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**ALI MAZRUI: HIS POLITICAL
AND INTELLECTUAL
COMMITMENT, *THE TRIAL OF
CHRISTOPHER OKIGBO***

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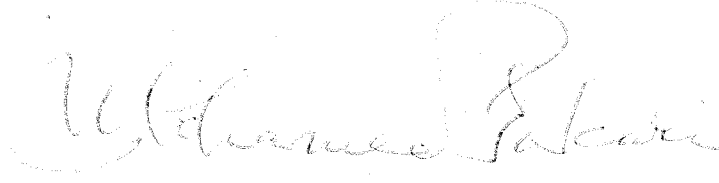
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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1.The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

2.The thesis describes Ali Mazrui's political and intellectual commitment. For this aim the thesis benefits from two major sources:

i) Ali Mazrui's political novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* and his myriad articles.

ii) Many scholarly articles on his personality and his works.

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July, 2004

ABSTRACT

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July 2004

ALI MAZRUI: HIS POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL COMMITMENT, *THE TRIAL OF CHRISTOPHER OKIGBO*

This study is aimed at examining one of the most prominent political scientist Ali Mazrui's political and intellectual personality and commitment with special reference to his political novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. The study is made up of two sections. In the first section Ali Mazrui's political personality and commitment is probed into. His treatment of the issues disputed over in the novel and his handling the concepts are analyzed and his influential commitments as a well-known and widely appreciated political scientist are talked about. Though the novel *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* is major reference for us, at times we went beyond the novel and enriched the study by benefiting from Mazrui's myriad articles. Again for the same purpose the writer of this study contacted Ali Mazrui in person to establish a more realistic conceptual layout for the thesis and during the study kept on being in touch with him in order to clarify some of the points than needed to be shed light. In the second section of the thesis, Ali Mazrui's intellectual personality and intellectual commitment are scrutinized. The novel with its heavy intellectual ambience is benefited as a major source, in addition, Mazrui's myriad works as to the intellectualism are used in this process. Again many leading intellectuals', Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, W.E.B Dubois, George Orwell's ideas as to the issue are talked about and in the lights of these intellectuals Mazrui stance is analyzed once more. The last section epitomizes the study, reveals the dawned conclusions, and makes predictions on relevant future studies.

Key Words:

Civil war

Pan-africanism

Intellectual

Peace

Universalism

Responsibility

KISA ÖZET

SERAP TÜRKMEN

TEMMUZ 2004

ALİ MAZRUI'NİN POLİTİKA VE ENTELEKTÜELLİĞE KATKISI, *CHRISTOPHER OKIGBO'NUN YARGILANIŞI*

Bu çalışma siyaset bilimci Prof. Ali Mazrui'nin politik ve entelektüel kimliğini onun politika ve entelektüelliğe olan katkısını ünlü politik romanı *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* isimli eserine referansla incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Çalışma iki bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde Ali Mazrui'nin politik etkinliği ele alınmış, bu bağlamda romanda tartışılan politik problemler ve kavramları çözümleyişi analiz edilmiş, ünlü bir siyaset bilimci olarak siyaset alanında yaptığı dünya çapındaki etkin çalışmalara değinilmiştir. Her ne kadar bu çalışmada faydalanılan temel kaynak *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* olsa da zaman zaman Ali Mazrui'nin makalelerinden, çalışmalarından yararlanılarak tezin daha da zenginleştirilmesine çalışılmıştır. Yine bu amaç doğrultusunda Ali Mazrui ile çalışma öncesi kişisel bir görüşme yapılmış, tezin taslağı oluşturulmuş ve çalışma boyunca da kendisine sorular yöneltilerek bazı anlaşılamayan noktaların belirginleştirilmesi sağlanmıştır. Tezin ikinci bölümünde ise Ali Mazrui'nin entelektüel kimliği ve entelektüelliğe olan katkısı incelenmiş yoğun bir entelektüel havanın hakim olduğu romandan bu süreçte faydalanılmış, yanı sıra Ali Mazrui'nin entelektüellik üzerine yaptığı yazılı ve görsel bazı çalışmalardan da istifade edilmiştir. Yine önde gelen entelektüellerden Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, W.E.B Dubois, George Orwell'in entelektüelin topluma karşı görevi konusunda fikirlerine yer verilmiş ve bahsi geçen entelektüellerin ışığında Ali Mazrui'nin duruşu bir kez daha analiz edilmiştir. Son bölüm çalışmanın bir özetini ve ulaştığı sonuçları sunmakta ve gelecekteki benzer çalışmalar hakkında bazı tahmin ve temennilerde bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Sivil Savaş

Pan-afrikanizm

Entelektüel

Barış

Üniversalizm

Sorumluluk

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It is a singular pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Dr. Ali A. Mazrui for his invaluable help to me during the thesis and his special care despite his overt tiredness amid the fervor conference last year during his visit to Turkey.

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I must also express my thanks to my friend, Ayse Zirh, who patiently listened to me and never refused to discuss and share her most precious ideas with me on my subject. Therefore I must finally express my awareness that this study is not solely my harvest but also the output of a collaborative endeavor initiated by a team.

INTRODUCTION

It is possible to describe warfare as the mutual killing, fear and declaration of enmity among people. In other words, it's mankind's incomprehensible tragedy. And perhaps the most tragic and equally inconceivable of wars is the civil war. It comes as most difficult to understand how people living on the same common land can declare one another enemies and wage war against each other. As the man in question, Ali Mazrui however, makes no such distinction as unconceivable or most unconceivable. He extends the issue a bit further pointing out that world wars are civil wars themselves. This is based on the idea that all mankind are actually brothers because they all come from Adam and Eve, which by implication leads to the conclusion that world wars are no other than murders being committed by brothers. Lets take a look at his own words taken from an interview I had with him, in order to get an idea of how he approaches the issue:

Indeed, a world war is a civil war writ large - It is a globalized civil war of humans against humans.

Those who read the first paragraph might think that the work at hand is about civil war. Though it is true that the work touches on the concept of civil war, I can add that this thesis is a study of Ali Mazrui's Political and intellectual commitment referring to his novel where many political and sociological notions that envelop us throughout our lives are questioned. Here we see that Ali Mazrui's prominent theory "The Triple Heritage" accounts for the center of the thesis, where civil war itself and

many other African problems and African leaders were tried and for the most parts where intellectual issues and intellectualism itself are scrutinized. This thesis serves as an endeavor to understand Ali Mazrui through his work.

Such concepts as nationalism, universalism, integrationism, the role of intellectual to his immediate society and to the globe are problematic concepts for which perhaps most of us find difficult to assign any particular stance in our world of concept confusions. It has been Ali Mazrui's opportunity to reexamine under scope of the new world order such concepts thanks to his intellectual and political profession, that has led me to prepare the thesis on this particular topic. To this end, concepts dealt with in *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* are put under a philosophic questioning; a critique is made of approaches considered to be problematic where we as the reader at times are surprised to find that our own ideas turn out to be misconceptions. Isn't it so that the greatest benefit any book will have on the reader lies in its capacity to bring the reader to confront his own misconceptions and consequently to question his existing thoughts.

Among the major motivating forces behind my attempt at this study has been Mazrui's introduction of new approaches to existing problems and his objective attitude as well as the dominating intellectual overtone of the novel in its entirety. Shedding light on Africa's current predicament, the theory of "The Triple Heritage", has it that Africa remains under the influence of the three major cultures of Indigenous Africanity, Western culture and Islam- and emphasizes that this influence while on one hand adds a richness to the African culture, it at times causes cultural conflicts. Having grown up under the influence of Triple Heritage himself, Mazrui,

in the novel, displays an indifferent intellectual and ethical understanding towards each of these three basic cultures. Although the book chooses Africa as setting it does not focus on one single culture. As Mazrui himself has expressed during the interview. “The novel borrows ideas from all those three civilizations”.

To the writer of this study being seminal in one’s treatment is of great use, which is precisely what we see in Ali Mazrui. He is quite seminal in his way of dealing with the complex political and social issues, he is even original in turning his grief into a creative seminal output. His practicing his profession is presented as a therapy, a kind of catharsis for him. As he himself stated while answering my question about whether the Trial of Christopher Okigbo is a kind of catharsis: “Devastation is best answered by an act of creation, like a poem or story-telling”.

One of the qualities that might be said to make this study different is that it tries to scrutinize on the intellectual and political identity of Ali Mazrui through the novel in question, which I believe is an original contribution. There are many scholarly works on Ali Mazrui, some being critics of his works, sometimes festschrift in honor of him and some, being review of his books, etc. I think this work is the first to analyze the aforementioned novel in so much detail and employ it as lenses to view Mazrui’s personality and his scholarship.

Mazrui is read and worked on worldwide, and the reason behind my belief that this particular study will be a different reading in that, I- as someone from Turkey where not many things are known and not much research is done on colonialism, civil war, etc- am bringing my own experience to the interpretive task. Of course the same thing can be said with respect to one’s individualistic differences in perception

and thinking. Furthermore, I believe that my personal contact with Ali Mazrui before and during my working process will be of great help in terms of clarifying some of the points I haven't been sure what to name and how to treat. In this sense mine will be different from the post-humous works, in that it will provide me with the opportunity to get first hand feedback on my opinion and assumptions.

i. Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory constitutes the theoretical ground of this thesis. We had better talk over briefly what postcolonial theory is and its major tenets before touching on its employment in the thesis. Postcolonial theory is a literary theory or critical approach that deals with literature produced in countries that were once, or are now, colonies of other countries. It may also deal with literature written in or by citizens of colonizing countries that takes colonies or their peoples as its subject matter. The theory is based around concepts of otherness and resistance and it became part of the critical toolbox in the 1970s, and many practitioners credit Edward Said's book *Orientalism* as being the founding work.¹ Its initial objective, being to probe into lost identities, endeavors and languages, postcolonial theory has yet surpassed this aim, becoming a multidisciplinary field it is applied to political science, to history, and to other related fields, though we can add that the most influential field it operates on is literature. In addition to the literary, political, sociological, anthropological and psychological approaches already brought to concepts such as identity, nationalism,

¹ "Postcolonial theory" (2004)
http://www.fact-index.com/p/po/postcolonial_theory.html (03.08.2004)

race, marginality and majority rights, postcolonial theory has provided and still provides the ground on which these concepts could be studied under a different light and with other considerations in view.

The most important tenet of postcolonial theory is the image of colonization in the writers' minds.² As the postcolonial writers are mostly from the once colonized or presently colonized countries, they mostly try to convey what colonialism resulted in. For example, Ali Mazrui in the novel in question, through symbols, tells the story of how colonization came to Africa, how the culture was molded positively and negatively. As a political scientist he talks over politics of Africa; the leaders, the political system, internal and external influences and he explains Africa's chronic problem, civil war, along with its causes and results and in the mean time suffers from the agony over civil war. We talk in the novel how the predicament in Africa can be treated, what specific roles the Africans and the intellectuals in Africa should play. However, this does not mean that postcolonial theory is all about Africa or the West. "Postcolonialism" as a term lends itself to very broad use. Australians and Canadians sometimes claim to live in postcolonial societies³ Moreover, postcolonial theory supports multiculturalism. Postcolonial theoretician Homi Bhabha developed the term "hybridity" to capture the sense that many writers have of belonging to *both* cultures.⁴ This very tendency is what we bear witness in Ali Mazrui. Reading the

²Rao, VJayaLakshmi(2002)"AfricanEnglishPoetry:SomeThemesand Features"http://65.107.211.206/post/africa/jvrao5.html (3 May 2002)

³"Postcolonial Literature?: Problems with the Term"
www.wsu.edu:8080/~brians/anglophone/postcolonial.html - 20k (03.08.2004)

⁴ ibid

novel one can without any hesitation call him 'A Global Kenyan.'

Furthermore the postcolonial theory does not solely deal with the historical courses of colonization; it also ruminates over the future and betterment of the countries at hand as we will witness in *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. So it definitely goes beyond those confinements as claimed and at times even directs the camera to the postcolonial theory itself and makes its criticism.

The postcolonial writers often convey their say through the medium of literature. Poetry, drama, novel, painting and many other genres are chosen. Literature as a major medium has been ground for many influential postcolonial literarians like; Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka (Nobel Laureate), Salman Rushdie, Jamaica Kincaid and many others. Here Mazrui as a political scientist chooses to convey his say through the medium of literature. In a single fictional novel he talks over almost all African problems.

The other important and common feature of postcolonial theory is that it is mostly practiced in English. This is mostly due to the reason that English now has achieved the prominence worldwide. So in a way they use the colonizer's language to tell the story of the colonized.

So, in the thesis postcolonial theory is employed which has not only been a ground but also a new dimension for the thesis.

ii. The Setting

This study is divided into two fundamental chapters. The first chapter is completely related to Ali Mazrui's political commitment. In order for building a ground, it will try to discuss the concept of civil war, civil war in Africa and more importantly the civil war in Nigeria namely the Biafran War along with its causes and results. Upon this ground the study will refer to the novel; how the Biafran War is treated in the novel, how Mazrui conceives the war in question and treats it in the fiction, a stage where we come to see his political profession closely. The second chapter will deal with Ali Mazrui's intellectual commitment. Before delving into his intellectual personality we will discuss what an intellectual is and what role he serves in the society and in the world at large, amid the complicated problems of today's world. One of Mazrui's articles, "What Is an Intellectual? What is His Role in African Revolution?" will be our major guide other than *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. Moreover, we will refer to leading intellectuals like, Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, W.E.B. Dubois, George Orwell and try to view Mazrui from their understanding of the true intellectual, which will provide us with a basis to look into his treatment of intellectual issues scrutinized in the novel.

Finally, the last chapter will render a summary of the main points of the whole study, put forth the conclusions it has reached, and make some predictive remarks on relevant future studies.

CHAPTER I

HIS POLITICAL COMMITMENT

The Trial of Christopher Okigbo delineates Ali Mazrui's Political side in its entirety. The book is in a way a political analysis as well as a case study of African politics in general. The events may take place in Nigeria, however, the concept of civil war, nationalism, fratricidal conflicts are nothing new to Africa. As Mazrui himself puts it in the words of one of his characters, "Death is just an exercise in Africa" Besides converging being an academician and a freelance intellectual, he is a politician who has his say not only in African affairs but also in World politics. *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* sets the ground for us to see his stance to many political issues both as far as Africa and the World at large is concerned, in its theory and praxis.

I-Civil War

I saw them with guns, and I saw guns aiming at each other...

Human history has witnessed war not only between borders it has also had to bear witness wars within a nation, within one country, even within one city. The civil war is the bane that in one way or another, almost every nation suffered. Even a single example from one of the statistics carried out in this issue will be enough to thrill us: between the period 1900-1967 there were 526 civil wars (broadest use of

the term) throughout the World.⁵ And the death toll after only one civil strife, for example the Irish civil war (1921-1923) is up to 5.000 people.⁶ Likewise, the civil violence in Burundi (1993-1998), in Africa caused 200.000 people to die, Over 550,000 citizens, or nine percent of the population, to be displaced⁷. If we think about the outcome, a civil war leads to, for instance the brittle effects on soldiers, civilians (who are directly or indirectly involved), women in particular, children, elderly and also the effects on other countries, then we come to see how suicidal it is. The recorded reasons that lead to-better to say that has led to, throughout the history and throughout the World- this fratricidal atrocity, by and large, are, mistreatment of minorities, economic inequities, social inequities, violation of citizen or regional rights, slavery, ethnic differences resulting in ethnic violence, political manipulation, and external engagement into internal affairs, imported ideology like communism, religious conflicts, tribalism, regional/geographical differences, etc.

In Africa where most of these enumerated reasons marked the continent, the civil war is a salient part of its politics, better to say, its problematic. Algeria, Somalia, Yemen, Kenya, Congo, Rwanda, Nigeria, Liberia, Sudan (30 years), Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda as well as the experiences of Tanzania and Zimbabwe, are places where civil war ensued with all its suicidal effects. War, internal strife, bloodshed turned up in Africa first with the advent of colonialism, ingrained and kept on even after the recession. Violence was a concomitant of colonialism. During

⁵ "Civil Wars Throughout the World"

<http://www.cwc.lsu.edu/cwc/inter-aspects/world1.htm#app> (18.12 2003)

⁶ BBC News Online (2003) "1921-22: The Irish Free State and civil war"

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/low/events/northern_ireland/history/64206.stm#top(18.12 2003)

⁷ Federation of American Scientists, (2003)"Burundi Civil War"

<http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/war/burundi.htm>(18.12 2003)

colonial period and its aftermath, violence and bloodshed became so endemic and so usual in Africa that the news about death became no more thrilling than that of finance news or any other daily news. After the harsh colonial period colonization is proceeded through a new form: Neo-colonization, like a phoenix, it rose again, and death in the form of fratricidal war kept on. In a way, the Africans paid for the price: The price of independence again with blood, which is an unchangeable means of exchange in Africa. Death is not just an exercise; for many a young people death is immemorial exercise, which they've inherited from ancestors and do not even know the beginning thereof. Death was a usual praxis not only for the Africans, but it was also a usual means for the colonial rule wishing to perpetuate its colonial dominion throughout period of their existence.

As Ali Mazrui himself puts in one of his articles, "Conflicts in Africa: An Overview", it is not that easy to explicate the reasons of the gruesome conflicts in Africa. Many factors ranging from social and economic inequities, political instability, manipulation of ethnic differences, the African leaders' ineptitude and misconducts are all varied reasons, however, underlying these reasons there lies the colonial perpetration which incites them, beginning with the borders issue. After the independence the colonial rule resorted to dividing the African borders in accordance with their interests:

Many African states found that upon independence in the 1950s and 60s, their countries comprised diverse and divided populations. Further, they had to confront the legacy left by their former European rulers, who had often played different ethnic groups against one another, so as to create a situation in which rule could be exercised without concern for broad based revolutionary activity. This legacy persists in the form

of deep ethnic tensions, in economic and power imbalances between ethnic groups, and in open civil conflict.⁸

The legacy of borders was partly the reason because the partition was not in accordance with the living conditions, habitat or tradition. It was in a way scattering rather than partition: a divide and rule policy. Mazrui in his above-mentioned article cites the example of Somali in this case. To him, the colonial policy forced the people living apart to unite and forced those living united to scatter, for example Somali was a nation trying to become an all-inclusive state, however, The Somali were scattered in four different countries, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia. Their desire to reunification has resulted in deadly conflict.⁹

So, living on the colonial lands it was of course not surprising for colonial rule to avert letting independence. After the Second World War, it was imminent for the African colonies to unleash; however it was not that easy. Upon dividing it was now time for the colonizers to rule. So they set what Mazrui called "Failing States", illegitimate governments which were not recognized fully, nor respected. It was too a fragile ground to prevent the civil war.

The Cold War was another aspect, the flip side of the coin that we cannot pass without counting. During the Cold war Africa was the playground for America and Soviet Union:

Great power intervention in African affairs throughout the Cold War exacerbated the problems, and often resulted in the conduct of proxy wars through regional allies, such as those in Angola and Ethiopia. During the period in which many

⁸ Global Change Game (2003) "Civil War and Ethnic Conflict in Africa"
<http://www.mts.net/~gcg/resources/africa/index03.html>(15.12 2003)

⁹ Mazrui, Ali. (1995) "Conflict in Africa: An Overview" ed. by Oliver Furley New York and London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, pg 4.

African countries were becoming independent, the United States, and to a lesser extent the Soviet Union, supported various rebel factions or national governments that were seen as supportive of their aims.¹⁰

I.2. Great Power Non-intervention

During post-colonial period Africa witnessed intervention maybe even more than the colonial period. However, Africa barely saw this intervention when the civil wars reached the pinnacle. (Apart from the humanitarian involvement with ulterior motives) The intervention was plentiful when the resources were being taken; even the bodies were being taken together with resources as cheap laborers across the Atlantic. However, with automation, when they no longer need laborers, the intervention suddenly came to end. Now the great powers almost forget the Africans. What Ali Mazrui claims for the Somalia that after the Cold War the strategic value of Somalia plunged like stock market prices on Wall Street is now true of the whole Africa¹¹. Africa awaits intervention for reparation, for unmanageable violence.

Of course there is a lot to say as to the conflicts in Africa, Mazrui making Biafran war as centerpiece talks about the conflicts from various aspects.

I.3. The Biafran War: Moral Rights in Conflict

Great power intervention at the beginning per se is not the only raison d'être of the civil strifes of course. The clashes between the ethnic groups their not providing

¹⁰ Global Change Game (2003) "Civil War and Ethnic Conflict in Africa"
<http://www.mts.net/~gcg/resources/africa/index03.html> (18.12 2003)

¹¹ Mazrui, A. Ali. (1993) "Crisis in Somalia: Descent into Desperation" *Africa Notes*, pg 7

the coalescence themselves, nationalism at the ethnic basis and regionalism after the world war II are all the accompanying, therefore facilitating, factors that prolonged the civil war, an example of which we see in Nigerian civil war. Before moving on to the book, it should be useful, in helping to give a more comprehensive understanding of the matter at hand to sum up the war in Biafra which Mazrui has looked into in the form almost of a case study.

The Nigerian Civil War, more commonly called the Biafran War, is a civil strife that led to the death of three million people, injury and loss of home of millions. The immediate reasons to cause this war are no different from the above-mentioned factors: ethnic clashes and political manipulation of great power intervention. Nigeria consists of widely differing ethnic groups¹², the colonial rule divided the country in order to facilitate the control of the country-better to say -the resources, which furthered the existing problems. There became even more hatred, disparity amongst the groups because:

The growth of nationalism in the society and the subsequent emergence of political parties were based on ethnic/tribal rather than national interests, and therefore had

¹² About three hundred ethnic groups comprise the population of Nigeria. Ethnic minority groups, those which do not comprise a majority in the region in which they live. These groups usually do not have a political voice, nor do they have access to resources or the technology needed to develop and modernize economically. They therefore often consider themselves discriminated against, neglected, or oppressed. There are only three ethnic groups, which have attained "ethnic majority" status in their respective regions: the Hausa-Fulani in the north, the Ibo in the southeast, and the Yoruba (Soyinka's group) in the southwest. The ethnic groups are occasionally fusions created by intermarriage, intermingling and/or assimilation. In such fusions, the groups of which they are composed maintain a limited individual identity. The term "tribe" is not a proper noun to describe these ethnic groups. The Ibo and Hausa-Fulani of Nigeria are each made up of five to ten million people, a figure comparable to the number of, say, Scots, Welsh, Armenians, Serbs or Croats. The term "tribe" is almost exclusively, and very indifferently, applied to peoples of Native American or African origin. In order for further information see:

The American Heritage Dictionary, Second College Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982 and Okpu, Ugbana. Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigerian Politics: 1960-1965. Stockholm: LiberTryck AB, 1977.

no unifying effect on the peoples against the colonial master. Rather, it was the people themselves who were the victims of the political struggles, which were supposed to be a Federation, and remained one country.¹³

Who will preside over the rest became a matter of dispute amongst ethnic groups. Coups and counter coups followed one other¹⁴; this of course destroyed the fragile trust existing among the major ethnic groups.

The most macabre faction was between the Easterners (the Ibos) and the Northerners (the Hausas). The two ethnic groups were not getting along well for reasons ranging from their stances to colonialism, Africa's political problems, education, religion. Being a minority fond of their liberty and living under the domination of the ruling party, which consists largely of the Northerners, The Ibos were not at ease at all. And the imminent bloody civil war broke out with a crisis in 1964 when electoral boycotts took place during the first general elections¹⁵. Coup

¹³ Abubakar A. Atofarati (1992) "The Nigerian Civil War: Causes, Strategies, And Lesson Learnt"

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/AAA.htm>(2.11.2003)

¹⁴ Unsuccessful attempts excluded, Nigeria has had nine coups in the last forty years.

¹⁵ The events occurred successively (more in detail): A crisis occurred in 1964 when electoral boycotts took place during the first general elections. Then in 1965 disorders broke out after the ruling political party rigged elections in the Western region. In January 1966, a coup led by army officers belonging to the Ibo tribe overthrew the civil government and murdered the prime minister and the premiers of the north and western regions. A military government led by Maj. Gen. Johnson T. U. Aguiyi-Ironsi then ruled Nigeria, until another coup led by the officers of the Hausa tribe of the northern region. The murder of Ibos living in the north led to a mass migration of Ibos to their native eastern region. Hausas were also killed in the Eastern Region. The four regions attempted to negotiate a return to a civilian government from September to November 1966 but failed to produce an agreement, in part because the representatives of the Eastern Region failed to appear after the first conference. Although more negotiations took place in 1967, the situation quickly deteriorated, and on May 27, Lieut. Col. C. O. Ojukwu, empowered by the Eastern Region's Consultative Assembly, declared the Eastern Region a sovereign and independent republic. The federal government declared a state emergency and divided Nigeria into 12 states. On May 30, Ojukwu proclaimed the secession of the Eastern Region and the formation of the Republic of Biafra. Soon, fighting broke out between the federal and the Biafran forces. Although the Biafran forces at first did well, by early October the federal forces had captured Enugu, their capital. Despite attempts by the Organization of African

by the Ibos in 1966 and the counter coup by the Hausas even exacerbated the circumstances. In order for unification the federal government divided the country into twelve states, which turned out to be the last straw for Ibo group to promulgate the independence of Biafra. This secession was regarded illegal and a menace to the unity of Nigeria by the federal government. From then on, for three years people got involved in homicide. In the mean time, many attempts to cease the war and provide peace failed, including the one just before the war. Three million people died.

Politicians, Easterners residing in the North and Hausas in the Eastern Region were all killed. Each side through propoganda obtained diplomatic and economic support from western countries, the federal government was propped up by USA, USSR, and the United Kingdom and the Biafrans were assisted by France, Spain and Portugal. The civil strife turned out to be bloodbath. The western help in ammunition and provisions in one way or another prolonged the war.¹⁶

Unity to end the civil war, hostilities continued until 1970 at which point the federal forces had starved the Biafran population into submission. Ojukwu fled the country on January 11, and a delegation to Lagos formally surrendered on January 15, 1970, thus ending the existence of the Republic of Biafra. For his information and even further see:

“Biafran War Minna Song” (1993)

<http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/landow/post/nigeria/biafra.htm> (14.01.0994)

¹⁶ To elaborate on the diplomatic, military, psychological, side of the war see:

Abubakar A. Atofarati (1992) “The Nigerian Civil War: Causes, Strategies, And Lesson Learnt”
<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/AAA.htm>(2.11.2003)

1.4. We Were Trying Christopher Okigbo For Nigeria And Its

Agony...

So, this civil war that I have tried to summarize is taken under scrutiny in *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, after all, Christopher Okigbo, the figure discussed throughout the book, dies in the Nigerian Civil War. In fact, Christopher Okigbo per se is not the case in point; he is just an entity through whom the bane on Africa is probed. As one of the major character in the book puts:

We were trying Christopher Okigbo for Nigeria and its agony....(141)

The book is written based on the gruesome Nigerian Civil War, whereby we come to see Ali Mazrui's political stance to the civil war. In the preface of the book, we encounter his somewhat emotional pose, which immediately gives us an idea:

It was the evening of May 30th, 1967. My wife and I had just sat down for dinner in our house on Kauai view in Kampala. I had my transistor radio on the dining table for the eight o'clock news. The first item was the Colonel Ojibwa, the Ibo military leader, had declared the Eastern Region of Nigeria an independent republic, the Republic of Biafra. This was the act of secession-the civil war had yet to start. But my imagination had already taken leap. In one staggering flash I saw many of the faces of Nigerians I had known as a student in my younger days; I saw them with guns, and I saw guns aiming at each other...To my surprise my eyes filled up, I breathed in sharply, and broke down and wept...

However, his personal anguish grows into a wider projection through the end of the novel as local and universal politics are viewed as well as universal values and literature. The events take place in the hereafter, in the hereafter of Africa, or to put

it as referred to in the book; in the 'After-Africa'. The events are in a way' projections of those of here-before. Christopher Okigbo, a prominent Ibo poet, is the center around whom the events are accommodated. He is tried for his participation in the Biafran War. He is tried because his act is considered to be an unappreciable thing for a person who is supposed to be a forerunner. However, this is not only a trial for Christopher Okigbo who is merely utilized, as an abstract figure, to personify the indictment of Africa, precisely Nigeria. In fact, he has no presence on the court at all. The setting for the trial is already designated by the Elders of After-Africa who, having died old, retained the credentials for extra considerations in the existence, which followed. It is held in the Grand Stadium where;

"The varying features of Africa's humanity through all the ages were fully represented." (29)

Hamisi Salim (Giraffe) is the counsel for salvation who argues for Okigbo and Kwame Apolo-Gyamfi, his counterpart, acts as Counsel for Damnation. The lawyers themselves are actually also under trial themselves. The novel commences with Hamisi's arrival to After-Africa. With his sudden death he leaves the here-before, however, this doesn't immediately make him a member of After-Africa:

A rite de passage was needed to enable him to be promoted from the status of the merely dead to the status of immortal. (38)

This is like that of Herebefore's archetypal rite de passages to status of being a meritorious, knight-like entity. So in order to pass this stage he is to defend Christopher Okigbo on the court. Being an inexperienced lawyer having little as to

the laws of After-Africa and the case itself, he has one week to do research and find circumstantial evidences. Then the trial begins. The trial is the centerpiece of the novel during which many philosophical, intellectual, religious, and political issues are taken under scrutiny, bewildering witnesses and events turn up. At the end of the trial the elders come to the verdicts of each participant.

So at this trial, at this centerpiece, Mazrui imparts his say as to African politics and as to civil war. As a serious intellectual and a profound thinker he, by definition, commences with questioning the philosophy of civil war. It is not complicated though:

Death is indeed an exercise in Pan-Africanism. We have been known to kill each other partly because we belong to each other. We kill each other because we are neighbors.
(106)

He furthers his philosophizing concretizing by building an analogy between incest intercourse and civil war, which is quite concise and baffling to the minds.

The Nigerian Civil War is the tragedy of Cain writ Large. Both fratricide and incest consist in a defilement of kind by kind. (117)

Nothing can better concretize the horror of the civil war as this analogy can make. It is typical of Mazrui to turn up with terse and shocking articulations. This is also what we often encounter and enjoy in the book. In order to make us sense the horror of the war, Mazrui resorts to specific events that are by definition traced back to many experienced ones during the actual war. The case of Vincent Obika, the cobbler, is one of them. On the court Obika is summoned as a witness of Hamisi. After the cold intellectual, abstract repartees it was time to deal with real

cases, it was time to real political engagement. Obika tells his story with tremor whereby we bear witness how a member of a ethnic group turns out to be a relentless enemy of the other and shoots his man whenever he meets him on the spot without any hesitation. And how he relishes seeing the picture he rendered, in a way, in the witness box Obika draws the frames of an individual catastrophe in the midst of the gruesome turmoil for us. With this case in mind one can figure out more easily the relationship between the incest intercourse and fratricidal war.

Obika's case is also pertinent in that it delineates Mazrui's distant stance to both Sides.¹⁷

1.5 The Soccer Match: A Single Goal Against Parity

As aforementioned what is tried, in essence, is Africa itself in addition to Christopher Okigbo or Nigerian Civil War, and trial of Africa is traced back to immemorial times. The bane on Africa is probed encompassing colonialism, exploitation, ethnic wars, etc. The match held in the grand stadium before Hamisi was informed about the mission in store for him, is a metaphor through which the bane is examined, also the cultural assimilation is brought fore, because besides being symbol for the curse the soccer match stands as a concrete evidence of cultural assimilation.

...Soccer was not invented at that time anywhere in the world. In part, it found its way into Africa as result of imperial rule. Yes, the twentieth century arrivals into After-Africa quickly managed to fire the imagination of the rest of

¹⁷ He touches on both Sides' brutalities. Looking the circumstantial records we see that the Ibo group blames the housa and the housa do the like. However, Mazrui does not point out the beginning- better to say- the inciter of the brutalities. From his predilection, it is not difficult to extrapolate that for him rather than the sides, the war per se is what is case in point. The civil war it self is what he condemns and agonizes.

us with the attraction of his particular game. The British in Africa-before-the-grave were themselves astonished at the rapid success of soccer among African societies at large. (31-32)

In one of his articles, "The Africans", Mazrui argues that sport is one of the things that was molded under the Western and the Islamic-as well as indigenous- influence.¹⁸

The elements of soccer match are all metaphoric; one metaphor in this case is 'the single goal'. In the match the sixteenth century wins over the match with a single goal. However, the sixteenth century denies itself chance of scoring more additional goals. The ulterior motive that is hidden in this metaphor is that, the colonizers sacrifice the potential of establishing a greater difference to the danger causing parity. They don't want to be at a par under any circumstance with the colonized. The colonized should always be at the zero degree, which is safer and apt for the colonizer's predilection. Therefore, they exhaust their potential to keep the distance in tact. The single goal, thus, is a goal against equalization.

The soccer match also says that being a continent on its own, self-subsistent, Africa met the imperial virus a from very early time. This colonial virus in time evolves and paves the way for the twentieth century's plight in Africa.

During the match, the centuries play against each other, it is in a way a duel. On that day it is scheduled that the eleventh century plays against the sixteenth. At the beginning the eleventh century performs well, knocking the tenth, twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth centuries, however, all of a sudden the

¹⁸ Mazrui, Ali. (1986) *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. NY: Little Brown and Co; London: BBC Publication

sixteenth century triumphs over the eleventh with one kick. It is by definition an unexpected kick. To the goal keeper's oblivion the left-winger sends the ball swiftly home, the stadium of course is driven crazy.

So, Africa being a free continent being on her own begins loosing blood from the sixteenth century onward by virtue of imperial virus, and the stadium that gathers all the Africans of history having them face their facts, witnesses the ravel, the break up.

To Mazrui, it is as if the destiny determined Africa's rank, that's to say, there is a curse, 'The Curse of The Trinity' chasing and enveloping Africa, as well as Nigerian Civil War, from every angle. The curse is, if we commence with the geographical structure of Africa: the continent is surrounded by the trinity: the Tropic of Capricorn, the Equator, the Tropic of Cancer. The Mediterranean to the North, the Atlantic Ocean to the west, and the Indian Ocean to the east. So in terms of centrality to the global scheme of things they bring the continent to the fore. As to history, the Curse of the Trinity unfolds itself as, what he calls, 'The Triangle of Asiento', a dark line from Europe to the West Africa, slaves from West Africa to America and sugar from America to Europe. And culture was left as a residue to Africa: Indigenous culture peculiar to Africa, Islamic culture and tradition and Christianity and Western way of life infiltrated into Africa via colonialism. Colonialism often abused this difference and rendered it into clashes, thus, curse, which otherwise is nothing more than richness. It is doubtless to say that Nigeria shares this tripartite curse.

Islam, Euro-Christianity and Indigenous tradition struggled to forge a new personality in a single nation. Nigeria was Africa in embryo. (139)

Mazrui here incorporates the three regions in Federal Nigeria each dominated by one of those three chief ethnic groups (the Ibos, the Housas, the Yorubas) as the underpinnings of civil war in Nigeria. So, the curse of the trinity was chasing Africa to the very embryo of its Nigerian manifestation. (139)

1.6. Advanced Technology in the Most Pristine War

The weapons employed in the civil war, a case which has considerable impact on the process of war has its repercussions in the After-Africa too. The advance technology employed in the most pristine war facilitated nothing but the number of dead people. Man not only become incidental, as Chaka and Mirambo, two politic figures verbalized in the book, but also become dehumanized. Africa began grappling with the complicated problems through armament, which killed not only the masses but also the politics itself. As stated in the book:

Africa was learning faster how to destroy the masses militarily than she was learning how to mobilize them politically. (63)

With this new warfare the concept of individuality was dying as well as the entities. So, the Africans were doing the same thing to each other just as the colonizers once perpetrated before the independence.¹⁹ Once more they were being depersonalized, once more they were becoming mass.

The masses were the new yardstick for great decisions-how to mobilize the masses, how to serve the masses, how to destroy the masses.(63)

¹⁹ During the colonial period it was the colonial powers' conduct that they never deemed the Africans as individual, the colonized was entitled only to drawn in an anonymous collectivity. The unfortunate perpetuation caused identity problems during and even after colonial period. This crucial case is elucidated in one of Albert Memmi's influential works: *The Colonizer and The Colonized*. See that work: Memmi, Albert.(1991) *The Colonizer and The Colonized* Boston: Beacon Press

Here Mazrui by definition directs the attentions to the weapon policy expiated by the colonial powers for their own interests. The external forces interfering with the war by sending aids, thus, having a ascendancy over the specific ethnic groups which they back up, turned out to be a general strategy in the wars ensued in Africa. The ethnic groups while fighting against each other lose blood in the mean time and foreign interference emerges just at this juncture. The foreign interference manifests itself as food aid, medical provisions and weapons. The foreign forces often provide these aids through leaders of each group, as there is usually no way. So each external force backs up each internal group. Consequently the aids are not distributed amongst the all who are in dire need but amongst those who get in touch with them. For example the food aid provided for the refuges in Somalia during the civil war of 1991 was stolen by the guerrillas and sold in return for weapons in the black market.²⁰ The foreign aid directly or indirectly has done nothing other than aggravating the wars throughout the civil wars in Africa. Bruce Jones the writer of the book, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure* criticizes UN for its good-hearted aids to the civil wars, especially, the aids to the Rwandan civil war in 1994. To him, if the foreign forces didn't interfere the loss would be even less. And he holds UN responsible for the atrocities in Rwanda, while questioning almost all negative outcomes of the good hearted conducts at the same time.²¹

The western help in ammunition and provisions in one way or another exacerbated the circumstances Nigerian Civil War too, rather than ameliorating as they claim to. When the war seemed to come to an end due to both sides' loss, the

²⁰ Balta, Evren. "A Comparative Look to the Wars in Africa" *Birikim*, vol.175 pg 15

²¹ Jones, Bruce (2001) *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*. Lynne Rienner Publishers

belligerents resorted to foreign help, each side used propagandas to amass the supports and even cooperated with the foreign forces. This, of course, aggravated the carnage.²² Mazrui especially touches on this side of the war, for he deems that the prolongation of the war is even as abominable as the civil war itself. To their overwhelming animosity against each other, the belligerents entitled the colonial rulers to lead the war in accord with their interests. It was after all not a deal for the colonial rulers to proceed the violence as long as they stand aloof from the turmoil. The belligerents, on the other hand, with their intrepid, relentless manner did nothing but escalate the death toll, bloodshed. As Mazrui puts, maybe it would be better if they feared a little:

The Ibo might not have had the right to security in Africa of their day but they did have the right to be afraid. They, like their champions, had been guilty of miscalculation....In any case they had suffered while their supporters cheered them towards disaster from the reassuring safety of a spectator's gallery. (144)

²² The Federal Government mounted a serious campaign to convene the supports of super powers. They presented the war as a menace to the unity of one Nigeria "To keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done" was the motto, reiterated as the sole reason of the war Federal Government prosecute. As a result of his propaganda USA, USSR, and the United Kingdom took the Government's side. In return for his propaganda The Biafrans, through many of their people abroad, mounted a very strong campaign and propaganda for the recognition of Biafra by the international community and for the purchase of arms and equipment. This powerful propaganda paid off by her recognition by countries like, Tanzania, Zambia, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Haiti, covert support by France and double-dealing by countries like West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Sweden, Republic of Dahomey, Sierra Leone and secret importation of arms and ammunition into the region. In the mean time, it is important to note that Christopher Okigbo was one of those who tried hard for importation of weapons in to Biafra. In order to see detailed information as to the propagandas and importation of weapons see addresses below:

<http://www.theaha.org/tl/LessonPlans/nc/Trask/index.html>

Abubakar A. Atofarati, 20.12.2003 "The Nigerian Civil War: Causes, Strategies, And Lessons Learnt"

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1992/AAA.htm#>

<http://www.american.edu/ted/ice/biafra.htm#r1>

1.7. 'A MODEST PROPOSAL'²³: Weapons To The Africans For

The World Peace

So the foreign forces all of a sudden become generous in providing the weapons, whereas they deny Africa the nuclear power. Again Mazrui's controversial notion about nuclearization is pertinent here in that his notion manifests his marginal stance to armament policy and his effective political commitment.

To him, unless the super powers declare these weapons illegitimate to everybody, the so-called tin pot dictators will go nuclear before long. The nuclearization should not only be denied to Africa. The reason behind this demand is of course not the violence but peace in the long run. Because;

The spectre of big black man wielding a nuclear device may well be the only way of scaring white grown ups into the sanity of giving up the nuclear weapons altogether. Africa in the South can help pacify the great warlords of the Northern East and West by acquiring nuclear weapons.²⁴

So consequently by doing so Africa would keep its own peace, govern and police itself and would also participate keeping the peace of the world.

²³ A Modest Proposal is the title of Jonathan Swift's-Irish prominent satirist-satirical and controversial essay. The essay beginning with following words: "A Modest Proposal For Preventing The Children of Poor People in Ireland From Being a Burden to Their Parents or Country, and For Making Them Beneficial to The Public" modestly offers that we might as well eat the children, after all, they are dying of hunger in any way then we should kill them before this. Swift with this acerbic and sardonic proposal criticizes the then English absentee landlords and government for not taking care of the child death and poverty in the general sense in Ireland and instead exploiting the country in the 18 the century. In order for the text see:

Swift, Jonathan. (2004) "A Modest Proposal"

www.english.upenn.edu/~jlynch/Courses/95c/Texts/modest.html(17/05/2004)

Just in the same way Mazrui offers that in order for world peace the super powers should not deny the Africans nuclear weapons. After all nuclearization is exactly omnipresent even in those who are against it then they might as well not deny this to the Africans! And he elaborates on the issue indicating his reason d'être as above.

²⁴ "Ali Mazrui: A Confluence of Three Cultures" (2001) *The Scholar Between Thought and Experience*, edited by Parviz Morewedge. NY: Global Publications pg, 111

1.8. Every major upheaval in Africa had its repercussions in After-Africa...

The people tried on the court are symbols of wider phenomena. Mazrui pinpoints that there are ulterior motives behind what is visible and makes self evaluation for each individual marking the role of components in the whole case, because different failures entail different painful repercussions. World War I is given as the case in point in the book. Mazrui also adverts the Congo situation making Abiranjia his mouthpiece, to Abiranjia the death of Lumumba had indeed caused a diplomatic convulsion in the here-before, but there were few ripples in After Africa. The really important trial in After Africa connected with the Congo was that of an unknown mutineer in the Force publique who had helped in sparking of the military insurrection soon after Belgian withdrawal, and set loose the torrents of anarchy in that country. So, the elders in After-Africa arrest this mutineer immediately on arrival beyond the grave, and they try him not only for himself but also as an embodiment of the guilt or possible innocence of the Congo as a whole.

(28)

This was true of Nigerian Civil War too. The war had shaken Nigeria and Africa as a whole, and the castigation was on Nigeria itself, not only one group or one factor.

So Mazrui includes not solely Nigerian Civil War, he touches on many clashes and upheavals that had great impact on Africa as Abiranjia put:

Every major upheaval in Africa had its repercussions in After-Africa. (27)

People are on trial and values are on trial, it is -in the delivery of a clarification of the problems of modern African societies- the vantage point where we bear witness Mazrui's professional concerns as a true political scientist. As an insider being a child of Africa and as an outsider living in America, Mazrui never stands aloof from Africa. Even when he was a student he ruminated over African Problems and developed resolutions in his mind. Being well versed in meeting the African problems, he outlines the obstacles on the way to Africa. To him, Africa has been left behind in contemporary world partly because its own skills and talents have been denied opportunities for growth and development, and this predicament can be handled through modernization with minimal dependency. The strategies he suggests for transcending dependency include the following: Indigenization, using local man power and local resources as much as possible; domestication making the foreign more relevant to domestic conditions; diversification in trading partners, investors, aid donors, cooperation among developing countries themselves; and counter penetration of the western citadels of power.

Thus, from now on Africa should renounce its 'introverted taciturnity rather than being stuck in dealing with internal clashes, it should go beyond immemorial conflicts and try to do its best for the continent.

2. The Trial of Christopher Okigbo

All lives are equal but some lives are more equal...

The trial of Okigbo is again the vantage point where we come to see Mazrui's stance to the case of duty to the society as a man of vision . Mazrui charges a man of

art with certain duties for the mankind, now that he is ahead of the ordinary people then he is, by definition, responsible and he should be cognizant of the duties he is charged with. From then on, he is required to behave with his common sense rather than with his instinct. He is supposed to lead rather than be led.

Christopher Okigbo, whose death was invalid, to Mazrui, is tried because of his conduct. Because contrary to what was expected from him he came to think that he was first an Ibo and died for Biafra. Apolo-Gyamfi verbalizes this point thus:

A gift of nature was squandered on a battlefield. An imagination which would normally have had another three decades of creativity was offered as a sacrifice. (71)

His predilection for fighting for Ibos, thus, his dissipation of his potential had been a distortion of values. Just at this juncture a question arises, what values did he distort? Mazrui, here, using the two lawyers as mouthpiece, wages a discussion as to the values. However, this is not a conclusive debate, on the contrary, we are left with two cogent approaches at a par. Apolo-Gyamfi, the counsel for damnation, while describing the fall of Okigbo makes a distinction between individualism, universalism, and social collectivism. According to this notion:

...A great artist was first of all an individualist, secondly a universalistic, and only thirdly a social collectivist. Individualism was the deeper loyalty to one's inner being, a capacity retain a private area of distinctiveness in one's personality....universalism, on the other hand, is a commitment to the eternal. A fusion of near and the distant, of now and the ever, is what universalism is all about.... As for social collectivism, Apolo-Gyamfi defined it as that complex of loyalties which tied the individual to his own specific society, which commanded his affections for his kith and kin, which aroused his protectiveness for the soil of his ancestors, which enabled to serve and, very occasionally to

love his people. Socialism, tribalism, and nationalism, were all different forms of these bonds of collectivity. (68)

Christopher Okigbo, up until the war, was apotheosis of this given postulation. He was a sheer individualist to extent of arrogance. He was evading writing for the mass, the folk; he was overtly asserting that he was not reading his poems to the non-poets. Other than that, he was also preserving his universalism. For instance, he was severely rejecting the appellation 'African Poet' for himself, even more explicit and direct than this, in 1966 in Dakar at the great Festival of Negro Art he turned down the first prize, for he didn't accept such things as Negro art. So far so good, however, Okigbo

...Later put on a uniform, helped himself a gun, and engaged in a fratricidal war. At the festival of Negro art in Dakar he had refused to dilute art with the milk of nationalism. On the desolate battlefields of Biafra he was to dilute art with the blood of tribalism. (70)

To the counsel for damnation it was a contradiction, an invalid action and thus a distortion. As Apolo-Gyamfi simply put he was descending from the mountain of human vision into the swamp of tribal warfare.

Upon Apolo-Gyamfi's statement a baffling repartee is quick to come from Hamisi. Mazrui juxtaposes two opposite theses. So we are left with two converse contentions to cogitate over. Two dialectical ideas put forward by two people are not so baffling as such; however, two opposite, dialectical ideas arising from one cerebration really deserve to be acclaimed. Mazrui, being an academic politician, probes into the issues adroitly. Reading Hamisi's advocacy we now find ourselves in ambivalence as to the distortion of values.

So, Apolo-Gyamfi's tripartite distinction; individualism, universalism, and social collectivism was considered excessively European. To Hamisi, the idea that great creativity derives from individualism was itself not universally true. Given the legends, the folks songs, it could overtly be said that African art was mostly collective experience. Thus, description of the artist as being ultimately a person loyal to himself as an individual put by Apolo-Gyamfi was being turned down. It was nothing more than an alien characteristic.

Okigbo was indicted for his predilection of society to art. To Hamisi, Art was a heritage from the past, honored and augmented by the present, and then transmitted to the future. In Africa it was society which gave meaning to art, so, if art was equal to society then he wouldn't be deemed guilty for sacrificing art to the society. And to the indictment against Okigbo that he valued life for the sake of art, Hamisi simply asks:

Was life to be valued purely as an instrument for the realization of art? Was there an antithesis between art and life?

From this reasoning was Okigbo really fallacious? Was Mazrui salvaging or damning Okigbo? If he was guilty it was according to what? To Western or African credo or beyond those? At the end of the trial the verdict remains Not Proven²⁵, albeit he is chastened. So as to find a full answer to the question we should get to know Ali Mazrui and his particular attitude.

²⁵ The verdict as 'Not Proven' has a lot to say as to the intellectual side of Mazrui which we will be discussing in the second chapter.

Mazrui's personal experience has a lot to say in this sense. Mazrui by definition believes in thinking broader, going beyond ethnic and nationalistic boundaries. His understanding of serving the nation is representing his nation worldwide, becoming a voice of Africa outside as well as inside, trying to be influential as much as possible, and from then on trying to find alternative solutions to the existing problems and in the mean time trying to remain an insider. Mazrui's life itself is projection of what he thinks. Going abroad with high ideals, in pursuit of education first of all, first at Manchester University, then at Columbia and Oxford he became deeply preoccupied with African problems that he was ruminating over from the very beginning, even when he was a student in Africa. He immediately turned, as a 'mualimu' back to teach at Makerere University in Uganda. Then, out of being banished by Idi Amin, the Ugandan leader, in 1973 he was again back for USA for a position at Michigan University. Often in his writings and interviews he pinpoints that his stay in America contributed a lot to his scholarship, extended his horizons added dimensions to his concerns. His stay in America, thus, was one of the dynamics that converted him into a 'global man'. His academic life from then on is full of success. With every article, every thesis, every conference Mazrui comes to the cynosures, arrives at his controversial and mind probing style. Almost in every field he has his say, his influential contribution. His major academic 'Global Studies' after all, encompasses political science, cultural studies, religion, gender studies, etc. He is now one of the few whose ideas are highly acclaimed, lauded and consulted worldwide. He is not only an influential theorist but also an activist who tries hard for the betterment of humanity, he is currently a strong voice in the

World Order Models Project (WOMP) and UNESCO, in fact he is a consultant for the United Nations, UNESCO and also a consultant for the Organization of African Unity. For his country he is working even harder compared to those insisting on refusing to leave Africa. His project for BBC/PBS, “The Africans: A Triple Heritage”, the TV series which rendered great controversies, and attracted attentions worldwide especially in America, is an enormous contribution in representing Africa and alerting people to the problems she met. The ‘reparation issue’ is another issue that he voices out wherever possible. Reparation, to him, is one of those remedies that can heal African pains. Again African Renaissance that he propounded searches for ways for the renovation in Africa and Africa’s place in the changing world with her pluses and minuses. Not to mention the very issue he reiterated: Pan-Africanism. In his lectures, writings and many of his scholarly works he conveys that Pan-Africanism is the last stage of abolitionism²⁶, it is the true and final attempt to emancipation worldwide. By touching on these (and many more) issues he makes Africa ascend to the stage so that the world can come to see Africa and especially hold those responsible who had their parts in the predicament of Africa.

His becoming a global man is itself praxis of what he asserts: “Counter Penetration”. Professor Alamin Mazrui from the University of Ohio concerning his notion of “Counter Penetration” states thus:

²⁶ In order for more on the issue of Pan-Africanism see his essays entitled, “Pan Africanism and the Origins of Globalization”. Mazrui, Ali. (2004) “Pan Africanism and the Origins of Globalization” http://igcs.binghamton.edu/igcs_site/dirton12.htm (01.01.2004)

Mazrui developed the concept of *counter penetration* at a time when most Third World intellectuals were recommending that their countries should 'delink' from the economies of the North. Ali Mazrui recommended the alternative strategy of counter penetrating the citadels of power and attempting to influence the North from within. Even before the word "globalization" gained currency, he argued that "delinking" went against globalizing trends and was unrealistic. The correct solution would be for developing countries to use their resources in a manner that empowered them (counter penetration) rather than allow the North to reduce those countries further dependency.²⁷

It is no doubt to say that his global presence has inspired many of his followers, in a way, to pave the way for them.

So Mazrui believes this is what behooved him as a man of vision. And, likewise, Mazrui believes that this was also what behooved Christopher Okigbo, too, as man of vision. If he had not gotten involved in the violence and died he would have fulfilled the undertakings in *New Society*²⁸, he would have kept on dealing with publishing in the *Citadel Press* which they together with his friend Chinua Achebe had set up. However, by sticking to tribalism he sacrificed the ideal of Nigeria to the ideal of Biafra, he sacrificed serving to Africa to serving to Biafra, so he was in a way confining himself.

Reading Mazrui it is not that hard to surmise his stance that for a man of vision underestimating universalism is nothing more than escapism, choosing the easy

²⁷ Mazrui, M. Alamin. (2001) "The African Impact On American Higher Education: Ali Mazrui's Contribution." *The Scholar: Between Thought and Experience*, edited by Parviz Morewedge. NY: IGCS Global Publications pg,14

²⁸ Okigbo was involved with a group, where Achebe was also a member, and they had plans to launch a magazine *New Society*, designed to provide a forum for analyzing political and moral issues, in relation to cultural imperatives in the New Society of Biafra. Together with Achebe they were going to publish four series about African poetry and writing. (126)

way. Mazrui making Apolo-Gyamfi- fictional Mazrui²⁹- mouthpiece obviously blames him for squandering his gifts and demolishing his vision:

If the great artist has to sacrifice himself for anything he should only sacrifice himself for the universal. To die for the truth is martyrdom. To die for the knowledge is martyrdom. To die for the art is martyrdom. But when a great thinker or a great artist dies for his nation, which is an indulgence, he has put the politics of the nation before the power of the eternal. He may not have broken his contract with those already dead, but he has broken his contract with the living and with those who are to be born...When an ordinary man or the great soldier dies for his nation that is indeed heroism. When a great thinker or the great creator dies for his nation that is escapism...(72)

3.1. A Triple Interaction: Ali Mazrui-Nkrumah -Triple Heritage

Mazrui's relation with African political leaders is an important part of his political commitment. Being an insider who knows Africa from within and an outsider who lives outside Africa, Mazrui never breaks off, never stands aloof from Africa. With his profound analysis, criticisms-at times acerbic- and proposals he never leaves the leaders alone! He is a political scientist who has also his praxis. It was for this reason that once the president of Uganda, Milton Obote, questioned his demeanor, when Mazrui criticized the government's conducts in 1960, asking Mazrui:

Are you sure, professor that you know the difference between being a political scientist and being a politician?³⁰

²⁹ Given the astute attitudes and background information Apolo-Gyamfi, by definition, represents Ali Mazrui. In the second chapter we will try to enlarge this representation.

³⁰ Ufumaka, Akeh-Ugah (2001) "Who is Afraid of Ali Mazrui" *The Scholar: Between Thought and Experience*, edited by. Parviz Morewedge. NY: IGCS Global Publications pg, 28

Two prominent political leaders in this sense is of great importance to Mazrui in that they inspired him remarkably: Kwame Nkrumah and Muwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Kwame Nkrumah one of this prominent political leaders in Africa, was the one who influenced and inspired Mazrui most. Nkrumah as was involved in *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, likewise, got involved in the mind of Ali Mazrui, even after his death. Being a graduate student in Columbia University, Mazrui first met Kwame Nkrumah in New York and in his article, "Nkrumahism and The Triple Heritage in The Shadow of Globalization", he simply defines his impression as:

As a young African my encounter with him captured the very euphoria of the end of colonialism – in spite of the fact that independence for Kenya at that time was still at least two or three years away³¹

So one common ground that brings them together is their foremost concern for Africa. As once the dean of the Lincoln University, Frank W. Wilson, told 'he was a person greatly concerned about the entire African situation'³². Throughout his course of study in USA, he always dreamt of free Africa and he was even obsessed with this idea. He seriously strived for this ideal; by holding, during his studies many organizations, unities, club activities, conferences. He participated in the foundation of the African Studies Association and the African Students Association of America and Canada (ASA) as the Vice-President of West African Students Union, became leader of "The Circle"- the secret organization dedicated to the unity and

³¹ *ibid*, pg, 23

³¹ Sherwood, Marika. (1996) *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947* Ghana: Freedom Publication, pg, 43

independence of West Africa- in its struggle to create and maintain an Union of African Socialist Republics. These are some of the incessant activities he held, not to mention his political efforts in Ghana. He became the Secretary General of United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), formed Convention Peoples Party (CPP) with the Committee on Youth Organization (CYO), declared Positive Action to demand Independence. Wining the elections leading to independence, he declared Ghana's Independence, in the mean time he authored over 20 books and publications. During these major events there are many conferences, club activities, meetings, publications³³, through which he aimed to change the prejudiced, made up impressions of Africa which was the case even for the Africans themselves:

Even the Negro's ideas about Africa is culled from fiction, mission reports and movies (so he believes that the people are savages)³⁴

So he dedicated his life to Africa. Just like Mazrui, he thought that living in America for a while for almost nine years changed him a lot in terms of vision, to him this vision was to be used for the service of his country. At the time of his departure from America his farewell to statue of liberty with words full of enthusiasm to serve his country seems pertinent here:

³³ For his activities in detail see: Sherwood, Marika. *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947* (Ghana: Freedom Publication, 1996) and, <http://perso.wanadoo.fr/les.insatisfaits/the.osagyefo.html>
<http://www.ohiou.edu/toguna/index.htm>
http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/highlights/000914_nkrumah.shtml#top
<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/people/people.php?L=N>

³⁴ S.U. Etuk, (1941) 'The Negro is the United States: A West African's Impressions' *International Quarterly*, Spring 1941, pp. 41-2

You have opened my eyes to the true meaning of liberty”,
I thought. “I shall never rest until I have carried your message
to Africa.”³⁵

The concept of the Triple Heritage, which is mentioned in the *Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, in the After-Africa is what confronts them. The Triple Heritage was Africa’s housing to the three major cultures-be it forcibly or not- and making them her elements, becoming multi-polar with them. This concept was first imparted by Nkrumah as “Conscientism”. “Conscientism” was Nkrumah’s diagnosis of the tripartite heritage turning to tripartite curse. His was, given his religious formation, from the religious aspects mostly. To him Africa, comprising three major cultural forces (Islamic cultural coming from the east, western culture coming from the west and indigenous culture from the within), which are competing each other, needed an overarching, encompassing ideology, as all societies naturally need a certain dynamic unity to meet the demand of each competing forces. As to this overarching ideology, in *the Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, he was saying thus,

The three segments of African society....coexist uneasily; the principles animating them are often in conflict with one another...What is to be done then? I have stressed that the two other segments, in order to rightly be seen, must be seen and must be accommodated only as experiences of the traditional African society. If we fail to do this out society will be racked by the most malignant schizophrenia.(140)

Mazrui enlarging on “Conscientism” propounds his point. To him, Nkrumah’s focusing solely on the two segments impedes his desire to set up an overarching ideology. He is while being a unifying factor for the two segments (Arab Africa and

³⁵ Sherwood, Marika.(1996) *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947* Ghana: Freedom Publication, pg, 108

Negro Africa), falls into a divisive factor for the third segment (English-speaking Negro Africa and French-speaking Negro Africa). For Nkrumah who dreamt of African unity on the continental basis, it was nothing more than a paradox and thus, not in congruence with “Pax Africana”. In the book Mazrui disguised in a political scientist who seeks an answer to this paradox pinpoints this as above.

As a free lance politician and intellectual Mazrui accordingly does not pursue an all lauding or all censoring way. This is true of his stance against Kwame Nkrumah. Mazrui appreciates Nkrumah for his strive for Pan Africanism, his ideal for ‘The Unites States of Africa’, for his farsightedness³⁶, for his introspection. He considers him also important, as he is a link between Global Africa and the world of Socialism. However, he at the same time criticizes Nkrumah for his authoritarian tendency, his global political intervention but local inability. To Mazrui, Nkrumah is a good African yet a bad Ghanan. As a person striving for independence and democracy he brought the single party system as he believed that the country was too dangerously divided in terms of ethnicity and region for a multiparty system. Beginning with high ideals of democracy, he in time deviated to dictatorship by impairing academic freedom in the universities, by sentencing those coming against him without even trials³⁷. While perpetrating harassment inside he was conducting liberation movements outside Ghana, he was giving a hand to Guinea in her struggle for independence, becoming a voice even a symbol of liberation in and outside Africa,

³⁶ Nkrumah foresees Neo-colonialism and voices out in his book: *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*.

³⁷ Mazrui in his article, “Nkrumahism and The Triple Heritage in The Shadow of Globalization” and “Nkrumahism and The Triple Heritage in The Shadow of Counter-Terrorism” enumerates Nkrumah’s quilts, portraying in a way a negative Nkrumah as well as Positive. For the articles see: http://www.binghamton.edu/igcs/igcs_site/dirton15.htm

he was even extending his efforts up to Vietnam trying to solve the problems, even to Beijing, Palestinians. He was housing fighters of independence seeking asylum from him. So with his vision he was global but with his perpetration in Ghana he was remaining local. As Mazrui put:

He tried to reach the world – and lost the home front in the process.³⁸

3.2. 'Mwalimu'³⁹: Julius Kambarage Nyerere

Nyerere like Nkrumah inspired and even preoccupied Mazrui's mind a lot. In *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, Nyerere takes his part. While Lord Byron is being questioned in the trial the issue of Greek Heritage is raised, and Nyerere talks on Democracy within the context of Greek heritage. He simply puts that in terms of democracy the Greek and African views evolved in parallel. The true practice of democracy was practiced in Ancient Greek in small societies, likewise in African societies the traditional method of conducting affairs by free discussions were nothing different from that of the Greeks(112)

Mazrui casts great importance on Nyerere in his writings and speeches. This is partly because in terms of vision they resemble each other. However, there are points that put them asunder, which still challenges Mazrui a lot. African Renaissance, which Mazrui named as 'Afrenaissance', is the major issue that confronts them. Nyerere, by definition, one of the few who sincerely dedicated his life to working for amelioration of Africa as a whole. After acquiring his graduate education abroad- he

³⁸ ibid

³⁹ Julius Nyerere liked to be called 'Mwalimu' which means teacher in Swahili language.

was the first to study at a British university, university of Edinburgh in 1949- he turned back Tanzania to commence his duty to his nation without wasting any time. As a man of education he believed that the true renaissance could be achieved through education. Education was for self reliance, he annexed 'education for the adults' to the general education policy, for he believed that if an individual was educated he would create ideas, he would find himself strong enough to enterprise, he would be self-confident, in sum he would learn to stand on his foot. While imparting many reforms his overarching motive was socialism. During his stay in England under the influence of post-war Fabian socialists, he developed his own political ideas of grafting socialism on to African communal existence. However his socialism, practiced under the policy of Ujamaa, was human centered⁴⁰. Leaving teaching in 1954, he delved into politics beginning from forming the Tanganyika African National Union. He fought for Tanzania's independence from Britain without violence, without any bitterness and became the president of the newly established government. This was a great chance for him to practice his goals of a socialist and self-supporting state which he talked about in the Arusha Declaration⁴¹. He was preoccupied every liberation movements in Africa and supported many of them. For example he helped overthrown the brutal regime of Idi Amin of Uganda,

⁴⁰ In *the Arusha Declaration* Nyerere explicates his socialist principles, Ujamaa, how it is different in that it is more human centered. For the text see:
<http://www.hierographics.org/arushadeclaration.htm>

⁴¹ The declaration came to be regarded as one of the most important political documents to have emerged in the developing world. See:
"World: Africa Julius Nyerere: The conscience of Africa"
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/441768.stm#top> (01.02.2004)

joined other African leaders in denouncing the racist policies of South Africa. He, at the same time, hosted many liberation refugees.⁴²

So Nyerere's goal for getting ahead, establishing a self reliant, self subsistent Africa was bringing him together with Mazrui who was reiterating that for development, minimal dependency, self confidence are imperative. Both thinkers were aware of Africa's conflicting situations, however, they were looking ahead and devising prescriptive solutions keeping their hopes and motivating the people at the same time. After all, when Nyerere took over Tanzania, it was the poorest country of Africa, however in time through Nyerere's reforms the face of Tanzania entirely changed.

Their penchant for peace was another common ground for the two which is noteworthy. Even the novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, that criticizes the war itself and avows Mazrui's desire for one Nigeria stands as Mazrui's pro-stance to peace. Through his pen and sometimes through his direct admonitory alerting of the political leaders all Mazrui do was promoting peace, which was also true of Nyerere who directly intervened in the brutalities in Uganda and overthrew Idi Amin to promote the peace in Uganda.

⁴² in order to see the referential sources used for the life and activities of Nyerere see the addresses below:

<http://www.infed.org/thinkers/et-nye.htm#ujamma>
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/obituaries/story/0,3604,258647,00.html#top>
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/441768.stm#top>
<http://www.stanleymeisler.com/news-commentary/nyerere.html>
http://www.afrocentricnews.com/html/julius_nyerere.html#top

It can be said that there was an empathy between Mazrui and Nyerere. Mazrui in one of his article, "Nyerere and I"⁴³ enumerates many similarities that constituted the ground of this empathy. Mazrui with his adroit articulation puts that Nyerere was a politician who was sometimes a scholar and he himself was a scholar who was sometimes a politician, and they both were trying to build bridges between Africa and great minds of Western civilization. Nyerere was translating from Shakespeare just like Mazrui who was translating from Edmund Burke. Nyerere's concept of *Ujamaa* was also culture bridge between indigenous African thought and modern political ideas in this sense. In terms of religious tolerance Nyerere was playing his part by establishing religious freedom in his system. And after all Mazrui was known for his impartial stance to other religious.⁴⁴The special emphasis on the Swahili language was also another common point, they both longed for resuscitating Swahili and make it prevalent as it once used to be and Nyerere's success in achieving this is no less than he longed for.

However, there were diverging points between Nyerere and Mazrui that still preoccupies, rather challenges Mazrui. Although Nyerere was quite insightful and enthusiastic about serving to Africa he was too adamant to turn back from his failures while practicing his goals. His major economic policy 'Ujamaa' was not conducive for Tanzania at that time, as the 'Ujamaa' was too sophisticated to be employed and the resources were not enough to institute a self subsistent economic

⁴³Mazrui, Ali. (2004) "Nyerere and I"
<http://www.africaresource.com/voi/mazrui.htm> (01.02.2004)

⁴⁴Ali Mazrui's religious stance will be dealt in the chapters to come with instances from his personal and political life.

system. Despite these drawbacks he insisted on and nationalized the foreign banks, plantations and manufacturing plants, though he did not have trained staff to run them. He pushed out Peace Corps and missionary teachers from the secondary schools when he did not have enough Tanzanian teachers with adequate English to replace them. What is more, he pressured farmers into 'Ujamaa Villages' even though Tanzanians found the idea of collective farming abhorrent. He undercut one of Africa's most remarkable cooperatives, as it did not fit into his theories. Most important of all, he broke relations with Britain, although Tanzania need aid donor from Britain.

So, to Mazrui, it was this tendency that played an overwhelming part in the predicament of Africa, which we commonly witness in Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, in Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and in Nyerere. They were unable to realize their personal failings. When, asked to Nyerere that if he was to change a thing from the Arusha Declaration what would it be, he simply put that he would not change anything, not even a comma.⁴⁵ Of course this tenacious stance had nothing to do with Democracy, Nyerere was on one side strongly advocating Democracy in saying that it was for the respect of humanity, on the other hand, he was instituting single party. In the Arusha Declaration he was talking about freedom, and promising that no one could be forced into an Ujamaa Village, and no official, at any level, could go and tell the members of an Ujamaa Village what they would do however, in time farmers were forced into Ujamaa Villages!

⁴⁵ Mihando, Lyndah. (2001) "Comparative African Experiences" *The Scholar: Between Thought and Experience*, edited by. Parviz Morewedge. NY: IGCS Global Publications pg, 312

He was a committed Pan-Africanist, he was striving to help any liberation movements. However, in the mean time he himself was confining liberalism under his nose, in fact, while he was rushing to Uganda to help overthrow Idi Amin, he was being criticized at home, as Mazrui put for Nkrumah who was by the same token indicted for the same flaw, he was trying to reach the world and losing the home front in the process.

In sum, Mazrui with a deep intellectual responsibility was approaching to the events and people bilaterally. He was quite impartial to those with whom even he developed a certain empathy. In his articles "Tanzaphilia" and "Nyerere and I" Mazrui grants him accolade to the point of being flattered when once his name was called together with Nyerere. However, Mazrui even in the same article censures him heavily and calls many of his conducts 'heroic failures'. While Nyerere was alive he irated Nyerere with his direct censures and articles. Mazrui's own statement he gave on Nyerere's death on *Worldview Magazine* better describes their relationship:

Julius Nyerere and I were committed to the proposition that patriotic Africans could disagree and still be equally patriotic⁴⁶

⁴⁶Mazrui, Ali. (2004) 'Africa's Mwalimu'
<http://www.worldviewmagazine.com/issues/fall1999/story5.html> (01.01.2004)

CHAPTER II

1.HIS INTELLECTUAL COMMITMENT

Ali Mazrui defines the noun intellectual “as a person who has the capacity to be fascinated by the ideas and has acquired the skill to handle some of these ideas effectively” interesting to note that this definition actually portrays him. His myriad books, articles, conferences, lectures stand as witness to what he defines an intellectual is. In those activities he mostly deviated from the clichés, questioned the unquestioned, spoke out against what was wrong, he was fascinated by the ideas and handled them by way of deconstructing or by contrast lauding, trying to see and show the flip side of the coins, adding a new dimensions to the phenomena: his was a real commitment to the intellectual life. The book in question, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, provides us with such an intellectual feast with profound ideas and mind probing arguments that we are fascinated by the operation of mind through symbolic characters. In this chapter I will try to denote his intellectual commitment through his intellectual performance displayed throughout the book, besides, I will sometimes go beyond the book and try to talk about his other books.

As we said in the first chapter, the events take place in hereafter. The figures, themselves being questioned and at the same time representing both counter parties to the trial are made to serve for conveying the course of the trial which takes the form of questions and rejoinders where we bear witness many intellectual issues grilled ranging from the poet’s role in the society, how a true poetry should be, how the nationalism, universalism should be treated, what actually nationalism is, whether politics should enter the sphere of aesthetic values, whether a poet should be

universalistic or nationalist or both and many more. Now that a poet is tried, Mazrui first look into the role of poet and the true poetry. The first intellectual issue handled is gone through in the interview between Aisha Bemedi and Hamisi Salim on the radio broadcast of BBC in London. They talk over the poetry of Christopher Okigbo. Upon Hamisi's criticism that Okigbo is playing with words, pictures without achieving a depth of poetic meaning which is not a true poetry, Aisha Bemedi asserts that there is no distinction as such between word play and depth of poetic meaning, for her, after all, great poetry depends on highly developed sense of word play. (12) Mazrui, throughout the book leaves us between two opposite cogent ideas so we are in a way left to choose our positions ourselves. This is typical of him that he is never conclusive. On Hamisi's assertion that Okigbo deliberately causes obscurity, Bemedi simply counter argues that he does not has to convey the message, after all, he does not have to have message, the role of poet is just to instigate, stimulate the reader to create his own meaning not to impose any. Hence we suddenly find ourselves in what could be described as a literary criticism lessons.

Mazrui dilutes the cold, abstract intellectual and political matters with emotional taste, the one-night love affair between Aisha Bemedi (Salisha in the hereafter) and Hamisi Salim gives the reader a taste that is rarely found in political and intellectual fictions. His employment of a love affair in the novel shows that he does not overlook the humane side of people. During the trial, as the feverish debate approaches its zenith, Mazrui suddenly directs our attention to Salisha, breathless, watching her lover.

1.2.Individualism-Universalism-Social Collectivism

How should a poet be? What is the difference between an artist and a scientist in terms of their vision? Apolo-Gyamfi presenting the case for Damnation keeps on questioning the above mentioned issues. This is one of the intellectual debates between Apolo-Gyamfi and Hamisi that the reader follows attentively, even spellbound. He makes a distinction between individualism, universalism, and social collectivism. According to this distinction a great artist should first and foremost of all be an individual, for, an artist's inner creativity and productivity entails a certain amount of primacy of the self. Individualism is nothing bad after all, in Apolo-Gyamfi's words it is one's loyalty to his inner being and certain capacity to be distinct. So, when this primacy of the self requires a supporting doctrine it should by definition be the doctrine of aesthetic universalism. A true poet should serve for the universal, he should commit to the eternal. By committing to his inner self and hence the universal the artist, would in the meantime be serving for his nation, a stage where he calls social collectivism. Social Collectivism, to Apolo-Gyamfi, is what ties the individual to where he lives, the place he loves, serves, protects, and wishes to improve. Socialism, tribalism and nationalism, now that they work for the same goal are all ramifications of Social Collectivism. Gyamfi proceeds on to apply the values in question to Chris Okigbo. Okigbo as he is indicted distorts these values, though he is once considered to be the apotheosis of these values. He is by definition an individual, to the extent of marginality, sometimes arrogance. He deliberately stands aloof the crowd and evades addressing the mass. His predilection manifests itself in his own words "I don't read my poems to non-poets". This is also true of

his universalism where he denies blind nationalism for the sake of universalism. When constructing his intellectual background he benefits from a variety of cultures and literatures such as Latin, Greek, English, French. However, the same man who bears these qualities dissipates himself and his potential in the tribal warfare, which comes as an overt contradiction.

So, once convinced by these arguments grounded on the distinction of individualism, universalism and social collectivism and indicts Okigbo for coming against these values, Hamisi, takes the turn and bewilders us saying that the distinction of individualism, universalism and social collectivism is not applicable to Chris Okigbo, an African poet, as the idiosyncrasies are European and not universal at all. The characteristics are not applicable to African art, because African art is a collective experience. As Mazrui himself in one of his articles, "Triple Heritage in East African Literature" states, African art besides being multipolar due to various ethnic tradition is collective and cumulative.⁴⁷ Hamisi citing examples of legends, folk songs, folk tales, proverbs, lectures and poetry, much of which were intended to be sung, maintains that as opposed to the great art in Europe at best a mode of communication; great art in Africa had always been a flow of interaction, and in this juncture, that talking about individualism as a basic prerequisite of a true poet is not tenable. As for Okigbo, in the sense that whether he is applicable to Hamisi's formulation, Okigbo by placing music of poetry to a great amount in his poems is

⁴⁷ To see the article and learn more about the Triple Heritage in East African Literature see: Mazrui, Ali with Mohamed Bakari. (1986) "The Triple Heritage in East African Literature" Published in: European Language Writing in Sub-Saharan Africa. Vol.2. edited by Albert S. Gerard Budapest: Akademiai Kiado,

certainly loyal to Africa's aesthetic heritage⁴⁸. After the literary dispute Hamisi skips to Apolo-Gyamfi's understanding of historical sequence, stating that the three levels of beings is nothing but a reverberation of a western mind. He further philosophizes that the past, the present, the future are not quite as unilinear as Apolo-Gyamfi assumes. In his words:

We are dead and we are in After-Africa. Are we the past or the future or indeed the present?.....in some respect the earth is indeed here before and we are the hereafter of those who are living. But we are the dead and the dead to those who are living are supposed to be part of the past. If we are in the hereafter, aren't we part of the future?(79)

The sophistication manifest itself when Hamisi extends his analysis of three levels of being to the extent of saying that art play its part in the three levels of being however this continuity is by no means nonlinear and individual. In Africa since it is, after all, society itself which gives meaning to the art, Okigbo couldn't be deemed guilty for dying for his nation. Moreover, what is meant by continuity of living is continuity of kinsmen. In Hamisi's word "How then could Okigbo be regarded as a violator of the primeval contract when he died in defense of the dignity of kinship?"

So we are left with two antithetical arguments at a par. Now that it has been established that art is kneaded in a certain society before it becomes universal and that this particular course is inevitable then, there shouldn't be universal concerns that interfere or rather contradict local heritage. With this reasoning, while a person

⁴⁸ It is true that drawing visual images, symbols from Nigerian folk tales and from the local environment Okigbo never breaks off the tradition. Indeed, according to Romanus Enugu, writer of the article entitled: "Christopher Okigbo and the Growth of Poetry" verbalizes that by means of these and many other artistic devices Okigbo gave this poetry the imprint of Africanity, and subsequent poets have seen this as a major factor in making Nigerian poetry truly Nigerian in spite of its being written in English.

Enugu, Romanus. (1977) *Four Modern West African Poets*. New York: Nok

is serving for universal values he cannot serve for his national values in the mean time as they are different things, on the contrary he subordinates or ignores his national values. On the other hand it is not appreciable that an artist should not integrate with the universal. This, by definition, comes as a kind of an abstruse question to handle. To corroborate his judgment Hamisi propounds a similar case, a precedent and he calls for Lord Byron from another century and from another continent and culture. Lord Byron whom at first sight is deemed not pertinent to the very issue has actually many shared interests with Okigbo. They are both intellectually distant, they are both lovers of the classics, they are both politically as well as intellectually committed, and finally they both died for their vision, for the very nation for which they felt a deep affiliation. Hamisi levels the same indictment against Lord Byron. He asks for the reason of his participation in the Greeks' struggles against the Turks. Byron verbalizes the very ground that he owes the Greeks a lot and he thinks he can play his part in their struggle for freedom to pay his debt which is not deemed a very acceptable act considering the idea that any man can fight in war physically while on the other hand nobody can write Lord Byron's poetry. Thus comes the conviction that Byron should fulfill his service by keeping on his poetry. To this reasoning, Byron makes his point which is most probably nothing more than what Okigbo had in mind when conducting the same deed. In his own words:

.....but what is poetry without vision? And what vision without a mind released? By dying for Greece I died for a vision. And death itself is a poetic quest for comprehension.(112)

Upon Okigbo's successful refutation of the tripartite distinction and Byron's statement above we bring ourselves to feel sympathy for the ultimate action of Okigbo, and just in this juncture Apolo-Gyamfi with his acute reasoning outwits Okigbo proving that the ulterior motive of Byron's demise was not for the freedom of Greece but for escaping from the sin he perpetrated. Byron had gotten involved in an incest relationship with his half sister and when the event was publicized he escaped to Greece.⁴⁹ Thus, he was not sincere when he propounded that by dying for Greece he died for a vision. So, Mazrui deliberately leaves us ambivalent. While he is advocating integration with the universal and counter penetrating rather than being stuck with local affairs, he never overlooks the fact that national agonies demand a lot from the intelligentsia and all the same it is so difficult to stand aloof from the predicament under one's nose. Moreover Mazrui in his article, "What is intellectual? What is His Role in the African Revolution?" declares that in Africa, politics has a considerable attraction where many intellectuals evade academy for the sake of political enthusiasm and prestige. So, this can also be a case for Okigbo also. This is typical of Mazrui in that he always thinks of the antithesis of issues and leaves room for exceptions, holding back from pursuing a totalitarian, better to say conclusive out look when handling the issues.

⁴⁹ This part is a culmination of intellectual disputes. We will talk about the probing repartees in the proceeding which stand as witness to Mazrui's capacity to handle ideas effectively.

Therefore, universal concerns are indispensable while national agonies on the other hand, have their pulls. Then, according to Mazrui, doesn't Okigbo play his due part as an intellectual in Africa? What is the role of an intellectual after all?

1.3. What is an Intellectual?

In the article above, Mazrui attributes crucial role to an intellectual to transform the society and again in one of his articles he presents intellectualism as an engagement in the realm of ideas and rational enquiry.⁵⁰ In order to be able to fit in to Mazrui's definition of intellectual that was cited at the beginning of the second chapter one does not necessarily have to be at a stage of higher education, which is the category Mazrui calls the "General Intellectual". The other three members of the rest tripartite category are the academic, literary and political intellectuals.

Whatever his category the most important tenet and responsibility of an intellectual is being creative, even seminal. Now that an intellectual is supposed to be a vanguard then it is deplorable for him simply to follow the status quo and just become a transmitter rather than being a transformer. Those who carry this deplorable tendency, in his own expression, is not likely to be an *intellectual*. Intellectuals have a considerable effect in the development of the societies and this doubtless factor is especially true of the African intellectual. In Pan-Africanism and in the regaining of dignity of African people such intellectuals as W.E.B. Dubois, Kwame Nkrumah, Franz Fanon, Walter Rodney and many others have played great

⁵⁰ Mazrui in the article below diagnoses the causes and consequences of the fall of intellectualism in Africa and prescribes some remedies; the article by all means is an intellectual contribution to the intellectualism. See this influential article:
Mazrui, Ali (2003) "Towards Re-Africanizing African Universities Who Killed Intellectualism in the Post Colonial Era." *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* Vol:2 pg 135-163

roles. Mazrui in the article adds to this list many intellectuals without formal schooling who contributed to the Re-africanizing of the Africans. This has been true for the world as well as the African experience and should continue to be so, in the sense that intellectuals should have their commitments in the social, political, and academic lives of people. Just in this juncture Mazrui makes a distinction between commitment and conformity. To him commitment should not be confused with conformity. If the government or society or any perpetration is not pursued with a valid reasoning then an intellectual should rise against it, let alone conform. After all, this is the stage where the intellectual's responsibility is supposed to manifest itself. In Mazrui's own words:

Sincere political commitment might, depending upon the regime in power, or a specific policy espoused, sometimes demand social criticism rather than social compliance. when we ask the creative writer or an academic teacher to be socially sensitive and politically engaged, we should allow for the possibility that he might be disagree with the particular government in power in his country or with a particular policy of the government, or with the majority opinion at a particular moment in time.⁵¹

Mazrui throughout his life practices this line of reasoning as we talked over in the first chapter, and voices it out whenever necessary without hesitation. In most of his articles and lectures, conferences he criticizes western policies regardless of the fact that he lives in the West and serves as a professor in western universities. He intervenes in African policies to the extent of irritating the African leaders. His BBC

⁵¹ Mazrui, Ali. "What is an Intellectual? What is his Role in African Revolution?" Pg,10
This essay was written By Ali Mazrui upon a public debate between him and the head of Uganda's security system, Mr. Akena Odoko, in the Town Hall in Kampala, when he was a academic at Makerere University.

series, *The African: A Triple Heritage* where he talked about African problems and about those who have their parts in African predicament, was counted as an “anti-western diatribe” in the West, though it did draw attraction from different parts of the world, even from America. It was because of his vociferous attitude that he was banished by Idi Amin. Nevertheless, such kind of menaces have not prevented him from doing what he has in mind, it seems that he already knows the price of voicing out the king’s nakedness.

Mazrui’s reasoning and the practices following this reasoning remind us of Edward Said whose definition of an intellectual was a person to tell the truth to the powers. Said, proscribes those who internalize the status quo and never stand against the injustice in the society. The quotes below from Said denotes a certain parallelism between these two thinkers’ attitudes:

"At bottom, the intellectual in my sense of the word, is neither a pacifier nor a consensus builder, but someone whose whole being is staked on a critical sense, a sense of being unwilling to accept easy formulas, or ready made clichés, or the smoothever-so -accommodating confirmations of what the powerful or conventional have to say, and what they do. Not just passively unwilling, but actively willing to say so in public. The figure of the intellectual as a being set apart, someone able to speak the truth, a...courageous and angry individual for whom no worldly power is too big and imposing to be criticized and pointedly taken to task".

Thus, an intellectual is supposed to have a tenacity and audacity to speak the truth, in order for this an intellectual should be entitled to benefit from the freedom, democracy to wield his capacity. Mazrui in his article, “Re-Africanizing the African Universities: Who Killed the Intellectualism in Africa?”, talks about the dire necessity

of academic freedom. He casts the political leaders of Africa guilty for the demise of intellectual in Africa, as they denied the academics the freedom in the universities.

Not only with Edward Said, Mazrui's stance also is intertwined with that of Chomsky who actively employed the principle of Said, "to speak the truth to the powers" and reviled the many American policies ranging from the ongoing embargo on Cuba and many terrorist acts directed against the Cubans by the Kennedy administration, the war in Indochina, the arms race, Soviet-American relations, the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, Sino-American relations, American involvement in the Middle East⁵², though he knew the price!⁵³ Chomsky always censured the intellectual collaborating with the state stating his ideas as to the issue in one of his articles, "The Responsibilities of The Intellectual". He is the true activist believing full participation. The below are his words as to the exact role of intellectual:

I knew that I was just too intolerably self-indulgent merely to take a passive role in the struggles that were then going on. And I knew that signing petitions, sending money, and showing up now and then at a meeting was not enough. I thought it was critically necessary to take a more active role, and I was well aware of what that would mean. It is not a matter of putting a foot in the water, now and then, getting it wet and then leaving. You go in deeper and deeper. And I

⁵²Hoffman, Abby (2004) "Noam Chomsky: The Life of a Dissent, The Intellectual, The University and The State" <http://cognet.mit.edu/library/books/chomsky/chomsky/contents.html> (01.03.2004)

⁵³ In the quote below he talks about thus:

We confidently expected that I'd be in jail in a few years. In fact, that is just what would have happened except for two unexpected events: (1) the utter (and rather typical) incompetence of the intelligence services, which could not find the real organizers of resistance though it was transparent, and kept seeking hidden connections to North Korea, Cuba, or wherever we must have been getting our orders from, as well as mistaking people who agreed to appear at public events as "leaders" and "organizers"; and (2), the Tet Offensive, which convinced American business that the game wasn't worth the candle, and led to the dropping of prosecutions. . . (31 Mar. 1995 in order for further see: Hoffman, Abby (2004) "Deeper and Deeper"

<http://cognet.mit.edu/library/books/chomsky/chomsky/contents.html>(01.03.2004)

knew that I would be following a course that would confront privilege and authority.⁵⁴

Amongst the many of these types who contributed a lot to the notion of intellectualism not solely with ideas but together with actions was George Orwell who had the temerity to censure-without any hesitation-the injustice, the wrongdoing no matter who the perpetrator may have been. To him, intellectual cowardice is the worst enemy a writer or journalist has to face.⁵⁵

Citing briefly some of the high profile intellectuals who have had their contributions of lasting value we shouldn't pass without mentioning W.E.B Dubois, who came to grips with the above-mentioned intellectuals in terms of audacity to speak to the powers and in terms of intellectual profundity. In terms of seeing what is wrong in what seems beneficial or feasible Dubois, definitely had a similar stance with that of Mazrui today. The tension between Dubois and Booker T. Washington, one of the prominent figures who strove for Blacks rights in America, stands as an example of Dubois's perspicacity. The problematic aspect of the issue was that Washington argued that Black people should temporarily stand aloof from political power, insistence on civil rights, and higher education of Negro youth, and that they should instead deal with industrial education. Dubois however, believed in the higher education of the Negro youth and wanted the blacks to be entitled to do any kind of work; be it manual, political, academic, etc, now that they are the citizens of

⁵⁴ ibid

⁵⁵ Orwell, George. (2004) "The Freedom of the Press: *Orwell's Proposed Preface to 'Animal Farm'*" http://www.orwell.ru/library/novels/Animal_Farm/english/efp_go (03.04.2004)

America.⁵⁶ Dubois was aware that Washington was an influential man and he was sincere in his projects, however, he regarded his goal for the blacks insufficient and unfair, though seemed feasible at first sight. Dubois's stance is typical of Mazrui in that he tries to penetrate into almost all aspects of ideas in an effort to get a view of the whole panorama.

So, Mazrui with his own seminal contributions ranks his place on the line of high-profile intellectuals in the world. He also displays different attitudes in handling the notion of intellectualism. It is remarkable that Mazrui categorizes the intellectuals and casts different roles to them. To this categorization are four type of intellectuals; those who are general, political, academic and literary. General intellectuals are those from whom arise the other three categorizations. This general category includes schoolteachers, professionals, fine artist, consumers and analysts of social, literary and political out puts. Academic intellectuals are seen as sages or teachers especially in Africa. As consequence they are automatically supposed to be within the public, the mass; thus holding serious responsibility in directing the masses. They are expected to be honest and free in their research, publications and public meetings and guide the people to the right social directions. They should not serve for an

⁵⁶In order for a detailed reading about higher education see: DuBois, W.E.B (1989)"Science and Empire" *Dusk of Dawn*, Bantam ; Reissue edition And also in order for more as to the tension between Booker T. Washington and DuBois see:DuBois, W.E.B(1999) "Of Booker T. Washington and Others" *The Souls of the Black Folks*, W.W. Norton & Company

ideology of the moment but for a general intellectualism. Political Intellectuals include the academic intellectuals. They should be seminal, creative too in writing and applying political and social theories and should even write myths and utopias.

In Mazrui's words:

Almost all-moral commitment must rest either on one overpowering social myth or on an interconnected system of myths. A myth and an idea sometimes become twin-sisters. All major ideological revolutions have been, at least in part, led by political intellectuals. Marx expected the working classes to be the ultimate revolutionary class, but Lenin, the architect of modern Russia knew better.....(13)

And lastly the literary intellectuals, the playwrights, novelists, poets, journalists are again crucial in voicing out the ideas, promoting them. Literary intellectuals sometimes are integrated with the political intellectuals. Mazrui here cites many African experiences, Leopold Senghor of Senegal was a poet, Keita Fodeba of Guinea was a producer of ballets, Bernard Dadie of the Ivory Coast a novelist, etc. So, before being politician they are all literary intellectuals.

So, Upon looking into his understanding of Intellectual, perhaps it is better to get to now Mazrui more closely before talking about ramifications of his intellectual traits with reference to the book.

2. Apolo-Gyamfi : 'Fictional Mazrui'

From the way Apolo-Gyamfi handles the issues we come to see that Mazrui has perhaps fictionalized himself in the person of Apolo-Gyamfi. This is because Mazrui has a certain unique style of writing that gives clues as to his identity to the readers.

With his radical and acerbic writing style, he displays his tendency to see the different aspects of the issues and he is quite shrewd as to penetrate deep into them and come up with resolutions. In the dialectics between Hamisi and Gyamfi and the witnesses, Apolo-Gyamfi comes to the fore. For example in trial of Lord Byron Apolo-Gyamfi outwits Hamisi and through his much profound and comprehensive cross examination the witness turns out to be the witness for the counsel for Damnation by means of which Gyamfi corroborates his stance. Gyamfi does not suffice with Lord Byron's claim that he died for Greece because he owed them, he delves further into the events and finds out the ulterior reason and reveals that Lord Byron actually sacrifices his life not for Greece but for his secret love. To point out a contrast connection, while Okigbo had fought for Biafra because he loved his own society, Byron fought for Greece because he was hostile to his own society. So this is a kind of Mazruian style of handling the issues, with a compare and contrast method, he is quick to see unexpected but direct connections between events that seem to be remote, and by the same token, he sometimes finds out contradictory connections between events, phenomena that seem to be similar as we bear witness in the case above, which reminds us of the style employed in his myriad of articles. We can also cite his deciphering a symbolic connection between "incest relationship" and "civil war"(114) which is quite mind probing and fascinating and which he brings to a conclusion that both fratricide and incest consist in a defilement of the kind by the kind. Mazrui mostly applies a certain matrix when scrutinizing the issues. He first lays out the skeleton of the issues dispelling the nebulous clouds and coins a specific phrase for it and then embellishes it with circumstantial and moving examples. His

prominent notion “Triple Heritage” maintaining that Africa structurally, historically and culturally is surrounded by three factors which lead the continent to colonization and other than that richness, in a way can be cited an example of this application. Moreover, if we were to go beyond the book and take a look at his article “Africa Between The Meiji Restoration and The Legacy of Ataturk: Comparative Dilemmas of Modernization” we immediately see that he scrutinizes on events through a certain matrix where he clarifies and then verbalizes views in a sententious manner when arriving at a conclusion. In the article he compares three kinds of modernization, coming to say that:

Meiji Japan was a case of attempted modernization without westernization. African colonial experience has been so far a case of westernization basically without modernization. The case of Turkey under the legacy of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk has been a case of Modernization through westernization.⁵⁷

Also with his profundity, better to say profound philosophical proclivity Gyamfi becomes reminiscent of Mazrui, especially with the following words in which he addresses the civil war:

“Death is indeed an exercise in Pan-Africanism. We have been known to kill each other partly because we are neighbors we belong to each other. We kill because we are neighbors.”

While talking about the profound philosophy we shouldn't pass without touching on the issue of nationalism and the concept of the idol where he employs his profession of political science by delving into the philosophy of known phenomena.

⁵⁷ Mazrui, Ali. (1981) “Africa Between The Meiji Restoration and The Legacy of Ataturk: Comparative Dilemmas of Modernization” Ankara: Turkiye Is Bankasi Kultur Yayinlari pg 10

When Hamisi defined nationalism as a capacity to have shared heroes and that this is the main reason why people are proud of brilliance of few individuals and see them as their society's flag and thus eulogize them, Salisha (Aishe Bemedi) intervenes and suggests that the idea of nation is at times regarded too abstract to meet human allegiance, therefore, people need to personify it by creating national heroes. By so doing so, they in a way palliate the coldness of the idea and give it warmth. She furthers that Ancestor-worship is to a considerable degree a case of hero-worship. As a matter of fact this is the style of the treatments through which all the theories and ideas mentioned in the novel are handled. By using the figures as mouthpieces, Mazrui expounds on known phenomena and comes up with new approaches. He sometimes sheds lights to the nebulous ideas, sometimes expostulates them and at times consolidates them.

The eloquent language, pithy way of expressing the phenomena is a Mazruian style, and when looking for the eloquence in the novel, we encounter Gyamfi. Gyamfi's words in the following when summarizing Okigbo's charge are quite challenging in terms of idea and aesthetic:

"If the great artist has to sacrifice himself for anything, he should only sacrifice himself for the universal. To die for the truth is martyrdom. To die for art is martyrdom. But when a great thinker or a great artist dies for his nation, that is an indulgence."

"...When an ordinary man or great soldier dies for his nation that is indeed heroism. When a great thinker or great creator dies for his nation that is escapism. Elders of the Ages and of judgment, that is our case against Christopher Okigbo, newly deceased from Biafra!"

There are many examples to his maxim-like enunciations; Gyamfi while addressing to Okigbo's paradox employs the following expressions:

“At the Festival of Negro Art in Dakar Okigbo had refused to dilute art with the milk of nationalism. On the desolate battlefields of Biafra he was to dilute art with the blood of tribalism”.

Yet another one goes;

“.....this great man who had once recognized the grand panorama of human experience, dwindled into a petty negotiator for the merchandise of violence. He descended from the mountain of human vision into the swamp of tribal warfare.”

“Death is indeed an exercise in Pan-Africanism”

So it is typical of Mazrui's style which is mostly encountered in all of his articles that he writes humorously, challenging, that is for this particular reason that one never gets bored while reading him, without being prolix he plays with the words, employs them felicitously. So he is seminal not only in terms of idea but also in terms of coining words, phrases.

Gyamfi's immediate attempt to see the symbolism is again Mazruian. The symbolic relationships between incest war and the civil war and yet another between the Christian story of “three in one and one in three” and the “curse of trinity” surrounded Africa are striking examples. Indeed it is fascinating and mind-challenging to express things through symbols for example the “monotheistic goal”- that the sixteenth century denies itself chance of scoring more additional goals in order for an ultimate ambition to separate oneself from one's opponent by a single

goal⁵⁸ - in the soccer match at first seems mind-bending however once one deciphers the meaning behind the symbols the challenge turns into a fascination. And the soccer match itself is symbol of Africa's colonialism. In the end sixteenth century, standing for colonialism, wins the match with a single goal, though a bitter experience it is. The match and the stadium with all the Africans from all other centuries represent Pan-Africanism. May be the foremost symbolism in the novel is Christopher Okigbo. Mazrui doesn't deem Okigbo as a poet only. Okigbo is the epitome of Civil war as was stated:

We were trying Christopher Okigbo for Nigeria and its agony....(141)

Just like Nigeria's presented role a micro sample of Africa's problem, to put it in Mazrui's words, "Nigeria was African in embryo".

With witty and aesthetic expressions and symbols he as if defamiliarizes,⁵⁹ attracts the attentions and keeps the reader spell bound amid the cold pure political and intellectual subjects. As Omari Kokole puts, in his introduction to *The Global*

⁵⁸ As we talked over this in the first chapter: The elements of soccer match are all metaphoric, one metaphor in this case is 'the single goal'. In the match the sixteenth century wins over the match with a single goal. However, the sixteenth century denies itself chance of scoring more additional goals. The ulterior motive that is hidden in this metaphor is that, the colonizers sacrifice the potential of establishing a greater difference to the danger causing parity. They don't want to be at a par under any circumstance with the colonized. The colonized should always be at the zero degree which is safer and apt for the colonizer's predilection. Therefore, they exhaust their potential to keep the distance in tact. The single goal, thus, is a goal against equalization.

⁵⁹ Defamiliarization is a literary style which has its origin with the Czech theorist Jan Mukarovsky. The term that can also be called Foregrounding brings the form fore by using attracting better to say distracting methods. Such as coning terms, playing with grammer, playing with language in the marginal sense. In order for more see:

Miall, David and Don Kuiken (2004) "Foregrounding, Defamiliarization, and Affect Response to Literary Stories" <http://www.ualberta.ca/~dmiall/reading/index.htm> (01.03.2004)

African: A Portrait of Ali A. Mazrui, Mazrui's writings are often both engaging and highly controversial in his own words:

Many have been fascinated by his essays partly because they are great fun to read; whatever else one may say about Ali Mazrui's writing, it is hardly ever boring.⁶⁰

So Apolo-Gyamfi's line of reasoning and the way he enunciates his ideas make one who is more or less familiar with Ali Mazrui's writings feel that this man has very much in common with Ali Mazrui. And when it comes to Gyamfi's Oxford days then the relationship bearing feelings turn into more the certainty that Gyamfi in the book is in fact, Ali Mazrui in fiction. To cite a few more similarities, first of all Gyamfi gets his degree from Oxford, just like Mazrui. And the man with his conspicuous and influential personality, active in many social organizations, can be judged as no other than Mazrui himself. One example from his oxford anecdotes is the feverish dispute between the students as to the issue of the war of the moment, the war between England and Germany. Gyamfi- or Mazrui- is quick to come to the fore with his perspicacity, and his potential to create controversy. Talking about siding with England against Germany, Gyamfi grounds his motive in this reasoning in the student union, astonishing the students with the idea. He states his uneasiness about his own people's helping the British, the colonizer, in its war with Germany, and he admires Subhas Bose's resistance.⁶¹ However, there is a certain logic in siding with the British, the weaker side. Helping the weaker side as opposed to the stronger prolongs the war. It is not a help serving weaker side but a help to the prolongation

⁶⁰ Kokole, Omari. (1998) "The Master Essayist" *The Global African: A Portrait of Ali Mazrui*. (edited by Omari Kokole) Eritrea: African World Press, pg, 5

⁶¹ Subhas Bose is an indian nationalist. He supported the idea; "Asia for the Asians" and tried to form an army to fight for the Japanese against the British imperial rule.

of the war. Moreover, as far as the interest of the colonized is concerned, the British are more preferable as compared to German rule under the Nazis. Amidst the fervor involving patriotic feelings the fact that he keeps his resilience and probity reminds us of Ali Mazrui who reiterates counter penetration as a way to African Revolution, though sometimes this conduct is deemed as subservience by some.⁶²

Moreover, his trying Christopher Okigbo who valiantly fought for his society and died, after all, is because of his multi dimensional look to the issues. What Okigbo had realized was considered to be heroism however; Mazrui indicts this man for he deems his conduct as escapism.

In addition to the Oxford experience, one other biographical parallelism between Mazrui and Gyamfi is their family and their first coming to fore with their talents. Gyamfi is born into a well-to-do legal family just like Ali Mazrui himself. Mazrui was born into a legal family, his grandfather, his uncle and his father all served as Chief Kadhis of the Islamic Court in Kenya. He was brought up in an legal atmosphere during his youth and it is this family heritage that makes him well versed in Legal issues which we clearly witness in the novel. He was a brilliant student, he first achieved his reputation through his success in an essay competition which was conducted by the Imperial Literature Bureau in London. Mazrui attended this competition though he was the youngest of all the candidates. He won the contest with his choice of topic and the skill with which he handled this topic had attracted

⁶² Some people do not find Mazrui sincere in his exertion in African Revolution claiming that a person lavishing in affluence in American cannot understand the problems of poor Africa. However, Mazrui thinks that by counter penetrating to the western citadels of powers, by becoming influential in western institutions and alerting people about African problems, by charging those responsible for the predicament with reparations one help Africa more effectively. We handled this issue in the first chapter. In order to see how influential Mazrui in voicing out African problems and thus helping his country see first chapter.

serious attention. Some members from the Bureau came to testify this talented child's caliber, returning convinced. Upon this incidence he was lionized throughout Africa. Such intentionally interwoven coincidences between the story told by and that of Mazrui lead us to make this connection.

Furthermore, Mazrui through the narrator refers to Gyamfi in descriptions such as "this little African" and "short stature". As Mazrui himself is not tall in height, he in a way corroborates his identity with such details, concretizing even further the overall association

Talking about the simulacrum of Mazrui in the novel, the thing we should not pass without touching is Gyamfi's trial; Mazrui tries Gyamfi for his impatience which led him to commit suicide during his oxford days. In fact it is remarkable that there is an over emphasis on impatience. Wondering the ground of this emphasis- particularly wondering if it is another shared tendency between Gyamfi and Mazrui- and Benefiting from the contact I formed with Prof. Ali Mazrui, I therefore, asked this point directly to him. To the very question he said thus:

Prof. Ali Mazrui:

Impatience is often a suicidal quality. A man deeply depressed may kill himself - when two weeks later he might have felt differently. Almost every suicide is caused by some kind of impatience.

3. Political –Literary-Scientist

It is quite interesting, though not improbable, for a man of science to have literary commitment amid the cold, detached issues. Mazrui's literary affinity is a vantage point where we come to see his multifarious personality. He is not solely a political scientist he is, in fact, a professor of humanities. In the novel he, in a way, dilutes

the cold, political matters with literature's aesthetic and emotional elements. Many literary names such as Edmund Burke, Lord Byron, Raphael Armottoes, John Milton are talked over during the trial where Mazrui embellishes the feverish debates with stanzas where pertinent. Sometimes, the stanzas corroborate Okigbo's loyalty to African aesthetic, as evinced in the following:

Then we must sing, tongued-tied,
Without name or audience,
Making harmony among the branches.

Sometimes, he uses the stanzas as a moving testimony of the circumstantial evidence as in the trial of Lord Byron when Gyamfi asserted that he died in order to escape from his society, from his sin:

When a man hath no freedom to fight for at home,
Let him combat for that of his neighbors,
Let him think of the glories of Greece and of Rome,
And get knocked on the head for his labors.

Sometimes in order to enhance the effect of the word uttered:

I wish men to be free
As much from mobs as kings

At times, however, we have difficulty in finding out the link between the lines and the very issue a piece of poem is located for. It may be that one needs to be too much delved into the events to discern the indirect nexus. Doesn't Mazrui charge his reader to much in this sense? Christopher Okigbo's poetry is metaphysical and mostly consists of individualistic tones so they do not necessarily bear political implications. Given this, the particular lines chosen for the particular part of the novel makes one hazy about its mission and meaning. For example it is hard to

understand the function of the following piece of poem in almost beginning of the novel.

Before you, mother Idoto,
naked I stand:
Before your watery presence,
a prodigal
leaning on an oil bean,
lost in your legend.
Under your power wait I
on barefoot,
watchman for the watch word
at Heavens gate:
out of the depths my cry:
give ear and hearken.....

So perhaps at times he employs the lines for aesthetic concerns: just to embellish, and give it a literary taste- and by so doing- just to palliate the seriousness, after all they do not have to be pertinent all the while, the readers are expected to supply the nexus themselves maybe.

Again at times he places lines in order to imply the parallelism between the feeling in the lines and the feeling of the person at hand. Hamisi after being apprised about his mission finds himself helpless and lonely and remembers lines from Ancient Mariner. As Ancient Mariner was lonely in the mid of the ocean with the doom waiting for him.

Mazrui employs poems to function like background music which is sometimes pertinent sometimes not, and sometimes to complete the very issue discussed, sometimes to create parallelism, etc. It is an African tendency to articulate national or personal agonies and happiness with poems, it is one way of catharsis, which Mazrui pursues in his life. It is typical of him that sometimes even in his academic,

political article he cites a stanza from an African, European, or American poet. It is clear that poetry is an indispensable part of Mazrui's intellectualism. Not only poem for its own sake, he is also interested in the poets, be it national or universal. He penetrates even into the personal lives and works of poets, let alone knowing by and large. The cross-examination of Lord Byron in the book reveals a considerable amount of information about the life of a poet. Mazrui penetrating into the personal lives of poets makes his analysis more comprehensive missing no lacking point, which works out a lot, after all, what led Gyamfi to a totally different aspect, thus, to the success was his awareness that Byron once perpetrated an illicit relationship with his sister.

Moreover, Mazrui's reading finesse is also important. He reads the poems between the lines, not to get a taste only, but to get implications as well, like a literary critic he makes textual analysis. After delving into the lines he merges what he gets from the stanzas with his comprehensive background knowledge as to the poet's life and then finds out the ulterior motives and deep meanings. Gyamfi's revelation of Lord Byron's awareness of his incestuous relationship is a moving example in this sense. It serves to refute Byron's words when he claimed that incestuous relationship is post-ancestral, thus, permissible. As we see in the following:

We repent, we abjure. we will break from the chain:
We must part, we must fly-to unite again.

So there is no doubt that his deep penetration into the western culture, as well as world culture, from the literary, political, religious perspectives makes him quite influential in handling the issues.

Moreover, his writing novel, after all, is a clear indication of his literary commitment. In the mean time, why he chooses to employ the genre, novel to articulate his agony is mind probing. He could've preferred a poem or ode, as it is typical of his own culture. Now that every choice in the novel has a symbolic meaning then there must be a reason for this certain predilection. I asked the reason of this choice to him:

Q: As a political scientist grappling with hard-core political, cold, sometimes purely abstract issues you chose to convey your ideas through a literary genre, what was the reason that lead you to write a novel? Was it a kind of catharsis?

Prof. Ali Mazrui: When I lost a friend in the 1960s, and wept for him and for Nigeria, I wrote a novel as therapy. When two of my children [Jamal and Kim] went blind in the 1980s, I wrote an "Ode to the Optic Nerve" in Kiswahili. Responding to tragedy with a poem is part of ancestral Swahili culture. Devastation is best answered by an act of creation, like a poem or story telling.

Whatever the reason, one thing that is appreciable is that it is a fictional attempt to turn the personal agony into creativity, in to the seminal output. It is in a way service to the nation, service to the universal, it is a commitment.

The setting the novel takes place in is very crucial in that it is an original commitment. As we know the trial is held in the here-after. Yet this hereafter is not a continuum of the here-before as we are informed through holy books. This here-

after is paralleled with here-before. While the perpetrators are tried in the here-after, the war still proceeds in here before, even some of the prominent names such as Julius Nyerere, Obote, Senghor, Gowon and Ojukwu, Chinua Achebe, Soyinka, Robert Serumaga, Mazrui himself (as political scientist) and many others are called for from the here-before as witnesses to testify the issue discussed. So, in a way, the events are treated as they happen simultaneously, namely, while in here-after the theoretical aspects of the events are scrutinized; they are lived in the here-before. Mazrui juxtaposes the events and their theoretical implications.

In terms of setting, the stadium is fascinating with its direct reference to Mazrui's imaginative talent. In the narrator's words the stadium:

The stadium where the match was being played was a striking structure of marble pillars rising upwards to meet a plain but vast dome. But the sky shone all around those pillars. The football ground was a magnificence of natural green carpetry. The grass was cut with an evenness which was almost mathematically determined. The goalposts might have been wooden, but from a distance they, too, looked like marble, standing in narrow majesty with the net spreading forth behind them, like a royal robe descending in perfect symmetry from the height of the cross-bar.....the structure of stadium had been so planned that the interplay of the light on the football field itself always afforded maximum visibility and clarity of vision. There were also two artificial lights hanging high above each end of the stadium. When they were on they gave extra magnification to the size of the players in proportion to their distance from the spectator.....The process of magnification was a visual aid which increased in effectiveness only as you moved backwards away from the center of the stadium. The naturalness in the size, bearing, and color of the players was never lost.

At the end of the novel the verdict as 'Not Proven' is an interesting finesse of him, though a little bit disappointing. It is true that readers always expect a certain end

like chastise or reward; however Mazrui leaves the verdict unproven bewildering the readers.

3.2. Intellectual Ethic

“not proven”

Making an analysis of the “verdict” which serves a central role in message to be conveyed should be of help. The verdict remains ‘Not Proven’, it seems to be a legacy of intellectual ethic that while coming to a verdict it is essential to be persuasive rather than conclusive and dogmatic. Mazrui definitely has a stance as to Okigbo’s choice however; he treats both sides of this choice at a par and before coming to a conclusion he scrutinizes on both the thesis and the antithesis. As indicated in the following lines:

True, Okigbo had in an important sense turned his back on art and taken to war. But there were enormous mitigating circumstances. The pull of common humanity was not to be despised; nor the compulsion of kinship laughed at.(143)

To fight for universals is to concretize literature- and the fight in Biafra was indeed such a fight.(90)

The issues being dealt on a court through arguments and counter arguments after all is a way of objective treatment.

Instead of the question of moral justification of Okigbo’s choice he draws the attention to two sins: sin of miscalculation and sin of impatience. He castigates Hamisi for miscalculation and Gyamfi for impatience during his Oxford days. Rather than casting the individual indicted, he deals with wider phenomena and the values and roles they represent. He finds Biafra guilty not because they killed the Muslim

Housas but because they killed their own people and endangered the ultimate unity of “One Nigeria”, “One Africa”, the ideal of Pan-Africanism. Nevertheless, he does not over look the role of components in the whole case. He makes self evaluation for each individual, as Abiranjia in the novel puts, “different failures entail different painful repercussions.”

It is a reality that most of the time being emotionally involved in the events results in subjective treatments. However, although Mazrui censures the war strongly, and although he overtly puts forward this stance at the beginning of the novel as follows,

My moral support was for the Federal Side, my sympathies were with the Ibo. It was that kind of tragedy- a tragedy of rights in conflict. I loved the Ibo and hated Biafra.(x)

This does not prevent him from making an impartial and sound judgment during the novel, sympathizing with either side. From the very motive that Mazrui felt in his inner side that lead him to write this novel, one inevitably anticipates subjective treatments. Just in this juncture, contrary to what is expected, Mazrui manifests his balanced objectivism. In the novel neither side is signified as being responsible for the commencing of the war. One broadcast report claims the Ibos too have been up in arms in the Eastern Region killing the Hausas, however, this revolt might have been retaliation. As hamisi himself put “ there is very little evidence to support such a thesis” when Hamisi is talking about the Hausas’s proclaiming Jihad against defenseless people he feels uneasy at first as to cast aspersions on fellow Muslims yet as indicated in the following:

.....And yet here was he, Hamisi, in a battle to save the soul of a Biafran, wondering whether some of the suggestions

of that old propaganda in the Here before might not be pertinent.(82)

So Mazrui's orientation of characters, his casting roles for them-especially casting a role for Hamisi as a Muslim to the defense an Ibo fellow- is ironic.

To Mazrui who kindled the war is of no importance. As Gyamfi stated, after all, it is not for certain where the military action ceases to be aggressive and becomes defensive. The most important thing was: There was a war and people died, spoiling the ideal of unity of "One Nigeria". Neither side is approved or disapproved of. Hausa's brutalities against the Ibos- the case of Vincent Obika whose family was killed by the Hausas- and The Ibos' brutalities against the Hausas-the case of Aishe Bemedi(Salisha) who was raped to the degree of dying by the Ibos - are portrayed equally. Mazrui's temperate stand to the belligerents is a vantage point for us to bear witness his religious tolerance. As a Muslim Mazrui here in this novel could have brought the Muslim fore, showed- at least indirectly, after all that it is a fiction-discountenance for the Ibos, for the Christians. He shuns doing this. In fact, as he himself put in his article "Nigeria, Religion and I" the novel is a "culture bridge" let alone bearing nepotism for either side. After Mazrui consummated the novel, the manuscript was sent to Editor of the Heinemann African Writers' Series, Chinua Achebe, who is an Ibo intellectual and a prominent African writer. Achebe reads the manuscript. Although he is an Ibo and although he is pathetic about the civil war where thousands of his people died, he doesn't find the novel as offensive at all. So the novel substantiates what Mazrui says in the following

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.⁶³

Mazrui throughout his life has kept this probity example of which we have witnessed in the book. The fact that Mazrui is not an ordinary Muslim augments the significance of his model attitude we see in the novel. Mazrui by definition is a devout Muslim. Independent of his other fields of study Mazrui holds a huge aspect of Islam, throughout his life beginning from his boyhood. He has tried to understand and interpret true Islam. He has merged his scholarship with Islamic studies and produced myriad works as to the situation of Islam in Africa, in the West. He worked on how Islam and the West can learn from each other-despite great tensions between the sides; how Islamic thinking is way to solve the problems of Africa, How Islam and the other Abrahamic religions are similar and different from each other, etc., and many others which, definitely, should be treated as a separate thesis topic. Apart from being a prominent and full-time busy political scientist, he is the founder Chair of the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy in Washington, D.C, a member of the Council of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C, Professor at the School of Islamic and Social Sciences at Leesburg, Virginia And in Britain he is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Oxford Center for Islamic Studies. However, Mazrui who is involved in Islam to a great degree shows no hesitation in marrying a Christian woman. He keeps his sanity and objectivity intact amid critical circumstances, and treats the other faiths at a par

⁶³ Mazrui, Ali (2004) "Nigeria, Religion and I"
<http://www.africaresource.com/scholar/mazrui.htm>. (01.01.2004)

in respect and tolerance. By doing so, it is doubtless to say that he pursues a model attitude. This model is also important to a great degree, in keeping religious tolerance and coalescing with other three main religions on the ground of common interest thus, leading the world to harmony rather than promulgating by departing from the difference and contradiction “The Clashes of Civilizations” . In this sense we can call Mazrui’s attempt future building next to his Culture bridging efforts. This was one the points we talked over, when I asked him whether his novel in this sense is a response to Samuel Huntington’s controversial concept of “Clashes of Civilizations” he simply stated the following:

Prof. Ali Mazrui: The novel is basically anti-war. It focuses on the Nigerian civil war - - but the novel uses that civil war as a microcosm of a world war. Indeed, a world war is a civil war writ large - It is a globalized civil war of humans against humans.

Mazrui’s intellectual pose also manifests itself when it comes to cultural pluralism. Mazrui casts great emphasis on the cultural integration, multiculturalism, multi polarism. To him interaction amongst the cultures is what nurtures a culture, it is not necessarily subservience on the contrary it is freedom. In the novel Nkrumah, Nyerere, Lord Byron are cited as examples, they are all of the opinion that they share the Hellenic heritage in their veins and pay their homage. Lord Byron utters that he owes the Greeks a lot, Nkrumah refers to Aristotle as the “master” especially on the day of Ghana’s independence which is quite ironic, Nyerere on the other hand suggests that African and Greek experiment in pure democracy evolves in parallel line not in consecutive order. And they do not see any offence in this on the contrary as Hamisi put addressing Nkrumah:

At that mature stage of African nationalism such an acknowledgement of Aristotle by Nkrumah was not a submission but a conquest, not a retreat into subservience but a move to transcend. In simple terms, and with confidence, an “African was claiming his share of the Hellenic heritage of man.”(Emphasis mine) (112)

All the more pertinent was Okigbo’s acknowledgment his dept to assortments of literatures and cultures ranging from classical times to the moment. He was paying his homage saying that if we were to assimilate the cultures in question it would be difficult to sort them out, for it is not clear as to see where the classical starts and Babylonian ends.

The novel’s special emphasis on the notion of “Triple Heritage” is also substantiating Mazrui’s stance which was one of the points that we discussed in the interview. He stated the following:

Prof. Ali Mazrui: My novel, *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*, is a synthesis of Africa’s Triple Heritage (Indigenous Africanity, Western culture and Islam). The novel borrows ideas from all those three civilizations

3.3. Ali Mazrui: The Practice of Law in the Hereafter

Mazrui’s predilection of a trial as a setting is the most convenient in order for the issues to be handled in a variety of aspects. Through the cross-examination, on an ad hoc basis, the issues at times directed to literary discussions, at times to pure political and at times religious, philosophical issues. Besides the trial’s convenience for allowing the variety, it furthermore, augments the excitement keeping the readers in anxiety about questions like, what will happen next, who will be guilty, etc. The lawyers’ sophistication and talents in directing the arguments play a great role in

making the trial attain its optimum effect. Herein we witness Ali Mazrui's legal profession. Though a political scientist, Mazrui is somehow well versed in legal affairs, the reason of which traces back to his family roots. Mazrui was born into a legal family: his father was a Chief Kadhi of the Islamic Court in Kenya, not only his father, but also his grand father and his uncle served for the same court. His son later on took over the family profession and was called by the bar.⁶⁴ So he was brought up in a legal atmosphere and witnessed many hard core legal problems, discussions, affairs while traveling with his father which helped him develop an inevitable interest in this field. And it was this very interest accompanying with his perceptive mind that made him envisage an ideal justice system. In the novel while we are witnessing a trial similar to western style, we also come to see his modifications in the system. We see that he idealizes a system in Hamisi's failure, Gyamfi's success. Hamisi's emotional involvement in the issues deviates him from consummating what befalls him. Because of his emotional closeness to Aise Bemedi he evades from doing a thorough search about her life, which worked out for Gyamfi. The emotional involvement was a great strength and virtue in else where as Mazrui put, however, in the court it was a weakness. For this reason in the hereafter any kind of attachment, let alone love affair was dismissed. When Hamisi called Aishe Bemedi there became bewilderment in the court, for in the hereafter "it is unorthodox to call in a witness from one's own roof, after all, both Hamisi and Salisha shared Abiranjia's

⁶⁴ Mowoe, Isaac.(2001) "Ali Mazrui: "THE LAWYER"" *The Scholar Between Thought and Experience* .(ed. Parviz Morewedge) NY: IGCS Publications, Pg: 151

hospitality.” What is more, the witnesses in the hereafter are chosen by truly objective criteria of their likely utility, let alone choosing by closeness. Rather:

.....Counsels were expected in the course of proceedings themselves to bring out the evidences of the witnesses in a manner best calculated to serve their own side of the case. It was considered to be bad form to attempt a prior briefing of a witness, even indirectly. It had therefore become conventionally bad form even to consult with a witness before the event.(74)

Free from any kind of affinity that interfered with the justice system the lawyer is expected to be prepared well in advance for the court, for justice entails too much sensitivity and care. Gyamfi’s review of the background of Lord Byron and Aishe Bemedi provide us with good examples in this sense.

So we see what shouldn’t be done in Hamisi and what should be done in Gyamfi. Mazrui juxtaposes the perfect and imperfect.

Okigbo’s absence on the course of the trial is all the more interesting and mind probing. This is because in *After-Africa* it is considered rude to make the accused exposed to the eyes; make him watch his fate being decided by the others. Nevertheless, the right whether to attend or not is given to the accused himself in case he prefers. It seems that this is what Mazrui is critical of in the American Justice System. Of course we cannot consider all the details to be Mazrui’s ideal that he wants to change in justice system, there are many details which are not applicable else where other than in the novel.

Again the setting in the trial is as fascinating as the setting in the match, wherein we come to see the second time Mazrui operative imagination. Mazrui draws the courtroom as much sparkling and a majestic as possible and has the figures dressed

in a resplendent way. By so doing he tries to give the court grandeur in accordance with the majesty of justice. The resplendent setting, especially the dressing is also the point where Isaac J. Mowoe, professor of Africana Studies at the Ohio State University and a qualified attorney at law, draws the attention in his article where he dealt with Mazrui's lawyerly profession with reference to the novel in question. In his own articulation:

....He describes the courtroom elaborately...The counsel for Damnation, Apolo-Gyamfi, resplendent "in a flowing Ghanaian toga, edged with green" made a brilliant opening statement.....His opponent, Hamisi Salim, not quite as fleet of mind but just "as resplendent in his juba" made an equally compelling statement.⁶⁵

Mazrui's immense imagination manifests itself in his own description of the courtroom, we'd better try to envisage the courtroom through his own words:

The grass of the football field was still there, but in the middle of it all a huge stage had been erected, designed to be the great arena for a mighty battle of judicial wit. On the side of the shining wooden stage in the middle of the soccer ground was an enclosure of nine seats. These were the seats of nine Elders who would be listening to the arguments advanced by the two Counsels in the case. The nine seats were themselves like thrones carved out of ebony, the back-rests being rounded with red-covered cushioned too, but curiously enough with antelope skin on top. The cumulative visual effect on nine red cushions and eighteen antelope arm-rests on the spectators in the stadium looking at the hides of nine bulls freshly killed in the stadium at Madrid, neatly arranged across the arena in patterns of relationship with nine red flags of the matador next to the bleeding hides.....It was one thunderous shake. But everyone seemed to know its meaning. There, in numbers, beyond the imagination of census collectors, one suddenly saw a whole universe of humanity rise in unison to attention. As far as the eye could see in that stadium, white-robed figures stood in attentive

⁶⁵ *ibid*, Pg: 151

response as the skies of After-Africa announced the entry of the nine Elders of judgment. They too were partly in white, but their white garments were agbadas rather than kanzus, bound round the edges with thick, red and gold borders. The simple addition of these borders to these white garments sharply differentiated the judges from the multitude. All the nine Elders had beards of varying sizes, two were bald, four had gone grey very conspicuously. They moved towards their thrones in strides pregnant with purpose, yet unhurried in their deliberation. The rest of the stadium stood in silent attention watching aged wisdom on parade. The dressing of the Elders, Counsels for Damnation and Salvation- as mentioned above in Isaac J. Mowoe's quotation- Lord Byron, Aishe Bemedi, Abiranja and the others are elaborately denoted,

So, Mazrui throughout the trial visualizes the setting for reader where necessary.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION

This study has endeavored to delve into the political and intellectual personality of Ali Mazrui, one of the well-known and widely appreciated political scientist, on the basis of his prominent political novel *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo*. It attempted to examine Mazrui's profession through two fundamental chapters and reached many palpable points within the scope of two main headings, a recapitulation of which has been provided below.

I-Ali Mazrui's Political Commitment

The Trial of Christopher Okigbo can be considered as a thorough revelation of Ali Mazrui's Political side. The book is in a way a political analysis as well as a case study of African politics in general. Here, Ali Mazrui goes beyond being an academician and a freelance intellectual, and displays the politician who has his say and praxis not only in African affairs but also in World politics. *The Trial of Christopher Okigbo* sets the ground for us to see his stance to many political issues both as far as Africa and the World at large is concerned, in its theory and praxis. Throughout the course of the book Mazrui flirts with many political concepts like civil war, nationalism, integrationism, individualism, universalism, etc. and treats them in his own unique way. He highlights many political affairs disguising them in symbols. Among these is 'The Triple Heritage', a concept which Mazrui was inspired from Nkrumah and expounded on. Besides political affairs and concepts, specific political figures are also dealt with in the novel. To cite a few; Kwame

Nkrumah- the Ghanan leader-, Julius Nyerere- Tanzania's leader-, Leopold Senghor- Senegal's leader-, Odumegwu Ojukwu- the military governor of the Eastern Nigeria, Biafra-, Yakubu Gowon-the major general of the Federal side. Mazrui sometimes incorporates their ideas, where necessary or sometimes gives accounts of their treatment of the issues either in a critical or lauding manner. Under the present study, we at times went beyond the novel and referred to his personal experience which has had a lot to say in substantiating his political activism. His being a strong voice in some major organizations like World Order Models Project (WOMP) and UNESCO and his project for BBC|PBS, "The Africans: A Triple Heritage"- the TV series which once rendered great controversies, and caught attentions worldwide especially in America and his many other worldwide activism in influential organizations have been a major commitment to Africa and to the world politics at large. We have also benefited from some of his articles, conferences, and lectures to clarify some of the blurring points.

II-His Intellectual Commitment

The rest of the thesis has attempted to examine Mazrui's intellectual contribution. The novel per se as well as its content is a moving evidence of his intellectual exertion. Delving into the pages we encountered a *mélange* of philosophical, literary, sociological phenomena being operated on, ranging from the role of a poet in the society to the distinction between what is more important in a poem; form or content?; the question of whether a poem should convey its message overtly or if it should attempt to give a message at all, to the examination of the characteristics of an intellectual as well as his role in transforming the society and the globe and many

other issues. Considering the notion that the manner in which a certain statement made is, at least as much important as its content, we are able to see that Mazrui's finesse skill in taking this principle into account ranks him at the top in terms the way he expresses his say. His arguments are mostly sententious, humorous, terse as well as mind probing. In the second chapter myriad of quotes from the novel are provided as examples of his finesse. In this same chapter we also talked about his literary side and came up with a conclusion that he is not only a hard core political scientist, free-lance intellectual but also a literary man who holds a remarkable profession in literature; and it is not merely his embellishing the political novel with poems and love affairs that causes us to call him a literary man; the motive behind this appellation is rather his profound knowledge of Western literature as well as African literature. He doesn't suffice with knowing the literary figures by and large; he even delves into their personal lives, the case of Lord Byron serves as a good illustration in this sense.

All in all, this has been what can be considered a brief study of a man of thought and praxis. With this study I was able to shed light to only a limited scope of Mazrui's everlasting contributions. I believe that many more of such studies are needed to render this man's commitment to the world. I hope that mine will be among those, which pave the way for further studies.

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