one of my closest friends, Omari Haruna Kokole .

He and I talked together that weekend mid-September. On Monday he taught his class as usual at Binghamton University. On Tuesday night he was admitted into intensive care at the hospital . On Thursday morning he was dead. We were absolutely stunned and truly bewildered. Omar i had physically appeared to be the very epitome of strength and good health. He was tall, strong, muscular and seemed almost invincible . It was difficult to associate disease, let alone death, with him. Our shock was all that much greater. But more about Omari Kokole later on .

1 . Flames of Controversy

Earlier in the year there were events which were memorable for other reasons . I was allowed to give a public lecture at the University of Nairobi for the first time in almost twenty years . The occasion was to mark the 50th anniversary of the U.S

Fulbright scheme of academic exchanges . The Kenya Association of Fulbright Alumni and the University of Nairobi hosted my lecture, which was on the following topic :

“AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE AMERICAN MODEL OF
HIGHER EDUCATION: COMPARATIVE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES”

The Vice-Chancellor (President) of the University was in the chair at my lecture. Among other Kenya dignitaries at the lecture was Professor William Ochieng' , Principal of Maseno University College . Professor Ochieng' subsequently wrote a devastatingly negative review of my Fulbright lecture, describing it as boring and full of cliches. His review was published in the Sunday Nation, the most widely read English-language newspaper in Eastern Africa.

But Professor Ochieng' made two mistakes in his review . First, he challenged my claim in the lecture that universities in

Kenya did not enjoy enough autonomy and should struggle for it . Secondly, Professor Ochieng' made fun of my advancing years suggesting that the old Mazrui intellectual fire was going out with age !

These criticisms were mistakes from Ochieng's own point of view because they outraged so many readers of the Sunday Nation. The letters which poured into the newspaper were about ten to one against Ochieng' . When I finally also entered the fray in the Sunday Nation I challenged Ochieng' to a face-to-face debate either on his own campus at Maseno or at the University of Nairobi . My motion at the debate was to be as follows :

**"THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE
GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES INHIBITS
ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND REDUCES UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY"**

I argued that if such a debate were allowed to take place on campus, it would be one argument in favour of Ochieng's claim that Kenya universities already had enough autonomy. The debate would also be an opportunity to test Ochieng's thesis that advancing years had ended Ali Mazrui's old intellectual fire !

Although my challenge to Ochieng' was widely publicized in Kenya, Professor Ochieng' did not rise to the challenge! ! I have no live debate of that kind to report to you, alas !

However, since much of the rest of my life is one long controversy, there were of course other kinds of debates . The Pan-African journal, CODESRIA BULLETIN (Dakar, Senegal) , continued in 1996 the debate which was unleashed by Professor Archie Mafeje's vitriolic attack on me over my argument that some African countries were ready for recolonization. My argument had featured in a syndicated article of mine which was published in many newspapers and in several languages. Mafeje was responding to the version which appeared in The International Herald Tribune [August 4, 1994] .

Unfortunately Mafeje insisted on misinterpreting what I had said. I was recommending that stronger African states should put under trusteeship collapsed states (the umbrella of Pax Africana) That is the recolonization I was championing. Mafeje preferred to react as if I was recommending the return of Pax Britannica. Anyhow the heated Mafeje-Mazrui debate in CODESRIA

BULLETIN was joined by others.

My debates in Australia were calmer and more purely humanitarian . I was invited as the Chief Guest for the Refugee Week in Australia, a period every year when concerned Australians attempt to focus public attention on the worldwide problems of refugees and displaced persons . My itinerary included multiple appearances on national television, addressing the National Press Club, debating the refugee problem at a conference held within Parliament buildings, addressing the issues with relevant ministers and parliamentarians, and addressing public meetings in Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne and Perth . Friends from my old Makerere days who resurfaced, included Nursey Bray, who is now a prominent academic figure in Australia .

The African community of Melbourne made a special effort to entertain me . I became their guest in my final two days in Australia, and was delighted to give a public lecture on Africa in Melbourne under their auspices. Dr. Julius W . Mukhwana took the lead as my African host during those final Australian days, helped briefly by Professor Joseph A. Camilleri . There was one experience in Australia which was at the time alarming. On my second night in Sydney at the beginning of the Refugee week my hosts of Austcare and the Australian Council on Refugees took me to a delightful Thai restaurant . The car which brought me

was parked right opposite the restaurant. After a most engaging dinner we discovered that our car had been burgled and my briefcase stolen. Among the contents was what had been intended to be my most important speech in Australia the speech to launch the Refugee Week the next day at the National Press Club and to be televised live nationally . I had taken particular care in preparing that speech, collecting facts and figures about refugees and statistics about how Australia compared with other

developed states . The copy in the briefcase had been the only one in existence !

The next morning I was scheduled to fly from Sydney to the capital, Canberra, where the speech was intended to be delivered as an after-lunch address to the National Press Club. Between the Thai dinner and my flight to Canberra the next morning I desperately tried to remember and reconstruct as much of my original speech as I could. They later gave me a video of my presentation to take home with me . Everything considered, I do not think I let the refugees down in my presentation, Alhamdu

li Llah (the Lord be praised) !

11 . Between Wedding Drums and Passing Friends

I went to Nigeria in July 1996 and got married! No, not to yet another wife, but to my same Nigerian spouse! ! Basically, my visit to Nigeria in 1996 had two momentous purposes . One was indeed to reconfirm my marriage to Ej imah Pauline Maryam Uti through indigenous Nigerian rites and matrimonial ceremonies . (My original wedding to her was under Islamic rites in Mombasa, Kenya .)

My second mission in Nigeria, in 1996, was to give a lecture under the auspices of the Institute of Governance and Social

Research in Jos .

Elaigwu, who was

Even in the debate . I acted (The President is my old friend, Jonah Isawa also the best man at the wedding.) wedding rites and ceremonies there was a mock as if I was suing for Ej imah's hand in marriage

for the first time. The family pretended to rebuff me. Through an interpreter I sang Ej imah t s praises, extolled her beauty, and declared my dedication. I was again rebuffed. My interpreter and representer, Mr. Patrick Ossai, sang my praises as to how honourable a man I was, and how worthy a son- in- law I was bound to be to Ej imah's mother and her elders. And so it went on, suing and rebuffing, until the moment came for discussing bridewealth and exchanging gifts. There was a lot of singing and dancing and oyfuL embraces . Both Patrick Ossai and Jonah Elaigwu were, in a manner of speaking, my "best men" at this wedding ceremony .

In important ways the wedding brought me even closer to my wife's family. But this indigenous ceremony was also one more stage in "the Nigerianization of Ali Mazrui ." I felt integrated into aspects of Nigerian culture more deeply than ever before .

My lecture for the Institute of Governance and Social

Research was chaired by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Jos . I spoke at the old Plateau State assembly, and my theme was "Africa on the eve of the 21st century" My most controversial recommendation was that countries like Nigeria, where military coups were endemic, should deliberately devise constitutions of power-sharing between soldiers and

civilians, provided civilians were clearly the senior and elected partners (elected civilian supremacy) . My recommendations were reported in the Nigerian media and hotly debated. Even before Jonah Elaigwu and I had first met at Stanford

University in the 1970s, Claude Ake, another Nigerian political scientist, and I met in New York in the 1960s. Claude was developing into a first rank political scientist. (Many believe he overtook me .) It was the more tragic when he was killed in an air crash near Lagos in November 1996 . In a memorial at the annual African Studies Association of the USA held in San

Francisco later in the same month, I was the concluding speaker . I append to this Newsletter my San Francisco eulogy to this great son of Africa.

Another death which shook me in 1996 was that of Carl Sagan, the Cornell astronomer who became a world figure with his television series Cosmos. Why did Carl ' s death shake me? Because of what happened in 1986 when my own more modest television series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, came out . My series was under attack from Reaganites and other right-wing forces in the USA. I was based in Michigan then. Carl dropped me a line of support, and asked me to look him up whenever I was at Cornell. Until then I do not think he knew me from Adam. But he was capable of identifying a kindred spirit and extending a hand .

Yes, I did take him up and alerted him when I was at Cornell. He fulfilled his part of the bargain and invited me to dinner at his beautiful home in Ithaca where I spent a most stimulating evening with him and his wife, Ann Druyan. That was only the first of our meetings at Cornell .

Carl Sagan was at Cornell what I once was at Makerere in Uganda. Although a Cornell professor, Carl could fill the largest Cornell lecture hall anytime he decided to give a public lecture on campus . I had once had the same magnetic power at Makerere University in Uganda, when students were prepared to sacrifice supper in the dormitory in order to get a seat at one of my public lectures. At Cornell I both identified with Carl and envied him at the same time . He was both me and beyond me ! I first learnt about his death on the world service of the British Broadcasting Corporation . I was stunned .

Carl was a man who had strong reservations about Islam. He, his wife and I had argued about Salman Rushdie' s Satanic Verses . Yet these were people with whom a Muslim could disagree without resenting each other. And they in turn could dissent without disparaging . It was a civilized discourse.

During my Makerere days, my second-in-command for part of the period was an Englishman called John Chick. He was one of the most efficient lieutenants I have ever had. I was at the time both Head of Political Science and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. John D . Chick was truly one of my pillars of strength .

After he left Makerere, John Chick went to the Pacific islands and later to Australia. In September 1996 John D. Chick

died suddenly in Australia burying Omar i H. Kokole in Anglo-Assistant when I was

in the same week in which I was Binghamton, New York . If you like, my in Uganda died as I was burying my

Ugandan Assistant in Anglo-America! Whatever playful names you give the tragedies, it was

a double-blow .

Sue Chick, John t s wife, was the woman who typed the only novel I have so far published - The Trial of Christopher Okigbo .

Our condolences and sympathies go out to Sue and her family .

Omar i Kokole had been part of my life for so long that he had been an elder brother to my sons . So when he died suddenly, my sons scattered in different parts of the United States, wanted to come to the funeral . Jamal, my eldest son, was particularly concerned about the impact of Omar i t s death on their Dad. In the end it was agreed that my sons would concentrate on Dad t s rehabilitation more than on Omar i s funeral . So the boys visited me a week after Omar i s funeral leaving it to their cousin, Al amin M. Mazrui, to assist me during the funeral week itself .

The division of labour worked out very well, everything considered in those difficult times . I also organized a Memorial for Omar i Kokole on campus approximately forty days after his death. The President of Binghamton University attended, and the Ugandan mission to the United Nations was represented. The Memorial was a truly memorable experience . The programme is appended to this Newsletter .

My Administrative Assistant at our Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Gloria Hopkins, decided to retire early, partly in order to spend more time with her husband, Terence Hopkins , who had already retired as professor of sociology at Binghamton University. Gloria had been not just a colleague, but also a friend of my Binghamton family. She was a constant help to Pauline when Pauline was pregnant with both Far id and Harith. Indeed, Gloria was present in the maternity ward for both those births. We wondered whether, after retiring, she would move more and more in other circles of friends and church-groups, and travel abroad with Terence. We braced ourselves for the prospect of seeing less and less of Gloria.

What happened was even more tragic. Her husband, for whom Gloria had retired early, was taken seriously ill at about Christmas time. The shocking diagnosis was that he had an advanced (and relatively rapid) variety of lung cancer. Terence died on January 3 , 1997. We were all once again stunned.

Terence Hopkins was a sociologist who had once done research in Uganda. He and I knew each other long before I really got to know Gloria. But in the 1990s Gloria was inevitably closer to me and my family. Terence's departure has left a gap in our lives in Binghamton. He had a keen left-of-centre sense of humour, and an incisive sociological mind. He was the first to invite me to his home on my arrival in Binghamton. He was indeed a friend.

Thomas Uthup, my Research Associate from India, got his PhD from Binghamton and was soon after tempted away by Syracuse University in New York. Uthup was an embodiment of "Global Cultural Studies" a Christian from a largely Hindu country who was very interested in Muslim societies and wrote his PhD dissertation on Islam. In his work with me, he enriched some of my conference papers and lectures with new examples for the points I wanted to make, and was a superb bibliographical guide .

Although he is now at Syracuse, I hope we can maintain some kind of collaborative relationship .

Thomas also worked with Parviz Morewedge, the General Editor of our Institute of Global Cultural Studies and our Conference Coordinator, and with Nancy Levis, my Secretary and Administrator. All three of us are in agreement that Syracuse has a lot to answer for! ! We miss Thomas.

111. The Pits and Pinnacles of Conferences

Since Nelson Mandela was released from jail in 1991 I have been going to South Africa every year. This year my hosts were the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism. I was in consultation with journalists in South Africa and reporters abroad about the wider issues of the African condition. Whither

Africa? It was also wonderful to see my old friend James Kariuki, who came to the conference .

Professor Jacob Ade Ajayi, Ambassador Dudley Thompson and I have attempted to maintain onto the global agenda the issue of reparations for Black people for hundreds of years of enslavement, colonization and exploitation. We have been meeting at annual meetings of the African Studies Association of the USA.

We now need to expand our agenda .

Professor Ajayi, Ambassador Thompson and I are members of the Group of Eminent Persons appointed by the Heads of State in Africa at their summit meeting in Senegal in 1992 . The OAU summit meeting entrusted us with exploring the modalities of a crusade for reparations .

This time my trip to San Francisco was also partly a family holiday. Pauline and our children Farid and Harith also flew with me. My old Zairean friend, Mutombo Mpanya and his own family (who now live in Northern California) , made themselves available as tour guides. Al 'Amin A. Mazrui, my second son by my first marriage, also joined us in this delightful reunion.

(Al' is still at the University of California, Berkeley.)

Sometimes I get a little nervous at the topics I am assigned at conferences! The demand for my lecturing services is forcing me to be more and more interdisciplinary! In December 1996, I was called upon to give the keynote address opening the world conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) which was indeed held at the University of California, Berkeley. The theme of the conference was "Identity, Tradition and the Built -Form: The Role of Culture in Planning and Development . " Once again, Al ' and Mutombo Mpanya joined me, both at the conference and later for a meal together. Mutombo Mpanya knew I had been nervous about the topic, and had given me a few useful tips in advance .

From Berkeley, California, I went directly to Coventry, England, where the conference theme was more familiar and a little closer to my usual concerns. I gave a plenary lecture on the issue of whether Africa was getting "marginalized" in the post-Cold War era. Particularly pleasant was meeting old friends, both British and African, at the Coventry conference.

In the social domain Oliver and Rita Furley hosted me, from the moment I arrived at Birmingham airport to the point of my departure. They also took me to their home, and also took me out for a delightful Indian dinner. We knew the Furleys when we were all at Makerere in Uganda together. George Kanyeihamba, also formerly of Makerere and now a special advisor to President

Yoweri Museveni in Kampala, also attended the Coventry meeting .

There was no consensus at Coventry as to whether Africa was or was not "marginalized" ! No doubt such debates are also continuing elsewhere .

My old friend, Preston King (formerly of the University of Nairobi and now at Lancaster, England) encouraged me to make myself available for a conference in New Zealand. I

complied and let the New Zealanders know I was available . The reaction was courteous but no more . Somebody in New Zealand must have asked “Ali who? Never heard of him!” They were very nice about it, but I began to feel like someone about to gate-crash into somebody else’s party! I beat a retreat with as much dignity as I could muster. Wait till I next see Preston King face to face! ! He has a lot to answer for! (On the other hand, perhaps the experience was good for my humility!)

IV. Omari Kokole: A Triple Heritage

Let us now return to the story Omari. African studies lost one of political culture this year. Omar i of the life and death of its emerging stars on H. Kokole died this autumn in

Binghamton, New York, at the age of 44. He was at the time Associate Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton. He was also in the process of completing a book about the political Sociology of Gender, jointly edited with Professor Maria Grosz-Ngate of Northwestern University. Dr. Grosz-Ngate has since completed the proj ect on behalf of them both. Their book is entitled Gendered Encounters (New York, Routledge, 1997)

Omari Kokole was born in Jin j a, Uganda, in 1952 . He graduated with a First Class bachelor’ s degree in political science and literature from Makerere University, Kampala, in 1976. He was the first Makerere student ever to win a first class B.A. in that combination of subj ects . He won a scholarship to the University of Manchester in England to do a Master’ s degree. He subsequently went to Dalhousie University in Canada for his doctorate, writing his dissertation under the

Chairmanship of Professor Timothy Shaw, the renowned expert on the political economy of Africa’ s relations with the Western world. Kokole’ s dissertation was subsequently published under the title of Dimensions of Africa’s International Relations (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1993) .

One of Kokole’s last professional acts was to organize a Roundtable in anticipation of the annual meeting of the African Studies Association of the United States, which in 1996 was held in San Francisco late November. Kokole’s choice of topic for the panel was “Africa’s Triple Heritage Revisited: Africanity, Islam and the West” He died before the conference took place, but his panel did indeed occur. And the printed program still showed his name as the Chair. It would be fitting if we discussed the triple heritage itself as a way of understanding the meaning of Omar i Kokole . Because his professional life was so closely tied to my own, the story of Omari Kokole is partly my own story. So he would have wished it, as we shall indicate.

Why did Omari choose the topic “The Triple Heritage

Revisited ? It was partly to evaluate Africa’ s ten years since my television series”The Africans: A Triple Heritage” (BBC and PBS, 1986) . Kokole was hoping that the panelists in San

Francisco would either examine Africa v s decade (1986 1996) from the perspective of those three civilizations (Africanity, Islam, and the West) or critique the model of the Triple Heritage as an approach to the study of Africa .

Where does Omar i Kokole fit into all this? How much of a case study in Africa's triple heritage was he? How far did he reflect basic elements of the African condition? Omar i H. Kokole reached political maturity in Uganda when Islam was both politically triumphant and morally demeaned. These were the eight years of Idi Amin's rule in Uganda, 1971-1979.

Idi Amin was a Muslim and aspects of his rule were affected by his identification with Islam. These were the years when so many non-Muslim Ugandan males had themselves circumcised as a political insurance against the arbitrariness of Idi Amin's soldiers. Under President Obote's first administration in Uganda, the cultural test which Obote's soldiers sometimes administered at check points, or when they arrested somebody, was linguistic.

Could the particular Muganda in military custody speak Kiswahili?

I was once given such a test when I was in military custody.

Fortunately, I passed the Swahili test.

The cultural test which Idi Amin's soldiers administered on those in their custody was sometimes religious. Was the suspect a Muslim? In particularly desperate situations, the test of whether the suspect was circumcised could be the clincher.

During those years, I personally was approached by a few non-Muslim Baganda to help them be circumcised in Mombasa, Kenya. I obliged in a few cases.

Where did Omari Kokole fit into those years of Muslim rule and mis-rule in Uganda? Idi Amin Dada was a Kakwa. So was Omari Kokole. Idi was a Muslim; so was Omar i. Idi had close links with the Nubi of Uganda; so did Omar i Kokole. Idi and Omar i Kokole knew each other personally. And their respective families often interacted.

But there the similarities ended. Omari Kokole was an intellectual, and pursued academic rather than political ambitions. He was deeply disturbed by both the tyranny and the anarchy of Idi Amin's rule in Uganda. Tyranny was too much government; anarchy was too little. Idi Uganda miraculously managed to be both tyrannical and anarchic.

In physical build, Omari Kokole was approximately of the same "stock" as Idi - tall, strong, hefty and indubitably black. But while Idi Amin was often a political monster, Omari Kokole was more clearly a gentle giant. Indeed, one of Kokole's ambitions was to present to the world a kinder and gentler face of the Kakwa people - and the more reflective, rational and circumspect personality of Northern Uganda as a whole.

Quite inadvertently I stepped into Omar i Kokole's dreams. Like both Omari and Idi Amin I was an African Muslim. And to all three of us Uganda had a special meaning. But while to Omar i Kokole Idi Amin was a political force, I became to Omar i an intellectual symbol. As Idi Amin became to Omar i less and less of a political hero, Ali Mazrui (rightly or wrongly) became to this young impressionable Ugandan more and more of an intellectual icon. Mazrui became Kokole's supreme role model.

Kokole decided that, however indirectly, Mazrui was going to help him realize his dream of becoming the symbol of the gentler, kinder side of the Kakwa, and the symbol of a more rational and reflective Northern Uganda. Like Kokole, Mazrui was a Muslim who was both fascinated by and rebellious against Western culture. Mazrui was a fellow East African but not a fellow Ugandan.

this particular case of nationality, the fact that Mazrui was not a member of a Ugandan ethnic group made it easier for Omar i to

embrace him more fully as

But Omari Kokole did nothing. He decided that a role model .

not want to receive anything for he was going to make Ali Mazrui more

famous by playing Boswell to Mazrui ' s Samuel Johnson. Kokole was going to be Mazrui' s ultimate biographer. His project had two phases . The first phase was to get other scholars to evaluate Mazrui' s work in a series of chapters to a book. He completed that phase with the book, *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali*

A. Mazrui (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press 1996/7) consisting of essays by more than fifteen analysts, originally presented at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association in Seattle in 1992 .

The second phase of Kokole's work as Boswell to Mazrui s

Samuel Johnson was never completed. He had collected considerable material about Mazrui ' s life and works, but he never got to the stage of analyzing what he had collected into a coherent portrayal .

By a strange twist of fate, while Omar i Kokole was trying to become the ultimate biographical interpreter of Ali Mazrui, Ali

Mazrui was trying to be the ultimate biographical interpreter of

Idi Dada. The Idi Amin phenomenon was also a combination of Africanity and Islamic identity. Certainly Idi Amin' s own interest in Mazrui after Amin captured power in 1971 was partly because Mazrui was a co-religionist, a fellow Muslim.

Mazrui ' s intellectual curiosity about Idi Amin was partly because was the least Westernized Head of State that postcolonial Black Africa had, until then, ever had. Was this a plus? Mazrui was attracted by this phenomenon, and discussed its implications with Omar i Kokole long before either of them left Uganda for good. Did Idi Amin's presidency symbolize the coming erosion of the power of the Westernized elites in postcolonial Africa? In time it was understood that Omar i Kokole would one day write the most extensively documented biography of Ali Mazrui and Ali Mazrui would one day produce the most theoretically ambitious biography of Idi Amin. In both those biographies Africa' s triple heritage was bound to loom large encompass ing Africanity, Islam and the Western legacy . Kokole did not complete his proj ect of playing Boswell to Mazrui's Samuel Johnson. But he did succeed in symbolizing the kinder, gentler face of the Kakwa people. And he did also symbolize the intellectual, reflective and analytical side of Northern Uganda .

But even in death, the tensions of Africa's triple heritage followed Omar i . Immediately after his death a major cultural dilemna had to be confronted. Traditional African culture recommended that Omar i ' s body should be buried in the soil of his ancestors in Uganda. This would have meant a great delay of two or more weeks before the funeral .

Islamic culture, on the other hand, recornmended that Omar i' s body should be buried as soon as possible. According to Islam, the dead cannot rest until they are buried.

We were therefore torn between the push of spatial distance and the pull of temporal urgency - between the trans-Atlantic distance to an African burial in Uganda and the urgency of a local Islamic funeral in Binghamton . Islam dictated the temporal urgency; Africa spanned out distance in space. Yet Omari had died in the West.

Initially, the dilemma between sending Omar i to the soil of his ancestors in Uganda and burying him in Binghamton, New York, split Omari 's family both in East Africa and in North America. But in the end, the Islamic point of view prevailed among family members in Uganda and Kenya. The family asked Ali Mazrui by telephone to bury Omar i Kokole in Binghamton according to Islamic rites. Mazrui asked for a confirmation in writing by fax. The confirmation came. Ali Mazrui responded accordingly - with the help of the Imam of the mosque in Binghamton .

But the preliminaries were a compromise with the other legacies of the triple heritage . There was the viewing of Omar i 's body - which is quite alien to Islamic culture.

Audiocassettes were played of both the Qur' an and of Western and African music at the viewing ceremony - and at the subsequent memorial service .

In life, Omar i Kokole had been a walking embodiment of Africa' s triple heritage a Kakwa Muslim in quest of Western higher education and Western-style academic excellence . In death, the fate of his body became subject to a triple heritage debate . Realities and rituals of the three legacies continue to affect Africa, symbols and stereotypes interact .

V. Mazrui: An Islamic Agenda

Before she retired Gloria Hopkins used to organize all my trips, national and international . In 1996 those escapades included my trip to Marmaris in Turkey for a conference in preparation for the great United Nations' Congress, Habitat II, which was later held in Istanbul . The Marmaris conference was about cities of the world on the eve of the 21st century, and the urban problems which needed to be confronted. My own paper was entitled "Morn-basa: Three Stages Towards Globalization" which is also appearing as a chapter in a book entitled Re-presenting the City: Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the 21st Century Metropolis (London: MacMillan, NY: University Press, 1996) , edited by Anthony King . I was delighted to learn that Kenyans did not need visas to go to Turkey - although in the same year the United Kingdom started requiring visas of Kenyans for the first time in history! Was Kenya in the British Commonwealth or in the Ottoman Empire? I began to wonder! The Turks seemed to be kinder to us on the issue of visas than were the British! Although Turkey is a Muslim country, my agenda there was not remotely Islamic. On the other hand, my agenda in the United Kingdom (a non-Muslim society) in October 1996 was decidedly Islamic . I was attending a conference sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies on the theme " Islam and the Third Industrial Revolution " . The conference was held at the magnificent manor house at Ditch ley Park in Oxfordshire, and I was a keynote speaker. The participants included not only scholars but also diplomats, princes , civil servants and moderate activists .

Another major Muslim event in my 1996 agenda was my multiple participation at the annual meeting of the Islamic Society of North (ISNA) held in Columbus, Ohio . In my old age, I normally refuse to "perform" more than twice at one conference . But ISNA managed to get out of me four different "performances" at one conference. My most controversial proposition was to the effect that since doctrinally the Ahmadiyya Movement was closer to mainstream Islam than was the Nation of Islam under Louis Farrakhan, mainstream Muslims should be as tolerant towards the

Ahmadiyya as they often are to the Nation of Islam. Most South Asian Muslims disagreed bitterly with this proposition. They regarded the Ahmadiyya as heretical anathema.

(Incidentally, so did my late father, who conducted a bitter pamphleteering war against the Ahmadiyya in East Africa in the 1940s .)

I have continued to work hand- in-glove with the Council for Islamic Education, based in California, under the leadership of Shabir Mansuri. The Council is particularly concerned about minimizing anti-Islamic bias in American publishing and American education. The Council has had impressive successes with a number of publishers, who have accepted advice . Indeed some have now begun to seek Muslim advice before publishing textbooks about

Islam and the Muslim world. And some schools in California have begun collaboration with the Council to get the teaching about

Islam on a sounder basis . I have been involved in some of the meetings and consultations . In 1996 American Muslims confronted more frontally than ever what was the proper role for a Muslim minority in a Western liberal democracy. Should Muslims vote? Should they campaign for particular candidates? Indeed, should Muslims themselves be candidates in U . S. elections? What if the Congress produced by such elections passed laws incompatible with Islam (such as a law approving marriages between men-bers of the same sex) ? What if the elections produced a president who authorized the bombing of innocent Muslim civilians in a distant Muslim society?

The Muslim Council (of whose Board of Directors I am a member) held a conference before the 1996 U.S. elections to thrash out some of these issues . I was one of the plenary speakers . My recommendation was that U . S. Muslims should move as fast as possible towards full political participation. I praised President Bill Clinton for going further than any previous US

President towards recognizing Islam as part and parcel of American domestic pluralism. During the month of Ramadhan in 1996 the President sent out letters to leading Muslims wishing them well during the holy month. And for Idd el Fitr (the Festival of the end of Ramadhan) the First Lady held a reception for Muslims at the White House.

Under Clinton' s administration, the U.S. military at last had recognized Muslim imams. And the President received at the White House leaders of the American Arab community to discuss issues of Arab and Muslim concern . I noted all this in my speech

at the conference organized by the American Muslim Council . I wonder if that is why I was subsequently invited to President Clinton' s Inauguration on January 20, 1997? Was there cause and effect? Who knows?

An organization called Muslim Women for Human Rights organized a special session between a group of Muslims and

Justice Anthony Scalia at the Supreme Court in Washington, DC. I was invited to this session. Justice Scalia' s address to us was mainly a tribute to the greatness of the U . S. Constitution. At question time I argued that the U.S. Constitution did not start great; it became great as it evolved out of its original proslavery, pro-racist and pro- sexist format . I argued that the Constitution was helped to future greatness by judicial review by the Supreme Court, which re- interpreted it . Justice Scalia is judicially conservative and inclined in favour of the original framers of the Constitution rather than supporting daring reinterpretations by the Supreme Court . He and I clashed on those issues within the Supreme Court! !

Among the Muslims who attended Justice Scalia' s special event was one of Kim' s law

students . The student enquired whether a professor called “Forde Mazrui” was related to me . I confirmed that detail . The student said he was older than his professor. I believed the student even had a PhD in another discipline . I assured him of two things that my son, Kim, was fair minded and that my son was exceptionally intelligent and well - trained . I was sure that the two of them would get on and

benefit from each other .

How do you like the title “Between the Crescent and the Star-Spangled Banner: Muslims and U.S. Foreign Policy”?

Well, it is the title of my article in 1996 in International Affairs, the Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs , London. The last time I published in that journal was in 1963, when I was still at Oxford but as a Lecturer-Designate of Makerere University College in Uganda. My article in 1963 was on “African Attitudes to the European Economic Community.”

VI. Kingship, Kinship and the Cold War

My article in 1963 included a lot of references to Kwame Nkrumah. In 1996 I went to Ghana to give two lectures on the theme “The African Condition Since Kwame Nkrumah’s Fall 1966-1996 .” These were the first of what were going to be special distinguished annual lectures sponsored by the Pan-African

Writers Association, with its Headquarters in Accra, Ghana .

My main host in Ghana was Dr. Atukwei Okai, who went well beyond the call of duty to make me feel welcome . I was also ceremonially enstooled (crowned) as “a prince among writers and a literary chief” . I have come home with my ceremonial wooden stool . Some Ghanaian friends have already started addressing me as “Nana” an honorific regal title. We also went to pay our respects to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana at Legon. An old Makerere and Mornbasa friend whom I discovered in Accra was Ahmed Mohiddin. I greatly enjoyed my reunion with him

and his wife Anne at their splendid diplomatic home . (Anne is in the Canadian foreign service .)

Can I go to Ghana without touching base with Adu Boahen? Never! Of course my relationship with Adu is scholarly rather than political . On the one hand, he was my boss when he was

President of the UNESCO General History of Africa and I was

Editor of Volume VI 11. On the other hand, I was his boss when he was a research fellow at the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

Adu Boahen and his wife Mary entertained me to a splendid dinner in Accra. I know that some of you think I know very little about contemporary Western popular music. That may be so.

Nevertheless, I was called upon to be Stevie Wonder’s praisesinger at a special Peace Award Presentation to mark the 25th Anniversary of the International Peace Academy. Stevie was in great spirits, and I enjoyed being with him at dinner before the presentation. My tribute to Stevie Wonder is attached to this

Newsletter as an appendix. The event occurred early in December . The particular ceremony of the International Peace Academy also honoured former President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania

(whom I had known since the 1960s) , Mrs. Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway (whom I had previously met in 1991) , Dr . David A. Hamburg (who was with me at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, California, in the 1970s) , and Cyrus Vance (who was Carter' s Secretary of State at one time and whom I had never met before) . The evening was

graced by the presence of both Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Kofi Annan, the two African Secretaries-General in the history of the United Nations .

Whither democracy? In different ways, this theme also followed me in the course of the year. The United Nations

University held a conference at Oxford University in England in

July. We explored different dimensions of democracy both in the " old democracies" and within the tumultuous emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, Africa and Latin America . Within my own country of Kenya, democracy since 1992 had taken two steps forward and one step backward. Kenya is now definitely a more open society than it was in 1991. But it may be a less democratic society than it was soon after the 1992 elections . Personally I was still prevented from addressing the

Morn-basa law society in 1996 . My television series (The Africans:

A Triple Heritage) has still not been publicly shown in my own country. On the other hand, I can now publish in Kenyan newspapers when it was much more difficult in the 1980s.

I must say that I was deeply disturbed by the government shutdowns in the showdown between Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich in Washington. One reason why I was deeply disturbed was the simple fact that Jamal, my oldest son, was a U.S. Federal Government employee. How far were the shutdowns a product of sectional interests? My son Jamal could have been adversely affected by the precise economic and political configuration. As a parent I was almost on the war-path myself at the time! ! The quarrel between the politicians was not fair to the civil servants .

Talking of parenthood, one of my biggest surprises of 1996 came from my own father, Shaykh Al-Amin Ali Mazrui . I received in the mail a book written by him, and just published under impeccable British credentials . This was the more remarkable considering that my father had died in April 1947, and the book was published in 1995 by Oxford University Press under the auspices of the British Academy. I received my surprise copy close to my birthday in February 1996 .

The book is entitled The History of the Mazrui Dynasty of Mombasa . My father's original text was written in Arabic. It was more recently translated into English by the Reverend James

McL. Ritchie. Oxford University Press has published both the Arabic text and the translation in this well produced volume .

The book is richly annotated by Reverend Ritchie .

How compatible was Islam with liberal democracy? I addressed aspects of that question in my presentation at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. My more precise title was " ISLAM AND WESTERN POLITICAL VALUES: COIQRATIVE CULTURE AND HISTORICAL RELATIVISM" My presentation was part of a series at the Council on the wider theme of "Culture and Foreign Policy ." Among those who came specially to listen to me was J.C. Horowitz, an old professor of mine from the days when I was a graduate student at

Columbia University.

Another 1996 agenda of mine concerned "the World after the Cold War." This issue brought me into one more reunion with another old Columbia professor of mine. It occurred at the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation at the University of California, San Diego. The old teacher with whom I was briefly reunited was Dankwart Rustow, the Middle Eastern specialist. We were attending a workshop on "The End of Empire? : The Transformation of the USSR in a Comparative Perspective." A book of our papers has since been published, edited by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott. Unfortunately my old teacher, Dan Rustow, died not long after the San Diego conference. The book *The End of Empire?* is dedicated to him.

Another engagement of mine about the world after the Cold War occurred at the Salzburg Seminar in Salzburg, Austria. There we discussed comparative policies of the Great Powers in the bewilderment caused by the end of the Cold War. My main clashes in Salzburg were with colleagues from France over the French role in Africa. My assertion that decolonization was further behind in former French Africa than in former British Africa was not much appreciated!

The Nigerian Community in Greater Cleveland did me proud in 1996. I was their main speaker for the Black History month, and they made spectacular arrangements at the banquet. I was honoured by the Mayor of East Cleveland and was given -the key to the city. The president of the Assembly also issued a proclamation, declaring February 10, 1996 as "the Ali Mazrui Day Cleveland and the Nigerians treated me like a prince.

February was the month of my birth; 1996 was the tenth anniversary of my television series, *The Africans*. But in reality February 10 should have been proclaimed "Pauline Mazrui Day for it was my wife's birthday! In my speech I rededicated the day to her, God bless her!

You must have heard of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, under the leadership of Professor John Esposito. Well, in 1996, I gave a lecture there on "Christianity and Islam in Africa's Political Experience: Piety, Passion and Politics." My plane was so late in arriving that the organizers were forced to begin the showing of an episode from my television series, *The Africans*, to humour the audience while they waited! I arrived eventually and helped to save the situation.

My 1996 lecture at George Mason University was a bonus in terms of the fee I was paid but basically a disaster in terms of the audience! A large hall had relatively few people in it. The most unexpected member of the audience was Yohan Gal tung, the distinguished Norwegian peace-studies scholar and analyst of imperialism. It was great to see him and his Japanese wife again. Their prestige helped to fill the emptiness of the lecture hall. I did a little better at my old haunt, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, when I went to give a lecture on the theme of "Islam and the African Condition" under the auspices of the Center for Afro-American and African Studies, which I had once

directed. It was wonderful to meet old friends again and to catch up with the local gossip. More importantly was the old debate at Michigan as to whether African Studies should be run separately from African-American Studies. When I was Director of the Center which

combined both areas, any separatist sentiment tended to be manifested among some African-Americanists .

However, when I visited Ann Arbor in 1996, the primary separatist sentiment seemed to be coming from some Africanists . A case can always be made for the proposition that the two fields are very different in character . In some respects they really are. On the other hand, the country does need a number of centers which combine both fields. Michigan, Cornell and Binghamton are among the combined centers what we sometimes call Africana studies (combining Africa with its Diaspora) . Those centers which have already begun the adventure of combining African and African-American studies should continue to do so . My role as a philosopher was reactivated when I was asked to be keynote speaker at the International Conference on Philosophy , Politics and Development in Africa . Since the conference in 1996 was hosted by Binghamton, I was extensively involved in the deliberations .

Also at Binghamton was our own annual conference on "Ancient, Medieval and Multicultural Philosophy" . I made more than one presentation at this conference. The range of topics elsewhere in the program was from neo-Platonism to Sikhism. We were delighted to include more and more of the African agenda .

We were also very pleased to welcome to the 1996 conference

Dennis Brutus, the distinguished South African activist and poet .

He made his wisdom available to us all at the conference .

I heard with great distress in 1996 that the Manor Hotel in Mombasa was going to be demolished, to give way to some greater money-making venture. The hotel had been in existence since the early years of this century. In colonial days residence was exclusively for Europeans, but other races could book rooms for banquets . Some of my earliest speeches in English were given at the Manor Hotel in the 1950s on some inter-racial occasions .

That was even before I went to Britain for higher education.

Much later, when I returned to East Africa after my education in Britain and the United States, I negotiated a deal with my mother. My professional base was in Uganda, but I wanted to visit my extended family in Mombasa from time to time. During those Mombasa visits I begged my mother on my knees to let me stay at the Manor Hotel! This was not because the Manor was a five-star hotel, and I wanted its comforts. Not at all. The Manor was a modest, home-atmosphere hotel . The reason why I begged my mother to let me, my wife and children stay at the Manor Hotel was that the alternative would have been my forcing other members of my Mombasa family to vacate their rooms for us every time we were in town. We did not want to inconvenience others .

Under strong protest my mother allowed me and my wife and children to stay at the Manor Hotel, provided we had virtually all our meals at home. That was the loving contract between mother and son and the Manor Hotel was at the center of it!

My mother has since died. It is also distressing to see an old revered hotel die. My mother is no more - my Manor is no more! Such news makes me feel even older than my age .

I did stay at the Manor Hotel briefly on the eve of the special workshop to prepare the Kenya Coast Handbook, sponsored by the African Studies Centre, Leiden, the Netherlands .

The workshop itself was a stimulating experience about the history of the Kenya Coast from the slave ship to the space ship . (The

Coast has special space monitoring equipment .)

In 1996 I was still Senior Scholar at Cornell University and taught Africana courses there with delight . I was also Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large at the University of Jos in Nigeria, and was hosted by the Vice-Chancellor in July. The School of Social and Islamic Sciences in Virginia (near Washington, DC) had also begun consultations with me and my Institute of Global Cultural Studies about long term collaboration. There was also the possibility of collaboration with Malaysia, as part of my Institute's Islamic agenda. My communication with Malaysia has included direct contact with the Deputy Prime Minister, Honourable Anwar Ibrahim. We are privileged by this direct access . I look forward to visiting Malaysia again in the summer of 1997.

My main base has of course continued to be Binghamton University, State University of New York. My Institute of Global

Newsletter 22, Early 1998, Between Global Africa and the World of Islam

Early 1998

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 22

General Theme :

BETWEEN GLOBAL AFRICA AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM

Sub-Themes :

1 . The Diaspora Embraces a Son

11 . From Mon-basa Floods to Murder on the Nile 111 . A Fatwa in Karachi and a Pilgrimage to Mecca

IV. Turkey, Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates Between the Western Heritage and the Gandhian

Legacy

Family and the Three-Million Dollar Suit

The Bonds of Friendship and the Menace of Time

Conclusion by

Ali A. Mazrui

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues . My new home address is as follows :

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Appendix A: Mazrui and the Walter Rodney Chair

Appendix B: Diana, Princess of Wales, and Islam

In 1947 my father died rather prematurely in Mombasa, Kenya .

Did his death mark the end of my dreams for an Islamic career? In 1957 I entered the University of Manchester in England as an undergraduate. Was that entry the beginning of my dream for a Western career? In 1997 it was time to take stock of the cultural consequences of those two events for my entire life. How were those cultural repercussions reflected in what happened to me in 1997?

But first let me pause and wish you and your loved ones all the very best. As this old century comes to a shrieking end, hold tight and hang in there !

To return to my cultural story, 1997 marked the 50th anniversary of my father's reunion with his l'mcer. Dad had been the Chief Kadhi (the Chief Islamic Justice) of Kenya. As a father, one of his dreams had been to have me trained as an Islamic jurist in his footsteps, ideally at the one-thousand-year-old Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Dad's death seemed to put an end to that particular civilizational dream.

Yet in 1997 I lectured about Islam in such major centres of Islamic civilization as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey,

Malaysia, and on the Arabian/ Persian Gulf . In the Western world I was a Board member of the American Muslim Council . I was also specially commissioned by Foreign Affairs, the distinguished journal of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, to write an article on " Islamic and Western Values" for Foreign Affairs special anniversary issue to mark the

75th year of its publication. If the death of my father in 1947 had put an end to his dream that I be trained and prepared for an Islamic role, and 1957 marked my initiation into Westernization as an undergraduate at the University of Manchester, why was 1997 such an Islamic year for me professionally? Most significant of all, why had I been appointed in 1997 the Ibn Khaldun Professor-at-Large in Islamic Studies at the School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Virginia, U.S . A. ?

The real answer is that both the University of Manchester and the legacy of my father had triumphed in claiming me. The role I was playing in the Muslim world in 1997 was that of a westernized Islamicist - quite different from what i would have been playing had I proceeded to Islamic studies at Al-Azhar University directly from my secondary school in Mombasa forty to fifty years earlier.

In any case, 1997 was unusual. The year had more of the Muslim world in my travels and less of Africa than would normally happen. 1997 was also the year when I was honoured more by the African Diaspora than by Africa itself .

The Diaspora Embraces a Son

My greatest Afro-Diaspora and Indo-Diaspora honour came from the Republic of Guyana, the only English- speaking country in South . I was appointed the Walter Rodney Distinguished Professor, University of Guyana, for one year to launch this new chair. Walter Rodney was one of Guyana's leading intellectual luminaries and political activists . I knew him when he was a senior lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and I was based in Uganda . In those days he and I were regarded as ideological adversaries . I was a "liberal" (pro-human rights) and he was a " radical socialist" (pro-workers' rights) . We often debated on the campus of the University of Dar es Salaam. One debate on my own campus in Uganda (Makerere University) was broadcast live . Later on, when we both moved to the Rodney and I became friends . [see Press appendix A to this Newsletter] . Walter Rodney was assassinated in his native Guyana in 1980 President Cheddi Jagan created a Chair in his memory before Jagan died in 1997. I was invited to be the first occupant of the Rodney Chair for a year (1997-1998) . Cheddi Jagan' s widow was elected President after him in December 1997 though not without protests from those who felt that someone who was foreign-born should not be Head of State. Janet Jagan was born in Chicago in the 1920s.

Jamaica honored me in a different way in 1997 . At first I was invited by a Ugandan professor at the University of the West Indies (Professor John C. S. Musaaazi) on behalf of the Education Research Centre on the campus in Jamaica. But after I had accepted the invitation the lecture escalated in stature. The University at Mona, Jamaica, decided to turn it into a distinguished lecture, to be chaired by the head of the Jamaica campus, Dr. Kenneth Hill. The event was a great success. The turnout was overflowing, and the chemistry between speaker and audience was truly responsive .

Principal Hill told me that he had played a part in my appointment as Albert Schweitzer Professor. He was working for the Department of Education of the State of New York at the time (1989) . His opinion was sought when the choice was down to two candidates. Dr. Hill believed he helped to tilt the balance in my favour in Albany, where the appointment was made . (The Albert Schweitzer appointment was made by the State of New York and not by Binghamton University. But Binghamton had nominated me as their candidate in competition with candidates put forward by other universities.) My own Albert Schweitzer

Chair was previously occupied by Toni Morrison, the Nobel Laureate, before she left New York for Princeton. Toni Morrison later won the Nobel Prize for Literature

The African Diaspora in North America honoured me when Lincoln University, the oldest historically black college in the United States, selected me as being among the black Icons of the age . President Niara Sudarkasa of the university wrote to me with the great news. The investiture at Lincoln University, confirming my new status as an Icon, will occur in 1998 .

(Incidentally, Lincoln University is also the alma mater of such historic African and Black Icons as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Thurgood Marshall of the United States . I was privileged to meet all three at different stages of my life.)

Another Diaspora honour for me of 1997 came from the New York African Studies Association (NYASA) who selected me once again for my contributions to African Studies . I got a special award, and gave the keynote address at the Association's annual convention in Troy, New York. Russell Sage College played host to the convention. The Association then decided to negotiate holding their next convention (1998) on my own Binghamton Campus . My old friend, Locksley Edmondson, of Cornell University, was elected the next president of NYASA.

The African Diaspora also honoured me when I was nominated to receive the Du Bois-Garvey Award for pan-Africanism on the occasion of the Second Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference on "Black Creativity and the State of the Race, held at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland. Although the nomination occurred in 1997, the actual award will not be given until April 1998 .

The theme of the conference in April will be "Literature, Politics, and Society in the Black Experience. " As a recipient of such an award, I would be expected to give the keynote address on a subject relevant to that theme. The last time I wrote a novel was more than a quarter of a century ago. Maybe this is a reminder that I should write my second novel at long last! (My twenty other books have been a very different kind of political literature .)

The Ohio State University in Columbus honoured me by asking me to close a major conference on the future of "Black Studies" . One of the issues of contention was whether the very name "Black

Studies" had outlived its purpose . Should it now be called

"African-American and African Studies Or, simply" Africana Studies The most unusual candidate was "Africology" , which had in fact already been adopted as the name of at least one department in the United States . My own universities at Binghamton and Cornell had chosen Africana Studies, meaning the study of African peoples in Africa and the Diaspora . In my television series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, I had coined the term "Global Africa" , and used it as the title of

the last program . I also now use the phrase "Global Africa" as the title of a course I teach at Cornell University from time to time. The phrase is beginning to catch on.

The Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell held a conference in 1997 on a theme similar to that of the Ohio State University - the future of Africana Studies. While Ohio State had asked me to close their conference, Cornell asked me to open theirs . I had a more explosive time at Cornell than at Ohio State . Should the concept of "African Studies" cover the whole continent or only the sub-Saharan Africa plus ancient Egypt ? When I argued that

the concept of "African Studies" should cover the whole continent, someone in the audience injected the history of the Arab slave trade! From then on there was at least as much heat as light in the debate! ! Subsequently I mailed to some of my critics my paper presented at a conference in Istanbul entitled "Comparative Slavery in Islam, Africa and the West . I am not sure whether my paper mollified them or added fuel to the fire ! I hope the former .

From Mombasa Floods to Murder on the Nile

On one of those occasions when he was exasperated with me, President A. Milton Obote of Uganda used to ask me in the 1960s: "Do you know the difference between being a political scientist and being a politician?" I was then living in Uganda, and used to comment openly on some of Obote's policies. Was I analyzing policies as a political scientist or engaged in partisan debate as politician?

I am sure President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya has often been tempted to ask me the same question. Faced with this ambivalence, Moi's solution most of the time was to stop me giving lectures altogether in Kenya. At least those who were acting on Moi's behalf did stop me unless my lecture was part of a major international event .

Was 1997 any different? In the capital city of Nairobi my presentation in October 1997 was indeed part of an international conference . I and the Vice-President of Kenya, Professor George Saitoti, were the keynote speakers at the Congress of the International Advertising Association. Things went smoothly in Nairobi .

However, a lecture by me was also being organized in Mombasa by the Kenya Human Rights Commission and other pro-democracy Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) . My topic was to be " Political

Change and Constitutional Reform in Africa: Kenya in Comparative Perspective" Would the political authorities allow the Mombasa lecture to take place? We even formulated contingency plans in case the meeting was broken up by the police .

Another threat to my lecture in Mombasa was El Nino! The rain kept pouring down in torrents all the night before and all day long. We thought we could not possibly have much of an audience, especially since the great majority of potential members of the audience did not own cars and would have had to walk in torrential rain to the lecture .

Nevertheless, the lecture hall was full of people, many drenched to the skin. It was so moving. Had we triumphed over both El Nino and "El Moi The Kenyan authorities should be given credit for acting rationally towards me in 1997. As for the torrential rain, we can only conclude that it limited the audience to the size of the hall (hundreds of seats) . If there had been no rain- storm, thousands of people might have turned up beyond our capacity to accommodate them !

As for the pro-democracy organizers of the event, I must congratulate them on the superb prior publicity they had given it. The promotion of the lecture was of professional standard. No wonder so many people knew about it, and so many turned up for it, in spite of everything.

I stayed at the Mombasa Club for the first time. The Club goes back to the colonial days when it was an institution for "Europeans Only" . Now, the club is multiracial . It is built on the seashore, with a swimming pool which juts out into the real ocean. With the help of our old friend Loloshy (Professor Muhammad Aidarus Sagaaf) who is a distinguished senior member of the club, I was made a temporary member so that I could stay at the club. In 1997 the club was celebrating its 50th anniversary . It is still quaintly colonial and British in atmosphere, but not without a charm of its own. Perhaps I should consider applying for

membership .

Egypt in 1997 was suffering the consequences of the act of terrorism in Luxor when some sixty people were killed. More about that shortly .

My visit to Egypt in 1997 was under the auspices of the Centre for Political Research at Cairo University and the School of Islamic and Social Sciences at Leesburg, Virginia. The theme of the conference was " Islamic Paradigms of International Relations" The entire conference was in the Arabic language except for my own presentation, which was permitted to be in English .

I was given the task of closing the conference in a plenary session. In spite of the fact that my presentation was in English, we had a full house! My own topic was "Globalization and the Islamic Paradigm of International Relations: Friends or Foes ?

Did the Islamic paradigm of International relations include tourism? International tourism in Egypt suffered a severe setback with the killings in Luxor. December is usually a busy tourist month in Egypt. Alas, not in 1997 . I visited one bazaar in Cairo where we were almost the only shoppers. Our own hotel was half empty in the middle of the tourist season. If the perpetrators of the Luxor massacre had intended to damage Egypt's tourist industry, they had succeeded beyond their wildest dreams although they were not alive to celebrate. All of them were killed in the shootout .

While in Egypt I tried to solve a more personal murder the killing of a woman I knew and liked. Her name was Salwa Labib, a political scientist at Cairo University who had once had a special interest in Africa. In my earlier visits to Cairo she had often volunteered to be my guide in sightseeing. She was terrific . So vivacious and lively. I was shocked and flabbergasted when I learnt that she was murdered in the 1990 s. The murder has never been solved. Was it a crime of passion - an outburst of jealousy? Or was it a political crime because Salwa Labib knew too much?

In the old days I had given Salwa Labib's name to UNESCO as a possible Egyptian writer about sub-Saharan Africa . In 1997 I was asking questions in Cairo about her murder. Unfortunately it still remains unsolved - perhaps caught-up between the intrigues of politics and the passions of the heart .

My 1997 visit to Cairo also had light moments such as lunching on a sailing ship on the Nile, dinner at what was regarded as the best seafood restaurant in Cairo, and sightseeing which included Saladin's citadel and some of the most historic mosques in Cairo, including Al-Azhar and Mehmet Ali's mosque . I am particularly grateful to Hani Raslan for the social side of my Cairo visit.

Hamdy Abdul Rahman also met me on arrival at Cairo airport on a different mission. He has been instrumental in having some of my writings translated into Arabic. He is deeply committed to promoting closer Afro-Arab relations. He believes that exposing the Arab world to African thought is one approach towards that goal. He has now embarked on a project of Encyclopaedia Africana in Arabic. He wants me to write an overall introduction to the Encyclopedia .

A Fatwa in Karachi and a Pilgrimage to Mecca

In January 1997 I was in Pakistan for a conference on "Muslim Polity in the Modern Social Milieu" . The conference had been postponed two years in a row because of the security situation in Karachi . One of the ethnic cleavages was between the indigenous and those who came from India at the time of partition in 1947. The latter are still called the Muhajir (the migrants) fifty years since they first arrived. By the 1990 s the ethnic cleavage was

becoming more and more violent . Pakistan had also been torn by escalating sectarianism between the majority Sunni and the minority Shi'a.

Our conference was opened by the interim Prime Minister at the time. We were relatively secure in our hotel in spite of the fact that we were discussing some of the most theologically explosive issues in Islamic history. These included the contentious issue as to whether the verses of the Qur'an which were revealed during the Prophet's years in Medina were intended only for seventh century Arabs, while the Qur'anic verses revealed in Mecca were intended for all time and all human kind. Even in the twentieth century blood has been shed over such a debate (the dominant and orthodox opinion being that every verse in the Qur'an is addressed to all people in all ages) . Our debates in Pakistan in 1997 - though sometimes heated were more tolerant and more civilized than the fatwa which led to the execution of Mahmoud Mohamed Taha in Sudan by President Numeiry's government in 1985. Taha's views on this Qur'anic duality have been translated into English. (See Taha, *The Second Message of Islam* Paperback edition Syracuse University Press, 1996) .

The event I attended in Saudi Arabia in 1997 was part of an annual royal event involving a celebration of the work of the Royal Guards . I arrived too late for some of the splendid horseparades and colourful ceremonies of the first few days. But there were a lot of other events later on not least the lavish feasts for lunch or dinner or both.

Our conference itself was, in a sense, "nocturnal" . we began our deliberations after 8 p.m. every evening for two or three hours. Dinner came after the sessions as a rule .

For a country which did not have theatres, cinemas, nightclubs, concerts, let alone bars, it always amazed me how full of traffic the streets of Riyadh continued to be late into the night. Where were these people coming from or going to in the absence of the usual "night life" and "night spots" which we normally associate with Western cities?

There must be much more inter-family nightly entertainment in homes in Saudi Arabia than normally occurs in the West . Socializing among Saudis is at the personal level of friends and relatives at home rather than the more impersonal setting of the theatre or night club .

One of the more exciting experiences in Riyadh was rediscovering old friends from my old days at the University of Michigan. Brother Abdul Rahman Shamlan was a student of mine when he was doing his PhD at Michigan. Abdul Rahman is now an influential member of the intellectual establishment in Riyadh.

Indeed, he assembled a number of other Saudi intellectuals for an evening with Ali Mazrui 't at his home. We discussed topics which ranged from Francis Fukuyama's "End of History" to the stalled peace process in the Middle East .

Also from my Michigan days I rediscovered in Riyadh two old

Libyan friends - Mahmoud (a medical doctor) and his wife, Fawzia (a social scientist) . They provided me with new insights into comparative Arab experiences and inter-Arab relations .

My most memorable experience in Saudi Arabia was the pilgrimage to Mecca which I made (the Umra) . When I performed the sacred rites I was aided by an experienced religious guide by my side every step of the way, thanks to prior arrangements made by Abdulrahman Shamlan and his friends in consultation with Mahmoud. I was at once deeply moved by the Kaaba and the Great Mosque and deeply disturbed by the rest of the city of Mecca. The sacred places shook me as an ultimate spiritual experience; the city of Mecca

disturbed me as a culture shock. Mecca as a city seemed to be getting increasingly nericvanized - the Cocacolanization of the birthplace of Islam. Han-burger j oints, ice cream parlours and the Hilton and the Hyatt towering over the Great Mosque itself .

I suppose I should have felt more at home to witness two of my cultures (Islam and Westernism) co-existing side by side in Mecca. Aspects of the modernization of Mecca and the new facilities at sacred places, were clearly to be welcomed. Mecca is a healthier and a brighter city because of the modernization.

But if one can distinguish between technical modernization and cultural Westernization, one may be allowed to conclude that aspects of the coca-colanization of Mecca were cultural sacrilege .

I should mention that throughout the year I had two maj or advisors in the United States about Islamic doctrine and Muslim history. These were Professor Taha Jabir Alalwani, President of the School of Islamic and Social Sciences, and Dr. Nasr Aref, a colleague at the same school and former scholar at Cairo

University in Egypt. Although neither Professor Alalwani nor Dr. Aref were with me in Saudi Arabia, some of their lessons were

relevant for me in the Holy Land, alhamdu political conclusions about the Holy Land my own .

Turkey, Malaysia and the Uni ted

Turkey in the first half of 1997 was

li Llah. However, any were of course entirely

confrontation between secularists and Islamists . The government in power in Ankara at the time was pro-Islamist . So was the municipal government in Istanbul .

I was in Istanbul at the Second International Conference on

Islamic Thought hosted by the Municipal authorities of the city . The theme of the conference was philosophical and doctrinal. My own presentation was on " Comparative Slavery in Africa, Islam and the West

Considering how sensitive the issue of slavery has been in

Afro-Arab relations in Zanzibar, was it a coincidence that some Zanzibari students (non-Arab) studying in Istanbul asked to have a private session with me? I arranged to see them. Those young people were born after the 1964 Zanzibar revolution against the Arab Sultanate. Most of their questions for me were about Zanzibar, and especially about the causes of the Zanzibar revolut ion .

They were particularly intrigued by my formulation that the confrontation in Zanzibar in 1964 was between Swahili zed Arabs and Arabi zed Swahili or Waswahili . Politically the Swahili zed Arabs at that time were mainly represented by the Nationalist Party founded by Ali Muhsin Barwani. The Arabi zed Waswahili were represented by the Afro- Shi razi Party led by Abeid Karume. Ali Muhsin Barwani was the most far- sighted Arab of his generation and the most pro-African. He was trying to work his way towards an Afro-Arab alliance of equality. Unfortunately for him (and perhaps for Zanzibar) he was too late . Black African nationalism in Zanzibar had passed beyond the point of racial compromise . Hence the revolution .

One of the Zanzibari students who came to see me in Istanbul in 1997 has continued to correspond with me ever since. He has asked for copies of some of my works about Africa as a whole, and I have obliged

My biggest surprise in Istanbul was to learn that people had been reading me in the Turkish language . For example , nobody had sought my permission to translate and publish my book, The Africans: A Triple Heritage! ! But I was given the Turkish version of the book nevertheless . I also learnt that my television series of the same title was scheduled for showing in Turkey (and in Turkish) in June 1997 .

The second half of 1997 was bad news for the economy of Malaysia and the value of its currency. I arrived there in Arab Emirates politically a August in the early It was good to clouds . I owed the of the Deputy prime phases of the crisis. be back in Malaysia even under such economic visit to a triangle of sponsors the Office Minister of Malaysia, His Excellency Dato'

Seri Anwar Ibrahim, the International Islamic University Malaysia, and the School of Islamic and Social Sciences, of Leesburg, Virginia. All three forces shaped the nature of the visit and the actual program of events .

On my first day on the main campus of the International Islamic University in Kuala Lumpur nobody had warned me in advance that I was expected to address the whole faculty! I suddenly saw myself facing the academic staff, and being introduced as a speaker ! I did my best to improvise, but it was not a proud performance ! I did much better in the questions and answers session.

A couple of days later I addressed the faculty on the new campus of the same university. There I was a little better prepared - but with a disturbing question. Was it a good idea to call the university an " Islamic university" explicitly? Would it have been better to call it after a major Muslim historical figure like Al-Ghazali or Iqbal University - the way the Jews in the United States had named Brandeis University after a distinguished Jewish jurist?

By calling it an Islamic" university, did the university in Malaysia keep out Chinese Malaysian citizens, for example? Should such institutions admit a proportion of non-Muslim students and have some non-Muslim staff?

I am not sure if it was polite to ask my hosts to change their name, but President Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman was certainly very gracious! We debated the issue, but in a very civilized manner .

It was also very gracious of Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim to meet me twice for extended periods in spite of the enormous demands on his time, especially with the threat of an economic crisis . There were usually long lines of people outside his office waiting for an opportunity to see him. There were also problems ranging from that currency crisis to the politics of ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations)

i lectured on different Islamic topics at several centres of learning in Kuala Lumpur. The longest established was the University of Malaya. Unfortunately I had my smallest audience there! ! On the other hand, my lecture at the University of Malaya was the most highly publicized in the local press, both in English and in Malay. I had a small face-to-face audience on that campus, but a much larger national audience through the Press, including photographs in the Press .

Did you know that I had a grand-niece in Kuala Lumpur? Her name is Nihla. She is my sister's grand-daughter. Nihla Muni r Mazrui is an undergraduate at the International Islamic University in Kuala Lumpur . She and I managed to steal a meal together at my hotel .

I spent a weekend on Malacca historic seaport . I discovered an interesting museum there a museum of the Brutal Quest for Female Beauty ! (The official name was more polite than that) . What was on display was how far different cultures had gone in cruelty to women to attain their own conception of female beauty . In China there was the tying up of the feet of baby girls to stop their growth. (Small feet in women were “beautiful”) In Africa women’ s noses and ears carried huge, heavy adornments . In the West there were corsets to attain narrow female waists . In the West more recently there have been deadly eating disorders in the quest for slim figures. These have also been breast implants with mutilating consequences. What about female circumcision in Africa and the Middle East? Is it a hidden adornment or simply a rite of passage?

In Malacca there was also arranged a whole day of “Ali Mazrui with Malaysian Intellectuals t’ The conversation was truly wide-ranging, and included Samuel Huntington’s thesis that the end of the Cold War could mean the beginning of a clash of civilizations .

Did you know that the tallest building in the world was in Kuala Lumpur? I was taken there by my university guide, Dr .

Firdaus . One day the longest bridge in the world may also start in Malaysia the one linking Malaysia with Indonesia across the Straits of Malacca.

While in Turkey I had discovered a Turkish translation of one of my own books about which I had had no prior knowledge, in Malaysia I bought a hefty book on globalization - and discovered to my surprise that I had a chapter in it! The 570 page book was entitled, Islamic Political Economy in’ Capitalist Globalization, and had just been published in Malaysia in 1997 .

At the height of one of the crises between the U.S. , the U.N. and Iraq, I went to one of the smaller countries on the Gulf . Saddam Hussein was on everyone’ s lips .

visit to the United Arab Emirates was for the purpose of giving a single lecture sponsored by the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR) . My lecture was on ” Islam, Western Democracy and the Third Industrial Revolution : Conflict or Convergence? ” Saddam Hussein was only a footnote to my presentation.

When the venue of the lecture was transferred from the Hilton to the Sheraton, plans for simultaneous translation into Arabic collapsed. The audience was substantial, but unfortunately there was no concession to Arabic at all .

Nevertheless, the question-and-answer session was vigorous . Gulf issues were difficult to suppress at the session . U.S. military action did not seem to have much support in the U. A. E

My official hosts in Abu Dhabi arranged that my Chairman should be a distinguished local Mazrui from Dubai . There are a lot of Mazruis in the Gulf (mainly in the U. A. E. as well as Oman) . I was presented to the audience as a long-lost son of the Gulf ! It certainly helped to make me feel at home . I told the audience that my father had written a book in Arabic entitled The History of the Mazrui Dynasty of Morabasa, which had now been translated into English and published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the British Academy (London, 1995) The se courtesies and exchanges before my lecture were designed to emphasize the historic links between the Arabian Gulf and the East African coast .

As if to emphasize these historic links further, an old Omani friend of mine flew into Abu Dhabi to spend some time with me. Khamis Al-Hashar became virtually my co-host in the Gulf . He arranged sightseeing for me, splendid meals, including a dinner on a floating

dining boat called Al Safina under a glittering Gulf sky. From the boat we used Khamis's cellular phone to call Mombasa where both of us had once gone to school as children. I startled my family in Mombasa when I said I was calling from Safina on the Arabian Gulf! (Safina was also the name of a political party in Kenya, which at that time President Daniel arap Moi had refused to register precisely because of its name. Although the word in both Arabic and Kiswahili simply means boat or ship, it is also taken to refer to Noah's Ark!) My official hosts, the ECSSR, also arranged a 24-hour excursion for me to Dubai . Khamis Al-Hashar graciously accompanied me, and helped to organize things there . Especially important was tracking down my more immediate relatives who had immigrated from Mombasa. We were successful in tracking down my first cousin, Seif M. Mazrui. He succeeded in mobilizing other cousins and relatives for a splendid luncheon the next day. We used the occasion also to thank Khamis and to pray for him. We were all still warned that there might be U.S. military action against Iraq - but life must go on!

Between the Western Heritage and the Gandhian Legacy
Although in 1997 I was mainly "confined" to the United States, Global Africa and the Muslim world (what a vast "confinement") I did venture into other parts of the world as well! Particularly memorable was a conference I opened in Aberdeen, Scotland, on the dual themes of "Africa and Scotland" and "The Africans in Scotland". My own keynote address was on "The Scottish Factor in the African Experience: Between Negritude and Scottitude."

The conference had a lot of pragmatic concerns about how to help African students studying in Scotland and how to strengthen or mend relations between Scottish and African peoples . My own lecture ventured further afield - encompassing Scottish explorers and missionaries like David Livingstone, Scottish Prime Ministers who impacted Africa like Sir Alec Douglas-Home and African Heads of State with special Scottish connections such as Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania (former student of Edinburgh University) , Hastings Banda of Malawi (who claimed to be an elder of the Church of Scotland) , and Jerry Rawlings of Ghana (whose father was a Scotsman.)

Talking of "Africa and Scotland , Binghamton University played host to a dazzling musical drama from South Africa entitled Umabatha: The Zulu Macbeth . (Macbeth was of course a Scottish King) . The concept of comparing Shaka Zulu with Shakespeare's Macbeth was brilliant . In reality the storyline in the South African drama was too loyal to Shakespeare - but there was no denying the power of the music and its naked exhilaration. My own Dean of Arts and Sciences at Binghamton (Solomon Polachek) graciously invited me to join him as his guest at the musical drama . It was a great experience .

Actually Binghamton used the whole Fall (Autumn) semester for different events on "Africa, Shakespeare and Global

Perspectives" . It was an imaginative concept to promote crosscultural education, but we still have a long way to go in this struggle for diversity and multiculturalism.

An event which was dazzling for different reasons was the banquet at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York to mark the 75th anniversary of the journal Foreign Affairs. The dinner I attended was preceded by an address by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, with Henry A. Kissinger presiding . Although nothing very new transpired at the event, the occasion itself was symbolically glittering for one of the most influential journals

in the Western world. There were also a lot of influential people present .

Of course, there were a lot of other things which happened to me in America in 1997 . I taught courses at Binghamton, Cornell and the School of Islamic and Social Sciences . I also lectured at other universities in the United States. Our Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton published the first translated work into English by the newly elected president of Iran, Mohamrned Khatami. We received many congratulations . But we also received anti-Iranian protests from as high as Capitol Hill! President Khatami is widely recognized as the most liberal Head of State the Islamic Republic of Iran has had since the revolution in 1979 . Parviz Morewedge , our Institute* s editor-in-chief, was the main person on our team responsible for this presidential publishing achievement .

For the first time in years I did not attend the annual meeting of the African Studies Association of the United States, and therefore could not carry the banner of the struggle for reparations there . Instead I attended a conference at Harvard University at the invitation of Samuel P. Huntington, the professor who set the intellectual world buzzing with his article in Foreign Affairs in 1993 on "The Clash of Civilizations 1997 conference was connected with that thesis. The conference was designed to find out whether political and policy elites in different regions of the world perceived problems of global security according to the values and cultural perceptions of their regions .

My own paper was entitled CI A Racial Paradigm of World Order: From the Cold War of Ideology to the Cold War of Race .

of the experience of colonialism, imperialism and enslavement , African perceptions of world security were race-centric and were influenced by a fear of imperialism. As one of several solutions to African fears and concerns, the paper called for reparations to Africa and the Black world for enslavement and colonization . Needless to say, the paper was hotly debated. Samuel Huntington was even accused of having "planted" me at the conference to prove his point about "clash of civilizations ! !

The Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton has a new Associate Director. He is Ricardo Rene Laremont, who did his doctoral work at Yale University and his doctoral research in Algeria on Islam and Politics. We managed to attract Ricardo away from his job as Associate Director of African Studies at Columbia University, New York. When Omari Kokole died suddenly in September 1996, the j 0b was advertised. We received about one hundred applications for that one j ob. Ricardo Laremont emerged triumphant. He and I are now working together on new research proj ects and fundraising. He and his wife Lisa are a stupendous addition to our cortununity .

Other academic colleagues who worked with me on my projects during 1997 included Ruzima Sebuharara, Samuel Quainoo, Aldrin Bonilla and Lindah Adlilministratively I was greatly supported by Nancy Levis . Secretariially I was assisted by Julie Hill and Danielle Blas . Off campus Thomas Uthup still graciously helped intellectually from Syracuse University. To all those I am greatly indebted for my 1997 activities . Fouad Kalouche worked more with Parviz Morewedge most of that time. But Fouad has helped me with his French and Arabic from time to time .

The Nobel Foundation invited me once again to one of their symposia. This time it was a symposium on "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era" held in Stockholm,

Sweden, and co-hosted by the University of Stockholm. As it happened the most symbolic act of internationalism which was happening at the time was the worldwide grief over the death of Diana, Princess of Wales . I arrived in Stockholm on the day of Diana's funeral . Every Swedish channel in my hotel room seemed to be covering it live . I managed to watch the funeral on two of the English language channels available in my room - CNN and BBC . I kept on switching from one channel to the next. [see my Press appendix B to this letter on Diana and Islam]

At the conference itself Diana and Mother Teresa were discussed in private conversations rather than in the formal sessions. The latter ranged over such issues as the relationship between religion and ethnicity, the nature of nationalism, and obstacles to peace in places like the Middle East, the former Soviet Republics, the Balkans, the Great Lakes region in Africa, and Afghanistan .

If there is already an identifiable African Diaspora in Sweden, it includes my old friend near Stockholm, Abdul Kader Mohammed. He really rose to the occasion upon my arrival. He and his family arranged a stupendous Swahili dinner (was it a Swahedish dinner) for me at their home! A memorable evening . From then on Abdul Rader made sure that I received every day at my hotel an English language newspaper (usually more than one British paper) . God bless the Swahedish Diaspora! The Gandhi name in India unfortunately carries a shadow of assassination similar to the Kennedy name in the United States . Three Gandhi s have been assassinated since 1947 the Mahatma , Indira and Raj iv. The Mahatma was not related to the political Gandhis who later ruled India .

Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, Raj iv's widow, and the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust once again hosted us in New Delhi . It was the sixth Indira Gandhi Memorial conference. Because 1997 was the 50th anniversary of India's independence, the theme for the latest Indira Gandhi conference was " Post-Colonial World : Interdependence and Identities. " I was called upon to give the keynote address at the very beginning of the conference, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, former President of Zambia. The most heated exchanges in my session were between myself and Robert McNamara, former President of the World Bank and former Defense Secretary of the United States. Although heated, the exchanges were very civilized. The differences between us were not ideological but methodological . In explaining the differences in economic performance between Africa and Asia, I had included cultural variables. McNamara argued that differences in culture had no relevance in explaining differences in economic performance. Both points of view were argued forcefully .

Former UN Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali, was originally expected at the Indira Gandhi conference, but he could not make it especially after he was elected Secretary-General of the French-speaking countries of the world .

Another " casualty" who did not make it to our conference was the former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Sir Shridath Ramphal . But Ramphal managed to send his paper, which was circulated. I was very disappointed that Sir Shridath did not make it, for I had a lot of questions to ask him about his native Guyana which had just appointed me Walter Rodney Distinguished Professor for a year.

Our conference was opened by the Prime Minister of India. We were also introduced to the President of India shortly after it was announced that the 1998 winner of the Indira Gandhi

Peace Prize was going to be former President Jimmy Carter . (The prize is announced a year before it is actually presented.) But the most compelling political gossip in India at the time concerned the role of our own hostess, Sonia Gandhi, widow of Raj iv Gandhi . How powerful a figure behind the scenes was she in the Congress Party - power behind the throne? Would she eventually capitulate to pressures asking her to lead the Congress? Would this Italian woman one day become India s second woman Prime Minister? Two men-bers of her family who had become Prime Ministers had been assassinated - her husband, Raj iv, and her mother-in-law, Indira. Was it fair to ask her to take those risks all over again? She has since agreed to campaign for Congress. Whether or not Sonia Gandhi eventually runs for political office herself, it is almost certain that at least one of her children will do so one day .

It was wonderful my reuniting with Manrnohan Singh, the former Finance Minister who had opened the doors of the economic liberalization of India. Why was it wonderful meeting him again? Well, we were contemporaries as graduate students at Nuffield College, Oxford, and Manmohan had later become a figure in India's economic history. We had a moment of mutual reminiscences, for old times' sake !

I enj oyed a splendid dinner with an old friend of a different kind - Ashis Nandy of the Center for the Study of Developing Societies in Delhi, and former colleague in the World Order Models Project. Ashis is one of the most insightful interpreters of India that I have come across . So the dinner was most instructive for me . i was only sorry that Raj ni Kothari, another very old Indian friend of mine, was not able to join us at dinner .

President Kaunda told me in India that he planned to return to Zambia before Christmas, whatever happened . I was concerned that he might be politically harassed upon his return. As it turned out, our fears were fully justified. Zambia's former Head of State was arrested and imprisoned on his return home, with little clarification of the charges against him. There were international protests from Africa, the Commonwealth, the United States, as well as from within Zan-bia. President Chiluba's governrnent, which had officially declared Zarnbia a "Christian nation", had decided to arrest a 73 year old former Head of State on Christmas Day! Was there a cross Kaunda would be called upon to bear on his way to the crucifixion?

The Family and Three Million Dollar Suit

Our biggest family news in 1997 was that my wife and I won the three million dollar suit which had been lodged against us . It had been hanging over us like the sword of Damocles since 1992, when we were served the papers. When driving out of our driveway in 1991, Pauline had hit a van passing by. It was the driver of the van who had sued for three million dollars , alleging that her back had been damaged for life. The passengers in the car, including her husband, sued also, but for thousands rather than millions. The minor passengers later settled out of court for relatively small amounts .

The main case took years to come to court . One of the lawyers died while we waited. It was almost Dickensian! Our insurance covered us for only \$ 100, 000 . If the jury were to award the plaintiff anything more than that, we would be personally liable . If the damages went into millions, it was going to bankrupt us for life !

We were represented by lawyers hired by our insurance company. But just in case there was a conflict of interest between our insurance company and ourselves, we also hired a personal attorney to keep an eye on things. The personal attorney cost us thousands of dollars .

The whole case hinged on medical evidence. The woman did have severe back injuries but were these caused by the car accident, or did they antedate it? The plaintiff had medical evidence of her own; and we had our own doctors to examine her .

Our doctors' conclusions was that her back problems were due to a degenerative physiological health condition, which had nothing to do with the accident. The doctors testified in court and were cross - examined .

Neither the plaintiff's lawyers nor our own wanted me to testify, although the car was in my name and I was a passenger in it at the time of the accident ! It is just as well. The plaintiff's lawyer did put Pauline on the stand. She performed very convincingly.

Nevertheless, at first we thought the dice was accidentally loaded against us. The trial was taking place in a little town where nobody knew us, but where the plaintiffs were respected citizens . Indeed, some members of the jury had once been the clients of the main plaintiff's husband as a tax accountant . Thirdly, Pauline and I seemed to be the only people in the court room who spoke English with obvious foreign (non-American) accents . Finally, Pauline and I were the only black people in court. Did we really stand a chance?

But the jury rose to the occasion and gave us color-blind justice . In fact, the jury was so tough on the plaintiff that we felt sorry for her. The jury refused to grant her a single penny. She, therefore, did not even get the \$ 40, 000 which our insurance had been prepared to give her if she settled before the verdict .

The second biggest family news of 1997 was our buying a house at last in the Binghamton area. We had in fact delayed purchasing property precisely because of the three million dollar suit. Our personal attorney had advised us against buying. But by 1997 we were ready to move into a house whatever happened . Our apartment at River House had become too small for our little children, Farid and Harith. Pauline started looking around for a house which would suit us . She had the first veto. I was brought in at the end to give a husband's final rubber stamp! We are now home-owners !

My older brother, Harith, who normally lives in a Kenya town called Takaungu, came to Mombasa to spend a few days with me when I was in Mombasa in October. He looked well. Muni r Mazrui and his brother Al amin (our nephews) were our primary hosts in Mombasa, on behalf of their mother, my oldest sister, Salma. As usual Muni r and Al amin went beyond the call of duty in putting themselves at my disposal. Al amin was on sabbatical leave from the Ohio State University. He and I have a book coming out shortly entitled, *The Power of Babel : Language and Governance in Africa's Experience*, (Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 1998)

The American Publisher will probably be Chicago University Press .

Nafisa is my second sister. We had a major feast as usual with her and her children in the outskirts of Mombasa where she lives on the farm of one of her sons-in-law, Muhanmad Salim Manthry. The Swahili cooking at the feast was stupendous, as usual !

My third sister, Aisha, died a few years ago . One of her sons (another Mohamed) is now a Canadian, and we talk on the phone from time to time . I met several of Aisha's other sons when I was in Kenya, alhamdu li Llah (the Lord be praised) . Ghalib is writing a biography of his grandfather (i . e. , my father) , Sheikh Alamin bin Ali Mazrui . From time to time I send Chalib some relevant material .

My fourth sister, Alya, was born when my father was in his fifties . I suppose it runs in the family! Here I am, raising another family, when I am in my sixties! ! Alya's daughter, Narriman, is today a student in the United States . From generation to generation !

My own older children, Jamal, Al' Amin and Kim are now in their thirties (Kim will be 30 in 1998) . Jamal and Kim came to visit us in Binghamton to welcome the new year (1998) , and to join in house-warming our new habitat! ! Kim arrived with my grandson, Will; and Jamal with his woman-friend, Maria. Yes, we have indeed been busy trying to furnish the new house as well . At last we can take some trouble furnishing our own place. We already have a few splendid pieces from different parts of the world, but far from enough to decorate a house .

With some help at my office, I have started communicating with Jamal and Kim by e-mail. These two boys are much more at home with this medium than with my old-fashioned postal mail . Jamal is a bit of a computer-wiz. My friends ask, "How come? We thought Jamal was blind!" So much for their knowledge about blindness and computers !

Kim is semi-blind and also prefers communicating with computers. A different generation! Al Amin, my other adult son, is fully sighted but is not yet fully assimilated into the computer culture. Al ' Amin is almost like his Dad! But not for long, Al ' nin is getting computerized!

The Bonds of Friendship and the Menace of Time

Finally, what old friends turned up the most unexpectedly in 1997? These would definitely include Dhuru and Laura Tanna, now Jamaican, but previously Ugandan and American respectively. We stumbled upon each other at the Delhi airport in India when we were all about to leave for the United States . Can you imagine? I had not seen them in at least a decade-and-a-half! What a reunion at an airport !

But my most moving reunion was with Muhammad Ali

Abdulrahman, a Mombasa boy who was my room-mate at the University of Manchester more than thirty-five years earlier when we were both undergraduates. Muhammad (" Panya" to his closest friends) and I were once again briefly reunited in 1997 when I was in Mombasa in October. He had previously migrated to the Sultanate of Oman on the Gulf, but had now returned back home to Kenya . I was so pleased to see him again. He seemed to have aged less than I had, God bless him. We spent some time reminiscing about old times ! A number of old friends and relatives passed away during 1997. The deceased include Boniface Obichere, the Nigerian historian, and some relatives in Mombasa, Kenya. Mobutu Sese Seko, former President of Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) , also died. I had met him more than once when he was president. He ruled for far too long (since 1965) ! But at my age it is the departure of an old teacher which is particularly poignant . Kenneth Kirkwood was Rhodes Professor of Race Relations when I was a student at Oxford University. I used to attend some of his classes and seminars. He was also involved in my doctoral examination at Oxford. We remained friends to the end of his days. He and his wife Deborah entertained me to dinner when I visited Oxford on a number of occasions.

Kenneth and I used to exchange letters between those visits .

When Kenneth retired as Rhodes Professor, his successor was Terence Ranger, who first became truly famous in Africanist circles when he broke new ground in historiography at the University of Dar es Salaam in the 1960s. Unfortunately the new Rhodes Professor at Oxford (Ranger) appeared not only cold, but hostile to the old professor (Kirkwood) and relations between them never got any better. Matters were certainly not improved when Terence Ranger was accused by Kirkwood' s supporters of turning the Rhodes professorship into a "Rhodesia professorship" devoting "disproportionate" professional attention and time to the countries which Cecil Rhodes had once carved out and controlled

(now Zimbabwe and Zambia formerly Southern and Northern Rhodesia) !! Those happened to be the parts of Africa which Terence had been studying long before he arrived at Oxford .

By a strange coincidence, Kenneth Kirkwood died just as Terence Ranger was stepping down into retirement from the Rhodes Professorship. Terence had also been Professor of History at Oxford, a parallel appointment . In their vastly different ways, Kenneth and Terence had both helped to keep the African flag flying at Oxford almost constantly. I shall feel their absence on my future visits to Oxford.

Another Oxford professorial figure who passed away in 1997 was Isaiah Berlin, the political philosopher and historian of ideas. We were all intellectually influenced by his lecture, Two Concepts of Liberty - but I was ideologically to his left on the kind of liberty worth pursuing. Although I did indeed know him during my Oxford days, my most vivid memories of Isaiah Berlin are based more on the island of Cyprus where we were later both attending a philosophical conference. We were both introduced to Archbishop Makarios, who was at the time President of Cyprus . I remember Isaiah Berlin's scintillating discussion with me about the impact of "Jewish nostalgia" on world history. Berlin was a brilliant conversationalist .

CONCLUSION

Did I mention the University of Manchester where Muhammad (Panya) and I first lived together? Let us return to that old cultural story of my initiation into Westernism.

When my future wife Ejimah Pauline was being born in Nigeria in 1957, I was making plans for admission to the University of Manchester as a student . In 1957 I was entering a British university for a Western-style education unrelated to either Islamic studies or African studies. The Manchester experience was a consolidation of that third civilization within me the Western one which had come with British rule in Kenya (my other two legacies being Africanity and Islam) . I entered the Western game with such gusto that I did brilliantly at Manchester emerging with a bachelor's degree with Distinction. Had Western civilization taken me over? What does 1997 have to tell us as an answer to that question?

This newsletter has demonstrated anecdotally how complex the answer has been .

Professionally the years 1957 to the 1980s may be seen as my dualistic years (Afro-western) . As a scholar my professional concern was basically between Africa and the Western world, while Islam was confined mainly to my private and family life.

It was from the 1980s onwards that my professional and civilizational concerns went truly triadic namely, Africana, Islamic and Western cultures . (The concept of "Africana includes Africa and its Diaspora.)

In the 1980s, when we were filming *The Africans*, my BBC/ PBS television team used to call me in jest: "The walking triple heritage - burdened by Africanity, Islam and the West ! " In 1997 I was at times a limping triple heritage under the heavy weight of a cultural triad. But the struggle has to continue for a more viable cultural equilibrium. Amen .

Mazrui's

LIFESTYLE Writer Prof Ali A. Mazrui, the Kenyan-born political scientist and historian, has been appointed the Walter Rodney Distinguished Professor of the University of Guyana, Georgetown, in South America. He is the first incumbent of this special Chair which was created by the late Cheddi Jagan soon after he was elected President of the country.

President Jagan died in March 1997.

Dr Walter Rodney was assassinated in his native Guyana in 1980. He had previously served as a senior Lecturer of History at the University of Dar es Salaam and became one of the most eloquent voices of the Left on campus at a time when that university was a beehive of ideological and intellectual fervor, especially following the Arusha Declaration of 1967. At that time Dr Ali Mazrui was based at Makerere University in Uganda, and was widely regarded as the voice of the lib.

new

era) center (pro-human rights) rather than the socialist left (pro-workers' rights). Partly because of that, Mazrui had a number of highly publicised debates with such Dar es Salaam leftists as Mahmood Mamour, Issa Shivji and Jan Namudere. Most of these confrontations occurred when Mazrui visited the Dar campus.

However, by far the most noteworthy debate occurred when Dr Rodney visited Makerere University in 1970 and took on Mazrui at his own base. The debate was televised live in Uganda, and caused a stir among both academics and politicians on and off campus.

Opinion was divided among the viewers as to who won the debate. Many believed that Mazrui had not last met more than his debating match! It was noted that Rodney used no written notes at all, whereas Mazrui began with notes in the earlier phases of the debate. role in

Those who watched the debate were not likely to forget it. Dr Joseph Ojumu, the geographer, played a supporting role in the debate.

Later in the 1970s, Dr Rodney returned to his native Guyana to enter practical politics, and Dr Mazrui went into exile in the US. When Mazrui was Director of Afro-American and African Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, he invited Dr Rodney to give some lectures. The two scholars moved closer together in the Americas than they ever could in East Africa.

And then came the assassination of Dr Rodney in June 1980. Like everybody else, Mazrui was shocked. He wrote an appreciation of Rodney on behalf of the UNESCO General History of Africa. Mazrui's

Centre of Afro-American and African Studies at Michigan also named a distinguished graduate fellowship after Walter Rodney. honour of

Dr Rodney. And when he went to Guyana in 1988 as a guest of President Desmond Hoyte, Mazrui made a public appeal for the restoration of Walter Rodney's name to "National legitimacy". The appeal was made in the President's presence and was broadcast live. Although embarrassed by the appeal, President Hoyte was very gracious to his guest. However, the appeal was by public opinion in Guyana.

Dr Rodney's most famous book continues to be *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1971), which has been reprinted many times. According to the book, Europe's colonisation of Africa did not result in stimulating development and growth but in undermining Africa's capacity for autonomous self-development. Prof Mazrui's own position in his BBC Reith Lectures, *The African Condition* (1979), is compatible with Dr Walter

Rodney's thesis.

In the Dr Rodney decided to move from writing history to making history from academic

scholarship to political activism. That was when he used his return to Guyana as an occasion for starting a movement for political and economic reforms. It was a fatal step towards his own martyrdom.

Upon creating the Walter Rodney Chair in the 1990s, the late President Cheddi Jagan had written to Prof Mazrui about it. Subsequently, the University of Guyana and the Minister of Education invited Prof Mazrui to occupy the Chair at least for a year (1997-1998) in order to launch it as a distinguished professorship. Dr Mazrui is retaining his positions at Binghamton University and Cornell University in New York. He is also retaining his professorship-at-large at the University of Jos in Nigeria.

Rodney

Prof Mazrui. Famous debate with Dr Rodney

Are there seeds of harmony in

Diana's

By AU A. MAZRUI

How purely accidental was the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, early on Aug. 31? Is it conceivable that extreme right wing elements in Britain wanted to ensure that the mother of a future King of England did not get engaged to an Egyptian Muslim? Conspiracy theories have begun. Were some of the paparazzi who disappeared from the scene hired specially to cause havoc?

Eighteen thousand Muslims, who were meeting in Chicago for the annual conference of the Islamic Society Press and Sun-Bulletin, were stunned over the last weekend of August to

learn of the sudden death of Princess Diana. I was present at the convention. We mourned the parting of Britain's most glittering ambassador to the human race.

Some 18,000 Muslims in Chicago were Egyptian-born as was Diana's companion in the tragic accident in Paris, Emad (Dodi) Fayed. After the shock had subsided at the Chicago convention, the speculations began to take shape among a few of the participants. In Third World countries, car accidents which kill public personalities are often regarded as disguised forms of political assassinations. Kenya and the Middle East are not unique in having had their share of such suspicious car crashes. Were such manipulated auto accidents unknown in the developed world?

On Aug. 31, the day Diana died - Britain's largest circulation newspaper, News of the World, had asserted that Dodi Fayed was unfit to marry into the British royal family. The newspaper claimed that

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death?

Diana's 15-year-old son, William, was "horrificed" at the prospect of having Fayed as a stepfather.

Diana, Princess of Wales, was widely regarded by part of the political establishment in England as a "loose cannon," capable of making unorthodox and socially alarming moves. Her most intimate interview for the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1995 was deliberately given to a man of color, a Briton of Asian origin, to counterbalance Prince

Charles' choice of Jonathan Dimbleby as interviewer, the elite of the elite among British television personalities.

It was during Diana's interview with a man of color that she confessed to having been unfaithful (almost in retaliation to her husband's own confession on infidelity). Diana was establishing her credentials both as a modern woman and as a person who felt at ease in discussing intimate issues with a non-white interviewer before cameras.

When in July and August 1997 Diana's name began to be romantically associated with an Egyptian man from a Muslim family, her non-racial attitude seemed to rise to a new level. It became conceivable that the mother of a future King of England would be married to a race which British imperialists once despised as "wogs."

What is more, the Islamic factor in the background of the Al-Fayed family added a further complication. The king or queen of England is of necessity supposed to be the Head of the Church of England - the Supreme Governor of the Anglican tradition. Would the future King William (Diana's son) have a mother married to a Muslim? Would the British Royal Family have direct Muslim in-

laws?

Curiously enough, Diana's former husband, Prince Charles, was already causing the Church of England some concern over what was perceived as a "disturbing tilt

See GOOD/Page 4E

Good, evil, or both? -

Continued from Page IE toward pro-Islamic sympathies." About a week before Diana's death the BBC, in a report about whether the Anglican Church should be delinked from the British state, referred to this concern about whether Prince Charles was getting to be too ecumenical and too accommodationist toward Islam to be truly qualified for the British throne.

- "The BBC report was part of its program called Twenty-Four Hours which was broadcast more than once in the week before Diana's death. Charles' pro-Islamic sympathies were sometimes traced to his 1991 lecture at Oxford University entitled "Islam and the West," which was a plea for greater effort by the West to understand Islam. The lecture has since been translated into various languages. The English and Arabic editions of the lecture are published by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford.

Prince Charles' ecumenical spirit was manifested even earlier when IV recommended that one of the titles of the King of England (or reigning Queen) be changed from "defender of the faith" (meaning the Anglican faith) - to "defender of faith" (meaning defender of all religions in his kingdom). Devout Anglicans were shocked by this broad-minded ecumenicism, since Charles wanted the change made before he took the oaths of office at his own coronation one day.

On the issue of religion, it is therefore arguable that both Prince Charles and Princess Diana were indeed ecumenical and personally tolerant. Under Charles' influence,

the Royal family as a whole had started discussing in the mid-1990s whether lesser members of the Royal family should any longer be discouraged from marrying Roman Catholics if they so desired.

However, marrying a Muslim was not regarded as a viable option even minor members of the

family. And although upon her divorce Sana was stripped of the title of “Her Royal Highness,” she was still Princess of Wales and, even more fundamental, she was the mother of a future King of England.

Dodi Fayed was no more devout as a Muslim in terms of practice and ritual than Diana and Charles had been devout and disciplined Christians. If Dodi Al-Fayed and Princess Diana had lived to get married, it would have been like the marriage of Prince Aly Khan (father of the present Aka Khan IV) in 1948 to American actress Rita Hayworth. But in that case the Prince was the Muslim - the Westerner was the bride. In that earlier case the car crash was after the marriage, rather than before. The car crash in Europe killed only Prince Aly Khan. Rita Hayworth was not with him in the car. The romance was over, and she was back in the movies as an actress in the United States.

(I was privileged to meet Prince Aly Khan and Princess Rita Hay-

worth when the two visited Mombasa in Kenya in 1950 not long after their marriage. No foul play has been proven about the death of Prince Aly Khan in 1958. Similarly no foul play may be proven about the death of Princess Diana and Mr. Dodi Fayed. Indeed, in both cases, the suspicion of foul play is purely speculative. We know from eyewitnesses that there were more paparazzi than the seven who were arrested. Were the missing ones agents of death?

In Cairo the influential newspaper, Al-Ahram, has already published articles raising the possibility that Diana and Dodi were killed

by sections of the British establishment to prevent their marriage. (See for example Al-Ahram, Sept. 1, 1997.)

Why did the French police employ an anti-terrorist special force to deal with a road accident, however famous the casualties? Why did it take an hour and a half after the accident for Diana's body to be taken to a nearby hospital? Was it really because it took that long to release Diana's body from the car wreckage? Or were there other reasons?

Accidents which appear convenient to the powerful will always provoke suspicion as to whether they were accidents at all. Diana's and Dodi's deaths may still be a simple case of an accident caused by a convergence of excessive speed, a driver under the influence of alcohol, and crazy photographers hounding a lovely princess to her death.

After all, in real life, accidents do happen - even to celebrities.

Maybe there is a more universal message in Diana's death than the dilemma between chance and design. In classical times there was Helen of Troy whose beauty “launched a thousand ships and burnt the topless towers of Ilium.” In our own times there has been Diana, the compassionate beauty who has moved the world to tears.

Her Britannic ancestors included

the 18th century poet, Alexander Pope, who observed:

All Nature is but Art unknown to thee,

All chance (is) direction which thou cannot see,

All Discord (is) harmony not understood,

All partial evil (is) universal good.

Diana's death was indeed a “chance,” but was it also “direction” - a traffic indicator for humanity? Diana's death was a moment of “discord” - but did it have the seeds of human harmony? Diana's “unintended homicide” was indeed a case of partial evil - but was it also

a beacon for universal good? The world was brought together in a week of shared grief. Perhaps it was the start of something even more hopeful.

Newsletter 23, Early 1999, Destiny in Threes and Fives

Early 1999

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 23

General Theme:

DESTINY IN THREES AND FIVES Sub-Themes:

1. From the Cradle to the Caribbean

11. Nigeria: Power, Passion, and Parentage

111. Pain as a Womb of Literature

IV. The Wedding and The Vision

The Mighty Among the Mountains

VI. Statesmen, Snakes, Scholars and Lovers

VII. Towards an African Renaissance

VIII. Between Cyprus and Cape Town IX. Between Family and Fantasy

by

Ali A. Mazrui

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. My home address is as follows:

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Appendix . AFRICAN EXILES AND THE BRAIN DRAIN

According to a friend of mine, I have three things in common with Minister Louis Farrakhan - a shared race (Blackness), a shared religion (Islam) and a shared belief in numerology (faith in the sacred symbolism of numbers)! I have heard Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam discourse extensively on the hidden meaning of such phenomena as the Washington monument in the capital of the United States.

My belief in numbers and numerology is less exalted and more modest. Much of my life has consisted of triads and pentads, in threes and fives. It began with my being the fifth - born of my mother's children, and my becoming a product of three civilizations (Africanity, Islam and Western culture). This is what I later called "Africa's triple heritage."

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE CARIBBEAN

How did this interplay between triads and pentads play out in the course of 1998 for me? I have five sons in all - three were born in Africa, and are now adults in the United States, and two are small children living with us. Never before had all my five sons, and their three parents (two mothers and one father) been brought together for the same occasion. It happened in 1998. The occasion was the wedding of my second son, Al'Amin to Jill Perry. We all assembled at the home of my third son, Kim, for the grand occasion. The mother of my children born in Africa, Molly (Muna), and the mother of my children born in the United States, Pauline (Maryam) met for the first time.

More about the wedding later.

Jamal, Al'Amin and Kim are the children who were born in Uganda in the

1960s. Farid and Harith are the children born in Binghamton, New York, in the 1990s.

Although the children born in Africa have now become Americans, it is conceivable that the children who were born in America will one day become more African. The age of globalization has its paradoxes.

Another area of interplay between triads and pentads in 1998 concerned my professorships. I was privileged to have professorial affiliations to five different universities scattered in three different continents. Most of you are already aware of my older appointments with Binghamton University, Cornell University, the School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Virginia, and the University of Jos in Nigeria. What was really new in 1998 was my appointment to the Walter Rodney Chair of History and Governance at the University of Guyana in Georgetown, Guyana. This appointment took me to my third professorial continent!

Guyana is the only English-speaking country in South America. Guyana is also the only country in the Western hemisphere with a woman President. She is Mrs. Janet Jagan. In my capacity as Walter Rodney Professor she received me twice in her offices, and graced one of the receptions in my honour. The Walter Rodney Chair was created by her husband, the late Dr. Cheddi Jagan, when he was President of Guyana.

My main hosts in Guyana were the Department of History at the University under the Chair Cecilia McAlmont and the Minister of Guyana, Dr. Dale Bisnauth.

Leaders of all political parties of Guyana attended my inaugural lecture as Walter Rodney Professor, but the main reception in my honour was boycotted by most opposition parties apparently because President Jagan was going to be there!! I tried my best not to be embroiled in Guyanese politics, but occasionally those politics were impossible to avoid. In my inaugural lecture I described Guyanese society as a "dual society" rather than a "plural society". The duality in Guyana was of course between Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese. My concept of "the dual society" became a major topic of discussion on the radio, in newspapers and on television. My Rodney Inaugural Lecture was on the following topic: "GLOBAL AFRICA AND COMPARATIVE LEADERSHIP:

WALTER RODNEY, JULIUS K. NYERERE AND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR"

I subsequently gave a copy of the lecture to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere when we met in the United States. Nyerere read it overnight. The next morning he said he was going to put me right on one or two points when he had time to drop me a line upon his return to Dar es Salaam! I am still waiting!!

Independently of me, students at Binghamton University thought up the idea of holding a Walter Rodney conference to mark the 200 th anniversary of the Haitian revolution. When the students told me about it, I and the Institute of Global Cultural Studies decided to give the conference full support with resources and any advice they needed. The students did us proud. The conference was truly a spectacular success, with many participants from Guyana, the West Indies, Africa, Europe and of course North America. It was the most comprehensive salute to Walter Rodney since his death in 1980.

In 1998 the Institute of Global Cultural Studies also helped the Department of Africana Studies at Binghamton University in hosting the annual meeting of the New York African Studies Association (NYASA) with its theme of Africa in the face of globalization. Immanuel Wallerstein and myself were happily drafted as among the keynote speakers from Binghamton. Darryl Thomas and Parviz Morewedge of Binghamton and Locksley Edmondson of Cornell were among the key organizers. Do those names add up to five? This choice may be more arbitrary in the unfolding saga of triads and pentads. What is not arbitrary is that the Institute of Global Cultural Studies (of which I am Director) did indeed sponsor three conferences with African themes in 1998. I have mentioned two - the Walter Rodney and the NYASA conferences. The Third one was even earlier. It was our

annual miniconference for Black History Month in February. As a result of bitter experience with the weather in February, we have scaled down our February conferences in size. We have stopped inviting people from afar out of fear of their flights being cancelled because of snow or ice. Once frost-bitten, twice shy! But occasionally we do risk inviting an old friend like Ebere Onwudiwe from Cenffal State University in Ohio - just in case!

One more point about Guyana. Did you know that all Guyanese are now symbolically my in-laws? My son Al'Amin is now married to a Guyanese American, the daughter of Mr. I. Barrington Perry of Afro-Guyanese descent.

My nephew Mohamed Yusuf Tamim - my sister's son - is married to Khyrul, a Muslim of Indo-Guyanese descent. And I have been Walter Rodney Professor, honoured to have served all Guyanese in 1998.

BRITAIN AND THE UNITED "PENTA-DOM"

I have lived in five countries in all. Kenya is of course where I was born and where I grew up. Great Britain is where I received most of my university education. Uganda is where my professional academic career as professor was launched and focussed. And the United States is where I have professionally matured. The fifth country is Nigeria to which I will return later in this Newsletter. I touched base in all those five countries in 1998.

I have already touched on some of my life in the United States in 1998, ranging from my son's wedding to my role of Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies. I will return to some of those themes later.

What is the triad of my relationship with the United Kingdom? The triad has taken a surprising form. One element is the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) which is primarily interested in me as an Africanist.

Secondly, there is Oxford University which in recent times has been increasingly interested in me as an Islamicist. Thirdly, there is the wider British academic community which seems to be interested in me as an international comparativist.

In the course of 1998 the BBC continued to seek my views on African events for both its English language and its Swahili services. My main 1998 address to an Oxford audience, on the other hand, was on "ISLAM AND THE EMERGENCE OF WORLD CULTURE", designed to launch a series of eight lectures sponsored by the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies on the theme of "Islam and Global Change in History". Also in 1998 I was unanimously elected to the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies.

With regard to the wider comparativist constituency in the United Kingdom, in 1998 I started negotiations with the University of Bristol about my possible participation in their 1999 conference on "Nationalism, Identity and Minority Rights." I conducted other negotiations for 1999 about a conference in London on "Nationalism and Internationalism in a World of Globalization." I will have more to say about these conferences in my next Newsletter if I do participate.

In 1998 I visited the Oxford offices of my publisher, James Currey, for the first time. This was followed by a splendid social evening with James and his wife, Clare. James has worked on my books long before he was an independent publisher in his own right. We first met when he was an editor of Heinemann Educational Books in London. He helped me publish my first novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* (London: Heinemann, 1971). More about that novel later.

In 1998 I also had discussions with the Commonwealth Secretariat, at Marlborough House in London, concerning their projected symposium on "CONSTRUCTIVE

PLURALISM", to be jointly sponsored with UNESCO, and held in Paris in January 1999. The Commonwealth Secretariat invited me to write the keynote paper from their side of the planning. I am not sure whether the paper I have written, "TOWARDS A CONSTRUCTIVE PLURAL ORDER", is too political for either the Commonwealth Secretariat, or UNESCO, or both. I will keep you informed. I hope all will be well.

NIGERIA: PASSION, POWER AND PARENTAGE

1998 was one of my special Nigerian years - full of both despair and good cheer. Among the most cheerful aspects of the year was our reunion with Pauline's mother, Mama Alice, in Binghamton, New York. My wife (a Nigerian) had not seen her mother for almost a decade - and certainly not since Pauline and I got married in 1991. This meant that Mama Alice had never seen her Mazrui grandchildren, Farid and Harith, who were born in the United States. At last we got Mama Alice a visa to come to the United States. It was not easy. To satisfy Uncle Sam I had to submit my tax returns for the previous three years. What that had to do with a visitor's visa, God knows! But Mama Alice got her visa at long last!

The grandsons are beginning to learn Mama Alice's Nigerian English. She often bathes them either in the morning, or in the evening, or both. Meanwhile, Pauline and I are still debating whether the children should learn Hausa through her or Kiswahili through me! While mother and father are debating the issue, the children are growing up mono-lingual (English only)! I am afraid the adult children of my first marriage (especially Jamal and Al'Amin) are already blaming me for the fact that they grew up monolingual. I plead the Fifth Amendment!

1998 continued to be one of my special Nigerian years. And Nigeria is one of my five countries of residential experience. When President Niara Sudarkasa of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania in the United States asked me to help in organizing the First Nnamdi Azikiwe International Conference at her university, I was stimulated by the challenge. Nnamdi Azikiwe had been the first Head of State of Nigeria (1960-1966), and had once been a student at Lincoln. Azikiwe had died in 1996, and Lincoln University wanted to immortalize his memory with these annual conferences.

Godfrey Uzoigwe and I were supposed to be the Co-chairs of the conference. But Niara Sudarkasa felt so special about this conference that the two co-chairs were effectively marginalized, and the organization of the conference was planned more directly by the President herself. There were gains and losses in this approach. Many of my ideas and sub-themes for the conference, hammered out jointly with co-chair Godfrey Uzoigwe, were discarded by the President of the University on the grounds that they were too academic. So were some of our ideas about who was to be invited. President Sudarkasa wanted the conference to be more firmly policy-oriented. But in the Nigerian context, there was a risk that such an approach would make the conference more highly politicized and even partisan. Unfortunately that is precisely what happened. The conference sometimes exploded into passionate pro and anti-Abacha rhetoric and even abuse.

To President Sudarkasa's credit, she succeeded in attracting to the conference major luminaries of recent African discourse, including Shehu Shagari, former President of Nigeria, Julius K. Nyerere, former President of Tanzania and Adebayo Adedeji, former Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. During the conference I gave Mwalimu Nyerere that Guyana-based paper I had written about him and others. He read it almost right away. He promised to let me know where I went wrong!! Yes, let me repeat. I

am still waiting!

The following month I arrived in Nigeria to receive a special Fellowship award from the Institute of Governance and Social Research, in Jos. Also being honoured by the same Institute on the same occasion was General Ibrahim Babangida, former Head of State of Nigeria. This was General Babangida's first public address since he stepped down as Head of State. The most startling pronouncement in his speech was his description of military rule as essentially "outmoded, out of fashion and out of step" as the century was coming to a close. To hear such words from a former military ruler, at a time when Nigeria was in an even tighter grip of military rule than ever, was a truly novel experience. General Babangida and I later chatted about this and related matters. Professor Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, a close mutual friend, played host to both Babangida and myself.

Ironically, my own address to the Joint Session of the University of Jos and the Institute of Governance and Social Research discussed Nigeria as Africa's closest replica of the United States. I posed the question of whether

Nigeria was a future U.S.A. in the making - in both its good points and its bad! That thesis of mine about Nigeria received much more publicity in Kenya than it did in Nigeria itself!

However, the month of May was a great reunion between me and the University of Jos, especially with my own Department of Political Science at Jos.

In June 1998 General Sani Abacha, the iron military ruler of Nigeria, died suddenly. When Azikiwe died a few years earlier, it had taken about six months before he was buried. But when Abacha died he was in his grave in less than

three days. One difference was religious. Abacha was a Muslim and therefore expected to be buried hurriedly - although Muslim Heads of States have sometimes been exceptions. But was there another reason for the haste with which General Abacha was buried? Had he been poisoned or killed in another way? So far there has been no evidence of foul play. There is an African proverb which asserts: "No big man dies of natural causes!" Is it more than a proverb? Is it history?

The most painful Nigerian event for me personally, and for millions of Nigerians was the death of Chief Moshood Abiola on the eve of his being released from prison. He was the man who had, by all accounts, won the Nigerian presidential of June 1993. The military regime in Nigeria refused to acknowledge or announce Abiola's victory. When - after some hesitation - he personally announced himself president before a rally of thousands, he ended up in prison on charges of treason. When General Sani Abacha died, and was succeeded by the more conciliatory General Abdulsalami Abubakar, we all expected to celebrate Abiola's release and potentially a special role in government. It was not to be. Abiola fell ill when he was being visited by a high-powered American delegation; he died soon after.

I shall always treasure the varied private conversations I had with Moshood Abiola long before he entered the presidential race. He honoured me both at his offices and in his home, (I was introduced to two of his wives in two different wings of a large home.).

On one occasion in Lagos he insisted on dressing me up in a specially made regal attire - an elaborate Nigerian traditional suit of black and gold. I still wear this at-fire on special occasions. I wore the complete suit when I was the official orator to honour Bryant Gumbel, the NBC television anchorman, who was being honoured by the African-American Institute in New York, along with Bouos Bouos-Ghali, then Secretary-General of the United Nations.

I once persuaded Chief Moshood Abiola to contribute \$50,000 to the African Studies of the United States. The Association named its annual lecture after him, and then invited me to be the first Basherun M.K.O. Abiola Lecturer in 1993. The Abiola Lecture has now become a regular feature of the annual convention of the association.

1998 also marked the thirtieth anniversary of another death which had Nigerian consequences for me, although the man who died was not himself a Nigerian. We used to call him "Giraffe" even when we were children because he was so much taller than the rest of us. His real name was Mohamed Salim Said, a childhood friend to whom I remained close until the day he was killed in a road accident between Mombasa and Nairobi in January 1968.

His death precipitated in me a period of deep anguish which, in mysterious ways, interacted with my depression over the Nigerian civil war. I passed through a mental crisis, close to a nervous breakdown. The Nigerian civil war was a form of public agony which I had inexplicably privatized; the

death of my friend, Giraffe was a case of private anguish which was for a while unutterable. To the present day I have not understood why those two very different shocks had reinforced each other in my psyche - and brought me literally to the brink of a breakdown. In 1968, for the first time in my life, I needed the help of a psychotherapist. I was at the time based at Makerere University in Uganda.

One could understand why I was grieving for the death of my childhood friend. But what exactly were the elements of the Nigerian side of my anguish? This question would take us into the interplay between personal pain, political history, and literary experience.

PAIN AS A WOMB OF LITERATURE

Thomas Jefferson, the author of the U.S. Declaration of Independence (a poetic document), firmly believed that pain was often the mother of poetry; anguish a stimulant to music. In Jefferson's words,

"Mise is often the parent of the most affecting touches of poetry"

The question arises whether pain was also the parent of one of my own modest ventures into creative literature. Did I undergo the equivalent of the birthpangs of creation? Let us examine the story step-by-step.

Christopher Okigbo, an Igbo poet in real life, was killed in the Nigerian Civil War near Nsuka in 1967. Okigbo came to symbolize part of the Nigerian side of my anguish in 1968. I wrote a novel in sheer desperation.

The Trial of Christopher Okigbo (1971) was at once the shortest book I had ever written and by far the most emotionally charged in the process of being written. I wrote the novel as therapy. I was passing through that mental crisis which was partly caused by the Nigerian civil war and partly by the death of my old friend in Kenya in a road accident. Was the novel a Jeffersonian creation of pain?

Intellectually I was on the Federal side of the Nigerian civil war, but at the same time in sympathy with the reasons which had resulted in the Igbo's decision to secede. I loved the Igbo but was appalled by the concept of separatist Biafra.

I suppose that was one reason why I invited Chinua Achebe (Biafra's Ambassador Plenipotentiary) to Makerere in 1969. I knew that this great novelist was a spokesman for Biafra (a mission I hated) - but I gave him a platform to reach another audience. His address to that Makerere audience was a major blow against Nigeria's federal propaganda in East Africa - and yet I was the sponsor and the presiding officer for his talk. You can

imagine how schizophrenic I had become over the Biafran issue!

And then I decided to write a novel in tribute to a martyr who had died for a cause I shrank from. I decided to write *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* - putting the martyred Igbo poet on trial in the Hereafter. He faced a dual charge. Christopher Okigbo had decided he was an Igbo first and a poet second. And Okigbo had also subordinated the vision of unity (one Nigeria) to the dream of freedom (a separate Biafra).

Exhausted by the Jeffersonian pain of creation, I offered the novel to Heinemann Educational Books in London for their African writers' series. This was my first novel ever. And the general editor of the African Writers Series was Chinua Achebe. Would he recognize my hostility to Biafra without acknowledging my love for the Igbo?

In the final verdict of the novel I do try to make my feelings clear. I declare all those who were opposed to Biafra (like my Ghanaian character Apolo-Gyanfi) as truly I declare all those who supported Biafra (represented in the novel by Hamisi) as But the charge against the Igbo themselves in their bid for Biafra is declared as not proven. It was as if the novel forgave the Igbo for attempting secession - but could not forgive those who had aided and abetted them in their suicidal bid.

Would Chinua Achebe as general editor of Heinemann's African Writers' series find it possible to associate himself with my first novel? Would he reject my draft completely? The moment of truth coincided with the final defeat of Biafra. Would Chinua Achebe's emotions be so bitter as to reject my psychic ambivalence?

At that time Chinua did not know that when I declared supporters of Biafra as "guilty", I had included my friend who had been killed in the road accident in Kenya - Giraffe! Hamisi in my novel was a character who was based on my real-life friend, Giraffe. My friend's death, when combined with the Nigerian civil war, had brought me to the brink of a nervous breakdown.

How would Chinua Achebe react to a novel which was anti-Biafra - even if ultimately pro-Igbo? I anxiously awaited his verdict. The novel was a salute to Okigbo, but was it judgmental on Ojukwu?

When Achebe's answer came, it was worthy of a great literary mind. Chinua was simply worried about whether the novel was effective. He thought the novel was too slow in taking off. The earlier chapters (written when I had not yet declared my political argument) were precisely the ones which bothered editor Achebe. He was not asking for censorship of the anti-Biafra portions. He was asking the author to shorten the preliminaries and get on to the crux of the matter, anti-Biafra or not.

I am not sure if Chinua realized that when I wrote the earlier preliminaries, I was in fact in the grip of my deepest psychological and emotional stress. When the author was at his most emotional, the chapters were the least effective in engaging the reader. I subsequently remembered William Wordsworth's definition of poetry as "powerful emotions recollected in tranquillity."

When I began writing *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, I was in the grip of powerful emotions. But the emotions were not yet "recollected in

Chinua probably recognized that the slow dullness of my earlier chapters was because my emotions were not as yet tamed into tranquillity. The words were boring mainly because the real feelings were not yet disciplined.

As a result of Chinua Achebe's critique I bravely knocked out two or three chapters from my draft of *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. Without being explicitly asked to do so by the

publisher, I embarked on literary surgery. I shortened the preliminaries - so that I could plunge more directly into the ethics of Biafra and of Christopher Okigbo's choice. Must a writer wait his or her emotions can be "recollected in tranquillity"? Chinua Achebe taught me to follow William Wordsworth's advice. I later discovered that Chinua too was following Wordsworth's advice. Why did Achebe take two decades before producing *Anthills of the Savannah*? I suspect partly because the Jeffersonian emotions of Biafra and the Nigerian civil war had been too strong. I believe that had Chinua Achebe written *Anthills* any earlier, his earlier chapters might have been almost as weak as my own when I was on the brink of a nervous breakdown. Some distance is needed between tension and creativity, between madness and the Muse.

But why did I choose to focus my novel on Christopher Okigbo? Partly because I came from a culture in which great moments of anguish and pain are often dealt with by writing poetry. When two of my children went blind in the late 1970s, I received poems of sympathy from friends and relatives in Kenya. It remains part of Kenya's Coastal Swahili culture to mark great experiences with poetry. This had nothing to do with Thomas Jefferson.

Upon receiving the poems of sympathy about the blindness of my children, it was expected that I would try to reciprocate poetically. I did respond with an "Ode to the Optic Nerve". It is against this background that one should examine my decision to write *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. I had decided to deal with my own depression in the late 1960s with the therapy of writing a novel about a poet. Without realizing it at the time, I was manifesting Swahili ways of dealing with personal anguish. By writing a novel about a poet I was taking the Swahili cultural trait one stage further than its usual domain.

A second major reason why I chose to focus my little novel on Christopher Okigbo was that he seemed to be a martyr to his cause, whether or not he shared my ideals.

And the third reason was the fact that his death raised wider questions about justice, rights and genius. Did a very gifted human being have a right to sacrifice his or her life for such issues as ethnic separatism? Did Christopher Okigbo as a genius have a right to decide that he was an Igbo first and a poet second? My novel asserts "All life is sacred, but some lives are more sacred than others".

Christopher Okigbo's life was well above average in sacredness. Did he have a right to expose it to a sniper's bullet in conditions of warfare? The debate will continue to the end of time - until Christopher Okigbo meets Thomas Jefferson along the bridge of creative anguish.

THE WEDDING AND THE VISION

One of the great family events of the decade was the marriage of my second-born son, Al'Amin, to his beloved Jill Perry. They met in California. The wedding ceremony was hosted by Al'Amin's brother, Kim, and sister-in-law, Kay in Charlottesville, Virginia, where Kim is a professor of Law at the University of Virginia (established by Thomas Jefferson, by the way). Almost the entire Mazrui clan in the United States turned up in strength at the wedding, coming from different parts of the country. Professor Aziz Sachedina of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Virginia officiated at the Muslim wedding ceremony in the home of Kim and Kay Forde Mazrui. The bride - who has a wonderful voice - preceded by singing a beautiful song of affirmation and commitment. For Molly Mazrui and myself (the divorced parents of the groom), the wedding of our son

was an occasion for reconciliation and good will after a period of social distance between the parents. We hugged and danced together, and gave speeches in honour of the wedding. My present wife, Pauline, and Molly's present significant other, Jim, were not in the least insecure!!

Al'Amin and Jill subsequently drove to join us in Binghamton, New York, for a few days as part of their honeymoon. Wasn't that unusual? It was particularly great for Mama Alice and Goretti Mugambwa who had not attended the wedding.

On New Year's Eve we invited a few friends to come to our home to welcome both the New Year and the newly wed. We must have entertained some fifty people on New Year's Eve, including the Dean of Arts and Sciences at Binghamton University, Dean Solomon Polachek and his wife, Professor Dora Polachek. Our last guest left at about 3 0'clock in the morning. The bride, Jill Perry (now Jill Mazrui by choice) is a school teacher by profession and owns some property in California. What about Al'Amin? Is he still a "permanent graduate student"? He has now become a teacher - joining his father, mother, brother, cousin and others - in a Mazrui legacy of teaching spanning generations. He has also found a separate calling for himself - entrepreneurship. His own new business called, Electronic Commerce International, links consumers to thousands of products electronically, (by phone, fax, or computer modem on the Internet).

Al'Amin may indeed be onto something. According to Fortune Magazine December 7, 1998: "The Internet will change the relationship between consumers and producers in ways more profound than you can yet imagine. The Internet is not just another marketing channel; it's not just another advertising medium; it's not just a way to speed up transactions. It will fundamentally change customers' expectation about convenience, speed, comparability, price and service. The Internet is the foundation for a new industrial order."

Al'Amin is convinced that buying and selling through the Internet is the wave of the future. He talks enthusiastically about the participation of so many nations already in electronic commerce. I am not electronically literate enough to judge, but Al'Amin Mazrui is eager to discuss his new business with all comers. I cannot speak for him in any way, but his business e-mail address if you are interested is This is not a commercial for my son! It is not even an infomercial! It is merely news in a family newsletter!

Jill Mazrui's father, Mr. Perry, was born in Guyana. This makes Jill my second in-law with Guyanese blood in her. As I said before, my first Guyanese in-law was Khyrul, the wife of my sister's son, Mohamed Yusuf Tamim. Mohamed and Khyrul now live in Toronto, Canada. They have promised to visit us again in Binghamton in 1999, Insha Allah. We look forward to that.

THE MIGHTY AMONG THE MOUNTAINS

The town of Davos is approximately on the Swiss Alps. The World Economic Forum is a pinnacle of a different kind. Such a large proportion of those who attend the conference every year are people at the pinnacle of power and influence. I was among the lesser figures who attended the 1998 Forum, chaired one of the sessions and participated in a few of the others.

Four categories of people attend the World Economic Forum. A thousand are Chief Executives of corporations, including the movers and shakers of the world economy. Those who attended the 1998 Forum included Bill Gates of Microsoft and George Soros. Here indeed were the mighty among the mountains.

The second category of attendees are major policy makers in the political process. In 1998

these included Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany, Newt Gingrich who was then Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, and a number of Presidents and Prime Ministers from Asia and Africa, including Prime Minister Nawaz Shariff of Pakistan, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. U.S. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton also addressed the 1998 World Economic Forum. The Alps were playing host to global pinnacles.

The third category of attendees at the Forum consists of people connected with the media. These ranged from reporters representing such newspapers as the Wall Street Journal and the Financial Times to film-makers and computer wizards of various kinds.

The fourth category of attendees are scholars and cultural participant-observers. I fell into this fourth category. So did Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Lord Manu who were very successful as speakers at the 1998 Forum.

At one session I had a short but heated exchange with Speaker Newt Gingrich on the issue of Iraq. He had taken a militantly hawkish position about bombing Iraq into compliance over its alleged weapons of mass destruction. I

argued that no Middle Eastern system would succeed in eliminating such weapons on a long-term basis if Israel was allowed to have them while its Arab neighbours were bombed into renouncing them. My verbal exchange with Speaker Gingrich was later shown on U.S. television.

I had a more amicable exchange with President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana at another session. President Rawlings complained angrily about the brain drain from Africa, especially after such expensive training in Africa as that of a doctor. Why should an African trained by the taxpayer in his country be allowed to pack his bag and go for bigger incomes in Europe or the United States as soon as he or she qualifies?

In my response I expressed sympathy for President Rawlings' concern about the brain drain. But I reminded the President that the brain drain was caused not only by the attraction of better life and more freedom in exile (the pull-in factors in the host countries); the brain-drain was also often caused by deteriorating conditions and diminishing freedom at home (the push-out factors in the countries of origin). The policies of African governments were among the factors contributing to the brain drain from Africa.

President Jerry Rawlings gave me some kind of counter-response, and then graciously invited me to resume debate at his home when I next visited Ghana. I was flattered to learn that he had been anxious to meet with me ever since he saw my BBC/PBS television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (1986).

A number of sessions at the World Economic Forum are conducted over dinner or a luncheon. Officially I was in charge of the dinner-discussion on "Africa in a World of Globalization". I was both Chairman and keynote speaker. Another official dinner role I had was at a session on "Moral Judgements across Cultural Differences" at which I was one of the speakers in the programme.

STATESMEN SNAKES SCHOLARS AND LOVERS

At least as memorable was a more informal dinner with President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda at his table at the Forum one evening. It was the first time I had actually dined with him since he and his wife graciously entertained me to a private dinner at State House in Entebbe, Uganda, a few years earlier. It was at the dinner in Entebbe that the President said to me : "Professor, I hear you have moved to the left ideologically." I

smiled and replied "Mr. President, I have heard a different rumour - that you had moved to the right!" At the 1998 dinner in Davos I got more evidence that Yoweri Museveni is a more pro-market ideologue than almost any European head of government currently in power. Museveni shows all the enthusiasm of a recent convert to the market. If capitalism is the Empire of Sharks, Yoweri Museveni is not afraid to enter its gates.

But in many respects his policies have paid off. When I visited Uganda in May 1998 I was more impressed than ever by the changes in the city of Kampala as compared with conditions on my previous visit some four years earlier. The city seemed brighter, more prosperous, better stocked with goods, and to all appearances, much safer. I was in Kampala as a keynote speaker at an international conference of insurance companies doing business in Africa or with Africa. My speech was sensationalized by the local press when I called upon African insurance companies to make themselves more relevant by issuing insurance policies against such African hazards as snake-bites and conceivably even witchcraft! Local cartoonists went to town depicting me in the role of encouraging Africans to use insurance policies rather than sticks when confronted with a poisonous snake!

I also used my stay in Uganda to go to and extend my condolences to Omari H. Kokole's family. As you know Omari died suddenly here at Binghamton in 1996 at the age of 44. He was then Associate Director of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton University and one of my own closest friends.

In May 1998 I went to see his mother in Jinja at long last, accompanied by Omari's younger brother, Yusuf, who came to fetch me from my hotel in Kampala. I also extended our sympathies to Omari's sister Maryam and to his two daughters in Uganda, Apaya and Amori. The family served me lunch and invited an interesting additional guest - Idi Amin's older brother, locally known as Mzee Ramadhan Amin. Although we all discussed Omari Kokole during lunch, we carefully avoided discussing Idi Amin. Was I too cautious and too polite? Should I have asked Mzee Ramadhan some questions about his notorious brother, Idi Amin? (I started writing a book provisionally entitled HEROISM AND HORROR some years ago. It was supposed to be about Idi

Amin, whom I knew when we both lived in Uganda. I never finished the book.) My visit to Kampala included an informal presentation in my own old department of political science at Makerere University. Some of my old colleagues are still there, and it was a great pleasure engaging them intellectually once again. Professor Akiiki Mujaju and Professor Anthony Ginyera-Pinyawa were definite bridges between the past and the present in the department. More surprising in 1998 was the presence of Professor Marion Doro from the United States - she was a colleague when I was there in the 1960s and she had returned briefly in 1998. Can you imagine?

I was flattered by the interest which the Faculty of Commerce (Business School) at Makerere took in me during my visit. I was invited to have a special brainstorming session with their faculty. And upon my return to the United States the Makerere Business School wrote to invite me back in November 1998 at their expense for one of their conferences. Unfortunately their dates clashed with my commitments in Cyprus. It was my loss that I was unable to accept.

There is a sense in which I will always be married to Uganda as a country. Those ten formative years of mine at Makerere (1963 - 1973) helped to shape the rest of my career. But if I am married to Uganda as a country, why am I not married to a Ugandan woman in

my private life? In reality three African countries have had a special claim on me - Kenya (where I was born), Uganda (where my academic career was born) and Nigeria (which has hypnotized me long before my novel *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* of 1971).

In the 1980s I nearly did get married to a Ugandan. If I had, my mother-in-law would have been the woman whom we all know as Nalongo (mother of twins). I was once very close to two of her daughters. One died in her twenties and the other is now married to somebody else. But whenever I go to Uganda I to contact Nalongo. The flicker might have died out between me and her daughters. But a closeness survives between me and the woman who might have become my mother in law - in spite of the fact that I am now happily married to a Nigerian woman. But that is another love-story altogether.

A final word about my 1998 Uganda visit. One Ugandan who was for a while a link between me and Nigeria was Samuel Max Sebina. He was a ward of mine when I lived in Uganda as I contributed to his education. Later on, when I was in the United States, he came to visit me. More important is when he came to stay with me in Jos, Nigeria, and to look after me. The University of Jos gave me a house and Sam lived in it the whole year through, whereas I came only in fits and starts. Sam's significant other in our Jos house was Tonia, a very beautiful Tanzanian woman. I thought they would get married one day. But Tonia returned to Tanzania and Sam returned to Uganda and got married to a fellow Ugandan! Can you imagine?

In 1998 I re-discovered Sam!! He now works as a security officer in a major hotel in Kampala. He has several children, one of whom is old enough to be at Makerere University! Sam has asked me to let him know every time I go to East Africa so that he can spend time with me. At my age these voices from the past are of course always welcome.

TOWARDS AN AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

My most significant Makerere event of 1998 occurred outside the boundaries of the country of Uganda. I was keynote speaker for the Platinum Jubilee (75 th Anniversary) of Makerere University being hosted by the Kenyan alumni of Makerere in Nairobi, Kenya. The organizer was Professor Peter Anyang Nyong'o, a Member of Parliament in Kenya and a former student of mine at Makerere. My topic at the evening celebratory event (dinner and dance) was on the following quite serious topic:

"HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE ORIGINS OF GLOBALIZATION: THE IMPACT OF MAKERERE"

The Press in Kenya took a good deal of interest in my presence in the country for some reason. This does not always happen, but this time my presence seemed to generate considerable journalistic interest, including a wide-ranging interview about my life and career for a Sunday newspaper.

There were some distinguished Ugandans, as well as Kenyans, at the Platinum Jubilee. From Nairobi I could also proceed to my hometown of Mombasa where I was, as usual, received so graciously by the children of my sister Salma A. Mazrui and the children of my other sister, Nafisa A. Mazrui. Each household prepared a stupendous meal, God bless them. My brother Harith A. Mazrui came to the city from his rural home to be with me.

In Zimbabwe, I was keynote speaker at the Indaba (traditional townmeeting) in preparation for the launching of the annual Zimbabwe International Book Fair. My topic was as follows

**"FEWER HEROES AND MORE MARTYRS IN AFRICA'S POLITICAL EXPERIENCE:
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE AFRICAN CHILD"**

I also helped to launch the first bibliography of my works "THE MAZRUIANA COLLECTION: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF ALI A. MAZRUI, 1962 - 1997". The Indian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe launched the book compiled and annotated by Abdul S. Bemath of South Africa. My own presentation at the book-launch was under the following title:

"MAZRUIANA: BETWEEN THE RENAISSANCE AFRICAN AND THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE"

Among my recommendations was that Zimbabwe International Book Fair of the year 2000 should announce a carefully selected list of 100 best African books of the twentieth century. I sub-divided those 100 books into categories novels, plays, poetry, non-fiction etc. To my delight some organizers of the Book Fair took me up almost immediately after I finished speaking. They came to discuss the concept with me, and later followed it up with an exchange of letters. I do hope they raise the money to follow through.

Never since 1967 had there been three books in a single year all about me or by me - until 1998!! In addition to Bemath's bibliographical book MAZRUIANA (New Delhi: Sterling and New Jersey: Africa World Press) there was in 1998 also a new edition of Omari H. Kokole's edited volume THE GLOBAL AFRICAN: A PORTRAIT OF ALI A. MAZRUI (Africa World Press). The third 1998 book was co-authored by Alamin M. Mazrui and myself and entitled THE POWER OF BABEL: LANGUAGE AND GOVERNANCE IN THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE (Oxford: James Currey and University of Chicago Press).

Thirty one years earlier all three books of 1967 were by me - TOWARDS A PAX AFRICANA (also University of Chicago Press), ON HEROES AND UHURUWORSHIP (London: Longman) and THE ANGLO-AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH (Oxford: Pergamon Press). These three volumes of 1967 were the first booklength publications of my career.

For THE POWER OF BABEL there was a book-signing ceremony at the University of Chicago book stall at the 1998 African Studies Association meeting in Chicago. Because the book-signing ceremony had neither been announced nor I do not think it was a success. Colleagues stopped when they saw me signing books, and some bought copies. But I do not think the University of Chicago did me proud on this one.

A more successful book-signing ceremony was of the book THE GLOBAL AFRICAN: A PORTRAIT OF ALI A. MAZRUI. The publishers had the book ready as part of a Pan-African event which I was going to address - the launching of the UBUNTU 2000 Cultural Movement in the same hotel as the African Studies Association in Chicago. Here again was a search for an African Renaissance. My speech was not of course about the book, but the publishers wisely banked on my speech helping to sell the book about me. The cultural event of UBUNTU 2000 was well-attended - and the book signing was much more vigorous. The cultural event as a whole took off very well.

BETWEEN CYPRUS AND CAPE TOWN

In what sense is Cyprus a triadic country in my sense? In the sense that Cyprus is one country in the shadow of two other countries - Greece and Turkey. I never realized how deep the divide between the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots had become until I was invited to a conference at Eastern Mediterranean University in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. If I had arrived in the Greek part of the island first, I would not have been allowed to cross to the Turkish part. The only way of flying into the Turkish part of the island was by flying into Turkey itself first and, then, flying to Ercan in

Turkish Northern Cyprus. So I flew to Istanbul first. Can you imagine?

The conference at the Eastern Mediterranean University was on "Globalization: Social, Economic and Political Dimensions." It was cosponsored by the International Association of Middle Eastern Studies, the International Society for Competitiveness, and the University of Calgary in Canada. Professor Tareq Ismael was a member of them all - and the soul of the party!

I was invited to be the opening keynote speaker. Ceremonially the conference was opened by President Rauf R. Denktas of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and formerly Vice-President of Cyprus as a whole. In his speech to our conference he lost no time in calling upon us to help the Turkish Republic get international recognition. At the moment, his Republic is recognized only by Turkey and bitterly opposed by both the Greek-Cypriots and Greece itself.

During my short stay in Cyprus President Denktas invited me and a few others to lunch in his presidential home. When I turned up in my resplendant African shirt he was so impressed that he dashed back inside to get his camera. This was my first experience being photographed by a State President. By the time I was leaving his palace after lunch, a copy of the photograph was ready

for me. What a souvenir! As it turned out, President Denktas is an accomplished amateur photographer, who has even published a book of some of his pictures.

When I first visited Cyprus a quarter of a century earlier, Archbishop Makarios was President of the country as a whole. I was photographed with Makarios shaking hands, but the Archbishop was definitely not the photographer! (Incidentally, the picture with Makarios and Mazrui shaking hands appeared in at least one East African newspaper at the time. I hope I have saved the picture somewhere in my albums, but that is a sentiment I would not have expressed to my Turkish-Cypriot hosts in 1998. The sentiment might have been regarded as offensive and partisan). Cyprus, the ffiadic country, continued to be in the shadow of two other countries, with all the tensions of divisiveness. In 1998 I visited five African countries in all. I have already told you about my experiences in Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya and Zimbabwe. My fifth African country in 1998 was the Republic of South Africa.

Ever since Nelson Mandela was released from prison in 1990, I have visited South Africa about once every year. My hosts have varied. They have included a university (like Witswaterand), a newspaper (like The Weekly Mail), a chamber of commerce (like the African chambers of commerce), a distinguished lecture series (the Desmond Tutu Annual Lecture) , etc. In 1998, I was once again invited by the Foundation for Global Dialogue in Johannesburg. But the conference took place in Cape Town, and the theme was "Changing African Identities", My paper included the hotly debated theme of "African Renaissance" - which is the rage in South Africa right now, but which I had raised several years earlier. Unfortunately the only published version of my earlier remarks is available in German, published in the German-language journal Internationale Politik , "Afro-Renaissance: Hoffnung im postkolonialen Africa" (1996).

Southern Africa has a more vigorous and politically conscious Muslim community than many people assume, as the British Prime Minister Tony Blair discovered when he visited South Africa in January 1999. South African Muslims demonstrated against British policies on, and bombing of, Iraq.

South African Muslims have in the past played host to me and entertained me. But in 1998 it was more the Muslims of Zimbabwe who managed to mobilize a large audience for my lecture on "ISLAM AND THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA: FROM HUMAN RIGHTS TO NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION." I believe it was my largest audience in Zimbabwe in 1998. In the middle of my presentation a member of the audience was afflicted by epilepsy. The proceedings came to a halt. By a strange coincidence, his personal physician was also in the audience. The doctor took charge, and I was able to resume my presentation.

In Zimbabwe I also met Professor Terence Ranger. In my Newsletter No.

22 of last year I had included a report about the tension between Professor Ranger as Rhodes Professor of Race Relations at Oxford University and his predecessor, Professor Kenneth Kirkwood, who died in 1997. I have since learnt Dr. Ranger's side of the case. Professor Ranger says it was never his intention to offend Professor Kirkwood. On the contrary, Ranger had repeatedly invited Kirkwood to social and academic events, and Kirkwood had not responded. Whatever tension existed between the two Rhodes Professors had never been by design. Readers of this newsletter have now heard both sides of the case. Perhaps an unintended misunderstanding had indeed occurred between these two scholars. They both served Africa well during their tenure at Oxford University. Ranger and Kirkwood were also concerned with the well-being of African students. A fund has been established in honour of the memory of Kenneth Kirkwood, designed to help students from Southern Africa especially. If you would like to make a contribution to that Fund, the following is the address:

The Kenneth Kirkwood Memorial Fund
African Education Trust 38 King Street
London WC2E8JS United Kingdom

Another word about Zimbabwe in 1998. It was a great evening at Yash and Mary Tandon's home! Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and his wife graciously joined us. We debated varied issues about Africa and the world.

Yash Tandon used to be a colleague in the Department of Political Science at Makerere when we both lived in Uganda. Nathan Shamuyarira - now senior member of President Mugabe's government - used to be on the faculty of the University of Dar es Salaam and was later a freedom fighter for Zimbabwe's independence in the bushes of his country.

Obi Jackson Njovu, a Zambian, came specially to Harare from Lusaka to visit me. He used to be in the Zambian armed forces, but he is now in the private sector in Zambia. He seemed to be as fit and slim as he was when he was in the army. I was delighted to see him again. My trip back from Zimbabwe is memorable because of the shocking news in transit between Harare and the United States. When we stopped in Paris for the second leg of my journey I learnt in the Business Class lounge at Charles de Gaulle Airport about the terrible terrorist bombings of the U.S. Embassies in

Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, and the huge number of casualties especially in Nairobi. I was stunned. I was briefly tempted to reverse direction and to go to Nairobi instead of the United States from Paris. But it was not realistic. I was dazed the rest of the trip to Binghamton, New York.

BETWEEN FAMILY AND FANTASY

In 1998 a cold wind from the north (i.e. Canada) brought into our household Mugambwa and her gifted daughter, Maria (12 years old) to live with us. The hot wind from the South (i.e. Nigeria) brought into our household Mama Alice Uti, my wife Pauline's mother. Once

again we had a friad - three very valued new members of our Binghamton family (two Canadians and a Nigerian).

Pauline and I knew Goretti when all three of us lived in Jos in Nigeria in the 1980s. Goretti worked as a secretary at the Registrar's Office at the University. Goretti was my friend, on one side, and Pauline's friend on the other side, long before Pauline and I became friends. Pauline and I completed the triangle rather late!

Goret' was born and brought up in Uganda. She then moved to Nigeria. From Jos she migrated to Canada. In due course Pauline migrated to the United States to join me. In 1998 all three of us were together once again - joined delightfully by Pauline's mother - under the same roof. But the new home was in Vestal-Binghamton, New York.

We had an artist at home for much of 1998. That was Azuka, teen-age daughter of our family-friend, Nkiru Nzegwu. Nkiru is a professor of art-history and African philosophy at Binghamton University. For much of 1998 Nkiru was on sabbatical leave at the University of California, Los Angeles. That was the reason why her daughter, Azuka, moved in with us, since Azuka was an undergraduate here at Binghamton and could not join her mother in California. Where does the art come in? Azuka, like her mother, is an artist in more than one genre. While living with us Azuka did some painting, sculpture and composed some poetry.

One thing curious about Azuka. When I was in Paris, France, I bought her a beautiful T-shirt with the Mona Lisa, the most famous painting in the history of art. I have never seen Azuka wear the shirt!! I also bought the Mona Lisa T-shirt for one of my sons. My son has worn it even on special occasions. (The shirt is unisex.) Why has Azuka, the artist, refused to wear Leonardo da Vinci's popular masterpiece?

Earlier in the year another wind from Canada had brought my nephew Mohammed Yusuf Tamim, and his wife, Khyrul, to visit us in Binghamton. Believe it or not, I have exactly three nephews in all in North America - of whom Mohammed was the second to visit our new house in the Vestal-Binghamton area. The first was Alamin M. Mazrui from the Ohio State University in Columbus, who came with his friend Dr. Ousseina Alidou from the Republic of Niger.

The three nephews in North America are children of three different siblings of mine. Mohammed Yusuf and Alamin Mazrui are children of my sisters Aisha and Salma respectively. The third nephew is Zeid Mazrui in Canada. He is the son of my brother Harith. Here we are confronted with a friad within a triad in family. We are still waiting for Zeid to visit us in Vestal-Binghamton.

As for my three adult sons (Jamal, Al'Amin and Kim), they reflected different aspects of me during 1998. At least so I would like to believe. The most obvious reflection of his Dad is Kim Abubakar in Charlottesville, Virginia. After all, like his Dad, Kim is a professor - though Kim had the good sense to be a professor of law, rather than of political science or history. Sharing a professional career made it easier for Kim and Dad to consult each other about professional matters - from methods of teaching to techniques of publication.

Will Jamal be the most international and most travelled of my sons? It is too early to be sure, but 1998 indicated that he was already in demand both nationally and internationally. In 1998 he was invited to the Slovak Republic (part of the former Czechoslovakia) to make a presentation on the role of the computer in the world of the disabled. I visited Prague before Czechoslovakia split in two. Now, of course, Prague is part of the Czech Republic. If Kim represents my academic torch being passed to the next generation, and Jamal

represents my torch of national and international mobility, what does Al'Amin (my second-born child) represent?

Al'Amin represents his father's fascination with language and with skills of verbal persuasion. (The father is less articulate in his NEWSLETTERS!) But is Al'Amin in the right profession for such verbal skills? Would he have more of an impact if he tried to get into journalism? Does he stand a chance in local or state politics? Verbal skills are relevant for teaching and entrepreneurship (his present occupational interests) but are they even more relevant in journalism and politics? These are just thoughts of a parent about his children. Finally, a triad of names carried by my children. My adult children's names have increasingly been shared by African Heads of State!! We knew from the start that Jamal - the name of my first-born - was also the first name of the man whom many regard as the greatest Egyptian ruler of the 20th century, Gamal Abdul Nasser (Nasser's spelling of his first name was different.)

Al'Amin, the name of my second son, is basically the same as that of Idi

Amin - but Idi has it as a name. Idi Amin was a terrible dictator of Uganda. Normally my son would be sad to have to share a name with such a brutal dictator. But Idi Amin is the main reason why our family moved to the United States, and my son Al'Amin is glad that we did move to America. From Al'Amin's point of view, an evil factor (Idi Amin) caused a happy consequence (education in the United States).

Kim's other first name is Abubakar. (He has two first names, quite apart from any middle name.) In 1998 his other first name found state-status in Africa when General Abdulsalami Abubakar became the Head of State of Nigeria after the death of President Sani Abacha in June. So Kim too briefly had a namesake in the State House of an African country. Unlike Idi Amin, Abubakar was a positive figure, dedicated to returning Nigeria from military rule to civilian democracy in 1999.

But remember I have five sons in all! I have a seven year old son called Farid Chinedu and a five year old son called Harith Ekene. Within the next twenty to thirty years we are waiting for two African Heads of State to be called Farid, Harith, Chinedu or Ekene. Better still, it would be nice if those Heads of State at some stage were indeed my sons themselves - Farid as President of one African country and Ekene as President of another.

In 1998 two sons of Former President George Bush became governors of two different states in the United States. Maybe in the year 2048 two Mazrui sons would each become the head of state of an African country!! To paraphrase the English poet, Robert Browning (1812-1889):

Ah, but a father's reach should exceed his grasp, Or what's a heaven for?

AMEN!

'Idi Amin's tyranny forced me to quit my job at Makerere'

By CIUGU MWAGIRU

During the World Economic Forum held in Switzerland this year, Kenyan eminent scholar Prof Ali Mazrui had a heated exchange with Ghanaian President Jerry Rawlings over the brain-drain from Africa to the West.

"Jerry Rawlings was giving a lecture in Davos, Switzerland, and we had a public exchange during which he was getting worked up about the braindrain issue," Mazrui recalled during a lengthy interview with Lifestyle in Nairobi last week. "He feels - quite understandably - very strongly about the brain-drain from Africa. During his speech, he used the illustration

of training doctors in Ghana, after which those who qualify just disappear to practise, say, in the United States.

"According to Rawlings, we could not just simply ask the departing doctors to refund the cost of their training, since the problem was that others had to be trained in their place." Mazrui recalls.

'He got more and more angry as he spoke, emphasising that the five to seven years it would take to train one doctor was a long time, during which people would be dying for lack of medical attention.'

But Mazrui was not moved by the Ghanaian Head of State's emotional plea for well-educated Africans to stay and work in their countries, and the academic luminary interjected and gave the President "some home truths" about the more Sunday Nation writer Ciugu Mwagiru complex aspects of the brain-drain.

Mazrui recalls exactly what he told Rawlings. "I told him: 'Mr President, I totally sympathise with your concern about matter, but there are two forces at work as far as the brain-drain is concerned. One is the pull-in force of the host countries welcoming migrating professionals, and this involves better facilities, better pay, nicer working conditions and also greater freedom

"What, Mr President, you didn't allow for are the push-out forces in our countries, such as lack of recognition, lack of adequate facilities and very often governments that are intolerant and so on. People who work very hard in our countries often feel that nobody gives a damn, which is what makes them want to go and work elsewhere, if only to feel that what they do is at least recognised."

Mazrui explained that it is easy for critics of those who have chosen to work outside their countries - or have been forced to do so - to accuse them of being driven by greed and the desire to earn more money.

"But such accusations are unfair, as it would be illogical for someone to leave his own country and go and work elsewhere for peanuts." However, the eminent academic was quick to point out that the allure of big money is not the only reason African

interviews Prof Mazrui in Nairobi.

can intellectuals and professionals leave.

Citing his own case, Mazrui recalls that after working in Uganda - where for about a decade he taught at Makerere University - he had come to regard the country as his own, and was very happy there, with no intention of ever going to work elsewhere.

"Even before I resigned from Makerere, I had asked the Vice-Chancellor, Prof Kyesimira, to let me take indefinite leave without pay so that I could go back after Idi Amin had left the scene. I had received very good offers from the United States years earlier, but had decided that I wanted to teach at Makerere. You see, at first most of us thought that Idi Amin would disappear after a year or two, which is why I told the Vice-Chancellor that he could even take away my professorship and the chairmanship of my department, so that when Amin left the scene I could resume teaching again."

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The Vice-Chancellor's pounce on Idi Amin was likely to become suspicious about Mazrui's continued presence at Makerere, with potentially disastrous results, and so he politely

advised Mazrui the best thing to do in the circumstances was to leave the institution. "So in my case, my original departure had nothing to do with money, but was under duress," Mazrui recalls. "But now the question is, after staying out for a quarter of a century, how easy is it to come back? The answer is that there are many other factors to consider, including the fact that my kids are virtually Americans, and are probably never going to come back to live and work in Africa. Obviously, I would have to consider the effects of leaving them thousands of kilometres away and coming to work here; the issue is that you have to ask yourself if you want to be near them or not, since it is not fair to expect them to abandon their careers and come back with you."

In his own case, moving into exile also put strains on his marriage to first wife Molly, an English woman he had met when they were both students at Manchester University, and after 20 years together the marriage collapsed.

While conceding it is unfortunate that some of Africa's best brains have to pursue their careers and professions outside the continent, Mazrui personally feels there are many things he would not have been able to do, professionally, if he had remained in Kenya. Recalling a conversation he once had with the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nairobi, the late Dr Josephat Karanja (who later rose to become Kenya's Vice-President before ignominiously falling from grace), Mazrui is emphatic that there was never any chance for his pro-

So in my case, my original departure had nothing to do with money, but was under duress. Now the question is, after staying out for a quarter of a century, how easy is it to come back? The answer is that there are many other factors to consider, including the fact that my children are virtually Americans, and are probably never going to come back to live and work in Africa.

professional development in Kenya, and Dr Karanja candidly told him as much,

Even today, Mazrui feels that he, like many of his compatriots in exile, has been grossly neglected by the land of his birth. According to him, it was unfortunate that Kenyan broadcasting stations firmly refused to air his television documentary: *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, which was produced by the BBC.

"The series is the only one on Africa made by an African, and can only be compared to Basil Davidson's series called *Africa*," Mazrui told me. "I sometimes feel a little bitter about the fact that my own country has refused to televise the series, despite its fairly innocuous and barely radical political content, and I am convinced that ignoring it in Kenya was a case of the authorities having a grudge with the singer rather than with the song."

But if Kenyans have ignored the talents of sons of the land like Ali Mazrui, the rest of the world has certainly been prepared to gobble them up with relish. Mazrui has held eminent positions at the United Nations, the OAU and in numerous universities around the globe, as well as in multifaceted academic and other organisations. Kenyans reading a new annotated bibliography of his publications—dubbed *The Mazruiana Collection*, will find his academic and intellectual achievements simply stupendous.

Certainly, the son of Muslim Kadhi Al-Amin Ali Mazrui who had wanted his son to pursue Islamic studies at the famed Al Azhar University in Egypt (but who died when the boy was only 14), has come a long way since a tottering academic performance at his A-levels in the 1940s for which he was denied entrance to Makerere University. Ironically, Mazrui was in Nairobi a couple of weeks ago to celebrate Makerere's 75th Anniversary, receiving many a kudos as one of the most illustrious dons of East Africa's oldest university.

Mazrui feels that his departure from Makerere for a teaching job in the United States probably caused the breakup of his marriage to Molly.

That marriage produced three children, sons now in their thirties who have excelled in their academic and professional careers in the US. This despite the fact that two of them were born with serious visual disabilities.

"My first son, Jamal, is completely blind, while my third son, Kim Abubakar, is partially blind, but my second son, Al Amin, was born with normal vision." Mazrui explained his two sons' blindness was the result of a genetic condition passed on through his wife's family. Mazrui is evidently very proud that his two blind sons have proved that their disabilities were certainly not inabilities.

First son Jamal - although totally blind has over the years acquired an unusual mastery of computers, and today is a civil servant employed by the United States Federal Government. The partially blind third son, Kim Abubakar, is a top-notch professor of law, teaching at the University of Virginia. Normally sighted Al' Amin is pursuing graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley. His father quipped that he "seems to have become a permanent graduate student! "

Now Mazrui, who was born in 1933 and turned 65 this year, is married to a woman whom he refers to as "a 1990s phenomenon." He met Elimah Pauline while visiting Nigeria, where she was born more than 20 years after him, in 1957.

A trained teacher, Pauline, from Nigeria's Rivers State, has in recent times decided to become a full-time mother, and spends a lot of time at the couple's home in Binghamton, Washington State, looking after their two young sons, Farid Chinadu and Harith Ekenechukwu, aged six and five.

Describing his new wife as relatively patient, Mazrui says she has attuned herself well to his busy schedules, which involve much travelling and keep him away from home over long periods. As for his little boys, he keeps them happy by bringing home little presents every time he returns from his travels around the world.

Such travels have found him rubbing shoulders with the high and mighty, such as Jerry Rawlings, the late Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, India's Sonia Gandhi, as well as Newt Gingrich and Robert S. McNamara.

Among African intellectuals, Mazrui is held in high esteem, ranked with luminaries Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Nigerian Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka. Other African writers Mazrui has interacted with include Ghana's Ayi Kwei Armah, the author of *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, *Why Are we so Blest?* and *Two Thousand Seasons*.

Mazrui bumps into Ngugi quite often in New York, as well as in the course of their international travel, giving lectures and attending academic conferences.

According to Mazrui, Ngugi's position about his own exile status is that he will not return to Kenya while the present Kanu regime is still in power.

"Ngugi is more revolutionary than I am, but I find that position rather extreme and I hope he will change his mind one of these days. I also don't mind the fact that Ngugi has in the past said some very nasty things about me because, after all, he was a student when I was a professor at Makerere, and as an older man I am quite prepared to tolerate his negative opinion about me!"

Mazrui takes issue with Ngugi's insistence that African writers should express themselves in their vernacular "instead of what he refers to as colonial Western ones." Mazrui recalls that just before Ngugi launched his Kikuyu language journal, *Mutiiri*, in the US, he had asked

the famous writer to consider making it bilingual, 'using both Kikuyu and Kiswahili, so as to reach wider audiences, but Ngugi would not hear of it.

Mazrui has also tussled ideologically with Wole who accused Mazrui of fronting for Islamic fundamentalism, which Mazrui vigorously denied in the pages of *Transition*, today edited by American Henry Louis Gates. who took over from Wole Soyinka himself.

"The only reason we as Africans are not unified is that we have miserably failed to recognise diversity in a way that does not militate against an over-

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riding sense of nationhood in our respective countries," Mazrui states in reaction to those who have criticised his crusade for greater cultural and social awareness among different ethnic and religious entities in Africa.

As a Kenyan Muslim married from both England and Nigeria and now living with his family in the US, Mazrui considers himself the embodiment of the triple heritage he talked about in his series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, which explored the implications of Western, African and Islamic influences on African civilisation.

It is perhaps telling that of Mazrui's five sons, only one is a Kenyan while the others hold American citizenship. The fact that today he himself teaches in five universities in three different continents in addition to attending conferences, workshops and seminars around the world makes Mazrui more or less the epitome of the world citizen. He has been referred to as 'the walking triple heritage - burdened by Africanity, Islam and the West!'

Kenyan pro-democracy campaigner and human rights activist, Prof Alamin Mazrui, is his nephew. Together they wrote the book on the importance of Kiswahili. Swahili State and Society: The Political Economy of an African Language. Alamin has edited numerous publications on human rights abuses, especially after political violence that jolted the Coast Province in the run-up to the General Election last December

Prof Ali Mazrui: "I told the Ghanaian Head of State some home truths about the more complex aspects of the brain-drain. We had a public exchange during which he was getting worked up about the issue. He got more and more angry as he spoke."

Prof Mazrui (second right) attends the African Leadership conference at the Hotel Inter-Continental in the early 1990s. He presented a paper on good governance in a multi-party democracy. The prolific writer is a frequent visitor to Nairobi and Mombasa, where he was born.

Prof Mazrui with his wife, Nigerian Elimah Pauline, and his sons (back row, from left) Kim, Al-Amin and Jamal - from his first marriage to Englishwoman Molly - and (in front) Haith and Farid, in a 1996 family photograph.

Prof Ngugi wa Thiong'o: Mazrui often urges him to visit Kenya but he won't budge

Screen star who's Kenyan by role

By MARGARETTA wa GACHERU

South African actress Connie Chiume has never been to Kenya. And yet Connie has already starred in two international feature films where she's played Kenyan women.

Connie played Kikuyu rural women although she confessed when we met in Pretoria recently, during the M-Net All Africa Film Awards, that she didn't know a word in Kikuyu, let alone Kiswahili.

But Columbia Pictures didn't care whether the lovely former secondary school teacher from Soweto spoke a Kenyan language or not.

"They were more concerned about my acting ability than where I came from," recalled Connie whose CV includes playing leading roles in upmarket stage musicals *Ipi Tombe* and *Porgy and Bess*.

Once Columbia decided to make into a film

Kuki Gallman's 1980s bestseller autobiography, *I Dreamed of Africa* - and to shoot the bulk of it in South Africa rather than in Kenya where the story was actually set - Connie was practically a shoe-in for the lead African role.

"Having just finished shooting another film about Kenyans called *The Air Up There*, in which

Actress Connie Chiume with Fats Bookholane who costarred in M-Net award-winning film *Chikin Biznis*

I played the mother of Charles Maina (a tall lad with a towering basketball talent), I was well known to the local casting agent who auditioned local actors for *I Dreamed of Africa*," said the actress.

"As far as I know, the producers had never planned to film Kuki's story in Kenya," said Connie. The Gallman film was made by the same people that produced another Kenyan film, *The Ghost and the Darkness*, which starred Val Kilmer and Michael Douglas and was also made in South Africa "due to the ease of making movies in my country as opposed to the complicated process that most producers claim exists in Kenya."

"In fact, they were quite adamant about not shooting the film in Kenya," said Connie, who noted the film crew had spent a little bit of time shooting in Kenya and Italy where Kuki originally comes from. "But most of the film was shot right here in KwaZulu Natal," added the actress who played Wanjiku opposite Kim Basinger, the Hollywood film star who just won an Academy Award for Best Actress in 1998 for her role in *LA Confidential*.

Nonetheless, Connie hopes to one day come to Kenya. "If Lake Naivasha looks anything like the 'ranch' constructed for Kuki's film at the Nyala Game Lodge beside the Umkhosi Palls, then the farm and the Kenya lake region must truly be beautiful," added the actress, who co-starred with Fats Bookholane in the South African film, *Chikin Biznis*, which won the Best Anglophone Film for 1998 at the M-Net awards.

Newsletter 24, Early 2000, Clouds of Controversy, Rays of Royalty

Early 2000

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 24

General Theme:

CLOUDS OF CONTROVERSY, RAYS OF ROYALTY

Sub-Themes:

I. Taking My Bride Home to Mombasa

II. Between the African Sovereign and the African Subject

111. Between Military Rulers and Indentured Labour

IV. Between Enslavement and Reparations

V. Between Islamic Democracy and Secular Servitude

VI. The Millennium and the Renaissance

VII. A Family Conclusion

by

Ali A. Mazrui

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. My home address is as follows:

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Even by my standards the concluding year of the twentieth century generated an exceptionally wide range of debates in my life. Was the difference in economic performance between Caribbean Africans and Caribbean Indians due to the difference between the consequences of slavery and the consequences of indentured labour? Was Africa still divided between coup-prone countries and coup-proof ones? Is homosexuality more dangerous than corruption in African societies? What is the nature of the gender-debate within Islam? Are African languages impediments for Africa's development - or are the languages the missing engine for development? Finally, were Africans mere collaborators in the trans-Atlantic slave trade - or were they the main enslavers of each other?

But 1999 had another paradoxical sub-theme in my life. On the one hand, I touched base with Royalty; and on the other, I engaged in the most heated debates on slavery in years. Royalty is a tradition of hereditary privilege; slavery is often a condition of hereditary servitude. In 1999 I found myself involved in both Royalty and assessment of slavery at different times.

Here is my last year of the twentieth century, for better or for worse!

I. Taking My Bride Home to Mombasa

Let us begin with the truly personal meaning of 1999 for the family - the most important events of the year for me. My Nigerian wife, Pauline (her other names are Maryam Ejimah) got her United States' green card (permanent residence) and was therefore able at long last to travel outside the United States. Since she and our two little boys had never been introduced to my family in Kenya, our first destination was my hometown of Mombasa. What a spectacular reception Maryam received from the women in my neighbourhood in Mombasa and all our friends!! One of the parties was held on a secluded beach - with tremendous Swahili cuisine, music and dancing. Our Islamic culture kept men at bay, while women sang and danced in private abandon!

Throughout the trip Pauline did me proud. She related to my people exceptionally well, and was soon in joking and laughing relationships with most of the women of her own age. I saluted her adaptability! She also looked radiant and beautiful. Of course, all my relatives called her Maryam rather than Pauline!

Pauline (Maryam) and I also took the children (Farid and Harith) on tourist expeditions including a safari where we sighted three lions, a couple of cheetahs, a dozen giraffes, a hyena, many zebras, up to a hundred elephants, and a variety of other fellow creatures. Our stay in Nairobi was much briefer than in Mombasa. But there too our relatives rose to the occasion and went beyond the call of duty to make Maryam and the kids feel welcome. Our deepest gratitude to all our family in Kenya. Huda Mazrui was the superb coordinator, bless her! The children of my three sisters (Salma, Nafisa and Aisha) were kept busy. My fourth sister, Alya, was the only one who was younger than me. So she herself was kept busy over our visit. Her daughter was away studying in the United States. As for my elder brother Harith, he entertained us with his wit, good humour and wise anecdotes.

The only part of the Kenya visit which was a nightmare was my last two hours. I lost my wallet, including my documents for returning to the United States. We discovered the loss at the Nairobi airport just before checking in. We searched the car in which I had arrived at the airport, sent somebody back to the Norfolk hotel in Nairobi, made a number of phone calls - in vain! Very painfully I decided to remain behind in Nairobi while sending Pauline and the children back to the United States. The kids were bewildered and upset that I was remaining behind, but there seemed to be no alternative! (Farid was seven years old and Harith was six.)

After Pauline and the children had left to board the plane, my Nairobi relatives and I decided to search the car one last time!! The whole incident had happened at night, and my wallet was completely black. But this time, 10 and behold, we did at last find the wallet, lodged underneath one of the seats in a very dark corner! !

We rushed back to the airport. The airline class on which my family was originally booked was now full. I got a seat in another class just a few minutes before the plane took off.

Pauline and the kids had no idea I was on board until long after we were airborne. I went looking for them, and we found each other at last, Alhamdu li Llah (the Lord be praised)!

II. Between the African Sovereign and the African Subject

My first public debate in East Africa in 1999 was not, however, in Kenya. It was in Uganda, another beloved country of mine. I had been invited by a project which was cosponsored by the Ugandan Parliament, the United States Agency for International Development and the State University of New York. The project was designed to strengthen the effectiveness of the Ugandan parliament. I was invited to be keynote speaker for a workshop on that theme. In my presentation I did distinguish between African countries which were coup-prone (like Uganda, Sudan and Nigeria) and African countries which were relatively coup-proof (like Zambia, South Africa, Senegal and Tanzania). I argued that in coup-prone countries a multiparty-system carried the risk of triggering off a military coup. This was widely interpreted as a defense of the "no-party state" which was preferred by the government of Yoweri Museveni.

My remarks unleashed a debate in Uganda which continued for weeks after I had left the country.

In reality I was simply pointing out the risks of multi-partyism in a coup-prone country, without prescribing whether or not the risks were worth taking. It was still open to a

thoroughgoing democrat to insist that multi-party democracy was what Uganda needed even if it carried risks. The African subject could insist on full democratic citizenship. Unbelievably, 1999 gave me a second opportunity to visit Uganda and to start a controversy on a dramatically different subject. For this second visit I was the guest of the Faculty of Law, Makerere University in Uganda, co-sponsored by the Ford Foundation. The conference in Uganda was on "Constitutionalism in Africa". My own topic was on "Cultural Engineering and Constitutional Change". The most controversial part of my lecture was on whether African governments should pay more attention to fighting economic corruption than to fighting homosexuality. My paper came against the background of recent gay-bashing speeches by the presidents of Uganda and Kenya, and in the context of earlier denunciations of homosexuality by the president of Zimbabwe. These Presidents had acted like arbitrary sovereigns!

While Africa could learn a lot from the West about freedom, Africa had more to teach the West about family. Africa should learn to understand its gay sons and daughters, not in the name of freedom, but in the name of family. Homosexuals too are The real threats to the African family are uncritical imitations of the West, heterosexual promiscuity, rapid urbanisation, and heterosexually transmitted diseases, including HIV! The issue was debated in the Uganda press for weeks.

During my stay in Uganda I was stopped once or twice by members of the small Black homosexual minority (I am assuming it is small). I did not know them, but they knew me from press coverage. They wanted to thank me for speaking up publicly about their rights. But my two visits to Uganda were not all about big public issues. The visits were also about meeting old friends and visiting old familiar places. Dr. Suleiman Kiggundu was a student at Makerere University when I was there as a professor and Dean of Social Sciences in the 1960s. Suleiman later came to the United States for graduate work. Today Suleiman is one of Uganda's leading economists and was for a while Governor of its Central Bank. Every time I have been to Uganda, Suleiman Kiggundu has been one of my pillars of support, although his own standing with the Uganda government of the day has, of course, fluctuated.

Another former Makerere student was Akiiki Mujaju. While Suleiman Kiggundu has always been a gracious fan of mine, Akiiki Mujaju was profoundly ambivalent about me. He once even wrote to UNESCO to denounce me!! And yet in 1998, when I visited Makerere under other auspices, and he occupied my old office as Head of the Department of Political Science, Akiiki Mujaju was gracious and charming. We sat together in my old office and talked like old friends. Of course, neither of us realized that barely a year later Akiiki Mujaju (at least ten years my junior) would be dead in a road crash in Uganda. I was shocked and bewildered when I learnt about his sudden death. But upon reflection I was glad that at least in 1998, in my old office at Makerere in Uganda, Akiiki and I parted as friends.

What is Uganda to me? Africa often allows a man to be polygamous! When it comes to countries, I have been married to five - Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, the United Kingdom and the United States. Those are the five countries in which I have actually lived.

But how does marriage to countries relate to man-iage to women? Autobiographically, I have been married to women from TWO of the countries in which I had lived. I was once married to a woman from the United Kingdom, and I am now married to a Nigerian. My English wife, Molly (Muna), gave me three great sons. My Nigerian wife, Pauline (Maryam), has given two equally great sons.

Between those two marriages there was a third special relationship to Uganda. Whenever I go to Uganda I try to meet Nalongo (mother of twins), who nearly became my own mama once upon a time. Two daughters of hers had been very close to me in Michigan in the 1980s, in-between my two marriages. One daughter subsequently got married to another man. The other daughter tragically died at the tender age of twenty-three. But Nalongo and I have continued to have a special relationship as friends. In jest she says she still wishes I had become her son-in-law!! We laugh about it! Of course, I am now happily married to somebody else. So is her eldest daughter! But Nalongo and I tease each other lovingly. The other sub-theme of my 1999 is between Royalty and servitude. When I was in Uganda arrangements were made for me to meet with Kabaka (King) Mutebi II of Buganda. It was a special year for him. He graciously invited me to his wedding in August. But the date coincided with the beginning of the academic year at Binghamton University, and I therefore begged to be excused. As it turned out, I really missed out on a spectacular event. The wedding in Kampala was a glittering and dazzling success. My loss! After all, how often does one get invited to a Royal extravaganza? The Kabaka's subjects relished the event to the full!

Let us now turn to a different Royal house. Did you know that Queen Elizabeth II of England first became queen on Kenyan soil? This was because she was in Kenya when her father, George VI, died in February 1952. "The King is dead; long live the Queen!" She became queen immediately although the formal coronation took place the following year.

Well, this particular Kenyan, Ali Mazrui, did not meet Her Majesty until 1999!! I was in London as a guest of the London School of Economics. There was no plan to introduce me to the Queen. It just so happened that she was paying an official visit to London House, where I was accommodated during my visit. Queen Elizabeth and I exchanged a few words of greetings. We referred to Kenya, where I was born and where her reign began! In a more official capacity I had met her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, much earlier in my life. My third Royal encounter of 1999 concerned Princess Elizabeth Bagaya of Toro. We had known each other, on and off, since my Makerere years. If Winnie Mandela was the most famous African woman of the 1980s, Elizabeth Bagaya was the most famous of the 1970s. She served as Uganda's ambassador to the United Nations and later as Uganda's Foreign Minister. She was previously famous both as a lawyer and as a model for fashion magazines. (She is still beautiful and well preserved.)

When Princess Elizabeth was visiting New York State in 1999 she was gracious enough to include Binghamton in her itinerary. We were delighted to welcome her to our humble home

and to have an African luncheon with her. One member of my household (Goretti Mugambwa) is in fact from Toro. So, in a manner of speaking, part of Princess Elizabeth's kingdom in Uganda was also part of Ali Mazrui's family in Binghamton, New York!

III. Between Military Rulers and Indentured Labour

Military rule is not royalty, though it often behaves as if it were. Military rule came to an end in Nigeria in 1999 after Olesegun Obasanjo was elected president. Paradoxically, Obasanjo was himself a former general and indeed a former military ruler - the first such ruler in Africa to step down voluntarily from power. He relinquished military power in 1979 to the democratically elected government of al-Haji Shehu Shagari. Twenty years later it was General Obasanjo's turn to become democratically elected and receive the reins of

power from another military ruler, General Abdulsalami Abubakar.

Just before General Obasanjo's Inauguration a workshop was organized in Abuja, Nigeria, about the principles of good governance. The host was President-elect Obasanjo and his victorious political party. Our hosts decided to have two keynote speakers at the workshop - one with extensive experience in governance (Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, former President of Tanzania) and the other with presumed extensive experience in the study of governance (Ali Mazrui).

In my case the trip to Abuja for the workshop was a logistical nightmare. My starting point had to be Trinidad no earlier than May 22nd. I was to be in Abuja in time to give my lecture at the Obasanjo workshop in the morning of May 25th. And then I had to be in Scotland, to give a keynote address at the University of Edinburgh on May 26, 1999. I made it for the lecture in Nigeria (May 25th) and the lecture for my Scottish friends in Edinburgh (May 26th) by the skin of my teeth. It was a privilege to have played a part, however academic, in launching this new phase of Nigeria's democracy. Julius Nyerere and I were addressing newly elected members of parliament and senate, and the prospective Cabinet of the new administration.

Surrounded by our Nigerian brothers and sisters, Nyerere and I chatted away in Kiswahili. He appeared to be his old self, and showed no signs of being specially ill. A few months later Mwalimu Nyerere died in a London hospital. I was deeply shaken by his death.

Nyerere had been one African leader who, when in power, resisted so hard the pomp and ceremony of royalty or quasi-royalty. He resisted what has been called "the monarchical tendency in African political culture". He tried so hard to discourage a personality-cult around him, lived relatively modestly, tried to impose a Leadership Code of abstinence on all his colleagues, discouraged the cult of portraits of him everywhere (not very successfully), explicitly condemned the concept of "life-presidency", and stepped down voluntarily from power at the height of his authority in 1985. This was one African president who explicitly declined to become "Sultan Nyerere I". No wonder he translated Shakespeare's Julius Caesar into Kiswahili - in which Caesar is claimed to have turned down the offer of a crown three times. "Was that

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ambition?... Ambition should be made of sterner stuff."

The other side of this coin of ambition, power and royalty is the theme of servitude. In 1999 I got involved in at least two debates concerning servitude and slavery. One debate was in the Caribbean and was sparked off by two lectures I gave in Trinidad and Tobago. The other debate was mainly in the United States and was sparked off by Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Skip

Gates) in his television series, WONDERS OF THE AFRICAN WORLD (BBC-PBS, 1999).

In Trinidad and Tobago I was primarily the guest of the Central Bank of the country, which sponsors an annual lecture named after Eric Williams (1911-1981), the founder Prime Minister of the country. My topic for the Bank was "The Dual Society on the Eve of the New Millennium: From Rwanda and Cyprus to Trinidad and Tobago". (The lecture was sometimes advertised by the Bank under a modified title.) The lecture was attended by major dignitaries of Trinidad and by foreign ambassadors. My wife, Pauline, was also an official guest of the Central Bank.

But my more explosive lecture was the one I gave at the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, sponsored by the Institute of Social Research, whose Director was my old

friend Selwyn Ryan. My lecture at the University was on the theme "Africa and India as Mothers of Diasporas: Comparisons and Contrasts."

Trinidad itself was a dual-diaspora country, consisting of Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians. In my lecture I suggested that one of the reasons why Afro-Trinidadians had performed worse in the economy than Indians was because the damage of enslavement (to which Blacks had been subjected) was more devastating than the damage of indenture labour (to which Indo-Trinidadians had been subjected). This proposition was debated in the country's mass media for weeks long after I had left the country. Friends sent me clippings of the debate, parts of it extremely rude to me!! Indo-Trinidadians were particularly offended by my proposition because it seemed to deny them well-deserved credit for their economic achievements. I certainly did not intend to minimize the importance of their achievements. I was simply comparing the consequences of two historic evils (indentured labour versus outright enslavement).

IV. Between Enslavement and Reparations

My next big debate about servitude was triggered off by Skip Gates' television series later in the year in the United States. Wonders of the African World went to great lengths to portray Africans as slave-dealers selling each other. The TV series had next to no discussion about the role of the white man in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. I wrote what turned out to be the first major critique of the TV series, and e-mailed it to some twenty friends. But the Internet as a system then took over. My critique was disseminated beyond my wildest intentions. I got hundreds of e-mails in response.

Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel Laureate, reacted in a less than intelligent manner. While admitting that he had not seen the series, he attacked me for criticizing it! Talk of trying to kill the messenger without even bothering to read the message! How could Soyinka know I was not justified in attacking Gates' television series if Soyinka had not even seen the series?

Of course Soyinka might have thought that by attacking Gates' series, I was trying to protect an income from my own TV series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. Somebody should tell Wole that I receive not a single penny from either the BBC or PBS for either the television series or the videos which continue to be sold. For better or for worse, the BBC convinced me in the 1980s that since the BBC was a non-profit organization, I could best serve the cause of future television programmes on Africa if I was only paid when we were filming and not paid future royalties. I have therefore not been paid by either the BBC or PBS for *The Africans* since the end of 1986.

It follows therefore that Skip Gates' television series is not a threat to me personally in the least. It is a threat to wider societal concerns. If enough African Americans were to believe that the main cause of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was Africans selling each other, this could do irreparable damage to relations between African Americans and their ancestral continent. That has always been my main worry about Gates' TV series.

My own family background combines the theme of both royalty and enslavement. In the course of the debate about the Gates' television series I had occasion to refer to what I had said in programme 4 of *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*.

"My own extended family is mixed. We are descended from both masters and slaves, rulers and subjects."

The Mazrui were governors of Mombasa for 139 years in all, but they were autonomous rulers independent of both Oman and Zanzibar especially from 1735 to 1837.

In 1999 I took my youngest children (Farid and Harith) not only to Mombasa but to the historic Fort Jesus from which the Mazrui ruled Mombasa for much of that period. The Fort is now a museum, complete with a light-and-sound show in the evening. Of course, we also saw the Mazrui Hall within the Fort. Very briefly we re-lived the regal side of the family's ancestry.

"How are the mighty fallen!"

1999 also witnessed a wider academic interest in the history of the Mazrui. I received enquiries from researchers in Europe and the United States who were working on Mazrui writers across the generations (my grandfather, my father, my nephew and others.) To my surprise this particular project initially envisaged leaving out Ali A. Mazrui altogether, in spite of the fact that he has been the most prolific writer of them all!! Or was it because he was so prolific? Or perhaps Ali Mazrui was being left out because he wrote overwhelmingly in a European language? However, I was assured that language was not the reason. What then was the reason?

I understand the researchers have decided to "go back to the drawing board and review the situation"! Whether or not they change their minds about Ali Mazrui, it was a very curious decision in the first place! What could possibly have been the logic behind it?

A.B. Assensoh, the Ghanaian scholar at Indiana University, also developed a new interest in the Mazrui as a scholarly family in 1999. He moved relatively fast in his interest, and completed a conference paper for the annual meeting of the African Studies Association in Philadelphia. He hopes to develop the study further in the new millennium!

A young Egyptian PhD student at the University of Illinois, Ahmed Salem, presented a paper on "Ali A. Mazrui as an Islamicist" at the annual Binghamton conference on "Philosophy and Social Thought" in October 1999. Young Mr. Salem focused on the Islamic side of Mazrui's work, but claimed that Islam had been a constant feature of Mazrui's work rather than a recent development.

In 1999 I also received an enquiry from a graduate student in the Sultanate of Oman.

This student's dissertation was neither on the Mazrui family as a whole, nor on myself. The Omani student's dissertation was on my father, Sheikh al-Amin bin Aly Mazrui. The student asked for material about my father, including any photographs. We sent him what we could. Presumably the Omani dissertation was to be in the Arabic language.

Closer at home in Kenya was the work on my father in Kiswahili by Ghalib Yusuf Tamim, one of my nephews. He wanted me to write a Preface or Introduction to his short but solid study about my father. More comprehensive in ambition was the work of Njuguna Mutonya entitled "The Mazrui: Fiercely Independent Warriors" which Mutonya was writing for the Daily Nation in Nairobi as a special report in their series of articles under MILLENNIUM COUNTDOWN. Part of Mutonya's work was published in the Daily Nation in November 1999.

My third son, Kim Forde Mazrui (a professor of law at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville) was doing research neither on ancestry nor on royalty in 1999. But he did share a research interest in the long term consequences of enslavement and racism for African

Americans. How do we measure the impact of historical forces on present-day realities? As a professor of law Kim was particularly intrigued by the legal implications of racial disadvantages which seemed to have historical causes going back several generations.

When Kim and his son Will visited us in Binghamton in the last week of 1999, we continued

this discussion.

Although Kim's research interests were different from mine, they were related to some of the concerns of the Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) appointed by the Organization of African Unity to look into the case for reparations for Black enslavement and subjugation. I and eleven others were "sworn in" before Africa's presidents in 1992 in Senegal to serve as members of the GEP on Reparations.

In the new millennium the TransAfrica Forum in the United States, a Pan-African organization led by Randall Robinson in Washington, D.C., is entering the reparations debate more firmly. Also in the new millennium I am delighted that my old friend, Henry Louis Gates Jr., has declared himself more clearly on the side of reparations on CNN Millennial programs. Skip Gates is an important ally for such a cause, and has imaginative ideas on methods of compensation which deserve careful study and discussion. If I had underestimated his commitment to the crusade for reparations, I do apologise. However, his TV thesis about Africans selling each other was a blow to the cause of reparations from the West.

My old fellow members of the GEP on reparations - Professor Jacob Ade Ajayi from Nigeria and Ambassador Dudley Thompson from Jamaica - came as usual to the U.S. annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA). But this year (in Philadelphia) we did not organize a special panel on reparations. Instead there were two panels to honour the work of

Jacob Ajayi himself on his 70th birthday. The issue of reparations featured in those two panels.

Also at the ASA in Philadelphia, the impromptu session on Skip Gates' TV series which was organized hurriedly by the President of the Association, Professor Lansine Kaba turned out to be a spectacular and lively session. The session generated heated debate on slavery, including the issue of reparations. President Lansine Kaba cast me as keynote speaker at the session.

My third presentation at the 1999 ASA convention was to pay homage to the late President Julius K. Nyerere at a special session held to mark his sad demise. The topic of "Nyerere" was also the one I addressed at the annual meeting of the African Heritage Studies

Association (AHSa) which this last year was once again hosted by the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. As part of my AHSa presentation we also showed a video of extracts about Nyerere from my TV series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. The AHSa convention of 1999 was partly to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell, which was born out of the Black Studies revolution of the 1960s.

The Institute for African Development at Cornell University hosts "an Evening with Ali Mazrui" every year. Dr. Joan Mulondo organizes these evenings. All Cornell Africanists and African students are invited, and some come with delicious African dishes for the buffet. After the dinner I stait a discussion on a topical theme. In 1999 I spoke on "Comparative Catastrophies: Rwanda and Kosovo". This whole concept of "an Evening with Ali Mazrui" is both an excuse for getting together and a basis for serious discussion about Africa and world affairs. Ruzima Sebuharara gave me a ride to Cornell that evening in 1999.

There is an older and more state-wide Africanist institution in the State of New York and that is the New York African Studies Association (NYASA). Since I am an elder statesman

among Africanists in the State of New York, every year I am called upon to play a special plenary role at the annual meetings of NYASA. In 1999 at the convention at SUNY-Oswego I was once again banquet speaker for NYASA. Bless them all.

The International Studies Association held its 1999 convention in Washington, D.C.. Specialists on International Development had launched a special award for a Distinguished Senior Scholar in the field. I was honoured to receive the 1999 Distinguished Award. At the session there were moving tributes from colleagues in international development, in Islamic studies, in the field of North-South relations and in World Order Studies. It was more than I deserved.

However, the organizers had over-estimated the size of my fan-club in the International Studies Association!! So the hall was much larger than the crowd that turned up! !

I had a much bigger audience when I addressed a luncheon of the National Summit on Africa (eastern division), held in Baltimore. But on this occasion we were honouring Africa rather than merely Ali Mazrui! In any case, I shared the platform with a U.S. Senator, a U.S. Congressman, an African Bishop and African-American leaders of the National Summit on Africa.

What is the National Summit on Africa? It is a movement seeking to arouse the conscience and deepen the consciousness of America towards Africa. I am privileged to serve on its Board of Directors.

As for my old affiliation with the World Order Models Project, I have maintained contact with Saul Mendlovitz of Rutgers and Richard Falk of Princeton. Old and dear friends. The struggle continues.

V. Between Islamic Democracy. and Secular Servitude

My Islamic agenda for 1999 also included issues of royalty and power, as well as issues of servitude. I was elected as the first Chair of a new organization called Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy (CSID) based in Washington, D.C.. The organization has initiated a newsletter called the Muslim Democrat, a series of lectures in Washington, D.C. on a subject connected with "Islam and Democracy", and panel discussions at relevant conferences on that broad theme. The Vice-Chair of CSID is Professor John Esposito, himself a Roman Catholic but one of the leading experts in the world on political Islam. The Executive Director of the new Center is Dr. Radwan Masmoudi, a Tunisian-American, who can be reached for information at the following numbers:

Office Phone: 202/251-3036 e-mail: radwan.masmoudi@gte.net

I plunged into an Islamic debate with my paper on "Islam and Democracy: Natural Allies or Strange Bedfellows?" which I presented under joint auspices of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy and Middle Eastern Studies Association, in Washington, D.C.. In the presentation I distinguished between aspects of Islam which were "democracy-friendly" (such as shura or the principle of consultative governance) and aspects which were "democracy-challenging" (such as the status of women in Muslim culture). I also discussed Muslim monarchies and whether or not they were undergoing democratisation.

I repeated parts of this analysis in my longer presentation at Wilton Park, Sussex, England, where I was keynote speaker at an international conference on "Islam and the West in the 21 st Century". The Wilton Park conference was attended by diplomats, princes, scholars and journalists from a wide range of countries. In my keynote address I also discussed the paradox of why Muslim monarchies were uniformly and unanimously pro-

Western (in foreign policy) but hardly ever Westernised (in cultural assimilation).

At a different time in England in 1999 I attended the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies to which I had been unanimously elected. Once again there was royalty. The Oxford Board includes both scholars (Western and Muslim) and royalty (mainly from the Muslim world). Britain's Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, is a patron of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. Prince Charles' lecture at Oxford on "Islam and the West" has been widely disseminated in both English and Arabic by the Oxford Centre. Alas, I was not able to attend the lecture. On the other hand, I lectured on "Islam and Africa" at the University of Edinburgh in 1999. It was the annual Royal Africa Society lecture.

Did you know that the House of Lords in London now has a Muslim peer? Lord Nazir Ahmad is the first and only Muslim "His Lordship" in the emerging British aristocracy. Lord Ahmad attended the 1999 annual convention of the American Muslim Council held in Washington, D.C. It was a pleasure meeting him. It was Lord Ahmad and his aides who invited me to consider having one of my future books launched within the House of Lords. In 1999 I was not able to attend the autumn conference of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), which this last year was attended by some eighteen thousand Muslims. However, the ISNA's special issue of the magazine for the conference carried my article entitled "The Qur'an between Doubt and Devotion" which was a response to an article by Toby Lester published by the Atlantic Monthly earlier in the year.

I did manage to attend the smaller summer conference of ISNA on the dual themes of "Islam in America" and "Islam in American Prisons". I was the banquet speaker for this summer convention of ISNA in Columbus, Ohio. Among the extra benefits was my meeting such Ohio State University friends as Isaac Mowoe, Okey Onyejekwe, Alamin M. Mazrui and (visiting briefly) A.B. Assensoh. I also met with some members of their families.

In 1999 I accepted an invitation from Georgetown University to serve on the Academic Council of their Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding - a body whose mission is 'to explore the Christian and Islamic histories in their mutual engagements, discuss the role of religion in international affairs ... and foster scholarly contributions to peace and mutual understanding in a religiously divided world.' [I have summarised the Center's mission.] The Director is Professor John L. Esposito.

The Center has been truly and impressively successful, and it is another honour for me to serve on its Academic Council. The Center has received in 1999 a grant of \$1,250,000 (one and a quarter million dollars) from the PEW Charitable Trusts to conduct research on Muslims in the United States. The research project is coordinated by Professor Sulayman S. Nyang (originally from Gambia) and Dr. Zahid H. Bukhari (originally from Pakistan).

In 1999 I continued to serve as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Muslim Council (AMC), with its headquarters in Washington, D.C.. The AMC is primarily an institution of political education and lobbying on behalf of Muslims among policy-makers and opinion-makers in the United States. Among its more public roles in 1999 was its participation in Jesse Jackson's mission to Serbia in the middle of the Kosovo war, to appeal for the release of American prisoners of war. The President of AMC, Dr. Nazir Khaja, also made it a point to meet with Muslims in Belgrade and hear their concerns, and transmit some of those anxieties to the Yugoslav authorities.

President Khaja and Executive Director, Aly R. Abuzaakouk, also played a part in making possible the iftar (breaking the fast) between American Muslims and Secretary of State

Madeleine K. Albright. I personally did not make it to the supper with the Secretary of State, but I was among the Muslims who received a letter from President Bill Clinton wishing us a blessed and happy fast of Ramadhan. Islam is becoming increasingly accepted as part of mainstream American pluralism and diversity. Indeed, in the year 2000, the President of the United States commemorated the end of Ramadhan with American Muslims at the White House - the first Presidential Eid el Fitr in U.S. history!

I continued my role as Ibn Khaldun Professor-at-Large at the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, in Leesburg, Virginia. I experimented with two new courses - a minicourse in the spring term on "Islam in Global Africa" (or "Islam in the Black World"). I also taught a more comprehensive course in the fall of 1999 on "Islam and the West". I hope to teach this same comprehensive course at Binghamton University in the year 2000. My experiences in Leesburg will help me in Binghamton - and vice versa.

The word "crusade" has now entered the English language for any kind of dedicated campaign. But our Islamic activities at Binghamton in 1999 included hosting an international conference on the original crusades!! We conferred on "THE CRUSADES: NINE CENTURIES LATER". Although I am not even remotely a specialist on that period of Islamic history, I was cast in the role of one of the keynote speakers to open the conference. I was flattered by the request, but made my presentation brief. My Institute of Global Cultural Studies co-sponsored the conference, but the real organizers and hosts were the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and the indefatigable Professor Khalil Semaan.

The Crusades were one period of world history when Jews and Muslims were on one side, defending themselves against Christians, on the other. In that respect some of the presentations at the conference were very powerful indeed.

Islam also featured at another conference which our Institute of Global Cultural Studies co-sponsored at Binghamton in 1999 - our annual October conference, coordinated by Parviz Morewedge and the Department of Philosophy. But a much bigger theme than Islam at this October conference was ancient Greece. The whole Binghamton campus was celebrating Greece in the autumn of 1999. The atmosphere took me back to the early days of my academic career when I was made a full professor at Makerere University in Uganda (which was then part of a region-wide federal University of East Africa, with a campus each in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as in Uganda). Newly appointed professors were expected to give an Inaugural lecture. I chose to speak in 1967 on the following topic: Ancient Greece in African Political Thought.

At the Binghamton conference thirty-two years later I returned to some of those themes, but of course with some further reflections. I grappled with Greece and the Black experience, rather than Islam and the African experience.

On the other hand, Kosovo featured strongly in our conference at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the U.S. Institute for Peace and Binghamton University. In reality the Bellagio conference was about peacekeeping, peacebuilding and demilitarization in Africa. My Associate Director, Ricardo Laremont, managed to assemble a remarkable combination of scholars, soldiers and diplomats to explore the vexed question of peacekeeping and prospects for development in Africa. The war in Kosovo was still going on in June 1999 at another level, and provided moral and political contrasts to our debates about Rwanda and other African conflict-situations. The Bellagio conference will yield a book based on the stimulating papers presented there on a theme which, more than thirty years earlier, I had called "Pax Africana" in another book

published in 1967.

But can there be peace without justice? At the annual meeting of the African Heritage Studies Association at Cornell, Dr. Boubacar N'Diaye from Mauritania called for a condemnation of alleged slavery in Sudan and in his home country. Although I was the keynote speaker at that banquet session, I did not take part in the discussions on slavery. How was the Sudanese civil war affected?

Brother Boubacar N'Diaye subsequently wrote to me directly to call for my public condemnation of "slavery" in Sudan and Mauritania. On Mauritania there was little disagreement between Brother Boubacar and myself. There were forms of servitude and forced labor in Mauritania which deserved to be condemned.

But with regard to Sudan I felt that the real culprit was the civil war. If we could end the civil war tomorrow, we could end enslavement the day after tomorrow. The war was not an excuse for slavery, but it was a cause of it. In Sudan both the war and the enslavement were wrong.

On the other hand, I do not think Westerners should go around "buying slaves" in front of cameras in the Sudan. Such exercises become pure theatre! Indeed, how can we even be sure

that "the slave purchase scene" has not been entirely staged by both Arab and Black Sudanese to "make a buck" out of credulous Westerners? The Arab "slavers" and the Black "slaves" may in reality be friendly co-conspirators, staging something to get money from rich Westerners, however well intentioned! Poor people have to survive even if they have to resort to cynical theatrics!

However, Brother Boubacar N'Diaye [himself a Mauritanian Muslim] is embarked on a just cause if the "crusade" is against the injustices of servitude, forced labour and violations of human rights. We wish him progress in that mission.

VI. The Millennium and the Renaissance

Who was "the African of the Millennium"? The African Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) invited nominations from listeners throughout much of 1999. There were dozens if not hundreds of such nominations. The BBC broadcast some of those choices in the course of the year.

By the end of the year the BBC contacted me to let me know that the three most popular choices for the title of "African of the Millennium" were all from the second half of the twentieth century, and all three were former Heads of State. The most popular was Kwame Nkrumah, founder-president of post-colonial Ghana; the next was Nelson Mandela, first Black President of South Africa; and the third was Nnamdi Azikiwe (Zik), founder-president of independent

Nigeria. Although I had a high opinion of Dr. Azikiwe, I must admit that I was quite surprised to learn that he had been the third most popular choice for the title of "African of the Millennium". He was much less known than either Nkrumah or Mandela, and his impact on the twentieth century seemed more modest. Among 20th century African leaders, people like Leopold Senghor, Julius K. Nyerere and Gamal Abdul Nasser seemed far more obvious.

But my Nigerian friends should be reassured that I did not let Zik down in the end-of-year BBC interview on this matter. My main complaint on the BBC was that listeners were choosing excessively from the second half of the twentieth century and excessively from

among leading political figures.

The BBC then wanted to know who was my choice of "African of the Millennium". I insisted on distinguishing between "person of action" and "person of thought" - and choosing one of each. I selected for my African of action Shaka Zulu (1787-1828), the brutal but brilliant empire-builder, who rose from being an "illegitimate child" in a small Zulu clan to being the most celebrated "Black Napoleon" in history. Of no other military leader in Africa's history has so much been written and analysed and composed. There have been poems, plays, television programmes as well as history books about Shaka. I told the BBC that Shaka was my African of Action for this past millennium. My theme of Royalty persisted!

As for my choice of the African of thought for the millennium, I chose Ibn Khaldun, the genius who was born in Tunis in 1332, and lived to become the father of the historical method in the social sciences in all civilizations. Arnold Toynbee, himself a great macro-historian, described Ibn Khaldun's *Al-Mugaddimah* as "a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place." Ibn Khaldun had Royal patrons, but worked for science.

The clarion call for an African Renaissance in the last year of the twentieth century came not from the country of my greatest African of thought (Tunisia) but from the country of my greatest African of action (South Africa). I linked those two countries implicitly by giving a paper in Tunisia on "The African Renaissance and the Triple Legacy of Skills, Language and Gender". The auspices were under the African Academy of Sciences, an Africa-wide academic and scientific organisation, whose headquarters were in Nairobi but whose meetings were held in different parts of Africa.

The concept of 'African Renaissance' has been popularised by President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa in recent times. Later in 1999 I was invited to a conference entirely on that theme of "The African Renaissance", sponsored by the Africa Centre in London, England. The most important speaker at the London conference was the Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Honourable Jacob Zuma. I was at best second fiddle! Dr. Zuma spoke eloquently.

Also at the London conference there took place the British launching of Abdul S. Bemath's annotated bibliography of all my works - the book entitled *The Mazruiana Collection*:

An Annotated Bibliography ... 1962-1997 (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers; New Jersey: Africa World Press; Johannesburg: Foundation for Global Dialogue, 1998). Abdul Bemath, the editor and compiler, came to London from South Africa specially for the occasion. However, I believe it was a mistake to have linked the launching of the *Mazruiana Collection* to a hectic one-day conference devoted to some other concerns. We had had the alternative of having the book launched in the House of Lords. On reflection after the event, I do believe Abdul Bemath and I should have accepted the House of Lords' option. Perhaps there will be another opportunity among their Lordships? Who knows?

At the conference of the African Academy of Sciences in Tunisia I experienced a very unusual honour. I was called upon to represent the family of Marcus Garvey, the great Pan Africanist (1887-1940) who led a Back-to-Africa movement in the United States in the years between the two World wars. In 1999 the African Academy of Sciences [consisting overwhelmingly of African physicists, chemists and biologists] voted to award Marcus Garvey a posthumous Award of Distinguished Service to Africa. On behalf of the Garvey family, I received the award from the Academy in Tunisia and then took it to Dr. Julius

Garvey, Marcus Garvey's son, in New York.

One more word about Tunisia, the land where Ibn Khaldun was born and where Marcus Garvey was honoured by African scientists. Tunisia is the country where the name "AFRICA"

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probably originated. The name "Africa" originated from a Berber language, and was once applied only to what is today Tunisia before "Africa" became the name of a whole continent.

Tunisia gave us Ibn Khaldun and gave us the name of our continent. Our salute to all Tunisians!

VII. A Family Conclusion

My son, Kim, and his son, Will, refused to be intimidated by Y2K!! Pretty close to the New Millennium they boarded a plane from Charlottesville, Virginia, through Pittsburgh, to Binghamton, New York, to welcome the new Millennium with us! I was more scared on their behalf than they were!

Kim and Will also refused to be intimidated by Y2K on their way back to Kim's wife, Kay, who had remained behind in Charlottesville to entertain her mother. Kim and Will flew back home to Virginia on January 2nd through Philadelphia, totally unconcerned!! Kim's Dad was full of admiration!

I wonder if the only Y2K glitch this year was that the Mazrui family in Kenya and the United States celebrated the end of Ramadhan on three entirely different days for the first time in decades!! Disagreement about the sighting of the new moon on two different evenings is not unusual. But disagreement covering three evenings was a truly Y2K glitch!! We were split three ways!

Let me conclude with additional items of family news. My second son, Al 'Amin, and his wife Jill celebrated their first wedding anniversary (December 26) romantically in a secluded holiday resort on the West Coast. In 1999 Jill completed all the requirements for her Masters degree in English and Multicultural Education at California State University. She may become Vice-Principal of a middle school in the course of the year 2000.

I wish I could say that Al 'Amin had completed his M.A. in Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley, but he seems to have put that on the back-burner. Al 'Amin has been moderately active as an entrepreneur on-line and active recruiting for Macy's, the major chain store. He and Jill seem to be truly happy, which is of course the main thing. They also seem to be working hard in areas which interest them.

Although my first son, Jamal, lost virtually all his sight in the 1980s, the optic nerve seems to have retained for him changing colours and shapes which are in his brain rather than in the real world. Unfortunately these colours and shapes are always there and can never be switched off except when he is fast asleep. They are very disconcerting.

Mercifully, Jamal is a very brave and determined young man. In spite of these problems he has graduated from two of the best universities in the world (Princeton and Harvard). However, if there is any friend who knows anything about such residual colours and shapes in the brain of a blind person, please get in touch with me, and I can arrange consultations with Jamal.

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My son did not ask me to make this appeal on his behalf, but this Newsletter goes to a lot of my friends, and there may be someone with relevant information.

Jamal's friend, Maria, lost her mother to cancer soon after Christmas in 1999.

Symbolically, Maria's great lady just missed the new millennium by a couple of days or so. Our deepest condolences to Maria and other members of her family! These events are always so painful when they happen. We hope Jamal is also taking it bravely.

In 1999 my youngest sons, Farid and Harith, left the campus pre-school completely and joined the Vestal Hills Elementary School. Seven year old Farid was born on January 14, Albert Schweitzer's birthday. (Farid's Dad is Albert Schweitzer professor at Binghamton.) Six year old

Harith was born on August 28, Omari H. Kokole's birthday. (Omari was Associate Director to

Harith's Dad at Binghamton before Omari died suddenly a few days after his own birthday in 1996.) I celebrated my tenth anniversary at Binghamton in the fall of 1999, the last year of the century. Time plays its own inscrutable games with our lives.

In terms of weekly communication my nephew Alamin M. Mazrui, a professor at the Ohio State University, has been in closer touch with me than almost any of my children, or any of my siblings. Alamin and I have been on the phone with each other two or three times every week, and have collaborated on two books and several professional articles.

There was one very distinctive event in 1999. Alamin drove all the way to Binghamton in the company of two African twins - Ousseina and Hassana Alidou. They were both academics and both women, working in the United States but originally from the Francophone Republic of Niger in West Africa. The twins wanted to talk to me about an unusual project they wished to embark upon. They wanted to write at least one scholarly article and conceivably even a whole book on ALI MAZRUI AND THE GENDER QUESTION. Scattered in my many writings are not only my views about women but also my views about masculinity in society. The two ladies wanted to have a crack at that sub-theme of Mazruiana.

As it happened, one of my women-students at Cornell in 1999 chose to address the topic of "Ali Mazrui on Gender" in one of her own term papers. She was very critical of my approach. My professorial colleague in the course, who graded the paper, described it as "EXCELLENT" and gave it an A grade! I did not change the grade before returning the paper to the student, but I did add a few comments in defence of the much-maligned Ali Mazrui! ! (Joking apart, it was indeed a stimulating critique - even if I did not agree with it!)

Goretti Mugambwa (A Ugandan-Canadian) and her thirteen year old daughter, Maria, continued to live with us in Binghamton. Goretti did so well as an undergraduate at Binghamton University that she entered the Dean's List. As for her daughter, one of Maria's piano performances was held at a neighborhood church. We attended. She was great there. She is also doing very well at school!

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My administrative staff, Nancy Levis and Barbara Tierno, continued to have excellent rapport with my family. And among academic colleagues, my family was in almost constant interaction with Ricardo Laremont and Lisa Yun, Parviz and Rosmarie Morewedge, Nkiru Nzegwu and her daughters (Uzamaka and Azuka) and Ruzima Sebuharara and his wife, Andrea. God bless them all.

My mother-in-law returned to Nigeria in 1999 after nine months with us. My little children and I miss her a lot. We speak on the phone from time to time. My study (where she slept)

still has her presence. She lives among my books, as well as in our hearts. Bless her.
-18-

YOUR Weekender.

Feted abroad, shunned at home

Prof Ali Mazrui talks about the price he's had to pay for his fiercely independent stand which saw him buck dictatorial tendencies in Kenya and Uganda in the 1970s

By NJUGUNA MUTONYA

day before he was installed as Nigeria's Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo invited two of Africa's prominent sons to talk with his MPs, Governors and other leaders on the evils of corruption and bad governance. One of them was the unassuming poet, diplomat and Tanzanian former President Dr Julius Kambarage Nyerere of the Ujamaa Socialist experiment

The other was a Mombasa-born political scientist, prolific author on global issues and history who for many years has been from his international lecturing circuits into the Manor Hotel where a suite would be readied for him and his bulky accompaniment of books and academic papers. Here he would receive his family friends and fellow scholars as well as journalists who would visit as news of his arrival was made public. If he was in Mombasa, we knew -he was at Manor and you could easily bounce off questions on the local political situation and any other global events and his answers have always been quick, witty and global. It is a pleasure any time to drink from his well of knowledge whether you agree with him ideologically or not. For years, family members used country to take advantage of the chances that have presented themselves to us. Prof Mazrui said that stability of a country should not be mistaken for durability of a regime. "Excessive durability of a regime can, dry up ideas, cause decay and destruction of the elite. Uganda which has had eight governments since independence has had too little durability while Kenya with only two has had too much. Opposite extremes!" He said that 10 years of two terms for the President make good sense. "What we need is a constitutional cut-off line. We can then honour them after retirement and

persecution and Intellectual suffocation in his homeland decades ago.

That Africa's biggest democracy could shower such respect on a local son who barely gets a chance to be recognised is a tragedy. Talk of the prophet who is never recognised in his homeland.

But for the soft-spoken but lurid ideologist, maybe that is the price he has had to pay for his fiercely independent nature which saw him buck dictatorial tendencies in Kenya and Uganda in the seventies and finally settle in the United States of America where his ideas could run unbridled. Professor Ali Mazrui, who confesses that he has not had a holiday for many years is currently in the country of his birth to do just holiday with his Nigerian wife and children at the insistence of his Mombasa family. "They have not had a chance to meet Farid and Harith and they suggested that I bring them along for a few weeks to get to know one another!" he said when we traced him at the Nyali Beach Holiday Resort where we found him gaz-
Ink! out to sea

Comfortable as it may be, Prof Mazrui seethes with anger when he remembers how land grabbers have robbed him of the hotel he used to spend his days in Mombasa for many years - The Manor

Hotel now demolished to pave for God knows what demented project. "It was absolute vandalism in any other country. would have been taxed to hell! This is typical of a reckless and greedy society," he thundered exposing his anger for the first time since I have known him. He has reason to. Since the colonial days when he was a student. Prof Ndazrul remembers being invited to address groups of people on various academic issues at a time when Africans were not allowed to sleep at the hotel. His eyes brighten with the fond memories. Year after year. Mazrui would fly straight to Mombasa to organise for him a public lecture, events which used to draw hundreds of Mombasa residents but which many times were banned at the last minute by jittery administrators. Prof Mazrui has lately been toying with the idea of

Year after year, Mazrui would fly straight to Mombasa from his international lecturing circuits into the Manor Hotel where a suite would be readied for him and his bulky accompaniment of books and academic papers

retiring in Kenya but after careful analysis he says it is quite difficult because most of his immediate family is in the US. "I have thought about it, I could retire in a quiet place like Lamu and read and write but I am not sure that I would be happy if I was too far away from them (family). Well, we could visit one another but am not sure it would be good for me But I am still thinking about it." he said indecision clearly written on his face.

He says Kenya has become a more open society than in early 1990s There is more transparency and relative freedoms. On the other hand, however, Kenyans are getting less sense from their government and the State has become less efficient and more corrupt. We also seem to be enjoying more negative freedoms socially.

Regionally Kenya has lost its leadership role. We might have an edge on stability but not influence and economic performance. I lived in Uganda during Idi Amin's reign and I never thought they would rise again the way they have done, Part of it is due to the ability of the Ugandan leadership. But mainly also due to our inability as a

ties so that they are not afraid of retribution." Kenya is currently in the midst of a stalemate over the constitutional review process, what do you think, is the main problem? I ask him.

"The debate seems to be centred on how the process is going to be carried out and not what the Constitution should entail. The focus seems to be on the term limits. The Constitution should contain separation of powers between the Head of State and other institutions, should be clear about the devolution of powers. It must also be clear about human and civil rights and should be representative of all the country's interest groups. Parliament, though elected does not represent all groups. It is not a microcosm of society." "A commission should have representatives of important groups like women, religious leaders as well as parliamentarians. What representation, for example, does the present Parliament have for the country's women?"

Mazrui, however, against the involvement of foreign experts in the process saying "it is not a good idea." Finally it is for Kenyans to do the job themselves. But would not oppose inviting international luminaries like Nelson Mandela or Jimmy Carter to arbitrate in case of a deadlock."

Nigeria invited you to give a crucial talk to its leaders at a unique period. What does this mean to you? "This is a measure of their willingness to listen to others, I talked with them

about their problem of corruption, about their bloated civil service and were not offended that I was an outsider. They finally embraced me, both Obasanjo and Babangida. Can you imagine that in Kenya? Foreign leaders are willing to listen to us but not Kenyan leaders. Prof Ali Mazrui: Below with wife and children: For years, family members used to organise for him a public lecture, events which used to draw hundreds of Mombasa residents but which many times were banned at the last minute by jittery administrators

Newsletter 25, Early 2001, On Boundaries and the Bloodline

Early 2001

(SPECIAL MILLENNIUM EDITION)

ANNAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 25

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ON BOUNDARIES AND THE BLOODLINE

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APPENDIX

By

Ali A. Mazrui

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. My home address in this period is as follows:

313 Murray Hill Road Vestal, New York 13850, USA

My Office Fax: 607 777-2642

This Newsletter has an Appendix (newspaper clippings) relevant to the general theme.

This Millennium Newsletter is my longest ever. The year 2000 was fundamental. This was the year when I lost a beloved sister in Mombasa and celebrated the arrival of a grandson in California. It was the year when my youngest children (seven and eight years old) visited their Nigerian family in Jos for the first time. But it was also the year when their aunt Caroline, my wife's sister, died within a couple of months of our departure from Nigeria. Caroline was only 40 years old.

These were issues of the bloodline at the level of family. We shall return to them later. But the new millennium was also a period of the bloodline in the sense of clan, tribe and race. In Zimbabwe I had occasion to dialogue with president Robert Mugabe about issues of race, citizenship and rights. In Libya I conversed with Muammar Qaddafi about the competitive demands of Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism. In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, we explored the issue of reparations for the enslavement of Africans across the centuries. And in the United States I grappled with issues of race, religion and social tensions. These subjects are part of the agenda of this years' Annual Mazrui Newsletter.

1. Family Bloodline: Death, Rebirth and Beyond

I was in Oxford, England, when I first learnt about the death of my oldest sister, Salma. I was attending a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies. One instinct was to catch the next plane out to Mombasa, Kenya, where my sister had died. But there were two inhibitions. One was the voice of my sister's father (who was of course also my own). Sheikh Al' Amin Mazrui (who died in 1947) had a fatwa which disapproved of abandoning major obligations "in the service of grief."

I had long standing obligations in Oxford, London, and Tripoli, Libya. Was I to abandon them because I was suddenly grief-stricken?

The second dilemma concerned the simple fact that I would not be in time for my sister's funeral in any case. Islamic funerals are normally expected to occur within twenty-four hours of the person's death. It is believed that the deceased would not find peace unless he or she was laid to rest in the grave as soon as possible. Was it necessary to fly home at all in an age when condolences and mutual consolations could be done by telephone and on the Internet?

First and foremost, I heeded the advice of Salma's father (and mine) not to abandon major obligations in the service of grief. I completed my work at Oxford, and then went to London to give a lecture at the Ibn Rushd Centre at Westminster University on the subject of "Globalization and the Future of Islamic Civilization." I then flew to Libya to give two lectures under the auspices of the African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Development. My Libyan topics were on (a) Pax Africana and Conflict Management and (b) Globalization and the African Renaissance. My main host was Dr. Ahmed Fituri, whose PhD was from the University of Michigan where I once taught. We had known each other from our Michigan days.

From Tripoli could I cross African borders and fly directly to Nairobi, another African capital? No such luck! For thousands of dollars, I had to return to London before I could proceed to Nairobi, and then onwards to Mombasa (can you imagine?) I was of course much too late for Salma's funeral but in plenty of time for mutual family consolation, for love and healing. Salma's younger son, Alamin M. Mazrui, flew in from the United States (he is a professor at the Ohio State University). He was not in time for the funeral either. In his case, perhaps it was just as well. He was particularly devastated by his mother's death, and might have been overwhelmed at her funeral.

What about the borders between the newly departed and the newly born? As we were mourning Salma's departure, one of her granddaughters gave birth to a girl - who was promptly named Salma! And my own second son, Al' Amin and his wife Jill, gave me a

grandson - and they promptly called him Ali! I now know that there will be another Ali Al' Amin Mazrui long after this old Ali Al' Amin Mazmi is truly gone! May the next Ali A. Mazrui have the strengths of the old one and be spared the weaknesses. Amen! Pauline, my wife, managed to be in California on the night of the birth of our grandson, Ali. I then joined them to admire and salute the next incarnation of the dynasty, Insha Allah! We had a good time together in Castro Valley, California.

The biggest tragedy of the Uti boundary of the family (my wife's family) was the death of Pauline's sister at the age of forty. I woke up one morning in Binghamton to find Pauline in tears. Between sobs she explained to me what had happened - a sudden death, seemingly due to an asthma attack. Caroline left behind a widower and four children. Had Pauline not just arrived back from Nigeria herself, the temptation to fly home would have been great for her. But a second trip to Nigeria so soon would have disoriented our own small children (seven and eight years old) - whether Pauline left them behind with me and Goretti or took them with her to Nigeria. (Goretti is our Ugandan-Canadian friend who lives with us with her daughter, Maria).

We found other ways of consoling each other with the family in Jos - through telephone conversations and through gifts of bereavement in the usual African way.

Caroline's death was particularly poignant to us since we had seen her and her family just a few weeks earlier. In June I had taken Pauline, Farid and Harith to Jos and left them there. I arrived back in Jos in August in preparation for our departure. My children and Caroline's children spent many hours playing together. The shock was that much greater when we learnt of Caroline's death a few weeks after our departure. A special mass organized by Goretti Mugambwa for Caroline was held at St. Paul's Catholic Church in Binghamton. It was a great comfort for Pauline and me to see so many friends at the service in Binghamton.

However, the tragedy should not diminish the prior happiness. Pauline and our children were enthusiastically received by Caroline and her husband and by other members of the Nigerian family. Pauline's mother was already a familiar figure to our children because she had spent some nine months in Binghamton in the 1990s. Caroline's other siblings rose to the occasion, and especially Jane, her husband and her kids. (Incidentally, Jane has been spoiling me and all my five sons with splendid

Nigerian shirts which she makes herself. She is a gifted dressmaker in Jos.)

Jane has had twins, who played well with our children in June, July and August 2000. Pauline herself is one of twins. The Uti's are a twin-oriented family. One reason why Pauline and I have not attempted to have a third child might have been a nervousness about getting twins. What if the third child was accompanied by the fourth child in the same package from the gracious stalk? Pauline's cousin Frank and his wife Shonett spent Christmas with us in Binghamton! Guess what? They had delightful twins Chinelo and Chiwe - as well as Chioma, their first-born. The twins were so delightful that Pauline and I began to wonder whether or not we "should review the situation"! !

The Mazrui side of the family had an unusual reunion at the Georgetown Conference Center in Washington DC. I was a keynote speaker at a fundraising

Ramadhan Iftar for the Centre for the Study of Islam and Democracy held at the Georgetown Center. The next day I was joined by my sons Jamal and Kim and by Molly (my first wife). It was a wonderful opportunity to catch up not only with each other's news, but

also with each other's concerns! One of the highlights was a superb family dinner at an Indian Restaurant in Georgetown. India was a familiar cuisine-boundary in the Mazrui family!

In American academia, a vital professional boundary is between the non-tenured and the tenured professors. Kim Forde-Mazrui, my third son, continued earnestly with his career as Associate Professor of law at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. In order to get tenure (permanent confirmation), law professors in the U.S.A. do not have to publish as much as professors in Political Science (in terms of quantity), but Kim has definitely embarked on an active publishing career. This has stood him in good stead in his tenure review. The tenure sub-committee has recommended him for tenure unanimously (9 to 0). The family is of course cheering him on! We are naturally optimistic that he will soon be confirmed by his Law School as a tenured (meaning permanent) professor. The law as a profession is perhaps part of Kim's bloodline. After all, my own father (his grand-Dad) was the Islamic Chief Justice of Kenya in the 1940s. Kim's grand-Dad also taught law - though more in the mosque than on campus. As if that was not history enough, Kim's university in Charlottesville, Virginia, was established by Thomas Jefferson, the main author of the American Declaration of Independence and the third president of the United States.

My nephew Alamin M. Mazrui (a professor at the Ohio State University) continued to collaborate with me on joint conference papers and joint articles. He went to Okinawa, Japan, on behalf of us both at a conference which linked religion with technological change. I went to the University of Westminster in London, on a comparable mission, again on behalf of us both. Our next joint article will probably be published in *TI-E HARVARD INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*. All three presentations are closely related, seeking to link religion, language and technology.

My first-born, Jamal Mazrui, continued to amaze people by being an expert on computers in spite of being blind. When somebody asks me to explain, I simply say "JAMAL-ENTARY, MY DEAR WATSON!" Remember Sherlock Holmes' response?
"Elementary, my dear Watson!"

For a boundary back into colonial history, I have been trying to persuade my elder brother, Harith A. Mazrui, to write his memoirs. His memories of Kenya's colonial period would be particularly fascinating. Harith was a civil servant within the British colonial order, and rose quite high at the Kenya Coast. What he remembers about Provincial and District Commissioners during the colonial period, and about Liwalis, Mudirs and Kadhis (Coastal titles) could enrich our knowledge. Harith must hurry up before he gets too tired to put pen to paper or even to dictate for an hour at a time. He is a whole decade older than me. I have yet to convince him that memoirs are important.

II. A Centennial of Excellence

The novelist Chinua Achebe celebrated his seventieth birthday in the same year in which "PAN AFRICANISM" as an intercontinental concept celebrated its centennial anniversary. Halfway through that century Chinua Achebe picked up his pen to start a manuscript pregnant with destiny. By 1958 *THINGS FALL APART* was in print, perhaps in perpetuity. I was privileged to participate in Achebe's 70th anniversary at Bard College in the State of New York, in November. The year 2000 did not only mark the conclusion of the second

Christian millennium. It also marked a century of Pan Africanism.

It seems likely that the term "Pan Africanism" was born at a London Conference convened by H. Sylvester Williams, a Trinidadian lawyer, in July 1900. Africans who attended included those from Liberia, the Gold Coast, Ethiopia, and of course the African Diaspora in England, the Caribbean and North America. Out there in a British summer (probably rainy) the concept of Pan-Africanism was born. I returned to Sylvester

Williams repeatedly in the course of my lectures in the year 2000.

A century is a border across time. Since Sylvester Williams, hundreds of African books have either celebrated Pan-Africanism or been influenced by it. These books have ranged from Nnamdi Azikiwe's *Renascent Africa* (1937) to books of poetry affirming the virtues of Africanity and Negritude. I personally have added to this corpus of Africanist literature, for better or for worse!

There have also been books of the African experience rather than books of African solidarity. Among the best of these books which have explored the African experience are those which have come from the pen of Chinua Achebe. When the author of *Renascent Africa* (Zik) met the author of *Things Fall Apart* (Achebe) at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, in the 1990s, history came full circle - and became poetry. At the Achebe celebration I was on the same panel as Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Was each of us an echo of "Things Fall Apart"? Other long-lost friends at the Achebe celebration included Nuruddin Farah (just arrived from South Africa) and Niara Sudarkasa (just about to leave for South Africa)! !

But was the rest of the literary world paying attention in any case to the voices of Africa? Was anybody listening to us in the wider universe? In 1998 the Modern Library Board (Random House) in the USA chose the 100 great books in English of the 20th century and RANKED THEM. *ULYSSES* by James Joyce was ranked first and foremost. And *MAGNIFICENT ANDERSONS* by Booth Tarkington was No. 100. The majority of the books were from the Commonwealth and almost all the rest from the United States.

No African novel in the English language made the first 100 - not even Chinua Achebe's work or the works of Nobel Laureates Wole Soyinka and Nadine Gordimer. Was this linguistic apartheid combined with racial apartheid? Not quite. While Africa was completely out of the league, the African Diaspora did make it. Ralph Ellison's *INVISIBLE MAN* made it for No. 19, Richard Wright's *NATIVE SON* made it as No. 20 and James Baldwin's *GO TELL IT ON MOUNTAIN* made it for No. 39.

Muslims like me were relieved that the list did not include Salman Rushdie's *SATANIC VERSES*, but the list did include Salman Rushdie's *MIDNIGHT'S CHILDREN* (No. 90). Books about Africa by non-Africans which made the list included Joseph Conrad's *HEART OF DARKNESS* (No. 67) and V.S. Naipaul's *A BEND IN THE RIVER* (No. 83), both of which also feature in Commonwealth literature.

Should we be alarmed that none of the Great African writers had made the list of the top 100? It would have been nice if Chinua Achebe's novel *THINGS FALL APART* (1958) was included in the list of the 100 top novels of the century. It certainly deserved to be. Other Achebe enthusiasts might vote for *ARROW OF GOD* (1964) as Achebe's most profound novel. But none of his works made the list. Was this linguistic apartheid verging on the

racial?

There was a consolation. The only authors who made the list of the top 100 of the century whose mother tongue was not English were Joseph Conrad, Vladimir Nabokov and Salman Rushdie. All the rest were native products of Anglo-Saxon linguistic culture in one degree or another. This included V.S. Naipaul. They were native speakers of English.

This means one of two things: either writing in English when English is not one's native language is a far bigger handicap than we had all assumed Q! that the judges of the top 100 novels of the 20th century were simply too Anglo-Saxonic themselves. On balance I prefer the latter explanation. The judges were probably too Anglo-Saxonic in their prejudices, even if some judges were from the wider Commonwealth

Now Africans have embarked on our own search for 100 great African books of the last 100 years. The search was launched by the Zimbabwe International Book Fair in July 2000. The idea originally came from me in a speech I gave at the Zimbabwe Fair in 1998. The publishers decided to run with my idea. The Zimbabwe Book Fair invited me back to Zimbabwe in the year 2000 to launch the project.

The relevant languages of the competition are English, French, Arabic, Portuguese, Afrikaans and African Languages. What have been the one hundred best African books of the last one hundred years in these languages?

The relevant type of books are fiction and non-fiction, poetry and prose.

Each nomination needs at least half a page making a case for it.

The measurement of greatness is either the quality of the work or the positive impact of the work. Those who go by quality may decide that Chinua Achebe's novel *Arrow of God* (1964) is the highest among his works. Those who go by impact may decide that *Things Fall Apart* (1958) has been the most influential.

In Western music those who go by quality believe that Beethoven's 9th Symphony is his best. Those who go by impact choose Beethoven's 5th Symphony whose influence has been not only on other Western composers but also on composers from other cultures, such as Muhammad Abdul Wahab of Egypt.

Those who go by profundity salute Kwame Nkrumah's *CONSCIENCISM*.

Those who go by impact would turn to Nkrumah's *AFRICA MUST UNITE*.

Our Project "AFRICA'S 100 GREAT BOOKS OF THE LAST ONE HUNDRED YEARS" invites volunteers from different African countries to responsibly encourage nominations of the best works from their countries, or authors of other African countries admired in their own societies. The Zimbabwe International Book Fair's email is:

zibf@samara.co.zw

Independent post colonial Ghana started off with a philosopher king Kwame Nkrumah, who still remains one of the two or three most prolific rulers that Africa has ever had. He remained a prolific writer both in office and out of power. I first met Nkrumah in New York in 1960 when I was still a graduate student. Even then we admired his writings, though they were then still few in number.

In post-colonial Africa the only other Heads of State in the same league as prolific authors were Senegal's Leopold S. Senghor and Tanzania's Julius K. Nyerere. Augustino Nheto of Angola was more poetic than Nkrumah but less prolific. I met Senghor a number of times,

and knew Julius Nyerere well. But I was never privileged to meet Nhetso.

Kofi Abrefa Busia was also a philosopher-king in Ghana's post-colonial history. He was less prolific than Nkrumah but more of a scholar than Nkrumah. Busia and I were both molded by Oxford University. Busia became a professional politician and part-time scholar. I became a professional scholar and part-time politician.

One question arises whether the Busias are a literary dynasty - a bloodline of multiple authors. Do they constitute a lineage of literature, a dynasty of the Muse?

III. Africa's Dynasties of the Muse

One measurement of the consolidation of the written tradition in Africa is indeed the emergence of writers in the same family across more than one generation. The Busias in Ghana have been developing into a literary dynasty in that sense - and they are not the only ones in post-colonial Africa.

Along the East African Coast, dynasties of poetry have a long history across generations. Lamu in Kenya is the Garden of Eden of the Swahili language and certainly the fountain of the very best of classical Swahili poetry. To the present day one discovers among Lamu families both men and women who are descended from many generations of poets. A bloodline of poetry?

Somalia — despite all its agonies, and sometimes because of its anguish - is a nation of poets. In the history of Somalia their Shakespeare was fused with their Winston Churchill in Seyyid Muhammad Abdilleh Hassan. In a fit of self recognition the mad British called him "the Mad Mullah". ("Mad Dogs and Englishmen go out in the mid-day sun")

With regard to literary dynasties in prose in East Africa, let me refer you to a puzzling anecdote about my own bloodline, the Mazrui. Two Western scholars, R.S. O' Fahey and Ann Biersteker, were working in 1999 on the Writings of the Muslim Peoples of Eastern Africa. Their chapter 6 discussed the Mazrui family, examining our history briefly from 1698, and studying our writings from 1840. These included the works of my father, my grandfather and my great grandfather. The authors also planned to include the works of my nephew, Professor Alamin M. Mazrui.

Quite surprisingly, what the authors were not planning to include was any reference to the works of Ali A. Mazrui. I did not mind whether they included me or not.

I assumed they were either overwhelmed by the magnitude of the output, or had a specific disqualification in mind. What was the flaw in this interrupted bloodline?

Had Ali A. Mazrui been excluded because he wrote primarily in a European language whereas the Mazruis they had chosen had written in either Kiswahili or Arabic?

When I raised the language question, I was told that that was not the issue.

Did the authors think I was an American and no longer qualified as an East African? But the earliest year I could have become an American was about 1980, when I had already published about ten books and about a hundred articles. Why did they not include those pre-American books at least?

In any case, I have never been an American in that legal sense, although I have fathered five US citizens! I have always been a Kenyan. So why was I not included among the chosen Mazrui of R.S. O' Fahey and Ann Biersteker? (I regard myself as an American African, which is different from an African American.) !

Whether Ali A. Mazrui is included or not, does the Mazrui family constitute a literary dynasty in prose for East Africa?

Although my father died as far back as 1947, his book, THE HISTORY OF THE MAZRUI DYNASTY OF MON/BASA, was published by Oxford University Press and sponsored by the British Academy as recently as 1995/6 (translated from the Arabic and annotated by J. Mc L. Ritchie). Even from his grave my Old Man seems to be still publishing! Not “publish or perish” but “perish and continue to publish”! My Old Man is defining ultimate borders, God bless him.

IV. Libya: Between Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism

When I was in Libya as a guest of the African Center for Applied Research (ACARTSOD) I was told that there was a possibility that the Libyan Leader, Muammar Qaddafi, would give me an audience. But the leader went further than that. He invited me to dinner at his famous tent. His other guest for that evening was a Minister of Defence from a Francophone West African country. Three languages were in use in the course of the dinner - the Libyan Leader used Arabic, the West African Minister used

French and I used English. There were two interpreters by the side of the dining table. The food was excellent, and the flow of conversation was smoother than one might expect. The whole visit to the Tent lasted some three hours.

Libya cuts across Arab, Islamic and African boundaries. The Libyan leader had been briefed about the controversy in the United States which had accompanied my television series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, when it was first shown in 1986. It had been Lynne Cheney, the wife of Dick Cheney, who had first blown the right-wing whistle against my television series. When I was dining with Qaddafi in October 2000, George W. Bush had already chosen Dick Cheney as his running mate in the U.S.

presidential elections. But at the time Lynne Cheney was denouncing my TV series in 1986 she was head of the National Endowment for the Humanities and her husband was the Secretary of Defense in the administration of George Bush Senior.

What did Lynne Cheney have against The Africans: A Triple Heritage? She described it as ‘pro-Qaddafi and anti American.’ In reality the TV series devoted only about three minutes to Qaddafi in nine hours of television! But that was enough to arouse the ire of the Cheneys’ in 1986! Mrs. Cheney demanded the removal of the name of the National Endowment for the Humanities from the credits, although the Endowment had contributed some \$600,000 to the making of The Africans. She stopped short of demanding the money back, which would have plunged the Endowment into an acrimonious and professionally damaging law suit.

In population, Libya was small. But was it crossing international boundaries in a dangerous way? My TV sequence about Qaddafi caused problems for the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in the US. The producing channel in Washington DC asked me to make my commentary on Qaddafi more of a denunciation than I had done in my original BBC version. I declined to change my commentary. Then I was asked if we should remove the pictures which humanized Qaddafi, such as the leader visiting a hospital or playing with a child. I objected to purposeful dehumanization of Qaddafi’s image. A third proposal

was whether we should add negative pictures to the sequence about Qaddafy. The relevant PBS channel finally added a picture entitled "Rome AFTER A TERRORIST ATTACK" but without specific attribution of the attack to Qaddafy. This is the version which went out U.S. television viewers, but the picture of "Rome after a Terrorist Attack" did not go out to any other viewers in the world, whose version came from the BBC, London.

In Tripoli at dinner I crossed boundaries between Africa and the West. We recapitulated this entire 1986 story when I was having dinner with Muammar Qaddafy in October 2000 in his tent in Tripoli. Yes, talk of crossing boundaries!! Qaddafy was quite amused - until I mentioned the unkindest cut of all! This twist in the story was what fellow Arabs had done to my sequence about him when they got hold of it!

The Africans: A Triple Heritage was translated into Arabic outside Libya. Whoever was responsible for the Arabic version deleted the entire sequence about Qaddafy altogether. While Americans had debated with me about whether my commentary should be more hostile, or my pictures less friendly towards Qaddafy, those in charge of the Arabic version were more drastic - they deleted Qaddafy altogether! !

When we got to this point in the dinner conversation, Qaddafy regarded it as further vindication for his decision to demote Pan-Arabism as a plank of Libya's foreign policy. His original decision to demote Pan-Arabism was because fellow Arabs had abandoned him to swing against the winds of the United Nations' sanctions sponsored by the United States and Great Britain. The sanctions had been imposed because the United States and Britain especially regarded Libya as the culprit behind the bombing of the PanAmerican airline over Lockerbie in Scotland in December 1988.

It was African States and the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) which came to the rescue of Libya. By the last year of the 20th Century the African members of the O.A.U. were no longer convinced of the fairness of the sanctions against Libya, and threatened to ignore them if they were not lifted. This ominous possibility accelerated the quest for solutions to the crisis. The West at last agreed that the two Libyan Lockerbie suspects could be tried by a Scottish court located outside Britain. Nelson Mandela eased the process of resolution. The UN sanctions were suspended. Libya's Pan-Africanism shot up, while Libya's Pan-Arabism drastically declined.

In my dinner conversation with the Libyan leader I referred to my trans-boundary concept of "AFRABIA", which was an attempt to come to grips with the implications of the fact that Africa itself was an Afro-Arab continent - with the O.A.U. consisting of both Black African members and Arab members. I am also on record in my plea that the Arabian peninsula should be regarded as part of Africa for geological, cultural, linguistic and religious reasons. I made that case in The Africans. A Triple Heritage (both the book and the television series). In a trans-boundary ambition, I suggested to the Libyan leader that perhaps PanAfricanism and Pan-Arabism should be forces in alliance rather than forces in rivalry. Before the evening was over he seemed to share that vision. We were jointly exploring boundaries of convergence rather than boundaries of divergence. Between Arabs and Africans the bloodline was never entirely absent.

In the course of the evening we also discussed language as a different kind of boundary of communication. Muammar Qaddafy was convinced that every African child should be required to learn three languages apart from the child's mother tongue. The three

continent-wide languages should be English, French and Arabic (the three languages of our dinner party). We discussed how children in Switzerland were expected to learn German, French and Italian - with English as the preferred foreign language. Why should not the children of Africa learn English, French and Arabic - with their mother tongue as the fourth language where appropriate? It could help soften the boundaries between African states.

I drew the Libyan leader's attention to the fact that his vision had omitted Portuguese. He felt that his linguistic vision for Africa should not impose too many foreign languages on Africa's children. In agreement, I offered the statistic that there were more speakers of Kiswahili, Hausa and Yoruba separately in Africa than there were speakers of Portuguese. Perhaps Portuguese-speakers were also outnumbered by speakers of Amharic and Igbo. At their most expressive these were boundaries of bombast and the Muse rather than of blood and the womb. But as a strategy of regionbuilding, and the consolidation of Pan-Africanism, was Qaddafi justified to espouse a continent-wide language policy even if he himself had not approximated it? Was Qaddafi ahead of his own bureaucracy in implementation? Partly in response to the West African Minister's concerns, we also discussed Muammar Qaddafi's shift from a policy of exporting revolution to a policy of exporting peace. His involvement in the Philippines at the time was in the direction of promoting peace between the Muslim separatists and the Central Government. Qaddafi's role in the conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone had also been in the direction of seeking a peaceful solution to those conflagrations. Libya also tried to make its good offices available for Ethiopia and Eritrea in their fratricidal military confrontation. Qaddafi in the year 2000 was consciously seeking a reputation as peacemaker, rather than an exporter of revolution.

Whether Muammar Qaddafi can sustain for long such a major shift in orientation from revolution to peace-making is something which remains to be studied and observed with care. Can he be a peacemaker abroad while oppressing his own people at home? Is the gun in domestic policy compatible with the olive tree in foreign policy?

At home in Libya Muammar Qaddafi was faced with a deteriorating confrontation also between Libyans and sub-Saharan Black Africans working in Libya.

Their relations had been deteriorating drastically between 1998 and the year 2000. Talking to sub-Saharan Africans who were working in Libya when I visited, I was told that one cause of the tension was ironically that Qaddafi's Pan-Africanism was too far ahead of the opinions of his own population. Many Libyans resented the resources which Qaddafi was devoting to Black causes seemingly at the expense of Arab causes. United Nations' sanctions on Libya over the Lockerbie affair had hurt the living standards of ordinary Libyans. Looking for scapegoats, they sometimes turned on the foreigners in their midst - especially non-Arab foreigners.

And yet Qaddafi realized it was Black Africans more than the Arab brothers who had turned against the United Nations' sanctions over Lockerbie. For once the leader was truly more sensitive to the fundamental forces than his population. Ordinary Libyans turned against Black Africans while Qaddafi tried to lead a movement towards continental African Union.

V. Nkumba Harvard and the House of Lords

In the course of the year 2000, I was honoured by one of the youngest institutions in Africa. I was also honoured by one of the oldest institutions in the Western world.

The young African institution was Nkumba University in Entebbe, Uganda. Nkumba is the first private university in Uganda which is completely secular. Earlier private universities in Uganda were denominational (Catholic, Protestant or Muslim).

The Vice Chancellor of Nkumba University in the year 2000 was Professor Senteza Kajubi, who had once served as Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University, the premier institution of higher learning in the country. The Chancellor of Nkumba University in the year 2000 was Dr. Suleiman Kiggundu, former Governor of the Bank of

Uganda and one of the most distinguished economists of the country.

How did Nkumba University honor me in the year 2000? At their third graduation ceremony they awarded me the Doctor of Letters with all the pomp and ceremony. Although Nkumba University did not realize it, they were in reality the first African University to honor me with a doctorate honoris causa. I was delighted that my first honorary degree in Africa was awarded in Uganda! An old frontier revisited! Some would say that ideally my first honorary degree should have been awarded by Makerere University (the cradle of my professorial career). But the people who gave me the honour at Nkumba University were formerly at Makerere. In any case, Makerere is free to consider its options for the year 2003 (the 40 anniversary of my joining Makerere) or the year 2005 (the 40th anniversary of my becoming a full professor at Makerere) !!

Deeply honoured as I was in the year 2000 by one of Africa's youngest institutions, I was also honoured in the same year by the House of Lords, London, one of the oldest institutions of the Western world. The initiative was taken by Lord Ahmed of Rotherham, probably the first Muslim member of the House of Lords. Lord Ahmed decided on a celebration of my writings within the House of Lords. The keynote speakers were himself, Chief Emeka Anyaoku (former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth) and General Yakubu Gowon (former Head of State of Nigeria). The longest distance had been covered by Abdul S. Bemath, who had traveled from South Africa to attend the ceremony at the House of Lords.

General Gowon read out to the audience a special tribute to me from the

Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan. Lord Ahmed read to the audience a special tribute to me from the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Salim Ahmed Salim. Baroness Uddin of Bethnal Green spoke on behalf of her fellow members of the House of Lords, and congratulated me on my "gender sensitive writings" Fuad Nahdi did not utter a word, yet without his organizing skills the event might not have occurred at all.

Other tributes to me in the House of Lords came from such organizations as the British Association of Islamic Social Sciences and such individual scholars as Mohamed Bakari (Turkey), Colin Leys and Margaret MacPherson (U.K.), and Christopher Davis and Taha Jaber Alalwani (USA). Olara Otunnu, Under-Secretary General of the United Nations, sent his tribute from the battlefields of Afghanistan!

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The third significant honour in the year 2000 were the three McMillan-Stewart Lectures that I delivered at Harvard University under the auspices of the W.E B. Du Bois Institute and under the Chairmanship of Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Skip Gates to his friends).

I had been invited by Skip Gates to give these lectures many months before he and I publicly disagreed about his television series "WONDERS OF THE AFRICAN WORLD". After I had attacked his TV series, was Skip Gates going to dis-invite me from giving the McMillan-Stewart lectures of the year 2000? After all, thousands of dollars were involved. Was Skip Gates going to punish me for leading the pack against his own TV Series?

In reality Skip Gates scrupulously played according to the rules of the game and encouraged other players to be similarly "constitutional". He was a most courteous host at Harvard. What is more, he was genuinely friendly.

My Harvard lectures were entitled "THE AFRICAN CONDITION AND AFRICAN EXPERIENCE: A TALE OF TWO EDENS." My three lectures may be published by Oxford University Press, hopefully in the year 2001. The lectures are partly about the bloodline - - and about boundaries of space and time in the Black experience.

VI. Between Tutu and the Tutsi

But in the year 2000 I was not only receiving tributes - I was also paying them. Particularly memorable was my modest role in awarding the Delta Award for Global Understanding to Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The money for this annual award comes from Delta Airline, but the selection is made by the University of Georgia, complete with a special Board created by the University. I am proud to say that I serve on that Board. 22

In 1999 we awarded the Delta prize to former President Jimmy Carter and Mrs. Carter; in the year 2000 we awarded the Delta Prize to Archbishop Desmond Tutu; and in the year 2001 we are awarding it to Mikhail Gorbachev. The awards are presented in Atlanta, Georgia.

In the case of the Prize to Archbishop Tutu I played one additional role - I gave the keynote address about him at the symposium in his honour on the day of the award. My comparison of Tutu with Martin Luther King Jr. as "the black world's most famous moral activists of the last one hundred years" received substantial publicity in parts of Africa.

In the year 2000 I and my Africana colleagues were also delighted to welcome the Archbishop to Cornell University at long last. We, at Cornell, had been trying for years to get him to come.

Talking of tributes and counter-tributes, every year there is a "Mazruiana event" which has now become virtually institutionalized at Cornell University, led by the Institute for African Development (IAD) and supported by the Africana Studies and Research Center at the University (ASRC). Every year the IAD at Cornell hosts "an Evening with Ali Mazrui". Those who come are encouraged to arrive with an African dish to contribute to the evening's banquet, but it is not a condition. There is usually plenty of food to go around.

After the feasting I then stand up to address some African issue of the day. In the past, such topics have included President Bill Clinton's tour of Africa, or the NATO war in Kosovo as contrasted with Western apathy towards the Hutu-Tutsi conflict in Rwanda, or race and land reform in Zimbabwe. Nothing is more flattering than an annual event at a distinguished university like Cornell entitled "AN EVENING WITH ALI MAZRUI." God bless all those who organize this salute annually - especially Dr. Joan Mulondo and Dr. David Lewis of the IAD at Cornell.

A final word of gratitude for all those who have honoured me must include those who have changed their travel itineraries at considerable inconvenience to include a visit to

Binghamton to see me. In the year 2000 such people included the distinguished political scientist from India, Professor Rajni Kothari, who went out of his way during a brief visit to the United States to include visiting me in Binghamton. In the year 2000 we were also delighted to welcome to Binghamton the distinguished Egyptian scholar, Dr. Nasr Kif, who came specially to bid me farewell on his way back to the Middle East after his temporary period in the United States.

Some old friends who modified their travel arrangements to visit me in Binghamton included William P. Mayaka, who had just retired as a Permanent Secretary in the Civil Service of Kenya, and Abdalla Bujra, who had served as Chief Executive Officer of the International Panel of Eminent Personalities appointed by the Heads of State of Africa to investigate the anti-Tutsi genocide in Rwanda in 1994. In the year 2000 the International Panel issued their devastating report entitled RWANDA: THE PREVENTABLE GENOCIDE. In 1994 Africa had indeed witnessed the politics of the bloodline on their most horrendous scale.

Researchers who made a special effort to contact me at Binghamton included Dr. Chris Kifindi-Bunketti with his fascinating concerns about Congo (Kinshasa) and its neighbours. The cultures of the Great Lakes Region featured large in his research agenda.

VII. Crossing Boundaries in Nigeria

In the year 2000 I spent more time in Nigeria than in any other African country. (So what else is new?). I kept on going in and out of the country, but under different Nigerian auspices.

While this going in and out of the country was indeed a literal form of crossing borders, much more significant were the other borders that I crossed when I was within Nigeria. On my first visit in March 2000 one border that I crossed was between the economic and political condition of Nigeria. My official hosts were the First Securities Discount, who were involved in banking and investments. My topic was itself a transboundary theme in political economy - "Economic Development and Political Reforms in an Emerging Democracy: The Case of Nigeria". The Bello-Osagie family could not have been more charming and protective.

Attendance at the lecture was relatively modest, perhaps partly because the Mazrui Seminar was advertised as "ATTENDANCE STRICTLY BY INVITATION ONLY".

On the other hand, perhaps no lecture I have ever given in Africa has ever got more newspaper publicity than this one - with the possible exception of my Anniversary Lecture for THE GUARDIAN newspaper in Lagos in 1991! In the year 2000 the First Securities House Managing Director, Rilwan Bello-Osagie, succeeded in mobilizing the print media of Nigeria to cover extensively what I had to say about politics and economics.

On my next visit to Nigeria my hosts were the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization in Lagos. This was the first time that the Centre had covered both cities with one lecturer. Within the two lectures I grappled with issues of conflict of civilizations and prospects for an African Renaissance.

Yet ironically the most irrepressible conflict at both lectures was not between whole civilizations but between Wole Soyinka and myself! Questions from the audience and preliminary speakers at the outset kept on referring to the brutal Internet exchange

between Soyinka and myself, ostensibly disagreeing about Skip Gates' television series, "WONDERS OF AFRICAN WORLD" Nigerians were disturbed that two senior African intellectuals should be abusing each other in public. Quite frankly, I agreed with our critics. The brutal Internet exchange between Wole and myself was not of my choosing. One of President Olusegun Obasanjo's advisers reprimanded Wole and me publicly at one of my lectures.

At Chinua Achebe's Birthday extravaganza at Bard College in New York State, Wole Soyinka and I were put on the same panel, as I have indicated earlier. This was the nearest Wole and I had come to mutual civility. Skip Gates might have torn Wole and I apart; Chinua Achebe was bringing us together. Skip could not be blamed for the tension; but could Achebe be credited with the healing?

My third visit to Nigeria crossed other borders altogether. Originally my Institute of Global Cultural Studies (IGCS) and Jonah Isawa Elaigwu's Institute of Governance and Social Research (IGSR) had wanted to bring together the military in Latin America with the military in Nigeria to exchange views on "Civil-Military Relations and the Politics of Democratization".

My colleague, Dr. Richardo Laremont, and Dr. Jonah Elaigwu, together convinced the Ford Foundation to finance such a get-together among Nigerians,

Brazilians and Argentineans on civil-military relations. The conference was held in Abuja, the capital of Nigeria.

While the Atlantic border between Africa and Latin America was indeed fascinating, much more impressive was the breaking down of barriers between the military and the civilian politicians among Nigerians themselves. Our conference in Abuja turned out to be the first-major exchange of views between the military and parliamentarians in Nigeria since democracy was restored the year before. Ultimately this was a trans-boundary crossing between soldiers and civilians.

My fourth boundary that I had to cross within Nigeria was between the secular and the religious. In Kano I gave a lecture at Bayero University. While in my March lecture in Lagos for the First Securities Discount House I had poor attendance at the lecture but highly sophisticated newspaper coverage; my lecture in August in Kano had a vast and overflowing audience but inadequate control over the print media.

In Kano I had crowds running after me and demanding photo-opportunities. The audience at the lecture was vast. And yet the newspaper coverage was so poor that earlier reports alleged that I had used the occasion to urge Northern Nigerians to rebel against their increasing marginalization. Let me now turn to these allegations.

vm. Nigeria, Religion and 1

I have always had a high regard for the Nigerian Press. Even under the difficult conditions of the military dictatorship of General Sani Abacha, the Nigerian Press remained perhaps the liveliest and most independent in Africa.

But the Nigerian Press sometimes goes over the rails. This time I was one of the casualties of such excess. It is totally untrue that in my lecture at Bayero University in Kano in August I described the shift of political power to the South as "a terrible blunder committed by the North." That would have meant that I disapproved of Northerners voting for a Southern Presidential candidate. Nothing could be further from my point of view. I have always

believed in one Nigeria, and I also believe in democracy. Voting across ethnic, religious and regional lines is healthy for Nigerian democracy. President-Elect Olusegun Obasanjo must have known that when he urgently invited me to come to Abuja in May 1999 to address the President-Elect's new legislators about "Development and Good Governance". I spoke before President-Elect Obasanjo and his political party on that subject within days of his Inauguration as Head of State in May 1999.

General Obasanjo and I had known each other for many years, and I was one of those who had publicly protested his imprisonment under Sani Abacha. Why should I have begrudged him the votes of his Northern compatriots in 1999? Democracy is a matter of free choice and free rotation of power. A healthy democracy involves crossing electoral borders. My lecture at Bayero University did have a huge and enthusiastic audience. The university was very gracious and the audience very responsible. One or two of the questions asked by students at the end were, however, truly angry that "the Northern elites had surrendered power to the South" and that this was a great "blunder". I said something to the effect that there was nothing wrong with surrendering power to the winners in a democracy. Even if power had crossed the North-South border, the Obasanjo administration had only had fourteen months in office, and it was too early to judge whether or not Obasanjo was good for the North and the country at large. I believe the Bayero proceedings were recorded, and therefore my general position can be ascertained.

All this came out in questions and answers and was not part of my main lecture at Bayero. The central thesis of my lecture was that redistributing political power in Nigeria was not enough; we also needed to share more equitably economic prosperity and economic skills. The North in Nigeria continues to be economically disadvantaged even now that political power is being more democratically redistributed. Solving regional political inequalities (previously favouring the North) without solving regional economic inequalities (continuously favouring the South) is a prescription for further instability. Incidentally, this is a position which I first articulated when I was a guest of

Southerners in Lagos in March 2000. My position was widely publicized at the time. Just because I was now saying the same thing to a Northern audience in August 2000 did not justify the distortions of my position by sections of the Nigerian Press.

I make no apology for my being a Muslim, but most Nigerians who know me personally know that I am a cultural bridge-builder. My only novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, was published some twenty years ago. It is a classic case of cultural bridge-building. Bridges cut across borders. The publishers, Heinemann Educational, sent the manuscript in 1969 to Chinua Achebe (before publication) since Achebe was a special Editor of the Heinemann African Writers' Series. Although the book was about the Nigerian civil war, and Achebe's people were being damaged by the war, Achebe did not find my approach offensive to the Igbo. The civil war was about national borders, but my novel was in part a bridge.

Today I am married to a Nigerian who comes from a Christian tradition. What is more, her father was killed in the Northern anti-Igbo riots of 1966. The remarkable thing is not that I am married into a Christian family, but that she is strong enough to be married into a Muslim family. Our families on both sides are cultural bridge-builders. We would like all

Nigerians and all Africans to be ecumenical across the religious line and to become Pan-African across the ethnic and national boundaries. Two of my children are Nigerians, by my Nigerian wife, Pauline. All my in-laws are Christians. All the in-laws of Pauline are Muslims.

Yet, in the United States I am nevertheless the founder-Chair of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Washington, D.C.. And, in Britain, I am a member of the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford, England, having been elected unanimously. In Washington I have been a member of the Board of the American Muslim Council for years. In California I have collaborated extensively with the Council on Islamic Education.

I am also a member of the Council of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.. I was confirmed by a Roman Catholic Dean.

What all this tells us is that I can be ecumenical and a Muslim at the same time; that I can be an African cultural bridge-builder and loyal to my own Muslim upbringing.

I recognize borders but I do not regard them as impenetrable.

Apart from Wole Soyinka and his peculiarities, most Nigerians who know me have accepted me on that ecumenical basis. Every time I have visited Nigeria they have helped me feel truly Nigerian. I am an African child of a mountain called Kenya, a river called Niger, and a lake called Victoria.

No mistaken reporter, however well-meaning, should be allowed to destroy these ideals: The Press has been my friend most of the time. But its power to destroy reputations unfairly must always be kept in check. That is perhaps what democracy is partly about reconciling Press freedom with individual justice.

IX. From Robert Mugabe to the Washington Summit

Let me now turn to issues of freedom elsewhere in Africa. When I met President Robert Mugabe in August 2000, I reminded him of a conversation he and I had had in the 1980's. In those earlier years of Zimbabwe's independence, white racism was still often overt. In major restaurants in Harare it was not uncommon to hear white customers abuse Black waiters in racist terms. I therefore had occasion to say to President Mugabe in the 1980s' "I have heard more racist remarks in Harare in one week than I normally hear in the United States in a year. Why do you permit it?"

The Robert Mugabe of the 1980s' answered as follows: "There are two ways of improving the behaviour of people short of using force. One way is by constructive persuasion; the other is by positive example. In the new Zimbabwe we shall try those two methods first.' By the year 2000 had Robert Mugabe changed his mind? When we met again at the Zimbabwe International Book Fair in August 2000, I asked him why he was using violence by proxy as a method of land reform? Even if he felt force was necessary in order to redistribute European-held land to African farmers, why had he not used the power of the state directly, instead of letting loose violent ex-combatants onto the farms of Europeans? Why had he not simply nationalized the particular European-owned land, and then redistributed it to African peasant-farmers?

President Mugabe pointed out that my question was based on the assumption that the veterans and freedom-fighters (ex-combatants) had invaded European farms on his orders.

Dr. Mugabe insisted that the veterans had taken the initiative themselves. He as Head of Government had therefore been faced with the following choices:

either send the Police to expel the veterans from the European farms at the risk that the Police would be overwhelmed and humiliated; or order the Zimbabwe army to oust the veterans at the risk that the army might either refuse (and thus mutiny) or obey the order and cause a blood-bath; or support the veterans since their cause of land reform was just even if their methods of forceful occupation were unorthodox.

President Mugabe spoke forcefully. I was moved by his eloquence, but I was not convinced that the organs of the state were impotent in the face of the initiative by the veterans. After all, the power of the state consisted of carrots as well as the stick. The Zimbabwe state could have reasserted its authority, upheld the law, and still taken steps towards a more just basis of land redistribution. However, I was delighted to have had another discussion with Robert Mugabe in the changing circumstances of his country.

It was a privilege to meet other prominent Zimbabweans, including my old friend Nathan Shamuyarira (former Foreign Minister) whose family entertained me to dinner.

Yash Tandon, a former colleague from my Uganda years, and his wife Mary were also most gracious.

Having engaged in political discourse in Nigeria, Libya and Zimbabwe was I also politically engaged in the country of my birth, Kenya, which I visited in October? Quite frankly, I was quite appalled by the worsening economic and environmental situation in Kenya. In more than twenty years in power the Moi regime had done incalculable harm. There were terrible shortages of water and electricity in Nairobi and Mombasa, and the threat of famine in other parts of the country.

This was the period when there was rioting and civil disobedience in Europe over the price of oil and petrol. I called a Press Conference in Mombasa and urged Kenyans to follow the Europeans' rebellious example. I argued that it was time for Gandhian-style civil disobedience in the streets of Nairobi and Mombasa demanding better standards of governance and accountability.

On the positive side, I was delighted that the Kenyan Press was now open enough to publish even such a provocative clarion call for pro-democracy civil disobedience. On the negative side there were the usual snide remarks against me from spokesmen of the government and the governing party. More numerous were the cartoons at my expense! Basically the Kenyan cartoonists portrayed me as an orator standing near an aeroplane urging Kenyans to rebel, as I was boarding a plane to return to the United States! As most cartoons anywhere in the world, these had a germ of truth! But I hope some Kenyans gave me credit for caring enough about Kenya to stick my neck out on Kenyan soil! Many Kenyan intellectuals resident in Kenya were far less vocal in defending the rights of the Kenyan people.

My role as a Kenyan within the United States was a little different. I joined forces with other Kenyans on the east coast of the United States to try and raise money for famine relief in Kenya. And as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Summit on Africa, I participated behind the scenes in the preparation for welcoming both Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi and the American President Bill Clinton to the National Summit. These two presidents were the only Heads of State who attended the

National Summit on Africa in Washington D.C., in February 2000.

X. Between the Personal and Princely: A Conclusion

Prior to the National Summit on Africa I participated in a televised Roundtable

Discussion, moderated by Charlyne Hunter-Gault, South Africa's Bureau Chief for CNN.

In addition to Charlyne and myself the panel consisted of Andrew Young, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, former presidential candidate against Charles Taylor in the 1997 Liberian elections; Paul Simon, former U.S. Senator for Illinois; Susan E. Rice, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs under President Bill Clinton; and Lord David Owen, former Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom and a major figure in European diplomacy over Bosnia in the 1990s. The Roundtable

Discussion had its moments of high drama and controversy - as it roamed over issues which ranged from debt relief to reparations for Black enslavement; from the Clinton administration's attitude to genocide in Rwanda in 1994 to the NATO war in Kosovo in 1999. Ethnic cleansing was the politics of the bloodline gone mad!

The Roundtable Discussion was before a large live audience. It was televised on C-Span soon after, and has since been distributed as a video by the Southern Center for International Studies, Atlanta, Georgia.

In the year 2000, I was also involved with another African Head of State.

However, this one was deceased and greatly missed. I am referring to the memory of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the Founder-President of Tanzania, who died in 1999 - just a few months short of the new millennium. Since he died I have been called upon repeatedly to reflect on his significance for post-colonial African history. In the United States I have lectured about Julius K. Nyerere from Cornell New York to Columbus, Ohio. On the radio I have discussed him on the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corporation. In newspapers I have analyzed him in the Sunday Nation (Nairobi), Business Week (Dar es Salaam) and elsewhere.

In the year 2000 there was also the lecture that I gave at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, in Canada, sponsored by the Friends of Makerere in Canada. Indeed, the Friends of Makerere in Canada is an organization. It was launching with me what was intended to be an annual lecture named after Nyerere. Julius K. Nyerere will forever remain one of the most distinguished alumni of Makerere University in Uganda.

Makerere was honouring him in Canada.

You will remember that in 1999 I had been involved in issues of monarchy (hereditary privilege) and debates about slavery (hereditary servitude). Heredity is the bloodline of inheritance. Some of that dichotomy was carried over into the year 2000. At the University of Liverpool in Britain, I was able to discuss afresh the issue of slavery in the Black experience. Indeed, Liverpool is one of the historic ports for the trans-

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Atlantic slave trade, and one of the few places in the Western world which have acknowledged that role with a special museum on the slave trade.

Prior to Liverpool I had participated in West Virginia in a conference concerning a slave-ship called the Henrietta-Marie, the only slave ship whose remains were discovered within the territorial waters of the United States. My presentation at this conference raised the

issue of whether the entire origins of the United States were a tale of two ships - the slave ship and the Mayflower.

Later in the year I was in Addis Abba, Ethiopia, to discuss the issue of reparations for Black enslavement and exploitation. Professor Jacob Ade Ajayi of Nigeria, Ambassador Dudley Thompson of Jamaica and myself are among members of the Group of Eminent Persons appointed by the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1992 to embark on a crusade for reparations. In the year 2000 we were at the OAU headquarters to take stock and plan the next phase of the crusade. My stay in Ethiopia was enriched by my old friend, Abdalla Bujra, who virtually co-hosted my visit. My only regret was not being able to get together with the OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim - also an old friend. Our schedules could not be synchronized in Addis Ababa. On the monarchical side in the year 2000 my newest Royal encounter was Prince Hassan Ibn Talal of Jordan, the brother of the late King Hussein of Jordan and the Uncle of the present King Abdullah. Prince Hassan graced our 7 Congress of the International Association of Middle Eastern Studies (IANIES), which was held in Berlin, Germany, in October 2000, and co-sponsored by the Free University of Berlin. As one of the senior members of the Association, I played host to the Prince at his lecture and at the 36 luncheon. Once again Prince Hassan won the hearts of his hosts by his informality and charm.

The politics of the bloodline affected my family also in the year 2000. Since I am also descended from a ruling family (the Mazrui) in East Africa, some of my critics elsewhere assumed that I had succeeded in the academic field because of family connections! This issue was raised in some of the Internet debates among East Africans such as the "MWANANCHI" Internet Circle. Was Ali Mazrui famous because of his ancestral bloodline connections?

I had to point out on the Internet that by the time I was growing up the Mazrui family was neither politically powerful nor economically affluent. My academic rise was on the basis of scholarships - a Kenyan government scholarship (BA), a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship (MA), and the Oxford University (Nuffeld) Studentship (D Phil.). My professional rise and academic ascent had nothing to do with family connections or my bloodline. Let us hope the rise was due in part to hard work and serious application. It was also due to good luck, as so often happens.

The struggle continues in the search for the ultimate equilibrium between the claims of merit and the demands of justice in our professional performance. And in the wider world a new accommodation is needed between the bonds of shared boundaries, the frontiers of shared freedom, and the parameters of shared partnership.

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APPENDIX

THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF PROF ALI

f the Moses Room in the House

former graduate from Oxford

united the many respected figures

deserved tribute to a man held in
of Lords can hold one hundred
University he was received back in
paying tribute to the Professor was
high esteem by many people the
guests then Lord Ahmed's
England with a warm and hearty
their genuine respect for him not
world over. Lord Ahmed's warm
enthusiasm could easily to
welcome.

just as an academic but as a
reception for Prof Mazrui was a
accommodate many more. It was a
One thing that became
compassionate human being. It is
memorable gesture which
unique celebration of a great
apparent in the historic evening
this deep passion that Prof Mazrui
conveyed the powerful message
African thinker and intellect but
was that Prof Mazrui had won not
has for the African people and
lying at the heart of Prof Mazrui's
judging from the nationalities of
just the minds but also the hearts
humanity at large that is evident in
work, that people from different
the crowd it was clear that Prof
of those who have valued his
both his writings and his persona.
continents united by
Mazrui's appeal extends far
immense contribution to the study
The evening function at the
something much greater.
beyond his native continent. A
of Africa and its people. What
House of Lords was a well

Prof Mazrui is awarded for his distinguished academic achievement by Dr Anas Shaikh Ali,
Chairman of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists
July

Chief Emeka Anyaoku pays a special tribute to the Professor Lord Ahmed: Will your next book be on Kashmir?

His Excellency Dr Yakubu Gowon reads a speech by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, who Baroness Uddin congratulates Professor Mazrui on his nuld not attend in person gender sensitive writings

News July 2000

M A Z R U I

HONOURING MAZRUI,

HONOURING AFRICA

LORD AHMED OF ROTHERHAM

our Excellency, Dr Yakubu Gowon, M'Lords, Your Excellencies, friends. It is my pleasant duty this afternoon to welcome all of you to the House of Lords. It is also my privilege to host this historic event which is to honour Prof Ali Mazruih one of the most renowned scholars of our time.

Today is a proud, joyous and historic moment for Africa. Prof Ali Al-Amin Mazrui is not only one of the continent's most accomplished sons but also one of

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its best ambassadors. During the last four decades Prof Mazrui has epitomised the best of Africa: full of vibrancy, bravery, enthusiasm and hope.

Eis works, his fears, his vision and his achievements have made Prof Mazrui a true global citizen. Proud of his triple heritage Prof Mazrui's works have had an influence in all the five continents. For a man who is ever contemplating his Abrahamic roots it is only befitting that such an occasion IS held in the Moses Room.

Like all great people Prof Mazrui is difficult to define. Mazruiana, if anything, is mostly in the eyes of the beholder: to some, Prof Mazrui is the political scientist par excellence a man who thrived on making political science out of Africa's political chaos.

To others Prof Mazrui is the perfect agent provocateur: a man who had so much room in his writings and thinking for sacred cows.

Others, including myself,

believe that if anything Prof Mazrui is a visionary a man who rightly or wrongly - refused to be held hostage by fashionable trends of the time and had the courage and the talents to articulate a perspective of not what life is all about now but what it should be like tomorrow.

Prof Mazrui hails from a noble family, was raised in the best academic tradition of the times and now is at the peak - and some would say - master of all he surveys.

But he continues to both frustrate and confound his adversaries, excite and inspire his fans, and, in the name of his beloved Africa and heritage find new vantage points from which he could point a new direction a new destination or, even a new turn.

I have to admit that my association with Prof Mazrui has been, unfortunately, very limited. I first met him last year when I visiced Washington. From the moment we met we hit it off: the internationally acclaimed academic from Africa and a member of the House of Lords who was born in Kashmir.

During this meeting in Washington I was to share a platform with the Reverend Jesse Jackson. Somebody on my table commented on the widely-known talents of Rev Jackson to

perform on stage. I kept a British aloofness to the discussion going on around me. My ears only twitched when one of the people around the table said:

“Well, you are lucky: it could be Prof Niazrui up there with you that would be real trouble Today that dreaded day has arrived! Honouring Prof Mazrui is honouring us all who are committed to a world of peaceful coexistence and tolerance.

is also about honouring a wonderful continent, its beautiful people and their dreams. Again welcome all of you. Thank you.

JuEy

M A Z R U I

BRIDGING THE GAP

CHIEF EMEKAANYAOKU

our excellencies, my Lord, ladies and gentlemen, I must confess that I regarded the invitation from Lord Ahmed as a special treat and one which I found irresistible. I couldn't resist coming to join what I would rather describe as a celebration of Ali Mazrui's huge achievements.

My most recent reading has been the Mazruiana Collection, compiled by Abdul Samed Bemath who I see is here with us today. I would recommend this as an undoubtedly useful introduction to Mazrui's prolific writing. I take great pride in the huge literary achievements of this outstanding archetype of our generation.

Ali Mazrui grew up in east Africa in a period when physical contacts between regions of Africa were very limited. In fact in the early sixties even within some of the regions of Africa, a telephone call from Lagos to Cotonou - a distance of only 147 miles - would have to be routed through London and Paris. Telephone calls at that time between Mombassa and West Africa were quite unknown. journeys between east Africa and west Africa had to be routed via Europe. That was the situation when Ali Mazrui and I were growing up.

But Ali Mazrui's writings started to bridge this gap. His writings were very amicably read by a good many of us in west Africa. Ali Mazrui's writings are very truly predelicious. I was recently reading one of the introductory essays to the Mazruian Collection and the author told me that Ali Mazrui's writings, over 500, have been published in all the major continents. How very prolific.

I do not pretend nor indeed even aspire to be literary critic of Ali Mazrui, but I would like to say one or two things about the tremendous impact which his writings have had on policy and opinion makers, not just in Africa but beyond. His many prestigious academic appointments outside and within Africa bear eloquent testimony to the wide acknowledgement of the value of Ali

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Niazrui as a serious and outstanding political and social thinker. Ali Mazrui is without any doubt not only one of our first outstanding Africans but an African who thinks and writes about African affairs with deep passion and knowledge.

I remember how enthralled I and a good many others who listened to your Reith lectures of 1979 were at your discussion of the African condition at the time. I remember well that series of six lectures. the first you discussed Africa in its state of decay. In the second that black people are the most humiliated and dehumanised in the history of mankind. In the third that Africa was stealing cultural positions while experiencing the impact of Christianity

and Western violence. In the fourth you traced the reasons for Africa's under-development. In the fifth you identified the cleavages of ethnicity, ideology and nationalism among the African regions. In the sixth lecture, which I thought was probably the most controversial, you talked about the marginalisation of the African cultures and the implication of the acquisition of nuclear capability.

It is of course the hallmark of deep and visionary thinkers that they provoke controversy, but I am sure that Ali Mazrui himself is quite used to his writings and lectures provoking some controversy. But the truth is that most authentic deep thinking Africans and non-Africans genuinely interested in understanding the reality as against the perceived notions of African affairs have always valued his contributions even when they do not share his views.

I do not think there can be any doubt that from all the continents Africa and its people remain the most susceptible to perceptions that are often far removed from reality. For example, how often do we see in the media here, images of African leaders and events that bear little resemblance to reality: One of the many reasons for this is that Africa and its people are only studied and commented upon without much effort to do so through the perspective of the people as the real inhabitants of the African countries.

I believe that one of Ali Mazrui's greatest achievements is that unlike some of Africa's elites, he has succeeded in broadening his perspective without adulterating his African perspective. One of the ways in which he not too long ago sought to do this was by travelling across the region, to a West African land!

Ali Mazrui has indeed

writes, analyses and interprets African affairs with authority and credibility. He genuinely relates African cultures to the cultures of other parts of the world and he specifically states his vision of the role of Africa and Africans in the increasingly inter-dependent parts of our common humanity.

May I once again thank you all for giving me this opportunity to join in celebrating the achievements of not just a great African but a truly great human being.

become a global African. He

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, Leading African Diplomat and former Secretary General of the Commonwealth Secretariat

MAZRUI: THE TRIBUTES

NOT EVERYBODY COULD MAKE TO
ARE A SELECTED OF THE HISTORIC AT HOUSE OF LORDS, BELOW MESSAGES SENT TO
MARK THE OCCASION

Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations
Global African
conflicts combined.

But, if these problems are all too-familiar, what is less known

"It gives me great pleasure to
is that Africa is changing, and in
join you paying tribute to Prof
that change Africans themselves

Ali Mazrui, a visionary African
are taking the lead. Over the last
scholar and intellectual whose
decade, more than 25 African
writings I have long admired*
At the dawn of the new
countries have undertaken far-
millennium, Africa is still
reaching structural economic
struggling to overcome the
reform, and the era of coups d'état, single party monopoly on
daunting challenges of poverty, instability and conflict. These old
and winner take-all
problems are compounded by
politics is giving way to more democratic forms of government
new ones, such as the AIDS
based on transparency,
crisis, which is devastating
African economies and societies,
accountability, good governance,
and which last year claimed
and respect for fundamental
more lives than all the region's
human rights.

Professor is a
Mazrui's work

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wonderful illustration of how Africa for all its struggles thrives as a complex and
fascinating place. His work in developing the concepts of "global Africa" and "Africa's triple
heritage" ideas which explore the interaction of indigenous and Western cultural and
religious forces on the African continent and beyond have not only helped reshape the
perception of Africa by the rest of the world, but among Africans themselves.

This moment in history is ours. The International community is showing a growing interest
in helping Africa realise its potential. At the same time, Africa is growing increasingly aware
that the key to many of its problems can be found only among Africans themselves.

African scholars like Prof Mazrui are at the vanguard of this renewal. Their work holds the
key to what we all want and need: African answers to African problems.

MR KOFI ANNAN, SECRETARY
GENERAL, UNTIED NATIONS MESSAGE READ BY HIS
EXCELLENCY DR YAKUB GOWON

Distinguished African

"I would have very much liked to be present at this historic occasion in order to witness
this honour bestowed upon one of the leading luminaries from Africa. Regrettably
however, due to other pressing commitments, will not be able to do so. I wish, nonetheless,
to make use of this occasion to pay special tribute to Professor Mazrui and to acknowledge
this highly deserved recognition.

Prof Mazrui has earned the respect of fellow scholars, policy managers, and the people of Africa in general for his independent thinking, creative articulation of ideas, and a profound elucidation of the African condition. His books, articles and presentations in various media have been inspiring and have stimulated intensive debate. Indeed, he is a towering scholarly figure whose contribution to knowledge has remained topical and stimulating throughout his intellectual life.

His analytical capacity to traverse historical time, to capture the subtleties of multicultural dynamics, and at the same time to remain concrete and comprehensible is, indeed, outstanding. He has contributed immensely to the projection of a positive image of Africa, particularly through unraveling the Continent's heritage and its diverse assets. He has effectively deployed his knowledge of world civilisations and the trends of global development in exposing Africa's reality.

Prof Mazrui is indeed a scholar of world stature who has, in both his academic endeavours and personal life, contributed to the multicultural understanding which is critical to the peaceful coexistence of diverse peoples of different cultures from different Continents. It has been for me a pleasure to know Prof Mazrui and to have interacted with him on various issues of common concern and interest to our Continent. In many ways he has been a source of inspiration. His duty

role as a distinguished African, as a scholar and as a human being has rightly earned him the respect of generations of Africans from all corners of our Continent. As a teacher, he has contributed immensely to the intellectual development of many, both within and beyond the African Continent.

In honouring him you are also honouring his achievements and recognising his immense contribution.

DR SALIM AHMED SALIM,
SECRETARY GENERAL,
ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN
UNITY, ADDIS ABABA, MESSAGE
BY BARONESS UDDIN OF BENAL GREEN

Legendary
Communicator

"I deeply regret not being able to join you today for the book launching ceremony by Professor Ali A Mazrui. No words can truly capture the full measure and multiple dimensions of Professor Mazrui. As a teacher, beginning at

Makerere University in early '60s, he has guided the intellectual formation of generations of students, scholars and leaders all over the world. As a scholar and writer he has been prolific, broad and influential; his books and articles on Africa, world cultures, and international and comparative politics have been disproportionately influential.

He is a great and legendary communicator; few people have used the written and spoken word, television, radio and public lectures to popularise knowledge, generate debate and shape ideas. In the process he has also made an extraordinary contribution to the fortunes of English language inventing a particular usage, texture and idiom - Ali Mazrui. has made the English language a truly exciting medium of communication.

Ali Mazrui is Africa's gift and gift to the world. Many people owe their knowledge and

ideas about
Africa to his lifetime of work and
a-News 2000
communication.

Ali Mazrui is a man of great generosity, charisma, good humour and warmth. He is a person of tremendous courage and intellectual audacity. I feel most fortunate to be among the legion of people who have been deeply touched, inspired and blessed by knowing Professor Mazrui, since my secondary school days and King's Colleges Budo, in Uganda.”³

OLARA OWNINU,
SECRETARY-GENERAL, SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE OF
SECRETARY-GENERAL FOR
CHILDREN AND ARMED
CONFLICT, MESSAGE READ BY
RICHARD DOWDEN

First Professor

“It gives me great pleasure to be able to contribute a personal note in honour of Ali Mazrui. When I was appointed in '1962 as a very young professor of politics at Makerere University College, Uganda, my mother, who was a Scotswoman with a strong sense of the ridiculous, said: “Oh, it's like being a colonial bishop, it doesn't really count’.”

I thought she was probably right, and that my job should be immediately to find a real professor, an African from East Africa, to do the job.

I wrote to several universities in Britain and the USA and received half a dozen replies.

They all said the same thing:

there is a young Kenyan called Mazrui you should be trying to get.” So we tried, and we were lucky enough to get him.

Ali Mazrui came to Makerere as the first African professor and head of a department of political science in East Africa, and indeed one of the first African professors in any subject at any East African university. He built up that department and put African politics on the academic map in a new way”

He also fought some hard battles for freedom. And he found time to write - not just on politics but on, a huge range of issues, and in due course he gained a world-wide reputation as a speaker and broadcaster and as well.

I once asked his secretary at *Makerere* how he did it and she said: “I don't he writes faster than I can type!”

Ali later moved to the USA where he has graced a number of prestigious chairs. Now he graces this special occasion in the House of Lords. I am very sorry to be on the wrong side of the Atlantic today, but I am grateful for the chance to send my warm congratulations and best wishes for this happy and special event.”

PROF COLIN LEYS, OF
PUBLIC POLICY, 'UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON' AN OLD
COLLEAGUE OF PROF. MAZRUI,
MESSAGE READ BY PROF
MOHAMED BAKAR

Provocative

African

"The very best of good wishes for the book launch. I'm sorry I can't be there. Picture leading a group of some 30 elderly people around Winchester and its environs which is why I can't be with you.

I believe you will be speaking? I have always found what you have to say fascinating. Most vividly I remember your coming to Makerere shortly after the removal of Amin to give a most provoking lecture in which you urged Uganda not just to back to before Amin. You told us that even Yoweri Museveni could teach us something and I so agreed.

was most disappointed that the questions afterwards indicated that few at Makerere had really listened to what you were saying. I hope in the distinguished company around you today there will be some with ears to hear!

I have missed by a few days one or two of your most provocative lectures in recent years but I hope that you still have the magic which enchants some, causes others indignation, but stimulates everyone. If I followed your own interest in numbers I might begin to add up the occasions we have missed a chance of meeting I hope you didn't run away from New York because I was coming?

But may this be a very happy occasion. I shall be thinking of you."

PROF MARGARET

MACPHERSON, RETIRED IN WINDERMERE, AN OLD

COLLEAGUE OF PROF MAZRU

MESSAGE READ BY: PROF CHRISTOPHER DAUES-ROBERTS

Great Friend

"I very much regret that as much as I wish I am unable to attend this function. I am happy, however, that The Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences is represented at this function by our European representative Dr Anas Alw Shaikh-Ali.

I am also extremely delighted that Prof Mazru's book is being launched at the House of Lords, and that you have arranged this function to honour a man who made great contributions to many areas of the social sciences.

We, at the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, the first school of its kind in the United States, have not only been honoured and privileged to have him with us as the Khaldun Chair and Professor at Large at the School but have greatly benefited from his insight and important contributions.

We pray for his continued success, wish him all the best and send him our congratulations as the recipient of the first award given by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists in the UK. I would also like to thank Lord Ahmed for hosting this event and congratulate the Association for its appropriate, judicious and wise choice.

Nay God bless all those attending the function with you today."

DR TAFIA JABIR AL-ALWANI,

PRESIDENT, THE GRADUATE

SCHOOL OF ISLAMIC & SOCIAL SCIENCES

A GLOBAL AFRICAN

PROF MOHAMED BAKARW

had heard about Prof Ali Mazrui for the first time when I was a high school student in Mombasa, the natal home of the learned Professor, in the late 60s. The Professor then was almost a mythological figure in our town. He was rumoured to be a master of the English language who was using it to raise controversial political issues in international journals. I first encountered his writings in the then most sprightly, sexy, and occasionally teasing Transition magazine, edited by the late Rajat Neogy. I distinctly remember some of his seductive pieces that appeared then, such as Nkrumah - the Leninist Czar, Tanzaphilia, and Phallic Symbols in Politics and War. These were exciting times in East Africa and the University of East Africa, and especially Makerere, was the intellectual hub of the emergent intellectual culture. Every East African with any intellectual pretensions wanted to be in Kampala. And the main attraction was really Ali Mazrui. They wanted to be witness to this relatively young Professor who was still to complete his doctorate under John Plaminatz at Nuffield College, Oxford.

It was not until the month after I graduated from the University of Nairobi, that I met Prof Ali Mazrui for the first time, in the unlikely town of Nlalindi. The occasion was a luncheon hosted by my 'cuznle for his close friends who included Ali's relatively young uncle, Shaykh Abu Suleiman. Among those present was the diminutive Chief Kadhi of Kenva, the late Sheikh Abdallah- Saleh Farsv, who also happens to have been a student of Shaykh Alamin Bin Ali Mazrui, the illustrious father of Professor i Mazrui.

As a young impressionable graduate I was awed by Ali's reputation as a scholar. Little did it occur to me then that we were to pursue identical careers and I was to be part of the generation that came after his. After the usual niceties, my uncle suggested that I take Ali and show him around. The Ostrich Farm was suggested.

Neither of us was interested in ostriches. We took the occasion to discuss our favourite issues: politics, literature and history. Ali had a way of making younger people more relaxed by engaging them as equals. He allowed me to disagree with his perspectives on African and international issues.

Like all young men at the time, I was disappointed by what we considered an unfair treatment of our idol, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. I had followed the acrimonious debates in the pages of Transition and I sympathised with his detractors than him.

What concerned me then also was the nature of political science as practiced by Ali Mazrui. I had been educated to believe that no social analyses could be taken seriously without the appropriate dose of mathematical formulae and diagrams with curves. Ali was in fact in the process of removing political analysis from the stuffy context of University lecture halls and journals by evolving a prose style appropriate to his needs.

The part conversational and part written style of much of his already significant oeuvre was taking a distinctly Mazrui flavour. This style was to be parodied by the American novelist and travel writer Paul Theroux in a Transition piece. I remember then that an issue of Transition without a contribution by Ali Mazrui was not something to look forward to.

When he later came to apply his vigorous mind to language issues, I could appreciate why he would find it more pleasant to work on sociolinguistic problems of the Third World rather than involve himself in the incomprehensible and mathematics padded world of Chomskyan linguistics.

see Prof Sakai page 34

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to spend one year at Princeton's Center For dvanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences. This was to be a stop-gap measure before looking for alternative Dosition e}sewhere. BV leaving akerere suddenly Ali had not only lost his job but his entire library, There were no signs of disappointment or demoralisation in his demeanor in the course of that encounter and oar subsequent trip together back to Mombasa. That was to become the beginning of our friendship that transcended mere acadenuc matters.

Together with Edward

Sa.id of Columbia, Ali Mazr,ui.

was to become one of the tvco the best known public intellectuals forever espousing and articulating Third World issues. These two scholars i works are so weii knovvyn that we dc not raed to go into them, here. What we need to note, though is the impact of their writings on Third World issues. Each of them virtually established a paradigm within which these areas to be discussed.

In recognition of Ali Mazrui's outstanding contribution to African oolitical thought, the '1 992 Seattle Meeting of the Arafrican African Studies Association set up a special session to deliberate on the man and

His forced departure from Kampala by the repressive regime of Iddi Amin left Makerere a lot poorer. It was at this juncture that we met with Ali Mazrui. remember him telling me that there was no likelihood of him returning to Makerere and that he has just received an invitation Prof Mohamed Bakar! Professor of Linguistics at Faith University, Istanbul, Turkey & University of Nairobi, Kenya

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Prof Eakari from page 29

his works and that meeting culminated in what is virtually his intellectually biographys The Global African.

Ali Mazrui is in a sense one of the earliest pioneers of the now fashionable discipline of global or multicultural studies.

suppose this was a natural inclination for a scholar born and brought up in a country and in a continent of diverse cultures, races, religions and languages, just to mention few. He came to bring this experience and exposure in analysing social issues. He was original not only in the ideas he came to articulate, but also his mode of exposition. His language was accessible not only to the intellectuals but also the ordinary interested lay reader.

His natural gift of the gab was quickly recognised and was offered not only the possibility of being the first African to give the famous BBC Reith Lectures but also the opportunity to do the now famous 1986 documentary *The Africans*. These series will remain unsurpassed for a long time to come because of the clarity of exposition and the informed manner of their presentation and the wealth of their information.

Ali Mazrui is above all a gentleman and a humane person. No one who has ever met and spoken with him will forget his warmth, courteous and self-effacing manner, his personal charisma and alert and lively intelligence. One little known fact about Ali is that he is a completely selfless and generous person who would go an extra mile to be of help to others. He has paid thousands of dollars for the education of both African and non-African students ranging from remote villages in Africa to American Universities.

In his humility as a scholar he has enlisted the help of others in his research and writing. He has also co-authored articles and books with other scholars in recognition of the fact that the contribution of scholars from other related disciplines would likely throw more light on the issues he was writing about. He also does this for purposes of mentoring young scholars who have not been sufficiently exposed but about whom Ali has noticed a certain talent.

One of the books Ali Mazrui is launching today here in the House of Lords, *Power of Babel*, is a significant contribution of our understanding of the role and power of language in political systems. This subject is particularly germane in an increasingly interdependent world of post Cold War era of globalisation and the coming to the fore the fear of the impact of Tinseltown on the cultures of the rest of the world. This book is really a continuation of issues he has thought about in such previous writings as *The Political Sociology of the English Language in Africa and Swahili*, *Language and State*, the latter too co-authored with his nephew Prof. Alamin Mazrui of Ohio State University.

Professor Ali Mazrui is both anxious and optimistic about the future and role of African languages in the emergent global culture dominated by the indisputable ascendancy of the American version of the English Language. He shares these anxieties with other prominent African intellectuals like his countryman Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and the Cameroonian philosopher; Paulin Hountondji, who want African languages to become viable tools of self-inspection and accumulation and as the to African modes of being.

I or one do not share their pessimism. The problem with African societies is their legacy of misrule, plunder and utter disregard for its intellectual potential by its political leadership. As a linguist I recognise that all languages are at par with one another. There are no superior or inferior languages. Only that every epoch has its own dominant language; the Medieval period had Arabic and Latin as the languages of intellectual discourse. English is the reigning champion at the moment, and from the look of things, for a long time to come. This has very little to do with the intrinsic nature of the English Language." Rather it has much to do with its lack of linguistic chauvinism. In the words of Professor Geoffrey Leech, English is a hospitable language that has absorbed and continues to absorb words from all languages. Its speakers are no longer recognisable on the basis of their race or creed. It has been forced by historical circumstances to embrace every conceivable racial and ethnic types who can all lay claim to it.

It is not at all surprising that the best writers writing in English at material time are actually not mother tongue speakers. This is reflected in the preponderance of writers from the Third World who have won the Booker Prize for Literature in the past two decades.

This trend will continue as writers from the various parts of the world to use English as a realistic means of reaching a global audience.

At the same time native languages will continue to be the media for articulating local concerns and issues. There is of course the human gift of translation. How on earth would the modern West been able to lay claim to classical Greek heritage if it were not for the thriving translation activities that were so much a part of that multicultural and tolerant Andalusian Muslim world that was the intellectual home for Christians and Jews also? Professor Ali Mazrui's legacy is his espousal of the philosophy, of globalisation and its potential as a paradigm for the peaceful coexistence of Civilisations, races and religions without any one dominant group imposing its hegemony on the others. It is interesting that a lot of the issues that Samuel Huntington had discussed in his well known book Clash of Civilizations have preoccupied Ali Mazrui in the past four decades, only that they were discussed in terms of their relationship to the African World.

Al-Azhar News 2000

Newsletter 26, Early 2002, Dreams from the Past, Dreads of the Future

Early 2002

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 26

General Theme:

DREAMS FROM THE PAST, DREADS OF THE FUTURE

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By

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This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. My home address is as follows .

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Almost exactly forty years before September 11, 2001, a plane crashed somewhere else, and had an impact on one of the tallest buildings in New York City. The initial reaction was that the air crash was an accident. But since major international issues were at stake, there was soon speculation about sabotage and international terrorism. There was even suspicion that the plane crashed as an act of deliberate suicide.

Aerial Terror: 1961 to 2001

The month of this air crash was also September, but the year was 1961 rather than 2001. The tall building which was shaken was the Headquarters of the United Nations, but it was devastated politically and psychologically rather than physically. The Secretary General of the United Nations - engaged in a highly controversial issue affecting the Third World - had been killed in a startling air-crash outside the country.

The period 1960-1961 was my first year in the United States. The year was spent mainly in

New York City where I was a graduate student at Columbia University. On September 18, 1961, I was indeed in New York. I felt the full impact of the news of the death of Dag Hammarskjöld who is still widely regarded as the greatest Secretary-General the United Nations has ever had. Although the reverberations of the air crash were especially intense in New York City, the crash itself occurred near Ndola in Zambia. The Secretary-General was on a mission concerning the future of the Congo (Kinshasa) [former Belgian Congo] at a time when the Big Powers were much more competitively involved in trying to control that strategically vital country than they now are. The then Soviet Union and the United States were sniping at each other over the Congo - and Secretary-General Hammarskjöld's was caught in the crossfire. As a researcher at the United Nations I had seen Secretary-General Hammarskjöld a number of times, but had not actually met him. My masters' thesis at Columbia had been on the Congo crisis as it unfolded in 1960-61, and I had tried to follow the politics closely, including the role of the Secretary-General Hammarskjöld. His violent and sudden death therefore carried a certain additional poignancy for me. The one survivor of the air crash in Ndola was an American Sergeant Harold M. Julien, a former American marine. He died later, but not before reporting that Hammarskjöld had suddenly "changed his mind" about landing at Ndola and had instructed the pilot to change course. Moments later - according to the injured American - there were explosions aboard the plane.

Muslims seek martyrdom often through the jihad, defined as a struggle in the path of Allah. Christians, like Hammarskjöld, have pursued martyrdom by seeking a sacrificial death in the image of Jesus, a crucifixion in some form. The three possibilities in 1961 were, first, that the air crash was an accident; second, the crash was a terrorist act by a third party; and third, that the crash was engineered by Dag Hammarskjöld himself in pursuit of martyrdom. As his close friend W.H. Auden, the poet, put it after Hammarskjöld's death "the thought of suicide was not strange to Hammarskjöld."

[Auden's Introduction to Hammarskjöld's book, *MARKINGS* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965, p. xv].

In September 2001, I was about to leave Binghamton by air to go to the United Nations in New York at the invitation of Dag Hammarskjöld's African successor, Kofi Annan. I was a member of a group of what the UN called "Eminent Personalities", invited by Secretary-General Kofi Annan to evaluate Africa's development performance in the preceding ten years.

You can imagine my shock on September 11, 2001, when I learnt about the dreadful suicidal air crashes into the World Trade Center in New York city. All subsequent flights to anywhere in the United States were cancelled. The buildings of the United Nations were closed. Our meeting of Eminent Personalities - scheduled for September 12, 2001 - was postponed indefinitely. [The meeting was subsequently held at the UN in November 2001 under the Chairmanship of the distinguished Ghanaian economist and former Minister of Finance of Ghana, Kwesi Botchwey].

The additional shocking news about another air crash into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., was a different kind of concern for my family. My oldest son Jamal works for the Federal Government of the United States. Although I knew he did not work for the

Pentagon, there was the theoretical possibility of his visiting a friend in the Defense Department. The family was for a short while worried about Jamal and whether or not he was safe. [Incidentally, Jamal works for the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) under the Chair of Mr. Michael Powell, the son of Secretary of State Colin Powell].

We did have a friend on September 11, who worked at the World Trade Center, a Filipino American whose South African wife Cheryl still lives in Binghamton and visits our home often. On that morning of September 11 she called me and was almost hysterical on the phone. She did not know if her husband was safe, and she was unable to reach him by phone. Pauline dashed to the South African friend's home to lend her moral support while they tried to get news about her husband at the World Trade Center.

Before mid-day we found out that the husband, Rainier, was among the survivors, alhamdu li 'Llah (the Lord be praised).

Of course, we grieved for those who did not make it either at the World Trade Center or at the Pentagon, or from the crash in Pennsylvania. The death toll ran into thousands of lives. Although the events of September 11 occurred in the last third of the year 2001, it has come to loom large in the year as a whole. Professionally, I gave lectures about September 11 in four different continents in so short a period. I gave lectures or presentations about the significance of September 11 for North-South Relations in Germany, the United Arab Emirates, Great Britain, Ethiopia, as well as the United States. I was interviewed for newspapers in Europe and Japan on the subject, and on the radio for the BBC and Voice of America, on television in the United States and for multiple media in Africa.

All of a sudden I had to brush up on Wahabiyyah (Wahabism) in Islam, and on whether the year of the elephants referred to in the Chapter on Al-Fil in the Holy Qur'an had anything to do with the outbreak of anthrax among the invading elephants from Ethiopia seeking to conquer Mecca in the year 570 C.E.

But the air-crash which killed Dag Hammarskjöld in September 1961 was not the only irony of history which was echoed by the deliberate air crash into the World Trade Center in September 2001.

For Kenyans especially there was one additional irony about the year 2001. That was the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the political rumblings and tumult which culminated into the most violent phase of Kenya's colonial history. Let us now turn to this second irony of history implicit in September 11, and which also has considerable relevance for my own life and career.

From Mau Mau to Osama bin Laden

By a strange twist of destiny, Kenya in 2001 was coming to terms with its Mau Mau history at about the same time as the United States was engaged in its war on terrorism. The Mau Mau movement against white settler rule in Kenya in the 1950s had been widely denounced by its critics as a terrorist movement. African loyalists to the British colonial regime were sometimes assassinated by Mau Mau, and from time to time a European farming family would be wiped out in a midnight raid by Mau Mau. By October 1952 the British Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, was forced to declare a state of emergency in the colony.

As the fiftieth anniversary of the Mau Mau war was approaching, the Kenyan authorities started contemplating in the year 2001 major gestures to honour Mau Mau as a movement of patriotic heroism and nationalist sacrifice. The British had arrested and executed Dedan Kimathi, a Mau Mau “commander” in the forest. In the year 2001 Kenya was considering turning into national monuments the place where Kimathi was arrested and perhaps the place where many Mau Mau fighters were once detained.

There is also a movement to seek out Dedan Kimathi’s remains, give him a hero’s funeral and build a special Mausoleum. Certain Kimathi enthusiasts are even demanding a Kimathi Day annually as a day to honour those who gave their lives in the liberation war for Kenya’s independence in the 1950s.

Almost exactly fifty years later the atrocities of September 11, 2001, occurred at the World Trade Center in New York (a symbol of American economic might) and at the Pentagon (Department of Defense, a symbol of American military might) in Washington, D.C. A third plane, probably intended by the terrorists for either the White House or the Congressional building (the Capitol), was aborted and crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. From Mau Mau to September 11, 2001, my entire life as a student of political violence was encapsulated between those two political eruptions which were separated by half-a-century of time and more than five thousand miles of distance. Was Dedan Kimathi an earlier version of Osama bin Laden? If Osama bin Laden had already been killed by his enemies or if he would one day be executed as Dedan Kimathi was, will bin Laden be similarly vindicated one day as a martyr and hero fighting for his people? The whole dilemma as to where liberation war ends and terrorism begins has continued to haunt the conscience of patriotism and liberalism globally.

Before September 11, I was interviewed by the World Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) about the rehabilitation of Mau Mau in Kenya fifty years after the outbreak of the Mau Mau war. The dilemma concerning Mau Mau had always been whether it was a Kenyan nationalist movement or a Kikuyu ethnic movement, whether it was political patriotic movement or a peasants’ economic revolt, and whether it was a movement of progressive liberation or of activist terrorism. Ever since I wrote my article “On Heroes and Uhuru Worship” for TRANSITION magazine in Kampala in 1963, I have sided with those who have interpreted Mau Mau as a genuine national liberation movement. I took the same position when I was interviewed by the BBC in the year 2001, when the memory of Mau Mau was being positively rehabilitated by the Kenyan authorities. Will Middle Eastern historians one day rehabilitate Al-Qaeda and bin Laden? In August 2001, less than a month before the events of September 11, the Federal Government of the United States subsidized my going to Kenya to give lectures under the umbrella of the Kenya Commission on Constitutional Review. The Commission was chaired by Professor Yash Ghai of the University of Hong Kong. My lectures were not of course about Mau Mau, but they were about ethnic forces in Kenya politics. Indeed, the title of my lectures in both Nairobi and Mombasa was as follows: “KATIBA NA KABILA: If African politics are ethnic prone, can African constitutions be ethnic-proof?”

Although Mombasa is my hometown, and the lecture should have attracted at least a thousand people, I was lucky to have got an audience of about one hundred and fifty. This was because of the appalling lack of advertising of the lecture, and the extremely short

notice given to the Mombasa public. On the other hand, I probably did get my thousand people in Nairobi in spite of the last minute change of venue and other organizational problems. My Nairobi lecture was also held at the prestigious Kenyatta Conference Center.

One local radio station in Nairobi broadcast my entire lecture live. I am told that the radio station subsequently repeated the whole fifty-minute lecture two or three days in a row. I was deeply flattered by this degree of attention.

However, the constitutional hero of Kenya in the year 2001 was indeed Professor Yash Ghai, the Chairman of the Commission. Under competing pressures from many sources, including different members of the Kenya Government, Yash Ghai maintained his political independence and personal integrity. The main goal of the Commission was to produce a new draft constitution for Kenya in the course of the year 2002. My own lectures in Kenya in 2001 were simply part of the process of public debate on constitutional issues.

(Incidentally, Yash Ghai and I were contemporaries as graduate students at Nuffield College, Oxford University, in England, and have remained friends ever since. He has remained a Kenyan in spite of his many years as professor first in England and later in Hong Kong. I have remained a Kenyan in spite of my own many years abroad. I grew up in the shadow of Mau Mau; I am aging in the shadow of AlQaeda.)

Legal Dreams and Colonial Nightmares

Yash Ghai was the law student I was closest to during all my years as a student. We had many discussions about politics and the law. He seemed to be the nearest approximation to what I had dreamt of becoming before I ever left Mombasa to study abroad.

My father had been a major jurist in the Islamic tradition, and rose to become the Chief Kadhi of Kenya, (Chief Islamic Justice) in the 1940s. Had he not died when I was only fourteen years old, I would have been encouraged to follow in his footsteps and become a jurist in Islamic law. I might have gone to Al-Azhar University in Cairo instead of Manchester, Columbia and Oxford.

In reality I nearly did not go to any of those places - not even to Makerere College in Uganda. After my Old Man died my school-work took a nose-dive. It was the crucial year of my taking the Cambridge School Certificate examination. I ended up with a Third Class Certificate - totally inadequate for admission to any institution of higher education. My dreams of becoming either a writer or a lawyer in the Western tradition seemed to have come to a permanent halt.

The Mau Mau war had not yet broken out in colonial Kenya, but there was a good deal of economic uncertainty. On graduating from the Secondary School in Mombasa in 1948 with the Third Class Cambridge certificate, I started looking for a job. I was considered for the job of a bank teller at Barclays Bank in Mombasa. Quite unexpectedly, I failed a urine medical test. (This was long before diabetes afflicted me as an old man!). The 1948 diagnosis was proven to have been wrong, but the mistake was enough to cost me the job as a clerk at Barclays Bank. In those initial years I was deprived not just of the dream of a legal career. I could not even get simple fairness and justice.

While the clouds of political unrest in colonial Kenya were gathering ominously, my own career was also trying to find a sense of direction. My high school results were modest, but at least I had passed the prestigious Cambridge School Certificate, even if Third Class.

Subsequently I was hired by a Dutch multinational company - the Twensche Overseas Trading Company in Mombasa, dealing with perfumes and toilet preparations. I was supposed to be a trainee for a managerial job. But at the age of fifteen I was too young for the responsibilities envisaged. The Dutch company let me go with a strong letter giving the reason why they could not keep me. Both the law and simple justice seemed to be eluding me.

While my first job application (to Barclays Bank) had resulted in my not getting a job at all, my second application (to the Dutch company) had got me a job but only very briefly.

My third job application (to an emerging technical college) got me a temporary job but without any pay at all. Although I did not know it at the time, this third opportunity was destined to shape my life forever. At first my new employer did not have any budget for this junior clerk, but they were prepared to let me learn on the job. The new employers were the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (MIOME), at the time little more than an idea being pursued at Government House, the residence of the Governor of Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell. Fifteen year old Ali Mazrui was given a rickety little desk in one corner of the temporary offices of MIOME.

Had I been successfully hired by a branch of Barclays Bank in Mombasa, I might have remained an employee of a junior branch of Barclays in Mombasa for the rest of my life.

Had I been successfully trained by the Dutch multinational to be a branchmanager in an East African town, I might have become a local dignitary but not an international figure. But when I was finally hired by the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (MIOME), the stage was being set for a new destiny in what I later called "Africa's triple heritage". I did not know it at the time, but my road to the Western world was through this Islamic institution. From MIOME to Huddersfield

In the early years all the academic staff of MIOME were Europeans (primarily

Christians). All the students were Muslims (Africans, Indians, and Arabs of East Africa). The mission was to produce technologically skilled East African Muslims. The whole concept was rooted in Africa's triple heritage—indigenous, Islamic and Western considerations. But the educational goals were technological rather than legal.

In any case, I began as a mere junior clerk without pay at MIOME, and was then regularized as a clerk with pay. I finally rose to become Boarding Supervisor (or Warden) of the Halls of Residence of MIOME. The students addressed me as "Sheikh Ali"—one more symbol of the triple heritage at work. But I was not a learned sheikh in Islamic law.

It was in the course of my years at MIOME that I met my first "Head of State"—the Governor of Colonial Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell. MIOME was the brainchild of Sir Philip Mitchell - who wanted to see African Muslim subjects of Great Britain catch up with the twentieth century through technology. If the Western world had been as sensitive about Muslim dignity in the age of technology as Sir Philip had been, would we have averted Muslim terrorist anger against the West?

On the last of Sir Philip's periodic visits to MIOME he heard me give a speech as part of the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday at MIOME. In subsequent years I was to give thousands of other speeches in different parts of the world - from Sweden to New Zealand, from Kano to Kuala Lumpur, from Lansing to Lahore. But perhaps no single speech

played a bigger role in changing the course of my life than the one which Sir Philip Mitchell heard on the Prophet's Birthday in Mombasa, in 1952.

The next day the Governor sent for the young speaker to chat with him about his future educational aspirations. Sir Philip discouraged me from pursuing legal aspirations. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Governor subsequently wrote a memorandum to the Director of Education in Nairobi about the young man the Governor himself had virtually interviewed in Mombasa. By the time I applied once again for a Kenya Government scholarship to study in Great Britain, I did not receive the usual letter of "regrets" to which my poor Cambridge Certificate results had made me accustomed. Instead, I received a letter inviting me to go to Nairobi for an interview. Did the British colonial authorities have a policy of affirmative action to help "backward" African Muslims with another chance? Nor was the interview of this unknown twenty year old boy from Mombasa done by lower-ranking officers at the Education Department in Nairobi. This obscure Ali Mazrui was interviewed by no less a person than the Director of Education himself, helped by his Deputy. These were the highest-ranking educational officers in colonial Kenya. Why else would they have been interviewing a young unknown from Mombasa but for the prior recommendation of someone of the rank or caliber of Sir Philip Mitchell? Was the little speech by Ali Mazrui at MIOME on the Prophet Muhammad's

birthday now on the verge of re-directing Ali's entire life? Was that direction likely to be legal training?

Some weeks later I received a letter from the Department of Education confirming that I had been awarded a scholarship, first to complete my secondary education at a college in Huddersfield, England, and later to go to a British University for the Bachelor of Arts rather than legal training. In spite of the third class Cambridge School Certificate results, Ali Mazrui had been given a second chance though not for law school. And Africa's triple heritage on Prophet Muhammed's birthday at MIOME had a lot to do with the change of destiny.

But I was taking to Britain more than my experiences at MIOME, very formative as those were. I was also taking with me the writing skills I acquired serving as the local "Arab correspondent" of the MOMBASA TIMES for which I produced a whole page of "Arab news" every fortnight. I was also a regular contributing editor to a local communal newspaper called the ARAB GUARDIAN. These experiences were immensely valuable in developing my skills in popular reportage and eloquent analysis in the English language.

In developing my skill in Kiswahili as a public discourse, I was aided more by the radio than by newspapers. I had a weekly half-hour as a storyteller in Kiswahili on the local radio station, SAUTI YA MVITA ("The Voice of the Isle of War")

I had also been in demand as an after-dinner speaker in the English language for local clubs in Mombasa. All these experiences turned out to be more significant as formative influences than might have appeared at the time.

In 1955 the day arrived when I had to leave East Africa for the first time. I boarded a slow plane which stopped in Khartoum, Cairo and Rome before arriving in

London. The colonial authorities had given me a second chance to compensate for my lapse in the Cambridge School Certificate. Was it affirmative action to give a second chance to a

disadvantaged Muslim youth?

While I have a soft spot for Sir Philip Mitchell for his involvement in establishing the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education, and his probable involvement in changing the course of my career, he is widely blamed for complacency about the wider political situation in Kenya. Mitchell was sensitive about minorities, but not sensitive enough about the country as a whole. His immediate successor as governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, bore the brunt of the outbreak of large-scale political violence and terrorism in colonial Kenya. Moderates in Kenyan African politics like Tom Mbotela, a Nairobi City councillor, and senior Chief Waruhiu, were assassinated by the militants. The new Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, declared a state of emergency in Kenya in October 1952. In the retrospect of history, Kenya's war of liberation had officially begun - terrorism and all.

In Search of Political Mazruiana

The Mau Mau war and the debates provoked by it helped to politicize me. By the time I left Kenya for higher education in England, my interest in studying subjects which were relevant for politics had become more conscious than ever. I knew the Kenyan colonial authorities would not allow me to study law, but could I study politics and his'tory? My initial stop was Huddersfield Technical College to study two subjects at Advanced level General Certificate of Education and two subjects at Ordinary level of the same examination. Those four subjects to be studied over a period of two years were intended to make me eligible for admission to a British university.

Instead of studying four subjects only, I registered for seven subjects, five of them at advanced level. The nearest subject to law in what was available in the General Certificate of Education (London University) was a study of the British Constitution. So I registered for that. I also took Economic History, European History and World Geography (three separate papers). I regarded all these papers as relevant for understanding politics. My fifth advanced level course was English Literature, which I took for cultural rather than political reasons.

The four social science courses deepened my orientation towards the study of politics. My taking English Literature changed my life in a sense no less fundamental. It was in that literature class that I met Molly Vickerman, a British student, who later became my wife and mother of my first three sons.

I did pass all the five advanced level courses (set and graded by the University of London). I also passed the two ordinary level courses (mathematics and classical Arabic). The stage was set for my specializing in political studies at the University of Manchester's bachelor's degree, my master's degree at Columbia University in New York, and my doctorate at Oxford. Although I did not study the law at any of those three universities, I was exposed to the study of constitutions and of comparative politics. I was also introduced to constitutional experience in Latin America when I was briefly a student for one summer at the University of Mexico in Mexico City.

The year of my graduation from Manchester in 1960 also marked the end of the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya. The year of my arrival at Makerere University College in Kampala, Uganda (1963), turned out to be the year of Kenya's independence. The Mau Mau movement had been militarily defeated, but it had been politically triumphant. I was starting my career in the year of that political triumph. 1963 was also the year when I

first became a parent with the birth of Jamal two days after Kenya became independent. Why did I call my first-born "Jamal"? One theory among my friends was that Jamal was the nearest Muslim name to "Jomo" the founder-President of newly independent Kenya. Jamal and Kenya's independence had been in a race as to who would be born first. Kenya became independent on December 12 and Jamal was born on December 14.

If Jamal was indeed named after "Jomo" Kenyatta, he was named after a person whom the British had convicted of being founder of Mau Mau and whom Sir Evelyn Baring had described as "leader unto darkness and death." Even in the annals of my own family, one person's terrorist may well be celebrated as another person's freedom fighter!!

(Incidentally, Jomo Kenyatta became a great friend of Great Britain after Kenya's independence),

But where did all this leave my dreams of the law as part of my life? In reality three events in my life helped to quench that longing for a legal career. One was a brief moment in my career at Makerere in Uganda when I was appointed Interim Dean of Law. In reality I was playing midwife to the birth of a Faculty of Law at Makerere University.

In my capacity as an interim Dean I hired the lawyers who then took over from me.

The second factor which helped to quench my thirst for a legal career was a creative process. My only novel is entitled THE TRIAL OF CHRISTOPHER OKIGBO and is set in After-Africa where all dead Africans go. The novel puts on trial a real person (Christopher Okigbo) who was killed in the Nigerian civil war. The novel puts him on trial for sacrificing his art (poetry) in the service of Igbo nationalism.

The year 2001 was the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of my novel. The year 2001 also saw the publication of the biographical festschrift in my honor, edited by Parviz Morewedge, and entitled THE SCHOLAR BETWEEN THOUGHT AND EXPERIENCE. One of the chapters in that volume is entitled "Ali A. Mazrui - 'The Lawyer'" by Isaac Mowoe of the Ohio State University. Mowoe's chapter is substantially inspired by the format and nature of my novel, THE TRIAL. Isaac Mowoe is himself a trained lawyer.

Comparative Mazruiana

If my longing for a legal career was partly quenched by my serving as a midwife to a new Law School at Makerere, and partly by my writing a novel with a judicial format, what was the third factor which defused the legal longing?

This third factor was the career of my third son, Kim Abubakar. He chose to study philosophy for his bachelor's degree, before law school at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. His life then started a series of coincidences that linked him up with my career.

Kim adopted the name "Forde-Mazrui" when he got married to Kay Forde. Ali Mazrui did not change his name to "Vickerman-Mazrui" when he married Kim's mother, Molly Vickerman. But professionally father and son had a good deal in common. Let us deal with the two of them in the third person in this context.

Kim Forde Mazrui started his professorial career at a university in America whose origins went back to the 1820s. Ali A. Mazrui started his professorial career at a university in Africa whose origins went back to the 1920s. The University of Virginia opened in 1825. Makerere as a modest educational institution opened in about 1925.

Three African countries have shaped Ali Mazrui: Kenya (where he was born and where he grew up), Uganda (where he started his academic career) and Nigeria (where he has lived a number of years and from where his wife, Pauline, comes). Ali Mazrui has had tenure at three universities: Makerere in Uganda, the University of Michigan and the State University of New York at Binghamton.

The number THREE has been crucial in the life of Ali Mazrui. Is that why this THIRD son, Kim Forde Mazrui, is the nearest manifestation of Ali Mazrui's co-incarnation? Or is this a case of pre-emptive reincarnation?

Kim Forde Mazrui's academic performance in high school in Michigan was satisfactory but his performance at university level in Michigan was brilliant and outstanding. Ali Mazrui's academic performance in high school in Kenya was barely satisfactory, but his performance at university level in England was brilliant and outstanding.

Kim Forde Mazrui knew from quite early that he wanted to become a lawyer. He studied political philosophy before he became a professor of law in Virginia. Ali Mazrui aspired to become a lawyer long before he went to university. He later studied political philosophy before he served for a while as Acting Dean of the Faculty of Law in Uganda.

Kim Forde Mazrui rose to the rank of full professor at the relatively tender age of thirty-two (in the year 2001). Ali Mazrui rose to the rank of full professor at exactly the same age of thirty-two (in the year 1965).

Kim Forde Mazrui had a relatively famous scholar for a father and one who had written and published extensively. Ali Mazrui also had a relatively famous scholar for a father and one who had written and published extensively. Kim's father had published mainly in English (with an occasional poem or prose in Kiswahili). Ali's father had written mainly in Kiswahili (with an occasional work in Arabic).

Kim Forde Mazrui has never been an Assistant Professor. He rose from Associate to full Professor. Ali Mazrui has never been an Associate Professor. He rose from lecturer to full Professor.

Kim Forde Mazrui courageously writes about controversial subjects as a scholar in spite of the disapproval of some of his colleagues. Ali Mazrui's entire scholarly career has been punctuated by a series of academic controversies and political debates, despite the disapproval of some of his colleagues.

Kim married a white woman whom he met when he was still a student. The couple helped each other's careers while fulfilling their roles as parents. Ali also married a white woman whom he met when he was still a student. This couple also helped each other's careers while fulfilling their roles as parents (including parenting Kim)!

The University of Michigan was a major intellectual influence on Kim Forde Mazrui. He did his bachelor's degree and his law degree there. The University of Michigan was also a major intellectual influence on Ali A. Mazrui, who served the university as both a professor of political science and Director of the Center for African American and African Studies. The University of Michigan has now invited Kim to be a Visiting Professor in the Law School in which he had done so brilliantly as a student in the 1980s.

Kim Forde Mazrui may not be a re-incarnation of Ali A. Mazrui since the two are alive at the same time! But is Kim a co-incarnation of his Dad? At the very minimum

Kim's career has helped to quench the Dad's longing for a legal career once and for all.

When I visited Kim's home in Charlottesville, Virginia, with Pauline and my two youngest children in July 2001, Kim gave me one additional ceremonial opportunity to find my own legal fulfillment in my third son. He and his wife Kay held a reception in their home and invited mainly Kim's legal friends and their families. I was called upon to address informally this distinguished get-together of legal minds. I had the good sense not to choose a legal or judicial topic, but my theme was more prophetic than I realized at the time. I talked about Islam and Muslims in the United States. This was two months before the shocking events of September 11, 2001.

The ambitions of Kim's son, Will, are at the moment more musical than legal. He has become an accomplished musical instrumentalist [saxophone]. In his teenage years, winning prizes. His younger uncle Farid (my fourth son) is much more of a beginner in music, but Farid has also started music lessons on the viola. Harith, my fifth son, is experimenting with the flute. The Taliban phobia against music would seem strange to this new generation of the Mazrui.

The Cycle of Life: Death and Rebirth

But the year 2001 captured more than the nightmares of intolerance and political violence or the dreams of professional aspirations. There were also the more normal ebbs and flows of family life. My wife, Pauline, was not able to go home to Nigeria when her younger sister Caroline had died suddenly in the year 2000. But for the first anniversary of Caroline's death, which traditionally carried special ceremonies and rituals, Pauline departed for Jos, Nigeria, and left me behind with Farid (9 years old) and Harith (8 years old). Was I any good at baby-sitting for several weeks in a row? My pillar of support was our friend Goretti Mugambwa (a Ugandan-Canadian) and her teenage daughter Maria. They live with us anyhow and were wonderful protectors of our little boys (and of their Dad) in Pauline's absence in Nigeria. The Lord be praised!

A new death in the family was that of my elder brother Sheikh Harith Al 'Amin Mazrui. He died in his eighties within little more than a year after the death of his dear wife Maryam, to whom he had been married from the 1940s. In the old days of British colonial rule my brother had been a civil servant and a magistrate along the Coast of Kenya. He was transferred to different towns from time to time and I used to visit him during my secondary school holidays in Mombasa.

After his retirement he went into poultry farming and coconut farming on a modest scale near a small town on the Kenya Coast called Takaungu. Although his formal education was only at the level of graduating from high school, he was exceptionally widely read. He continued to read widely right into the last year of his life.

His interests were world politics, Islamic studies and African affairs.

Although I am a scholar by profession, I suspect that I read fewer hours per week than my brother did! I made up by writing more hours per week than Harith did!!! (My friends have discovered this writing obsession of mine to their cost!)

I did go to Mombasa when Harith died, but Muslim rules of burial made it impossible to be in time for the funeral [The deceased is normally buried within twentyfour hours]. My tireless nephew, Munir M. Mazrui, represented me in most of these family matters.

I was not allowed to visit Kenya without giving a lecture! ! In Mombasa I gave a lecture on "Muslims in Kenya and the United States as a Political Minority:

Between Piety and Participation". In Mombasa the lecture was chaired by Professor Muhammad Hyder and sponsored by the Muslim Civic Education Trust. I later repeated the same lecture at the Jamia Mosque in Nairobi at the invitation of the Kadhi of Nairobi, Sheikh Hamad Muhammad Kassim. Among those who attended the Nairobi lecture was none other than Professor Yash Ghai, the Chair of the Kenya Constitutional Commission. My own lecture was chaired by Professor M. H. Abdulaziz of the University of Nairobi.

My nephew, Ghalib Yusuf Tamim, was a tower of strength in Nairobi on other issues. I needed a new Kenya passport, and he managed to get me one within twenty-four hours. I also needed a British stamp in the new passport granting me a fiveyear long multiple entry visa to Great Britain. Ghalib also managed to get me that within twenty-four hours, partly aided by the good word which Professor Muhammad Hyder had put in on my behalf at the British Embassy before I arrived in Kenya. Ghalib is becoming as resourceful as this other uncle Muhammad Hyder, alhamdu li 'Llah!

Ghalib's wife, Maryam, was pregnant when I was in Nairobi. Since then the new addition to the family has arrived - little Swalha! We are looking forward to receiving the first photographs of the young lady soon.

But the life-cycle includes departures as well as arrivals. In addition to brother Harith, the year 2001 also saw the departure of my cousin Sharifa Abdulla Salim. In her old age she had become one of the beloved matriarchs of our extended family. Her late father fifty years earlier had been a Member of Kenya's Legislative Council under the British Raj. The father was Shariff Abdulla Salim, married to my mother's sister, MaDada. When my own father died, and I was only fourteen years old, Shariff Abdulla Salim used to buy me new clothes for the Muslim festival of Eid el Fitr. That was more than fifty years ago. In the year 2001 I went to the hospital to visit the daughter, Sharifa. It turned out to be her terminal illness. I said a sad goodbye to Sharifa. She will be truly missed. (Incidentally, Sharifa's brother is the Kenyan singer, Salim, whose stage name is Sal Davis. More recently Sal Davis has been an entertainer in the Arab countries of the Gulf. The Taliban culture of anti-music is absent in most of the Gulf countries.)

My Californian grandson, the next Ali A. Mazrui, celebrated his first birthday in style. He is already a child-star, an "Aly Temple" (latter-day "Shirley Temple") in the making. He instinctively pauses for cameras with charm. We were not able to go to California, but his chortling noises on the telephone are music to the ears of his grandparents! My son Al 'Amin is doing most of the parenting of Ali Junior during the day when mother Jill is away at work. From all accounts, the father's parenting has been a wonderfill experience for the whole family. It has enabled Jill to concentrate on her job as a school administrator, especially following her recent promotion. It has made Al 'Amin a better father. a better husband and a better human being. I am proud of him and his family. He still has energy to go to work in a local theater in California in the evening, when Jill returns to take over the parenting at home. Al 'Amin, Jill and Baby Hero Ali were the first to arrive in Binghamton for our end-of-year family reunion.

Jamal and his friend Hassana Alidou came next followed by Kim, Kay and their son Will. There followed great delicacies for taste and great debates for the mind. We even managed to see the movie ALI (about the boxer) as a family. We also staged a great

New Year's Eve party for family and friends.

A Wreath for Nkrumah A Garland for a Weddin

Kenya was not the only African country I visited twice in the year 2001. Ghana was the other one. Although my first visit to Accra in 2001 was sponsored by the United Nations project "Millennium Africa", the visit was relatively low profile. It was mainly focused on a conference, although I did give a Press interview or two. I also visited my very old friend, Professor Adu Boahen, who was in hospital in Accra at the time.

It was my second visit to Ghana in August 2001, which exploded into massive Press coverage and considerable debate in the country. In August I was the guest of W.E.B. Du Bois Memorial Center in Accra, which arranged major lectures for me to give on "Pan Africanism in the Era of Globalization", delivered both in Accra and Kumasi.

My most controversial remarks turned out to be what I said about the two most historically significant political figures in Ghana's postcolonial history Kwame

Nkrumah (in power from 1946 to 1966) and Jerry Rawlings in power (elected President January 7, 1992 and re-elected January 7, 1997 for another five years). In the course of one of my lectures and television interviews I had made what I thought was a pretty obvious observation:

"Kwame Nkrumah started off as a democrat, and ended his years in power as a dictator. Jerry Rawlings started out as a brutal dictator, and ended his years in power as a democrat. My summary of both Nkrumah's career and that of Jerry Rawlings turned out to be hotly controversial, though to different wings of Ghana's ideological spectrum. I was both praised and denounced by a variety of different voices in the Ghana Press and on the Internet internationally.

It may be a measure of my impartiality in Ghanaian politics that I was most graciously received by both President LA. Kufuor, the current Head of State, of Ghana and former President Jerry Rawlings, the previous Head of State. Indeed, Jerry Rawlings came with his wife and children to visit me at my hotel in Accra. God bless all Ghanaians of all political persuasions. Amen.

The one Ghanaian I missed the most on the August trip was Professor Adu Boahen, who once challenged Jerry Rawlings in a presidential election, and was before that a visiting professor at my university in Binghamton, New York. Adu Boahen had gone to England this last August for health reasons. We wish him a full recovery. Amen.

The three Ghanaians who spent the most time helping me and accompanying me almost everywhere in Ghana were Mr. R. William Hrisir-Quay, Professor Atukwei Okai Secretary-General of the Pan African Writers Association based in Accra, and Mr.

Johnny Botchway, who once served as a personal driver to Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's founder-President. Mr. Botchway simply adopted me, almost as if I were in some sense a reincarnation of Kwame Nkrumah! I was deeply moved by the commitment and support of these Ghanaian friends.

At long last I was able to lay a wreath at the tombs of not only Kwame Nkrumah, but also the tombs of W.E.B. Du Bois and George Padmore, all of them giants in the history of Pan-Africanism.

One more point about Ghana in 2001 for me. The Du Bois Memorial Centre anointed me "Africa's Cultural Messiah". This is an entirely new title and honour.

My gratitude to the DuBois Centre in Ghana.

My next destination after Ghana was supposed to be Niamey in the Republic of Niger. It was a classic African problem in transportation. From Accra it would have been much easier for me to get a direct flight back to New York, or a flight to London, than it was to get a direct flight from Accra to Niamey, both of them in West Africa! I did in the end get to Niamey via the Ivory Coast.

The purpose of going to Niger was to attend my most important wedding of the new century so far - the marriage of my nephew Alamin M. Mazrui to my friend Ousseina Alidou. Although the couple had met in the United States, and had been academic colleagues as professors for a while at the Ohio State University in Columbus, the bride-to-be had insisted that the wedding take place in her home country according to ancestral traditions and customs.

Prior to the wedding I even had to negotiate with the guardian of the bride-to-be, in a trans-Atlantic phone call, on behalf of my nephew. And upon my arrival in Niamey I had to deliver the bride wealth (dowry) in person to the guardian of the bride-to-be. The amounts had been agreed to between Alamin and Ousseina themselves - a slight departure from tradition!

An unusual feature of the wedding ceremony itself in Niamey was that neither the bride nor the groom were present. I represented Alamin at the ceremony and Ousseina was represented by her guardian. But the bride and groom were available elsewhere soon after to receive the congratulations of friends and relatives.

Food was in abundance, but no alcohol was served!! The Islamic influence was still much stronger than the influence of France, Alhamdu li Llah! (Niger is of course a former French colony).

Ousseina has a twin-sister (identical) called Hassana, who is also a professor in the United States. Hassana, too, came to Niamey for the wedding. And later in the year we descended on Hassana's home in Houston, Texas, for another great Niamey-style feast. Hassana lives in Houston. Ousseina Alidou, my son Jamal, my colleague Parviz Morewedge and I were all attending in Houston the annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) of the United States.

Also attending the ASA convention from Binghamton, New York, were Ricardo Laremont and Robert Ostergard. We all combined work with fun in Texas.

Who are the Afrabians?

Ricardo Laremont (my Associate Director in Binghamton) had visited Niamey the previous year and lectured about Islam in the United States. He must have whetted the appetites of local scholars. When I arrived in Niamey for Alamin's wedding to Ousseina, the Dean of Law of the University of Niamey came to my hotel to invite me to go and give a lecture to his Faculty (the Faculty of Law and Political Economy, Abdou Moumouni University of Niamey). I accepted the challenge!

My presentation turned out to be an experience in three languages. I lectured in English on the topic: "Islam in West Africa and the United States: A Political

Comparison". Dr. Ousseina Alidou, the new bride, became interpreter from English into French and back. The discussion which followed included a third language - Arabic, which has many fluent speakers in the Republic of Niger. Niger is one of the meeting points

between African civilization and Arab culture.

Because the event at the University of Niamey was at short notice, and was happening during the month of August (holiday time for French civilization as a whole), the session was more like a seminar than a large lecture. But it was a truly enriching trilingual experience.

One of the concepts which I had coined in the course of working on relations between Africa and the Arab world was the concept of Afrabia. By this I meant all the forces of history, geography, religion and culture which made Africans and Arabs two overlapping peoples, often deeply intertwined. They were two peoples in the historical process of becoming one people over time.

Some like-minded Africans and Arabs have started exploring this concept of Afrabia to see how far it can be more consciously operationalized and even institutionalized. Can there be new areas of economic, cultural and political cooperation under the umbrella of Afrabia?

And who are the “Afrabians” as a people? Cultural Afrabians are those who combine Arab culture with African; genealogical Afrabians are those whose ancestry includes both African and Arab forebears; ideological Afrabians are those who believe in the potential unity of Africa with the Arab world, regardless of whether they themselves share culture or ancestry with both groups.

In the course of the year 2001 there were two initiatives which had started exploring the potentialities of operationalizing Afrabia. One initiative is led by

Dr. Ahmed Fituri, a distinguished Libyan historian who had done some work in Nigeria and has a long association with Africa. It was Dr. Fituri who arranged my long evening meeting with the Libyan Leader Muammar Qaddafi in his tent in Tripoli in the year 2000. Fituri had also organized two lectures for me to give in Tripoli on “Africa and Globalization” under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and his own UN institution, the African Center for Applied Research and Training (ACARTSOD).

The other Afrabian initiative in the year 2001 was from the United Arab Emirates, the Sultanate of Oman and Ethiopia. Meetings were held in Abu Dhabi to explore the concept, and I was invited in October to give lectures on “Afrabia in World Affairs” in the Emirates of Abu Dhabi and Sharjah. I was delighted to meet with the Emir of Sharjah at his palace once again after an interval of nearly ten years. My main host in Abu Dhabi was Dr. Abdulla A. Kareem El 'Reyes assisted by Dr. Shaikha. But it was also wonderful

to catch up with such old friends as Ibrahim Noor Shariff, Abdalla S. Bujra, Harith Ghassany, and Nasr Arif. They all looked after me with remarkable conscientiousness.

God bless them.

Later in the year Abdalla Bujra attracted me to Ethiopia also to help inaugurate a Board of Governors of the Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF). I also addressed the accompanying conference on the theme: “Democracy, Sustainable Development, and Poverty Reduction: Are they Compatible? ’

During my stay in Addis Ababa I also addressed an international meeting of diplomats and other professionals at the Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development

(EIIPD). My topic was: "Africa between the Fire of Terrorism and the Force of Pax Americana". Dr. Kifle Abraham was in the Chair. Aspects of the

African experience were captured in Ethiopia. I also caught up with old friends like Ahmed Mohiddin and Haroub Othman.

My most spectacular meal in Addis Ababa on this occasion was not based on Ethiopian cuisine (much as I enjoy that) but on Swahili cuisine. A Mombasa lady, Sauda, working in Ethiopia decided to throw a party in my honour as a *futari* (evening Ramadhan meal). She mobilized one or two of her friends and produced a feast of over twenty delicious dishes. It was spectacular! The guests were Swahili, Ethiopians and others. I was flattered in two ways. They kept on filling my plate with delicacies.

Secondly, most of the ladies wanted to be photographed with me! I was not sure whose jealous wrath to be afraid of- that of the husbands or that of my wife when she saw the photographs!! But who is afraid of Ali Mazrui any more anyhow? Alas! Joking apart, the evening was truly memorable, and everyone was very kind to me. Moreover, I was allowed to bring home the photographs with the gracious ladies who had hosted me. I have survived to tell the story! In cuisine the event is also memorable as a great

African combination and synthesis.

September 11 and The Triple Heritage

My television concept of Africa's triple heritage concerned the convergence of Africanity, Islam and Western culture in Africa's experience. How has September 11 affected the triple heritage in my own life so far?

My classes at Binghamton University and at Cornell were both affected by the events of September 11, 2001. The actual theme of my course at Binghamton invited direct discussion of the events of September 11 - for the advanced undergraduate course was on "Cultural Forces in World Politics". The final examination included the following among a range of questions:

6. Discuss the following poetic lines in the context of the argument that political terrorism is provoked by political desperation:

I and the public know

What all school children learn,

Those to whom evil is done

Do Evil in return.

[W.H. Auden, 1940]

7. "Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, and the soul of soul-less conditions. It is the opium of the people"

(Karl Marx). Is religion the sigh of the politically oppressed? Is it the opium of the political militant? Discuss critically.

At Cornell University (Africana Studies and Research Center) I participated on a panel-discussion on the implications of September 11 for Black people. The Institute for African Development at Cornell had earlier held its annual event "An Evening with Ali Mazrui" organized by the indefatigable Joan Mulondo. We ate a range of African and other "ethnic dishes" (great stuff) - and then, as was usual, Ali Mazrui addressed the audience on a topic which traditionally had to be (a) African (b) in the news. This last year I chose to speak on the debate concerning "Reparations for Black Enslavement". We had a lively dialogue to

follow my presentation. This was the fifth year in which the Cornell Institute had sponsored "An Evening with Ali Mazrui". I continue to be deeply flattered by the whole concept.

Since my presentation on "REPARATIONS" at Cornell, the question has arisen whether international terrorism and the events of September 11 have harmed the cause of Black reparations - after the cause received a brief boost in Durban, South Africa, at the conference against racism and xenophobia (which the United States and Israel had boycotted). Are the explosive politics of the Middle East helping or hurting the longterm goal of reparations for Black people? The jury is still out on that issue.

I made several trips to Georgia, U.S.A., in the course of 2001. My lecture in the Distinguished Lecture series of the University of Georgia took place after September 11. Although my topic had been decided much earlier ("Africa in the Era of Globalization The Costs and the Benefits"), my definition of "globalization" was forced to catch up with the globalization of terrorism and counter-terrorism.

Two weeks later I was back in Georgia addressing the annual meeting of the Association of Third World Studies on the theme "Globalization between the Market and the Military: The View from the South." This lecture, too, was affected by the aftermath of September 11. My lecture is being published shortly in The Journal of Third World Studies. Within the United States my most noteworthy Africanist lecture was perhaps the one I gave in honour of the former Head of State of Nigeria, General Abdulsalami A. Abubakar in a Distinguished Annual Lecture Series named after him at Chicago State University. The former Nigerian President was himself in attendance. So was the Reverend Jesse Jackson and a wide range of other distinguished guests, both American and African.

Before the lecture I received two official letters of welcome one from the Governor of Illinois, Governor George H. Ryan, and the other from the Mayor of Chicago, Mayor Richard M. Daley. My lecture was on "Pan-Africanism, Democracy and Leadership in Africa: The Continuing Legacy for the New Millennium." On the other hand, Nigerian critics of former military rulers of their country staged a protest outside the hotel where the lecture was being held. At one time before the lecture there had been rumours that former President Ibrahim Babangida would also attend the lecture which I was scheduled to give in honor of General Abubakar. Against

Babangida there might have been busloads of Nigerian protestors from all over the United States, but former President Babangida did not come to the lecture after all. That reduced the explosiveness of the event.

Why did I agree to give a lecture honouring a former military ruler? Because General Abubakar was not an ordinary military dictator. On the contrary, he played midwife to the return of democracy and civilian rule in Nigeria. Abubakar was Head of State only briefly in order to preside over multiparty elections and let the people of

Nigeria choose their next president. Nigerians chose General Olusegun Obasanjo - a very independent and ethnically different alternative.

At the banquet following my lecture in Chicago there was a message received from President Obasanjo, the current Head of State of Nigeria. President Obasanjo was gracious enough to salute both General Abubakar and myself in his message to the international banquet in Chicago.

My lecture in Chicago was months before September 11, but it was not before the debates

about Islamic Law and the Sharia in Nigeria. My lecture therefore included a section on “the politics of Shariacracy”.

Within the United States I continued to have both an Africanist constituency and an Islamic constituency. I tried to attend regularly the meetings of both the African Studies Association of the United States and the New York Association of African Studies. I also lectured widely on Africa, from San Diego in California to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, from Athens, Georgia, to Columbus, Ohio.

The Muslims of the United States have a wider range of national organizations than the Africans of the United States (as distinct from African Americans, who are more active than both Muslims and Africans). In the year 2001 I continued to serve as Chairman of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Washington, D.C., and was a member of the Boards of the American Muslim Council in Washington, the Centre for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, and the Board of Trustees of the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences, Leesburg, Virginia. In the year 2001 I was also elected President of the Crescent University Foundation whose aim is to establish a modern world-class Muslim University in the United States. We are not sure whether September 11 will help this project in the long run or harm it.

Outside Africa I continued to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford, England. It is a measure of the ecumenical spirit in Britain that members of the Board of Trustees were invited to a special dinner for them given by Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, at his residence. The Prince was playing host to these Trustees of a Muslim Institution. If the truth be told. I was indeed tempted to cross the Atlantic specially to dine with the Heir to the British Throne. But I decided against my own inherited colonial temptations - very reluctantly!

Did the Islamic dinner with Prince Charles take place after September 11? The answer is YES. The Prince is the Royal Patron of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies in any case. Although the dinner occurred after September 11, the invitations had of course gone out long before that.

My Pan-African activities included my continuing activism as a Member of the Group of Eminent Persons for African Reparations sworn before Africa's Heads of State in Dakar, Senegal, in 1992. I lectured and wrote on the subject of “Reparations”. I also continued to serve on the Board of Directors of the National Summit on Africa, a proAfrica movement in the United States led mainly by such African Americans as Andrew Young and Leonard H. Robinson, Jr.

The National Summit on Africa - though still focused on serving Africa - has been in the process of modifying its priorities and changing aspects of its name. The agenda has also been affected by September 11 and the new concern about the impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism upon Africa.

CONCLUSION

In the course of 2001 there were three women at home who were the pillars of my domestic life; and three other women who were the pillars of my life at work. My lifesupport at home consisted of Pauline (Maryam), my wife, secondly, Goretti Mugambwa, our in-residence longtime friend, and thirdly Maria Liverpool, Goretti's teenage daughter. They were my companions and my guardian-angels at home in Binghamton. They were

also the guardian-angels of my youngest sons, Farid (9) and Harith (8). At the office my three vital women were Nancy Levis, my Administrative Assistant, Barbara Tierno, my Secretary and AnnaMarie Palombaro, my Associate Secretary. They were pillars of strength in my work.

The connecting links between the two sets of women were Goretti Mugambwa, who was a student-assistant to Barbara Tierno, and my wife Pauline, who drove me to work everyday. The United States is a civilization on wheels. In spite of that, Ali Mazrui is still not licensed to drive!! The three men who drove me to Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, every Wednesday to enable me to teach at Cornell were Ricardo Laremont, my Associate Director at Binghamton, Charles Ruzima Sebuharara, my Special Assistant and Parviz Morewedge, my grand Editor-in Chief at the Institute. They were my bridge with Cornell. Charles Sebuharara was repeatedly ready to drive me anywhere else I needed to go on official duties. From time to time we used a state-car of Binghamton University for the trips. My research work depended on the help I got from my colleagues Robert Ostergard, a Fellow in the Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Thomas Uthup at Syracuse University who helped me with documentation and references, Charles Ruzima Sebuharara, who helped me with Internet research, and Fouad Kalouche, who helped me with his Arabic and French.

I paid a hurried visit to my old University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, for consultations with my old colleague and friend Lemuel Johnson and his wife, Marian. It was a rich experience. At Cornell my hours of academic gossip and consultations were spent with several members of the Africana Studies and Research Center - especially, Locksley Edmondson, Abdul Nanji, N'Dri Thrse Assi Lumumba, and Ayele Bekerie. Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell elected its first continental African (as distinct from Diaspora African) to become Director. Our new Director is a

Nigerian-born Don Ohadike, the distinguished historian. He was previously a colleague of mine at the University of Jos in Nigeria -just as previous Director Locksley Edmondson had once been a colleague of mine at Makerere University in Uganda. May the links between Africa and its Diaspora continue, regardless of the aftermath of September 11. Amen.

However, our connection with the wider world has to endure. In the year 2001 I did meet at long last the man who had disengaged the old Soviet Union from its military involvement in Afghanistan. In Atlanta Georgia, I met Mikhail Gorbachev, the final leader of the Soviet Union and the man who had inadvertently caused the disintegration of the USSR. What Gorbachev had done resulted in the end of the Cold War between the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Alliance. For that and for related contributions to the betterment of the Western world, Gorbachev has received many awards in the West, though he has had a hard time even winning a local election in his own country. He is not popular in Russia.

In 2001 Mikhail Gorbachev received the Delta Prize for Global Understanding, awarded through the University of Georgia in the United States, and financed by an endowment from Delta Airlines. I serve on the Board in Georgia, which makes the final selection for the Delta Prize. In the past we had awarded the Prize to former President Jimmy Carter and his wife, and also awarded it to Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Gorbachev was our hero for 2001. For 2002 we plan to salute Madame Sadako Ogata,

former UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Madam Ogata is a great international figure. Her name had been mentioned in the past for the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations. It may not be too late for her to become in the future the first woman Secretary-General of the world body, as well as the first Japanese to hold the post.

It was in September 1961 that many world figures assembled in Sweden to honour a slain Secretary-General. Among those who stood in silent respect for the deceased Dag Hammarskjöld were King Gustav and Queen Louise of Sweden, VicePresident Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States and Trygve Lie, Hammarskjöld's predecessor as Secretary-General. Resting on Dag Hammarskjöld's coffin was his family wreath with a single word for inscription - "WHY?"

The events of September 11, 2001, in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania have re-emphasized that compelling question - "WHY?" Hammarskjöld had died in the service of a divided human kind.

The struggle for answers may be under way, but the struggle for solutions has barely begun. Was Dag Hammarskjöld talking about himself or about the human race as a whole when he wrote the following?

"Do I fear a compulsion in me

To be self-destroyed?

Is there someone

In the depths of my being, Waiting for permission to pull the trigger?

Tired And lonely,

So tired

The earth aches." (MARKINGS)

Perhaps this was a lament of the human race as a whole, and not merely the anguish of a tormented Secretary-General in a divided world.

The struggle continues.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

JRTC, 100 WEST RANDOLPH, SUITE 16 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601

GEORGE H. RYAN

GOVERNOR

February 22, 2001

Dear Mr. Mazrui,

As Governor of the State of Illinois, I am pleased to welcome you as Keynote Speaker for the inaugural lecture in the Abdulsalami A. Abubakar Distinguished Lecture Series sponsored by the Chicago State University.

Your lecture, "Pan-African, Democracy and Leadership in Africa: The Continuing Legacy for the New Millennium," and related events will serve as important initiatives in the quest for peaceful transitions to democracy, as proclaimed by His Excellency Abdulsalami A.

Abubakar.

On behalf of the citizens of Illinois, best wishes for a memorable event.

Sincerely,

GEORGE H. RYAN
Governor
GHRJab/mb
APPENDIX A

DALEY
MAYOR
Dr. Ali A. Mazrui

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
CITY OF CHICAGO
February 23, 2001

Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities
Director Institute of Global Cultural Studies
Binghamton University
P.O. Box 6000 LING-100
Binghamton, New York 13905

Dear Dr. Mazrui:

As Mayor and on behalf of the City of Chicago, it is my pleasure to welcome you to our city.

During the course of your long and distinguished career, you have worked tirelessly to promote a greater understanding of international political relations and focused on the importance of the African experience. Through your prolific writings and accomplished scholarship, you continue to offer new insight and perspective on global peace and political change in countries throughout the world.

I was happy to learn that you were visiting Chicago to deliver the keynote address at the first lecture in the Abdulsalami A. Abubakar Distinguished Lecture Series at Chicago State University. I am certain that your lecture, "Pan-African Democracy and Leadership in Africa: The Continuing Legacy for the New Millennium," will be a memorable and thought-provoking experience for all in attendance.

I commend your hard work and knowledge of international political relations and thank you for sharing your expertise with all those gathered at this important lecture series.

Best wishes for an enjoyable stay and much continued success.

Sincerely,

APPENDIX B

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APPENDIXD

APPENDIX E

Xugust 24 30, 2001

WeekendAgenda

4CE/vD

A night with Ali Mazrui

gone in newspa pers- that an eminent pan-Afric%anist was going to speak on no mean a subject: Pan-Africanism in the era of Globalization. Slowly but steadily the audience trickled in to have their share of the pan-African feast. There was the

occasional suit or jacket but it ws an evening for smocks, batik and other African clothing; sewn in all shapes and styles,

All:

worn in comfort and elegance.

The setting was the

DuBois Memorial Centre at Cantonments. The occasion: the first of the three-day 8th DuBois-Padmore-Nkrumah Pan-African Lectures, on August 3. The speaker:, Ali Mazrui, Kenyan pr6fessor of the humanities, historian, political thinker, novelist and Pan-Africanist. When the drums rolled and the performing group, Indigena Afrika, punctuated the cold air with sweet renditions of African vintage and contemporary songs from their horns, there was no doubt that this was going to be an all African affair.' Some among the Seated audience shuffled their feet and bbbbed their heads up and down, all in sync with the rhythms that

By E. Asiedu-Acquah

Ali Mazrui, now Albert

Schweitzer Professor of the Humanities and Director ofthe

Institute of Gibal Cultural Studies at the State University of New York, Binghamton, New York.

Born in Mombasa,

Kenya, on FebruarY24, 1933, Mazrui obtained his Bachelor ofArts degree with distinction from Manchester Univeity in England, his Master of Arts degr_ee from Columbia University in NewYork and a doctorate from Oxford University in England.

For ten years he was at Makerere University in Uganda froIt) where h launched his professorial career. A career that has seen him

poured forth from Indigena Afrika.

teaching in universities it6 all the five continents of the,

Ali Mazrui

The picture was com-

world and has won him a

(novel, 1971). Also to his credit
linguished audience his aca-
pleted when the speaker to-
number of awards and profes-
is television series The Afri-
demic pedigree had drawn. He
gether with the chairman for
sorships.

cans: Triple Heritage,
crisscrossed the human ties,
the occasion, Prof. Alex
His more than 20 books
jointly introduced in 1986 by the
making irrelevant the artificial
Kwapong of the Council of
include. Towards a Pax
BBC and the Public Broad-
differences between history,
State, and other dignitaries
Africana (1967), The Political
casting Service (WETA,
religion, politics, culture, eco-
were heralded in by hom-blowers to take their seats at the
Sociology of the English Lan-
Washington) in association
nomics and technology.
high table.

It was a gathering of Afri-
A few others felt different. A lawyer and
can -peoples -diasporan and continental- from all walks of
social activist, Akoto Ampaw, minced no
life. There were chiefs, students, academics, journalists,
words in telling Prof. Mazrui that his lectures
musicians, historians, religious people and Others who just defied description. All
had been a 'disappointment'.
hues and shades of 'black-
with'-the Nigerian 'television Phenomenon', as no dif-
ficulty combined, producing a
fusion of Cultures: An African Author's rite. The series brought fervor when he gave the re-
colour blend that was beauti-
Perspective (1976),- Africa's him fame, controversy and mainder of the lectures at the
ful to behold but difficult to
International Relations criticisms. Cultural Centre in Kumasi and
describe. It was more obvious
(1977), Cultural Forces in As Ali Mazrui held forth the National Theatre in Accra. .
than black.

World Politics (1990) and The DuBois Centre, he just- Impressed by the lecture- All had come to listen to
Trial of Christopher Okigbo fixed the presence of the disputes, the acting Executive
ord had already round -on air and Director of the DuBois Cen-

tre, RW Hsir-Quaye declared Mazrui "Africa's Cultural Messiah", while the government
of Ghana and the DuBois Centre presented him with gifts at the National Theatre.

To many, the Kenyan academic opened a fountain of knowledge from which they drank. A
history student at the University of Ghana, Harry Odamtten, told Public Agenda that Ali
Mazrui lived up to his reputation. "What else should one expect from people like him?"
Odamtten asked.

Percy Mensah, a journalist, did not agree with everything Mazrui said but he was definite;
"Mazrui provided interesting perspectives and angles to the question of globalisation".

Others expressed their appreciation by taking pictures with Mazrui. The host of Metro TV's
Good Evening Ghana, Paul Adom Okyere, was so overwhelmed during an interview with
Prof. Mazrui that even when he had signed off and the credits started rolling, Okyere kept
talking and informed viewers that he was going to take a picture with Mazrui outside the
studio.

A few others felt different. A lawyer and social activist, Akoto Ampaw, minced no words in
telling Prof. Mazrui that his lectures had been a 'disappointment'. You didn't address the
real problem facing Africans under the hegemony of international finance capital, Ampaw
told Mazrui during the time of discussion after the final lecture.

The chairperson of the final lecture, Victoria Cooper Encher, perhaps summed up what was
on the minds of many when she said that the greatness of Ali Mazrui has been his ability to
invoke contradictory reactions to his ideas and positions.

Wednesday September 26 2001 SOWETAN APPENDIX F 21

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20W APPENDIX

address causes Of terrorism

N&tion Fio Picture

A rescue scene during the 1998 bomb blast in allied to AmeFica t risk cf terretigt attzcks,

Prof Ali Mami suggests Cause of prejudice and hate that the United StatesLet me urge
President Moi to the in Nairobi

needs to look into the world the his Mosque) is afdt azainst gssure Kenyan Islamr Let us
notand he

a of prejudice

root it out instead of
hate themselves.

Yet the problem of Israel and Zionist power against the
fighting it when it occurs*

Palestinian people has to be solved if are serious about ending Zionism is not Judaism,
Zionism is a political ideology; Judaism is religious Can we ever have a world without
terrorism for as as Zionist power is protected by the United States? The

Issue of debate in the United States since

American veto in the Security Council of the United

September 11. has been how to punish

makes it difficult

to reprimand for wrong-headed

terrorism. There has been little discussion

terrorism. Yet it

options-

enough discuss how to punish crime without

Need strategy.

Hotel Nairobi was once bombed

UNSC addressing the issue of crime-

as

of the Middle East when the US

One of the central causes of terrorism against the United States

T died.

is the perceived against the people. United States- troops are not used

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' Kenyan lives are at

the United States, Israel capacity; _

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an international coalition

President George W. Bush to construct a

aggression!

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against terrorism. At least as fundamental - to help

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ON PAGE 20

causes of terrorism to our revulsion a2st teacrisi cause

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APPENDIX H Klialeqj Times, Blonclay. October 8. 2001 THE UAE

Past and present stamped in Gulf postal exhibition

globallv. Apart from the

A COLLEC TI ION 1000 pilhlic and stamp lovers. the exhistamps. envelopes anti vari- hition
which will remain open et..l, of luaterials phi- iron) to I Opm daily. wiil

(.'ixv Centre in Dubai vesterdav.

students. in this {IL'e of computers

[he exhibition is being held

and Ehe internet." an Emirates Post

a long<de a EM.o-dav conference

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Pasta] heads at the

.36 stands have heen set

(u. entre Hotel, tocu.sin o an a wide

up a! the exhibition venue.

range of issues of Inu-

countYV Feen allocated six

Ahmed Al-Tajer viewing the exhibition at the Deira Centre
of interest to improve postal services in the region.
stand" postal organisation as well as their philatelists sharing
City in

Dubai yesterday. - K T photo by Mukesh Kanwal
the five-day exhibition was inaugurated by Ahmed Humaid Al
the display boards. Stamps of each country in

Tajer, UAE Minister of Communications
in addition to a variety of stamps for visitors of
Scholar urges revival
of and is organised for the
to see the opportunity to view

first time in Dubai. after Abu
Dhabi stamps issued by the members of

Dubai in 1995. It is a part of the Lions For the World Postal
the AGCC as a reflection of these cultural, social and eco-
nomic heritage.
of Arab-Africa
bonds

Spoke to reporters after for-
the highlight of the exhibition
by Muawia E. Ibrahim

announcing the exhibition
this year is the release of special
PROFESSOR Ali Al Mazi. the

to the public, Mr Al Tajer
stamps to mark the occasion by
man behind the concept of ; Africa-

said that exhibition of such high-
Emirates Post. A stamp auction
is here to promote his idea

will provide philatelists and
also be held. in addition to
to which all will bring together

the general public insight into the
displaying for the first time ever.
the African continent and the

history of the UAE and other Gulf
the Trucial States stamps (stamps
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countries.
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'verence entity that was divided into two portions due to geo-

ness of our countries and is an
Post is also displaying
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forward to developing new prod-
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Cities and postal services that
identity recently. A small museum
for a surprise!

of significance to the region.
showcasing the old traditional
operation to rejoin these two areas

Besides, the exhibition also of-
fered methods and machines used by the
parts of the world in terms of geo-

an opportunity to demonstrate
UAE postal authority is also being
210phi (all borders etc. he is traveling alone with other

tribute to the public development
exhibited. Equipment including
activists. to
Bring together Arabs and Africans

hide by the postal organisations
franking machines dated back to
in a historic

1 the UAE and other Gulf coun-
2012 letter seal used since 1960.
reconciliation, by re-

les in a short period of time. Mr
tnai} box heine used from 1988 are
evaluating old frontiers and rede-

Tayer said. pointinu thai displayed at the exhibicion.
tming identities.
Professor

exhibition also projects Meanwhile. the conference deaft
M?.zrui is curret1Ljv on a visit the invitation of

link and cooperation be- with exchange ot- ideas and devel
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ween the Gulf countries and their opntents of services and products
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10 urov.- together in Inade bv -each ot- the Gulf
lectures on and the Arans

uious fields of postal business. country s postal organisations.
in the era Dr Abdulla A Kariln
and Prof. Ali Al Mazrui {right) during the
Ct"nrnenlint-! on the change of The Enlirates POS! experience in
In his first znder the lecture in Abu Dhabi on Saturdav. - K T photo
identity the UAE variety ot- postal fields will be
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authoritv, he said. various transterred or put in perspective
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tended hv a large audience. Prof However. he *aid. in ihe case relieiop '
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away. creatitig cantiy deepe the geographv.

the Gulf of Aden and the Red Sea. Japanese reconciliation. he noted. It had called
"THE daily average hits" on the
and reducing the area of contact Prof. Mazrui said global bin peninsula puri and parcel
Ltelists and postal or anisauons also be witnessed by large number from the six Gulf
countries. went to students from several public on display as part the 7111 and private
schools in Dubai and (I.GCC. Postali Exhibition and Cwn- the northern emirates. "The aim is
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average 01 - . 195 over the period

December until the end of last month.

*During September. the website recorded its busiest H10J1ih ever, with 1.09 billion 'hits' and
153.918 requests for downloading pages from the site.*

*Between last December and the end of September. uaein:eraet.com was visited a total of
6.919.310 surf-ers. and received a total of 18.617 successful requests for pages. The uaeinteyat.com
website includes hundreds of pages of data and pictures on the NVa:n
between Africa and Asia to the isthmus Suez'*

*Prof. Mazrui is Director of (the Institute of Global Cultural ties and a professor-at-large in
Inanities and a senior scholar in African Studies at several international universities. He
delivered his second lecture at American University of Sharjah yesterday. He himself is of I-
FAE origin. His great grandfather travelled to Africa decades ago and he was born in
Mombasa, Kenya, in 1933. He said that the bonds could be put together like what happened
between America and Britain. "The Anglo-American model traces the transition from
hostility to fraternity in relations between the people of Britain and America from the late 18th
century to (the World war I." he remarked asking whether lessons could be learned this mode
high relevant to relations*

*in [the new are speed in African-African reconciliation
tion and ion.*

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1121! itics might lend greater depth to the future relationship between Africa and the Arab)

But, he added. conscious efforts need to be taken in pursuit of any new form of solidarity.

*"Forgiveness to the past is essential. for Qine a new future is a necessary one. Will the killings
separate Africa the Arab?"*

*conk? as part of the new world order.' he asked it claimed that some of the ways separating
Africans from Arabs were as false as the divisions which separated Slaves from (Get-It) and
in Europe*

*Detailing the concept of Afrabia. Prof. Mazrui said the majority of the Arabs are in the
African continent the bulk of Africa of physical*

One of the reasons I believe are and A unite is he called
. White rank. spite of time in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, Pan - is reaching new levels Of
solidarity the to the Pyrenees Mountains. then took the new, order. tendencies
are the frontline victims (the rev. order. Blacks port' nately (the frontline victims of the
eternity of apartheid, he noted.
Mas as this continues potentially he the answer.
"Reconciliation between Arabs and Africans continue to be

Newsletter 27, Early 2003, Personal Quests and Conflicting Values

AKKUA %qmuu KEWSETTER, KO 27
(early 2003–70 th Birthday Special tdition)

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme:

PERSONAL QUESTS AND CONFLICTING

Sub-Themes Pages

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11. POLITICAL HARASSMENT AND MAZRUI-BASHING 11. AFRICA, MANDELA AND THE CENTENNIAL MUSE

IV. MAZRUIANA AFRICANA V. MAZRUIANA ISLAMICA

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VII. THE ETHICS OF THE DEATH PENALTY . 12 VIII. IN THE SHADOW OF NKRUMAH AND NYERERE15

IX. DEATH, DESTINY AND COINCIDENCE 20 X. THE FAMILY IN TRANSITION 22

XI. Is GLOBALIZATION A DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS?

(CO-AUTHOR MICHAEL TOLER)

TOWARDS THE FUTURE.' A CONCLUSION

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues.

Qusrs

I. INTRODUCTION

To paraphrase Charles Dickens in Bleak House once again, “it was the best of times, it was the worst of times.” We celebrated during the year one hundred years of literary excellence in Africa’s experience. We marked the legacies of such twentieth century African Titans as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, and Nelson Mandela. My family buried some dearly loved members and planned the weddings of others. I suffered the aches of old age but enjoyed the privileges of being an elder. Africa, Islam and the West continued to be my own triple heritage. We sadly said eternal farewell to some friends.

But there were also war drums and the ominous music of anthems. The war on terrorism became a selective struggle against weapons tive! Bless you for your patience!

II. POLITICAL HARASSMENT AND MAZRUI-BASHING

One of the more positive consequences of the tragedy of September 11 is the increased interest in Islam in the United States and elsewhere in the Western world. There is more curiosity than ever about Islamic thought, culture, theology and civilization. Colleges and universities are starting new courses, and a spate of new books about Islam have been appearing. Mind you, some of the books create more confusion about Islam than they explain it.

of mass destruction. I got involved in a Binghamton course on “Terrorism and War” and I hosted a conference on whether globalization was a dialogue of civilizations. At the micro-level of my family and of my classrooms we debated the ethics of the death penalty.

My itinerant career continued unabated. In the second half of 2002, I crossed the Atlantic literally more than a dozen times. The range of my destinations was

from Kuala Lumpur to Cape MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03). Dr. Mazrui is thrilled to see General Yakubu Town, from Kuwait City to Gowon as Dr. Isidore Okpewho looks on. The Department of Political Science at Binghamton University encouraged me to teach a course on "Islam in World Politics." It was a lively class. But far more ambitious was a course

Entebbe, from Addis Ababa to

Manchester. I managed to include my city of birth, Mombasa. Let me share with you some of these experiences in this twenty-seventh newsletter to my friends, colleagues and members of my extended family. I hope you find the newsletter entertaining as well as informative "Terrorism and War" consisting of lectures by different campus professors from different disciplines. Nearly five hundred (500) students took the course. The most hotly debated lecture was my own lecture on "Islam between Zionism and Pax Americana." The campus Rabbi wanted to see the videotape to check if my lecture had been anti-Semitic. The Rabbi later came to see me in my office for a friendly exchange of views. Though my lecture had been strongly critical of Israel, the Rabbi seemed satisfied that my lecture had not been anti-Semitic.

Daniel Pipes, the militant Zionist and Islamophobe who heads the Middle East Forum, was less impressed by the distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism. He coauthored an article in the New York Post in which he denounced me and a number of other professors as "Extremists on Campus." My colleague at Binghamton, Dr. Robert Ostergard was in reality "guilty" only of having been the coordinator of the course on "Terrorism and War"-but Daniel Pipes denounced Ostergard also as an "anti-Zionist extremist"! Guilty by association from Ann Arbor in Michigan to Georgetown, Washington, D.C. Students of the targeted professors were encouraged to spy and report on them. Although I was one of the eight targeted professors, I would like to believe that none of my own students have been hostile to me, or been spying on me!

That does not mean that there are no extremist students on my campus. I am repeatedly a victim of the student right-wing publication, Binghamton Review. I have even been accused of raising money for Saddam Hussein!! The author, Jacob Dreisin, is startled by his own lies! He goes on to say:

Can you believe that? Saddam Hussein, one of the richest men on the planet, is stealing billions from his own people while sending checks for \$25,000 to the families of every Palestinian suicide bomber, and Mazrui is raising money to help this guy out! Amazing- MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Dr. Mazrui greeting Kenya's Ambassador to young people? Or was it political

The allegation is so utterly ridiculous that I do not mind sharing it with friends and family as a hilarious case of Mazruiphobia! On the other hand, our home in Binghamton was pelted with raw eggs. We had to call the local police and show them the damage. Was the egg attack just youthful exuberance by some

the US, Yusuf Nzibo.
society !

Even worse was Daniel Pipes' decision to establish a website called "CAMPUS WATCH" on which an initial list of eight professors nationwide were targeted as political extremists.

The professors belonged to different religions, and were scattered from California to New York, and influenced by right-wing propaganda? Either interpretation is feasible. An even more disturbing development was an avalanche of angry letters I received from people who thought I had written to them in either abusive or politically vituperative terms. In other words, some Mazruiophobes were sending out damaging e-mails in my name to third parties in a bid to ruin my reputation. There might have been hundreds of such bogus emails which went out in my name. This entire e-mail culture has serious risks for the reputations of the innocent. Such identity theft is particularly ominous. An additional harassment we suffered during the year was another kind of e-mail spam. These were hundreds of e-mails addressed direct/yto me by anonymous and abusive critics, There were occasions when our entire e-mail system was clogged up and rendered inoperative. We considered reporting all this Internet harassment to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). But as Christmas and the holiday season approached, our tormenters apparently came to their senses. The harassment seemed to peter out. At least until the next time ! God preserve us!

III. AFRICA, MANDELA AND THE CENTENNIAL MUSE

In July 2002 we assembled in Cape Town, South Africa, to celebrate Africa's 100 best books of the last one hundred years. Africa's Nobel Laureates in Literature were expected to be among the winners-Wole Soyinka, Nadine Gordimer and Naguib Mahfuz. At least one book of each literary Nobel laureate met Africa's own centennial standards.

What was not expected among the literary victors was someone whose Nobel Prize had been for Peace. This turned out to be Nelson Mandela. His book *Long March to Freedom*, written painfully while he was in prison under the apartheid regime, was chosen by the African literary jury among the one hundred best African books of the twentieth century. The Nobel Committee in Oslo had chosen Mandela in 1993 as a man of peace. The jury of Africa's

100 Books saluted Mandela in 2002 as a man of letters.

I was chosen to make the award presentation to Mr. Mandela at a glittering Gala Dinner celebration at the Cape Town Civic Center in South Africa. Other successful authors received their awards from Archbishop Desmond Tutu (another Nobel Laureate for Peace) and from

Professor Njabulo Ndebele, Chair of Africa's Best Books Project and Vice-Chancellor of the Uni-

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03). Binghamton University President, Lois DeFleur. versity of Cape Town.

Nelson Mandela had, of course, excelled in many roles. He had excelled as a freedom fighter, as a prisoner of conscience, as a political and diplomatic negotiator, as Head of State and a statesman. In July 2002 we saluted

Nelson Mandela as a writer

Some scholars write history but do not make it themselves. Some statesmen make history but do not write it. But there have been people who both have recorded the annals of an age and contributed to the history of their own times. Outside Africa such a person included Winston Churchill-an interpreter of history and a maker of it. In Africa, such a synthesis of activist-author includes our own Nelson Mandela. In July 2002 we honoured precisely that synthesis.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Binghamton University's Dean of Harpur College,

Jean-Pierre Mileur.

It was an evening to celebrate a century of Africa's literary excellence. Of that century Nelson Mandela spent more than a quarter behind bars. There are prisoners who become more bitter in a cage. Mandela became more humane without losing his love for freedom. There have been prisoners in history who compromised their principles in order to get early release. Nelson Mandela repeatedly scorned the bribe of an early release if the cost was moral compromise.

If by the end of the twentieth century there was one single statesman in the world who came closest to being morally number one among leaders of the human race, Nelson Mandela was probably such a person. Now in the twenty first century he has become the most distinguished and scathing critic of the American arrogance of power-the U.S. transition from Superpower to Super Empire.

His love of books was enhanced rather than diminished in prison. I personally discovered in an unusual way how Mandela had continued to read widely even in jail. It was the occasion when we first met. Mr. Mandela was attending his first summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity, but before he himself was Head of State. This was in Dakar, Senegal, in 1992.

I met Nelson Mandela in the corridor, one to one. I said, "Mr. Mandela, my name is Mazrui." He cut me short and completed my name, "Professor Ali Mazrui?"

Now why should Mr. Mandela in 1992-when he had only recently been released after twentyseven years in prison-have heard my name at all? After all, when he went to jail, I was a nonentity. The only explanation I could think of was that even in prison Mandela's reading was so wide-ranging that he had even read Ali Mazrui. I was flattered for myself, but more important, I was impressed by Nelson Mandela as a true lover of books.

In Dakar Mandela impressed me in his capacity as a reader. In Cape Town in 2002 we honoured him in his capacity as a writer. Although he had lost a quarter of the twentieth century behind bars, Mandela turned his bondage into a literary inspiration. His long walk to freedom was also a long march to literary excellence.

That dazzling evening in Cape Town reminded me of something else, relevant to Nobel-scale brilliance. U.S. President John F. Kennedy was entertaining about one hundred Nobel Laureates of different disciplines in the White House. Kennedy is reported to have said: "This is the largest concentration of intellectual power to have assembled in this room since Thomas Jefferson dined here-alone!" That night in Cape Town, in 2002, I was confronting a concentration of literary brilliance of similar magnitude.

When in 1998 I proposed at a Book Fair in Zimbabwe that Africa select Africa's own 100 greatest books of the last one hundred years, I had no idea that the proposal would fly.

After all, my many proposals to Africa and the world over the years have had a mixed record. My most controversial proposal in my BBC Reith Lectures in 1979 was a recommendation that the Third World should pursue nuclear proliferation as a method of forcing the existing nuclear powers to agree to universal nuclear disarmament. My designated nuclear powers in Africa were post-apartheid South Africa, Egypt and Nigeria. In the end, my recommendation had no takers in Africa

its own literary excellence. Perhaps the book is, in the final analysis, more powerful than the bomb. A book can be a griot between covers, a sage in perpetual symbols, a creative moment captured for eternity.

The book has its rivals. There is literature in the oral tradition, on the radio, in magazines

and their short stories, in drama on television, and now on the Internet. But there is a sense in which every great book is scripture in a special literary meaning.

India and MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/140/15/03): Event co-conspirators, Alamin Mazrui and Perhaps in the future Africa should select and honour the ten best books of each ten years, And when the century is complete, Africa should take another look and still identify the one hundred greatest works of that century. The choice at the end of the century may not be identical with the selection from decade to decade. Af-

though outside Africa, Bob Ostergard. Pakistan became nuclear powers independently of any recommendation from me!! North Korea is teasing and taunting the world with similar nuclear aspirations.

But if my proposal about bombs never took off, my recommendation about books has indeed reached fruition, But I did successfully persuade Africa to celebrate one hundred years of ter all, some decades may produce many more outstanding books than others. What significance should I give that Project of 100 best books in my own life? Since my idea had come to fruition, was this the equivalent of my having completed one more book of my own? Or was it the equivalent of my having another child? My first five children were biological; was this sixth child literary?

I would like to believe that the fulfillment of such a big idea was the equivalent of having another child rather than completing another book. The event was momentous, had needed the crucial support of others, and had signified creativity at its best. Did it take the equivalent of a hundred best books to equal the excitement of having a child?

Because the idea of Africa's best books originated with me, my own works were disqualified from consideration. And it was not appropriate for me to serve on the jury. Instead I was given the honorific title of "Founding Father"!

1978 retired relatively gracefully. Mwai Kibaki was convincingly elected the new Head of State of Kenya.

President Kibaki and his newly elected government issued an open invitation to all Kenyans who had emigrated abroad to go back home and help rebuild the badly damaged country. Many of us who had settled in other lands engaged in renewed soul searching. To return or not to return? That was the question. I was interviewed by the media, both Western and East African. There was no easy answer to the invitation to go back home. But how did we become migrants in the first place? What forced us into exile? The prospect of a new Kenya led us into "recollections without tranquility."

Because of Idi Amin's misrule in Uganda, I was forced to resign my professorship at Makerere University in Kampala. My most natural base after that should have been the University of Nairobi. But the Nairobi Vice-Chancellor in 1973 took me to lunch at the Nairobi Norfolk Hotel and told me that he was unable to hire me.

In Uganda I had been too outspoken about both Milton Obote and Idi Amin when they were in power. Because of this reputation of my outspokenness, Vice-Chancellor Karanja decided he could

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): IGCS Director and Associate Director enjoy- not risk hiring me. This was the beginning of my being boycotted by the universities in Kenya in spite of my being in demand in many other countries of the world. The Kenyan universities

seemed intimidated by the Moi regime.
Since the day I was rejected by the Univer-

ing a break.

IV. MAZRUIANA AFRICANA

One of Africa's most promising events of the year 2002 was the peaceful and successful election in Kenya in December. A ruling party which had been in power since 1963 was thrown out by the electorate. And a President (Daniel arap Moi) who had been in power since

sity of Nairobi under Moi, I have held multiple professorships in the United States, the United Kingdom, Nigeria and the Caribbean. I have also given lectures in all the inhabited continents of the world. Since October 2002 alone I have lectured in Africa, Europe, the Middle East and North America. So why was Kenya academically closed to me?

My BBC/PBS television series "The Africans: A Triple Heritage" has been seen by millions of people, shown in dozens of countries and translated into several languages. Because of President Daniel arap Moi my television series has never been shown in my own country, Kenya. Will my compatriots now see it under President Mwai Kibaki?

Although I myself was never detained or imprisoned by the Moi regime, my nephew, Professor Alamin M. Mazrui, was locked up for more than a year without trial. My other nephew, Sheikh Munir Mazrui, and my grandnephew, Muhammad Khamis Mazrui, were also arrested at times under the Moi regime.

I personally suffered by being ostracized by most Kenyan universities, by having my television work boycotted, and by being prevented to give public lectures most of the time. Mind you, some things did improve in Moi's last many sins and crimes. But he should be encouraged to give back to Kenya the millions he has accumulated.

I recommend that a Daniel arap Moi Charitable Foundation be created. The former President and his henchmen like Mr. Biwott should be pressured to contribute millions of dollars to this charitable foundation. But they should have no say whatsoever on how the money is spent. The Foundation should be a way of enabling the former President and his partners to compensate wananchi appropriately.

years in power.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Alamin Mazrui, recounting the academic In the new post-Moi Kenya my legacy of Dr. Mazrui.

With regard to my historic link with the new President of Kenya, Mwai Kibaki, in the 1960s he was intended to become the first Black East African professor of economics; and I was intended to become the first Black East African professor of political science. I did become the

dilemma is whether I would like to live in Kenya and visit my sons in the United States from time to time, or live in the United States and visit my Mombasa family from time to time. It is an extremely difficult choice.

I do not think former President Moi should be humiliated or brought to trial in spite of his first East African professor of political science. Indeed, I became the first East African to become professor in any of the social sciences, including economics!! But it was soon clear that Mwai Kibaki was destined for a role much more historically important for Kenya-the first competitively elected President of the country this century.

In the new Kenya I would like to be at least eligible for appointment in one of Kenyan universities, even as a visiting professor! In the new Kenya I hope I will be able to give public lectures with greater freedom. But who knows?

What is much more important is whether the new Kenya will adopt the new Constitution which the Commission chaired by Professor Yash Ghai had so painstakingly constructed. A new Kenya Constitution is indeed needed. The draft is there. It is time to take the next step. My other East African home after Kenya has always been Uganda. After all, I had spent ten of the best years of my life in Uganda as a professor and Dean at Makerere University (1963-1973). But never in my wildest dreams did I expect to be invited back to Uganda one day to Nsibambi, was in attendance. So were genuine Ugandan experts on aviation and a supportive speaker from British Airways. But mine was the main address-a mere novice on aviation except as a consumer!

In reality I could not speak much about the industrial aspects of aviation, but I could address the politics of aviation-especially on "Political Violence and Air Safety."

The date of my lecture coincided with the Muslim festival of Eid el Hajj (the Pilgrimage festival). It was a public holiday in Uganda. There was nervousness about what kind of attendance we would get. But the holiday worked to our advantage. We had a huge turnout. My main host, Ambrose Akandonda, was particularly pleased.

In the course of my brief stay in Uganda Prime Minister Nsibambi took me to his Makerere residence for lunch. He had lost his wife Rada a few months before. Apollo was still shaken by the bereavement. I had known them both ever since my own Makerere years. Nsibambi and I discussed the old days-as well as the future.

One of my earliest lectures about September 11 was delivered in January 2002 to mark Martin Luther King Day in Maine. I was the keynote speaker at the annual M.L.K. Breakfast of the

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Panel participants, Drs. Ricardo Laremont, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Portland, Maine. My topic was: "The Dream of Martin Luther King, Jr: and the Nightmare of September 11: From the Clan to the Qaeda." It was a huge star-studded breakfast. In attendance was the Governor of the State of Maine, the Mayor of Portland, the Chief of Po-

Molefi Kete Asante, Roberta Ann Dunbar, and Sulayman Nyang. speak about civil aviation!! That is what happened in the year 2002. The Civil Aviation Authority in Uganda invited me to travel from Binghamton to Kampala to give a major address at the International Conference Center on "The Aviation Industry since September 11." The Prime Minister of Uganda, Professor Apollo

licious, and a thousand other distinguished guests of the state. I have celebrated many Martin Luther King Days since King's official birthday became a Federal holiday. The event in Portland, Maine, in 2002 will remain particularly memorable.

V. MAZRUIANA ISLAMICA

My identity as a Muslim has had variable manifestations. I was nominated among the 100 Great Muslims of the 20th Century. This nomination was made by the Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi, a research institute in India. The happy news was communicated to me by Professor A. Momin, Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay.

The names of the one hundred Muslims and their contributions will be published in a special book. The population of Muslims in India is well over 120 million.

Elsewhere I presented a paper on "Islam between Christian Allies and Western Adversaries" at an international conference on "Confidence Building and Conflict Reduction," sponsored by the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, June 2-6, 2002.

In the United States, I was reelected Chair of the Center for the of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C..

At the University of California, Berkeley, I gave a lecture entitled "Islam between Economic Globalization and Political Marginalization: Semitic Divergence and African Convergence."

It was one of the series of lectures organized by UC-Berkeley in response to September 11.

While I was in the Bay area I also addressed the World Affairs Council in San Francisco on "Africa's Islamic Experience: Revival, Expansion and Radicalization."

At the fifth International Conference of Contemporary Middle Eastern Studies, held in Cyprus at the Eastern Mediterranean University, I presented a Keynote address entitled "The Truth Between Terror and Tyranny: The United

Study of Islam and Democracy,

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): General and Mrs. Gowon, seated with

Dr. Washington, D.C.. The Center Mazrui for the symposium.

States, Israel and Hegemonic Globalization."

sponsors conferences, lectures and publications about the relationship between Islamic doctrine and democratic values.

I was privileged to serve on the Board of

Directors of the American Muslim Council, the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, England, and the Academic Board The theme of the conference as a whole was "September 11, Clash of Civilizations and the Role of the Media." It was held in April 2002.

In another paper I subsequently examined how both Arab Africa and Black Africa had been affected by the war on Terrorism. My thesis was

"Afro-Arab Crossfire: Between the Flames of

Terrorism and the Force of Pax Americana." This lecture was addressed to the Ethiopian Institute for Peace and Development in Addis Ababa, in December 2001.

Since September 11 I have lectured in four continents on the causes of international terrorism. The cities where I have lectured include Berlin, Dubai, Kuala Lumpur, Kampala, Abu Dhabi, Washington, Athens, Addis Ababa, New York, Manchester, Oxford, Barcelona as well as Binghamton.

In the Spring of 2002, the Binghamton Political Science Department offered a course on "Terrorism and War," coordinated by Professor Robert Ostergard of the Institute of Global Cultural Studies. My own lecture within the course was about whether American policy towards the Middle East was a major cause of internaApril 2002 entitled "From Structural Adjustment to the Sacred Adjustment: Globalization and the New Sectarian Politics in Africa." Through satellite the lecture was heard and seen live in a number of African capitals. In Washington, D.C., I could also see my questioners in Africa on the screen and answer their questions, The discussion included the role of Islamic Law in the new Nigeria.

In Kuwait I was a guest of Kuwait University, but the university shared me with the journalists of the country in a major bilingual Press conference in Arabic and English. I lectured on "Islam Between Democracy and Underdevelopment," on "The United States and the Muslim World" and on the question "Has a Clash of Civilizations Begun?" (three different lectures to different audiences),

VI. THE BRITISH CONNECTION: MANCHESTER AND OXFORD

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Ambassador Olara Otunnu and Prof. Micere companion and was very stimu-

The University of Manchester in England was where I did my Bachelor's Degree in the 1950s. My closest friends at Manchester were Molly Vickerman, a language student from Yorkshire, Muhammad Ali Abdulrahman, whom I had known since we were children in Mombasa, and Burjor Avari, a Parsee student of history who became a true intellectual

tional terrorism. "Just as we need to know the causes of domestic crimes, we need to know the causes of international terrorism." My lecture became the most controversial part of the course and spilt over into the national media (not-always accurately) !!

I also gave a lecture at the World Bank in Iating.

Two years after we graduated from Manchester I married Molly Vickerman and we subsequently left for Uganda and had three children there. Muhammad Abdulrahman got a job in the Persian-Arabian Gulf, but he has now retired back in Mombasa. Burjor Avari is back in

Manchester as an academic at a sister academic institution-the Manchester Metropolitan University.

Well, this last year Burjor invited me back to the city of Manchester and asked me to give a couple of lectures on this new campus. Burjor, who is of Indian origin but who grew up in Kenya, is now a multicultural activist in Great Britain. He has even been honoured by the Queen with an M.B.E, (Member of the British Empire). At the Manchester Metropolitan University he organizes and coordinates evening lectures on intercultural themes.

It was under the auspices of these evening lectures that he invited me to his university. My own evening lectures for him were on the following controversial topics:

Africa and the West: Who is Indebted to Whom?

Kashmir and Palestine: The Flames of Unfinished Partitions

There was a significant Black turnout for the first lecture, which provoked a lively debate on reparations. Burjor Avari chaired the first lecture himself.

For the second lecture Avari invited two discussants to comment on my lecture. Burjor rightly assumed that my lecture would be pro-Palestinian. So he invited Indian nor pro-Pakistan. It was pro-Kashmiri with a constructive and even-handed approach.

The lecture on Kashmir and Palestine was chaired by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University. As you can imagine, the discussion was very lively-but fortunately it was also civil and disciplined.

a Zionist-Jewish scholar from MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : General and Dr. Asante.

Socially and academically Burjor arranged for some interesting colleagues to either dine or lunch with me, or simply meet with me. And he and I did a bit of nostalgic sightseeing in Manchester-visiting one or two places we had frequented when we were undergraduates. Dennis Austin, a retired Professor from the University of Manchester who was a friend

from the old days, was supposed to join us for one of the lunches. Unfortunately he fell down at his home the day before and needed hospital

London to respond to what I had to say about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

On the issue of Kashmir Burjor Avari wrongly assumed that my lecture would be anti-Indian. So he invited an Indian scholar who was a special advisor to the Indian Government. In reality my position on Kashmir was neither protreatment. Since then Dennis Austin and I have caught up with each other by correspondence.

If Manchester was the place of my bachelor's degree, Oxford was the place of my doctorate. I am a member of the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies [OCIS]. I have been going to Oxford every year to attend these

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Board meetings. This last year I was particularly interested in the newly established research fellowship for a specialist on Islam in Africa, jointly offered by St. Antony's College and the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. The fellowship has since been advertised and applications invited.

At Oxford University in recent years African Studies has declined, while Islamic studies has expanded. Indeed, the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies [OCIS] may soon have a newly built building of its own, architecturally compatible with both Islamic minarets and the traditional brooding spires of Oxford.

While Islamic studies has indeed become more visible at Oxford, the expansion has not been at the expense of African Studies. On the contrary, one of the factors which have kept The Patron of the Islamic Centre at Oxford is Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales, who once gave a well-known, Islam-friendly lecture at Oxford on "Islam And The West." This last year Prince Charles invited members of the Board of Trustees of OCIS to dinner at his official home. I was tempted to fly from Binghamton, New York, to be a dinner guest of the Heir to the British Throne. It would have been the longest distance I had ever traveled for a single meal! Unfortunately pressures in Binghamton made such a spectacular trip impossible. It was truly tempting!

When I subsequently went to Oxford later in the year for the meeting of the Trustees, our official banquet was at Rhodes House, an institution established partly from the bequest of Cecil Rhodes at the beginning of the twentieth century. The bequest had also established the prestigious Rhodes scholarships. Bill Clinton was a Rhodes scholar when he was a student at Oxford. Today a specially commissioned painting of the former President of the United States hangs proudly at Rhodes House. In addition, there is a separate Rhodes Professorship of Race Relations, which was formerly occupied by the late Kenneth Kirkwood, one of my teachers at Oxford in the early 1960s.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Dr. J. Isawa Elaigwu greeting General Gowon.
Rhodes Professor by T. O. Ranger,
Kirkwood was succeeded as

Africanist concerns alive at Oxford has been the work of OCIS. The OCIS has successfully brought to Oxford such African luminaries as Nelson Mandela and Kofi Annan under Islamic auspices. The OCIS has also sponsored research on Islam in Africa. Director Farhan Nizami has brilliantly combined vision with pragmatism.
a specialist on Southern Africa and one of the founders of the Dar es Salaam School of

African historiography. These days Terence Ranger and I meet in Southern Africa every other year.

VII. THE ETHICS OF THE DEATH PENALTY

In the 1990s I had an informal bet with one

of my sons that the death penalty would be abolished in the United States within his own lifetime-thus enabling the United States to catch up with the rest of Western civilization. For a while after the bet, the trend in America seemed to be going in the opposite direction. My own state of New York left the ranks of the anti-death penalty states when the governorship passed from liberal Democrat Mario Cuomo to right-wing Republican George Pataki. The death penalty became an option in New York from eight years ago-and yet nobody has been executed yet.

I was reassured more recently by what was going on in Abraham Lincoln's old state-Illinois. Governor George Ryan suspended all death sentences after the courts in Illinois found that 13 death row inmates had been wrongly convicted since 1977 when capital punishment was resumed. In the same period 12 other inmates had been executed. The margin of error in death penalties seemed to be over 50%!

I was greatly impressed by Governor Ryan's moratorium on the death penalty and his appointment of a Commission to review the whole system. When I last went to Illinois to give a Distinguished Lecture at the Chicago State University in 2001, I received a formal letter from Gov would commute all the death sentences in Illinois. So at Amsterdam airport I looked for a television set so that I could watch CNN and find out Ryan's decision. In the Business Class lounge at Amsterdam airport I learnt from CNN that Governor Ryan had indeed commuted the sentences of 167 condemned inmates to life imprisonment. Tears came to my eyes as I watched him saying: "Our capital system is haunted by the demon of error-error in determining guilt and error in determining who among the guilty deserves to die. What effect was race having? What effect was poverty having?... I am not prepared to take the risk that we may be executing an innocent person."

to MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Dr. with his collection of books. ernor Ryan, welcoming me

Governor Ryan had pardoned four inmates because they had been tortured by a rogue policeman to confess. The governor commuted

Chicago "on behalf of the citizens of Illinois." He did not know that he and I were kindred spirits in our distrust of the death penalty, but I knew.

In January 2003, I was at Amsterdam airport on my way to give a lecture in Barcelona, Spain. I realized that Governor Ryan was expected to announce his decision on whether he the remaining 167 death row inmates to life imprisonment-most of them without the possibility of parole. It was the biggest commuting of death sentences by a governor in the history of the United States.

Perhaps I will win the bet with my son after all. The death penalty may be abolished in the United States during his own lifetime. But if I am gone, how will I collect the winnings? In the nineteenth century, Western Europe led the abolitionist movement and the United States later caught up. In the twentieth century, Great Britain led the way in the war against Nazism and Fascism-and the United States caught up [after Pearl Harbor]. In the twenty-first century, Western Europe is already leading in the struggle against the death penalty. I

am sure the United States will also catch up ethically in this struggle.

The first time I went public with my opposition to the death penalty was in connection with the debate about Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* in the late 1980s. Until then my family and my friends knew that I was against capital punishment, but I had not articulated my opposition either in my writings or in any public illustration of someone from the Third World turning brutally against his own ancestry for the entertainment of Western cultural imperialism.

In November 1988, I had visited Lahore and Islamabad in Pakistan. Discussions about Rushdie's novel had included a particularly striking analogy in Pakistani circles. "It is as if Rushdie had composed a brilliant poem about the private parts of his parents, and then recited the poem in the marketplace to the cheers and laughter of strangers. These strangers then paid him money for all the jokes about his parents' genitalia."

South Asians were accusing Rushdie of pornographic betrayal of ancestry. Rushdie was himself of South Asian origins.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Dr. Mazrui and Abdul Bemath, editor of *The* I did share the belief that Rushdie was a kind of cultural traitor to his ancestry. But I was also appalled by the death sentence which had been passed on him by Iran. In a public lecture I gave at Cornell University, which surprisingly reverberated around the world in 1989, I both condemned Rushdie's novel and appealed against the death sentence passed on him. I also declared my opposition to the death penalty for any kind of offence. I am convinced that one can be a good Muslim and be opposed to the

Mazruiana Collection.

lecture.

It was the Rushdie affair which brought me out of this particular closet. On the one hand, I was outraged by Salman Rushdie's diabolic and Islamophobic novel, *The Satanic Verses*. Morally, the novel was indeed blasphemous and was itself Satanic. Politically, it was the worst death penalty and to the amputation of the hand as forms of punishment.

I did meet Rushdie at a friend's home one evening in London. That was about a year before the publication of *The Satanic Verses*. Rushdie and I have not met again since then.

VIII. IN THE SHADOW OF NKRUMAH AND NYERERE

The year 2002 was the 80th anniversary of the birth of Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania. The year was also the 30th anniversary of the death of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. These were two of the greatest Africans of the twentieth century.

The Nyerere anniversary was explicitly marked as an event in different parts of the world.

The Nkrumah anniversary (since it concerned his sad demise) was only silently recognized by Ghanaian historians. It was not a matter for celebration.

Nevertheless, my own most important set of African lectures of the year 2002 concerned Nkrumah's legacy. I had been invited by the University of Ghana at Legon to deliver their most distinguished lectures-the Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures. The general theme of my lectures was "Nkrumahism Between Globalization and the Triple Heritage."

The three lectures were spread out in a single week. To my de- 4 he wheeled out of the lecture hall by his beloved wife, Mary, and an assistant.

Adu Boahen and I had each edited a volume in the UNESCO African History series. He had edited Volume VII on the colonization of Africa and I had edited Volume VIII on decolonization since 1935. Towards the end of the project Boahen was elected President of

the International Scientific Committee of this UNESCO General History of Africa. I invited him to spend a semester at Binghamton and Cornell, partly to help me in the editing of Volume VIII. He came and we collaborated splendidly.

light, the size of the audience kept growing from lecture to lecture, overflowing beyond the limits of the main lecture hall on campus, One of the most moving moments occurred during my last lecture. My old friend and colleague, Professor Adu Boahen, MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Publisher James Currey, IGCS veteran Barwas brought into the lecture hall Bara Tierno, and Dr. Nelson Kasfir.

In November 1992, he ran for the presidential election in Ghana against Jerry Rawlings. Ghanaians were fond of Adu Boahen as a scholar, but were not ready for him as Head of State. Boahen lost to Jerry Rawlings.

in wheel chair. From his sick bed he had insisted on coming. I drew the attention of the audience to the painful sacrifice that Professor Boahen was making to have come and honour his friend. I then begged Adu to go back to bed, and we would send him the video of my lecture to watch at home. He finally agreed to. When former President Rawlings and Mrs. Rawlings came to visit me at my hotel on my visit to Ghana in 2001, Rawlings expressed grave concern about Adu Boahen's health. At that time Boahen had been flown to London for treatment and Rawlings knew the precise hospital! I respectfully suggested to Rawlings that it would be a nice gesture if Rawlings sent flowers and a card to his former political rival, wishing him a speedy recovery. I do hope former President Rawlings acted on my humble advice.

My visit to Ghana this last year of 2002 had one additional purpose apart from giving my three Aggrey distinguished lectures at the University of Ghana. The University at Legon wanted to honour former President Nelson Mandela and myself with doctoral degrees, *honoris causa*. For reasons of state the award for Mr. Mandela was postponed to a later date since he could not come to Accra. But I did receive my own honorary doctor of letters in full regalia and at a splendid ceremony.

My wife, Pauline, had also been invited to be an official guest of the University of Ghana, non-Ghanaians to be honoured that day. The other awardees were distinguished Ghanaians from different fields of endeavour. The Vice-Chancellor and his wife were superbly gracious to Pauline and me.

The Press in Ghana is now more pluralistic and livelier than ever-radio, television and the print media. Some judgments of mine on Kwame Nkrumah and Jerry Rawlings were hotly debated in the Press. Particularly controversial was the following conclusion of mine in my lectures:

Kwame Nkrumah started his presidency as a democrat and ended up as a dictator. Jerry Rawlings started his presidential career as a brutal dictator, and ended up as a democrat. My judgments on both presidents were hotly contested by different sides of Ghanaian political opinion. My older judgment that "Nkrumah was a great African but not a great Ghanaian," originally articulated in an article in *Transition* magazine way back in 1966 when Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup, had never been forgotten in Ghana. That conclusion received a new lease on life during my visit in Nkrumah's old party-the MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Alamin and Ali Mazrui, and Bob Ostergard.

Convention People's Party
2002.

and was involved in some of the ceremonies by her husband's side. Although I had met the Head of State of Ghana before, it was a delight to see him again and to introduce him to my wife. President Kufuor presided at the award of the honorary degrees. I believe that Mr. Mandela and I were originally intended to be the only [CPP]-issued a detailed Press statement in 2002 to rebut my conclusions on Nkrumah. I suppose the CPP and I agreed to disagree.

The Muslims of Ghana have discovered me. On this last visit in 2002 Muslim students at the University of Ghana invited me to give a separate lecture on a subject relevant to Muslims. I agreed, and the event was lively and successful. I was also interviewed by a Ghanaian Muslim on television on issues of interest to Muslims. I was also introduced to the current Vice President of Ghana, who is himself a Muslim-Vice President Alhaji Aliu Mahama. Before Pauline and I left Ghana we visited the home of Adu Boahen once again to say good bye to him and Mary. Although we did our best to sound cheerful, it was a sad farewell. My old and dear friend Adu Boahen seemed seriously ill indeed. Our prayers are with him. When I reported Adu Boahen's condition to his fellow historian, Professor Toyin Falola at the University of Texas, Austin, Toyin speedily decided to organize a special volume in Adu Boahen's honour. It was to be a multi-authored volume. Toyin Falola and I agreed that it would be a nice additional gesture if the volume included my third Aggrey lecture in Ghana which Adu Boahen had painfully attended in a wheel chair. This special volume in Boahen's honour has now been published by Africa World Press under the title of "Ghana in Africa and the World: Essays in Honor of Adu Boahen."

This gesture by Falola and other admirers of Adu Boahen is itself a moving message of tribAfrican literature." The certificate of honour was brought to Binghamton by the Secretary General of PAWA, Professor Atukwei Okai. The award was extended to me at a dazzling banquet of our Binghamton conference on the theme "Is Globalization a Dialogue of Civilizations?" Writers in attendance included Wole Soyinka, the Nobel Laureate; statesmen in attendance included General Yakubu Gowon, former Head of State of Nigeria, accompanied by Mrs. Victoria Gowon. Lord Ahmed of Rotherham from the British House of Lords was also in attendance-as well as the city dignitaries of Binghamton and neighbouring townships.

ute to a great African scholar. and MAZRUI Farid) SYMPOSIUM help him extinguish (2/14-2/15/03): candles Dr. during Mazrui's the Friday wife (Pauline) reception.and sons (Harith An entirely different kind of tribute in the year 2002 was the posthumous salute to the memory of Julius K. Nyerere, the founder-President of Tanzania who died in 1999, but whose

Boahen's legacy will always be part of our own historical education.

The Pan African Writers Association [PAWA] also has its headquarters in Accra, Ghana. Its Executive Council awarded me an honorary membership in recognition of what the certificate describes as my "immense contribution to 80th birthday was celebrated last year. The Permanent Mission of Tanzania at the United Nations invited me to be the lead speaker at a special ceremony at the United Nations headquarters in New York to mark

Nyerere's 80th anniversary. There were other tributes to Nyerere from diplomats and academicians.

Among the academics was Mahmood Mamdani, who had taught for a number of years at the University of Dar es Salaam in the past, and who is now a distinguished professor at Columbia University in New York. Professor Horace Campbell of Syracuse University also spoke. He too had once taught at the University of Dar es Salaam.

But it was not just at the United Nations that I spoke about Mwalimu Nyerere. I was also invited to Dar es Salaam at a special ceremony sponsored by both the government of Tanzania and the Society for International Development. The present Head of State of Tanzania, President Benjamin Mkapa, as well as Salim Ahmed Salim, former Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, also spoke at the ceremony.

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derdevelopment and Counterterrorism." President Benjamin Mkapa decided also to attend my lecture, although that had not been previously scheduled. I was delighted.

Towards the end of my Barbara Ward lecture I was presumptuous enough to suggest that the Society for International Development should rename their lecture "The Barbara Ward and Julius K. Nyerere Distinguished Lecture." This would combine the names of a distinguished Northerner (Barbara Ward was a British economist) and a distinguished Southerner; a female internationalist with a male globalist; a learned economist with a brilliant political figure. At the time of writing this Newsletter, I am still not sure if the Society for International Development would adopt my recommendation about renaming the lecture.

tremely short notice I stepped

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/140/15/03): Dr. Mazrui's sons Jamal (l) and Al'Amill (r)

In December 2002, I attended a conference in Entebbe, Uganda, sponsored by the International Peace Academy in New York and the Faculty of Social Sciences at Makerere University in Uganda. My paper was jointly authored by Alamin M. Mazrui of the Ohio State University. In fact, Alamin was the one who was originally intended to present the paper in Entebbe, but he was taken ill just before he was due to leave the United States for Uganda. At ex-

with Dr. Alamin Mazrui at the reception.

But the Society for International Development (headquartered in Rome) had also invited me to deliver their 2002 Barbara Ward Distinguished lecture at their World Congress in Dar es Salaam which started on the same day. My theme for the Barbara Ward lecture was "The Global Hostage Crisis: The South between Un-

IMAZRUI

into his shoes. The conference was about problems of conflict and peace-building in Eastern Africa.

Our paper started with another tribute to the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, arguing that Nyerere had had a bigger impact on the fortunes of East African integration (both positive and negative) than any other citizen of the re-

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gion. Participants in attendance included Tanzanians, as well as citizens from other countries in Eastern Africa.

On the very night of my arrival in Uganda I enquired about my old friend, Sulaiman Kiggundu-whom I had known since my own Makerere years when he was a student of economics at Makerere and I was the Dean of Social Sciences at the university. On my arrival in Uganda in 2002 Dr. Kiggundu was in prison. I knew about that, and asked my hosts how I could go and visit his family in Kampala and perhaps visit him personally in prison.

Under President Museveni, Dr. Kiggundu had once served as the Governor of the Central Bank of Uganda. Political differences between him and the Head of State cost him his job as the Governor of the Central Bank. Kiggundu then helped to start a bank of his own with special attentiveness to the problems of the Muslims of Uganda. He subsequently ended up in President Museveni's jail after some kind of banking conviction.

well, in December 2002, I enquired about visiting him in prison. Two days later, while I was still in Uganda, Dr. Kiggundu was released from jail. I could not believe the remarkable coincidence. I managed to send a mes-

Muhammad in Entebbe" (so to speak) instead of my going to the capital. I knew that a number of my friends were coming to Entebbe, and this itself prevented me from going to Kampala in case my friends and I missed each other in the criss-crossing confusion.

In addition to my personal friends I was also visited in Entebbe by the two daughters of Omari H. Kokole, my Ugandan colleague at Binghamton University who had died suddenly in 1996 at the age of forty-four. It was wonderful to see the young women in Entebbe in 2002. They are now in their early twenties, but they are still struggling to understand why their Dad died so young and so "inexplicably." I don't suppose I have ever understood either.

sage to Sulaiman in Kampala. He

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/140/15/03): IGCS member Goretti Mugambwa (middle) came to my hotel in Entebbe With with daughter Maria and Dr. Michael West.

Although I never got to Makerere in the year 2002, I did meet some former Makerere col-

his wife and two sons. It was a wonderful reunion of old friends, following his six months ordeal in prison.

Quite frankly, I never got to Kampala in December 2002!! Never before had I ever been in Uganda without visiting the capital city,

Kampala. In 2002, "the mountain came to

leagues-including Dr. Semakula Kiwanuka, who is now Uganda's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, and dear Dent OcayaLakidi, whom I had hired for Makerere more than thirty years ago.

By telephone I also spoke with Tony Gingyera-Pinyawa, another colleague from my Uganda years. Since I left Uganda in the 1970s Tony has sometimes headed the Department of Political Science at Makerere, and was for awhile Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the university.

One more item about the celebration of the 80th anniversary of Julius Nyerere's birth. With the help of Etin Anwar and her husband, Shalahudin Kafrawi, I hurriedly put together a small book entitled The Titan of Tanzania: The Legacy of Julius K. Nyerere. The book consisted of papers and articles that I had written over the years about the career and policies of Julius Nyerere. This book was of a limited edition- intended to be presented to the current President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, when I went to Dar es Salaam for the Nyerere celebration and the conference of the Society for Interna-

IX. DEATH, DESTINY AND COINCIDENCE

When I was growing up in Mombasa, Kenya, during World War II, I had two mothers-my Dad's two wives. My biological mother was my father's first and senior wife who lived in Mombasa town proper. Her name was Safia. My second mother lived in our country home (rural Chagamwe). Her name was Aisha, but we called her "Bibie" as an affectionate title. My father spent the working week with my biological mother, and spent weekends with Bibie in the country. Since my Dad wanted me to be around him most of the time, I commuted with him between the two homes.

Well, my younger mother Bibie died this last year (2002). She was in her eighties but had looked much younger than her age for decades. When I took my own children to visit her in the 1990s they were surprised by how much younger than me my mother Bibie had looked!

There were a series of coincidences this last year. Particularly strange had been my strong urge to call Bibie's home in Mombasa from Binghamton, New York. I dialed and got my sister Alya (her daughter by my Dad). I was

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Drs. Ostergard and Mazrui at the Saturday startled to learn that Bibie had literally just died. I was the first person outside that particular house to know that-and I was calling from thousands of miles

tional Development. I did ceremonially present copies of the book to Benjamin Mkapa in Dar es Salaam in June to popular applause!

Though the book is currently of limited edition, we may have it commercially republished in a year's time, if all goes well.

away.

I then dialed other members of the family in Mombasa to break the news to them. It was strange for someone in America to be telling family members in Mombasa about a death which had just occurred in their own neighbourhood. We wept together on the phone.

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There were other remarkable coincidences. Bibie died almost exactly thirty years after the death of my biological mother in 1972. And my biological mother had died in what turned out to be my last year of residence in East Africa. I, my former wife Molly, and our children left for America not long after we buried my mother. But we did not know at the time that we were leaving East Africa [as residents] for good.

As if those were not enough coincidences, the last of my mother's sisters [Mama-Ena] died in 2002 within weeks of the death of Bibie. My biological mother had had half a dozen siblings. Mama-Ena was the last to leave us.

To top this parade of coincidences, I got the news of Mama-Ena's death when I was being hosted by her son, Abdul Nasser Shikely, in Kuwait. Abdul Nasser had been living in Kuwait for nearly fifteen years. This was the first time he and I had seen each other in more than a decade. That I should have been with one of Mama-Ena's sons in Kuwait when news came of her death in far-away Kenya was indeed another startling coincidence. Had I been in Binghamton, New York, I would not have been anywhere near any of Mama-Ena's children with whom to grieve in our shared

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after the African Night that news about MamaEna's death was received.

Some of you may be wondering when my father died-before or after my biological mother, Safia? Brace yourselves for another coincidence! My mother Safia survived my father Al'Amin by a quarter of a century almost to the week Dad died in April 1947, mother Safia died in March 1972-twenty-five years apart.

loss.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Tireless IGCS employee AnnaMarie

Let me conclude with a coincidence which brings together in sad unison my own family and that of my present wife, Pauline (Maryam). In the year in which the last of my mother's siblings died, the last of the siblings of Pauline's father also passed away. In the year 2002 we said a sorrowful farewell to our uncle, Chief Paul Uti, in Nigeria, as well as to Mama-Ena in Kenya.

My official hosts in Kuwait with Dr. Mazrui. were Kuwait University, but Abdul Nasser and his wife and children were my only blood-relatives in Kuwait City. So they had been showing me the sights, and entertaining me to some Swahili cuisine. They had even arranged an "Africa Night" in their home so that the African community in Kuwait City could come and break bread and dates with me. It was the day Outside my immediate family death also took away some dear friends. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, we mourned the death of Lemuel Johnson, a distinguished multilingual man of letters originally from Sierra Leone. We were once colleagues at the University of Michigan. When he was Director of the Center for Afroamerican
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and African Studies at Michigan, he was technically my "Boss" as well as a dear friend. When I was offered the Albert Schweitzer Chair by the State University of New York at Binghamton,

Lemuel tried his best to keep me in Ann Arbor, He lost that battle, but we remained friends and maintained contact right up to his death. I am still keeping in touch with his widow, Marian, who has been a dear friend in her own right.

If Lemuel Johnson was central in my concluding year at Michigan, Harold Jacobson (Jake) had been central in bringing me to Michigan in the first place. Jake was the Chair of Political Science at Michigan who had given me my first regular professorship in the United States after my flight from Idi Amin's Uganda in the 1970s. Harold Jacobson also passed away recently-a few months before Lemuel Alice Uti-celebrated her 75th birthday. What is more, Mama Alice looked much younger than this son-in-law of hers. The Nigerian side of our family gave her a tremendous 75th celebration-gifts, songs, dance, food, poetry and plenty of laughter.

In addition to my beloved Pauline, Mama Alice gave the world five other children, And these children in turn have given her twenty-nine grandchildren. So you can imagine what a spectacular 75th her offspring gave her in Jos, Nigeria!! Mama Alice also has two great-grandchildren! We look forward to her return to Binghamton in 2003.

The American side of our family celebrated something else-the engagement of my firstborn son Jamal to his beloved Susan. For years we had been waiting for the day when Jamal would meet the woman of his dreams. Two of his younger brothers, Al'Amin and Kim, got married before him and each is now a father. We were beginning to wonder if Jamal was waiting for his youngest brother of all to get married before Jamal took the plunge! His

youngest brother of all-little Harith-is now nine years old.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): At the gala, Dr. Mazrui finds his groove with delightful anticipation to the day Mrs. Gowon.

Johnson's departure. We miss them both as when the knot will at last be tied, hopefully in friends and as major contributors to scholar- 2003.

Fortunately Susan emerged from the mists of romantic love, and the rest is history! At least we hope so! We look forward with

ship and the world of learning.

X. THE FAMILY IN TRANSITION

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A year before I was due to celebrate my 70th birthday my mother-in-law in Nigeria-Mama Jamal and Susan came to Binghamton to spend Thanksgiving 2002 with us. They were accompanied by Sarah, the brilliant daughter Of Susan's by a previous marriage. For us it was a joyful introduction to our future daughter-in-law and to her first-offspring, Sarah. Those few days were a "Thanksgiving" occasion in more than the usual seasonal sense. After all, Jamal is nearly forty years old. It is indeed time he settled down as a family man.

Professionally, he does seem to have settled down. After a successful first degree from Princeton University and a graduate degree from Harvard, Jamal later joined the Federal Government of the United States. His boss is Colin Powell's son, Michael Powell-the Chair of the Federal Communications Commission.

My second son is, of course, Al'Amin. Al'Amin's most serious commitment of 2002 was to his own baby son, little Ali. I was so pleased when Al'Amin and Jill decided in 2000 to name their newborn son after his GrandDad. The little one is the next Ali A. Mazrui!

The world has been forewarned! !

Little Ali is not only photogenic; we think he is televisual! At one or two years old he is already camera-conscious-and literally pauses elegantly for the camera. Can you imagine? We have magnificent shots of him smiling at the camera.

Al'Amjn is my tallest son so far! Professionally, he has fluctuated between entrepreneurial and teaching roles. While Jamal had long been undecided whether to

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Pauline, my present wife, was also trained as a teacher right here at Binghamton University but she decided to devote her teaching talents to our own two little children, Farid (now eleven years old) and Harith (currently nine). Pauline also volunteers at their school a number of hours every week, as well as teaching our kids at home. The little ones have been getting excellent grades.

get married, Al'Amin has long

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : James currey, Shalahudin Kafrawi, Dr. Maznli, been undecided what career was Etin Anwar, and Pauline Mazrui.

One assignment which Farid's class was given was to write a little report on a "famous person."Farid said to the teacher "My Dad! He is a famous person!" The teacher smiled and conceded the point! Farid was encouraged to interview his Dad for his school report. When

my eleven-year-old son asked me for an interview, I did not refer him to my secretary for an appointment-as I usually do with other suppli-

best for him. He may definitively settle to become a schoolteacher like his mother, Molly. That would make four of us engaged in education-Molly (the mother), Ali (the father), Al'Amin himself, and his younger brother, Kim, who is a professor of law at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

cants for interviews! Nevertheless we had to agree on a specific time.

He came to my "study" at home with a taperecorder, and asked me questions which took me all the way back to the days when I was his age. Given the school assignment, he also

wanted to know whether I was indeed a "famous man" and, if so, what had made me "famous." When I tried to be modest, Farid would not let me. He knew that I had been a television personality; that I traveled every year to the far corners of the world from where I telephoned him and his younger brother; and that I had written many books. But he wanted me to put all this together as a portrait of fame! That was what the school assignment had been all about. I capitulated!

Farid transcribed the audio-recorded interview and wrote a report based on it. The tape of the interview was submitted as an appendix to Farid's report. The eleven year old was awarded a grade of 100% by his schoolteacher! It had been one of the toughest interviews I had ever had to confront-out of all the thouthemselves than because of their parents. Indeed, I suspect the cameraman or woman who has photographed my sons has known very little about their Dad!! Just a coincidence.

My professorial son, Kim, is becoming famous for different reasons. His meteoric rise to full professorship with tenure at the age of thirty-two was itself an attention-grabbing event. His university was established by Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, in Charlottesville, Virginia, in the eighteenth century. Kim is professor of law at the University of Virginia.

He is already in demand as a lecturer at other institutions. One of those institutions in 2002 was Syracuse University in New York State. Kim came to the law school at Syracuse to make a presentation on constitutional issues arising out of affirmative action and of policies for compensating citizens for previous injustices to minority groups.

Since Syracuse is quite near Binghamton, Kim arranged to spend a night with us. I and my colleague Amadu Jacky Kaba later traveled to Syracuse University to listen to Kim's splendid presentation at the Syracuse Law School. The lecturing fee Kim is beginning to command is dangerously close to his father's rate in the United States! Should I feel proud

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Al'Amin Mazrui and his son Ali with IGCS staff or insecure? I am leaning towards pride. Kim is less than half my age.

In the United States I have two people named after my own Dad. There is Al'Amin, my son, and Alamin, my nephew. [They spell their names slightly differently.] We call my nephew "Alamin Senior," and my son "younger Al'Amin." To have called my son "Al'Amin JunEDITION)

member Nancy Levis.

sands of interviews in my professional career!

Talking of "portraits of fame" both Farid and his younger brother, Harith, have appeared in the local Binghamton town and campus newspapers more than once each. Reporter's cameras are turned on our little boys from time to time-more because they look "newsworthy"

ior" would have caused confusion in the American idiom. Please remember Martin Luther King, Jr.!

My nephew's Dad, the late Sheikh Muhammad Kassim Mazrui, had helped to immortalize the writings of my father. Now his son Alamin is helping to immortalize my own writings. In the course of 2002, Alamin and our friend Goretti Mugambwa, were trying to put together a book on Ali A. Mazrui and His Critics-which would encompass the major debates of my life about the African situation. The project may result in two volumes about Debating the African Condition, probably to be published by Africa World Press.

In the course of 2001-2002 my nephew Alamin also edited my lectures and papers on the issue of reparations. This has since been provisionally published under the title of Black Reparations in the Era of Globalization (2002). It may be more definitively reissued by Africa World Press in the year 2003.

My nephew Alamin and I have already published two coauthored books-The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience (Oxford and Chicago, 1998) and Political Culture of Language: Swahili, Society and the State (Nairobi, Oxford and Binghamton, 1990s).

There are rumours that Molly, my first wife and the mother of my first three sons, is contemplating a second marriage in the year 2003. Although younger than me, Molly is nevertheless in her sixties. It is never too late for a second wedding. We all wish Molly and her chosen man happiness and true bliss. Amen.

Alamin's wife, Ousseina MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Ambassadors Olara Otunnu and Joseph

The adventures of my brother's son, Zeid Harith Mazrui, have been taking a turn for the better. Zeid has been traversing the world looking for both political asylum and economic refuge. At last the United States government has granted him the right to work. Zeid is more oriented towards mechanical rather than academic skills. Zeid is more relevant when your car has broken down than when your book needs editing! We are grateful that some Mazruis are more practically relevant in their skills than others!

Melrose.

Alidou and her twin sister, Hassana, have been planning a future book on The Gender Question in Ali A. Mazrui's Works. If they do not look out, they may be overtaken by the Indonesian scholar, Dr. Etin Anwar, who has a similar project about my work on gender. Ghalib Yusuf Tamim, another nephew of mine, has been working on the biography of my father in Sheikh Al'Amin Ali Mazrui in Kiswahili. Ghalib has accumulated a lot of material and data about my old man (his grandfather). Although his original report about my Dad was in Kiswahili, Ghalib has been working

on an English translation as well.

In the course of 2002 Ghalib was my primary host every time I was in Nairobi, and Munir

Mazrui (another nephew) was my main host in Mombasa, They often went beyond the call of duty in looking after their uncle. Asante sana.

I have one sister whose daughters have been a little more visible than her sons. This has been my sister Nafisa. Her oldest sons were hit by tragedy. The first son, Ahmed, has since died from cancer. Her second son Shakib has had nervous imbalances. However, her son Adil has done his best to compensate for these tragedies of older brothers. So has my namesake among her sons, Ali Manthry. Truly great nephews!

But especially striking have been the eldest vail in the years ahead. Amen.

Another e-mail "regular" among my nephews is Muhammad Yusuf Tamim, who is now a Canadian in Toronto. I hear from him regularly. His topics range from African politics to Islamic theology. Of all my North American relatives, he is the best educated in Islamic doctrine and theology.

Goretti Mugambwa and her daughter, Maria, have indeed become part of my Binghamton family. While Goretti was doing her bachelor's degree at Binghamton University she lived with us. Goretti did us proud! She was consistently on the Dean's list of excellence, and finally graduated magna cum laude. She won a number of awards as a new graduate. We were truly excited at her graduation.

We believe her daughter (now sixteen) has the same talents and level of dedication. In her performance in high school Maria once received a letter of congratulations from President Bill Clinton. Maria is a competent basketball player in high school. At least as important is the fact that Maria now has a driver's license-bringing the number of drivers in my Binghamton family to three, all of them women (Pauline, Goretti, and Maria)!! Before long Maria will be going to college in either

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Ambassadors Nzibo and Melrose at the gala. conceivably destined for a media-Canada or the United States-

daughter, Alwiyya, accompanied by the sisters Labiba, Fahima and Swafiya. My most regular correspondence with this side of the family has been through my e-mail correspondence with Swafiya. Through Swafiya I have learnt good news and bad, moments of grief and moments of celebration. May the more joyful news prevail or alternative scientific degree. She has been a good role-model for my two youngest children-Farid and Harith. The Lord be praised.

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XI. Is GLOBALIZATION A DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS?

A conference of internationally renowned religious, cultural and political leaders discussing topics relating to globalization and the dialogue of civilizations was attended by more than 500 at the Holiday Inn-Arena and Heritage Country Club in our town of Binghamton, New York. My Institute of Global Cultural Studies was the hosting institution.

In different three-hour sessions devoted to conflict and dialogue between civilizations, participants debated topics such as religious intolerance, origins of terrorism, economic imbalances between developing and developed nations, the role of the United States as a superpower, and the importance of women in bringing about social change. Participants also responded to questions from the attending audience. Billed as "Global Town Meeting"

Saturday's events concluded a two-day long conference.

Participants in the conference included Wole Soyinka, the first African to win the Nobel Prize for literature; Lord Ahmed of Rotherham, the first Muslim appointed to the British House of Lords; General Yakubu Gowon, the Head of State who held Nigeria together during the Civil War in his country; Thomas Michel, Coordinator for Inter-Religious Dialogue for the Society of Jesus at the Vatican, and many other prominent figures representing various nationalities such as India, Malaysia, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Tibet. Religions represented included Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism. The two-day event was unique in that it took place both on the campus of Binghamton University and on off-campus venues in the Southern Tier, bringing together "town and gown."

In my welcoming speech, I said that the conference was precedent setting as it joined together the debate over the process of "global-

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ization" with the debate over the "clash of civilizations" in a manner that had not yet been attempted before. Although the conference was planned long before September 11, 2001, the events of that day made the issues addressed particularly urgent. "The state of New York has become more convinced than ever that civilizations and cultures should enter into continuous and substantive dialogue," I argued.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : General Gowon, making an award presentation. Chandra Muzaffar, President of the International Movement for a Just World in Malaysia, argued that "multi-ethnic, multi-religious communities need dialogue," that without such dialogue the results could be disastrous, and that when communities "isolate themselves from each other, tensions tend to rise." Atukwei Okai,

Secretary-General of the Pan-African Writer's Association, noted that there was "no longer any way to escape such a dialogue." Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, President of the Institute of Governance and Social Research in Jos, Nigeria, called for a cost-benefit analysis of globalization from the perspective of North-South relations.

While overall the conference stressed the need for greater dialogue and understanding, it did not shy away from difficult issues. Radwan Masmoudi, Executive Director of the Center of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Washington, D.C., stressed the need to respect the civil rights of Muslims and Arabs in the United States and other Western countries. Ousseina Alidou from Rutgers University and Nkiru Nzegwu from Binghamton University stressed the need for greater enfranchisement achieved without creating the kinds of conflicts that lead to violence and social injustice, then it is imperative to address the tremendous economic disparities between nations, to limit unilateral activity by superpowers such as the United States and to respect cultural differences. Ambassador Dudley Thompson from Jamaica stressed that some civilizations owed reparations to others for past injustices.

I was deeply moved by the event. I felt that bringing such prominent personalities from so many corners of the world was a significant feat for the Institute. It would not have been possible to bring them together in one place had they not been generous enough to forego the usual honoraria and fees they command for such appearances.

I was helped by my Institute team to spread the conference out over three venues. While logistical concerns regarding the size of the venue initially pushed the Institute in that

direction, we became convinced that it would be a very important gesture to not only open events to the public, but to “literally and physically take the event into the community.” Michael Toler, the conference coordinator, was a brilliant organizer, helped by Ruzima Sebuharara,

ers.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): General and Ambassador Nzibo
AnnaMarie Palombaro and oth-

present an award to Dr. Mazrui.

and empowerment of women; and Lord Ahmed stressed that care must be taken in the use of the label terrorist, stating that many of those now regarded as great “freedom fighters” were

“once considered terrorists by someone else.” Most participants stressed that if the potential beneficial effects of globalization are to be Friday’s events began with a closed door dialogue among 30 invited participants who were greeted by Frances Carr, Vice President for Research at Binghamton University, and Supervisor Andrea Starzak of the Town of Vestal.

On Friday evening Mayor Richard Bucci of Binghamton and myself welcomed participants
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before we heard comments by Lord Ahmed of Rotherham and the keynote speech by Wole Soyinka in front of an audience of approximately 130 persons.

Mary Ann Swain, Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs at Binghamton University, Mayor Harry G. Lewis of the Village of Johnson City and Supervisor John E. Cheevers of the Town of Union were on hand to open the meetings on Saturday.

Approximately 150 attended the morning session, whereas the afternoon session filled the 300 seats in the Heritage Ballroom to near capacity.

2002 was a year dedicated to debate on the “Dialogue of Civilizations” at the United Nations. The IGCS conference contributed to enlarging the debate and to more adequately address the processes of globalization. “We are likely to find this is the first of a series of events that will continue the debate in this direction,” said Atukwei Okai of Ghana. Niara Sudarkasa, former President of Lincoln University, warned against too much optimism about the consequences of globalization. She also profoundly distrusted the concept of “civilizations”-regardless of whether they were supposed to be in conflict or in dialogue. Muhammad Bakari, who had come all the way from Istanbul, regarded “globalization” as the latest euphemism for “Westernization.” Ashis Nandy from India was concerned that both “globalization” and “civilization” were elitist concepts.

XII. TOWARDS THE FUTURE: A CONCLUSION

Now that I am entering the seventieth year of my life, it would be unnatural if I did not start speculating about my possible retirement. Life and health permitting, should I retire when I am 75 years old in 2008? Or should I retire when I complete my twentieth year at Binghamton University in 2009-2010? Or should I begin to retire in installments much sooner, reluctantly giving up Cornell University first before I step down from Binghamton University later this decade?

And where should we retire to? Should we remain in the Binghamton-Ithaca, New York area, where we have lots of friends? Or should we move to a town where one of my adult sons lives? (The sons are currently “scattered” across the states of Maryland, California and Virginia)! !

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) . Ambassador Olara Otunnu and Dr. Ostergard. There is also the option of our retiring in ancestral Kenya or Nigeria. Some friends have even suggested that I should retire in Oxford, England, as a midway point between my sons in America and our extended families in Mombasa, Kenya, and Jos, Nigeria.

At the moment the issue of my retirement is merely a hypothesis. I feel no sense of urgency for retiring, al-hamdu li 'llah!

However, my seventieth year is here. I hear rumors that publications in my honour are forthcoming. Dr. Seifudein Adem is a young Ethiopian professor teaching at the University of Tshukuba in Japan. He has completed a book about my approach to the study of world politics. For part of his research he had come especially to Binghamton from Japan to spend a few weeks at our Institute. His book is entitled *Paradigm Lost, Paradigm Regained: the Worldview of Ali A. Mazrui*. A special edition of the book is scheduled to appear this year with pictures.

My old friend, Parviz Morewedge, has edited and published a biographical festschrift in my honor. The book, entitled *The Scholar Between Thought and Experience*, has just been large volume for each author. The scholars chosen included Professors Jacob Ade Ajayi, Richard Sklar, Bethwell Allan Ogot, Adu Boahen, and Ali A. Mazrui.

In every case but mine the scholar's influential articles were to be published in one volume. But in my case it was decided to publish three Mazruiana volumes. There were two reasons for treating my work differently-the quantity of my output and the diversity of my subject matter.

Ricardo R. Laremont and a team of assistants edited Volume I *Africanity Redefined* and Volume II *Africa and Other Civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest*. These two volumes have just been published by Africa World Press in Trenton, New Jersey.

Volume III of my essays is being edited by Robert L. Ostergard, another colleague at Binghamton. The ambition is to have this third volume out before the end of 2003. Editorial associates involved in the preparation of these three volumes have included Fouad Kalouche, Tracia Leacock Senghatolislami, Michael A. Toler, and Betul Celik.

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03): Mrs. Gowon and Pauline present Dr. Mazrui. I have also referred earlier to the book being compiled and edited by Alamin M. Mazrui provisionally entitled *Debating the African Condition: Ali A. Mazrui and*

with his new clothes.

published by Global Publications.

Professor Toyin Falola at the University of Texas, Austin, had begun a project on what he calls *The African Canon*. The idea was to select a number of scholars who had significantly contributed to our understanding of Africa in the course of the twentieth century, and then republish their most influential articles in a single *His Critics*. The book will include debates about gender, ethnicity, sexuality, civilmilitary relations, governance, and religion. My debating adversaries over the decades have included creative writers like Wole Soyinka and Paul Theroux, social scientists like Archie Mafeje and William Ochieng, editors like

Conor Cruise O'Brien, and Heads of State like President A. Milton Obote of Uganda and President Julius
EDITION)

K. Nyerere of Tanzania. I am not sure what editor Alamin Mazrui has chosen to include in this volume about my debates on the African condition with such worthy adversaries. Will one volume be enough for such debates? We shall know when the publication is launched at the 2003 convention of the African Studies Association of the United States in November this year, Insha Allah.

My South African colleague, Abdul S. Bemath in Johannesburg, is busy updating his own book about me entitled *The Mazruiana Collection: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of the Published Works of Ali A. Mazrui*, first published in 1998 by Africa World Press, New Jersey, and Sterling in New Delhi. Bemath's book about me has a Foreword by General Yakubu Gowon, PhD., former Head of State of Nigeria.

General Gowon and his dear wife, Victoria, honoured our home in Binghamton when they came to dinner in April 2002. In my sitting room there is a school photograph taken in 1945 with my face among dozens of other Mombasa kids. In exchange for a free book as a prize, General Gowon wittily challenged our other guests that evening to see if they could recognize me in the photo when I was only twelve years old. The General got into the spirit of the party, and personally challenged one guest after another. I do not think anybody really recognized me, but the General was generous enough to award the book to my dear friend also at the dinner, Dr. Niara Sudarkasa, former President of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania!! It was a hilarious mood of relaxation and comradeship. The evening was concluded by remarkably eloquent post-dessert speeches by General Gowon, Chandra Muzaffar and Dudley Thompson.

Another humorous debate later in the year occurred in South Africa. Who had invented the concept of "African Renaissance"? Was it Ali
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Mazrui or Thabo Mbeki? In July 2002 I did have a brief encounter with President Thabo Mbeki in Pretoria, South Africa. We had known each other during the days of the struggle against apartheid, but 2002 was the first time I had met him since he became President of South Africa. But at our encounter we did not discuss our rival claims to the authorship of "the African Renaissance." Perhaps it was just as well-

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) : Dr. James Mittleman speaking at the gala.
since Nnandi Azikiwe of Nigeria had coined it in the 1930s when I was only a mere child and Thabo Mbeki was not even born!

Anyhow, I was delighted to be able to pay my respects to President Mbeki in July 2002. I also addressed a special meeting of the African National Congress at their headquarters in Johannesburg about the impact of September 11 on Africa. The meeting was sponsored by both the ANC and the Institute of Global Dialogue in Johannesburg.

My lecture at the University of South Africa was on "Comparative Terror from Shaka to Sharon: Religious, Racial, Revolutionary and State Violence." The lecture was sponsored by several different units at the University of South

MAZRUI SYMPOSIUM (2/14-2/15/03) Dr. Abdul Nanji speaking at the gala.

Africa in Pretoria. I had earlier lectured in Cape Town as a Keynote speaker to open a special conference to mark a century' of literary excellence in Africa's experience. I caught up with a number of old friends at the conference in Cape Town-ranging from Zeke

Mphahlele, the man of letters, to David Harrison, the BBC television producer without whom my television series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* would never have been done. David had been both the principal fundraiser and the Executive Director of the Africans. When we met in South Africa in July 2002 he asked me for an interview.

But on what topic? He wanted my evaluation of Nelson Mandela. Why a Kenyan's evaluation of Mandela when we were both in Mandela's own country? Well, David Harrison was working on a television project about Mandela, and wanted the views of prominent Africans from different countries about Mandela.

A Pan-African dinner in Cape Town was hosted by my old friends Nuruddin Farah, the Somali novelist, and his wife Amina Mama, the distinguished Nigerian scholar at the University of Cape Town. It was, in terms of conversation, a lively and most enjoyable evening. Later in the year I ran into Amina in Washington, D.C., at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association. Alas, it was a brief and hurried encounter. Perhaps we will meet again when I return to South Africa in June and July 2003 for the joint congress of the African Association of Political Science and the International Political Science Association, God willing.

The year 2003 is starting badly with war clouds over Iraq, civil conflicts in Africa, nuclear stalemate over North Korea, the pandemic of AIDS, and the spectacular tragedy of the space shuttle Columbia. But the Dorset novelist Thomas Hardy reminded us "If a way to the Better there be, it exacts a full look at the Worst."

The English poet Shelley was of course even more optimistic in his "Ode to the West Wind":
O, Wind,

If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?
EDITION)

The photographs in this Newsletter were taken at an international symposium to mark Dr. Ali. A. Mazrui's 70th birthday in February 2003 in Binghamton, New York. The family photograph at the back was taken earlier.

Ali A. Mazrui with children, wife and grandson (Will) From Left to Right:
Back: Jamal, Al'Amin, and Kim; Seated: Pauline, Harith, Will, Ali and Farid

Newsletter 28, Early 2004, Political Problems and Professional Rewards

AUUUA WIAZRUI UEWSETTER, no 28 (Special Chancellor's tdiion)

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme:

POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND PROFESSIONAL REWARDS

Sub-Themes Pages

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues.

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Having now entered the seventh decade of Ijgious conditions which threatened my politimy life, is there a slowing down of momen- cal legitimacy in the United States. distances between gates, 2003 was the year when I asked for a wheelchair or an electric car for the first time since 1986. Rushing between one airport gate to another on my own legs has now become a bit of a challenge!

On the other hand, has it ever occurred to me to use airports less often? That level of deceleration has yet to occur! I still cross the Atlantic at least ten times (going and coming) every year.

My first use of the wheelchair was in 1986

a free society in the wake of Kibaki's election. Unfortunately, the United States became less of a free society in the wake of the election of George W. Bush and his response to September 11. My gains from Kibaki's election were for a while clear-cut and indisputable My losses from George W, Bush's election were more ambiguous-and included plusses, as well as minuses!

My gains from Kibaki's election were specific to me and probably not related to either

when I had an accident on an escalator at Columbus Airport, Ohio, in the course of a nationwide tour to promote my television series, The Africans: A Trip/e Heritage. We agonized

my ethnicity or my religion, My fluctuating fortunes under the new Bush administration

seemed linked to both my race and my religion.

At large airports like Heathrow, with long lines, Kenya became more of

whether to cancel my promotion tour since it was my most important gain from Kibaki's election. My election was designed to cover all the way from the Vice President to the Chancellorship of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. When I decided, "the show must go on!" So I continued the tour for another three weeks in a wheelchair. It was not until 2003 that I was re-introduced to the public that I was re-introduced to the universities of Kenya had previously been held but this time because of age rather than injury. by the Head of State himself (President Daniel arap Moi before he left office in 2002). President Mwai Kibaki decided to decentralize as he appointed distinguished ordinary Kenyans to

In the course of 2003 I felt the consequences of two prior elections upon my own life. The Kenyan elections of the year 2002 had a positive impact upon my life. The election of Mwai Kibaki as the new President of Kenya created conditions which gave me a new lease of political legitimacy in Kenya.

On the other hand, the election of George

W. Bush as President of the United States in serve as Chancellors of the six public universities.

Since I was permitted to remain at my post in the United States, I became the only "overseas Chancellor" of a Kenyan university. My situation constituted a double jeopardy. I was supposed to preside over agriculture and technology, neither of which was my specialization. I was also to be a distant Chancellor operating

the year 2000 helped to create political and re- from thousands of miles away. I needed all the

help I could get. me wait. They heard about my adventures,

On the other hand, my position as a member of a racial minority (Black) in the United States was now politically compounded by my membership of a religious minority (Muslim) in the country, Some Zionist extremists and some Christian fundamentalists had become more openly anti-Muslim. The American Zionist, Daniel Pipes, even opened a website called "Campus Watch" with names of professors he regarded as security risks. I was among the first eight professors he targeted. Our students were called upon to report on us. Islamophobes responded by clogging our e-mail systems with provocative and obscene spam. My home in Binghamton, New York, was pelted with raw eggs. And I personally was detained at Miami Airport for several hours on suspicion of terrorist links. There is general consensus among American Muslims and their supporters that Daniel Pipes is an Islamophobe and hate-monger. Yet President W. Bush nominated him to serve on the Board of the U.S. Institute of Peace, a position sufficiently important that each nominee normally needs Senate confirmation. I was

among those who wrote directly to Bush in protest. When President Bush discovered the level of opposition to Daniel Pipes in the Senate itself, including the opposition of such influential Senators as Edward Kennedy, Bush waited until the Senate was in recess-and then appointed

Daniel Pipes by executive order. It was another measure of how indifferent the Bush administration was to Muslim concerns.

As for my interrogation at Miami Airport, I had originally decided not to go public with it, but to wait and see if such interrogations became a pattern every time I arrived in the United States. But the Washington Post would not let me down for an interview, and broke the story as one more example of negative Muslim experiences at American airports. I shall return to my own Miami detention later in this Newsletter.

While my standing in the United States suffered this slight setback in the year 2003, my standing in Kenya went up. Since my appointment as Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University was made by no less an authority than the Head of State himself, President Mwai Kibaki, the whole nation now knew that I was in the good books of the Kenya government at last. Before the Kibaki administration, universities in Kenya felt very inhibited about inviting me to give a lecture or seminar. The one time the University of Nairobi invited me to give a lecture in the 1990s was to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Fulbright Scheme under whose auspices many Kenyans had studied in the United States. The topic of my lecture was nonpolitical-“African Universities and the American Model of Higher Education.” Even for such a lecture the University of Nairobi had to seek permission from the Office of the Head of State, President Daniel arap Moi.

But, in 2003, the doors of the University of Nairobi were ready to open for this native son of Kenya. The Head of the Department of Political Science at Nairobi, Dr. Crispin Odhiambo Mbai invited me to give a lecture about the role of universities in Africa’s development. Dr. Crispin Odhiambo Mbai did not have to seek the permission of the Head of State for my lecture.

POLITICAL

Tajfa Hall on campus filled to overflowing for my 2003 lecture. Many distinguished educators from other Kenyan universities were in attendance. The event was a “Welcome Back” greeting to me. I was deeply moved.

I promised my host, Dr. Odhiambo Mbai that I would send him the edited text of my lecture in four or five weeks’ time for possible publication. Although the professor was in his forties, he did not live long enough to receive the text. Dr. Odhiambo Mbai was murdered in his own home by persons unknown a few weeks after he had hosted me. It was regarded as a political assassination, apparently connected with his role in the on-going Kenya Constitutional review.

On my next trip to Kenya in 2003, I addressed the whole student body and all the faculty and staff of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology near Thika in Kenya. My topic was about Kenyan universities and the pursuit of excellence. The new Chancellor was introducing himself to his wider team. I was exceptionally well-received. My lecture also supported the academic staff of Kenya’s public universities in their demands for a major hike in their pay and benefits. They had been neglected for too long. I publicly supported the academy’s cause and goals, but I stopped short of supporting the strike in

pursuit of those goals.

Professor Nick Wanjohi, the Vice-Chancellor and his administrative team on campus, gave me encouragement and support as I struggled to get my bearings as a new Chancellor.

Michael Hinzano Ngonyo emerged as the Chancellor's liaison officer, I also had a special meeting with the Council of the Jomo Kenyatta University-a "getting to know you" session.

The chair of the Council, Mr. Adan Muhammad of Barclays Bank

when Christians were thrown to the lions for sport. Modern day religious persecution is rarely so callous. But are there global war-games unfolding at the expense of the Muslim world in this day and age?

Muslims under direct military occupation include Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan. Muslims militarily struggling for self-determination include Chechnya and Kashmir. Muslims on the radar screen for possible military intervention by Western powers include Iran, Syria and Somalia. Muslims being harassed under new anti-terrorist legislation (passed or in progress) already include Tanzania, Kenya, potentially South Africa and a host of other countries under pressure from the Bush administration. Muslims under other methods of oppression include the appalling suffering of the Muslims of Gujarat in India. In comparative number of victims, Muslims of the world are more sinned against than sinning.

Muslims who are harassed at American and international airports are beginning to multiply, On August 3, 2003, on arrival from overseas, I was detained at Miami airport for seven hours under repeated interrogation. Detaining a 70-year-old man as a potential terrorist is a case study of the new paranoia at airports.

I was interrogated by (a) immigration; (b) customs; and (c) Homeland Security and the Joint Terrorism Task Force in that order. They all focused on security. Paradoxically; the last interrogators were the most apologetic and the most courteous. But they still questioned me behind closed doors. Of course, I was truthful

in Kenya, entertained me to Iftar during about all the Muslim organizations I belonged to, including the Muslim American Congress, the old American Muslim Council and the Council on Counterterrorism at Miami Airport. Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy There was a time during the Roman Empire (CSID).

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In fairness to the Joint Terrorism Task Force, "Islam in the Black Experience". I had also they subsequently booked me a hotel room for the night in Miami and paid for it. They arranged for me to be taken to the airport hotel. And this world!

they paid for my dinner that night (giving me The Miami airport officials allowed me one \$25 for it). The Homeland Security interrogation- phone call. I called my home in Binghamton. My wife mobilized my would not have been kept for so long if they three adult sons and their families. She also had not been interested in interrogating me mobilized some colleagues at Binghamton Unipersonally. I was kept waiting until they arrived. Their phone calls of alarm to the relief. After living in the United States for more than twenty years, authorities might have speeded up my quarter of a century, did I arouse suspicion? My ordeal at Miami airport ended on August 3, 2003, because of where I was, with a few embarrassed smiles.

However, coming from? Was I coming back from Afghani- I am not complacent. I am afraid it could hapStan? Had I visited Baghdad? Perhaps I was pen again, the Lord preserve us. But we shall coming back from Indonesia? not be intimidated. Amen.

Negative to all of those! I was coming back from Trinidad and Tobago in the Caribbean. My Ill. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND I primary mission in Trinidad had almost nothingIn a year when there was so much interna- to do with Islam. I had been a keynote speaker to mark Emancipation Day-commemorating the end of slavery in the British Caribbean in

the nineteenth century.

The questions I was asked at Miami on my tional debate about weapons of mass destruction, some Canadian researchers discovered

what I had said about nuclear weapons proliferation in my BBC Reith Lectures (world service) in 1979. I had recommended to the Third

return jn 2003 included whether I believed inWorld that they should acquire a military nuclear

Jihad and what did I understand by jihad? What capability as soon as they could. Audiences of denomination of Islam did I belong to? Since I the British Broadcasting Corporation were was a Sunni, why was I not a Shi ra? I reacted: stunned in 1979.

“If you were a Catholic, and I asked why youThe Canadian Broadcasting Corporation were not you a Protestant, how would you deal[CBC] in 2003 telephoned me in Binghamton with that?” to inquire if I would be prepared to defend my Since I was coming from Trinidad and To-1979 recommendation on television in Toronto bago, had I seen Yaseen Abubakar, the Islamic in 2003. The CBC had a programme specializmilitant who had held the whole cabinet of ing on controversial issues. The programme was Trinidad hostage in the Parliament building called “Test of Faith”. The format put the main nearly fifteen years earlier? That was a muchcharacter in what they called “the hot seat”, more sophisticated question.facing a panel of three challengers. For my sins I replied at Miami Airport that I had not met I picked up the gauntlet from CBC and traveled Abubakar, but I had tried to see him in Trinidad. to Toronto (at CBC’s expense, of course).

After all, I was teaching a course at Cornell on The three challengers in the studio consisted

of a military man, a university professor (another man) and a woman anti-nuclear activist. There was also a live audience in the studio to listen and react to the debate and later ask questions. My nephew, Muhammad Yusuf Tamim, and his wife, Khyrul Nisha Tamim, were seated among the studio audience. The Chief Programme Moderator was Valerie Pringle. But why had I recommended nuclear weapons proliferation in Africa and the Third World in 1979? One reason was my belief that the Northern hemisphere [NATO, the Warsaw Pact, etc.] was not to be allowed to monopolize any branch of scientific knowledge or any field of military technology.

But my more compelling reason for recommending nuclear proliferation was the conviction that if enough Third World countries went nuclear, there would be enough consternation worldwide to strengthen demands for universal nuclear disarmament The West especially would regard it as a nightmare for an unstable regime to acquire nuclear

weapons. I believed in 1979 that such Western fears would only be put to rest if the West and the other nuclear states agreed to a universal renunciation of nuclear weapons.

What I had not anticipated in 1979 was the speedy collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. This made it possible for the United States to stop nuclear proliferation mantled as Black majority rule approached. In the case of Iraq, "weapons of mass destruction" became an excuse for invading the country and occupying it. Libya was sufficiently alarmed to abandon its own dreams of nuclear defense. Iran felt compelled to be more cautious in its own nuclear ambitions.

Yet the United States, Russia, France, China and Israel showed no interest in giving up their own weapons of mass destruction. As for India and Pakistan, they were too far ahead to be stopped from their nuclearization. Universal nuclear disarmament remained as far away as ever,

by bombing those Third World countries which greatest defender of the nuclear status quo was were trying to go nuclear, instead of stopping the military member of the panel challenging nuclear proliferation by seeking universal me. Surprisingly the most sympathetic to my nuclear disarmament. position was the woman peace activist, The In the case of Egypt, nuclear dreams were peace activist and I were bonded together by neutralized with a bribe from the USDA. of more our shared pursuit of universal nuclear disarmament than a billion dollars a year. In the case of South Africa,

six nuclear devices already acquired by As the debate was going on, members of the apartheid regime were renounced and dis- the audience in the studio were given pieces of

Regarding the Arab people today, they see that Israel is already a nuclear power without any complaint from the United States. In spite of Libya's self-denying decision, the Arab people are faced with the choice between the nuclearization of one or two Arab states, on the one hand, and the nuclearization of an Arab terrorist movement, on the other. Nuclear weapons under the control of a state are in much safer hands than nuclear devices in the possession of terrorists. But much safer by far is a global renunciation of nuclear weapons by all political actors, beginning with state-action to make those weapons illegitimate for everybody. After all, we have made gas-warfare and germwarfare already illegitimate for all and sundry. In the debate on television in Toronto the

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paper to write down questions they wanted to ask. Since Muhammad Tamim's question denounced a member of the Bush Administration by name, the Canadian Broadcasting moderators disallowed his question. But the moderators were keen to have a dark-skinned man in Muslim attire on television pose a question. So they offered Muhammad an alternative question which had been submitted by another member of the audience.

Muhammad refused to ask-somebody else's question. I wished the moderators had been less strict about protecting the names of North American politicians!

When I was busy in 2003 defending my BBC Reith Lectures of 1979, Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel Laureate, was busy preparing his

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Ali Mazrui at a press conference in Nigeria

told that Wole Soyinka had already received such a doctorate, honoris causa, a few years previously.

But today I can hardly believe that I had given the BBC Reith Lectures a whole quarter century (twenty-five years) ahead of Wole Soyinka! These are the most prestigious radio lectures anywhere in the world.

In preparation for my own lectures, *The African Condition*, in 1979, the BBC gave me a travel grant in 1978 to tour Africa and interview anybody I wanted. Among others, I interviewed one Francophone African President, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, and one Anglophone African President, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. In fairness to them, neither of them expressed support for nuclear proliferation!

Wole Soyinka's own Reith Lectures of 2004 are entitled *Climate of Fear*: I suspect that Wole Soyinka's concept of "fear" has nothing to do with fear of nuclear weapons. I look forward to reading his book when it comes out.

I am delighted that the BBC has improved the format of the Reith Lectures. In 1979, my six Reith Lectures were recorded in a studio without live audiences in attendance. Wole Soyinka's lectures, on the other hand, were delivered before university audi-

BBC Reith Lectures scheduled for 2004. It is indeed, and recorded for subsequent radio transmission, extremely rare that I am ahead of Wole Soyinka's mission.

In delivering any particular distinguished lecture - Do I wish my own Reith Lectures in 1979 had been delivered before live audiences outside some institution, "Wole Soyinka gave this same the studio? It depends upon how big a live lecture four years ago." Or, when offered an honorary nuclear recommendation would have been a doctorate by a university, I would be flattered!! On balance, however, I believe Wole

Soyinka has had a much better format for his BBC Reith Lectures than I had.

Talking of being ahead or behind Wole Soyinka on events of distinction, am I likely to win the Nobel Prize a quarter of a century after Wole Soyinka? Since Wole became a Nobel Laureate in 1986, we shall have to wait until the year 2011 to know whether I meet that twenty-fifth year deadline with a Nobel! But I suffer from three handicaps. First, I am not as creative as Wole Soyinka; second, there is no Nobel Prize for political science; and third, the Nobel Prize for Peace is unlikely to be awarded to an advocate of nuclear weapons proliferation in the Third World!!

IV. ISLAM AND THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

I am not sure which of the many events I am involved in each year are recorded by the intelligent services of the United States and its allies, although all my professional activities are overt and law-abiding. In April 2003 I was a guest of the Palestinian Return Centre in London at their international conference. My topic was "Black Intifadah: The Mau Mau Uprising and the Palestinian Resistance in Comparative Perspective." Does not the topic sound so typically disparate phenomena? Yes, it does. However, it was the Palestinians who had asked me to compare Mau Mau with the Palestinian resistance. We had a great interchange on that subject when I presented my paper.

Were my three days with Palestinians in London noted by British intelligence and passed on to American intelligence? It is more than possible. Yet the Palestinian conference was so above board that it was held at the University of London and attended by some Arab members of the Israeli legislature, the Knesset, who

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had come specially from Israel.

Elsewhere in the world I continued to lecture about the aftermath of September 11, and its negative consequences for Africa and the Muslim world. I did so even in Washington, D.C., when I gave a major lecture at the Ethiopian embassy on "Africa and Islam since September 11: Between Hope and Peril", which was attended by a variety of diplomats based in Washington, D.C. My lecture was under the auspices of the Andrew Young Lecture Series, the Africa

Ali Mazrui in a traditional Islamic gown in Kenya

Society of the National Summit on Africa, Washington, D.C.

On the war front near Iraq I lectured in Turkey. My topics in Istanbul were "Islam at Risk: Has a Clash of Civilizations Begun?" and "The Academic Consequences of September 11: A Cost-Benefit Analysis." My lectures were sponsored by the Foundation for the Sciences and Arts, Istanbul, Turkey.

I began to wonder if my controversial views about Palestine and the West's relations with Islam might harm the image of Islamic organizations in the United States which had given

me a leadership role. I, therefore, insisted on resigning from the Chairmanship of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy [CSID] in spite of protests from other members of the Board. We agreed, however, that I should continue to serve on the Board as an ordinary member,

I also continued to serve on the Board of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and on the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Binghamton, New York.

Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford, England, whose annual meetings in Oxford I have tried to attend regularly.

I also used to be a member of the American Muslim Council [AMC], a lobbying group for Muslim concerns at the Congress and at the

White House. But the old AMC was dissolved in 2003 as a result of the convergence of three major problems-financial, managerial and political. I am now on the Board of the American Muslim Alliance.

I am also President of the Crescent Univer-

sity Foundation, a relatively new project seek-

ing to establish a world-class Islamic University in the United States. The ambition is to create something like Brandeis University-a worldclass Jewish American university* Again, I thought that my leadership role in such an Islamic project might be a liability rather than an asset to the project because of my emerging reputation as a critic of what I increasingly have called "the new American Empire." My colleagues in this project for an Islamic university insisted that they needed me. We finally agreed that I should continue a little longer as President.

I do now regard the United States as an Empire of Control rather than an Empire of Occupation. I believe this new imperial role of the United States has consequences not only for the

Muslim world but also for non-Muslim countries. In Florida, in February 2003, I lectured on "The Black Experience and the American Empire: Between Globalism and Counterterrorism", sponsored by the African American Research Library and Cultural

Center, Fort

Lauderdale, Florida. My old friend and former Michigan colleague, Professor Niara Sudarkasa, was a facilitator of my Florida trip, and was chair of my lecture in Ford Lauderdale.

In Orlando, Florida, I lectured on "African American Islam: From Enslavement to the Era of Counterterrorism." The Orlando lecture was

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sponsored by an organization called Discover Islam, based in Florida.

My vision of America as "empire" also influenced my work and lectures about Africa. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, I lectured on "Towards Americanizing Africa and Democratizing the World?", sponsored by a Cambridge-based student body called Alliance for African Cooperation.

In the course of the year I finalized my book manuscript, *The African Predicament and the American Experience: A 7/e of 7Wo Edens*, based on my Harvard lectures of the year 2000. The newly edited book is being published by Praeger in 2004.

V. AFRICANITY AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS

There is a university in Zimbabwe designed to serve women, especially those who missed the opportunity to go to a college earlier because of early marriage, raising children or financial constrajn. It is the sort of project which would have received massive Western support but for Western policies against the government of President Robert Mugabe. Many Western foundations and potential donors have said as much to Vice Chancellor Dr. Hope C. Sadza. She had hoped that Western friends of Zimbabwe would separate politics from such worthy social causes as a nascent Women's University in Africa. As a show of solidarity with this women's project I was delighted to accept Vice-Chancellor Sadza's invitation. I went to Zimbabwe in June 2003 and lectured on "Gender and Generation in Africa's Experience: Closing the Twin Gaps". For logistical reasons, the lecture was held at the University of Zimbabwe, in Harare, rather than at the women's university.

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During the year I also went to South Africa, partly as a guest of Lozingwe Communications, Johannesburg. This was also led by a woman, Ms. Khumbuzile Mandonsele. It was only after I arrived in South Africa that I discovered that Ms. Mandonsele had vastly exaggerated the market value of my lectures in South Africa. She had hoped to charge \$300 admission fee to my lectures! I was deeply flattered by her

Younger Ali Mazrui learning to pilot a "ship of state" expectations, but in reality there were only a handful of takers! She lost money from her investment in me. So did I! Should I have taken her to court for her failure to pay most of my expenses? Well, at least she was unfailingly polite, courteous and surprisingly cheerful right up to the bitter end. Perhaps we need to en-

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courage our young women to be entrepreneurs even when they make such massive miscalculations! But they should be more cautious,

I would have left South Africa depressed, but for a much more uplifting event in Durban. This happened at the Biannual Congress of the African Association of Political Science,

attended by scholars from all over Africa and beyond. The conference devoted a whole plenary session on the following provocative topic: "Ali A Mazrui's Works on Africa: Visionary or Vacuous?" Regardless of what was going to be said in that special session, I was uplifted by the Association's decision to devote a whole session to a debate about my work. Nevertheless, I braced myself for strong criticisms, especially since the advertised speakers included some Propagation Centers I gave two major lectures at the Center on Islamic themes. Muhammad Khan was a wonderment companion. So, of course, was Abdul S. Bemath.

From Dakar I flew to Kampala, Uganda, right away to open a conference on "Islamic Civilization in Eastern Africa". The conference was hosted by the Islamic University of Uganda and financed by the Turkish branch of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Ali Mazrui being honored by two Nigerian ladies on his birthday. My own paper was entitled

At the other end of the African continent, in Dakar, Senegal, I was honoured in a different way. CODESRIA (Council for Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa) was celebrating its thirtieth anniversary with a major international symposium on the role of intellectuals in Africa. My keynote address to open the conference was entitled: "Pan-Africanism and the Intellectuals: Rise, Decline and Revival". It was, of course, a privilege to open such a major African event, but CODESRIA had an additional honour in mind later at the same conference. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenya novelist, and I were accorded special CODESRIA honorific status at a banquet on a special evening. There were speeches paying tribute to Ngugi as a "literary Icon of Africa" and Mazrui as 'ha giant ILE among world intellectuals".

old ideological adversaries of mine!!

Fortunately, the Association and its speakers rose to their own standards of objectivity and even-handedness* I lost a few points in the confrontation, but I was allowed to gain a lot more. It was a truly memorable occasion.

In Durban I was also honored by the Islamic "Africa and Islamic Civilization: The East African Experience". The conference was held at the International Conference Center in Kampala and the participants were accommodated at the Nile Hotel. "Eastern Africa" was really interpreted as "the Eastern Seaboard of Africa", from Port Said in Egypt to Durban in South Africa! I

was delighted to socialize with such a wide range of nationalities from "the Eastern seaboard".

Perhaps my biggest surprise at the Kampala conference was a paper about my father, analyzed in comparative perspective. The paper was about three Islamic scholars in East Africa who had served successively as the Chief Kadhi of Kenya [Chief Islamic Justice]. My father, Sheikh Al-Amin Ali Mazrui, was compared with his disciple and son-in-law, Sheikh Muhammad Kassim Mazrui. Both were in turn compared with Sheikh Abdulla Saleh Farsy. The author of this Kampala paper was Hashim Abdulkadir, Head of the Department of Sharia of the University of Zanzibar.

From East Africa I flew to Washington, D.C., before going home. The American University in Washington has a distinguished annual lecture on Islam. I gave the 2003 lecture. My topic was "Pax Islamica: Muslim Values Between War and Peace". My main host was a West African professor, Dr. Abdul Karim Bangura. Also supportive of my visit was the Ibn

Khalidun Chair at the American University, Professor Akbar Ahmad, who once did the BBC television series, LIVING ISLAM. The event in Washington was a convergence of Africanists and Islamicists. My non-Muslim friends sometimes confuse the word "Islamicists" (those who study Islam) with "Islamjsts" (Islamic political activists). There were more Islamicjsts than Islamists at the American University in Washington, D.C.!!

Have you ever given a lecture in one continent of the world, and then been invited to another continent to deliver exactly the same lecture-in spite of the fact that the lecture was already available in print? Well, that happened to me recently. The title of my lecture was "Who

Killed Democracy in Africa?" I had originally
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given the lecture in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, under the sponsorship of Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF).

When the Norwegian Center for Human

Rights read the lecture they invited me to Oslo, Norway, to re-deliver the lecture twice to two different audiences. I spoke on the subject in a seminar format at the Norwegian Center for Hu-

Ali Mazrui dancing with Mrs. Victoria Gowon at his 70th birthday in February 2003 in Binghamton, New York. Human Rights at the University of Oslo and later delivered it as a lecture to a bigger audience at the headquarters of the Norwegian Agency for International Development, NORAD.

This was an extraordinary project of "Repeat Performance". It cost the Norwegians thousands of dollars for my airfare alone. They had
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even distributed my printed lecture to the two audiences in advance. So why spend so much money to have me repeat the lecture in Norway twice-over? I regarded the episode as Norway's gracious salute to my ideas. Bless them all.

In the United States there was an even bigger project of "recycling the ideas of Mazrujana". Professor Toyin Falola of the University of Texas at Austin had inaugurated a project which he called The African Canon. He identified a number of scholars who had profoundly influenced global understanding of Africa in the twentieth century. Each scholar's seminal articles were collected in a single volume, and republished. Such scholars included Jacob Ade Ajayi of Nigeria, Bethwell A. Ogot of Kenya, Richard Sklar co-edited by a team consisting of Ricardo Laremont, Robert Ostergard, Fouad Kalouche, Tracja Leacock Seghatolislami, Michael A Toler and Shalahudin Kafrawi.

Volume I: Africanity Redefined (2002).

Volume II: Africa and Other Civilizations: Conquest and Counterconquest (2003).

Volume III: Power, Politics and the African Condition (2004).

The publisher of all three volumes is Africa World Press in Trenton, New Jersey. The same press has also published an entirely different series of Mazruiana books edited by Alamin M. Mazrui and Willy Mutunga. These latter volumes focus on the major debates I have been engaged in across the decades.

Volume I: Debating the African Condition- Mazrui and His Critics: Race, Gender and Culture Conflict (2004)

Volume II: Debating the African Condition -Mazrui and His Critics: Governance and Leadership (2004)

Ali Mazrui with Robert Ostergard at an international symposium to mark Dr. Ali. A. Mazrui's 70th birthday in February 2003 in Binghamton, New York
These latter volumes include major debates I have had over decades with writers, governments, politicians, journalists, on issues ranging from Marxism to homosexual rights, from political Islam to African military coups. My professional life has indeed been one long debate.

of the United States, and others.

Because my own work was vast in quantity and diverse in subject matter (from language policy and miniskirts to nuclear weapons), it was decided that there would be three Mazrui volumes instead of just one. The series editor was Toyin Falola, but my own volumes were VI. THE FAMILY IN TRANSITION

The year 2003 was rich in momentous family events. Robert Ostergard, my Associate Director here at Binghamton and Alamin M. Mazrui at Ohio State University conspired in secret to give me the greatest birthday party of my life. Behind my back, Bob and Alamin, assisted by
NEWSLETTER,

PROBLEMS PROFESSIONAL

the staff, faculty and student-assistants at the Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton, mobilized my friends from as far away as Japan and Nigeria, My family also joined the conspiracy, keeping me completely in the dark before the event. There will be an elaboration on my birthday party later in an Appendix to this Newsletter.

An even more significant event in the family's annals was the wedding of my first-born son, Jamal Mazrui, to Susan Palmer. Jamal had been playing a hard-to-get incorrigible bachelor for years. For more than a decade I had dropped many hints asking Jamal to get himself a wife and settle down as a family man-as his two younger brothers had done. There was a breakthrough in 2003 when he found the right woman for an eternal partnership. The blessed package included Sarah, Susan's daughter by a previous marriage.

There was a touch of originality in holding the wedding ceremony in a Thai restaurant in Washington, D.C. The ceremony included songs, music, a little drama on the stage and poetry recital. Among the poems specially commissioned for the event was one romantic lyric entitled "The Difference You Have Made" and another duet about the wonders of beauty- "Ode to Beauty", These were submitted "anonymously":

THE DIFFERENCE YOU HAVE MADE: A DUET

She: A village street at dawn,
A quiet misty bay- Such solitude, such emptiness
Was once my lonely way.
But the sound of your love
Has changed everything
He: Behold a single cloud,
An owl at break of day, And see my past in that light; As lost I was as they.
But the scent of your love Has changed everything.

Baby Ali with Al 'Amin and Jill Mazrui at an international symposium to mark- Dr. Ali. A. -

Mazrui's 70th birthday in February 2003 in Binghamton, New York

She: Like the widower by the fireside, Bereft of his yesterday,

Like a lonely child in the wilderness Without a game to play.

But the vision of your love

Has changed everything

MAZRUI

He: When my life stepped into yours He: When every bird recited poetry, This gloom was cast away And every violet displayed artistry, "One small step" in the dark They had you and me in mind.

"Our giant leap" into day!

She: When God created the dove,

The touch of your love And the angels invented love,

Has changed everything. They had you and me in mind.

Anonymous (Kenya) But when beauty was first born,

It had only you, beloved, in mind.

ODE To BEAUTY, A DUET Anonymous (Kenya)

She: When the Big Bang invented Time,

And the universe found its rhyme, The genes of the wedded couple came from They had you and me in mind. at least three continents. Jamal's mother is English, while his father is, of course, an African. The bride, Susan, is half Japanese and half white American. Jamal's Dad combines African with Arab blood. Our family stands for world peace through genealogical solidarity! Amen.

My second son, Al'Amin, is married to a Guyanese American, Jill. Jill is half Afro-Guyanese and half Caucasian. My third son, Kim, is married to Kay, a white American! We will need a racial calculus to interpret the genetic computations of the next generation of the Mazrui!

Ali Mazrui wh afriendly crowd al an international symposium to mark Dr Ali. A.

Mazrui's 70'h birthday in February 2003 in Binghamton, New York

He:

When Venus radiated at dawn,

I am sorry if I am beginning to sound like

And the earth rotated alone,

Idi Amin who, when President of Uganda, de-

They had you and me in mind.

cided to marry four wives, each from a different ethnic group, while he himself belonged to She:

When the peacocks mated at noon,

a fifth "tribe". Idi Amin claimed that he was

And the gazelle out-jumped the moon,

"building the nation by making children across

They had you and me in mind*
many tribes"! Idi Amin died jn Saudi Arabia jn

2003, leaving behind over twenty children.

Another great family event of 2003 was the "Americanization" of my wife Pauline (otherwise known as Ejimah Maryam). Pauline took the oath of allegiance as a U.S. citizen. Pauline claims that she is now better qualified to come to my rescue if I am detained at an American airport, as I was detained for seven hours at Miami airport in August 2003.

Pauline is getting ready to vote in the 2004 presidential election.

Jamal Mazrui was probably the first Mazrui in history to become a U.S. citizen. Kim followed suit a few years later. The only one of my five sons who is still a Kenyan is Al'Amin. Perhaps one of these days I will get a chance to introduce him to the Head of State of Kenya.

Talking of President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya, Pauline and I did meet him when he came to the United States on a state visit in 2003. My wife and I had been invited by Secretary of State Colin Powell to an official luncheon at the State Department in honour of Kenya's Head of State. When I introduced Pauline to President Kibaki, the President started speaking to her in Kiswahili! I had to point out hurriedly to the President that Pauline was a Nigerian! They then switched to English!

My three adult sons and I have had many debates over the years, on topics which have ranged from female circumcision to capital punishment. But the most elaborate family debate jn 2003 was between my nephew, Muhammad Yusuf Tamim in Canada, my cousin, Rafij Abdulla Shikely in Mombasa, and myself. The topics included the following:

- (a) Can one be against the death penalty and still be a good Muslim?
- (b) Does God reveal Himself in installments?
- (c)

Can the Qur'an be re-interpreted in the light of changing historical realities?

The debate was conducted through e-mail (each e-mail consisting of several pages). There were moments when passions were high. But on the whole, good manners were observed and personal acrimony averted.

Muhammad Yusuf and his wife, Khyrul Nisha Tamim, visited us in Binghamton after their highly eventful sightseeing trip to the Grand Canyon of Arizona. Since they needed to rest after their long trip in their own car, Muhammad and I avoided heated theological debates during their stay.

Muhammad and Khyrul had an opportunity to meet us again in Canada when Pauline and I, accompanied by our children, Farid and Harith, were guests of the Friends of Makerere in Canada. I had been invited to lead a fundraising banquet. My after-dinner speech was on the subject: "African Universities Between Globalization and Counterterrorism: A Case-Study". Afterwards, Pauline stayed with Muhammad and Khyrul at their home; the children stayed with a Ugandan family with kids their age. I stayed at the hotel where Friends of Makerere had booked me.

Molly Mazrui, my former wife and mother of my first three children, got married to Jim Walker in 2003. Molly and I, had broken up in 1982. She met Jim two or three years later. They became close friends, but could not decide on taking the plunge. Cupid caught up with them in 2003, and they finalized the nuptials in Michigan. It is never too late for a new

romance. My third son was invited to the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, to spend the year 2003-2004 as a visiting professor, Kim accepted the invitation and was later offered a permanent professorship in the Law School at Michigan. Although Kim continues to love Michigan as his

Pounc4L

alma mater, he decided to return to the University of Virginia, where he is now a distinguished professor and Director of a newly established Center for the Study of Race and the Law.

The health of my daughter-in-law, Jill, has not been good lately. But she is hanging in there like the tough and strong woman she is. We are really proud of her, and we pray for her speedy recovery, Insha Allah.

Al'Amin, her husband, has risen to the occasion as a caring husband and a dedicated father, Their son, Ali, is a boisterous and joyful three-year-old. He is great as a conversationalist on the phone!

The other Alamin Mazrui in my life, the professor at Ohio State University, has edited those two volumes on A/i A. Mazrui and His Critics. The two volumes contain the actual texts of my heated debates with politicians, scholars and literary figures. My historic exchanges with Wole Soyinka are included in the collection. The volumes are published by Africa World Press in Trenton, New Jersey. Willy Mutunga in Nairobi joined Alamin M. Mazrui as co-editor of the two volumes.

My fourth son, Farid, decided that he wanted to go to Australia in June 2004 with a school group on a mission called "people-to-people." Farid will be 12 years old by that time. I was more nervous about that prospect than Pauline, his mother, was. In preparation for the trip Farid has been fundraising, such as collecting other people's empty cans and bottles, selling chocolate bars for a profit, serving lemonade on a hot day for a dollar. With a bit of luck he will raise \$400. I may have to find the rest of the money for a trip to Australia and back! God help me-as well as help the young traveler! Amen. I hope my ten year old son, Harith, does not get fascinated by Greenland and decide to join a trip to the glaciers!

My mother-in-law, Mama Alice, had arrived from Nigeria to stay with us in Binghamton in February 2003. As we expected, she turned out to be a very valuable new member of our Binghamton household. Although in her 70s, she was still a workaholic. She kept an eye on our children, washed dishes, swept the floor, made beds. Pauline and I protested loudly, asking her to relax and watch television or chat with us. She said she had time for all those.

She is a wonderfully strong but verbally quiet woman. She stayed with us for more than a year, but it felt like a week. We miss her dearly. Her grandchildren in Binghamton, Farid and Harith, begged her to come back soon. Insha Allah.

Our house also said goodbye to Goretti Mugambwa, our Ugandan-Canadian friend who had lived with us for several years while she completed her Bachelors degree (Magna Cum Laude) and her Master's degree at Binghamton University. She left for Boston where she has a brother and where she hopes to start a new career. Goretti left behind a big void in our household.

However, her teenage daughter, Maria Liverpool, remained with us in Binghamton so that she could finish high school. Maria hopes to go to Howard University in Washington, D.C.,

probably for pre-medical science courses. Howard has already granted her admission. We hope Howard will also find some financial assistance for this exceptionally bright young lady.

When I went to Kenya in November 2003 to give my Inaugural Address as Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, the trip coincided with the Muslim fasting month of Ramadhan, futari) is the sunset meal to break the fast of each day. Ideally I should have spent a day or two in Mombasa to break the fast with the wider family, but my obligations in Nairobi prevented such a trip to the Coast. My main iftari hosts and hostesses were cousins Ghalib and Maryam Tarnim on some nights and nephew Munjr M. Mazrui and his daughter Lubna, on other nights. A more professional iftar was hosted by the Chairman of the Council of my Kenya university, Mr. Adan Muhammad, who also happened to be the General Manager of the Barclays group of banks in Kenya. There were more than fifty guests in all at Chairman Muhammad's sunset meal.

Supportive friends when I go to Kenya include Khelef Khalifa, who is a major consumer of my writings! Khelef is now a member of the Human Rights Commission in Kenya (a high profile job).

Friends who came specially from Uganda to visit me in Kenya in 2003 included Idd Mukalazi, a headmaster, Sam Max Sebina, a printer, and Muhammad Ddungu, a minor entrepreneur.

Several members of my family in Mombasa were already planning to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. A few months later they made it to the sacred city. Then all of a sudden I heard on the radio that there had been a stampede at one of the rituals in Mecca, and dozens of people had been killed. I was in Binghamton when I heard. I knew that approximately ten relatives of mine were in the sacred city, but how was I to find out if they had all survived the stampede?

One of the relatives who had gone to Mecca normally works in telecommunications as a career in Kenya. Because of his sophistication in communications, I wondered if Ghalib Tamjm children. When I called his home, the Nairobi relatives had no idea yet that there had been a fatal stampede in Mecca. When I asked if Ghalib had left a telephone number in Mecca, at first they did not think so, But they subsequently found the number of a boarding house for Kenyan pilgrims in Mecca.

Never in my life had I ever attempted to track down a pilgrim in the middle of the rituals in Mecca. I was not too optimistic about tracking down Ghalib, but I was desperate to know if he, his wife, and other relatives were unharmed.

When I put the call through, the first good sign was that the man who picked up the phone had a Kenyan accent! I asked to speak to Ghalib Yusuf Tamim. To my delight I heard someone say in Kiswahili, "Gha/ib, simu your call!" The man also mentioned "Amerika" to Ghalib, who was astonished to be receiving a call in Mecca from the United States! When Ghalib and I finally spoke he assured me that he and his wife were unharmed. When I asked about the other relatives, he said he had checked it out in the other Boarding Houses. None were affected by the dreadful stampede. Ghalib and I then prayed on the phone for the strangers who had died or been injured during the catastrophe.

had made special arrangements for communi- (Nariman's kids) added to her excitement. What eating with his home in Nairobi where other is more, Nariman can cook Palestinian

dishes members of the family were looking after his and Swahili delicacies, as well as study hard for

My youngest sister, Alya, came to the United States to visit her daughter, Nariman. My sister normally lives in Mombasa, but her daughter has been studying in America for years. 2003 was the year of reunion between Alya, Nariman and Nariman's husband, who happens to be a Palestinian-American. America was a fascinating experience for Alya. Her grandchildren Early in 2004 Alya and Nariman came to Binghamton to visit us, Mother and daughter had sharply different personalities. Alya is serene and the quiet type; Nariman is buoyant, energetic and articulate. The two of them were a great success with my own youngest children, Farid and Harith. They related very well together.

My older sister, Nafisa, continues to live in the outskirts of Mombasa (Kisauni), surrounded by her children and grandchildren. Every time I visit Mombasa I enjoy at least one great banquet, with her and her Kisauni family. Fortunately this branch of the family is very "photoholic." So every banquet is meticulously photographed for our family albums Praise the Lord! My regular e-mail liaison with my sister across the Atlantic is through her daughter, Swafiya, who is a professional woman working in the city of Mombasa. Whoever told you that Muslim women do

not have careers should be introduced to members of my Mombasa family. Also very professory professors in the United States. Ousseina is married to my nephew, Alamin M. Mazrui. Khyrul Nisha Tamim, a niece-in-law, is a senior nurse in Canada.

The younger generation of Muslim women in my family are now more likely to have careers than ever. Islam is no longer misused to confine women to the home and the kitchen.

VII. CONCLUSION

My Annual Newsletter of last year was described as "70th Birthday Special Edition". This 2003-2004 Newsletter is in fact the second half of my 70th Birthday special Issue, since many of the events covered in this new Newsletter occurred in the course of my seventieth year. [I was born in February 1933.]

Let me, therefore, attach to this second Special Newsletter the following Appendices:

(a) "Symposium in Honor of Mazrui for His 70th Birthday" (originally written by others for the IGCS Newsletter, Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York).

(b) Ali Mazrui's Professional Annual Report,

sional is my grand-niece Nabila (my late sister I began this latest Newsletter by suggesting Salma's grand-daughter). Nabila is a distinct while my political standing in Kenya had 2003-2004.

guished banker in Mombasa. She is also a great hostess when I visit Mombasa. Her mother, improved after the Mwai Kibaki government was elected in 2002, my political standing in the

Maymuna, now lives with her. We have lively discussions on culture and politics at her home.

Also professional is my grandniece, Lubna

United States had declined because of the new atmosphere of political and religious intolerance under the Bush administration.

M. Mazrui, who is a lecturer (assistant professor) at Kenyatta University near Nairobi. Her Nevertheless, my morale in the United States lifted in 2003 when it seemed likely that George

mother, Huda Mazrui, my first cousin, has been a school teacher and educational administrator for many years.

W. Bush would be challenged in the presidential election of 2004 by a candidate who had once defended my television series in the United

My Muslim women-in-law who are profes- States Senate. This was way back in 1986. My sionals include Ousseina Alidou and her twin television series, The Africans, was under visister Hassan Alidou, both of whom are univer- cious attack from a woman who is now the

Second Lady of the United States, Lynne Cheney, but who was at the time Head of the National Endowment for the Humanities. She ordered the removal of the name of the Endowment from the credits of my television series, in spite of the fact that the Endowment had contributed more than half a million dollars to my project.

In the Senate of the United States Senator John Kerry came to my rescue. He declared that Americans had to listen to the voices of other cultures and countries, even when Americans disagreed with them, On October 17, 1986, John Kerry said the following on the floor of the U.S. Senate:

Mr. President, public television station, WGBH in Boston, an important media influence all over the country, has been airing a nine-part series, "The Africans: A Commentary", by Ali A Mazrui since the beginning of October. It is a series that has sparked a good deal of discussion and controversy. While I cannot endorse all the conclusions made by the participants in the film, its showing has provided

the American people with an all-too-rare look at Africa from an African's perspective.

(Congressional Record No. 144, Part III,

October 17, 1986, Washington, D.C.)

At the time of writing this News/etterl have no idea what Senator Kerry's chances are of beating George W. Bush in November 2004.

And, even if Kerry is elected, we do not know

at the moment whether he would make a good

president* But my faith in the United States is

VIII. APPENDIX A

SYMPOSIUM IN HONOR OF MAZRUI

FOR HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

A symposium and gala in honor of the scholarship and life's work of Dr. Ali A. Mazrui

was organized by Dr. Robert Ostergard and Dr. Alamin Mazrui, The symposium, entitled "Africa's Triple Heritage Revisited," took place in Binghamton, NY on February 14-15, 2003. Unbeknownst to Mazrui, the two co-organizers- or co-conspirators as he later referred to them- called on friends, colleagues, and family of the professor to attend the symposium and gala celebrating Mazrui's 70th birthday, Over 200 guests from around the United States and such far away places as England, Kenya, Japan, Nigeria, Turkey, and South Africa attended the two-day symposium and the

evening gala. Attendees included Mazrui's wife Pauline, his five sons Jamal, Al'Amin, Kim, Farid, and Harith, former Nigerian President General Yakubu Gowon and his wife Victoria, Ambassa-

dor Yusuf Aw Nzibo of the Republic of Kenya, United Nations Under-Secretary General Olara A Otunnu, former United States Ambassador to Liberia Joseph Melrose, Professors Molefe Kete Asante, Sulayman S. Nyang, Roberta Ann Dunbar, Micere M. Githae Mugo, publisher James Currey and author Abdul Samed Bemath. Speakers at the symposium reflected on the impact of Mazrui's scholarship across multiple

disciplines while focusing on one of his most

rekindled when one of the candidates for the and western civilizations. Presenters demonPresidency of the United States is on record as strated how Mazrui's forty years of scholarship a defender of an African's right to be heard. had helped to shape the study of a continent There is room for hope, but there is no room and our perceptions of the modern worldb The for complacency. The struggle continues. symposium closed with an emotional session dedicated to personal reflections and comments

famous concepts, Africa's Triple Heritage-that Africa is the confluence of indigenous, Islamic from the Professor's family and friends. That evening, President and Mrs. Gowon (two more members of the conspiratorial team!) escorted Mazrui and his wife Pauline (another conspirator!) to the hotel ballroom under the pretense of having dinner with the Gowons. Upon entering the ballroom, the drummers played, the dancers danced, and the crowd cheered as traditional African music played for Prof. Mazrui in celebration of his 70th birthday. Much to the delight of everybody, Prof. Mazrui immediately got into the mood for the evening and danced with his wife and Mrs. Gowon. The evening was filled with fun and celebration, speeches, live performances, and the presentation of several awards and honors bestowed upon Prof. Mazrui. Report from IGCS News/etter (Binghamton, New York, Spring 2003)

IX. APPENDIX B
PROFESSIONAL
ANNUAL REPORT, 2003-2004
ALI A. MAZRUI
Director,
Institute of Global Cultural Studies and

Albert Schweitzer Professor in Humanities,
 Professor of Political Science,
 Binghamton University,
 State University of New York at
 Binghamton, New York, U.S.A.
 Albert Luthuli Professor-at-Large
 University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria
 Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large emeritus and Senior Scholar in Africana
 Studies
 Cornell University, Ithaca, New York,
 U.S.A.
 Chancellor, Jomo Kenyatta University of
 Agriculture and Technology
 Kenya
 MAIN PUBLICATIONS 2003-2004
 BOOKS:

- (1) Nkrumahism and Africa's Triple Heritage: Between Globalization and Counter-terrorism (Accra: Ghana University Press, 2003/ 2004). \
- (2) Race, Gender and Culture Conflict: Mazrui and His Critics Eds: Alamin M. Mazrui and Willy Mutunga (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2003). \
- (3) The African Predicament and the American Experience: A World of Two Edens (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003- 2004). \
- (4) Power Politics and the African Condition: Collected Essays of A. A. Mazrui, Volume 3. Eds: Robert L. Ostergard, Jr., Ricardo Rene Laremont, Fouad Kalouche (Trenton, N. J.: Africa World Press, 2004).

PAMPHLETS:

Comparative Terror from Shaka to Sharon:
 Revolution, Racial, Religious and State
 Violence (Pretoria: University of South Af-
 rica Press, 2003)-

CHAPTERS IN EDITED BOOKS:

Globalization and the Middle East [Turkish]
 "Foreword" by Mazrui to a Biography of the

(Istanbul: Inkilab Yayinlari, 2002)

President of Ghana, Between Faith and History: A Biography of J.A. Kufuor by Ivor Agyeman-
 Duah (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2003).

"The Commonwealth and Globalization: The Tensions of Four Ethical Revolutions" Malinda
 S. Smith (editor), Globalizing Africa (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2003),

"Kultur und Kommunikation: Globalisierung in Afrika" (German) Herausgegeben von
 Christoph Plate und Theo Sommer (editors) Der bunte Kontinent: Ein neuer Blick auf
 Afrika (Munich: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 2002),

"Nkrumahism and the Triple Heritage: Out of the Shadows", Toyin Falola (editor), Ghana

in Africa and the World (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2003).

"Africa's Triple Heritage: The Split Soul of a Continent" (with Charles Okigbo)

Development and Communication in Africa. Eds. C. Okigbo and Festus Eribo (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004).

"Conflict in Africa: An Overview" Armed Conflict in Africa. Ed. Carolyn Pumphrey and Rye Schwartz-Barcott (The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Lanham, Maryland and Oxford, 2003).

ARTICLES:

"Americanizing Africa and Democratizing the

World?" Chimera (Quarterly Journal on Line, Tallahassee, Florida) Summer 2003

"Has a Clash of Civilizations Begun?" Is/amica
(Amman, Jordan), 2003

SYMPOSIA, MEETINGS AND LECTURES

The Centre de Cultura Contemporània de
Barcelona, "The African Experience in Cul-

The Africa Society of the National Summit on Africa, "Africa and Islam Since September 11: Between Hope and Peril," Washington, DC, February 4, 2003,

Inaugural Lecture for new African-American Research Library and Cultural Center, "The Black Experience and the American Empire: Between Globalism and Counter-Terrorism," Fort Lauderdale, Florida. February 8, 2003.

The Da'wah events sponsored by Discover Islam, "African American Islam: From Enslavement to the Era of Counter-Terrorism," Orlando, Florida, February 9, 2003

Cultures of Islamic World Spring Event, History and Culture of Islam in Africa and Other Islamic Region," Mira Costa College, Oceanside, California, March 2-4, 2003.

Africana Studies and Research Center Colloquium Series, "Regional Conflict and Transnational Ethnicity: Between Nile and the Great Lakes," Cornell University, NY, March 12, 2003.

Invitation to be guest speaker at the Graduate African Student Organization, The African Condition Since September 11, 2001," SUNY Binghamton, NY, March 22, 2003.

International Symposium on Globalization and the Muslim World in the 21st Century, 'Islam at Risk: Has a Clash of Civilization Begun?' and "The Academic Consequences of September 11: A Cost-Benefit Analysis," Istanbul, Turkey, March 28-30, 2003.

The African Studies Series Conference on Africa: Wars, Refugees & Environment, "Africa in Crisis: In Search of Solutions," Edinboro University, Edinboro, PA April 30, 2003.

Culture and Politics: Continuity and Change," University Distinguished Lecture at Kansas State

University, "The African Condition: Today's

Condition," Kansas, April 7-8, 2003.

The Second International Conference of the Palestinian Return Center, "Black Intifadah: The Mau Mau Uprising and the Palestinian Experience in Comparative Perspective," University of London, London, UK, April 23, 2003.

1st Annual Schweitzer Lecture: An Evening with Professor Ali A. Mazrui, "Gender and the Black Experience" SUNY Binghamton, NY, May 7, 2003.

The conference on Africa in the 21st Century, "Towards Democratizing the World?"

Sponsored by the Alliance for African Cooperation (TACC), Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass, May 9-10, 2003

Lecture at the University of Zimbabwe (women's group), "Gender and Generation in Africa's Experience: Closing the Twin Gaps," Harare, Zimbabwe, June 16-20, 2003.

Guest lecturer for Lozingwe Communications, Johannesburg, South Africa, June 21-26, 2003

Participated in the XIV African Association of Political Science (AAPS) Biennial Congress on the theme "New Visions for Development in Africa," Durban, South Africa, June 26-28, 2003.

Participated in the XIX International Political Science Association (IPSA) Congress, Durban, South Africa, June 29-July 5, 2003.

Public lecture sponsored by the Emancipation Support Committee, "The Dual Diaspora in the Era of Globalization: Between Legacy and Labor," Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, July 30-August 3, 2003.

Keynote address at the Conference The Truth Instrument of Transition in South Africa, "The Truth Commission as an Instrument of Transition in South Africa: Implications for Kenya," sponsored by the Truth, Justice and Constitutional Affairs commission, Nairobi, Kenya August 5-16, 2003.

The University of Nairobi Public Engagement Lecture Series, "Public Lectures and Development in Africa," Nairobi Kenya, August 20, 2003

Keynote address at the 32nd Annual Conference of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists, A Marriage of Two Civilizations?: The Balance Between Western Norms and Muslim Values/ Bloomington, Indiana, September 26-28, 2003.

The African-African-American Studies Dept. of the University of Memphis, "The African Predicament: Legacy of Partition, Lure of Reparation," Memphis, Tennessee, October 2-3, 2003.

Guest speaker at the Friends of Makerere in Canada, Inc. fund-raising dinner, "African Universities in the Shadow of Globalization and Counter-Terrorism: Between Hope and Peril," Toronto, Canada, October 10-12, 2003.

Panel discussant, debate program for TEST OF FAITH episode on "Nuclear Hypocrisy" (Vision TV), Toronto, Canada, October 16-18, 2003

The Norwegian Center for Human Rights (NCHR), "Who Killed Democracy in Africa?" University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway, October 19-23, 2003.

Invited speaker at the African Studies Association (ASA) annual meeting, "Africa and the African Diaspora: Past, Present and Future," Boston, Massachusetts, October 30-November 2, 2003.

and Reconciliation Commission as an In-Chancellors Address at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology Nairobi,

Kenya, November 2-11, 2003

The Annual Islamic Lecture at American University, "Pax Islamica: Muslim Values Between War and Peace," Washington D.C, November 12, 2003.

Keynote address at Iftar event during Ramadan, "A Tale of Two Civilizations: Islamic Cultures and Euro-American Values," Cornell University, NY, November 19, 2003.

Participated in a 4-part lecture series on The U.S., the World and 9-11, "Robust Counter-

Terrorism Versus Fragile Democratization: The African Experience Since 9-11," SUNY Binghamton, NYr November 20, 2003.

Keynote speaker at CODESRIA's 30th Anniversary Conference, "Pan-Africanism and the Intellectuals: Rise, Decline and Revival," Dakar, Senegal, December 10-12, 2003.

Keynote speaker at the International Symposium, "The Impact of Islamic Civilization & Culture: The Societies of Eastern Africa," Kampala, Uganda, December 13-18, 2003.

COURSES TAUGHT:

Islam and the West (Binghamton)

Africa in World Politics (Binghamton)

Government and Politics in Africa (Cornell) Islam in Global Africa (Cornell)

APPENDIX C

X. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was indebted to many colleagues, relatives and friends in the course of the year 2003. But Nancy Hall

Cornell University, Ithaca, New York:

Judy Holley

Sheila Towner

111. Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Thika and Nairobi, Kenya:

Michael Hindzano Ngonyo

Peter Njiraini

IV. Supportive Team in South Africa, 2003: \

James N. Karioki

Abdul S. Bemath

Muhammad Khan

V. Supportive Team in Uganda, 2003-2004: Sam Max Sebina \

Idd Mukalazi

Muhammed Ddungu

Front page photo:

Ali A Mazrui, a Newly Appointed Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of

Agriculture and Technology, Kenya.

I would like to focus on my great debt to administrative, secretarial and support staff, who made my year possible.

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A. Mazrui enjoying 2 good joke ? Uganda

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Newsletter 29, Early 2005, Fifty Years as a Part-Time Westerner - A Self-Portrait

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER No. 29

Early 2005

General Theme:

FIFTY YEARS AS A PART-TIME WESTERNER:

A SELF-PORTRAIT

Ali Mazrui's first degree, B.A. with Ali Mazrui's recent photo taken by Prof. Distinction from University of Manchester, Ricardo Laremont, Binghamton, New York. Manchester, England, 1960.

2005 Mazrui Newsletter Early/AP2005

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme:

FIFTY YEARS AS A PART-TIME WESTERNER: A SELF-PORTRAIT

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by

Ali A. Mazrui

This Newsletter is written for friends, relatives and colleagues. Its drafting was helped by James N. Kariuki and by colleagues at the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Kenya, and the Institute of Global Cultural Studies, Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York. My home address is as follows:

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Attached to this Newsletter are two appendices:

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2005 Early/AP2005

Introduction

In this era of debates about globalization and clashes of civilizations, let me devote this issue of my annual newsletter to the personification of global relations. Although this newsletter is very personal and subjective, it also seeks to capture wider cultural paradoxes within the life of a single individual. I would like this newsletter to be a commemoration of my fifty years as a part-time Westerner. It was in 1955 that I left Africa

for the first time in pursuit of further education in the Western world. I left Mombasa, Kenya, for Nairobi by train - and then flew from Nairobi to London. It was my first experience of traveling by air. The rest is history!

Ali Mazrui receiving his Honorary Doctorate in Divinity from the President of Lafayette, Pennsylvania in May 2004.

Let me tell the story backwards. What happened in the last twelve months which captured this personification of global forces in myself? There was the experience of my receiving an honorary Doctorate of Divinity. Such a sacred salute was neither from a Muslim institution (such as Al-Azhar) nor from a non-Muslim institution located in the Muslim world (such as the American University in Cairo). I was honoured specifically in Divinity by Lafayette College in Pennsylvania, which was founded on Christian Presbyterian principles. I was also invited to give a sermon before the graduation ceremony. My sermon was on the following topic:

God and Globalization:

Religion in the Global Village

What was equally significant was the fact that my award of an honorary degree in divinity by a white Christian institution happened in the official presence of the Governor of the State of

Pennsylvania, Governor Rendell. My wife, Pauline - brought up as a Roman Catholic in Nigeria - was also a guest of the college. It was a great inter-faith event which was happening in America long after poos

September 11 and precisely in this era of debates about political Islam. Concurrently with the threat of clashes of civilizations has been the parallel force of dialogue between cultures and religions.

Ethiopia is the oldest Christian country in the Black world. Major parts of Ethiopia were converted to Christianity in the fourth century of the Christian era. Under a Christian monarch in the seventh century, Ethiopia played host to the earliest Muslim refugees on the run from persecution in Arabia. Ethiopia's earliest Muslim refugees included Uthman bin Afan, who was destined later in history to become the third Caliph of Islam and the authenticator of the authorized version of the Qur' an.

In the year 2004 there was a more modest replay of Ethiopia's ecumenical conciliation between

Christianity and Islam. There is now a national university of Ethiopia called Addis Ababa University (previously named Haile Selassie I University). Although the university has been secular since the reign of Haile Selassie, it has, in composition, been overwhelmingly Christian. In 2004 this national university awarded for the first time an honorary doctorate in Humane Letters to a Muslim from outside the country. The award was conferred upon me by the Head of State of Ethiopia, President Girma Woldegiorgis. My acceptance speech included a verse from the Qur' an in both Arabic and English, recited aloud before the graduation crowd.

In this new era of candor I was also given a platform the next day at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies on campus to elaborate on my views about Ethiopia in African affairs. In my lecture I argued that some people are born Pan-African, some become Pan-African and others have Pan-Africanism thrust upon them. I came close to suggesting that Ethiopians belonged to the third category. Although, all my hosts were gracious and polite, some were outraged by my remarks.

II. Identity and Racial Integration

But just as civilizations can move from dialogue to partial synthesis, so can races. In 2004 my grandson, who was named after me, [Little Ali], moved to Binghamton to live with Grandpa, with my wife Pauline, and with my two youngest children, Farid and Harith. There was nothing unusual about a grandchild spending a year with grandparents. What was unusual was the racial synthesis. Little Ali looks totally white [or Caucasian]. His Caucasian features are so striking that we cannot risk crossing the border into Canada without the possibility of being suspected of kidnapping a four-year-old white child! Indeed, Pauline was going to visit my relatives in Toronto, Muhammad Yusuf and his wife Khyrul, with all the children - and then Pauline cancelled the entire trip precisely because our papers proving Ali was my grandson were not yet complete. Can you imagine? [In American English "Caucasian" means of White European ancestry]. But why did Little Ali look Caucasian? Partly because my son, Al' Amin (Ali's father), was half English. And partly because Ali's mother, Jill Mazrui, was also half Caucasian (Black Guyanese married to a white North American lady).

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Al' Amin and Jill Mazrui with their little son, Ali, in February 2003. Jill died of cancer in June 2004.

And why was little Ali spending at least a year with Grandpa and Pauline? This time the reason was tragic. Ali's mother, dearest Jill, died of cancer in the summer of 2004. She was in her early forties. It was a devastating experience for us all. Pauline and I offered to look after the child for as long as the boy and his Dad needed us in that role.

In her final days in California the caregivers for Jill were her husband, Al' Amin, her brother, Barry, and the hospice personnel who nursed her at home. But in addition, Al' Amin's mother, Molly, and stepmother, Pauline, alternated as visiting nurses from the East Coast. Kim, my third son, also arrived from Charlottesville, Virginia, to help not only domestically but also with the legal and bureaucratic aspects of insurance, social security and arrangements for Jill's cremation (her preferred mode of ultimate departure).

I managed to get to Jill's bedside before she died. In the end, most of Jill's relatives on her husband's side managed to get to California either immediately before or immediately after her final hours. Jill's brother, Barry, was the main representative of Jill's own kith and kin. More members of her blood relatives turned up at the very moving memorial service a few days later. There were eloquent tributes to this young woman who had departed prematurely - a brave, generous and beautiful human being.

But even at this sad moment of bereavement I responded in a triple cultural mode. My dress for the occasion was African; my tribute to Jill borrowed from the Qur'an and from William Wordsworth.

May the Almighty guide her personally to the gates of paradise. Amen.

My family succeeded in persuading the widower, Al' Amin, to go back to school and finish his

Masters Degree in Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley. But first he came to Binghamton, New York, and spent a few weeks in order to give his little son time to bond more closely with Pauline. The boy's new family also included Farid, Harith, myself, and Pauline's mother, Mama Alice.

Al' Amin seems to be progressing well at Berkeley. He calls his son on the phone from

California several times every week. Al' Amin is also committed to visiting his son here at least three times every year. For me it is a wonderful experience to have a grandson actually living with me - to tease and frolic with day in, day out! !

Talking of identity and racial integration, I was delighted in 2004 to join South Africa in celebrating their tenth anniversary after the end of apartheid. I was privileged to have had a high profile role at two of the celebratory events. I spoke at the International Symposium in Pretoria organized by the Africa Institute of South Africa headed by Eddy Maloka. At the symposium I also met South Africa's

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Head of state, President Thabo Mbeki.

In Durban I was a guest of the Centre for Creative Arts which was hosting festivals, poetry recitals, cultural performances as well as lectures like mine. My lecture was on "The Role of Flowers in Africa's Triple Heritage". The Muslim community in Durban also availed themselves of the opportunity to come and welcome me. My friend James N. Kariuki coordinated all the different Mazruiana events.

III. Who is Afraid of Human Rights?

When I was a graduate student at Nuffield College, Oxford, in the 1960s, and was agonizing about my future career, the ultimate choice was between becoming an international civil servant at the Secretariat of the United Nations in New York, on the one hand, and pursuing a full-time academic career, on the other. There then walked into my life Colin Leys, a British academic who was then the professor of Political Science at Makerere in Uganda, and had once been a Don at Oxford. Colin Leys had heard about me, and came to Oxford in 1962 explicitly to persuade me to join him at Makerere.

One of the arguments which persuaded me to abandon the idea of serving at the Secretariat of the

United Nations was Colin Leys' proposition that an academic career would enable me to serve the United Nations in other ways from time to time. I agreed to join Leys at Makerere - one of the most important decisions of my life, and one which I have never regretted.

It is indeed true that I have since served the United Nations in multiple ways. I once served as Chair on a U.N. Committee on Nuclear Proliferation with special reference to the Middle East. I have also participated on panels which have ranged from human rights to dialogue of civilizations, and have been involved in the work of such U.N. agencies as UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP, and the U.N.

Economic Commission for Africa. I have known several of the U.N. Secretaries-General over the years.

Most recently, in 2004, I was a guest of the U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan for a private lunch at the U.N., and then participated under his Chairmanship on a panel on "Who is Afraid of Human Rights?"

My visit to Libya in 2004 was under the ACARTSOD-United Nations (African Centre for Applied

Research and Training in Social Development), Tripoli, Libya, which in turn is part of the United

Nations Economic Commission for Africa. I gave lectures in Libya about African-Arab relations, under the Chairmanship of my old friend and former Michigan doctoral student, Dr. Ahmed Fituri.

Ali Mazrui with Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader. Abdalla Bujra, Mazrui's friend and

former Senior Fellow of IGCS, accompanied Mazrui to State House in July 2004 in Tripoli, Libya.

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Particularly memorable in Libya was my meeting with the Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi. He gave me and my old friend, Abdalla Bujra, a special audience. Among the subjects we discussed with the Libyan leader was my own father's book, *The History Qf the Mazrui Dynasty of Mombasa*. My Dad had originally written it in the Arabic language. It was subsequently translated into English by the British scholar, J. McL. Ritchie, and was sponsored by the British Academy. It was published by Oxford University Press in 1995. The O.U.P. publication included both Ritchie's English translation and my father's original Arabic text. My father's book was very relevant to my Libyan agenda of what I called "AFRABIA", a historical convergence of Africa with the Arab world.

Abdalla Bujra is also Director of the Development Policy Management Forum [DPMF], based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and partially hosted by the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa. For several years now I have been one of DPMF keynote speakers at their annual conferences in Addis Ababa towards the end of each year.

In 2004, the theme for the conference was "The Impact of September 11 upon Africa". I spoke on that theme, which fitted in very well with my earlier presentation in Addis Ababa on "Conflict in Africa" more generally. The earlier conference was sponsored by the Organization of Social Science Research on Eastern Africa, headed by Alfred G. Nhema, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

While most of my human rights activities in 2004 were connected with the United Nations and its agencies, one exception was my public lecture in Accra, Ghana, sponsored by Africa Legal Aid. This was a Pan-African Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) committed to promoting greater awareness of human rights and civil liberties in the public square in Africa. I was helping to launch a new tradition of annual lectures in Accra on such relevant themes. I lectured on "The Ethics of Governance in Africa: Cultural Relativism and Moral Universalism."

My 2004 visit to Ghana was also utilized to launch my book, *Nkrumah's Legacy and Africa's Triple Heritage: Between Globalization and Counterterrorism*. The book was based on my Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures, which I had delivered at the University of Ghana at Legon in 2002.

In all my experiences of book launches, the launch in Accra in 2004 was unusual. My book was launched by being competitively auctioned, copy by copy. A bidder cried out: "A million cedis!" The auctioneer repeated the amount and challenged, "Who will bid more than a million cedis for this great book?" The eloquent auctioneer was my old Ghanaian friend, Professor Atukwei Okai, Secretary General of the Pan-African Writers Association (PAWA). The launch was graced by Vice-Chancellors and other Ghanaian dignitaries.

IV. Towards Seven Pillars of Wisdom

I stepped down as Chairman of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy [CSID], Washington, D.C., while remaining in close touch with the Board. My swan song as I stepped down was a lecture I gave at the annual meeting of CSID. It was the Hesham Reda Memorial Lecture. My topic was "Pax Islamica and the Seven Pillars of Wisdom".

The theme of "Seven Pillars of Wisdom" was a recurrent refrain in several major lectures I gave in the year 2004. At the University of the Transkei in South Africa, I linked the Seven Pillars to "the African Renaissance". At Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and

Technology, I linked the Seven Pillars to “professional integrity”. At the Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia, I linked the Seven Pillars to Africa’s triple heritage (Africanity, Islam and the impact of the West) and at Oxford University, England, I linked the Seven Pillars to the theme “Strangers in Our Midst”.

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In the Oxford version I paid more attention to T.E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) whose most famous written work about the Middle East was entitled Seven Pillars of Wisdom, first published in 1922. My presentation was part of a series of lectures called the Oxford Amnesty Lectures. The different lectures OF 2004 will be published in 2005 as a volume of collected essays.

In the same week at Oxford in February 2004 I also gave the Astor Lecture entitled “A Tale of

Two Civilizations”. This second lecture has since been published in Third World Quarterly (London, 2004) under the revised title of “Islam and the United States: Streams of Convergence; Strands of Divergence”.

The armed forces in Kenya also expressed an interest in my views about religion and society, with special reference to Islam in East Africa. The National Defence College in Kenya approached me as Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. I had never socialized with so many East African soldiers in one day since I left Idi Amin’s Uganda. But my few hours at the National Defence College in Kenya in July 2004 constituted a much more pleasant memory than my years with Idi Amin in Uganda in the 1970s. Apart from the lecture and discussion at the Defence College in July 2004, there was also wonderful hospitality in the garden outside afterwards.

Probably my least successful lecture was in my hometown of Mombasa in Kenya. It was at an Islamic school headed by my cousin, Khalfan Mazrui. The school was on vacation, and most of the students had gone home. The Principal thought my name would be enough of a magnet to bring the students back for one afternoon!! Wishful thinking! A few of my relatives and friends turned up for the lecture, but very few students emerged! The most unexpected member of the audience was Khamis AlHashar who normally lives in Muscat, Oman. I spoke on “Islam and Acculturation in East Africa”. In spite of the small audience, we had a good discussion.

I had a more impressive audience at Hamilton College, New York in the United States on the subject, “The U.S. and the Ummah: Roots of Rage, Rise of Americophobia”. I had major debates with some of the Zionists on campus, although Israel was only a small part of my lecture. Two former students of mine from Indonesia were visiting professors at Hamilton College, and were the main organizers of the event. They had even advertised me as “a speaker widely regarded as a militant Muslim”!! Whether it was true or not, the promotion brought out the crowd! It was very naughty of my dear friends, Etin Anwar and Shalahudin Kafrawi, to promote me as a “militant”! But it worked as a magnet!

In the course of the year I was also involved with African American Muslims. I was particularly pleased to go back to Detroit, Michigan, and participate in a symposium on “American Islam and American Democracy”, sponsored by Wayne Community College and Community Development Corporation. My Keynote Address was on “American Muslims in Comparative Perspective”. The event was primarily African American.

At Binghamton University, I taught an advanced undergraduate course on “Islam in World Affairs”. As a seminar we tried to limit the number of students to twenty. But there was so

much demand among students to enroll that in the end the seminar had more than thirty students - too many for that kind of class. And yet in the end it all worked out. At Cornell I had previously inaugurated a new course about "Islam Among Black People".

My fascination with the United States was captured more in my latest book *The African Predicament and the American Experience* [Praeger 2004]. The book is based on my Millennium

Lectures at Harvard University, revised and updated since they were first delivered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the year 2000 under the sponsorship of Henry Louis Gates, Jr. My only regret is that the publishers (Praeger) have priced the book much too high. For my Harvard Millennium Lectures I was particularly indebted to my long association with Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell

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University, Ithaca, New York. I have been linked and stimulated by Cornell since 1986, and by the State University of New York at Binghamton since 1989. May the Lord bless both institutions. Amen.

V. Africa's Prodigal Sons?

Who are the one hundred greatest Africans of all time? A London-based magazine invited nominations from its readers. A flood of nominations poured into the editorial offices of *THE NEW AFRICAN*, a magazine which has been published in London since the early years of Africa's independence in the 1960s. The editors and their advisors then analyzed the nominations. The result was a unique list of some of the most significant Africans in history.

As I look at the selection now, three biases manifest themselves on the list. One is the gender bias. There are very few women in this list of African luminaries. Second is the political bias. The people nominated are disproportionately political heroes and giants of statecraft. The third bias is temporal in the sense that the Africans nominated are disproportionately Titans of the twentieth century.

Not enough heroes of earlier centuries were nominated.

My biggest surprise when I saw the list was the inclusion of my own name among these great African luminaries. I shared fiftieth place [50th] with F.W. de Klerk, the white President of South Africa who helped to end political apartheid in his country and shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Nelson Mandela.

East Africa's own founder- presidents of the post-colonial era did feature in the *NEW AFRICAN* list (Jomo Kenyatta, Julius K. Nyerere and A. Milton Obote). Also recognized are some of Africa's martyrs - such as Tom Mboya of Kenya, who was assassinated in 1969, and Dedan Kimathi, who was executed by the British during the Mau Mau war in Kenya. Some of the nominations for historic greatness were obvious, such as Shaka Zulu. Some omissions were inexcusable, such as Menelik II of Ethiopia.

But the London magazine is to be congratulated for recognizing the African Diaspora as part of Africa. The 100 greatest Africans, therefore, included such African American giants as W.E.B. DuBois and the boxer Muhammad Ali.

By coincidence, the idea of selecting one hundred greatest Africans of all time followed in the wake of an earlier proposal which I had made for nominations of 100 greatest African books of the last 100 years. I made the proposal at the Zimbabwe International Book Fair in 1988, and the proposal was acted upon by international publishers and others.

Nominations of great books were invited internationally, and a distinguished panel of judges was appointed. Because the concept had originally come from me, my own books were disqualified from the competition, but I was officially appointed as “the Founding Father” of the whole process. When the awards of the final list of Africa’s greatest 100 books of the last 100 years were at last ready to be ceremonially given to the authors in Cape Town in 2002, Founding Father Ali Mazrui was given a special role. My special role included presenting an award to Nelson Mandela personally for his book written in prison, *Long March to Freedom*.

Just as I had helped to honor Nelson Mandela among the authors of Africa’s 100 greatest books of the century, the London magazine, *THE NEW AFRICAN*, ranked Mandela as the top greatest African in history [see September issue 2004]. This was in the same year (2004) when both Mandela and I were honored with honorary doctorates by the University of Transkei in South Africa. [The region of the Transkei is Mandela’s home county in South Africa.] Ironically, the three honorary doctorates given by the University of Transkei in 2004 were to Nelson Mandela, Ngugi wa Thiong’o and myself [one South African and two Kenyans].

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From the point of view of Honorary Doctorates, the year 2004 was exceptional for me. I received four Honorary Doctorates in four different countries. Lafayette College in Pennsylvania awarded me a Doctorate in Divinity. A Presbyterian institution was, as I indicated, honoring a Muslim. My sermon of acceptance speech was indeed entitled “God and Globalization: Religion in the Global Village.” Yes, my speech was an interfaith sermon at a primarily Christian institution.

My later Honorary Doctorate from the University of Transkei was in Political Economy. My acceptance speech at Transkei was on “The Seven Pillars of the African Renaissance.”

From Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia in 2004 I received an Honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters. My acceptance speech has now been translated into Amharic in writing. The topic was “Africa Has Two Parents and One Guardian: Africanity, Islam and the West.” The degree, as I indicated, was ceremonially awarded by the President of Ethiopia in July 2004.

A Farewell jost as Ali Mazrui says goodbye to President Kufuor of Ghana in August 2001. From Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, I received in 2004 an Honorary Doctorate in Science and Human Resource Development. My acceptance speech was on “The Ethics of Professionalism: Seven Pillars of Integrity.” At the same ceremony I was officially installed as the first of the Chancellors of that University who was not Head of State. The two previous Chancellors had been President Daniel arap Moi and President Mwai Kibaki, both Heads of State.

What is more, I am flattered that my name is so Pan-African that not all Africans know which

African country produced me. Because of my ten years at Makerere University in Kampala, many Africans believe I am a Ugandan. Because of my Swahili cultural background, some Africans believe I am a Tanzanian. Because of my association with the University of Jos in Nigeria, and because I am married to a Nigerian, many fans think I am Nigerian. And because of my residence in the United States for more than a quarter of a century, many Africans believe that I have become an African American.

NEW AFRICAN magazine falls prey to this Pan-African ambiguity of my identity. The

magazine describes me as “a Tanzanian intellectual and writer [who] presents a positive image of Africa and its people.” I humbly regard the mistake about my nationality as a tribute to my Pan-Africanism.

The struggle still continues.

There is one Pan-African proposal which I have repeatedly made since the 1980s. I have argued that Rwanda and Burundi would continue to be on the verge of genocide unless they are federated with Tanzania, and their armies disbanded or integrated with the Tanzanian forces. In the past I have made

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this recommendation to African diplomats at the United Nations, at meetings of the Organization of African Unity and in conversations with such relevant Heads of State as the late Mwalimu Julius K.

Nyerere of Tanzania.

In 2004, I went to the Lion’s Den and made the recommendation in a public lecture in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, where I was a guest in my capacity as Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University. The recommendation was of course hotly debated, and widely publicized. But does it stand a chance?

VI. A Galaxy of Heroines

“Some are born to be kings; others are born to be king-makers.” In the year 2004 I was privileged to be “king-maker” - or, more correctly, “queen-maker”. I played a part in honoring two very distinguished women. In the final weeks of the selection process for the Nobel Prize for Peace, Wangari Maathai of Kenya was in the short list. I heard from the Nobel Committee and Nobel Foundation in Oslo inviting me for an evaluation of Wangari Maathai for the Prize. I got the impression that the decision was hanging in the balance as the final short list was being assessed. In my response to the Nobel Prize selection judges I had the following to say:

September 13, 2004

I am truly excited that Dr. Maathai has been nominated for the Nobel Prize for Peace. It is an imaginative and worthy nomination. I sincerely hope her nomination moves forward towards eventual success.

Wangari Maathai is a major activist for democracy and human rights. That makes her important but not unique. Wangari Maathai is a major campaigner for women’s rights and gender equality. That also makes her important, but not unique.

But Africa has a painful shortage of activists in defense of the environment. In Eastern Africa Wangari Maathai is almost unique in her readiness to risk her freedom and even her life in defense of forests and the heritage of nature. She has struggled hard to convince Kenyans that their habitat is at risk, and they may bequeath to their children a more damaged and less beautiful country than they found.

Wangari decided early that true environmental activism requires more than preaching about ecological hazards. It also requires implementation and positive demonstrations of what individuals can do, either on their own or in organized partnership with others. Some environmentalists limit themselves to preventive action. Conservation is interpreted as saving the heritage already in existence. Wangari Maathai interprets conservation to include environmental renewal and replenishment. It is not enough to stop the reckless destruction of trees, crucial as that imperative is. Africans must also cultivate the habit of planting new trees to replace some of those we are continuously losing. It has been

estimated that Dr. Maathai and the Green Belt movement have helped women to plant up to twenty million trees, sometimes for shade, sometimes to stem soil erosion, and sometimes for the sheer beauty of nature.

Wangari Maathai is a woman of her convictions. She has spoken truth to power, has suffered imprisonment, and even physical assaults. This is a woman of extraordinary courage

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and moral convictions.

May I also make a few observations of wider concern? I believe Africa has won about half a dozen Nobel Prizes for Peace. Four of them went to South Africans and focused on race relations. It is about time the Nobel Peace judges looked elsewhere in Africa and went beyond race-relations.

Out of the five or six Nobel Peace Laureates of Africa, I believe not a single one has been a woman so far. That is another gap which needs to be filled.

The Nobel Prize for Peace was indeed awarded to Dr. Wangari Maathai in October 2004. She was not only the first African woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize; she was the first Black woman of any country to win that particular Prize. I was deeply humbled to have played a part in the process. (Toni Morrison of the United States won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993. I played no part in her award. On the other hand, I did inherit her Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities at the State University of New York when she vacated the Chair to become a professor at Princeton.)

Another distinguished African woman whose career has touched mine is Ambassador Gertrude

Mongella of Tanzania, who is the current President of the Pan-African Parliament of the African Union. In 2005, she won what many people regard as the United States' equivalent of the Nobel Prize for Peace.

The American award is called the Delta Prize for International Understanding. Just as the money for the Nobel Prize originally came from Alfred Nobel, a Swedish tycoon, the money for the Delta Prize came from Delta Airlines, and the process is administered by the University of Georgia (Athens and Atlanta, Georgia). That university created a special Board of Judges to be the final stage in the selection process. I have served on that Board virtually from its inception. We have awarded the Delta Prize in the past to the following luminaries of our age:

(a) Former President Jimmy Carter jointly with Mrs. Carter and the Carter Center, Atlanta, Georgia (U.S.A.)

(b) Former President Mikhail Gorbachev (Russia)

(c) Former Archbishop Desmond Tutu (South Africa)

(d) Former U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata (Japan)

(e) Former President Vaclav Havel (Czech Republic)

When the Board of Judges met in Washington, D.C. in 2004, the final selection included Ambassador Gertrude I. Mongella. She became a world figure when she served as Secretary-General of the fourth U.N. World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995. Since then, Ambassador Mongella has served in a number of other high profile roles - as a Tanzanian Ambassador, a civic leader and as a United Nations official. It was my great privilege to have participated in awarding her the Delta Prize for International Understanding.

In spite of a snow storm and long delays at airports, I did manage to get to the University of Georgia, Athens, in time to attend the award of the Delta Prize to Ambassador Mongella at a glittering banquet early March 2005. Mrs. Mongella also gave the Darl Snyder Distinguished Lecture at the University of Georgia under the Chair of Professor Lioba Moshi.

The Ambassador's husband and other members of the family were in attendance. In jest I said to Mr. Mongella (who was sitting next to me): "On occasions like today's coronation don't you feel like the Duke of Edinburgh - a consort to the Queen?" Mr. Mongella and I had a good laugh about husbands being sometimes overshadowed by their wives in the public square! I have known such moments myself! In recent times, my wife's name (Pauline Uti Mazrui) has appeared more often in the local

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Binghamton press than mine. Pauline is a leader among African women in this part of New York State.

Although she is in her forties and relatively slim, her followers sometimes refer to her as "Big Mama"!

The "Big" refers to status rather than size!

A different kind of status belongs to my sister Salma's reincarnation! Ousseina Alidou, my niece-in-law [married to nephew Alamin] gave birth to a beautiful daughter in 2004. The daughter was named after my late eldest sister, and Alamin's mother, Salma A. Mazrui. Little Salma is a bridge between generations as she has reminded us of the older Salma. But little

Salma is also a bridge across the African continent- linking East Africa (Kenya) with West Africa (the Republic of Niger). If Alamin and Ousseina succeed in bringing up little Salma at least bilingual, she will be a bridge between Anglophone and Francophone Africa. Who knows? She may even grow up quadlingual with two European languages and two African ones. Insha Allah! Amen.

Another recent heroine was Professor Amina Wadud, an African American Muslim scholar, and author of a book on THE QUR'AN AND WOMAN. She took a major initiative in March 2005. I issued the following statement in her support.

To Whom It May Concern Dear All:

Is Amina Wadud the Rosa Parks of modern Islam? On the bus of Islamic destiny, is Amina refusing to take a back seat as a female passenger? Rosa Parks' defiance helped to ignite the Montgomery bus boycott and the civil rights movement in the United States! Is Amina Wadud's defiance the first shot in a Muslim Reformation on the gender question? She led a gender-mixed congregation in Friday prayers in defiance of traditions of male leadership. It is too early to assess the historical significance of a Jum'a prayer, in New York City on March 18, 2005, led by a single Muslim woman in a Christian Protestant Church. But we know this is not the first time that Amina Wadud has shaken a Friday Muslim congregation. Not long after Nelson Mandela's release in South Africa Amina Wadud and I were both in South Africa as guests of different Muslim groups in South Africa. The liberals in the mosque in Cape Town were prepared to let Amina give the Friday Sermon. The conservatives did not want her in the mosque at all. In the end Amina was permitted to give a 'Pre-sermon sermon' - a talk before the official Khutba. But even that compromise ignited passionate debates among South African Muslims for weeks afterwards.

Far less significant but nevertheless illustrative of the divide between conservative and

liberal Islam was what happened to me in post apartheid South Africa. The Muslim liberals wanted me to address men and women in the same room at a cultural center. The conservatives insisted on the women being in a separate room, hearing my lecture relayed on a loud-speaker. The conservatives won in the first round by having the audience segregated in separate gender rooms. The liberals won in the second round by taking me physically to the women's room after my formal lecture so that I could meet with some of them face to face.

In post apartheid South Africa, Amina Wadud and I witnessed the historic dialectic of Islam between the veiled face and the vision of openness.

It is true that ancient Islam had examples of women in leadership positions like Aisha and women as inspired advisors to men, like the Consort to Caliph Umar Ibn Khatab. But what went wrong in Islam after the first flowering of gender-dignity? How can we reverse the forces of sexism which escalated in the course of the Muslim dynasties of the Umayyads (based in Damascus) and the Abbasides (based in Baghdad) in the early centuries of Islamic history?

Until this twenty first century of the Christian era, Muslims have not been unique in denying ultimate religious

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leadership to women. Female priests in Christianity and female rabbis in Judaism are phenomena of recent times, and are still hotly debated. A female Pope in the Vatican is for the foreseeable future inconceivable. The whole vocabulary of the papacy is rooted in patriarchy (Pope, Papa, Father, Pontiff). The Catholic Church has not yet even accepted the ordination of women for ordinary priestly roles.

The Anglican Church has made more progress on the issue of ordaining women. But we are still waiting for the first female Archbishop of Canterbury in Lambeth Palace in London.

In all three Abrahamic religions there is a crisis of gender. Is it a sin to think of God as a Queen instead of a King? Why does the Trinity consist of two males (the father and the son) and one neuter (the Holy Ghost)? Why are Jewish prophets overwhelmingly male?

Perhaps Amina Wadud is initiating a revolution not merely in Islam but in all three Abrahamic religions Judaism, Christianity and Islam. After all, Abraham himself was a Patriarch. Is it time to dis-Abrahamize the Abrahamic legacy? Perhaps we are seeking the modernization of the Abrahamic heritage. Amen.

VII. The Family in Transition

When my twelve year old, Farid Chinedu, asked to go to Australia and New Zealand with a school group, I was alarmed! The program was called "People to People" [in their case, "Little People" to "Little People"]. They were to spend a couple of weeks in those two countries Down-Under, under the supervision of their American teachers and their local hosts. I was more nervous about Farid being so far away from his parents than his mother was. But psychologically I was reassured when my friend, Sam Makinda (a Kenyan-Australian professor), told us about how he and his wife could be reached in Australia in case of any emergency about Farid. Fortunately, all went well in both Australia and New Zealand.

Needless to say, Farid's younger brother, Harith Ekene (ten years of age), demanded equal traveling privileges. He wanted to go to Germany, partly because he is a child-researcher about World War II! But there was no school group going to Germany. Peace was restored

to the household when two concessions were made. Harith would visit friends in Canada while Farid was away Down-Under. And Harith would subsequently be allowed to join a school group to Hawaii, the place where World War II first penetrated the United States at Pearl Harbor. Harith is going to Hawaii in the summer of 2005.

Pauline's mother, Mama Alice, returned to us in 2004. Although she has other grandchildren in Nigeria, she must have started missing Farid and Harith! Fortunately, she loves them without spoiling them. She also seems to have taught them pidgin English, the most widely understood language in Nigeria and one which Mama Alice speaks. My children can hold a conversation with Mama Alice more easily than I can.

Since I was appointed Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University I have been seeing my Mombasa and Nairobi families more often than I could before. I now go to Kenya two or three times each year to discharge my Chancellor's duties, address the Kenya public in one form or another, and catch up with family news. I have one sister older than me in Mombasa (Nafisa) and another younger than me (Aliya). I have nephews and nieces from them and from my two deceased sisters and one brother Salma, Aisha and Harith senior, may they rest in peace in paradise. Amen.

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Ali Mazrui with younger sister Aliya and older sister Nafisa in Mombasa, Kenya 1989.

My BBC/PBS television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, first broadcast in 1986 abroad, was at last shown on television in Kenya by the Nation Network. Can you imagine? My own country was showing it after it had been seen by dozens of other countries and translated into several languages. Still, better late than never. It was also a measure of the new transparency in the political situation in Kenya.

My contacts with my wider Nigerian family were facilitated by General Yakubu Gowon's 70th birthday in October 2004. Mrs. Victoria Gowon had sent me a message in advance asking me confidentially to go to Nigeria as Keynote speaker for her husband's 70th birthday symposium. My own presence at the Birthday Extravaganza was supposed to be one of the surprise birthday gifts for General Gowon.

It was a star-studded event, with several former Heads of State also speaking at the same symposium. Tough competition for this so-called Keynote Speaker. But it was fun.

Unfortunately, the KLM Airline lost my suitcase with the birthday gifts I had intended to give to General Gowon. My suitcase was not recovered until the end of my stay in Nigeria. My dearest friend, Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, insisted on paying for almost my entire wardrobe for my Nigerian stay. And Mrs.

Gowon gave me a truly regal Nigerian attire.

I did go to Jos, Nigeria, to visit my in-laws. Unfortunately, most of them were away in the villages for either weddings or funerals, African-style! But perhaps all Nigerians are my in-laws - and I met many of them in October 2004.

I also gave a lecture at the University of Abuja, under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor. There was a lot of good humored debate about my views on the African condition. A less typical participant in the controversy was my former Makerere student, Okello Oculi - a Ugandan in origin who had lived in Nigeria for decades.

Okello Oculi is convinced that I once saved his life during Idi Amin's reign of terror in Uganda. In 1971 Okello was picked up on campus by two soldiers who treated him primarily as an ethnic compatriot of the former President Milton Obote, whom Idi Amin had overthrown. Hundreds of Obote's ethnic compatriots (the Langi) were murdered by Idi

Amin and his henchmen. My intervention with President Amin on Okello's behalf probably did save Okello Oculi's life.

In the year 2004 the University of Michigan Law School and the University of Virginia Law School did compete for my third son, Kim, as a professor. The University of Virginia made Kim a better offer, including a named chair, the Thurgood Marshall Professorship, and the Directorship of an

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Institute on Race and Law at Charlottesville.

For my own 72nd birthday, Kim and the Librarian at the University of Virginia compiled a list of citations of my name and my works in academic journals and the world press. The number of citations were in the thousands, but Kim and the Librarian compiled only a few hundred for my 72nd birthday. What a morale booster! What a global salute on my birthday! The Lord be praised! Since then Jamal, my first born, has sent me an even longer list of Mazruiana citations! Wonderful!

Ghalib Yusuf Tamim continued to be my primary family host in Nairobi. He is the son of my late sister, Aisha, and the late Yusuf Tamim. Whenever necessary Ghalib has met me on arrival at Nairobi airport; helped to get my visas for international trips, monitored the local press on my behalf, and provided hospitality jointly with his wife, -Maryam. In Nairobi I have also enjoyed the hospitality of Lubna, Munir and Khelef.

In Mombasa several women have been crucial in looking after me. My cousin, Huda Mazrui (Munir's wife), and my niece, Swafiya Manthry (my sister Nafisa's daughter) have gone beyond the call of duty. They have been joined by other women, such as nieces Maymuna and Hafida, nieces Alwiya, Labiba and Fahima, grandnieces like Nabila, and nephews like Farouk. Here is the extended family writ large.

Jamal Mazrui's ultimate boss, Michael Powell (son of former Secretary of State, Colin Powell), decided to step down after the 2004 presidential election. Jamal is an employee of the Federal

Communications Commission (FCC). It is not clear whether the regime change in the FCC will be as . advantageous to its citizens as the regime change in Iraq is supposed to be for Iraqis. I cannot get Jamal to pronounce on such issues. Although very independent, Jamal is a good civil servant in his own way, after all.

Maria Liverpool, Goretti Mugambwa's daughter, has left a void in our home - almost as big as that left by her mother. Maria is now an undergraduate at Howard University in Washington, D.C. ultimately aiming for a medical degree. Goretti has an interim job in Boston. We speak with Goretti on the phone regularly.

VIII.Part-time Westerner: A Half-century Retrospect

Yes, the year 2005 marks the 50th anniversary of my first entry into the Western world. It was indeed in 1955 that I left Mombasa, Kenya, to go and study in the United Kingdom. I completed two years of secondary education in Yorkshire, and then became an undergraduate at a British university (Manchester).

This year 2005 also marks the 40th anniversary of my first appointment as a professor. It was in

1965 that I experienced a meteoric rise from Lecturer to Full Professor at Makerere University in

Uganda - skipping at least two ranks!! It was frightening! 1955 to 1965 constituted a momentous decade in my early career.

And on the eve of 2005 I was humbled by receiving Kenya's highest honour of excellence for scholars - Chief of the Order of the Burning Spear [CBS]. Also on the eve of 2005 I was ceremonially installed as Chancellor of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology amidst pomp and splendor. I am deeply grateful to all who have helped me over the years.

Please forgive me if this Newsletter has been a celebration of these forty years of my professorial career and fifty years of my love affair with the Western world.

Throughout the last quarter century of my life I had subjectively lamented three major omissions in Kenya's academic life - the lack of a university in the city of my birth (Mombasa), the lack of an official role in Kenya's higher education for myself, and the fact that my 1986 BBC television series had still not been shown on Kenyan television more than fifteen years later.

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In the history of Kenya as a whole the Coast was the first to be literate by hundreds of years and yet the Coast was allowed to be almost the last to host a university in postcolonial Kenya. I have lectured and written about this anomaly, and I continue to hope that it would be corrected in the near future. The Coast also led the way in plantation agriculture historically. But the Coast has since been relegated to marginal cultivation.

Mombasa is Kenya's second city in size, but it is Kenya's first city in age and recorded history. Nairobi is a product of the twentieth century, but Mombasa is older by a thousand years. Should it still lack a university long after six public universities had been established elsewhere in the country? In trying to correct this academic anomaly, I have become more active than ever.

My second major academic lament in the last quarter-century was the denial of an official role for me in Kenya's higher education. When I resigned from Makerere University in the 1970s in the wake of Uganda's political collapse under Idi Amin Dada, my next career should have been at the University of Nairobi. But the late Vice-Chancellor Joe Karanja at Nairobi took me out to a private lunch at the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi in order to explain why he was unable to hire me. My record at Makerere as a controversial scholar had made Vice-Chancellor Karanja cautious. After all, I had publicly debated Uganda's Head of State himself (President Milton Obote) during the early years of Uganda's independence.

During the Kenyatta years I could not be hired in Kenya, but I was free to give public lectures in the country from time to time. But, during most of the years of President Daniel arap Moi, even the public lectures dried up. Kenya's universities were increasingly reluctant to risk government disapproval by inviting me to lecture. From Kenyatta's death in 1978 until the year 2000 I had lectured on Kenya's campuses less than about five times in all. I had surely given more lectures than five even in the Republic of South Africa alone between 1994 and the year 2000. My base continued to be the United States as a part-time Westerner.

Although my friends and family know that I am far from being even remotely a technological person, my scholarship has been served exceptionally well by modern technology. An estimated eighty million people heard my BBC Reith Lectures (radio) worldwide in 1979. The lectures were later published by Cambridge University Press and by Heinemann Educational Books under the title of *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis* (New York and London 1980) and reprinted later repeatedly.

My subsequent BBC and PBS television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (1986) has been shown in dozens of countries and translated into several languages. No African scholar in history has been listened to on the radio by more people or seen on television by more viewers. It is a humbling reflection. This technological illiterate called Ali Mazrui has been given a global voice by modern Western technology.

With regard to my television series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, the African country which joined the BBC in its production was Nigeria rather than Kenya. The African country which showed the TV series even earlier than Nigeria was Zimbabwe. The African country which showed the Arabic version of my television series first was Libya. The Francophone country which joined the fray of showing *The Africans* first was Cameroon. Portuguese Africa had access to the Portuguese version from Brazil. There is also a German version of the series, as well as a version in the Turkish language.

A Swahili version was once considered by the Ohio State University in Columbus, U.S.A. But with the Kenya government boycotting the English version at the time, a Swahili version would not have been economical to produce.

The first East African country to show *The Africans* on TV was Uganda, apparently followed by

Zanzibar in Tanzania. Kenya's TV viewers were still awaiting a breakthrough in spite of the fact that no

Kenyan was likely to author a TV series of such international prominence for at least another fifty years.

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As I indicated, a breakthrough at last came in 2004, in the new Kenya under Mwai Kibaki. NATION TELEVISION in Nairobi aired the TV series in a new era of transparency.

My scholarly work is not about technology, but the scholarship has been an illustration of technology at work as a globalizing force. Thanks to the modern electronic technology of communication, I am grateful that my interpretation of Africa has reached millions of viewers and listeners in diverse countries, and in multiple languages across the world.

Were there indications in my early life about a shadow of Western technology on my fate? It started with my first regular job after secondary school - junior clerk at what was then called the

Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (MIOME). All the students at the Institute were Muslims from

Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Somalia. All the instructors were Europeans, teaching such courses as electrical engineering, mechanical engineering and the nautical sciences. Although I was about the same age as most of the students, I was promoted to the job of Warden of the Halls of

Residence. I was surrounded by scientists and technologists, real or in the making, at M.I.O.M.E. - my first major initiation into technological culture.

The idea of a technical institute for East African Muslims originated in a discussion between the Aga Khan and Kenya's British governor at the time, Sir Philip Mitchell. The Aga Khan had been quoted as favouring the establishment of a Muslim university at the Kenya Coast for the whole of Eastern Africa. Sir Philip Mitchell reacted by contacting the Aga Khan and recommending a technical institute for Muslims rather than a university. Mitchell argued that Muslims were being left behind in science and technology, and needed help to catch

up.

The Aga Khan contributed generously to the initial budget, as did the Sultan of Zanzibar, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and the Bohora Community (Indian Shia Muslims). A Mombasa Arab (Sheikh Khamis) contributed the land on which the institute was built.

Ali Mazrui making his presentation with President Kaunda in the Chair and Sonia Gandhi hosting the conference (6th Indira Gandhi conference), New Delhi, India.

After Kenya's independence the Institute ceased to be reserved for Muslim students, and has now become the Mombasa Polytechnic. It is now under consideration as a future university college and potentially a full-scale university. The old Aga Khan's dream of a Coastal university may attain fulfillment at long last, but no longer designed to help Muslims specifically to catch up with their compatriots. I have been involved in these recent secular negotiations.

Over the years I have often complained that while the Coast was the first region of Kenya to become literate, it seemed destined to be the last to have a university in postcolonial Kenya. Will my old technical institute of the early 1950s (MIOME) now mature into the fulfillment of our own dream for a Coastal university at long last?

In 1955 (fifty years ago this year) I was awarded a Kenya government scholarship to complete my secondary education in Great Britain. As luck would have it, the school chosen for me by the Kenya government at the time was the Huddersfield Technical College in the industrial north of England. Once again I was surrounded by scientists and technologists, although I myself was pursuing social sciences and humanities. My two years at Huddersfield earned me five subjects at advanced level Higher Certificate of Education and two subjects at ordinary level. The school later became the Huddersfield Polytechnic, and has now matured into a full university with a bias for science and technology.

After Huddersfield I went to the University of Manchester. The city of Manchester had once been a major engine of England's industrial revolution in the nineteenth century. During my own undergraduate years (1957-1960) Manchester was still a major industrial and engineering center. Living in the shadow of industrialism and technological production was becoming a *lite* motif of my academic career.

After Manchester I proceeded to New York City to study for my masters' degree at Columbia University. In my first year in New York I was more preoccupied with international politics than with industrialism. I subsequently went to the University of Oxford for my doctorate in political studies. I was intrigued by the paradox between Oxford and Cambridge in British experience. The City of Oxford was more industrial than the City of Cambridge, but the University of Oxford was less oriented towards science and technology than the University of Cambridge. "Oxford has had the factories of technology; Cambridge has had the laboratories of science" - so went an old adage. My own Oxford degree was of course in the social sciences.

IX. The Expansion of Western Technology

After Oxford I joined the Department of Political Science at Makerere College, University of East Africa, as a lecturer. Within less than two years I was promoted to full professor and, later, Dean of

Social Sciences. One of the legacies I left behind was an undergraduate course entitled "THE POLITICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE." I created the course in the early 1970s. It seems to have continued to the present day.

In constructing the course, I was influenced not only by the positive impact of technology on national development, but also the negative impact of Western technology on national stability. After Idi Amin's coup in January 1971, military technology in the armed forces was seen as potentially destabilizing and detrimental to civilian governance. I addressed some of these issues in my book, *Soldiers and Kinsmen in Uganda: The Making of Military Ethnocracy* (The Hague, 1975)

When my book on Uganda was first published I was a professor at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Here another contradiction in my life neared its head. The State of Michigan produced more motor-cars than any other place in the world, yet I continued to depend on the women in my life to drive me around! This part-time Westerner did not have a driver's license, having never taken an official drivers' test. My dependence on my first wife, Molly, as a driver gave her extraordinary power over my movements on land but she lost control over my movements in the skies! It was a standard joke in the family - especially when my family lived for fourteen years near Detroit, the automobile capital of the world. This part-time Westerner was an anachronism in a new civilization on wheels! My most controversial discussion of military technology occurred in my BBC Reith Lectures *Man-ni*

(radio) entitled *THE AFRICAN CONDITION* (1979). It was in my sixth Reith Lecture entitled "In Search of Pax Africana" that I recommended nuclear proliferation in developing countries.

Nuclear proliferation is a process of military democratization. It seeks to break the monopolies in weaponry in the hands of the northern warlords. Nuclear proliferation also seeks to break secret societies based on forbidden nuclear technology under the control of the West and Soviet bloc. But ultimately the best moral case for military democratization... is whether this democratization will in turn ultimately lead to the drastic reduction of large scale warfare in human affairs.

I was convinced that if enough developing countries went nuclear, the world would be sufficiently alarmed to accept a universal ban on nuclear weapons for everybody. However, my recommendation in favour of nuclear proliferation was before the administration of George W. Bush enunciated a doctrine of pre-emptive military action to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The stakes have now become more complicated.

With regard to the computer revolution, I have been more fascinated by its cultural consequences than by a personal desire to use computers. I have explored whether cultures differ in their capacity to learn computer skills, and whether African-American women are potentially more computer-proficient than African-American men. I have also posed such controversial questions as to whether modern Jewish culture is inherently more science-friendly than the cultures of non-Jews. If Jewish culture has a scientific edge, is that part of the explanation as to why Jews as a people have, per capita, won more Nobel Prizes than any other ethnic group on earth?

In my writings I have also speculated and theorized about Japan's spectacular technological achievements since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Why was Japan so technologically ahead of every other Asian country? What aspects of Japan's culture made the Japanese miracle possible?

My concept of technology is not limited to industrialism. It also encompasses the science

and technology of agricultural production. Japan's technological achievements have included both spectacular industrialization and proficient agriculture.

In the massive volume *Africa since 1935*, which I edited on behalf of UNESCO, I co-authored a major chapter on trends in science and philosophy in Africa's experience since colonization. It was in that chapter that I and the co-authors emphasized the importance of polytechnics and technological universities for science in Africa:

Thus, the most significant trend in science in Africa is the evolving science policy of African states and the growing network of research institutions which are capable of being developed to create the necessary critical mass. The centers which hold promise...do include national universities, national research centers, Pan-African organizations, Pan-African professional associations and intercontinental research institutions and scholarly communities.

The paradox has persisted. Although I am among the least technologically-oriented of major African scholars, I have been obsessed with the relationship between technology and culture. Relatively non-technical as I am, my scholarship has been spread far and wide as part of technological globalization. Is it really true that no African scholar has been heard by more millions of listeners on the radio or been seen by more millions of viewers on television? Who knows?

Now that I have been appointed Chancellor of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and

Technology, a new chapter has opened in my modest odyssey in the shadow of technology. A man of letters and culture is once again engaged in a partnership with an institution of science. The struggle continues, as I complete half a century as a part-time Westerner.
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APPENDIX 1. SHORT BIOGRAPHY

2004-2005 Academic Year

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.

Ali Mazrui being honoured at the House of Lords, June 2000, London, U.K. Ali Mazrui with Lord Ahmed of Rotherham.

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. Other books include *Africa's International Relations* (Heinemann and Westview Press, 1977), *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa* (Heinemann Educational Books and University of California Press, 1978), and *The Political Culture of*

Language: Swahili, Society, and the State, co-author Alamin M. Mazrui, (IGCS and James Currey, 1995). 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.

Ali Mazrui speaking at the House of Lords, June 14th 2000, London, U.K.

Professor Mohamed Bakari (from Istanbul), General Yakubu Gowon (former Head of State of Nigeria) and Dr. Ali A. Mazrui, Guest of Honour (from left to right).

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), *International Herald Tribune* (Paris), *Elsevier* (Amsterdam), *Los Angeles Times Syndicate* (USA) and *Afrique 2000* (Brussels and Paris).

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

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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 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.

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. Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, USA, has elected him an Icon of the Twentieth Century. 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, the Muslim world 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]. 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), *Internationle 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 Developpement* (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).

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APPENDIX 11.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For my fifty years as a part-time Westerner, and forty years as a full professor, I am of course indebted to dozens of colleagues, friends, relatives, and other personal and professional benefactors. But in this Newsletter I will only mention those colleagues who have helped me in the last twelve months in Administrative, Secretarial, and Managerial roles:

1. Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York:

Nancy Levis

AnnaMarie Palombaro

Nancy Hall

11. Cornell University, Ithaca, New York:

Cynthia Telage

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111. Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, Thika and Nairobi, Kenya

Michael Hindzano Ngonyo Peter Njiraini

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James N. Karioki

Abdul S. Bemath

Muhammad Khan

V. Supportive Team in Uganda:

Sam Max Sebina

Idd Mukalazi

Muhammad Ddungu

For my mobility between SUNY-Binghamton and Cornell-Ithaca, I am particularly indebted to my colleague Amadu Jacky Kaba and his comfortable car! Jacky and my wife Pauline are the wheels of my existence in the State of New York!

William Mayaka in Kenya, James N. Karioki in South Africa, and Thomas Uthup in the United States have been major sources of academic documentation and information.

Parts of this Newsletter were edited and rewritten by James N. Karioki, and published in the

CITY PRESS, a South African newspaper in Johannesburg. Other parts were edited by Michael Ngonyo Hindzano of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology and published in the university's own Newsletter, AGRITECH NEWS.

I am of course also greatly indebted to my immediate family and to my extended family across three continents. My gratitude also to my esteemed colleagues in the Universities to which I am affiliated, to my students, and to my graduate assistants from semester to semester.

2005

Ali Mazrui's first International Prize awarded by the Lady Mayoress of Manchester, England (1958-59).

poos Newsletter

Newsletter 30, Spring 2006, Public Intellectuals in Africa's Experience

Newsletter 31, Spring 2007, Comparative Anniversaries - Positive, Negative and Neutral

spring 2007

MAZRUI NEWSLETTER No. 31

General Theme: Comparative Anniversaries:

Positive, Negative and Neutral

- - - II

President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa (right) bestowed on Ali Mazrui the honorific status of Grand Companion of Oliver Tambo (April 2007). The South African President is holding Mazrui's latest book, A Tale o Two A ricas.

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spring 2007

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 3 1

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme: Comparative Anniversaries: Positive, Negative and Neutral

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Attached to this Newsletter is an Appendix:

APPENDIX 1: Acknowledgments

This Newsletter is partly a product of the Albert Schweitzer Chair of the Humanities, Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York. The Newsletter is intended for colleagues, friends and family of the Schweitzer Professor, Ali A. Maziui.

In March 2007 Ghana celebrated the 50th Anniversary of her independence. She had been the first sub-Saharan African country to win independence from colonial rule. My own contribution to the Golden Jubilee took a variety of forms. I had written a Foreword to the official biography of the current Head of State of Ghana, President John Agyekum Kufour. By a happy coincidence, the book was launched by Wole Soyinka, the Nobel Laureate, in Accra, Ghana. My second contribution was a gift to Ghana of my nine-part video series, The Africans: A Triple Heritage (BBC/PBS, 1986). I presented the gift to the Library of the W.E.B. DuBois Pan-African Center in Accra under its new Director, Anne

Adams, my former colleague at Cornell.

Ali Mazrui wrote the Foreword to the official biography of John Agyekum Kufuor, President of Ghana (right), on Ghana's 50th anniversary of independence

On my own Binghamton campus in New York State, I also participated in celebrating Ghana's Golden Jubilee. I was also one of the keynote speakers at a major conference to mark the occasion held at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Sulayman Nyang and Mbye Cham were superb hosts. My presentation at Howard University revived my notorious conclusion of 1966 that "Nkrumah was a great African but not a great Ghanaian." I also spoke in Sacramento, California; as a guest of a PanGhanaian organization in California. My son Al 'Amin and my old friend Mutombo Mpanya made a special effort to join me at the Sacramento celebration.

In April 2007 I gave the Keynote Address at the International Symposium on "Imaging Ethiopia: Monarchy and Modernity", sponsored by the Africana Studies and Research Center at Cornell, and co-sponsored by the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia. My own rather controversial theme was "Images of Ethiopians in Religion, Politics and Culture: From the Muezzin Bilal to the Opera 'Aida' ." This Cornell conference marked a quarter of a century since the concluding years of the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I.

Ali Mazrui welcoming Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia to the International Congress of African Studies, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1973. The Ethiopian revolution overthrew the Emperor the next year.

I was privileged to meet the Emperor one more time in Addis Ababa in 1973 on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution which led to his downfall. I welcomed him to the meeting of the International Congress of African Studies which he was officially opening on that day. Of course, none of us realized that a dynasty which was thousands of years old was about to come to an end the following year.

Historic Names as Anniversaries

It was the eve of my receiving another honorary doctorate in South Africa when I was elated by even bigger news. At long last I had a grand-daughter - my first female progeny! Until then God had indeed blessed me with five sons and two grandsons. But I was beginning to wonder whether my immediate line would ever produce a female descendant. And then, 10 and behold, Jamal and Susan awarded me little Nicole. It was a gender breakthrough.

On the day after I heard that great news, I was at the University of Venda to receive my new honorary doctorate, under the presiding Chancellorship of Cyril Ramaphosa (widely regarded as a potential future President of the Republic of South Africa). In my address to the graduating class, I mentioned the arrival of my first granddaughter, born in far-away America. There was a thunderous applause from the thousands in the audience (students, parents and university staff).

Unknown to me in the course of the remaining proceedings, Chancellor

Ramaphosa was canvassing for a suitable Venda name for my grand-daughter. When the Chancellor delivered his own Chancellor's Address, he announced the favoured Venda name for my grand-daughter. She was to be called Vele, a reference to a blossom as a transition from seed to final fruit.

Ali Mazrui ecstatic about the birth of his first grand-daughter, Nicole Molly Mazrui. My new granddaughter is a young lady whose other names had been chosen with great circumspection. Jamal and Susan (the parents) solicited the votes of the rest of the family about the preferred names for their daughter. The parents computed the order of preferences from each member of the family. When the name Nicole seemed triumphant, the parents wanted to be sure that its abbreviation [Nick] did not mean something negative in some African language. I assured the parents that the female name "Nike" [pronounced literally] was a respectable Yoniba name in Nigeria.

Nicole's second name is Molly to commemorate Jamal's mother. I do hope Nicole's third name will be the African name of Vele, since I had dedicated my Venda doctorate to Nicole, and since the Chancellor at Venda had given her that South African name.

I realize that Africa is only one of Nicole's diversified ancestries. She is a convergence of African, Caucasian, Arab and Japanese ancestry (Susan's mother was Japanese and father was Euro-American). Whatever happens, Nicole should include the Venda name of Vele as part of her identity in the years ahead.

For once in May 2007, I visited Kenya without going to Mombasa! I chatted with the Mombasa extended family over the phone. The main reason why I decided to omit Mombasa in May was because I was returning to Kenya in July to preside over the annual graduation of Jomo Kenyatta University. I would go to Mombasa then.

Talking of the name Kenyatta, I was waiting for my plane in the British Airways lounge in Nairobi on a Saturday when I noticed the legs of a man standing over me.

Then I heard a voice saying, "Habari gani, profesa?" I looked up to see Jomo Kenyatta's son, Uhuru Kenyatta - who was once again running for President in Kenya this year. [He had lost the previous election].

What I am going to say next has great relevance especially for my first son Jamal. Because Jamal's day of birth (December 14, 1963) was so close to Kenya's attainment of independence (December 12, 1963), I agonized over what name to give him, if Molly had no objection. I did consider calling Jamal "Jomo" after the symbol of Kenya's independence (Jomo Kenyatta). But I concluded that calling my first son "Jomo" would offend my mother since she was hoping I would call the boy "Al 'Amin" after my own Dad. But for Kenya's independence, I would indeed have called my first son, "Al 'Amin".

On the other hand, I felt sure that if I gave my first son another Muslim name, my mother would only be disappointed rather than offended. However, what Muslim name sounded closest to "Jomo"? You have guessed it! Molly and I agreed on "Jamal"! I decided that it was also a bonus that "Jamal" echoed the first name of my Egyptian hero at the time, Gamal [with a G] Abdul Nasser, the President of Egypt! I suppose I could have called "Jamal" JUMA (a Swahili name). Unfortunately, that would have implied he was born on a Friday.

If you are wondering why naming my first born was such a politicized issue, please remember the euphoria of Kenya's independence. I was located across the border in Kampala. Yet I could not go to Nairobi for the event of the century because my wife was on the verge of giving birth to my first child. I thought I could combine the two momentous celebrations (Jamal's birth and Kenya's independence) by looking for a suitable name for my first son to mark the occasion. The two events were "beautiful"! This was additional justification for the choice of "Jamal" (which is Arabic for "beauty" in both the male and the female).

A joint salute to Jomo Kenyatta and Gamal Abdul Nasser in a single name was the beginning

of my future concept of “AFRABIA” - synthesizing the legacies of Africa and Arabia in the bloodline of the Mazruis. Molly was very tolerant towards my politicized euphoria. Much later came May 26, 2007, in the British Airways lounge at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in Nairobi. I was facing the son of the man after whom I had semi named my own son. Because of Kenya’s independence, Jomo Kenyatta had named his son “Uhuru”. Also because of Kenya’s independence, I almost called my son “Jomo” and settled for “Jamal” as a salute to both Kenyatta and Nasser, and as a submission to the feelings of my mother.

It is almost certain that Uhuru Kenyatta stands a chance of becoming President of Kenya one day, though not necessarily soon. He is young enough. He and I later traveled together, first class, on British Airways to London. He was accompanied by one of his own sons - probably five years old. I later wondered whether the little boy was

called “Jomo”! When I had asked the boy his name, he had been too shy to answer me! Perhaps the little boy is indeed the next “Jomo Kenyatta” – almost like a search for the next Dalai Lama from child to child! Who knows? I would like to believe that both the Senior Jomo Kenyatta and I have produced progenies of destiny, Amen.

My mother did partially have her wish when I named my second son “Al ’Amin”. Wherever she is in Heaven, my mother will be pleased that Al ’Amin did not take any chances but named his own first-born son after his own Dad. And so it came to pass that I now have a grandson who bears exactly my own name - Ali Al ’Amin Mazrui! !

Ugandan Anniversaries: Toil, Tears and Triumph

The years 1966 and 1967 have carved out a number of anniversaries for me echoing important events in my own life and in Africa’s experience. When the Bank of Uganda invited me in 2006 to go to Kampala and be Keynote Speaker at the Celebration of their 40th Anniversary as Uganda’s Central Bank, I was excited for more than one reason. Makerere University joined the Bank in co-hosting my 2006 visit to the country, and Makerere will always be full of positive memories for me. Indeed, all my first three sons were born at the University Hospital of Mulago in the 1960s.

If 2006 was the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Bank of Uganda, it was also the 40th anniversary of my election as the first African Dean of Social Sciences in Anglophone East Africa. During my ten years at Makerere, the Deanship was the only promotion which triggered off resentment among Ugandans that the position had gone to a Kenyan rather than a Ugandan.

My Ugandan colleagues were congratulatory in 1965 when I was promoted to full Professor, without passing through the ranks of Senior Lecturer, Reader or Associate Professor. Indeed, the accelerated promotion would not have occurred but for the agreement of the newly appointed Ugandan Principal of Makerere University College, Y.K. Lule (who subsequently became Uganda’s Head of State. My being a Kenyan was not an issue in my professorial promotion).

Secondly, my Ugandan colleagues did not resent my being appointed University Orator with the responsibility of drafting citations for honorary doctorates awarded to distinguished dignitaries. It was only when Makerere was about to award an honorary doctorate to the Head of State, Milton Obote, that Makerere disqualified me from honoring Obote . I was disqualified as University Orator because of my complicated political relationship with the President. It had nothing to do with my not being a Ugandan.

Thirdly, my Ugandan colleagues did not seem to resent me when I rapidly became the most famous African University Professor in the country, if not in the sub-region of Eastern Africa. God bless them, they cheered me on.

Ugandan colleagues cracked jokes about me concerning my multiple books and my dozens of articles. They thought I was too prolific by half, but they were not jealous.

I packed the Main Hall at Makerere every time I gave a speech there. I was the only campus speaker who enjoyed such popularity. Neither Uganda students nor Ugandan faculty resented that. On the contrary, they all turned up in their hundreds to listen to me.

Off campus, I was known to debate the Head of State and Head of the Intelligence Services in Uganda - I was rapidly becoming a national figure. Ideologically, I was classified as a liberal rather than a socialist.

Some left wing Ugandan intellectuals resented me for being a "liberal", not for being a Kenyan. (In reality, I regarded myself as socialism-friendly but not a socialist - just as I regard myself as Buddhism-friendly but not a Buddhist.) From an ideological point of view, my nationality as a Kenyan was not an issue.

Then why did it become an issue on my being elected Dean of Social Sciences? I served as Dean for two years, and was running for a second term when three Ugandan colleagues (one in economics and two in my own Department of Political Science) led the anti-Mazrui pack for the Deanship. When I realized the strength of emotions, I withdrew from the Deanship race. I did not want to be caught up in a debate about "who was preventing Ugandans from being promoted."

I think I helped my standing among Ugandans by not pushing too hard. It had in any case been a privilege to have served as Dean from 1966 to 1968. 2006 was, therefore, a positive anniversary for me personally, as indeed it was for the Central Bank, its governor and its staff.

In 2006, I gave one lecture on campus at Makerere and another lecture under the auspices of the Bank of Uganda. But 2006 was also the 20th year since Yoweri Museveni captured power in Uganda in 1986 and became Head of State. I personally believe Museveni's capture of power in 1986 was worthy of being celebrated as a positive anniversary in 2006. However, his continuation in power twenty years later may now verge on being a negative anniversary.

Nevertheless, it was a privilege to have had a prolonged conversation with President Yoweri Museveni in 2006 at the State House. The Head of State and I ranged over a variety of topics.

President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda received Mazrui at State House in Kampala in 2006. Our agenda included the 20-year war in Northern Uganda, the pursuit of regional integration in East Africa under his leadership, and issues of language policy in African countries. It was very gracious of the President to have given me about an hour in his busy schedule. I was accompanied to the State House in Kampala by Michael Hindzano

Ngonyo, my Protocol Officer from Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. One aspect about my lecture at Makerere in 2006 appeared very odd to me. Attendance at my campus lecture was by invitation only. I was told that this was because the population of the students had quadrupled since my years as a Professor there. Considering that

Makerere did not have a large enough lecture hall, admission to my lecture by special invitation seemed strange but understandable. The hall was nevertheless full. When I was at Makerere in 2006, I asked Prime Minister Apollo Nsibambi to consider abolishing any compulsory retirement age for university careers. I told him that in the United States, it was illegal to force a tenured elderly professor to retire for as long as he or she could teach classes and grade examinations. I was delighted to learn later that Prime Minister Nsibambi ran with the idea of a change in the regulations and laws concerning retirement. He pushed for a change both as Prime Minister and in his capacity as Chancellor of Makerere University. The compromise was reportedly to raise the retirement age for academics from sixty years of age to seventy years. I was flattered to learn that Prime Minister Nsibambi cited the example of "Ali Mazrui" (Exhibit A) who still taught, wrote books and articles, traveled across the world and is still honoured in his seventies!! Mazrui was also involved with the media as a public intellectual and a writer!

While in Kampala, I paid a condolence visit to my old colleague Senteza Kajubi. We knew each other when he was Professor of Education at Makerere and later when he was Dean of Education. After I left Makerere, I knew Senteza was Vice-Chancellor of one of the private universities of post-colonial Uganda. Indeed, his new university did me the honour of awarding me an honorary doctorate.

Well, Senteza lost his life-long companion and wife in 2006. She was a wonderful and creative person. She will be truly missed.

When Senteza and I were both at Makerere, he served as the Chair of the Makerere Housing Committee. In those years every member of the academic staff was entitled to subsidized housing on campus. But the decision of who got which house was based on a points system (size of family, rank of the applicant, duration of service at Makerere, etc.)

My wife at the time, Molly, and myself were dissatisfied with the house we had been allocated. So every time a better house fell vacant, we applied to the Housing Committee, and every time we were turned down. One day I decided that enough was enough. So I approached the Chair of the Housing Committee, Senteza Kajubi, and asked him what I could possibly do to have enough points for a house we wanted.

Senteza offered to give me what he described as his "twining formula". It turned out that Senteza's wife had given him three sets of twins, one set after another. This is for real! Since my wife Molly was giving me only one child at a time in the maternity ward, I should learn the Kajubi formula of multiplying if I wanted a better house than the one awarded to me! We both laughed over his recommendation. Molly had given me three children, but only one at a time! We had failed miserably as twin-makers, but eventually Senteza Kajubi felt sorry for us - and allocated us a much better house.

My 2006 visit to Makerere also included a delightful afternoon with Dent OcayaLakidi. He and his dear wife held a tea-party in my honour, Mahmood Mamdani was also among the guests, along with his famous wife (producer of Mississippi Masala, staffing Denzel Washington). Also present was former colleague, Tony GinyeraPinyewa of Makerere fame. Unfortunately Dent Ocaya-Lakidi is now paralyzed from the waist down. He woke up one day to find he could not walk. A major tragedy, but I was encouraged by his cheerfulness, sense of humour, and continuing intellectual alertness. I am still not sure if his condition can be cured. The blindness of two of my own older sons (Jamal and Kim) seems beyond

cure. Fortunately, my boys (as well as Dent Ocaya-Lakidi) are strong individuals with the will to overcome adversity.

For most Ugandans the negative anniversary of 2006 was that it marked the 40th Anniversary of the Battle of the Lubiri. In 1966 the forces of the central government of Uganda, led by Idi Amin Dada, attacked the palace of the King of the Baganda (the palace was the Lubiri). Kabaka Mutesa II was forced to go into exile in Great Britain, where he died three years later. Milton Obote, the head of the central government of Uganda, kept the Baganda under a state of emergency until they were liberated by Idi Amin after Amin's military coup of 1971.

Young Ali Mazrui in a white suit in the company of President Milton Obote (center) at a reception in Kampala, Uganda, in the 1960s

Was liberation by Idi Amin an oxymoron? The Amin years in Uganda (1971-1979) prepared the ground for deadlier anniversaries of the future.

Saluting Living Legends

In February 2007, I was honoured as a "Living Legend" by the African Communications Agency and the Economic Commission of West African States [ECOWAS]. The Living Legends Awards were bestowed in Abuja, Nigeria, at the 2007 Africa's Media Summit [AIMS, 2007]. Previous Living Legend honorees included Nelson Mandela, Kofi Annan, Dudley Thompson and Wole Soyinka.

Unfortunately the dates of the awards clashed with my wife's own 50th birthday (her Golden Jubilee). My hosts in Abuja settled for either a satellite transmission of my acceptance speech or a DVD/VIDEO recording. I was later told that my acceptance speech was regarded as both hilarious (in the sense of provoking laughter) and insightful. Let me reproduce my "Living Legend" award acceptance speech in full for the record:

I am truly both honoured and humbled to be recognized as a Living Legend at this AIMS Summit; under the auspices of the Economic Organization of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Communications Agency.

When one is honoured in this way, there are three factors which make the occasion special to the honoree. One factor is who is making the presentation. In my case, I ask the question: Who today is saluting my contributions to this world of ours? The second factor important to the honoree is: For what am I being recognized today?

The third factor significant to the honoree is: Who else is being honoured alongside me? What is the company I am keeping? To what galaxy do I belong?

Before I answer those questions, let me share an anecdote. A few years ago a South African university invited me to receive an honorary doctorate at the same ceremony which was also conferring such a degree on Nelson Mandela. I was, of course, impressed by the university which was honouring me. I was flattered by the tribute to my scholarship, the recognition of my services to Africa. And I felt really good that I was going to be honoured at the same ceremony as Nelson Mandela.

But did I really belong to the same galaxy as Nelson Mandela? I was soon disabused of that fantasy. Nelson Mandela indicated that he would only be able to accept the doctorate if the ceremony was conducted in his village in South Africa. And so instead of the apocryphal Muhammad going to the mountain, the mountain went to Muhammad! The university in question packed its bags, gowns, microphones, hundreds of chairs and dozens of tables - and packed its buses with students, professors and administrators to go to Nelson Mandela's village. The ceremony was held on the grounds of Mandela's village

residence.

Former President Nelson Mandela is a galaxy of his own as a "Living Legend"

My own graduation was held the following day on the campus of that university. Although Ngugi wa Thion'go, the novelist, and I were deeply flattered by the honorary doctorates we received that day, we both also recognized that we were not in the same league as Nelson Mandela. We did not belong to the same galaxy as him. By no stretch of the imagination could we have summoned the apocryphal mountain of the occasion to follow Muhammad to our village.

At the time of recording this acceptance of the Living Legends Award, which is to be conferred on me in Abuja on February 13, 2007, I do not have the list of the other honorees. But I do know that the legendary boxer, sportsman and humanitarian, Muhammad Ali, will be among those being saluted.

As it happens, he is the only sportsman whose autographed and framed photograph hangs in my sitting room in Binghamton, New York. Of course, I do not belong to Muhammad Ali's galaxy either, but at least my own children regard me as the second most famous Black Ali after Muhammad Ali! I am a mere Ali Mazrui.

What is Muhammad Ali's photograph doing in my sitting room? Because he and I once joined forces to raise money for Somalia which was then suffering from famine. At a fundraising banquet in Philadelphia, I was the main speaker and Muhammad Ali was the great presence. That evening and the next day the boxer and I spent many hours together. On one occasion, when we stood together near Philadelphia's railway station, passers-by recognized Muhammad Ali instantly. But since I was standing by Ali's side, the pedestrians assumed that I was either Muhammad Ali's secretary or his aging bodyguard! So those passers-by who wanted Ali's autograph or wanted to shake his hand first came to me for permission. Muhammad Ali authorized me to be the go-between! Autograph-hunters surrounded me - not asking for my own signature, but seeking Muhammad Ali's. It was a moment of power for this lesser Black Ali!

Tonight in Abuja I am once again empowered by the company that I am keeping. The company includes Muhammad Ali and other luminaries. I am deeply moved.

The value of the occasion also arises from those who have organized it and have extended the recognition. The African Communications Agency is one of Africa's vanguard institutions in this era of the Information Superhighway. And ECOWAS is the most ambitious experiment in regional integration ever attempted by African peoples anywhere in the world. These two sponsors of the Living Legends Awards Ceremony have added immensely to the importance of this occasion.

It is also very important that Africa recognizes and salutes those who have served it while we are still around. I have been privileged to have lived and served in several African countries, lectured in dozens and written and broadcast about the whole of Africa and its Diaspora.

Of course, my motivation was to serve Africa and serve the world of scholarship, rather than to seek recognition and awards. But when such recognition does come from my peers or my African compatriots or my colleagues in the academy and in the wider world of scholarship, it is always a humbling experience, deeply gratifying.

It was in 1957 that I entered the University of Manchester in England to start studying for my bachelor's degree. This year 2007 is the 50th anniversary of that start of my academic education as an undergraduate.

You are, therefore, honouring me on my Golden Jubilee from the year when I first entered a university as a student. 1957 was also the year when my future Nigerian wife was born. I was entering a university; Pauline was entering the world! On the wider stage of history was independent Ghana. Ghana also entered the world stage in 1957.

2007 is, therefore, a fitting celebration! I am very grateful to ECOWAS, to the African Communications Agency and to this International Media Summit of our beloved continent for honouring me in this manner.

God bless Africa and God bless us all. Amen.

Threats to Life and Limb

This newsflash has more to do with the older Alamin in my life (my nephew) than with the younger Al'Amin (my son). Earlier in May, Alamin senior stopped at a restaurant in Nairobi, to use the toilet. While he was getting ready to use the urinal, he suddenly saw a gun pointing at his temple. A voice commanded, in Kiswahili, "Mzee, complete your business, while we complete ours!" They started emptying his pockets.

He had just withdrawn the equivalent of several hundred dollars from a Nairobi ATM. When Alamin protested about being robbed, they roughed him up a bit. They gave him some bruises, and then left him alone. He was lucky.

Alamin's brother, Munir, later told me that Alamin's life was saved because he had money on him. Armed robbers in Kenya become more deadly when they are frustrated by drawing a blank!! Alamin himself was convinced that the robbers followed him from the ATM machine - and saw their chance when he entered a toilet.

We later also heard from our family friend, Jonah Isawa Elaigwu, in Nigeria. He was traveling in a car, between Abuja and Jos in Nigeria in May, when they were stopped by armed robbers in broad daylight. Jonah's car was bullet-riddled but he and his driver survived the event. The driver of one of the other cars was killed, and several passengers were hospitalized.

Unfortunately the crime-news in the United States is only marginally better. You have probably heard that the rate of violent crimes in the United States is once again going up and up! What on earth is happening to the human race? Indeed, school-crimes in the United States are escalating!

But threats to life and limb come not only from guns but also from germs; and not just from violence but also from virus. My youngest son, Harith, was hospitalized with pneumonia on the eve of my departure to South Africa to be honoured by President Thabo Mbeki. I nearly cancelled the trip, but was encouraged to proceed by the family. Pauline delayed her own trip to South Africa to be with Harith. But by the time Pauline got to South Africa, she was too late for the presidential honours. More about that later.

Many of you know by now I was hospitalized at the Wilson Memorial Hospital in Binghamton for a couple of days in early June 2007. I woke up on a Saturday morning with a swollen left leg which was extremely painful, red and tender. Pauline phoned my doctor, and I was then rushed to the Emergency at the hospital. At first we at home (and the doctors) were worried it was a blood clot which could have precipitated a stroke or a heart attack.

At the emergency center, I was subjected to a variety of tests. The doctors concluded that it was not a blood-clot. The doctors decided to keep me at the hospital for a night or two for

further observation.

It has now been concluded that my left leg had succumbed to cellulitis. For a healthy person, cellulites would not be too big a threat. But for a diabetic like myself, cellulitis could be dangerous to the extent of threatening the viability of a limb. I am told that cellulitis in a diabetic has sometimes resulted in amputation (Heavens forbid)!

But we seem to have caught the attack promptly. I was put on a regiment of antibiotic, and was finally released from the hospital. The pain went down considerably, but the swelling lasted a while longer. I cancelled my international trips for a while.

The member of the Binghamton family who spent the longest in the hospital was my mother-in-law, Mama Alice Uti (Pauline's mother). She was admitted to Binghamton General Hospital for a knee replacement. We thought she would be released in less than a week - but complications kept her in the hospital for several weeks. The complications included a temporary blood clot. However, Mama Alice is now back in our home - and as busy as ever with self-imposed domestic chores. She is a work-a-holic! God bless her!

Among the Companions of Oliver Tambo

Most countries have annual national honours and medals for their own heroic citizens, but only a few countries have annual honours and medals for heroic performance by non-citizens. Post-apartheid South Africa is among the latter. That is why I qualified for possible elevation to the Order of the Grand Companions of Oliver T ambo. In 2007 the new Oliver Tambo Companions included the former Secretary-General of the [British] Commonwealth of Nations, Sir Shirdath Surrendranath Ramphal . It was great for me to share the stage with Sonny Ramphal as we were decorated by President Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's Head of State. I had known Sonny Ramphal for many years.

Another innovation South Africa has enacted for its national honours is posthumous awards. Among the earliest to qualify as a Supreme Companion of Oliver Tambo is the most famous Indian of the twentieth century, Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi.

Post apartheid South Africa honoured him as one of the earliest fighters against racism in South Africa. Gandhi had lived in the Union of South Africa over 20 years, from 1893 to 1914.

Oliver Tambo, longest serving President of the African National Congress of South Africa
On our own day of being honoured in Pretoria in April 2007, we also attended a big celebratory luncheon hosted by President Thabo Mbeki.

I took advantage of the presidential luncheon to present to Thabo Mbeki my latest book, *A Tale of Two Africas: Nigeria and South Africa as Contrasting Visions*, (London: Adonis Abbey, 2006). President Mbeki and I held the book ostentatiously for the photographers to mark the occasion.

Subsequently, I enjoyed some forty-five minutes with the Head of State in his office, one-to-one. Our conversation particularly focused not only on civil rights but also on cultural rights in post-apartheid South Africa. I was particularly intrigued by South Africa's new language policy of eleven official languages. More about that later.

Ali Mazrui receiving the necklace of Grand Companion of Oliver Tambo from the Head of State of South Africa

In many of these events, I was greatly helped by my dear friend James N. Kariuki, assisted by Esther Githinji. These are Kenyans living in South Africa, serving as my absolute pillars of strength every time I go to South Africa.

Ali Mazrui being congratulated by President Thabo Mbeki and applauded by Master of Ceremony

This time they had additional responsibilities when Pauline, my wife, joined me (but too late for the Presidential events). James and Esther were terrific. They were joined by my Protocol Officer from Kenya, Michael Hindzano Ngonyo, who also facilitated my diverse engagements in spite of the relative unfamiliarity of South Africa for Michael.

James Kariuki also negotiated my main public lecture in South Africa on this April trip, 2007. I lectured at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). It was my first lecture as Grand Companion of Oliver Tambo. The audience was large and very receptive. I was subsequently the guest of honour at a dinner hosted by both the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor of Wits.

My lecture at Wits included my historical relations with liberal South African Universities (formerly white) and with the changing national authorities of Africa. Let me quote those autobiographical parts of my Wits lecture of April 2007:

Let me begin with an apology and a celebration in my own relationship with the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). In some deep seated sense, I have felt mildly estranged from this particular seat of learning in South Africa.

On the positive side I have always known that Wits and the University of Cape Town were the two most liberal white institutions during the dark years of apartheid. The University of Cape Town invited me to lecture there as far back as the late 1960s. Cape Town indicated that if I came to South Africa, I would also have the option of lecturing at Wits.

I calmly gave the University of Cape Town three conditions about my coming to apartheid South Africa - that I should be able to say what I wanted, that I should be able to address racially mixed audiences, and that I should be able to come with my wife (my first wife was English).

Cape Town answered that they could risk the condition of my being able to say what I wanted. They could guarantee my addressing racially mixed audiences. However, my coming with my wife would make me liable to prosecution under the Immorality and Mixed Marriages laws. So I never came to either Cape Town or Wits during the dark years of apartheid. When I finally came to South Africa in the more optimistic years of 1990s, what could possibly have happened to estrange me from Wits?

That I should lecture at Wits on issues of African leadership is an act of exorcism.

I have a dark memory of Wits on the specific issue of access to African leadership.

I happened to be in South Africa as a guest of this University in the early 1990s when Nelson Mandela was visiting this campus for the first time since he was released from prison. Since both Mandela and myself were guests of Wits, I asked the white man who had been assigned to me the following question:

"Is there any chance of my being introduced to Nelson

Mandela if I attended the Wits reception in his honour? My white host replied bluntly,

"Not the slightest chance! You are welcome to come to the reception but you will not be introduced to him.

I was of course offended as well as puzzled. It was clear that Wits was trying to build bridges with the emerging Black power in South Africa as symbolized by Nelson Mandela.

Wits did not have the remotest idea of how to relate to Black people from other walks of life - such as the international world of Black scholars.

Even as far back as the early 1990s, I was probably the most senior non-south African scholar in the country at the time. It was the chance of a lifetime for the most senior Black political leader, Nelson Mandela, to meet the most senior African scholar to visit South Africa since Mandela's own liberation. But the encounter was denied.

I was faced by the following options. I could feel so insulted that I would catch the first flight out of South Africa back to my more receptive students and fellow scholars in the United States.

Alternatively, I could keep my remaining engagements in South Africa and simply boycott the Wits reception in honour of Nelson Mandela.

Or I could attend the Mandela reception, swallow my pride, and wait to complain another day. I was not introduced to Mr. Mandela.

Mat Wits and I did not know at the time what Nelson Mandela himself told me eighteen months later when we met in Senegal at a Summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity. When in the introduction in Dakar in 1992, the name Mazrui was mentioned to Mandela, Mandela exclaimed: "Oh yes, Professor! I read some of your works in prison. I later lived to enjoy the very great privilege and singular honour not only of meeting Mandela one more time, but also of awarding him his literary prize when his prison book was recognized among the 100 great African books of the twentieth century. With great humility, I awarded Mandela the prize in Cape Town at the ceremony of the 100 Great African books of the last one hundred years.

I hope one day a Wits graduate student would do his or her research for the term paper on the topic, "When Wits decided that Ali Mazrui should not meet Nelson Mandela."

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The student may decide to conclude with the decision by Thabo Mbeki to elevate Mazrui to the Order of Grand Companions of Oliver Tambo a few years later.

But there are mitigating factors in sympathy with Wits' behavior in the early 1990s. Black liberation was too new, and the Wits white elite, while established, were not yet confident about how to handle that liberation.

Nelson Mandela was a figure larger than life, and the Wits white establishment did not want to presume introducing Mandela to a visiting African scholar, about whom Wits might not have known enough. After all, Mazrui's BBC/PBS television series, *THE AFRICANS: A TRIPLE HERITAGE* had been banned in apartheid South Africa, though it had been shown in Botswana and Zimbabwe.

But the greatest defense for the white establishment of Wits in the early 1990s was that it had been ahead of most other whites in apartheid South Africa in seeking accommodation with Black people. They just did not know yet how to respect non-South African Blacks. The University has made great progress since then.

The Wider Context of Southern Africa

In Southern Africa, we have seen Nelson Mandela as a major cause of Pan Africanism in others, but not himself a first-rank Pan Africanist. On the other hand, while Nelson Mandela is Southern Africa's first political globalist, Thabo Mbeki is Southern Africa's first global Pan Africanist. More than other Southern African leaders, Thabo Mbeki has identified not just with fellow Africans on the African continent, but also with people of African ancestry scattered from Haiti to Harlem and onwards to Harar. Thabo Mbeki is GLOBAL AFRICA INCARNATE.

But there is another paradox about Thabo Mbeki which is more widely accepted among his

critics in South Africa. Is Thabo Mbeki a man of the world but not necessarily a man of the people? The argument is that, firstly, Mr. Mbeki is too much of a technocrat to qualify as a man of the people. Secondly, although Mbeki is not as much of a globalist in ideological orientation as Nelson Mandela, Mbeki is even more worldly-wise than Mandela. While Mandela in prison was reflecting on the human condition, Thabo Mbeki in exile was learning the ropes of world affairs. It is arguable that Thabo Mbeki knows more about the world than does the average President of the United States. Does this make Mbeki in touch with the world but not necessarily in touch with the people? The debate continues. With regard to Muammar Qaddafi, his paradox is that he is probably the first Arab leader who has evolved into more of a Pan-Africanist than Pan Arabist. He has often been disenchanted with his Arab brothers, and has sought fulfillment in Africa instead. I have spent hours with Muammar Qaddafi. He would recommend as a fundamental educational policy that each African be at least tri-lingual - competence in an African indigenous language, combined with competence in Arabic and in a European language.

Ali Mazrui and his friend, Abdalla Bujra (right) were received by the Libyan Leader Muammar Ghadafl at State House, Tripoli, Libya

As for Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, he was brilliant for the political liberation of his country, but a disastrous fighter for economic liberation. If he had handled land distribution well, he would have been celebrated by history as both a political liberator and an economic emancipator. But it was not to be.

Ali Mazrui about to present a book [The Mazruiana Collection] to President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe

I have watched Mugabe's transition from my 1982 interview of him to our conversation in his new economic defiance. Two years after Zimbabwe's independence, I complained to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe (as his title then was) that I had seen more racism in one week in Harare (then Salisbury) than I normally witnessed in a year in the United States, or than I had witnessed in Kenya in the preceding decade. I had witnessed the racism in how whites treated blacks in restaurants, hotels, in offices and in the streets. I asked Prime Minister Mugabe: "Why do you permit such racism in post-colonial Zimbabwe?"

Mugabe answered that there were three ways of reforming people. One was by persuasion; second, was by setting them a positive example; and only in the last resort were coercion and threats to be used.

When I met him in this new millennium, I asked him if he had tried persuasion and setting a good example before resorting to coercion and threats regarding the white farmers of Zimbabwe.

Of course, Mr. Mugabe was now President rather than Prime Minister. He accused me of taking it too much for granted that the initiative to invade white farms was taken by him. He emphasized that the initiative was taken by veterans of the liberation struggle who had concluded that political liberation without fundamental land-reform in a country like Zimbabwe was a contradiction in terms. In the face of the veteran's invasion of white farms, Mugabe was faced with an agonizing choice. He could send the police to protect the white farms. The police would have been humiliated in the confrontation. He could send the army of Zimbabwe. The army could have mutinied and defied the Head of State on such orders. Or the army could have obeyed the Head of State - and the confrontation resulted in a blood bath. President Mugabe decided to support the goals of the liberation veterans [and

rejm] even if Mugabe disagreed with their unorthodox methods [invading the white farms].

I still believed the Zimbabwe Head of State had other options, including a combination of carrots as well as sticks in his confrontations with both the liberation veterans and the white farmers. President Mugabe and I agreed to disagree.

What should South Africa do today in the face of even further deterioration of the situation in Zimbabwe? Of course, a military attempt at "regime change" is totally unacceptable. Iraq has taught us what unforeseen consequences can occur in a militarily induced regime change.

But South Africa has less belligerent options of inducing change in Zimbabwe - including economic sanctions of trade and investment, sanctions of strict visa requirements for the Zimbabwe elite into South Africa, and sanctions of bank accounts and capital flow between Zimbabwe and South Africa.

But I would also recommend special carrots for President Mugabe himself. Mugabe is in his eighties and should be pressured not only with sanctions but also with offers of carrots if he agreed to retire soon. The carrots could include being honoured as a Pan-African elder statesman after retirement. A beautiful beach home for Robert Mugabe in retirement in Cape Town might also be considered by all concerned.

Above all, we should remember that although the crisis in Zimbabwe is among the most widely publicized of all of Africa's calamities, Zimbabwe's problems are relatively benign as compared with the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo even after elections, or the crisis of Darfur, or the crisis in Northern Uganda. Quite frankly, the Zimbabwe crisis is also benign as currently compared with Nigeria, let alone Somalia. In Zimbabwe there is no large-scale blood-letting as in Somalia, Darfur or Ethiopia. Nor is there in Zimbabwe large-scale detentions without trials as there is in Guantanamo Bay under the United States Gulag.

However, while in places like Somalia, Nigeria and the Congo, the crises are caused by immense sociological and structural forces, in Zimbabwe and the United States the crisis is one of leadership. A change in the policies of the current leadership, or a change in the actual regime in Zimbabwe or the United States, could transform the prospects for peace and reconciliation.

The Other Apartheid System

While South Africa has been dismantling its structures of discrimination and oppression since the middle of the 1990s, the world's attention has been increasingly though belatedly drawn towards that other monumental example of ethnic cleansing and oppression - Israel's occupation of the Palestinians. The comparison between South Africa's apartheid system while it lasted, and Israel's treatment of Palestinians today, has begun to enter the mainstream of international discourse.

Particularly dramatic is Jimmy Carter's recent book, *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid*. The former President of the United States is not suggesting that the Jewish state itself is internally comparable to the highly institutionalized racial order of apartheid South Africa. It was Israel's ruthless treatment of the Palestinians in the occupied lands which can bear more than metaphorical comparison with South Africa as it was before the 1990s. Indeed, there are aspects of Israeli treatment of Palestinians which are worse than anything perpetrated by white South Africans when they were in the full glare of global scrutiny.

p A ST r N PEACE NOT
APARTH E 1 D
J liVIMY CARTER

I wonder how often white South Africans could lock up ten thousand Blacks without a murmur from the international community? Israel has locked up those kinds of numbers of Arabs year in, year out, without a mention in the world press. Jimmy Carter's book draws attention to Israel's equivalent of "Group Areas Act". These are ethnically segregated areas in the occupied territories, complete with separate roads and pathways which are reserved only for Jews in the West Bank and the old Gaza.

Jimmy Carter also discusses the conspiracy of silence in the United States under which no mainstream political figures ever criticize Israel. At U.S. universities faculty criticism of Israel could mean tenure termination (loss of long term confirmation of appointment) or academic ostracism.

In this strange country called the United States it is much, much safer to criticize the President of the United States than to fault almost any Prime Minister of Israel. Denouncing Uncle Sam is fair game, but denouncing the state of Israel can be the equivalent of playing the Russian roulette. I have known academic colleagues who have paid heavily in their careers for daring to be sympathetic towards the Palestinians.

In my own case, I have paid in less disastrous though nevertheless costly ways. I became less eligible for invitations to some of America's most prestigious schools. My openly anti-Zionist views have closed some attractive doors in the American academy, though fortunately not all attractive opportunities.

I first went fully public with my anti-Zionist views when I wrote a paper entitled, "Israel and Idi Amin's Uganda as Racially Purist States." The paper was for presentation at a world conference of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) in the 1970s, when the memory of Idi Amin's expulsion of South Asian Ugandans from Uganda was still very fresh. I caused consternation within the Executive Committee of the International Political Science Association. How could they stop me delivering the paper? For one thing, I was a Vice President of the International Political Science Association. For another, I had been invited by the Association itself to organize a panel on a political theme of my own choice linked to Africa's experience. So the leaders of the Association tried to persuade me to withdraw my paper voluntarily. When I declined, they re-located my panel to one of the least accessible rooms at the conference. The relocation succeeded in cutting down the audience drastically - although one Member of the Israeli

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Knesset made it a point to attend the session, and to challenge my paper. Unfortunately, I do not remember today who that member of the Israeli Parliament was.

In retrospect, I now realize how particularly appropriate my comparison was between Idi Amin's Uganda in 1972 and ethnic cleansing in Palestine in 1947-48. Idi Amin threw out of Uganda an estimated 120 thousand South Asians in 1972. Israelis under the direct instigation of their leader Ben Gurion, and his immediate associates, succeeded in expelling three quarters of a million Palestinians, especially in 1948. The Israelis torched and deliberately burnt whole Palestinian villages - creating much more terror among these poor Arab farmers than anything to which the South Asians were subjected by Idi Amin in 1972. When you get a chance, consult the reports of such liberal Jews as Noam Chomsky. On ethnic cleansing and the founding of Israel, consult especially Ilan Pappé's book, *The Ethnic*

Cleansing of Palestine.

Over time my ideas about Israel evolved into a full-blown comparison with apartheid South Africa. In my 1990 book, *Cultural Forces in World Politics*, I included a Chapter on "Zionism and Apartheid". I compared them as ideologies of territorial separation and segregation of communities. An American publisher accepted my book, *Cultural Forces in World Politics*, provided I dropped the Chapter on "Zionism and Apartheid" and another chapter which compared the first Palestinian Intifadah with the Chinese Youth revolt in Tiananmen Square in 1989.

In exasperation I was on the verge of capitulating to this censorship when I decided to publish the book in Britain instead. James Currey Publishers in Oxford opened its doors and rescued me from capitulation to pro-Zionist censorship. Heinemann Educational Publishers in New Hampshire subsequently bought out the American edition. *Cultural Forces in World Politics* is still in print, and is widely used in classes in the United States.

Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington cites my book prominently in his own book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1996.

Huntington acknowledged my sensitivity to the political relevance of cultural forces, but he did not necessarily share my perspectives on the Arab-Israeli conflict. On the other hand, Jimmy Carter's wider view of the world may be more different from mine, but his views on the Middle East have now converged with mine.

I was never happy with Jimmy Carter's achievement at Camp David in reconciling with Anwar Al Sadat and Menachem Begin in 1978. The Camp David Accords constituted bribing Egypt out of any future military confrontation with Israel. With Egypt out of the military equation, the Arab side in the Arab-Israeli conflict was disastrously enfeebled. Israel's sense of impunity escalated from then on. The Israelis could do anything to the Palestinians without risking a major inter-state war with the neighboring Arab states.

The one criticism I have about Jimmy Carter's book on Palestine is that it does not adequately acknowledge Jimmy Carter's own inadvertent role in creating apartheid-like conditions in the West Bank and the Gaza strip. Carter won the Nobel Prize for Peace mainly because of the Camp David Accords. But it was precisely those accords which over time gave Israelis a disproportionate sense of impunity to bully, abuse and oppress Palestinians without risking any large-scale war. Jimmy Carter effectively neutralized Egypt - and thereby disproportionately empowered Israel as an occupying colonial force.

One mitigating factor for Carter is that the Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin did not keep his side of the bargain within the umbrella of the Camp David Accords. Contrary to the agreements, Begin made no special effort to stop any new settlements in the West Bank, let alone dismantle older settlements.

On balance I still think Jimmy Carter's book, *Palestine Peace Not Apartheid*, is a truly major contribution towards breaking the conspiracy of silence in the United States about Israeli atrocities. Carter's book does not quite make up for the damage done by the Camp David Accords to the Arab cause, but Carter's book is a partial mitigation. I therefore felt comfortable to send Jimmy Carter the following letter of congratulations dated January 16, 2007: Dear President Carter:

I serve on the Board of the Delta Prize for Global Understanding at the University of Georgia. A few years ago we were delighted to award you, Mrs. Carter and the Carter Center the Delta Prize.

Your new book, PALESTINE: PEACE NOT APARTHEID has made me doubly proud that we awarded the Carters and the Center that distinguished prize. We have always known that you were a man of peace. We are now doubly sure that you are also a man of enormous political courage, if I may say so.

We are indeed proud of your contributions to global understanding, of which your latest book is a particularly remarkable component.

Yours sincerely,

Ali A. Mazrui, D.Phil. (Oxon), C.B.S.

Director

Institute of Global Cultural Studies

AAM/h

Enclosure

A Chancellor in Circulation

When President Mwai Kibaki appointed me Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (Thika and Nairobi), I had no idea how many of my old dreams would be reawakened in me. One dream was the establishment of a university at the Coast of Kenya and preferably in my home town of Mombasa. I started raising the issue again with the Kenya Government and in the public media, as a University Chancellor! Until 2006 Kenya had six public universities - and not a single one was based at the Coast.

A related dream was the elevation of the Mombasa Polytechnic to university status. This institution was once called the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education providing technical education for students from Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Uganda and British Somaliland. All the students were at the time intended to be Muslim. On the other hand, all the instructors were Europeans, often hired directly from Britain.

The technical institute was funded by the colonial authorities in those five East African countries, by the Colonial Office in London, by His Highness the Aga Khan, and by local Muslim communities.

When Kenya became independent the technical institution ceased to be denominational and became totally secular for any qualified Kenyans. It was renamed the Mombasa Polytechnic. But it still fell short of university status. It was not until 2006 that the Kenya Government finally took the step of turning the Mombasa Polytechnic into a degree-granting institution in the making. To my utter delight the Mombasa Polytechnic became a constituent part of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, of which I continue to be Chancellor.

What has made this dream-fulfillment particularly gratifying for me is that I was present as a junior clerk when the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education [MIOME] opened for the first time ever in 1950. MIOME also happened to be my first regular job. From junior clerk I was later promoted to the job of boarding supervisor in charge of Halls of Residence. In 1955 I was awarded a Kenya government scholarship to enable me to study in Great Britain. MIOME gave me a great send off.

More than fifty years later, to my utter surprise, I find myself Chancellor of a technological university of which the Mombasa Polytechnic (formerly MIOME) is a constituent part. The Lord does indeed operate in mysterious ways. Let us praise him.

Amen !

Another long standing dream of mine from the mid- 1970s to 2002 was to be able to give

public lectures in Kenya, or be interviewed by both the electronic and print media about political issues in the country, without interference by either the local or national authorities. I have re-acquired these freedoms since Mwai Kibaki came to power in 2002 and created a more transparent Kenya.

Even my television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, (BBC/PBS), which had effectively been banned on Kenya television since it was first broadcast in Britain, the United States, Nigeria and Zimbabwe in 1986, was at last shown to Kenyan television audiences under the new political dispensation of Mwai Kibaki.

My fourth dream was in terms of family. To the credit of the previous regime of President Daniel arap Moi, they never interfered with my access to my family in Mombasa - in spite of the regime's political disapproval of me. My Kenya passport was renewed routinely, often speedily. I was only very rarely harassed when visiting Kenya and very mildly at that. But since I had no official or professional appointment in Kenya, my visits to the family were approximately once every other year. What has happened since I became a University Chancellor in Kenya has been at least two visits to Kenya every year on official business, with time to visit members of my family in Mombasa and Nairobi, as well as being accessible to the Kenya public.

A more recent dream was to help Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology [JKUAT] be better known around the world. It is after all a young university still trying to establish itself in the wider world of scholarship. In our very different ways Vice-Chancellor, Professor Nick Wanjohi, and I have been engaged in raising the international profile of JKUAT. Professor Wanjohi has been cultivating relations between JKUAT and other institutions of technology and agriculture. One of Dr.

Wanjohi's most recent efforts has been to cultivate even my own State University of New York at Binghamton.

The Vice-Chancellor visited Binghamton in the Spring of 2007, met with the Provost and with relevant Deans of Engineering. He also had sessions with Kenyan students at Binghamton who were pursuing degrees of relevance for JKUAT. My wife Pauline and I were delighted to host a kind of Kenya evening for Vice-Chancellor Wanjohi for him to meet with at least part of the Kenyan community in Binghamton. Chancellor Mazrui with his Vice Chancellor Professor Nick Wanjohi of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology at a graduation ceremony

It just so happens that my few years as Chancellor JKUAT have coincided with some of my own high profile awards and honours at which it was repeatedly noted that I was Chancellor of JKUAT, as well as an international scholar. Since I have been JKUAT Chancellor, I have received several honorary doctorates at other universities in Africa and elsewhere. President Mwai Kibaki in Kenya has elevated me to the National Order of the Burning Spear. President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa has elevated me to the International Order of the Grand Companions of Oliver Tambo. The Economic Commission of West African States [ECOWAS] and the Pan-African Communication Agency conferred upon me the Living Legend Award in Abuja, Nigeria, in February 2007. The Commonwealth Foundation in London, in association with the Commonwealth Secretary-General invited me to give the 2007 Commonwealth Lecture, which I delivered at the London School of Economics, chaired by the Secretary-General on May 15, 2007.

Earlier in 2007 I was a guest of the Royal African Society in London and lectured partly under their auspices at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and at the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) London. All these were high profile events which, I hope, contributed to the increasing visibility of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), as well as to my own professional progress.

It is partly because of these reciprocal considerations that Michael Hindzano Ngonyo, my Protocol Officer at Jomo Kenyatta University, has now begun to accompany me on some of these high profile trips as a representative of JKUAT and serving on the trip as this Chancellor's Assistant and Protocol Officer.

But my most important role at JKUAT continues to be the annual award of degrees. In an open field on the main campus of JKUAT every year I confer on many dozens of student's relevant diplomas, bachelors' degrees, masters, doctorates and sometimes honorary doctorates. Assisted by the Vice Chancellor, the Chancellor drafts his annual address to the university community and delivers it. The Chairman of Council congratulates the graduates. And Kenya acquires a few hundred more skilled personnel for the job market.

In addition to being briefed by JKUAT staff, I am also updated about events in Kenya on every trip by my friends William Mayaka and his wife Alice, and by Paul Amina, as well as by my relatives Ghalib Tamim, Munir Mazrui and others. When I am back in Binghamton I am also updated about Eastern Africa as a whole by my colleagues Seifudein Adem and Patrick Dikirr. God bless them all.

In return I publish a regular column in The Standard, Kenya's oldest English language newspaper. James Kariuki edits my newspaper articles for both Kenya and South Africa. Michael Ngonyo is also my press attach in East Africa.

A Family in Transition

Pauline fulfilled her own dream of taking Little Ali (our grandson) to Africa for the first time. Little Ali bears my own full name. Currently six years old, he is the new version of Ali Al 'Amin Mazrui! And in 2006 he set foot on the soil of his ancestors in far away Kenya. Pauline also took with her our own two sons (Farid and Harith). Pauline's family group was joined by two teachers of our children from a Vestal School, Jane and Thilaka. The ladies went to Kenya ahead of me, determined to play real tourists - enjoying the sight of elephants and lions, flamingos and giraffes, the sight of Mt. Kenya and Mt. Kilimanjaro. They also listened to Maasai music and dance rhythms in the Rift Valley and listened to the Mosque maezzin calling believers to prayer in Lamu at the Kenya Coast. Sometimes they joined forces with Ousseina Alidou and Alamin M. Mazrui, who were on research leave in Kenya.

Both before and after my arrival in Kenya, Pauline's group was greatly helped by my nephews Ghalib Tamim, Alamin M. Mazrui and their own extended families in Kenya. Michael Ngonyo and Peter Njiraini of Jomo Kenyatta University were also superb in helping me and my family.

Left to right: Harith (Mazrui's youngest son), Little Ali (Mazrui's grandson) and Farid (Mazrui's fourth son)

But there was one incident on a Mombasa beach which nearly turned catastrophic. Pauline, Harith, Ali, and two American teachers were walking on the beach in Mombasa. The teachers were from little Ali's campus pre-school school.

Almost out of the blue, three huge and snarling dogs ferociously charged for little Ali. The

fastest adult was Thilaka, one of Ali's teachers who jumped to intercept the dogs. The beasts went for her instead, tearing at her legs and thighs, and shredding her clothes!! It was a traumatic experience for everybody, all of them screaming their heads off.

Thilaka was hospitalized for at least two nights. She needed some stitches, as well as inoculation against rabies and against other dog transmitted diseases. There is consensus in Mombasa that had she not jumped in time, little Ali would have been mauled, if not killed, by those two beasts. I am not sure if the dogs were wild Alsatians or bull teniers. What was obvious to us was that such dogs could not possibly have been owned by regular Kenyan coastal people - least of all the Swahili people. Extended families with lots of children in Africa cannot risk having ferocious dogs at home. Muslims especially distrust dogs generally. My first wife, Molly had a hard time in Uganda in the 1960s convincing me to accept a dog in my home. But I agreed in exchange for her total renunciation of pork in all its forms!

Ironically, a few hours before those dogs threatened the life of my grandson in 2006, Mama Alice and I in Binghamton were tearfully watching the most dog-friendly movie of all time - Lassie Come Home. It was a movie which I had first seen when I was a child in Mombasa. In that original film, Elizabeth Taylor was ten years old - way back in 1943! But the main story was about a friendship between the dog, Lassie, and a little boy. The dog's loyalty to the boy was so unwavering that it brought tears both to my eyes and to Mama Alice's

Of course, the boy in the movie was more like Harith's age than little Ali's. But the irony struck me the next day when I learned of dogs who had threatened the life of my grandson. What a contrast from Lassie!

Of our three boys on the beach, the most traumatized was reportedly Harith, rather than little Ali. Harith lost it completely, screaming and sobbing uncontrollably. Little Ali's reaction calmed down faster. Ali dealt with the trauma by turning it into a story for all who wanted to listen.

We did involve the police in the case, and tried to involve the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi. Thilaika is entitled to damages of some kind. And Thilaika's hosts in Mombasa (i.e., the Mazrui family) are entitled to be refunded for Thilaika's hospitalization bill, which we paid.

The police have now traced the owner of the dogs. He was initially apologetic, but he has now become legally defensive. Should we try to get damages from him? Apparently, he can more than afford a reasonable settlement. [Incidentally, he is neither an Mswahili nor indigenous to the Kenya Coast. At the very minimum, he was careless with his hounds of the Baskervilles! Definitely, he has been irresponsible!]

After Thilaika was released from the hospital, she, Pauline and Jane (the second Vestal teacher) decided that their "tourist show must go on". They went to Lamu, Maasai Mara and lots of alternative beaches in Mombasa!! Poor Thilaika! First visit to Africa and attacked by dogs! I am a 74 year old African who has never been bitten by a dog!

Talk of wrong place, wrong time!

In Mombasa in recent times we have particularly missed my niece, Maymuna Mazrui; who had died a few months earlier. She was the oldest of all the children of my siblings - the first grandchild of my parents more than half a century earlier. Although she was my niece, the gap in age between us was narrow enough that we were often playmates when we were children.

After her mother Salma (my oldest sister) died, Maymuna became de facto my principal

hostess every time I visited Mombasa. She was aided by her own siblings, children, husband and my cousin Huda. We all loved Maymuna dearly. We shall always miss her.

Fortunately, Maymuna left behind splendid children and grandchildren of her own. Indeed, our own children - Farid and Harith - were essentially hosted in 2006 by Maymuna's grandchildren, with whom they played and swam for hours on end. Maymuna's oldest children Nabila and Muhammed (Badi) left their homes open to my children and to Pauline. As you know, Goretti Mugambwa returned to Binghamton University to complete her third degree. Her first two degrees were academic; her third degree is a professional one in social work. Once again Goretti graduated impressively.

Ironically, on the day of her graduation in Binghamton, New York, I was addressing hundreds of Rotarians in Goretti's country of birth, Uganda. With much regret I missed Goretti's graduation festivities in Binghamton.

Goretti lived in our home in Binghamton throughout her pursuit of three degrees. But she and her daughter, Maria, were very much more than mere house-guests. They were full members of the family. Indeed, Goretti was a particularly hard-working member of the family. In addition to her studies, and a job to earn money for her school fees, Goretti nevertheless found time to do more than her share of domestic chores. She was also a very caring additional mother to the three Mazrui boys in Binghamton - Farid, Harith and Little Ali. We shall miss Goretti dearly.

Ghalib Yusuf Tamim at long last completed his biography of my father, Sheikh Al-Amin Ali Mazrui. The biography was written in Kiswahili, and was at last launched at one of the popular restaurants in Nairobi. I was keynote speaker on a theme wider than my father's life. Other speakers included Willy Mutunga, a distinguished Kenya lawyer and human rights activist. Relatively small as Ghalib's book is, it is nevertheless the most comprehensive biography of my father which has so far been published. Western scholars have written more about my father's ideas and religious reforms than about his life as such.

It was wonderful that my third son Kim and his wife Kay decided to have a Kenyan holiday in 2006, focusing especially on the Kenya Coast. Kay is an American who had never been to Africa before. So the 2006 trip was Kay's stupendous introduction to both Africa and to her loving in-laws in Kenya.

Pauline's family has a history of producing twins. Pauline herself is one of twins, but her other twin passed away. Pauline's sister, Jane, has had identical boy-twins. Jane and her husband Garba decided to call the twins Peter and Paul. Peter and Paul spent most of the first half of 2007 with us in Binghamton. Pauline arranged for them to go to school, and they were great companions to Farid and Harith. They left with their Dad, Garba, towards the end of May to return to Jos, Nigeria. Although I was very fond of Paul and Peter, I could never tell them apart right up to the end! I thought they were truly identical, but my sons could distinguish them easily.

Great news about Harith, my youngest son. He has not only completed Middle School at Vestal; he has also heard from President George W. Bush! He has received the President's signed Education Award for Outstanding Academic Excellence, 2007. We are so proud of Harith. Next September Harith will transfer to High School.

Little Ali has graduated from Vestal Pre-School. Next September he will transfer to Vestal Hill Elementary School.

Farid has very successfully completed his first year of High School. The boys are making us proud. God bless!

Towards the Future

The year 2008 will mark my 75th year of life, God willing. My Associate Director at Binghamton has suggested that we should professionally celebrate it by at least matching my own record of three books in a single year which I had set in 1967 - my first year as a writer of books! I have many unpublished papers and lectures. We may be able to edit them and reshape them into at least three volumes. In this process of sorting out, editing and updating Seifudein and I are being assisted with dedication by Patrick Diki1T and Thomas Uthup at Binghamton. Prior research assistance had also come from Abdul S. Bemath, James Karioki, and Ruzima Sebuharara at Binghamton.

There are parallel projects of Mazrui papers being edited by three women - Etin Anwar (from Indonesia), Lindah Mhando (from Tanzania) and Goretti Mugambwa (from Uganda). The themes being edited by the women range from Mazrui on, "The Gender Divide in North South Relations" and Mazrui on, "Julius K. Nyerere and the Forces of Globalization".

The Mazrui papers being edited by Seifudein Adem and his team will include topics like, "The Politics of War and the Culture of Violence", "Euro-Jews and Afro-Arabs in History", "Relations between Africa and Asia" and multiple papers on Islam and on Pan-Africanism. The years 2006 and 2007 have been momentous years for me. I had multiple anniversaries - many of them only quietly remembered. It is one of the strange ironies of my life that the year I defended my doctoral thesis at Oxford University was also the year I became Dean of Social Sciences at Makerere University College in Uganda. The year was 1966.

The only year of my life when I published three books within twelve months was the year 1967. The year 2007 was therefore the fortieth anniversary of my Triple Publishing Crown! In 1967 I also had another chance to name a son after my father.

And so my second son Al 'Amin was born in Uganda.

But I am saving many of the truly special events of 2006 and 2007 for my Mazrui Newsletter No. 32 next year when I will be celebrating my 75 th birthday, God willing. I will have more stories to tell about such favorable African countries of mine as Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa, Ghana, Tanzania as well as ancestral Kenya.

The Third President of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa receiving Ali Mazrui in Dar es Salam
Let me share next year my exciting moments as a guest of the Royal

Commonwealth Society, the Royal African Society, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the World Bank before Paul Wolfowitz resigned. I will tell you about thirteen hundred Rotarians assembled in Kampala, and my encounter in Nigeria with some of the leading African broadcasters of this new millennium. I will also reflect once more on my multiple involvements in celebrating Ghana's Golden Jubilee.

If you and I are still around, let us be sure to reserve our own copy each of the Mazrui Newsletter to mark my 75th birthday! May God preserve us all! Amen! And God bless!

APPENDIX 1

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In my career, I am, ofcourse, indebted to dozens ofcolleagues, friends, relatives, and other personal andprofessional benefactors. But in this Newsletter I will only mention those colleagues who have helped me in the last twelve months in Administrative, Secretarial, and managerial roles:

1. Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York:

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Sam Max Sebina

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Muhammad Ddungu

For my mobility between SUNY-Binghamton and Cornell-Ithaca, I am particularly indebted to my colleagues Seifudein Adem, Patrick Dikirr, and their comfortable cars! Patrick, Seifudein and my wife Pauline have been the wheels of my existence in the State of New York!

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Pans of this Newsletter were edited and rewritten by James N. Karioki and Seifudein Adem. Other parts were edited by Michael Ngonyo Hindzano of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology and published in the university's own newsletter, AGRITECH NEWS.

For editing my new books in preparation for publication I am particularly indebted to Seifudein Adem, Abdul S. Bemath, Thomas Uthup, Ruzima Sebuharara, Etin Anwar, Patrick Dikirr, Shalahudin Kafrawi and Alamin M. Mazrui.

I am of course also greatly indebted to my immediate family and to my extended family across three continents. My gratitude also to my esteemed colleagues in the universities to which I am affiliated, to my students, and to my graduate assistants from semester to semester.

Newsletter 32, Spring 2008, From Obote to Obama - Stages Towards a 75th Anniversary

Spring 2008

MAZRUI NEWSLETTER No. 32

General Theme: From Obote to Obama: Stages
Towards a 75th Anniversary

Left to right above: Obama, Annan, Kibaki, Odinga

Left to right below: Lule, Obote, Mazrui, Kennedy, Mboya, (details inside front cover)

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Ali Mazrui in sunglasses disembarking from East African Airways at Entebbe Airport, Uganda, in 1972. Mazrui was arriving via Nairobi, Kenya, after a lecture tour in Australia.

FRONT COVER PHOTO DETAILS: (a) Barack Obama with U.S. flag pin on his lapel; (b) Kofi Annan applauding reconciliation between Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga, Nairobi, Kenya; (c) Y.K. Lule, Principal of Makerere College, A. Milton Obote, President of Uganda, and Ali Mazrui, Professor of Political Science at Makerere, Uganda, 1968; (d) John F. Kennedy and Kenya's Tom Mboya in Washington D.C., 1960. [Y.K. Lule later became President of Uganda in his own right after the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979.]

Ali Mazrui (seated left) and future president of Liberia Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Standing behind are, from left to right, Lord David Owen, Susan Rice, Charlayne Hunter-Gault, Andrew Young and Paul Simon at the National Summit on Africa. Washington, D.C., 2000.

Uganda President Idi Amin debating a point with Ali Mazrui in the presence of Makerere students and colleagues 1971.

Ali Mazrui, The Uganda Years (1963-1973)

Spring 2008

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 32

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme: From Obote to Obama:
Stages Towards A 75th Anniversary

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This Newsletter is partly a product of the Albert Schweitzer Chair of the Humanities, Binghamton University, State University of New York. The Newsletter is intended for colleagues, friends, relatives, and family of the Schweitzer Professor, Ali A. Mazrui.

A CAREER IS BORN ON THE NILE

Because Uganda lies astride that part of Lake Victoria which is the source of the Nile, and because my own professorial career began at Makerere College [later University] in Uganda, I have regarded my academic career as a child of the Nile. Uganda takes pride in being the genesis of the great river, and I, in turn, have reveled in my association with both Uganda and the Nile.

There are ethnic groups in Uganda who are ancestrally more closely associated with the Nile Valley. As a family of "tribes" Mazrui lecturing at Makerere College, Uganda these groups are called Nilotes. These groups include the Acholi, who were heavily represented in the Ugandan army in the 1960s, and the Langi, whose most illustrious son was Apollo Milton Obote. I arrived at Makerere College in June 1963 when Uganda had recently become independent. Milton Obote became Prime Minister and later became President. Subsequently I developed a complicated relationship with President Obote, combining both mutual admiration and mutual distrust. The Acholi and the Langi are ethnically closely related to the Luo of Kenya. The Luo constitute the second largest "tribe" of Kenya, after the Kikuyu. The most illustrious Luo family have been the Odingas - both Oginga Odinga (the father) and Raila Odinga (the son), brilliant politicians who aspired to Kenya's Presidency, but have not quite made it yet. The Kenyan Luo are mainly confined in Western Kenya, while the Langi and the Acholi are ancestrally in Northern Uganda. All their languages belong to the Chari-Nile branch of the Nilo-Saharan family.

While the Nilotes of Uganda did succeed in producing at least one successful Nilo President (Milton Obote), and the Nilotes of Kenya produced Oginga Odinga and Raila Odinga of presidential caliber, nobody could have predicted in the 1960s that there would one day be a Nilotic candidate for the presidency of the United States. The older Barack Obama left Kenya in 1959 to study in the United States, partly helped by a fellow Kenyan Nilote, Tom Mboya, the brilliant political leader who was at the time helping Kenyan students find their way to the United States to study.

Barack Obama Senior went to the University of Hawaii where he met a woman, a student

from Kansas, Ann Dunham, and married her in February 1961. The birth of their baby (Barack Obama Junior) later in 1961 almost coincided with Uganda's attainment of independence in 1962. Ugandan Nilotes were about to capture state power. Kenya's Nilotes (including Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga) were second only to Jomo Kenyatta in domestic political prominence and international renown. The United States' most historic Nilote was at the time only a baby. Of these five Nilotes (Mboya, Obote, Oginga Odinga, Raila Odinga, A. Milton Obote and Obama) the one who had the greatest impact on my life was Milton Obote. Committees for the appointment of full professors at Makerere in the 1960s included a representative of the Government. The Government was at the time headed by Milton Obote. In 1965 Makerere started considering me for a meteoric promotion from the status of

lecturer to the status of full professor without ever passing through the intermediate stages of Senior Lecturer and Associate Professor (known as Reader at the time). In reality it was a preposterous idea since I had been a lecturer for barely two years. The rational decision should have been that it was too early to make Ali Mazrui a full professor. But only the Government's representative was rational enough to vote against my meteoric promotion. However, in those days, the Government held a vote at the university but not a veto. In spite of the negative vote of Milton Obote's government I became a full professor at the age of 32, in less than two years since being appointed a lecturer, and a year before completing my doctoral degree [D. Phil.] at Oxford University. Such a meteoric promotion had never happened at Makerere University before, and has not happened since then.

Mazrui on first arrival in Mombasa with his English wife, Molly, in 1963, surrounded by Mazrui's male relatives.

Obote's government subsequently changed the system for professorial appointments at Makerere, giving the Government representative a veto, and not merely a vote. But my own professorship was already home and dry.

In subsequent years my relationship with President Milton Obote had its ups and downs. I was sometimes in such good books that I was invited to State House to have tea with the President. On other occasions I had highly publicized policy disagreements with the Head of State. He was constantly under pressure from my critics and adversaries to throw me out of Uganda (since my nationality was Kenyan). But he resisted those pressures except for one occasion when, in a speech in parliament, he expressed the opinion that it was time for me to go and teach elsewhere. But he made it an opinion rather than an order of expulsion. On the whole, President Obote made my Uganda years the most politically fascinating of my entire life. I would like to believe that I, in turn, made his first term as President (1966-1971) the most intellectually stimulating of his presidential years.

When Idi Amin overthrew him from power in January 1971, and Milton Obote went into exile in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, he actually wrote me long letters from exile. I was flattered, but also felt threatened. If any of those Obote letters had been intercepted by Idi Amin's regime, it could have been a sentence of death on me.

Fortunately, President Idi Amin knew me more as a public critic of Milton Obote when Obote was in power rather than as a private correspondent from exile. Nevertheless, Idi

Amin's Uganda became less and less safe for a person like me who tended to be outspoken on policy matters.

Eventually, Uganda as my professional Eden on the Nile was no longer safe for me. Kenya as the land of my birth, would not hire me as a professor because of my reputation as a political risk-taker. Indeed, when I called upon Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi to step down Mazrui with Vice-Chancellor Frank from power in 1992, Oginga Odinga (the father) came

Kalimuzo whose murder by Idi Amin personally and publically to my hotel to congratulate convinced Mazrui to leave Uganda in 1973 me on my courage. Since he was leader of the opposition, his public embrace of me was a mixed blessing. It was widely believed that President Daniel arap Moi was on the verge of ordering my detention.

Fortunately, I was allowed to proceed to the United States. A Nilotic leader of the opposition had embraced me in Nairobi - at about the time when a much younger Nilotic, Barack Obama, was completing his studies at Harvard Law School, magna cum laude.

The land of Milton Obote, Uganda, had become dangerous for me. The land of Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga and Raila Odinga was professionally unwelcoming for me. My best hope was the United States - where, another son of Kenyan father, and a fellow son of a Kenyan Muslim, was about to step onto the stage of American history. Barack Obama entered the gates of destiny.

IN THE SHADOW OF BARACK OBAMA

I was being interviewed on a phone-in radio programme in Kenya. An aggressive voice on the phone wanted to know why people like me migrated to the United States in quest of freedom when in fact Americans kept us out of power as effectively as did our own African governments.

It just so happened that the question was being asked at about the time Barack Obama had been elected to the United States Senate. I was therefore able to respond to the question as follows: "Does the questioner realize that the son of a Kenyan father has just been elected to the Senate of the United States? Barack Obama - whose father was a Luo student from Kenya - had just become only the third black Senator of the United States in one hundred years, and only the fifth black Senator of the United States in two hundred years of American history? The United States is paradoxically both a racist society and an open society."

That was before Barack Obama joined the race to become the Democratic Party's nominee for the presidency of the United States. In a newspaper interview, after he became a presidential candidate, I raised another compelling question: "Which country would be the first to elect a Luo president - Kenya or the United States?" Raila Odinga was a candidate for the Kenyan presidency, while Barack Obama was competing for the Democratic Party's nomination in the American presidential campaign.

Both Raila and Obama were ethnically Luo.

My question about comparative Luo presidential candidates became widely cited humorously in conversations and in the media. The newspapers which quoted my question ranged from THE STANDARD in Nairobi to THE GUARDIAN in London.

Raila Odinga did nearly beat Barack Obama to the presidency of his respective country. But Kenya was plunged into a contested presidential outcome, and Raila Odinga became Prime

Minister instead of President. The question was still open as to whether Barack Obama would become the world's first Head of State born of a Luo father from Kenya. At the time of my writing this newsletter Obama is still in the race for the White House.

In yet another newspaper interview in

Kenya I had described President Mwai Kibaki as an "intellectual" and Raila Odinga as "a brilliant tactician." Odinga's supporters thought I was saying Mwai Kibaki was more "intelligent" than

Raila Odinga - which was never my intention nor Barack Obama and Raila Odinga my belief. I was widely criticized for my in Kenya, 2006 comparison of Kibaki with Odinga - while my description of Raila Odinga as a "brilliant tactician" was widely cited in other newspapers elsewhere in Africa.

On the issue of comparing personalities I was eventually hoist with my own petard. While as presidential candidates I had compared Raila Odinga with Barack Obama, and as tacticians I had compared Raila Odinga with Mwai Kibaki, other writers decided to compare and contrast Barack Obama with Ali Mazrui! At a symposium, sponsored by Africana Studies and Research Centre of

Cornell University, to mark my 75th birthday, in the spring of 2008, no less than three papers compared Barack Obama with Ali A. Mazrui. The three separate and individually authored papers were by

Professor Sulayman Nyang of Howard University, Washington D.C., Professor Amadu Jacky Kaba of

Seton Hall University, New Jersey, and Professor Seifudein Adem of State University of New York at Binghamton, in close consultation with Ali Mazrui. The three papers were totally different from each other, but were all striking in the parallels they managed to discover in the lives of Barack Obama and Ali Mazrui.

Two of the papers made use of Ali Mazrui's concept of "Africa's triple heritage." In the words of Adem's paper, Obama and Ali Mazrui

... are both products of three civilizations (Africanity, Islam and Western culture), that they are both products of at least two ethnicities (AfroCaucasian Obama and Afro-Arab Mazrui), that they have both been educated in earlier years in Muslim institutions (Madrasas), and in subsequent years in some of the most outstanding educational Centres of the Western world (Columbia and Harvard for Obama and Columbia and Oxford for Mazrui).

The three papers presented at Cornell then traversed North-South differences and similarities in politics, culture and intellectual pursuits, including the two universities shared by Obama and Mazrui (Columbia in New York where they were both students) and the University of Chicago (where they were both briefly professors).

The question was also raised whether Ali Mazrui was his own Pastor Jeremiah Wright, in the opinion of the political Right in the United States. At different times of their lives both Mazrui and Reverend Wright had faced hostile questions at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. While Jeremiah Wright had been "lynched" on television for his denunciation of American foreign policy, Ali Mazrui had been included among the "101 most dangerous professors in America". (David Horowitz, *The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, Washington, DC, Regnery Publishing Inc. 2006). In the course of the year, the name of Barack Obama continued to come up not only in conversations but also in my classes at Binghamton University and at Cornell. In January 2008, when Obama was still struggling for fuller African American support, I found myself debating an African American

woman about Obama's credentials not for the Presidency, but as an African American. It was at a conference to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade by the U.S.

Congress in January 1808. The conference in January 2008 was at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The African American colleague complained bitterly that she did not want to have to tell her children one day that the first black President of the United States did not have African American parents.

In my response, I referred to white American patriots who regarded themselves as a special elite because they were reportedly descended from passengers on the Mayflower. I said I hoped there were no African Americans who regarded themselves as a special black elite because they were among the earliest survivors of the Middle Passage on the slave ships. While it was true that Barack Obama did not have African American parents, he was himself first generation African American.

Fortunately, Obama's credentials as a bona fide African American were more widely supported by African American voters as the Democratic Party primaries warmed up. Some of the tactics used by Hillary Clinton and her husband were interpreted as dangerously close to "playing the race card." As the

Clintons became more controversial among African Americans, Barack Obama gained greater legitimacy as an African American. The turn out of African Americans was unprecedented in primary elections. And the percentage of the black vote for Barack Obama in many states was also often record-breaking. My plea at the National Archives in January 2008 that Barack Obama be fully accepted as a first-generation African American had received more

support among black Americans than my wildest

Hillary and Bill Clinton expectations. It just remained to be seen how America as a whole was going to vote. Would the Democrats put forward an African American for the first time as the

party's candidate for President? And would the American electorate as a whole vote for him? The political world waited with a global sense of suspense.

THREE QUARTERS OF A CENTURY

1967 was the year when I published my first book, *Towards a Pax Africana*. It was also the year when I published my second book, *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship*. Finally, 1967 was also the year when I published my third book, *The Anglo-African Commonwealth*. In no other period since 1967 had I equaled that record of three books in a single year.

And so I decided to celebrate my 75th year of life by attempting to at least repeat my 1967 record of what an Oxford teacher of mine had called "Ali's triple crown." The repeat performance in 2008 needed planning, and some editorial help. The first offer of help came from Abdul Bemath of South Africa and Seifudein Adem, my Ethiopian colleague at our Institute of Global Cultural Studies at Binghamton. Abdul and Seifudein offered to edit some of my unpublished papers and lectures on the specific issues of violence and war. I helped them in the selection of the papers. The result was a book titled *The Politics of War and the Culture of Violence*, published by Africa World Press in Trenton, New Jersey, in time for my 75th birthday in February 2008.

My second book for 2008 had greater coherence, and put forward a specific thesis to be

argued in the book. The volume starts from the premise that Arabs and Jews began as one Abrahamic family of Semites. And then over the centuries they geographically diverged. The Jews moved more and more into the European shores of the Mediterranean, such as Spain, and gradually dispersed into much of the rest of Europe. The Arabs populated the African shores of the Mediterranean, and expanded southwards, spreading Islam and Arab culture into much of sub-Saharan Africa. Over many generations, Jews became more and more Europeanized - and were eventually transformed into the most influential minority group in the history of the Western world.

The Arabs in Africa not only converted more and more Muslims but created more native speakers of the Arabic language, and whole new Arab societies. Indeed, by the twentieth century, there were more Arabs on the African continent than in the rest of the Arab world added together. With the editorial help of Seifudein Adem, a new Mazruiana book was published titled *Euro-Jews and AfroArabs: The Great Semitic Divergence in World History*, published by University Press of America, Inc., in Lanham, Maryland, in time for my 75th birthday. For bibliographical guidance and documentation, in most of my new books, I am greatly indebted to Thomas Uthup, who now works for Alliance of Civilizations, a project of the United Nations Organization in New York City.

My third book for 2008 was co-authored and co-edited. Most of the chapters originated as papers presented at a conference we hosted at Binghamton University on the question, "Is globalization a dialogue or a clash of civilizations?" My co-authors in 2008 volume included some major thinkers of the twenty-first century, and the issues addressed ranged from Western hegemony to Islamic radicalism, and from nationalism and the world economy to the emerging forces of global culture. My co-editors were Patrick M. Dikirr, of Binghamton University, and Shalahudin Kafrawi, who has taught philosophy and religion at Moravian College in Pennsylvania.

This third co-authored book is entitled, *Globalization and Civilization: Are They Forces in Conflict?*, published by Global Scholarly Publications in New York. Out of the fifteen chapters in this volume, six were single-authored by me.

However, because this volume as a whole is not by Ali Mazrui on his own, the year 2008 has not yet caught up with 1967 when three books written by Mazrui alone were published in a single year. But there is still a chance that one or even two more Mazruiana books would see the light of day before 2008 comes to a close. There are such projects under preparation. Please wish us luck.

Apart from "the Triple Crown" publication project, my 75th birthday was also celebrated in partnership with the annual meeting of the New York African Studies Association (NYASA) held at Cornell University towards the end of March 2008. As we have indicated elsewhere, this celebratory symposium was hosted by Africana Studies and Research Centre at Cornell, and was co-sponsored by the Association of Muslim Social Scientists of North America (AMSS), the Ford Foundation, and the Dean of Harpur College at Binghamton University. Major academic organizers of the symposium were Mwalimu Abdul Nanji, of Cornell, and Seifudein Adem, of Binghamton University.

One unique touch was that the symposium at Cornell had for its keynote speaker one of my publishers - Kassahun Checole, proprietor and manager-in-chief of Africa World Press in New Jersey. Africa World Press has published nearly ten books either by me or about me. Kassahun Checole turned out to be a brilliant keynote speaker for my 75th birthday symposium.

Other major speakers at the symposium included N'Dri Assie-Lumumba, who discussed my philosophy of education; Mahmood Mamdani, who reminisced about my years at Makerere University in Uganda; Locksley Edmundson, who reflected on our friendship since the 1960s and lamented my “neglect of the Caribbean” in my writings; A.B. and Yvette Assensoh, who explored my approach to Pan-Africanism; Salah Hassan, who reflected on my role at Cornell; and Ayele Bekerie who discussed me as an educator. Mohammed Hassan Ali presided at some of the sessions.

Etin Anwar had been editing a volume of my writings on sex and gender. At the Cornell symposium she presented an interpretation of my views about male-female relations. Linda Mhando was independently editing my writings about the late Julius K. Nyerere and the Tanzania he had attempted to shape and mold. Linda's presentation at the Cornell symposium addressed my wider views about politics in East Africa. Thomas Uthup at Cornell applied Barack Obama's concept of the “Audacity of Hope” to my interpretation of the future of Islam. (Incidentally, Obama had borrowed the phrase “audacity of hope” from his controversial pastor, the Reverend Jeremiah Wright.)

Alamin M. Mazrui was scheduled to speak at Cornell about some of my ideas about the role of language and translation across cultures. But in his usual generous manner, Alamin withheld his paper in order to give more time to other panelists at the Cornell symposium. His paper may later be Ali and Alamin M. Mazrui published if the proceedings of the Cornell symposium result in a commemorative volume as planned by Seifudein Adem.

A more domestic celebration of my 75th birthday was organized by my wife, Pauline and our friend, Goretti Mugambwa, partly in our home in Vestal, New York, and partly at a local hotel in Binghamton. My three adult sons joined us - Jamal from Silver Springs, Maryland, Al'Amin from Berkeley, California, and Kim from Charlottesville, Virginia. Their mother, Molly Walker (my first wife) also drove in with her new husband, Jim Walker, from Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The banquet at a local hotel was attended by about one hundred and fifty guests, mainly from the state of New York, including my colleagues from the State University of New York at Binghamton and Cornell University in Ithaca. I was overwhelmed by the tributes paid to me in speeches and in poems, some of which were specially composed for the occasion. The poems were both in English and in Kiswahili. Absent poets included Muhammad Yusuf Tamim, who sent in his composition from Toronto, Canada. Mwalimu Abdul Nanji recited the Swahili poetry beautifully at the Binghamton banquet.

Jamal, Al'Amin and Kim spoke movingly, and sometimes hilariously, about their Dad. They had witty anecdotes to share with the banquet audience.

THE MUSE, THE MESSAGE AND THE MEDIA

As part of celebrating Nelson Mandela's 90th birthday, the Nelson Mandela Foundation in South Africa offered to interview a select number of African intellectuals, and then have the interviews published in South African newspapers. I was among the intellectuals chosen for the long distance telephone interviews for possible use on radio in South Africa as well as in newspapers. The questions I was asked ranged from my evaluation of Nelson Mandela to the future of democracy in Africa in the light of the large-scale post-election violence in

Kenya in 2007-2008.

With regard to Robert Mugabe I recommended that South Africa under Thabo Mbeki should use the carrot to tempt Mugabe to retire, and not limit itself merely to the stick, such as economic sanctions. The carrot could include a beautiful villa near the ocean in Cape Town, as part of Mugabe's retirement package. Unfortunately President Thabo Mbeki did not act fast enough to avert the post-election problems of Zimbabwe early in 2008.

The City Press in Johannesburg published my interview extensively, with a large photograph to go with the report.

Under a different arrangement worked out with my press attach in South Africa, Dr James Kariuki, The City Press has been publishing two Sunday articles of mine every month for a couple of years now.

Acting on my behalf James Kariuki has also worked out an arrangement with the Sunday Standard in Kenya to publish an article of mine almost every week - some of those articles jointly authored by Kariuki and myself.

A less regular effort which Kariuki has made on my behalf has been with The Monitor in Kampala, Uganda. We publish in the Uganda paper only in fits and starts. Nevertheless, I did manage to publish articles about the Kenya post-election crisis in the Press in South Africa, Uganda as well as Kenya early in 2008.

There were a lot of other requests from the media for me to comment on the Kenyan postelection crisis, including persistent requests from Al-Jazeera television both from the Persian/Arab Gulf headquarters and in their Washington studios. But partly because of scheduling problems some of these requests for interviews could not be fulfilled.

However, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and I were interviewed together on National Public Radio [PBS] about the violence in Kenya. Ngugi and I did not see eye to eye about the Kenya crisis but we did not actually clash on the air. It was a cool and civilized dialogue.

Voice of America has a television program targeted by satellite on Africa. I was interviewed on that program about both Barack Obama in the United States and the elections in Kenya. We discussed not only political violence in Nairobi and the Rift Valley but also the serious threat to Obama's life the closer he got to being elected President of the United States. Was Obama at risk of being assassinated? Apparently half the politically conscious population of the United States are genuinely worried that Barack Obama might be assassinated. The Lord preserve us from such a lunatic fringe! The Guardian newspaper in London also wanted to interview me about Obama, but in connection with an assassinated Kenyan leader with whom Obama was ethnically linked. The Kenyan leader was Tom Mboya who helped to organize in 1960 an airlift of students from Kenya who had scholarships offered by American colleges, but who had no transportation to take them to the United States to avail themselves of those scholarships. With the help of Senator John F. Kennedy (running to become U.S. President) and other American benefactors, Tom Mboya succeeded in arranging the transportation of multiple Kenyan students. The Guardian of London in 2008 believed that among those students whom Mboya and J. F. Kennedy helped was Barack Obama's father. The young Kenyan in 1959 was on his way towards the University of Hawaii where he subsequently met a young woman from Kansas and married her. Their child was destined to become almost half a century later a candidate for President of the United States.

Barack Obama (the son) also believed until 2008 that John F. Kennedy had played a part in facilitating his Dad's travel to the United States to study in Hawaii. But in the course of the

primary presidential debates in 2008 this link between Obama's Dad and John F. Kennedy was corrected as false. The older Obama might have been helped by Tom Mboya in 1959, but that was a year before John F. Kennedy got involved in Tom Mboya's project of the student's airlift.

Those of us who were worried about the younger Barack Obama's vulnerability could not but reflect that both John F. Kennedy in 1963 and Tom Mboya in 1969 were assassinated before the end of that decade of the Kenyan airlift. Fortunately the United States had accorded Barack Obama the same level of security protection as former First Lady Hillary Clinton. They

J.F. Kennedy and Tom Mboya were both exceptionally vulnerable and exceptionally protected.

In 2008 the British Broadcasting Corporation (the BBC) decided to do a documentary to mark the 60th anniversary of their distinguished annual radio lectures, the Reith Lectures. From 1948 the BBC started commissioning six lectures every year for broadcasting on both their world service and their domestic program. One of the first Reith Lecturers was Lord Bertrand Russell, the very distinguished British philosopher of the twentieth century. The Lectures themselves were named after Lord Reith, the Founder Director-General of the BBC.

In 1978 the BBC invited me to be their Reith Lecturer for the following year (1979). They gave me that notice of a year, plus a substantial research grant, to prepare myself. With that travel grant I traveled to different parts of Africa, accompanied by my BBC producer.

Among the Heads of State I interviewed for the Reith Lectures was President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Leopold Senghor of Senegal.

My most controversial recommendation in my Reith Lectures concerned nuclear proliferation. Partly because apartheid South Africa was probably already a nuclear power in 1979, I recommended on radio the pursuit of a Black military nuclear capability. I also believed at the time that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by countries not trusted by the Big Powers (such as a nuclear Nigeria or a nuclear Libya) would cause consternation in capitals of the Big Powers. Such consternation about the dangers of nuclear proliferation could motivate a desperate quest for a universal nuclear disarmament. I argued that a caste-system of nuclear Brahmins endowed with weapons, and nuclear untouchables denied of such weapons was fundamentally unstable, and would one day become dangerously untenable. In 2008 the BBC tracked me

down again to enquire if I would participate in their documentary to mark the 60th anniversary of the Reith Lectures. The BBC seemed particularly

Left to right seated: Sonia Gandhi, Kenneth Kaunda and Ali A. Mazrui (New Delhi India)

anxious to return to my views about nuclear proliferation in this era of the rhetoric of weapons of mass destruction. I agreed to participate when the time came.

CELEBRATING EVENTS, HONOURING LEGENDS

Twin historic anniversaries did preoccupy me during 2007 - the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence and the 200th anniversary of the formal ending of the slave trade following its abolition by the British Parliament in 1807. In Mazrui Newsletter No. 31 last year we did report on some of those celebratory events and my participation in them.

However, not many people realize that while the British Parliament legislated against the slave trade in 1807, the United States Congress did not follow suit until the following year. From an American point of view, the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade was therefore not 2007 but 2008.

The National Archives in Washington, D.C. co-sponsored and co-hosted with Howard University the first major celebration of the Congressional Act abolishing the slave trade in 1808. Professor Joseph Harris of Howard was a truly dedicated coordinator of the event at the National Archives.

In my own presentation at the Archives in January 2008 I once again posed the question whether the Abolitionist Movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was in fact an earlier war on terror. Although the word "terrorism" did not yet exist two centuries ago, the actual experience of "terror" was omnipresent in the different stages from the slave-raid in Africa to enslaved life on the plantation somewhere in the Americas. There was the terror of being captured, of being marched for a while overland to Africa's Atlantic shores, the terror of waiting in dungeons in the slave fort of Ghana or Senegal, then the terror of the middle-passage in the form of slave-laden ships across the Atlantic, the terror of being marketed, and the prolonged slave labour on a plantation in perpetuity.

If the entire slave-system was a regiment of terror writ-large, the abolitionist movement was indeed a kind of war against terror, seeking to end such a prolonged victimization of the innocent. Primary abolitionists were Africans themselves within Africa, trying to abort the evil transactions which carried away so many African captives across the seas. These primary African abolitionists included Affonso of Congo who tried to sabotage the slave trade in the eighteenth century. There was also Queen Nzinga Nbande of Matamba in 17th century Angola who tried to mobilize popular African resistance to the trade. King Agaja Trudo of Dahomey was another militant primary abolitionist.

Slave rebellions were not necessarily abolitionist if the primary purpose was just to free the particular captives rather than to end the system as a whole. A slave revolution, on the other hand, can be abolitionist if the aim is to free all slaves and terminate the trade. In that regard, the Haitian revolution of 1804 may therefore be regarded as abolitionist in intention and not merely a rebellion. While Queen Nzinga Nbande and Affonso of Congo were primary abolitionists of the African continent, Toussaint L'Overture of Haiti was a primary abolitionist of the African Diaspora. Also a primary abolitionist of the Diaspora was Frederick Douglass of the United States later in the nineteenth century. Secondary abolitionists are drawn from the master race. John Brown of the United States and William Wilberforce in Britain were, in that sense, dedicated secondary abolitionists. In the case of Wilberforce, he illustrated how a secondary abolitionist from the master race can have a greater impact than multiple primary abolitionists struggling to resist in Africa.

I took with me the theme of abolitionism as a war on terror from the event in Washington, DC in

January 2008 to another celebratory event in Aberdeen, Scotland, in February 2008. In reality the Aberdeen event was a belated salute to the British ban on the slave trade in 1807 rather than a celebration of the American ban the following year. But in the discussions nobody cared much about which of the two legislatures (Westminster or Capitol Hill) outlawed the slave-trade earlier. The Scottish City of Aberdeen supported the celebration at the highest municipal level. The Scottish equivalent of the Lord Mayor and other dignitaries not only attended the symposium but also graced the elegant banquet

held on board an anchored boat.

For the first time in my life I visited Ghana twice in a single year. The first trip in 2007 was more directly for the purpose of celebrating the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence. Throughout the year 2007 Ghanaians had scheduled one major public lecture every month to mark the 50th anniversary. The first lecture was by Kofi Annan, who had recently stepped down as Secretary-General of the United Nations. My own lecture was scheduled for the month of August and was on "The Brain Drain and the Dual Diaspora: From Post-Enslavement to Post-Coloniality". The whole event was organized and chaired by Kwame Gyekye, professor of philosophy at the University of Ghana at Legon, Accra.

Most Ghanaian intellectuals seem aware of my notorious article of 1966 titled, "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar". The article had two controversial arguments. Firstly, while Nkrumah was ideologically a Leninist, he was in style of governance a Czar when he was in power. An even more explosive paradox of mine was that Nkrumah was a great African, but not a great Ghanaian. In 2007, as during my earlier visits to Ghana, I was repeatedly questioned about those two assertions. Militant Nkrumahists and members of his old party (the C.P.P.) were outraged by my views and argued back vehemently both at my lectures and during radio phone-in interviews.

At another lecture I gave at the W.E.B. DuBois Pan-African Cultural Centre in Accra the debate about Nkrumah exploded into a walkout by a couple of enraged Nkrumahists. But we should remember that Ghana continues to be deeply divided about Kwame Nkrumah, their most illustrious post-colonial son and their founder president. There are at least as many

Ghanaians who agree with my conclusions about Nkrumah as disagree. The University of Ghana has in the past honoured me with an honorary doctorate in humane letters. And in 2007 I was entertained to lunch by the Vice-President of Ghana at his official residence, and I conversed on the phone with the Head of State, President John Kufuor.

My second visit to Ghana last year was in October, hosted partly by Counterpoint, the Cultural

Think-Tank of the British Council, and co-hosted by the W.E.B. DuBois Pan-African Cultural Centre, Accra, whose new Director was my old Cornell colleague, Ann Adams. At the DuBois Centre I delivered the bi-annual distinguished lecture named after DuBois, Padmore and Nkrumah.

I was also ceremonially received by the Pan African Writers Association in Accra headed by my old friend, Professor Atukwei Okai.

There was another old friend who had passed away since I was last in Accra three years earlier. This was Adu Boahen, Ghana's most distinguished historian whom I had known for many years when we were both editors of some of the eight volumes of the UNESCO General History of Africa. When he died in 2005 he was given a state funeral in Accra. I missed the funeral, but I did visit his widow, Mary, on both my visits to Accra in 2007. She burst into tears when she first saw me. The atmosphere was less somber when she entertained me to a great luncheon party on my second visit in 2007 to Ghana.

Another state funeral in Accra of recent times was the funeral of Nkrumah's Egyptian widow,

Madam Fathiyya Nkrumah in 2006. When I was in Accra in 2007 I visited both Nkrumah's tomb and Madam Fathiyya to pay my respects. I also planted a tree in the grounds of the

Nkrumah Mausoleum in honour of the Nkrumahs. I was officially received at the Nkrumah Mausoleum and Museum by my old friend, Director William Quay.

But why did Counterpoint, the Think-Tank of the British Council, invite me to Ghana in 2007? Because I was part of their project on Leadership for Change in Africa. The project included a symposium in Accra on that subject, and the launching of a multiauthored book entitled *Under the Tree of Talking: Leadership for Change in Africa*, which was launched in Ghana. The authors of the different chapters included Chinua Achebe, Paul Zeleza, Chinweizu, Ali Mazrui and others. I had two distinct chapters in the collection. One of my own favourite Post-colonial African Heads of State was Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria. One additional ceremony in Ghana for me was the actual handover to me of the glass trophy of my award as Living Legend, which had originally been bestowed upon me in Abuja, Nigeria, but in

absentia. What happened in Accra in August 2007 was the handover to me in person of the glass trophy to mark my new status as Living Legend. The original award was bestowed by the Economic Organization of West African States [ECOWAS] jointly with the African Communications Agency in February 2007.

I received my trophy of the Living Legend Award in what was supposed to be the first embassy in an African country representing the wider African Diaspora. The first Ambassador of the Diaspora was an

African American woman who showed

General Yakubu Gowon introducing Ali Mazrui to other Nigerians in Abuja in 2004 decorated building on a piece of land provided by the government of Ghana, me around her Embassy - a tastefully and located near the W.E.B. DuBois Centre. It was also next to a sister building named after Marcus Garvey.

While in Africa I was so recognized as one of Africa's Living Legends (along with Kofi Annan, Nelson Mandela and the former American boxer Muhammad Ali), in the African Diaspora arrangements were being made to recognize me as a Living Image of the African people. This latter award was created by a new organization of mainly younger Africans, calling themselves Friends of Africa International, whose President is a young, energetic and imaginative Nigerian woman called Onyeka Obasi.

I received the Living Image Award at a special ceremony on Africa Day in May 2008 at the Libyan Mission to the United Nations in New York City. Other Africans so honoured as Living Images included Chinua Achebe, Ibrahim Gambari of UN Secretariat, and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, President of Liberia and the first female Head of State in modern African history. The President's award was received on her behalf by the Permanent Representative of Liberia to the United Nations. The ceremony was also graced by several other diplomats from Africa and elsewhere.

Another recent honour I received was

another honorary doctorate in humane letters. This latest one was awarded in 2008 by the Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware City, Ohio. I also delivered a major public lecture on that campus under the title of "The United States as a Universal

Nation: Between the Islamic Crescent and the Star-Spangled Banner."

In May 2008 I presented the same paper to a

Muslim audience in Herndon, Virginia. The Africa Day May 2008 at the Libyan Mission audience included Malcolm X's daughter and the to the United Nations in New York City. Director of Malcolm X's Foundation (Malik and Betty Shabaaz Foundation) in New York City. The thesis of the paper was that the United States was a microcosm of the human race in the demographic diversity of the population, but was not a synthesis of the different human cultures which have arrived on its shores.

KENYA'S POST-ELECTION BREAKDOWN AND I

Following Kenya's post-election violence I issued four press releases urging not merely persuasion but also pressure on the two sides of the political divide. Not necessarily in chronological order, the Press releases were the following:

1. POST-ELECTION KENYA: SHOULD IT BE SUSPENDED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH?
2. IS KENYA HEADING FOR A CIVIL WAR?
3. THE POST-ELECTION CRISIS IN KENYA: IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS
4. ARE KENYAN UNIVERSITIES IN DANGER OF BEING TRIBALIZED?

Kenya should be flattered, rather than insulted, by the amount of international attention it had received after its elections from the African Union, the European Union, the United States, other African Leaders and the indefatigable Archbishop Desmond Tutu. If the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo had received half the attention Kenya had got after the election, two million Congolese lives might have been saved. If the Congo has been the most internationally neglected African crisis of this 21st century, the Kenya crisis following the last week of December 2007 had been the most responded to internationally.

One of the major reasons was that until the last week of December 2007 Kenya had been one of the beacons of hope in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2002 a political party, which had been in power since independence in 1963, was successfully thrown out of office by the electorate. Mwai Kibaki peacefully became the new President of Kenya, in alliance with Raila Odinga as a Minister.

Although interparty relations in Kenya subsequently deteriorated, the Kibaki regime created a more open society. The Press became much freer, both printed and electronic, in spite of periodic harassment by the police. Preventive detention of political opponents became more and more rare, though Muslims were targeted more often. The government encouraged an annual accountability of performance in human rights, including the equivalent of National Ombudsman in Kenya. The Kibaki regime attempted to deal with judicial corruption by sacking certain judges. President Kibaki vetoed parliamentary legislation, which would have forced reporters and journalists to disclose their sources for stories about corruption. This particular veto by President Kibaki put Kenya ahead of the United States in the protection of the sources of journalists and reporters. In the United States in 2005 a high profile New York Times reporter, Judith Miller, went to prison for refusing to disclose her sources. All the evidence before the December elections indicated that the legacy of Mwai Kibaki as President would be a celebration of a more open society in Kenya.

And then came the elections of December 2007. The parliamentary part of the elections would have vindicated a Kibaki legacy of "the open society." One powerful Kenyan after another was voted out of his or her parliamentary seat. Half of the members of Kibaki's Cabinet were angrily thrown out of power by the electorate, including the Vice-President.

The stage was set for a probable electoral defeat of the Kibaki regime.

Kenya seemed to be on the verge of a great democratic milestone - the defeat of an incumbent president and his gracious acceptance of the verdict of the electorate. The defeat of an incumbent president had previously happened in Zambia, Malawi, Senegal, Mauritius and elsewhere. A version of it had also happened in Ghana when Jerry Rawling's party was electorally defeated.

But the tables were turned on the Kenya presidential elections in circumstances which cast doubt on the fairness of the outcome. Almost none of the external observers were prepared to confirm President Mwai Kibaki as a fairly and democratically elected president. There were no open congratulations from even the White House and No. 10 Downing Street. There was a serious risk that the Kibaki legacy would change from the architect of "the Open Society in Kenya" to the architect of "the Broken State".

A major reason of the international concern was to avert the prospect of Kenya becoming another failed state in a region which already had too many failed states (Somalia, Rwanda, CongoKinshasa, Burundi, and the semi-flawed States of Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan). In the past Kenya was the asylum state for the refugees from Uganda, Somalia, Ethiopia and elsewhere. The Kenya elections of December 2007 had reversed the flow of refugees. There were now thousands of Kenya refugees in Uganda, instead of the other way around.

While international statesmen had come to Nairobi to try to persuade the two sides to compromise, none of the international actors came with the threat of real sanctions if the two sides did not seek reconciliation. If there was to be an ultimatum to Kenyans to end the crisis or be ostracized, the ultimatum had to be specific and unequivocal.

The African Union talks loosely about "PEER REVIEW". Should the African Union have suspended Kenya's membership if there was no effort to solve the stalemate? The African Union has tried to deny legitimacy to a government produced by a military coup. Is there such a thing as a civilian coup? If the Kenyan presidency was stolen, should Kenya have lost its seat at the meetings of the African Union until the problem was resolved? The African Union has often been more an apologist for Robert Mugabe than a correction officer. But the Commonwealth has been readier to reprimand and ostracize Zimbabwe.

Pakistan has been suspended from the Commonwealth more than once before!! Its Commonwealth Status was at stake when President Musharraf suspended the Pakistani Constitution even recently in 2007. Pakistan's membership in the Commonwealth was at stake much earlier in the clash with East Pakistan (today's Bangladesh).

Are the Luo of Kenya in 2008 the equivalent of the Bengalis of East Pakistan in the early 1970s? The Luos are far less separatist in orientation in 2008 than the Bengalis were in the early 1970s. But the Luo are now leaning towards federalism (majimbo) in Kenya.

If Kenya did not want to be suspended from either the African Union, the Commonwealth, or lose friendship with the wider Western World, we needed to engage those alienated groups into a new global order of democratization. Our reputation internationally was tarnished. Our stability at home was seriously compromised.

WERE WE HEADING FOR A CIVIL WAR?

In response to an e-mail from Mr. David Ohito, Senior Reporter, THE STANDARD Nairobi, Kenya I released the statement IS KENYA HEADING FOR A CIVIL WAR? My argument in the Press release was as follows:

I had lived long enough to know how civil wars began in developing countries. I never expected there would be a civil war in Northern Uganda which would last twenty years, and unleash untold suffering and brutality. It has still not fully ended.

When the Sudanese civil war was ending in the South, who would have predicted another civil war in Darfur? Ethiopia has had a variety of civil conflicts, the latest involving ethnic Somalis in the Ogaden. The brutalities of the Sierra Leonean civil war took everybody by surprise.

Could such a bloody breakdown happen in Kenya? By the third week of January 2008 I was beginning to be truly fearful. What was once unthinkable was no longer inconceivable.

While north of the Sahara the triggers of conflict are often religious, south of the Sahara they tend to combine ethnicity, power rivalry and economic deprivation.

As soon as casualties of a conflict reach a thousand dead, several thousand injured and at least a hundred thousand displaced, speedy action is needed to contain the explosion. In late January 2008 a mini-civil war could have been in the making. Kenyans and the international community could not afford to be complacent.

Representatives of the African Union, the European Union, the United States, religious bodies, former African Heads of State, and Kofi Annan had approached the two sides of the Kenya conflict in terms of persuasion and the quest for a compromise. We now needed more pressure and threats from the international community.

Initially, I suggested, the threats should be targeted at the elite, rather than the general population. Withholding economic aid would hurt the wider population, but suspending Kenya's membership of the African Union and the Commonwealth would deprive us of credentials to sit at the summit meetings, or meetings of foreign ministers, of such international organizations. Specific members of both the government and the opposition could be deprived of Visas to the western world if they were identified as extremists against the search for solutions.

Many members of the Kenyan political and commercial elite have also had Bank accounts abroad. The international community could threaten to freeze such bank accounts if there was no effort to solve the Kenya crisis. Since I was myself a member of Kenya's intellectual elite, it was fair to monitor my behavior as well.

Normally, the international community does not try to intervene in Africa until the problem is truly catastrophic. That has been the situation in Congo-Kinshasa, in Rwanda, Darfur and in Somalia. Kenya was a situation of trying to prevent a crisis from becoming a catastrophe. There was still time - but not a lot. Raila Odinga and Kofi Annan of time to avert an explosion.

Kofi Annan was trying his best, but he needed help in the form of massive political pressure on both sides. If mediation was not working, Was it time to threaten specific international sanctions, beginning with elite-focused threats of real consequence?

What was at stake was not just the political stability of Kenya. It was also the economic viability of Eastern Africa as a whole. Kenya's economy had vibrations of region-wide consequences. How could we avert a region-wide catastrophe?

We were still far from a civil war. But our leaders needed to start discussing how to secure our borders against gunrunning and importation of weapons. The border with Somalia especially needed to be secured, but without keeping out Somali refugees. I also urged upon the Kenyan leadership to consider whether or not it was time to seek international

help for peacekeeping in the Rift Valley. The situation was grave. Had we neglected to declare a state of emergency in the Rift Valley?

THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS

The Kenya presidential elections of December 2007 were the most damaging episode to national unity since the assassination of Tom Mboya in July 1969. Both the murder of Tom Mboya and the management of the December 2007 presidential elections were widely interpreted as an attempt to ethnically monopolise the presidency of the country. Both Mboya's assassination and the 2007 elections were seen as historic blows to national stability and major setbacks to the process of democratization. Both Mboya's murder and the 2007 elections unleashed widespread rioting and looting and made national institutions significantly more fragile than they were before.

We all appealed to Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga to enter into urgent negotiations to find a solution to the painful impasse, and to help the process of national healing. Before Kofi Annan tried his hand at negotiations, other major African leaders (political, diplomatic and religious) tried to mediate and persuade Kenya's adversaries.

The ideal solution would have been to agree to a recounting of votes in the most controversial of the provincial results for the presidency, and for both Kibaki and Odinga to have committed themselves to respect the outcome of the recounting. But had not the ballots already been irreparably compromised?

Another possible solution would have been for the African Union to appoint an independent commission of enquiry into the management of the presidential election, and make recommendations. One possible recommendation would conceivably have been to accept the parliamentary results, which had, by most estimates, been transparent and credible. But there might have been new internationally supervised presidential elections with the three main candidates on the new ballot. This idea soon became more and more remote.

The third option was probably the easiest to accomplish. The new parliament was to be sworn in, and called into session. Its first task was to consider a constitutional amendment creating the post of Prime Minister answerable to Parliament and not to the Chief Executive (the President). If the constitutional amendment was passed, parliament would then vote for the first Prime Minister. Considering the balance of political parties voted into the new parliament, the new Prime Minister was almost bound to be the Honorable Raila Odinga. This proposal triggered a lot of discussion.

Kenya would thereby have become something approximating the Fifth Republic of France with both an executive President accountable to the people, directly, and an executive Prime Minister accountable to the people's legislative representatives, Parliament. As in the case of the French Fifth Republic, the President (Mwai Kibaki) and the Prime Minister (Raila Odinga) would have to find ways of working together in the interest of the people of Kenya.

Who was to appoint the members of the cabinet- the President or the Prime Minister? I gave the following possible scenarios. The Foreign Minister and the Minister of Defense could be the prerogative of the Head of State (Kibaki) to appoint. But the Minister of Internal Security and almost all other ministries could be appointed by the Prime Minister (Raila Odinga).

The precise division of labor and division of powers between the President and the new Prime Minister would have had to be negotiated prior to the constitutional amendment by the new Parliament. In reality these negotiations were partly led by Kofi Annan in fits and starts - slow progression. An amended division of labour between the President and the Prime Minister was painfully worked out.

Later in the session of the new parliament there would be the need to re-examine the whole constitution of Kenya in the light of problems which Kenya has had to face since the last constitutional referendum. Should we have re-examined once again the Maboma Draft constructed by the Ghai Commission? Only the new parliament, in consultation with the new President, could decide whether to have a new constitutional referendum. That idea still hangs in the balance.

THE ACADEMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE KENYA MELTDOWN

In the middle of the crisis I was also invited by the editors of the Sunday Nation (Nairobi) to address the following question:

ARE KENYAN UNIVERSITIES IN DANGER OF BEING TRIBALIZED?

I responded by arguing that we were generating emotions and tensions in Kenya which before long might require a whole new vocabulary. I raised the question whether we were on the verge of producing a form of inter-ethnic distrust which might be called KIKUYUPHOBIA? Had other Kenyans begun to identify a form of prejudice which may be called LUOPHOBIA? Let me re-state the issues. A Kikuyuphobe is a person who is profoundly distrustful of the Kikuyu – a form of negativism which is partly based on a stereotype. The Kikuyu are seen as manipulative, exploitative and inclined towards ethnic nepotism and tribal favoritism. The Kikuyu are seen as brilliant in commercial aptitude and other economic skills, but often at the expense of other groups. Kenyans should be careful not to reduce whole communities into such negative stereotypes. Such prejudice tends to dehumanize the targeted groups.

Luophobia is a form of distrust and prejudice against the rival ethnic group, the Luo. While supporters of Raila Odinga are often prone to Kikuyuphobia, ardent supporters of Mwai Kibaki often manifest forms of Luophobia. I have argued that in both directions Kenyans should distrust their stereotypes, seek to contain their particular versions of “pride and prejudice”, and seek to cultivate instead some kind of “sense and sensibility”. The English novelist, Jane Austen, is assuming a new form of political relevance in the unfolding drama of Kenya after the December elections of 2007.

I can still repeat some of the questions I raised at the time. What is likely to be the impact of both Kikuyuphobia and Luophobia on higher education in Kenya? While the Kikuyu as a group have been politically and commercially triumphant almost nation wide, the Luo have been disproportionately triumphant in the academic domain and among public intellectuals. While in creative literature the Kikuyu have led the way with Ngugi wa Thiong’o, Micere Mugo and others, the Luo of Kenya have led the way in the study of history, in the social and natural sciences and in the study of African philosophy. Some have argued that while the Kikuyu are brilliant economic entrepreneurs, the Luo of Kenya have had an edge in academic and intellectual performance. Nevertheless, Kenya’s first Nobel Prize Laureate for Peace has been a Kikuyu - Wangari Maathai.

But what is likely to be the longer-term impact of our post-election crisis on higher

education in Kenya? Even before the December election there was already an ethnic presence in classrooms on Kenyan campus. While professional promotions in Kenyan universities were already affected by ethnicity before December 27, 2007, grades for students were still ethnic-neutral on the whole. But the threat of ethicizing exam grades has become real since the beginning of 2008.

At the University of Dar es Salaam after the Arusha Declaration of 1967 students were very conscious of the ideological orientation of their lecturers but seldom conscious of the racial or ethnic affiliation of their instructors. When Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Mugo were lecturers at the University of Nairobi, students were more conscious of the left-wing ideologies of such instructors than of their ethnic affiliation. What we now fear on our campus is greater ethnic consciousness of each other rather than greater sensitivity to intellectual nuances. Universities are supposed to be arenas of universal values and intellectual fraternity. It would be a pity if our campuses deteriorated into beehives of tribalism.

The post election violence began to trigger academic ethnic cleansing. Members of vulnerable ethnic groups in violence-prone university towns began to look for jobs on ethnically more friendly campuses.

When President Mwai Kibaki made me Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology, he was making a statement about the universality of knowledge. Firstly, he himself stepped down from the Chancellorship and thereby depoliticized the office. Secondly he chose a Kenyan in the Diaspora to be Chancellor of a university at home thereby emphasizing the links between Kenyans at home and Kenyans abroad. Postcard of The Triple Heritage Thirdly, the President honored a Kenyan from a small minority Swahili group at the Coast— instead of someone from the more powerful communities of Kenya.

Kibaki also opened academic doors for me which had been closed during the era of Daniel arap Moi. Under Kibaki I could give lectures in Kenya after years of being ostracized by Kenyan universities. My television series *The Africans: A Triple Heritage* (BBC/PBS, 1986) could at last be shown on Kenyan television after years of being banned by the Moi regime. I could also freely write for Kenya newspapers regardless of whether my views pleased President Kibaki or not.

The five years of Kibaki's first administration (2002 to 2007) helped to maximize academic and intellectual freedom on Kenya campuses, though not without some degree of tribalism and corruption in some of our activities.

Then came the elections of December 2007. The question arose whether the doors of academic freedom were beginning to close? Were Kenyan universities retreating from universalism? Was the fog of tribalism beginning to descend on our campuses?

It is not too late yet. Just as we sometimes call upon a doctor to heal herself or himself, let us call upon intellectuals and academics to liberate themselves. Let us help our country to lick its wounds, and heal the body politic.

A FAMILY IN TRANSITION

How did the post-election meltdown in Kenya affect members of my family? The majority of the Mazrui clan and relatives live along the Coast of Kenya, especially in Mombasa,

Kenya's second city. Although the coast was not totally spared the post-election violence, it was far from being among the worst hit regions of the country. The poorest areas of Mombasa experienced the greatest disturbances. Small shopkeepers were attacked, a few Kikuyu homes were set alight, and there were riots in some areas.

My older sister Nafisa, and her daughters and grandchildren live in the rural outskirts of Mombasa. Their particular rural area is called Kisauni, and was for awhile among the disturbed areas. We were so worried that we tried to persuade Nafisa and our Kisauni family to move to the Centre of Mombasa which was much safer. They decided that the risks of their leaving their homes empty were far greater than the risks of their staying on in Kisauni. Fortunately

"all was well which ended well."

With regard to the political divide between proKibaki Kenyans (pro-government) and pro-Raila Odinga Kenyans (pro-Opposition), my own family was divided, but in a civilized manner. We had debates without acrimony. Instead of my trying to be neutral, I tried to be objective. I did strive to be on the side of what was fair and just, regardless of whether such a position favoured the government or the opposition!! I ended up being criticized by both sides, depending upon the precise issue!! My fourth son Farid Chinedu hit the age of sixteen.

In the USA that is the age of taking driver's lessons. With Munira, a nervous bride [left], the help of family friend Patrick Dikirr and Farid's own pausing for a photograph with her mother, Pauline, Farid is beginning to feel comfortable

behind the wheel of a car. Although Farid is my fourth son, Nafisa was Ali Mazrui's sister, who died in July 2008. Her obituary will appear in Mazrui Newsletter No. 33. My first son (Jamal) and my third son (Kim) are legally blind, and have had to rely on others to drive them

around. Also incapable of driving a car is their Dad - but I have no excuse whatsoever for that incapacity! Nevertheless it has been nice being driven around by the women in my life! When my third son Kim and his friend Kay Forde decided to get married more than a decade ago, I was against their adopting the joint name of Forde-Mazrui. I argued that a name like "Mazrui" belonged to a large multicontinental extended family with centuries of recorded history, and did not belong to individual members of that family. I was sure that the Fordes were equally distinguished in their different way, and Kay should not mess around with her name either. She should not name herself "Mrs." Anybody!

Was I being snobbish? Farid, Little Ali and Harith

That was not my intention. I was making a distinction between cultures in which family-names were a collective legacy and cultures which turned family names into individual property. I thought Kim and Kay were being post-modernist Westerners, and were taking liberties with their inherited family identities.

Anyway, I was over-ruled by Kim and Kay. They became the Forde-Mazruis. I refused to legitimize the hyphen between their names except if it was electronically necessary for sending e-mails. It was not until my 75th year of life that I came to terms with that hyphen between the names Forde and Mazrui. I thought the marriage between Kim and Kay was one of the most successful that I had encountered among young people in the United States. Their best gift to me on my 75th birthday was not only their love for me, but their love for

each other. I decided that the measure of my own love for them was my belated acceptance of that hyphen between their family names. The hyphen was indeed a truly legitimate bond between the Fordes and the Mazruis as embodied in Kay and Kim.

Amen.

However, since Kim is a lawyer, I hope he will understand when I say that my acceptance of their own hyphen is not intended as a precedent. It is *sui generis* to Kim and Kay. I hope my remaining offspring will keep the name "Mazrui" without amendment, pass it on to their descendants unaltered, and encourage their spouses to make their own minds about which names to carry.

My visit to Mombasa

in 2007 was spoilt by an above average attack of arthritis on my knees. It was necessary for me to use a wheel chair for part of the time - including when I visited my older sister, Nafisa at Kisauni. On most Entertaining Nigerians: Left to Right: of my previous visits to her, Wole Soyinka, Niara Sudarkasa, Ali Mazrui, she was the one using a Pauline Mazrui and Jonah Isawa Elaigwu walker or a wheel chair. In 2007 she was actually amused to see our situations reversed. She could walk (however slowly) while I was being wheeled by my nieces in a wheel-chair around their Kisauni home. We all laughed at my predicament. I was half-afraid that I would not be able to participate in the ceremonial walk in academic gowns at the graduation of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology [JKUAT], of which I was Chancellor and at which extravaganza I was scheduled to preside the following week on our campus. Fortunately when I returned to Nairobi after the visit to Mombasa my arthritis was much better. In any case, Michael Ngonyo Hindzano, my official companion and protocol officer, was as usual a real pillar of strength as I limped along with his support. My nephew Ghalib Tamin in Nairobi was also his usual supportive self. He helped me with some of my chores. He and his wife Maryam also entertained us to dinner at their home as usual.

The absence of Mama Alice Uti after she departed for Nigeria left a major gap in our home in Vestal, New York. Mama Alice is Pauline's mother (my mother-in-law). She had been living with us in upstate New York for some four years, and was fully integrated into the routines of our Westernized family. As a work-a-holic Mama Alice did more than her fair share of domestic chores. She insisted on washing dishes, cooking meals, making beds, doing laundry and helping to look after the three children in our Vestal home - Farid, Harith and Little Ali. Since Mama Alice was in her late seventies (a little older than her son-in-law) we protested when she worked so hard, but in vain.

Of course, she had other children in Nigeria and many grandchildren. In the end she began to miss the Nigerian wing of her family. She has now been back in Nigeria for more than six months. We look forward to her return to Vestal, New York, in the second half of 2008.

More recently it has

been Pauline's turn to start missing her ancestral Nigeria. This nostalgia for Nigeria was shared by our two sons, Farid and Harith, who enjoy long trips abroad during their long school

Ali Mazrui with Board of Trustees of Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies holidays. With one or both parents they have spent several weeks in the past in Kenya and Nigeria. With their mother they have also visited Canada multiple times. On his own - but as part of a school group - Farid has traveled as far as Australia and New Zealand, and Harith has been to Hawaii. Harith has also entertained dreams of joining a school trip to Germany one of these

school holidays!! Why Germany? Harith continues to be fascinated by the history of World War II.

For 2008 Pauline plans to spend four to six weeks in Nigeria with our two children. During that time I will have to be away in Kenya as Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT). I may also have to go to Oxford, England to attend the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies.

Goretti Mugambwa continued to live with us in our Vestal home as a full member of the family. Although she has had a full-time job as a social welfare worker, she too has been a work-a-holic in domestic chores - cleaning the house, washing laundry, dish-washing, baby-sitting, shopping etc. She is a fanatic on domestic tidiness and neatness. But since my paperwork is voluminous and untidy, I drive Goretti up-the-wall! However, she tries hard to be patient and tolerant. Occasionally, she even types letters for me!!

Goretti's daughter is Maria Liverpool. In 2008 she graduated cum laude in the natural sciences from Howard University, Washington DC. Pauline, Kim and Kay Forde-Mazrui, and other friends attended the graduation ceremony itself. Jamal, Susan, my grand-daughter Nicole, my grandson Little Ali and I myself joined them for the post-graduation celebratory banquet at a Chinese restaurant in Maryland.

Not long after graduation Maria Liverpool left for India with multiple fellow students from different colleges and universities. The trip was a combination of scholarly events in India plus tourism to places like the Taj Mahal.

Al'Amin, my second son, started having eye problems late May and early June 2008. One of his eyes deteriorated rapidly. At first we thought it was Lebers' Disease (atrophy of the optic nerve) which is what substantially blinded Jamal (my first born) from the age of sixteen and Kim (my third son), who was afflicted from the age of about twelve.

But Al'Amin is now in his forties. Lebers' disease was supposed to hit at an earlier age. Since the first diagnosis of Al'Amin's vision we have had a second and third opinion. It now seems more likely that Al'Amin's affliction is less catastrophic than the disease which blinded his brothers a quarter of a century ago. Al'Amin's loss of vision in one-eye may even be reversed. We are not sure yet. Remember us in your prayers.

IN PURSUIT OF AN ISLAMIC AGENDA

For a number of years I had resisted running for election to serve on the Board of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) of North America. But in 2007 I capitulated! I agreed to run for no less than the Presidency itself. To my delight, as well as to my dismay, I was elected overwhelmingly! I was of course also flattered by the vote of confidence. The Association serves Muslim scholars and researchers in both the United States and Canada. NonMuslims working on Islam are also eligible to be members, as well as serve on the Board of Directors. As an Association we organize regional conferences on Islamic subjects in both Canada and the United States. We also hold one major annual convention which tries to bring together all the members and other interested paper writers. Our next annual convention will be held at the Divinity School of Harvard University in October 2008.

From the first meeting of the AMSS Board of Directors I initiated one additional activity if we could raise the money. I wanted the Association of Muslim Social Scientists to co-sponsor lectures about Islam with different

colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. Each member of our Board of Directors was eligible for a grant from AMSS to co-sponsor a visiting lecture on their campus. With the help of the International Institute of Islamic Thought based in Virginia we did raise the money. Mazrui with the Emir of Sharjah, I took advantage of the new scheme to apply for United Arab Emirates (Centre) and AMSS co-sponsorship of a symposium at Cornell Mazrui's late friend, Khamis El-Hashar University, co-sponsored by the Africana Studies and Research Centre, Cornell, in collaboration with the annual meeting of the New York African Studies Association. Cornell used this elaborate event to celebrate my 75th birthday. As I mentioned earlier in this Newsletter, two-and-a-half papers presented at the conference, by three different authors, addressed the subject of "Barack Obama and Ali Mazrui in Comparative Perspective." Can you imagine?

The Association of Muslim Social Scientists also edits and publishes the Journal of Islamic Social Sciences [AJISS]. I have published in this journal in the past. I may offer them another article before long. I am now being asked to serve as Editor-in-Chief.

I have continued to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, Oxford, England. My Association with this Oxford Centre goes back to the mid 1980s when the British Broadcasting Corporation in London first broadcast my television series, *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. Suddenly the academic world discovered that I was qualified to interpret Islam, as well as interpret the African condition! The Oxford Centre promptly invited me to give a couple of lectures at Oxford for them.

Under the Directorship of Dr. Farhan Nizami, the distinguished Oxford historian, the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies [OCISS] has grown in activities, personnel and reputation. I have been active with them in a variety of capacities, the most important of which have been my serving as a member of the Board of Trustees and as a member of their Academic Committee.

OCIS is now building

a special college-size structure of its own, designed in Islamic architecture and large enough to be almost the equivalent of an Oxford college in its own right. Critics and adversaries of Islam put up a stiff resistance against the construction of such an Islamic style building in

New Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies Building Oxford. They argued that it would spoil Oxford's historic skyline of rising majestic special spires. We retorted that Oxford's ancient skyline was itself influenced by the domes and minarets of medieval Islam in those great days of Islam as a global intellectual force. Even the academic gowns of western universities today are in part inherited from the ancient Islamic robes of scholarship.

The City Council of Oxford finally gave us permission to build this elegant Oxford Centre in the architecture we had proposed. It probably helped our case as an Islamic Centre that our patron was His Royal Highness, Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales. Indeed, the Prince had once given a lecture at the Centre entitled "Islam and the West." It was an Islam-friendly lecture, which has since been translated into Arabic and other languages of the Muslim world.

The OCIS also holds annual conferences at an elegant Lord of the Manor building in the countryside of Oxfordshire. Over the years the topics have varied considerably. Sometimes in the evening we have had more light-hearted conversations about art, architecture, and

the like.

Let me try and recollect a tongue-in-cheek but stimulating evening conversation about "Islam:

From ancient sacred waters to modern secular oil."

The history of Islam has in part been a dialectic between water as an ancestral natural resource and petroleum as a modern industrial commodity. The birthplace of Islam, the Hijaz, was ancestrally short of water. In modern history Arabia has become a location of abundance of oil. In both Africa and the Middle East nature has been kind to Muslim areas with one liquid (oil) but less kind to the Muslim parts of Africa and the Middle East often short of another liquid (water).

Islam's love affair with water as something sacred began with Zamzam, the sacred well of Mecca which is sometimes described as the well of Ismail. The Zamzam is located within the sacred complex of the Kaaba, opposite the sanctuary of the Black Stone. Pilgrims to Mecca seek to drink from Zamzam, and take its water home to administer to the sick.

Zamzam was an ecological lesson to Muslims throughout history, teaching them to regard water and its purity as sacred. On the other hand, the actual worship of rivers in the Middle East declined with the consolidation of Islam. No river under Muslim jurisdiction has ever enjoyed the level of divinity which is attributed to the Ganges by the Hindus in India. Over the centuries the Nile became the most important, as well as longest, river under Muslim jurisdiction as it meandered down the valleys of Uganda, Ethiopia, the Sudan and Egypt. As the longest waterway in the world, the Nile had given birth to ancient Egyptian civilization, and continued to be crucial to the survival of both Byzantine Christian Egypt and to Muslim Egypt afterwards. But while under the Pharaohs the Nile enjoyed divine status almost the equivalent of the Ganges to the Hindus in India, under Islamic values the Nile remained metaphorically sacred but no longer literally divine. But I personally will always remember the source of the Nile as the genesis of my academic career - the source being from Lake Victoria in Uganda.

Another Muslim institution which has engaged my attention in the course of 2007 and 2008 has

been the American Muslim Alliance, which is committed to promoting political participation by American Muslims in American democratic processes. The idea is to get Muslims in America not only to vote, but also to lobby in support of certain policies, to help raise money for Muslimfriendly candidates, and to run for election themselves for local, state and federal institutions. Our meetings under this umbrella have been led by Professor Agha Saeed, a Pakistani American, and Jamal Barzangi, an Iraqi American. But these meetings have brought together activists, leaders and scholars associated with sister-Muslim and American organizations under a Barack Obama with wife Michelle broader umbrella. From time to time our and their daughters Malia Ann and Natasha meetings have been addressed by members and

former members of the United States Congress (Muslim-friendly Christians or Jews). We have been discreet about the fact that the U.S. Senate now has for the first time a member whose father was a Muslim, and whose own second name is Hussein. We have also been discreet about the possibility of having a U.S. President whose biological father (a Kenyan) and step-father (an Indonesian) were both Muslim. Barack Obama himself is of course an African American Christian.

Barack Obama's mother was a white woman from Kansas, genetically related to George

Bush's Vice-President Dick Cheney (according to U.S. Press reports). There has been speculation about whether both Obama's Kenyan father and his Euro-American mother were intellectually brilliant. Would that explain Barack's outstanding performance at Harvard Law School where he became the first African American President of the Harvard Law Journal, and graduated from Harvard at the top of his class (*magna cum laude*). Barack Obama's intellectual brilliance may also have been crucial in his remarkable performance as a strategist and campaigner for the Democratic Party's 2008 nomination for the U.S. presidency.

It is quite clear that having had a white American mother has not hurt Barack Obama in the primary campaign for President of the United States. On the contrary, it is widely believed that his white mother (deceased) and his white grandmother (still alive and very supportive) have been major assets electorally to most white voters.

But what if Barack Obama had had a white wife instead of a white mother? Is American white opinion more comfortable with a Black man whose mother was white than with a Black man married to a white woman? Indeed, would African American voters have been more alienated from Barack Obama if his prospective First Lady for the White House had been a European American?

Both white and black opinion in America is of course aware that nobody is ever in a position to choose their own biological parents! Barack had no say in the marriage between the white female student from Kansas studying at the University of Hawaii and the Luo student from Kenya studying at the same university. They were destined to be his parents. However, Barack's own choice of spouse was within his own volition. If Barack had indeed decided to propose to a white woman and married her, it is almost certain that his candidacy as a prospective President of the United States would have been more negatively affected by his own "wedded miscegenation" than it has been by his parents' intermarriage. But Barack Obama has his own special kind of "American dream". He aspires to play an important intermediate role towards the long-term dream of a postracial America.

Becoming the first Black President of the United States would indeed be an important stage towards ultimately attaining an America that was close to transcending racism.

It may now be appropriate to examine how far the United States has indeed come since the days when many states had laws against "miscegenation" [inter-racial sexual mating and inter-racial marriages]. These laws were declared unconstitutional in 1967 by the U.S.

Supreme Court in a case called *Loving v. Virginia*. Mrs.

Loving died in 2008.

Another ironic development of America since September 11, 2001, is that the House of Representatives now has, for the first time in its 200 year history, two Muslim members. These Muslim Congressmen are Keith Ellison of Minnesota and Andr Carson of Indiana. In swearing his oath of allegiance Congressman Keith

Ellison used a copy of the Qur'an once owned by Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the third President of the United States. With regard to Islam and my teaching schedule, I taught an Cover of Islamic Horizons Magazine May June 2008

undergraduate course at Binghamton University on "Islam in World Politics". There were some ninety students in the class. Normally my courses on Islam generate enough controversy that the end of the course comes almost as a relief!! But my Islamic course at Binghamton in the spring of 2008 ended with a thunderous applause from the students. It

was a very pleasant surprise. I must be mellowing in old age, and no longer sound like a firebrand in class!

My more advanced course at Cornell was on "Islam in Africa and Its Diaspora." It ended with a lot of verbal thanks from individual students, but no collective applause. What am I to make of this difference?

The Islamic Society of North America [ISNA] is another organization whose membership includes Canadians, as well as Americans. Its annual meetings sometimes attract as many as ten thousand Muslims.

ISNA has a magazine called Islamic Horizons, with a readership of many more thousands. I have contributed articles to this magazine from time to time. Now they are asking me to be a more regular contributor. My most recent article compared two terms of religious abuse - "Islamofascism" (used by Islamophobes) and "Judo-Nazism" (used by extreme critics of Israeli policies in the occupied territories). Neither term is conceptually substantive. They are both mere expletives of abuse.

CONCLUSION: FROM OBOTE TO OBAMA

When I started my career at Makerere College in Uganda in 1963, Barack Obama in the United States was two years old. His Luo father was about to win a scholarship to Harvard - a temptation which made him leave his wife and son in Hawaii, almost never to return except for a short visit eight years later.

Uganda had won its independence from the British the year before my arrival. The basic ethnic divide in Uganda was between ethnic groups collectively referred to as the Bantu, concentrated in the south of Uganda, and ethnic groups collectively designated as the Nilotes, (of the Nile), concentrated in the North. The most illustrious single "Bantu" [or "Muntu"] was the King of Buganda, Sir Edward Mutesa, who became Uganda's Head of State from 1963 to 1966. The most illustrious single Nilote was Apollo Milton Obote, who was first Prime Minister and later President. He was overthrown by Idi Amin in January 1971. When I was growing up in colonial Kenya the Luo were sometimes referred to as the Kavirondo because their flat terrain near Lake Victoria did bear that name. The Luo of Uganda were often referred to "the Lwo" or split into smaller "tribes" much as Langi to whom Milton Obote belonged. Collectively all the Luo were associated with the Chari-Nile (Eastern Sudanic) linguistic culture of the Nile-Saharan family of Languages. Since Lake Victoria was the mother of the River Nile on its Uganda shore, the Luo or Lwo family of "tribes" were widely referred as Nilotes or people of the Nile. In both Kenya and Uganda the Luo were major contenders for the post-colonial presidency of each country. In Uganda an alliance between the Langi and the Acholi did succeed in capturing the state in the 1960s. Milton Obote became Uganda's first Nilotic Head of State.

When Kenya became independent in December 1963 the most prominent Luo political figures were Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga (Raila Odinga's father). Both Mboya and Oginga Odinga had their political eye on the Kenya Presidency, but Jomo A. Milton Kenyatta beat them to the State House. Tom Mboya was assassinated in 1969; and Obote Oginga Odinga was robbed of the Presidency by both Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi. The next Luo to aspire to the Presidency in Kenya was Raila Odinga. For a while nobody even remotely considered the Presidency of the United States as being also a potential trophy for the role of the Luo in history. But by October 2007 I was able to pose

the following problem when interviewed by The Standard newspaper in Kenya: "Which Country will be the first to have a Luo President - Kenya or the United States?" If the Kenyan Luo candidate was Raila Odinga, the American Luo contender was of course Barack Obama.

In my thirtieth year of life (1963-1964) I lived in the shadow of Milton Obote, who was on his way towards becoming Uganda's first Nilotic Head of State. In my seventy-fifth year of life (2008-2009) I lived in the shadow of Barack Obama, who seemed to be on his way towards becoming the first son of the Nile to ascend towards the Presidency of the United States.

Milton Obote had had considerable political influence on my life in my Ugandan past. If Barack Obama captured the American presidency, he might indirectly have considerable symbolic influence in my American future. Raila Odinga as Prime Minister of Kenya and potential Head of State is already having legal jurisdiction on my life as a Kenyan.

I first met Raila Odinga in his new capacity as Prime Minister not in our mother country, Kenya, but in Barack Obama's country of birth, the United States. In his speech at a luncheon in his honour in Washington D.C., Odinga drew the attention of the large audience to my presence in their midst. I stood up to a thunderous applause. He then referred to my historic question as to which country would be the first to elect a Luo President: Kenya or the United States. Prime Minister Odinga gave his own witty reply with a broad smile. "The question has actually been answered in Kenya's favour. Kenya has a Luo President who has not been sworn in." The huge luncheon audience burst into laughter and applause.

In the year 2007 I visited Uganda twice. The Nilotes were no longer in power. They had been replaced by "the Bantu", led by Yoweri Museveni.

On one of my 2007 visits to Uganda I addressed thirteen hundred Rotarians - drawn from Rotary Clubs of the whole of Eastern Africa to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Rotary movement in the region. The large crowd included many Luos and other Nilotes, but the leadership was Bantu.

My next visit to Uganda was even more decisively a Bantu affair. I went to deliver the Abu Mayanja Memorial Lecture. Mayanja had been my friend and political confidante when I lived in Uganda during the Nilotic days of Apollo Milton Obote in the 1960s. I even named my third son Kim Abubakar partly in Abubakar Mayanja's honour. Like Mayanja, and indeed like Barack Obama, my third son went to a law school and became a lawyer. Today my third son is the Thurgood Marshall Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. Like Barack Obama, Kim Abubakar Mazrui had graduated from Law School at the top of his class.

2007 was also the year when Uganda hosted the Commonwealth Conference of some 50 Heads of State and Mazrui at 75

Heads of Government. On my way to Uganda I had stopped in

London to give the distinguished Commonwealth Lecture under the Chairmanship of the Secretary General of the Commonwealth. My subject was "The Power of Language and the Politics of Religion." My lecture has since been published in the Oxford based journal, The Round Table in 2008.

My prior lectures in London in 2007 were to the Royal African Society (on the theme of "Waning Racism and Waxing Culture Conflict in World Politics") and another lecture at Chatham

House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (on the theme of "Islam and the West

since

September 11"). Although I had published in the Institute's Journal, International Affairs more recently, this was my first lecture at Chatham House since the 1980s. I was delighted by all these 2007 British opportunities.

Although the Eden of my professional career was indeed on the Nile in Uganda, my intellectual training was closer to the River Thames in England, whose upper flow alongside Oxford is better known as Isis. If my career was a child of the Nile, my education was nursed by Isis and the Thames.

The stream of experience meanders on,
In the vast expanse of the valley of time, The new is come, and the old is gone, And life
abides a changing clime.

APPENDIX I

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In my career, I am, of course, indebted to dozens of colleagues, friends, relatives, and other personal and professional benefactors. But in this Newsletter I will only mention those colleagues who have helped me in the last twelve months in Administrative, Secretarial, and managerial roles:

I. Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York: \

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V. Supportive Team in Uganda: \

Sam Max Sebina Muhammad Ddungu
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For my mobility between SUNY-Binghamton and Cornell-Ithaca, I am particularly indebted to my colleagues Seifudein Adem, Patrick Dikirr, and their comfortable cars! Patrick,

Seifudein and my wife Pauline have been the wheels of my existence in the State of New York!

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I am, of course, also greatly indebted to my immediate family and to my extended family across three continents. My gratitude also to my esteemed colleagues in the universities to which I am affiliated, to my students, and to my graduate assistants from semester to semester.

Younger Mazrui on the cover of his 1990 book,
[published by James Currey, Oxford and Heinemann, Portsmouth, N.H.]

Mazrui with South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki.
Mbeki had just elevated Mazrui to status of Grand Companion of Oliver Tambo (2007).
APPENDIX II

TRIBUTE FROM SALIM A. SALIM

Salim Ahmed
Salim

Dear Professor Ali Mazrui:

Amne and I want to join your family, many of your friends and admirers throughout the world and hundreds of your present and past students in wishing you a Happy Birthday. We want to celebrate with you a most productive life dedicated to ideas, freedom and service. Not only is Mombasa, Kenya and East Africa proud of you, but the African continent, the black diaspora and world at large are proud of your intellectual achievements. You have been a source of inspiration to many of us.

Throughout the decades you have tried to extend the frontiers of knowledge, debates and discussions that touch the lives of people and that concern the fates of countries.

You have earned for yourself many honours and adulations. I was glad when President Mwai Kibaki of Kenya appointed you to be the Chancellor of Jomo Kenyatta University of Science and Technology in recognition not only of your intellectual greatness but also of your patriotism and loyalty to Kenya. Personally I will always remember that historic occasion in Dakar, Senegal in in 1992 when the OAU Heads of States and Government appointed you to be a member of the

Panel of Eminent Persons to look into the question of Reparations. Here Africa was recognising you as a champion of its rights and interests. It was also an eloquent testimony to our Continent's recognition of your Pan African credentials.

Your books and writings have inspired many people; and those who had the opportunity of listening to your lectures must have been very pleased with your eloquence and arguments. Furthermore, it is significant to note that even some of those people who have disagreed with you, they have nonetheless always held you in high respect.

Amne and I pray to Allah to bestow you with a long, healthy and more intellectually productive life so that generations to come will continue to enjoy your presence, writings and speeches.

Happy Birthday my dear esteemed friend!

Salim Ahmed Salim
Chairperson of the Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere Foundation,
Former Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity,
Former Prime Minister of Tanzania

Newsletter 33, Spring 2010, Golden Jubilee

Spring 2010

MAZRUI NEWSLETTER No. 33

General Theme: Golden Jubilee

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Ask if Seifudein has recommendations of pictures

FRONT COVER PHOTO DETAILS: Insert details

Spring 2010

ANNUAL MAZRUI NEWSLETTER NO. 33

by

Ali A. Mazrui

General Theme: Golden Jubilee

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This Newsletter is partly a product of the Albert Schweitzer Chair of the Humanities, Binghamton University, State University of New York. The Newsletter is intended for colleagues, friends, relatives, and family of the Schweitzer Professor, Ali A. Mazrui.

MAZRUI IN NEW YORK STATE

ANNIVERSARIES FOR MAZRUI NEWSLETTER. The year 2010 marks multiple anniversaries relevant to my career in the United States. This year marks the 50th anniversary of my first arrival in this country as a graduate student at Columbia University. I spent the academic year pursuing a Masters' degree in political science at Columbia. Upon completion I had to choose between going to Princeton University and going to Oxford University for my doctoral degree. Partly because I had a girl-friend in England (Molly Vickerman) I chose Oxford. Quite reluctantly I turned down the fellowship to Princeton. Molly subsequently became my wife and we went to Makerere in Uganda

together for the start of my professional career.

After ten years we had to leave Makerere because of the threat posed by Idi Amin's regime. I joined the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, as a tenured professor and spent fifteen years there. This brings me to the second anniversary presented by the year 2010. It marks the 20th anniversary since I actually started teaching at State University of New York at Binghamton in 1990. (I had arrived at Binghamton the previous Fall, but did not start my SUNY duties until 1990).

The University of Michigan had given me two years to decide between remaining at Binghamton and moving more definitively to Ann Arbor, Michigan.

After very careful consideration of the pros and cons of going back to Michigan, I decided to remain at SUNY-Binghamton. What were the factors which made me choose SUNY Binghamton in spite of the fact that it was a much younger university than Michigan, smaller in size, less influential nationally and internationally, and Michigan was still the base of my second son (Al'Amin) and my third (Kim Abubakar) who were students at Michigan?

Indeed, the print media in Binghamton had been quite hostile to the offer which SUNY Binghamton had made to me in 1989. The offer was regarded as exorbitant, and I was attacked in the local Press as an "African Potentate demanding a chauffeur driven car" from the university. During my second year at Binghamton an anonymous obscene circular attacking me was distributed on the SUNY campus. I was denounced as a "pampered nigger, grossly over-rated." Fortunately the faculty of SUNY-Binghamton rallied to my defense in public demonstrations against racism on campus.

A number of senior faculty also came personally to my office to express solidarity with me. These factors were important in my evaluation of SUNY-Binghamton as I was considering my options for the future. The new questions I asked myself included the following: Would my departure from SUNY-Binghamton be interpreted as a capitulation to either the hostility of the print media or the racism of the anonymous critic? By the end of my second year at Binghamton I was ready to believe that the Press and Sun Bulletin - while still strongly inclined to SUNY-bashing - had stopped personalizing it through attacking Ali Mazrui.

I also asked myself if my departure from SUNY would be inconsistent with my recommendation to the Regents of the State of New York that education in the State should be multicultural and diverse? I had been asking the State to go multicultural - but was I prepared to help it at the college level with my own availability as a SUNY teacher?

I also agonized with myself, asking if my departure from SUNY-Binghamton would be a letdown to those on this campus who were fighting for multiculturalism and diversity? There were those who might not have been champions of multiculturalism but were they champions of academic freedom? Would my departure from SUNY-Binghamton let down those believers of academic freedom who felt that we should all close ranks against various forms of intimidation - including anti-intellectualism in the mass-media.

I also decided to pay tribute to two professionally relevant individuals who had died violently since I departed from Michigan to Binghamton, New York.

One of them tried his best to prevent me from coming to SUNY-Binghamton. Not because he loved SUNY less but because he loved Michigan more. That was Professor Jack Walker, then chairman of Political Science at the University of Michigan, who struggled hard to work out a competitive offer to keep SUNY's counter offer at bay! Jack Walker lost. Alas, we in turn

lost Jack Walker. Jack Walker was killed in a road crash a few weeks after my departure. He was a great colleague at Michigan and a distinguished political scientist. I salute his memory.

The other professionally violent death has been that of Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India. He wrote to me soon after I arrived at SUNY-Binghamton. Rajiv Gandhi invited me to a meeting in India in February 1991. Because of the first Gulf War, Rajiv Gandhi later wrote to say the meeting had to be postponed. New dates were chosen in November 1991. The former Indian Prime Minister was going to be my first high-profile host since coming to Binghamton.

However, there was a clash between dates for India and two particular weeks I was supposed to spend at Cornell as Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large. Fortunately Cornell was flexible, I was able to write to Rajiv Gandhi to confirm my prospective participation in India.

Within weeks Mr. Gandhi was assassinated in a bomb explosion. I saluted him and his family for their distinguished contribution to the Third World.

By the time I got to India it was Rajiv Gandhi's widow - Sonia Gandhi - who hosted me and other world intellectuals at a special Indira Gandhi Symposium on World Affairs in New Delhi. In 1991 I had started negotiations with SUNY-Binghamton to help me launch an Institute of

Global Cultural Studies. Among the projects we hoped to launch was one called "AFRASIA" [ASIA

AND THE BLACK WORLD"] - from Mahatma Gandhi's influence on Martin Luther King Jr to China's prospects as a great power.

I had also opened discussions with the Centre for Islamic Studies at Oxford University about areas of collaboration. I was soon unanimously elected to the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Centre. Another reason which influenced me to remain at SUNY-Binghamton instead of returning to

Michigan concerned the future of Omari H. Kokole, the Ugandan colleague who had accompanied me to Binghamton from Michigan. At Binghamton he seemed to have a solid future as an Assistant Professor of Political Science. Indeed, he was subsequently appointed Associate Director of our new Institute of Global Cultural Studies when it was finally established. Kokole's professional prospects if I had returned to Michigan would have been less promising.

He completed his PhD at a Canadian University and succeeded in publishing his doctoral dissertation. His longer-term project was to be my official biographer in two stages. Firstly, he was to invite other scholars to evaluate my work in a series of essays to be published as a single volume.

Secondly, he himself was to play "Boswell" to my "Samuel Johnson" - accumulating information about me over several years, which would finally become an ambitious professional biography of Ali A.

Mazrui.

Omari accomplished the first stage of getting multiple scholars to write chapters for an edited volume entitled *The Global African: A Professional Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui*.

Unfortunately, by the time Africa World Press in New Jersey published the volume, Omari Kokole was dead. He passed away in 1996 at the young age of 44 after a short illness. It was a devastating shock to us all.

Another factor which influenced me to remain at SUNY-Binghamton was the role which Governor Mario Cuomo had played in persuading me to come to New York for the Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities. The governor telephoned me personally at my home in Michigan. The governor was very persuasive. Indeed, he was an eloquent praise singer for the State of New York as a whole. I greatly appreciated Governor Cuomo's initiative. The national press heard about the governor's phone call, and several newspapers and magazine carried the story.

Not long after I had settled down at SUNY-Binghamton, Education Commissioner Sobal invited me to serve on a School Syllabus Review Committee for the State of New York as a whole. The invitation was confirmed by the Board of Regents of New York State. I served on that Committee, which made wide-ranging recommendations for changes in high school curricula in the State. I coined the subtitle of our Report: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence.

An additional reinforcing factor behind my choice of SUNY-Binghamton was my relationship with Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. When the State of New York appointed me Albert Schweitzer Professor, Cornell had already appointed me to another Distinguished Professorship - the Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large. It was an unusual concept. I was expected to retain the Cornell title for six years, with periodic visits to Cornell to give public lectures, present seminars, and meet with students. Although the Andrew D. White appointment was a university-wide affiliation, the hosting department was Africana Studies and Research Center (AS&RC) at Cornell. Professor Locksley Edmonson went beyond the call of duty as a gracious host and a long-standing friend. As my six years as Andrew D. White Professor-at-Large was coming to an end, the Africana Studies Center negotiated with me a longer term affiliation. From 1992 onwards I became Senior

Scholar in Africana Studies and Andrew D. White Emeritus Professor-at-Large. In order to combine the Cornell deal with my Albert Schweitzer Professorship at Binghamton, the Provosts of the two universities worked out a special formula for a joint appointment at the two universities. I shall discuss more fully this unusual dual appointment elsewhere in this Newsletter.

Lastly, but perhaps most importantly this year of 2010 is also the twentieth anniversary of Pauline Uti's first arrival in the United States. Pauline and I became friends when I was a Research Professor at the University of Jos in Nigeria, and she was a student in a sister institution in close proximity. When I returned to the United States I discovered how much I missed her. I encouraged her to apply to SUNY-Binghamton for a Master's degree in the Faculty of Education. She was admitted to SUNY, and arrived in Binghamton in 1990. We subsequently got married, produced two sons (Farid and Harith) - and the rest is history!! She also successfully completed her Master degree.

SUB-THEME TITLE

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APPENDIX I

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In my career, I am, of course, indebted to dozens of colleagues, friends, relatives, and other personal and professional benefactors. But in this Newsletter I will only mention those

colleagues who have helped me in the last twelve months in Administrative, Secretarial, and managerial roles:

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- V. Supportive Team in Uganda: \
Sam Max Sebina Muhammad Ddungu
Idd Mukalazi Where do I put Senthil Mehalingam?

For my mobility between SUNY-Binghamton and Cornell-Ithaca, I am particularly indebted to my colleagues Seifudein Adem, Patrick Dikirr, and their comfortable cars! Patrick, Seifudein and my wife Pauline have been the wheels of my existence in the State of New York!

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I am, of course, also greatly indebted to my immediate family and to my extended family across three continents. My gratitude also to my esteemed colleagues in the universities to

which I am affiliated, to my students, and to my graduate assistants from semester to semester.