

## Summary Report of CODESRIA 14<sup>th</sup> General Assembly: Creating African Futures in an Era of Global Transformations

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The 14<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of CODESRIA took place at the King Fahd Palace Hotel, Dakar, 8-12 June 2015. The theme of the General Assembly and upon which most paper presentations and discussions were based was '*Creating African Futures in an era of Global Transformations*'. The theme was chosen due to the felt need to have the General Assembly, which is one of the largest gatherings of Social Scientists in Africa, engage in debates and reflections on a framework that would inform the construction of the African future, within the context of globalization that has threatened to destroy the progress in social development in recent times. The Assembly had initially been scheduled for December 2014, but had to be rescheduled due to the outbreak of the Ebola virus disease which affected most countries in the West African region.

The 14th General Assembly took place in the context of a number of developments that need to be highlighted. First the meeting took place a few months after the commemoration of the 40th anniversary

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of the establishment of CODESRIA. The 40th anniversary was a moment of reunion and reflection on CODESRIA's leadership role in research and knowledge production in the social sciences in Africa. The 14th GA also coincided with the end of the 2012-2015 programme cycle of the Council's research engagements, and reflections on the next cycle and strategic plan. This was therefore an opportunity for the Executive Committee of the Council and the Secretariat to report to the community and funding partners on what had been achieved and what the future focus of the Council would be. Thirdly, the Assembly was an opportunity for the community to discuss reports on the administrative and intellectual reforms that the Council needed to undertake moving

forward. This was a purely internal exercise that the Council had decided to undertake in order to continue positioning itself as Africa's premier Social Science research institution. A new development in the organization of the activities of the General Assembly was the separation of the scientific and administrative activities of the assembly following the recommendations of the management review committee.

With the above background, it was considered imperative for the African Social Science community to reflect on how to 'reinvent a future for themselves and redefine the social, cultural, moral, ethical and institutional foundations of the citizenship and membership in the local, national and continental levels, in a free, united, democratic and prosperous Africa, in peace with itself and the world'. Thus, the choice of the General Assembly theme.

The conference was organized into 6 plenary sessions (conference presen-

tations), 6 roundtables, 24 parallel sessions and one event for the launch of new CODESRIA journals. The first plenary session was devoted to three events. These were the opening speech of the CODESRIA Executive Secretary, Ebrima Sall, the report of the president of CODESRIA's Executive Committee, Fatima Harrak, and the keynote address (Cheikh Anta Diop Lecture), which was delivered by Carlos Lopes, Executive Secretary of UNECA on the theme 'Africa's imperatives to determine its own future'.

The roundtables focused on the following issues:

- Inventing our future
- Building healthy societies: epidemic control and prevention
- Understanding and Transcending Fundamentalisms
- South- South: Reconfiguring South-South Relations for Global Transformation
- Industrialization, Trade and Structural Transformation
- The Africa we want

The presentations at the parallel sessions also covered a broad range of themes, including the following:

- The African Diaspora in the Recreation of Africa's Futures
- Regional Integration and Pathways to African Futures
- Toward more Democratic Futures: Making Governance Work for all Africans
- Neo-liberalism and the Financialization of Natural Resources in Africa
- International Criminal Justice, Responsibility to Protect (R2P), and Sovereignty in the Africa of the Future
- Fashioning African Futures: Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Gendered Perspectives
- Land Grabs, Property Rights and Citizenship
- From Impressive Growth to Inclusiveness: Large-scale Deals and Households' Livelihood in SSA
- Planning Development: Alternative Economic Models for Africa's Futures

- Towards Knowledge-driven Societies in Africa: Higher Education, Research, and the Transformation of African Economies and Societies
- African Popular Culture and the Imagination of Alternative Futures
- Decoloniality and African Futures in the Twenty-first Century
- Beyond MDGs: Pathways to the Sustainably Developed Community
- Designing and Building Resilient and Socially Inclusive Societies
- Social Reconstruction in Post-neoliberal Society
- Health, Arts and Popular Cultures: How Cultural Industries Re-invent the "Suffering" in Africa
- Regional Integration and Pathways to African Futures
- Strengthening the Social and Human Sciences in Africa: Intellectual and Institutional Challenges
- African Popular Culture and the Imagination of Alternative Futures
- Climate Change and its Implications for African Futures: Innovative Approaches to Agricultural Development and Industrialization
- Progress of the World's Women 2015-2016: Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights
- Supporting Forest Livelihoods through Local Representation
- Reinvesting History in Literature, Movies and Media
- History in the Construction of African Futures: Challenges and Prospects

### Opening Speeches

The Speech of the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA, Dr Ebrima Sall

Dr Sall began his address by inviting the members to observe a minute of silence in tribute to fellow members of the community who had died in the course of the year; Prof Amady Aly Dieng of Senegal, Dr Ndeye Sokhna Gueye of Senegal, Dr Yves Chouala of Cameroon and Dr Roselyne Achieng of Kenya. He then took time to share with members his desire and ambition to create conditions for a more promising future for the Council. He reiterated the need to have a

CODESRIA that is more committed, more visible, with necessary reforms in depth. He invited the community to further contribute to the development of Africa. The ES took time to thank the researchers who had come from all backgrounds, the Senegalese government for supporting the council over the years, and donors who have always trusted CODESRIA and committed funds to the Council's activities.

Speech by the President of CODESRIA, Dr Fatima Harrack

The President welcomed participants to the GA. Like the ES, she echoed the Council's gratitude to the Senegalese government for continued hospitality and support, and the honour that the government had accorded the GA by having the Prime Minister preside over the opening ceremony. The president also extended gratitude to the different personalities from the universities, the diplomatic corps in Senegal and organizations of civil society for their commitment and support.

Keynote Speech by Carlos Lopes, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)

Carlos Lopes started his speech by congratulating Codesria for its 42 years of existence. Lopez noted that CODESRIA has a critical role to play in shaping Africa's transformation. He noted the existing partnerships between CODESRIA and ECA and expressed the need to expand the depth of such cooperation for the organizations to make a shared contribution to Africa's development.

Speech by Mohammed Abdallah Boun Dionne, Prime Minister of the Government of Senegal, representing the President

The last speech was that of the Prime Minister (PM) of Senegal, on behalf of the President of Senegal. The Prime Minister paid tribute to former Presidents of CODESRIA and the founders, who nurtured the idea to create such a relevant organization. He also congratulated those who have contributed, since the creation of CODESRIA, to its historic mission of knowledge production, networking, training and publication. He extolled the role of CODESRIA in helping to confront the many challenges of Africa. The PM made reference to the

Senegalese government's strategy for an emerging Senegal, known as the "Plan Senegal Emergent" (PSE). The strategy, according to him, aims to increase the productivity of Senegal's economy in the public and private sectors. He noted that there is a perfect connection between the PSE and the theme of the 14th General Assembly which is: "*Creating Africa's Futures in an era of Global Transformation*". The PM called for the cooperation of Senegal towards realizing Senegal's development agenda. He also reiterated the commitment of the Senegalese government to continue to support CODESRIA. One expression of this continued support, according to the PM, is the recent provision of a piece of land in Djamiadjo for the construction of CODESRIA's headquarters. On this note, the PM, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Senegal, formally declared open the 14<sup>th</sup> General Assembly.

### 1<sup>st</sup> Working Session of the Scientific Conference

Chair: Dzodzi Tsikata (Vice-president of CODESRIA)

This session was devoted to presentation and discussion of CODESRIA Review Reports. Three reports were presented and discussed during this session. These were:

- a) Report of the President of CODESRIA by the President, Fatima Harrack
- b) Report of the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA by the ES, Ebrima Sall.
- c) Presentation and discussion of the Reports of CODESRIA internal review committees

Presenting her report, the President of CODESRIA, Fatima Harrack, highlighted the difficult environment within which the EC had worked to drive the work of the Council. According to her, global trends such as concerns about the future of capitalism, expression of discontent as seen in popular uprisings especially in the Arab world, the emergence of proxy wars as seen in the entry of the USA and NATO into North Africa, the Ebola crisis in West Africa and the general concern with the state of higher education in Africa; had all presented both intellectual and operational challenges to the work of CODESRIA. This had been mirrored in the delayed disbursement of funds from donors; the rescheduling of various CODESRIA activities due to the Ebola

crisis and the reduced staff numbers at the secretariat despite the expansion of programme activities. With regard to the state of higher education in Africa, the president noted that the sector continued to be fragmented, privatized, internationalized and therefore deepening the crisis of brain drain, and continuously creating an expectation within the community that CODESRIA needed to step in to alleviate shortages in capacity. Where governments had shown any interest, the focus was on the STEM disciplines while ignoring the SSH. Despite the challenges, the president highlighted the achievements that had been recorded in the tenure of the EC. These included putting the membership of the Council on a strong footing; overseeing preparation and adoption of policy documents such as the gender policy; overseeing the development of the new strategic plan, 2013-2016; and completion of various research and publication programs. She added that three internal reviews were accomplished in the areas of membership and governance, intellectual agenda and management. These reviews were initiated for the purpose of moving CODESRIA in a new direction and vision. The Executive committee also put in place a code of ethics to strengthen accountability.

The need for better communication and utilization of ICTs was echoed in her report. Improved communication need to happen between the EC and CODESRIA staff, between the executive committee and funders as well as between the executive committee and the executive secretary. In terms of sustainability, the issue of diversification of funding and long-term financial stability in order to support administrative costs and execution of its activities has been of concern to CODESRIA and its funders. To tackle this financial issue, efforts were started towards the establishment of an endowment fund for CODESRIA. Fatima Harrack finished her report with some recommendations from the executive committee, which include: 1) the completion and implementation of the three internal reviews, 2) diversification and sustainability of funding through the establishment of an endowment fund, 3) decentralization of CODESRIA's programmes and activities as a means of tackling challenges linked to communication and research, and outreach to young scholars, 4) ensuring that the intellectual agenda of CODESRIA remains locally relevant

and focus on the continent and constituencies, 5) production of knowledge that would be continent and context specific, and 6) fostering collaboration among researchers in Africa.

In his report the ES, Ebrima Sall, noted that despite the challenges outlined by the president, the state of the Council remained strong and the balance sheet positive. He highlighted the level of engagement, involvement and inputs from the community during workshops, institutes and conferences organized by CODESRIA. He noted some of the accomplishments by the Council in the last 42 months, including; 1) The external evaluation of CODESRIA commissioned by the donors which came out with a positive evaluation of the Council's activities and focus, 2) Streamlining of the activities of the Council which include organization of the research agenda around themes and a concentration of research training activities to renew the community through training of young scholars, 3) The launch of new programmes, journals, networks and publications, and 4) an attempt to enter areas which CODESRIA was not in previously like justice. Other lines of interventions from the office of the Executive Secretary focused on, 1) training trainers on leadership and cybersecurity issues, 2) supporting doctoral research activities, 3) generating literature in areas needed for the continent by African universities, 4) ensuring free electronic open access of material instead of printed versions only, 5) the establishment of a monthly e-bulletin, 6) a strong partnership with the global south by putting resources together and getting access to a larger pool of material, 7) and a systematic effort put in place to make sure practices are codified. In terms of the endowment fund, Dr. Sall highlighted the difficulty of establishing one due to expensive cost, time and challenge with setting up an online system like paypal for donations. Regarding the staffing issues, Dr. Sall advocated for a rotation at the level of senior staff so that CODESRIA does not lose its institutional memory. The ES also mentioned CODESRIA's outreach initiative by being a co-organizer of a major summit on higher education this past March in Senegal. In September 2015, CODESRIA will partner with the Inter-national Social Science Council and the Human Sciences Research Council to host the World Social

Science Forum in Durban, South Africa. CODESRIA will also continue to reach out to the African Union and regional organizations in an effort to bring research and policy together.

Various Interventions were made from the floor in response to the reports of the president and ES. With regard to the establishment of the endowment fund, some concerns were raised regarding the idea of sourcing for endowments from outside while keeping the integrity of CODESRIA's mission. With regard to membership, a suggestion was made to strengthen regional sub-groups in order to connect with young scholars, as young scholars still considered CODESRIA as an elitist organization meant for established scholars. With regard to the endowment fund, Professor Adam Habib suggested that CODESRIA should negotiate with institutions in Africa that already had the PayPal facility and in fact offered that of the University of Witwatersrand, where he is the Vice Chancellor.

C) Second Session: Presentation and discussion of the reports of the CODESRIA internal Review committees (management, intellectual agenda review and membership and governance)

#### **Chair: Fatima Harrak**

The chair gave an overview of the review process and review documents, pointing out that the review documents had been circulated within the community. The task was therefore first, to discuss and adopt the charter amendments especially with regard to membership and elections. She noted that the EC appreciated the report on membership, which it valued and considered important in guiding charter amendments. The EC however indicated that the issue of votes and representation required further reflection. There was also relative disagreement with the review team's narrow view of the social sciences and the approach to transdisciplinarity. The amendments largely dealt with membership and the rights of members as regards participation in the General Assembly and scientific conference.

#### **Discussion and adoption of charter amendment proposals**

The discussion on the adoption of charter amendments was chaired by Issa Shivji, Former Mwalimu J. Nyerere Chair in Pan African Studies, University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania. The Vice-President

of CODESRIA, Dzodzi Tsikata, went through each of the 5 clusters of amendments to the charter and moved a resolution for the adoption of each of them. Professor Sam Moyo seconded it. The floor was opened for discussion by the chair. The amendments were eventually passed after a unanimous vote in support of each of them.

#### **Reports of the Review Committees**

After the adoption of the Charter amendments that largely covered the report of the Membership and Governance Committee, the participants were taken through the reports of the Intellectual Agenda and the Management Review Committees.

#### **Report of the Intellectual Agenda Committee**

The members of the committee were Elisio Macamo; Abdul Raufu; Pamela Mbabazi and Dickson Eyoh. Presenting the report on behalf of the other members, Dickson Eyoh noted that the committee looked at the state of research undertaken by the Council, what had been achieved and the best way of moving forward. The committee based its report on a review of documents and feedback from a questionnaire that it had circulated within the community. The committee noted the following:

- That CODESRIA has continued to pursue its research agenda through various vehicles and that the research themes covered a wide range of issues.
- That the quality of research by the Council remained good but uneven.
- In terms of the research portfolio, the committee noted that there had been a rapid growth in the size of the research portfolio to the extent it would appear the secretariat had difficulties in managing all of them.
- There appeared to be lack of clarity between basic and policy research and how to effectively interface the two.
- Training is linked to research projects and thematic institutes, and in the overall the quality had been good though there was room for further improvement.
- In terms of publications, there was a backlog due to too many titles that CODESRIA was managing and the

management of the publication process needed improvement.

#### **Report of the Management Committee**

The members of this committee were Zenebeworke Tadesse, Akwasi Aidoo, Pablo Gentili and Temba Masilela. Presenting the report on behalf of the committee, Tadesse noted that the focus of the committee was to look at the status, strengths and challenges that the Council faced in terms of its management. The leading question was to explore the extent to which CODESRIA was adjusting itself to global and African challenges. The committee, after an analysis of the status and strengths of the Council recommended the following:

- The need for CODESRIA to diversify its sources of core funding
- The need to have dedicated staff at the secretariat to look into membership and resource mobilization and that priority is given to creating a special endowment building sub-committee.
- Convince donors to have a joint reporting template as staff spent so much time to respond to different reporting templates from different donors.
- Greater utilization of the scientific committee in implementing CODESRIA programmes
- Some internal reforms were required within the secretariat starting with a human resource audit.
- A rational decentralization of CODESRIA's activities was needed.
- Increase membership fees and ensure it is regularly paid.

#### **Reports from the Round-Tables**

##### **Round Table: "Inventing Our Future"**

**Chairperson :** Mahmood Mamdani

**Presenters :**

- Adam Habib,
- Adebayo Olukoshi,
- Yang Guang
- Benjamin Soares

##### **Presentation by Adam Habib**

The presentation began by underlining the imperativeness and urgency of Africa to play a vanguard role in its development. This would have to be informed by Africa's original ideas. It would require creating incentives and capacities for the political class to include Africa's future.

While it was possible to imagine the future, the problem was how to create the necessary conditions to accomplish it. Africa was operating in a hostile world that was dominated by alternative views and ideas of more powerful actors who were opposed to its initiative and agency to attain its own future. This needed a coherent plan, which would include the agency and method for creating it. It would involve institutional architecture and security architecture, as well as a common market for the continent. A case in point was China, which had used its market size to enhance its agenda. Countries like Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt, which had taken the lead in industrialization and development, would have to take the lead to create the "continental hegemonic triad" to drive the market agenda, etc. They have the capacity to establish that alliance and undertake that vanguard role. Other measures included creating incentives for the political class and putting in place checks and balances (balance of power) so as to ensure that the political class acted in the right political direction. This, in his view, required democracy at national level, civil society, organizing the popular masses and a viable opposition. Other requirements included Pan-Africanism as an ideology, identity, language, common values, etc. Pan-Africanism was viewed as a cosmopolitan identity. He concluded that a common market and Pan-Africanism would bring all people together without roots.

### **Presentation by Adebayo Olukoshi**

He noted, in his presentation the multiple past struggles for the future and the pessimisms, which had been expressed about Africa's future. He warned that whereas the leftists envisioned the futuristic tasks, many of which required attention, dedication and time, some scholars lacked time for serious research. They therefore formulated solutions for unresearched problems. This resulted in more unintelligibility of future studies, which became more of daydreaming. He underlined the imperativeness of undertaking prospective studies and experiencing projections for the future. This required *inter alia*, defining the problem, the agency and resources, the reasons why; linking the past, present and future; clarity about the geo-political and strategic interventions on the African continent by superpowers seeking to gain

a foothold in Africa. Others included proposing a continental vision for Africa, responding to foreign visions about Africa and felt power of the many futures suggested about Africa. He stressed the need for understanding the linkage between the notion of the collective and that of power; how dimensions of inequality, exclusion, marginality etc. lead to vital questions; how to unleash necessary movements for (in) forming our future; the current declarations about "emergence of Africa" amongst African countries; and the role of trade unions, civil society and social movements in informing Africa's "collective" future. He underpinned the imperativeness of Africans designing their own destiny instead of reacting to external demands through the current projects like NEPAD and Vision 2063; building internal capacities while rejecting external agendas. This was because every meaningful future had to be sufficiently informed by the present.

### **Presentation by Yang Guang**

This presentation raised two important points on the Chinese research community's view about Africa and China-Africa cooperation. The first one expressed great optimism of the Chinese research community about the future of Africa and its development. This optimism was based on observations and progress at theoretical level. They considered concepts like NEPAD, developmental state, etc. which were combining the role of the market and state to address external challenges and relate to the domestic reforms. Another example was the formulation of promising projects like Agenda 2063 plus specific programmes/sectoral responses. He emphasized that Africa had to own its future and development.

On the second point, he envisioned China-Africa cooperation being beneficial to Africa and identified the following preconditions for attaining this: improving the terms of trade for Africa, infrastructure development, technological transfer, employment and experience-sharing with Africa, cooperation between Chinese and African intellectual communities and think tanks. He stressed that Africa's development was possible; that African countries had to deliberately and tirelessly work towards development the way China had done. They would have to translate the continental visions to national visions and improve investment

conditions. He opined that the Chinese model/experience was of comparative value for African elites and concluded that not democratic development but a dictatorial one could do for Africa the way it had done for China. The issue was to address questions of inequality through redistribution rather than neoliberal developmentalism.

### **Presentation by Benjamin Soares**

The presentation started by exploring "Euro-pessimism" versus "Afro-pessimism". It explained that many developments in Europe showed how studies on Africa were waning in Europe; that higher education in Europe was under stress due to difficulties of funding and other reasons including reduction in African students' scholarships; reducing scopes of scholarships to predetermined themes, pressure for students to finish in time, pressure to raise external funding, etc. These have resulted in reduction in the quality and quantity of education, research and limited focus on "Centres of Excellence". The saving grace was that African studies has begun to flourish elsewhere like Asia due to multipolarisation of the world by BRICS and MINT (Malaysia, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey). Many Africans were in Asia and other non-Euro-American spaces. All these pointed to the central role of CODESRIA continentally and globally. It would have to remain as an African voice in the face of the increasing anti-academic and anti-intellectual developments.

### **Round Table2: "Building Healthy Societies – Epidemic Control and Prevention"**

**Chairperson :** Cheikh Ibrahim Niang  
**Presenters :**

- Phillis Kanki,
- Isabel Casimiro,
- Ibrahim Abdullah
- Khoudia Sow

All the four presentations focused on the pandemic threats to humanity in Africa. Three were on Ebola, which raided and besieged the Mano River Basin in West Africa in May 2014. While it practically shut down three countries, but Nigeria and Senegal were able to nip it in the bud through stringent enforcement of administrative-political-medical measures. The fourth presentation explored HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa and Brazil. The four presentations showed how states

and peoples respond when faced with socio-medical threats. They demonstrated how different responses; measures and interventions by the states, societies, and external actors can determine the spread, longevity, virulence and magnitude of any epidemic regardless of its infectiousness and malignancy. They also demonstrated the political character of these pandemics.

### Round Table 3: Discussion Session on "Understanding and Transcending

Fundamentalism" Held on 9 June 2015 from 4:15 – 5:45 PM.

**Chairperson:** Anyang'Nyong'o

#### Presenters:

- Fatou Sow
- Abdul Raufu Mustapha
- Michael J. Neocosmos
- Jibrin Ibrahim,
- Ousmane Kane

Presenters in this round table raised issues revolving on how notions of exclusion, rejections of status quos and quests for alternatives either through persuasion or coercion always characterized fundamentalisms. Examples included messianic salvation movements in the urban areas that promised the end of the world. The question was what these movements had on progressive movements, how they rationalized oppression, and the relationship between political power and fundamentalisms. Another common peculiarity was their conservative rejection of cultural imperialism without any aim of effecting any social transformation. Their reliable constituency was the urban poor on whom they thrived but had to use compulsion on the agrarian population. This was because the latter had no time to waste on them.

Fatou Sow's presentation focused on fundamentalism in Senegal and focused the inherency of ideological terrorism on women in all fundamentalisms. She pointed out that religious fundamentalism was culturally ingrained. She explained how this fundamentalism rejected gender parity on flimsy, nonreligious ground that man was above woman. The problem was that while Senegal was a Muslim country, it politically proclaimed secularism rather than theocracy. She emphasized that rights were not in the Koran but were political. As such, Senegal could not base on the Koran to define political rights since it was secular. She underlined how there was little discourse on political

Islam and that it required more attention rather than politics alone.

On his part, Abdul Raufu Mustapha began by explaining how there was an ideological contestation within Islam in Nigeria and that some enemies of the state were going into extremist antagonistic fundamentalism. While looking at the violence being perpetrated by Boko Haram in Nigeria, he pointed out that the majority of Muslims – 90 percent were not Boko Haram. He highlighted six dimensions of fundamentalism, which needed comprehending and transcending to be able to decolonize it.

1. Clear distinction between global Islam and local ones like Boko Haram;
2. Take their ideology seriously and their utilitarian political agenda.
3. Their own interpretation of history;
4. Sources of fundamentalism – poverty or wicked Islam?
5. Cruciality of politics. E.g. how developments in local, regional and national governments inform fundamentalisms.
6. Fundamentalisms not monolithic and not all are extremists and violence-oriented.

John Neocosmos reflected on African politics of peace amidst intensified non-state violence. He focused on fundamentalist politics and how people at the grassroots opposed it. Focusing on xenophobia in South Africa, he raised the following issues:

1. That identity politics was fascism. Xenophobic nationalist violence had specific features. Not only states but also agencies/people.
2. That inventing the *Other* becomes an obstacle to the understanding of the *Other* and leads to violence.
3. That dominance of neoliberal capitalism enables exclusionary organization, leads to false humanism and false universalism – thinking around narrow interests.
4. That liberal states create conditions for exclusion and inequality; no idea of egalitarian state. That the minimum of common good should not be subjected to the market, and that it required thinking outside the state and its logic.
5. That there was need to study how people think when they are confronted by a problem. That this

was imperative in Africa where many people were guided by existing belief systems. That without returning to relive the past, it would be imperative to return to identity politics.

Jibrin Ibrahim argued that fundamentalism was a return to the source for new inspiration in religion. The problem was textuality. The Biblical and Koranic texts gave interpretations, which could guide praxis. Fundamentalisms were about content and choices, which people did not know. Actions were taken about that understanding. He noted that post-colonial Africa had a very high level of religiosity and religious practices including prayers, which were increasingly consuming a lot of time, thoughts, money and other resources.

Ousmane Kane, in his presentation, began by historicizing Islam and Christianity in Africa, their growth and how they had increased their education. He then etymologized fundamentalism from the end of the twentieth century, explored its intertwinement with use of violence and why it had been increasing with new jihad groups as the literature from 2011-2014 showed. He explained how and why Islamic and Christian religious militants were challenging the powerful states in West Africa, killing people, controlling territory and taking people hostage, etc. The question that emerged was on the possibility of understanding the most fundamentalists and proceeds to transcend them. He reflected on how Christianity and Islam were dominating Africa and their divisive character.

### Round-Table 4-Reconfiguring South-South Relations for Global Transformations

#### Presenters:

- **Boaventura de Sousa Santos**, Centre of Economic and Social Studies – Coimbra (Portugal)
- **Kuan-Hsing Chen**, Institute for Social Research and Cultural Studies, Inter-Asia School, Chiao Tung University (Taiwan)
- **Lin Xinfeng**, Chinese, Academy for Social Sciences (China)
- **Sam Moyo**, African Institute for Agrarian Studies, Zimbabwe

The round table opened with remarks from the chair, Ebrima Sall, who noted that global relations were lopsided and the power relations unbalanced in favour of Western nations. Within this context it

was noted that the South had evolved as an epistemological construct, concept, as well as its geographical dimensions. He noted that it was an opportune moment to rethink the South within the changing global order. CODESRIA has been connecting with scholars in Asia and Latin America in a quest for knowledge building in the South by scholars from the South themselves. Intellectual collaboration between CODESRIA and International Development Economics Associates (IDEAs) in Asia, and the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) in Latin America is currently in place through various tri-continental research projects.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos, outlined the conceptualisation of the term "Global South" and observed the various forms of historical and contemporary cooperation in the South. He noted that the "Global South" was not a geographical term, but a geo-political term used to describe parts of the world that have been historically associated with various terminology including "developing world" and "third world". Global South cooperation he noted was emerging as alternative to the dominant North-North cooperation that currently characterises the world landscapes. Santos traced the origin of South-South cooperation to the Haiti independence movement. It was exhibited in various independence movements in Africa and Latin America (e.g. the role of USSR and China in assisting the various liberation movements on the continent – Mozambique and Zimbabwe). The South-South cooperation in its contemporary forms is currently fragmented and cuts across intellectual, state and civil society spheres. He noted that BRICS was a contemporary form of South-South cooperation aimed at providing an alternative development platform for the south.

Chen's presentation outlined the need for South-South cooperation in order to overcome the challenges imposed by the division of nation-states during the colonial period. This is required to reintegrate Asian scholars in particular at the level of knowledge production. He outlined various initiatives in Asia to develop Inter-Asian Networks from the early 1990s that culminated in the formation of Inter-Asia School in 2012. Unequal resource distribution in the world was highlighted as a key imperative

that requires South-South Cooperation to redress.

In his own contribution, Li Xinfeng focused on China-Africa relations in the South-South cooperation. He indicated that South-South cooperation has grown since the Bandung Conference. The South is striving for a new world order as the resource gap between the North and South was widening characterised by increasing poverty levels and wars in the South. South-South relations are thus a priority for developing countries at this juncture. China and Africa, according to him, share a long history of collaboration and common history in the role of agriculture in economic transformation. The relations are based on mutual trust between the two cooperating partners and do not entail any strings attached as those of the West.

Sam Moyo prefaced his presentation by asking what changes have taken place in the South under global transformation over the last couple of decades and what effects these have had on South-South relations. Another key question posed was how knowledge production can be deployed to enhance South-South cooperation. Overall, North-South relations have remained dominant, despite the increasing growth in the South-South cooperation. It was highlighted that since the Bandung conference, there has been much social and economic differentiation between the North and South, while differentiation has also been exhibited within the South itself with the emergence of semi-industrialised or semi-periphery countries in the South. The intellectual tendencies, it was noted, had been to focus on the jump by some countries in the South over the last 60 years from periphery to semi-periphery or semi-industrialised countries. Sam Moyo said that there were two broad perspectives in the understanding of South-South relations. One was of "Recolonisation of Africa" specifically with respect to China's influence on the continent which was grounded on popular sentiment on the street. He noted that the current framing of knowledge on China-Africa relations was dominated by Western scholars, yet it was CODESRIA which was in the forefront of articulating the centre-periphery relations in the 1970s. The major challenge for CODESRIA is how to produce knowledge about Africa by African scholars. A whole range of interesting questions were

noted to have emerged during the course of global transformation with respect to Africa's relations with other parts of the world, specifically with regards to land issues. These included, the growth in the number of actors from about three or four European countries during the colonial period to about 22 actors from the North, East and South investing in land resources in Africa. Now land investments have attracted over 15 countries from Europe, whose identities tend to be hidden in the phenomenon of sovereign funds that are used to acquire land. The relations are much more complex and require detailed empirical examination, he said.

#### **Round-Table 5: Industrialisation, Trade and Structural Transformation**

- **Takyiwaa Manuh**, UNECA (Addis Ababa)
- **Said Adejumbi**, UNECA (Lusaka)
- **Theresa Moyo** (University of Limpopo)

#### **Summary of Presentations**

Takyiwa Manuh's presentation focused on the social imperatives required to support Africa's push for industrialisation, trade and structural transformation. She noted that industrialisation and trade were back on the agenda and UNECA was devoting substantial research and publications to these topics. Africa's economic growth was noted as the fastest growing in the region over the last decade, but the growth has not translated into poverty reduction for the region's poor people. The growth is being primarily driven by services rather than manufacturing with limited employment opportunities. Manufactured goods only constitute a miniscule of Africa total trade, while intra-African trade was only 16.3 percent of its total trade volumes. The opportunities for Africa to industrialise were immense given the substantial value of its natural resource and demographic growth that will provide a huge internal market for its products. For Africa to achieve its objectives key social investments were required in developing the human capacities through education, health, social infrastructure and quality of employment.

On education, it was noted that although universal education had increased on the continent, completion rates and quality of learning achievements were still very low. It was thus important for Africa to

focus education investments on Science, Technology and Mathematics (STEM) education that will catalyse and form the basis for the continent's industrial strategy. The health of Africa's workforce, Professor Manuah noted, was directly linked to labour productivity. Investment in health facilities and quality of health services is thus a key building block in the industrialisation process. The growing urbanisation in Africa, not accompanied by industrialisation, has led to a strain on the cities' social infrastructure. With regards to employment, she noted that over 77% of the employed people in Africa work in the informal sector characterised by low labour productivity and technologies. It was thus imperative to develop the skills to match the industrial aspirations of the continent in order to match the demand.

Professor Said Adejumbi's presentation addressed the intersection between "Regional trade and industrialisation". He prefaced his presentation by highlighting two major policy developments that had taken place on the continent recently that included the signing of the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement between COMESA, EAC and SADC by 15 countries in June 2015 and the adoption of a Strategy on Industrialisation by SADC in April 2015 as important steps towards the trade and industrialisation agenda. He however noted that there were tensions and contradictions regarding regional trade and liberalisation, as fears abound that China will seize the enlarged economic space created by the TFTA since industrialisation was low. Liberalised regional trade is generally associated with less win-win situations so the imperative for industrialisation is back on the agenda in a big way.

Adejumbi noted that "Structural Transformation" should be understood as shift in the structure of production that is accompanied by qualitative improvements in human capital and social development. Its four components entail: (i) re-allocation of resources from Agriculture to industry; (ii) Demographic shift from country to town; (iii) rise of modern industrial sector and (iv) Growth of services sector.

The current aspirations for industrialisation represent a second major push on the continent following Import Substitution Industrialisation Strategies adopted by most African governments after independence. The first phase had

failed as a result of flawed assumptions that (i) Industrialisation can be imported from the West ; (ii) Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) will stay on the continent and (iii) Technology transfer without adapting to local conditions will suit Africa.

To achieve its objectives in Industrialisation and Structural Transformation four key issues were highlighted by Ademujobi. These include :

- (i) Industrialisation needs to be conceptualised as a political project with an economic plan. African countries will thus need to adopt the relevant policy choices and institutions to undertake this mission.
- (ii) FDI will not propel the industrialisation of the continent, thus there is a need to develop a domestic industrial capitalist class that will lead this process.
- (iii) Industrialisation should be based on the development of new enterprises in agriculture and allied sectors
- (iv) Race to the bottom will not assist in Africa's quest for industrialisation as represented by increasing numbers of bilateral relations between several African countries and China. Specifically it was highlighted that the bilateral agreements were more favourable to China than they were to African countries.

Theresa Moyo's presentation focused on the "Innovative Industrialisation Approaches in Africa : Experiences of Botswana, Mauritius and South Africa. The quest for industrialisation, it was noted, was not new to Africa but can be traced to the Lagos Plan of Action amongst many other initiatives including the UN decade of industrialisation. The manufacturing value added on the continent was noted to be on the decline, whilst its reliance on primary commodity production and exports remains a key characteristic of many countries in Africa. The imperative for industrialisation is being partly driven by external demand shocks on the prices of primary commodities. Moyo highlighted that industrialisation was key for Africa as it would spur the development on the continent, create backward and forward linkages between various sectors on the economy, and reduce external dependency on manufactured products.

Experiences from abroad can be used by Africa to develop an industrial strategy based on natural resources as was the case in Norway. The successful industrialisation of Africa, according to Moyo was contingent upon eight key factors : (i) development of institutions to support industry ; (ii) implementation of growth policies ; (iii) enabling macro-economic policies ; (iv) investment in skills and human development ; (v) regional and international trade agreements and partnerships ; (vi) intensive efforts to attract FDI ; (vii) inclusive approaches and (viii) developmental state. She noted that the three countries she examined had made progress in diversifying their economies. Growth was highlighted on three variables analysed by the study namely; job creating, manufacturing, mining and services sectors.

### Some of the questions raised during the discussions

Pertinent questions raised in the discussion were on the need to clarify the type of industrialisation that is being pursued in this second phase of industrialisation: is it for export promotion or import substitution? Is it heavy or light industrialisation? Is it labour or capital intensive industrialisation? Is it foreign or domestic industrialisation?

The drivers of industrialisation on the continent were also questioned by the participants. In particular, how the domestic industrial class would be developed given that private banks in general are not willing to lend for long-term projects. While Africa was noted to have demographic dividend in the project growth of the population that is assumed will form a huge "market" for the manufactured products, yet the demography will not constitute a market if it is not accompanied by income growth to form effective demand patterns for goods and services. Building the incomes of the grassroots was thus noted as a missing link in current industrialisation strategies which benefit a few people creating dual economies of rich and poor people. In this regard, there were calls to ensure that Africa's industrialisation is not solely designed for the service of Euro-America to the exclusion of its majority poor people.

The outcomes for industrialisation process were also a key concern in the discussion especially on the pattern of



benefitting only a few people, while the socio-economic character of the majority regress or stagnate. It was highlighted that there were no guarantees that industrialisation would bridge the inequality gaps as is the case currently in South Africa, the state was expected to intervene to redistribute incomes to protect the poor people on the continent. How to ensure that industrialisation does not result in dual economies consisting of a minority few and majority poor was a key question raised in the discussions.

The questions raised in the discussions also focused on how Africa has been site of experimentation of industrial projects that were based on wholesale importation of Western models. The prospects for national projects for industrialisation at current juncture was also put under the spotlight in Africa given that state-led companies were instrumental in the case of China in spurring industrial growth, yet Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in Africa discouraged state participation.

The ideological orientation of the industrialisation strategy was a key concern highlighted in the discussion. Participants noted that while industrial strategies in the EU are based on national interests, the overarching ideology of pan-Africanism was not embedded within the strategies being pursued by Africa. The role of globalisation in the industrialisation agenda was also raised in the discussion. Indeed it was highlighted that there are many countries in the South that have industrialised as part of the globalisation process. This put to the fore three challenges that need to be resolved in the industrialisation agenda: (i) sovereignty of countries within globalisation context; (ii) role of the state within the current neo-liberal framework that is averse to state intervention and (iii) how to mobilise domestic resources to support the industrialisation process.

#### **Round-Tables 6 and 7: The Africa We Want**

**Chair:** Thandika Mkandawire

#### **Presenters**

- **Ndongo Sylla**, Rosa Luxemborg
- **Natasha Shivji**, State University of New York
- **Mamadou Diouf**, Columbia University
- **Akosua Adomako Ampofo**, University of Ghana
- **Mshai Mwangola**, Africa Leadership Centre, Kenya

- **Mahmood Mamdani**, MISR/Columbia University
- **Ato Onoma**, CODESRIA
- **Marylenn Ossome**, Rhodes University

Professor Thandika Mkandawire opened the roundtable by highlighting that the predictions about Africa's future require a huge amount of imagination in Social Sciences. Mired in the day to day survival of the masses, it is easy to forget to reflect on the future. Eight presentations were made each exploring different perspectives of imagining the 'Africa we want'.

Sylla Ndongo outlined two broad perspectives that are deployed to think about the future; namely economic growth plans and equality projects. The latter is characterised by a mission for achieving a future of equal participation by the citizenry in shaping their destiny through the breaking of the monopoly power held by politicians. The former are most commonly used to predict the future on the basis of economic growth projections. They take the form of 50 year programmes that are predicated on the assumption that equality will follow from economic growth. Examples cited by Ndongo included the Lagos Plan of Action and current Agenda 2063 under the auspices of the African Union. The economic growth plans tend to provide superficial figures of growth that are not achievable.

According to Ndongo, economic growth figures are an unreliable indicator of human development and progress. Using two country case studies (Botswana and Equatorial Guinea) which are touted to have done well economically between 1960 and 2000 in terms of GDP per capita growth rates and compare favourably to such developed countries as Spain, Ndongo notes that their human development indicators rank poorly. For instance, Equatorial Guinea was ranked the least developed country despite the impressive economic growth rates. Whilst Botswana, which is also ranked very highly in terms of democracy and good governance with growth rates exceeding those of South Korea between 1960 and 2000, had the least life expectancy.

Natasha Shivji argued that we should instead pose a different question as talking about the future when we have not sufficiently understood our present is problematic. It is based on a modernity project, yet the challenges we face in

Africa are of how to re-assert the emancipation of the African peoples. The possibilities for "now" were more urgent than those of the future. The struggles of today are many, including closed survival spaces for young people and need our attention to forge ahead. She proposed the deployment of "History" as method to retrieve the history of the oppressed, before we imagine the future. Such a process will lead to a present that is well understood. In looking forward, Shivji argued that the deployment of history as a method enables the understanding of how the struggles of African people are rooted in a deep historical context.

Mamadou Diouf's presentation also emphasised the importance of history in understanding the future. The main argument proffered by Diouf was that it was impossible to imagine the future if we cannot understand the present. He highlighted that it was important to know "who was thinking about the future of Africa" and the perspectives of the average African in these issues, beyond the intellectual dominance in these discourse. There are a plurality of visions on Africa which are based on different perspectives. Africa's future, he noted, was imagined in economic terms, precluding the thinking outside of the economic structure.

This historical analysis, Diouf argues needs to be pursued from a long-term perspective. The history of Africa is predominantly thought of in three paradigms: (i) as tied to the shackles of dependence; (ii) the hope of the world and (iii) Africa must unite. Rather than being imposed on the world system, Africa needs to take its place in the world by recreating a new universal that detaches it from the perception of a dark past. Structural adjustment policies made the future of the continent uncertain. It brought to the fore the need for new questioning on how we can build a new future.

Cultural dimensions, including the issues of languages, which are negated by "economistic imagining" are also critical in thinking about the future. In fact, Diouf emphasised that we need a culture of social construction to forge ahead. This brings to the fore the characterisation of a post-genocide Rwanda as model of economic development.

Titled "Dreaming Wide Awake", Akosua Ampofo argues that in imagining the future of Africa, story telling provided an effective tool compared to science. She argued that science only has assistive power but has no causal power which are found in story telling. Stories from the past need to be reconnected to the future, whereby story tellers leverage on our hopes to dream about the future. The method of storytelling in thinking about the future, Ampofo informed the participants, was well deployed by Nkrumah through the use of various concert groups to popularise his agenda for a Pan-African project. Recent examples of story telling cited by Ampofo included the use of social media for social action through platforms such as Ushaidi that is used to track conflicts in some African countries. Political satire, she argued, is creative space to think about the future and it constitutes part of the democratisation project. Overall, Ampofo urges us to be prophetic in thinking about the future and be alert to diversity, inter-generational and gender dimensions. Professor Mamdani expressed reservations in future studies, but instead emphasised the need to historicise the present in order to get resources to open up new possibilities. To support his reservations, Mamdani observed that major historical event had been predicted including the fall of the USSR and collapse of apartheid in South Africa. In order to demonstrate the importance of history in understanding the present, Mamdani cited two examples, namely that of xenophobia outbreaks in South Africa and the discourse on globalisation. With reference to the xenophobia outbreaks, he noted that the current interpretations (i. South Africans are not grateful for help rendered during apartheid by fellow Africans; ii. Xenophobia is nothing new on the African continent and iii. There is no social justice in South Africa) were not thinking of the present historically. South Africa was the hub of migrant labour in Southern Africa for long historical periods. Xenophobia's origins are traced from the disenfranchisement of migrant labourers after 1994 elections in South Africa on the basis of narrow definitions of who belongs and who doesn't. It was thus an origin of the political class, and recent expressions are following the way provided by the leaders. Regarding globalisation, Mamdani also argued that it is discussed in a historical vacuum, yet

its origins can be traced to the Indian ocean trade which was characterised by non-militarisation. In its contemporary forms, it is associated with militarisation, global securitisation and exclusion of the masses from reaping the benefits.

In her presentation, "Come and imagine with me" Mwangola argues that the Africa we want should be based on five tenets namely; (i) cultural in foundation ; (ii) creative in essence ; (iii) democratic in substance (iv) generative and (v) prospective in orientation. Culture is considered as the foundation of a nation and in imagining the future, intellectuals need to engage with the cultural vision. Following Cabral, Mwangola equates national liberation to be an act of culture. The creative in essence aspect entails the need to bring something new to the thinking about the future – what is new in our thinking ? The generative aspect hinges on Fanon's theorisation that every generation must define its own mission, on which others will stand on. As such every generation is part of a long line of history. The mentoring of the youth is thus a critical aspect of thinking about the future.

Onoma argued for the importance of studying African institutions in the light of what they think of Africa of the future. The presentation made three observations that need to be taken into account in imagining the future of Africa :

- (i) It ought to be viewed not as geographical location, but as something we want to create. Two visions are dominant in this paradigm – one which thinks of Africa in terms of the external characteristics of the world (e.g. GDP) and second ; thinking of Africa in terms of the internal characteristics of the people that live in it
- (ii) View it as its making. It is not a state, it will keep moving towards this vision through a model of constant causation
- (iii) How can we engender this process of constant causation

The institutions are always characterised as missing in the African context and their insertion is suggested to be a panacea to the continent's problems. Yet in studying social realities in Africa the emphasis has been on macro and micro-institutions to the exclusion of the meso-level institutions.

Ossome's presentation emphasised the need to resolve the present challenges that are being faced by Africa before we think about the future. She opined that under neo-liberalism, humanity was under attack. Neoliberal democracy, she argued had intensified the attacks on people's identities, emphasised the politics of recognition to the exclusion of the politics of distribution that could pave way for the masses out of poverty and sovereignty of states had been compromised by the transnational movement of goods. Neoliberal democracy has absolved the state of its responsibility in protecting the people. In fact the states are more and more constructing the people as the problem. The protection of the people's rights is deferred to global institutions such as the ICC.

The human rights discourse within the neoliberal framework negates the notion of history and presents all people as being equal, yet the reality is that countries such as South Africa that were touted as models of upholding human rights are failing to sustain increasing populations who are impoverished. Women in particular are noted as key losers under neoliberal democracy and are increasingly reliant on men to ascend to positions of authority, yet they constitute the majority of the voters. Landgrabbing increasing at an alarming pace under neoliberalism with the dispossession of peasants of their land for conversion into large-scale capitalist farms where they are promised jobs, yet history tells us the wage economy is not sufficient to meet the reproduction of the rural families.

Some of the key questions raised in the discussions were that the thinking about the future of Africa was insurmountable for intellectuals to pursue alone. In particular, the absence of the views and aspirations of the people were observed in the discussions. Questions related how difficult it is to develop a future that is compliant with the aspirations of the people (including the youth), and the roles that organic intellectuals that are at the services of oppressed people can play. The issue of the people's agency was also evoked in the discussions, with calls to understand why African people leave their leaders to construct them as the problems and how this is linked to the democratisation of society.

Concerns were also raised about who was thinking about the future of Africa. Whether thinking about the future was a Eurocentric project or rooted in Africa. The role of external actors in charting Africa's destiny was identified as problematic in the discussions, with some calls for Africa to define its own approaches to development that are based on African unity. The issue of what languages were being used to convey the messages about the future was also an issue of concern. French and English are the predominant languages used, yet participants noted that people understand more their indigenous languages.

Questions focused on the influence of conflicts in thinking about the future as these have a long history in Africa in the various dimensions, including internal country conflicts, regional conflicts, and conflicts between different classes in society. The negation of gender equality in the economic growth models was also raised during the discussion. Specifically participants questioned the assumptions that gender equality was inherent in economic and political equality.

### Reports from the Parallel Sessions

#### African Popular Culture and The Imagination of Alternate Futures

**Chair:** F.E.M.K. Senkoro

#### Presenters:

- **Gbemisola Aderemi Adeoti:** *Demystifying the Future in Africa's (un)Vanishing Past; A Study of Ngugi wa Thiongo's Novels*
- **Msia Kibona Clark:** *Afropolitan Identities: Representations of African Immigrant Experiences in African Hip-Hop*
- **Catarina Isabel Caldeira Martins:** *Recreating African Futures through Literary Imagination: The Newest Gender, Racial, National and African identities as revealed in Mario Lúcio Sousa's O Novissimo Testamento (The New Testament)*
- **Francis Beng Nyamjoh:** *Amos Tutuola's The Palm Wine Drinkard and the Art of Endless Possibilities*

The parallel session was devoted to presentations on specific historical and social context of the political and geo-social contexts within which the work is set and the form the artist uses to convey

a vision of an alternate space. The presenters shared alternative paths to the future as articulated by the protagonist or artist's vision as expressed within the work. The choices made by the artists to deploy certain stylistic devices or forms underscore the thematic content of the works in discussion, and leave us with a demonstration of how art references, in conversation with and either affirms or subverts other artistic texts. For example, the Saviour as envisioned in particular in and Ngugi wa Thiongo's *Matigari* and in Mario Lúcio Sousa's *O Novissimo Testamento* gives us alternate visions of what the facilitator of liberation might bring us, and might be. These are similar in that the Saviour is not drawn from the dominant class and likes, behaves and works very differently to common conceptualisations of what one expects the Saviour or Messiah of the people to be and do.

The importance of creative intellectual work to be taken as seriously and in conversation with other intellectual discourse, particularly in the dreaming into being alternative futures for Africa cannot be over-emphasised. The ability for popular / mass culture to reach wide audience and act as a catalyst for social organising should be given emphasis.

#### Towards more democratic futures – making governance beneficial to all Africans

#### Presenters:

- **Ante Sane** – Howard University – Gender Inequality in the Process of Public Good Governance: The Case of Senegalese Parliament
- **Maria Teresa Henriques Da Cunha Martins** – University of Coimbra (Portugal) – Women in Power: Women, Democracy and Human Dignity in Non-capitalist Experiences led by Women in South-East Africa
- **Felesiah Arudo Yieke** – Laikipia University College, Kenya – Women Citizenship and Participatory Democracy in Developmental States in Africa: The Case of Kenya
- **Adediran Daniel Ikuomola** – Adekunle Ajasin University, Nigeria – Electioneering, Electoral Violence and Fear of Crime: The Odds in Main-streaming Gender in Nigerian Politics

The first panelist, Maria Teresa Henriques Da Cunha Martins, in her presentation, stressed the need for women to make a mark in their lives and that of their families beyond the patriarchal environment. She noted that historically, Africans are viewed as primitive and ignorant and this has affected the case of African women resulting in double prejudice. Also, in economic terms, African women are viewed as poor and less visible but although African women are weak physically, they are strong in other areas especially in perseverance, dignity, care of the young. She noted that women are seen to be solely focused on reproductive work while men are seen to have productive work adding that this dichotomy does not make sense because all works are productive. She further stressed that women have the capacity to manage things around them including finances. They have a sense of responsibility and thus the stories of women should be heard from their perspective and lived experiences.

The second panelist, Felesiah Arudo Yieke noted that women's access to the public sphere has become a burning issue and that women are still marginalized in this area. She posed a rhetorical question: why is it that several countries are ahead of Kenya in meeting this goal of improved women participation in development agenda and further identified contributory constraints to include poverty, poor education, unequal opportunities, conflict, etc. The presenter noted that this issue has been in the front burner of some NGOs and international organizations in Kenya though there appear to be inequality in their initiatives and thus little improvement seen. For example, some focused on the plight of elitist women with little work done on that of the rural women. The presenter concluded that Kenya should borrow from initiatives from countries outside of Kenya to improve on this and that development cannot be sustained if women are not fully part of developmental process

The third panelist Adediran Daniel Ikuomola noted that the traditional role of women as housewives and home keeper puts women in a disadvantaged position especially in participation in politics. His study examined various factors that put women behind in politics

by interviewing 45 key women leaders in Oyo and Lagos states of Nigeria.

The fourth panelist, Ante Sane in her presentation, noted that Senegal is ranked 6th in the world with largest women population in the parliament. In spite of this slight growth she noted that there is still room for improvement. Factors that hinder women participation in politics were identified to include: illiteracy, lack of access and control over income and other resources; language barrier – this is because most of the charters are written in different languages. Other factors include: lack of solidarity among women, lack of training on the roles and regulations of the parliament. Strategies that could be used to overcome these barriers include: partnering with men in politics, girl child education, skill assessment and training, improved solidarity among women. She recommended that creating a national database that will house bills, improved skills in communication writing and in rule of parliament, girl-child education etc., should be upheld.

### **The African Diaspora in the Recreation of Africa's Futures**

#### **Presenters**

- **José Mvuenzolo Bazonzi** ; La diaspora africaine et l'identité biculturelle: enjeux et défis pour la reinvention de l'Afrique
- **Abdoulaye Guèye** ; Expatriation et développement: l'investissement des universitaires africains en poste en Amérique du Nord dans le renforcement des institutions de recherche scientifique en Afrique
- **Frank Aurelien Tchokouagueu**; Impact des mutations socioéconomiques et démographiques actuelles et futures en Afrique sur les échanges migratoires entre l'Afrique et le reste du monde: quand l'immigration perd le nord
- **Jalani Adwin Hamid Sadiki Niaah Olana Niaah**; "I'd rather see a sermon than hear one ...": Africa/Heaven and the Diaspora in Creating Global Futures and Transformation

The presentations here focused on the African diaspora, stressing on the fact that the diaspora is highly skilled and therefore has the potential to play a crucial role in African development. While there is a link between Africans in the diaspora and their home countries and they also con-

tribute to African societies and economies, the author argues that more can be done. There is a need to reinvigorate the diaspora so that they move into quality aspects, which will then boost growth. The skills and experience of the diaspora could lead to the creation of a new Africa through the development of a bicultural identity, which will be formed, by the forging and reinforcement of transnational and intergenerational connections with the continent. The bicultural identity will integrate and preserve African culture and identity while also including foreign cultures and modernity. The author also explores the contribution of education and work in Western societies towards African development, arguing that there is a need to rethink the African model for development through the crucial role of education. There is also the issue of cultural identity and the author argues that culture is adaptive. There is a dialectical movement between people and regions and migrants can incorporate new cultural elements into host societies. The author talks about scientific socialisation and development of education and labour as being significant. Some constraints are however present; for instance the brain drain syndrome has caused a lot of damage. There is also the risk of cultural loss, especially through the influence of western cultures and globalisation and the youth in the diaspora are confused on which culture to adopt – the ancestral or that of the country they live in. The author concludes by stating that one cannot underestimate the contribution of the diaspora to development in Africa. The diaspora is free to choose elements to contribute culturally to African development as it is also reconfiguring its own cultural identity.

### **Decoloniality and African Futures in the Twenty-first Century**

**Chair:** Nkolo Foe

#### **Presenters:**

- Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni: Global Coloniality and the Challenges of Creating African Futures
- Akhona Nkenkanaan: No African Futures Without the Liberation of Women: A Decolonial Feminist Intervention
- Morgan Ndlovu: Coloniality of Knowledge and the Challenge of Creating African Futures

The papers in this session were a panel, presented in relation to each other. Ndlovu-Gatsheni laid out the theoretical framework and the other presenters elaborated further through their focus on the following issues.

- Decoloniality challenges the Cartesian notion of being that produces hierarchies of cultures, and affirms a notion of being which is contingent on others. The question as to what this actually means and how it influences how we think and act as African intellectuals and beings is an important one
- What is validated by who and for what reasons as knowledge; what is prioritised and by who and what reasons for African curriculum and research
- What does it take to go beyond the "numbers game" when it comes to affirmative action and to what extent does playing the numbers game obscure the real issues of qualitative transformation of African societies especially in relation to gender?
- What experiences, processes, events etc dominate our understanding of ourselves, our lives, our knowledges and therefore define who we are and what we invest in as we envision our futures? How does decoloniality as a theory take us beyond the existing alternatives that centre the colonial experience and other experiences of oppression, dehumanisation and pain? How does it allow us to replace the hegemonic master-narrative with narratives that affirm us as African peoples and nations?
- What theories – such as Negritude and Panafricanism – is decoloniality in conversation with? How does it take us beyond the limitations and contradictions of these into new theoretical ground?
- Can decoloniality level out the epistemological playing ground of the African academy, and even in the global one? How might it fix the unicentricity of Eurocentricity? Can it help facilitate the re-ordering of existing hierarchies, epistemologies, knowledge products and processes within in particular the African academy, providing a logic for the prioritising of African agendas and lived experiences within our universities and other knowledge spaces?

## International Criminal Justice, Responsibility to Protect (R2P), and Sovereignty in the Africa of the Future

### Presenters

- **Maria Paula Gutterierrez Meneses**, *Entangled Histories of Multiple Conflicts: The Complex Landscape of War and Peace in Mozambique*
- **Bahati Bahati Mujinya**, *Forgetting the Crimes and the Issue of Reparation to Victims: Which Option for Lasting Peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo*
- **Hinnougnon Nathaniel Kitti**, *La Cour Pénale Internationale (CPI) à l'épreuve des poursuites en Afrique- The International Criminal Court (ICC) test of prosecutions in Africa*
- **Odair Bartolomeu Barros Lopes Varela**, *External Humanitarian Interventions in Africa: Legitimacy and Limits. The Case of States "Fragile", "Failed" or "Collapsed"*

### Summary of Presentations

The presentations in this session examined the international criminal justice and the responsibility to protect African sovereignty in the future. Maria Paula Gutterierrez Meneses' paper highlighted that historical uniqueness of countries are neglected when making laws in recent times. Nation-state building is a violent process in nature. The identification and persecution of the collaborators in Mozambique and the violence that characterized these processes is an integral part of independent Mozambique history. The International Criminal Court (ICC), Truth Commissions (TC) reproduce a model for criminal justice that, by proxy, reproduce the experiences of war courts set up with the of World War II. However, other models have been in used in Africa to deal with conflict situations, as the case of the truth commissions in Mozambique illustrate. The situations analysed show, the goal of the truth commissions was to broaden trust and to create conditions for people to regain their dignity, as fully trusted citizens. But these conditions are hard to achieve, as the case of Mozambique demonstrates.

Bahati Bahati Mujinya's presentation argued that amnesty and reparations to victims is critical to peace consolidation in DRC.

Odair Bartolomeu Barros Lopes Varela's paper argued that legitimacy has limits.

The paper provided a critical analysis of the foreign humanitarian interventions, especially in the post-Cold War era, in the so-called "fragile", "failed" and "collapsed" States. It specifically focused on the causes and consequences of the emergence of the unilateral foreign military interventions in late 1990s by addressing the most emblematic and controversial cases and, more recently, in Libya and Mali. It also sought to map out, in an embryonic manner, the pathways that can lead to overcoming the limits posed by both multilateral and unilateral solutions regarding foreign military interventions of humanitarian nature.

### Neo-Liberalism and the Financialization of Natural Resources in Africa

#### Presenters

- **Emmanuel Kasongo Mungongo**, Université de Kinshasha (RDC) – *De-mondialiser le secteur minier pour développer L'Afrique*
- **Etanislav Ngodi** – Université Marien – *Vision africaine des mines at governance de la rente a l horizon*
- **Teresa Maria de Cruz e Silva** – Eduardo Mondlane University Mozambique – *Access a recursos naturais a luta pela sobrevivencia experiencias de cabo Delgado Mocambique*
- **Moussa Willy Batenga** – Université de Ouagadougou Burkina Faso – *La question de l emergence decryptee a travers la valorization d une resource naturelle au Burkina faso: le Karite (Vitellaria paradoxa)*

The presentations here focused on the effect of globalization on mining companies, noting that the future of Africa with reference to Agenda 2063, need to take into cognizance the potential of mining sector in Africa. Access to natural resources is a huge problem in different communities especially the mining sector, tourism and energy sector and the demand for energy is triggered by the expansion of new markets and consequently new spaces of social struggle have risen as a result of this.

### Regional Integration and Pathways to African Futures

#### Presenters:

- **Gordon Onyango Omenya**; *Coalition of the Willing as a Pathway to African Future Integration: Some Reflections on East African Regional Integration*

- **Sabastiano Rwengabo**; *Institutional Design and the APSA's implementation in Eastern Africa*
- **Arka Abota Aynako**; *Regional Integration and Pathways to African future: The Case of East African Power Pool*
- **Nkwachukwu Julius Orji**; *National Legislative Assemblies and African Regional Integration: The Role of the Nigerian Parliament in ECOWAS*
- **Bahim El Morchid**; *Pour une meilleure integration des institutions informelles dans les strategies de développement en Afrique: Une approche néo-institutionnelle*

The presenters here focused on the conditions that were enabling and limiting regional integration in different parts of Africa. The need for an all-inclusive approach to regional integration was stressed. There have been changes in organising at institutional levels, especially on issues pertaining to African peace and security architecture. Fieldwork in East Africa showed that multiple membership in regional economic communities and regional brigades have created decision-making overlaps and conflicting obligations. This has also led to differential impacts on states and implementation challenges.

In the areas of finance, banking and issues of security, a monetary affairs committee which brings together governors of central banks of these different countries is important and there is also a need to find a way towards financial integration.

### Fashioning African Futures: Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Gendered Perspectives

#### Presenters

- **Patricia Alexandra Godinho Gomes**
- **Jose Maria dias Teixeira**

Patricia Alexandra Godinho Gomes presented a paper titled 'The Guinean Woman as Subject and Object of Contemporary Historical Debate: Lessons from the Historic Examples of Theodora Inácia Gomes'. She reflected on the use of indigenous knowledge to understand Africa, adding that colonial experiences and impact can be helpful. Jose Maria dias Teixeira, paper dealt with a reflection on gender in the society, education and institutions to effect transformations. Arguments were advanced that the way society represents gender needs change

as equality and gender tend to affect only women.

### Regional Integration and Pathways to African Futures

- **Charly Delmas Nguetack Tsafack** ; La citoyenneté communautaire africaine et l'avenir du processus d'intégration régionale en Afrique. Comment oeuvrer pour une bonne gouvernance future de l'Union.
- **Babatunde Olaitan Fagbayibo**, 'I am an African': A Critical Examination of the Politics of Transnational Identity Within the Context of African Integration
- **Abdul Karim Bangura**, Promoting Sustainability and Predicting Tipping Points in Africa: Suggestion for a Collaborative initiative via E-clustering
- **Vusi Gumede**; Regional Integration and African Renaissance: Moving beyond the Rhetoric
- **Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo**; Africa's Relations with BRICS: A Search for Multipolar Development Paradigms or Reconfiguration of Unipolar Liberal Globalisation

The presentations here focused on community citizenship and regional integration. Questions on how the institution of African citizenship could consolidate regional citizenship in Africa were posed as well as the criteria for the establishment of status of community citizen to the African. The need to move beyond the legal aspect, when defining oneself as an African was probed much as were reflections on what makes people African. Lastly, one author made a presentation on how mathematicians can help Africans achieve the challenges of development – work with social and other behavioural scientists to help Africa and adopt the mathematics of sustainability and mathematics of tipping points. Integration, it was argued by another presenter, is not possible in Africa because of ethnic, tribal conflicts. On the issue of the BRICS, Tukumbi Lumumba-kasongo argued, there is need to question possible outcome and benefits of BRICS to Africa. BRICS is not addressing the issue of pan-Africanism, but rather focuses on national interest, exploitation and is a new interpretation of the capitalist system.

### Towards more Democratic Futures – Making Governance Beneficial for all Africans

#### Presenters

- **Andre Mbata Mangu** – University of South Africa, South Africa. Constitutionalism and Democracy in Africa: Do Constitutions and Democracy still Matter?
- **Richard Asante** – University of Ghana, Legon - & Emmanuel Debrah – The Legislature and the Executive in Ghana's Fourth Republic: A Marriage of Convenience
- **Godfred Nsangou Mbolo Chimy** – CEFAM Cameroun & Susana Yene Chimy Awasom CEFAM/MINATD Cameroun – Challenges of Good Governance in Africa through the Prism of a Uniform Accrual Accounting Standard: Implementing Issues with Cameroun as a Case Study
- **Mohamed Mohamed Ibrahim Aly Hagag** – Cairo University Egypt – Democratic Local Government approaches in Africa: Decentralization Policies in Egypt and Ethiopia
- **Raidh Harizi** – Université de Tunis & Mohammed Taoufik Bouzidi et Rafaac Mraïhi. L'équité de développement régional passé par la baisse des iniquités socio spatiales et une amélioration de l'accessibilité régionale. L'exemple de la Tunisie Post-révolution

#### Summary of Presentations

The first panelist was Andre Mbata Mangu from University of South Africa. His presentation was on "Constitutionalism and democracy in Africa: Do constitution and election still matter in francophone Africa" His presentation noted that establishment of constitution and democracy constitute the biggest project in African politics, thus there is no future for the continent if we do not consider these concepts. He further stressed that elections are determining institutions in political experience, drawing a quote from Claude Ake 'democracy has simply been reduced to the practices of organized parties' to buttress his point. The second presentation made by Richard Asante from University of Legon, Ghana focused on "The legislature and the executive in Ghana's fourth republic: A marriage of

convenience? The third panelist was Godfred Nsangou Mbolo Chimy from CEFAM Cameroun & Susana Yene Chimy Awasom CEFAM/MINATD Cameroun discussed "Challenges of good governance in Africa through the Prism of a uniform accrual accounting standard: Implementing issues with Cameroun a case study" The main presenter Godfred Mbala in his definition of term stated that accrual accounting is an accounting system previously used by the private sector, and is more encompassing than those used in the public sector. The World Bank has therefore suggested that this form of accounting could be used in the public sector for improved efficiency.

### Pathways To Sustainable Developed Community

**Chair:** Odile Ndoumbé Faye

#### Presenters:

- Sybille Ngo Ngeck: "Contractual Schemes in Africa's Political Development: Conceptualising Old Practices and Establishing Relevance with New Governance Models for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century"
- Alex Egodotaye Asakitipiki: "Healthcare Delivery and the MDGs: Lessons from Neo-Liberal Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa"
- John Mary Kanyamurwa: "Politics of Natural Resource Management and Accountable Systems in the Delivery of Water Systems in Uganda"
- Lotsmart Fonjong: "Rethinking Women Land Rights Concerns in the Evolution of Large Scale Land Acquisition in sub-Saharan Africa"
- Mohammed-Bello Yunusa: "Climate Change, Desertification, Livelihood Challenges and Urban Futures: A Reflection on Nigeria"

This panel dealt with the politics, realities and machinations around the allocation and management of natural resources and service delivery. It underscored the need to delve beneath the appearance of things and phenomena, whether it be the apparent easy "sell-out" of African land by African rulers to the European metropole, or the abdication of their responsibility to act in the best interest of their constituencies, or the too easy acceptance of the inevitability of natural or man-made processes.

## Designing and Building Resilient and Socially Inclusive Societies

### Presenters:

- **Ayuk Nkem Agbortoko Manyigbe:** "Rural- Urban Interactions as a Contemporary Paradigm to Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Meme Division, Cameroon"
- **Perpetual Maria Adjoa Crentsil:** "The Role of NGOs and Civil Society Engagement in HIV / AIDS Initiatives in Africa; The Case of Ghana"
- **Pedzisayi Leslie Mangezvo:** "Xenophobia and the Re-ordering of Power, Population and Place"
- **Ethel Ngere Nangia :** "Care for Older Persons in Cameroon; Alternatives for Social Development"

The panellists approached the question of resilience and inclusivity from different perspectives, establishing the stratification of society that has implied hierarchies of being with real consequences in the delivery of social services and basic protections. The panelists argued for the need for greater understanding of the channel of flows between urban and rural places that are linked to see how both populations benefit, (or not) and what maintains their viability, as well as what increased the fragility of their nature.

## Towards More Democratic Futures – Making Governance Beneficial for all Africans

### Presenters

- **Surendren Pillay**, University of the Western Cape, South Africa – Identity, Difference, Citizenship or Why am I no Longer a Racist
- **Abubakar Momoh** – The Electoral Institute, Nigeria – Does Democracy have a Future in Africa: Complexifying a Dualism
- **Abdallah Saaf:** Université Mohammed V Maroc. La question de la réforme de l'Etat perspective comparée entre l'Afrique et la région arabe.
- **Lydia Apori Nkasah** – Kwame Nkrumah University (Ghana), Dispute Resolution and Electoral Justice in Africa: The Way Forward
- **Daniel Zawadi Limbe** – University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) – The Satirical Portrayal of Africans Development Issues: Examples from Kiswahili Short Stories

The first panelist, Surendren Pillay stressed that the promise and hope for political modernity that is laden with freedom and stability is the yearning of the South African state. To him, political modernity should strive to stimulate a healthy political struggle for the benefit of all. He called for SA to move beyond triple burden of inequality, religion and racism and also the need for eradication of racism. The second panelist, Abubakar Momoh noted that studies around democracy in Africa portrayed that citizens prefer one party democracy, because of fear of marginalization; an example was drawn from the Tanzanian experience. Recalling the statements by Yusuf Bangura, he stated that 'liberation is a project that is worth building in Africa and that we should embrace it'. And as the debate goes on, he added that Claude Ake concluded that the form of democratization going on in Africa is that of disempowerment largely because foreign languages disenfranchised many Africans, he noted. He went further to stress that the discourse about democratization is a work in progression and this concept as used in Africa is highly racialized and what we have in most part of Africa is not democratization but de-democratization. The fourth panelist, Lydia Apori Nkansah noted that election is the badge for democracy. Elections in Africa are tainted with flaws and irregularities in Africa.

The fifth panelist, Daniel Limbe from University of Dar es Salaam Tanzania made her presentation on "The satirical portrayal of Africans development issues: Examples from Kiswahili short stories" She described Satire as a portrayal of events or issues in an opposite manner.

## Toward more Democratic Futures: Making Governance beneficial for all Africans

### Presenters:

- **Abdessater Sahbani ;** Becoming more Democratic in Africa: Democracy faces What Challenges ?
- **Ahmad Amal Mohammad Emam Khashab,** Re-examing Transition Paradigm: Are Elections Enough to Ensure Democratization in Africa?
- **Ibrahim Mouiche,** La gouvernance électorale et la consolidation démocratique en Afrique : défis et perspectives.

- **Serge Bernard Emmanuel Aliana,** (Re)penser la démocratie deliberative en Afrique à l'aune de la palabre africaine une approche philosophique par la théorie des capacités.

Presentations in this panel focused on how to make democracy and good governance work for Africa.

## Towards a New Research Agenda for CODESRIA

Discussions of CODESRIA's new Research agenda took place on Friday, 12 June 2015 and flowed from the recommendations that had been made by the intellectual agenda review committee.

The first few minutes of the session were taken up by discussions on the amendments of the CODESRIA charter. In view of the impending elections, it was necessary to decide on when the amended charter came into force. In discussions chaired by Issa Shivji, a resolution was passed to the effect that the amended charter came into effect from the 15<sup>th</sup> June 2015. This meant the impending elections had to be conducted using the old charter. This resolution was moved by the VP of CODESRIA and seconded by Sam Moyo.

Discussion on CODESRIA'S new research agenda were chaired by Teresa Maria da Cruz e Silva, Professor at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique and Former President of CODESRIA. The first section of the panel discussion was marked by the report of the Scientific Committee, followed by a roundtable discussion. The key points that emerged from the presentation of the Vice-Chair of the Scientific Committee, Shamil Jeppie dealt with the challenges. Jeppie mentioned that it was challenging to get all ten members of the Scientific Committee to meet all at once. Despite that, members who were present were able to review drafts of documents, abstracts for the conference and came up with a theme for the 14<sup>th</sup> General Assembly. Jeppie noted that a good number of the abstracts ignored the theme. He expressed a recommendation that the way forward and goal of the research agenda should be interdisciplinary.

Five panellists were invited to present their contributions on the new research agenda for CODESRIA, namely Dickson Eyoh of the University of Toronto, Abdul

Raufu Mustapha of the University of Oxford, Elisio Macamo of the University of Basel in Switzerland, Manthia Diawara of the Scientific Committee of CODESRIA (USA), and Shamil Jeppie of the Scientific Committee of CODESRIA (South Africa). The first speaker, Dickson Eyoh, focused his presentation on knowledge and underlying assumptions and research and politics. He expressed that what we are able to know is a fraction of our underlying assumptions. These latter make our knowledge of the world coherent. Eyoh also mentioned that people talk a lot about the concept of development, but fail to take into account assumptions linked to that concept: for example that the future is a social project. Eyoh further discussed that research cannot take the place of politics, and cannot define what should take place in the world. He argued that politics cannot validate research findings. On the contrary, politics should rather be developed by methods. That itself is the first challenge that we have to face. Eyoh recommended that we should develop basic narratives around three main themes. The first one has to do with citizenship and an emphasis on nation building, expanding the scope within which we can expand human dignity. The second theme deals with institutions. The third theme has to do with actions over practice, namely the gap between morality and politics. In other words, to what extent can we ground our political actions to moral principles we can identify with?

The second speaker, Abdul Raufu Mustapha focused on a theme that dealt with Africa and its multiple vision of the future. In that vein, he shared that there are six things to advance research. First, respacing Africa includes transnationalism, namely hubs, corridors and networks. Mustapha argued that there is a need to change topographies of being and understanding topographies of where we are. Second, measurement issues need to be dealt with when talking about the advancement of research. Third, it is necessary to move from the concept of good governance to hybrid governance. Fourth, it is also critical to move from neo-patrimonialism to political settlement. Fifth, the research-policy nexus needs to be redefined. Finally, Mustapha discussed area studies as the sixth component to advance research. He noted in that regard that it is important to learn from the global common. Mustapha further mentioned the issue of bringing policy

with research together, pointing out that policy makers need to be brought into the picture before research is done. He argued that it is a very costly process and manpower to do the work may be an issue as well.

The third speaker, Shamil Jeppie talked about the challenges faced with publications, housing of the information, and lengthy and difficult process to access archives in some African countries such as Niger. He further denounced that our collections in Africa are exported, our conversations hardly exist and are usually digitized coming from the North and that we do not have our own reports. The fourth speaker, Manthia Diawara focused on how archives can be used to position research. He showed video clips of Senghor and Soyinka discussing immigration in Africa and Europe. On one hand, from the excerpts, Senghor emphasized the need to avoid the infiltration of outsiders, and that it is more than a biological reason but it is a cultural and political one. Soyinka, on the other hand, evoked the concept of "ivoirity" in Ivory Coast, case of Ghana and Nigeria, and denounced why African leaders cannot recognize that the use of the word migrants within Africa itself is obscene. Soyinka also talked about xenophobia as being implanted by governments. He further stressed that humanity is mobile and that the influx of migrants to Western nations should be looked at from the perspective of restitution.

The following were the interventions from participants regarding CODESRIA's research agenda:

- When thinking about the research agenda, it has to fit with Africa regions. Africa is looked at based on the colonial division. North Africa for example is not considered part of Africa.
- What is the vision of civil society in Africa, what vision will help liberate us.
- We should know and learn about other countries.
- We should not stop at the source of information; we should look at also distribution of the information. We should push for private owned libraries.
- How do we get to the parliamentarians? We have to connect policy and research

- History is not being taken seriously at CODESRIA. Students in Sierra Leone for example do not know Amical Cabral
- CODESRIA needs an intellectual agenda. The nature and quality of social science have to be situated in our own environment. Academicians no longer exclusively do social science.
- Proposal: Scientific Committee to come up with a concrete agenda
- The title of this panel discussion mention "new research agenda": what is new? There are many interesting topics and thinking that needs to be done. It will be good to explain the novelty: Does it have to be the way research has to be conducted, the way it will be conducted and who are the stakeholders? What is the identity of CODESRIA? Is there any change?
- Debate on research agenda cannot be contained itself. Institutional interest may be different from the individual interest. Dialogue between policy and research is carried on as if CODESRIA is a political organization, policy-making is not an academic exercise, it is a political one.
- In terms of keeping memory, we need to link memory and oral tradition
- Intellectual projects to work together/ encourage interdisciplinary work/working together across disciplines
- Thinking about language in terms of non-verbal in addition to the verbal. What does it mean for CODESRIA, and how do we produce it, consume it. How do we deal with epistemic shifts?
- Train scholars on how to write good abstracts
- How can CODESRIA play a major role and position itself on the continent where data extracted from the research is housed on a continental database?

### **Administrative Aspects of the GA**

#### **Nomination and electoral panel report and elections**

Chaired by Professor Issa Shivji, this session was dominated by the report of the regional caucuses and the election of the new executive committee. The president of the five sub-regions presented first their reports before the results of the elections within their region.



The reports focused on:

- For Central Africa: re-dynamize and improve CODESRIA's visibility
- For East Africa: connect more effectively with the youth, use information technology, and give greater access to academia articles. Recommendation to submit an annual report to the region, and failure to do so will result in a vote of no confidence. Another recommendation deals with the implementation of regional chapters and projects.
- For North Africa: reinforce publications and participants from North Africa
- For South Africa: Substitute should be playing a major role. Committee should be held accountable and issues and reforms need to be followed through, and more young scholars and women need to be brought to CODESRIA's activities
- For West Africa: accountability of the Scientific committee, more young women and scholars to take part in CODESRIA's leadership and activities

The following were elected:

- For Central Africa: Nkolo Foe (Cameroon), Andre Mbata Mangu (Kinshasa) and Joseph Gahama (.....) as substitute

- For East Africa: Kenneth Simala Inyani (Kenya), Khalid El Amin (Sudan) and Mshai Mwangola (Kenya) as substitute
- For North Africa: Hassan Remaquin (Algeria), Sphedrine Ben Fredj (Tunisia and Mohammad Haggag (Egypt) as substitute
- For Southern Africa: Isabelle Casimo (Mozambique), Puleng Lenka Bula (South Africa, voted in abstentia because of brother's death), and Solofo Randriana (Madagascar) as substitute.
- For West Africa: Rokhaya Fall (Senegal), Dzodzi Tsikata (Ghana) and Oder Varela (Cape Verde) as substitute

All members eligible to vote were invited to confirm the results, which was done by acclamation. The chair asked that for the President and Vice-president, he will stop at 3 nominations for each. After voters accepted this proposal, nominations began. For the position of president, two proposals were made: Professor Dzodzi Tsikata (Ghana) and Professor Nkolo Foe (Cameroon). After the vote by secret ballot and the counting of votes, 71 to 25 in favour of Professor Dzodzi Tsikata, she was declared the new President of CODESRIA.

For the position of the vice-President, two proposals were made: Professor

Nkolo Foe (Cameroon) and Andre Mbata Mangu (Kinshaha). After the vote by secret ballot and the counting of votes, 71 to 23 in favour of Professor Nkolo Foe, he was declared the new Vice President of CODESRIA.

Just after, the new President, Professor Dzodzi Tsikata, took the floor and thanked participants for their vote. She mentioned that the values of institutional amendments need further discussion and that she will bring it back to CODESRIA's agenda. She also talked about the idea of electronic voting which need to be rethought again. She shared that there were many interesting ideas and discussions that took place about Africa's future, the involvement and development of young scholars, and that she will work in a team spirit to accomplish the recommendations of the governing body. She will also make sure that this new team will complete the work of the last executive committee.

The floor was given to the Vice-President, Nkolo Foe for his remarks. He concurred with the President's message and thanked everyone for the confidence and trust reposed in him. He pledged to work for a greater visibility of CODESRIA, more young scholars' involvement and linkages with governments. He also pledged to strengthen relationship with the diaspora who live outside of Africa and in Latin America.



From left: Carlos Lopes (Keynote speaker), Serigne Mbaye Thiam, Senegalese Minister of Education and Mouhamed Boun Abdallah Dionne, Prime Minister of Senegal at the Opening Ceremony of the General Assembly